Journal of Synagogue Music

Tishrei 5785 October 2024 Volume 49 Number 1

# In this issue:

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## REVIEWS



## IN MEMORIAM

# GREETINGS FROM THE EDITOR

Dear Reader,

When we proudly published last year's *Journal* celebrating Israel at 75 just prior to Rosh HaShannah, we could never have imagined what a different mood we would face in 5784. The horrific attacks of October 7 and the ensuing rise in antisemitism around the world, and especially across the United States, have challenged us all.

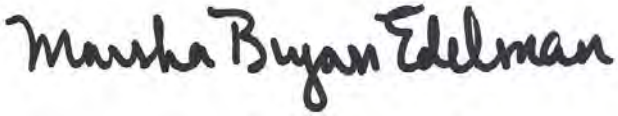
And yet, we continue to sing. In fact, many of our congregations have swelled with Jews eager to find safe spaces. Of course, there has not been one unified response to these ongoing events; when has there ever been complete unanimity of thought in the Jewish community? But at least, when we come together in song, for a few brief moments we can find spiritual as well as musical harmony.

The articles in this issue of the *Journal* cover a wide berth, uncovering, exploring, re-examining, and re-visiting many of the historic conventions of our tradition. David Berger's translation of the introduction to *Teudat Shlomo* offers a look into the world of eighteenth-century cantor Solomon Lipshitz, replete with scholarship, humor, and insights into the challenges facing his community – challenges not at all unlike our own. Boaz Tarsi's examination of the *Adonai Malakh* mode provides a comprehensive analysis of the nature and applications of this fundamental element of Ashkenazic Jewish tradition. Daniel Katz's continuing study of the lives of the father-son cantorial duo of Salomon and Hirsch Weintraub offers an enlightening detail regarding their biography and the names by which they were known. Meanwhile, in our *Iyyun Bit'filah* feature, Margaret Wenig offers thoughtful and inventive reflections on the well-entrenched custom of wearing white on Yom Kippur.

This issue also includes reviews of two recent publications, a work on *Music in Jewish Thought* by Dov Schwartz, and a hefty *Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* edited by Tina Frühauf. The two volumes make interesting contributions to the literature, offering dramatically different aspects of Jewish music scholarship. In another fascinating juxtaposition, David Berger's "Mailbox" item similarly compares the musings of the Maharil from the early Renaissance with challenges facing our own era.

As with all editions of the *Journal*, this one also marks the passing of colleagues who made their marks on the *bimah* and beyond. We bid a fond farewell to Hazzanim Israel Barzak, Neil Ben-Isvy, Charles Davidson, Harold Lew, Sidney Rabinowitz, Bruce Siegel, Louis Towne and George Wald, as well as to Abraham Kaplan, who is likely conducting them all in the heavenly choir. This issue's *Neginah L'Ma'aseh* section features works by Charles Davidson, who left behind a trove of compositions for the synagogue and the stage. To honor him, and with prayers for Israel and the world, we offer his settings of *Oseh Shalom* and *Shalom Rav*.

Let us hope that 5785 ushers in a New Year of peace for all. *Shannah tovah* and happy reading!



Marsha Bryan Edelman

# OF TEXTS AND TUNES

## The Introduction of *Sefer Teudat Shlomo*

***Translated and Annotated by David Berger***

Cantor Solomon Lipshitz (1675, Fürth, Germany-1758, Metz, France) inherited a rich tradition of Torah scholarship and musical expertise from his father, Rabbi Moshe Lipshitz, who served as the cantor in Fürth. As a youth, Solomon Lipschitz studied with the well-known scholar David Oppenheim (1664-1736) in Mikulov (Czech Republic, known also by its German name of Nikolsburg). Following positions as *hazzan* around Bavaria in Wallerstein, Pfersee, Prague, and Frankfurt-am-Main, he accepted the position as Chief Cantor of Metz in 1715, where he remained until his death more than 40 years later.

While little is known of Lipshitz's musical prowess, his achievements as a scholar of Torah and an intellectual leader within the early modern cantorate are preserved in a small book (literally about 6x4 inches) called *Teudat Shlomo*, published in Offenbach in 1718. Scholars of Jewish music have, over the past hundred years, noted the importance and uniqueness of this work, but have offered precious little analysis of the text itself. Short excerpts of *Teudat Shlomo* have been reprinted in various articles and sources, always in their original Hebrew. One exception to this history of scholarship is the formidable rabbinic thesis from the Hebrew Union College written by Rabbi/Cantor Jon Haddon in 1980. Within the pages of *Teudat Shlomo* is an invaluable depiction of the daily realities of the early modern cantorate as told by a master of rabbinic literature interested in casting the world of the cantor in classic halachic language.

As cantors today seek to constantly define and redefine the scope and work of the cantorate, looking back at Lipshitz's unique composition takes on a new relevance. It is in this spirit that the project of creating a full translation of *Teudat Shlomo* was born, of which this represents only the beginning. I am grateful for the continued partnership and dedication of Cantor Matthew Austerklein in pursuing further study of *Teudat Shlomo*, work which will hopefully conclude with a complete bilingual edition of the book.

Presented here is a translation of the introductory sections of *Teudat Shlomo*. Occupying seven pages of the original publication, the introduction contains multiple genres of writing, freely flowing between original prose, quotations from biblical and rabbinic works, and acrostic poems. The text is dense and complex, clearly meant to establish Lipshitz as an authority not only of the cantorial profession, but also as a *yodei'a sefer*, a person with a thorough mastery of the full corpus of rabbinic literature. Casting himself as a cantorial version of the biblical Solomon, a source of enduring wisdom and inspiration, Lipshitz dazzles his audience with witty puns, insightful parables, and with an elevated understanding of the importance of the cantor as a central figure in the spiritual life of a community.

Within this introduction are four paragraphs that deploy a novel form of rabbinic writing which is particularly challenging to translate. In these paragraphs, Lipshitz rapidly jumps between quotes taken from anywhere across biblical and rabbinic literature. The text often

includes half a sentence from one quote tied by means of a similar word to a second quote, and continues on connecting phrases to each other from there. These paragraphs are filled with puns, sometimes subtly changing one letter of a phrase in order to fully recast its meaning. Existing somewhere in between prose and poetry, translation can only illuminate a small portion of the cleverness and joy inherent in Lipshitz's text. For readers with an ear trained in rabbinic wisdom, each line of this section presents itself as an entertaining puzzle of associative thinking. With all of their sparkling brilliance, however, it is difficult to discern if these paragraphs contain much in the way of meaning. They are perhaps best understood, referencing Marshall McCluhan's famous phrase, as a medium that is itself the message. Just as a skillful musical improvisation dances between the familiar and the unfamiliar, referencing and partially quoting melodies that are well known while also creating something that is brand new, so, too, do these paragraphs feel like a kind of rabbinic improvisation. Appreciation of the virtuosity of the performer and the entertained delight of the reader is the purpose and meaning.

Lipschitz opens his introduction with an extended pun on the title of the work itself. *Teudat Shlomo* (Solomon's document/testament) is recast as *Seudat Shlomo* (Solomon's festive meal). Readers are invited to take in the wisdom within the pages as a rich and satisfying meal. Indeed, within a world in which discussions of the cantorial art are more often focused on musical nuance or (as has, since early medieval times, stood at the center of rabbinic discourse about cantors) the length of worship services, Lipschitz's approach in this work provides a unique kind of sustenance. Elevating the cantor as a spiritual leader, Lipschitz compares cantors not to the Levites who, in the Temple in Jerusalem provided musical accompaniment, but to the High Priest himself. Indeed, if worship is intended as a substitute for Temple sacrifice, the cantor, as the central character who "offers" that worship, performs a role much more central than that of the Levitical singers of ancient times. With that elevation, however, comes great responsibility. Lipschitz demands that cantors treat prayer with the same level of focus, intention, and attention to detail as was required of the High Priest. Just as the first chapter of *Mishnah Yoma* describes the intensity of preparation and review required of the High Priest, so Lipschitz implores cantors to treat their own preparation for worship, ensuring that they understand each word, are able to pronounce it clearly and correctly, and can convey their understanding in their recitation. His condemnation of cantors who only pay attention to the music itself, neglecting the intellectual preparation and intentional presentation of the liturgical texts, is beyond harsh. In the end, he claims, such cantors will lose both the money they sought through their musical skill and the voices they used to claim their salaries. Returning to the joyful tone with which Lipschitz begins his introduction, his conclusion is a celebration of the possibilities of spiritual uplift and devotional vigor available to those who take the profession of the cantorate seriously and adhere to the instruction and wisdom contained within this *Teudat Shlomo.*

Both remarkable as a historical document in its depiction of the eighteenth century cantorate and as a compelling statement of principles and values that remain relevant today, the *Teudat Shlomo* deserves the attention of cantors, rabbis, and academics alike. It is hoped that this beginning step in transcribing, translating, and annotating this fascinating work of Cantor Solomon Lipshitz will attract greater attention to a much-neglected source in the intellectual history of the cantorate.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| "*Hazzanim* shall rejoice and *singers*[2] shall delight!" | ישמחו החזנים ויגילו המשוררים[1] |
| For a holy document to bring joy to *hazzanim* and voices. | על ת"עודת[3] מצוה לשמוח חזנ"ים וקולו"ת.[4] |
| And a tongue that speaks wonders.[5] | ולשון מדברת גדולות. |
| In a song of ascent.[6] | בשיר המעלות. |
| All those who are hungry come and eat[8]<br>---the righteous to the fullness of his soul;[9]<br>all those who are in need come and *open his eyes* and see the *Set Table*,[10] the *Way of Life*. | כל דכפין יתי ויכול<br>צדיק לשובע נפשו<br>כל דצריך יתי ויפת"ח[7] עיניו לראות<br>הרי שלחן עורך אורח חיים. |
| Behold, fat meat on a table of desire for the eyes.[12] | והרי בשר"א שמינא אפתורא דתאו"ה[11] לעינים. |
| Go in haste and not sluggishly[13] | לכו בזריזות ולא בעצלתים. |
| Eat my bread and grow[15] in humility and fear of the Lord, lengthening one's days[.][16] | אכלו לחמי הגדילו עקב[14] ענוה יראת ה' תוסיף ימים. |
| in honesty and integrity.[17] | באמת ובתמים. |

[1] The acrostic letters spell י-ה-ו-ה, the four letter name of God.
[2] The Hebrew term משוררים *meshorerim* can either mean general singers, or, in a more technical usage for cantorial music, indicate specifically the singers who accompany the cantor.
[3] Lifshitz uses the quotation mark symbol (“) to indicate a play on words.
[4] The pun here is based on a festive meal (סעודת מצוה) made to celebrate with grooms and brides (חתנים וכלות).
[5] Psalm 12:4
[6] “A song of ascent” is the beginning phrase in psalms 120-134.
[7] In Haggadah - ויפסח
[8] Quoted from the Passover *Haggadah*
[9] Proverbs 13:25
[10] Heb: *Shulḥan Arukh, Orakh Ḥayyim* – an allusion to the law code. It is within the *Orakh Ḥayyim* section of the *Shulḥan Arukh* that laws of prayer are discussed.
[11] The Talmudic term is: אפתורא דדהבא – a table of gold.
[12] In the Babylonian Talmud *Ta’anit* 25a, it is relayed that the righteous will, in the world to come, eat their meals on a golden table. This metaphor is extended in rabbinic literature into the phrase בשרא שמינא אפתורה דדהבא – “Fat meat on a golden table” as a metaphor for rabbinic learning generally. See for example *Ḥavot Yair* 92 or the Introduction to *Sefer Akeidat Yitzḥak.*
[13] A phrase from an obscure penitential poem (*s’liḥah*) for the fast day following Rosh Hashanah, called *Tzom Gedaliah.*
[14] Lifschitz has cleverly conjoined two biblical verses that both include the word עקב.
[15] Based on Psalm 41:10
[16] Based on Proverbs 22:4
[17] Judges 9:16

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| For your sake and mine, I say to the priests, they are swift:[18] | לי ולכם אני אומר אל הכהנים זריזים הם |
| There are those who are swift, and earn the merit of their steps[22], walking without hatred but with love, harmony, peace and companionship, may there be heard the voice of song, mirth, the jubilant voices of *<u>h</u>azzanim* from their affection. | יש זריז ונשכר שכר פסיעות[19] פס"ע בלא איבה[20] אלא באהבה ואחוה ושלום ורעיות מהרה ישמע קול ששון קול שמחה קול מצהלות חזנ"ים מחיב"תם[21] |
| fondness of brothers together, as precious oil falling on the beard;[23] [this bearded man][24] has acquired wisdom[25] which preserves the life of one who possesses it[26] and those possess song go out in song[27] and the essence of song is with the mouth[28] and heart as one[29] of equal quality[30] that we may all be sons of the same man[31], we are priests,[32] agents of the Merciful One and agents of the community,[33] and if an agent does not perform his mission, that agent is liable for misuse of consecrated | חיבת אחים יחד כשמן הטוב יורד על הזקן זה קנה חכמה תחיה את בעליה בעלי שיר יוצאים בשיר ועיקר שירה בפה ולב שוים לטובה נהיה כולנו בני איש אחד נחנו כהני"ם אנחנו שלוחא דרחמנא ושלוחא דצבורא ואם אין שליח עושה שליחותו השליח מועל בהקדש ומתחלל על ידו ח"ו. |

[18] The Talmudic phrase "כהנים זריזים הם" occurs many times (*Shabbat* 20a, 104b, *P'sa<u>h</u>im* 59b, 65a and many more). It means that the priests are vigilant and efficient in their performance of the Temple service.
[19] *Bava Metzia* 107a
[20] This is a pun on Numbers 35:22 – ואם בפתע בלא איבה.
[21] This is a pun on the seventh wedding blessing, which reads "חתנים מחופתם."
[22] In *Bava Metzia*, this refers to the reward one receives for the steps walked between the home and the synagogue
[23] Psalm 133:2
[24] Lifshitz has combined multiple quotes into one composite sentence, frequently using the last word of a quote as the first word of the next.
[25] Maimonides, *Mishnah Torah*, Laws of Torah Study 6:1
[26] Ecclesiastes 7:12
[27] Talmud Bavli *Shabbat* 51b – This is an especially fanciful quote. As a comparison with its meaning in the Talmud, the Steinsaltz translation reads: And, in general, all animals that typically have a chain around their necks when they go out to the public domain may go out with a chain on Shabbat and may be pulled by the chain.
[28] Talmud Bavli *Sukkah* 50b
[29] Based on *Mishnah Terumot* 3:8 – the phrase פה ולב שווים (and variants on it) comes up frequently in rabbinic literature and even entered modern Hebrew as a popular saying.
[30] See Rashi's comment on Genesis 23:1, that each of the years of Sarah's life were equally good.
[31] Genesis 42:11
[32] The Genesis text continues "נחנו כנים" – we are honest men, and Lifshitz has added a letter to say "we are priests."
[33] See Talmud Bavli *Kiddushin* 23b for a discussion of whether priests are שלוחי דרחמנא – agents of the Merciful One, or agents of the people – שלוחי דידן.

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| property which, God forbid, becomes profaned by his hand.[34] | |
| Thus my friends and brothers: Stand! Wake up! Implore![35] | לכן אחי ורעי עמדו נא. התעוררו נא. חלו נא. |
| the face of the almighty, with the best of your skill. Perhaps God will have mercy on a poor and impoverished people. Perhaps the Holy Blessed One[36] will have mercy on us, and on all of Israel, and accept with mercy and desire our prayers[37] and send us our messiah, speedily and in our days, then shall our eyes see and our hearts rejoice.[38] Amen. | פני עליון. במיטב הגיון. אולי יחוס עם עני ואביון. אולי ירחם הקב"ה עלינו ועל כל עמו ישראל ויקבל ברחמים וברצון את תפילתינו. וישלח לנו משיחינו. במהרה בימינו. ואז יראו עינינו. וישמח לבינו. אמן: |


Praise to the Master of worlds I will speak
To print a letter that is pleasant and sweet
Refined seven-fold[40] from the choicest of flours
One who reads it will awaken gratitude
Strengthen and fortify[41] your hands with this document
To the singers, this is a tool of delight
We find within it all honor.

[34] See *Mishnah Me'ilah* 6:1 and Talmud Bavli *Kiddushin* 54b
[35] These three phrases appear in a prayer recited at the graves (תחינה על הקברות) as part of a longer sentence – "And you who sleep in the dust of the earth, get up, stand up, wake up, implore before the Mighty God…"
[36] This phrase (which Lifshitz has connected to the last word of the previous phrase) comes from a penitential prayer (סליחה) recited at different times in different Ashkenazic traditions. The full phrase is:
מַלְאֲכֵי רַחֲמִים מְשָׁרְתֵי עֶלְיוֹן חַלּוּ נָא פְּנֵי־אֵל בְּמֵיטַב הִגָּיוֹן. אוּלַי יָחוֹס עַם עָנִי וְאֶבְיוֹן אוּלַי יְרַחֵם:
[37] From the *Sh'ma Koleinu* prayer (weekday *Amidah*)
[38] From the Blessing of Verses (weekday evening service)
[39] The acrostic reads שלמה חזן – Solomon the *Hazzan*
[40] Psalm 12:7
[41] Deuteronomy 31:6


| Introduction | הקדמה |
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| Hear me, singers who make music, understand – those who are God fearing and gentle, hurry to see this heavenly work, for the glory of the Blessed One, who acts and judges with honesty and justice. Be strengthened! Sing! Speak and say God's praises. Rise up, recite, burst out in song and say, "Exalt the Eternal with me, let us extol God's name together."[43] | שמעו[42] לי משוררים המנגנים בינו נא מי הירא ורך רוצו ראו מלאכת שמים הזה לכבוד יתברך פועל שופט יושר צדק חזקו זמרו נא דברו מללו תהלת אל קומו קראו פצחו רננו אמרו גדלו לה' אתי ונרוממה שמו יחדיו |
| Sweet is the secret[44] of the Eternal to those who revere God and wait for God's care.[45] God's care never ceases[46] if you would hear God's voice[47] and agree, you will eat the good things of the earth.[48] | נמתיק סוד ה' ליראיו ולמיחלים לחסדו חסד אל כל היום אם בקולו תשמעו ותאבו טוב הארץ תאכלו. |
| Go with me to the flock,[49] they are holy, our brethren, the house of Israel, who send us to be for them upright messengers[50] before the Supreme Sovereign, and their eyes are set on us.[51] | לכו נא אתי ע"ל הצאן קדשים המה אחינו בית ישראל השולחים אותנו להיות להם מליצי יושר לפני המלך מ"ה ועיניהם בנו תלויות. |

[42] The acrostic reads: שלמה בן מהור"ר משה ליפשיץ חזן דמתא ק"ק פראג – Solomon son of my great teacher and Rabbi ( מורי הגדול ורב רבי=מוהר"ר) Moses Lifshitz, *Hazzan D'mata* of the Holy Community of Prague. The phrase *hazzan d'mata* comes from Talmud Bavli *Bava Metzia* 93b. In the Talmud this means city watchmen. In a synagogue context, it means the person responsible for oversight of the prayer services and Torah readings.

[43] Psalm 34:4

[44] Psalm 55:15

[45] Psalm 33:18

[46] Psalm 52:3

[47] Psalm 95:7

[48] Isaiah 1:19

[49] Based on Genesis 27:9 - לְךִ־נָא אֶל־הַצֹּאן

[50] The phrase מליץ יושר appears in several High Holy Day *piyyutim* as a term for a proper messenger of the community whose prayers will be received. Cf. Job 33:23.

[51] This phrase is based on the Rosh Hashanah *piyyut Hayom Harat Olam* - עֵינֵינוּ לְךָ תְלוּיוֹת.

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| For nowadays we have no Temple, no sacrifices, and no priest – only the words of our prayers in the synagogue, a small sanctuary,[52] and prayer is in the place of sacrifices.[53] | כי עכשיו אין לנו מקדש ולא קרבנות ולא כהן אלא שיח תפילתינו בבית הכנסת מקדש מעט והתפלה במקום הקרבנות. |
| Now, here we are in holiness[54] bordering on [the holiness] of the High Priest, for we are offering (sacrificing) prayer in the synagogue just as he would offer sacrifices in the Temple. | והנה אנחנו בקו"דש עד קצה גבול הכהן הגדול כי אנחנו מקריבין התפילה בבית הכנסת כמו שהקריב הכהן הקרבן בבית המקדש. |
| And why should they be lacking, rather than offering their offerings according to their laws, daily offering in their order and adding from the weekday on to the holy day. [55] | ולמה נגרע לבלתי הקריב את קרבנם כהלכתן תמידין כסידרן ומו"ספין מחול על קודש. |
| For prayer requires great intention, without any foreign thought, lest the prayer become defective, like an offering disqualified because of some offense, and not be accepted, God forbid. | כי תפילה צריכה כוונה גדולה בלי מחשבה זרה שלא יפגום התפילה כקרבן הנפסל בפיגול ולא ירצה ח"ו. |
| Hearken to me and learn well the order of prayers, the meaning of the words, and one must completely learn the lesson and let it be like a song,[57] and interpret it each day with analyses and careful research of the grammar, checking that one does not err, uproot, and destroy worlds, God forbid.[58] | שמעו[56] לי מלמדי היטב סדר התפילה ופירוש המלות צריך לגמור גמרא גמור זמרותא זמר בכל יום יום ידרושו בדרישות וחקירות היטב בדקדוק וחקר שלא לטעות ולעקור ויחריב עולמות ח"ו: |
| I lift up the tales of Solomon and say: A parable of a certain country, which was ruled by a great king. The citizens of the country sinned against him and rebelled against him. What did they do? They sent, with one hand, | ואשא משלי שלמה ואומר משל למדינה אחת אשר מולך עליהם מלך גדול ובני מדינה חטאו כנגדו ומרדו בו מה עשו שלחו ביד אחד |

[52] The phrase "small sanctuary" originates in Ezekiel 11:16 and is used as another term for synagogue.
[53] Talmud Bavli *Brakhot* 26a
[54] Playing on Numbers 20:16 - וְהִנֵּה אֲנַחְנוּ בְקָדֵשׁ עִיר קְצֵה גְּבוּלֶךָ
[55] Playing on the Shabbat *Musaf Amidah* - תְּמִידִים כְּסִדְרָם וּמוּסָפִים כְּהִלְכָתָם in combination with Rashi's commentary on Genesis 2:2. which describes how, as mere humans we cannot know the precise entrance and exit times of Shabbat and so must add time from the week day onto the holy day, "צָרִיךְ לְהוֹסִיף מֵחֹל עַל הַקֹּדֶשׁ" whereas the Holy One of Blessing is able to be so precise that it might appear, incorrectly, that God finished the work of creation on the seventh day itself rather than finishing in the last moment before Shabbat.
[56] The acrostic reads: שלמה - Shlomo
[57] Based on Talmud Bavli *Beitzah* 24a and *Shabbat* 106b
[58] Rabbinic tradition includes multiple references to sacrifices sustaining the world. Most prominently, *Mishnah Avot* 1:2 - שִׁמְעוֹן הַצַּדִּיק הָיָה מִשְּׁיָרֵי כְנֶסֶת הַגְּדוֹלָה. הוּא הָיָה אוֹמֵר, עַל שְׁלֹשָׁה דְבָרִים הָעוֹלָם עוֹמֵד, עַל הַתּוֹרָה וְעַל הָעֲבוֹדָה וְעַל גְּמִילוּת חֲסָדִים: The Yerushalmi (*Taanit* 21a) is yet more direct in saying: רבי יעקב בר אחא בשם רבי יסא לעולם אין העולם עומד אלא על הקרבנות. Since prayer is understood as the replacement for sacrifice, it follows that prayers, when properly done, sustain the world. Improper prayers would not sustain the world, and could therefore be said to contribute to the destruction of worlds.

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| a crown to the king, but the messenger did not guard the crown appropriately, and precious stones and gems were lost from the crown. When the messenger came to the court of the king, the servants in the court of the king said: "Why have you come here?" The messenger said, "I have been sent from the land of the king. I came all the way here to ask for forgiveness from the king on behalf of the people of the country who rebelled against him, and for all of this I bring a crown to the court, to show you its beauty, for it is wonderful to see. | כתר למלך והשליח לא היה משמר הכתר כראוי ונאבדו מן הכתר אבנים טובות ומרגליות כשבא השליח לחצר המלך אמרו המשרתים בחצר המלך מאי בעית הכא אמר השליח אני משולח ממדינת המלך באתי עד הלום לבקש מחילה מהמלך בשביל בני מדינה אשר מרדו בו ועכ"ז אני מביא כתר למלכות ולהראות לכם את יפיה כי טובת מראה היא. |
| And when the servants of the king saw it, that parts were missing from every side, and that many of the precious stones and gems were gone, they said to the messenger, "Leave our area! We do not want to show this crown to the king for it is an insult to us. Woe for this insult!" | וכאשר רואים אותה משרתי המלך שחסרה מכל צד ונאבדין ממנה כמה וכמה אבנים טובות מרגליות אמרו לשליח צא ממחיצתינו אין אנו רוצים להראות הכתר למלך כי חרפה היא לנו אוי לאותה חרפה. |
| And if this is so for a king of flesh and blood, how much the more so, double and triple for the Supreme Sovereign, the Holy Blessed One. It is known that from prayer a crown is made for the Holy Blessed One.[59] | ואם למלך ב"ו כך עאכ"ו כפולה ומכפלת למלך מלכי המלכים הקב"ה וזה ידוע שמן התפלה נעשה כתר להקב"ה. |
| And if the *Sheliah Tzibbur* lose from it a number of words and letters, and even more so, and how much the more so, if he insults and curses, then the [crown of prayer] is made lacking, and the angels serving the Holy Blessed one will say, "Leave our area!" and they will not receive the prayer. Woe for that shame and disgrace, and all of this is a messenger who is twisted and cannot be repaired.[60] | ואם השליח צבור מאבד ממנה כמה וכמה תיבות ואותיות וכ"ש וק"ו כשמחרף ומגדף ונעשית חסרה והמלאכים המשרתים להקב"ה אומרים צא ממחיצתינו ואינם מקבלים התפילה אוי לאותו בושה וכלימה וכל זה שלוחא הוא דעוית מעוות שלא יוכל לתקן. |
| About them scripture says: "They raised their voice against Me, therefore I have rejected them,"[61] | ועליהם נאמר נתנו עלי בקולה ע"כ שנאתי' |

[59] The image of prayer creating a crown for the Holy Blessed One comes up multiple times in rabbinic literature. See, for example *Midrash* on Psalms 19:5:

ר' אבא אומר מלאך שהוא ממונה על התפלה ממתין עד שיתפלל כנסיה אחרונה שבישראל והוא עושה עטרה ונותנה בראשו של הקב"ה. שנאמר (משלי י ו) ברכות לראש צדיק. צדיקו של עולם:

[60] Ecclesiastes 1:15

[61] Based on Jeremiah 12:8

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| And it says, “Who asked that of you, trample My courts [no more]?[63] And specifically, on Shabbat and Festival days the cantors sing especially elaborately and first come enemies, then musicians[64] with choirs, and all of their thoughts are on the melodies, and they watch over the bass voice.[65] | ואומר מי בקש זאת מידכם רמוס חצרי ובפרט בשבתות וי"ט החזנים מנגנים ביותר וקדמו צרי"ם[62] אחר נוגנים במקהלות וכל מחשבותם על הניגונים ומשגיחים בב"ס קול. |
| And like a small child[66] they make themselves subject to ugliness[67] and two grabbing[68] their hands on their faces and their heads on their backs[69] and they wander and meander[70] as if drunk[71] and they shout out but have no savior and about them it is said: “And when you lift up your hands, I will turn My eyes away from you; Though you pray at length, I will not listen. Your hands are stained with crime.”[72] | ובכ"ן קטן עושים את עצמם מוכנ"ע לכיעו"ר ושנים אוחזין בידיהם על פניהם וראשיהם על גביהם וינועו וינודו כשכור וצועקים ואין להם מושיע ועל אלו נאמר ובפרישכם כפיכם אעלים עיני מכם גם כי תרבו תפלה אינני שומע ידכם דמים מלאו דמים |
| This has a double meaning, for they are like a servant serving the master in order to get a reward,[73] only to take the salary and donations offered on Festivals and Sabbaths, and they make a good day into a | תרתי משמע כי הן כעבדים המשמשין את הרב על מנת לקבל פרס רק ליקח השכירות ונדרים ונדבות הקריבי' בי"ט ובשבתות ועבדין ליום טוב יום |
| bad day[74] they sell the righteous for money[75] for their money is more precious to them than their lives.[76] | ביש מוכרים בכסף צדיק ממונם חביב להם יותר מגופן. |

[62] The original verse from Psalm 68:26 reads: קִדְּמוּ שָׂרִים אַחַר נֹגְנִים.

[63] Isaiah 1:12

[64] This is a play on Psalm 68:26

[65] This is a play on Talmud Bavli *Bava Metzia* 59b, the famous story of the Oven of Akhnai, in which the supporters of Rabbi Yehoshua say - אין אנו משגיחין בבת קול “We do not regard a Divine Voice (*bat kol*).”

[66] This is a play on Mishnah *Yoma* 3:10

בֶּן קָטִין עָשָׂה שְׁנַיִם עָשָׂר דַּד לַכִּיּוֹר, שֶׁלֹּא הָיוּ לוֹ אֶלָּא שְׁנַיִם. וְאַף הוּא עָשָׂה מוּכְנִי לַכִּיּוֹר, שֶׁלֹּא יִהְיוּ מֵימָיו נִפְסָלִין בְּלִינָה.

The High Priest ben Katin made twelve spigots for the basin so that several priests could sanctify their hands and feet at once, as previously the basin had only two. He also made a machine [*mukheni*] for sinking the basin into flowing water during the night so that its water would not be disqualified by remaining overnight.

[67] The Mishnah’s word “basin” - כיור - has been changed by one letter to now mean ugliness - כיעור.

[68] “Two grabbing” is a reference to Mishnah *Bava Metzia* 1:1 - שְׁנַיִם אוֹחֲזִין בְּטַלִּית

[69] This is a play on Talmud Yerushalmi *Horayot* 19a (and referenced later in other works) -

ר' יהושע דסיכנן בשם רבי לוי משה ע"י שצפה ברוח הקודש שעתידין ישראל להיסתכר במלכיות וראשיהן עומדין על גביהן הקדים ראשים לזקינים.

[70] The phrase וינועו וינודו appears frequently in early modern texts.

[71] Psalm 107:27 - יָחוֹגּוּ וְיָנוּעוּ כַּשִּׁכּוֹר

[72] Isaiah 1:15

[73] *Mishnah Avot* 1:3

[74] Talmud Bavli *Kiddushin* 39b - אמר אביי מתניתין דעבדין ליה יום טב ויום ביש - Abaye said: When the mishnah said that he is rewarded, it means that he has one good day and one bad day.

[75] See Amos 2:6

[76] See Rashi’s comment to Deut 6:5 - ובכל מאדך. בְּכָל מָמוֹנְךָ, יֵשׁ לְךָ אָדָם שֶׁמָּמוֹנוֹ חָבִיב עָלָיו מִגּוּפוֹ

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| And they will neither know nor understand their future,[77] their money will be lost, their voices will cease,[78] and their bodies will be gone, God forbid.[79] | ולא ידעו ולא יבינו לאחריתם ממונם נאבד והקולות יחדלון וגופן כלה ח"ו. |
| Anyway, the matter depends entirely on us.[80] | ממילא הדבר תלוי בנו. |
| Therefore, my brethren and friends, let these words, words of the covenant[81] enter your ears, that I may call as my witness heaven and earth,[82] that not for my honor did I do this, nor for the honor of the house of my father, rather it was for the honor of our Father who is in heaven, and for the honor of the whole congregation of Israel[83] who look for our prayers. | לכן אחי וריעי יכנסו דברות אלה דברי הברית באזניכם ואעידה עלי שמים וארץ שלא לכבודי עשיתי זאת ולא לכבוד בית אבא אלא לכבוד בית אבינו שבשמים ולכבוד כל קהל עדת ישראל המביטים לתפלתינו. |
| Come see what is written in the Holy *Zohar*[84] "Woe to those whose agent is found unfitting, for on account of him the sins of the world are called to attention!...[85] But when the agent is fittingly worthy, happy are the people, for through him all judgements are removed from them!...[86] | לכו ראו מה דאיתא בזוהר הקדוש פ' ויקרא ווי לאינון דשליחא דלהון לא אשתכח כדקא יאות, דהא חובי עלמא אתיין לאדכרא בגיניה וכו' וכד שליחא הוא זכאה כדקא יאות, זכאין אינון עמא, דכל דינין מסתלקין מנייהו וכו' |
| We find, on positive and negative balance, the tradition in our hands, therefore, let us search and examine our ways[88], and don't say remove the beam from your eyes[89] rather, leave the beam in its place, and as for me, I say, and to the priests, they are messengers of | נמצא חובין וזכותין מסורה היא בידינו בכן נחפשה דרכינו ונח"קורה[87] ואל תאמרו טול קורה בעיניך אלא נ"ח קורה במקומו ולי אני אומר ואל הכהנים המה שלוחא דציבורא כנ"ל נחקורה ונשובה אל ה' בדרך |

[77] Deuteronomy 32:29
[78] Exodus 9:29
[79] Talmud Bavli *Rosh Hashanah* 17a describes the fate of those who sinned with their bodies: after twelve months in Gehenom, their bodies are consumed "גּוּפָן כָּלֶה".
[80] This refers to Talmud Bavli *Avodah Zarah* 17a when Rabbi Elazar ben Durdayya accepts responsibility for his actions, saying "אין הדבר תלוי אלא בי" shortly before his death.
[81] This phrase is from a *piyyut* for *Musaf* on the first day of Rosh Hashanah which begins תִּפֶן בְּמָכוֹן לְכֵס שֶׁבֶת.
[82] Based on Deuteronomy 31:28
[83] This passage is based on Talmud Bavli *Bava Metzia* 59b when Rabban Gamliel stopped the sea from raging.
[84] *Zohar* 3:18b, Translation of *Zohar* from *The Zohar, Pritzker Edition*, by Daneil Matt, Volume VII, page 115-116
[85] The missing text is: "As it is written: *If the anointed priest should sin* - for he is the agent of all Israel - *incurring guilt for the people* (Leviticus 4:3), because Judgment befalls them."
[86] The missing text is : "All the more so the priest, by whom those above and those below are blessed."
[87] Not sure what this pun is
[88] Lamentations 3:40
[89] Talmud Bavli *Bava Batra* 15b - whereas in the Talmud, the "beam" is a barrier for the judge to properly see justice, here, the beam is the body of Jewish musical tradition.

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| the community, as mentioned above. Let us examine and return to the Eternal[90] in the pathway of the King, the King of kings we will go, turning off neither to the right or to the left, neither in the field, nor the vineyard[91] we will pass through the holy flock, today we remove the heart of stone from our flesh.[92] | המלך מלכי המלכים נלך ולא נטה ימין ושמאל לא בשדה לא בכרם נעבור בכל צאן קדשים היום נסור לב האבן מבשרינו. |
| Worship the Eternal with awe,[93] come before God's presence with shouts of joy,[94] sing unto God a new song,[95] play well all that you say.[96] | עבדו את ה' ביראה באו לפניו ברננה שירו לו שיר חדש הטיבו אשר תדברו. |
| Most importantly, these very words[97] - why do you cry out to me? Tell the children of Israel,[98] and so said the prophet: "Take words with you."[99] | והעיקר הן הן הדברים מה תצעק אלי דבר אל בני ישראל וכן אמר הנביא קחו עמכם דברים. |
| Words that appeal to the pure heart[100] and steadfast spirit that will be renewed within us,[101] for the work of heaven,[102] the work of sacred worship[103] in the as written[104] "Lift up an eye, and the ear will recognize"[105] Our ears will be made like a funnel,[106] funneled as a graceful ibex[107] that is beautiful.[108] Of course, a *<u>h</u>azzan* must play a song to awaken the secret of strength[109] as is known to those who know beauty, for the work of the Levites was in song, as is known, that the Levites were drawn from the side of strength. | דברים המתישבים על לב טהור ורוח נכון יחודש בקרבינו אל המלאכת שמים מלאכת עבודת הקודש בכת"ב ישאו עין ויכרו אוזן אזנינו נעשה כאפרכסת פרכוס ויעלת חן חן לה וודאי צריך החזן לנגן בשיר לעורר סוד הגבורה כידוע ליודעי חן כי עבודת הלוים היה בשיר כידוע שהלוים נמשכים מסטרא דגבורה. |

[90] Lamentations 3:40
[91] Based on Numbers 20:17
[92] Based on Ezekiel 36:26
[93] Psalm 2:11
[94] Psalm 100:2
[95] Psalm 33:2
[96] Based on Deuteronomy 5:25
[97] Talmud Bavli *Megillah* 20a - referring to the recitation of the *Sh'ma* and the importance of proper intention while reciting
[98] Exodus 14:15
[99] Hosea 14:3
[100] Rashi's comment to Genesis 34:3
[101] Based on Psalm 51:12
[102] See Talmud Bavli *Ta'anit* 23a
[103] See Exodus 36:1 - לָדַעַת לַעֲשֹׂת אֶת־כָּל־מְלֶאכֶת עֲבֹדַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר־צִוָּה יי
[104] See Numbers 7:9 -כִּי־עֲבֹדַת הַקֹּדֶשׁ עֲלֵהֶם בַּכָּתֵף יִשָּׂאוּ: - In this pun, בכתף has been replaced with בכתב
[105] From a *piyyut* for Rosh Hashanah *Musaf* - וְאַתָּה אֱזֹן קוֹל מְפָאֲרֶיךָ בְּכָל אֵיבְרֵיהֶם
[106] After Talmud Bavli *<u>H</u>agigah* 3b
[107] Talmud Bavli *Ketubot* 17a
[108] Zechariah 4:7
[109] The Hebrew here "לעורר סוד גבורה" is kabbalistic language

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| While I have no business with secret matters,[110] but this is how I found the one my soul loves[111] as my wish and my people as my request,[112] Solomon requested to be like Moses his father, the father to *hazzanim*[113], and wrote genuinely truthful sayings,[114] that which we have said has been established[115] we will do and we will hear,[116] the wise one will gain more wisdom[117] of this book and the words of this song[118] until their end. | הגם שאין לי עסק בנסתרות אבל כך מצאתי את שאהבה נפשי בשאלתי ועמי בבקשתי ביקש שלמה להיות כמשה אביו אב לחזני"ם וכתב יושר דברי אמת נכון הדבר אשר דברנו נעשה ונשמע חכם יוסף לק"ח ספר הזה ודברי השירה הזאת עד תמם. |
| See here, I have taught you for free, without money[119] to my master | ראה למדתי אתכם בח"נם אין כסף לאדונ' |
| They are precious in the eyes of my brethren and friends, the *hazzanim*. Whoever is for the Eternal, come to me[122] and take this book, for a reasonable price, and it will be for him as a vindication for the voice[123] and proof for reproving your kinsman[124] that each person may help their brother,[125] helping not abandoning, for I have never seen an abandoned righteous person,[126]the righteous will flourish like a cedar in Lebanon[127] - the final initials spell *hazzan*. | חביבים בעיני אחי ורעי ה"ה[120] החזנים מי לה' אלי יבא ויטול ספר הלז מחיר בלא הון ויהיה לו כסות ענים את קו"ל ונוכחת הוכח תוכיח את עמיתך ואיש את אחיו יעזורו עזור ולא עזוב כי לא ראיתי צדיק נעזב צדיק כתמר יפרח כארז בלבנון ס"ת[121] חזן. |

[110] Based on Talmud Bavli *Hagigah* 13a
[111] Song of Songs 3:4
[112] Esther 7:3
[113] See *Vayikra Rabbah* 1:15 where Moses is described as "the father of prophets" - צֵא וּלְמַד מִמֹּשֶׁה אֲבִי הַחָכְמָה, אֲבִי הַנְּבִיאִים - Here, Lifschitz has described his own father, Moses Lifshitz, as the "father of cantors."
[114] Ecclesiates 12:10
[115] Deuteronomy 17:4
[116] Exodus 24:7
[117] Proverbs 1:5
[118] Deuteronomy 32:44
[119] Exodus 21:11

[120] הלא הם
[121] סופי תיבות

[122] Exodus 32:26
[123] This is a play on Genesis 20:16 - הִנֵּה הוּא־לָךְ כְּסוּת עֵינַיִם לְכֹל אֲשֶׁר אִתָּךְ
[124] Leviticus 19:17
[125] Based on Isaiah 41:6
[126] Psalm 37:25
[127] Psalm 92:13

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| And then, they will be planted in the house of the Eternal, in the courts of our God they will flourish,[128] in his youth he says, "they who trust in the Eternal shall renew their strength, as eagles grow new plumes…"[129] In his old age, he says: "In old age they still produce fruit; they are full of sap and freshness."[130] | ואז שתולים בבית ה' בחצרות אלקינו יפריחו בילדותו מה אומר וקוי ה' יחליפו כח יעלו אבר כנשרים וגו' בזקנותו אומר עוד ינובון בשיבה דשינים ורעננים יהיו. |
| Such are the words of the author, today, Thursday, the 14th of Elul, in the order of "You shall rejoice in all the good"[133] and there is no good but Torah, and specifically, "you may have the thousand Solomon"[134] son to my father, our teacher and rabbi, Rabbi Moses Hazzan Lifshitz of Fuerth, *Hazzan D'mata* here in the Holy Community of Prague at present.[135] | כ"ד[131] הכותב היום יום ה' י"ד אלול לסדר ושמחת בכל הטוב ואין טוב אלא תורה ולפרט האלף לך שלמה בלא"א[132] מוהר"ר משה חזן ליפשיץ פירדא חזן דמתא פה ק"ק פראג לע"ע: |
| Solomon made the document [a document] of Solomon in its time,[136] a time in which one binds a permanent connection[137] fulfilling the words of parents and children together [together] they sing a song,[138] Singing in a place of prayer[139] [a prayer] of the lowly, who is faint[140] [and wraps] in the wrapping of a tallit which is entirely purposeful[141] Great is knowledge, as it was placed between two letters[142] Making wise the wisdom of a person lights up their face[143] | שלמה עשה ת"עודת שלמה בשעתו שעת הקוש"ר קשר של קיימא קיים מילי דאבות ובנים יחדיו ירננו רנה במקום תפלה לעני כי יעטוף עטיפת טלית שכולו תכ"לית גדול דעה שניתנה בין שתי אותיות מחכימות חכמת אדם תאיר פני' מסבירו' |

[128] Psalm 92:14
[129] Isaiah 40:31
[130] Psalm 92:15

[131] כה דברי
[132] בן לאדני אבי

[133] Deuteronomy 26:11
[134] Song of Songs 8:12
[135] Cantor Lipchitz composed this introduction while serving in Prague; he had departed for Frankfort-am-Main by 1715, and was serving in Metz (France) by 1718. The incorporation of Prague into his titles may be for recognition of his serving in a prestigious city.
[136] This is a pun on Mishnah *Bava Metzia* 7:1 - אֲפִלּוּ אִם אַתָּה עוֹשֶׂה לָהֶם כְּסֻעֲדַּת שְׁלֹמֹה בְּשָׁעָתוֹ
[137] This is play on Maimonides *Mishneh Torah*, Laws of Shabbat 10:1 - הקושר קשר של קיימא והוא מעשה אומן חייב. The local context is about a person who ties a permanent knot on Shabbat
[138] Based on Isaiah 52:8
[139] Based on Talmud Bavli *Berakho*t 6a "בִּמְקוֹם רִנָּה — שָׁם תְּהֵא תְּפִלָּה"
[140] Psalm 102:1
[141] Based on *Bamidbar Rabbah* 18:3, in which Korah confronts Moses with a tallit that is all made of *t'khelet* - קָפַץ קֹרַח וְאָמַר לְמֹשֶׁה טַלִּית שֶׁכֻּלָּהּ תְּכֵלֶת מַהוּ שֶׁתְּהֵא פְּטוּרָה מִן הַצִּיצִית, אָמַר לוֹ חַיֶּיבֶת בְּצִיצִית.
[142] Talmud Bavli *Sanhedrin* 92a - וא"ר אלעזר גדולה דעה שניתנה בין שתי אותיות שנאמר (שמואל א ב, ג) כי אל דעות ה

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| an inquisitive [face][145]of intuition[146] If you wish, say (that they disagree over a) verse[147] In the language of "especially beloved [is humanity] for it was made known[148] [made known] in all the world. Oh shout for joy, You who dwell in Zion![149] Excellent [achievers][150] in law and legend[151] The group which obeyed the voice and kept the charge[152] To the charge of the morning light, as the people were sent out[153] Messengers of the community who have come before the King[154] with fear and love, Praying for mercy until the final shovelful is thrown [upon their graves][155] Great peace, grace and kindness[156] Pleasing[157] and sweet [The sweet] singers of Israel[158] [Israel] are holy[159] | סבר' אי בעית אימ' קרא בלשון חבה יתירה נודעת זאת בכל הארץ צהלי ורוני יושבת ציונים המציונים בהלכות ואגדות אגודת עקב אשר שמעו בקול משמרת למשמרת הבוקר אור ואנשי' שלוחי' דצבורא למלך נכנסו בדח"ילו ורחימו רחמי לבעי עד זבולא בתרייתא שלמא רבא חנא וחסדא חסדאין ונאים[144] זמירות ישראל קדושים |

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[143] Kohelet 8:1

[144] While missing the customary *hupchik* marks indicating a pun, this word is properly spelled נאים for the phrase before it, and נעים for the phrase following it.

[145] The phrase פנים מסבירות appears in a *baraita* of R. Hanina bar Papa which appears in many variations in different works, see *Pesikta D'Rav Kahanah* 12:25, *Soferim* 16:2, *Yalkut Shimoni* 286:7, *Pesikta Rabbati* 21:1, *Midrash Tanhuma Yitro* 17:1 and others.

[146] While "פנים מסבירות" by itself would generally mean a friendly or smiling face, pairing it with סברא (intuition) would seem to push towards understanding מסבירות as "clarifying" (as in modern Hebrew: להסביר, "to explain"). "An inquisitive face" would be a face seeking clarification and great understanding. *Kisei Rahamim* commentary on Tractate *Soferim* 16:2 explains the phrase as "פנים מסבירות לאגדה דהכל רמזים ומשלים וצריכים סברא."

[147] Bavli *Brakho*t 4b - the full phrase is אי בָּעֵית אֵימָא קְרָא, אִי בָּעֵית אֵימָא סְבָרָא. The context is a disagreement between Rabbi Yohanan and Rabbi Yehoshua Ben Levi regarding the order of *Sh'ma* and *Tefilah* in the evening service. The *Gemara* argues the point in two ways, first by *s'vara* (logical reasoning) and then by scriptural interpretation.

[148] *Pirkei Avot* 3:14

[149] Isaiah 12:5-6

[150] This is a triple play on words. The quote from Isaiah ends "יושבת ציון" - "You who dwells in Zion." The *Hoshanah* prayer for Sukkot which begins "אבן שתיה", which focuses on Jerusalem, uses the phrase "ציון הצוינת" - "Excellent Zion." The word ציון can also mean a grade or a score. In plural, the phrase must mean multiple people who are excellent in their scores rather than multiple excellent Zions.

[151] The phrase "in law and legend" refers to Bavli *Ta'anit* 16a where Rabbi Yehudah describes the qualities of a worthy prayer leader.

