# THE TRAINING OF *ḤAZZANIM* IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY GERMANY

Geoffrey Goldberg

## THE *MEŠORER* APPRENTICESHIP SYSTEM AND THE EMANCIPATION

### A. The *Mešorer* Tradition: Musical Praxis and Apprenticeship

Nineteenth-century Germany witnessed a fundamental change in the process by which a *ḥazzan* learned his art. The increasing phenomenon since the later eighteenth century of individual German cantors, here and there, notating their own compositions had little effect on the basic oral nature of the tradition and the learning process. This oral transmission, from one generation to the next, from a *ḥazzan* skilled in the musical tradition to a young novice eager to learn, still flourished in Germany in the opening decades of the nineteenth century. German Jewry thus remained linked to that common phenomenon shared by all branches of Jewry, Ashkenazim, Sephardim, and the *'adot ha-mizraḥ,* namely the oral transmission of synagogue chant. However, starting in the 1830s and 1840s, there occurred in Germany a serious weakening of the oral means of transmission. This occurred at the same time as the introduction of an entirely different system of cantorial training that only further attenuated the integrity of the oral tradition.

For several centuries Ashkenazi Jewry, both in its eastern and western variants, had developed a unique form of apprenticeship into the orally transmitted art of *ḥazzanut,* the institution of the *mešorerim*, or vocal assistants to the *ḥazzan*. These assistants usually consisted of a boy soprano, the *zinger* (or *zingerl*), and a *bass*, but falsetto singers were not unknown. The *mešorerim* fulfilled several musical functions.[1] The main function was the *melodic* elaboration and extension of the cantor's chant,

* This study is part of my doctoral dissertation "Maier Levi of Esslingen, Germany: A Small-Town *Ḥazzan* in the time of the Emancipation and his Cantorial Compendium" (Jerusalem 2000).

1 For full documentation of the *mešorer* phenomenon in musical scores of *ḥazzanut* up to ca. 1840 see Index IVA, "Ḥazzan and Mešorerim Indications," in Adler 1989: 799–802. For an examination of some of the techniques of *mešorer* performance see Katz 1995.

often as a wordless *vocalise*, thus producing a "plurivocal performance practice" (Adler 1989: lxi). Harmonic support of any significance appears to have occurred, according to manuscripts of the time, only during the closing decades of the eighteenth century. For the most part this took the form of drone notes and singing in parallel thirds and sixths. The *mešorerim* provided the liturgically prescribed responses and sometimes added purely internal musical responses as well. Another function, usually on the part of the *bass*, was in supplying new tunes, and teaching them, to the cantor (Idelsohn 1929: 216; Werner 1976: 131).[2] A final function, which warrants further research, was the imitation of musical instruments, which otherwise were almost completely banned from the synagogue. Arnold Marksohn, a Berlin cantor, elaborated upon this latter aspect of instrumental imitation:

*[Die] drei oder mehr Gehülfen (Meschorerim)... in der Naivität des Copierens so weit gingen, die characteristischen Passagen bestimmter Instrumente und sogar den Klang derselben nachzuahmen. So gab es nicht nur im Allgemeinen einen Gehülfen mit hoher Stimme, den "Singer," und einen solchen mit tiefer Tonlage, den "Bass," sondern auch speciell einen "Flötel" — oder "Fistel-Singer," welcher in Kopftönen Läufe der Flöte oder Clarinette darzustellen suchte, einen "Fagott-Bass," der die rauhen Staccatos dieses Instrumentes copirte, einen "Sait-Bass" u.s.w.* (Marksohn 1875: 67).[3]

"The performers [three or four vocal assistants (*mešorerim*)] went so far in their simple-minded copying, as to imitate the characteristic passages of certain instruments. There was not only an assistant with a high voice (the *singer*) and one with a low range (the *bass*), but also a *Fletel-singer* or *Fistel-singer*, who endeavored to perform the runs of the flute or clarinet by falsetto, a *fagott-bass*, who copied the rough staccati of this instrument [the bassoon], a *sayt-bass* [string-bass] etc." (trans. in Avenary 1960: 192).

2 Perhaps the most prominent example of this compositional aspect, by virtue of his cantorial manuscript, was Joseph S. Goldstein, "bass" singer to *Ḥazzan* Moses Raff (1778–1856) in Jebenhausen, Württemberg. Goldstein played his own compositions for Raff on his violin (Adler 1989: 418–19; Tänzer 1927: 198–200). Some *mešorerim*, at least in the early nineteenth century, were thus more musically literate than the *ḥazanim* with whom they sang. For example, Louis Lewandowski, *zingerl* to *Ḥazzan* Asher Lion in Berlin, helped the latter read the score of Sulzer's *Schir Zion* (Idelsohn 1929: 273).

3 Marksohn (1839–1900) was born in Suwalki, Poland. He sang as a *mešorer* with several cantors, including the Vilna cantor Chaim Wasserzug. He came to Berlin in 1862 where in 1870 he was appointed *ḥazzan* of the Alte (Heidereutergasse) Synagogue (Friedmann 1918: 154–59; *GJNB* 4: 280–81).

The earliest specific reference to this "*mešorer* praxis" appears to be that found in Rabbi Leon of Modena's responsum of 1605 where, in defense of choral singing in Ferrara, Italy, he draws attention to the practice of having assistants to support the cantor "as is customary all the time among the Ashkenazi Jews" (Modena 1622/23, fol. 4b).[4] Despite rabbinical opposition, this musical practice became widespread during the period of the Baroque, in which imitations were frequently made of contemporary musical styles (Adler 1966: 22–26). *Mešorerim* were still customary in many German communities in the early nineteenth century. Not all of them were attached to any particular community but accompanied traveling *ḥazzanim*.

The most detailed description of the *mešorer* praxis in Western Europe at the end of the eighteenth century is that of Charles Burney during his musical tour of Europe. Having visited in 1772 a service of German Jews in Amsterdam he commented:

> At my first entrance, one of the priests [sic] was chanting part of the service in a kind of ancient *canto firmo*, and responses were made by the congregation, in a manner that resembled the hum of bees.
>
> After this, three of the sweet singers of Israel began singing a kind of jolly modern melody, sometimes in unison, and sometimes in parts, to a kind of *tol de rol*, instead of words, which seemed to me very farcical. One of these voices was a falset, more like the upper part of a bad *vox humana* stop in an organ, than a natural voice.
>
> The second of these voices was a very vulgar tenor, and the third was a *baritono*. The last imitated, in his accompaniment of the falset, a bad bassoon; sometimes continued on one note as a drone base [sic], at others, divided it into triplets, and semiquavers, iterated on the same tone. (Burney 1775: II, 229–30).

Leaving aside Burney's subjective comment that the performance "was very unlike what we Christians are used to in divine service" (ibid.: 230), his observations nevertheless very accurately highlight several of the musical functions of the *mešorerim* discussed above, such as

4 The depiction in the fourteenth-century *Leipzig Maḥzor* of a *ḥazzan* surrounded by two "assistants" as evidence of *mešorer* praxis in medieval times remains inconclusive (see Katalog Vollers, Ms. No. 1102, vol. I, folio 27a; see also Adler 1966: 23, note 23). While several rabbinic sources state that the *ḥazzan* was not to lead the congregation in prayer except with two *mesayye'im*, or assistants, the function of the latter was to give spiritual, but not musical support to the *ḥazzan*. Nevertheless, it is quite probable that the *mešorerim* developed from the *mesayye'im*.

plurivocality, bass drones, occasional harmonies, and contrasting timbres in the form of the imitation of musical instruments.

In the early period of German-Jewish Emancipation Heinrich Heine, in his *Der Rabbi von Bacherach* (1840), provided a romantic depiction of the musical performance of the *mešorerim*. The scene is set in the synagogue in Frankfurt at the end of the fifteenth century (Kircher 1972: 42):

*Hier stand der Vorsänger, dessen Gesang instrumentenartig begleitet wurde von den Stimmen seiner beiden Gehülfen, des Bassisten und des Diskantsingers der Vorsänger, ein trefflicher Tenor, [der] seine Stimme erhob und die uralten, ernsten Melodien in noch nie geahndeter junger Lieblichkeit aufblüheten, während der Bassist, zum Gegensatze, die tiefen, dunkeln Töne hineinbrummte, und in den Zwischenpausen der Diskantsänger fein und süss trillerte* (Heine 1937: 50).

Here stood the cantor, whose singing was accompanied as if instrumentally by the voices of his two assistants, the bass and the soprano the cantor, an excellent tenor, raised his voice, and the ancient solemn melodies bloomed forth in undreamt of youthful loveliness while in contrast the bass hummed the deep dark notes, and in the pauses the soprano trilled delicately and sweetly.[5]

It is unlikely, however, that by Heine's time the *mešorerim* still sang in Frankfurt since no mention of them is made in Salomon Geiger's *divre qehillot* (1862), an exhaustive *Minhagbuch* of Frankfurt's liturgical and synagogal practice.[6] Heine drew upon Johann Jacob Schudt's *Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten* for information about old Frankfurt Jewry, but altered Schudt's depiction of the *mešorerim* from three assistants to two (Schudt 1714–18, 2: 1311; Frisch 1934: 60–61; Adler 1966: 25).[7] He probably also drew upon recent folklore memories of the practice in Frankfurt, and quite possibly his own experiences in another community.

Less fully researched however, has been the role played by the *mešorerim* in the musical education of the cantorate.[8] Whatever their

5 The translation is based upon Ewen and Leyland. See Heine 1948: 528–29; Heine 1892: 219–20.

6 The *divrei qehillot*, although published in 1862, describes the Frankfurt synagogue practices of the entire liturgical year of 1818/19.

7 Schudt mentioned "*Ein Chassan oder Vorsänger und drei andere, deren einer den 'Bass' darunter singet.*" For Heine's utilization of Schudt see the discussion in the appendix to the 1937 Schocken edition of *Der Rabbi von Bacherach* (Heine 1937).

8 Among writers on Ashkenazi synagogue music only Hanoch Avenary fully understood the didactic function of the *mešorerim*. "The apprentices of *ḥazanuth* came from the ranks of

musical shortcomings, it was through being a *mešorer* that most *ḥazzanim* received their apprenticeship. Of course there had always been those who did not receive such an apprenticeship. Some cantors emerged from the *yeshivot*, but by the early nineteenth century these institutions of learning were in a state of decline in Germany.[9] Young scholars with a reasonable voice, who had absorbed enough of the musical tradition, could be engaged as *šeliḥei ẓibbur* (Eliav 1960: 142). But for any would-be-*ḥazzan* who was serious, who desired to master the cantorial art, the *mešorer* apprenticeship was the only route.

This apprenticeship aspect of the *mešorerim* was emphasized in Daniel Stauben's description in the 1850s of the rural life of Alsace Jewry, which belonged to the same liturgical and musical tradition of *minhag aškenaz* as that of their fellow Jews to the east of the Rhine:[10]

*Derrière lui se tiennent, debout et couverts, deux aides-chanteurs, ténor et basse. Ces trois personnages forment l'orchestre vocal de las synagogue où la musique instrumentale est sévèrement interdite. Salarié par la communauté, le chantre est un fonctionnaire important dont la place est assez lucrative; aussi, avec les émoluments qui lui sont alloués, doit-il entretenir à ses frais ses deux accompagnateurs. Ceux-ci font ainsi leur stage chez les chantres des différantes communautés jusqu'au jour bienheureux où, après de longues épreuves et une vie nomade, ils parviennent eux-mêmes à la dignité de hazan* (Stauben 1860: 76-77).

Standing behind him [the *ḥazzan*] are his two aides: a tenor and a basso. The three of them make up the vocal orchestra of the synagogue, where instrumental music is prohibited. Hired by the community, the cantor is an important and well-paid official. He keeps his two accompanists at his own expense, thus giving them their opportunity to acquire their musical education and training. Throughout the years the aides work with different cantors, moving about from community to community, till after a long period of apprenticeship and nomadic wandering, they themselves are finally granted the

---

the young choristers (*M'shor'rim*) who often shared the roving life. They obtained their instruction and training by listening to other *ḥazzanim* and performing in accordance with the oral tradition of the profession" (Avenary 1960: 187). Unfortunately, such an explicit description of the didactic function of the *mešorerim* is lacking from Werner's *A Voice Still Heard* (1976).

9 The most important of these was the Fürth Yeshivah. The precise date of its closure is difficult to determine, especially since it underwent a process of modernization in the 1820s, which modified its former exclusively traditional character. In 1827 it still had 150 pupils (Eliav 1960: 152). Claudia Prestel has recently pointed out that in 1854 a Talmud scholar named Heidegger was still receiving from the Fürth *Gemeinde* a salary of 500 fl. in 1853/54 (see Prestel 1989: 282–84).

10 On the liturgical musical tradition of Alsace-Lorraine see Golberg 2000, Part Three, Chapter 1, n. 2.

honor of becoming a chazan (Stauben 1991: 40–41).[11]

Stauben continues by describing the means taken by the *mešorerim* to supplement their income, such as by teaching basic Hebrew skills to infants and children, and even working as barbers. As the High Holidays approached they would strike for higher wages, knowing full well that "during that period the cantor would be lost without his aides as a carriage without wheels, or a windmill without vanes" (Stauben 1991: 41).

Long after the *mešorerim* had disappeared in German synagogues and their unique role in securing a musical education had ceased, Magnus Davidsohn (1877–?), an important Berlin *ḥazzan*, reflected on former times, and with not a little regret, in view of what he considered to be the inadequate provisions prevailing in his time for the training of *ḥazzanim*:

Diese *Meschorrerim, sie waren die Gefolgschaft des Chasans, sie waren seine Jünger und wurden seine Nachfolger und waren so die Stützen von Geschlecht zu Geschlecht, die Hüter der jüdischen* musica sacra (*AZJ* 71, no. 23 [1907]: 270).

These *mešorerim*, they were the followers of the *ḥazzan*, they were his disciples and became his successors, and hence from generation to generation they were the pillars, the guardians of Jewish *musica sacra*.

Leading cantors and synagogue musicians of early and mid-nineteenth century Germany and German-speaking Central Europe acquired their basic training in *ḥazzanut* as childhood *mešorerim*. For example, Salomon Sulzer (1804–1890) received his initial training from the *ḥazzan* in Endingen, Switzerland, with whom he traveled as *mešorer* throughout Alsace-Lorraine, before he reached the age of Bar Mitzvah (Tänzer 1905: 637; Friedmann 1918: 46).[12] In 1820, prior to his

11 Daniel Stauben was the pen name of August Widal who was born in Wintzenheim near Colmar in 1825. His *Scènes de la vie juive en Alsace* (Paris, 1860) first appeared in serial form in the *Revue Deux Mondes* between 1857 and 1859. In the Preface Stauben wrote, "I have tried my best to depict the few remnants of an archaic Judaism about to disappear.... It will not be long before these last vestiges of our ancient traditions will crumble, the way all vanishes with age. That is why I have been so eager to retain on paper at least the most characteristic traits of our Alsatian Jewish life, while it still lasts" (Stauben 1991: xviii). Note how Stauben also refers to the instrumental function of the *mešorerim*.

12 Sulzer's childhood Austrian town of Hohenems, Vorarlberg, belonged to Bavaria between 1806 and 1814 (Tänzer 1982: 164, 205). This fact only reinforces the fact that Sulzer's cantorial background was very much that of South-German *ḥazzanut*.

appointment as *ḥazzan* to the Seitenstettengasse Synagogue in Vienna in 1826, Sulzer was appointed cantor in his childhood synagogue in Hohenems. There, in turn, had his own *mešorer* assistants, whom he had brought with him from Karlsruhe (Kulke 1866: 13). On his appointment to the Vienna synagogue Sulzer inquired whether he should bring his own *Gehülfen* with him. Eventually he was permitted to bring two of his best assistants (which suggests that he had increased their number), provided they did not sing in the style hitherto customary for the *mešorerim* (Avenary 1985: 37).

Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein (1806–1880), who was appointed cantor in Berlin in 1845, was the first modern *ḥazzan* of that community to possess a fully developed Western musical education. From the age of nine to fifteen he served as boy soprano *mešorer* to *Ḥazzan* Hayyim Leib Conrad in Königsberg, while simultaneously developing his general musical skills. Afterwards he sang for a short period as *bass* to Cantor Israel Lovy who became the first regenerator of synagogue music in Paris (Friedmann 1918: 70–71).[13]

Although Louis Lewandowski (1823–1894) was not strictly a professional *ḥazzan*, rather a choral director, composer, and teacher of cantorial students, it was his experience as a *mešorer* in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue in Berlin, which was of decisive importance in shaping his career dedicated to synagogue music (Idelsohn 1929: 269–75). Lewandowski continued in this capacity as *zingerl* until ca. 1840 when he assumed *de facto* leadership of the newly-formed and, as yet, rather make-shift choir (Goldberg 1989/90: 31, 50–51).[14]

Abraham Baer (1834–1894), who later achieved fame as author of the most significant (and still authoritative) transcriptions of the Ashkenazi musical tradition, lived through a peripatetic childhood experience as a *mešorer*, as he sought out some of the leading *ḥazzanim* in Europe. In the following extract from his biography note how the oral aspect of his apprenticeship is stressed:

13 Friedmann's dates concerning Lovy do not concur with those in Idelsohn 1929: 228. Prior to his Paris appointment, this *ḥazzan* had adopted several different surnames, such as Israel Fürth, Israel Metz, etc. In Glogau he was known as Israel Glogau (Adler 1989: 790–91; Idelsohn 1929: 229).

14 While Idelsohn claimed that Lewandowski first became a *zingerl* to Cantor Asher Lion, Lichtenstein's predecessor, in 1834, I have argued that this occurred somewhat later, in 1837. See Goldberg 1989/90: 31.

*Er wurde "M'schorer"! Was das bedeutet, weiss nur derjenige, der so voll und ganz das M'schorer-leben durchgekostet hat, wie unser Held. Auf seinem Irrfahrten gelangte er auch zu grossen Cantoren wie: Jisroelke, Skuder, Weintraub, Lichtenstein, Isaak Heymann (Amsterdam) etc.... Doch sein Gesang wie Spiel konnten nur ein sehr bescheidenes Gebiet umfassen, er sang und spielte nur nach dem Gehöhr. Da fiel ihm zufällig ein Notenbuch in die Hand* (Baer 1883: Preface, xxii).[15]

He became a *mešorer*! What that means only one who has experienced completely the life of a *mešorer* knows, like our hero. On his wanderings he reached the great cantors like Jisroelke [Israel Jedidya, cantor in Suwalki], Skuder, [Hirsch] Weintraub [in Königsberg], [Abraham Jacob] Lichtenstein [then in Stettin], Isaak Heymann (Amsterdam) [but then residing in Gnesen], etc.... However, his singing and playing [the violin] was modest in scope, *for he sang and played by ear* [italics mine]. Then by chance a music book fell into his hands...

The days of the *mešorerim* in Germany, however, were numbered.[16] Several factors played into their demise. Aesthetic considerations of musical taste loomed large. Prominent sectors of the Jewish communities, especially the better educated and more acculturated, were working fervently to improve the conduct of synagogue worship and strove for order and dignity, and beautification of the services according to their aesthetic standards. The musical aspects of the synagogue were an integral, and often dominating aspect, of this regenerative process, in which proponents of religious Reform took a leading role. The improvisations and prolongations by the *mešorerim* of the cantor's melodic performance were increasingly considered passé and even unseemly. To some extent the aesthetic changes reflected a conflict between urbanized Jews on the one hand and small-town and rural Jews on the other, and the imposition of the tastes of the former on the latter. Yet this conclusion should not be taken too far, for it has been shown that even in the smaller towns there was by no means lack of support for these changes (Lowenstein 1981: 265–66).

15 The biography of Baer is anonymous.

16 In Eastern Europe, on the other hand, the *mešorerim* continued well into the twentieth century, even after the increasing use of musical notation and four-part harmonies in the *chorshul*.

