

# THE CANTORIAL FANTASIA OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

## A Late Manifestation of the Musical Trope

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*Nel canto, i Tedeschi più di tutti cantano*  
Yehuda da Modena (1637)<sup>1</sup>

This study proposes to present the outlines of a significant but forgotten chapter in synagogue chant. The aspect of cantorial music here considered forms part of the solo performed by the precentor or Cantor in the communities of Western Ashkenaz (the lands near the Rhine and Upper Danube). It began to appear as written music from the middle of the eighteenth century onwards.

Even before that period cantorial art is known to have acquired a certain individualism and virtuosity that supplemented and countered the usual manner of improvising traditional tunes. The genuine homophony of synagogue chant was challenged by environmental influences such as chordal progression, major-minor-tonality, and contemporary figurative ornamentation. Apart from entirely new inventions and tunes of long standing, two ways of realizing and elaborating traditional material are recognized in the early cantorial manuscripts: Free variation, and a more restrained kind of improvisation which is the subject of this investigation. The former takes a traditional motive and unfolds it by means of variation and connecting figures in contemporary taste; it is composed of symmetrical phrases in strict time.<sup>2</sup> The other genre of composition extends a complete tune of liturgical importance by the insertion of new phrases and whole new sections between the traditional motives, and is always in the free rhythm; these creations consist of several parts and deserve to be considered accomplished and artful composition in a very specific style.

The category of synagogue song we shall illustrate and analyse may be called a *Cantorial Fantasia* on traditional melodies — the term *fantasia* being taken in its general signification of a composition in free form, with a strong touch of improvisation. This special branch of cantorial art has not yet received due attention nor has it been described. As far as known from written music,

<sup>1</sup> Yehuda da Modena (1571–1648) on Ashkenazic synagogue song, in: *Historia de' Riti Ebraici* (ed. princ. Parigi, 1637), I, 11.6; ed. Modena, 1728, p. 30.

<sup>2</sup> Hundreds of examples in the manuscripts of Juda Elias (1744) and Aaron Beer (ca. 1791): cf. A. Nadel, "Das Hannoversche Kompendium", in *Musica Hebraica*, 1/2 (Jerusalem, 1938): 28–31; *HOM*, VI (Leipzig, 1932), p. XXCI, n. 3; *ibid.*, p. XXV and Part I in full.

it flourished in the eighteenth century synagogue and was still being performed during the first half of the nineteenth century; its last offshoots were recorded about 1885 and 1900. The most outstanding Cantorial Fantasias became widely known, were performed by many cantors, and are recorded in several variants which show the signs of changing time and taste.

# 1. SOURCES AND PECULIARITIES OF NOTATION

The oldest sources of Cantorial Fantasias have been preserved in an early manuscript of the Berlin cantor Aharon Beer (ca. 1765) and in music written by the bass-chorister Joseph Goldstein (ca. 1795) and the Amsterdam cantor Shalom Friede (undated). They have been published in Vol. VI, Part II of A. Z. Idelsohn's *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* (HOM). Among the numerous nineteenth century publications, documentary value may be assigned to the collections of Löw Sängers (recorded by S. Naumbourg, before 1840) and Maier Kohn (concluded in 1870), published in Vol. VII (1932) of Idelsohn's *Melodienschatz*. Reliable information on the Frankfurt local tradition, as it existed in their respective periods, may be gathered from the records of Fabian Ogutsch (1883 or shortly after) and, with some reservation, from a publication by Selig Scheuermann (1912). The above sources were written down for private information or to sum up a certain tradition. With the publications of Hermann Ehrlich (ca. 1855) and N. H. Katz and L. Waldbott (1868), an outspoken demand for purification, modernization and other alien aspirations makes itself felt. Nevertheless, these documents are indispensable additional sources providing evidence that certain compositions were still retained in the memory of a later generation, and as demonstration of the final manifestations of out-moded musical traits within a certain period and environment.

Each record of a Fantasia represents a variant version and marks a different stage in a continuous flow of tradition. The men who put them on record thus acquire a significance comparable to that of the "informant" for the folklore collector. Their biographies, the prefaces to publications and other statements may be studied in order to establish their reliability, character and musical training, or the unconscious elements of their records. The influence exerted by some of their publications may be judged by the number of editions and reprints.

We have paid due attention to these aspects, wherever practicable. One preliminary question is of special importance: the trustworthiness and precision of musical notation achieved by informants of widely differing training. They had to record monodic structures which lacked strict measure and periodic symmetry as well as tonality in its contemporary meaning: thus they were faced with problems similar to those of Villoteau and other early notators

of non-European tunes, and their work suffers from the same drawbacks. The greater part of their notations are subject to the conviction that music has to be organized according to measures of either duple or triple time. Some informants, especially Katz and Waldbott, did not even know how to exploit the only asset of this method, that is, the differentiation between accented and unaccented notes. Almost none of them was brave enough to change time as often as required; the true time values were extended, instead, in order to fill up the bars regularly, and "superfluous" notes were written as appoggiaturas or graces. These records preserve, in a sense, the character of a neumatic notation inasmuch as they rely on familiarity with the style and structure of synagogue song, rather than attempting to give a text that every trained musician could interpret. Although the rhythmic values of these notations ought to be corrected and re-written, they will be reproduced here exactly as found in the sources. Much may become clear through a comparison of the different variants. At any rate the reader should be well aware of the rule that these songs have to be performed in free rhythm, and not according to strictly counted beats.

A special problems still remains. Certain sections of the Fantasias were sung by the usual pair of choristers, *Singer* and *Bass*. This is demonstrated by the manuscripts of Joseph Goldstein (a *Bass* himself) and Shalom Friede<sup>3</sup> where verbal indications to this effect are inserted. Aharon Beer notes "Choir" only once, for in his case writer and user of the manuscript were the same person and knew the distribution of parts by heart. The soprano-parts may be recognized, however, by a notational peculiarity: The early cantors employ exclusively the treble clef which cantor and bass-chorister take as reading an octave lower; strangely enough, they extend this condition to the boys' voices as well, i.e., the descant-part also is written an octave higher than it is sung.<sup>4</sup> Thus Aharon Beer's Fantasias contain melodical strains ascending as high as d''', and intervals of 15 tones between adjoining themes (see Music Example No. 3). These sections are obviously soprano-parts for the boy-singer and must be read an octave lower than written; by the way, such passages appear only in the free "interludes", and not in the basic compositions.

Among other difficulties encountered, we note the lack of accidentals, and may occasionally suspect that thrills, tremolos and other cantorial devices are written-out in ordinary notes. This latter problem, however, has to be investigated in a much wider context than the present subject presents.

<sup>3</sup> *HOM*, VI, pp. 201-202; 229-230.

<sup>4</sup> Compare, for instance, *HOM*, VI, p. 201, lines 10-11 with the transcription in our Music Example No. 4a.

## 2. THE SCOPE OF FANTASIA COMPOSITION

Since the writer first became aware of the phenomenon of the Cantorial Fantasia, he has scanned the relevant sources for specimens of the genre;<sup>5</sup> nevertheless, some less conspicuous works may have escaped his attention. The special forms developed by East-Ashkenazic cantors have deliberately been left for later exploration; they are, of course, border-cases.

A Cantorial Fantasia is first recognized by the considerable inflation of a well-known traditional melody according to certain rules. The compositions of this type that have so far been rediscovered are always found in several versions. The melodies on which they are based belong to a definite category of tunes obligatory in the liturgy which are metaphorically attributed to a "tradition from Mount Sinai".<sup>6</sup> These *mis-sinay* melodies consist of sequences of themes always appearing in the same order: they are true melodies, and not *modi* or motive-mosaics where the arrangement of themes or motives would be left to the choice of the performer. Profilic motives and melismatic structure prevail throughout. Certain recurrent themes are found in several *mis-sinay* tunes, but their initial themes are generally unique.

The following Cantorial Fantasias have been identified up to the present:

I. 'Alênû le-šabbēah (Penitential Feasts, *Mûsaf* Prayer)

- (a) Aharon BEER (1738–1821): Copy of his lost (?) manuscript of about 1765 f.; a young and ambitious professional's voluminous collection of material, ed. *HOM*, VI, pp. 190–191.
- (b) Joseph GOLDSTEIN Bass (ca. 1800): Manuscript of a chorister engaged also in instruction, written between 1791 and 1799; ed. *HOM*, VI, pp. 200–202.
- (c) LOEW(i) SAENGER (1781–1843): His personal collection of melodies recorded by the cantor and composer Samuel Naumbourg, and concluded on 3.1.1840; ed. *HOM*, VII, pp. 167–169.