[152] Based on Genesis 26:5 - עֵקֶב אֲשֶׁר־שָׁמַע אַבְרָהָם בְּקֹלִי וַיִּשְׁמֹר מִשְׁמַרְתִּי

[153] Based on Genesis 44:3 (referring to Joseph's brothers) - הַבֹּקֶר אוֹר וְהָאֲנָשִׁים שֻׁלְּחוּ הֵמָּה וַחֲמֹרֵיהֶם:

[154] Possibly a reference to *Eikhah Rabbah* 3:3, which, while discussing the conditions upon which the prayer of a leader on behalf of a group, includes this parable: וְרַבָּנָן אָמְרִין בָּא אַחַר הַצִּבּוּר מַעֲשָׂיו נִפְרָטִין, לְמָה הוּא דּוֹמֶה לְמֶלֶךְ שֶׁנִּכְנְסוּ אֲרִיסָיו וּבְנֵי בֵיתוֹ לְכַבְּדוֹ, בָּא אֶחָד בָּאַחֲרוֹנָה, אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ תִּסָּתֵם חָבִיתוֹ, וּמִי גָרַם לוֹ הֲרֵי שֶׁבָּא בָּאַחֲרוֹנָה, כָּךְ כָּל הַמִּתְפַּלֵּל לְאַחַר הַצִּבּוּר מַעֲשָׂיו נִפְרָטִין

[155] Bavli *Brakho*t 8a

[156] Phrase from *Kaddish D'rabanan*

[157] An unusual usage from Bavli *Gittin* 7a. Rav Huna puns on Rav Hisda's name by saying that his words are "*Hisda'in*"

[158] II Samuel 23:1 - originally referring to King David as the "sweet singer of Israel" but sometimes used as a stand in for all cantors.

[159] Talmud Bavli *Niddah* 17a - Rav Huna declares that "Jews are holy" and would not, therefore, engage in intercourse during the day. The phrase re-appears later in rabbinic literature as a principle.

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| [Those] are the waters of plenty[160] which the Israelites mastered, and became holy through them[161] We will exult and rejoice[162] as the celebration of the water drawing place[163] Drawers of the waters of Torah and hewers of wood of the tree of life.[164] For they are life to those who find them[165] Find that one day in Your courts is better than a thousand[166] [thousand] burnt offerings presented by Solomon.[167] | המה מי מרוב"ה אשר רב"ו בני ישראל ויקדש בם נגילה ונשמחה שמתת בית השואבה שואב מים של תורה וחוטבי עצים עצים עץ החיים חיים הם למוצאיהם מוצא טוב יום אחד בחצריך מאלף עולות שהקריב שלמה: |
| Solomon said "I thought I could fathom it, but it eludes"[168] To the far and near, peace[169] Great [peace] to those who love[170] I love, for they hear the voice of pleas[171] Rabbi Shlomo will speak [pleas][172] and wealth to the quick[173] Do not be like servants who serve the master in the expectation of receiving a reward[174] and stipulates "From and within the forest comes the mischief-maker to it[175] [the mischief-maker] alienates his friend[176] And as one who comes out is recorded in the book of truth[177] [truth springs up from the earth[178] a flourishing of pride[179] an established | שלמה אמר אמרתי אחכמה והיא רחוקה לרחוק ולקרוב שלו' רב לאוהבי אהבתי כי תשמעו לקול תחנונים ידבר ר"ש ולעושר אץ אל תהיו כעבדים המשמשין את הרב ע"מ לקבל פרס ומנה מני' ובי' אבא ניזל בי' נרג"ן מפריד אלף וכיוצא יציאה עושה רושם בכתב אמת מארץ תצמח צמיחת קרן קיימת |

[160] Changing the *yud* of מריבה to a *vav* (מרובה), changes the meaning of the word from "struggle" to "plenty"
[161] This is a pun on Numbers 20:13 - הַמָּה מֵי מְרִיבָה אֲשֶׁר־רָבוּ בְנֵי־יִשְׂרָאֵל אֶת־יְהוָה וַיִּקָּדֵשׁ בָּם.
[162] Psalm 118:24
[163] Described in *Mishnah Sukkah* 5:1 and elsewhere, the celebration of the Water Drawing Place was the greatest festivity in Temple era Judaism.
[164] Based on Maimonides, *Mishneh Torah*, Torah Study 1:9 - גְּדוֹלֵי חַכְמֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל הָיוּ מֵהֶן חוֹטְבֵי עֵצִים וּמֵהֶן שׁוֹאֲבֵי מַיִם. The original association of drawers of water and hewers of wood comes from Joshua 9:21
[165] Proverbs 4:22
[166] Psalm 84:11
[167] Based on I Kings 3:4 - אֶלֶף עֹלוֹת יַעֲלֶה שְׁלֹמֹה עַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַהוּא:
[168] Ecclesiastes 7:23
[169] Based on Isaiah 57:19 - שָׁלוֹם שָׁלוֹם לָרָחוֹק וְלַקָּרוֹב
[170] Psalm 119:165
[171] Based on Psalm 116:1 - אָהַבְתִּי כִּי־יִשְׁמַע ה' אֶת־קוֹלִי תַּחֲנוּנָי:
[172] This is a pun on Proverbs 18:23 - תַּחֲנוּנִים יְדַבֶּר־רָשׁ וְעָשִׁיר יַעֲנֶה עַזּוֹת: - "The poor man speaks beseechingly; The rich man's answer is harsh."
[173] Based on Proverbs 28:20 - וְאָץ לְהַעֲשִׁיר לֹא יִנָּקֶה: - "But one in a hurry to get rich will not go unpunished."
[174] *Mishnah Avot* 1:3
[175] Talmud Bavli *Sanhedrin* 39a - only one letter has been changed, from נרגא (axe) to נרגן (mischief-maker).
[176] Proverbs 16:28
[177] Based on Daniel 10:21 - אֲבָל אַגִּיד לְךָ אֶת־הָרָשׁוּם בִּכְתָב אֱמֶת
[178] Psalm 85:12
[179] This phrase appears in multiple places in the liturgy (most notably in the *Uv'khein ten kavod* paragraph in the High Holy Day *Amidah*), but always as "וְצֶמַח קֶרֶן לְדָוִד עַבְדֶּךָ"

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| [principle][180] a principle that indicates reverence[181] It is beautification of the mitzvah to share, and an infraction of a negative commandment that involves an action[182] [Action] negates status created by action and status created by thought[183] [Thought] of planned action[184] A disqualifying[thought][185] Which was forbidden by the Torah[186] This is [Torah] to learn[187] [To learn], to teach, and to guard[188] A greatly diligent [guarding][189] [Four][190] that need protection[191] Outstanding protection[192] A higher standard was made for issues of lineage[193] The lineage of Babylonia is silence[194] There is a time to be silent and a time to speak[195] Words of Torah need reinforcement[196] Presumption: A man does not exert himself for a document[197] and cause it to be lost[198] An irreversible loss[199] As the | קיו"ם שיש בה הידור מצוה לחלק ועבירה ללאו שיש בו מעשה מוציא מידי מעשה ומידי מחשבה מלאכת מחשבת חוץ אסרה תור' היא ללמוד וללמד לשמור הרב"ה צריכין שימור שמירה מעולה מעלה עשו ביוחסין יחוסא דבבל שתיקותא עת לשתוק ועת לדבר דברי תורה צריכין חיזוק חזקה אין אדם טורח בתעו"דה ומפסידה פסידה דלא הדר |

[180] This phrase mostly famously appears in *Mishnah Peah* 1:1 - אֵלּוּ דְבָרִים שֶׁאָדָם אוֹכֵל פֵּרוֹתֵיהֶן בָּעוֹלָם הַזֶּה וְהַקֶּרֶן קַיֶּמֶת לוֹ לָעוֹלָם הַבָּא.

[181] A pun on *Kiddushin* 33a - תנא איזוהי קימה שיש בה הידור - "A Sage taught: What is the type of standing that indicates reverence?"

[182] Bavli *Makot* 16a

[183] Bavli *Sukkah* 14a - מַעֲשֶׂה מוֹצִיא מִיַּד מַעֲשֶׂה וּמִיַּד מַחְשָׁבָה.

[184] The phrase מלאכת מחשבת has multiple meanings in *halakhah*. The phrase first appears in Exodus 35:33 meaning "designer's craft." This quote from Exodus comes at the end of the types of work Bezalel will perform while building the Tabernacle. As the 39 categories of prohibited work stem from the work of the Tabernacle, this phrase is often used in halakhic discourse as a catch-all for prohibited work that falls within those 39 categories. It can also mean, as in Bavli *Beitzah* 13b, a planned action (rather than a spontaneous and absentminded action).

[185] The phrase מחשבת חוץ refers to a disqualifying thought or intention by a priest during the time of sacrifice. If a priest thinks, for example, about eating a sacrifice after the prescribed time during one of the essential steps of the offering, that thought is considered מחשבת חוץ מזמנו, and the offering is disqualified.

[186] Bavli *Beitzah* 13b - מְלֶאכֶת מַחְשֶׁבֶת אָסְרָה תּוֹרָה

[187] Bavli *Berakhot* 62a - תּוֹרָה הִיא, וְלִלְמוֹד אֲנִי צָרִיךְ.

[188] Morning liturgy *Ahavah rabbah* prayer - לִלְמֹד וּלְלַמֵּד לִשְׁמֹר וְלַעֲשׂוֹת, quoting from *Mishnah Avot* 4:5

[189] *Sifrei D'varim Parashat Re'eh* 79 - שמור ושמעת, אם שמעת מעט סופך לשמוע הרבה אם שמרת מעט סופך לשמור הרבה

[190] The word הרב''ה is a pun on ארבעה

[191] In Bavli *Brakhot* 54b Rav Yehudah says that there are three categories of people who require special protection from harm. The Gemara indicates that there is an earlier tradition that there are, in fact, four. A *Midrash* included in *Otzar Hamidrashim* called *Hupat Eliyahu* quotes that tradition (page 170) as: ארבעה צריכין שימור בשעתן: חולה חיה חתן וכלה

[192] Bavli *Shabbat* 92b

[193] Bavli *Ketubot* 13a

[194] Paraphrase of Bavli *Kiddushin* 71b - אָמַר רַב שְׁתִיקוּתַיהּ דְּבָבֶל הֵיְינוּ יְחוּסָא

[195] Based on *Kohelet* 3:7 - עֵת לַחֲשׁוֹת וְעֵת לְדַבֵּר.

[196] Bavli *Rosh Hashanah* 19a - The original passage says, "הַלָּלוּ דִּבְרֵי תוֹרָה, וְאֵין דִּבְרֵי תוֹרָה צְרִיכִין חִיזּוּק."

[197] The word in the Bavli is סעודה (meal) rather than תעודה (document).

[198] Bavli *Ketubot* 10a

[199] This phrase occurs multiple times in rabbinic literature, most often spelled as פסידא דלא הדר. See, for example, *Bava Batra* 21b and *Bava Metzia* 109b.

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| Rabbi taught: If I abandon for one day, for two days I abandon you.[200] Today, cry out with a great complaint[201] Yesterday that has passed[202] Time passes, the thing ceases, and the love ceases[203] [Love] disregards the Torah[204] [The Torah] is placed in the corner, anyone who wishes can come to study[205] [To study] practical laws, it comes to teach us a good teaching[206] I prefer the teaching You proclaimed to thousands of gold and silver pieces[207] And silver did not count in the days of Solomon.[208] | כר"א אם עזבתי יום יומים אעזבך היום קובל בקבלנא רבא יום אתמול כי יעבור עבר זמן בטל דבר בטלה האהבה מקלקלת התור"ה מונחת בקרן זוית כל הרוצה ללמוד הלכה למעשה אתא לאשמועינן שמועה טובה טוב לי תורת פיך מאלפי זהב וכסף אין נחשב בימי שלמה |
| Solomon said: There is a time to speak and a time to be silent.[209] Silence is a fence to wisdom[210] Who is wise? One who has foresight.[211] And forbids as *muktze*[212] due to repulsiveness[213] A word of Torah completes an acquisition[214] That which is not his, what is it to him? That which he has is not really his at all.[215] A creation of clay[216] | שלמה אמר עת לדבר ועת לשתוק שתיקה סייג לחכמה איזה חכם הרואה את הנולד ואוסר במוקצה מחמת מעו"ת דבר תורה קונה קנין שאינו שלו למה הוא לו זה שיש לו אינו שלו קרוץ מחומר |

[200] The quote which has been paraphrased here appears in different versions in *Sifrei Devarim* 48:8 and in Yerushalmi *Brakhot* 9:5. The Yerushalmi version reads - אָמַר רִבִּי שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן לָקִישׁ בִּמְגִילַּת חֲסִידִים מָצְאוּ כָתוּב יוֹם תַּעַזְבֵנִי יוֹמָיִם אֶעֱזָבְךָ.

[201] This is an unusual usage of root קבל, see Jastrow dictionary secondary definition of קבל (page 1309), and *Bereishit Rabbah* 96:4, "אָמַר הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא הַיּוֹם קוֹבֵל עָלֶיךָ לוֹמַר כִּי הוּא יָקוּם" for an example of this usage.

[202] Psalms 90:4

[203] *Mishnah Avot* 5:16

[204] *Bereishit Rabbah* 55:8 - רַבִּי שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן יוֹחָאי אַהֲבָה מְקַלְקֶלֶת אֶת הַשּׁוּרָה וְשִׂנְאָה מְקַלְקֶלֶת אֶת הַשּׁוּרָה. "Rabbi Shimon ben Yohai: Love disregards (social) station, and hate disregards station." The word שורה (social station) in the original quote has been replaced here by תורה (Torah).

[205] Paraphrased from Bavli *Kiddushin* 66a

[206] Proverbs 15:30 - שְׁמוּעָה טוֹבָה תְּדַשֶּׁן־עָצֶם: - "Good news puts fat on the bones"

[207] Psalms 119:72

[208] Paraphrase of I Kings 10:21 - אֵין כֶּסֶף לֹא נֶחְשָׁב בִּימֵי שְׁלֹמֹה לְמְאוּמָה:

[209] Based on *Kohelet* 3:7 - עֵת לַחֲשׁוֹת וְעֵת לְדַבֵּר.

[210] *Mishnah Avot* 3:13 - סְיָג לַחָכְמָה, שְׁתִיקָה

[211] Bavli *Tamid* 32a, and see also *Pirkei Avot* 2:9

[212] Objects that are defined as *muktze* may not be moved on Shabbat.

[213] This is a pun premised on Ashkenazi pronunciation - the halakhic phrase is מוּקְצֶה מֲחֲמַת מִיאוּס

[214] Bavli *Bava Metzia* 47b - אמר ר' יוחנן דבר תורה מעות קונות - "By Torah law money effects acquisition"

[215] This is a paraphrase of the ending stanza of a lengthy *kerovah* (liturgical hymn) for the second day of Shavuot which poetically expounds on the Ten Commandments. As the closing passage, the text quoted here was actually sung by cantors (whereas most of the poem would have been silently recited), and musical settings of it exist.

[216] These two words: קרוץ מחמר are the opening phrase cantors would sing in the passage quoted here. The full passage is:

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| קָרוּץ מְחֻמָּר מַה מּוֹעִילוֹ, | חוֹמֵד וּמִתְאַוֶּה אֶת שֶׁאֵינוֹ שֶׁלּוֹ, |
| זֶה שֶׁיֵּשׁ לוֹ אֵינוֹ שֶׁלּוֹ, | קִנְיָן שֶׁאֵינוֹ שֶׁלּוֹ לָמָּה הוּא לוֹ, |
| יָבִין וְיַשְׂכִּיל בְּדַעְתּוֹ וְשִׂכְלוֹ, | יִשְׂמַח וְיָעֵז בְּמַתַּת גּוֹרָלוֹ. |

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| They set a stringency[217] upon him in the place to which he goes.[218] And there it is said: Did you designate times for Torah study?[219] What will become of Torah?[220] [The Torah] is placed in the corner, anyone who wishes can come to study[221] [Study] in order to act[222] each day of the year. I shall speak of that which is recorded in Your truthful record[223] To worship the Eternal with joy and to come before God with singing[224] With joy and with happiness. With happiness and trembling.[225] A time for weeping and a time for laughing[226] And how good is a word rightly timed[227] It is a good for a man to bear the yoke of Torah[228] [Torah] is a good inheritance[229] It is good for you to grasp it without letting go of the other[230] Hands are of secondary degree by decree of the scribes[231] The making of many [books] is without limit[232] There is [no limit] to the length of days[233] In her right hand is [length of days,] In her left, riches and honor[234] And all say, [glory][235] All of them trained in warfare, | חומרא נותנים עליו במקום שהולך לשם ושם נאמר קבעת עתים לתורה מה תהא עלה מונחת בקרן זויות כל מי שרוצה ללמוד יבא וילמוד על מנת לעשות מעשה כל ימות השנה. רשום בכתב אמת אשננה. לעבוד את ה' בשמחה ולבא לפניו ברננה. רנה וגילה. גילה ורעדה. עת לבכות ועת לשחוק ודבר בעתו מה טוב לגבר כי ישא עול תורה היא לקח טוב אשר תאחוז בזה גם מזה אל תנח ידך ידים שנויות מדברי ספרי"ם הרבה אין קץ לאורך ימים בימינה ובשמאלה עושר וכבוד אומר כולו כולם אחוזי חרב מלומדי מלחמה |

[217] The word for stringency חומרא is similar to the word for clay חומר in the previous phrase.
[218] *Mishnah Pesa<u>h</u>im* 4:1
[219] Bavli *Shabbat* 31a
[220] Paraphrase of Bavli *Brakhot* 35b - תּוֹרָה מַה תְּהֵא עָלֶיהָ
[221] Paraphrased from Bavli *Kiddushin* 66a
[222] Paraphase of *Mishnah Avot* 6:6 - הַלּוֹמֵד עַל מְנָת לְלַמֵּד וְהַלּוֹמֵד עַל מְנָת לַעֲשׂוֹת
[223] The closing line of a lengthy *piyyut* (אֹמֶץ אַדִּירֵי כָּל חֶפֶץ) by Elazar BiRabi Kalir for *Musaf* of the first day of Rosh Hashanah. The original text, which has been inverted for this piece, reads: רָשׁוּם בְּכְתַב אֱמֶת אֲשֶׁנְּנָה. מַעֲשֶׂה כָּל יְמוֹת הַשָּׁנָה
[224] Paraphrase of Psalms 100:2 - עִבְדוּ אֶת־ה' בְּשִׂמְחָה בֹּאוּ לְפָנָיו בִּרְנָנָה:
[225] Paraphrase of Psalms 2:12 - עִבְדוּ אֶת־ה' בְּיִרְאָה וְגִילוּ בִּרְעָדָה:
[226] *Kohelet* 3:4
[227] Proverbs 15:23
[228] Lamentations 3:27 reads: טוֹב לַגֶּבֶר כִּי־יִשָּׂא עֹל בִּנְעוּרָיו, "It is good for a man, when young, to bear a yoke." Moshe Alshich (1508-1593), in his Bible commentary, three times (Genesis 2:10, Genesis 49:15, and Psalms 119:35) writes: לכן טוב לגבר כי ישא עול תורה
[229] Proverbs 4:2 - כִּי לֶקַח טוֹב נָתַתִּי לָכֶם תּוֹרָתִי אַל־תַּעֲזֹבוּ·
[230] *Kohelet* 7:18
[231] Paraphrase from *Mishnah Yadayim* 3:2. The pun on ספרי''ם for this phrase is סופרים.
[232] *Kohelet* 12:12
[233] Paraphrase from *Un'taneh tokef*, liturgical hymn for the *Musaf* service of the High Holy Days, the original quote reads: אֵין קִצְבָה לִשְׁנוֹתֶיךָ. וְאֵין קֵץ לְאֹרֶךְ יָמֶיךָ
[234] Proverbs 3:16
[235] Paraphrase of Psalm 29:9 - וּבְהֵיכָלוֹ כֻּלּוֹ אֹמֵר כָּבוֹד

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| skilled in battle[236] of Torah[237] Like the sixty warriors encircling the bed of Solomon.[238] | של תורה כששים גבורים סביב למטתו של שלמה |
| Solomon rejoiced on Simḥat Torah[239] [Torah] that Moses set before the Israelites[240] [Israel] places hands[241] Support, sitting, and standing[242] Arose and said: I want to take it[243] [Take] this book[244] This will be the priest's law[245] [The priests] and the people, standing in the courtyard[246] A helper, if he merits it[247] It is in the interest of a slave[248] Who worships the Eternal out of awe and love[249] Love which is dependent on the word of God[250] We will do and we will hear[251] That its sound may be heard whenever he comes into the Holy Shrine[252] A small Sanctuary[253] with intention, and windows[254] open[255] He opens up, and sings this song, teach it to the Children of Israel, put it in their mouths[256] that no man will stumble over his brother[257] for it is one Scripture[258] for all[259] For all are obligated to | שלמה שמח בשמחת תורה אשר שם משה לבני ישראל סומכים סמיכה וישיבה עמידה עמד ואמר חפצתי לקוח את ספר הזה וזה יהיה משפט הכהנים והעם העומדים בעזרה עזר אם זכה זכות הוא לעבד העובד את ה' מיראה ומאהבה שהיא תלויה בדבר ה' נעשה ונשמע קולו בבואו אל הקודש מקדש מעט בכוונה כוין פתיחין פתח ושר את השירה הזאת ולמדה בני ישראל שימה בפיהם ולא יכשלו איש באחיו כי מקר"א אחד לכולם חייבים בכבוד המקום וכבוד |

[236] Song of Songs 3:8
[237] According to *Bamidbar Rabbah* 11:3 - מְלֻמָּדִי מַלְחָמָה, זוֹ מַלְחַמְתָּהּ שֶׁל תּוֹרָה
[238] Paraphrase of Song of Songs 3:8 - הִנֵּה מִטָּתוֹ שֶׁלִּשְׁלֹמֹה שִׁשִּׁים גִּבֹּרִים סָבִיב לָהּ מִגִּבֹּרֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל
[239] Paraphrase of a hymn for the Torah processionals on Simḥat Torah. The original text reads: אֵלֹהֵינוּ. שְׁמוּאֵל. דָּוִד. שְׁלֹמֹה. שָׂמְחוּ בְּשִׂמְחַת תּוֹרָה
[240] Deuteronomy 4:44
[241] Bavli *Kiddushin* 36a
[242] This is a play on *Ketubot* 111a - כָּל יְשִׁיבָה שֶׁאֵין עִמָּהּ סְמִיכָה עֲמִידָה נוֹחָה הֵימֶנָּה
[243] Based on Deuteronomy 25:8 - וְקָרְאוּ־לוֹ זִקְנֵי־עִירוֹ וְדִבְּרוּ אֵלָיו וְעָמַד וְאָמַר לֹא חָפַצְתִּי לְקַחְתָּהּ- "The elders of his town shall then summon him and talk to him. If he insists, saying, 'I do not want to take her.'"
[244] Deuteronomy 31:26 - לָקֹחַ אֵת סֵפֶר הַתּוֹרָה הַזֶּה
[245] Deuteronomy 18:3
[246] *Mishnah Yoma* 6:2 (and others), also the liturgy for the *Avodah* service in *Musaf* of Yom Kippur
[247] *Zohar Ḥadash, Tikkunim*, Volume 2, 94a - אמר קב"ה אעשה לו עזר אם זכה עזר ואם לאו כנגדו.
[248] Bavli *Gittin* 12b
[249] Rabbi Yonah ben Abraham Gerondi, known as Rabbeinu Yonah, wrote in his commentary to *Mishnah Avot* 1:3 - לעבוד את ה' מיראה ומאהבה כעבד שעובד רבו
[250] Paraphrase of *Mishnah Avot* 5:16
[251] Exodus 24:7
[252] Exodus 28:35
[253] Ezekiel 11:16 - the term *Mikdash m'at* is often used as a synonym for synagogue
[254] There is an association here between the Hebrew word for intention כוונה and the Aramaic word for windows כוין used in the book of Daniel.
[255] Daniel 6:11 - Daniel had windows in the upper chamber of his home that opened facing Jerusalem
[256] Deuteronomy 31:19
[257] Paraphrase of Leviticus 26:37
[258] Pun on the words מקרא (scripture) and מקרה (happening)
[259] Paraphrase of Ecclesiastes 9:2

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| honor the Holy One[260] And to honor the public[261] And to honor the friends listening to the voice[262] ….to God my mouth cried, glorification on my tongue[263] My tongue shall recite Your beneficent acts[264] for those who sought ruin for Solomon[265] | הצבור וכבוד חברים המקשיבים לקול לו קול אליו פי קראתי ורומם תחת לשוני תהגה צדקתך כי בושו כי חפרו מבקשי רעות לשלמה |

שיר לאל אתן ותפא
לאל התקן רום בז
מלולי לכבוד אומה הנבח
הדברים אדבר בלשון מדב

חברתי להיות ללב מזכ
זאת לא תהיה נעד
נר מצוה מצוה גור

רת

שלומים רבים זאת אום
לכם משוררים עשיתי מטג
מהונכם תכבדו ה' ומגרג
הוד והדר ועטרת תפא

A song and glory I will give to God
To the God who set the span of the heights
My words are in honor of the chosen people
These words I will say in spoken language.

I composed them to be a reminder for the heart,
that it may never be lacking;
The candle of a *mitzvah* causes a *mitzvah* to be done.

Great blessings, that is to say,
for you, the singers, I have made a challenge/framework[266]
From your riches, and from your throats, give honor to God
Glory, and majesty, and a crown of splendor.

[260] This is a phrase found throughout halakhic literature, for example, *Kitzur Shulḥan Arukh* 143:3
[261] Similarly, כבוד הציבור is a common phrase in discussion of synagogue practice
[262] Paraphrase of Song of Songs 8:13
[263] Psalm 66:17
[264] Psalm 35:28
[265] Psalm 71:24
[266] The word printed on the page, מטגרת, is not attested as a word in either biblical, rabbinic, or modern Hebrew. Most likely, therefore, there is a mistaken letter. One possibility is that the word is meant to be מתגרת, using the root תגר, indicating struggle or challenge. A second is that it should say מסגרת, using the room סגר meaning a framework.


*David Berger serves as Cantor of KAM Isaiah Israel Congregation in Chicago, IL. He holds an MA from the Jewish Theological Seminary, an MSM and cantorial ordination from the Hebrew Union CollegeJewish Institute of Religion and is currently pursuing a PhD at the Chicago Theological Seminary. Cantor Berger has served on the faculty of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion on three campuses, the Ziegler School of Rabbinic Studies, and the North American Jewish Choral Festival and is also the Scholar in Residence of the American Conference of Cantors.*

# Uncovering the Music Theory of the Ashkenazi Liturgical Music: *Adonai Malakh* as a Case Study[1]

***By Boaz Tarsi***

## The Conceptual Territory and a Call for a New Paradigm

One of the persistent challenges in the research of Ashkenazi liturgical music has been the quality of the relationship between theory and practice in this discipline. In the Jewish tradition, liturgical text has always been performed as music, in the form of singing or chanting. In this sense the Ashkenazi tradition is no exception. Moreover, so far as we know, the musical setting of the text, although not strictly prescribed, is not the random outcome of the individual performer's whim. Rather, an underlying system directs and organizes the musical performance as it unfolds along with its respective text and ritual. Nevertheless, unlike other similar traditions and disciplines where some kind of explicit music theory—whether rudimentary or well developed—was transmitted from generation to generation, there is no evidence that this was ever the case in the Ashkenazi tradition until some attempts to reconstruct the conventions that governed this tradition begin to appear. Yet even with these discussions, which began close to a millennium after the community that practiced it had come into existence, the question of how to articulate the theory that underlies the practice has provided an ongoing challenge.

Three primary factors hinder any attempt at a comprehensive description of the theoretical underpinnings of synagogue music. First, for most of its history the tradition of Ashkenazi liturgical music has been transmitted orally, and to a significant degree it still is. Second, as mentioned above, no body of theory was transmitted along with the music. Third, the practice of Ashkenazi liturgical music constitutes an extemporized, semi-improvised musical discipline.[2] Thus, the orally transmitted tradition included not only music, but also, on some level of articulation, guidelines for improvisation: a framework of reference by which the practitioner could accommodate a variety of musical and extra-musical factors in a particular performance. This set of guidelines that govern performance, if conceptualized, would in fact constitute some kind of music theory.[3] In other words, the practice is an applied version of an

[1]An early seed of this article was read as a paper entitled "The *Adonai Malakh* Mode in Ashkenazi Prayer Music: The Problem Stated and a Proposed Outlook based on Musical Characteristics," presented at the World Congress for Jewish Studies, Jerusalem 2001.

[2]The specific type of improvisation or, more accurately, identifying the parameters of the extemporized elements in this practice is an involved and multifaceted topic worth investigating in and of itself, see also footnote 24 below.

[3]To clarify, these "guidelines," developed in earlier centuries, did not constitute a music-theory discourse or a set of explicit rules. Rather, they were implicitly communicated during the transmission of this discipline, mainly by way of apprenticeship but also by the imitation of models that practitioners deduced from their synagogue experience, which began in early childhood. Although we do not know exactly what these guidelines were, we may hypothesize that apprentices were instructed as to how they might improvise their own version/variant while remaining within the degree of freedom that was considered correct according to this discipline.

unarticulated, un-conceptualized theory. Yet, for whatever reason—perhaps because it was never committed to writing—this framework of reference was not explicitly codified as an overall complete system of music theory.

Indeed, even in the earliest surviving attempts to formulate a theoretical view of this music, which date to the last quarter of the nineteenth century, there is no representation of this kind of framework. Rather, the product of these efforts was a system of scales. Of these scales, some are vaguely defined in some discussions and not completely consistent in others.[4] The system included scales corresponding to "pseudo-Greek" modes,[5] sometimes slightly adjusted to match the scales used in particular musical settings; scales corresponding to the minor and major modes of Western common practice; and scales identified by their traditional Hebrew or Yiddish names. Some of these scales were unique to the Ashkenazi liturgical repertoire, while others had been incorporated into the repertoire and given their own particular Hebrew or Yiddish names. The imposition of this scale system on the tradition exercised a lasting influence on the way Ashkenazi liturgical music was conceived, an influence that to a great degree has persisted to this day.

The first fundamental change in this assessment of Ashkenazi synagogue music came about with the work of Avraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882–1938). So far as we know, Idelsohn was the first to introduce the notion that the Ashkenazi prayer modes are defined not only by their scale structure but also by some motivic considerations.[6] Idelsohn indeed introduced a motivic factor in his description of "prayer modes." Nevertheless, a programmatic review of these descriptions reveals that due to several unresolved conundrums and some fundamental contradictions and paradoxes, in the end Idelsohn's definition of the modes remains, *de facto*, a system of scales.[7]

Although I do believe that a review and analysis of the historiography of this topic is an essential step in the process of attempting to clarify the practice and create an applicable music theory model, this paper does not engage in that undertaking.[8] One can observe, however, that

[4]Numerous factors contributed to the origins of this (exclusively scalar) perception and the particular shape it took. For an analysis of these considerations, as well as references to other sources that cover each factor separately, see Tarsi (2013a).

[5]I borrow this term from Powers (1998a, 337 n. 19).

[6]Earlier sources did engage in music analysis that addressed motivic and thematic content, but they did not establish a connection of this analysis to the unpacking of the system, or conceptualize their observations—even if the results included the identification of motifs—as an integrated and defining component of this framework, or as a constitutional component in their discipline.

[7]The conceptual, methodological, and epistemological factors behind the discrepancy between a declared motivic approach and a *de facto* scale-derived definition are complex and involved. For a review of some of these factors see Tarsi (2017). For some of the background on the circumstances that shaped Idelsohn's approach and work, see for example the essays in Adler et al. (1986), Burstyn (2008), Frigyesi (2003), Seroussi (2004) and the sources it mentions, and Tamir (2005). Loeffler (2010) offers the context for specific concerns, and touches on issues of specific milieu, zeitgeist, and influencing factors.

[8]For an attempt to fulfill this need at least partially, see Wohlberg (1954) and Tarsi (2013a, and 2001-2002). This discussion does not set out to offer a detailed criticism of previous literature. Consequentially, I am not accounting for other problems and difficulties inherited in these sources that are also worth examining (and that to some degree

there are several fundamental deficiencies even in the minuscule number of discussions devoted specifically to the prayer modes in the repertoire. In addition, following Idelsohn's work, a few other models do mention motivic factors, usually as a tangent to a discussion of other subjects.[9] This paper does not offer a review of these attempts either. Yet for our purpose here, we should briefly note the main difficulties they present so far as motivic content alone is concerned.

The main shortcomings of the models that have taken motivic elements into account is that often they do not agree on what these motifs are: each model misses some or much of the motivic content; some models include motifs that current research shows are not among the defining features of a mode; and each model includes a number of items that are not independent motifs but rather variants of the same motivic element. Furthermore, these models still rely too much on the scalar component, and all but one (Avenary) still rely on an Idelsohnian paradigm that renders them heirs of the same factors that limited his own work. All of these models offer a portrayal that is incomplete or lacking in one aspect or another. They either refrain from presenting an overview of the discipline as a whole, or they try to squeeze it into a preconceived mold, attempting to subordinate it to the "one governing principle" that this repertoire cannot accommodate.[10]

A further circumstance complicating the evaluation of these models is that they fail to adduce sufficient evidence for their claims. Either they include no concrete examples to ground their analysis, or they present at best a single example, and with one exception, they do not name their sources.[11] This is especially significant in cases where these motivic descriptions do not match the musical material; in the absence of source citations there is no way to explicate these discrepancies (which are invisible to the reader who does not know the musical material or does not examine it).[12] Finally, perhaps the most important element missing from all previous models is an account of the extemporized, semi-improvised aspect fundamental to this discipline, which I discuss further below.[13]

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have been examined elsewhere). I only mention this particular aspect here because it directly concerns the very premise of my model.

[9]See for example, Cohon (1950), Idelsohn (1932, 1933, 1929), Levine (1989), Werner (1959, 1976), and Wohlberg (1954).

[10]The quotation marks here signify a reference to Judit Frigyesi's observation that this repertoire "does not allow itself to be systematized according to any one governing principle" (Frigyesi 2008, 1223).

[11]In Cohon (1950), the author occasionally noted that he is basing his conclusions on the work of Idelsohn. Yet, Idelsohn himself, despite his vast body of collected material, does not mention which sources, if any, he was relying on when he formulated his own motivic description. This is slightly different in Idelsohn's *Thesaurus*, but the same difficulty is still in place; the motivic analysis that he provides in descriptions of the modes is parceled out in the introductions to the *Thesaurus's* volumes. Thus, presumably his descriptions are drawn from the sources these volumes present. Yet in the introductions' analyses, musical examples, and motif or phrases tables, Idelsohn does not cite musical examples from the body of the thesauruses themselves so there is no evidence that the motifs in the introductions can be supported by the material these volumes contain (see, for example, Idelsohn 1932, 1933).

[12]See one demonstration of this phenomenon related to a motivic table of "*Mogen-Ovos-Steiger* (MOS)" in Idelsohn (1933, xxiii) as discussed in Tarsi (2001-2002, 55-56).

[13]There are other factors that further complicated the matter, and one of them deserves comment here. The unpacking of the mode—as well as the entire system—in earlier models was based on phrases rather than separate motivic variants, which must be identified as separate constituents. The failure to recognize motifs—let alone

Given the failure of previous models to address motivic factors and extemporization in Ashkenazi liturgical music, I propose that a new paradigm can provide a better starting point for recovering the theoretical underpinnings of this discipline. Such an approach takes into consideration a wider range of evidence—phenomenological, cognitive, and experiential—to establish a typology of the various prayer "modes." Indeed, one of the difficulties in this constitutive process stems from what appears to be a matter of terminology. Generally speaking, the deficiency of "mode" as a conceptual base unit in a music theory model that incorporates vast and diverse systems in different repertories is a recognized and discussed conundrum in musicology and ethnomusicology.[14] In our case too, the unique essence of the liturgical "modes" calls for a term that on the one hand would be flexible enough to include the different "species" of such "modes," and on the other hand, specific enough to capture their uniqueness.[15] Moreover, the constituent "modes" in the Ashkenazi system comprise such fundamentally different species of musical procedure (not to mention the variety of extra-musical considerations attached to each species) that calling them modes may undermine the taxonomical objective.

I propose that the "modes" in this discipline can be better understood as the varying manners by which music (and other phenomena with which it interacts) "conducts itself." Consequently, I suggest that the phenomenon behind what the term "mode" needs to cover in our case is precisely these different "manners of conduct." This term— "manner of conduct"—therefore, better characterizes the "modes" in this specific discipline.[16] One way of

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motif-types—as the smallest melodic unit prevented researchers from considering the question of how modular motifs were assembled to create a large variety of possible phrases. In fact, once we realize that motif-types are the basic unit, as discussed below, and that it is possible to create a large number of phrases consisting of different permutations of motivic variants, two things become apparent: First, in this particular system a mode is not defined by a fixed number of specific unchangeable phrases; and second, phrases that appear in the practice and in written sources but were ignored in past studies because they did not fit the author's definition of "mode" are now accounted for under the rubric of the mode. (See also the discussion of the various ways of joining motif-types together below.)

Another difficulty, particularly in Boruch Cohon's article, is the inclusion of the musical rendering of parts of the liturgy whose music does not belong to the *Adonai Malakh* mode under that rubric. (For a discussion and demonstration of the "over-inclusion" of different musics within the same mode category and its consequences, see Tarsi [2017, 20-23] and *passim*). Not only does the music for these sections of the liturgy comprise completely different motifs and musical material in general, but these sections are also not even based on the same note-collection or scale of *Adonai Malakh*. For a more detailed and clear discussion of one example of this particular phenomenon in *Akdamut*, see Tarsi (1991, 10-15) and Tarsi (2002b, 155-56).

[14]See, for example, Powers (1998b), or the exploration of this conceptual territory in Powers (1981), particularly "Introduction: Mode and Modality" (1981, 501–503) and the concluding discussion (1981, 544–49); for a discussion of specific examples see Powers (1988).

[15]Early practitioners and some of the earlier music theory discussions, as well as current practitioners and educational circles, use the term *Steiger* in contexts in which it seems like a possible alternative to "mode" (see "manner of conduct" below.) This term is prevalent in a significant portion of the literature in this field. Some selected sources that treat *Steiger* as the primary equivalent of "mode" in Ashkenazi synagogue music include Avenary (1960, 190-91, 194) (primarily an attempt to "translate" the term from its insider's usage), Avenary (1971, 11-21); Levine (1980-1981, 13-15); Tarsi (2013a; 2001-2002 and 2002c). For related discussions, which can only be read critically and understood within their context and era, see, for example, Cohon (1950); Glantz (1952); Idelsohn (1933, xx-xxvi); Levine (1989, 79-106) (discussed as "the principal prayer modes"); Werner (1976, 46-64); Wohlberg (1954).

[16]"Manner of conduct" is an initial attempt to express in English the articulate and pointedly precise Hebrew term *ofen hitnahalut*, offered to me by Ruth HaCohen (introduced in HaCohen and Tarsi [2009]). There are several indications that the use of the word *Steiger* (see the previous note) reflects an intuition or awareness that the modes

apprehending—at least partially—a manner of conduct that is particularly relevant to the model presented here is to construe it as the total sum of the interconnections among the musical factors and the aggregate relationships among musical and extra-musical factors.

Most important, a new paradigm has to accommodate the semi-improvised quality of Ashkenazi liturgical music: to characterize the "manners of conduct." This in turn requires the introduction of another concept, "degrees of freedom," which affects practically every aspect of how we conceptualize the way in which this system operates. The new paradigm thus postulates an alternative way of thinking about the identification and use of liturgical music's primary constituent components. These components are not really a set of fixed motifs associated with each manner of conduct. Rather, as I shall describe below, the basic units in this musical discipline are sets of proto-motifs, or motif-types. From these motif-types the practitioner fashions different motifs and motivic variants; together they constitute the architectural plan for this musical-liturgical performance.

**Fuzzy Systems → Degrees of Freedom→ Motif-Types**

Among its main fundamental qualities, the new paradigm proposed here accommodates a salient feature of the traditional performance practice, namely its extemporized nature, which can best be articulated in terms of music theory if it is approached as a "fuzzy system."[17] As noted above, the practice of Ashkenazi liturgical music has been (until recently, and often still is) orally transmitted, and it is characterized by extemporized, semi-improvised performance.[18] Even the material preserved in written sources represents, in essence, improvised performances that have been selected and notated by their respective practitioners/authors.[19] An immediate consequence of this extemporized quality is that the system includes a variety of "degrees of freedom."[20] The practitioner confronts a range of options at each level on which the system of liturgical music operates—from the fundamental level of motif choice, or even the

in this system are closer to what HaCohen identifies as "manners of conduct." Indeed, I maintain that a reframed and adjusted definition of this insider term is the appropriate designation for these "manners of conduct"; for the purpose of this discussion, however, and especially in view of the specific repertoire sample it examines, I sometimes still employ the somewhat unsatisfactory "mode."

[17]Literature on fuzzy systems and how to work with them abounds. For an accessible introduction to the concept see, for example, Kosko (1993). An initial exploration of Ashkenazi liturgical music as a fuzzy system, as well as examples of how this quality expresses itself and how it affects our understanding of this system, was presented in Hacohen and Tarsi (2009), and in Tarsi (2013b).

[18]Indeed, Powers (1998b, 140, 143-45) notes that different types of improvisation constitute one defining characteristic in his classification of different subcategories of modal practices.

[19]We should note that the information gleaned from these written documents is also limited. For example, they shed little light on metrical and rhythmical aspects. In most cases, however, we can fill in these blanks with information gathered from fieldwork. Some of the specific limitations of these factors can be inferred from observations in Frigyesi (1993) and Frigyesi (2005). Note also an attempt at different rhythmic notations in Ne'eman (1968–69, 1972–73).

[20]I borrow "degree of freedom," from disciplines such as physics, chemistry, biology, mechanics, and statistics. The closest analogy might be chess, in which the "degree of freedom" is the total set of possible moves available to each piece on the board at any given moment. Accordingly, in our case it refers to the performance options available to the practitioner at any particular moment during the performance.

choice of notes within a motif, extending up through the application of a pre-set phrase and the degree to which the practitioner can vary it, or the selection of tonality within a given tune, all the way to the uppermost level at which the musical choices govern an entire liturgical section.

Crucial to our discussion is the recognition that the fuzzy nature of the system extends all the way down to the level of the motif. The motifs at the core of a given manner of conduct are not rigidly defined but flexible and variable, and the performer has the freedom to mold, shape, and in essence create them in different ways so long as he adheres to the "guidelines" inferred from the motif-types and their respective degrees of freedom. In this sense, the extent to which the practitioner may indeed vary these motifs, and how he may do so, is part of the description of each motif-type specifically, and in general a factor in defining the overall system. In light of this fluidity, "motif" is not the best term to describe the fundamental building blocks of this system, and therefore not the most conducive term for this music-theory model.

Discussions of motivic content in Ashkenazi prayer modes published prior to the last quarter of the twentieth century provide examples of motifs or "characteristic phrases."[21] The examples include small musical "cells," short mini-phrases and music fragments whose constituent parameters (pitch, rhythm, intervals, size, number of notes, etc.) are precisely indicated and notated in concrete detail. What is missing, however, is any attempt to construct a rigorous, theoretical account of the ways in which such cells as well as others possible variants could be generated by the practitioner or, in other words, any attempt to articulate, in music-theory terms, the degrees of freedom with which such "cells" can be implemented in performance.[22]

To be sure, earlier researchers knew that practitioners, as well as insider semi-scholars and teachers, considered each precisely articulated motif only as an example, a sample of sorts, an approximation of one possible option out of many other (tacitly implied) possible variants. Because earlier scholarly representations of the musical system lack a theoretical account of the performer's freedom to adapt a given set of motifs, however, they reflect a fundamentally different paradigm that overlooks one of the most essential dimensions of this particular discipline, in which the performer is also the creator, the on-the-spot quasi-composer.[23] The practitioner's semi-improvised performance is conditioned by a set of fuzzily defined musical elements. Thus, any articulation of the theory behind this practice must acknowledge and conceptualize the extemporized factor as it is determined by well-defined, fixed elements within the defining parameters.[24]

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[21]"Phrases" is used primarily in Avenary (1971) and Cohon (1950), although implied at times in Idelsohn's work. See also discussion of motifs' being imbedded within phrases below.

[22]In fact, the motif-types I discuss and demonstrate below are in part the outcome of a meta-analysis of the studies that identified motifs or "characteristic phrases." See also example 3, and footnote 33 and its related discussion.

[23]This type of extemporized performance is thus comparable to the genre of oral performance examined in Albert Lord's (1960) classic study.

[24]At this stage I resist the obvious comparison to jazz. It may be worth noting, however, that different traits of this system have their equivalents or parallels in numerous other disciplines and traditions. At present, however, I am simply concerned with mapping out the Ashkenazi system in its own terms, a procedure that may indeed form the basis for a variety of comparative studies.

In view of the above, rather than "motif," I suggest that a better term for such musical elements would be "motif-type." The motif-type is an abstraction that represents a family of variants that are perceived to constitute the same building block—a proto-motif from which motifs, motivic variants, and other musical characteristics are constructed. It is a way to describe elements—whether notes, phrase fragments, different "cells" of notes, "moves" (see below), or other musical characteristics—that manifest in many different ways, according to their respective degrees of freedom, yet, in the practice, are regarded as "the same."[25] Together, these motif-types form a schema from which the different motivic variants are extracted and the musical characteristics of the "mode" are derived.[26] By default, this definition also marks the degree of freedom of each of the derived motivic variants: each constituent of this blueprint indicates the minimal requirements that define a motif, motivic variant, or musical characteristic. In other words, a motivic variant may incorporate any free musical elements so long as it retains the minimally essential ingredients specified by the motif-type. A musical gesture that deviates from the essential features of one motif-type is not a variant of that type, but rather a free melodic fragment or an expression of a different motif-type.

In concrete terms, each motif-type, when realized in a specific musical expression, may constitute a different type of musical building block. Thus, so far as the musical component is concerned, the overall outcome of this conceptualization is a model that represents a musical performance as an event in which, at any particular moment, different parameters of the music become determinant. These parameters may be of several different types. For example, one moment it may be a governing tonal characteristic, and in the next moment the free use of a given tetrachord or pentachord (e.g., "I" in example 5). At a different moment the dominant factor may be almost a fixed motif, yet later it may be any musical motion contained within a given *ambitus* ("D")—a fragment of melody, or a miniature musical phrase, or part of a phrase. Other possible parameters include a musical gesture; a given group of notes; an interval, or a set of intervals; or only a characteristic contour.[27] At times, the determining factor may be a single musical variable: a note on a specific scale degree, reciting or pausal tones (some on specific scale degrees), and so on.

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[25]Similar phenomena have been noted by other researchers of Jewish music. For Robert Lachmann (1978, 52) the description of *melodische Bewegung* refers to cases in which a variety of note-groups (consisting of different tones) or tone-sequences are considered to be the same "*Gestalt*" by the insider. Lachmann notes that "the question is how far may diverse renderings of the same melodic movement deviate from each other without losing their claim to identity." Closer to the field at hand, Mazor and Seroussi (1990–91, 140) recorded an insider's expression found mainly among practitioners of Ashkenazi secular *Klezmer* music, *tenu'ah* (Hebrew for "movement" or "motion"), which they acknowledge as vague and can only loosely be described as "a short musical unit or fragment of . . . characteristic" that remain "undefinable" after attempts to clarify by interviewing informants.

[26]My use of "motif-type" is somewhat comparable to some uses of the term "melody type," except that where the latter refers to an entire melodic line or pattern, "motif-type" refers to a single motif or some components of a motif. In this respect, although it is somewhat different from its use in Juhász (2009), the general idea is the same. The difference between the typological principle of "melody type" and that which is behind my use of "motif-type" here is worth discussion, but it goes beyond the scope of this paper and has no implications for the current stage of the investigation. Nevertheless, we should note Frigyesi's use of "melody type" as a primary component in her melody-based model for this discipline (especially in Frigyesi and Laki [1979/80]). Note, also, that what I term "motif-type" is fundamentally different from Powers "motivic type" as used, for example in Powers (1998b, 140, 142-43).