## B. The Decline of the *Mešorerim*: Aesthetic Changes and Adverse Legislation

Occasionally we can detect the impact of changing aesthetic considerations from the surviving manuscripts of certain individual composers. For example, most of the earlier *ḥazzanut* manuscripts of Itzik Offenbach (1779–1850), cantor in Cologne, frequently have parts for *mešorerim*. Only in the manuscript that he wrote in 1848 do we encounter settings in modern four-part harmony (Binder 1969: 219; Adler 1989: 516–17).[17] Where possible, when the resources, both financial and in personnel, were available, the *mešorerim* were transformed into two- to four-part choirs, provided the singers could read music. In the process, however, that unique relationship between *ḥazzan* and *mešorer*, on both the personal and professional level between master and apprentice, was severed forever.

In some places, such as in Munich, as evidenced by Maier Kohn's *Terzett-und Chorgesänge*, and occasionally in Vienna by Sulzer's *Schir Zion*, an intermediary stage was also cultivated, whereby three-part musical settings according to western harmony were written. This stylized adaptation of the *mešorer* idiom would appear to have been primarily a city phenomenon. It also took place in Copenhagen in the late 1830s. There it was required of the two *Gehülfen* (but not apparently of the twelve choir boys who comprised the choir) that, "in addition to the necessary vocal attributes they must have sufficient musical education as to read music" (Wolff 1839: 17). This genre was also cultivated in Paris by the former Munich chorister, Samuel Naumbourg (1815–1880). A number of items with three-part textures in his *Semiroth Israël* are obviously examples of the stylized *mešorer* idiom.[18]

These aesthetic changes were frequently part of a wider process, the involvement of many of the states (the main exception being Prussia) in the regulation of the conditions of Jewish religious life, a phenomenon of the process of the Emancipation of the Jews in Germany. Whereas before the Emancipation the states took little or no interest in the internal organization of the Jewish communities, now every facet of Jewish life, especially the religious and educational aspects, came under the judgmental eye of the authorities. Increasingly, in the

17 US-NYhuc, S.6350 according to Adler's catalogue (1989).

18 There is evidence of a stylized *mešorer* praxis being performed in Vienna in the late 1850s. When the Leopoldstrasse Synagogue was opened in 1859, the choir was located in the upper gallery, but the tenor and bass soloists stood beside the cantor (Avenary 1985: 135).

post-Napoleonic era, many states demanded a secular education and state-certification for the religious and educational functionaries, the rabbis,[19] teachers, *šoḥaṭim*, and finally the *ḥazzanim*.

Both the external regulatory designs of these states and the internal desire for aesthetic changes and order emanating from within the Jewish communities themselves were embodied in *Synagogenordnungen* or "Synagogue Regulations." These were authoritative regulations concerning every facet of order and decorum in the synagogue, and they invariably covered liturgical and ritual practice as well. Jakob Petuchowski, in his *Prayerbook Reform in Europe*, devoted an entire chapter to these regulations (Petuchowski 1968; but see also Lowenstein 1981: 261–63, 286–97).[20] In particular, he emphasized that these "Synagogue Regulations," although drawn up for a particular Jewish community or communities, were promulgated by government authorities. Petuchowski explained:

> It is quite possible that, in a number of cases, it was the government itself which took the initiative.... On the whole, it would be safe to assume that where an enlightened government concerned itself with synagogue affairsand not all governments taking an interest in Jewish worship were enlightenedthe government's aims and objectives by and large coincided with those of the Reformers (Petuchowski 1968: 105–6).

Taking heed of Petuchowski's warning that the fine line between the state's interests and those of such Jewish leaders who were pressing for these "Synagogue Regulations" is frequently difficult to draw, we can nevertheless discern a definite state role in the demise of the *mešorerim* in Germany, which contributed to the curtailment of the traditional means of acquiring a cantorial apprenticeship.[21]

The very first *Synagogenordnung*, issued in 1810 in Cassel by the Consistory of the Kingdom of Westphalia under the leadership of the Reformer, Israel Jacobson, was also the first that appertained to the

19 For a masterly study of the emergence of the modern German rabbinate, see Schorch 1981.

20 Petuchowski's account, however, is not exhaustive, and the sources quoted sometimes omit those paragraphs relevant to our discussion of the *mešorerim*.

21 In the discussion below we shall exclude the *Synagogenordnung* (1825) drawn up for the German-speaking community of Aarhuus, Denmark by Hartvig Philip Ree. Although of particular interest because it was issued together with the *Gesangbuch* of L. M. Mayer, its focus was strictly liturgical-musical and not socio-cultural, as manifested in other *Synagogenordnungen*. No reference was made to *mešorerim*. See Adler 1989: 323–25.

*mešorerim*. It declared that, "every accompaniment by singers and bass singers (*Sängern und Bassisten*) employed by some congregations is to cease altogether".[22] Nevertheless, it recognized that this would inflict economic hardships on some and thus it consented to grant those *mešorerim* who were salaried to continue receiving their pay until they found employment elsewhere (*Bekanntmachung Cassel* 1810, printed in *Sulamit* 3/6 1810: 371, par. 14; Horwitz 1910: 67, par. 14; Petuchowski 1968: 109).[23]

The synagogue regulation issued by the *Oberrath* (Supreme Council) of the Grand Duchy of Baden in 1824 under the imprimatur of the Ministerial Commissioner Ackerman, also adopted a gradualist policy. While removing the cantor's assistants "except where paid *Beisänger* [*mešorerim*] existed," it none-the-less stipulated that "new *Beisänger* should on no account any more be hired at the community's expense." In place of *Tertzettgesang* (three-part singing by *ḥazzan*, *bass* and *zinger*) it encouraged the introduction of boy's choirs. The "importation" of foreign cantors was also forbidden forthwith (Grossherzoglich Badischer Oberrath 1824: 4, par. 6).

The Grand Duchy of Saxe-Weimar issued a *Judenordnung* in 1837.[24] The radical Dr. M. Hess, Chief Rabbi of the Grand Duchy, if not necessarily responsible for the original draft, was certainly involved with its enforcement in 1837 "in spite of all the appeals of the Jewish congregations against it" (Petuchowski 1968: 126). The *Judenordnung* included a preamble enforcing the edict in the name of the Grand Duke Carl Friedrich. Among its provisions it stated that:

*Das Vorbeteramt ist seiner Wichtigkeit wegen allein von den eigens dazu angestellten und verpflichteten Personen zu*

The office of *ḥazzan*, because of its importance, is to be carried out exclusively by those appointed and engaged

22 "*Jede Begleitung, die in manchen Gemeinden von den dazu angestellten Sängern und Bassisten statt gefunden sind, soll von nun an gänzlich aufhören.*"

23 Another clause forbade traveling *ḥazzanim* to officiate, but if special permission be granted, then only for one Sabbath or Festival (*Bekanntmachung Cassel*, ibid.; Horwitz, ibid.). It is reasonable to assume that *mešorerim* would have accompanied some of these traveling cantors. Considerations of political security during the Napoleonic era probably lay behind this particular clause. The repressive political climate after 1815 influenced the reappearance of this clause in regulations elsewhere. *Ḥazzanim* had frequently been among the forefront of that strata of Jews of unsettled *Stättigkeit*, a status increasingly incompatible with the growing power of the modern state, with all its privileges and responsibilities.

24 According to Petuchowski the *Judenordnung* had first been drafted in 1823.

*verrichten. Vorbetergehülfen und auswärtige Vorbeter sind blos[s] ausnahmsweise, und zwar nicht anders als nach pflichtmässiger Erprobung ihrer Tauglichkeit durch den Landrabbiner zuzulassen* (*AZJ* 1, no. 26 [1837]: 102, par. 7).

for it. Cantor's assistants and non-resident *ḥazzanim* are merely exceptional, and indeed they [the *ḥazzanim*] are to be admitted [only] after dutiful examination of their suitability by the district rabbi.

In 1838 the state-sponsored *Oberkirchenbehörde* (Supreme Religious Authority) of the Jewish communities of Württemberg issued its *Gottesdienst-Ordnung*. Because of its comprehensive character it became a model for several other states. The driving force behind its provisions was the reformist Rabbi Joseph Maier (1797–1873), who had been appointed *"Kirchenrat"* of the Supreme Religious Council in 1837 (Dicker 1984: 9). The *Ordnung* included several matters relating to synagogue music, such as forbidding secular melodies, the curtailment of the responsive chanting of the *pesûqe de-zimrah*, but in particular it no longer permitted *Beisänger* under any circumstances. Instead, musical harmony, in the form of choral settings of prayers and psalms in three or four parts led by the schoolchildren, was encouraged (Königl. isr. Oberkirchenbehörde 1838: 22–23).

The *Oberrat* of the Grand-Duchy of Mecklenburg Schwerin promulgated its *Synagogenordnung* in 1843. According to the introduction it utilized the Württemberg legislation as its model, making only a few changes to meet its own particular needs. It repeated verbatim the clause in the Württemberg *Synagogenordnung* no longer permitting *mešorerim* (Grossherzoglich isr. Oberrat in Schwerin 1843: 34).

In the 1820s *mešorerim* were still customary in the larger Bavarian communities. For example, Löb Sänger, who was appointed First Cantor in Munich in 1826, had two *Assistenten* (Kirschner 1937: 63). In this city the *mešorerim* were slowly transformed in the 1830s into a true western art form, performing composed harmonies together with the cantor.[25] This occurred at the same time that attempts were made in several Bavarian districts to enforce *Synagogenordnungen*. That of Middle Franconia, for example, mandated the establishment of choirs made up of schoolboys. It presumed that the *mešorerim* of the old type would have no place in the synagogue (*AZJ* 3, no. 9 [1839]: 33–34).

25 The Munich repertoire was edited by Maier Kohn, *Vollständiger Jahrgang von Terzett- und Chorgesängen der Synagoge in München*. 3 vols. (Munich, ca.1839–44). See Adler 1989: 593, 889.

Other *Ordnungen* were purely local, and it is not always clear whether or not they had the backing of the state. For example, the *Vorstand* of the Mainz community issued a *Synagogenordnung* in 1831 whereby the *Beisänger* were removed and replaced by a choir of boys (Neeb 1927: 762). Berlin held onto its *mešorerim* longer than most German communities, possibly owing to Prussian governmental repression in 1823 of all Jewish religious innovation (Meyer 1979: 147–150). Formal complaints were made in 1836 against the institution in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue, but with little success (*Gemeindeblatt der jüdische Gemeinde zu Berlin.* Berlin, 19, no. 2 [1929]: 67).[26] The increasing musical sophistication of the Berlin Jewish community notwithstanding, the institution only finally ended in Berlin ca. 1840 when a double quartet was instituted to sing portions of the *Schir Zion* of Salomon Sulzer (Goldberg 1989/90: 31, 51).[27] The *mešorerim* appear to have survived the longest in the Prussian eastern provinces. The last reference to their continuance would appear to be the 1846 *Ordnung* of Rawitsch (in the province of Posen), requiring them to be present at every synagogue service (Cohn 1915: 97).

The disappearance of the *mešorerim* in Germany was thus the result of the combination of two factors. On the one hand there was the change in musical aesthetics that encouraged the introduction of modern, western, harmonies into the synagogue, which by its very nature preempted use of the *mešorer* praxis, and on the other hand there was direct governmental and communal legislation, initiated predominantly by religious Reformers, demanding the removal of the *mešorerim.* The processes were not mutually exclusive, and while in certain regions the first consideration was predominant, in others it was the second, but no doubt there was often a mixture of both. The ensuing result was the same: the abolition of the primary means by which one had formerly trained to become a *ḥazzan.*

26 Unsuccessful attempts were made to have *Fistelsänger* (falsetto singer) Jacob Tebrich removed.

27 Goldberg, especially in notes 14–15, discusses problems concerning the chronology of events in Berlin. Sulzer had sent pre-publication copies of the *Schir Zion* to Berlin. The visit of Cantor Hirsch Weintraub and his choir to Berlin in 1838 proved particularly significant in hastening the demand for musical reforms (Idelsohn 1929: 271).

## STATE-SUPERVISED TRAINING OF *ḤAZZANIM*

### A. The *Lehrerseminar*

Just as the state shared a significant responsibility for the disappearance of the *mešorerim*, so it was the state, which offered – or more correctly speaking (especially in South Germany) prescribed – a solution. The state imposed an institutional framework for training *ḥazzanim*.[28] In order to acquire an acceptable level of western education and professional training, the Jewish *ḥazzan*, like the Jewish teacher, was now required to obtain a general education in the same institution as the non-Jewish *Lehrer*, the teachers training college or *Lehrerseminar*. The imposition of qualifying examinations by the various states often preceded the entry or Jewish students into the seminaries (Meyer 1997: II, 115–16).

Seminaries for the training of elementary teachers were a comparatively recent phenomenon in Germany, reflecting a delayed response to efforts in the later eighteenth century to raise the standards of education, especially at the elementary level. In the early decades of the nineteenth century many such *Lehrerseminare* were established by the various German states. Thus, for example, seminaries were opened in Bavaria in

28 The institutionalized framework for the training of *ḥazzanim* in Germany was part of a wider process that was taking place elsewhere in Western Europe, in which Germany led the way. Holland would appear to have been the first country outside Germany in which a formal training for *ḥazzanim* was required. In 1855 a course for the training of *ḥazzanim* was instituted at the *Nederlandsch Israëlietisch Seminarium* in Amsterdam. The main instructor was the musician and composer A. Berlijn (1817–1870) (Wagenaar 1918: 14). In England, in 1862, vocal music was provided at Jews' College, London, and shortly afterwards (date uncertain) Julius Lazarus Mombach (1813–1880), choirmaster of the Great Synagogue, was appointed the first instructor in *ḥazzanut* (Harris 1906: xxv; Hyamson 1955: 30). Although provision was made in 1881 for the training of rabbis, the main purpose of the College was, according to the 1879 Constitution, the training of "Ministers, Preachers, Readers [*ḥazzanim*], and Teachers of Religion" (Harris, ibid.: lvii). In France, the Sephardim of Bordeaux had opened a cantorial school in 1862 for the training of *ministres officiants* [*ḥazzanim*] for the Portuguese commentates. The school continued until at least 1870, and, apart from teaching cantillation and the liturgical chants the curriculum also included vocal music, Hebrew grammar, translation of the Bible and the liturgy (Albert 1977: 280–81). In the French Ashkenazi community, despite a statement at the rabbinic conference of 1856 recommending educational requirements for the position of cantor and a call in 1861 by the editor of the journal *Le Lien d'Israël* for the establishment of a school to train *ministres officiants*, it was not until ca. 1900 that the *séminaire israélite* of Paris introduced a program for the training of *ḥazzanim*, which also included the teaching of *šeḥiṭah* (Albert ibid.: 280; Bauer n.d.: 170–71). Research needs to be done on the developments in all these countries, as well as Austro-Hungary, so that a comprehensive account can be written.

1809, Württemberg in 1821, Baden in 1823, Prussia in 1822 and 1826, and Hannover in 1845 (Tenorth 1987: 253).[29] In the mid-decades of the century, *Präparandie* or preparatory schools were also established, thus lengthening the seminary programs. All these seminaries betrayed a strongly conservative Christian influence, and throughout the nineteenth century a preponderant emphasis was given to religious studies (ibid.: 254).[30]

The non-Jewish *Lehrer* in the nineteenth century, especially in the rural areas, still bore many features of earlier times prior to the emergence of the modern teaching profession. Previously he was the *Küster,* or sexton, or *Kantor* (which we shall define presently), while teaching remained secondary to these roles. Even though by the nineteenth century the roles were reversed, the *Lehrer* was still expected to take on these subsidiary duties. As late as 1901 nearly 20 percent of male Prussian teachers occupied positions which also required the playing of the church organ (Lamberti 1989: 14). The curricula of the *Lehrerseminare* continued to reflect the time when a majority of teachers fulfilled such a requirement. This explains the over-emphasis (after religious studies) placed on music in all the seminaries, an emphasis that the states similarly imposed on the Jewish seminaries.[31]

From originally being the principal singer of the choir for the performance of the plainchant, the chief function of the *Kantor* after the Reformation was to lead the congregation in the vernacular hymn (Müller 1964: 75–78). Gradually the *Kantor* began to take on teaching duties in the village school, such as liturgical music, Bible, the catechism, and simple arithmetic. In the schools in the towns he might also teach

29 Some of Tenorth's dates have been modified according to the evidence from other sources. A few seminaries had been established in several middle-German towns in the 1780s and 1790s but these do not appear to have been state-sponsored institutions (Tenorth 1987: 152).

30 Not only was there a predominantly Christian atmosphere within the *Lehrerseminare*, but also the *Lehrer* remained closely tied, if not subservient, to the Church, after graduation, and out in the field. The struggle between *Lehrer* and *Pfarrer* reached a crisis during the Revolution of 1848, but the struggle was by no means over, and the fight for the emancipation of the *Lehrer* from clerical supervision and duties continued throughout the century (Fischer 1961: 43–44).

31 "Perhaps no subject usurps so much time as music.... The subject now embraces vocal music, violin, pianoforte, organ and harmony. There is an exception for students who do not possess pronounced ability from [*sic*] playing the organ, but very few pupils avail themselves of this. Although the subject is taught exceedingly well, most frequently by specialists, there seems to be a sacrifice of practical common sense to principle in compelling all pupils to learn every branch" (Kandel 1910: 35).

Latin (ibid.: 91). When the organ assumed a growing importance in seventeenth and eighteenth century worship, the task of playing this instrument, especially in the rural areas, was first taken up by the *Küster,* the sexton. By the late eighteenth century the term *Kantor* had lost its original meaning and was increasingly applied to the organist who, in order to supplement his income, had to double as schoolteacher (Müller, ibid.: 93; *MGG* 16: 909). With the introduction of compulsory education and state-supervised training of teachers in *Lehrerseminare*, the prime area of activity of the *Lehrer* was now the school, while the church was secondary. The term *Kantor* continued to be used for the organ playing function of the *Lehrer*, however, until the early twentieth century (*MGG*, ibid.).

When the German states imposed *Lehrerseminar* training on the Jewish teacher, the directive was clear-cut. But a serious problem arose with the function of the *ḥazzan* since the German government authorities did not appear to recognize the specifically unique character of this office, and so tended to equate his duties under those of the *Kantor*. This goes a long way in explaining why many German states were eager to combine the functions of the *ḥazzan* with that of the *Lehrer*. Of course such a combination was nothing new in the Jewish community, but it had by no means been universal, and frequently the preferred combination was that of *ḥazzan* and *šoḥeṭ*.

The state thus played a significant role in the emergence of the unique character of the nineteenth-century German cantor who was as much a *Lehrer* as a *ḥazzan*. Frequently, especially in the rural areas, the preferred title was indeed *Lehrer*, even when he himself regarded himself as primarily a *ḥazzan*.

The first state *Lehrerseminare* that opened their doors to Jewish students were non-Jewish, Christian institutions. Later, Jewish seminaries were established, but in certain states, such as Baden and Württemberg, the only institutions available throughout the nineteenth century were the Christian seminaries. The entrance of a Jewish student into a non-Jewish seminary was fraught with problems, not the least being the question of *kašrut*. Consequently, Jewish students only attended those seminaries where there was an established Jewish community where accommodation and kosher meals could be provided according to the time-honored system of *wandertisch*. Formerly, this arrangement of eating meals with a different family each day or week

had operated for the benefit of yeshivah students.[32]

In all the Jewish seminaries provision was made, first for Jewish religious studies, and secondly (invariably as a very low priority), for cantorial studies. The same was true of non-Jewish seminaries attended by Jewish students whereby permission was granted, and sometimes only reluctantly, for outside Jewish teachers to conduct such classes. But as we shall detail below, even in the specifically Jewish seminaries, such provision could only be made after fulfillment of the regular state curriculum requirements, which invariably had a very deleterious effect on ensuring sufficient hours for Jewish studies and *ḥazzanut*.

