NOTE TO USERS

Sephardic Influences in the Liturgy of Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews of London

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ABSTRACT

Sephardic Influences in the liturgy of the Ashkenazic Orthodox Jews of London

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This thesis examines Sephardic melodies that were adopted into the liturgy of the Ashkenazic Jews in London during the early twentieth century. The work begins by presenting a history of Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews from the time they settled in England to the end of the nineteenth century. Through an analysis of social and religious changes taking place among English Jews of the nineteenth century, this thesis explicates reforms in the synagogue service that led to the inclusion of polyphonic music into the synagogue and eventually, to the incorporation of Sephardic melodies into Ashkenazic synagogue practice. The attempt to canonize the music of Ashkenazic Jews in England was manifested in the widely successful *Handbook of Synagogue Music* (1889, revised 1899). The second edition is the focus of this thesis. Edited by Francis Lyon Cohen and David M. Davis under the auspices of the United Synagogue and the Chief Rabbi, this volume included Ashkenazic pieces by English as well as non-English Jewish composers. Fifteen melodies of Sephardic origin from the Sephardic compilation *The Ancient Melodies*, compiled by David de Sola and Emanuel Aguilar in 1857, as well as from *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, compiled by Charles Verrinder in 1880 were included in the 1899 edition of the *Handbook*. This thesis examines the reasons these Sephardic melodies were chosen for inclusion by the editors of the Ashkenazic *Handbook* during a period of reform.

RÉSUMÉ

Les influences séfarades dans la liturgie des Juifs orthodoxes ashkénazes de Londres

Naomi Cohn Zentner

Cette thèse examine les mélodies séfarades qui furent adoptées dans la liturgie des Juifs de Londres au début du XXe siècle. Elle débute par une présentation de l'histoire des Juifs séfarades et ashkénazes depuis l'époque où ils s'installèrent en Angleterre jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle. Une analyse de l'évolution sociale et religieuse intervenue parmi les Juifs anglais du XIXe siècle permettra d'expliquer les réformes opérées dans l'office aboutissant à l'introduction dans les synagogues de la musique polyphonique, et par la suite, à l'incorporation de mélodies séfarades dans la pratique synagogale ashkénaze. La tentative de consacrer l'usage de la musique des Juifs ashkénazes en Angleterre apparaît manifestement dans le succès remporté par le *Handbook of Synagogue Music* (Guide de la musique synagogale), paru en 1889 et mis à jour en 1899. L'étude de la seconde édition de ce guide constitue la pièce maîtresse de la présente thèse. Édité par Francis Lyon Cohen et David M. Davis sous les auspices de la United Synagogue et du grand rabbin, ce volume comprend des airs ashkénazes, œuvres de compositeurs juifs anglais ou non anglais. Quinze mélodies d'origine séfarade extraites du recueil séfarade *The Ancient Melodies* compilé par David de Sola et Emanuel Aguilar en 1857, ainsi que du *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, composé par Charles Verrinder en 1880, furent insérées dans l'édition de 1899 du *Handbook*. Cette thèse examine les raisons pour lesquelles ces mélodies séfarades furent choisies par les auteurs du *Handbook* ashkénaze durant une période de réforme.

This thesis is dedicated
To the blessed memory of my beloved grandfather

- Lawrence David Nathan -

Himself a scholar of Jewish History
Who enabled me through his generosity to pursue this Masters Degree

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Acknowledgments

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Introduction- Overview

Following the expulsion of the Jews from Spain in 1492, a clear distinction evolved between Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews in the realms of language, custom, and liturgical tradition. As a rule, each group maintained its own customs, with continued internal influences within the Ashkenazic or the Sephardic sphere. However, in Western Europe, Ashkenazim and Sephardim lived at close quarters, and there rare occurrences of cross fertilization occurred. This thesis argues that the musical influences Sephardic Jews had on their Ashkenazic counterparts in late nineteenth-century London, as reflected by the adoption of musical repertoire, can be included in that specialized category.[1]

Many of the Jews living in England in 1880 lived an Anglicized life. They maintained English values, enjoyed equal rights, and lacked in the realm of Jewish learning. Already in the 1820s, the synagogue service changed gradually in response to the gentile view of Jewish rituals, so that Jewish religious ritual would be compatible with Jewish secular life and beliefs. For example, only men in top hats were allowed the honorable *Aliyah LaTorah* (ascent to the reading of the Holy book of Moses); clergymen, then called "ministers," wore canonicals; and decorum was deemed of the utmost importance.