[27]*Adonai Malakh* itself does not include such a defining characteristic. For an example of a contour-defined motif-type, see "musical characteristic H" in Tarsi (2001–2002, 61, 63–64, 66).

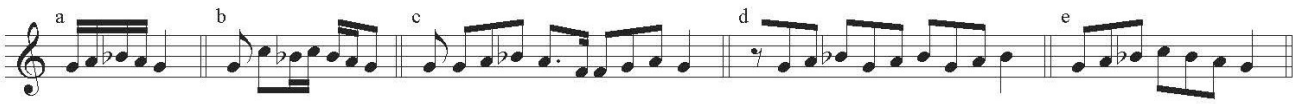
The manner in which these motivic variants are organized into larger units such as phrases varies significantly from one motif-type to another and depends on a variety of circumstances. These may include various factors, such as the preceding or succeeding motifs, the connection of the music to the text, or the structure of the paragraph or liturgical unit. Other considerations may be calendrical factors, such as the hour, day of the week or month, or season of the performance, or the specific occasion for the performance—a holiday or life-cycle event. Thus, the location of a particular motivic variant within a phrase may be prescribed in one set of circumstances but left up to the performer (who may choose to omit it entirely) in another. Alternatively, although this is uncommon, it may even be specifically prescribed for different parts of the same phrase depending on the liturgical text or occasion. For example, when the *Hatzi Kaddish* is performed on the evening services of the High Holidays, the third variant in motif-type J (example 5) may not be placed at the end of a phrase but only at the beginning.

**Motif-types and Their Derived Motivic Variants: Motif-type as a Marker of Degrees of Freedom**

Before we examine the specific details of the motif-types in *Adonai Malakh*, a concrete demonstration of the concept of motif-types and the variants that can be derived from them may be helpful. In addition, as mentioned above, the identification of the defining constituents of the "prayer modes" in the Ashkenazi tradition as motif-types *ipso facto* also delineates their built-in defining degrees of freedom to a significant extent. Thus, by examining one of the *Adonai Malakh* motif-types as a case study, we can understand how different motivic variations are extracted from a motif-type, as well as how these variations determine the degree of freedom of the given motif-type. As explained in more detail below, motif-type D (in example 5) is defined by the use of two notes ("scale degrees" 5 and 7) as the structural notes. The degree of freedom established by this definition is fairly broad: so long as the motifs derived from this motif-type feature these two notes as structural, they are considered variants of motif-type D.[28] Moreover, so far as the defining parameters of this mode are concerned, the derived motifs are considered to be "the same as" the motif-type from which they are derived.[29] Consider, for example, the different variants in the following example; all of them may be explained as a realization of motif-type D.

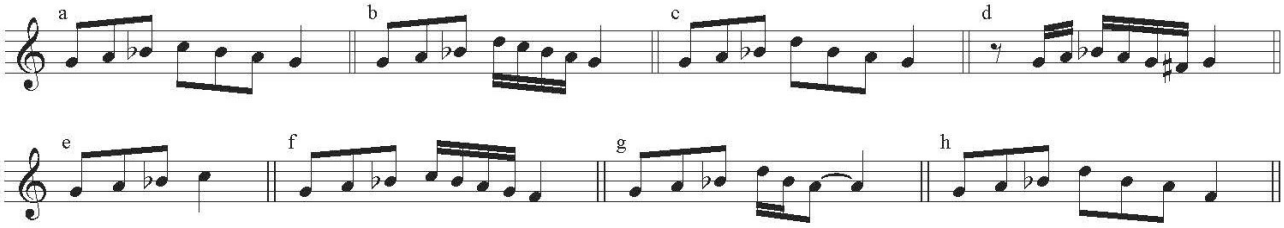
[28]The range of factors that determine whether a note is "structural" is too involved to elaborate on in this paper, but a few examples may be given here. Some of these factors concern the relationship between text and music. A note that coincides with an accented syllable is likely to be perceived as structural, as is a note that coincides with a word or phrase that is emphasized due to its significance in the liturgical context. On a larger scale, the rhythmic and metric considerations of the text as a whole determine whether notes are structural. Notes may also acquire structural value in cases where it is possible to imagine the presence of a beat, such as the first and third notes of a series of four sixteenth notes (example 1a).

[29]This observation derives from the larger issue of "sameness and difference" in any ontological discourse. Ruth Katz briefly touches on this topic specifically in the work of Idelsohn in Katz (1986, 366). See also "*melodische Bewegung*", and "*tenu'ah*" in footnote 25 above.




**Example 1: Several realizations of motif-type D.**

In comparison to the variants featured in example 1 above, the ones in the next example serve to illustrate how some motifs or musical fragments extend beyond the degree of freedom that defines the motif-type, as well as some "fuzzy" in-between cases.




**Example 2: Melodic patterns that diverge increasingly from motif-type D.**

To illustrate the spectrum of divergence we may begin with a motif that can still be considered an expression of motif-type D (example 2a). The structural notes here are 5 and 7 (G-Bb) while the 8 is perceived as an upper neighbor. The variant in example 1c is also within the defining degree of freedom; with a lower neighbor note (F).[30] Motif 2b, however, pushes the envelope a bit and therefore might enter a fuzzy realm, between a variant that may be still related to motif-type D yet may also be perceived as a free musical move. What might give the impression that it is a valid realization of motif-type D (and not a free melodic fragment) is that the D and C can be clumped together as two upper neighbors of Bb (in which case G and Bb are still the structural notes), in conjunction with the fact that this variant completes a circle from G back to G and contains two occurrences of Bb (the A that appears twice is clearly passing, see also footnote 28). Motif 2c is even further removed because it is very unlikely that the note D should be perceived as an upper neighbor of Bb in the complete absence of C, while the two Bb notes, in all likelihood, would not be recognized as structural for metrical reasons. Moreover, the Bb cannot be perceived as including D as an upper neighbor; another feature of this motif is that it begins to render G as its own tonic of G minor. Another step in this obfuscating direction is taken by motif 2d, which, because of the F#, further tonicizes the G, and also seems to be "borrowing" from Ukrainian-Dorian (see discussion below and footnote 68).

On the other hand, if we take the liberty of landing on F in motif 2f, then—even though this example does not extend to D like motifs 2b and 2c—this motif can no longer be considered an expression of motif-type D, and in context it would be perceived as a "free move." Granted, it can still be used within the mode, but it is not a motif-type, and therefore its presence is not

[30]This particular variant is used exactly as spelled here and always in the same way on the same specific parts of the texts in what is used in the Jewish youth camps of North America (such as Camp Ramah) and are often heard at American synagogues (particularly those of the Conservative movement), when led by lay people. On the influence of the Jewish youth camps on the musical practices in the American synagogue, see Rothstein (1980), Tarsi (2002a, 66), Tarsi (2002c, 179), and Spiro (1996).

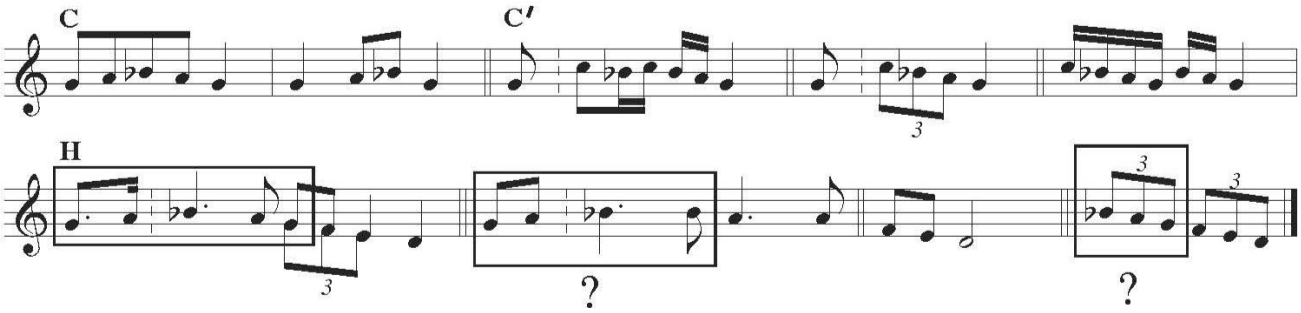
one of the diagnostic factors indicating that the mode used here is indeed *Adonai Malakh*.[31] A similar consideration applies to motifs 2g and 2h. Variants c and e-h in example 2, on the other hand, constitute a set of artificially constructed examples I am presenting to make a point, in which variants that are similar to motif-type D are not perceived as variants of this motif-type because of different aspects of their structural notes. It may not be a coincidence that although it is technically possible to include these moves in the chant, I have not actually found moves in the sources (or in examples 7-9 for that matter) that depict motifs that are close to motif-type D yet constitute simple free moves within the overall use of the mode. Rather than similar to a motif-type, free moves tend to be significantly different from the defining motifs (as demonstrated particularly in example 9). By the same token, motif 2d may appear in the sources but would normally not be perceived as an *Adonai Malakh* motif but rather as a minor key (in this case G minor) or as part of motif-type I (if the entire move includes an Eb).

Examples 3a–c feature a sample of other variants of motif D as they appear in three sources that were included in the meta-analysis I conducted, from which some of the motif-types in example 5 are drawn.[32] The variety of ways in which motif-type D appears in them also illustrates one of the adverse effects of attaching phraseological functions to all of the motifs, as well as using phrases as the defining units. In some of these examples we need to "extract" the motif-type D variant from a phrase or a phrase fragment. I mark those instances by putting the motif-type D variant inside a square frame. They also include some good examples of "borderline cases" in which it is not entirely possible to discern the boundaries of the degree of freedom that defines a variant as derived from motif-type D. I mark those examples with a question mark under the frame in which they appear. These units are almost always identified as phrases, but in fact they comprise several different "moves," some of which are variants of

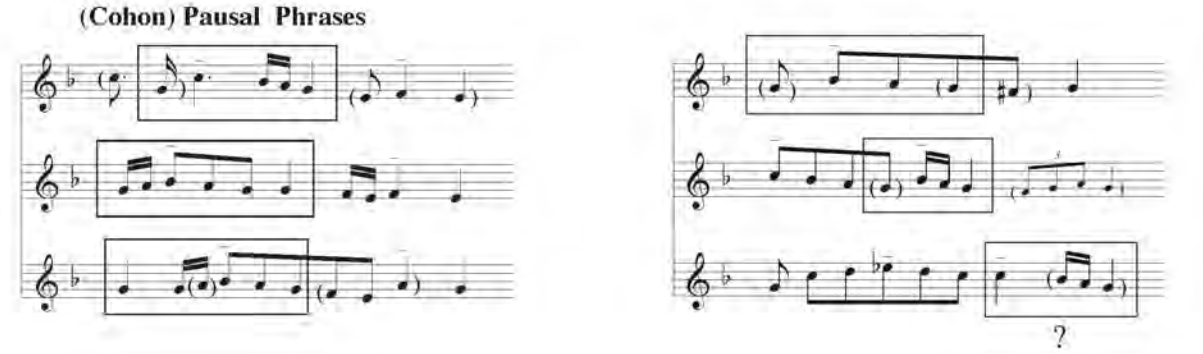
[31]As we can observe in examples 7-9, the music does not consist of motif-types only but also includes fragments and phrase parts that are "free." In fact, within the use of the various prayer modes in this system we can observe sections in which the defining motif-types are closely put together (such as the six psalms in *Kabbalat Shabbat* in *Adonai Malakh*) and some in which the motifs are farther spaced in between, as in example 9. Even more notable cases are, for example, the extended section of "*Ata Nigletah*" in *Rosh Hashanah*, as featured in settings by Joseph Heller, Meyer Wodak, and Joshua Weisser (see also footnote 66.) As a rule, it seems that for shorter, more sectional, or strophic texts, or in the text that first introduces the mode, defining motifs are more closely put together, and as the liturgy unfolds, or in cases where the textual section is long and "through-composed," there is a freer use of the mode and the defining motifs are farther spread apart. For a discussion and demonstration of this phenomenon in a different mode, see Tarsi (2001-2002, 70-71), particularly example 9. We may also note that in the case of *Adonai Malakh* specifically, this increase in "free material" between motifs may be a manifestation of the fuzzy distinction between the use of the mode and either a mixture of the mode with free use of the major key, or the cases in which the overall sense of the section chanted is a major key with an occasional insertion of a single *Adonai Malakh* motif or the use of characteristic chromatic alteration (see discussion below and footnote 77).

[32]Cohon (1950, 20-21), Avenary, (1971, 14-15), and Idelsohn (1933, xx) respectively. In addition to those featured in Example 3, the other sources that were examined in this meta-analysis are Idelsohn (1929) Werner (1959, 1976), Levine (1980-81, 1989), and Wohlberg (1954). It should be noted that this meta-analysis was only one step in the process that resulted in the assemblage of motif-types in example 5. Primary sources were also examined, such as the ones mention in footnotes 32, and featured in examples 6a-c and 7-9. As discussed earlier in this article, one of the deficits of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century discussions on which the meta-analysis is based is that they did not include all of the motifs that are in fact constitutive of this mode.

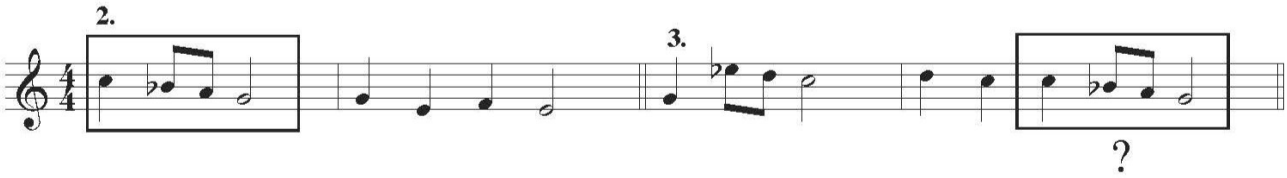
several different motif-types, and some of which are combinations of these variants with free "moves."[33]




**Example 3a Variants of motif-type D from Avenary (1971, 14–15).**




**Example 3b Variants of motif-type D (pausal phrases) from Cohon (1950, 20–21).**




**Example 3c Variants of motif-type D from Idelson**

The preceding observations on the problematic term "mode" notwithstanding, the case study that follows concentrates on an item in the Ashkenazi repertoire that is indeed closer to the accepted and the more inclusive ethnomusicological concept of mode, *Adonai Malakh* (or *HaShem Malakh*).[34] What I propose in this initial exploration is to identify this mode's musical elements, most of which are presented as motif-types below, and to describe

[33]We can also observe in example 3 one of the most important desiderata overlooked by previous studies: the need for the system (and its descriptive theory) to incorporate the extemporized aspect of this discipline. In these examples we can see that instead of marking the boundaries of the degrees of freedom of possible motivic variants (which my model represents by motif-types), each one of these studies presents what is in fact only a motivic variant as the actual defining building block.

[34]Literally meaning "The Lord reigns," or "God reigns," the title clearly derives from Psalm 93 (which as we note later, appears in one of the services that use this mode). In many observant Jewish circles several words that mean

their interconnections with the primary extra-musical factors—text, ritual, and norms of performance.[35] Eventually, this initial exploration should lead to a clearer picture of *Adonai Malakh* as a manner of conduct.

Let me reemphasize that a motif-type approach is not merely a matter of semantics, a technical device, or a correction of an oversight in previous models. It is an essential feature of a revised paradigm that is a crucial step toward understanding how this performance practice operates. As an analytical tool compatible with a fuzzy system, the concept of the motif-type makes it possible to distinguish between the essential features that define constituent motifs and the accidental features that represent the practitioner's improvisational choices, thereby revealing the dynamic between defining constraints and specific degrees of freedom. Along with the motif-types, the specific indications of these freedoms are also a primary constitutional component of this discipline. Thus, the exact parameters and extent of these freedoms in each case, as well as their boundaries, are yet another defining factor of the model at hand.

**A Comment on the Validity of the Methodological Choice to Privilege Similarity Over Difference When Constructing the Basic Model**

As a rule of thumb, when it comes to identifying the overall framework of reference that governs the Ashkenazi liturgical tradition, almost all sources, regardless of geographic origin, sub-traditions or diachronic factors, are treated as witnesses to the same common practice. Surely, almost any source, whether written, in recordings, or interviewed informants (present and past) may feature some unique versions to some liturgical sections, and of course, each individual presents his own variants and individual stylistic markers. Although there are a few sections in the liturgy where we can identify two versions (in all likelihood a matter of East vs. West Europe, see further below) and there are some liturgical sections in which it is difficult to find one dominating version, all sources "converse" in one way or another with the same musical frame of reference.

Although musical practices of the synagogue change over time, all of the past and current practices, be they in Europe, America, or Israel, are based on the same overall musical discipline. They may vary in how they apply some of its conventions, when they depart from its standard repertoire, and how and to what extent they do so. Most important, these departures vary from one instance to another and therefore do not undermine its overall constitution. This does not mean, however, that an alternative tradition may not emerge at some point, or that its seeds are not already sown. Even at present (and in all likelihood in the past as well), there are some practices that in different parts of the liturgy employ a completely different musical rendering or introduce significant alterations. Nevertheless, all of these are within the category of

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"God" are not uttered out loud outside their direct use in prayer and therefore are replaced by the word *HaShem*, literally "the name," or by the hybrid word *Adoshem*.

[35]In the present context I define "norm of performance" as relating to the agent or agents who deliver a specific prayer/ritual and the manner of vocal expression by which they carry it through. Types of norms of performance in this repertoire include cantorial rhapsody, heterophonic chant mumbling (see footnote 70), congregational responses, a congregation's unison singing of metrical tunes, and a simple cantor's recitation, among others. For a detailed accounting and explaining of the various norms of performance in this repertoire, see Tarsi (2005, 66–71).

"divergence," and each one departs from the definitive standards either in different parts of the liturgy or in a different manner or both, or they do so in cases in which the tradition denotes complete freedom to begin with.

Thus, so far, all practices in the Ashkenazi synagogue, wherever and whenever they are situated, maintain a close relationship to this overall regulation and cannot be fully understood or examined outside of its context. Moreover, the methodical study of this repertoire, particularly as a musical system, and especially its music theory underpinnings, is a step that needs to be taken before addressing sub-traditions and differences in practices, and not the other way around. This insight may seem counterintuitive and therefore, at times, a source of confusion or misunderstanding. People who are unfamiliar with the specifics of Ashkenazi liturgical music are inclined to raise questions about the origins and sources of the musical evidence at hand. They may express concerns about the provenance of the sources, the kinds of information they can provide, and the traditions or sub-traditions they may represent. In particular, newcomers to the study of Ashkenazi tradition may question the methodological propriety of treating the various sources as witnesses to a single tradition, rather than grouping the sources according to chronology or geography or multiple traditions or sub-traditions. The implication of this perception is that scholars of Ashkenazi liturgical music would do better to focus on difference and diversity rather than eliding it.[36]

The fact of the matter is that whether in terms of origin, geography, or synchronic or diachronic perspectives, there is still only one overall framework that governs Ashkenazi practice in all of its various sub-traditions, geographical origins, and time periods.[37] This is not to deny that differences between sub-traditions or spatially or temporally separated communities exist. Rather, such differences are relatively invisible when the tradition as a whole is brought under the lens. If we zoom in on practices in different places or periods within *Ashkenaz*, or even on different sources, we will observe many distinctive features that can be used to characterize individual sub-traditions. But these distinctions are only perceptible under high magnification. And in many cases, it would be difficult to use these distinctions to label two somewhat different examples as distinct variants, because the built-in degrees of freedom of their constituents "moves" or motif types allow them to be considered as "the same" at this level of "resolution."[38]

To be sure, some studies draw a distinction between "West European" and "East European" traditions or sources. Yet the details on which this distinction rests are not sufficient to identify two distinct parallel traditions, or a divergence of one overall tradition into two or more derivative traditions. In the overwhelming majority of the repertoire, these differences do

[36]Such methodological objections have actually hindered progress in this particular field. For reasons whose details are beyond the scope of this article, Jewish music has been treated almost exclusively within the realm of Ethnomusicology. There have been cases in which valid studies were rejected by leading Ethnomusicology journals because the failure to differentiate between sources from different geographical locations and sub-traditions was pronounced a "big mistake." Other findings were rejected because they were based on, among other sources, informant interviews not conducted by the researchers themselves (and therefore not considered ethnomusicology) – an essential source of information for this endeavor.

[37]For a few examples of such departures see Tarsi (2002c).

[38]See comment on sameness and difference above and footnotes 24 and 29.

not amount to different versions but are rather variants or reflections of personal traits of the individual source or of different stylistic approaches. Only in a minute number of cases in the repertoire do we find two distinct musical versions for the same liturgical section, in East and West European sources, and it would even be difficult to determine what the "pure" form of each one is.[39]

Consequently, when it comes to observing and abstracting the structure of each of the "modes" in the Ashkenazi system, defining their building blocks, and examining only the "behavior"—the manner of conduct of the music—characteristic of a given mode, differences among sub-traditions and practices do not apply; thus, for example, there is only one *Adonai Malakh* mode, and as such is found in all Ashkenazi sources. With respect to specific performances or documented liturgical settings that use this mode, however, we can find differences in the time and occasion when different sources use it, or differences in the texts or liturgical sections to which it is applied, or differences in the frequency or "density" of its defining building blocks, based on how many of them are interspersed in between free music.[40] Sources may also differ in the kinds of specific variants they use for the (same) motif-types, i.e., the way they extract motivic variants from the (same) motif-types, choosing some and omitting others; or in the degrees of freedom implemented; or in the density with which motif-types appear in a given section. (One issue that needs to be considered is that some sources may contain recurring motifs that seem to be significant or structural. Yet, these motifs are not themselves building blocks or markers of the mode; rather, they are characteristic of one specific source.[41])

Other differences may be found with respect to the instances in which a performer introduces *Adonai Malakh* traits in a section that actually does not use this mode; the performer "injects" some *Adonai Malakh* traits into a different mode, scale, or a section of free improvisation.[42] But the very distinction between the overall mode or scale and the *Adonai Malakh* motifs that are incorporated in them emphasizes the same *Adonai Malakh* mode rather than suggesting that these cases, as well as the differences among the cases mentioned in the

[39]One of the clearer examples is the existence of two distinct versions for the *Hatzi Kaddish* and the first few paragraphs of the section that follows it (the *Amidah*) in the closing service of Yom Kippur (*Ne'ilah*). A different case is the *Hatzi Kaddish* and its following paragraph during the seasonal prayers for rain or dewfall (*Tal* and *Geshem*) where it seems there are indeed two versions but it is not clear how—if at all—they can be identified as East- vs. West-European (see Tarsi [2002c, 190-192]). Even identifying what constitutes East and West Europe in Ashkenazi music is not so clear cut. Diachronic factors, particularly late nineteenth-early twentieth century waves of mass emigration to the US and pre-and post-Holocaust changes in the population, as well as postwar immigration to the US and Israel, further obscure the boundary. Moreover, establishing whether a source may be considered West or East European must take into account a variety of factors, such as the person's place of birth, where he was raised, the practice in his family and community, and the training he received and from whom he received it—in addition, of course, to the congregations (with their customs and demands) that he served as cantor and many other factors, all of which significantly complicate and blur the landscape.

[40]One of the defining traits of a different mode (*Magen Avot*) is precisely the tendency to take more and more freedom as the liturgical section unfolds, which results in a gradual "spacing out" of the motifs; consequently, as the performance of the liturgical section unfolds we find fewer and fewer motifs interspersed with more sections of "free music."

[41]An example of such a personal motif is a pre-concluding half phrase in Adolf Katchko's setting for *Kabbalat Shabbat* (Katchko, 1952, 1-4).

[42]This mainly concerns the use of *Adonai Malakh* as an idiomatic alteration within music in major, see below.

previous paragraph, may somehow affect our understanding of this mode or its definition. Thus, any differences among sources—whether they pertain to the individual informant, written document, or recording (whether made for research or commercial purposes), or whether they pertain to difference in geographical origin, time-period, or sub-tradition—are irrelevant to the definition of the mode itself, and their appearance, in fact, reaffirms it.

To repeat, when it comes to identifying the overall system of the Ashkenazi tradition, the similarities outweigh the differences, but more important, such distinctions between putative sub-traditions, geographical dispersions, and changes in practice over time are irrelevant to the point at issue. Further, addressing these differences at the same time as unpacking this system would constitute an obstacle in the way of achieving this objective. The goal is to define this overall system and to articulate music theory of the field, including the terms and concepts that will in turn enable us to study the Ashkenazi tradition.[43]

The need to privilege similarity over difference in such context was not lost on Hanoch Avenary, whom I consider to be the first scholar of the "current era" of research in this field.[44] Avenary was not unaware of the existence of sub-traditions within *Ashkenaz*, but he only raised the issue when it was relevant. When composing a comparative and historical narrative (on aspects of time and environment in Ashkenazi music), Avenary (1987) explicitly discussed sub-traditions (although primarily as a matter of thoroughness rather than to show that they are fundamentally different). Yet it is precisely when he is exploring the overall structure of the modal system in Ashkenaz (Avenary 1971 and 1986-87) that he does not consider the existence of sub-traditions at all. Another example of the same approach, beyond the realm of modes, is provided in Israel Adler's (1982) presentation on problems in the study of Jewish music in connection with his assessment of biblical cantillation.

**A Comment on Scale-Structure**

Scales and their function within the framework of Ashkenazi prayer music have yet to be thoroughly explored. What is already clear is that a scale is never the sole defining factor of any of the varied manners of musical conduct in this tradition. From my observations thus far, it is evident that many times, if there is a scalar aspect at play, it is in fact only a secondary outcome of other factors. *Adonai Malakh* is such a case. We can produce a scale of sorts if we put the notes used in a sequential order. The total note collection, however, is

[43]Establishing these concepts and terms is what Ruth HaCohen meant when she proposed that this practice is a "parole" without a conceptualized "langue," (see HaCohen and Tarsi [2009]), and I would extrapolate from her formulation the conclusion that articulating the music theory of this tradition is in fact establishing its "meta langue" (see also, Tarsi [2017, 3]).

[44]In broad brush strokes I divide the chronology of Ashkenazi liturgical music studies into three primary "eras". The first is from around the middle of the nineteenth century, which is the earliest time-period from which we have any written evidence of attempts at engaging in scholarly discourse, (see for example, Tarsi [2013]). The second is the work of Avraham Zvi Idelsohn between ca. 1906 to 1938 and his successors up until around the work of Hanoch Avenary, ca. 1970, and from his work to the present. The works in the first two time periods can now only be read critically and understood within historical context, their built-in limitations, and their being highly influenced by ideology, agenda, and zeitgeist. In this respect, however, there is some overlap as some work that chronologically belong in the latest periods, is in essence the same as the preceding either because of the lack of awareness of developments in our understanding of the field or the failure to incorporate them.

actually a secondary "side effect" of musical characteristics and *ambitus* considerations (e.g., different musical characteristics—for example, as we shall see below, motif-types—using different notes and chromatic differences, are attached to different parts of the *ambitus*). This "scale," however, would extend beyond the octave and would not involve the periodic repetition of the octave,[45] nor would it constitute an octave species.[46]

Moreover, the way scalar components appear and function in this system may, in fact, push the envelope of what we may still consider as a scale. Indeed, it poses some questions about the ontology of "scale," to what extent scales even exist, and to what degree they actually help us understand any repertoire in which they have been identified.[47] In the case of *Adonai Malakh*, even Avenary's breakthroughs in Avenary (1971) and Avenary (1986-87) did not free him from the need to include a scalar explanation and to address scales as an essential, fundamental, and primary ingredient in what he considered as modes.

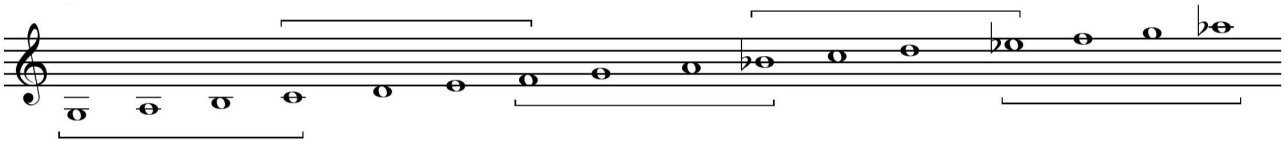
What a scale does provide in our particular case is mainly an *ambitus* reference-point of the "areas" in which these musical occurrences take place. For example, the reason the lower E in example 4 is natural and the one an octave above it is flat, is the difference in *ambitus* between the location of motif-types A and F in example 5 and that of motif-type E (in itself another contributing factor for the lack of periodic repetition of the octave.) This *ambitus*-derived difference is yet another manifesting of the actuality that all of the motif-types, as well as any other musical characteristics of this mode—all of them are *ambitus*-sensitive.

[45]For an example of a different quality in a modal scalar system with no periodic repetition of the octave, see "non-duplicating at the octave" in Marcus (1989, particularly p. 512). In the case of *Adonai Malakh* the lack of periodic repetition of the octave, along with the absence of data on what the notes are above or below a certain range, as well as the alternative low pentachord with an augmented second (motif-type I in example 5, also see discussion of the scale aspect below, footnotes 49 to 51, "Ukrainian-Dorian," and footnote 64), further complicates the meaning of the concept of scale altogether in this case.

[46]In all likelihood, issues of *ambitus*-derived traits are related to the given range (at times from the tonic up, and at times with a *tonus finalis* inside the range) that parallels the comfort-level capabilities of the human voice (primarily male). In some samples of the repertoire (mainly "composed" material, concert-stage pieces, or material designated for professional or even "star" cantors) this range is extended. Issues such as range and tonic/*finalis* location naturally lead to related topics and terminology, and to the difficulties involved in borrowing terms from church music (e.g., in addition to *ambitus*, and *finalis*, we can also add "plagal" and "authentic"). For an initial discussion of the issues involved in this association and the difficulties it presents, see Tarsi (2002b).

[47]The definition, essence, and function of scales in this repertoire deserve an entirely separate discussion. No less important is the examination of the implications of such a discussion vis-à-vis the fuzzy margins of what we may even consider to be a scale, along with its function, constituent factors, and the epistemological aspects of our perceiving it as such, all of which have yet to be pursued.

Unlike the many manners of conduct whose scale is identical to pre-existing scales, including modal scales, the scale structure of *Adonai Malakh* may be considered unique. Thus, despite the fact that *Adonai Malakh* still cannot be defined or even recognized without its non-scalar components, a touch of the mode's particular flavor can be detected by the scale alone, particularly its middle-octave upper tetrachord.[48] An initial illustration of what could be considered an *Adonai Malakh* scale might look like the following:[49]



**Example 4 *Adonai Malakh* scale, as proposed in historical sources**

Three sources provide a notated example for such a scale: Avenary (1986-87), Glantz (1965), and Yasser (1956).[50] We may note that in Avenary's case, the scale is presented only to be...discarded [because it is merely the product of] the inquiry of a young composer from the contemporary avant-garde [who is ignorant of the points at issue] ...as a stimulus for a creative process (Avenary 1986-87,14).

I have yet to find an example within the literature or the practicum that uses the top tetrachord as portrayed in this scale proposal. I found only one setting in which this part of the range is actually reached, in a hand-written transcription of Joseph Rosenblatt's "*Omar Rabi Elozor*" (Toronto Council of *Hazzanim*, n.d., 22). But at the corresponding part of the *ambitus* Rosenblatt uses other permutations, none of which are the tetrachord illustrated in example 4; and at least some of them might not really constitute tetrachords. More likely, however, Rosenblatt's setting simply demonstrates that the portrayal of the top tetrachord in the above example (Example 4) has no support in the practice. It may, in fact, be an expression of a hypothesized trait of this system that has yet to be systematically explored: the higher in the range of a mode or scale or even a free musical rendering the performer sings, the more freedom he has in the choice of notes.[51]

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[48]This is especially apparent in this tetrachord's descending form because it renders it one of the mode's motif-types ("C" and "D" in example 5 below.)

[49]As I qualify below, there are some simplifications, as well as overlooking some constituent elements in this scale proposal. For example, it does not address the use of an augmented second pentachord ("I" in example 5), or the question about what the notes really are in the top tetrachord (see comment on Rosenblatt's setting below and footnote 51.) This itself, again, touches upon the fuzzy edges of the definition of scale here, as well as an expression of the fuzzy aspect of the general role of scale as a constituent component of this system.

[50]Yasser's presentation occurs within a puzzling context, in which the notated example of the mode (here as well as in Yasser's discussion and examples of *Magen Avot* and *Ahavah Rabbah*) is distorted, perhaps because Yasser has adjusted it in order to fit into his "new theory of triple-key modes" (Yasser [1956, 34]).

[51]This raises an interesting question regarding whether the system itself includes this kind of freedom. Further, it may also be that the system simply does not address this option in one way or another. In other words, the system does not take into account the upper reaches of this *ambitus* or perhaps it does not even acknowledge that this range exists, in which case the performer simply goes beyond the definition of the system. Virtuosity may be a factor in

As stated above, viewing *Adonai Malakh* as a scale contributes little to its definition. Nevertheless, a quick look at the expression of the musical characteristics as a sequential order of notes may help to illustrate graphically two notable traits: First, within this succession of notes we can observe a symmetrical periodic repetition of the lower tetrachord of a major scale, i.e., the "long scale" comprises a chain of tetrachords superimposed one on top of the other each with the interval pattern [1, 1, 1/2] where 1 is a whole tone.[52] We also should note that this tetrachordal structure does not take into account other permutations that *Adonai Malakh* incorporates, such as a 5-8 tetrachord with a half step between 7 and 8, or the "Ukrainian-Dorian" tetrachord (or pentachord) as depicted in motif-type I as well as other options.[53]

Second, considering that the tonic is the fourth note in this scale description, the lowest nine notes comprise a note-collection identical to that of the major key and the top seven notes, a pure minor. Most of the occurrences in the mode take place somewhere in the middle and therefore induce a mix of major and minor "feel," but it also follows that in terms of *scale alone*, there is no distinction between *Adonai Malakh* and major in the lower part of the scale. The primary implication of this property is that in the lower tetrachords, the mode relies heavily on motifs and other musical characteristics to clearly induce a recognizable "flavor" of the mode. Conversely, expressing the mode's note-collection in this scale format serves to illustrate that the higher the *ambitus* of the mode the more it verges on a minor tonality.[54]

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this lack of regulation in the higher octaves: it is precisely the more skillful cantors who can access this high register and who can make the best use of an opportunity to show off their talent. There is clearly a question of cause and effect here (is freedom granted to the talented or do the talented take advantage of an unregulated zone?) that probably cannot be settled. What is important here, nevertheless, are the topics it brings onto the table.

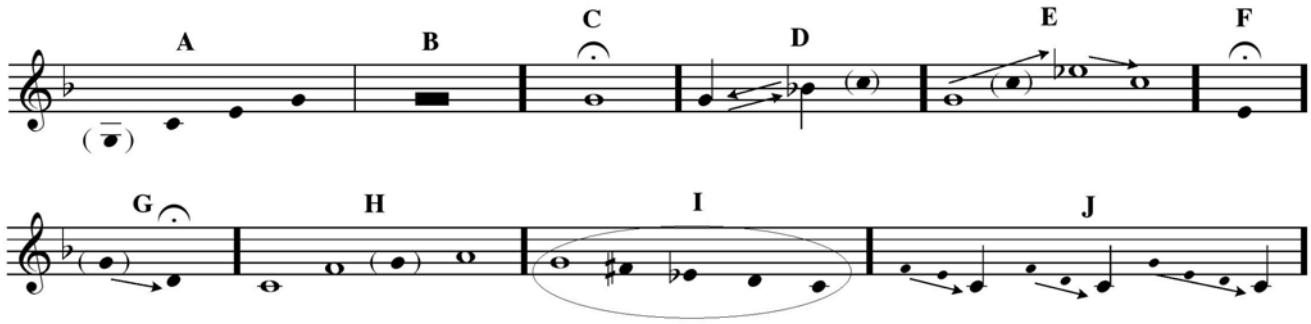
[52]The mechanical portrayal of this scale structure may explain why depictions of the scale's top tetrachord do not match how the mode is used in reality.

[53]In this scalar paradigm, these other options are considered "foreign notes" or even a modulation. Although this point requires further elaboration, I propose that the whole matter is a reflection of a blind spot of sorts resulting from a fundamental paradigm shift regarding the idea of a "scale" (let alone a "mode") in a music theory model. For example, it is possible to imagine a model in which a scale plays a fundamentally different role, or a model in which what may be considered a "scale" is significantly and fundamentally different from the conventional perception of what constitutes a scale, or a model that does not include scales at all. All of this apparently requires an intellectual and paradigmatic or conceptual leap that even Avenary could not summon.

[54]Indeed, Avigdor Herzog's rendition of *Kabbalat Shabbat* (not transcribed here, see reference in footnote 69) makes use of this trait in two ways. On one occasion Herzog uses the higher part of the *ambitus* as a "pivot area" in order to modulate to a minor key. In another instance, in a fragment that traditionally allows the option of using a minor key, he does not do so but rather hints to this custom by using the upper part of the *ambitus*. An example of the sensual-emotional effect of this particular musical behavior appears in Ruth HaCohen's analysis of the impression a Friday night service in mid-nineteenth century Frankfurt made on an outsider. The outsider is the author George Eliot, who transferred her experience to her fictional character Daniel Deronda in her eponymous novel of 1876, see HaCohen (2011, 265-65).

**The Defining Motif-types**

At this stage of my study I have come up with the following description of the mode's constituent motif-types, their function, the degree of freedom involved in each one, the type of connection to textual structure, and time and occasion:




**Example 5 Constituent motif-types of *Adonai Malakh*** [55]

A – An opening motif of a textual phrase or a paragraph, outlining the melodic unfolding of a triad on scale degrees 1-3-5, with or without starting from 5 below the tonic. As a rule, these are not structural notes that can be used as a skeleton for other variants with passing tones, additional or decorative notes, or elaborations. In the overwhelming majority of cases this motif-type consists of these notes only. In quasi- Schenkerian terms we can say that they are not the background of a variety of possible phrases but the actual and only foreground possible (when it functions as an opening of a phrase.)[56] The current stage of research may suggest that the variant that includes the 5 below the tonic is more typical of the opening of a continuing phrase, or any opening of a phrase that is not the first one in the musical or liturgical section. Whether this is indeed the case has yet to be determined.

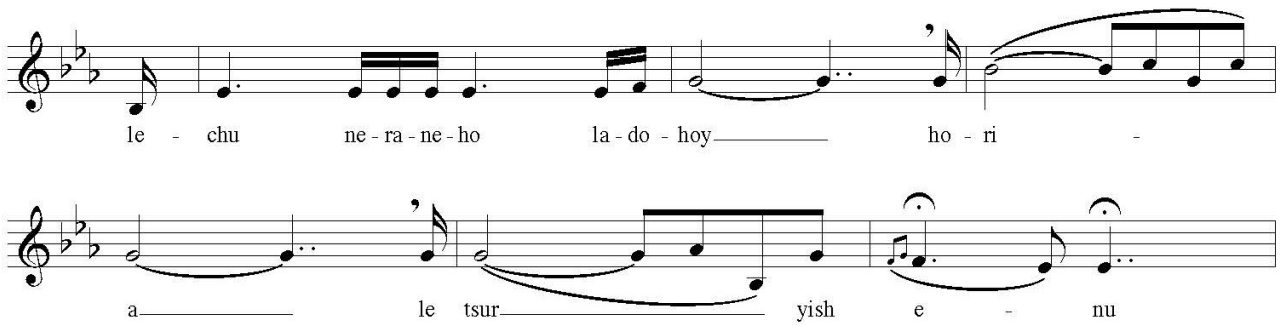
A different idiomatic opener is found in a unique and specific instance – the opening phrase of the entire *Kabbalat Shabbat* service,[57] on the words "*lekhu neranenah*." This special opening constitutes a complete phrase rather than a musical characteristic or a motif. The overall structural gesture of the phrase is a move from 5 below the tonic to the tonic. It is then followed by some approach to the 5 above the tonic. It is therefore different from motif-type A. I suggest that the connection of this "*lekhu neranenah*" phrase to the opening motif (A) and the similarity between them lies in discerning that the former uses what is the foreground notes of the latter (motif-type A) as structural middle-ground notes. (In this sense it is identical to other sections of

[55]The upper-case letters (A through J) in the following pages refer to the corresponding motifs in example 5. The Arabic numerals indicate scale degrees.

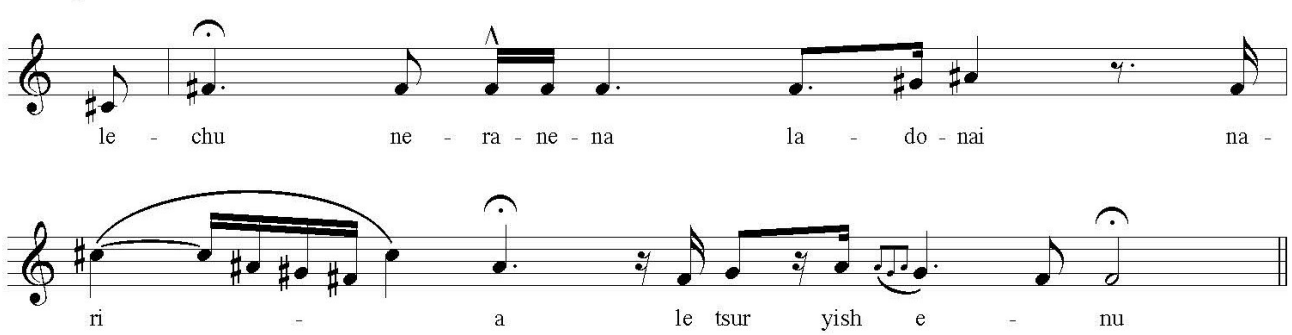
[56]I am not suggesting an actual Schenkerian analysis of this material. I am only using these terms as a clarifying metaphor of sorts. For the idea of implementing Schenkerian tools in an ethnomusicological context, see Stock (1993).

[57]The *Kabbalat Shabbat* service originated in the sixteenth century, primarily as a mystical ritual of "receiving the Sabbath." It consists mainly of psalms and a liturgical poem (*piyyut*) entitled "*Lekhah dodi*" (Feld, 2016, 23-25).

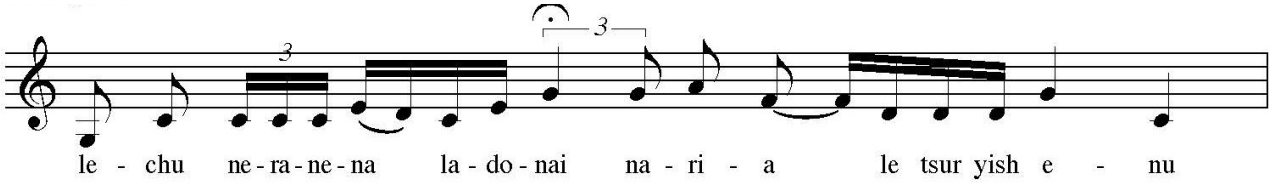
the liturgy that are not using the mode, e.g., the idiomatic opening of the Cantor's Repetition – *Hazarat HaShats* – on the Saturday morning services – *Shaharit* and *Musaf*.)




**Example 6a *Lekhu Neranenah* opening in Glantz (1965, 31)**




**Example 6b *Lekhu Neranenah* opening in Katchko (1952, 1)**




**Example 6c *Lekhu Neranenah* opening in common American practice**

B – Recitation tone on 5. In general, I observed that the use and function of recitation tones in Jewish Ashkenazi prayer music is not as clear and set as it is in church music, even if we take into account its blurry definitions and function in plainchant, specifically the seeming discrepancy between old theories and observed practice. A significant portion of Ashkenazi prayer music does not control recitation tones at all; another part includes them on a variety of scale degrees, and some prayer modes feature them on an assigned scale degree. In no case does the recitation tone have a role in defining the mode itself or being affected by a change in *ambitus* (such as its role in making the distinction between authentic and plagal modes—debatable as it may be—in Gregorian chant.) Yet because of this lack of clear formal role and

definition of recitation tones in this repertoire, and the lack of consistency in their use, identifying them and their function needs to be re-established in each case.[58]

Many times, the presence of a recitation tone is obvious and can be clearly identified. Yet at times there is only a suggestion of it. (This is in part due to the fact that Hebrew words and especially Hebrew phrases contain significantly fewer syllables than their equivalents in Greek, or Romance or Germanic languages.) In those cases, and only when a recitation tone would be expected, I choose to identify it as such if it covers at least one word and another syllable of either the previous or the next word, or the combined parts of two adjacent words. Avenary's approach was to consider four or more consecutive Hebrew syllables on the same pitch as "*tonus currens*" (Avenary [1986-87, 99]). This is also a somewhat fuzzy area, although to a much lesser degree, and eventually identifying a tone's function as a recitation depends on our hearing and perception.

C – Pausal tone on 5. The pausal tone is primarily a function of the text, connecting with a period, a comma, or some kind of textual pause. Most of the times this function coincides with a pause or semi- or half-cadence in the music, as well as the end of a musical period, half period or the end of a middle or pre-concluding phrase (see motif-type G.) Other resting points in the music or the text may mark a pausal tone but, regardless of the musical phrasing, the dominant determining factor is primarily the text. Although sometimes expressed as a longer time-value in written notation, the pausal tone does not primarily depend on the duration of the note. The same applies to *fermata* markings in the written sources. At times a pausal tone may coincide with them but the literature includes many cases where *fermata* markings appear in a variety of places in no particular connection with the text or with the function of a pausal tone.[59]

Initial exploration suggests a correlation between pausal tones in prayer music and pausal words in scripture reading, especially those identified by the cantillation markings of *etnahta* and *sof pasuk*. This connection has yet to be thoroughly explored. Needless to say, it may only be established clearly in cases where the liturgical text is a biblical quotation. When it comes to psalm texts, the connection to biblical cantillation might be more involved, primarily in view of the lack of clarity that still surrounds the musical execution of the Psalms, specifically the cantillations for the books of Proverbs, Job, and Psalms ("*ta'amey emet*").[60] Poetical phrasing, psalm punctuation, parallelism, and other factors connected to psalmody may also come into play.

D – "Motivic interval area." As explained and demonstrated in detail above, this motif-type allows a higher degree of freedom. It represents any kind of musical occurrence, motif, phrase fragment, or other melodic cells that takes place between scale-degrees 5 and 7. This is,

[58]There is almost no formal discussion of recitation tones and their function in this repertoire. In addition to the comment in Avenary (1986-87) below, there are indications for it that might be deduced from musical examples in Cohon (1950) and in the choice of notation in Ne'eman (1968/69 and 1972/73). I also address the matter in Tarsi (2002b).

[59]In written sources *fermata* markings can sometimes be quite prevalent. I think that in many cases this is an attempt to partially compensate for the fact that standard notation cannot reflect the rhythmic aspect of this musical discipline—a substantial topic in and of itself (for an initial addressing of this topic, see Frigyesi [1993]).

[60]For a most illuminating discussion of this topic see Flender (1992). Also see Wickes (1881).

in essence, an *ambitus* characteristic and the minor third between 5 and 7 is only a structural marker.[61] The motifs extracted from this motif-type may include upper or lower neighbors as well as various passing tones and may therefore cover an *ambitus* larger than that indicated by the interval. So long as the structural notes within such a motif are 5 and 7 it can be considered as this motif-type.[62] A specific formation that includes an upper neighbor to form a descending tetrachord is a frequently occurring variant. (See for example, the first motif in the last line of example 7 [motif-type D], or when the first motif-type D appears in the first line of example 9.) Whether this constitutes a subcategory of this motif-type, a separate characteristic, or a variant is a question which I consider insignificant.