A discussion of the music and *ḥazzanut* in eight of the most significant *Lehrerseminare* – five Jewish and three non-Jewish – will give us an idea about the institutionalized training of cantors in nineteenth-century Germany. The selected Jewish seminaries are those of Berlin, Würzburg, Hannover, Bresslau and Münster, the non-Jewish ones are the seminaries of Hildburghausen (Sachsen-Meiningen), Karlsruhe (Baden) and Esslingen (Würtemberg).[33]

## B. Jewish Seminaries

1. **Berlin**. The *Jüdische Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt in Berlin*, which was established in 1859, had, as its objective, the training of elementary school teachers, religious schoolteachers and *ḥazzanim*.[34] "Special

32 The system of *Wandertisch* continued unabated in Eastern Europe in the nineteenth century.

33 Other Jewish seminaries, namely those of Cologne, Cassel and Weinheim (Baden), are discussed in my dissertation (Goldberg 2000, Ch. 2). For a succinct overview of Jewish *Lehrerseminare* in Germany, see Eliav 1960: 288–304; *Jüdisches Lexikon* 3 (1929): 1024–1027; for orthodox seminaries see Breuer 1992: 140–45.

34 The *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* that emerged in 1859 was the final metamorphosis of several earlier Berlin seminaries. The first of these was the so-called Weyl Seminary (under the direction of Rabbi Simon Weyl), which opened 1825 and had been intended for the training of rabbis and teachers. This seminary was replaced in 1833 by the *Talmud Torah*, and in 1840 by the so-called Zunz Seminary which lasted until 1850, but which lacked government recognition and support (Eliav 1960: 292–95; Holzmann 1909: passim; Kober 1954: 31; Meyer 1997: II, 116). Weyl's seminary devoted fifty percent of the time to religious studies, while Zunz's seminary devoted a third (Eliav 1960: 294). Little is known of any cantorial or musical content to the Berlin *Talmud Torah* or the Zunz Seminary. Even though Zunz had mentioned that his proposed seminary was also designed for training "cantors and other religious functionaries" (*Kantoren und andere Kultusbeamten*) no provision for *ḥazzanut* or music is to be found in the proposed curriculum of the seminary. The introduction of singing was shelved for future decision (Holzman 1904: 35, 53).

attention will be devoted to music instruction" was the declaration in the prospectus for the Seminary (Holzman 1909: 83, 90). The *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* began with three classes, but between 1885 and 1902 three preparatory classes were also added (ibid.: 119). The institution was finally awarded full state recognition in only 1903 when it was granted the status of *Lehranstalt* (ibid.: 123).

The provision of *ḥazzanut* and general music was indeed an integral part of the *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt*, but the pressure of general and Jewish studies restricted music studies, according to the early curriculum, to between four and five hours a week, thus considerably dampening the original promising intention. In the lowest class one hour a week was devoted each to music theory, violin and piano. Two hours were allotted for singing, without stipulating any specifically Jewish content. The upper two classes were combined, omitting the hour of music theory, while special consideration, so it was claimed, was made for *ḥazzanut* (*"Synagogengesang"*) in the singing classes. Students in the top class had to lead Seminary services, including reading the Torah (ibid.: 88, 109).[35]

Evidently provision was made for the specialized needs of students who only intended to enter the cantorate. Holzman, the historiographer of the Seminary, mentions that such students were required to take only part of the classes in Hebrew studies (ibid.: 109). But this exemption might have been but for a limited number of years since in the autobiographical accounts of later outstanding cantorial graduates of the Seminary, such as Emanuel Kirschner, Bernhard Jacobsohn, and Aron Friedmann, there is no hint of taking advantage of such a dispensation. These three graduates all took the full load of subjects and sat the state teacher examinations.

According to the later curriculum of 1905, liturgical texts and rules (*dinim*) were taught in the preparatory division. Here, one hour a week was devoted each to singing (with special emphasis on folksongs), violin, and piano, and the two upper classes also received a class in music theory (Holzman 1904: 124–25, 131–32). In the *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* itself, the same very limited number of hours, according to this curriculum, was allotted to music studies. *Ḥazzanut* was subsumed under "singing" which included general principles of singing, voice production, sight singing,

35 Furthermore, students were given an opportunity to accompany on the violin a Friday afternoon singing class at the *Gemeinde Knabenschule* with which the seminary was attached (Holzman 1909: 111–12).

ear training, and the like. Yet into this same period had to be crammed the teaching of *ḥazzanut*: in the first year the *nusaḥ* of the weekday and Sabbath services, in the second year the *nusaḥ* of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, together with *seliḥot*, the minor feasts and fasts, and in the third year the *nusaḥ* of the *šaloš regalim*.

There was also a seminary choir, which sang harmonized settings of religious and secular songs. It also functioned as the choir of the seminary synagogue. Students were taught conducting, and the senior ones had to direct the synagogue choir (ibid.: 109, 144–45). Of interest is the teaching of the *Kirchentonarten*, the ecclesiastical modes, in the theory classes (ibid.: 146). Whether these were taught with reference to the new theories concerning the Ashkenazi Jewish modes which were a subject of heated controversy among *ḥazzanim* and scholars of Jewish music, remains an open question.

If there was any compensation for the meager number of hours devoted to music, especially *ḥazzanut*, it was the high quality of the teaching faculty. The highly esteemed composer of synagogue music and choral director Louis Lewandowski (1823–1894) taught at the Seminary from its inception in 1859 until his death in 1894 (ibid.: 157).[36] Considered, at least by his pupils, an authority on *ḥazzanut*, he played a vital role in facilitating the introduction of choral music in the Berlin synagogues.[37] Students frequently sang in the choirs which he directed, first that of the Heidereutergasse Synagogue, and from 1866, that of the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue. Lewandowski frequently developed warm personal relationships with his pupils, and he would sometimes compose pieces of synagogue music especially for them.[38]

Lewandowski's successor at the *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* was William Wolf (1838–1913), a graduate of the Stern Conservatory. Although he

36 Lewandowski was indisputably the most influential of nineteenth-century German synagogue composers. For biographical details and his contribution to the history of synagogue music see Idelsohn 1929: 269–84; Werner 1976: 225–29. For more recent writings about his life and music see Goldberg 1989/90: 28–57; Schleifer 1995/96: 133–43. Lewandowski's most important compositions for the synagogue were his *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* (Berlin: Privately printed, 1871) and *Todah W'simrah* (Berlin: E. Bote and G. Bock, 1876–1882).

37 The question of Lewandowski's expertise in *ḥazzanut* remains open, as does the problem of the originality of his *ḥazzanut* namely, to what extent was it truly his own, or derived from that of his *ḥazzan* Cantor Abraham Lichtenstein.

38 For example, Lewandowski composed for Aron Friedmann a setting of the *haškivenu* and several other pieces that were later published in the *Anhang* to the *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* (Friedmann 1929: 7–8, 12).

had sung as a boy soprano in Lewandowski's choir in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue, Wolf did not take up the cantorate as a profession. He was a lecturer in musicology at the *Humboldt-Akademie* and since 1869 had been music director in several of the community synagogues in Berlin (Holzman 1909: 163; *GJNB* 5: 308–9; *AZJ* 77, no. 11 [1913]: 128-29). But whereas Lewandowski's understanding of *ḥazzanut* was never questioned, indeed his knowledge was greatly revered by his peers and pupils alike, it is difficult to ascertain Wolf's expertise in the field. The administration of the *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* would seem to have had a preference for an academician for teaching *ḥazzanut*, for only in 1913, with the appointment of Magnus Davidsohn as Wolf's successor, was a cantor appointed for teaching this subject (Gutmann, 1926?: 9).

In 1900 Dr. Michael Holzman, the director of the *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt*, expressed pride in the fact that his seminary had supplied a large number of *ḥazzanim* for the larger German communities. But a correspondent to the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* pointed out that there was a very simple reason for this apparent success. The overwhelming number of such successfully placed *ḥazzanim* were not German-born, but had come to Berlin from Eastern Europe or Austro-Hungary, and had brought with them a solid prior knowledge and expertise in *ḥazzanut* with which the German-born students could not compete (*AZJ* 64, no. 17 [1900]: 197).[39] According to one account written in 1891, the five last appointed Berlin cantors all emanated from Eastern Europe (Wolff, L. 1891: 24). The *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* thus had the distinct advantage of drawing upon this reservoir of cantorial students from Eastern Europe.[40]

2. **Würzburg**. Jewish students had been admitted to the Bavarian state teachers seminaries of Bamberg, Kaiserlautern, Schwabach and Würzburg since 1813. There were other Bavarian seminaries, but since they were situated in non-Jewish districts Jewish students were directed to these aforesaid seminaries where accommodation, kosher food and privately arranged Jewish studies could be provided (*Israelit* 5, no. 41

39 "At the end of the century, the chairman of Berlin's Jewish community testified in court that the capital's Jewry was 'totally dependent upon Slavs in filling cantorial posts'" (Wertheimer 1987: 228, quoting *AZJ* 56, no. 26 [1893]: 325).

40 In the mid-1880s between 150 and 200 non-naturalized *ḥazzanim* were deported from Prussia (Wertheimer 1987: 228, quoting Wolff, L. 1919: 50).

[1844]: 332). Nevertheless, the insufficient numbers of Jewish students entering these institutions, and the failure of these *Lehrerseminare* to adequately provide for Jewish needs had, by the late 1850s, become a growing concern not only to Jewish educational and religious leaders, but also to the state authorities. It was conceded that Jewish teachers trained in these non-Jewish seminaries might be adequately trained as pedagogues, but they were unequipped to function as teachers of Judaism and perform the duties of a *ḥazzan*.[41] When Rabbi Seligman Bamberger, the foremost rabbinical figure in Lower Franconia, prepared a report on the problem at the request of the state authorities (1859), he elaborated in length on the special character of the Jewish *Lehrer*, which included the functions of spiritual leader and *ḥazzan*, and often that of *šoḥeṭ* as well (Bamberger 1914: 22). Bamberger placed much of the blame for the present crisis on the existing seminary arrangement itself, and stated that what was offered in the way of Jewish studies at the state seminaries was only provided privately (ibid.: 20–21).

The establishment of the *Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt* in Würzburg in 1864 was largely the creation of Bamberger, and it was conducted along strictly orthodox lines. Its reputation spread far beyond that of Lower Franconia and applicants frequently came from all parts of Germany and even beyond. Within a decade or so, it soon came to rival the Berlin *Lehrerseminar*, at least with respect to its Jewish studies program, which was always its prime concern. The Seminary provided a six-year program, extending to seven years in 1889, of which the first four years were devoted exclusively to Jewish studies at the preparatory institution (*Talmud Torah*) of Höchberg, or the one later established in Burgpreppach in 1875 as well (Kaufmann 1982: 32–36, 39–40). Secular studies were provided according to the Bavarian state requirements.

Unlike the situation in many other states, for a number of years Jewish students were not required to undertake an intensive training in music. Thus, from 1864 until 1886, students at the Würzburg Jewish Seminary were exempt from the state music examinations. While Jewish religious studies were the focus of studies at the *Israelitische Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt*, at the neighboring non-Jewish Royal Seminary of Würzburg classes in music assumed the highest priority. At the latter

41 Among the non-Jewish Bavarian seminaries, *ḥazzanut* is known to have been taught in Bamberg in the 1850s by a *Ḥazzan* Ottenstein. See Prestel 1989 quoting *IV* 5 (1855): 404–5.

seminary, some fourteen hours a week were assigned to music theory, composition, vocal music, violin, piano, and especially organ playing. In the Jewish seminary, on the other hand, music was offered only as an elective, with a choice between violin or piano (or both if so desired), but no organ lessons were required, and no state music examinations were required (Kaufmann 1982: 39).

In 1886, however, the situation changed radically. The Bavarian government suddenly withdrew the dispensations from music examinations, and, with the exception of the organ, the full state music requirements were imposed. Two years later the government decided to impose the requirement of organ study as well, and negotiations over this issue dragged on for many years (Breuer 1992: 142–43). The only way to accommodate this change of policy without jeopardizing the intensive Jewish studies curriculum was the addition, in 1889, of an extra year to the program of the Seminary, as mentioned earlier. Three part-time teachers were engaged to teach music theory, piano, violin, and singing. In all, approximately eight periods a week were devoted to music, almost as many periods devoted to Pentateuch, Mishnah, and Talmud (*Rechenschafts-Bericht... Würzburg* 1887: vi, 5; Bamberger 1914: 38–39; Kaufmann 1982: 79–80, note 38).[42]

In 1912, when all Bavarian seminaries were required to become three-year institutions (after the preparatory years), the already overloaded Seminary solved the curriculum problem by transferring the fourth-year preparatory classes from Höchberg and Burgpreppach to Würzburg. However, this time the state authorities displayed a more sensitive attitude towards the needs of the Jewish students, for while it still required state examinations in violin, exemption was granted from piano and music theory, and cantorial training was permitted as a substitute for the two latter subjects. Harmony was now taught, not for the purpose of playing and understanding organ music, but within the context of cantorial functions and the performance of Jewish choral music (Kaufmann 1982: 40).

Precise details concerning the teaching of *ḥazzanut* are few. During the first twenty years of the *Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt* the teaching of *ḥazzanut* must have been a low priority since it was later reported that only in 1884 was it given any particular attention, whereby "every week special instruction is given in this subject" (*Rechenschafts-Bericht...*

42 The hours quoted here are for 1904–1905.

*Würzburg* 1889: 56). Even this could not have amounted to very much since only with the easing of the general music requirements in 1912 could the Seminary now turn its attention sufficiently to the cantorial needs of the students (Bamberger 1914: 49). In 1887 Cantor S. Lehmann was appointed to teach *ḥazzanut*, a position he held until his death in 1915 (*Rechenschafts-Bericht... Würzburg* 1887: 6; 1914/1915: 12). Despite the detailed description of the music and singing curricula in the annual reports of the Seminary, the mentioning that Cantor Lehmann gave instruction in *ḥazzanut* appears almost like an afterthought and no details are provided concerning the curriculum. What is specifically mentioned is Torah cantillation, which was apparently supervised by Rabbi Nathan Bamberger (the son of Seligmann Bamberger), the Principal of the *Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt*. He personally undertook a review of the weekly pericope.[43] From 1893 Rabbi Bamberger also gave a class in liturgy and rules of prayer.[44]

That the strengthening of the cantorial program in 1912 coincided with the easing of the state music requirements is confirmed by the end-of-year report that provided a curriculum outline for the first time. The first year students were introduced to the general principals of *ḥazzanut* ("*über Vortragsweise in allgemein*"), which suggests that aspects of performance practice were taught, and possibly also some theoretical principles. The melodies for *qabbalat šabbat* and *šaḥarit le-šabbat* were covered, as were some of the High Holiday melodies. In the second year, the subject matter covered the chants for the Special Sabbaths as a means of introduction to the Festival melodies, and the "easier prayers" of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. The former is of particular importance since it sheds light on the liturgical and musical traditionalism of the Seminary, a traditionalism it was intent on preserving. The third year students covered the Festival melodies and continued with the presumably more difficult sections of the High Holiday repertoire (*Rechenschafts-Bericht... Würzburg* 1913/1914: 23).

Ever since the establishment of the Seminary, students were also required, under supervision, to take turns as precentors in the Seminary synagogue. A number of students also made up the synagogue choir that sang on special occasions (ibid.: 6; Bamberger 1914: 49).

43 The above data, namely Lehmann's instruction in *ḥazzanut* and the Principal's review of the reading of the weekly Torah portion according to *ṭe'ame ha-miqra*, are repeated *verbatim* in the annual *Rechenschafts-Berichte*.

44 *Rechenschafts-Berichte* 1893–1915.

Information from a later period sheds some light on the teaching of *ḥazzanut* in Würzburg before 1914. Werner Weinberg (d. 1997) graduated from the *Lehrerbildung-Anstalt* in 1936. In response to a questionnaire prepared by the author, he provides some very useful information concerning his experience at the Seminary.[45]

Weinberg reiterated the fundamental point that no one could become a *ḥazzan* in South Germany without the qualification of *Lehrer*. In the Seminary, all students were required to study music, but no prior knowledge was required.[46] *Ḥazzanut* was taught in two ways. On the one hand it was taught from printed scores, such as those of Lewandowski, Baer, and Scheuermann,[47] the latter being, according to Weinberg, "very popular... much Scheuermann was utilized." On the other, *ḥazzanut* was also learnt by "imitation," including learning by example from the thrice-daily services, plus those on the Sabbath, led at first by students from orthodox backgrounds. "After half a year or so students from a liberal background were able to do the same. We also arranged *ši'urim* for experienced students to teach us beginners." The "*niggun*"[48] of the traditional chants and prayer modes taught at the *Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt* was almost exclusively that of South Germany, which explains the preference for Scheuermann's compendium, but we should take note that other musical sources were also utilized, possibly for melodies and recitatives which did not interfere with the basic South-German chant.

According to Weinberg, most students at the Seminary intended to be teachers, but some "who had outstanding voices" aspired to become *ḥazzanim* in the larger communities, where they hoped to fulfill only, or primarily, cantorial duties. But even so, they too had to acquire the teaching qualification. A significant point made by Weinberg was the fact that he received voice lessons at the Seminary (a detail for which we have found no evidence for the period before 1914). However he also

45 Communication with the author, February 14, 1994.

46 It should be pointed out, however, that Weinberg entered the seminary, in part, as an alternative to university study, which had been barred to Jewish students by the Nazi government. Consequently, some of the entrance requirements might have been lifted. Note that Weinberg, like some other students, came from a liberal, and not from an orthodox background (Weinberg 1982: 196).

47 For further on these printed musical scores, especially that of Scheuermann, see below, pp. 346 ff.

48 The term *niggun* was used exclusively in South Germany for what Ashkenazi *ḥazzanim* elsewhere called *nusaḥ*, simple musical formulae or melodic patterns. Weinberg emphasized that *nusaḥ*, as a musical term, was never used.

took, together with some other students, supplementary private voice lessons.

3. **Hannover**. The *Bildungsanstalt für jüdische Lehrer in Hannover* opened in 1848 with a program paralleling that of the state seminaries, with the addition of Jewish religious studies. It was traditional, but not orthodox in orientation (Meyer 1997: III, 137).[49] In 1868 it obtained official recognition, and henceforth received a state subsidy, but for many years the financial situation of the Seminary was precarious, the quality of the student body often low and there were no boarding facilities. The course lasted three years but a preparatory school program was added in 1876 (Eliav 1960: 297).

Like the Cöln Seminary, the quality of the Seminary improved in later years, including the teaching of music and *ḥazzanut*. Regrettably few details are available concerning these areas for the earlier years.[50] With the arrival in 1870 of Heinrich Berggrün (1838–1889) as First Cantor for the Hannover Synagogue, the Seminary appointed him instructor in *ḥazzanut* and music.[51] Berggrün certainly raised the level of cantorial studies in the Seminary for it was related that "many cantors, who today serve with distinction in the large communities are indebted to Berggrün for their training" (Friedmann 1918: 153). Yet, at the turn of the century, it was reported that "in the last ten years music instruction, and with it the related cantorial subjects, were given increased attention." This would seem to suggest that Berggrün's efforts were constrained by the Seminary curriculum (*AZJ* 62, no. 46 [1898]: 545). Following Berggrün's early death, Alfred Rose (1855–1919), the talented music pedagogue and composer (including synagogue music composition), was appointed instructor in Jewish music and, in addition,

49 Evidently the Hannover seminary "eventually did not meet strictly Orthodox requirements" (Breuer 1992: 141).

50 The Jewish National and University Library, Jerusalem, lacks *Berichte* from the Hannover seminary.

51 Berggrün was born in Warsaw and was the son of a *ḥazzan* with whom he sang as *zingerl*. He became a virtuoso violinist and for two years sang in opera. Nevertheless, he decided to take up the cantorate. He was, for a while, choirmaster to Osias Abrass in Odessa, and thereafter studied *ḥazzanut* with Sulzer in Vienna. Prior to his Hannover appointment he served as cantor in Posen and Teplitz (Friedmann 1918: 150–53). A number of his compositions were published including *Die sechs Strofen des Tefillas Tal mit dem Schlussgebet Liw'Rochoh* (Hannover, Privately printed, 1885).

directed the seminary choir (*GJNB* 5: 226; *AZJ* 62, no. 45 [1898]: 544).[52]

4. **The Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary**. The first modern German rabbinical seminary opened in 1854 under the leadership of Zechariah Frankel. Under the original plan envisioned by Frankel not only a rabbinical school conducted in the spirit of *Wissenschaft des Judentums*, but also a teachers seminary, was to be established. In drawing up his program Frankel had in mind the needs of smaller communities where the *Lehrer* inevitably also had to fulfill cantorial duties. "*Gesangunterricht*" was therefore to be included in the curriculum (Brann 1904, *Beilage* 1: xixii). A fully organized *Lehrerseminar* finally opened in 1857, but a teacher's seminary of sorts appears to have existed even before this date, from 1854 onwards. At this early stage, music was taught in both the rabbinical and teachers departments by Moritz Deutsch (1818–1892), the Breslau Chief Cantor, but no specific details are available regarding Deutsch's activities (*Jahresbericht... Breslau* 1856: 4).