<sup>5</sup> The following potential sources could not be collated for technical reasons: Mss of Isaac Juda Eberst (1780–1850) father of Jacques Offenbach, cf. A. Sendrey, *Bibliography of Jewish Music* (New York, 1951), pp. 227–228; Mss of M. Levi (Esslingen), concluded in 1862, cf. E. Werner, "An Early Compendium of Ashkenazic Synagogue Music", in *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore*, V (Cincinnati, 1961), pp. 110–121; Mss from the Birnbaum Collection not published by Idelsohn, cf. E. Werner, "The Eduard Birnbaum Collection of Jewish Music", in *HUCA*, 18 (1943–44): 397–428.

<sup>6</sup> A. Z. Idelsohn, "Der Missinai-Gesang der deutschen Synagoge", in *ZfMW*, 8 (1926): 449–472. The attribute "from Mount Sinai" is derived from the Talmudic terminology where it designates an old and firm tradition that, however, cannot be traced back to a Biblical command. The term appears to have been transplanted to a musical context in the mystical *Sefer ḥasidîm* (twelfth century), § 817 (edited by J. Wistinezki and J. Freimann, Frankfurt a.M., 1924, p. 207), and has been revived by A. Z. Idelsohn, *loc. cit.*



- (d) MAIER KOHN (1802–1875): Manuscript concluded in 1870, the legacy of an old cantor recollecting the former style; ed. *HOM*, VII, pp. 76–77.
- (e) HERMANN ARON EHRLICH (1815–1879), *Liturgische Zeitschrift zur Veredelung des Synagogengesanges* (Meiningen, 1851–1961), Part III, pp. 137–138 (“Ur-Melodie von Ehrlich”); odds and ends collected under a pretentious title.
- (f) N. H. KATZ and L. WALDBOTT, *Die traditionellen Synagogengesänge* (Brilon, 1868), Part II, pp. 57–59; two provincial cantors’ attempts to preserve as well as to improve the traditional melodies — an undertaking that proved beyond their capacity.
- (g) FABIAN OGUTSCH (1845–1922), *Der Frankfurter Kantor*, ed. J. B. Levy (Frankfurt a. M., 1930), p. 75–76; the original manuscript was written for self-instruction by a newcomer to Frankfurt in 1883; some arrangement by the editor is out of the question.
- (h) SELIG SCHEUERMANN, *Die gottesdienstlichen Gesänge der Israeliten für das ganze Jahr* (Frankfurt a.M., 1912; 2nd ed. 1926), p. 65; text-book written by an instructor, reflecting his practice since 1902.

## II. *Avôṭ* Benediction (Penitential Feasts, morning prayer)

- (a) AHARON BEER: Manuscript as *Ia* above, entry dates 1783, ed. *HOM*, VI, pp. 188–190.
- (b) MAIER KOHN: as *Id* above; a shortened version, ed. *HOM*, VII, p. 52 (no. 150a).
- (c) MORITZ DEUTSCH (1818–1892): *Vorbeterschule; Vollständige Sammlung der alten Synagogen-Intonationen* (Breslau, 1871), p. 69; the informant is of Moravian origin and officiated in Vienna and Breslau where he instructed cantors 1855–1885; sound musical training, some modernizing tendencies.
- (d) ISAAC LACHMANN (1838–1900): Manuscript of an East-Ashkenazic cantor who, like Ogutsch, accustomed himself completely to the West-Ashkenazic style; only the week-day service published as *Awadass Jisroel, der israelitische Vorbeterdienst; traditionelle Synagogengesänge des süddeutschen Ritus*, Hürben, 1900. Ms. ed. *HOM*, VII, p. 54 (no. 150c).
- (e) FABIAN OGUTSCH, *op. cit.*, pp. 59–60; more trustworthy edition in *HOM*, VII, pp. 52–53 (no. 150b).

## III. *‘Al ha-rîšônîm* (Feasts, epilogue to “Harken, Israel”)

- (a) AHARON BEER: Manuscript as *Ia* above, entry dated 1782, ed. *HOM*, VI, pp. 193–194.
- (b) LÖW SAENGER: as *Ic* above, ed. *HOM*, VII, p. 140.
- (c) MAIER KOHN: as *Id* above, ed. *HOM*, VII, p. 34.

## IV. Half *Qaddîš* (Penitential Feasts, *Mûsaf* Prayer)

- (a) JOSEPH GOLDSTEIN: Manuscript as *Ib* above, ed. *HOM*, VI, pp. 197–198.
- (b) SHALOM FRIEDE (1783–1854): Manuscript, one out of seven that admitted works of this Amsterdam cantor; ensemble-notation (cantor and choristers) reduced to one staff of music, ed. *HOM*, VI, pp. 229–230.
- (c) LOEW SAENGER: as *Ic* above, ed. *HOM*, VII, pp. 158–159.
- (d) MAIER KOHN: as *Id* above, ed. *HOM*, VII, pp. 70–71.
- (e) ARNOLD MARKSOHN (1839–1900) and WILLIAM WOLF: *Auswahl alter hebräischer Synagoga-Melodien in genauem Anschluss an ihre originale Gestalt* (Leipzig, 1875), pp. 20–22; although arranged for the piano by the choir master W. Wolf, the traditional melodies are reproduced quite faithfully.
- (f) FABIAN OGUTSCH: Manuscript ed. *HOM*, VII, pp. 68–69 (no. 188a).

V. *Ya'aleh taḥanûnênu* (Hymn for the Eve of the Day of Atonement)

Only record and publication by A. Oppenheimer, "Alte Mainzer Synagogen Gesänge", in *Menorah*, 5 (Vienna, 1927): 791 f.

VI. *We-hak-kohanîm* (Day of Atonement, *Avodah*)

This commemoration of the Temple service is still and almost generally sung in the Fantasia form, and is accordingly recorded in every manual of synagogue chant. Short versions are rare<sup>7</sup> and should be regarded as secondary reductions rather than evidence of a short traditional tune.

We shall become acquainted with the style and main features of Fantasia-composition through an analysis of the most popular — the Fantasia of *'Alênû le-šabbeaḥ*. Other compositions of this kind cannot here be reprinted in full. Certain sections are quoted in the music examples; the rest may be found in the literature listed above.

## 3. THE FANTASIA OF 'ALÊNÛ LE-ŠABBEAḤ

The text of the *'Alênû* prayer which inspired the creative imagination of Ashkenazic cantors to so great an extent, is very old. It insists on the obligation of praise incumbent on the chosen people; the poetic language is simple and clear-cut, using the free rhythm and *parallelismus membrorum* of the Bible. The original place of *'Alênû* was in the *Mûsaf* prayer of the Penitential Feasts (where its *mis-sînay* tune and the Fantasia also belong), but later it was chosen to conclude every service. In the literature we are told that Jewish martyrs occasionally sang it defiantly at the stake and the crowds were moved by the splendid tune.<sup>8</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Scheuermann, *op. cit.*, Part 6, No. 2 (p. 75). Katz and Waldbott, *op. cit.*, Part 2, p. 83 ("vorgetragen von Rish" — which may be an abbreviation of the author's name *Rabbi Y... Sh ...*).

<sup>8</sup> Text: A. Neubauer and M. Stern, *Hebräische Berichte über die Judenverfolgungen während der Kreuzzüge* (Berlin, 1892), p. 202 (Hebrew text: p. 68); see also A. M. Haberman, *Sefer gezerot Aškenaz weŠorfat* (Jerusalem, 1945), pp. 125–126. Hebrew text (differing readings of various Mss added in square brackets):

ויהי בעלות הלהב, הרימו קולם בנעימה [בניגון] קול אחד ותחלה היה הנועם נמוך [הקול נמוך ונעים] ולבסוף בקול [כקול] גדול ובאו ואמרו לנו מה זה שירכם כי לא שמענו כנועם זה [הזה עור] וידענו ביחוד כי עלינו לשבח היה.

And it came to pass when the flame flared up, they raised their voices in song, in unison, and at first in a low tone, but finally with a loud voice. And they [the gentiles] came and said to us: "What is this song of yours? For we never heard a tune like this." We well knew that it was *'Alênû le-šabbeaḥ*.

An interesting attempt at comparing the *'Alênû* tune with the *Planctus Iudei* in a Nicholas-play of Fleury (ca. 1195) has recently been made by H. Wagenaar-Nolthenius, "Der Planctus Iudei und der Gesang jüdischer Märtyrer in Blois anno 1171", in *Mélanges offerts à René*

The 'Alênû melody and Fantasia pertain only to the first section of the text; the following verses are either recited or sung to repetitions of the melody. The tune is composed of three phrases corresponding to the initial three stichera of the poem, and it is these melodic phrases that developed into the independent parts of the Fantasia. In order to be able to evaluate the relation between the traditional tune and its artistic development, we have first to know the basic form.