E – Expansion. In Avenary (1986-87, 14) the author observes three range-related layers within the mode. The third layer, being the minor third above scale degree 8, is where the music "expands" as the musical section unfolds and develops. I find that in the overwhelming majority of cases in which the music reaches the higher parts of the range, it does so idiomatically by way of this motif-type.[63] The many possible motifs and variants derived from this motif-type all circle around three structural notes—5, 8, and 10. In most cases the motion would be from 5 to 10 (with or without touching 8 in between) and ending on 8 (see, for example, the last motif (E) on the first line of example 8.) At times this is followed by motif-type D, which concludes the entire phrase on a pausal tone on 5 (motif-type C). The examined sources occasionally include an idiomatic pattern that consists of a descending scale from 10 to 5. Because this is merely a descending scale, and as such occurs only sporadically, I hesitate to assign it structural motivic significance as a musical characteristic in and of itself, or identify it as a separate, additional motif-type. I therefore choose to view it as a combination of motif-types E, D, and C.

F – Secondary pausal tone. Occasionally, and significantly less frequently than on 5, we may observe a pausal tone on scale degree 3.

G – Pre-concluding pausal tone. A pausal tone on 2 is found only at endings of pre-concluding phrases. Typically—but not necessarily—it is approached from 5 directly, as a skip, or through some ornamental configuration and/or in step-progression.

H – *Kabbalat Shabbat* opening for a pre-concluding phrase. Penultimate phrases of the psalms in the *Kabbalat Shabbat* service and at times other penultimate phrases in this service idiomatically open with motivic variants based on the structural notes that constitute a 1-4-6 motion, typically including some passing tones or ornamentations. Sometimes this "move" may expand to include the 8th degree. Unlike the other motif-types, this one is typically found only

[61]This is somewhat similar to Powers's "registral span" in his discussion of *jins* as a component in his definition of *maqam*1 in Powers (1988b, 142).

[62]For the details, see examples 1 and 2 above.

[63]Avenary was likely aware of this characteristic but did not formally conceptualize or define it. Avenary (1971, 14) presents a few motif variants ("K")—which I view as derived from this motif-type—and calls them (without explaining, but clearly as part of the "phraseological model") a "continuative phrase." As in all past descriptions, this is only demonstrated by a few specific phrase variants without the abstracting process of narrowing it down to its defining characteristics as a structural constituent. Over a decade and a half later, when Avenary (1986-87), addressed this layer, he did so without recalling this motif or any other motivic considerations.

in the *Kabbalat Shabbat* service and not in other sections of the repertoire that use *Adonai Malakh*.

I – Ukrainian-Dorian pentachord. Ukrainian-Dorian is one of several titles referring to a scale whose lower pentachord includes a minor third and a raised fourth [1, 1/2, 1 1/2, 1/2] (in the upper tetrachord it is identical to "natural minor").[64] The use of Ukrainian-Dorian in Ashkenazi prayer music is in almost all cases within the context of other tonalities or modes. As such it may appear as a chromatic alteration, "detour," part of a motif, or an idiomatic phrase. Within the context of *Adonai Malakh*, replacing the low, major pentachord with a Ukrainian-Dorian pentachord and a free use of its constituent notes constitutes an idiomatic "move." Since the motifs or fragments of phrases that use this note-collection are not defined by or limited to anything but the choice of notes itself, the definition of this musical characteristic is only the use of this pentachord. This motif-type is an example of a variable with a large degree of freedom; any possible combinations and permutations of these notes of any length and size stand to constitute a possible variant, so long as the note-collection itself is kept. In most cases, especially in *Kabbalat Shabbat*, this appears as an elaboration or ornamentation whose primary structural note is the 5th scale degree, either beginning with this note or ending on it and in most cases both.

In some settings, however, Ukrainian-Dorian can be used in and of itself as a target for modulations, or at times, as a pivot of sorts for other modulations (e.g., to minor 5 as featured in Weisser [1943, 134]). This is more likely to occur in larger-scope pieces (cantorial concert pieces or cantorial settings that emulate this style, and "cantorial rhapsodies," compositions, and the like).[65] In those cases it is no longer considered a motif-type but rather can be accounted for one among several possible tonalities or "modal centers" to which the piece may modulate. Three good examples are the settings for "*Atah Nigleita*" in Heller [1905, 177-78], Weisser [1943, 132-35], and Wodak [1898, 254-55]).[66] Even as such, I suggest that in the context of the *Adonai Malakh* mode, a modulation to Ukrainian-Dorian may be perceived as related to motif-type I. An initial exploration suggests that there are aspects of connection of Ukrainian-Dorian to text on a variety of levels that have yet to be thoroughly examined.

[64]Other names, in varying contexts include "altered Dorian" "raised fourth scale," "*Av harahamim*" or "*av harahamim-shteyger*," "*Mi Sheberakh-Shteyger*," "Gypsy scale," and "Dorian #4."

[65]What I term a "cantorial rhapsody" is one of the most characteristic norms of performance of cantorial music in the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century synagogue and is still the dominating norm on the concert stage. The signifying traits of this norm of performance sound like an elaborate aria, with some virtuoso elements and bravura, including cadenza-like sections, coloratura gestures, extended range, many melismas some of which extensive, and much embellishment. Insider parlance and some written sources call it a "recitative." I choose here to coin a term instead of using the insider title because in scholarly discourse (as in the general western music literature and context) the latter indicates the exact opposite of the definition and traits of this type of performance. See also Wohlberg (1982, 1987-88) and Ephros (1976).

[66]*Atah Nigleita* is part of the section of "*Shofarot*" performed during the Rosh Hashanah additional morning service. It comprises a large amount of text and traditionally took the cantorial rhapsody norm of performance, see item vii in the list of occasion-connections below.

J – Recurring motivic variant for an ending cadence. Thus far in my study of the modal system of Ashkenazi prayer music I observed that in some cases there are notable indications for the presence of both a *finalis* and a tonic.[67] The predominating tonal nature of *Adonai Malakh* as well as its symbiosis with the major scale induce a strong sense of tonic. In many cases throughout this repertoire the *finalis* and the tonic are on different notes. In *Adonai Malakh* the *finalis* is on the first scale degree. We should note, however, that this location does not render the *finalis* and the tonic identical. The *finalis* has to do with a function given to a specific tone; the lack of pitch class, the *ambitus* considerations, and the fact that within the scale structure there is no periodic repetition of the octave, also affect the distinct difference between the functions of the two notes that represent the tonic (1 and 8.) Thus, in an *Adonai Malakh* scale whose tonic is C, the lower C functions as a *finalis* while the upper C may function as a structural note within a given musical characteristic (such as "E" in example 5), or an ornamental, passing or neighbor note (such as an upper neighbor in motif-type D.) In fact, a final cadence on the upper tonic is almost always a clear indication of the use of major scale rather than *Adonai Malakh* (see also comment on *Adonai Malakh* and major below.)

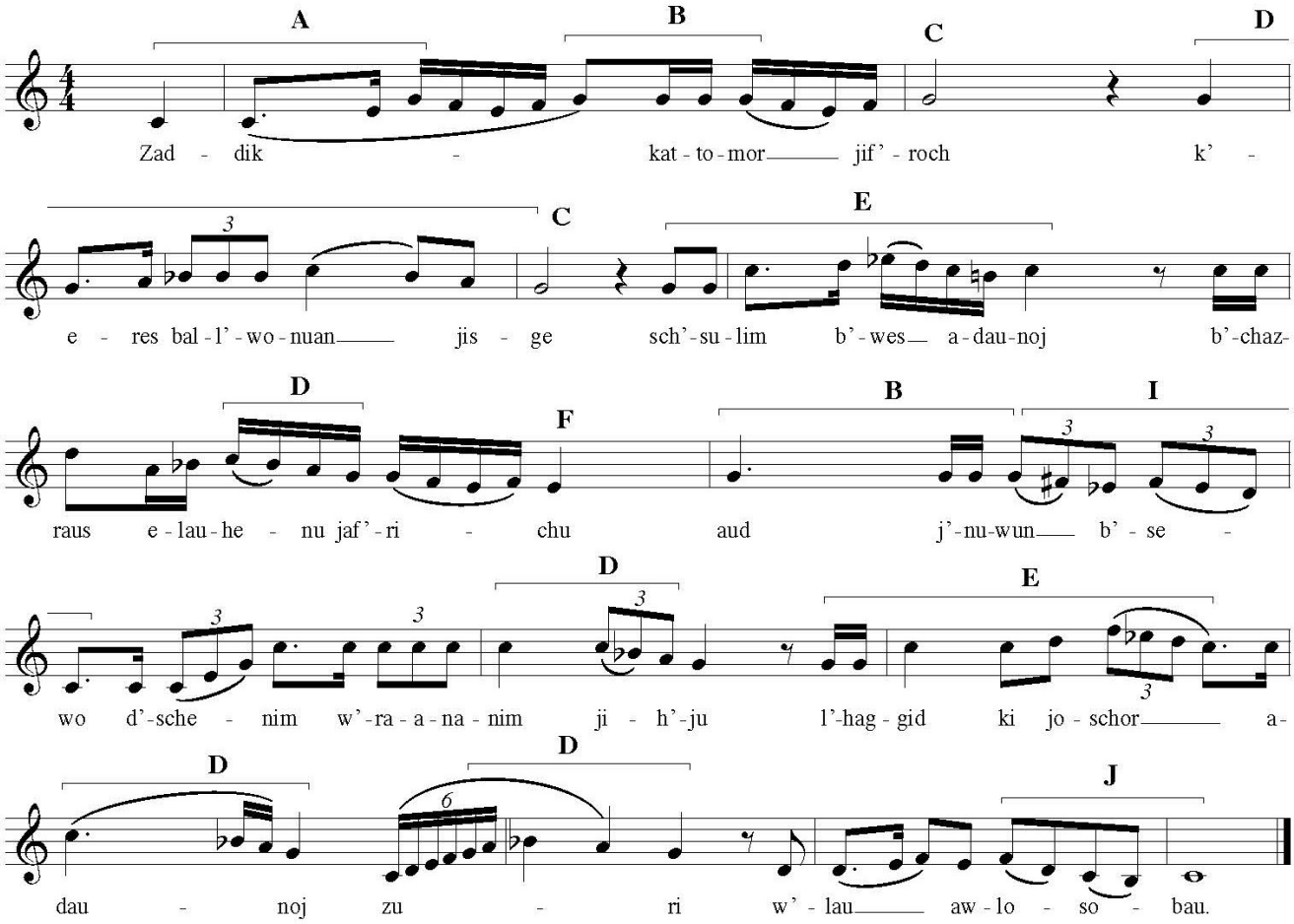
As a rule, it seems that *Adonai Malakh* does not include a musical characteristic that controls the approach to the *finalis*. Thus, final cadences may include a free configuration of motifs and approaches to the *finalis* by descending or ascending motion, in step progression or skips, and a variety of possible contours. I found, however, that a more specific cadence—4-3-1, 4-2-1, 5-3-2-1 (the last permutation is used mainly in half cadences or other non-final cadences) or any other approach to the *finalis* that consists of any kind of step progression combined with one skip of a third—is more prevalent than other, non- specific variants. This variant therefore may be considered a motif-type of its own, so long as it is clear that the option of complete freedom in the approach to the *finalis* is also available. It does seem, however, that this particular variant strengthens the sense of the mode, while, on the other "side of the spectrum" of free approaches to the *finalis*, a strong 5-1 cadence brings more of a sense of a major key (see also discussion of *Adonai Malakh* and major below.)

Although scale degree 1 serves the particular role of a *finalis* (in addition to functioning as a structural note in a few other motif-types), this note is not more important than others. Nor is it used more often. By far the most significant, central, and dominating note, is "scale degree" 5 (a fifth above the *finalis*.)[68] Almost each one of the *Adonai Malakh* motif-types involves some level of reference to the 5th degree. Consequently, any section of the liturgical repertoire that uses the mode manifests a dominating presence of the 5th degree as a central tone (this is indeed the starting point for the main argument in Avenary [1986-87]).

[67]For a thorough discussion of *finalis* versus tonic in this liturgical repertoire and related topics see Tarsi (2002b, 154-59 and *passim*).

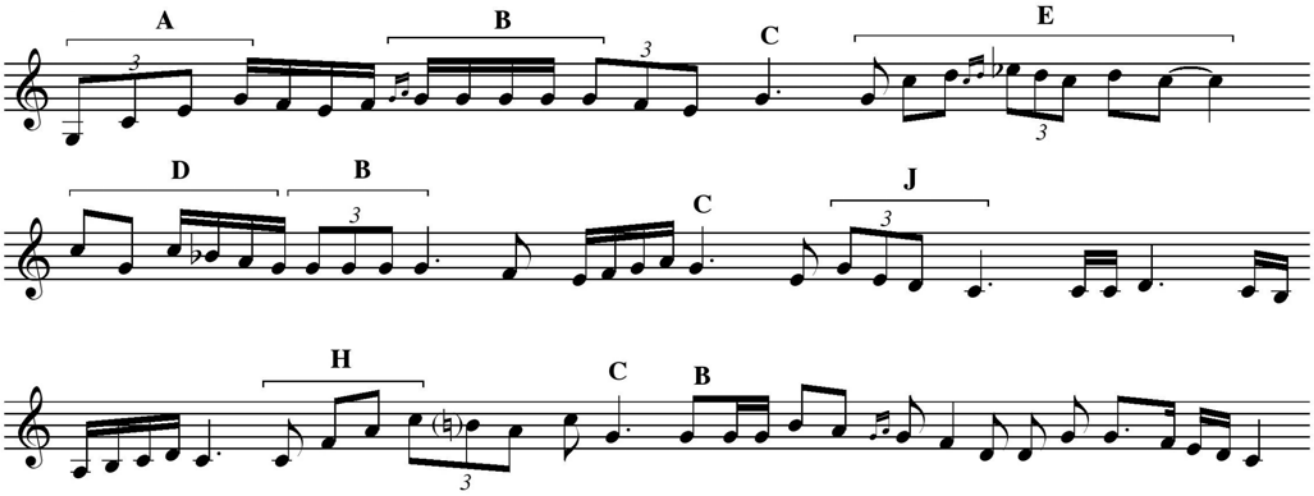
[68]Although I have not conducted a statistical analysis, it is almost certain that scale degree 5 is the most frequent note.

The following examples illustrate these motif-types as they appear in a nineteenth-century German cantorial compendium (Friedmann [1901, 110] in example 7), a living informant from Hungary Avigdor Herzog in example 8),[69] and a twentieth-century American-Lithuanian cantor (Alter [1968, 31] in example 9).

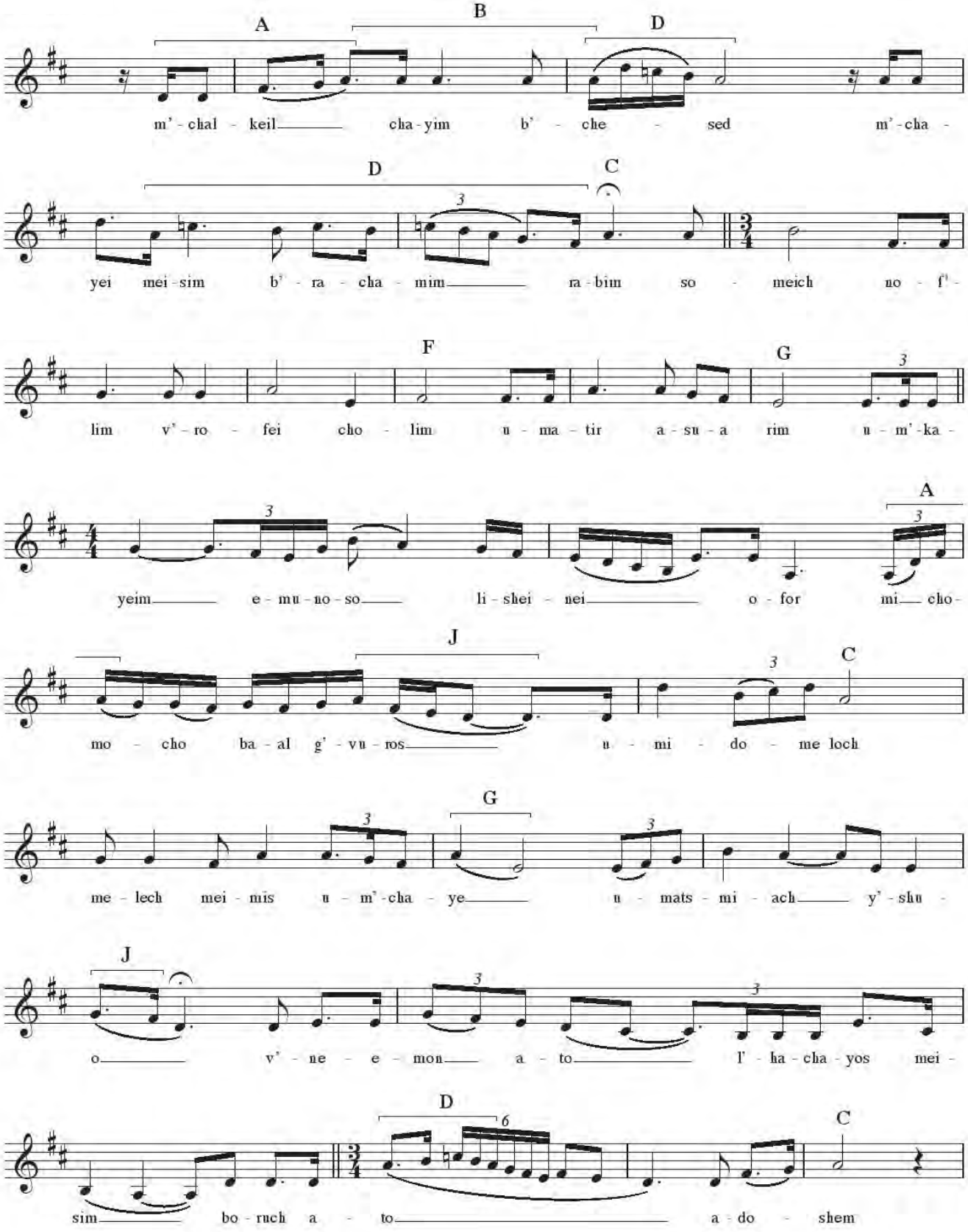



**Example 7 Motif-types as they appear in a nineteenth-century German manuscript (Friedmann 1901, 110)**

[69]Herzog's performance is from a recording interview by Uri Sharvit at the National Sound Archives at The Jewish National Library and University in Jerusalem. My transcription of this example is presented here with permission of the interviewer and the interviewed informant.




**Example 8 Motif-types in a performance by a living informant from Hungary, Avigdor Herzog**




**Example 9. Motif-types in a version by a twentieth-century American cantor (Alter 1968, 31)**

**Additional Comments on Norm of Performance, Time, Occasion, and Textual Connections**

As I mentioned at the outset of this paper, this initial foray into the exploration of manner of conduct concerns itself with a narrower view of its constituents. The exploration of the entire phenomenon of *Adonai Malakh* as a manner of conduct with all of its aspects and variables has yet to be taken on. In this paper I examine a narrower reflection of a manner of conduct in the interconnection between the musical and extra-musical factors. Among the latter, I take account of the primary three variables: text, time-occasion, and norm of performance. The core liturgical circumstance of the mode's use, and the one in which it is most often found in its purest form is that of

**(i)** *Kabbalat Shabbat* (Feld [2016, 11-30]). The liturgical form is psalms, strophic, consisting of short phrases and structural repetition. The norm of performance is that of the cantor's opening and closing each section with congregational heterophonic chant mumbling in the interim.[70]

Other text, occasion, ritual, calendar, and norm of performance components to which the mode is attached include the following:

**(ii)** The Saturday morning services (*Shabbat Shaharit* and *Musaf*). In the first two paragraphs of the Cantor's repetition of the *Amidah* (*Hazarat HaShats*), the paragraphs of *Avot* and *G'vurot* (Feld [2016 159-60, 185-86]), primarily in the second paragraph. The norm of performance is a simple cantor recitation with concluding congregational responses to *b'rakhot*.[71]

**(iii)** *Y'kum Purkan* (a short paragraph performed after the reading from the Torah on Saturday morning (Feld [2016, 176]). At this stage of research it is not clear to me whether this is indeed one of the liturgical sections that typically would take on the use of this mode. The norm of performance in the practicum is almost always a cantor's opening followed by silence, congregational whisper, or heterophonic chant mumbling. It may also take on a simple cantor recitation or—primarily in older traditional practice or in settings that emulate the style of that era—a cantorial rhapsody.

**(iv)** The blessing for the new month (*Birkat HaHodesh*), in the latter part of the section, beginning on the words "*mi she'asah nisim*," (Feld [2016,180]) or on the announcement

[70]". . . heterophonic chant-mumbling. . . occurs when each member of the congregation quietly (almost to him/herself) mumbles chant-like patterns, approximating the same musical gesture on the same text (although not clearly enunciating it) but not on the same absolute pitch, speed, rhythm, or the exact musical pattern." (Tarsi [2002a, 64, 71-72, n. 8]).

[71]*B'rakhot* can be loosely translated as "blessings." A *b'rakhah* (singular form of *b'rakhot*) consists of a specific textual formula, which in turn denotes a performance formula and consequentially also a musical formula. I use the original Hebrew term as opposed to "blessing" because of significant differences between the Biblical- or Rabbinic-Hebrew term and the English translation. For a discussion of the meaning of *b'rakhah* see for example, Artson (1994).

of the coming of the new month ("*rosh hodesh*.") The norm of performance may be a cantor recitation or a cantorial rhapsody with congregational responses.

**(v)** The sanctification section (*K'dushah*) during the additional service on Saturday morning (*Shabbat Musaf*) (Feld [2016,187]), at least in the opening few lines, which may be followed by a move to *Ahavah Rabbah* or minor. The norm of performance is responsorial.

**(vi)** The evening service of the High Holidays (*Yamim Nora'im Ma'ariv*), a mixture of cantorial recitation with *b'rakhot*, and opening and closing of paragraphs (*Sh'ma Uvirkhoteha)*, (Feld [2010, 5-9]). Here some *Adonai Malakh* motifs appear in a tonal mixture with major, which is induced by the High Holiday traditional melody ("*Misinai* tune.")[72] In this context *Adonai Malakh* is typically connected to the cantor's recitation while the major tonality of the recurrent tune is expressed in metrical congregational singing.[73]

**(vii)** Sections in the additional service (*Musaf*) for Rosh Hashanah—the sections of *Malkhuyot* (Feld [2010, 154-159]), and *Shofarot* (Feld [2010, 163-166])—traditionally the norm of performance has been primarily a cantorial rhapsody.[74]

**(viii)** The "Seven Blessings" ceremony (*Sheva B'rakhot*)—for the wedding ceremony; especially the last *b'rakhah*. Norm of performance: cantorial recitation and sectional cantorial rhapsody with congregational responses to *b'rakhot*.

**(ix)** Some evidence, both oral and in written sources (e.g., Baer [1901, 170], particularly the bottom system ("D.W." [*deutche Weise*] of number 765) suggests a sub-tradition in which the recitation parts of the ritualistic Passover evening meal (the *Haggadah* reading during the *Seder*) are performed in *Adonai Malakh*.

**(x)** Non-liturgical uses of *Adonai Malakh* can be found in some Ashkenazi secular folk and "folk-like" songs and songs prescribed primarily for singing during the Sabbath meals at home (*Z'mirot*).[75] Among examples known to me is the *Z'mirah, Barukh Adonai* (this

[72]Idelsohn takes this term out of its original context in rabbinic literature, assigning it to a group of tunes—known as *scarbove*—that are considered to be very old (as if "given at Mount Sinai"). These tunes must not be changed; their usage is obligatory during the appropriate holiday and time. Discussions of these tunes abound; for an introductory account, see Avenary (1960 and 1971).

[73]For a somewhat more detailed description of this procedure and musical examples see Tarsi (2011, 315-16 and 338-39, examples 6-7).

[74]In present-day America these long text sections are often read in English at least in part, or some of the section is skipped, and some may be sung congregationally. Choral and metrical settings for parts of this text are also found in 19th-century European or European-derived sources.

[75]There are indications that *Adonai Malakh* is also involved in Klezmer music, whether in the practice or the narrative of practitioners and some attempts at semi-scholarly approach to creating a theory. At this stage, however, I am refraining from examining this area, particularly because of issues of "insider-outsider" views whose discussion and clarification would be too involved for the introductory objectives of this paper. Nevertheless, it should be noted that Feldman (2016) offers incisive observations on the possible musical connection between

informant pronounces it "*Adoshem*") *Yom Yom*.[76] A different musical setting for the same text, also featuring *Adonai Malakh* characteristics, appears in Levin and Pasternak (1981, 78-79) (citing Mayerovich [1951, 20]). One possible representative of the Yiddish folk song repertoire is *A Hazzan oif Shabbos* (many other transliterations of the Yiddish are used.) It is worth noting that the latter actually describes an event in which a traveling cantor arrives in a small hamlet to pray over the Sabbath. Thus, the use of *Adonai Malakh* may be intentional as a "quasi insider onomatopoeia," as it demonstrates the sound of the kind of music the cantor would sing on such an occasion (*Kabbalat Shabbat*). Moreover, a typical *Adonai Malakh* motif ("D" with a neighbor note, such as featured in example 1b), keeps repeating throughout the song. The first time this motif appears, it is actually sung on the words "*davenen a shabes*," which mean "praying (chanting) the Sabbath." This may be a deliberate or subconscious use of *Adonai Malakh* as word painting of sorts to give these specific words their respective "color."

In addition, *Adonai Malakh* serves as an optional idiomatic chromatic alteration any time the major key is used. As indicated above, the scale structure alone of *Adonai Malakh* is closely related to a major scale. Both *Adonai Malakh* and major are used throughout the Ashkenazi liturgical repertoire. The distinction between major and *Adonai Malakh* may not be so clear-cut, especially in the lower part of *Adonai Malakh ambitus* in which the note-collection is identical to that of a major scale. As a rule of thumb, I propose that since the determining factor for the definition of the mode is the musical characteristics as shown in example 5, their presence indicates *Adonai Malakh* and their absence would indicate a major tonality.

In addition to the built-in major-*Adonai Malakh* fuzziness, some sections within the repertoire consist of a mixture, which, depending on the degree of presence of *Adonai Malakh* musical characteristics can either be perceived as primarily *Adonai Malakh* sections combined with free elements in major, or sections that are mainly in major with a few *Adonai Malakh* characteristics. The latter also include cases that are in major but contain idiomatic chromatic alterations that may be perceived as borrowed from *Adonai Malakh* (e.g., B flat or E flat above the octave.) Usually these alterations would also take on a motivic form that can be traced to an *Adonai Malakh* motif-type. Another angle on the matter is simply the perception of a spectrum in this repertoire between sections in pure major tonality, and cases in which almost every fragment of the music can be fitted into the *Adonai Malakh* motif-type as well as all the spots on the continuum in between.[77]

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Klezmer and Ashkenazi religious music especially in the introduction and the first chapter as well as in Feldman (2016, 235-47, 375, 385).

[76]Field recording of Naomi Cohn Zentner, interviewing Binyamin Glickman, June 10, 2009, Jerusalem.

[77]Carrying the latter observation further, we might suggest that in the system of Ashkenazi liturgical music there is no major key *per se*, but rather a single (perhaps fuzzy) tonal/modal construct that constitutes a spectrum between *Adonai Malakh* on one end and major on the other. Certainly, the repertoire of Ashkenazi liturgical music does include segments that for all intents and purposes can be categorized as being in a major key.

## A Comment on "Ethos"

The idea that a modal framework includes an element of "ethos"—in other words, that there are built-in connections between the musical components of the mode and elements such as emotions, philosophical concepts, virtues or ethical values and moral stances, humors, temperaments, moods, and the like—is not a formally established concept in the Ashkenazi liturgical system. Nevertheless, just as other theoretical factors that have yet to be examined, extra-musical associations that constitute ethos may also be associated with this system. Unlike other repertories in which the theory was transmitted alongside the practice and such extra-musical associations were acknowledged and documented, in the Ashkenazi tradition some detective work is called for.[78]

It was Avenary (1971, 18-19) who made the initial and unprecedented attempt to explore the concept of "ethos" in this repertoire, using *Adonai Malakh* as a case study. His working assumption was that the name of the mode, derived from the title *Adonai Malakh* (The Lord Reigns), provided a clue to its putative ethos. Avenary examined a few liturgical references to kingship but found little evidence to support a connection between the mode and this idea, and therefore he rejected the notion of ethos altogether. My own initial explorations suggest that there are clues indicating that elements of ethos might possibly be contained within the Ashkenazi modal system. The nature and function of these elements, however, might be fundamentally different from how ethos is constituted in other music disciplines; specifically, it may be dependent on the text, or derived from associating a mode with a given occasion. It is, in fact, *Adonai Malakh* itself, and in particular some of the extra-musical factors specific to this mode, that may hold the key allowing initial entry into this dimension of the discipline.[79]

## Epilogue: Beyond One Single Manner of Conduct

As a clearer view of *Adonai Malakh* as a *sui generis*, highly elaborated yet flexible category of "mode" begins to emerge, it also advances the overall search for a fitting typology of the various manners of conduct in the music of the Ashkenazi synagogue. At the same time, and as an outcome of the same discussion, a note of caution is necessary. It is a given that this musical repertoire and its discipline of musical performance constitute some kind of framework of reference (blurry as its definition may be at this stage of inquiry.) Yet, as Judit Frigyesi pointed out, this framework cannot be reduced to a single "governing principle" (see footnote 10). Thus, the analysis presented above should not be regarded as an attempt to demonstrate that *Adonai Malakh* itself is a master key to the larger framework of reference. Indeed, one of the conclusions to be drawn from this case study is that we may not assume that the characteristics that define *Adonai Malakh*'s manner of conduct can be used to describe or explicate the entire repertoire. Still, the study of *Adonai Malakh* constitutes the recovery of a section within the larger framework of reference. Thus, it is fitting that we review the main

[78]These connections should not be confused with the extra-musical factors already built into the system, such as text, time, ritual, event, etc.

[79]A more detailed exploration of ethos in this system, using *Adonai Malakh* as a particular example and including more details on the attendant considerations and difficulties, was presented in Tarsi (2010). I attempted an initial, limited description of the ethos-derived characteristics of *Adonai Malakh* in a few liturgical contexts in Tarsi (2011, 316-18).

findings in this study with an eye to the features or properties of this particular manner of conduct that we may expect to encounter when exploring other parts of the repertoire. In other words, it is likely that the concrete details of a given manner of conduct reflect underlying concepts that apply to other cases within this framework.

Four interrelated concepts or properties that can be drawn from the details of *Adonai Malakh* are worth revisiting here: fuzzy systems, degrees of freedom, the motif-type as the elementary musical building block, and the interconnectivity of musical variables as well as their connection to extra-musical factors. Although I consider or at least identify each one of these separately, most of their properties and defining characteristics are interwoven, and it is hard to speak of one without referring to the others. For the sake of clarity, I address them in order of their level of abstraction, from highest to lowest.

At the highest level of abstraction is the concept of the fuzzy system, which is well suited to analyzing any extemporized musical practice where the options available to the performer extend beyond simple changes that may still be considered an interpretation, or where any attempt to infer the rules that govern improvisation generates exceptions at every turn. Fuzziness is precisely the property that accounts for the freedom of the practitioner to choose between multiple options at each moment.

But the performer's freedom is not unlimited; a fuzzy system is still a system. The concept of degrees of freedom allows us to articulate the range of possibilities available within a given manner of conduct. Not only are there different levels of freedom, but they apply to a wide range of variables that extend to every aspect of the overall framework of reference. Moreover, there are different "species" of such freedoms, which also depend on the aspects that they govern. Yet all of the definitions and defining properties and boundaries that determine the range of freedom of a given variable are fuzzy. Further, the level of strictness with which these degrees of freedom apply in each case constitutes a broad spectrum whose inner gradations are themselves fuzzy.

Degrees of freedom also affect—in fact define—the concept I here termed a motif-type.[80] As we saw in the above discussion, motif-types are a musical abstraction: they are an expression of the spectrum of degrees of freedom so far as different musical variables are concerned. Motif-types represent various degrees of specificity and freedom within different kinds of "moves." The examples supplied earlier demonstrate that these moves can vary drastically from a single note (e.g., recitation or pausal) associated with a particular scale degree, to a virtually free choice of any melodic movement, or gesture so long as they utilize a given note collection that is almost always connected to a specific *ambitus* (e.g., motif-type I). As expected, the idea of the motif-type is itself a fuzzy concept. Each of these motif-types is defined by its fuzzy properties, which themselves are also a manifestation of their particular degrees of freedom. As illustrated above, the combination of fuzzy properties and degrees of freedom is what generates one primary characteristic of a manner of conduct—namely, the way in which a large and extremely varied

[80]As I mentioned in passing when introducing this term, these are more accurately *proto*-motifs, a term that is intended to suggest how the expression of these motifs is ultimately determined by degrees of freedom as well as fuzzy aspects.

range of parameters of the music may become determinant at one particular moment or another.[81]

Cumulatively, motif-types, fuzzy definitions, and degrees of freedom also have a direct effect on all aspects of the interconnectivity of musical variables, as well as their link to extra-musical factors. As one example of musical interconnectivity, we may consider motif-type D, on which I elaborated above. At root, motif-type D is a cluster of degrees of freedom and fuzzy considerations that result in different manifestations of this motif-type, but they are also inseparable from another musical factor, in this case, *ambitus*. This is, of course, only one example of interconnectivity in one mode, but it is likely that it applies to the way other manners of conduct in this repertoire bind different musical variables—fuzzily defined by different degrees of freedom—to a specific *ambitus*.

A similar variety as well as another level of degrees of freedom are manifest in the interaction between musical and extra-musical factors. Thus, a given motif-type (whose permissible musical variants are fuzzily defined by degrees of freedom) may connect to a particular part of a text, but this textual element itself is fuzzily defined by a certain degree of freedom. In the case of motif-type H, for example, the fuzzy parameter of textual connection denotes that the point of attachment may be any-particular word or phrase, so long as it is located in the (fuzzy) area of an opening phrase that is more or less close to an ending paragraph, a section, or a point of textual or musical indication for a closing of sort (i.e., an opening of a pre-concluding phrase). This particular motif-type happens to demonstrate—on yet another level of interplay between musical and extra-musical factors—a lower degree of freedom regarding text-connectivity, because unlike the other motif-types in *Adonai Malakh*, which are associated with any of the liturgical texts (and time-occasions-ritual) in which *Adonai Malakh* is used, motif-type H occurs only on *Kabbalat Shabbat*.

Finally, we need to remember that the present discussion of *Adonai Malakh* in its entirety unfolds one overarching extra-musical connection, in which the entire complex of interconnected and fuzzily defined degrees of freedom involving musical factors is attached not only to parts of texts but, to an even greater degree, to considerations of time, occasion, and calendar.[82] These different levels of attachment—performance, text, occasion, calendar—too are fuzzily defined by the varying degrees of freedom with which the application of *Adonai Malakh* is attached to extra-musical factors.[83] This latter observation also brings us back to the likelihood that these particular features may recur in many other constituents of this repertoire or performance

[81]As the examples given earlier in this discussion illustrate, such parameters may consist of—among many other examples—a governing tonal characteristic; a given tetrachord or pentachord; a fixed motif; any free musical motion contained within a given *ambitus*; a fragment of melody, or a miniature musical phrase, or part of a phrase; a given group of notes; an interval, or a set of intervals; or even a particular contour.

[82]As described in the section "*Additional Comments on Norm of Performance, Time, Occasion, and Textual Connections*," subsections (i) to (x).

[83]In addition, in the case of *Adonai Malakh* specifically, there is also the unique fuzziness concerning the tonal/modal realm of the (fuzzily determined) difference between the degree to which we may identify a given section of music as *Adonai Malakh* or Major, the defining differences between which are themselves fuzzy (see the pertinent discussion above, and footnote 77).

discipline, although, as noted, not in all of them; conversely, other features not manifested in *Adonai Malakh* may need to be identified in order to explicate those contexts.

When judging whether the features traced in *Adonai Malakh*—the fuzzy elements, as well as degrees of freedom and motif-types—are applicable to other parts of the repertoire, it is important to keep in mind that they may be operative in sections where, at first glance, they seem to be absent. There are parts of the repertoire that may not conduct themselves by way of motif-types: they may present a fixed melodic fragment or fragments, a genuine fixed "motif" (in the Western common practice sense of the term), or even a complete pre-set melody in which there is not much freedom for variants. These also include cases in which there is no freedom at all on two levels, the musical and the extra-musical: the musical content may be determined by a complete melody, or motif-melodic fragments, or even a fixed melodic interval, and the extra-musical textual and time-occasion factors may dictate what the practitioner must do.[84] On the other extreme, there are many parts of this repertoire in which some musical and extra-musical considerations may be implemented, yet the practitioner may also be granted complete freedom as to how to perform them.

In such extreme cases, where every aspect of a performance is prescribed or where "anything goes," we might decide that the concepts of degrees of freedom and motif-types are simply inapplicable and even question their universal relevance to the overall framework of reference. Yet these extremes are easily accommodated in a fuzzy system. As explained above, a fuzzy system can be modeled as a spectrum whose graduation lines are themselves fuzzy. The extreme, "non-fuzzy" cases, where there is either no freedom at all concerning all musical components as well as extra-musical factors (specific word, time-occasion-calendar, such as the cases mentioned in footnote 88), or, on the other hand, complete freedom, are simply the extremes of the two ends of a fuzzy spectrum.

In sum, recognizing the presence of fuzzy phenomena such as degrees of freedom and motif-types in at least some "manners of conduct" within the Ashkenazi liturgical tradition offers a way to transform the paradigm of the "prayer modes" into a more inclusive and flexible analytical tool. This should enable the construction of a music theory that is more true to the practice of this tradition. The transformed paradigm in turn opens up new avenues of research that may better incorporate historical and comparative study, such as exploring individual variants and reconstructing diachronic processes from synchronic evidence. By the same token, this paradigm can help clarify thus far vague concepts in ethnomusicological explorations of this tradition. Finally, perhaps we may apply this flexible approach to the "modes" that have been identified in liturgical music to the non-liturgical musical practices of the Ashkenazi tradition, such as *Klezmer*, *Z'mirot*, and folk and art songs. As an initial foray into the identification of *Adonai Malakh*'s basic components, this paper is intended as a springboard for further

[84]Two very clear examples are the lack of any flexibility of choices in the performing of the specific word "*vay'khulu*" on Friday night strictly as a melodic interval of a perfect fifth from scale degree 1 to 5 (see Tarsi [2001–2002, 61]). The other case is the singing of the phrase "*mi yanu'a umi yanuah*" in the performance of the *Piyyut* "*Unetaneh Tokef*" on the High Holiday additional morning service (*Musaf*) in a specific pre-set melodic fragment (the same one that is used for the words "*bohen kol eshtonot,*" which in some older prayer books still appear earlier in the service.)

discussion. Hopefully, as more and more features of the repertoire are elucidated, we will come closer to understanding the essence and conduct of prayer music of the Ashkenazi tradition.

*Boaz Tarsi is an associate professor at the Jewish Theological Seminary. He has published and presented internationally, primarily on the theory of Jewish prayer music. His compositions have been performed, published, recorded, and broadcast throughout the US, Europe, and Israel. He holds a Doctoral degree from Cornell University. His poetry book,* Yad Ahat Hehelah Roshemet, *was recently published in Israel.*

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# The Death of Kashtan, or When Did Cantor Hirsch and his Father Salomon (Kashtan) Become Weintraubs?

*By Daniel S. Katz*

Almost every *hazzan* and certainly every scholar of Ashkenazi cantorial music is familiar with the names of Cantor Hirsch Weintraub of Königsberg (ca. 1812-1881) and his father, Cantor Salomon of Dubno, a.k.a. Kashtan (ca. 1781-1829).[1] Both were among the most famous synagogue cantors of their time, even if their musical compositions are not well known today.[2] Indeed, Kashtan was so famous that the Eastern European Hebrew weekly newspaper *Hamagid* decided to publish his biography nearly half a century after he died. Written by Hirsch Weintraub, it appeared in ten installments in 1875.[3]

This article is not about the music or the biography of Salomon and Hirsch, but about their names, specifically about the names "Kashtan" and "Weintraub." I have written before about these names and will introduce new information here.[4]

1. Evidence for the year of Hirsch Weintraub's birth is confusing and contradictory. I have chosen "ca. 1812" after analyzing all of the known relevant primary sources, including archival documents that I recently discovered in Berlin and Cincinnati. I hope to publish this material soon. The research for this paper was supported by a grant from the German Research Foundation (*Deutsche Forschungsgemeinschaft*) in affiliation with the Martin Buber Institute for Jewish Studies at the University of Cologne. I am also grateful for the assistance of the staff and volunteers at the Center for Jewish History in New York.

2. Hirsch Weintraub published two volumes of his own music and one of his father's: *Schire Beth Adonai. Tempelgesänge für den Gottesdienst der Israeliten,* 3 vols.,1859, reprint, New York: Sacred Music Press, 1955, Out of Print Classics Series of Synagogue Music, vols. 19-21. Abraham Idelsohn included eighteen liturgical pieces by Hirsch, together with samples of his melodies for biblical cantillation, in *The Synagogue Song of the East-European Jews* (Leipzig: Friedrich Hofmeister, [1932]), reprint, Tara Publications, 1999, Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies, vol. 8, pp. 105-135; cf. pp. xxxiii-xxxiv. No other collection of music by either Salomon or Hirsch has been published, although individual pieces have occasionally appeared: see Idelsohn, "Salomon Weintraub-Kaschtan: Mim'kom'cho," *Musikbeilage zu "Der Jüdische Kantor,"* vol. 5, no. 2 (1931); Daniel S. Katz, "Music That Escaped: Transcriptions of Two Songs of Praise from a Surviving, but Still Hidden Synagogue Repertory," in *Fiori Musicali: Liber amicorum Alexander Silbiger*, ed. Claire Fontijn with Susan Parisi (Sterling Heights, Michigan: Harmonie Park Press, 2010), Detroit Monographs in Musicology / Studies in Music, No. 55, pp. 525-573, here pp. 538-545, 564-573; Katz, "*Ein erster Blick auf ein geschmackvolles altes Kastanienstück: Transkription einer vergessenen Komposition von Kantor Salomon (1781–1829), genannt Kaschtan (d. h. 'Kastanie'*)," in *'Ein Gebet ohne Gesang ist wie ein Körper ohne Seele.' Aspekte der synagogalen Musik = PaRDeS (Zeitschrift der Vereinigung für Jüdische Studien e.V.)*, vol. 20 (2014), pp. 61-74; and Katz, "Another *Mimkomkha* by Cantor Salomon ('Kashtan'): A Transcription and Analysis," *Musica Judaica*, vol. 23 (2021-2022), pp. 1-40.

3. Hirsch Weintraub, "תולדות הש"ץ הנודע קאשטאן ז"ל," in המגיד, vol. 19 (1875), no. 14 (Apr. 7), p. 122; no. 15 (Apr. 14), p. 130; no. 16 (Apr. 28), p. 140; no. 17 (May 5), p. 148; no. 18 (May 12), p. 160; no. 19 (May 19), p. 168; no. 20 (May 26), p. 176; no. 21 (June 2), pp. 186–187; no. 23 (June 16), pp. 202–203; and no. 24 (June 23), p. 210. I am currently preparing an annotated edition of the Hebrew text with an English translation.

4. See the appendix ("What Was Salomon Weintraub's Last Name and What Color Was His 'Red' Hair?") in Katz, "Music That Escaped," pp. 546-555.

**The Name "Kashtan"**

Most of what we know about Salomon comes from Hirsch's biography of his father. Hirsch explains that *Kashtan* ("Chestnut") was a nickname bestowed on the youthful Salomon by his mentor and teacher, the *hazzan* known as the Lame Cantor.[5] He writes: "...the cantor had given him the nickname "Kashtan" because of his great love for him and because he had yellow hair."[6] This statement implies that the primary rationale for the name was the Lame Cantor's affection for his young apprentice, and not the color of his hair.

Indeed, it is not clear what color Kashtan's hair really was. As we have just seen, Hirsch calls his father's hair "yellow" (״צהובים״). However, the secondary literature generally calls it "red," and sometimes translates the word *kashtan* (literally "chestnut") as if it meant "redhead."[7] Abraham Idelsohn correctly translates *kashtan* as "chestnut." Noting that the word can "denote [the] reddish colored hair of a human being, or a horse," he states that "the *Chazzan* had reddish curly hair" (sic—did he mean "reddish colored"?).[8] Surprisingly, Ernst Daniel Goldschmidt ignores the color and suggests that he was "known as Solomon Kashtan, after his native town in Volhynia."[9] This does not seem plausible, since Hirsch tells us that Kashtan was born in Starokostiantyniv ("Old Kostantin")[10] and there do not seem to be any places nearby whose names sound like "Kashtan."[11]

5. For Salomon's apprenticeship to the Lame Cantor ("לאהמער חזן"), see Weintraub, תולדות, p. 122, column A, line 8 through p. 130, col. A, l. 41.

6. Weintraub, תולדות, p. 130, col. A, l. 15:

"החזן כנהו בשם קאשטאן מרוב אהבתו אותו ומאשר שערותיו היו צהובים."

7. For example, Aron Friedmann, *Lebensbilder berühmter Kantoren*, vol. 3 (Berlin, 1927), p. 134; Eric Werner, *A Voice Still Heard… The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazic Jews* (University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), p. 229; Israel Adler, ed., *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840: A Descriptive and Thematic Catalogue with a Checklist of Printed Sources*, 2 vols. (Munich: G. Henle, 1989), Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B IX[1], vol. 1, p. 332 and vol. 2, pp. 797, 825, and 846; חנוך אבנארי, "דרכו של חזן מערבה: האוטוביוגרפיה של הרש ויינטראוב", in תצליל, vol. 9 (1969), pp. 124-127, here p. 124. Since Avenary does not put the word האדמוני (red) in brackets, it is not clear that האדמוני is his own translation of the name קשטן and not Hirsch Weintraub's. Hirsch's manuscript draft (in German) does not explain the meaning of the name "Kashtan": see Klau Library, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, Cincinnati, Birnbaum Collection, Arch II S, Weintraub (1), p. 1, lines 5-6. Accordingly, since I had not yet seen Hirsch's autograph when I wrote "Music That Escaped" (especially pp. 554-555), I thought that the term האדמוני was his.

8. A.Z. Idelsohn, *The Synagogue Song of the East-European Jews*, p. xxiii, n. 1.

9. "Weintraub, Solomon," in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (second edition, 2007), vol. 20, p. 729.

10. Weintraub, תולדות, p. 122, col. A, l. 5-6: "My late father, Reb Salomon of blessed memory, was born around the year [5]541 [=1780/81] in Old Kostantin (Alt Kostantin) in Russia";

״אבי המנוח ר׳ שלמה ז״ל נולד קרוב לשנת תקמ״א בקאסטאנטין-ישן (Alt-Kostantin) ברוסלאנד"

(The round parentheses are Hirsch's). Today, Starokostiantyniv is in Ukraine.

11. An online search suggests that the nearest one may be a village called Kashtanivka, ca. 100 miles southwest of Starokostiantyniv (not to be confused with places called Kashtanivka or Kashtanovka in Zaporizhia Oblast and in Crimea!).

Perhaps the earliest statement about Kashtan's hair color is from a Yiddish play called *Der falsche Kaschtan* ("The False Kashtan").[12] It was written around 1820 by the Hungarian-born humorist Moritz (originally Moses) Gottlieb Saphir (1795-1858).[13] Because Saphir became famous for his German publications, *The False Kashtan* "is generally unknown both among specialists in Saphir and Yiddish cultural and literary historians alike."[14] The play features a scheming character who impersonates Kashtan—and has red hair:

| | |
|---|---|
| *Hotzeplotz:* | *Ün kegen Vöröschvar is der Himmel esoi lichtig ün kloor.* |
| *Szanele:* | *Joi, dos is der Kegenblich vün seine roithe Hoor.* |
| | |
| *Hotzeplotz*: | In Vöröschvar so light and clear's the air. |
| *Szanele*: | Yes, that's the image of his reddish hair.[15] |

1820 was close to the time when the real Kashtan visited Óbuda ("Old Buda," which later became part of Budapest).[16] I do not know the exact year when he traveled there, or if the play was written in anticipation or in the aftermath of his visit. Either way, it unfortunately cannot be considered as contemporary evidence for two reasons. First, although the characters were based on real people and apparently were recognizable, the theatrical work itself is satirical, and therefore not necessarily historically accurate.[17] Second, it wasn't published until 1900. There is no way to know how the published text from 1900 compares to the original text from ca. 1820.