Unlike the rabbinical school, however, the Breslau *Lehrerseminar* was never successful and never attracted many pupils. In 1867, for example, there were only three registered students. Evidently the Seminary soon suffered from competition from the Berlin *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* which had opened in 1859, and it was finally decided in 1867 to close the *Lehrerseminar* (*Jahresbericht... Breslau* 1879: 19; Eliav 1960: 299). A total of sixteen students were graduated from the Seminary (Brann 1904: 137).

Whatever other factors contributed to the demise of the Breslau *Lehrerseminar* it is doubtful that the quality of music instruction was a contributing factor. Even though, as we have seen, Frankel originally had in mind preparing teacher-cantors for smaller communities, among the students who studied in the *Lehrerseminar* during the short duration of its existence were graduates who subsequently found positions as *ḥazzanim* in Stockholm, Stettin, and Breslau, by no means insignificant posts (Brann 1904: 205–7).

Independent of the Breslau *Lehrerseminar*, so it would appear, Deutsch opened in 1855 an *Institut zur Ausbildung jüdischer Kantoren*.

52 Rose had earlier graduated as a *Lehrer* from the *Marks-Haindorf'sche Stiftung* in Münster. He served as *Lehrer* in Lünen for a year prior to entering the Cologne Conservatory, which counted among the faculty the composer Ferdinand Hiller. Since 1883 Rose had directed the choir of the Hannover synagogue (*GJNB* 5: 226). His main work of synagogue music was *Shire Ya'akob* (Hannover: 1914).

Deutsch was certainly qualified for the task. From 1842–1844 he had served as cantorial assistant to Salomon Sulzer in Vienna before receiving the call to Breslau in the latter year. Deutsch had studied at the Vienna Conservatory and continued his music studies in Breslau. In 1845 he was accepted into the Breslau *Singakademie* where he frequently sang as tenor soloist, especially in the performance of oratorios. He excelled equally as composer and scholar (Friedmann 1918: 144). Very much a cantor in the Sulzerian mold, he reflected the ideal for which Sulzer had himself striven: a comprehensive understanding of the musical-liturgical tradition, a dignified performance style which realized the ideal as "emissary of the congregation," general musical knowledge, vocal sophistication, compositional ability and, going beyond Sulzer, scholarship as well.[53]

For thirty years Deutsch directed this *Institut* through which passed some one hundred and thirty cantorial students who, as outstanding *ḥazzanim*, were able to find positions in some of the leading synagogues not only in Germany, but in other countries as well (ibid.: 12). The *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* reported in 1867 that in addition to the ancient liturgical melodies, the new liturgical repertoire was also taught, and for students who wished to complete the entire program, instruction was given in figured bass and the history of music (*AZJ* 31, no. 14 [1867]: 395–96). Just how many cantors completed the course at the *Institut* is unclear. When the *Israelitische Wochenschrift* claimed in 1892 that "a greater part of the living *ḥazzanim* in Germany received their training in Deutsch's Institute" (obviously an exaggeration but understandable as a posthumous tribute to Deutsch), it may well have been alluding also to many cantors who undertook additional cantorial studies with Deutsch after the completion of their *Lehrerseminar* training elsewhere (*Israelitische Wochenschrift,* Breslau and Magdeburg, 23, no. 19 [1892]: 76).

53 Deutch's most important works for the synagogue were *Vorbeterschule: Vollständige Sammlung der alten Synagogen-Intonationen.* Breslau, 1871. 2nd edition (with *Anhang*), Breslau, 1890; *Breslauer Synagogengesänge: Liturgie der neuen Synagoge, in Musik gesetzt für Solo und Chor mit und ohne Orgelbegleitung.* Leipzig: 1880. For other compositions, refer to Sendrey 1951. Among Deutsch's scholarly writings, the most important is the essay "Der Ritualgesang der Synagoge" (Breslau, 1890). Most of his writings are to be found in the cantorial journals, starting with the important early contributions to the study of the Ashkenazi modes in *AZJ* 25, no. 5 [1861]: 67–70 and *AZJ* 25, no. 50 [1861] (*Beilage*).

In Deutsch's *Institut* there appears to have been a continuation of the time-honored master-apprentice relationship, except that the apprentice was no longer a *mešorer* but a young adult, the framework was more formalized and institutionalized, and the cantorial student studied music theory and music history as well. The picture emerges that Deutsch's *Institut* focused primarily on *ḥazzanut* alone and not on ancillary music subjects. Individual study with expert cantors never entirely disappeared in Germany, but it ceased to be the main means of training for the vast majority. Other *ḥazzanim* also maintained "institutes" for longer or shorter periods, such as Hirsch Weintraub in the mid-1860s in Königsberg and Alexander Frommerman in Berlin at the turn of the century,[54] but Deutsch's *Institut zur Ausbildung jüdischer Kantoren* remains unique in the history of cantorial training in post-emancipation Germany. Many of the students were not German by birth, but emanated from Eastern and Central Europe, and often took positions as *ḥazzanim* outside Germany. The German cantorial students attending the *Institut* tended to come from Prussia, and only rarely from South Germany.

It is important to emphasize that, to the best of our knowledge, there was no connection between Deutsch's *Institut* and the *Lehrerseminar* attached to the Breslau Seminary.[55] Despite close personal ties with faculty members of the Breslau Theological Seminary faculty, Deutsch ceased teaching at the *Lehrerseminar* shortly after its closure. Futhermore, while in later years the *Jahresberichte* of the Breslau Seminary mention that *Gesangunterricht* was provided for young rabbinical students who were completing their *Gymnasium* education at the Seminary, these classes were not given by Deutsch, but by other teachers.[56]

54 The private cantorial school of Frommerman awaits further research. Advertisements for his school, *Die erste internationale Kantoren Schule zu Berlin* appeared in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums*. It was founded in 1894. The last advertisements for the school appeared in 1908. Frommerman's enterprise also served as an agency for the placement of assistant cantors. See, for example, *AZJ* 69, no. 1 [1905]. An advertisement for Weintraub's *Institut*, announcing the beginning of a new course, appeared in *AZJ* 30, no. 41 [1866]: 656.

55 Advertisements for Deutsch's *Musik-Institut* in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* (e.g. *AZJ* 31, no. 49 [1867]) display no connection with the Breslau Seminary.

56 Instruction was given by in the 1870s by H. Berthold, organist of the Matthias-Kirche, and in the 1880s by Cantor Zlotnicki (*Jahresberichte... Breslau* 1871–1889). The latter later trained the seminary choir (*Jahresbericht... Breslau* 1889: viii). Deutsch's sole official connection with the Breslau Seminary after he established his Institut was the teaching of

It must be admitted that, in many respects, Deutsch's *Institut* stood outside the framework of *Lehrerseminar*. Yet examination of the rare biographical details of some of Deutsch's students point to a less clear-cut separation from the new era of the *Lehrerseminar*, and how, in fact, the *Institut* served as an institution for advanced study in *ḥazzanut*. For example, the Lithuanian-born Rafael Hofstein (b. 1858) gained government *Religionslehrer* certification prior to his training with Deutsch, which enabled him later to become First Cantor in Dresden (Friedmann 1927: 54).[57] Eduard Birnbaum (1855–1920), who later laid the foundations of modern Jewish musicology, took a number of courses in rabbinics and general studies at the Breslau Jewish Theological Seminary, where he was also appointed student-cantor, while simultaneously studying (presumably in the *Institut*) with Deutsch (Friedmann 1918: 217–18).[58] Aron Joachim (1834–1913) also received his formal cantorial training from Deutsch in Breslau. In this instance it is unclear whether he studied within the framework of the *Lehrerseminar* or the *Institut*, or both. What is indisputable is that Joachim also studied simultaneously at the Jewish Theological Seminary from where he received the qualification as *Religionslehrer*.[59] He also acquired certification as an elementary school teacher from the non-Jewish *Lehrerseminar* in Rawitsch. Joachim's first professional positions were as *Lehrer* in Gleiwitz and then *ḥazzan* and *Lehrer* in Hildesheim. In 1866 he secured one of the most prestigious positions in all of Germany, that of First Cantor in the newly opened Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue in

---

singing to the rabbinical students (*Jahresbericht... Breslau* 1865: iv). The last reference to his teaching in the rabbinical school appeared in the 1868 report (*Jahresbericht... Breslau* 1868: iv).

57 Hofstein's training very much reflected the old and new systems. In the small town of his childhood he sang as a boy *mešorer*, took up Talmud study in Vilna at the time of his vocal mutation, and later directed the choir for Chief Cantor Weiss. He then moved to Königsberg to study *ḥazzanut* with Hirsch Weintraub and gained a secular education as well, and it would seem that it was in that city that Hofstein gained the *Religionslehrer* certification. Having completed his training in *ḥazzanut* with Deutsch, he worked as cantor and *šoḥeṭ* in Samter and Krotoschin before securing the position in Dresden in 1890. Hofstein continued studying voice and music in Dresden (Friedmann 1927: 54–55).

58 While studying with Deutsch, Birnbaum undertook general music studies and voice with private teachers, including Berthold, the music instructor for rabbinical students at the Seminary. In addition, Birnbaum also studied at the *Musikakademie* (Friedmann 1918: 218).

59 This must have been prior to the official opening of the *Lehrerseminar* in 1857 since Joachim's name does not appear among students of the *Lehrer-Abteilung* listed by Brann.

Berlin (Friedmann 1927: 26–28). We thus see in Joachim's example how a crowning professional achievement such as this was only secured by means of the laborious and demanding route of the *Lehrerseminar*.[60]

5. **Münster**. This seminary, founded in 1825 by Alexander Haindorf, known as the *Marks- Haindorf'sche Stiftung*, differed from others in that its original purpose was not only the training of elementary school teachers but also the teaching of handicrafts for poor Jewish youths and orphans of Westphalia and the Rhineland. It also differed in that in 1828 it also opened its doors to non-Jewish students, who soon constituted a majority of the pupils. The high level of its classes accounted for this unique phenomenon, but the number of non-Jewish pupils appears to have declined later in the century. Only in 1866 did the Seminary secure state recognition, and from 1875 onwards it was awarded an annual state allowance (Eliav 1960: 295–96).

The Seminary was ideologically aligned with the Reform movement. In the early years complaints were made concerning the level of Jewish studies, to which was devoted only a sixth of the class hours (Eliav 1960: 297; *AZJ* [1862]: 453 ff.). Eliav's account, which does not go beyond the early 1860s, makes no reference to *ḥazzanut*, but it is clear that classes in the subject were taught, at least from the 1850s onwards (see Jacob Oswald's reminiscence below). In the Seminary director's introduction to the 1875 *Bericht* entitled "Concerning Jewish Religious Education in the Seminaries of the Present Time," the needs of the *ḥazzan* were referred when advocating a judicious use of the *šulḥan 'aruḳ* for the latter's knowledge of ritual (*27th Bericht... Münster* 1875: 9). An annual report

60 True, there are a few examples of *ḥazzanim* who studied with Deutsch who appear to have secured positions as cantors without any *Lehrerseminar* training. One example, fully described by Aron Friedmann, is that of *Ḥazzan* David Stabinski (1858–1919), who studied for a year with Deutsch. Prior to this training he had sung in *Ḥazzan* Bachmann's choir in Odessa, moved to Vienna where he studied voice and music, worked for a while in opera in Königsberg where Cantor Eduard Birnbaum redirected him into *ḥazzanut* and studying with Deutsch. Following his stay in Breslau he moved to Berlin, studied at the Stern Conservatory and eventually in 1904 was appointed First Cantor at the new Rykestrasse Synagogue (Friedmann 1927: 52–53). But, for the most part, even prospective cantors endowed with beautiful voices could not, or would not, try their luck without acquiring a *Lehrerseminar* education and qualification. For most cantorial positions in South Germany, any route other than that of the *Lehrerseminar* was an impossibility. Even in the North and Eastern Germany, most communities demanded teaching duties from their *ḥazzanim*, and that required a professional qualification.

of the turn of the century provides a full music curriculum. Regarding *ḥazzanut*, the preparatory classes studied the weekday prayers and the reading of the Torah, the Prophets, the Book of Esther and Lamentations. The lowest seminary class learnt to sing the Sabbath prayers, the middle class those of the Pilgrim Festivals, while the senior class studied the melodies for the High Holidays (*39th Bericht... Münster* 1897–1899: *Beilage*, 4). From the extant *Berichte* it is possible to argue that a greater emphasis on *ḥazzanut* was made later in the century. General music, as we would only expect, was also taught, including piano, violin, singing, and harmony (*39th Bericht... Münster* 1897–1899: *Beilage*, 9).

*Lehrer* Jacob Oswald (1838–1930) provides us with a glimpse of the level of *ḥazzanut* taught in the Münster Seminary, at least in the midyears of the century. In his autobiography he says of the instructor, *Lehrer* Waldbaum, "he was no shining light, but sufficiently equipped for the task. He taught history, (biblical and post-biblical), arithmetic, penmanship, and also *how to lead the prayers in the synagogue*" (Oswald 1913: 38). Clearly, Waldbaum's teaching of *ḥazzanut* made no great impression on Oswald. As for general music, taught by a non-Jewish music teacher, Oswald writes, "It was not his fault that I did not become a musician; he certainly gave me a good foundation but I did not develop it" (ibid.: 39). In Oswald's time, homiletics was not taught at the Seminary, but was added later in the century (ibid.: 60; *39th Bericht... Münster* 1897–1899: *Beilage*, 4). However, as far as the rural congregations of Westphalia and the Rhineland were concerned, a good singing voice was what the congregations wanted above other considerations. Oswald wrote:

> Teaching abilities and teacher training were not of great importance to many of those communities. To know how to lead in prayer, a good singing voice and familiarity with the old synagogue tunes were much more important for them, because the cantor was the mediator between God and the congregation. If the applicant could also preach and teach it was to the better, but even ethical defects were sometimes overlooked for a good singing voice. (Oswald 1913: 47)

If anything, Oswald under stressed the latter point. Lion Wolff, a *Kultusbeamte* who was also a prolific writer, makes clear that such was the situation throughout Germany. As far as many communities were concerned, proficiency in *ḥazzanut* was often the prime concern when a

community searched for a *Lehrer*, and, not infrequently, it was the decisive factor in an eventual appointment (Wolff, L. 1882: 13).[61] The first priority of many communities thus bore little relationship to the emphasis on academic studies of the seminaries.

The above Jewish seminaries reflected the spectrum of the various religious trends and philosophies that emerged during the course of nineteenth-century Germany, from strictly orthodox (Würzburg) on the one hand, to reform (Münster) on the other. In the center was a traditional seminary (Hannover), one following the "historical school" (Breslau), while that of Berlin tried to meet the ideal of a united *Gemeinde*, encompassing orthodox and liberal alike. The small reform seminaries, which tended to lay greater emphasis on general rather that Hebraic studies, appear not to have survived. With respect to the remaining and surviving seminaries there was no essential difference in the content of the cantorial studies, merely slight differences in emphases. New synagogue music was not ignored in the strictly orthodox seminaries, while cantillation and the traditional prayer chants was common to all.

### C. Non-Jewish Seminaries

1. **Hildburghausen (Sachsen-Meiningen).** The Hildburghausen *Lehrerseminar* in the Grand Duchy of Sachsen-Meiningen first opened in 1827 (Human 1898: 76). The following year the state imposed the requirement that Jewish teachers must also be educated in this seminary. Jewish religious studies were provided for Jewish students at the *Lehrerseminar* by Lehrer Salomon Steinhard (b. 1808), who served as *Lehrer* and *ḥazzan* of the community of Hildlburghaufen from 1826–1859 (ibid.: 84). Steinhard was a graduate of the Fürth Yeshivah (before it was finally closed), and he had also spent half a year at a seminary in Meiningen (ibid.: 77). At first these Jewish religious studies were arranged only on a private basis, but from 1834 onwards they were under the official

61 Lion Wolff (1845–?) generally referred to himself as *Prediger*, but he had practical experience in all aspects of teaching, *ḥazzanut*, and *šeḥiṭah* Among his writings is *Agenda für jüdische Cultusbeamte* (Halberstadt, 1880), a manual of prayers and a ritual guide for cantors and rabbis which evidently became widely used and underwent several editions. According to an oral communication from Rabbi Stanley Dreyfus of New York, Wolff's *Agenda* served a source for similar liturgical works of the American Reform Movement. For a complete bibliography of Wolff's writings see *GJNB* 7: 314.

supervision of the Seminary director.[62] In 1836 they were taught on the premises of the Seminary. A further vital addition in the same year was the official provision for the Jewish students for instruction in "*Synagogendienst*" presumably liturgy and *ḥazzanut* which was held in the local synagogue.[63]

Among the early graduates of the Hildburghausen *Lehrerseminar* was Hermann Ehrlich (1815–1879) who attended the seminary between 1832 and 1835. Ehrlich was responsible for launching and editing the *Liturgische Zeitschrift* (1851–ca.1855), the first journal of its kind for *ḥazzanim*. Whatever shortcomings there may have been in the Hildburghausen *Lehrerseminar* cantorial program, Ehrlich's experience there must have contributed to the need he saw for starting this journal, an educational tool for sharing information on *ḥazzanut* and synagogue music. His unpublished autobiography, *Lebenslauf und Tagebuch*, unfortunately reveals little concerning the cantorial component in the Seminary. On the other hand, it informs us that of the twelve teachers (Steinhard excluded, since he was only a visiting instructor), four of them (including the local Lutheran *Kantor*) were responsible for various music studies, including thorough-bass, organ, singing lessons, playing the violin and other instruments (Ehrlich 1913: 8; Richarz 1976: 353).

2. **Karlsruhe (Baden)**. The short-lived Jewish Weinheim Seminary notwithstanding, Jewish students had been admitted to the state teachers seminaries of Baden since 1824 (Lewin 1909: 214–16). In practice, all such students attended the evangelical Karlsruhe *Lehrerseminar* in where there was an active Jewish community, and this continued to be the arrangement throughout the century.[64] Information regarding Jewish studies and *ḥazzanut* is available only from the 1880s.[65] Six hours a week

62 This official recognition and supervision of the Jewish studies led Eliav to give the impression of a semi-autonomous Jewish *Lehrerseminar* in Hilburgshausen, working in conjunction with the Christian seminary, but such a claim is too ambitious.

63 In the early 1840s criticism was made over the content of the Jewish studies, in particular the lack of Talmudic studies. *Lehrer* Steinhard defended his curriculum, which stressed Bible, Hebrew grammar, and history, and also the teaching of *jüdisch-deutschen Schreiben*, since many in the rural communities "can neither read nor write German script" (Eliav 1960: 301–2; *Israelitische Annalen, Frankfurt* 1840, no. 47: 394–5; 1841, no. 20: 155–56; 1841, no. 24: 196–7).

64 The Karlsruhe Seminary itself had opened in 1823. Until 1886 students had had to rely on the generosity of *Wandertisch* for kosher meals (*AZJ* 50, no. 48 [1886]: 761–2).