(a) *The traditional tune*

The obligatory or *mis-sînay* melody of the 'Alênû prayer was recorded many times throughout the nineteenth century. Its existence before that period is proved indirectly by eighteenth century Fantasia versions. Taking into account the general situation that exists in research in Jewish and other oral traditions, this may be called an early documentation.

By its nature, this melody belongs to the class of rhythmically free melos, comparable to the "neumatic style" in Plainsong and similar Eastern structures. A composition in this style consists of freely associated themes, some of which may be unique and others typical forms shared with other creations of the same class. Identity of tune acquires a specific meaning: there is no archetype that can be regarded as the original form of a composition which later underwent alteration, variation or assimilation. To be valid the concept of a theme or a motive has to be sought for in the idea of a musical line with determined points of turn and rest; it is realized only by the performer — a musical reality that appears in a new variant at each performance.

When attempting to acquaint ourselves with the traditional tune that forms the base of the Fantasia, we cannot rely on one version alone: the more versions are considered, the more correct the picture of the fundamental idea will be. A great number of "realizations", however, can be collected only if very different decades and chains of tradition are admitted and thus the influences of changing musical trends (including "acculturation", cf. Music Examples Nos. 2a-b) will come into play. These side-issues form a very fascinating subject, but we cannot examine them at this point without departing too far from the chief intention of this study. Therefore, we have restricted

*Crozet* (Poitiers, 1966), pp. 881-885. A faint similarity could possibly be observed between some forms of Planctus-motive Kappa (Wagenaar-Nolthenius, p. 884) and 'Alênû-motive III. Other Planctus-motives of obvious compatibility with synagogue motives are: The first Alpha (including the three following notes), Delta, Gamma (when ending on note d). About singing of martyrs see also: *Arenpecki Chronica Austria*, in H. Pez (ed.), *Scriptores rerum austriacorum...*, I (Leipzig, 1721), p. 1250; H. Grotefend, *Quellen zur Frankfurter Geschichte*, I (Frankfurt a.M., 1884), p. 64; M. Kayserling, "Der Märtyrer Ansteet von Weissenstein", in *MGWJ*, 14 (1865): 391-392 (Psalms chanted by the martyr); L. Geiger, "Die Juden und die deutsche Literatur", in *ZGJD*, 2 (1888): 313.

the presentation of the traditional 'Alênû tune to a few examples which form a typical cross-section (see Music Example No. 1).

SOURCES used in Example 1: Hirsch Weintraub (1817–1881), *Schire Beth Adonai oder Tempelgesänge* (Königsberg, 1859; 2nd ed. Leipzig, 1901), p. 160. Abraham Baer (1834–1894), *Baal Tefilla oder Der practische Vorbeter* (Goeteborg, [printed at Leipzig], 1877; 2nd ed. 1883; 3rd ed. 1901), p. 275. Meyer Wodak (1838–1902), *Hamnazeach; Schule des israelitischen Cantors* (Vienna, 1898), p. 235. *HOM*, VIII, pp. 48–49. (Weintraub's and Baer's collections have been reissued in: *Out-of-print Series of Synagogue Music*, New York, 1953–1955, Vols. I and XIX–XXI).

In the later nineteenth century the collection and editing of synagogue songs was almost entirely monopolized by cantors from the border-lands of East and West Ashkenaz.

NOTE: Roman numerals designate the melodic phrases making up the tune. These phrases will be called *themes* since they are, in general, composed of several motives. The motives are designated by lower-case letters.

Before we enter into detail, some general remarks on the tonal character of the tune may be desirable, in an attempt to direct the reader towards correct first assumptions. The broken major triad at the very beginning does not mean that we are entering the familiar field of *C* major. There are strong connections with the synagogue mode called *Adošem malak* ('The Lord is king' — Ps 93, 1)<sup>9</sup> in the specific form used for the *Malkuyyôṭ* (Kingship-) cycle of prayers on the Penitential Feasts: the final note is *g* (the 5th step, quasi mixolydian); on Sabbath it is *C*, at Passover times mostly *e*. We observe that the themes I–III which constitute the characteristic 'Alênû mood, all end on the note *g*. The versions of Baer and Wodak may show a trend of interpreting this ending as a clause on the dominant (quasi *G* major), but the pure modal clauses are still strong as indicated in Music Example No. 2a.

The first modal clause appearing in Example 2a still retains the minor Seventh (b-flat) which is another characteristic of the *Adošem malak* mode; this feature has also been sporadically preserved elsewhere (Wodak's theme VI). Example 2c demonstrates the use of the broken major-triad as the typical initium of this mode; the second modal motive, too, is similar to 'Alênû motive Ib, its minor Seventh excepted. Thus a relationship, or at least an affinity, cannot be denied between the 'Alênû melody and the mode used for the *Malkuyyôṭ* prayers, which are in fact introduced by the very same 'Alênû.

<sup>9</sup> The nomenclature of synagogue modes and their systematization was adapted from dubious sources by Joseph Singer, *Die Tonarten des traditionellen Synagogengesanges (Steiger); ihr Verhältnis zu den Kirchentonarten und den Tonarten der vorchristlichen Musikperiode*, Wien, 1886. In spite of its shortcomings, his system has not yet been replaced by a more detailed and unprejudiced description. The main points of the rare booklet are reprinted in A. Friedmann (ed.), *Dem Andenken Eduard Birnbaums* (Berlin, 1922), pp. 90–100.

The traditional tune of *'Alênû le-šabbēah* is composed of seven themes (numbered I to VII in Example 1); the configuration of theme VII varies, while that of the others is quite stable. I–III are peculiar to the *'Alênû* tune. The themes following are shared with other *mis-sînay* melodies,<sup>10</sup> a phenomenon comparable to the “migrating melodies” in Plain chant. In several specimens of *mis-sînay* song, an anterior, highly characteristic section (here: themes I–III) is followed by combinations of themes common to this family of tunes.

(b) *The Fantasia and its versions*

It proved possible to reclaim eight, more or less differing, versions of the *'Alênû* Fantasia from sources and editions covering a span of about 150 years. Although interesting changes, such as a “weeding out” of melisms or the abolition of interludes, took place during the period of merely oral tradition, all the informants clearly have one and the same composition in mind.

The traditional material and the lengthy additions which swell the tune to many times its original extent, are clearly distinguishable from each other. The traditional themes continue to carry the text and they preserve their integrity, although they may be ornamented or split to their motives. The additions which have been inserted between the traditional themes are wordless vocalises and mostly of a transitory or patchwork character. These observations should dispose of any doubt that may arise as to the priority of the traditional tune and the secondary nature of the “fantasy” material. They demonstrate the impossibility of considering the traditional tune as a mere reduction of what we call the Fantasia.

The eight versions (for bibliographical details see Section 2 above) have been superimposed on each other in Music Example No. 3.

NOTE: In Example No. 3, themes peculiar to the Fantasia alone have been marked by capital letters (A, B, C), and the traditional themes by the same Roman numerals as before in Example 1. The traditional material may thus easily be distinguished from the free additions of the composer. The very rare deviations of individual informants have been written in small script and enclosed in square brackets.

Although no informant indicates a subdivision, the Fantasia may be divided into three “parts” (to avoid the term “movements”), each of which is brought to a close by the final cadence VII in one or other of its forms. A synopsis of the structural elements composing the Fantasia follows:

<sup>10</sup> Themes V, VI and VII<sup>2</sup> occur also in the *Kol nidrê*, the sequence IV–V–VI in the *Avôṭ* Benediction, and V in the *Qerôvah* tune.

*Structure of the 'Alênû Fantasia* (Compare Music Example No. 3)

The traditional themes are designated by Roman numerals, and themes peculiar of the Fantasia by capital letters.

*Part One*

A: preparatory vocalise. — Ia: first motive of the traditional theme I. — B, C, D: vocal imitations of trumpet flourishes, each time ascending higher and descending in rapid figures. — E: half-clause on the note *d*.

Aharon BEER here inserts a vocal interlude taking up the rhythm of E and leading it through trumpet-flourishes, to a major cadence. J-Ib probably bears the second word of the text (*le-šabbeah*). K, L: common cantorial motives, most probably executed by boy-singers (read an octave lower than written); an improvised harmonic accompaniment can be assumed. IV: a traditional theme clad in rich figuration. D: part of IV, varied. E: repetition of the half-clause (above, E), returning therewith to the normal pattern.

F: development of the traditional motive Ib. — III: modal full-clause on *g*.

*Part Two, Section 1*

Missing with Ehrlich, Ogutsch, Scheuermann. Aharon Beer starts with a vocal prelude, displaying typical trumpet-intervals and figures (a prelude *ad modum tubae*, so to speak) interspersed with contemporary diminution formulae.

G: a stylized recitation of verse 2 of the text.

H: transitory figures in sequential progression, leading to the series of traditional themes of Section 2.

Joseph Goldstein has an individual Section 1 consisting of parts of the traditional themes II, Ib and III. A transition leads to Section 2.