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12. Ben Eliezer, "*Saphir Kiadatlan Bohózata: Der Falsche Kaschtan"* ("Saphir's Unpublished Farce: The False Kashtan"), *Magyar-Zsidó Szemle (Hungarian-Jewish Review*), vol. 17 (1900), pp. 328-341. Ben Eliezer published the play in transliteration. Zalman Rejzen gives the entire opening monolog (act 1, scene 1) in Hebrew letters, with glosses explaining the Hungarian-Yiddish dialect, in his history of Yiddish literature:
זלמן רייזען, "יוסף הערץ און מאריץ-גאטליב ספיר" in פון מענדעלסאן ביז מענדעל, האַנטבוך פֿאַר דער געשיכטע פֿון דער יידישער השכלה-ליטעראַטור מיט רעפֿראָדוקציעס און בילדער,
vol. 1 (Warsaw: Kultur-Liga, 1923), pp. 71-80, here pp. 74-77. Translations from the Hungarian were adapted from Google and sometimes substantially reworked. I am grateful to Katalin Rac of Emory University for confirming that they are accurate. I am also grateful to Jalda Rebling, who performed in *The False Kashtan* in Berlin in 1999, for calling my attention to the play's existence.

13. For Saphir's life, see Philipp Weil, *Wiener Jahrbuch für Zeitgeschichte, Kunst und Industrie, und Oesterreichische Walhalla,* pt. 1 (Vienna, 1851), pp. 55-63 (written during Saphir's lifetime); "Saphir, Moriz [sic] Gottlieb," in Constantin Wurzbach, *Biographisches Lexikon des Kaiserthums Österreich* (60 vols., 1856-1891), vol. 28 (1874), pp. 213-232 (sometimes heavily dependent on Weil); Yomtov Ludwig Bato, "Moritz Gottlieb Saphir: 1795-1858," *Bulletin des Leo-Baeck-Instituts,* vol. 5 (Sept. 1958), pp. 27-33; and Uwe Puschner, "Moritz Gottlieb Saphir (1795-1858): *'Vomkunstrichterstuhlherabdieleutevernichtenwoller'* [sic]," *Geschichte und Kultur der Juden in Bayern,* ed. Manfred Treml and Wolf Weigand with Evamaria Brockhoff (Munich: K.G. Saur, 1988), pp. 101-108.

14. Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy, "'*Nem veszedelmes többé*.' *Jiddis a* Magyar-Zsidó Szemlé*ben, a magyar zsidó tudományos diskurzusban*" ("'It Is Not Dangerous Any More': Yiddish in the *Hungarian-Jewish Review* and in Hungarian Jewish Academic Writings"), *Regio,* vol. 24 (2016), no. 1, pp. 161-178, here p. 167, n. 13.

15. Ben Eliezer, p. 338 (cf. p. 339, where the couplet is repeated); the English translation is mine.

16. Hirsch Weintraub discusses his father's visit to Óbuda and the community's attempt to hire him as its cantor in תולדות, p. 176, col. B, l. 26 through p. 187, col. A, l. 7.

17. "The characters in the comedy all allude directly to living people; in some cases Saphir even leaves the names of the corresponding members of the Jewish community unchanged": Péter Varga, "*Heinrich Heine und seine*

Moreover, there are problems with the published version. To begin with, it is not clear who the editor really was. He gives his name as "Ben Eliezer" ("Eliezer's son"). However, it has been suggested that this is a pseudonym for the historian Bernát (Bernhard) Mandl (1852-1940).[18] The reason is not clear, but the idea is plausible: Bernát's father's name was Lázár, and "Eliezer" is a likely way to render "Lázár" in Hebrew.[19]

If this is true, it is not difficult to see why Mandl may have wanted to use a pseudonym. Szonja Ráhel Komoróczy explains that at this time "Yiddish was less highly valued than Hebrew or Aramaic. It was almost considered shameful to publish in Yiddish, so many authors published their Yiddish works under pseudonyms."[20] Another reason may have been the editor's embarrassment at *The False Kashtan's* vulgarity. As we shall soon see, he describes Saphir's language as "akin to pornography"! (Ultimately, it is perhaps fitting that the editor of *The False Kashtan* should have a pseudonym, which literally means a "false name.")

Ben Eliezer, whether or not he was Bernát Mandl, does not identify his source for the text of *The False Kashtan*. He writes: "At first, copies of the manuscript were circulated privately among many families; today, however, it is hardly possible to find a copy anywhere, but among the older members of the religious community in Óbuda, there are still a few men who can recall whole scenes from memory."[21] He does not say whether he found a rare manuscript or relied on the old men's memories. If he did have a manuscript, he does not tell us anything about it, including when, where, and by whom it had been written, what condition it was in, or where he found it.

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*jüdischen Freunde*," in *Heine, 1797–1856*, ed. Endre Kiss and Tamás Lichtmann (Debrecen, Hungary, 2002), pp. 65–79; Varga cites a recent thesis ("*Diplomarbeit*") here: Tamás Tóth: *Gottlieb Moritz* [sic] *Saphir und seine jiddische Komödie* (Budapest, 1993). I have not yet seen Tóth's thesis.

18. See "Saphir als Synagogendichter" (unattributed), in *Judaica. Zeitschrift für Geschichte, Literatur, Kunst und Bibliographie*, vol. 2, no. 11-12 (Aug.-Sept. 1935), pp. 16-19, here p. 16; Komoróczy, "'*Nem veszedelmes többé*,'" p. 167; and Ladislaus Nagy, "The debut of the child prodigy Leopold von Auer, one of 'the first Stempenyus,' mentored by David Ridley-Kohne, Cornelia von Hollósy and the Ellinger family – in the light of the Viardot's circle," https://www.academia.edu/45332187 (last accessed Mar. 6, 2024), p. 24, n. 43 and 45.

19. Bernát's father's name is recorded in his death certificate, available at the genealogical website FamilySearch.org: Hungary Civil Registration, 1895-1980, Entry for Mandl Bernát and Mandl Lázár, https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:4351-R6W2 (last accessed Mar. 8, 2024).

20. Komoróczy, "'Nem veszedelmes többé,'" p. 167.

21. Ben Eliezer, p. 330 (cf. Weil, p. 55). In a footnote (n. 2), he says: "I owe this information to Mr. Bató, a religious teacher in Óbuda." It is not clear whether the footnote refers to the entire sentence or just to the old men with good memories. I suspect that the latter is the case. Given that *The False Kashtan* was written eighty years before Ben Eliezer's publication, the idea that some people still remembered parts of it from memory seems counterintuitive (unless the play had continued to be performed for several years or decades after the premiere). Therefore this claim has a greater need of documentation than the statements about the private circulation of manuscripts and their subsequent scarcity, which are plausible. Furthermore, Ben Eliezer had previously written: "so far—I can assume on the basis of many inquiries—that it [*The False Kashtan*] has not appeared anywhere in print" (p. 329). This implies that he had diligently, although unsuccessfully, attempted to locate a printed version of the play, and so he knew from personal experience that it was available only in manuscripts.

In addition, the published version does not meet modern critical standards because it was expurgated. Ben Eliezer admits that he abridged the text, and ironically justifies this practice by citing academic responsibility: "…out of concern for the scientific dignity of this journal, we occasionally left out a very strong expression, already akin to pornography, as well as an entire scene."[22] Although he does not directly say so, it is possible that the places, or some of the places, in the text where the omissions occur are those marked by dashes or dots.[23]

The editor's self-censorship and the lack of a reliable source mean that we cannot be confident in the accuracy of the text. Finally, Ben Eliezer makes a false statement about Kashtan's biography, which further diminishes his trustworthiness. He claims that Kashtan "later became the cantor of Óbuda."[24] In fact, Kashtan later regretted *not* having become the cantor of Óbuda: "He said he was sorry he had left the city of Alt-Ofen and didn't remain there as cantor."[25]

It is worth noting that the *Wiener Jahrbuch* of 1851 misnames *The False Kashtan* as *The False Karsten* (*"Falscher Karsten"* [sic!]).[26] This tells us that the *Jahrbuch's* author was not familiar with Kashtan at all, and accordingly had no knowledge of any traditions connected to the color of his hair. (It also implies that he had neither seen nor read the play.)

In any event, the hair colors *roithe* in *The False Kashtan* and צהובים (yellow) in Hirsch Weintraub's biography of his father seem to contradict each other. The comparison of Kashtan's supposedly red hair to the "light and clear" hue of the sky in Vöröschvar also subverts our understanding of the color, for "light and clear" appears to negate the impression of "red." One does not often talk about a clear red color, and the sky is generally considered to be blue, albeit with a tinge of yellow when the sun is out. (Sunset and sunrise are an exception, when vivid components of red and orange are often seen, but these colors—once again—would not be characterized as "light and clear.")

A similar confusion appears in the second volume of the *Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora*, which is devoted to the city of Brisk d'Lito (Brest-Litovsk). Salomon's third major cantorial position was in Brisk. Since he stayed there for six years, this was likely his longest and most important position before he settled in Dubno; he had previously served in Zamoshtsh (Zamość) and then in Tiktin (Tykocin) for three years.[27]

Over 200 years after his tenure in Brisk, Salomon was still sufficiently well remembered to be included as the first of eleven cantors with short biographies in the *Encyclopedia*. His

22. Ben Eliezer, p. 329.

23. Ibid., pp. 331, 338-341.

24. Ibid., p. 329.

25. "ויאמר כי יצר לו מאוד אשר עזב את העיר אלטאפען ולא נשאר שמה לש"ץ";
Hirsch Weintraub, תולדות, p. 210, col. A, l. 54-55; the Yiddish name for Óbuda is Alt-Ofen (אלט-אפען or אלטאפען). For the source for Kashtan's negotiations with the community of Óbuda, see above, n. 16. The deal ultimately fell through because the Jewish Community of Dubno refused to release him from his commitments.

26. Weil, p. 58.

27. For Kashtan's appointments in Zamoshtsh, Tiktin, and Brisk, see תולדות, p. 130, col. B, l. 8 through p. 140, col. A, l. 73.

biographical entry begins as follows: “Because of his red hair he was called ‘Koshtan’ [sic] by the masses.”[28] The compilers of the *Encyclopedia* apparently were not aware of the Lame Cantor, and they followed the popular tradition that Kashtan’s hair was red. Later on, the same volume mentions someone called “Yonaleh the Redhead.”[29]

These quotations from the volume on Brisk are taken from the English edition, which is a translation. The original version had been published in Jerusalem with articles in Hebrew and Yiddish. Salomon’s hair is described as “האדמוניות” (red) and “Yonaleh the Redhead” is called ״יונה׳לה הצהוב״ (yellow Jonah).[30] The editors of the English edition, published only ten years ago, apparently considered red and yellow to be the same color: they translate האדמוניות (red) as "red" and הצהוב (yellow) as “redhead.” Meanwhile, we have already noted that Hirsch himself, who ought to have known his father’s hair color as well as anyone, called it צהבים (yellow).

This ambiguity and apparent contradiction has its roots in antiquity. The Hebrew words for both red and yellow are biblical. The *Tanakh* uses אדמוני (reddish) to refer to Esau (Gen. 25:25) and King David (1 Samuel 16:12, 17:42), and the discovery of hair of the color צהב (yellow) is a sign of impurity (Lev. 13:30, 32, 36). Athalya Brenner, the author of a book on the meaning of biblical terms for colors, suggests that the color yellow in Lev. 13 is not to be taken literally:

> שַׂעָר שָׁחֹר [black hair] is a sign of health, in contrast to שַׂעָר צָהֹב [yellow hair] (vv. 30, 32, 36) which is a symptom of hair disease…. The opposition צָהֹב // שָׁחֹר [black/yellow] basically signifies a ‘light-coloured’ = ‘sick’ vs. ‘dark coloured’ = ‘well’ contrast.[31]

This is unlikely to be the connotation that Hirsch Weintraub had in mind when describing how his youthful and musically precocious father acquired the nickname *Kashtan!* In general, however, צָהֹב (yellow) seems to have implied a tinge of red.[32] The philologist Gabriel Wasserman confirmed this and pointed out to me that the color צָהֹב, like כָּתֹם (orange), did not attain its modern meaning until after the middle of the twentieth century. He writes:

> Ben-Yehuda's *Dictionary of The Hebrew Language* was issued between 1908 and 1959. Ben-Yehuda himself died in 1922, having finished the first seven volumes, up to the middle of the letter *nun*.

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28. *Brest-Litovsk–Volume II: Encyclopedia of the Jewish Diaspora (Belarus)*, ed. Elieser Steinman, (New York: JewishGen, [2014]), p. 67. The *Encyclopedia* renders Salomon’s given name as *Schloime.* According to Alexander Beider, this was the predominant form of the name in eastern Poland in the nineteenth century: *A Dictionary of Ashkenazic Given Names: Their Origins, Structure, Pronunciation, and Migrations* (Bergenfield, New Jersey: Avotaynu, 2001), p. 415, col. 1.

29. Steinman, *Brest-Litovsk*, p. 113.

30 אנציקלופדיה של גלויות, כרך שני, בריסק-דליטא, העורך: אליעזר שטיינמן. (ירושלים-תל אביב: חברת אנציקלופדיה של גלויות בע״ט, (1958, col. 106, 175.

31. Athalya Brenner, *Colour Terms in the Old Testament* (Sheffield, England: Department of Biblical Studies, University of Sheffield, 1982), Journal for the Study of the Old Testament, Supplement Series, vol. 21, p. 97.

32. Some scholars “classify צָהֹב as a sub-member of the אָדֹם sector” (Brenner, p. 53); “...in M[ishnaic] H[ebrew] צָהֹב has an independent reference that may overlap with אָדֹם at their common border…” (ibid., p.54).

> The word כתום [orange] does not appear at all in the dictionary. The word צהוב [yellow]—in one of the volumes written after 1922—describes the color as גון, בפרט של השערות, בין אָדֹם וְיָרֹק, קרוב לגן הַחֶלְמוֹן כשהוא נטה אדמימות, ["a color, especially a hair color, between red and green, similar to an egg yolk when it leans towards redness"], and defines it in German as *rotgelb* [reddish yellow], not simply as *gelb* [yellow]. So, both in the Hebrew and the German, there's an emphasis that it's a red kind of yellow.
>
> In Zvi Rin's 1946 Hebrew translation of *The Wonderful Wizard of Oz*, "the road of yellow bricks" is translated מְסִלַּת הַלְּבֵנִים הַכְּתֻמּוֹת [today this color would be understood as "orange"].[33]

It would seem, therefore, that both the ancient and the modern understanding of the color צָהֹב did not, until recently, correspond to our current concept of "yellow." Accordingly, when calling his father's hair צָהֹב, Hirsch was not calling it blond, but a blend of red and yellow that may (or may not) conform to what we would think of as a chestnut color.

Why, then, did Hirsch not call a chestnut a chestnut by using the biblical word ערמון ("chestnut"; cf. Gen. 30:37 and Ezek. 31:8)? Probably because the biblical noun does not represent the name of a color, but the name of a tree.[34] The adjective ערמני was a later innovation. The oldest of the three authors cited to illustrate this word in Even-Shoshan's dictionary was born in 1878, three years after Hirsch published Kashtan's biography.[35]

This may be why Hirsch looked for a different word to describe his father. With these details in mind, it seems reasonable to think that Kashtan's hair may indeed have had a chestnut color. However, at this point in my research, I do not think that the sources at hand are sufficient to draw an unequivocal conclusion. To wind up our discussion of the name *Kashtan*, let me reiterate what I wrote in 2010: the Lame Cantor's

> …"great love" [for the young Salomon; see above, n. 5-6] was not the usual popular affection that lay behind a typical cantor's nickname, but an almost fatherly love that the Lame Cantor had developed for his exceptional and gifted *meshorer* [apprentice or assistant "singer"]. This relationship was then the catalyst behind the nickname. The hair was secondary. It needed only to be close enough to the color *kashtan* ["chestnut"] for the nickname not to be absurd.[36]

33. Gabriel Wasserman, e-mail to me, Feb. 13, 2024 (the square brackets are mine).
34. Cf. Rashi (1040–1105), commentary on Gen. 30:37, and David Frankel (1704–1762), commentary on Tractate *Ketubot* 7:9, in *Korban ha-Eida* ("Offering of the Community," Frankel's commentary on the Jerusalem Talmud); to explain the word ערמון or its plural, ערמונים, they use, respectively, an Old French and an Aramaic cognate of *kashtan*.
35. See Avraham Even-Shoshan, הַמִּלּוֹן הֶחָדָשׁ (*The New Dictionary*), Jerusalem: Kiryat-Sefer, 1985), s.v. ערמני.
36. Katz, "Music That Escaped," p. 554.

**The Name "Weintraub"**

Now let us consider the name *Weintraub* ("grape"). Indeed, the main purpose of this article is to introduce a newly discovered piece of evidence about this name. I have already presented a series of three letters written between Nov. 21 and Dec. 7, 1819 by representatives of the Jewish Community of Kempen (Kępno) in the Duchy of Posen and by Prussian authorities in Posen and Berlin. This correspondence, which I discovered in the Secret Archives of Prussian Cultural Heritage in Berlin, discusses the Jewish Community's unsuccessful attempt to hire Kashtan as its permanent cantor. Since these letters refer to Salomon by a different surname, they prove that he had not yet adopted the name "Weintraub" as of 1819.[37]

Accordingly, 1819 is the *terminus post quem* for the family's adoption of the name "Weintraub." The previous *terminus post quem* had been 1833, since the earliest primary source of which I was aware, and which indubitably connects the name "Weintraub" to this family, is a brief item published that year in the *Lemberger Zeitung* (the "Lemberg [Lvov] Newspaper"). On May 22, 1833, the newspaper announced that "Hirsch A. Weintraub" would donate his earnings from the second day of Shavuot to benefit the victims of a recent fire.[38] (The initial "A." in Hirsch's name stands for "Alter."[39])

I would like to present here a newly discovered document from 1829. Its applicability at first seems dubious, but a closer examination shows that it can replace the *Lemberger Zeitung* as the earliest known source for the name "Weintraub" in connection with Hirsch and Salomon. This document is a Jewish death registry from the city of Brody. To begin with, here is a lengthy excerpt from the final installment of Hirsch's biography of Salomon, in which he describes his father's illness and death:

> After this my father fell ill, because at that time the government passed a new law [on Aug. 26, 1827], under which Jews could be taken for military service in the Russian army. He suffered heartache and anguish because of this. He had previously said that he did not want to be appointed as cantor in the city of Lemberg [in the Austrian Empire] solely because the Jews

37. Daniel S. Katz, "The Jews of Kempen (Kępno) vs. the Kingdom of Prussia: Campaigning for Permission to Hire the Renowned Cantor Salomon ('Kashtan') After the Congress of Vienna," paper read at the annual meeting of the Association for Jewish Studies (San Francisco, Dec. 19, 2023), not yet published. For the documents, see Berlin, *Geheimes Staatsarchiv Preussischer Kulturbesitz*, I. HA Rep. 77, Tit. 1021, Kempen Nr. 1 (*Öffentliche Bediente bei der jüdischen Gemeinde zu Kempen*, 1819-1847).

38. *Lemberger Zeitung*, May 22, 1833, p. 306. For the text, see Appendix 1.

39. Hirsch Weintraub, תולדות, p. 148, col. A, lines 44-47:

"ולפי שהבנים הנולדים קודם לכן, מתו כולם בשחרות ילדותם, רק אחי הזקן ממני כשתי שנים מוה' משה שמחה ז"ל נשאר אז עוד בחיים חייתו, לכן הייתי בן יקיר לאבי ולאמי וכנו את שמי 'אלטער' (זקן) [עפ"י סגולה מרבני החסידים]";

"The children who had been born before me all died in childhood, and only my brother, my teacher and rabbi Moshe Simcha of blessed memory, who was two years older than I, survived. Therefore I was my parents' favorite child, and they called me 'Alter' ('old') [according to a Chassidic superstition]." Both the round and square brackets are Weintraub's.

there had to serve in the national army, and now the same law had come upon us here.

All day long he walked around bent over from worry and grief, and every day he recited psalms in the synagogue with the congregation. He wept without respite all day long until he became ill from so much sorrow and distress. The doctors whom we called prescribed medication and rest, but he didn't regain his former strength. He stayed home all the time and rarely went out for a walk, and then only if the weather was good.

At that time there was a very old doctor in Dubno. He was 80 years old, and his name was Dr. Dalki. He was highly experienced, so we called him, too, to come visit my father. After investigating his sickness by means of medical tests, he said that he had a disease of the liver, but the rest of his body, including his heart and chest, was completely healthy. Overall he was not in danger, and could still expect to live to eighty or ninety, but only if he kept himself from thorns and snares, and didn't do anything to overtax his strength, such as singing too much.

My father did what he said. He also told him to drink cocoa every day and to eat foods that could be digested easily and quickly. He drank good Hungarian wine, and my mother cooked and prepared good and healthy foods that could be digested easily and quickly. He also drank cocoa and good Hungarian wine; everything was in accordance with the doctor's instructions, and she, with much diligence, kept him from eating inappropriate foods. All of the doctors who came to Dubno—all of them—were sent for to visit my father, and they all delivered a unanimous diagnosis: it was a liver disease, just as the elderly doctor from Dubno had said.

As the High Holy Days approached, my father determined to lead the services against the advice of the doctor and against the advice of many people who advised him not to officiate.[40] The doctor told him that if he was going to serve as cantor, then he should not sing strongly, but only quietly, and he did. He led services on Rosh HaShannah and Yom Kippur with his sweet and pleasant voice, as always, and the people were all astounded to hear him and enjoyed the beauty of the prayer. They blessed him with a full benediction.

40. I believe that Hirsch is talking here about 1828, since the Czar's decree of Aug. 26, 1827 occurred less than a month before Rosh HaShannah (the first day of Rosh HaShannah in 1827 was Sep. 22), and Hirsch's description of the progression of Kashtan's illness up to this point seems to be too lengthy for it to have taken place within a single month. Furthermore, Hirsch mentions afterwards only one more Rosh HaShannah, which occurred shortly before Kashtan died and therefore must have been in 1829.

After the High Holy Days he didn't lead services any more, and refrained from all activities, as the doctor had instructed. He kept the diet the doctor had given him and attained some relief from his illness. However, the disease came back again in the summer. During his illness, he always talked about earlier periods in his life. He said he was sorry he had left the city of Alt-Ofen [Óbuda, literally "Old Buda," which later became part of Budapest] and didn't remain there as cantor, because there was no law then in Hungary about Jews' being taken for military service. He especially regretted having left Kempen, and spoke of how good the people were there. The year he spent there was the most successful of his whole life, because the people in Kempen were united with him in love, friendship, and affection, and they genuinely loved him. He said that we would leave Dubno and go live in Germany.

When the disease began to overpower him so much that he had to stay in bed, he decided to travel to the city of Lemberg to see the prominent and renowned Dr. Rapaport, who at that time was there. Many times my father overcame his sickness, got out of bed, and took a walk around the city. Nevertheless, the sickness did not take leave of him, and after a number of days he was forced to lie down in bed again. This happened several times. When the High Holy Days arrived, he led the services on Rosh HaShannah, but he didn't have the strength to officiate on Yom Kippur.

At that time I was in Slavuta because that is where I had entered into the covenant of marriage with my wife. I came to Dubno before the High Holy Days to visit my ailing father, and led Shabbat services there for several weeks, accompanied by the *meshorerim*, in various study halls. My father stood next to me while I was leading the prayers, and I remember vividly one occasion when I was leading services on *Shabbat Rosh Hodesh*. My father stood next to me, and as I was starting to chant *Atah yatsarta* he sang to me in a low voice the melody that he always used to sing, and this melody was so good and beautiful that I remember it until today.

I also led services on the festival of Sukkot, and that was when I started to sing in my second voice, as my father had taught me. After the harvest festival my father, my mother, my father's bass singer Mordekhai Peretz, and I traveled to Lemberg, hopeful that God would help him and that he would arise from his sickness with the help of Dr. Rapaport's medicine. Then he would travel to Hungary, and from there to Germany.

But although a man's heart may have many thoughts, God's plan is the one that will be realized, and God didn't go along with all of this. "For who

can say to Him, 'What are you going to do?' He will utter a decree, and it will be fulfilled."[41]

When we arrived in Brody, we sent for the physician who was prominent there, Dr. Friedländer. After he had examined my father and conducted various tests, he announced that all the doctors who had treated him were wrong in their diagnosis. He didn't have a liver disease, and his sickness was very light and would be easy to cure. If he stayed for a couple of weeks, he would cure him without difficulty, and he would be hale and hearty, and as healthy as anyone.

In truth, however, it was Dr. Friedländer who was wrong. After two weeks, "he confessed and was not ashamed,"[42] for he was mistaken in his diagnosis. But this was "something crooked that cannot be made straight."[43] After six weeks, my father died on the sixth day of the month of *Kislev* in the year [5]590 [Wed., Dec. 2, 1829] (and before his death he told us that he was in the forty-ninth year of his life).[44] About three days before his death we received the sad news that my father's brother Nochum Leib had died on the eighteenth day of the month of *Mar Heshvan* [Nov. 14], but we did not tell him.

My father was buried in Brody with great honor and eulogized according to Jewish law. The rabbi and *maggid* [preacher] of Brody [Shlomo Kluger] gave a long eulogy at the graveside. Many people attended the funeral, and they all wept profusely in mourning, and said "May his soul be bound up in the bundle of life." We—my mother and I—stayed in Brody for all seven days of the mourning period. Afterwards we returned to Dubno, where I was appointed permanently as cantor in place of my father of blessed memory.[45]

This is a poignant and personal account of the last two years of Salomon's life. The main facts are these: except for Dr. Friedländer in Brody, all the doctors who examined Kashtan agreed unanimously that he was suffering from a liver disease. Hirsch and his family had the unfortunate habit of consulting every doctor they could find. Consequently, even while traveling from Dubno for the express purpose of consulting with Dr. Rapaport in Lemberg (Lvov), they decided, while staying over in Brody, to consult with Dr. Friedländer there. Although he alone disagreed with every other physician, they chose to keep Kashtan in his care instead of proceeding to Lemberg. Two weeks later, Dr. Friedländer acknowledged his mistake, but it was

41. Cf. *Tziduk hadin*, the acceptance of God's judgement, from the Jewish funeral liturgy.
42. Cf. Babylonian Talmud, Tractate *Sota* 7b.
43. Cf. *Kohelet* 1:15.
44. Hirsch had already said that they set out for Lemberg, via Brody, after the Holy Days. Wed., Dec. 2, 1829 was exactly six weeks from Wed., Oct. 21, the day after Simhat Torah.
45. Hirsch Weintraub, תולדות, p. 210, col. A, l. 24 through col. B, l. 23. The square brackets are mine. For the original Hebrew text see Appendix 2.

now too late to save Kashtan. After six weeks in Brody, he died there on Dec. 2, 1829 at the age of 48 ("in the forty-ninth year of his life").[46]

A search of the "All Galicia Database" on the genealogical website geshergalicia.org yielded a record of the death of someone called "Salomon Weintraub."[47] Since the record is in English, it is obviously not an original document from Eastern Europe, but a modern transcription. The transcription is intriguing because some of the information corresponds with what Hirsch tells us about his father's death. On the other hand, there are also some discrepancies.

The first, and perhaps the biggest, problem of all is the name of the deceased. So far, as I mentioned earlier, the oldest indisputable evidence of the use of the name "Weintraub" by Kashtan's family was from 1833, four years after Kashtan's death. Therefore, the name in the death registry does not suffice by itself to connect this record to Kashtan.

Here are the two items that concur with the details given by Hirsch: the death took place on Dec. 2, 1829 and was entered into the Jewish death registry of the city of Brody. According to Hirsch, this is the right date for his father's death, and the right city. However, the transcription also says that the deceased was between 60 and 80 years old and that he died in "Dubne" [sic]. These entries unfortunately contradict Hirsch's biography, which tells us that Kashtan was 48 years old and died in Brody.

With this information alone, it would not be possible either to confirm or deny that this death record is Kashtan's. Although the date of death is correct, the place is wrong and the age is off by 12 to 32 years! Luckily, geshergalicia.org also provides a photocopy of the original document, which is written in German.[48] It resolves all the difficulties of the transcription.

First, the name of the deceased is given as "Salomon Weintraub aus Dubno" ("Salomon Weintraub from Dubno"). In other words, he did not die in Dubno, as the transcription incorrectly says, but rather had lived there, as Kashtan in fact did. Since the death registry is from Brody, it is implied that he died there, and Brody, according to Hirsch, is the place where Kashtan died.

Second, Salomon's age was also transcribed incorrectly. It is actually notated as 40 to 60 (agreeing with Hirsch), and not 60 to 80, but the death registry presents this information in a way that can easily be misread. Although the first and last names of the deceased are entered in amply

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46. This age corresponds with Hirsch's comment at the beginning of the biography that "my late father Salomon of blessed memory was born around the year [5]541 [=1780/81]":

"אבי המנוח ר' שלמה ז"ל נולד קרוב לשנת תקמ"א"

(Weintraub, תולדות, p. 122, col. A, 1.5)

47. https://www.geshergalicia.org/all-galicia-database/?phonetic=true&page_number=1&surname=weintraub&given_name=%20salamon&year_sort=asc&from_year=1829&to_year=1829 last accessed on Feb. 7, 2024: Brody Jewish Deaths (1815-1869), Central State Historical Archives in Lviv (TsDIAL), fond 701, series 1, file 15, identifier #770:9111.

48. https://www.geshergalicia.org/members/image-viewer/?id=brody_deaths_1829-1831_701_1_15 image 49, last accessed on Jan. 24, 2024.

wide columns, they are followed by a series of very narrow columns for the sex and age. The number of these columns varies. On the page with Kashtan's entry, there are nine columns, and they have no headings. Indeed, on most pages in the death registry, the narrow columns have no headings. Fortunately, on a few pages they do. One particular page, for example, has twelve narrow columns.[49] The last two are blank, but the first ten have headings as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Column 1 | *Män[n]lich* | Male |
| Column 2 | *Weiblich* | Female |
| Column 3 | *Von der Geburt bis 1 Jahr* | From birth to 1 year |
| Column 4 | *Von 1 bis 4 Jahren* | From 1 to 4 years |
| Column 5 | *Von 4 bis 20 Jahren* | From 4 to 20 years |
| Column 6 | *Von 20 bis 40 Jahren* | From 20 to 40 years |
| Column 7 | *Von 40 bis 60* | From 40 to 60 |
| Column 8 | *Von 60 bis 80* | From 60 to 80 |
| Column 9 | *Von 80 bis 100* | From 80 to 100 |
| Column 10 | *Von 100 weiter* | From 100 onwards |

It is not surprising that this system, with its inconsistent number of columns per page and its lack of headings on most pages, may give rise to errors of transcription. In Kashtan's case, the checkmark for his age is in the seventh column from the left (representing the ages from 40 to 60). Since there are nine columns, this is also the third column from the right. The transcriber, if working from the left, may have miscounted the columns, or if working from the right, either forgotten or not been aware that this page has no column for "From 100 onwards," and therefore misinterpreted the third column from the left as "From 60 to 80" instead of "From 40 to 60."

Accordingly, we can see that Hirsch's biography of his father and Salomon Weintraub's entry in the death registry from Brody are in complete agreement: the deceased came from Dubno, died in Brody on Dec. 2, 1829, and was between 40 and 60 years old. Additional information found in the photocopy of the death registry (but not included in the transcription) confirms beyond any doubt that the Salomon Weintraub in question is indeed Kashtan. On the facing page are two more columns, which give the cause of death and sometimes also the name of the physician.[50] The given cause of Kashtan's death is *Blutbrechen* ("hematemesis," or the vomiting of blood). We do not know how he reached this state. The physician is Dr. Friedländer—and, as we saw above, Hirsch Weintraub also names Dr. Friedländer as the physician whose misdiagnosis led directly to his father's death six weeks later!

49. Ibid., image 11.
50. Ibid., image 50.

## Conclusion

The confirmation that the “Salomon Weintraub” in the death registry from Brody is Kashtan is important for several reasons. It gives us an independent historical documentation of Salomon’s death. It confirms the main points of Hirsch’s account of his father’s death, thereby joining the correspondence from the Jewish Community of Kempen as further evidence of Hirsch’s reliability as his father’s biographer. Finally, it shows that the family used the name “Weintraub” as early as 1829, four years earlier than the date indicated by the previously available evidence.

Kashtan’s entry in the death registry is technically not from within his lifetime (theoretically, he could have received the name "Weintraub" posthumously!). Nevertheless, this is the first, and so far the only, known primary source that connects the family name “Weintraub” to Salomon. We still do not know how or exactly when Salomon and Hirsch acquired this surname, but now we know that they became Weintraubs at some time during the decade between 1819 and 1829.

*Daniel S. Katz holds a Ph.D. in musicology from Duke University with a dissertation on music notation in the fourteenth century. He is a specialist on the history of Ashkenazi liturgical chant, especially in the period before Sulzer. A founding member of the German General Rabbinical Conference, as well as a member of the Cantors Assembly, Dr. Katz was recently appointed rabbi of the Jewish Liberal Community of Cologne, Germany.*

# Appendix 1

A notice about Hirsch Weintraub
from the *Lemberger Zeitung* (May 22, 1833, p. 306)

***Vermischte Nachrichten***

*Ein berühmter durchreisender israelitischer Sänger aus Dubno Namens Hirsch A. Weintraub bietet an als freiwillige Gabe den Ertrag seines Vorgesanges in der Lemberger Stadt-Synagoge am 2ten Tage des bevorstehenden Wochenfestes (25sten Mai) zum Besten der durch Brand in der Kreisstadt Zolkiew verunglückten Menschen. Dieses edle Anerbieten verdient um so mehr die öffentliche Bekanntmachung, als dadurch den Menschenfreunden die Gelegenheit verschafft wird, ihre Mildthatigkeit der guten Sache zuzuwenden.*

**Miscellaneous News**

A famous Jewish singer visiting from Dubno, named Hirsch A. Weintraub, is offering as a voluntary donation the receipts from his officiating in the City Synagogue of Lemberg on the second day of the upcoming Festival of Weeks (May 25th) for the benefit of the victims of a fire in the district town of Zolkiew [Schowkwa, about 30 km. north of Lemberg]. This generous offer deserves all the more to be publicly known, since it creates the opportunity for philanthropists to devote their charity to a good cause.

# Appendix 2

Kashtan's illness and death (1827-1829)
as told by Hirsch Weintraub[51]

אחרי הדברים האלה חלה אבי, כי בימים האלה בא החוק החדש מהממשלה כי בני ישראל יוקחו לעבודת הצבא לעבוד בחיל ממשלת רוססיא ועל זה דוה לבו מאוד כי אמר בעיר לעמבערג לא רציתי להתמנות לש״ץ, רק מפני כי בני ישראל מוכרחים לעבוד בחיל הממשלה והנה עתה באה זאת עלינו פה. כל הימים הלך שחוח מדאגה ועצבון ובכל יום אמר תהלים בבית הכנסת עם הקהל ובכה מאין הפוגות כל היום עד כי נחלה מרוב עצבון רוח ויגון וקראנו רופאים ונתנו לו רפאות תעלה והונח לו מחליו, אבל לא שב לאיתנו הראשון וישב תמיד בביתו ולא הלך בחוצות העיר כי אם לעת מצוא ורק אם האויר טוב ויפה היה. בעת ההיא היה בדובנא רופא אחד זקן מאוד בן שמונים שנה ושמו דר׳ דאלקי מומחא גדול וקראנו גם אותו לבא לבקר אבי וכאשר בחן חליו ע״פ בחינות הרופאים אמר כי חולה הוא במחלת הכבד, אבל כל גופו הלב והחזה המה בריאים וטובים ובכלל אין בחליו סכנה ויוכל להאריך ימים על הארץ עד שמונים ותשעים שנה לימי חייו, רק ישמור עצמו מצנים ופחים ולבלתי יעשה הדבר המתשת כוחו, לבל ישיר יותר מדי, וכן עשה אבי גם צוה לו לשתות משקה הקאקא בכל יום תמיד ויאכל מאכלים הנוחים להתאכל [sic] מהרה וישתה יין הונגארי טוב ואמי בשלה והכינה לו מאכלים טובים ובריאים ונוחים להתעכל מהרה גם משקה הקאקא ויין הונגארי טוב שתה; הכל כאשר צוהו הרופא הנזכר ושמרה אותו מאכול מאכלים קשים בשמירה רבה וכל הרופאים אשר באו לדובנא נקראו כולם לבקר את אבי, וכולם אמרו פה אחד, כי חולת הכבד לו כדברי הרופא הזקן מדובנא.

ויהי כאשר קרבו ימים הנוראים גמר בלבו להפלל נגד עצת הרופא ונגד עצת כמה אנשים אשר יעצהו שלא יתפלל, ויאמר לו הרופא אם יתפלל אז יזהר בלי התפלל בקול עז רק במנוחה וכן עשה והתפלל ר״ה ויו״כ בקולו המתוק והנעים כדרכו תמיד והעם התפלאו כלם לשמוע ויתענגו על יופי התפלה ויברכו אותו בברכה שלימה. כעבור ימים הנוראים לא התפלל יותר ושמר עצמו מכל הדברים אשר צוה הרופא והתנהג ע״פ הדיעט אשר הורא אותו הרופא עד אשר הונח לו מעט מחליו. אבל בימי הקיץ שב שנית למחלתו. בעת חליו ספר תמיד מימים הקדמונים אשר עברו עליו ויאמר כי יצר לו מאוד אשר עזב את העיר אלטאפען ולא נשאר שמה לש״ץ כי באונגרין לא היה אז החוק שבני ישראל יוקחו לעבודת הצבא וביחוד אשר עזב העיר קעמפען וספר מה טובים היו אנשיה, והשנה אשר היה שמה היתה להצלחת כל ימי חייו, כי האנשים בקעמפען חיו אתו באהבה אחוה ורעות והיו אוהבים אותו אהבה אמיתית ואמר כי נעזוב את דובנא ונלך לגור באשכנז וכאשר

51. Hirsch Weintraub, תולדות, p. 210, col. A, l. 24 through col. B, l. 23. The Hebrew text maintains the original spelling, punctuation, and divisions into lines and paragraphs.

מחלתו החלה להתגבר עליו עד כי נפל למשכב גמר בלבו לנסוע לעיר לעמבערג להרופא הגדול ומפרסם דר׳ ראפאפארט אשר היה אז שמה. כמה פעמים התגבר אבי על מחלתו וקם ממשכבו והלן על רגליו לטייל בחוצות העיר. אבל בכל זאת לא סרה מחלתו מנו ואחרי איזה ימים נאלץ היה שנית לשכוב על מטתו. ככה עברו עליו פעמים אחדים. כאשר באו ימים הנוארים התפלל בראש השנה אבל ביום הכפורים לא היה בכחו להתפל.

בעת הזו הייתי בסלאוויטא כי שמה באתי בברית הנשואין עם אשתי. קודם ימים הנוראים באתי לדובנא לבקר את אבי החולה גם התפללתי שמה בלוית משוררים איזה שבתות בבתי מדרשים שונים ואבי עמד אצלי כאשר התפללתי וזכר אזכור כי פעם אחד כאשר התפללתי בשבת ר״ח עמד אבי אצלי בהחילותי לאמר ״אתה יצרת״ אמר לי אבי בקול נמוך המעלאדיע כאשר אמר הוא בכל עת והמעלאדיע הזו לרב טובה ויפיה עוד זכור אזכרנה עד היום. גם בחג הסוכות התפללתי ואז החלותי לשיר בקולי השני כאשר הורני אבי. בעבור חג האסף נסענו אבי ואמי, אני ור׳ מרדכי פרץ משורר באסס של אבי ללעמבערג ודמה כי יעזרהו ׳ה׳ [sic] ויקום מחליו על ידי רפואות תעלה של הדר׳ ראפאפארט אז יסע לאונגארין ומשם לאשכנז. אבל רבות מחשבות בלב איש ועצת ה׳ היא תקום כי ה׳ לא רצה בכל אלה ומי יאמר אליו מה תעשה, ויגזור אומר ויקם. כאשר באנו לבראדי שלחנו לקרא להרופא אשר היה מפורסם שמה לשם ולתהלה ושמו דר׳ פריעדלענדער ויהי כאשר בא ובחן את אבי בבחינות שונות, אמר כי כל הרופאים אשר רפאו אותו טעו בדבר מחלתו ולא חולת הכבוד [sic] לו כי מחלתו קלה מאוד ונוחה להתרפא ואם ישאר פה כשבועיים אז בנקל ירפא אותו ויהיה בריא אולם ככל אנשים בריאים. ובאמת טעה הדר׳ פריעדלענדער כי בעבור שני שבועות הודה ולא בוש כי טעה במחלתו אבל הדבר הי׳ מעות שלא יכול לתקנה וכעבור ששה שבועות נפטר אבי בששה ימים לירח כסליו בשנת תק״ץ (וקודם מותו אמר לנו כי הוא בשנת מ״ט לימי חייו.) כשלשה ימים קודם מותו באה הבשורה הרעה לנו כי אחי אבי ר׳ נחום ליב מת בשמונה עשר יום לחודש מר חשון ולא הגדנו זאת לאבי.

אבי הובא לקברות בבראדי בכבוד גדול ונספד כהלכה. הרב המגיד מבראדי אמר הספד גדול על קברו והיו עם רב ללותו ובכו כולם בכיה גדולה והתאבלו מאד, ואמרו כולם תהי נפשו צרורה בצרור החיים. אנחנו, אני ואמי ישבנו כל שבעת ימי האבל בבראדי אחרי כן נסענו לדובנא ונתמנתי לש״ץ קבוע שמה במקום אבי ז״ל.

# *IYYUN BIT'FILAH*

## Wearing White on Yom Kippur:[1] Many Texts, A Few Photographs, and Some Preliminary Thoughts[2]


## by Margaret Moers Wenig[3]


### Music, A Symbolic Language

We say of *nusah*
that merely hearing its sound
can tell us the day or season of the year
and even the time of day.
A weekday *Ma'ariv Bar'khu*
sounds different from a Shabbat *Ma'ariv Bar'khu*
which both sound different from the *Bar'khu*
chanted on Rosh Hashanah or Yom Kippur Evening.
We say of *trop*
that merely hearing its sound
can tell us the day or the season:
The reading of the Torah on Weekdays and *Shabbatot*
sounds different than it does on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur mornings.
And when we return to weekday cantillation
for the Torah reading on Yom Kippur afternoon,
we can *feel* a shift.
*Megillat Rut* sounds different from *Eikhah*
which sounds different from *Megillat Esther*
(except when *Esther* employs *Eikhah trop*).
And the very cantillation system you use
can signal not only a day or a season
but a whole Jewish culture.
Even without understanding the words,
worshipers can sense a difference.

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[1] Dedicated to Cantor Richard Cohn, Director of the DFSSM, HUC-JIR, with immense gratitude for, among other things, his inspirational leadership. This essay was prepared for the School of Sacred Music, HUC-JIR in coordination with the Yom Kippur Cantorial Practica, Adar I and II, 5782.

[2] Many of the texts cited here first came to my attention in a Responsum by Rabbi Professor David Golinkin, "Why do we Wear a Kittel and use White Torah Mantles, Table Covers and Ark Curtains in the Synagogue on the High Holy Days?" *Responsa in a Moment*: Volume 10, Issue No. 1, September 2015
**https://schechter.edu/why-do-we-wear-a-kittel-and-use-white-torah-mantles-table-covers-and-ark-curtains-in-the-synagogue-on-the-high-holy-days-responsa-in-a-moment-volume-10-issue-no-1-september-2015/?gclid=Cj0KCQiAuP-OBhDqARIsAD4XHpeqqOiF5tecTsh6-vsxFZP2LxENO_PIkaqvlvUtzGlVKOCOSMbNam4aAs1FEALw_wcB**

[3] With enormous gratitude to Hazzan Henry Rosenblum for his generous and meticulously careful reading of this document and for all of his corrections.

And hearing the opening notes of *Kol Nidrei*,
something as abstract as a few notes,
can evoke powerful associations.

**Color As a Symbolic Language**

As there are languages of sound,
marking times and meanings,
so too languages of color may do the same.

In New York, for example:
Since 1976, the Empire State building has used colored lights
to "recognize important occasions, holidays and organizations throughout the year."[4]
At the beginning of February, the colors shine black, red and green in honor of Black History Month.
On January 30 they were red in celebration of Lunar New Year.
On November 4 they were orange in celebration of Diwali.
And on October 1st they were pink in solidarity with the Breast Cancer awareness campaign.
The colors are not always that obvious, however, and I know people who make a habit of trying to guess the meaning of more obscure colors or they take a quick look at the key.
On many days it's a tough guessing game,
since the Empire State Building
now has the capacity to display 16 million different lights.

With a rich palette,
many churches also mark times and seasons with colors: e.g. in the Methodist church: white (or gold) for Christmas and Easter, purple for Lent, black for Good Friday and Holy Saturday, red for Pentecost, and green for Ordinary time.

While our Jewish color palette is not as broad as the Empire State Building's, it is older!
And while we don't change our paraments as often as does the church,
when we do, our change, like theirs, carries meaning.

**Wearing White on Yom Kippur**

"Jerusalem is a port city
on the shore of eternity," imagined Yehuda Amichai,
"Yom Kippur sailors
in white
climb among ladders and ropes
of well-tested prayers."[5]

[4] https://www.esbnyc.com/about/tower-lights

Far from Jerusalem
in LA, on Yom Kippur
the non-denominational synagogue Ikar
is packed with thousands
of sailors in white
climbing among ladders and ropes
of well-tested prayers.

Why do they and other Jews wear white on Yom Kippur? Why might we?
Why does answering this question matter to cantors and rabbis?
Because what we think we are doing when we wear white on Yom Kippur
ought to be consistent with the music we choose to sing and the Torah we choose to teach.

**A Word About Ambiguity**

A language of color is a symbolic language.
Symbols can bear different meanings in different contexts.
Ambiguity, from ambi-meaning two or more –
doesn't imply lack of clarity, or failure to be precise,
but rather

> "Ambiguity in mathematics, [for example], is 'an essential characteristic of the conceptual development of the subject' and as a feature which 'opens the door to new ideas, new insights, deeper understanding.'
>
> …even basic symbols, such as '+' and '1', may carry with them meaning in 'new' contexts that is inconsistent with their use in 'familiar' contexts…. knowledge of

[5] *The Selected Poetry of Yehuda Amichai, Edited and Newly Translated From the Hebrew* by Chana Block and Stephen Mitchell, Harper Perennial, New York, 1992 p. 54 (Hardcover edition published in 1986.)

> mathematics includes learning a meaning of a symbol, learning more than one meaning, and learning how to choose the contextually supported meaning of that symbol…
>
> A polysemous word can be defined as a word which has two or more different, but related, meanings. For example, the English word 'milk' is polysemous, and its intended meaning can be determined by the context in which it is used. [6]

Most of the meanings
associated with the wearing of white on Yom Kippur
that you will read below
derived originally from contexts other than Yom Kippur.
That's true of ancient associations as well as contemporary ones.
We ought to consider ourselves no less free than prior generations
to choose the meaning we associate with the wearing of white
(or to choose not to wear white).