65 The original arrangement for the training of teacher-cantors in the Karlsruhe *Lehrerseminar* had included singing, but without any specific mention of *ḥazzanut* (Lewin 1909: 214).

were devoted to Hebrew, Bible (with commentaries) and systematic religion, two hours were allotted for Mishnah and *šulḥan 'aruḵ*. Two cantors taught *ḥazzanut* for a total of three hours a week (*AZJ* 52, no. 40 [1888]: 364–65). However the latter, described as "thorough and methodical cantorial training" was only a recent arrangement, the funding for which came from the same foundation that paid for the construction of a dormitory and refectory for Jewish students in 1886 (Lewin 1909: 405; *AZJ* 50, no. 48 [1886]: 761–62). The curriculum was planned by Cantor Bloch of Pforzheim who took initial responsibility for cantorial instruction (Lewin 1909: 387).

In 1902 Selig Scheuermann (1873–1935), then *ḥazzan* in Heidelberg (later, from 1910 onwards, in Frankfurt), was appointed by the Baden Jewish *Oberrat* to assume responsibility for teaching *ḥazzanut* in the Karlsruhe Seminary. Scheuermann himself was a graduate of the Karlsruhe evangelical *Lehrerseminar*, but he also pursued extensive musical studies elsewhere. His brief autobiographical account reveals that in his time piano and organ were required subjects at the Seminary (Friedmann 1927: 71–3).[66] His cantorial compendium became an authoritative work among cantors in South and West Germany.

3. **Esslingen (Württemberg)**. Jewish students had been permitted to study at the Royal (evangelical) Esslingen *Lehrerseminar* since 1821, in other words, several years before the process, starting in 1828, of the state regulation of Jewish teachers and cantors.[67] The 1828 legislation caused a significant increase in the Jewish student body (Stark 1980: 40).[68]

66 Scheuermann attended the Karlsruhe Seminary between 1889–1892. His main teacher in *ḥazzanut* in the seminary was Cantor S. Rubin "with whom I learned the traditional synagogue melodies of Sulzer, Naumbourg and Lewandowski." Scheuermann's account does not mention singing classes at the seminary. Only while working as *Lehrer* in his first community, which apparently had a special appreciation of *ḥazzanut*, did Scheuermann decide to cultivate his singing and cantorial abilities by attending the Mainz Conservatory. While serving as First Cantor and *Lehrer* in Bingen (1895–1902), he attended the Raff Conservatory in Frankfurt for classes in music theory and voice. Harmony and composition he studied privately while in Heidelberg (1902–1909). There he attended the lectures of Prof. Philip Wolfrum at the Heidelberg University who appointed him assistant director of the *Volkschor* (Friedmann 1927: 71–2).

67 Convenient summaries of the attendance of Jewish students at the Esslingen *Lehrerseminar* are given in Hahn 1994: 162–66; Stark 1980: 42–47. The seminary itself had opened in 1811.

68 The numbers were never large. In 1828 four Jewish students were admitted, and five in the following year. A peak was reached in 1862 when nine Jewish students were admitted out of a total of forty-six (Stark 1980: 43).

Jewish students had to rely on the customary *Wandertisch* until 1858 when meals and board were provided at the newly opened Jewish orphanage. Attendance at the Esslingen *Lehrerseminar* continued until 1928 when it was decided to transfer the Jewish students to the (evangelical) state seminary in Heilbronn where there was a larger and more active Jewish community, since that in Esslingen had declined (*GZ-W* 4, no. 23 [1928]: 702–3).

Even though state certification of Jewish teachers and cantors had been mandated since 1828–1829, only in 1835 did the administration of the Esslingen Seminary officially accept the teaching of Jewish studies (Tänzer 1937: 87).[69] It was through the efforts of Leopold Liebmann (1805–1893), who himself graduated from the Seminary in 1825, and who had immediately been appointed *Lehrer* in Esslingen, that Jewish studies were officially incorporated in 1835 into the program. Before this date Liebmann had given private lessons in Hebrew and liturgy to the students. In drawing up a petition to the Minister of Interior, Liebmann specifically drew attention to the need to prepare students in *ḥazzanut*, cantillation of the Torah, and homiletics. After consultation with the Minister of Religious and School Affairs, Liebmann's request was agreed to in principle, and he was appointed for the task, and government funding was provided (*GZ-W* 4, no. 23 [1928]: 703–4; Hahn 1994: 40, 163).

At first, seven hours a week were allotted to Jewish studies, three of them in the preparatory division (*AZJ* 3, no. 101 [1839]: 639–40; *AZJ* 22, no. 28 [1858]: 384). In 1860 it was reported that in the last two years the program had been significantly extended, particularly in the areas of liturgical song and the reading of rabbinical texts. It seems likely, therefore, that this expansion to ten hours of Jewish studies had occurred in 1858 (Hahn 1994: 163; *AZJ* 24, no. 10 [1860]: 152).[70] Nevertheless, only two hours were devoted specifically to *ḥazzanut* and cantillation (*Israelit* 8, no. 37 [1868]: 195).

It is difficult to see how such a limited program of *ḥazzanut* could remedy complaints expressed over the lack of musically trained cantors

69 Rabbi Joseph Maier (before his appointment to the rabbinate in Stuttgart) had petitioned in 1827 to have himself appointed *Lehrer der mosaischen Religion und der hebräischen Sprache* at the seminary, but to no avail; in 1829 the bookseller Isaac Hess made a similar attempt (Hahn 1994: 163).

70 Two of the hours were devoted to "Old Testament" which the Jewish students studied with the Christian students (*Festschrift... Württemberg* 1912: 33).

in Württemberg (*IV* 6, no. 22 [1856]: 259; *AZJ* 27, no. 48 [1863]: 745). Disquiet was expressed in 1856 concerning Liebmann's performance, especially in the areas of *ḥazzanut*, Torah reading, and Mishnah.[71] It was argued that his main position (since 1836) as housefather of the Jewish orphanage precluded the necessary attention to his seminary teaching (*AZJ* 20, no. 8 [1856]: 105–6). Complaints from the Jewish communities, as well as from the Jewish students themselves, regarding the ill preparedness of the graduates of the Esslingen *Lehrerseminar* were increasingly expressed. An 1864 memorandum to the Ministry of Religious and School Affairs from the Württemberg *israelitische Oberkirchenbehörde* reveals the latter's utter dissatisfaction with the situation since training for the function of *Vorsänger* was regarded as "the highest priority" for the Jewish student.[72]

In an attempt to remedy the unsatisfactory situation of ill-prepared cantors the *Oberkirchenbehörde* decided that all graduating students must undertake intensive studies in Mühringen for a period of six months before taking up a position with a community. The highly respected rabbi of Mühringen, Dr. Wasserman, provided Jewish studies while *Vorsänger* Löwenthal was responsible for coaching in *ḥazzanut*. This intensive Jewish studies and *ḥazzanut* program started in 1864 and apparently met with excellent results.[73] This arrangement continued for at least three years and was partially funded by the Ministry of Religious and School Affairs.[74] By the late 1870s a somewhat more sympathetic attitude was shown towards the needs of the Jewish seminary student, for in 1878 five hours were provided for the "special areas of the office of *Vorsänger*" (*Festschrift... Württemberg* 1912: 109).

General music was an integral part of the Esslingen Seminary program and incoming students (who received a stipend from the state) were expected to have a moderate ability at piano, especially a fluency at playing scales (*AZJ* 3, no. 101 [1839]: 640). Even though it would appear that the "expansion" of *ḥazzanut* in the Seminary had been made possible through the dropping of piano in 1858, the Seminary had to prepare students for state examinations in singing, violin, and organ,

71 It was still assumed that the *Lehrer* should be competent enough to lead study groups in the study of the Mishnah, "*bei Chevroth einen Schiur lernen*" (*AZJ* 20, no. 8 [1856]: 106).

72 HStAS E201, Bü79, dated 30 March 1864.

73 Ibid.

74 Ibid.; HStAS E201, Bü79, dated 2 January 1865, 23 May 1866.

especially the latter (*AZJ* 22, no. 28 [1858]: 384; *Israelit* 8, no. 37 [1868]:196–97).

The imbalance between general music and *ḥazzanut* is illustrated by the contents of the "second examination" required of *Lehrer-ḥazzanim* already in the field before reaching the age of twenty-four. This particular 1868 examination was printed in its entirety in *Der Israelit*. It provides a rich insight into the program of the Seminary and the requirements for the certification of *Lehrer*. It is reasonable to assume that this "second examination" differed little from the examination required for graduation from the *Lehrerseminar*. The *ḥazzanut* questions were very superficial. The mere chanting of a few verses from a prepared *sidrah* and the recital of a section of the *qabbalat šabbat* service was all that was demanded. More emphasis was placed on familiarity with the liturgy, *dine tefillah* and *minhag* than on practical *ḥazzanut*. By way of contrast, the examination in general musical knowledge, both music theory and instrumental playing, was much more rigorous. It required a) a four-part hamonization for choir or organ of a hymn tune, b) a modulation from E minor to A flat major, c) the description of a *Schleiflade* (a type of wind-box of the organ). Organ proficiency required the playing of a hymn from the Württemberg evangelical *Choralbuch*, where possible with an improvised prelude and postlude, and the playing of a prepared "larger or smaller" organ piece. The candidate had to sing (presumably at sight) a hymn from the *Choralbuch* and then play it on the violin (*Israelit* 8, no. 37 [1868]: 196–97).

This examination, we can fairly well assume, must have reflected the actual subject matter actually taught at the Esslingen Seminary, with its concentration on general music, but at the expense of *ḥazzanut*.

## CRITICISMS OF *ḤAZZANÛT* IN THE *LEHRERSEMINARE*

"*Die Seminarfrage*" gave rise to an unending debate from the time that Jewish students first attended the seminaries up to the First World War.[75] While much of this discussion centered on their efficacy for training Jewish elementary and religious teachers, there was considerable discussion on the musical and cantorial aspect of the *Lehrerseminare* as well, and it came from the entire spectrum of opinion, orthodox,

75 "*Die Seminarfrage*" was the title of an extensive article evaluating the efficacy of the *Lehrerseminare* (*AZJ* 30, no. 37 [1866]: 582–85).

traditional, and liberal. A greater sense of urgency was voiced in the latter part of the century with respect to the problem *ḥazzanut* training.

Early criticism tended to be regional in focus. For example, in 1856, *Der Israelitischer Volkslehrer* set the tone in a survey of conditions in Württemberg when it claimed:

*Eine allgemeine Klage der Gemeinden bildet der Umstand, dass die jüngeren Lehrer in* חזנות *völlig unerfahren und im Verständnis jüdischer Exegeten geradezu ignorant seien, wenn sie aus dem Seminar kommen, weil dort nur die Ausbildung als Lehrer im Allgemeinen gut bestellt sei, fürs Hebräische aber beinahe Nichts geschehe. Die jüdischen Zöglinge sollten vor oder nach ihrer Seminarzeit 1–2 Jahre bei tüchtigen israelitischen Vorsängern und Rabbinen praktizi[e]ren und lernen müssen, ehe sie provisorisch verwendet werden* (*IV* 6, no. 22 [1856]: 259).

A general complaint of the communities is caused by the circumstance that when the younger teachers come out of the seminary they are completely inexperienced in *ḥazzanut* and are almost ignorant in their understanding of Jewish exegesis. There is good instruction available in general subjects, but as for Hebrew subjects almost nothing happens. The Jewish pupils must, before or after their time in the seminary, practice and learn with capable Jewish cantors and rabbis for one to two years before they are provisionally employed.

The situation could not have been more succinctly diagnosed: proficiency in secular subjects, but weakness in Jewish religious studies and serious incompetence in *ḥazzanut*, while the suggestion of studying privately with other *ḥazzanim* was a throwback to the days of the *mešorer* praxis.[76]

Omitted in this Württemberg survey was any mention of competence in general music, especially in music theory, instrumental music, and even in general singing. The ability to be a teacher of singing was one of the requirements of the Jewish elementary school teacher. Here the seminaries, both Jewish and non-Jewish, equipped themselves satisfactorily, but success here only marginally helped proficiency in *ḥazzanut*, and, if anything, detracted from it because of the imbalance of curriculum hours.

A decade later *Der Israelitische Lehrer*, taking a more comprehensive view, emphasized in a series of lead articles entitled "*über Lehrerbildung*" that the seminary must be trade school (*übungsschule*) for future *ḥazzanim*:

76 The article continued with an appeal for the founding of a South-German *Lehrer-Vorbeter-Predigerseminar*, a call that was later realized in the Würzburg Seminary.

*Es darf nicht mehr vorkommen, dass ein sonst tüchtiger und braver Seminarist, der zur Vertragsschliessung in eine Gemeinde kommt, und Sonntag Abend* מעריב *beten soll, zur Antwort geben muss: ich bin nicht vorbereitet* (*IL* 6, no. 21 [1865]: 21).

It should not happen anymore that an otherwise capable and worthy seminarist, who, coming into a community on completion of a contract, when asked to lead a *ma'ariv* service on Sunday evening must give for an answer "I am not prepared."

Little had apparently changed by the turn of the close of the century. The writer of a series of articles entitled "*über die Vorbildung des jüdischen Lehrers*" in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* briefly summed up the situation by stating, "I would have ardently wished that the seminaries could have done more for the training of *ḥazzanim*" (*AZJ* 62, no. 52 [1898]: 618).

Autobiographical accounts from several cantorial graduates of the Berlin *Lehrer-bildungsanstalt* provide evidence for the inadequacy of the seminaries. Bernhard Jacobsohn (1846–?) attended the Berlin Seminary from 1862–1867.[77] He seems to have gained much from his teachers in general music, Grajewski and Ronnenberger, adding, "I devoted myself with intensive zeal and diligence to piano playing, singing and harmony with Lewandowski" (Jacobsohn 1912: 14). But as far as *ḥazzanut* was concerned he could only but regret that:

*Auch war zu meiner Zeit die Vorbildung hierfür noch nicht als besonderer Disziplin im Lehrplan der Anstalt aufgenommen und schulmässig behandelt worden, obgleich ein so gründlicher Kenner des Synagogengesanges wie Lewandowski den Musikunterricht leitete. Nur höchst selten wurden diejenigen Zöglinge, die neben den erforderlichen Vorbedingungen auch Lust und Liebe zum Kantorfach zeigten, von ihm im Vortrage einzelner Synagogenweisen an-*

In my time the training for this was still not accepted as a special branch of the curriculum of the institute and treated systematically, even though such a thorough authority in synagogue music as Lewandowski led the music lessons. Only very seldom were those pupils, who, in addition to the necessary prerequisites, showed a special fondness and desire for the cantorate, encouraged by him and instructed in the performance of individual synagogue melodies. Time

77 Jacobsohn first attended as a *Hospitant* in 1862 at the age of sixteen, one year below the official age of entry. Following graduation, his most important cantorial position (from 1874) was in Leipzig. Together with L. Liebling he edited the popular *Schire-Beth Jaacob: Israelitisches Schul- und Gemeinde-Gesangbuch* (Altona, Hermann Uflacker, 1880). Among his writings are *Der israelitische Gemeinde-gesang: fünf populäre Aufsätze als Beiträge zur Cultus-Frage* (Leipzig, Baumgärtner, 1884); *Fünfzig Jahre Erinnerungen aus Amt und Leben* (Berlin-Friedenau: privately printed, 1912).

*geleitet und unterwiesen. Immer wieder wies er uns auf das Hören guter Kantoren und geschulter Sänger hin, wovon man am meisten lernen könne. Aber zu der notwendigen Schulung und übung kam es nicht, oder doch nur ganz vereinzelt* (Jacobsohn 1912: 1920).

and again he emphasized listening to good cantors and well trained singers from which one could learn the most. But for the necessary training and practice it came to nothing, or only now and then.

Listening to good *ḥazzanim*, for the most part, meant listening to *Ḥazzan* Lichtenstein in the Heidereutergasse synagogue. At this time, new compositions by Lewandowski, for cantor and choir, were being introduced there and "we had to listen attentively to every new performance, and in the following music lesson submit a critique of what we had heard," especially with regard to thematic construction, modulations, and use of counterpoint (ibid.: 21). Even the stress on general music was not really taken seriously by the Seminary administration, for students who took the time to study music in depth "could only do so at the expense of other subjects" and they bitterly paid the price in the final examinations. In the final analysis, Jacobsohn concluded that the Seminary was incapable of training serious cantors:

*Dieser Schaden hätte leicht ausgeglichen, oder doch wesentlich verringert werden können, wenn solche Kandidaten des Lehramts zugleich eine einigermassen praktische Vorbildung für das Kantorat genossen hätten. Das was jedoch, wie bereits angedeutet, bedauerlicherweise nicht der Fall gewesen. Wer die ernste Absicht hatte, sich neben dem Lehrerberuf auch dem Kantorat zu* widmen, der musste durch *fleissiges Studium, nach Beendigung der Seminarbildung, sich privatim forthelfen* (Jacobsohn 1912: 21).[78]

These defects would easily have been overcome or substantially reduced if such candidates for the teaching profession had received simultaneously a practical training for the cantorate. That, however, as already indicated, was regrettably not the case. Whoever had the serious intention to devote himself to the cantorate, in addition to the teaching profession, had to undertake serious private study after completion of the seminary education.

78 Jacobsohn in his *Fünfzig Jahre* relates how his cantorial training at the Berlin *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt* did not prepare him for serving in Magdeburg where the *"niggun"* was that of *minhag aśkenaz*, similar to that of South Germany. He learned this musical rite from his father-in-law to be, First Cantor Salomo Nathanson who evidently had similarly learned the rite on his appointment to the community (Jacobsohn 1912: 43–44).

Emanuel Kirschner (1857–1938) attended the Berlin Seminary from 1874–1879.[79] He expressed his mainly negative experiences there concerning the learning *ḥazzanut* in an article that was first published in 1909 in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* and later incorporated into his *Erinnerungen*.[80] Kirschner's initial high expectations were soon dampened when he learned that so little time was provided in the curriculum for music in general and *ḥazzanut* in particular. He points out that in his time the three seminary classes were combined for singing, which as we noted before, included *ḥazzanut* instruction as well (Kirschner 1933: 27–28).

Kirschner made a number of observations based on his own experiences, as well as those experienced by colleagues from other seminaries:

(i) The seminaries do not provide an adequate training in voice:

*Wie steht es nun in den Seminaren mit der Weckung und Pflege des Tonsinns, mit einer rationellen Tonbildung, mit der Entwicklung und Vervollkommung der Singstimme, des jenigen Instrumentes, mit dessen Bereitschaft, Behandlung und Widerstandskraft die Existenzbedingungen des künftigen Kantors unlöslich verknüpft sind? von dieser hehren Künste Hauch werden die Seminaristen nur wenig berührt* (Kirschner 1933: 27).[81]

What are the conditions in the seminaries with respect to the cultivation of the sense of pitch, with respect to a cultured voice training, the development and completion of training the voice, the instrument whose preparedness, care and resistance are inseparably connected with the basic material needs of the future cantor?... The seminary students were only slightly touched by aspirations of these lofty arts.

79 Kirschner served as Second Cantor in the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue in Berlin from 1879–1881, and as First Cantor (from 1881) in Munich. His chief composition was *Tehilloth L'el Elyon: Synagogen Gesänge für Kantor und Chor mit Orgelbegleitung* (Leipzig, 1897–1926, 4 vols.). His most significant contribution as a musicologist is his *über mittelalterische hebräische Poesien und ihre Singweisen* (Blaubeuren, 1914).

80 The two sources upon which this section is based are: (a) Kirschner's article "Die kantorale Ausbildung in den jüdischen Seminarien," *AZJ* 73, no. 2 [1909]: 15–17. Although this article first appeared in *Festschrift zum 25-jährigen Jubiläum des österreichisch-ungarischen Cantoren-Vereines in Wien,* 1883–1908: 23–38, publication in the *AZJ* would have ensured a much wider readership; (b) Kirscher's unpublished *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben* (Kirschner 1933) which incorporated parts of the earlier article. Some of the main points of Kirschner's critique also appeared in his short article, "Kantor und Lehrer," *Bayerische Israelitische Gemeindezeitung*. Munich, 3, no. 12 [1927]: 360–61.