Also reformed were the musical aspects of both Ashkenazic and Sephardic synagogue ritual. Choirs were introduced in the 1840s, and gained increasingly in popularity, such that new choirs were rapidly established in synagogues, and appeared as a weekly feature in Shabbat and festival services by the 1880s. The music sung by these

1. London was chosen to serve as a case-study for this thesis because of the resources available; however, Sephardic musical influence is evident in other parts of England as well.

choirs tended to be too complex for the community to join in the singing; in fact, it was sometimes too challenging for even the trained schoolboy choristers to perform correctly. As a result, intricate music used in the services excluded the lay members of the congregation from participating. In fact, by that time the community in some synagogues served only as an audience instead of as participants.[2] Because the choir and cantor excluded the need for a congregational response, congregational rejoinders in the appropriate places during the prayer service diminished. This situation gave rise to the need for a synagogue hymn book, comprising melodies for the synagogue services for Shabbat and festivals that facilitated congregational participation and choral musical performance.

In 1889, the first version of *A Handbook of Synagogue Music: The Voice of Prayer and Praise* (henceforth "Handbook") was published, with a revised version printed some ten years later. Edited by B.L. Moseley and Francis Lyon Cohen, the *Handbook* was intended to be the hymnbook for Ashkenazic Anglo Jewry, used by congregants in conjunction with the *Siddur*, the daily prayer book. The *Handbook*—which comprised the melodies sung in synagogue during the Jewish year—was invaluable to cantors, choirmasters, choristers and congregation members for everyday usage. Historically, the *Handbook* has also served as a document of the standard Western European synagogue music repertoire. Its immense popularity, as evidenced by the release of a revised edition in 1899 and five subsequent editions over the course of the next 65 years, testifies to its musical significance in the British Jewish community. While

2. In a sermon given in 1884, Simeon Singer, the New West End Synagogue minister, bemoaned the passive role of the congregation, with the service divided between the choir and reader. See quote on p. 35.

it is difficult to determine how the editors chose musical material for the *Handbook*, it is simpler to ascertain the volume's musical sources.

Of the many non-English musical sources, we can cite numerous examples, such as the works of Solomon Sulzer, Louis Lewandowski, and Samuel Naumbourg. Anglo-Jewish composers included Julius Lazarus Mombach, S. W. Waley, Charles Salaman, Rev. Marcus Hast, and David M. Davis. Also used were preexisting Anglo-Jewish musical compilations, such as *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews,* edited by Charles Verrinder for the Reform synagogue.

This thesis focuses on one source in particular: a number of melodies originally from the Spanish and Portuguese, or Sephardic, Jews. Fifteen melodies of Sephardic origin appear in the *Handbook of Synagogue Music.* My research and comparison reveal that nearly all were taken from *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, edited by David Aharon de Sola and arranged by Emanuel Aguilar in 1857.[3] Why did the editors of the *Handbook*, compiled for the usage of Ashkenazic congregations, decide to include melodies that had never been part of the traditional Ashkenazic repertoire? This issue will be explored further from different angles.

Firstly, including Sephardic melodies in Ashkenazic synagogue music compilations was not an unknown phenomenon. Viennese cantor Solomon Sulzer had published two Sephardic melodies in his publication *Schir Zion* (Vienna, ca. 1840), pieces

3. Emanuel Abraham Aguilar and David Aaron de Sola, eds., *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London: Wessel and Co., 1857). This book includes 71 melodies and an extensive introduction. It was compiled in 1857 by David Aaron de Sola, the cantor of the Spanish and Portuguese London synagogue, who originated from Amsterdam, and the melodies were harmonized by composer Emanuel Abraham Aguilar. Its purpose was to preserve and lay out the historical research of the Spanish and Portuguese oral traditions. This is the earliest print source for the main body of traditional Spanish and Portuguese melodies.