I hope that exploring these many meanings
will "open the door," (dare I say, "open the gates")
"to new ideas, new insights, deeper understanding"
of what we are doing when we gather and pray on Yom Kippur.

**A Caveat**

It is impossible to discuss the meaning of the color white
without acknowledging some very painful associations:
"white supremacy,"
the hooded robes worn by the KKK,
and white uniforms Black women wore
when cleaning the homes of white women.

Equally painful are the numerous ways in which "white" is used
to represent something positive
when "black" is used to represent the opposite.

Alas, the following passage from the Jerusalem Talmud is one of those instances
in which the colors white and black are explicitly set opposite one another,
black as an expression of fear,

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[6] Ami Momolo, "Polysemy in Symbols; Signs of Ambiguity," in *The Montana Mathematics Enthusiast*, ISSN 1551-3440, Vol. 7, nos.2&3, pp.247- 262 2010©Montana Council of Teachers of Mathematics & Information Age Publishing, here quoting Byers, W. (2007). *How Mathematicians Think: Using Ambiguity, Contradiction and Paradox to Create Mathematics*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, pp. 77-78

in the face of divine judgment,
and white as an expression of faith, confidence and joy:

תלמוד ירושלמי מסכת ראש השנה פרק א

ר' חמא בי ר' חנינה ור' הושעיה חד אמר
אי זו אומה כאומה הזאת בנוהג שבעולם
אדם יודע שיש לו דין
לובש שחורים ומתעטף שחורים
ומגדל זקנו
שאינו יודע היאך דינו יוצא
אבל ישראל אינן כן
אלא לובשים לבנים ומתעטפין לבנים
ומגלחין זקנם ואוכלין ושותין ושמחים
יודעין שהקב"ה עושה להן ניסים

R. Hama b. R. Hanina and R. Hoshayah. One said:
'What other nation is like this nation?
Generally, when a man knows he faces judgment,
he dresses in black, robes himself in black,
and lets his beard grow,
for he does not know the outcome of the judgment.
But not so Israel,
who dress in white and wrap themselves in white,
shave their beards, and eat and drink and rejoice,
knowing that *HaKadosh Barukh Hu*, performs miracles for them.[7]

**Why Do We Wear White on Yom Kippur?**

The wearing of white on Yom Kippur,
mentioned in the *Shulḥan Arukh*,
predates by 200 years
our earliest notated manuscript for *Kol Nidrei*.[8]

Why do we wear white on Yom Kippur?

[7] Translation adapted from Golinkin.

[8] Writes musicologist Dr. Mark Kligman, "What we can deduce from …historical evidence is that a *Kol Nidrei* melody was commonplace in the sixteenth century, and so closely connected to the text that no change in it was possible. We cannot be certain, of course, but we assume that [Talmudist Mordecai] Jaffee [of Prague and, later, Lublin (1530-1612), in his rabbinical code entitled the *L'vush* (chap. 619)] was referring to the melody we know today. If so, our melody goes back to the sixteenth century… The first written evidence of the *Kol Nidrei* melody is by Aron Beer in 1765. The shape of the melody is quite similar to the version we know today, but there are some differences in rhythm and some places where the melody is more ornate," p. 68-69, *All These Vows, Kol Nidrei,* Edited by Rabbi Lawrence A. Hoffman, PhD., Jewish Lights Publishing, Woodstock, VT, 2011.

An oft-repeated answer
is that we wear white
on Yom Kippur
as one of the ways,
besides fasting and refraining from sex,
that we "stand face to face with," or "confront"
our own death.[9]
That answer, however,
is only one of many
offered by our tradition.

Drawing on texts
from the Yom Kippur practica this semester,[10]
I will explore that answer
and offer you
others.

**White: The Color of Angels**

*Shulhan Arukh, Orakh Hayyim* 610:4

יש שכתבו
שנהגו ללבוש בגדים לבנים ונקיים ביוה"כ
דוגמת מלאכי השרת
וכן נוהגין ללבוש הקיטל שהוא לבן ונקי
גם הוא בגד מתים
ועי"ז[11] לב האדם נכנע ונשבר

There are those who wrote
that they customarily dress in clean white clothes on the Day of Atonement
following the example of the ministering angels.
Similarly [there are those who] customarily wear a *kittel* which is white and clean,

[9] I've even heard it taught that "when we take the *sifrei Torah* out of the ark for *Kol Nidrei*, the ark resembles a coffin."
"Yom Kippur eve is unique…in that it is the sole Evening Service at which the *talit* may be worn. Many reasons have been advanced for this custom, one being the Talmudic tale which relates that God appeared wrapped in a *talit* and told Israel to do the same when they wished to have their sins forgiven…Others note the similarity between the white *talit* and the shrouds in which the dead are traditionally buried. On this day, we stand face to face with our mortality: 'On Rosh Hashanah it is written, on Yom Kippur it is sealed…who shall live and who shall die,'" Lawrence A. Hoffman in the *Gates of Understanding 2: Appreciating the Days of Awe*, Central Conference of American Rabbis 5744 New York 1984, p. 113. "However macabre it sounds, Yom Kippur is meant to be a near-death experience. Confronted with the scandal of my own inevitable demise, this year or next or in seventy years' time, I need to acknowledge my weaknesses and vulnerabilities," Rabbi Michael Marmur, adapted by the editors of *Mishkan Hanefesh, Machzor for the Days of Awe, Yom Kippur*, CCAR Press, New York, 2015/5776, p. 7
[10] Offered by students Jordan Goldstein, Rokhl Weston, Kalix Jacobson, Isaac Sonett-Assor and Becky Mann.
[11] על ידי זה

and is also the clothing of the dead.
[Wearing the clothing of the dead,] a person's heart would be humbled and broken….

Commenting on this passage from the *Shulḥan Arukh*
Rabba Sara Hurvitz explores the notion of dressing like angels:

> First, the Rema associates wearing white clothing with angels, who also wear white. When we wear a *kittel* we elevate our status to that of angels, bringing ourselves one rung closer to God….
>
> Yom Kippur is a day when we leave behind our physical selves, focusing all our energy on prayer. Refraining from food, drink, and bodily comforts such as wearing leather, applying oil, and having sex, makes us more like angels. Angels, by definition, are not corporeal, and the prohibitions are meant to help us rise above our bodily needs, so that we can focus on returning to our pure essence, to become angelic. The Maharal of Prague paints this picture:
>
> All of the *mitzvot* that God commanded us on [Yom Kippur] are designed to remove, as much as possible, a person's relationship to physicality, until he is completely like an angel (*Drashot Maharal* for *Shabbat Shuvah*).
>
> Therefore, we too must stand before God in simple white clothes….

This association between the wearing of white and angels
actually led some commentators to debate
whether or not women too might wear white on Yom Kippur.
Some said, "Yes, to honor the day,"
and others said, "No, women cannot be angels."
Rabba Hurvitz traces the debate, citing "this extraordinary verse (Zechariah 5:9),

וָאֶשָּׂא עֵינַי וָאֵרֶא וְהִנֵּה שְׁתַּיִם נָשִׁים יוֹצְאוֹת וְרוּחַ בְּכַנְפֵיהֶם
וְלָהֵנָּה כְנָפַיִם כְּכַנְפֵי הַחֲסִידָה
וַתִּשֶּׂאנָה אֶת־הָאֵיפָה בֵּין הָאָרֶץ וּבֵין הַשָּׁמָיִם׃

> I looked up again and saw two women come soaring with the wind in their wings—
> they had wings like those of a stork—
> and carry off the tub between earth and sky

Hurvitz argues that women too can be angels.
She reports that many women do wear white on Yom Kippur,
and explains her own decision to don a *kittel.*

> …wearing a *kittel* transforms regular white clothing into angelic ritual garments, a prayer uniform of sorts, where a community harmoniously joins together to pray with one heart and soul. Angels raise their voices together, unified in their goal to serve God, homogeneous, with all distinctions erased. So too, when we don a *kittel*, we are left humbled in our whites -- stripped away of any distractions of the external world. The *kittel* allows us to retreat into ourselves, while at the same time join as one with our fellow daveners.[12]

**White: The Color of Mortality**

A *kittel* is not a shroud.

קיטל
"Yiddish *kitel* [is] from Middle High German *kitel*, *kietel* cotton or hempen outer garment, probably from Arabic *quṭn* cotton."[13]

While the word for shroud,
תַּכְרִיכִים
*takhrikhim*, comes from the verb to wrap or bind.

Why is a Jewish corpse dressed in white?

First and foremost:

> …using simple shrouds ensures that those who cannot afford fancy clothing [in which to bury their loved ones] are not 'embarrassed' that they do not have any.[14]

> In the beginning, burying the dead was harder for the relatives of the deceased than his death [due to the expense of the shrouds], so much so that the relatives of the deceased would leave the body and run away. Until R. Gamliel came and adopted a simple style by being buried in garments of linen [ie. in simple white clothing], and the people followed his example to be buried in garments of linen.[15]

---

[12] "Of Angels & Death: Women Wearing Kittels," by Rabba Sara Hurvitz, Maharat, Tishrei 5780, October 2019, via https://www.sefaria.org/sheets/338344?lang=bi
[13] https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/kittel#:~:text=Definition%20of%20kittel,used%20as%20a%20burial%20shroud
[14] https://www.chabad.org/library/article_cdo/aid/367843/jewish/The-Taharah.htm
[15] Golinkin cites *Mo'ed Kattan* 27b = *Ketubot* 8b,

Secondly:

Remember that before the deceased are wrapped in white
they are respectfully bathed
by the *Hevrah Kadisha*
in a process called *taharah.*

(Preparing a body for burial
is referred to as a *Hesed Shel Emet* [charity of true loving kindness].
I'd go as far as to call those who perform this rite "angels.")

One hopes that before a person dies,
they have recited
more than a formulaic *vidui* addressed to God.
One hopes they have confessed their wrongdoings to those they harmed
and did what was in their power to redress those wrongs.
One hopes that *taharah* is an outward manifestation
of the לב האדם נכנע ונשבר the humble and broken heart,
the inner cleansing of sin,
that the deceased undertook during their lifetime.

If not, then *taharah* is at least an outward cleansing
that concludes with the dressing of the "*meit*" (the deceased)
in white
evoking the imagery in this verse:

Psalm 51:9

תְּחַטְּאֵנִי בְאֵזוֹב וְאֶטְהָר
תְּכַבְּסֵנִי וּמִשֶּׁלֶג אַלְבִּין׃

"Purge me with hyssop till I am pure
Wash me till I am whiter than snow."[16]

Many Jews fast before their wedding and wear white under the *huppah.*
One hopes they do not fast and wear white
because they think they are staring their mortality in the face.
Rather, their wearing white
might have more to do with going to the *mikvah* prior to their marriage.
Or the wedding couples' white might represent something else, as will be discussed below.

Finally, if in donning white we were dressing ourselves as corpses,
what would that say about the *sifrei Torah* we also dress in white?

[16] *The Writings*, Ketubim, *A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia,1982

**White: A Color of Equity**

As we saw above, Rabban Gamliel instituted white linen burial shrouds out of a concern for equity.

Rabban Shimon Ben Gamliel does the same here.
In the midst of this albeit sexist and heterosexist scenario,
He intends white garments to function as equalizers among young women:

*Mishnah Seder Mo'ed, Masekhet Ta'anit* 4:8

אָמַר רַבָּן שִׁמְעוֹן בֶּן גַּמְלִיאֵל,
לֹא הָיוּ יָמִים טוֹבִים לְיִשְׂרָאֵל כַּחֲמִשָּׁה עָשָׂר בְּאָב וּכְיוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים,
שֶׁבָּהֶן בְּנוֹת יְרוּשָׁלַיִם יוֹצְאוֹת בִּכְלֵי לָבָן שְׁאוּלִין,
שֶׁלֹּא לְבַיֵּשׁ אֶת מִי שֶׁאֵין לוֹ.

"Said Rabban Shimon ben Gamliel:
'There were no better days for Israel than the 15th of *Av* and *Yom HaKipurim*,
For on them the daughters of Jerusalem would go out in borrowed white garments
in order not to shame anyone who had none.'"

**White: The Color of Moral "Purity"[17]**

While a *meit* (a dead person), who during their lifetime may have been morally pure or not,
is washed and dressed in white,
the color white is meant to suggest *inner*, moral good.

Could historical corroboration for the association between white and goodness
be contained in this word, which is one of two words for white in Latin*: candidus*
from which comes our word "candid"?
Historic meanings recorded in the *Oxford English Dictionary* include
"Pure, clear, stainless, innocent,
free from bias, impartial, just,

[17] "Pure" is an altogether unsatisfactory translation of *tahor*. Some associate "purity" with the "purity pledge" some teenage girls were/are asked to take promising to remain virgins until marriage. In addition "moral purity" cannot be the meaning of *tahor* in the context of the distinction between *tahor* and *tameh* when those terms are applied to a person during and after menstruation or childbirth, or to one who has had a nocturnal emission or who has developed a skin eruption.

free from malice, not desirous to find fault, gentle, courteous,
favorably disposed, favorable, kindly."[18]

To be or become *tahor*, as a state of moral goodness or cleansing from sin, is quite explicitly a purpose of Yom Kippur:

The *Piska D'Yoma* for Yom Kippur
כִּי בַיּוֹם הַזֶּה
יְכַפֵּר עֲלֵיכֶם לְטַהֵר אֶתְכֶם,
מִכֹּל חַטֹּאתֵיכֶם לִפְנֵי יְיָ
תִּטְהָרוּ.

"For on this day atonement shall be made for you
to cleanse you of all your sins.
You shall be clean before the Lord."[19]

And yet the "pure" inner state is sometimes portrayed as a given:

From *Birkhot HaShaḥar*
אֱלֹהַי, נְשָׁמָה שֶׁנָּתַתָּ בִּי טְהוֹרָה הִיא.
אַתָּה בְרָאתָהּ, אַתָּה יְצַרְתָּהּ, אַתָּה נְפַחְתָּהּ בִּי,
וְאַתָּה מְשַׁמְּרָהּ בְּקִרְבִּי,

"God, the soul which you have given me is pure…."

Other times this inner state is portrayed as something for which we plead:

Psalm 51:12
לֵב טָהוֹר בְּרָא־לִי אֱלֹהִים
וְרוּחַ נָכוֹן חַדֵּשׁ בְּקִרְבִּי׃

"Create in me, Oh God, a pure heart…"

Might wearing white on Yom Kippur mean
either that we remind ourselves of the essential purity of our souls

[18] Ironically the word "candidate" also comes from *candidus* since in Rome ""clothed in white…candidates for office wore a white toga," as per the OED and https://interestingliterature.com/2021/04/colour-white-symbolism-in-literature-myth-analysis-meaning.

[19] *The Torah, The Five Books of Moses, A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic Text*, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1962. The verb *tit'haru* is the pausal form (second person, masculine, plural) in either *Qal* or *Pi'el. A Hebrew and English Lexicon of the Old Testament* by Brown, Driver and Briggs, Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1907 (reprinted many times), lists Lev. 16:30 under both *binyanim*. (The verb is not in *Niphal* nor *Hit'pa'el*.) Under *Qal*, BDB translates: "3. Be clean morally…be made clean (P; by the sin-offering of the atonement day)." Under *Pi'el*, BDB translates: "1. Cleanse, purify…c.morally." This allows for the possibility that the first half of the verse implies that the Day effects cleansing while the second half of the verse might mean "before God may you cleanse." Alas, there is no object for that second verb. So that interpretation of the second verb is harder to support.

or as an expression of our wish
that God help us purify our intentions and our actions?

**White: The Color of Forgiveness in Response to a Resumption of Righteous Behavior**

אִם־יִהְיוּ חַטָּאֵיכֶם כַּשָּׁנִים כַּשֶּׁלֶג יַלְבִּינוּ

"Even if your sins were like crimson
they can become white as snow."

This verse is often quoted
in explanations of the wearing of white on Yom Kippur.

What happens if we view this verse in context,
as the conclusion of a long list of challenging expectations?

Isaiah. Ch. 1
י שִׁמְעוּ דְבַר־יְהוָה קְצִינֵי סְדֹם
הַאֲזִינוּ תּוֹרַת אֱלֹהֵינוּ עַם עֲמֹרָה:
יא לָמָּה־לִּי רֹב־זִבְחֵיכֶם יֹאמַר יְהוָה
שָׂבַעְתִּי עֹלוֹת אֵילִים וְחֵלֶב מְרִיאִים
וְדַם פָּרִים וּכְבָשִׂים וְעַתּוּדִים לֹא חָפָצְתִּי:
יב כִּי תָבֹאוּ לֶרָאוֹת פָּנָי מִי־בִקֵּשׁ זֹאת מִיֶּדְכֶם רְמֹס חֲצֵרָי:

"Hear the word of the Lord,
You chieftans of Sodom;
Give ear to our God's instructions
You folk of Gomorrah!
"What need have I of all your sacrifices?"
Says the Lord.
"I am sated with burnt offerings…
That you come to appear before Me –
Who asked that of you?
Trample my courts no more.

יג לֹא תוֹסִיפוּ הָבִיא מִנְחַת־שָׁוְא קְטֹרֶת תּוֹעֵבָה הִיא לִי
חֹדֶשׁ וְשַׁבָּת קְרֹא מִקְרָא לֹא־אוּכַל אָוֶן וַעֲצָרָה:
יד חָדְשֵׁיכֶם וּמֹועֲדֵיכֶם שָׂנְאָה נַפְשִׁי
הָיוּ עָלַי לָטֹרַח נִלְאֵיתִי נְשֹׂא:
טו וּבְפָרִשְׂכֶם כַּפֵּיכֶם אַעְלִים עֵינַי מִכֶּם
גַּם כִּי־תַרְבּוּ תְפִלָּה אֵינֶנִּי שֹׁמֵעַ
יְדֵיכֶם דָּמִים מָלֵאוּ:
טז רַחֲצוּ הִזַּכּוּ הָסִירוּ רֹעַ מַעַלְלֵיכֶם מִנֶּגֶד עֵינָי
חִדְלוּ הָרֵעַ:

יז לִמְדוּ הֵיטֵב דִּרְשׁוּ מִשְׁפָּט אַשְּׁרוּ חָמוֹץ
שִׁפְטוּ יָתוֹם רִיבוּ אַלְמָנָה׃

Bringing oblations is futile
Incense is offensive to Me.
New moon and sabbath,
Proclaiming of solemnities,
Fast and assembly,
I cannot abide.
Your new moons and fixed seasons
Fill Me with loathing;
They are become a burden to Me;
I cannot endure them.
And when you lift up your hands,
I will turn My eyes away from you;
Though you pray at length,
I will not listen.
Your hands are stained with crime –
Wash yourselves clean
Put your evil doings
Away from My sight.
Cease to do evil.
Learn to do good.
Devote yourselves to justice,
Aid the wronged.
Uphold the rights of the orphan
Defend the cause of the widow.

יח לְכוּ־נָא וְנִוָּכְחָה יֹאמַר ה'
אִם־יִהְיוּ חֲטָאֵיכֶם כַּשָּׁנִים כַּשֶּׁלֶג יַלְבִּינוּ
אִם־יַאְדִּימוּ כַתּוֹלָע כַּצֶּמֶר יִהְיוּ׃

“Come, let us reach an understanding” –
Says the Lord.
“Be your sins like crimson,
They can turn snow-white;
Be they red as dyed wool,
They can become like fleece.”[20]

If our wearing of white on Yom Kippur is associated with this text,
then ought we not have already fulfilled these expectations?
Or, is the wearing of white aspirational, a goal towards which we are striving?

[20] *The Prophets,* Nevi’im, *A New Translation of The Holy Scriptures according to the Masoretic text,* second edition, The Jewish Publication Society of America, Philadelphia, 1978

**White: The Color of the High Priest's Garment**

Some authorities explain the wearing of white on Yom Kippur as an echo of the garment worn by the High Priest.

*Mishnah Seder Mo'ed, Masekhet Yoma* 3:6

> They brought the High Priest to immerse a second time in the Hall of *Parva*,
> which was in the sacred area, the Temple courtyard.
> They spread a sheet of fine linen between him and the people
> in the interest of modesty.
> And he sanctified his hands and his feet and removed his garments.
> Rabbi Meir says that this was the sequence:
> He first removed his garments
> and then he sanctified his hands and his feet.
>
> יָרַד וְטָבַל.
> He descended and immersed a second time.
> עָלָה וְנִסְתַּפֵּג.
> He ascended and dried himself.
> הֵבִיאוּ לוֹ בִגְדֵי לָבָן
> And they immediately brought him the white garments,
> in which he dressed, and he sanctified his hands and his feet.[21]

Or in the lyrics and music of Ishay Ribo,

פָּשַׁט בִּגְדֵי הַחוֹל
לָבַשׁ בִּגְדֵי לָבָן

"He put off his ordinary clothes,
He wore garments of white."

*Mahzor Lev Shalem*, *Arvit L'Yom Kippur*, employs this notion and created a brief ritual before the donning of the *kittel:*

> *Kittel*
> Originally a Yiddish term, the word *kittel* refers to a white garment traditionally worn on Yom Kippur as well as at sacred moments of life transition, including a wedding and as a burial shroud. Why do the rabbi and cantor and some members of the congregation wear white robes tonight? One explanation is that the priestly garments were white, and the High Priest wore white rather than gold when entering the Holy of Holies on Yom Kippur.

[21] Hebrew from Davka, Tools, Text Library. English Koren-Steinsaltz via Sefaria https://www.sefaria.org/Mishnah_Yoma.3.6?ven=William_Davidson_Edition_-_English&vhe=Torat_Emet_357&lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en

לְבִישָׁת קִיטֶל

כְּשֵׁם שֶׁאֲנִי מִתְלַבֵּשׁ/מִתְלַבָּשֶׁת בְּבֶגֶד לָבָן,
כֵּן תַּלְבִּן אֶת-נִשְׁמָתִי וְגוּפָתִי, כַּכָּתוּב:
אִם־יִהְיוּ חַטָּאֵיכֶם כַּשָּׁנִים כַּשֶּׁלֶג יַלְבִּינוּ.[22]

Just as I wear a white garment
So may my soul and body whiten,
As it is written:
Though your sins be as scarlet, they shall be white as snow.

That we might presume to take on the garb of the High Priest
could be said to have biblical justification.

For while the High Priest and the ritual he performed on Yom Kippur
are no more,
the entire people of Israel was offered the possibility
of being a nation of priests,
if only we would heed God's voice.

*Parashat Yitro* (Ex. 19: 6)
ה וְעַתָּה אִם־שָׁמוֹעַ תִּשְׁמְעוּ בְקֹלִי וּשְׁמַרְתֶּם אֶת־בְּרִיתִי
וְהְיִיתֶם לִי סְגֻלָּה מִכָּל־הָעַמִּים כִּי־לִי כָּל־הָאָרֶץ:
ו וְאַתֶּם תִּהְיוּ־לִי מַמְלֶכֶת כֹּהֲנִים וְגוֹי קָדוֹשׁ

In our day, the wearing of white on Yom Kippur
could be understood as a reminder to redouble our efforts
to heed that call and return to the path set out for us.

**White: To Honor the Sabbath of Sabbaths**

Some claim we wear white on Yom Kippur
to honor the Day of Atonement as we honor the Sabbath day.
Yom Kippur is a *mikra kodesh*
akin to the sanctity of Shabbat.

The practice of wearing white on Shabbat,
while not universal among Jews, has multiple origins.

[22] *Mahzor Lev Shalem, Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur*, The Rabbinical Assembly, Inc., New York, 2010, p. 202

Some wore white on Shabbat to dress like the *malakhei hasharet*.[23]
Some wore white on Shabbat
because white was not a suitable color
in which to do work.
Some, who did not have a change of chothes,
wore a white robe, a *sargenes/sargenez/sarganit,* over their clothes.[24]

Others say:

"The custom of wearing white [on Shabbat] is Kabbalistic in origin. It was a teaching of Rabbi Isaac Luria (The Arizal, 1534-1572)…The Arizal also specifies that at least four of the regular garments of Shabbat (based on 16th century clothing) should be white. The Arizal strongly suggested that one should not wear black, a color associated with exile and mourning, on Shabbat.

Dressing in white on Shabbat never seems to have gained universal acceptance. The custom was, however, popular among many Sephardic and Hassidic communities, and some still maintain this custom today. There are many individuals who have made it their own custom to wear at least one prominent white garment on Shabbat. As for black garments, over time the color has lost its negative implications, and many Torah scholars of the modern age specifically wear black suits. Others, keeping in mind the Kabbalistic implications taught by the Arizal, make it a point to wear dark blue or dark grey suits instead of black."[25]

That wearing white on Shabbat never gained universal acceptance might surprise kids who attend Jewish summer camps where wearing white on Shabbat is indeed the *minhag*.[26]


https://nitzanimandabirim.files.wordpress.com/2012/07/dsc_0146.jpg (Camp Ramah blog)

[23] Golinkin, citing Rabbi Shlomo Luria, 16th Century Poland (in his commentary on *Zemirot Shabbat*, Venice, 1603, p. 23a, quoted by Simhah Assaf, *Sefer Hayovel Likhvod Levi Ginzberg*, New York, 1946, p. 52)
[24] Golinkin, citing the Ra'avan in 12th Century Ashkenaz (*Sefer Ra'avan*, paragraph 359, Samloi, 1926, fol. 149d) and the Ra'aviyah, the grandson of the Ra'avan (*Sefer Ra'aviyah*, ed. Aptowitzer, Part I, pp. 245-6)
[25] https://njop.org/wearing-white-for-shabbat/
[26] Wearing a *hultzah levanah* for Shabbat was also the custom on many kibbutzim, reports Yael Yisraeli, who grew up on Kibbutz Yifat in the Galilee in the '60s and '70s.

מצווה לנקות את הבית לכבוד יום הכיפורים,
ולפרוש על השולחן מפה נאה,
כפי שנוהגים לקראת שבת (מרדכי, רמ"א תרי, ד; ערוה"ש ב).
מצווה להתרחץ לכבוד יום הכיפורים כפי שמתרחצים לקראת שבת.
(ויש נוהגים גם לטבול במקווה (לעיל ה, י.

It is a *mitzvah* to clean the house before Yom Kippur
and to cover the table with a nice tablecloth,
just as one does before Shabbat (*Mordekhai*; Rema 610:3; AHS *ad loc*. 2).
There is also a *mitzvah* to take a shower in honor of Yom Kippur,
just as one does for Shabbat. Some immerse in a *mikveh* as well (5:10 above).[27]

Turning a *minhag* into a halachic ruling, R. Yehiel b. R. Yekutiel, in 13th century Italy proclaimed that on Yom Kippur:[28]
"one dons clean white clothes as it says (even though the text does not specify the color white):

Talmud Bavli, *Shabbat* 119a
אֲמַר לֵיהּ רֵישׁ גָּלוּתָא לְרַב הַמְנוּנָא
מַאי דִּכְתִיב ״וְלִקְדוֹשׁ ה׳ מְכוּבָּד״? :
אֲמַר לֵיהּ: זֶה יוֹם הַכִּפּוּרִים,
שֶׁאֵין בּוֹ לֹא אֲכִילָה וְלֹא שְׁתִיָּה, אָמְרָה תּוֹרָה:
.כַּבְּדֵהוּ בְּכִסּוּת נְקִיָּה

The Exilarch said to Rav Hamnuna:
'What is the meaning of that which is written,
"The holy one of God is honored" (Isaiah 58:13)?'
Rav Hamnuna said to him: 'That is Yom Kippur,
when there is no eating or drinking, and so the Torah said:
"Honor it with a clean[29] garment."[30]

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[27] https://www.sefaria.org/Peninei_Halakhah%2C_Days_of_Awe.6.12.6?ven=Peninei_Halakhah,_English_ed._Yeshivat_Har_Bracha&lang=bi Peninei Halakhah, Days of Awe 6:12, Peninei Halakhah, English ed. Yeshivat Har Bracha Chapter 7:1

[28] Rabbi Prof. David Golinkin, cites the source, Tanya Rabbati, end of paragraph 78, ed. Bar-On, p. 319, in his responsum: https://schechter.edu/why-do-we-wear-a-kittel-and-use-white-torah-mantles-table-covers-and-ark-curtains-in-the-synagogue-on-the-high-holy-days-responsa-in-a-moment-volume-10-issue-no-1-september-2015/?gclid=Cj0KCQiAuP-OBhDqARIsAD4XHpeqqOiF5tecTsh6-vsxFZP2LxENO_PIkaqvlvUtzGlVKOCOSMbNam4aAs1FEALw_wcB

[29] Golinkin notes that the connection between wearing clean clothes and wearing white made by R. David ibn Zimra who reported that "There is an ancient custom in Egypt 'to wear white… and so too on Shavuot, for it is written [regarding the revelation at Mt. Sinai] "let them wash their clothes" (*v'khib'su simlotam*) (cf. Exodus 19:10)'"
Of this I am reminded of Rashi's calendar of events which places the giving of the second set of tablets on the Tenth of Tishrei!

[30] https://www.sefaria.org/Shabbat.119a.9?ven=William_Davidson_Edition_-_English&vhe=William_Davidson_Edition_-_Vocalized_Aramaic&lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en

While not all Jews wear or wore white on Yom Kippur,[31]
for kids who attend Jewish summer camps,
where they wear white shirts every Shabbat,
wearing *all* white, or white *kittels*, on Yom Kippur,
might drive home to them that this day is *Shabbat Shabbaton.*

**White: The Color of Joy**

*Simhah* (joy) and *oneg* (enjoyment)
are key components of keeping Shabbat.
In one of his moods
Kohelet would have us
experience *simhah* and *oneg*
every day.
And he associates those experiences
with the wearing of white.

Eccl. 9:7ff
ז לֵךְ֙ אֱכֹ֣ל בְּשִׂמְחָ֔ה לַחְמֶ֖ךָ
וּשְׁתֵ֣ה בְלֵב־טׇ֑וב יֵינֶ֗ךָ
כִּ֚י כְּבָ֣ר רָצָ֔ה הָאֱלֹהִ֖ים אֶת־מַעֲשֶׂ֥יךָ׃
ח בְּכׇל־עֵ֣ת יִהְי֔וּ בְּגָדֶ֖יךָ לְבָנִ֑ים
וְשֶׁ֥מֶן עַל־רֹאשְׁךָ֖ אַל־יֶחְסָֽר׃
ט רְאֵ֣ה חַיִּ֗ים עִם־אִשָּׁ֤ה אֲשֶׁר־אָהַ֙בְתָּ֙ כׇּל־יְמֵ֣י חַיֵּ֔י הֶבְלֶ֑ךָ
אֲשֶׁ֨ר נָתַ֤ן־לְךָ֙ תַּ֣חַת הַשֶּׁ֔מֶשׁ כׇּל יְמֵ֖י הֶבְלֶ֑ךָ
כִּ֚י הִ֣וא חֶלְקְךָ֔ בַּחַיִּ֔ים
וּבַעֲמָלְךָ֖ אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּ֣ה עָמֵ֑ל תַּ֖חַת הַשָּֽׁמֶשׁ

"Go, eat your bread in gladness,
and drink your wine with a good heart,
for your deeds have already pleased God.
At all times may your garments be white
and may the oil for your head not run out,
May you live to see life with your beloved wife,
all the days of your fleeting life
that you have been granted under the sun.
For that is your portion in life
and in your work that you do under the sun."

In fulfillment of this verse,
grooms were dressed in white in Provence, circa 1300,
a custom already mentioned in the Babylonian Talmud.[32]

[31] Golinkin: "In Jerusalem in the nineteeth century, they did not wear the *kittel* because the men of the Old *Yishuv* wore white every day, nor did they dress the dead in a *kittel* (A.M. Luncz, *Yerushalayim* 1, 5642, p. 39)"

Moreover, as we saw earlier in the Jerusalem Talmud, RH, chapter 1,
even on Yom Kippur, in the face of divine judgment,

לובשים לבנים ומתעטפין לבנים...ושמחים

white is worn by Israel as an expressing of joy
since forgiveness is promised, for those who do *teshuvah.*

That promise is articulated in this *midrash*:

"וַיַּעֲבֹר ה' עַל פָּנָיו וַיִּקְרָא".
אָמַר רַבִּי יוֹחָנָן: אִלְמָלֹא מִקְרָא כָּתוּב, אִי אֶפְשָׁר לְאוֹמְרוֹ.
מְלַמֵּד שֶׁנִּתְעַטֵּף הַקָּדוֹשׁ בָּרוּךְ הוּא כְּשְׁלִיחַ צִבּוּר,
וְהֶרְאָה לוֹ לְמֹשֶׁה סֵדֶר תְּפִלָּה.
אָמַר לוֹ: כָּל זְמַן שֶׁיִּשְׂרָאֵל חוֹטְאִין —
יַעֲשׂוּ לְפָנַי כַּסֵּדֶר הַזֶּה וַאֲנִי מוֹחֵל לָהֶם.

"The verse states: "And the Lord passed by before him and proclaimed" (Exodus 34:6).
Rabbi Yoḥanan said: Were it not explicitly written, it would be impossible to say this.
The verse teaches that the Holy One, Blessed be He, wrapped Himself in a prayer shawl like a prayer leader
and showed Moses the order of prayer.
He said to him: Whenever the Jewish people sin,
let them act before Me in accordance with this order and I will forgive them."[33]

And that *midrash* is referred to in the oft-repeated *S'li<u>h</u>ot* and Yom Kippur prayer:

*El Melekh Yosheiv*[34]

אֵל מֶלֶךְ יוֹשֵׁב עַל כִּסֵּא רַחֲמִים, מִתְנַהֵג בַּחֲסִידוּת,
מוֹחֵל עֲוֹנוֹת עַמּוֹ, מַעֲבִיר רִאשׁוֹן רִאשׁוֹן,
מַרְבֶּה מְחִילָה לְחַטָּאִים, וּסְלִיחָה לְפוֹשְׁעִים,
עוֹשֶׂה צְדָקוֹת עִם כָּל בָּשָׂר וָרוּחַ,
לֹא כְרָעָתָם תִּגְמוֹל.
אֵל, הוֹרֵיתָ לָּנוּ לוֹמַר שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה,
זְכָר לָּנוּ הַיּוֹם בְּרִית שְׁלֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה,
כְּמוֹ שֶׁהוֹדַעְתָּ לֶעָנָו מִקֶּדֶם, כְּמוֹ שֶׁכָּתוּב:
וַיֵּרֶד ה' בֶּעָנָן, וַיִּתְיַצֵּב עִמּוֹ שָׁם, וַיִּקְרָא בְּשֵׁם יְיָ.

וַיַּעֲבֹר ה' עַל פָּנָיו וַיִּקְרָא:

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[32] Golinkin citing *Shabbat* 114a=*Niddah* 20a and then *Orhot Hayyim, Hilkhot Kiddushin*, paragraph 21, p. 65.
[33] *Rosh Hashanah* 17b The William Davidson Talmud (Koren-Steinsaltz)
https://www.sefaria.org/Rosh_Hashanah.17b.5?lang=bi&with=all&lang2=en
[34] In Birnbaum's *ma<u>h</u>zor*, this rubric of *S'li<u>h</u>ot* appears four times in *Ma'ariv* of Yom Kippur, pp. 529,533, 535, and 539 and 7 times in *Ne'ilah*, pp. 987,991,991,993,995, 999, and 1001.

ה' ה', אֵל רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן, אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, וְרַב חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת.
נֹצֵר חֶסֶד לָאֲלָפִים, נֹשֵׂא עָוֹן וָפֶשַׁע וְחַטָּאָה, וְנַקֵּה.

וְסָלַחְתָּ לַעֲוֹנֵנוּ וּלְחַטָּאתֵנוּ וּנְחַלְתָּנוּ.
סְלַח לָנוּ אָבִינוּ כִּי חָטָאנוּ, מְחַל לָנוּ מַלְכֵּנוּ כִּי פָשָׁעְנוּ,
כִּי אַתָּה, אֲדֹנָי, טוֹב וְסַלָּח וְרַב חֶסֶד לְכָל קוֹרְאֶיךָ.

God, King, You occupy a throne built on mercy.
Your deeds reflect Your loving-kindness.
You forgive Your people's iniquities,
Putting each aside, one by one.
You expand forgiveness for the sinner, and pardon for the transgressor.
Your righteousness extends to all creatures of flesh and spirit; You do not assign a full measure of punishment to those who err.
God, You taught us that when in need of atonement, we are to recite Your thirteen attributes of mercy.
Thus, today we ask You to remember us for our well-being.
Remember: take note of Your covenant with us, which enumerates those thirteen attributes.
You revealed all this to Your humble servant Moses centuries ago, as is recorded in Scripture:
"And the Lord had descended in a cloud; He stood with Moses there and proclaimed the Lord's name. The Lord passed before Moses and said:"

The Lord, the Lord, God merciful and gracious, slow to anger, trusting in loving-kindness and truth; preserving His grace for thousands, forgiving iniquity and transgression, and cleansing from sin.

Pardon our iniquity and our sin and take us for Your own.

Pardon us, our Father, for we have sinned, forgive us, our King, for we have transgressed.

Because you, Lord, are good and forgiving and full of great mercy to all who call upon You.

Given the promise of the Covenant of the Thirteen Attributes,
"*Kenesset Israel* confesses out of a sense of confidence,
and even rejoicing,"
taught Rav. Soloveitchik,

"for it does so in the presence of a loyal ally, before its most beloved one…

In fact, in certain Jewish communities …it is customary for the whole congregation to sing the *al-<u>h</u>eit* confession in heartwarming melodies."[35]

Perhaps we wear white on Yom Kippur as an expression of joy.

**White: The Color of *<u>H</u>esed***

The soul has colors,
according to the sixth Lubavitcher Rebbe,
Yosef Yitzhak Schneerson.
Each color manifests a different emotion.

There is a form of love of God
that is "flowing like pure water,
aware of the intimate, caring closeness of G-d
and of G-d's love for us.
This warm sense of love and of loving-kindness is white."[36]

Perhaps the colors of the soul
mirror the colors attributed to the *Sefirot:*

> Color-symbolism plays a great part in the *Kabbalah,* where to each *Sefirah* are attributed one or more colors; and one who wishes to energize the influence of a certain *Sefirah* has to contemplate, or clothe himself in, the particular color attributed to that *Sefirah.* White signifies peace, mercy, and pity…[37]

We, who are created in the image of God,
but are not God,
contain within us intimations of the *<u>H</u>esed*
that we imagine is an essential attribute of God.

*<u>H</u>esed* is the only word that is repeated in the enumeration of God's Thirteen Attributes. The recitation of the Thirteen plays an important role
in the liturgy of *S'li<u>h</u>ot* that's a part of Yom Kippur *Ma'ariv* and *Ne'ilah*,

ה', ה', אֵל רַחוּם וְחַנּוּן,
אֶרֶךְ אַפַּיִם, וְרַב חֶסֶד וֶאֱמֶת.
נֹצֵר חֶסֶד לָאֲלָפִים,
נֹשֵׂא עָוֹן וָפֶשַׁע וְחַטָּאָה, וְנַקֵּה.

[35] *Soloveitchik On Repentance: The Thoughts and Discourses of Rabbi Joseph B. Soloveitchik*, ed. by Pinchas Peli, Paulist Press, 1984, p. 119
[36] "Colors of the Soul," by Tali Loewenthal, based on a discourse by R. Yosef Yitzhak Schneersohn, 5708, pp. 141-145. https://www.chabad.org/parshah/article_cdo/aid/346687/jewish/Colors-in-the-Soul.htm Perhaps Dr. Loewenthal is referring to the book Chassidic Discourses, Kehot Publication Society, 2009 (first published 1998)
[37] "Color," by Emil G. Hirsch and Caspar Levias, The Jewish Encyclopedia, 1906 https://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/4557-color

*Hesed* is also one of the many words
used to describe the face of the High Priest
as he exits the Holy of Holies, beaming with love
like a groom:

From the *Piyyut Mareh Kohein*
כְּחֶסֶד הַנּוֹתָן עַל פְּנֵי חָתָן מַרְאֵה כֹּהֵן.

As much as I am not a fan of the repetitiveness of the popular musical setting, or the current political use[38] of

Psalm 89:3
עוֹלָם חֶסֶד יִבָּנֶה[39]

I can't argue with its wish
that the world be built upon or through love
or that a world of love be built.

Perhaps by wearing white on Yom Kippur
we might be attempting to mirror divine *hesed*.
We might be attempting to remind ourselves of the *hesed*
that is in our souls,
though it be buried or overshadowed at times.
We might be attempting to bring *hesed* to the fore
and shed other, less kind attributes such as
pride, greed, covetousness, envy,
and judgments based on superficial traits.

Perhaps by wearing white on Yom Kippur
we might be acknowledging the *hesed*, the loyal love[40]
that is still in our hearts
even for partners, parents, teachers, or children
who betrayed, disappointed, shamed, or hurt us,
willfully or even unknowingly,
just as God too is portrayed as *notzer hesed*
even for a people who repeatedly betrayed the Covenant.[41]

[38] https://forward.com/fast-forward/606826/yale-protest-pro-palestine-gaza-song-build-this-world-from-love/
[39] Music and English: Menachem Creditor
[40] Dr. Harry Orlinsky, an early translator of the JPS Torah and professor at HUC-JIR, NY was adamant that *hesed* was a technical term meaning "Covenant love," not mercy nor unconditional love. Forty years later I still remember his passionate insistence upon that meaning.
[41] The *S'lihot* liturgy alludes to two occasions in which Israel betrayed God: by building the golden calf and by losing trust in God's ability bring them into The Land. *S'lihot* liturgy quotes from both biblical narratives.

**White: A Color of Longing For Peace**

Of the God who placed stars in the sky,
the *Ne'ilah* liturgy says,

אַתָּה נוֹתֵן יָד לְפוֹשְׁעִים,
וִימִינְךָ פְּשׂוּטָה לְקַבֵּל שָׁבִים

God reaches out a hand
to invite us to return
to help us return
and live.

That same God
is also forced to witness
the horrors human beings inflict upon one another
particularly, but not only,
during war.

Avraham Sutzkever also witnessed war-time horrors.
He wrote of the stars placed in the sky by the Creator
and of his longing for God's hand
to rescue him and his people
from their "cellars and holes."
And in the poem
set to music by Lazar Weiner,[42]
Sutzkever gave God's stars and God's hand a color:
the color white.

אונטער דיינע ווייסע שטערן
שטרעק צו מיר דיין ווייסע האַנט

Under Your white stars
Stretch to me Your white hand.
My words are tears,
That want to rest in Your hand.
See, their spark dims
Through my penetrating cellar eyes.
And I don't have a corner from which
To return them to You.

And yet I still want, dear God,
To confide in You all that I possess,
For in me rages a fire,

[42] *The Lazar Weiner Collection: Book 1, Yiddish Art Songs, 1918-1970*, Lazar Weiner and Yehudi Wyner, Transcontinental Music Publications, New York, 2011. https://youtu.be/s5IyL7G_UM8?si=PBv_rq_0d2jC42Cn

And in the fire – my days.
But in cellars and in holes
The murderous quiet weeps.
I am run higher, over rooftops
And I search: Where are You, where?...[43]

Perhaps associating the color of God's hand
with the radiance of the stars that God created,
was the poet's way of saying:
You who created the universe,
please use those same powers
to rescue us from war, to cause the violence to cease,
to bring us peace.

While colors convey different meanings in different cultures,
internationally, white is the color of truce, of ceasefire, of quiet on the front, of peace.

"Shirts and dresses hung up to dry," observed Yehudah Amichai,
אַתָּה יוֹדֵעַ מִיָּד
"right away you know
.שֶׁחַג
it's a holiday.
וְתַחְתּוֹנִים וְגוּפִיּוֹת לְבָנִים
White panties and undershirts
.אוֹמְרִים שָׁלוֹם וְשַׁלְוָה
mean peace and quiet."[44]

The cessation of violence,
the violence we perpetrate directly
with our own hands
and indirectly
through systems in which we may participate
and from which we may derive benefit,
is, according to *Ne'ilah*,
the very purpose of Yom Kippur,

[43] Practicum program prepared by Isaac Sonett-Assor, "*Eileh Ezk'rah*: These I will remember," Wednesday, March 2, 2022 29 Adar I 5782

[44] *Open Closed Open* by Yehuda Amichai, Translated from the Hebrew by Chana Bloch and Chana Kornfeld, Harcourt Inc. New York, San Diego, London, 2000, 146 .; יהודה עמיחי. *פתוח סגור פתוח*, שוקן, ירושלים ותל־אביב, תשנ"ח

the reason for *teshuvah*.
Twice in silent prayers
and twice during the *hazzan*'s repetition of the *Amidah*
in both *Atah notein yad* and in *Atah hivdalta,*
we recite and we hear
that very reason articulated loud and clear:

"Thou, our God, didst graciously grant us
this Day of Atonement.
לְמַעַן נֶחְדַּל מַעֲשֶׂק יָדֵנוּ[45]
so that we may cease
the violence of our hands."

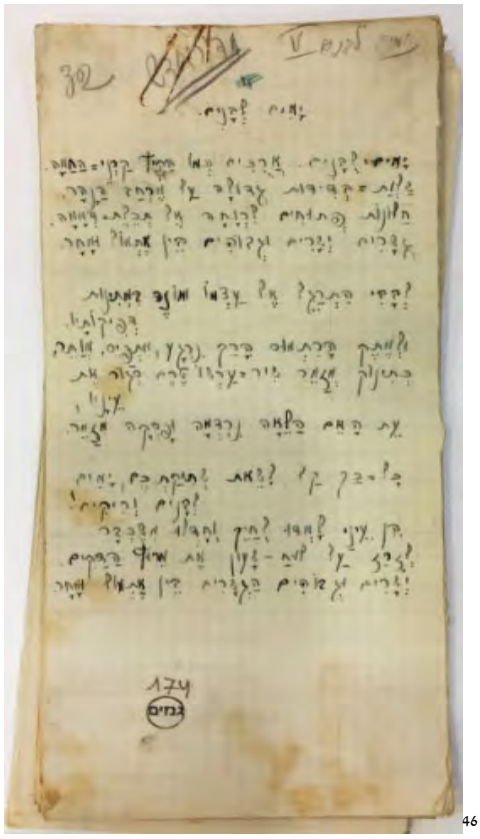
Or as Matisyahu puts it, "I'm here for a reason,"

"…All my life I've been waitin' for
I been prayin' for,
For the people to say
That we don't want to fight no more
They'll be no more wars
And our children will play, one day…"

[45] *Machzor Shalem L'Rosh Hashanah V'Yom Kippur*, Translated and Annotated with an Introduction by Philip Birnbaum, Hebrew Publishing Company, New York, 1951, pp. 971, and 971, 1003, 1005.

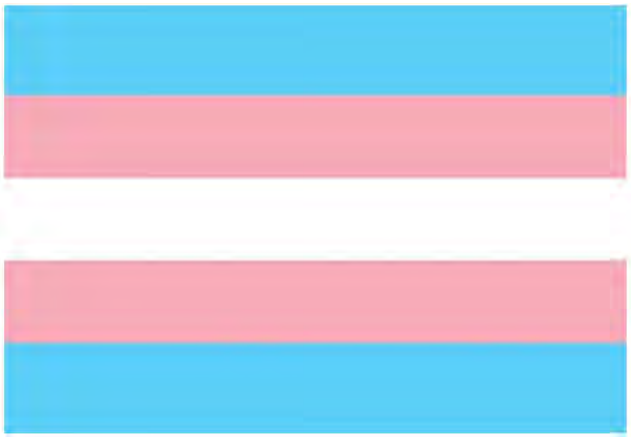
**White: The Color of Liminality**

In her poem, Leah Goldberg describes
ימים לבנים white days,
as גשרים bridges בין אתמול ומחר between yesterday and tomorrow,
and as time that slows down
as a baby sings a song, סגור את עיניו closes their eyes,
and as the mother finishes the baby's song, and מזמר ונרדמה falls asleep herself.