81 Kirschner does not lay the blame on Lewandowski, for whom he expresses, like Jacobsohn, the highest regard. He refers to him as "master Lewandowski, the brilliant and unmatched composer of synagogue music" (Kirschner 1933: 27; *AZJ* 73, no. 2 [1909]: 16).

(ii) The training in singing and *ḥazzanut* is given at an unsuitable age:

Ist doch die körperliche Entwicklung bei vielen Kandidaten während des grösseren Teils ihrer Studienzeit noch nicht abgeschlossen. Insbesondere gilt dies von dem übergang der Knabenstimme in die männliche, bekannt unter dem *Namen Mutierungsperiode. In dieser Zeit sollten die Stimmen entweder völlig geschont oder mit grösster Vorsicht und Sachkenntnis behandelt werden. Aber anstatt einer sach- und fachgemässigen Unterweisung, die ganz individuell erfolgen müsste, bekommt der Seminarist ein Hilfsbuch in die Hand, und nun wird losgesungen, unbeschwert von der Kenntnis uber richtige Atemführung, Tonansatz, richtige Ausnützung der Resonanzräume, unbekümmert darum, ob er kehlige, gaumige oder nasale Töne produziert* (*AZJ* 73, no. 2 [1909]: 16; Kirschner 1933: 27).

Yet the physical developments of many pupils is not yet completed during the greater part of their student years. This is especially true with respect to the transition from the boy's voice to the man's voice, known as the mutation period.... In this period the voice should be either completely spared or handled with the greatest care and expertise. But instead of an appropriate and competent education.... which should occur on an entirely individual basis, the seminary student receives a *Hilfsbuch*,[82] and is now set free to sing, untroubled by knowledge of correct breathing, intonation or resonance, uncaring whether he produces a throat, palate, or nasal tone.

It should be recalled that students entered the *Lehrerseminar* at a comparatively young age. Those entering the *Präperandanstalten* were young teenagers. For example, the minimum age for the preparatory division in Hochberg was fourteen years (Kaufmann 1982: 35). In 1850 students were admitted to the Hannover Seminary at the age of fifteen (*AZJ* 12, no. 16 [1850]: 184). Most students entered the upper divisions of the Berlin and Würzburg seminaries at the age of seventeen (Holzman 1909: 83). Only at the Cologne Seminary was eighteen the required age (*Bericht... Cöln* 1908: 25). Kirschner's claim that many students embarked on *ḥazzanut* training prematurely is therefore correct.[83]

82 It would appear more than reasonable to assume that Kirschner is referring here to Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* (Berlin, 1871).

83 In the days of the *mešorerim* many a former *zingerl* would take a break from singing for a few years and would go and study in a yeshivah before embarking on a cantorial career. Refer, for example, to the case of Rafael Hofstein quoted earlier.

(iii) Vocal training had to be sought outside the seminaries:

*Man halte mir nicht die Tatsache entgegen, dass namhafte Kantoren aus diesen Bildungsanstalten hervorgegangen seien, die in ihren Stellungen zur Zufriedenheit der Gemeinden wirken und schaffen. Alle diese Kantoren haben ihre stimmliche Ausbildung nicht in den Seminaren erhalten, sondern ausserhalb derselben auf privatem Wege oder in Konservatorien. Erst nach abgelegtem Lehrerexamen konnten sie sich regelrechtem Stimmstudium widmen* (Kirschner 1933: 28).

Do not hold this point against me that renowned cantors are coming out of the seminaries who serve in their positions to the satisfaction of their communities. All these cantors received their vocal education not in the seminaries but outside them, either privately, or in the conservatories. Only after having taken the teaching examinations could they devote themselves to proper vocal studies.

(iv) The inadequacy of the training in *ḥazzanut*, especially the cantorial recitative.

Kirschner here makes the especially relevant observation that a background in *ḥazzanut* could no longer be taken for granted by the seminary teachers. "The social and economic conditions of the present have caused a lamentable reversal in this direction." No longer could it be assumed that every student came from an observant background, attending synagogue regularly on weekdays, not to mention Sabbaths and Festivals, chanting *zemirot* and the benedictions at home (Kirschner 1933: 28).

The lack of time devoted to *ḥazzanut* and the frequent lack of a basic background in *nusaḥ* and Jewish liturgical music forced the adoption of musical notation for teaching *ḥazzanut*, "a teaching method more suitable to kill the imagination rather than bring it to fruition" (ibid.: 29).[84] Kirschner himself, who suffered from a very long period of change of voice, learned Lewandowski's "extremely practical" *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* by means of attentive listening and reading along, before he was able to vocally reproduce it. But what such *Hilfsmittel* could not do was to truly train *ḥazzanim* in the cantorial recitative or *Sagen* (Yidd. *zogn*):[85]

84 "*Eine Lehrmethode, die eher geeignet ist, die Phantasie zu ertöten, als sie zu befruchten.*"

85 East European Jews called this genre "*zogakhts*" (from the German *sagen*, "to say"). It denoted the free improvisation of synagogue chant. "The style is characterized by a highly florid manner of interpreting the *recitative*, with embellishments, ornamentations, coloratura, and modulations. The cantor who sings in this way is called a *zoger*" (Nulman 1975, 271, s.v. "*zogachts*"). In Germany, even in the eastern provinces, including Berlin, the recitative was generally much more restrained.

*Das freie Recitativ, das "Sagen," dass heisst jene in den Grundrissen, in den charakteristischen Intervallenfortschreitungen gegebene Vortragsart, der im freien Fluge erst der Chasen seine persönliche Note aufprägt, sie wird in den Bildungsanstalten für Kantoren vergeblich gesucht. Und doch bildet gerade dieses "Sagen," das richtige Setzen des Wortes, seine zutreffende musikalische Illustrierung den Prüfstein für die grössere oder kleinere Meisterschaft des Chasans. Die Kunst, eine durch Text und Situation bedingte Stimmung hervorzurufen, sie festzuhalten und auf die Höhrer zu übertragen, sie wird nicht mehr gepflegt, obwohl alles andere eher und leichter gelernt werden kann, als gerade diese Kunst* (Kirschner 1933: 29; *AZJ* 73, no. 2 [1909]: 16).

The free recitative, the *Sagen*, that art of interpretation whose basis is in a characteristic progression of intervals, by which in free flight [of the imagination] the cantor quickly stamps his personal mark, is sought for in vain in the training schools for cantors. And yet this *Sagen*, that is, the correct setting of the words and apposite musical illustration of the text constitutes precisely the touchstone for the greater or lesser skill of the cantor. The art of reproducing a certain mood by means of the text, maintaining it, and conveying it to the listener, is no longer cultivated, although everything else can be more or less easily learnt than precisely this art.

Consequently, young *ḥazzanim* graduating from the seminaries were forced to sing recitatives, especially on the Festivals and High Holidays, "note for note," which sounded intolerable to the lay *ba'alei tefillah* in the congregations, who often had an intuitive understanding of how the recitatives should be performed (Kirschner 1933, ibid.).

Various proposals were made for overcoming the problem of the poor quality of cantorial training. The first of these was the extension of the seminary programs or provision of a special concentration on the needs of the *ḥazzan* within the seminaries. Thus we find Kirschner calling for providing an additional year of *ḥazzanut* for those students who had completed their seminary education and who had a special aptitude for the cantorate. It would be "devoted exclusively to cantorial education" and would be carried out in one of the existing institutions (*AZJ* 73, no. 2 [1909]: 17). This proposal was also raised, but not taken seriously, by the Frankfurt *ḥazzan* Joseph B. Levy at a conference of German-Jewish teachers in 1910 (Levy 1911: 39). Nevertheless, a move in this direction, as we have already seen, had already been partially implemented by the Cologne Seminary in the early 1900s (*AZJ* 73, no. 2 [1909]: 17).

A second proposal was that made in the 1900s for extension courses for cantors already in the field.[86] The initiative came from below, from the congregations, who had been suffering from ill-trained cantors. The *Deutsch-Israelitsche Gemeindebund,* the loose-knit umbrella organization of German Jewry, in conjunction with the Berlin *Gemeinde*, took a leading role in organizing the first such *Fortbildungskurs* which began in Berlin in 1900 at the Berlin *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt.*[87] The instructors were William Wolff and *Ḥazzan* Aron Friedmann (*AZJ* 64, no. 17 [1900]: 197-98; *AZJ* 71, no. 23 [1907]: 270; Friedmann 1929: 29). Regardless of the success of such courses, Kirschner was not far off the mark when he viewed the very need for them as but highlighting the inadequacies of the seminaries (Kirschner 1933: 27).

In Baden, from 1903–1906, Selig Scheuermann, under the auspices of the *Oberrat,* undertook similar continuing education courses (Scheuermann 1912: ii; Rosenthal 1927: 403). He explained this method thus: "I gathered every Sunday the teachers and cantors of the various Baden districts in the main towns of these districts and coached them in the familiar and new synagogue songs as they should be performed in a dignified and moving way" (Friedmann 1927: 72). Scheuermann's reference to the "familiar synagogue songs" would seem to imply not an unfamiliarity with the basic *niggunim*, but the inability to perform them in a true cantorial style, i.e., as *ḥazzanut.*

Starting in 1908, continuing cantorial courses were introduced in Württemberg where the need would appear to have been even more pressing. The courses took place in three separate locations, Mergentheim, Stuttgart and Heilbronn, and were reported to have been "keenly taken up." The aims were modest, not the training of "first class cantors," but rather the "introduction of the younger *Lehrer* into the praxis" and to impart to them what their older colleagues had tried and tested, and especially "instruction in traditional *Chasonus... dinim* and *minhagim*" as well as the new synagogal compositions (*Festschrift... Württemberg* 1912: 51). For the most part, therefore, the Württemberg

86 Already in the 1890s Eduard Birnbaum in Königsberg had conducted *Fortbildungskurse* (*AZJ* 62, no. 52 [1898]: 618). In the 1900s Birnbaum also took a lead in presenting musicological lectures at various teachers conferences, the contents of which were later published (Seroussi 1982: 173–74).

87 Wertheimer's reference to a "newly established cantorial school" (Wertheimer 1987: 228) is most misleading. The *AZJ* source on which he (incorrectly) bases his statement refers to the further education courses.

courses covered much of what should already have been taught in the *ḥazzanut* classes in the Esslingen Seminary.

Nevertheless, after a decade of such courses, there was a realization that they had not achieved enough. They lacked sufficient planning and were merely "incidental" to the underlying problem (Levy 1911: 39). Hermann Zivi (cantor in Stettin), writing in 1918, said that "the further education courses were barely a stop-gap measure to patch up the lacunae, let alone able to solve the problem" (*AZJ* 82, no. 43 [1918]: 505).[88]

The third proposal was the growing realization that the underlying problem could only be overcome by means of the establishment of a cantorial school. Already as far back as 1869, Salomon Sulzer, the *doyen* of modern *ḥazzanut*, had realized the way of the future when he included a demand for cantorial schools in his list of liturgical and musical proposals, which he presented at the Leipzig Rabbinical Conference. Two years later he submitted the same item (in writing) to the Augsburg Synod in 1871 (Avenary 1985: 163–65).[89] Of course, there already was, in effect at that time, a German cantorial school, Deutsch's *Institut* in Breslau. What Sulzer may have had in mind was a fully established institution with proper funding, administration, and a fully accredited program and faculty. Remarkable as Deutsch's effort was, it remained a one-man operation. After the Augsburg Synod, however, the idea of a cantorial school seems to have been forgotten. Fifteen years after Deutsch's death it was taken up again in 1907 by Magnus Davidsohn who declared "there must be a cantorial school which prepares the student... exclusively for his profession and which corresponds to the needs of the community" (*AZJ* 71, no. 23 [1907]: 270). In December 1910, Joseph Levy, at a conference of German-Jewish teachers, explicitly called for a *Hochschule für das Kantorat* as the ideal solution to the problem of cantorial education (Levy 1911: 38).

88 Hermann Zivi was born in Müllheim, Baden, in 1867. He attended the *Lehrerseminar* in Karlsruhe and also studied *ḥazzanut* privately with Cantor Samuel Rubin, a pupil of Sulzer. He also attended conservatories in Frankfurt and Mainz. Zivi served as *Lehrer* and *Kantor* in Ober-Ingelheim (1890), Düsseldorf (1893) and Elberfeld (1898). See Friedmann 1918: 240–43.

89 It is remarkable that it was Sulzer, who had personally taught *ḥazzanim* from all over Europe, made the proposal for a cantorial school. At the Augsburg Synod Sulzer's proposal was reformulated, calling blandly for "courses for the training of cantors at the *Lehrerseminare*, but also recommending the establishment of institutes for the "*special* training of cantors" (Avenary 1985: 165).

Taking up Levy's proposal, but adapting it more closely to the circumstances prevailing in Germany, was a proposal made in the orthodox journal *Der Israelit*. The writer first made the point that *ḥazzanim* in the big-city (liberal?) congregations made their mark by virtue of their vocal and artistic abilities. On the other hand, in strictly orthodox communities, the *ḥazzan* was judged first and foremost according to his knowledge of Judaism. Accordingly, the solution was that all students, whether intending to specializing in teaching, the cantorate, or *šeḥiṭah*, should first study all together at the preparatory schools, as in fact they already were doing. Thereafter, a specialization process would take place, whereby those students with the vocal skills to succeed as cantors would study in a special "Conservatory" for *ḥazzanim*, in which all the necessary liturgical knowledge required of the cantor, the *denim* and *mintage,* would also be taught (*Israelit* 54, no. 42 [1913]: 12).

Eventually a cantorial school was established, but it was not in Germany but in Vienna, Austria. The *Wiener Kantoren-Bildungsanstalt* opened its doors in November 1911 (*Die Warheit* 1911, no. 45: 9). The structure of the school and its program reflected conditions of employment for cantors in Austria-Hungary, examination of which lies beyond the scope of the present study. Nevertheless, several aspects of its curriculum, in particular its balance between the practical and the theoretical, should be mentioned. The two-year program included voice training, something rarely or never offered in the German *Lehrerseminare*. In fact, voice training was the first item listed in the curriculum. In addition to traditional and modern synagogue music, the school also taught Jewish modal theory (*Erläuterung der Steigertheorie*), the history of *ḥazzanut* and synagogue music, and the history of general music (*OUKZ* 1911, no. 41: 9). The majority of the faculty and the director of the school were all *ḥazzanim* (*Die Wahrheit* 1911, no 45: 9).

The First World War soon prevented any practical steps in a similar direction in Germany, but Hermann Zivi immediately took it up again in 1918 in a lead article in the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums* entitled "*Neue Wege zur Kantorenbildung*" (*AZJ* 82, no. 43 [1918]: 505–6). His plan envisioned a cantorial seminary working in conjunction with a conservatory of music and a *Religionslehrer-Seminar*. *Ḥazzanim* would continue to be teachers, they would continue to be musically educated and literate, but they would finally have control of their own destiny. Alas, this vision for the German cantorate was not to be.

## FROM ORALITY TO THE PRINTED SCORE: *LEHRERSEMINARE* AND THE PREPARATION OF COMPENDIA OF *ḤAZZANUT*

At the very start of this article we briefly mentioned the phenomenon on the part of individual German cantors, starting in the mid-eighteenth century, of occasionally writing down their own compositions. We also stated that this had little effect on the basic oral nature of the tradition and the learning process. These early composers of synagogue music wrote down their elaborate compositions or arrangements of traditional material as an *aide memoire* for themselves and their *mešorerim* (or, if written by a *mešorer,* as an *aide memoire* for their *ḥazzan*).[90] *Ḥazzanim* shared their creations with other *ḥazzanim* to impress their colleagues. Even when their compositions included traditional material, novelty was the essential aim, and not a "faithful" transcription of the basic tradition for future cantors. We concur with Adler's conclusion that "in such [early] manuals the cantor either disdained or deemed it superfluous (or had difficulties) to notate the traditional modes for liturgical recitative (*shtayger*), or the particular stock of melodies hallowed by tradition called... *niggunim mis-sinay*" (Adler 1995: 35).

The characteristic purpose of the early writers of synagogue music is clearly emphasized in the preface to the manuscript dated 1790-91 compiled by the Berlin cantor Aron Beer (1738–1821):[91]

וסדרתי אותם לספק על שנה תמימה, ויותר יש לי באמתחתי. אמנם לזאת נתכונתי לספק לכל שבת ורגל ניגונים אחרים, כי השומע ניגון פעם א׳ בשנה א״א לזמר עם הש״ץ בעת תפלתו ולא יוכל לבלבל להמתפלל לפני התיבה. ובפרטות כי נגע צרעת הוא לכל החזנים אם הב[עלי] ב[תים] מנגנים עמהם כי "תרי קלא לא משתמע[עי].

And I have ordered them so as to provide [different melodies] for the whole year, and I have at my disposal even more than those [given here]. My purpose in providing different melodies for every Sabbath and Festival is [as follows]: if a person hears a tune [but] once a year, it will be impossible [for him] to sing with the cantor during the service, and [thus] he will be unable to confuse the cantor. Indeed, it is a real mischief and plague for all the *ḥazzanim* when the worshippers join their singing, since "two voices [sounded

90 The latter case is illustrated by the manuscript written by Joseph S. Goldstein, "bass" singer to Moses Raff in Jebenhausen, Württemberg (Adler 1989: 418).

91 The manuscript is US-CIhc, Birnbaum coll., Mus.53, which was reproduced in Idelsohn 1932: v.

simultaneously] cannot be perceived"
(Adler 1989: 242).[92]

We do not know whether other cantor-composers held such strong opinions regarding the separation of roles of *ḥazzan* and *qahal*, but this stress on novelty, on creating an ever-changing repertoire of tunes, is to be discerned in other cantorial manuscripts, like those of Joseph S. Goldstein (ca. 1813), and especially Isaak Offenbach (from ca. 1820 onwards).

On the other hand, the cantorial compendia, which were compiled later in the nineteenth century, had an entirely different function. Their prime aim was not novelty per se, but realizations through transcription (with varying degrees of sophistication) of the basic oral tradition. Although experienced cantors in the field might find, and did find, useful suggestions and material in such compendia, their prime purpose was as a tool for teaching *ḥazzanim*, both those in the various seminaries or institutes, and those already functioning, and frequently floundering, in the congregations. Whereas the early genre of manuscripts tended to stress those texts where special cantorial *bravura* was called for,[93] the later compendia had to stress the *nusaḥ ha-teffillah*, the musical formulae and tunes for the basic prayer texts, since cantors were no longer proficient in what an earlier generation of *ḥazzanim* had taken for granted and never occurred to them to transcribe.

Lack of expertise in *nusaḥ hat-tefillah* would seem to be the reasoning behind the appeal for a simpler and more declamatory prayer chant made in a lead article in the *Israelitische Lehrer* in 1865:[94]

*Ein einfacher Vortrag ist der Würde des Gottesdienstes viel angemessener, als der lustige* על הכל *und* יגדל. *Ich glaube, wenn sich die Vorbeter gewöhnen könnten, den grössten Theil der Gebetstücke, dem Inhalte gemäss, ganz einfach delamatorisch vorzutragen, so würde der Gottesdienst hierdurch an Würde und Weihe gewiss ganz bedeutend gewinnen* (*IL* 6, no. 21 [1865]: 21).[95]

A simpler manner of performance is more in keeping with the dignity of the service than [the singing of] a merry *'al ha-kol* and *yigdal*. I believe that if the cantors could familiarize themselves to perform the greater part of the prayers in an altogether simple declamatory manner according to their content, then by this means the services would gain considerably in dignity and holiness.