*Part Two, Section 2*

Entirely traditional: themes IV, V, VI. — III or VII (with its variants): modal cadence (changed by some informants into a major cadence).

Aharon Beer concludes his Fantasia with a Coda that was probably executed by boy-singers throughout (read an octave lower than written). It contains diminutions of common cantorial motives, the traditional motive Ib, and a modal clause on the note *g*. Joseph Goldstein continues with a free and very commonplace composition. Ehrlich, Ogutsch and Scheuermann return to the normal cantorial recitative.

*Part Three*

Exists only in three early nineteenth century sources and contains little new material. The themes were anticipated in the first interlude of Aharon Beer.

J: a variation of motive Ib. — K: common cantorial motive. — L: a cadential formula. IV: traditional theme. Repetition of D, E (partly), F, and the modal cadence VII<sup>1</sup>.

Three informants introduce the opening traditional motive Ia by a preparatory vocalise A; this recalls the primitive practice of "setting the voice in motion" by anticipating forthcoming intervals. The special meaning of the chanted fanfares (B-E) will be discussed later. The various peculiarities of

the different versions do not occur at random, but follow certain traditional patterns. The eight versions can be arranged in groups sharing identical features:

- (1a) Mid eighteenth century (Beer)
  - has Parts 1 and 2 of the Fantasia, two interludes (one of which contains themes from Part 3), and a Coda;
- (1b) Late eighteenth century (Goldstein)
  - has parts 1 and 2 of the Fantasia (Part 2 with an individual first section);
- (2) Early nineteenth century (Löw Sängers, M. Kohn, and Katz-Waldbott)
  - have parts 1, 2 and 3 of the Fantasia (Part 3 using themes identical with those of Beer's second interlude);
- (3) Late nineteenth century (Ehrlich, Ogutsch, Scheuermann)
  - have only part 1 of the Fantasia, since in them the second section of Part 2 has to be considered as entirely traditional material.

Summing up, we observe that only part 1 of the Fantasia was current throughout the entire course of the cantorial tradition that is available to us.

#### 4. OTHER FANTASIAS — A REVIEW

Having explored one Fantasia in its full musical text and all its versions, the onus of proof is still upon us to show that this is not an isolated case, but part of a well-defined class of cantorial art. Since a similar tabulation of other Fantasias is not feasible within the given frame-work, we shall attempt a brief description of their structure, referring to the music as printed elsewhere.

##### (a) *Fantasia of the Avôṭ Benediction*

Traditional melody: Consists of 7 themes (IV–VI identical with 'Alênû IV–VI). See among many others, *HOM*, VII, pp. 159–160, and Scheuermann, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

Among the Fantasias,<sup>11</sup> the creation of Aharon Beer is notable for its length of 166 bars and such features as modulation, change of time-signature, and passages of ornamental recitative. Its construction is as follows:

Part one (bars 1–15): traditional themes with many grace notes.

Part two (bars 15–28): passages that may be understood as an ornamented recitative, with graces written as ordinary notes.

Part three (bars 29–57): a similar recitative is followed upon by the exposition of a cantilena (bar 38 f.).

Part Four (bars 59–91): a melody in triple time is followed (bars 84 f.) by four traditional themes.

Parts three and four are repeated.

Part five or Coda (bars 150–166).

More modest are the compositions by Maier Kohn, F. Ogutsch and M. Deutsch. Their connection with the former Fantasia is demonstrated by the cantilena (bars 38 f. of Beer) and other features.

<sup>11</sup> Bibliographical particulars see above, Section 2.

(b) *'Al ha-rišônîm*

The traditional tune of this prayer has not been admitted by Idelsohn to the *mis-sinay* cycle.<sup>12</sup> It occurs in two variants: That which could be called the "Western" consists of four partly recapitulated themes (e.g., Deutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 40); the other, "Eastern", has additional themes after the second, third and last of the former (Weintraub, *op. cit.*, p. 104; Marksohn and Wolf, *op. cit.*, pp. 4-5).

The oldest Fantasia, that of Aharon Beer, demands the participation of choristers and may be called a Choir-Fantasia, in contrast to the much shorter "Small Fantasia" recorded by Löw Sänger and Maier Kohn. All the *'Al ha-rišônîm* Fantasias display the traditional themes both in the plain and in varied and ornate forms, interconnected by passages of new invention.

(c) *The Qaddîš of Mûsaf*

This very profiled traditional tune occurs with different headmotives (see Music Example No. 5c). It is found in many publications, such as: Weintraub, *op. cit.*, pp. 149-151; Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, Part 3, pp. 102-103, 106; Wodak, *op. cit.*, p. 215; Deutsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85, *HOM*, VIII, pp. 45-46.

Among the *Qaddîš* Fantasias preserved, the versions of Joseph Goldstein and Shalom Friede are remarkable, the former in its rich coloratura, and the latter in its clear distribution of voices (cantor, bass, discant, choir). Both of them start with the statement of a fundamental chord — a feature found with many *organa* of the Middle Ages (see Music Example No. 5b and c). The interesting processes of variation and figuration in Goldstein's *Qaddîš* will occupy our attention later. Shalom Friede indicates bourdon accompaniment by means of sporadic cue-notes (see Music Example No. 5c). A peculiarity of this Fantasia (but not upheld by Löw Sänger) is the method of quoting traditional themes both in their original and in a highly expanded form (see Music Example No. 6c).

(d) *The Ya'aleh Hymn*

This strophic hymn is sung to a wide-spread traditional melody (*HOM*, VII, p. 81; Deutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 97; Ogutsch, *op. cit.*, p. 79; Scheuermann, *op. cit.*, p. 69 and others). Apart from the variations in late Baroque style recorded by Idelsohn, *HOM*, VI, pp. 155-156 (No. 377), there existed also a Fantasia in the old community of Mainz. The only available notation of the latter is of a relatively recent date (1927) and attempts to do justice to the free rhythm of the tune by means of a ceaseless change of time-signature. Several themes and motives of this Fantasia are taken from the musical phraseology of the early nineteenth century West-Ashkenazic cantorate.

## 5. STYLISTIC FEATURES OF FANTASIA COMPOSITION

In retrospect, the Fantasias described above may be compared to another and better-known phenomenon in the history of European music. While preserving the themes of the official tunes in their established order, Fantasia

<sup>12</sup> A. Z. Idelsohn, *Der Missinai-Gesang...* (see above, n. 6). The scope of melodies as maintained by Idelsohn appears to be ripe for fundamental revision. This class of melodies is by no means limited to the *deutsche Synagoge*, but extends over the Ashkenazic rite in its entirety. This fact is one criterion of the *mis-sinay* cycle of tunes.



composers invented new phrases and inserted them in between the old themes. The intercalation of new material could occur at random places or, as we shall see, wherever voice had to be given to certain ideas connected with the specific prayer. In this respect, the Cantorial Fantasias are textless "musical tropes"; like their Gregorian counterpart, they introduce "accretions to chants of the old repertory" motivated by the desire "to add one's own voice to that of a distant past".<sup>13</sup> The ways in which musical tropes were devised by the Jewish singers are clearly set out for the investigator, since the original melodies and their troped versions have been separately transmitted. Furthermore, we need not, like Husmann,<sup>14</sup> speak vaguely of mere melismatic interpolation — a feature that belongs, as we have seen, to the normal "realization" of a musical idea; for the accretions which are characteristic of a Fantasia have acquired the clear outlines of either self-sufficient or of transitory themes. The age-old concept of the "musical trope" presents itself in its Jewish environment with an unprecedented sharpness.

Its correlative, the textual trope, is inhibited by the strict rule of continuity in Jewish prayer. The Talmudic authorities did not admit even the repetition of words by the precentor. New texts such as hymns were added only after complete sections, paragraphs or at least, closed sentences of prayer. Only wordless melisms or melodies were allowed to interrupt the flow of words, and were even welcomed as a token of the desired concentration and devotion of mind.

The relation between melodic and textual structure was thus loosened. The interpolation of extended vocalises separates the words by creating gaps in thought. There are instances when the creative fantasy seems to overwhelm singers like Joseph Goldstein who built a complete Fantasia-part on the detached word *'Alênû*, and had to create a special section for the (syntactically closely related) word *le-šabbeaḥ*. However, in general cantors obeyed Rabbi Isaiah Hurwitz (1556–1630), who prescribed the consecutive pronunciation of concurrent words and syllables, the relevant strain of melody to be brought to a close afterwards.<sup>15</sup> This dictum is sometimes carried out by means of recitative passages that are foreign to the melismatic context, and may be taken as an example of extraneous influence on musical style.