 [46]

[46] The photograph of the poet's manuscript as well as this vocalized version were found here.
לְבָבִי הִתְרַגֵּל אֶל עַצְמוֹ וּמוֹנֶה בְּמִתִּינוּת דְּפִיקוֹתָיו. וּלְמֶתֶק הַקֶּצֶב הָרִדּוּ נִרְגָּע, מִתְפַּיֵּס, מְנוּחַר, כְּתִינוֹק מְזַמֵּר שִׁיר-עַרְשׂוֹ טֶרֶם סְגוֹר אֶת עֵינָיו, עַד הָאֵם הַלֹּאָה נִרְדְּמָה וּפְסָקָה מְזַמֵּר.
כָּל-כָּךְ קַל לָשֵׂאת שְׁתִיקָתְכֶם, יָמִים לְבָנִים וְרֵיקִים! הֵן עֵינַי לָמְדוּ לְחַיֵּךְ וְחָדְלוּ מִשָּׁכְבָר לִזָּרז עַל לוּחַ-שָׁעוֹן אֶת מֵרוֹץ הַדַּקִּים. יְשָׁרִים וּגְבוֹהִים הַגְּשָׁרִים בֵּין אֶתְמוֹל וּמָחָר.
I thank Yael Yisraeli for calling this poem to my attention.
https://blog.nli.org.il/yamim_levanim/?utm_source=he.wikipedia.org&utm_medium=referral&utm_campaign=%22%D7%99%D7%9E%D7%99%D7%9D+%D7%9C%D7%91%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D%22&utm_content=%D7%94%D7%A1%D7%A4%D7%A8%D7%A0%D7%99%D7%9D

Liminality is also represented in the color white
on the Transgender Pride Flag, designed by Monica Helms.



"It was first shown at a pride parade in Phoenix, Arizona, USA in 2000. The flag represents the transgender community and consists of five horizontal stripes. Two light blue which is the traditional color for baby boys, two pink for girls, with a white stripe in the center for those who are transitioning, who feel they have a neutral gender or no gender, and those who are intersex."[47]

Could wearing white
represent a wedding couples' liminality
as they enter a new state of being together?

A white page or canvas
invites us to embark on a new creative project.

Given the genes we inherit,
and the eras and families in which we've been raised,
our lives are not completely blank pages.
But when
we thrice proclaim,
הַיּוֹם הָרַת עוֹלָם,
and when, with the *paytan*,
we recite,
וּמֵאֵלָיו יִקָּרֵא, וְחוֹתָם יַד כָּל אָדָם בּוֹ.
that we ourselves have written in *Sefer HaZikhronot*,

we are alluding to creative powers we say God exercised in Creation
and to creative powers and choices that now also rest in our own hands.
All of life may not be a blank slate,
but some of life may be a blank page.

[47] https://www.amherst.edu/system/files/Flags%2520and%2520Symbols.pdf

And wearing white may suggest
that not everything is fully determined for us.
When, after Yom Kippur,
the *kittel* or white robe comes off,
oughtn't we decide
what we shall wear thenceforth,
whom we shall be?

**Not a Conclusion**

In her poem, "מײַן שפּראַך My Language," Kadya Molodowsky
gives her language the color white.
And for her, that white language,
communicates what even words cannot convey.

For this much grief
The spoken word
Or silenced word
Will not suffice.
There lives in me
אַ ווײַסע שפּראַך
A language, white,
A word that I
Have never sealed.
Speechless, dumb,
Not formed from words,
My white language,
My utterance, voice,
Assaults my soul.

מײַן ווײַסע שפּראַך
My white language
Has no script
And has no tongue
For its display.
With its creation, it purifies,
Then in white silence, sinks away.

When the day comes that I lie dumb,
Marveling that I am dead.
My white language,
Catching fire,
Will unseal the stifled words…[48]

[48] *Paper Bridges: Selected Poems of Kadya Molodowsky*, Translated, introduced, and edited by Kathryn Hellerstein, Wayne State University Press, Detroit, 1999, p. 456-7

There is pain in this poem.
The pain of sensing that one has never been truly heard.
The pain of grief deeper than words can possibly express.

Kadya Molodowsky survived horrors.
And then felt she had to leave her adopted refuge in Israel
because Yiddish, her language, was, for all intents and purposes, banned.[49]

To her
the language of white
was the language of the unexpressed or inexpressible,
a language that transcended words.

The painter Agnes Martin also spoke in the language of white. (Google her paintings which cannot be copied and included here. Better yet, go see some in person!) Martin is

> …an American Abstract Minimalist Painter who sought solitude and through her paintings explored subjects such as purity, fragility and the struggles of existing in this world….
>
> Agnes Martin's paintings often question whether white is an absence or presence of color….Are the [bands of white in her paintings] present or are they absent? It's true they have formidable presence in their boldness, …It brings to mind the famous Miles Davis quote, 'Don't play what's there; play what's not there': It is what is not being said that speaks the loudest in much of Agnes Martin's work….
>
> Priming a canvas is not really considered part of the painting process for many artists, but this was not the case for Agnes Martin, for many of her works left substantial areas of the base priming exposed .... any irregularities in the surface of her paintings also became part of the work. Bumps on the surface …cast subtle shadows and the texture of the weave of the canvas become just as much part of the work as the graphite grid lines that she drew on top. An echo of her interest in Zen spirituality…White is no longer merely the backdrop to a statement of marks and color. White becomes the statement, full of meaning, light and life….
>
> For me, Agnes Martin at Tate Modern is a deeply moving and spiritual journey through this fascinating and complex artist's life. It is a real testament to the power of white, and presents a body of work primarily concerned with portraying the fragility and strength of the human condition.[50]

[49] With thanks to Yael Yisraeli for reintroducing me to Kadya Molodowsky's poems and life.
[50] "The Power of White: Agnes Martin at Tate Modern," Lisa Takahashi, June 16, 2015 https://www.jacksonsart.com/blog/2015/06/16/the-power-of-white-agnes-martin-at-tate-modern/

Photographs you might see online
cannot possibly capture the experience
of standing in front of her subtle, varied, utterly captivating paintings.
They invite us to step into the deeply moving and spiritual journey
of a human life.

***

Words
are open to interpretation
especially when we receive words quickly typed or dictated via email or text
and we cannot be sure of the writer's intonation and intention.
We can easily misread such words.

Even carefully crafted and edited literary works,
and artfully chosen and arranged liturgical words
are subject to commentary
and may elicit conflicting interpretations.

Music
is even more abstract than words.
Different performers, different conductors, different *hazzanim*
interpret the very same music differently
conveying different sounds, different feelings,
even different meanings.

Colors are perhaps even more abstract
even more polysemous than music.

Unlike some graphic designers in advertising
who refer to stock color keys
in order to target their messages
to particular audiences,
the meaning of wearing white on Yom Kippur
will not be limited or dictated by the interpretations
of rabbinic or cantorial leaders.
(Although, in the *S'lihot* service they've designed,
the editors of *Mishkan HaLev* have attributed one particular meaning,
בגדי טוהר
to the changing of the covers on the *sifrei Torah*
to white.)

Should we limit the meaning of wearing white to one interpretation
for all congregations at all times?
White is mis-perceived as being devoid of color.

Yet, white light, the light of “Creation,”
is made up of many wavelengths.

It can be composed of all the possible colors in the spectrum,
a broader palette even than that of the Empire State Building.

If you wear white on Yom Kippur,
if your congregants dress like sailors in white
as they “climb…among ladder and ropes of well tested prayers,”
then only you can decide
what wearing white means for you,
and only your congregants can decide what it means for them.

Did one or some of these eleven associations with the color white
ring true for you?
If your congregants studied these texts, which would they say rang most true for them?
Have you or they
other associations not listed here?

I am most certainly not arguing that worship leaders
ought to offer, during services,
explicit explanations for the wearing of white.
(Symbolic languages shouldn’t have to be explained.)

I am convinced, however,
that when members of a worship planning team,
rabbis and cantors, music directors, ritual committee members
consider and voice
what the wearing of white means to us,
or what we’d like it to mean,
then some of our choices of liturgy and music, some of our words of Torah,
and possibly the overall tone of our *t’fillot*
will be affected.

*Rabbi Margaret Moers Wenig has been teaching at HUC-JIR since 1985. Though not a musician herself, she has audited a dozen courses taught by Cantors Faith Steinsnyder, Jacob Mendelson, Israel Goldstein* z”l, *Azi Schwartz, and Dr. Gordon Dale, among others. Along with Hazzan Henry Rosenblum, Wenig leads cantorial students in an exploration of the ways in which diverse musical settings interpret High Holiday prayers. One of her favorite tasks is helping fourth-year students prepare the liturgy and* iyyunim *for their High Holiday practica.*

## *NEGINAH L'MA'ASEH*

It was an easy decision to feature music by Charles Davidson in this section; only the choice of works was challenging, given the enormous trove of compositions by Cantor Davidson (remembered on pages 131-135 in this issue). Given the challenges of this past year, we selected from among his many settings invoking our prayers for peace, and so we are pleased to offer *Oseh Shalom*, for solo voice, and the two-part setting of *Shalom Rav* included in the coming pages. We are grateful to his daughters, Ilana and Miriam Davidson, for their help in identifying these scores, and for their permission to reprint them here. We encourage anyone interested in these, or any of Davidson's hundreds of other works, to explore the resources of Ashbourne Music at https://www.ashbournemusicpublishing.com

Thanks again, to Ilana Davidson for contributing her lovely voice to the recordings of these selections, and to Brian Gelfand, for his beautiful and sensitive accompaniment.

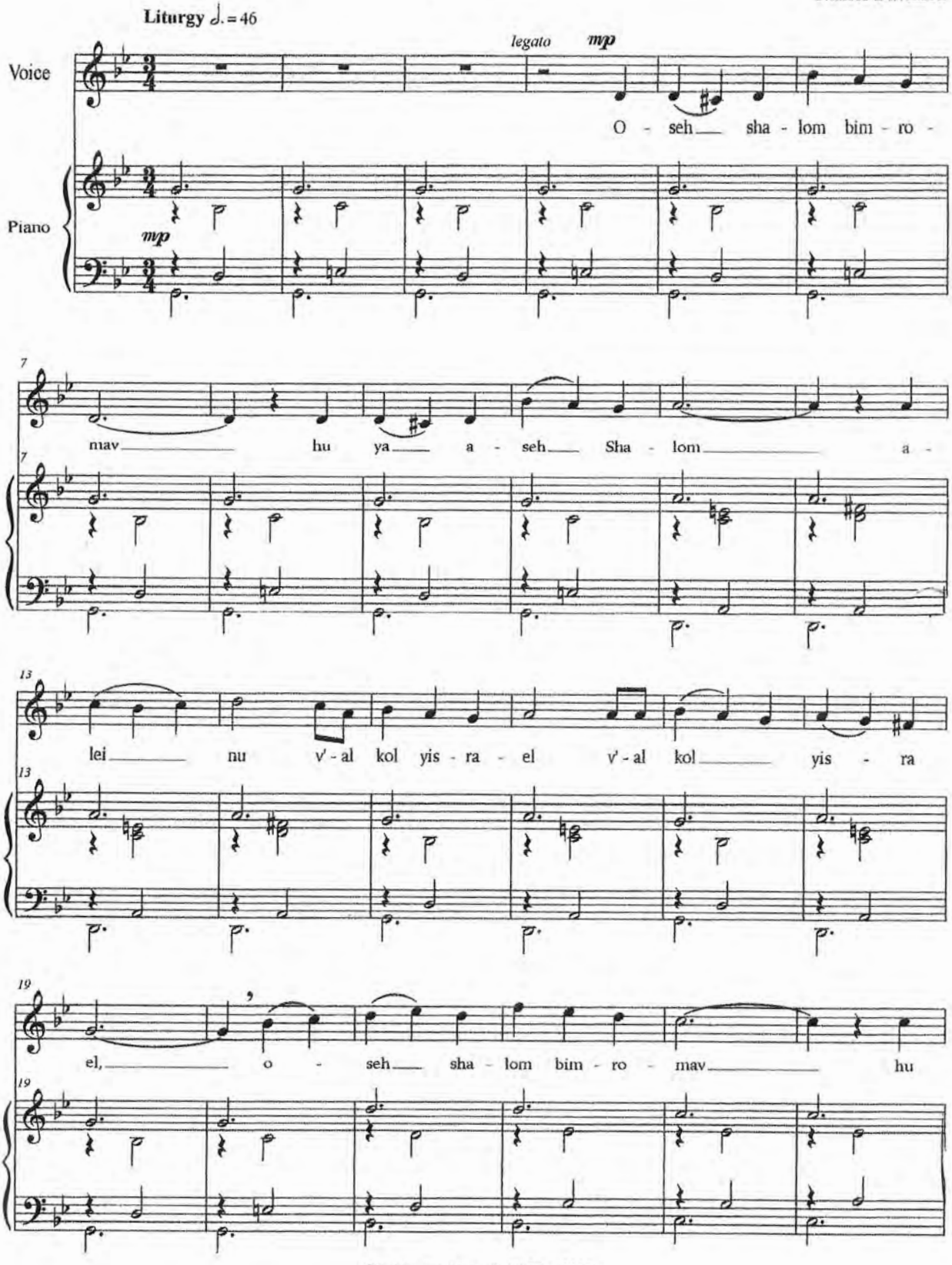
*To access the recordings, click anywhere on the first page of the score. Depending on your browser, you may need to download and save the audio file before it will play in its entirety.*

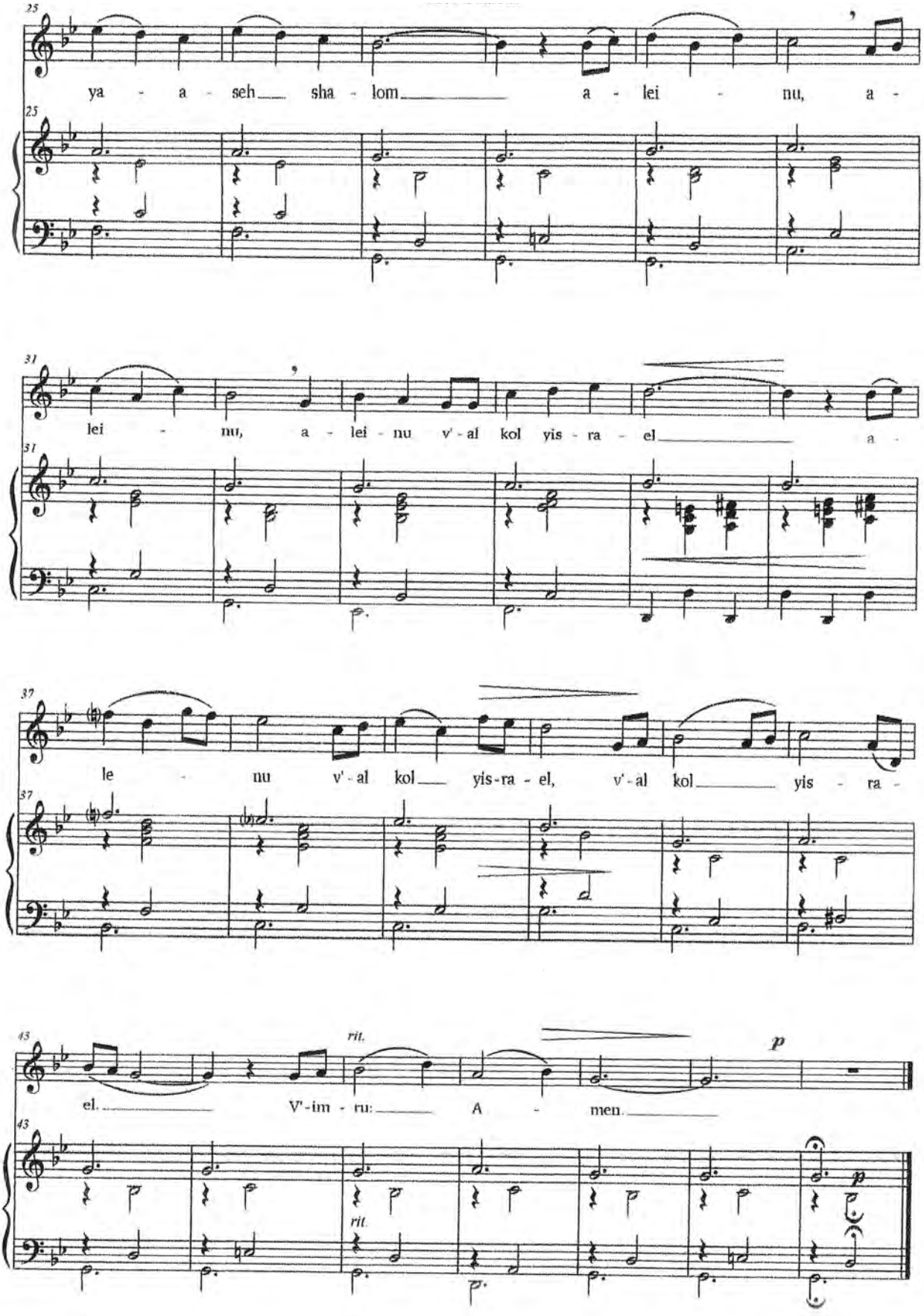
Score

# Oseh Shalom

*for Ilana*

Charles Davidson

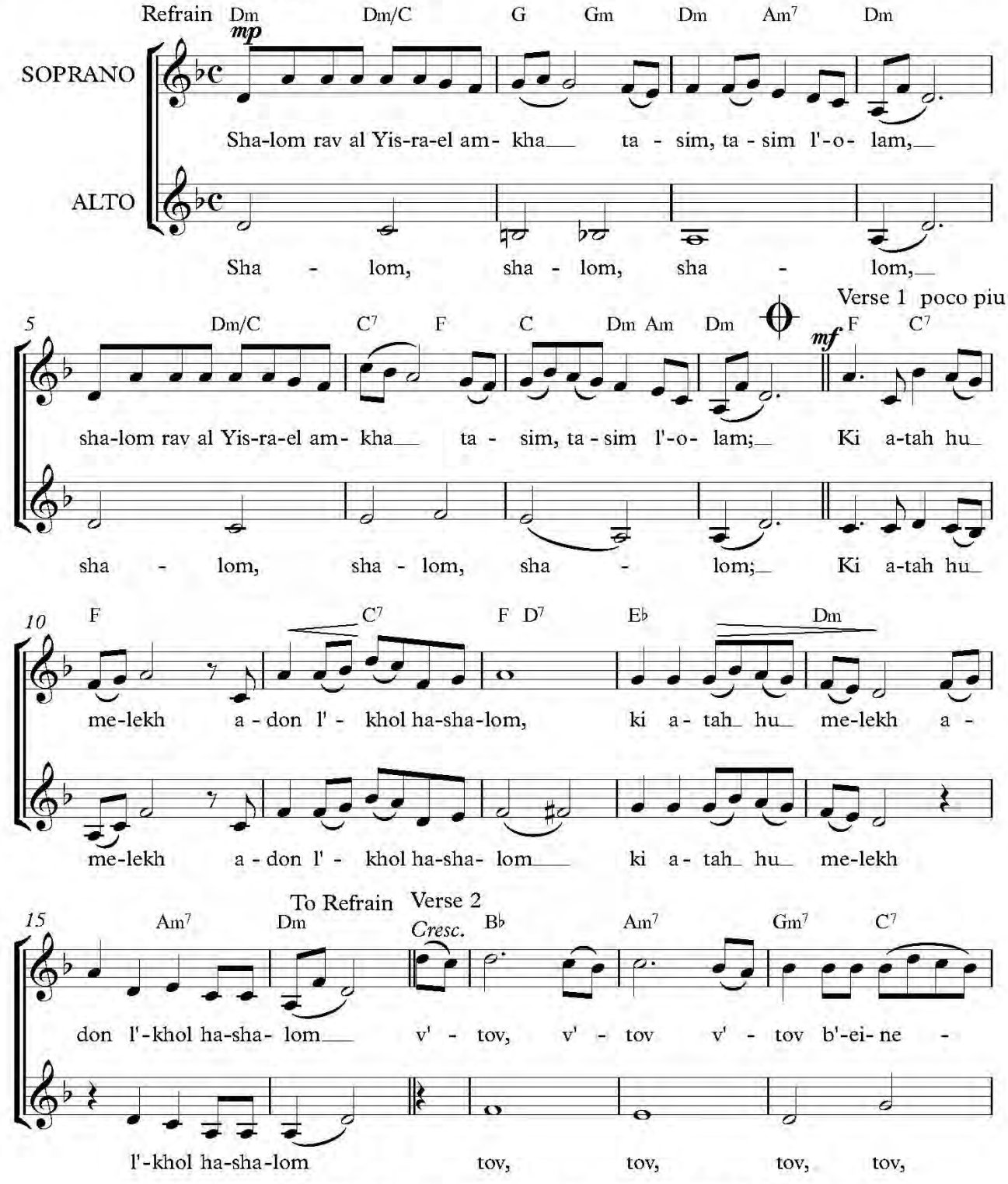


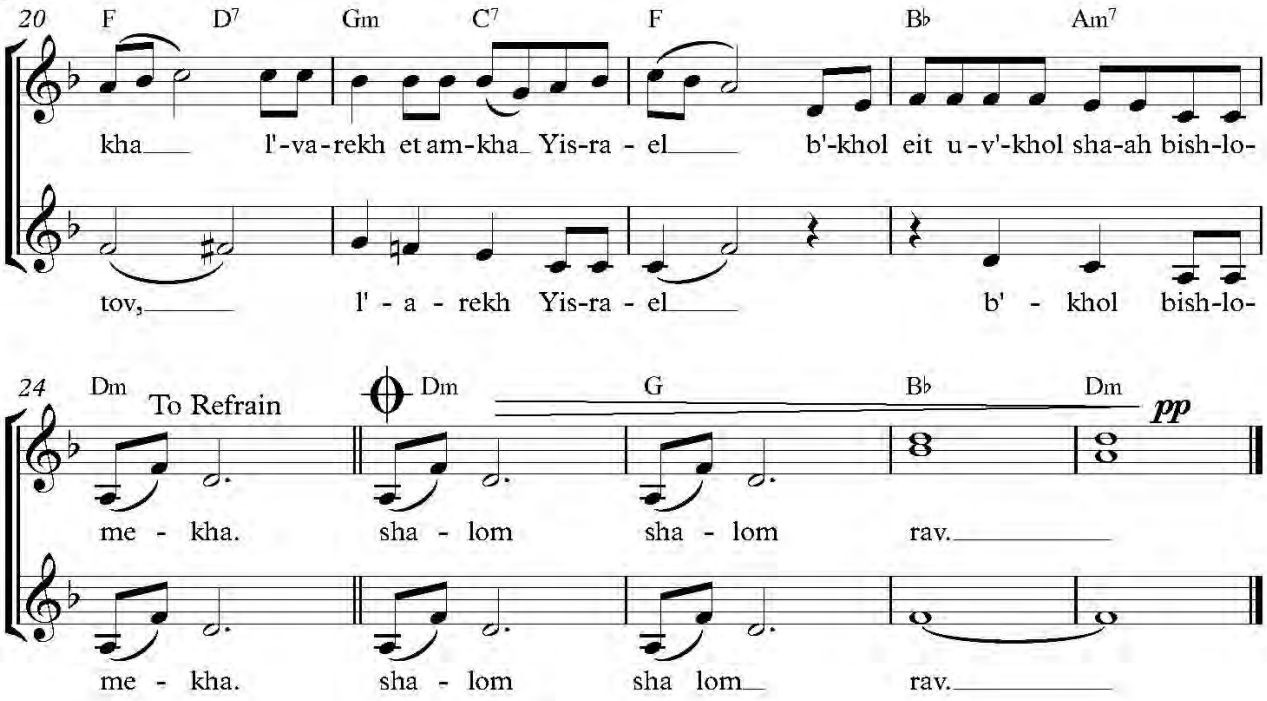

25
ya - a - seh sha - lom a - lei - nu, a -
31
lei - nu, a - lei - nu v'-al kol yis - ra - el a -
37
le - nu v'-al kol yis-ra - el, v'-al kol yis - ra -
43
rit.
p
el. V'-im - ru: A - men.
rit.
p

# Shalom Rav

Siddur

Charles Davidson




20
F
D7
Gm
C7
F
B♭
Am7
kha
l'-va-rekh et am-kha Yis-ra - el
b'-khol eit u-v'-khol sha-ah bish-lo-
tov,
l' - a - rekh Yis-ra - el
b' - khol bish-lo-
24
Dm
To Refrain
Dm
G
B♭
Dm
pp
me - kha.
sha - lom
sha - lom
rav.
me - kha.
sha - lom
sha lom
rav.

# MAILBOX

**Editor's Note**: *As noted at the conclusion of his translation of the "Introduction of* Sefer Teudat Shlomo*" (see pages 5-25), David Berger is, among other things, a doctoral student at the Chicago Theological Seminary. In anticipation of beginning work on his dissertation, he recently concluded his final comprehensive examination with the following thoughts on the Maharil, and the challenges of his time that are remarkably similar to our own. I invited him to share those thoughts with us here. MBE*

## Reflections on the Maharil and Today's Cantorate

We are soon to approach the 600th *yahrtzeit* of Rabbi Jacob Molin, the Maharil. The twenty-first century, much like the fourteenth century, is an era of rapid and unpredictable change within the Jewish community. Similar to his own time in the decades following the disasters of the Black Plague and the massacres that followed, we now stand in this time following the Holocaust, when the great pillars of our ethnic and cultural tradition were severed. Where he faced urbanization, we face globalization. Where he saw people drifting from synagogue worship in favor of vernacular songs, we see ever increasing numbers of Jews living lives completely separated from the institutional Jewish community. Where he saw in the "old ways" the essential tools needed to guarantee Jewish continuity, we too look back to the old pathways of Jewish identity formation, learning, and practice.

In some ways, these same conditions might be said of just about every era in Jewish history. There is always a Jewish existential fear questioning if there will be a future. There is also, however, always an impulse within people that seeks the "authentic." Even as many younger Jews have distanced themselves from synagogues, others have reinvested in new kinds of Jewish spiritual communities. There is a sense that, just as Sulzer felt in his time, there are valuable pieces of the tradition that need recasting in modern garb, that the best of what our people has to offer has become overladen with the accumulated baggage of time. Into this dialogue, claiming the heritage of the Maharil can serve, again, as a way of declaring that our tradition, the tradition of Ashkenazic chant, is not part of that generational baggage, but is part of the vital core itself. Just as we continue to look back to Rashi for our intellectual understanding of the Torah and Talmud, perhaps we can look back to the Maharil as an interpreter of our liturgy, of our well of ritual and spiritual sustenance.

The cantorial tradition itself is in a significant moment of transition. The last generation of cantors to learn directly from the "Golden Age" masters is retiring and, to our great sadness, passing from this world. We are no longer at a point where living memory can extend back to

those glory days, and neither communities nor cantors have truly learned to master the skills of participating in or performing the great musical works of those times. In some ways, the written notations of *nusaḥ* used for cantorial training are as incomplete as Rabbi Zalman's notes of the Maharil's practice. How we move forward from here is unclear at best, but standing on a fundamental belief that no matter the style of presentation, there is some kind of essential tradition, and naming the Maharil as the definer or "sanctioner" as Idelsohn said, of that tradition, feels like an essential corrective to clarify the chaos and build anew on a stronger foundation.

David Berger

# REVIEW

## *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies*, edited by Tina Frühauf

### *Reviewed by Marsha Bryan Edelman*

The primary definition of "handbook" describes it as a guidebook, or book of instruction on a singular topic. The classic *Hazzan's Manual* (synonymous with "handbook") is an all-purpose compendium of liturgy for life-cycle moments, and as such, provides everything one might need on that particular subject. A later definition of "handbook," though, calls it a "scholarly book" on a particular topic, often a "collection of essays." It is this latter definition that perfectly describes *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* (Oxford University Press, 2023).

In her introductory chapter describing the nature and contents of the volume, editor Tina Frühauf goes to great lengths to explain what Jewish music is not. It is certainly not a single discipline, standing as it does on the bridge between Jewish studies (broadly) and musicology. It may or may not concern itself with religious activities and functions. The term "Jewish music," then, appears as a sort of "shorthand" for musical activities (which may or may not be conducted by Jews and/or for Jews), and explores areas of history, literature, philosophy and ritual, across geographical, cultural and linguistic boundaries. Frühauf ultimately rejects the attempt to find a definition for "Jewish music" and leaves it to the collected essays to serve as examples, across time (from antiquity to the present day), location (from Asia to the Americas) and genre (from sacred classical to secular popular). The contributing scholars have chosen topics within their diverse fields of study and expertise, shedding interesting light on corners of the Jewish musical world that have heretofore been rarely explored.

The hefty (735 pages) volume that emerges includes 29 chapters liberally gathered around eight sections. "Land" explores the Jewish relationship to land as a self-construct, not necessarily related to borders. Assaf Shelleg's chapter, aptly titled "*Adamot* (Lands) – Art Music – Israel" explores the complexities of the Zionist in-gathering in its creation of a Western-facing genre of new music. Vanessa Palom Elbaz deals with the contrasts between the idealized Sephardic past and its contemporary reality, focusing on Spain and Morocco in "Land, Voice, Nation: Jewish Music in the *Adamot* of Al-Andalus." The chapter by Merav Rosenfeld-Hadad entitled "We Shall Sing Songs and Praise to the Lord Who Created Us Last in the World: Hakham Joseph Hayyim of Baghdad, Leadership with Poetry and Music" focuses on the fascinating attitudes on how, when and what to sing promulgated by the highly-regarded spiritual guide whose philosophies helped his flock transition from Diasporic life in Iraq to rebirth in Israel.

"City" focuses on events centered in particular geographic spaces, at unique moments in time. The title of Sophie Fetthauer's "Jewish Refugees From the Nazi State in Shanghai, 1938-1949" neatly describes the focus of her study of this community that has only recently attracted

scholarly attention. Silvia Glocer's title, "Jewish Émigré Musicians in Buenos Aires: Integration and Cultural Impact, 1933-1945" similarly describes the focus of her essay. Interestingly, both of these chapters seem to be more about musical activities by Jews who were musicians than about Jewish music. Oded Erez tells a fascinating tale of transition in "From a City of Greeks to Greeks in a City: Migration and Musical Taste Cultures Between Salonika and Tel Aviv-Jaffa," and parallels the experiences of the Jews as outsiders in Greece, and then again as outsiders in an Ashkenzi-centered Israel. Here, too, the musical focus is on Greek music as a life-line that sustained the new immigrants and helped preserve their community, not on specifically Jewish music. Phil Alexander's "Berlin Klezmer and Urban Scenes" sounds a predictably different note about its subject: Klezmer is certainly Jewish, but you don't need to be Jewish to play it.

"Ghetto" focuses on aspects of two of Jewish history's best-known spaces. Rebecca Cypress and Yoel Greenberg collaborated on "Hearing the Ancient Temple in Early Modernity: Abraham Portaleone and the Cultivation of Music in Seventeenth-Century Mantua." Porteleone's treatise, *Shiltei HaGiborim* (Shields of the Heroes) contained ten chapters on Levitical music-making in the Temple of Jerusalem. His attempts to relate the ancient practices to his own time were an implicit endorsement of contemporary music-making in a moment when Jews were sought out as performers and teachers of secular music, but discouraged from making music in their own community.

Chapters by J. Mackenzie Pierce and Tobias Reichard take different looks at musical activity in the infamous Warsaw Ghetto. "Sonic Transformation: Urban Musical Culture in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940-1942" investigates the extent to which music-making in the ghetto emerged from pre-war musical culture, and ways in which the Jews used music to comment on their experiences there. "Sounding Out the Ghetto: Spatial Aspects of Jewish Musical Life during the Nazi Era" is certainly concerned with the impact of spaces and places on the nature and appreciation of musical events. A primary focus, however, is on the activities of the Jewish Culture League, and its efforts to expand definitions of Jewish music and to promote the creation of new Jewish compositions.

The section on "Stage" begins with Jeremiah Lockwood's study of "Hasidic Cantors 'Out of Context:' Venues of Contemporary Cantorial Performance." His focus is on a surprising innovation in the Hasidic community: a cohort of cantors inspired by recordings of stars from the Golden Age of *Hazzanut*, but offering performances outside the familiar boundaries of the community. Jascha Nemtsov's chapter on "Jewish Music and Totalitarianism in The Post-Stalinist Soviet Union" describes the effort to create the illusion of a single, unified Russian identity by destroying virtually all aspects of Jewish cultural life from 1953 until the official dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991. In a happier chapter, veteran Israeli musicologist Jehoash Hirshberg's chapter on "Art Music in the *Yishuv* and in Early-Statehood Israel" describes stylistic aspects of the emerging new form. His essay is rich with descriptions of the Palestine Symphony Orchestra (performing European standards as well as original Israeli compositions), the less successful history of opera in Israel (which nevertheless inspired the creation of dozens of new works, most never staged) and the East-West merger that defined much of the music of the period from 1930-1960. On the opposite end of historical Jewish

culture, Ruthie Abeliovich's chapter on "The Yiddish Theater Republic of Sounds and the Performance of Listening" describes various experiences of Yiddish theater in America, and its function as a sounding board for the concerns of the community, from the challenges of anti-Semitism and immigration to the realities of assimilation and acculturation. She points to the technological evolution that saw the community move from attending in-person theatrical productions to consuming music via phonograph. She also notes the cross-over performances of cantors like Yossele Rosenblatt, whose renditions of excerpts from Yiddish theater helped the community negotiate its increasing alienation from traditional Jewish life

One of the most interesting, and unexpected, segments of the book is titled "Collections." Its chapters by Eléonore Biezunski, Judith S. Pinnolis and Joseph Toltz focus on the valuable work of archives in preserving our Jewish cultural heritage. "The YIVO Sound Archive as a Living Space: Archiving and Revitalizing Klezmer Music" and "Jewish Music Sound-Recording Collection in the United States" tell important stories about the history and current status of both public and private preservation efforts. "Postcustodialism in the Jewish Music Archive" presents case studies of efforts to digitize archival collections at Monash University in Australia and at the US Holocaust Memorial Museum.

The segment on "Sacred and Ritual Spaces (subtitled *Eiruv*, *Hupah* and *Kotel*, though not always directly related to the essays it contains) resonates with traditional topics, but in sometimes unexpected ways. Jeffrey A. Summit's chapter on "Reimagining Spiritual Experience and Music: Perspectives from Jewish Worship in the United States" uses the four-fold song of Rabbi Abraham Isaac Kook (first Ashkenazi chief rabbi of Israel, 1865-1935) as a metaphor for how Jews in the twenty-first century experience music in worship: as the song of the self; of the nation; of humanity; and of all creation. Abigail Wood's "Sonic Collectivity at the *Kotel ha-Ma'aravi* (Western Wall)" is nominally about the vocal sounds converging at the Wall, the contrasts between Ashenazic and Sephardic prayer, and the competing uses of the space for traditional and more liberal religious prayer as well as for secular military ceremonies. To a greater extent, however, it is not about music at all, but about the political and sociological issues represented by visitors to the Wall.

Naomi Cohn Zentner offers an interesting perspective on the interplay between family and community traditions in "Singing at the Sabbath Table: *Zemiroth* as a Family History." By tracing the singing choices of one family, the *zemirot* reflect the spiritual evolution of the head of household from a traditional *yeshivah* in Europe to religious Zionist enclaves in Israel. Diana Matut offers a fascinating study of women as music-makers in "Early Modern Yiddish Wedding Songs: Synchronic and Diachronic Functions." Unfortunately, the songs were primarily transmitted orally, and many melodies have been lost over time and the displacement of communities. The extant texts, however, point to their function as both celebratory and didactic tools for acquainting young brides with the expectations of their new status. An entirely other repertoire of wedding songs is explored by Evan Rapport in his chapter on "Bukharian Jewish Weddings and Creative Uses of the Central Asian Past." After providing an engrossing history of the origins of the community from cities primarily in Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, he focuses on

the transplanted enclaves in New York, and the generational tensions between preserving traditional customs and embracing contemporary practices.

The section on "Destruction and Remembrance" subtitled *Zekher/Hurban* predictably explores the attempts by various communities to preserve their cultural heritage during and after the Holocaust. Miranda L. Crowdus' chapter on "Remembering the Destruction, Re-animating the Collective: Romaniote Liturgical Music after the Holocaust" discusses efforts to preserve the unique and largely oral tradition of the Judeo-Greek language and musical repertoire. "We Live Forever: Music of the Surviving Remnant in Sweden" by Simo Muri describes Yiddish performances given by (mostly Russian) survivors, which animated the refugee community, but created tensions between them and the native Swedes. "Ferramonti We Do Not Forget: Jews, Music and Internment in Italy" by Silvia Del Zoppo describes the internment (1940-43) and displacement (1943-45) center, and focuses on the presence and absence of musical expressions of Jewishness within the camp. The final chapter, by Clara Wenz, is "I Say She is a *Mutriba*: Faded Memories of Aleppo's Jewish Women Musicians." Much of the history of these women was unknown, due both to the ongoing conflict between Israel and Syria and religious concerns about women performing in public. Based on stories told by Syrian women now living in Israel, the author challenges assumed distinctions between Muslim, Arab and Jewish customs, classical and popular music, and the public and domestic spheres.

The Handbook's final segment, "Spirit-*Shekhinah*" contains three very different chapters. "Ultra-Orthodox Women and the Musical *Shekhinah*: Performance, Technology, and the Artist in North America" by Jessica Roda investigates the unexpected—and increasingly tech-savvy—community of female musicians performing and producing music for consumption by other women. "On a Harp of Ten Strings I Will Sing Praises to You: Envisioning Women and Music in the Oppenheimer Siddur" by Suzanne Wijsman is not about music, per se, but about the large number of illustrations featuring women as musicians (or interacting with male musicians) depicted in the fifteenth century manuscript, and what they and the artist, Asher ben Yitzhak, reveal about the styles and standards of his time. Finally, Alexandre Cerveux's chapter on "The Concept of Harmony in Pre-and Early Modern Jewish Literature" is also less about music than about the use of musical harmony as a metaphor for "cosmic harmony" during the late Middle Ages and Early Renaissance.[1]

Notwithstanding the wide variety of contributors and topics represented, the overall scholarly tone of this collection may provide some challenges for readers. The authors draw insights from disciplines including history, anthropology, and the visual arts, in addition to Jewish studies and music, and no reader can be expected to be expert in all of these. The essays include terms borrowed from many languages, including Persian, Russian, German and Greek, as well as the anticipated Hebrew, Yiddish and Ladino. Most, but not all, of these terms are translated upon initial usage, but it remains up to the reader to keep those translations in mind. It is also surprising that most non-English terms are not italicized (as is, for example, the custom of

[1] Cerveaux's chapter references the work of Dov Schwartz and his *The Soul Seeks Its Melodies*, reviewed in this issue on pps. 125-127

this *Journal* as well as other resources). Interestingly, a number of Jewish ritual terms go unexplained, suggesting a Jewishly well-educated readership, but the publishers' hope that this volume will serve as a resource for many fields might be better served by more consistent attention to such details.

Some editorial issues deserve note as well. Several of the authors are apparently not native English speakers, and a few turns of phrase feel awkward. There are also many examples of missing (or unnecessary) prepositions, and passages/people who could have used explanatory footnotes (in an otherwise heavily footnoted anthology) as well as the inevitable typographical errors. As an editor myself, I sympathize with the struggle to "get it all right," and in a collection this large, it is inevitable that some errors will sneak through; fortunately, none of these are a true impediment.

A somewhat more troubling matter is the occasional misrepresentation of aspects of Jewish life and ritual. An incorrect pluralization of *shofar* to *shofarim*, rather than *shofarot* betrays poor command of Hebrew grammar; reference to "the last day of Purim" and the "festival" of Tisha B'Av are much more unfortunate errors, and should have been corrected by knowledgeable editors.

A much greater disappointment is the paucity of musical illustrations. Frühauf's introductory essay starts with the biblical concept of *ufaratsta* (and you shall burst forth, Gen. 28:14) using it as a metaphor for the expansion of Jewish music to all corners of the globe. She first points to the adoption of this concept by the Lubavitcher Hasidim through the use of the *Daled Bavos* (Melody of Four Stanzas or Gates) of the first rebbe, Schneur Zalman (1745-1812). A lengthy paragraph describes the melody, performance practices, and its spiritual significance – but given that this is apparently not the popular *Ufaratsta* melody well known in contemporary circles, a musical illustration would have been welcome. Other examples of "talking about" music rather than illuminating it abound. Given that there are a (very) few musical examples provided, one cannot help but wonder why there are not more. Frankly, there are more photographs than there are musical illustrations. Most of the chapters would have been enhanced with notated scores, however brief.

Despite these concerns, there is much to recommend this collection. Many chapters in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* will immediately resonate for cantors; others introduce topics well beyond the traditional concerns of Ashkenazic rituals and congregations, but are clearly worth expanding one's horizons. The mere existence of this collection helps to put "Jewish music" on the "map" of legitimate scholarly exploration. It is also noteworthy that most of the contributing authors are still in the early years of their careers, boding well for future scholarship in the field. That is a wholly positive outcome – no matter how one chooses to define "Jewish music."

*Dr. Marsha Bryan Edelman is Editor of the* Journal of Synagogue Music.

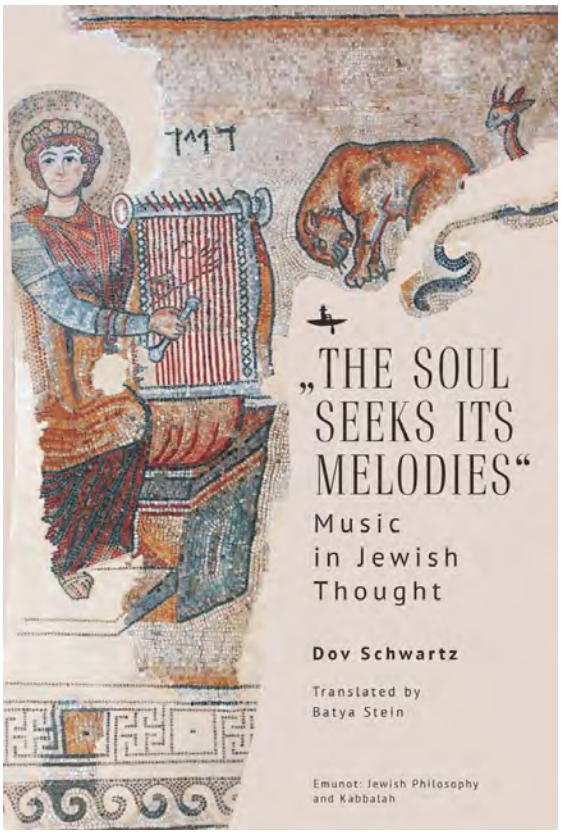
# REVIEW

## *The Soul Seeks its Melodies: Music in Jewish Thought* by Dov Schwartz

### *By Matt Austerklein*

*"[Music is] an unconscious exercise in metaphysics in which the mind is unaware that it is philosophizing." - Arnold Schopenhauer*

Music is a window into so many parts of life: sociology, theology, history, politics, food, culture, philosophy, psychology, and art. We may only hear a melody, but if we listen with our minds and hearts, we can hear a fulminant symphony of history and ideas in the background, playing its mute but powerful accompaniment.




Dov Schwartz's *The Soul Seeks its Melodies": Music in Jewish Thought* (Academic Studies Press, 2022) is a book that hears this symphony; it is perhaps the first comprehensive analysis of the place of music in Jewish thought. Whereas Jewish musicology focuses largely on sounds, practices, and/or cultural boundaries, Schwartz's formidable volume tracks the evolution of music as an idea which shaped, and was shaped by, the writings of great Jewish thinkers, including philosophers, theologians, and mystics. Transcending the historical soundscape of the Jewish people (though not without rich reference to it), Schwartz instead maps the Jewish musical mindscape of the past two millennia. As former head of both the Philosophy and Music Departments at Bar-Ilan University, he stands uniquely positioned to offer this wide-ranging and groundbreaking perspective.

The book's introductory chapter explores its methodology, defining the parameters of Jewish thought and how ideas about music, which are often on the margins of philosophical discourse, nevertheless both reflect and mold it. The Talmudic legend of David's self-playing lyre (*BT Berachot 3b*) thus intrigued Jewish thinkers as a meditation on broader subjects: the nature of miracles, the mystical dispelling of negative forces, and the symbolism of lyre-playing in their own respective environments. Weaving together the many aspects of Jewish thought through which a musical thread might pass, Schwartz defines his task as outlining a history of how music formed — and was formed by —Jewish ideas and religious consciousness.

The core chapters of the book take many approaches to realize its ambitious goals. Chapter Two (Assessing the Role of Music) deals with how Jews classified music throughout history — as a metaphysical science, a source of temptation, a form of culture, an aesthetic art, or even as a mythical force. Chapter Three (Music and the Jewish People) addresses how music has been deployed in asserting the uniqueness or "advantage" of the Jewish people, presenting widely through the history of Jewish apologetics.

Chapter Four (Music as a Tool) begins to outline a conceptual history of Jewish practices and uses for music. This is the first of Schwartz's tripartite taxonomy of Jewish approaches to the value of music, which exist both as a continuum and concurrently across Jewish thought:

1. *functional or instrumental standing*: music is a means for the attainment of utilitarian aims—religious (such as prophecy and communion) or secular (such as healing or peace of mind).
2. *representative or metaphorical standing*: music represents sublime values at the cosmic and religious level (musical harmony represents cosmic harmony, music's earthly dimensions reflect the musical dimensions of the kabbalistic divine *sefirot*, and so forth).
3. *essential and independent standing*: music is intrinsically important, and therefore, it is also a form of dialogue with God and with others.[1]

Chapter Five (Towards Music as an Independent Field: Representation, Language, Dialogue) takes up these latter two categories, showing how music went from representing various forms of order (cosmic, mystical, human, and theological) towards having independent revelatory value, as in the modern writings of Franz Rosenzsweig, Andre Hajdu, and even Professor Jacob Neusner.[2] Chapter Six (Music, Zionism, Religion) goes on to describe the broad role of music as a motif in religious-Zionist texts, especially its expansive place in the thought of Rav Kook and his disciples.

Magic, political theory, philosophy, art, psychology, — these are just a few of the areas of Jewish thought in which Schwartz maps the motif of music. His book is incredibly exciting in its thoroughness, digging into myriads of primary sources hitherto unexamined in the established canons of Jewish musicology, as well as with delicious footnotes witnessing many Hebrew-language dissertations and studies in this field over the past several decades that are lesser known in English-speaking scholarship. Like a musicological superfood, Schwartz's volume provides prodigiously rich intellectual nutrients in an incredibly concentrated form. At 6"x9" and just over three-hundred pages, the book is deceivingly light, yet with precise organization and scholarly girth that make it punch far above its physical weight. This makes the book ideal for assignment in the classroom - each chapter is clearly structured with headings and subheadings, along with a helpful summary at the end of each one. The hefty price tag ($139) clearly means that it is

[1] Dov Schwartz, *The Soul Seeks its Melodies*, 286.
[2] This last approach is also taken by Joey Weisenberg in his book, *The Torah of Music* (2017). The musical forms celebrated by the book are seen to model and teach ethics and sensitivity in a therapeutic religious context.

intended for university classrooms and libraries with commensurate budgets, but I think that any intellectually-engaged Jew interested in music should put it on their Hanukkah list, or put it on the "wish list" for their synagogue library.


The book was originally published in Hebrew in 2013 with the title *Kinnor Nishmati: HaMusikah BaHagut HaYehudit* (Violin of My Soul: Music in Jewish Thought). Batya Stein's translation is superb, giving Schwartz's prose the sharp, weighty precision required to corral the wide-ranging issues of Jewish thought into one musical pasture. One laments the omission of a full chapter from the original Hebrew volume — Chapter 8: Religious Consciousness and Creation: Composers & Thinkers. This chapter allows Schwartz to complete the continuum of Jewish musical thought, analyzing how composers themselves analyzed Jewish ideas, rather than the other way around. Perhaps Dov or Batya will oblige English speakers one day with this missing piece of the puzzle.