92 The reference here is to B. *Roš ha-šanah*, 27a.

93 For example, *leḳah dodi, mi ḳamoḳa, qeduššah* on the Sabbath, *qaddiš, avot, 'alenu,* and the *piyyuṭim* on the Holidays.

94 This was part of a series of lead articles entitled "*über Lehrerbildung*".

95 The author added "we are not concerned with the preservation of every rotten *niggun...*"

It is highly doubtful that the writer was a musicologist, but he was alluding to a very significant musical phenomenon. Memorization of a metrical tune is far easier than learning to reproduce musical formulae or recitations of primarily non-metrical prose texts. The latter required considerable listening and practice to grasp the basic elements such as characteristic motives, reciting tones, concluding formulae, and the like, before they can be reproduced fluently. Clearly, the seminaries were not producing graduates with fluency in *nusaḥ hat-tefillah*, which would have been almost second nature to *ḥazzanim* of an earlier generation.

It was not only in Germany that the written musical score was gaining in popularity in cantorial circles. In Eastern Europe in the later nineteenth century *ḥazzanim* likewise were becoming familiar with western notation and were increasingly making use of scores of *ḥazzanut*.[96] But here the written musical score was merely a means for producing an enrichment and embellishment of the cantorial-choral art. There appears to be little evidence that musical scores were needed for learning the basics of *nusaḥ* and *ḥazzanut*.[97] In Eastern Europe the oral means of transmission continued in all its fullness. It was primarily in Germany, where the oral tradition was so severely weakened, and where no successful substitute had arisen to replace the institution of the *mešorerim* as a means of cantorial apprenticeship, that there arose the need for cantorial compendia.

Of the printed German cantorial compendia that contain basic *nusaḥ hat-tefillah* and simple *ḥazzanut* material, the following were intended wholly, or in part, as *Hilfsmittel*, for prospective cantors. Some of them originated in the needs of specific seminaries. All of them were designed with seminary students in mind:

(i) Moritz Deutsch, *Vorbeterschule* (Breslau, 1871). The very choice of title reflects the purpose of the compendium, which evolved from Deutsch's need to assist his students in his *Institut* with basic *nusaḥ* material. Clearly, by this date, there were students attending his *Institut*

96 The writings of Sholom Aleichem (1859–1916) offer many insights into the world of *ḥazzanut* in Eastern Europe. *The Nightingale or, the Saga of Yosele Solovey the Cantor* (written in 1886 and published in 1889) sheds invaluable light on the impact of the introduction of the written score (Sholom Aleichem 1985: 27).

97 The only Eastern European compilation resembling a compendium of the latter genre is that of Joseph Sebba, *Schirei Jossef: Rezitative für den israelitischen Gottesdienst* (Tuckum, Kurland, 1914–20, 4 vols.). That Sebba's work emanated from the Russian periphery, from Latvian Kurland, which had been strongly influenced by German language and culture, is no coincidence.

who were vocally advanced but had a weak background in the very basics of synagogue chant, the prayer modes. In his preface the author stated:

*... habe ich die Intonationen einstimmig notirt und zunächst angehende Vorbeter im Auge behalten, welche keine Gelegenheit mehr haben, sich mit unserem Ritualgesang vertraut zu machen, seitdem er aufgehört hat, Volksgesang zu sein. Ich habe es in meinem, seit 15 Jahren bestehenden und, Gottlob, mit Erfolg wirkenden "Musik-Institut für jüdische Cantoren und Lehrer" sattsam erfahren, wie selten in unsern Tagen bereits eine gründliche Kenntniss der alten Intonationen anzutreffen ist und wie schwer dieselbe auf dem Wege der blos[s] mündlichen überlieferung zu erlangen ist. Ich war daher genöthigt, je nach Bedürfniss der Schüler alle Intonationen aufzuschreiben und die Gebetstücke, deren alte Intonationen bereits vergessen sind* (Deutsch 1871: Preface, vii).

I have arranged the prayer modes for one voice and above all have kept in mind prospective cantors who no longer have the opportunity to become familiar with our ritual music since it has stopped being folksong. I have had enough experience in my "Institute of Jewish Cantors and Teachers" which has been in existence for fifteen years and, thank God is still operating successfully, to realize how rare it is to acquire a basic knowledge of the old prayer modes and how hard it is to attain this knowledge through the oral tradition. I therefore felt obliged to record all the prayer modes for the need of the students and to provide newer melodies for prayers whose old prayer modes have already been forgotten (Deutsch 1871: preface, vii, trans. in Spitzer 1989/90: 38).

(ii) Louis Lewandowski, *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* (Berlin, 1871). Although this work contains a large number of two-part choral pieces (for synagogues which did not have the vocal forces and expertise to perform larger choral pieces, such as those of Sulzer and Weintraub), it contains considerable material for the cantor. While Deutsch focused his attention on the prayer modes, Lewandowski emphasized his concern with teaching the longer recitatives:

*Den Recitativen für Vorbeter habe ich besondere Sorgfalt zugewendet und dieselben mit Vorliebe behandelt. Die Thatsache, dass die vorhandenden Werke von Sulzer, Weintraub u. A., nur kurze und ungenügende Andeutungen für den Vorbeter enthalten, die Erfahrung ferner, dass jüngere Vorbeter, selbst solche, die in Cantorschulen ge-*

I have devoted special attention to the recitatives for the cantor, and I have treated these with great partiality. The available works of Sulzer, Weintraub, and others, contain only short and insufficient outlines for the cantor. Moreover, it is my experience that the younger [generation of] *ḥazzanim*, even those trained in cantorial schools, pos-

*bildet sind, nur mangelhafte Kenntnisse auf dem Gebiete des jüdischen Recitative besitzen* (Lewandowski 1871: Preface).[98]

sess an inadequate knowledge in the area of the Jewish recitative.

We saw in the previous section Emanuel Kirschner's recollection of learning the *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* at the Berlin *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt*. Aron Friedmann, who attended this seminary from 1878–1883 (while simultaneously serving as assistant cantor in the Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue from 1881), corroborates the use of the *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* as the basic instruction tool (Friedmann 1929: 7).[99] *Kol Rinnah*'s influence soon surpassed that of Deutsch's *Vorbeterschule*, giving rise to the term "*kol rinnah ḥazzan*," implying a competent, but not necessarily outstanding or innovative cantor (Idelsohn 1929: 281–82).

(iii) Moritz Rosenhaupt, *Schire Ohel Yaakov*, vol. 3, *Werktags-Gottesdienst* (Leipzig, 1895). In this volume, the Nuremberg cantor focused his attention upon the neglected weekday prayer modes (according to the South-German rite). Hitherto, the major collections of synagogue music and the printed cantorial compendia of Deutsch and Lewandowski had not included *nusaḥ* for the weekdays, the simplest of the synagogue services, from a liturgical and musical perspective.[100] Rosenhaupt's work was the first of its kind. The very need for such a work provides but additional evidence for the break that had occurred in

98 See Goldberg 1989/90 for a full discussion of Lewandowski's aims in writing his *Kol Rinnah u-T'fillah*.

99 Aron Friedmann (1855–1936) worked as a *zingerl* in his native Lithuania before moving to Berlin. A particularly deep and warm relationship developed between Lewandowski and Friedmann. Only towards the end of his studies at the Berlin Seminary did Friedmann have the opportunity to concentrate on voice by studying at the *Schwantzer* Conservatory (Friedmann 1929: 10). After having taken the *Elementarlehrer* examinations in 1883 he concentrated on completing his cantorial studies, taking private lessons with Lewandowski, and private lessons in voice as well. Somewhat later Friedmann attended the Stern Conservatory between 1886 and 1892, concentrating on music theory, composition and voice, and thereafter attended the *Hochschule für Kirchenmusik* (ibid.: 10–12, 21). In addition to his cantorial compendium, *Schir Lisch'laumau*, he made significant contributions to Jewish musicology, including *Der synagogale Gesang* (Berlin, 1904) and *Lebensbilder berühmter Kantoren*, vols. 1–3, Berlin, 1918–1927. Friedmann's *ḥazzanut* in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue was one of the influences on Gershom Scholem's reaffirmation of Judaism (Scholem 1980: 39–40).

100 Abraham Baer, who had been brought up in Prussian Posen, had included the chants for the weekday services in his *Baal T'fillah* (see below), but these represented more northern versions of the melodies, rather than South-German, as represented in the works of Rosenhaupt and Lachmann.

the integrity of the synagogue musical tradition:[101]

*Ich habe die Erfahrung gemacht, dass sonst ganz begabte Cantoren nicht im Stande waren, an den Wochentagen zu funktionieren und [das] führe ich lediglich auf den Mangel eines derartigen Werkes zurück. Ein solches Resultat herbeiführen zu helfen und vornehmlich jüdischen Seminarien ein geeignetes Lehrbuch zu geben, sowie dem auf diesem Gebiete bestehendem Chaos von Unkenntniss und Willkür ein Ende zu bereiten, ist das Endziel der Herausgabe dieses Werkes* (Rosenhaupt 1885: Preface).

I have experienced that otherwise completely competent cantors were not capable of functioning on the weekdays, and this I attribute simply to the lack of a work of this kind The ultimate objective of this work is to facilitate such a result [that is, proficiency with the weekday services] and above all to provide Jewish seminaries with a suitable compendium, as well as to bring about an end to this ignorance and arbitrariness in this field.

(iv) Isaak Lachmann, *Awaudas Jisroeil*, Part 1, *Werktags-Gottesdient* (Hürben, Bavaria, 1899). This cantor-scholar similarly saw the need for a cantorial manual for the weekday services as part of a projected compendium for the entire liturgical year. The Preface to this work betrays Lachmann's scholarly interests as much as cantorial performance itself. However, in addition to his concern with the question of the historical authenticity of the South-German musical rite in general, and that of Hürben in particular, Lachmann expressed the hope that his work would be used in the congregations,[102] by the *ḥazzanim*, and especially in teachers' training institutes (Lachmann 1899: Preface).

(v) Aron Friedmann, *Schir Lisch'laumau* (Berlin, 1902). Friedmann clearly delineated three purposes for his work: (1) the transcription of melodies not found in any hitherto existing compendium, (2) the provision of a complete collection of cantorial songs for the entire liturgical year, and (3) "to create a practical compendium for cantorial students and future cantors." Friedmann was also particularly concerned with the mastery of cantorial improvisation, especially since so many of the traditional chants "largely possess only certain melodic

101 A reviewer of the work who praised the value of the work stated, "a part of our divine service [i.e. the weekday service] has almost fallen into oblivion since it is not nurtured " (*AZJ* 59, no. 36 [1895]: 432).

102 Lachmann probably had in mind here the *ba'alei tefillah* or lay cantors.

figurations and motives, certain opening and concluding formulae, at times they require to be sung in a particular style, so that improvisation is left to an extraordinary degree to the cantor." Acknowledging the weakness of cantorial students here (where *ḥazzanim* of an earlier generation would have displayed their true mettle), Friedmann provided suggestions for possible paths of improvisation and, where melodies are repeated, a range of variations. He also expressed the hope that every student in *Lehranstalten* would have a copy of his work (Friedmann 1902: Preface).

(vi) Selig Scheuermann, *Die gottesdienstlichen Gesänge der Israeliten* (Frankfurt, 1912). Scheuermann's work of primarily South-German chant, was intimately connected with the teaching of Jewish students at the Karlsruhe *Lehrerseminar*. It was soon adopted as a basic cantorial compendium in the Würzburg Jewish Seminary. The compendium was based upon the musical outlines which Scheuermann had sketched over the years for his students, as well as for cantors attending his continuing educational classes held between 1903–6.

Even though Scheuermann had received lessons in *ḥazzanut* while studying at the Karlsruhe Seminary and had functioned as *Lehrer* and *ḥazzan* since 1892, he did not regard himself as an authority in many aspects of the musical tradition. The true experts, he claimed, lay elsewhere, and they were now probably fewer in number and more difficult to locate. He explained thus, "The compilation of the many ancient melodies was not simple, it required many journeys and much effort to commit to paper the songs of the rural *ba'ale tefillah*" (Friedmann 1927: 72–73). The need to go and seek out the surviving practitioners and perceived guardians of the musical tradition only compounded the sense of obligation to record and reconstruct it by means of musical notation. In the Preface to Scheuermann explained the reason for his work:

*Da bei der geringen Zeit, die dem Unterricht im Kantorat in den Lehrerseminaren eingeräumt wird und bei dem umfangreichen Stoffe, der in musikalischer und fachwissenschaftlicher Hinsicht zu bewältigen ist, nicht verlangt werden kann, einen durchaus fertigen Kantor in der Seminarzeit heranzubilden, so muss dem Schüler ein Lehrbuch*

Since, on account of the slender amount of time that is granted for teaching the cantorate in the teachers seminaries, and because of the extensive material to be mastered in a musical and systematic way, it cannot be expected to train a thoroughly skilled cantor during the time of the seminary, so the student must be given a manual which contains all the

*zur Hand gegeben werden, das alle gottesdienstlichen Gesänge für das ganze Jahr enthält und unter ganz besonderer Berücksichtigung des alten Chasonus auch Proben unserer modernen Synagogengesänge enthält* (Scheuermann 1912: Preface, ii).[103]

liturgical songs for the entire year, especially the old *Chasonus*, as well as samples of our modern synagogue music.

(vii) Abraham Baer's *Baal T'fillah* (Leipzig, 1877; 2nd edition, Leipzig, 1883). This work, the most significant and influential of all the compendia, and still authoritative among Ashkenazi *ḥazzanim* today, stands in a class of its own. Baer was born in the province of Posen, and from 1857 officiated in the largely German-Jewish community of Gothenberg, Sweden. Judging from the voluminous positive evaluations and acclamations of this work included in the introduction to the second edition of 1883, it can be seen that the *Baal T'fillah's* impact was the greatest on German and German-speaking Jewry.

The sub-title of the work, *Der practische Vorbeter*, betrays the aim of the author namely, to provide a manual of instruction "for cantors and those who want to devote themselves to this field [of *ḥazzanut*] without the help of a teacher" (Baer, 1883: Preface, xi). This was an extraordinary fantasy on the part of Baer, one hardly realizable on a personal level, not to mention constraints of the formalized educational requirements imposed by the German states. It would have undercut entirely the whole institutionalized set-up of *Lehrerseminare*. Nevertheless, *Der practische Vorbeter* underscored the transformation of the German cantorate, and the distance traveled from the earlier world of oral transmission from *ḥazzan* to *mešorer*.

The immediate practical result of the publication of the *Baal T'fillah* was its utilization as a *Hilfsmittel* in the German seminaries.[104] Another

103 Scheuermann continues with a socio-demographic point which cannot be underestimated, in which he emphasizes the continuing provincial character of significant sections of German Jewry, even in late Wilhelmite Germany, whose musical needs he wishes to care for. "My work forms a complete course of instruction for the training of the cantorate and is, in contrast to other works which have appeared in this field, intended to shape in a dignified manner the services in small communities possessing simple resources" (Scheuermann 1912: ii).

104 In the letters of praise in the Second Edition of the *Baal T'fillah* (1883) Lewandowski intimated his recommendation of the work to his pupils (Preface, xxv), two Hannover Seminary students testified to their joy in using the work (Preface, xxvii), while Deutsch also expressed his highest approval of the work (Preface, xxv).

beneficial consequence was a remedy for overcoming the parochialism of the learning experience of the German *ḥazzanim*. By including both the German and the Polish *nusḥa'ot*, the one centered in western and southern Germany, the other in the provinces east of the Elbe, a means was provided for preparing cantors for officiating in any community, regardless of geographical location.[105]

(viii) The Cantorial Compendium of Maier Levi. All the preceding compendia succeeded in reaching the printing press. Nevertheless, the earliest collection of all in this genre was the cantorial compendium of Maier Levi of Esslingen, Württemberg, which, for reasons not his own, failed to be published. The compendium was written down between 1849 and 1862, and in many respects is more complete than any of the subsequent printed compendia, providing a tune for *every* text chanted by the *ḥazzan*.

Eric Werner had held that the main purpose of Levi's compendium, and others like it which notated the musical tradition in its raw form with little concern for artistic improvements such as those executed by Sulzer or Lewandowski was "simply the preservation of the oral tradition" (Werner 1961: 110). We now know that Werner's evaluation was only partially true. According to Leo Adler, the last-officiating Stuttgart *ḥazzan* before World War II, Maier Levi was appointed in 1845 to teach *ḥazzanut* and liturgy in the Esslingen *Lehrerseminar*. His transcription of the synagogue chants and melodies was intended to provide an *Unterlage*, or musical basis, for his cantorial classes. This being the case, Levi's compendium is the earliest surviving transcription of the synagogue musical tradition designed for use in a *Lehrerseminar*. An additional aim of the work, was to provide a *Hilfsmittel* for *ḥazzanim* already in the field, an increasing number of whom graduated from the Esslingen Seminary (Adler, L. 1931: ii–iii).

Preservation of the oral tradition would appear not to have been the decisive factor motivating Levi to notate the synagogue melodies, although we cannot discount that a weakening of the oral means of transmission was already in process in Württemberg. It was the

105 Baer himself wrote, "Most cantorial students know, and afterwards imitate (copy) the style of their only teacher, be he an adherent of the Polish or German tradition. Small wonder, then, that frequently even able cantors, when placed in a small or remote community, are embarrassed by their ignorance of the *nusah* that prevails there" (Baer, 1877: Preface, viii). Translation of Eric Werner in the (1953) Sacred Music Press reissue, Preface: iii.

shortcoming of the Esslingen Seminary program itself, its inability to provide a satisfactory training in *ḥazzanut*, which was the primary factor that brought about Maier Levy's unique transcription of the South-German musical tradition.

## EVALUATION OF THE NEW SYSTEM OF CANTORIAL TRAINING

The replacement of the *mešorer* apprenticeship by the *Lehrerseminare* resulted in a remarkably different cantorate from that which had existed previously in Germany, and from that which still prevailed in Eastern Europe. Aron Friedmann's *Lebensbilder berühmter Kantoren* provides ample confirmation that practically all-German *ḥazzanim* from the 1840s on were the product of the new seminaries. The main exception was on the part of *ḥazzanim* who had emigrated from Eastern Europe later in the century, but even many of these, as we have seen, entered the seminaries, such as the Berlin *Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt*. In 1913 it was estimated that ninety percent of all German-Jewish teachers also fulfilled cantorial functions (*Israelit* 54, no. 42 [1913]: 12).[106]

Inspite of all of their shortcomings, the seminaries helped produce a cantorate with a high degree of musicality. All *ḥazzanim* acquired a basic western musical education, could read music, knew the essentials of music theory, and could play at least one musical instrument, especially the violin, piano, and the organ. Many *ḥazzanim* developed an aptitude for composition, and this explains the large quantity of musical works for the synagogue, which appeared in Germany, frequently for cantor and choir, and often with keyboard accompaniment as well. German cantors began to study the Jewish musical past, contributing to the new fields of Jewish music history and musicology. In view of the pervasive atmosphere of *Wissenschaft des Judentums* in Germany there can be no reason to doubt that the seminaries also played a role in stimulating an academic Jewish musical consciousness.

Nevertheless, the defects of the *Lehrerseminar* system should by now be only too apparent. Despite certain improvements in the later nineteenth century, the seminaries, whether Jewish or non-Jewish, whether strictly orthodox or non-orthodox, were not sufficiently preparing their students in *ḥazzanut*. The increasing use of written

106 There are no figures for the reverse situation, i.e., cantors also serving as teachers. Most "independent" *ḥazzanim* would have been from Eastern Europe, many of whom settled in Posen and Berlin.

scores and cantorial manuals failed to correct this unpreparedness, even though such transcriptions of the traditional material would probably have made a complete entire apprenticeship training as *mešorer* unnecessary. The seminaries paid little or no regard to vocal training, and in many cases admitted students precisely at the time of the voice mutation. Graduates who wished to succeed in the field of *ḥazzanut* and become successful cantors had to continue studying privately with skilled *ḥazzanim*.