This, of its nature melismatic or "pneumatic" type of song is composed of single themes each of which is a closed unit, and the composition itself is a string of such self-sufficient members; traces of mutual relationship with

<sup>13</sup> W. Apel, *Gregorian Chant* (London, 1958), p. 430; see especially pp. 441 f. J. Handschin, "Trope, Sequence, and Conductus", in *NOHM*, II (London, 1955), p. 128.

<sup>14</sup> *MGG*, IX, col. 355.

<sup>15</sup> *Qışşâr šelah* (a frequently reprinted compendium of Hurwitz' *Šenê lûḥôt hab-berit*; ed. princ. of the compendium: Fürth, 1683) ed. Berlin, 1715, fol. 6 a, col. 1.

some traditional motives, such as 'Alênû IV, V and VI may be found. Such a loose structure is open to the intrusion of "migrating motives". Some of the prolific *Kol nidrê* motives, for instance, emerge in the Fantasias of Aharon Beer and others.

Melodic progression in Fantasia composition often relies on the following-up of a motive by means of sequential rows, a feature that is sometimes driven to extremes (see 'Alênû Theme H and Music Example No. 4). Keeping a composition flowing by means of sequences is a characteristic of the Baroque style, but it is peculiar to monodic music in general and also of common occurrence in Oriental song as well (Music Example No. 4d).

A trace of contemporary influences may possibly be seen in the occasional play with motives or fractions of motives, slightly recalling the "motive work" (*motivische Arbeit*) of preclassic music (see Music Example No. 5). An alteration of motives approaching real modulation is also involved in this process. Joseph Goldstein and Shalom Friede construct their introductions to the *Qaddîš* Fantasia from broken-up traditional motives (Music Example No. 5b and c).

Topical techniques of this kind had to be transferred from spatial polyphonic writing to the linear dimension of monody. They remained, however, a side issue of the encounter between synagogue chant and late Baroque music. More important was that both areas of art happened to be passing through a flourishing period of ornamental work. Many cantors took pride in being *au fait* with contemporary music, but their aspirations were limited to certain texts that were traditionally free for the exercise of individual creativeness (a wealth of examples in *HOM*, VI, Part I). In the *mis-sinay* class of melodies the situation was different. Musical skill could be displayed there merely by additive ornamentation or diminution of the base tune. We may expect, therefore, different levels in the coming to terms with environmental music in the field of melodic ornamentation.

The subject of the musical ornament and its connection with variative and improvisatory practices has attracted considerable interest lately.<sup>16</sup> However, ornamental work before the Baroque era, in Byzantine and other areas of sacred chant, and in art music outside Europe has received only the preliminary attention of investigators. The same holds good for synagogue monody. A full review of the ornamental element in cantorial song demands a separate effort of investigation far beyond the limits of the present paper. For the present we have to limit ourselves to some examples presented by Fantasia-composition. The use or non-use of contemporary ornamental schemes will

<sup>16</sup> *IMS* (Congress, New York, 1961), Report, I (Kassel, 1961), pp. 425-469. *JIFMC*, 16 (1964): 70-80. Cf. also the papers of I. Horsley, in *AMI*, 33 (1961): 29-40 and 35 (1963): 124-153. E. Ferand, *Die Improvisation in der Musik*, Zürich, 1938.

be discussed in relation to the chronological background. It must be made clear at the outset that a certain margin has to be allowed for the most simple ornaments such as *Accentus* (long Appoggiatura or Mordent), *Figura corta* (Mordent or rapid connecting notes), *Circolo mezzo* (Turn) which appear in the diminution tables, but pertain also to the most fundamental forms of musical expression. Their actual origin may possibly be judged through their eventual elimination or perpetuation by nineteenth century cantors.

When we scrutinize the 'Alênû Fantasia for baroque ornamentation, the following features become evident:<sup>17</sup>

#### Aharon Beer

*Accentus*: B1; IV 1–2; Trumpet-interlude 2, 4, 6, 10–11. *Circolo* (Turns in opposed directions): D 4, 5, 6, 7. *Groppo* (a kind of turn): C 4; G 5 and others. *Mezza Tirata* (divisions run through ab. a Fourth): Trumpet-interlude 1, 5, 9. *Subsumptio* (Appoggiaturas in a descending scale): IV 5–6. *Tirata* (divisions run through ab. an octave): Trumpet-interlude 3. *Tremolo*: G 4. *Trillo*: prescribed very often as *tr*.

#### Joseph Goldstein

*Bombus* (quick repetitions of the same note): B, first semiquavers; C 1; Part IIa 4. *Figura corta*: VI 2–3. *Figura suspirans* (a breathing-rest at the head of a figure): Part IIb, 2nd and 3rd bars before the last.

In comparison with the other Fantasias, Joseph Goldstein is found to be especially fond of the *Bombus* figure; Charles Burney<sup>18</sup> observed (ca. 1770), that single notes were “divided [by an Amsterdam bass-chorister] ...into triplets and semiquavers iterated on the same tone” — and Goldstein was such a bass singer himself. It is not easy to decide whether his frequent *Bombus* figures originate in the improvisatory practice of synagogue choristers, or are ornaments taken over from Baroque music.

Some striking features of cantorial ornament have been illustrated in Music Example No. 6. Two main types of ornamentation, that can be designated briefly as “extension” and “diminution” are encountered in cantorial song; these terms are self-explanatory when considered together with the examples given. Diminution in our material acquires chiefly contemporary ornamental forms (Example 6b), while extension (Example 6a and b) would seem to be an older, probably indigenous feature. Both ways of ornating a traditional theme may lead as far as variation (Example 6bII and 6c).

After the full exploration of West-Ashkenazic cantorial art, it will have to be compared with its counterpart in former Eastern-Europe (now continued in several parts of the world). The Eastern territory may be regarded as a

<sup>17</sup> In the following list, Roman numerals or capital letters designate the theme, and Arabic numerals the bar or bars referred to.

<sup>18</sup> Charles Burney, *The present state of music in Germany, the Netherlands...*, II (London, 1773), p. 299.

cultural outpost, relatively remote from secular influences, and thus prone to preserve old and outmoded traits. At this point, we shall instance only the replacement of long notes by ornamental figures of the extension type (Example 6d), a feature common to Oriental song as well. The possibility cannot be excluded that the slow tremolos (written in quavers) of Aharon Beer are another form of that characteristic "vivification" of single notes. This and similar questions have to be left to further investigation.

## 6. SPIRITUAL FOUNDATIONS

Among the multifarious melodic figures intercalated by the Fantasia composer in the traditional 'Alênû tune, the imitations of trumpet flourishes are conspicuous by their instrumental character and the associations usually connected with fanfares. Furthermore Beer's first interlude dwells on typical brass-instrument figures in a manner that recalls the device "*ad modum tubae*" of Dufay's *Gloria*.<sup>19</sup> One is also reminded of the trumpeting Baroque settings of the *Gloria*, especially since the 'Alênû is likewise called "the Great Praise" (*haš-ševah hag-gadôl*); it introduces the chapters on God's kingship (*Mal-kuyyôl*) — and at all times kings were paid homage to with trumpets.

However, this line of thought showed itself to be deceptive as soon as the Hebrew liturgical works and commentaries were consulted concerning this prayer. The cantors' art is a "restrained improvisation" also with respect to its semantics, and the semantics of any music can be understood only from within the culture involved. Research in synagogue chant has already noted scattered hints as to the spiritual meaning of some melodic traits.<sup>20</sup>

Nevertheless, one may be surprised to discover the deep spiritual roots of the display of fanfares in the 'Alênû Fantasia itself, as set forth in literature of wide circulation in the eighteenth century.

The especial importance of the 'Alênû *le-šabbeah* and the duty laid upon its musical interpreters to present it with all possible distinction had been established by El'azar ben Yehudah (called *the Roqeah*) of Worms (ca. 1200), an influential adept of early West-Ashkenazic mysticism. The impact of his teachings on the cantorial vocation is proved by Naftali Herz Treves (ca. 1470–1550, *Hazzan* in Frankfort) in his commentary on the prayer book, published posthumously (Thiengen, 1560)<sup>21</sup> and characterized on the title-

<sup>19</sup> DTO, Jg. 7, Bd. 14, p. 145.

<sup>20</sup> For instance, in the recitation of the Esther book, cf. E. Birnbaum, "Musikalische Tradition bei Vorlesung der Megilla", in A. Friedmann, *Der synagogale Gesang* (Berlin, 1908), pp. 19–24 (abstracted from *Zeitung des Judentums*, 1891).