that he might have heard in Vienna's Sephardic congregation.[4] Parisian Samuel Naumbourg had documented some songs of the local Portuguese community in his collection *Agudath Shirim,* possibly for general interest as well as to add variety. Research shows that the Ashkenazic synagogue in Paris used several Sephardic melodies up to the end of the nineteenth century.[5] The Reform congregation in Hamburg, and later a similar congregation in London, chose to adopt Sephardic pronunciation and melodies in an attempt to break away from the standard traditional Ashkenazic customs and create something "new."[6]

Underlying these phenomena was the assumption among some that Sephardic traditions were, to some extent, more historically accurate.[7] Thus, the Reform community of Hamburg employed David Meldola (1780- 1861), a Portuguese cantor from Amsterdam, who introduced traditional Portuguese melodies into Hamburg's Reform temple. Portuguese melodies sung there continued to spread to other Reform Synagogues in Germany, including Berlin. Louis Lewandowski, a Jewish composer of Berlin, included a Portuguese melody in his *Kol Rinnah U'tefillah* (1882).

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4. Edwin Seroussi, *Spanish Portuguese Synagogue Music in Nineteenth-Century Reform Sources from Hamburg: Ancient Tradition in the Dawn of Modernity* (Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1996), 43.

5. Ibid., 44.

6. For more on the Spanish and Portuguese music used in the Hamburg Reform Synagogue, see Seroussi, *Spanish Portuguese Synagogue Music in Nineteenth-Century Reform Sources from Hamburg.* Another trend prevalent in the *Haskalah* movement (on which I elaborate later on) was a rejection of both the religious Eastern-European small-village Judaism and the Ashkenazic Jewish tongue of choice, *Yiddish*—the Judeo-German dialect favored by Ashkenazic Jews. Spanish and Portuguese customs, music and even pronunciation offered a viable alternative to the Ashkenazic Orthodox Judaism eschewed by the *Haskalah* movement.

7. "Intellectuals within the Reform circles maintained that the Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew was more correct from a historical perspective." Ibid., 41.

The West London Synagogue of British Jews, a Reform synagogue established in 1840 also adopted Sephardic pronunciation and other Sephardic customs, including some melodies originating in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue.[8] Interestingly, Sephardic melodies in the Reform repertory appeared later in the *Handbook*. Since the Reform hymnbook was published before the *Handbook*, this tome was another source of borrowings, in addition to the *Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue*.[9]

The 1889 *Handbook* had fewer Sephardic melodies than its revised edition, published in 1899, therefore I chose to focus on the latter which was also the volume more popularly used. While Francis Lyon Cohen edited both versions, David M. Davis only edited the second. The editors of the *Handbook* clearly had great influence over the decision to include Sephardic melodies. David M. Davis, choirmaster of the New West London Synagogue, arranged many of the melodies in the *Handbook* while also including some of his own compositions. I believe that his coauthor, musicologist and Reverend Francis Lyon Cohen, played a greater role of the two in the choice of material.

In 1892, Herman Adler, the Chief Rabbi of the Orthodox Ashkenazic communities in London, wrote a pamphlet urging choirmasters under his auspices to utilize melodies of simple contour to encourage congregational participation.[10] Sephardic melodies had developed into a style especially suited to communal singing, since they were usually sung by congregations in Sephardic synagogues. This may partially explain

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8. The congregation's membership of Ashkenazic and Sephardic Jews, coupled with internal politics, probably shaped the decision to incorporate Sephardic melodies and employ Sephardic pronunciation.

9. For a lengthier discussion of the six Sephardic melodies that appear in the Reform hymnal and were adopted into the *Handbook*, see Chapter IV, pp. 85-86.