Some of the essential features of *nusaḥ* and *ḥazzanut* were lost in the process of attempting to teach *ḥazzanut* in a few allotted hours per week. A standardization took over, especially when students learnt "note for note." The seminaries inhibited the flexibility, the free melodic development, the "endless variation," the "*zogn*" (or "*Sagen*"), which was the glory and true achievement of Ashkenazi *ḥazzanut*. Composers and transcribers such as Lewandowski and Friedmann might try to catch the flavor of the *zogn* in the written score, but the result was the same: the written notes tended to become the version that the cantor would perform. As Kirschner had so aptly stated, "[notation] was more suitable to kill the imagination rather than bring it to fruition."

Not surprisingly it was frequently expressed that something precious was being lost. As Lion Wolff put it, "The old *ḥazzanim* were not musical, they could not read music.... Yet nowadays the modern musically trained cantors could learn more from the old *ḥazzanim*, especially in the recitative, than out of countless compendia" (Wolff, L. 1882: 46). By "the recitative" Wolff must surely have implied the "*zogn*."

In 1905 a serious critique of modern score-based *ḥazzanut* by the disciples followers and imitators of Salomon Sulzer was made by the Odessa cantor Pinchas Minkowsky (1859?–1925). Sulzer had introduced a declamatory style of singing, stressing the inner meaning of the liturgical word. The old *ḥazzanut* had rather stressed the overall mood of the prayers or the particular liturgical occasion. This was effected through what Minkowsky called the *ne'imah*, the extemporary free-rhythmical chant, in other words the "*zogn*." Sulzer himself had combined the declamatory style with the old *ne'imah*, but his followers, so enamored by Sulzer's innovative declamatory style, dubbed

*Sulzerismus* by Minkowsky, sometimes took it to an absurd degree (Avenary 1985: 234–38; Schleifer 1999/2000: 154–56).[107] Minkowsky's critique can, with justification, be extended to include not just the direct imitators of Sulzer, but also much of the German *ḥazzanut* in the post-*mešorer* era as graduates of the Lehrerseminar performed it.

In our account of the new institutions for the training of *ḥazzanim* in Germany there had been one truly successful example, the *Institut* of Moritz Deutsch in Breslau. Deutsch was successful, not only because of his own personal abilities as a teacher, but because in his *Institut* he combined both methods, the old and the new. He still maintained the old "apprenticeship" method, in which much of the former oral-style learning was continued, but it now took place within an institutionalized framework. At the same time, written scores of *nusaḥ* and *ḥazzanut* were also utilized, and students received a thorough grounding in western music. Many students attended Deutsch's *Institut* having already acquired the qualification as *Lehrer*, so that all their efforts could now be directed into *ḥazzanut*. While the *Lehrerseminare* ensured a continued supply of cantors of sorts, only a synthesis of the old and modern methods of teaching could really produce *ḥazzanim* who were both musically skilled and yet at the same time practitioners of the traditional cantorial art.

107 Avenary 1985 includes only extracts of Minkowsky's article. The full article entitled "Der Sulzerismus und die moderne synagogale Liturgie" first appeared in *OUKZ* 25, 17 February–6 October 1905.

## REFERENCES

### Abbreviations

*AZJ* *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judenthums.* Berlin, 1837–1922.
*GJNB* *Grosse Jüdische National-Biographie,* ed. S. Wininger. Czernowitz 1925–36.
*GZ-W* *Gemeindezeitung für die israelitischen Gemeinden Württembergs.* Stuttgart 1924–38.
HStAS Hauptstaatsarchiv Württemberg, Stuttgart.
*IL* *Der israelitische Lehrer.* Mainz 1860–72.
*Israelit* *Der Israelit.* Frankfurt 1860–1938.
*IV* *Der israelitische Volkslehrer.* Frankfurt 1851–60.
*JL* *Jüdisches Lexikon.* Berlin 1927–30.
*MGG* *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart,* ed. F. Blume. Kassel 1949–68.
*OUKZ* *Österreichisch-ungarische Kantoren Zeitung* (supplement to *Die Warheit).* Vienna 1881–1902.

Adler, I.
1966 *La pratique musicale savante dans quelques communautès juives en Europe aux XVIIème–XVIIIème siècles. 2 vols.* Paris.
1989 *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840. RISM IX², 2 vols. Munich.*
1995 *The Study of Jewish Music: A Bibliographical Guide.* Jerusalem. (Yuval Monograph Series, 10).

Adler, L.
1931 Hundert Jahre synagogale Musik in Württemberg. *Gemeindezeitung für die israelitischen Gemeinden Württembergs (Beilage)* 3, no. 18: ii–iii.

Albert, P. C.
1977 *The Modernization of French Jewry: Consistory and Community in the Nineteenth Century.* Hanover, NH.

Avenary, H.
1960 The Musical Vocabulary of Ashkenazic Hazanim. *Studies in Biblical and Jewish Folklore,* ed. Raphael Patai, pp. 187–98. Bloomington, IN.
1985 *Kantor Salomon Sulzer und seine Zeit.* Sigmaringen.

Baer, A.
1883 *Baal T'fillah: oder der practische Vorbeter.* 2nd ed. Gothenberg. Reprint, with a Preface by Eric Werner. New York, 1953.

Bamberger, N., ed.
1914 *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Bestehen der Israelitischen Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt.* Würzburg.

Bauer, J.
n.d. *L'ècole rabbinique de France (1830–1930).* Paris.

Bekanntmachung Cassel
1810 *Bekanntmachung wegen besserer Einrichtung des Gottesdienstes in den Synagogen. Cassel.* Printed in *Sulamith* 3, no. 6: 366–80.

Bericht Cöln
1908 *Bericht über das Jüdische Lehrerseminar in Cöln.* Cöln.

Berichte Düsseldorf
1869 *Berichte über die Bildungsanstalt für israelitische Lehrer in Düsseldorf. I. Bericht.* Düsseldorf.
1871 *II. Bericht.* Düsseldorf.

Berichte Münster
1875, 1878–80,
1879-89 *Berichte. Marks-Haindorf'sche Stiftung.* Münster.

Binder, A. W.
1969 Isaac Offenbach. *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 14: 215–223.

Brann, M.
1904 *Geschichte des jüdisch-theologischen Seminars in Breslau.* Breslau.

Breuer, M.
1992 *Modernity within Tradition: The Social History of German Orthodoxy in Imperial Germany,* transl. Elizabeth Petuchowski. New York.

Burney, C.
1952 (1775) *An Eighteenth-Century Musical Tour in Central Europe and* the Netherlands. 2 vols. 2nd ed., ed. P. A. Scholes. London.

Cohn, J.
1915 *Geschichte der jüdischen Gemeinde Rawitsch.* Berlin.

Deutsch, M.
1871 *Vorbeterschule: vollständige Sammlung der alten Synagogen-Intonationen.* Breslau.
1880 *Breslaur Synagogengesänge: Liturgie der neuen Synagoge, in Musik gesetzt für Solo und Chor und Ohne Orgelbegleitung.* Leipzig.
1890 Der Ritualgesang der Synagoge. *Anhang zur Vorbeterschule.* Breslau.

Dicker, H.
1984 *Creativity, Holocaust, Reconstruction: Jewish Life in Württemberg, Past and Present.* New York.

Ehrlich, H.
1913 *[Lebenslauf und Tagebuch von Hermann (Aron) Ehrlich. Lehrer und Cantor in Berkach].* MS, Archive Collection, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

Eliav, M.
1960 החינוך היהודי בגרמניה בימי ההשכלה והאמנציפציה. ירושלים. (Jewish education in Germany in the period of the Enlightenment and Emancipation)

Festschrift Württemberg
1912 *Festschrift zum 50 jährigen Jubiläum des Vereins israelitischer Lehrer und Vorsänger im Kènigreich Württemberg.* Stuttgart.

Fischer, W.
1961 Der Volksschullehrer: zur Sozialgeschichte eines Berufsstandes. *Soziale Welt* 13: 37–47.

Friedmann, A.
1904 *Der synagogale Gesang.* Berlin.
1918 *Lebensbilder berühmter Kantoren.* Vol. 1. Berlin.
1927 *Lebensbilder.* Vol. 3. Berlin.
1929 *50 Jahre in Berlin, 1878–1928: Erinnerungen.* Berlin.

Frisch, E., ed.
1934 *Von der Frankfurter Juden Vergangenheit (Sitten und Bräuchen) aus Joahnn Schudt's Merkwürdigkeitigen.* Berlin.

Geiger, S.
1862 ספר דברי קהילות. פרנקפורט.
(The Book of Community Matters)

Goldberg, G.
1989/90 Neglected sources for the Historical Study of Synagogue Music: the Prefaces to Louis Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah u-T'fillah* and *Todah W'simrah:* Annotated Translations. *Musica Judaica* 11/1: 28–57.
2000 *Maier Levi of Esslingen, Germany: A Small-Town Ḥazzan in the Time of Emancipation and his Cantorial Compendium.* Ph.D. Diss. Jerusalem.

Grossherzoglich Badischer Oberrath der Israeliten
1824 *In Betreff des israelitischen Gottesdienstes und Religionsunterricht.* Karlsruhe.

Grossherzoglich israelitischer Oberrath in Schwerin
1843 *Synagogen-Ordnung für die Grossherzogthums Mecklenberg-Schwerin.* Schwerin.

Gutmann, J.
1926? *Geschichte der jüdischen Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt in Berlin.* Teil II. Berlin.

Hahn, J.
1994 *Jüdisches Leben in Esslingen: Geschichte, Quellen und Dokumentation.* Sigmaringen.

Harris, I., ed.
1906 *Jews' College Jubilee Volume.* London.

Heine, H.
1892 *The Works of Heinrich Heine,* transl. Ch. G. Leland. Vol. 1. London.
1937 *Der Rabbi von Bacherach: Ein Fragment.* Berlin.
1948 *The Poetry and Prose of Heinrich Heine,* ed. F. Ewen. New York.

Holzman, M.
1909 *Geschichte der jüdischen Lehrer-Bildungsanstalt in Berlin.* Berlin.

Horwitz, L.
1910 *Die Israeliten unter dem Kènigreich Westfalen.* Berlin.

Human, A.
1898 *Geschichte der Juden im Herzogtum S.-Meinigen-Hildburghaufen.* Sachsen-Meinigen.

Hyamson, A.
1955 *Jews' College,* London, 1855–1955. London.

Idelsohn, A. Z.
1929 *Jewish Music in its Historical Development.* New York.
1932 *The Synagogue Song of the German Jews in the 18. Century.* (HOM 6). Leipzig.

Jacobsohn, B.
1912 *Fünfzig Jahre: Erinnerungen aus Amt und Leben.* Berlin.

Jacobsohn, B. and L. Liebling
1880 *Schire-Beth Jaacob: Israelitisches Schul- und Gemeinde-Gesangbuch.* Altona.

Jahresberichte Breslau
1856–89 *Jahresberichte des jüdisch-theologisches Seminars Breslau.* Breslau.

Kandel, I. L.
1910 *The Training of Elementary School Teachers in Germany.* New York.

Katz, D. S.
1995 A Prolegomenon to the Study of the Performance of Synagogue Music Involving M'shor'rim. *Journal of Synagogue Music* 24, no. 2: 35–79.

Kaufmann, W. H.
1982 A History of the Jewish Teachers Seminary in Würzburg (ILBA). In: *ILBA: Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt Würzburg, 1864–1938,* eds. Max Ottensoser and Alex Roberg, 25–86. Huntington Woods, MI.

Kircher, H.
1972 Wie schlecht geschützt ist Israel: Zur Szene am Frankfurter Ghetto-Tor in Heines 'Rabbi von Bacherach'. *Heine Jahrbuch* 11: 38–55.

Kirschner, E.

1897–1926 *Tehilloth L'el Elyon: Synagogen Gesänge für Kantor und Chor mit Orgelbegleitung*. 4 vols. Leipzig.

1914 *Über mittelalterische hebräische Poesien und ihre Singweisen*. Blaubeuren.

1933 *Erinnerungen aus meinem Leben*. MS. Archival Collection, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

1937 Die liturgische Entwicklung. In: *Festgabe 50 Jahre Hauptsynagoge München, 1887–1937*, eds. Leo Baerwald and Ludwig Fuechtwanger, 61–69. Munich.

Kober, A.

1954 Emancipation's Impact on the Education and Vocational Training of German Jewry. *Jewish Social Studies* 16, no. 12: 3–32; 151–76.

Kohn, M.

1839–44 *Vollständiger Jahrgang von Terzett-und Chorgesängen der Synagoge in München, nebst sämtlichen Chorresponsorien zu dén alten Gesangsweisen der Vorsänger* (חזנות). *Herausgebeben von den Synagogen-Chor-Comitè in München...* 3 vols. Munich.

1838 *Gottesdienst-Ordnung für die Synagogen des Königreichs Württemberg*. Stuttgart.

1841 *Amts-Instruction für die Vorsänger des Königreichs Württemberg*. Stuttgart.

Kulke, E.

1866 *Salomon Sulzer: Professor und Oberkantor, Biographische Skizze*. Vienna.

Lamberti, M.

1989 *State, Society, and the Elementary School in Imperial Germany*. New York.

Levy, J. B.

1911 *Der Vorbeter in Vergangenheit, Gegenwart und Zukunft*. Hamburg.

Lewandowski, L.

1871 *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah: ein- und zweistimmige Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*. 2nd ed. Berlin.

1876–82 *Todah W'simrah*. Berlin.

Lewin, A.
1909 *Geschichte der badischen Juden.* Karlsruhe.

Lowenstein, S. M.
1981 The 1840s and the Creation of the German-Jewish Religious Reform Movement. In: *Revolution and Evolution in 1848 in German-Jewish History,* eds. E. Werner Mosse, Arnold Puker and Reinhard Rürup, pp. 255–97. Tübingen.

Marksohn, A., and W. Wolf
1875 *Auswahl alter hebräischer Synagogalen Melodien, Vorrede.* Leipzig.

Meyer, M.
1979 The Religious Reform Controversy in the Berlin Jewish Community, 1814–1823. *Leo Baeck Institute Yearbook* 24: 139-55.
1997 *German-Jewish History in Modern Times,* ed. Michael A. Meyer and Michael Brenner. Vol. 2, *Emancipation and Acculturation 1780-1871;* Vol. 3, *Integration in Dispute 1871–1918.* New York.

Modena, J. A.
1622/23 Responsum. Printed in *Salomone Rossi, Hashirim Asher Lish'lomo (The Songs of Solomon),* ed. Fritz Rikko. Vol. 3. New York, 1973.

Müller, K. F.
1964 *Der Kantor: Sein Amt und seine Dienste.* Gütersloh.

Neeb, E.
1927 Die israelitische Gemeinde Mainz in der Neuzeit. *Menorah* 5, no. 12: 757–66.

Nulman, M.
1975 *Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music.* New York.

Oswald, J.
1976 [Unpublished Autobiography], transl. Lilly Stross.
(1913) MS. Archival Collection, Leo Baeck Institute, New York.

Petuchowski, J. J.
1968 *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism.* New York.

Prestel, C.
1989 *Jüdisches Schul-und Erziehungswesen in Bayern 1804–1933: Tradition und Modernisierung im Zeitalter der Emanzipation.* Gèttingen.

Rechenschafts-BerichtWürzburg
1893–1915 *Rechenschafts-Bericht über die Lehrerbildungs-Anstalt in Würzburg.* Würzburg.

Richarz, M.
1976 *Jüdisches Leben in Deutschland: Selbstzeugnisse zur Sozialgeschichte, 1780–1871.* New York.

Rose, A.
1914 *Shire Ya'akov.* Hannover.

Rosenthal, B.
1927 *Heimatgeschichte der badischen Juden.* Bühl.

Scheuermann, S.
1912 *Die gottesdienstlichen Gesänge der Israeliten für das ganze Jahr.* Frankfurt.

Schleifer, E.
1995/96 המוסיקה של לבנדובסקי בפרספקטיבה היסטורית. דוכן 14 : 133–134.
(The Music of Lewandowski in Historical Perspective)
1999/2000 המאבק נגד המוסיקה של זולצר ולבנדובסקי במאה העשרים. דוכן 15 : 152–167.
(The Struggle against the Music of Sulzer and Lewandowski in the Twentieth century)

Scholem, G.
1980 *From Berlin to Jerusalem: Memories of My Youth,* transl. Harry Zohn. New York.

Schorch, I.
1981 Emancipation and the Crisis of Religious Authority: The Emergence of the Modern Rabbinate. In: *Revolution and Evolution: 1848 in German-Jewish History,* ed. Werner E. Mosse, 205–53. Tübingen.

Schudt, J. J.
1922 (1714–18)
*Jüdische Merkwürdigkeiten.* 4 vols. Frankfurt and Leipzig. Reprint Berlin.

Sebba, J.
1914–20 *Schirei Jossef: Rezitative für den israelitischen Gottesdienst.* 4 vols. Tuckum, Kurland.

Sendrey, A.
1951 *Bibliography of Jewish Music.* New York.

Seroussi, E.
1982 Eduard Birnbaum: A Bibliography. *Yuval* 4: 170–78.

Sholom A.
1985 *The Nightingale or, the Sage of Yossele Solovey the Cantor,* transl. Aliza Shevrin. New York.

Spitzer, H.
1989/90 Moritz Deutsch's Preface to his *Vorbeterschule* (Breslau, 1871). *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 12: 33–39.

Stark, C.
1980 *Judenthum, Judenemanzipation und jüdische Gemeinde im 19. und 20. Jahrhundert: das Beispiel Esslingen.* Zulassungsarbeit zur 1. Dienstprüfung für das Lehramt an Grund- und Hauptschulen. Wendingen.

Stauben, D.
1860 *Scènes de la vie juive en Alsace.* Paris.
1991 *Scenes of Jewish Life in Alsace,* transl. Rose Choron. Malibu, CA.

Sulzer, S.
1840 *Schir Zion. Gottesdienstliche Gesänge der Israeliten.* Vol. 1. Vienna.
1860 *Dudaèm: kleines liturgisches Gesangbuch zum Gebrauche für Schulen, kleinere Gemeinden und die häusliche Andacht.* Vienna.
1865 *Schir Zion,* vol. 2. Vienna.
1905 *Schir Zion* Revised by Joseph Sulzer. Reprint, New York 1954.

Tänzer, A.
1927 *Die Geschichte der Juden in Jebenhausen und Geppingen.* Berlin. Reprint. Weisenhorn, 1988.
1937 *Die Geschichte der Juden in Württemberg.* Frankfurt.
1982 (1905) *Die Geschichte der Juden in Hohenems und im übrigen* Voralberg. Meran. Reprint Bregenz.

Tenorth, H.E.
1987 Lehrerberuf und Lehrerbildung. *Handbuch der deutschen Bildungsgeschichte, Band. III: 1800–1870,* ed. Karl-Ernst Jeismann and Peter Lundgreen, pp. 250–70. Munich

Wagenaar, L.
1918 *Het Nederlandsch Israël.* Seminarium. Amsterdam.

Weinberg, W.
1982 To be a *Jüdischer Lehrer:* Germany 1936–39. In: ILBA: *Israelitische Lehrerbildungsanstalt Würzburg, 1864–1938,* eds. Max Ottensoser and Alex Roberg, pp. 193–207. Huntington Woods, MI.

Werner, E.
1961 An Early Compendium of Ashkenazic Music. *Studies in Bibliography and Booklore* 5: 110–21.
1976 *A Voice Still Heard: The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazic Jews.* University Park, Penn.

Wertheimer, J.
1987 *Unwelcome Strangers: East European Jews in Imperial Germany.* New York.

Wolff, A. A.
1839 *Agenda zum Gebrauche beim israelitischen Gottesdienste.* Copenhagen.

Wolff, L.
1882 *Der jüdische Lehrer: sein Wirken und Leben.* Rostock.
1891 *Ein Stiefkind der jüdischen Gemeinden: Der jüdische Kultusbeamte.* Berlin.
1919 *Fünfzig Jahre Lebenserfahrungen eines jüdischen Lehrers und Schriftstellers.* Leipzig.