<sup>21</sup> מלאה הארץ דעה. מלאכה חדשה – תפילה מכל השנה עם פירוש יפה ועוד פירוש על-דרך בן הקבלה אשר חיבר ... הירץ ש"ץ ז"ל ... וקרא כוונת התפלה ... טיהינן ע"י מה"רר אליעזר בן

page as *kawwanaṯ hat-tefillah* (guide to concentration, or mystical intent on prayer). In his chapter on the New Year, the author quotes the words of the *Roqeaḥ* (fol. numbered [section] אַת 2, recto-verso):

הרוקח כתב ח[ה] ל[שונו]: כל איש... יכוין מאד כשמתפלל 'עלינו לשבח', כי שיר השירי הוא. ויהושע, משרת איש האלהי, יסדו; כשנכנס לארץ ישראל הקדוש... התחיל לפרוש כפיו השמימה וכרע על ברכיו באימה, ואמר בקול רם, בניגון המשמח הלב לכוון 'עלינו לשבח'... על כן יכוין האדם בכל לבו לשורר לבוראו בזה השיר המפואר, מהדר מצוטר ומקודש ומרומם...

Everybody... should say '*Alênû le-šabbeaḥ* with great concentration; for it is the song of songs, and was instituted by Joshua, the servant of the godly man [Moses]. When he entered the holy Land of Israel... he lifted his hands to the heavens, fell upon his knees in awe, and said with a loud voice, in a melody that delights the heart into concentration: '*Alênû le-šabbeaḥ*... Therefore shall everybody concentrate with all his heart to sing this splendid... and holy song unto his Creator.

The eminence of this hymnic prayer and the demand for its concentrated and joyful enunciation was stressed in the sequel by prayer-books with commentary and manuals of ritual that were well on the popular level of the professional singer and the majority of his audience. The compendium *Qışṣûr šenê lûḥôṭ hab-berîṯ*,<sup>22</sup> that circulated in innumerable editions from the late seventeenth century onwards, related that the heavenly hosts listen and respond to the '*Alênû*, therefore it has to be sung with fear, awe, concentration and a joyous mood.

Such ideas were a charter for the evolution of the traditional tune into an elaborate piece of music; for the singing of the cantor had not only to demonstrate, it had also to evoke concentration and intent on the words of the prayer.

In the course of the increasing exaltation of the '*Alênû* the version of the Joshua legend emerged which paved the way to the inclusion of trumpet flourishes. Jacob Emden published a commentary on the prayer book in 1744,<sup>23</sup> i.e. in the very period and territory of the earliest preserved '*Alênû* Fantasia. The author adds to the legendary material already known: "Joshua

מהרר הירץ ז"ל [ו]ינסף בן הרר נפתלי ז"ל, שנת ש"ך לפ"ק. [קולופון: נדפס פה ק"ק טיאנן (1) כד' ואדר ש"ך לפ"ק.]

Cf. M. Steinschneider, *CB*, cols. 308, 2028–29. Among later influential books see the short accounts in Mordekhay Yafeh, *Lêvûš hat-tekelet* (Venezia, 1620), fol. 41a (§ 133) and 176 b (§ 591).

<sup>22</sup> An abbreviated and annotated edition of *Šenê lûḥôṭ hab-berîṯ* by Isaiah Hurwitz (cf. n. 15 above), prepared by Yeḥi'el Michel Epstein, first printing Fürth, 1683. The passage on '*Alênû* is on fol. 61b, col. 1, of ed. Berlin 1715. Isaiah Hurwitz created one of the most important channels carrying mystical prayer practices from Safad in Galilee to the Ashkenazic communities; in his book *Ša'ar haš-šamayim* (Amsterdam, 1717), fols. 135b–136a, the '*Alênû* is explained in the spirit of the kabbalistic *Sefirôṭ* mysticism.

<sup>23</sup> *Bêṯ Ya'aqov*, Altona, 1744. The passage on the '*Alênû* is found on fol. 248a of *Siddur Téfillah*, Lemberg, 1883. The legend told by the author may be a variant of earlier stories such as that in *Aggadaṯ Mašiaḥ* (ed. Jellinek, *Bêṯ ham-midrash*, III, 142).

prescribed it [the 'Alênû]: When he captured Jericho, he said it forward and backward seven times, and therewith he knocked down the seven walls of Jericho." The spiritualism of this late age replaces the magic sound of trumpets by words of prayer; but the association "Trumpets of Jericho"—"'Alênû" is so obvious that the singing of fanfares reminds every listener of the power hidden in the prayer, if he should be unaware of the comment in his book. The accumulation of trumpet flourishes immediately after the word 'Alênû summoned the congregation to turn their thought towards the power that caused the walls of Jericho to crumble. The supposition may not be too far-fetched that Aharon Beer intended to interweave Part I of his Fantasia with seven strains of trumpet fanfare; the other versions reduced them to three (themes B, C, D, each with an increased climax).

The obtrusiveness of the trumpet figures in this Fantasia goes far beyond their normal occurrence in cantorial song where they are not less usual than in operatic melodies. The example of 'Alênû warns us not to ascribe every cantorial trumpet-imitation automatically to the influence of secular music before investigating the relevant sources for a possible hidden sense (*kawwanah*).

The application of *kawwanôt* (intentions) was originally a prerogative of the mystical approach to prayer, but it exerted a strong influence on the very popular stratum to whom cantorial art is addressed. The uncovering of the spiritual foundations of specific cantorial singing habits is a task as yet almost untouched,<sup>24</sup> and its accomplishment will add a new facet to the picture of an art that now is undoubtedly in decline. Research of this kind is essential in restoring the forgotten art of Cantorial Fantasia to historical consciousness.

## 7. CONCLUSION: THE HISTORICAL POSITION

The compositions reclaimed for the class of Cantorial Fantasias are found entirely in sources from South and West Germany, homeland of the West-Ashkenazic rite and chant. The towns and townlets of Bavaria (Löw Sängers, Kohn), Württemberg (Löw Sängers), the Palatinate (Waldbott), Westphalia (Katz), the communities of Bamberg (Beer), Frankfurt (Ogutsch, Scheuermann), Mainz (*Ya'aleh*), Schweinfurt (Goldstein) and Meiningen (Ehrlich) are landmarks in the biographies of our informants.<sup>25</sup> Therefore, it may be taken as highly probable that this branch of the art originated in the West-Ashkenazic synagogue. Certainty on this point can be achieved only after investigation of the related East-Ashkenazic works.

The period during which our informants and their Fantasias became known

<sup>24</sup> My colleague Amnon Shiloah assures me that Oriental cantors have informed him of similar semantic considerations during the performances of synagogue melodies.

<sup>25</sup> Berlin (Beer, Marksohn) was a "colonial" territory in this respect.

covers more or less the time between 1755 and 1885 — a respectable span of about 130 years; the actual carrying out of the recording or publication may be moved forward by thirty years.

Marked changes occurred in secular and religious life during that period. The Cantorial Fantasia has to be regarded as a token of conservatism. Its clinging to musical traits of former times, its roots in popular mysticism, lost ground with the progress of secularization as well as liturgical reform. The recessive evolution in the specimens that tradition has selected and spared for us is striking: the early compositions are more elaborate and extensive than the later; the baroque ornaments are pruned, the choristers disappear, demands on vocal virtuosity are reduced — a general “thinning out” takes place that may even be grasped visually by a glance at Music Example No. 3. Parallel processes are observed in consecutive “realizations” of the traditional base melody itself. It becomes clear that the written sources cast light upon a mere section — the final one — of a continuous evolution. Therefore, we should try to realize what preceded the written Fantasia music, and what caused this branch of creative synagogue song to wither and die.

Our knowledge of cantorial monody before 1744<sup>26</sup> depends almost entirely on the reports of earlier writers. The trend of deepening devotion in prayer by means of slow and thoughtful pronunciation and the use of beautiful melodies can be traced back to the mystical movement of “the Pious of Ashkenaz” in the twelfth century.<sup>27</sup> These circles were also the spiritual home of the *Roqeah*, the influential liturgist quoted above. In the centuries following “long melodies” or “extended singing” are referred to by the eminent Austrian rabbi Israel Isserlein (ca. 1394–1460)<sup>28</sup> and his contemporary Moses Mintz.<sup>29</sup> In the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, extended melodies were mentioned<sup>30</sup> by Joseph Karo, Abraham ben Shabtay Hurwitz,<sup>31</sup> Benjamin Aaron Salnik, and Aaron Lenczytz. The custom of prolonging the melodies of the *Avot* Benediction, the *‘Alênû*, the *Qaddis* and *Oḥilah la-’el* is pointed out by an anonymous pamphlet printed in 1708;<sup>32</sup> only the last mentioned

<sup>26</sup> 1744 is the date of Juda Elias’ manuscript; see n. 2 above.

<sup>27</sup> Their way of life is reflected in the *Sefer ḥasidim* (cf. n. 6 above); on prayer-song, cf. especially § 11 (pp. 7–8).

<sup>28</sup> *Leqet yošer*, ed. J. Freimann (Berlin, 1903), Part 1, p. 138 bottom. The reference to cantorial “long melodies” is not as clear as it has been interpreted by Sh. Eidelberg, *Jewish Life in Austria...* (Philadelphia, 1962), p. 68, n. 42.