The book's epilogue shows Schwartz at his most personal, and it is here that the reader will appreciate the tensions created by a love of music within a religious personality. Schwartz became passionate about music as a young man while also living an observant life, and he brings a number of vignettes highlighting the tensions between music and the conservative exigencies of religion and fatherhood. "Music is a way of life, as is also *Halakhah* [Jewish law]," writes Schwartz. "They can be reconciled, but those who think that they coalesce delude themselves." He concludes the volume thus:

> "This book was born out of deep appreciation and love of music and its messengers and, possibly, also from the initial blooms of my reconciliation with the choice of an academic, non-musical path. It is my prayer that my love will not upset my judgment."

The journey towards reconciliation with music in religious life is an arduous one. It is in the nature of *mitzvah* — which limits freedom — and music — which expands freedom — to conflict. But if anyone has created a worthy map for this journey through the many islands of thought to which music lays claim, it is Dov Schwartz.

*Cantor Matt Austerklein is a prayer leader, musician, and scholar exploring the religious meaning of Jewish musical forms. He is currently a Ph.D. candidate in Jewish Studies at Halle-Wittenberg University (Halle, Germany), where he is completing a dissertation on the musical professionalization of Ashkenazi cantors in early modern Europe. He also serves as the Visiting Cantor of Temple Beth El in Rochester, NY. You can read Matt's weekly column on Jewish musicology, arts, and culture at [mattausterklein.substack.com](mattausterklein.substack.com).*

# IN MEMORIAM

## Israel Jacob Barzak (1939-2023)

### *Remembered by Ivor Lichterman*

Izzy came from a distinguished background, born in Brooklyn, NY to his mother and famous father, Rabbi/Cantor/*Mohel*/*Shohet* Pesach Chayim Weisman. Why Weisman and not Barzak? US Immigration: When asked his name, he responded "I want to be known as a "wise man.'" After Izzy and Rhoda's first child, Zev, was born in 1965, Izzy changed the name back to Barzak. His illustrious grandfather, Menachem Barzak, was chief *hazzan* of Tsfat, Israel.

Izzy was educated in some of New York's finest *yeshivot* – Rabbi Jacob Joseph, Chaim Berlin, Lubavitch, etc. As a child he sang in some of New York's best Jewish choirs, under Oscar Julius, Samuel Sterner, Abe Nadel and Sholom Secunda. He was trained as a *mohel* by the famous Rabbi Harry Bronstein (inventor of the Mogen clamp).

Izzy served in the United States army as a chaplain. He was ordained as an Orthodox rabbi, as a *hazzan* at Hebrew Union College, and served mostly Conservative synagogues in Springfield NJ, Fall River MA, Toledo OH and Daytona Beach FL. With his life-long cantorial affiliation with the Cantors Assembly (including service as an executive board member), Izzy covered all the bases.

As a *mohel* he served not only Jewish children, but numerous Christian and Moslem families, and created a special service for them.

Members of his congregation had effusive praise for him. He was described as "the personification of a *hazzan*," and remembered for his love and laughter, and as "a people person, outgoing, connecting well with everyone." Others described his "robust, gregarious personality."

Another recalled his *Hayom t'amtzeinu* (Malavsky), how everyone sang "*Hayom*" so powerfully. When I succeeded him at B'nai Israel in Toledo, I was told that I needed to sing that "*Hayom*."

Izzy's daughter, Tsafi, described her father as "a light;" If you were in the same room with him, you left touched by him.

As a teacher of *b'nai mitzvah*, Izzy brought out the best in his students, and took great pride in them.

Izzy's name, Yisrael Ya'akov, is reminiscent of Psalm 135:4, quoted in the *Yehi kh'vod* prayer recited every day: "*Ki Ya'akov bahar lo Yah, Yisrael lis'gulato,*" (God chose Jacob, Israel as His treasure.) That was Izzy's calling – to serve God as *hazzan*, rabbi, *mohel* and teacher.

But I found additional wisdom in the *sidrah* of *Vayishlah* (the *parashah* for the week when Izzy passed), a *pasuk* that speaks of Izzy, as Jacob's name is changed to Israel (Gen. 32:28): "*Lo Ya'akov ye'amer od shimkha, ki im Yisrael, ki sarita im Elohim v'im anashim vatukhal*:" Your name will no longer be called Jacob, but Israel, for you have wrestled with God and man, but you have prevailed, you have triumphed."

That was Izzy. His life was not easy; he overcame multiple challenges, but he described every day as "the best day of my life." If that is not "*vatukhal,*" – a "victor" – what is?

After his name change, Jacob, now Israel, calls that place *Peniel* (the face of God) and says "*vatinatzel nafshi*:" You, O God, saved my soul." And so it is that we pray that Israel Jacob Barzak's soul will be saved and is on his way to behold *Peniel*, the face of God, where he will solo in God's celestial choir, singing *Hayom t'amtzeinu* – O God, give us strength today."

In addition to his daughter, Izzy is survived by his loving wife of 61 years and best friend, Rhoda. Their son, Zev, was tragically killed in a training accident while serving in the US army. Izzy was interred next to his son and will lie with him for eternity.

*Hazzan*, rabbi, *mohel*, teacher, husband, father, grandfather, uncle and friend to so many, Israel Jacob Barzak was a true *klei kodesh*, a luminary of our holy calling.

*Yehi zikhro barukh.*

## Neil Ben-Isvy (1929-2023)

### *Remembered by Joshua Stelzer*

Cantor Neil Ben-Isvy passed away on Thursday, December 7, 2023, at his home in Jackson, New Jersey. He was 94 years old. Born and bred in an Orthodox home in Brooklyn, New York, he raised his family in Marlboro, New Jersey, and eventually settled in Jackson, New Jersey, with his loving wife, Joy, during his retirement years. A teacher and musician by nature, Cantor Ben-Isvy's professional life consisted of both teaching high school in the New York City public school system, from which he retired in the early 1980's, and serving as Marlboro Jewish Center's cantor from its inception in 1971 until his retirement in 2004, at which time he was named Cantor Emeritus. During his distinguished career as a spiritual leader, Cantor Ben-Isvy trained more than 2,500 students for their *B'nai Mitzvah* and officiated at the life-cycle events of countless members of the Marlboro Jewish Center community.

Cantor Ben-Isvy's initial professional career was as a high school teacher in the New York City school system; during this time, he was also studying for the cantorate. He moved to the Whittier Oaks development in Marlboro in March 1970, shortly before a group of residents founded a congregation which became the Marlboro Jewish Center. When the fledgling synagogue began holding services at the Old Brick Reformed Church, Ben-Isvy was there as a volunteer cantor. From that beginning came a 30-year association with the Marlboro Jewish Center, which grew from a handful of families to some 1,000 members.

Ben-Isvy's love of teaching children was very apparent. He taught more than 2,500 children, and in many cases, went on to perform their wedding ceremonies and their children's *b'nei mitzvah* ceremonies. A longtime friend described him as a perfectionist, who made it his business to see that all of his students achieved to the extent of their capabilities. Interviewed on the occasion of his retirement, Ben-Isvy commented that his greatest pleasure was "Helping to mold a child and giving them a feeling of their own Judaism and an understanding of what it means to be a good person." He famously went beyond the normal teacher role: when children were unable to get to their lessons, the cantor would pick them up from school. He also encouraged his students to give *tzedakah* and to respect the elderly. Fittingly, his favorite prayer was *L'Dor VaDor*: from generation to generation.

Cantor Ben-Isvy is survived by his wife of 60 years, Joy; his son and daughter-in-law, Michael and Lisa; his daughter and son-in-law, Lisa Ben-Isvy and James Freiman; his son, Jonathan; and four grandchildren. His funeral service was held in the Hazzan Neil Ben-Isvy Sanctuary at the Marlboro Jewish Center, named in his honor on the occasion of his retirement. His memory will surely be a blessing to his family and to the thousands of others whose lives he touched.

## Charles Davidson (1929 - 2023)

### *Remembered by Joel Caplan*

I knew Charles Davidson as a teacher.

He taught *nusah* to cantorial students at the Jewish Theological Seminary for decades. Generations of North American *hazzanim* studied with him. I was one of many.

In the classroom, we chuckled at his dry wit. We also took in his passion for synagogue life, his respect for scholarship, and his deep love for his own teacher and mentor, Hazzan Max Wohlberg.

Charles' printed obituary, though, starts by listing just some of his staggering output as a composer, including:

> *I Never Saw Another Butterfly* – over 2,500 performances worldwide, with two PBS documentaries made about it.
>
> *Immunim B'nusah Hat'fillah* (instructional cantorial series):
> Volume I: The Jewish Prayer Modes
> Volume II: *Hallel*
> Volume III: *Sefer Hadrakhah: Nusah Hat'fillah (B'minhag Ashkenaz)* for the entire Liturgical Year
> *Gates of Song* (ed.) -- collection of congregational melodies and hymns, with his creative accompaniments
> *Hush of Midnight: An American Selihot Service* (Jazz)
> *Libi B'Mizrach* (Sephardi synagogue service)
> *Chassidic Sabbath*
> *And David Danced Before the Lord* (Jazz synagogue service)
> *A Singing of Angels* (treble youth chorus with orchestra)
> *The Trial of Anatoly Sharansky* (chamber opera)
> *Night of Broken Glass* (oratorio in commemoration of *Kristallnacht*)
> *Epitaph for Yitzhak Rabin* (cantata)
>
> The catalog of his company, Ashbourne Music Publishing, lists over three hundred of his works, including synagogue pieces, songs, choral cantatas, Psalm settings, other entire services, musical plays, theatrical children's presentations, instrumental pieces, and other one-act operas. *(From Dr. Neil Levin, Milken Artists Page)*

Good heavens.

And he was a husband, and a father of four.

And he served at Adath Jeshurun in suburban Philadelphia for decades. I saw him once with his synagogue choir. They were about 75 voices strong, and they clearly doted on him and his music. At his *shivah*, longtime colleague Rabbi Seymour Rosenbloom spoke about how Charles' goal was to get the congregation singing – and they did.

But I knew him as a teacher at JTS. He cared so deeply about his teaching there, and about his students. As an example, just think about logistics: He taught there on Mondays and Tuesdays, but he lived in Elkins Park, PA. So, on about thirty Sunday afternoons each year, he would take the train from Philadelphia to New York, and the subway up to JTS. Door to door, that trip had to be around three hours. He'd sleep in a JTS dormitory room (sometimes having dinner with daughter Ilana on the Upper West Side), teach on Monday, sleep again in a JTS dormitory room, teach on Tuesday, and then travel three hours by train back to Elkins Park.

What a commute. And he did this year after year, decade after decade.

Hazzan Eliot Vogel said, at *shivah* (my paraphrase) "The greatest thing Charles ever did for me was to invite me to his home for Shabbat when I was a JTS student. It might seem like a small thing to share Shabbat dinner in suburbia, but it made a huge impression. I could see that yes, you could be a *hazzan* and still have a family and a life. That was no small thing."

Charles extended that invitation year after year to his students. I, too, spent a Shabbat at his home in Elkins Park, met his wife Frances and some of his children, followed him to *shul* ("Hear that? It's our organist, Temple Painter. Good name, huh? I'm teaching him to how to play more like a *shul* organist here, as opposed to a church organist,") and tagged along with him on Sunday as he bounced from synagogue to *bris* to other events.

It was Charles Davidson who called me one night 30 years ago and asked me if I would consider teaching at JTS. I now teach the material he taught, which is a lot of the same material that Max Wohlberg taught him. And I try to extend a similar invitation to JTS cantorial students to come to my house for Shabbat, because I know how much that weekend with him and his family affected me.

Coming back to composition, his obituary says:

> When responding to how he has managed to compose such an extraordinary volume of music over the years, he points to a clock. "When I was on vacation during the summer, I used to get up very early, at 4 a.m., and work until 8 a.m. Your mind is fresh in the morning, easier to think," he said.

Hazzan Jack Mendelson comments:

> He wrote quickly, very quickly. I did a commission with four or five other congregations for a work called "*UmiY'rushalayim Yiten Kolo.*" It was a *Hallel* for *Yom Ha-Atzma'ut*, and he based the whole thing on *Hatikvah*. Every piece started with some of the notes from *Hatikvah*. And within one week I had the whole thing in my hand. It was crazy! He scored it for rock band, and I had a ball teaching it to my congregation. He was quick…
>
> Charles was my brother's best friend [Hazzan Sol Mendelson]. They were among the first graduates of the JTS Cantors Institute [now the H. L. Miller Cantorial School], in 1951. My brother commissioned him maybe ten times. Sol had a volunteer choir, so he would use me as a ringer. I would go to all the rehearsals, so I knew all of Charles' music by heart.
>
> I'll never forget when the Columbus Boy Choir came to the CA convention – in Grossinger's, I believe it was – and they sang *Butterfly*. Lazar Weiner, who didn't give away ice in the winter – he'd never give you a compliment – started crying and ran over to Charles and embraced him. I will never forget that.

At the same time, the Milken Archive obituary says:

> The *Philadelphia Inquirer* described Davidson as "a modest man who would much rather tend his vegetable garden than have people fuss about his accomplishments."

With us, his students, he often referred to himself as "Uncle Charles," in the same way that he and his family called Max Wohlberg "Uncle Max." Hazzan Dr. Brian Mayer, with whom Charles would later correspond regarding the history of Ashkenazi *nusah*, writes:

> On a frigid Sunday, Dec. 6, 1987, 250,000 Jews marched on the Mall in DC in support of Soviet Jewry. I was still a student at JTS, and like many, I boarded a bus early that morning and headed south. When the rally was ending, I left the Mall and headed back towards the JTS bus. I was walking along, by myself, but in the midst of a huge crowd, when I heard someone whistling from behind me. The melody was Wohlberg's High Holiday Melody #23, "בוחן כל עשתונות / *Bohen Kol Eshtonot*". In my mind, I wondered, "Who could be whistling this '*Mi-Sinai* tune' in the middle of Washington, DC?" I turned around and saw Uncle Charles looking at me with a twinkle in eye. He had spotted me on the way to his bus travelling back to Elkins Park. This was his way of saying, "Hi, Brian!"

Hazzan Janet Roth:

> In 1987, my first year at JTS, I took a class in Shabbat *Nusah* with Cantor Davidson. We were learning the *HaShem Malakh nusah* for *Kabbalat Shabbat*. Cantor Davidson sang some examples... and then we were expected to follow suit. I had never heard any of this music before, I had never seen most of these texts, and I had absolutely no idea what I was doing... but I did my best. Cantor Davidson said, "Janet, that was very interesting. You are always so creative!"
>
> In my last year at JTS I was in the process of applying for jobs. This was in 1991, and there were few positions open to women. It was already May, and I was worried about finding a job. Cantor Davidson said, "Trust in God." I have been at my congregation since August of 1991.

Hazzan Perry Fine:

> A teacher dedicated to his craft, the tradition and his students! To this day, I use his adaptation of long-forgotten *Shalosh Regalim nusah* to the texts of *Regalim Shaharit*.
>
> He had a great wit about him… and wit never at anyone else's expense!

Hazzan Riki Lippitz:

> Cantor Davidson was the backbone of the entire JTS cantorial program, and a teacher who modeled both love of *nusah* and the skilled incorporation of congregational melodies. That goal is obvious today, but his commitment to congregational singing was significant as a passive American synagogue culture reacted to participatory camp culture from the 1970's onwards. He demonstrated how cantors, as synagogue musical artists, could interweave these styles on a high level, with grace and skill. The hundreds of compositions that he left us as a legacy provide us with abundant ways to uplift our *kehillot* in song.

I learned more about the depth of Charles' scholarship while serving as proofreader for his 376-page cantorial textbook *Sefer Hadrakhah*. He had hoped that this work might help continue the road paved by Baer's *Ba'al Tefillah* of 1887. I have used *Sefer Hadrakhah* for years now to teach JTS cantorial students. In addition to all the sheet music, the book is chock-full of references, footnotes and quotes. Here are typical excerpts, from Charles' note on *L'kha Dodi*:

> … Customarily the verses were in major except for two stanzas, *Mikdash melekh* (Ex. 1.10, p. 9) and *Lo tevoshi* (Ex. 1.13, p. 10), which were in minor. Baer notates *Mikdash melekh* in minor but assigns minor to *Lo tevoshi* only on *Shabbat Hazon* (Baer, *Ba'al Tefillah*, p. 93, No. 358)… Kalib references Ukrainian Dorian at "stanzas 2, 4, and 5 and at their conclusion returning to the original major-mode *nusah*" (*JSM*, 223)…
>
> *(Sefer Hadrakhah, p. 6, footnote 6, excerpts)*

Want to get into even thicker weeds? Try this comment on *Hallel* – including a clear commercial for another Davidson publication:

> *Heharim… kivnei tzon* in minor; *Milifnei…ya'akov* in the relative major; *Hahofekhi… agam mayim* in minor on the fourth scale degree; *halamish lemayeno* a pre-concluding pause on the second scale degree; and ending *mayim* 5-1, 5-2-1 or 5-4-3-2-1. The notation of these phrases are in Davidson, *Immunim II: Hallel*, pp. 14-17.
>
> *(Sefer Hadrakhah, third edition, p. 240, footnote 73)*

But there is humor, too. And in this comment on *Aleinu,* even what might be called a bit of snark:

> The melody for *Hu eloheinu ein od* became popular in the 1960's and may be a quote from the song "The Day They Sank The Bismarck" by Johnny Horton, which was popular at the time. To some the tune is frivolous and inappropriate.
>
> *(Sefer Hadrakhah, third edition, p. 21, from footnote 27)*

Even in his last year, he was working on a new edition of *Immunim I: Jewish Prayer Modes.* For that book, he and musical engraver Pamela Hitchcock spent hours upon hours creating modern, clear versions of over fifty recitatives by pre-World War I *hazzanim* (he had a particular fondness for Simeon Zemachson). Even so, Charles wrote emphatically that a real *hazzan* must be able to improvise, and not only sing what's printed on paper:

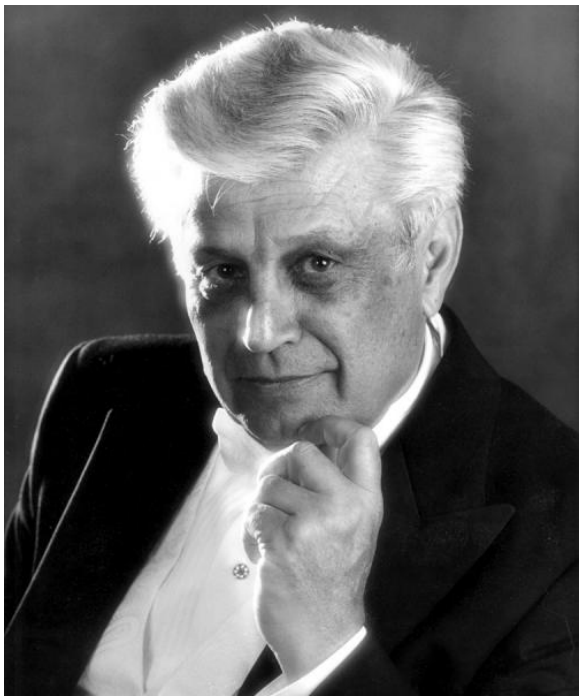
> While the study and performance of settings written by synagogue composers is an important component of the cantorial craft, absolute reliance upon recitatives or the memorizations of a cantorial textbook do not properly prepare one for the cantorial profession. The ability to apply the modes to the liturgy is a skill that is essential for the pulpit *hazzan*.
>
> *(Immunim B'Nusah HaT'fillah I, Jewish Prayer Modes, p. iii)*

Charles, we'll miss you.
We'll try to keep using and teaching what you have taught us.

## Abraham Kaplan (1931-1923)

### *Remembered by David F. Tilman*

Last September 6, 2023, Abraham Kaplan, renowned choral conductor, composer, superb teacher of conductors, and my principal conducting teacher, mentor, and friend, died in Tel Aviv at age 92, surrounded by his immediate family. Abe's extended family was incredibly large, including hundreds of choral conducting students at the Juilliard School in New York, at the University of Washington in Seattle, and the thousands of singers who sang in his choirs in New York, in Seattle, and in Israel, and in the choirs of the maestros all over the world whom he trained and nurtured.



I was privileged to be a graduate conducting student of Abe Kaplan at the Juilliard School from 1971 to 1975. We became close friends during those years. I had bi-weekly private conducting lessons with him, and I sang bass with the Juilliard Chorus conducted by him. Two times he invited me to substitute for him for a seven-week stint of rehearsals and two Shabbat evening services as conductor of his Choral Society at Temple Emanuel in Patterson, New Jersey, while he was guest-conducting the Israel Philharmonic Orchestra in Tel Aviv. Many years later, I modeled my Beth Sholom Chorale of Beth Sholom Congregation after the Temple Emanuel Choral Society.

During those four years, I learned so much from him about complex conducting techniques, the great choral masterpieces and the conducting challenges that each work presented. Abe's conducting students were required to sing in the large Juilliard Chorus where we had the opportunity to watch how he solved intricate choral challenges as he efficiently guided his singers.

From the late 1950's through 1977, Abraham Kaplan was the reigning choral maestro in New York City. In addition to his chairmanship of the Juilliard choral program, he conducted the volunteer Collegiate Chorale and the Camerata Singers, the professional chorus that he founded and that sang with the New York Philharmonic under Leonard Bernstein and other world class conductors. Bernstein called Abe a "heaven-sent Maestro." Abe prepared his Camerata Singers to sing the premiere performances of *Chichester Psa*lms and the *Kaddish Symphony*, Bernstein's third symphony, and he prepared a large group of Israeli singers for the Israel premiere of the *Kaddish Symphony*.

My first awareness of Abe Kaplan's musical gifts and his amazing career occurred during the late 1960's. I joined the Zamir Chorale in September 1966. The founding conductor of Zamir was Stanley Sperber, who was at that time a student of Abe Kaplan at Juilliard. It was very apparent to me in those years how Stanley's conducting techniques were being shaped by Abe Kaplan's teaching. He applied new choral methods learned from Abe Kaplan as he taught Zamir new repertoire.

In September 1969, I began my Cantorial career as *Hazzan Sheni* at the Park Avenue Synagogue. For many years, Hazzan David J. Putterman *z"l* engaged Abe Kaplan to conduct the annual premieres of the new Shabbat evening services that he commissioned. Putterman's successor, Hazzan David Lefkowitz, continued to invite Abe to conduct new premieres at the PAS for three decades. The premiere took place on the first Shabbat evening service in May. Abe Kaplan and 12 top professional singers joined the professional PAS quartet for rehearsals on four successive evenings, Monday through Thursday, just prior to the scheduled premiere Shabbat evening. I attended rehearsals of the augmented PAS professional choir under Abe Kaplan's efficient and elegant direction, and I marveled as the new work took shape and became an organic musical creation for the very first time. I witnessed his uncanny ability to bring a new composition to vivid and joyous life!

Following my JTS graduation from the Cantors Institute in 1971, I applied to Juilliard for the coming academic year as a choral conducting student of Abraham Kaplan. I took written exams in harmony and music history, and demonstrated piano proficiency. The crucial part of the audition involved conducting 20 Juilliard singers in a rehearsal of choral works by composers from Bach to Vincent Persichetti before Abe Kaplan, a dean of the music department, and the chairman of the orchestral conducting department. I had coached the required repertoire with Stanley Sperber, and his advice and guidance were invaluable in my preparation. Two days later, I received my acceptance letter, and I began my full-time residency at Juilliard two weeks later.

Abe limited the conducting program to eight students. During week one, four students conducted twice for 30 minutes on Mondays and Thursdays. In week two, the other four conductors had their opportunity, and the week one students each had a private 30-minute lesson to review the successes and errors in our rehearsals. Most of the time Abe allowed us to conduct the 20-voice choir without interruption. Sometimes he stopped us and took over the conducting to demonstrate exactly what gesture we should use to achieve the desired musical effect. He might even ask us to review a four- or eight- measure section repeatedly until we arrived at the target musical goal.

Kaplan was adamantly opposed to using the left hand to mirror the right hand. Abe was critical of too much talking; he demanded that we communicate our musical interpretation using precise conducting technique and a bare minimum of words. He told us that his best conducting was during a time when he spoke very little English, and had to make himself understood by the most efficient and economical gestures.

Abe Kaplan identified as a non-observant secular Israeli, and I was very cautious not to overstep our Jewish connection. This changed in the fall of 1972. My grandfather, Myer Leib

Tilman, passed on in Albany, New York, and I traveled home for the funeral and *Shivah* period. During *shivah,* Sam Brodie, a friend of my grandfather, came to our home and said to me: "David, I know you are a student of Abraham Kaplan. Do you know who he is?" "Of course I do. That is why I am studying with Mr. Kaplan." "But there is more to know," Brodie continued. "Abe Kaplan is the son of Shlomo Kaplan and the grandson of Hazzan Gershon Kaplan, the chief Cantor of Rozhinoi, Belarus, the birthplace of the Tilman family!" Hazzan Kaplan probably officiated at the *B'nai Mitzvah* of both my father, Alexander Tilman, and my uncle, Hayim Hersh Tilman!

When I returned to New York, I shared this knowledge with Abe, and waited with some trepidation for his response. Abe was truly moved by this new connection that we shared. We were *"Landsmen,"* in the true understanding of the word! Of course, I never overstepped the teacher/student relationship as long as we were together at Juilliard, but I knew that we both treasured this connection. He verbalized this to me: "David, we came together to study music, and now we have this new special relationship."

In September 2012, Abe offered me the opportunity to present the New York premiere of his new composition, *Eight Days of Chanukah*, with my chorus of young men and women at the Miller Cantorial School of the Jewish Theological Seminary. I was almost too up front with my students. I told them that Mr. Kaplan would be attending, and that we had the unique privilege of bringing to life his original composition for the first time. I wanted to show him just how much I had learned about choral conducting from him!

My students were amazing, singing this 30-minute work with great beauty, overwhelming joy, and rhythmic accuracy, a crucial element needed for this rhythmically complex composition written in constantly changing multiple meters and tempi in every movement. Our performance of this work can be found on Abe's website to this day!

Abe's Jewish identity waned and waxed during different periods of his career. When I first met him, he never identified himself as a practicing Jew. He was proud of his Israeli ancestry, but he wanted to be accepted solely as a first-class conductor and musician. As he aged, his Jewish identity came more to the forefront. At the premiere of *Eight Days of Chanukah* in 2012, he introduced me to "his Rabbi," Rabbi Moshe Pomerantz *z"l*, father of Cantor Alisa Pomerantz-Boro and Cantor Raquel Pomerantz Gershon, whose congregation, Herzl Ner Tamid on Mercer Island, he attended in Seattle.

As conducting opportunities decreased for him, Abe began composing more and more. Just like the works of his colleague Leonard Bernstein, his original works all contained complex rhythmic ideas requiring meticulous, exacting, and well-prepared conducting. When conductors compose new music, the role of the conductor becomes essential to the teaching and performance of the music, and this was definitely the case with Abe's original works. His harmonic language was very tonal and traditional. He explored his Jewish roots for texts and found inspiration in Psalms and in the liturgy.

His first song cycle, "*Glorious,*" is a collection of settings of 12 biblical texts in English. It is the most-performed Kaplan work. The Hanukkah cycle, *Eight Days of Chanukah,* is an inventive group of both traditional and rare Hebrew texts derived from the Hanukkah liturgy and folklore. The rhythms are very challenging to learn and to perform.

Abe wrote an excellent conducting textbook, "Choral Conducting." I used his text when I taught conducting to the students of the Miller Cantorial School at JTS. It contains all of his important directives to his conducting students over his long teaching career in New York and Seattle. Of course, his ability to bring a choral score to life with such care and inspiration, whether the music was old or new, was unique to him and impossible to articulate.

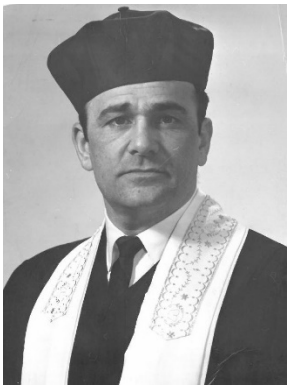
Four recordings of his conducting were profoundly moving to me. The premiere recordings of the Bernstein *Kaddish Symphony* No. 3 and the *Chichester Psalms* featuring the NY Philharmonic and the Camerata Singers prepared by Abe and conducted by Bernstein are magnificent, and stand the test of time to this day. Two other recordings conducted by Kaplan himself are also worthy of mention: his recording of *Ariel: Visions of Isaiah,* by Robert Starer; and High Holiday selections featuring the great operatic tenor Jan Peerce. Abe had great feeling for and understanding of Jewish liturgical works based on his youthful singing in his grandfather's choir conducted by his father, Shlomo. He told me that the Jan Peerce record was prepared in "record time." He taught his singers each piece, rehearsed it with Peerce, then recorded, and proceeded to the next work. The results are dramatic, joyful, traditional, and moving.

We had our last meeting just a few years ago, during Abe's visit with his son and family who reside in Philadelphia. Although he had aged, we had our last conducting lesson in a coffee shop in Chestnut Hill, reviewing the final *Hineh Mah Tov* chorale of the Bernstein *Chichester Psalms* that I was about to perform in Verizon Hall. His guidance was clear and invaluable to me.

In the Torah, God Almighty changes the name of the first Jew from Avram to Avraham, foretelling that he would become the "father of multitudes." Abraham Kaplan was without doubt the father of musical multitudes, inspiring conductors, his singers, and the singers of his students to create musical moments of great and eternal beauty. May his memory be for a blessing!

## Harold Lew (1925 – 2024)

### *Remembered by Steven Dress and Alan Sokoloff*



Hazzan Harold Lew was born on September 17, 1925, and raised in Dorchester MA. The day after turning 18, he enlisted in the US Navy. He was assigned to the USS Hancock, an aircraft carrier in the Pacific, and served with pride and distinction. Following the war, he served as the USS Hancock Association chaplain for twenty years.

For twenty-seven years, he worked both as a civil service analyst and as the cantor at Temple Israel in Sharon MA. Eventually, he was admitted to the Cantors Assembly and worked full time at Temple Israel until his retirement in 1989. In his three and a half decades at Temple Israel, he prepared over 3000 *b'nai mitzvah* and presided over countless weddings and funerals for a congregation that loved him dearly. Harold was actively involved in JMCA (The Jewish Ministers Cantors Association) and served as its secretary for many years.

Alan Sokoloff grew up at Temple Israel and was trained by Cantor Lew for his *bar mitzvah* ceremony. Shortly after the *simhah*, he called Alan and asked him to prepare three sentences of Torah for the following Shabbat's USY service. That summer, Cantor Lew again called Alan and asked him to learn to lead *Musaf* at the USY service on Yom Kippur. Needless to say, Alan was hooked, and he, too, became a cantor and joined the Cantors Assembly in 1991. Cantor Sokoloff's mother, Miriam *z"l*, used to say how much she loved hearing Cantor Lew's melodies when Alan led Shabbat, Festival, and High Holiday services.

Harold Lew was also a dear friend to Hazzan Steven Dress. Harold served as Steve's recruiter to the JMCA and co-officiated at the marriage of Steve to his wife Myrna. He was overjoyed when Steve became his successor at Temple Israel in Sharon in 1991. During Cantor Dress' tenure in Sharon, Harold was unfailing with his enthusiastic encouragement and support – both privately and publicly. Each year, Harold would look forward to joining Cantor Dress on the *bimah* to sing *Avinu Malkeinu* at the conclusion of *Neilah*.

Harold was an *Ohev Tzion,* a lover of Israel. He led several trips to Israel for the Temple and also took trips with his children and grandchildren. We would be remiss to fail to mention that Harold loved golf. Upon his retirement, he was a regular player both in Sharon and in Florida.

Harold met his beloved Barbara "Honey" Alpert *z"l* at the former Hebrew Teachers College in Roxbury, MA. They each knew that they had met their *bashert*, and they were soon married. Harold and Honey had five children, twenty-seven grandchildren, and twenty-seven plus great-grandchildren. They shared seventy-seven years of blissful marriage. Cantor Harold Lew passed away at the age of 98 on July 11, 2024. His beloved Honey passed two weeks later on her 97th birthday. *Yehi zikhram baruch* – May their memories be a blessing to us all.

## Sidney Gershwin Rabinowitz (1933 – 2023)

### *Remembered by Ivor Lichterman*

On *Hol Hamoed Sukkot* this past October 2023/*Tishrei* 5784, our noble profession lost one of its stars, Hazzan Shmuel Yekutiel ben Yitzchak Gershon v'Ester Rabinowitz. Sidney grew up in a traditional home in what was at that time an extremely Jewish area, Orange, near Newark, New Jersey. In 1952 Sidney travelled to Israel for his first time to sing with 1900 choristers in the first *Zimriah* (choral festival). It was to this powerful experience that Sidney attributed his decision to enter the Cantor's Institute at the Jewish Theological Seminary (now the H.L. Miller Cantorial School) the following year, and devote his life to the cantorate.

His first position was at Congregation Shomrei Emunah in Montclair, NJ where, in addition to *hazzan*, he gained valuable experience serving also as education director, youth director, and "master of the broom" as he described it. After pulpits in Massachusetts, New York and Connecticut, in 1970 Sidney began his 32 years of dedicated service at Temple Beth El in Stamford, CT.

This led our paths to cross when, in 1979, I became *hazzan* at Congregation Agudath Sholom in Stamford, CT. A long collaboration ensued that soon developed into a deep friendship between Sid and his dear wife Sandy and my wife Jan and myself, one that far transcended professional commonality. I, a young, 26-year-old new immigrant from South Africa, soon learned to rely on Sid's vast experience, sage advice, warmth and knowledge to guide me as I set out to forge my own career in the USA.

I admired Sid's unequalled devotion to congregation and community. There was nothing he did not or would not do. Our congregations were extremely active and somewhat competitive. It was impossible to keep up with him: however many choirs you formed, he had more, and his were better, more polished. However many *minyanim* you attended, he attended more. Whatever duties you fulfilled in your congregation, he did more! He was an impeccable perfectionist in all his pursuits. My wife Jan, whose family originally belonged to Sidney's congregation, recalled a time when she was invited to light candles at a *Kabbalat Shabbat* service. Sidney insisted they meet in person the day before. He had her recite the *brakhah* multiple times despite her being perfectly fluent in it. I fondly recall Sid speeding around the area, and often to New York City in his old, bombed-out Volvo wagon that was packed to the brim with supplies for his *shul*. He kept that vehicle until it died!

Sidney initiated a yearly cantorial concert to benefit Jewish Family Service, in which all area *hazzanim* participated. Sid and I sang many duets together. He favored Yiddish, feeling the need to expose audiences to more Yiddish art music. He was always well-prepared and would not

accept even one note being out of place. Every detail was managed and anticipated by him. It was a highlight of our community calendar and raised huge funds, resulting in his receiving JFS's Mitzvah Award for his efforts.

Another highlight I recall was a mass wedding ceremony he arranged at his synagogue for eleven newly arrived Russian couples in which I participated, their having been denied a Jewish wedding in Russia. This and Sid's other civic activities resulted in his receiving the Stamford Clergy of the Year Award, the first Jew so honored.

Sid led multiple trips to Israel and other destinations. On one such trip, he organized the *bar mitzvah* of one of his students at the famous Dohany Synagogue in Budapest, Hungary. In 1995 Sid was honored by his congregation for 25 years of service. When they asked him what gift he would like, he requested a hearing-impaired system be installed in the sanctuary. That was typical of Sidney – he wanted nothing for himself, just to benefit the *shul!*

I fondly recall the many Connecticut Cantors Assembly regional meetings that Sandy and Sidney so graciously hosted in their home on the grounds of his synagogue. Regional members from as far north as Hartford and Manchester would never want to miss these famous get-togethers.

After I left Stamford we remained in close touch and spoke often at length on the phone. He always inquired about our children and grandchildren and wanted to know what each was up to. When I was honored by my congregation in Tucson for 18 years of service, I chose Sidney and Sandy as guests of honor. Sidney led services and sang in the concert and dinner. Despite his retirement seven years prior, he never sounded better, his voice fresh and clear, his musical execution typically textbook. When I asked him the secret to his longevity, he responded that he was finally able to rest his voice, since he no longer contended with the daily grind of congregational responsibilities. Sid and Sandy's presence were the highlight of that weekend and made it all the more memorable.

We have lost a veritable עבד נאמן, a faithful servant of God and Israel, but Sidney's unique contributions to *Hazzanut* and Jewish life will live on as legend. Sidney and Sandy were parents to three daughters Tamar, Alissa, and Ilana (who passed at age twenty-nine from cystic fibrosis). He is also survived by nine grandchildren and eleven great-grandchildren. יהי זכרו ברוך – May his memory continue to inspire us all!

## Bruce Siegel (1947-2023)

### *Remembered by his Family*

Cantor Bruce H. Siegel, 76, of Gloucester, MA, formerly of Allenhurst, NJ, Savannah, GA, and Cortland, NY passed away peacefully on October 29, 2023.

Bruce was born in Chelsea MA, the eldest son of the late James and Rebecca Siegel, and grew up in Beverly, MA before moving to Schenectady NY as a teen. At SUNY Cortland he received a BS in English Education ‘69, and an MS in Education ‘76. Later, he was a cantorial student of Hazzan Harold Lerner.

Bruce was an innovative production manager at 62 WHEN Radio in Syracuse, NY 1977-1986 and taught Public Speaking, Audio Production and Media Writing at SUNY Cortland 1986-1995 before finding his calling as a cantor. He then went on to serve as a combination of song leader, master educator, interim rabbi, and magical *hazzan* for many synagogues including Temple Brith Shalom, Cortland NY 1987-1995, Temple Israel, Binghamton NY 1990-1995, Congregation Agudath Achim, Temple Mickve Israel, & Shalom School, Savannah GA 1995-2000, and Congregation Torat El (Formerly Temple Beth Torah,) Ocean NJ 2000-2015. In retirement, he served as a volunteer *hazzan* for Temple Ahavat Achim, Gloucester MA and Temple B'nai Abraham, Beverly MA.

Bruce was author of several Judaic novellas for young adults, and his 1998 children’s book *The Magic of Kol Nidre* won the Sydney Taylor Book Award from the Association of Jewish Libraries. He was also a professional magician and champion athlete.

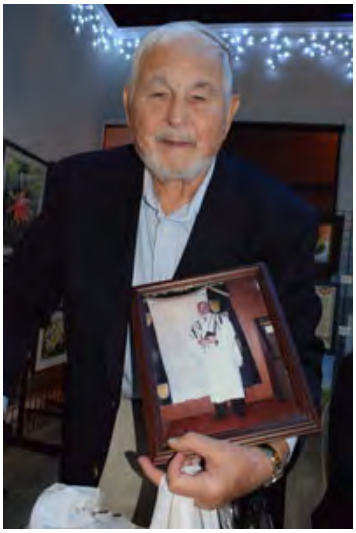
In addition to his membership in the Cantor’s Assembly, Bruce was a member of the Society of American Magicians, and the Kappa fraternity.

Bruce was the devoted husband of Anne (Cohn) Siegel, proud father of Joshua C. Siegel, dear brother of Paul Siegel and Gail Siegel Mounts, and loving *zaide* of Ephraim and Eli Wily-Bernhardt.

*Yehi zikhro barukh* – his memory will surely be a blessing to all who had the privilege of knowing him.

## Louis Cy Towne (1939-2024)

### *Remembered by Danielle Towne and Cailin Acosta*



Louis Cy Towne, a medical doctor, travel enthusiast, and opera lover and cantor was honored by a large outpouring of his community as he was laid to rest near his home in San Diego CA. Over a long career, he had filled in as a cantor and spiritual leader at numerous area synagogues.

Hazzan Towne was passionate about many things and shared his passion for knowledge, education, travel, music, and languages with his family.

In her eulogy, daughter Danielle described his passion for singing – and how beautiful his voice was. “My favorite memories are of him dressed in his white *kittel* and priestly *kippah* for the High Holy days, with eyes closed, swaying with passion and joy that became contagious.”

“He sang all the time and most of it was magical. Our neighbors would tell us that they loved their daily alarm clock of hearing him sing in the shower at 6 a.m. and we loved it when at 10 p.m. he would proudly try to hit a high “C.” We did our own singing of ‘Mom make him stop!’”

“He loved all types of music and was always up to experiencing new things. When I asked to go to my first concert, he jumped at the chance and found himself at Madonna’s first tour; If that wasn’t enough, he was then informed we had tickets to go to an all-day festival in Tijuana. He was always game to try new things.”

“Dad loved opera and he exposed all three of us to its magic. He made it fun by selecting operas he thought that we each would like, read the libretto with us to make sure we understood and took us out to eat wearing our fancy dresses. Then he would place a box of M&M’s in our hands as the curtains went up.”

“If that magic wasn’t enough, his skills as a doctor were put to use when the call came out for ‘Is there a doctor in the house?’ He raced back and afterwards we were allowed to go backstage and meet the performers.”

“Dad loved languages and was always excited about learning a new one and putting it to use. He spoke varying degrees of Hebrew, Spanish, German, Yiddish, Russian, Hindi, Italian and many more. He would initiate conversations with passersby and would soon befriend them.”

“Dad gave us the world, literally. Travel was one of his and our favorite things to do as a family. That passion is strong in all of us. We learned about art, languages, cultures and how to appreciate and embrace differences in people.”

“Dad loved meeting people who soon became his friends. We were so fortunate to take so many amazing family trips together and share unique experiences: exploring in India; hearing the bells ring at St. Basil’s in Moscow for the first time in many decades; hearing Dad lead services in the Old-New Shul in Prague; showing up with the chief rabbi of Israel at our Warsaw hotel lobby; and so much more.”

“He would always write meticulous summaries of what we did. Somehow, he omitted some of the most infamous events which included him jumping into the cold waterfall at Ein Gedi, and getting locked in the bath house in Caesaria.”

Rabbi Scott Meltzer, who officiated at the funeral service, noted the many generations of San Diego represented at the funeral. Young children and very elderly friends and admirers of the Townes stood side-by-side at the cemetery. Many will remember him as a great Torah teacher.

Rabbi Meltzer commented to Towne’s wife, Ruth, and daughters Danielle Towne, Dr. Tamar Weissler, and Elana Markus that “each day the sun will rise and set as before, but the days will be permeated by Lou Towne’s spirit.” *Yehi zikhro barukh.*

## George Wald (1924–2024)

### *Remembered by Benjamin Wald*

My beloved father, Cantor George Wald, passed away peacefully on August 6, 2024 (2 Av 5784), in Sacramento California, just two months shy of his 100th birthday. He had the rare distinction of graduating among the first class of cantors trained in an institutional academic setting in North America. On June 17, 1951, before a large audience of leaders spanning all denominations of Judaism, Dr. Nelson Glueck, president of Hebrew Union College, invested a class of students as Cantor-Educators (*Hazzan u-Moreh*). *The New York Times* reported on June 18, 1951:

> "Ten cantors were graduated from the Hebrew Union School of Education and Sacred Music at commencement exercises yesterday in the institution at 40 West Sixty-Eighth Street. The school is the only one for cantors in the world, according to its officials. Previous custom had been for students to receive private training from practicing cantors. The school, which is part of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, was founded in 1948. A program of liturgical songs and prayers, with the graduates as soloists and undergraduates as the chorus, was a feature of the commencement. Invested as cantors were Joseph L. Portnoy, Kurt Silbermann and William Sharlin, all honor graduates, and Wolf Hecker, Leo Mirkovic, David Osen, Irving Robinson, Harry Sebran, Israel Tabatsky and George L. Wald. Those graduated from the school are qualified to serve with Orthodox, Conservative, and Reform Jewish congregations."

George was proud to have been a member of that inaugural class of cantors. He would often comment on what an honor it was to have been instructed by such luminaries as Gershon Ephros, Max Helfman, and Eric Werner, among others.

My father's love of Jewish music was first cultivated in Hartford CT, where he was born and raised by his mother Bessie and father Benjamin, a kosher butcher. George and his siblings, Beverly and David, grew up in a modest, working-class, Orthodox home environment. At an early age, George would lead the prayer services in the *heder*. After becoming a *bar mitzvah*, he auditioned for, and joined the choir of Beth Hamedrash Hagadol, also known as the "Garden Street Synagogue."

George was elected president of the Class of 1943 at Weaver High School in Hartford, undoubtedly due in part to his congeniality and affable nature. After high school, he was drafted into the US Army, serving for three years, but then struggled to find his path in life. For a time, he and his brother worked in their father's butcher shop, and George considered becoming a police officer—an idea his mother emphatically did *not* endorse! Eventually, fate played a role in the direction of George's life and career: A boyhood friend, Israel "Tibby" Tabatsky, who was then studying music at The Hartt School in Hartford, informed him that Hebrew Union College in New York City was opening a School of Scared Music in 1948. That summer, George met with a panel of prominent musicologists—Dr. Eric Werner, Professor A.W. Binder, and Rabbi Israel Goldfarb—and he was admitted to the school.

George's first pulpit was at Temple Beth Sholom, a Conservative congregation in Manchester CT, where he served from 1954 to 1965. There, he greatly enjoyed collaborating with his talented organist, Fred Werner. He eventually moved to Sacramento to be the cantor of Mosaic Law Congregation, also a Conservative synagogue, where he served from 1965 until his retirement in 1986. Of his early days there, George would say "[Mosaic Law was] half Orthodox and half Conservative, so I had to sing without an organ." He used this opportunity to hone his improvisational skills and loved it. Known for singing with his voice and heart in equal measure, George was named cantor emeritus of Mosaic Law Congregation upon his retirement.

Ardent Zionists, George and his wife Esther-Lee moved to Israel in 1987 following his retirement from his pulpit in Sacramento. They spent fifteen years there, living in Jerusalem and volunteering at the Hadassah Hospital on Mount Scopus. In addition, they warmly welcomed into their home friends visiting from the US, as well as newly arrived Jewish Russian refugees.

George was a lifetime member of both the American Conference of Cantors and the Cantors Assembly, and he received honorary doctorates from both the Hebrew Union College and the Jewish Theological Seminary in 1998 and 2008, respectively. For the two congregations he served, his crowning achievement was his ability to teach and nurture *b'nei mitzvah* students. By his own count, he trained 230 *bar* and *bat mitzvahs* at Mosaic Law in Sacramento, and approximately 100 others at Beth Sholom in Manchester. Beyond his masterful teaching of cantillation and an array of Judaic studies subjects, George had a special gift for connecting with young people. He took care to meet each student where they were and ensure they felt seen and heard as individuals. Consequently, many of his former pupils continue to remark on the profound impact he had on their lives, as Jews and otherwise.

On a personal note, perhaps my father's greatest gift to me was his instilling in me a love of *hazzanut*, singing, and leading *davening*. I have had the pleasure of serving as an occasional *shaliah tzibbur* at Mosaic Law Congregation, while also singing in Jewish and non-Jewish choirs in the Sacramento region, for almost 50 years. When I *daven*, the more senior congregants say they still hear my father's voice, which I consider to be the supreme compliment.

Cantor George Wald was predeceased by his beloved wife of 72 years, Esther-Lee; his parents, Bessie and Benjamin Wald; his brother, David Wald; and his sister Beverly Lebetkin. He is survived by his two children, Benjamin Wald (Pamela Goldberg) and Dr. Rochelle Wald (Sara Wynne), as well as many cousins and nieces and nephews.

The cantorate seemed tailor-made for George Wald, giving him the opportunity to enrich lives and form strong personal bonds with so many. This sacred profession was the ideal conduit for his innate goodness and abundant gifts. “Yude,” as he was affectionately called by his friends, will forever be a blessing to all whose lives he touched.



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