<sup>29</sup> *Še’elôt û-têšvôt* (ed. Cracow, 1617), § 87, fol. 181 b.

<sup>30</sup> The relevant texts have been collected, edited and evaluated by I. Adler, *La pratique musicale savante dans quelques communautés juives...*, I (Paris–La Haye, 1966), pp. 243 f. Cf. especially nos. 2, 7, 9, 11, 12.

<sup>31</sup> *Yeš nōḥelin* (Prague, 1615), fol. 16 b.

<sup>32</sup> Adler, *op. cit.*, p. 247 (No. 9, fol. 29 b).

composition has not yet reappeared among the preserved Fantasias. The *langtönende Melodie* of 'Alênû is finally noticed about the year 1770.<sup>33</sup>

Two small books about the situation of the cantorate, written by members of the profession, may give us an idea of the transition period of about 1700 and the birthpangs of a new style. The earlier author, Judah Leb Zelichover,<sup>34</sup> is a traditionalist driven to resign from his office by his disapproval of the new trend (fol. 26b, col. 2). He recognizes the motivation of elaborate cantorial singing in "the mystical intention (*kawwanah*) and great and awesome mysteries" of certain prayers according to which "the former cantors modelled melodies and beautiful, extended songs in order to be able to give their mind to the mystical unions" (fol. 27a, col. 1); the traditional tunes were adapted to their liturgical location and touched the emotions of the congregation (fol. 26a, cols. 1–2). The innovators, however, fail to stress in song the hidden mysteries of prayer, but prefer superficial effects such as imitating "*the noise of many waters*" in Ps 93, 4 (fol. 27b, col. 1); they pretend dissatisfaction with the old tradition and replace it by their own inventions, or even by tunes taken from the theatre, dancing bands or beggar-musicians (fol. 26b, col. 1).

Both trends coexist in the work of Aharon Beer. Secular music of the popular strata, such as were accessible to a Jew, still lingers in the Sicilianos, Minuets, Polaccas of his 1791-manuscript; but the inner sanctuary of *mis-sinay* song and the Fantasias derived from it, remains substantially untouched. The adornment "in the gallant style" is dropped when its time is done, and the essentials of the tune re-emerge in unaltered condition.

Aharon Beer, in fact, was of a later generation than those sharply criticized cantors of 1700. He was brought up in the shadow of such progressive and tolerant opinions as were expressed in Solomon Lipschütz's book of 1718.<sup>35</sup> This author holds that the knowledge of musical theory enables a cantor to invent melodies likely to evoke devotional concentration, while the absence of theoretical training leads to the disgraceful imitation of unworthy patterns. The richness and inexhaustible significance of the musical art had been authoritatively proved to him by a sermon of the Renaissance rabbi Juda Moscato;<sup>36</sup> Lipschütz also pledges himself to teach his colleagues the musical knowledge he acquired (but abstained from doing so in writing, thus withholding important information from us).

Aharon Beer was fairly well trained in the elements of the craft by the town-

<sup>33</sup> Gottfried Selig, *Der Jude* (Breslau, 1777; written from 1768 onwards), III, 4.

<sup>34</sup> *Širê Yehûdah*, Amsterdam, 1696 (not 1697). Excerpts: Adler, *op. cit.*, No. 11 (pp. 248–250).

<sup>35</sup> *Te'udať Šelomoh*, Offenbach, 1718. Excerpts: Adler, *op. cit.*, No. 12 (pp. 250–252).

<sup>36</sup> A long sermon on music opens his book *Nêfušôť yehûdah* (Venice, 1589). Translation and commentary by H. Shmueli, *Higgajon be-Chinnor... des Jehuda... Moscato*, Tel Aviv, 1953.



organist of his native Bamberg. Figuration occupies a special chapter in organists' textbooks of that time, and the Jewish disciple, as prone as any cantor to florid melodies, applied his lessons rather profusely to Fantasia compositions. His last years extended into the beginning of another period in synagogue music. The generation that produced composers such as Mendelssohn and Meyerbeer turned its criticism against the "*possierliche Triller*" of the old days.<sup>37</sup> The change in taste affected the contemporary realizations of Fantasias in a very obvious manner. The belated flowering of this art survives the pre-emancipatory period but practically disappears after 1848 (except in a few communities that were especially conscious of their musical tradition). Thus the Fantasia hardly became subject to the decided Europeanization that overtook the basic traditions of *'Alênû le-šabbēah* and other tunes.

The much favoured *'Alênû* versions of Solomon Sulzer (published in 1840 and 1865) and L. Lewandowski (1870, 1876, 1882) reduce the ornaments to their bare essentials, switch over to major-minor-tonality, omit certain traditional themes, and replace the coloraturas — the pride of former soloists' art — by monotonous recitation. Impoverishment and loss of originality is all too evident, although a certain measure of classicist simplicity (Winckelmann's *Edle Einfalt und stille Grösse*) has been achieved. There was definitely no place left for a vocal, almost wordless Fantasia on traditional tunes; it fell victim to the civilizatory curbing of religious expression that was fostered by the nineteenth century and, to a certain degree, is still with us.

The art of improvising a Fantasia — once the desired *magnum opus* of the Ashkenazic cantor — took refuge in Eastern Europe, where it apparently escaped the Baroque influence so evident in our earlier examples.

<sup>37</sup> Cf., among others: A. H. Heymann, *Lebenserinnerungen*. Selection by H. Bach, *Jüdische Memoiren aus drei Jahrhunderten* (Berlin, 1936), p. 116; the prefaces of H. Ehrlich, *op. cit.*, and Katz and Waldbott, *op. cit.*

Hanoch Avenary  
THE CANTORIAL FANTASIA OF THE EIGHTEENTH AND NINETEENTH CENTURIES

1. Traditional 'Alênû Tune

I a b II a b c

H. Weintraub  
Abr. Baer  
M. Wodak  
Idelsohn, HON., VIII No. 165

III a b c IV

Weintraub  
Baer  
Wodak  
Idelsohn

V VI VII<sup>2</sup>

Weintraub  
Baer  
Wodak  
Idelsohn

VII VII<sup>2</sup>

Weintraub inserts an extended melism after the 3rd tone from the beginning, thereby bridging the notes e and c; cf. Music Example No. 6a.— Abraham Baer's motive IIc is identical with Ib. He records both Theme VII and VII<sup>2</sup> as alternatives (*ossia*).— Wodak repeats Theme Ib, II and III after Theme VI and covers two additional textual verses in this manner.— Idelsohn's East-Ashkenazic informant sings motive IIc like Ib. Theme II and VI are sung without words; in order to cover the whole text, he has to repeat, after III, Theme Ia and II.

## 2. Modality of the 'Alênû Tune

(a) Final Clauses on the Fifth

(b) "Modernization" of Clauses

(c) Motives typical of the Adôšem-malak Mode

Initial formula, with broken Major triad      2nd formula, compare 'Alênû theme Ib

Final Clause I: J. Goldstein, 1795; Löw Sänger, before 1840; Naumbourg, 1847; Maier Kohn, before 1870; H. Ehrlich, 1851; Scheuermann, 1912.— II: Aharon Beer, 1765; Weintraub, 1859; E. Gerovitch, 1897; B. Schorr, before 1904; J. Heller, 1914; Idelsohn, *HOM*, VIII, 1932; S. Weisser, 1940.— III: Aharon Beer, 1765.— IV: M. Deutsch, 1871; Abraham Baer, 1877; M. Wodak, 1898; J. Heller, 1914.— V: H. Ehrlich, 1851; M. Deutsch, 1871.— "Modernized" Clause II: Abraham Baer, 1877; S. Sulzer, 1865. III: L. Lewandowski, 1870.

## 3. The 'Alênû Fantasia

Part One

A Aharon Beer

Joseph Goldstein

Löw Sänger

Maier Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

H. Ehrlich

F. Ogutsch

S. Scheuermann

Beer D

Goldstein

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

Ehrlich

Ogutsch 3

Scheuermann 3

Beer E tr

Goldstein

Sänger

Kohn 3

Katz & Waldbott

Ehrlich

Ogutsch 3 3 3

Scheuermann 3

Aharon Beer: Interlude

J = I<sup>b</sup> *tr* *tr* K  
 L  
 IV fig.  
 D 2 var.  
 E

F Beer

Goldstein 3 3 3 3 3 3 3  
 Sänger 3 3 3 3 3 3 3  
 Kohn 3 3 3 3 3 3 3  
 Katz & Waldbott  
 Ehrlich  
 Ogutsch 3  
 Scheuermann  
 III  
 VII<sup>3</sup>  
 III

Part Two, Section 1

Aharon Beer: Prelude

*tr* *tr* *tr*

Goldstein (Text: le-šabbenh)

G Beer

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

contin.

H

Beer

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

## Part Two, Section 2

IV Beer

V

VI var.

Goldstein

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

Ehrlich

Orutsch

Scheuermann

Beer

Goldstein

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

Ehrlich

Ogutsch

Scheuermann

Fine

III

VII

VI

Aharon Beer: Coda

II

Part Three

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

I<sub>b</sub>

K

L

III

Sänger

Kohn

Katz & Waldbott

IV

D (3) (3)

III

F

#### 4. Melodic Progression by Sequences

(a) from: Qaddiṣ

ms Juda Elias (1744)

Transcription from the manuscript (1744) of Juda Elias according to a facsimile, since the transcription of A. Nadel, *loc. cit.*, is incorrect.

(b) Joseph Goldstein: free continuation of <sup>c</sup>Alēnā

Bass

Idelsohn, HGM, VI, p. 201

Cantor

Boy-singers

Additional specimens of sequential progression:  
see Ex. No. 3 theme H, and Ex. No. 6c.

(c) Aharon Beer: from <sup>c</sup>Alha-riṣōnīm Fantasia

Idelsohn, HGM, VI, p. 193

Boy-singers

\* The traditional theme starts here. — The notes reduced by us to small script were possibly performed by choristers.



(d) Jewish Turco-Sefardic Monody

Notation Th. Fuchs<sup>1)</sup>

(e) Persian Instrumental Piece

Notation E. Gerson-Kiwi<sup>2)</sup>(f) Tunisian Art Song Notation R. Lachmann<sup>3)</sup>

- 1) Published in *Omanut*, I (Zagreb, 1936-37), Music Supplement, pp. 3 and 1.
- 2) E. Gerson-Kiwi, *The Persian Doctrine of Dastgah-Composition* (Tel Aviv, 1963), p. 41, No. 19b.
- 3) R. Lachmann, *Musik des Orients* (Breslau, 1929), p. 125, No. II; cf. also p. 121, lines 1-2 (Turkish *Tunbur*-play).

### 5. Cantorial "Development" of Motives

(a) Traditional  
Alênû Motive IaFantasia Theme F  
Löw Sängers, H. Kohn, Katz & WaldbottFantasia Part 2a  
Joseph Goldstein(b) Traditional Qaddîš Motives  
as stated by Joseph GoldsteinJoseph Goldstein:  
Prelude of Qaddîš Fantasia

(c) Traditional Qaddîš Tune

Normal Theme I Theme I-S for Solihôt Days

Weintraub l.c., p.149



Shalom Friede: Qaddîš Fantasia

Idolsohn, HGM, VI, p. 229



(d) see Music Example No. 4c.

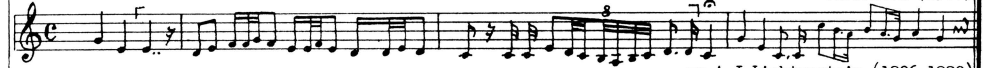
### 6. Ornamentation by Extension or Diminution

(a) Extension of Alênû Motive Ia

Weintraub (1859)



Gerovitch (1904)



ms A.J. Lichtenstein (1806-1880)



## Example No. 6 continued

(b) Extension and Diminution of Kol nidre Motives

Traditional

Yoel David (Vilna, 1816-1850)

Aharon Beer



Traditional (Marksohn &amp; others)



Weintraub

Aharon Beer



(c) Qaddis Fantasia

Traditional (J. Goldstein, bars 44-47; Sh. Friede, bars 76-83)



Joseph Goldstein



Shalom Friede



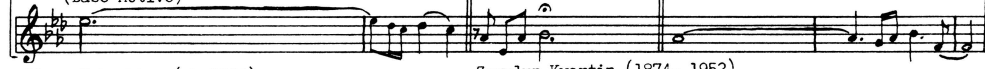
(d) East Ashkenazic Ornamentation: Enlivening of long notes

Osias Abrass (1820-1884)

Joshua Feinsinger (1838-1872)



(Base Motive)



Simon Schechter (ab.1900)

Zevulun Kwartin (1874-1952)



(Base Motive)



# YUVAL

STUDIES OF  
THE JEWISH MUSIC RESEARCH CENTRE

*Edited by*

ISRAËL ADLER

*in collaboration with*

HANOCH AVENARY AND BATHJA BAYER

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## ABBREVIATIONS

(N.B.: The special abbreviations and sigla used by N. Allony are listed at the end of his article.)

<i>AHw</i>	W. von Soden, <i>Akkadisches Handwörterbuch</i> , Wiesbaden, 1959 →
<i>AL</i>	M. Steinschneider, <i>Die arabische Literatur der Juden</i> , Frankfurt a.M., 1902
<i>AMl</i>	<i>Acta Musicologica</i>
<i>b</i>	Babylonian Talmud
<i>CAD</i>	<i>The Assyrian Dictionary of the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago</i> , Chicago, 1956 →
<i>CB</i>	M. Steinschneider, <i>Catalogus librorum Hebraeorum in bibliotheca Bodleiana</i> , Berlin, 1852–1860
<i>CS</i>	E. de Coussemaker, ed., <i>Scriptores de musica medii aevi...</i> , Paris, 1864–1876
<i>DTO</i>	<i>Denkmäler der Tonkunst in Österreich</i>
<i>Eissfeldt</i>	O. Eissfeldt, <i>The Old Testament — An Introduction</i> (tr. from the 3rd German edition by P. R. Ackroyd), Oxford, 1965
<i>Enc. Mus. Fasquelle</i>	<i>Encyclopédie de la musique</i> , Paris, Fasquelle, 1958–1961
<i>Erlanger</i>	R. d'Erlanger, <i>La musique arabe</i> , Paris, 1930–1949
<i>Farmer, Gen. Fragm.</i>	H. G. Farmer, <i>The Oriental Musical Influence and Jewish Genizah Fragments on Music</i> , London, 1964; repr. of two art. from <i>Glasgow University Oriental Society, Transactions</i> , 19 (1963): 1–15 ("The Oriental Musical Influence" = pp. 7–21 of repr.); 52–62 ("Jewish Genizah Fragments on Music" = pp. 22–32 of repr.)
<i>GS</i>	M. Gerbert, ed., <i>Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica...</i> , Sankt Blasien, 1784
<i>HOM</i>	A. Z. Idelsohn, <i>Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz</i> , Leipzig–Berlin–Jerusalem, 1914–1932
<i>HU</i>	M. Steinschneider, <i>Die hebräischen Übersetzungen des Mittelalters</i> , Berlin, 1893
<i>HUCA</i>	<i>Hebrew Union College Annual</i>
<i>IMS</i>	International Musicological Society
<i>IQ</i>	<i>Islamic Quarterly</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal Asiatique</i>
<i>JAMS</i>	<i>Journal of the American Musicological Society</i>
<i>JIFMC</i>	<i>Journal of the International Folk Music Council</i>
<i>JMT</i>	<i>Journal of Musical Theory</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
<i>KS</i>	<i>Kirjath Sepher</i>
<i>m</i>	Mishnah

<i>MD</i>	<i>Musica Disciplina</i>
<i>MGG</i>	<i>Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart</i> , Kassel, 1949 →
<i>MGWJ</i>	<i>Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums</i>
<i>MQ</i>	<i>Musical Quarterly</i>
<i>NOHM</i>	<i>New Oxford History of Music</i> , London, 1955 →
<i>PAAJR</i>	<i>Proceedings of the American Academy for Jewish Research</i>
<i>PL</i>	<i>Patrologia Latina</i> (ed. Migne)
<i>1Q</i>	Dead Sea Scrolls, Qumran Cave 1
<i>1QH</i>	"Thanksgiving Scroll"
<i>1QM</i>	"War Scroll"
<i>1QS</i>	"Manual of Discipline"
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Islamiques</i>
<i>REJ</i>	<i>Revue des Etudes Juives</i>
Riemann, <i>Hbd. Mg.</i>	H. Riemann, <i>Handbuch der Musikgeschichte</i> , Leipzig, 1919–1922
Riemann, <i>ML</i>	H. Riemann, <i>Musik-Lexikon</i> (quoted edition indicated by exponent)
<i>RM</i>	<i>Revue de Musicologie</i>
<i>RQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>SIMG</i>	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft</i>
Steinschneider, <i>Cat.</i> Berlin	M. Steinschneider, <i>Verzeichnis der hebräischen Handschriften [der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Berlin]</i> , Berlin, 1878–1897
<i>VT</i>	<i>Vetus Testamentum</i>
<i>y</i>	Jerusalem Talmud
<i>ZAW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft</i>
<i>ZDMG</i>	<i>Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft</i>
<i>ZfMW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft</i>
<i>ZGJD</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für die Geschichte der Juden in Deutschland</i>