10. For a quote of the Chief Rabbi's words, see Chapter III, p.52.

why Sephardic melodies were incorporated into the *Handbook*. Appendix B, example 2 *Havu Ladonoi* provides a good example of "simple contours" in Sephardic music that were attractive to the editors of the *Handbook* as easier for the community lay members to join in. The melody has a narrow melodic range (a fifth), uncomplicated rhythmic units, no modulations, and is highly repetitive.[11]

Many characteristics rendered Sephardic melodies appropriate for inclusion in the *Handbook*: They sounded different, but enjoyed unquestioned status, as they were already in use by the Orthodox Spanish and Portuguese community. Moreover, they were simple and repetitive with small melodic ranges and few modulations, making it easy for the congregants to sing along. Cohen himself found Sephardic melodies to be significant historical milestones in the development of Synagogue music. As I show later in this thesis, his training as a music historian played a role in the incorporation of Sephardic melodies into the *Handbook*.

Even today in 2004, Sephardic melodies are still sung in most Ashkenazic synagogues in London. They fulfilled a social and musical need when introduced into the *Handbook* and today continue to serve a function in the prayer service.

11. For a more complex sample of a melody that would be more difficult for the community to join in, see Appendix B, example no.6- *Av Harochamim* (no. 68 in the *Handbook*); this was composed by Samuel Naumbourg and arranged by Francis Lyon Cohen. Its numerous chromatisations and melodic range of more than a tenth would make it challenging for non professional voices to sing.

Chapter I- Reforms in Synagogue Ritual among London Jews in the Nineteenth Century: An historical background

Introduction

By the second half of the nineteenth century, major changes had been implemented in the rituals of Orthodox synagogues in London. Sermons were given in English, prayer was partially abridged, and rabbis and cantors were dressed in canonicals greatly resembling Anglican ministers of that time.[12] To the mass of primarily religious Eastern-European Jews who began arriving in waves in England during the 1880s, this phenomenon must have been quite disturbing. Were these the same Jews who had emigrated from European communities only a few generations ago? What influences could have possibly provoked a synagogue manner so foreign to traditional Judaism in other parts of the world?

The aforementioned characteristics of English Jewry, which occurred concurrently in other parts of western Europe albeit in different patterns, were due to the unique historical circumstances and intense sociological process that occurred over a four hundred-year period. An attempt to research these historical and sociological causes necessitates an extensive analysis of the English Jew's background, religiosity and mindset. While a thorough examination of this topic is beyond the scope of this work, this chapter highlights the main points emphasized in current literature on the subject.

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12. Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England 1714-1830: Tradition and Change in a Liberal Society 1714-1830* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 160-163.

Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews in England[13]

Following their expulsion from Spain and Portugal in 1492 and 1497 respectively, Jewish Conversos immigrated to eastern and western Europe and to the newly discovered America, continuing this trend well into the seventeenth century. Spanish and Portuguese Jewish immigrants became an important financial force in their new countries of settlement, due to their experience in international trade, financial connections within Spain and Portugal, and vast knowledge of the trade routes from the Iberian Peninsula to the New World. The contribution of Sephardic Jewry (many of whom were successful international merchants) to their new homelands' economies led to their official recognition as individuals and as communities, sometimes affording them legal rights that were unheard of in other places where Jews settled at the time.[14] Yet, there were times when they had to hide their Jewish identities. In England, for example, several Spanish and Portuguese Jews lived incognito disguised as Spanish Catholics from the early seventeenth century, until Oliver Cromwell agreed unofficially to allow Spanish and

13. The term *Sepharad*, taken from *Ovadiyah*, verse 20, was adopted in the Middle Ages to mean Spain. At that time, Germany was called *Ashkenaz*, originating from Genesis 10: 3, Jews originating from Germany–Poland were termed Ashkenazim, or Ashkenazi Jews, and the Spanish and Portuguese Jews were termed Sepharadim, or Sephardic Jews. Today Sephardic is applied loosely to Jews of Mediterranean-Spanish origin and Ashkenazic refers to Jews of Franco-Polish-German origin. Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews in England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 136, n.1.

14. Yosef Kaplan, *An Alternative path to Modernity; The Sephardi Diaspora in Western Europe* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2000), 51. Kaplan differentiates between Sephardic Jews and Spanish and Portuguese Jews, maintaining that the Spanish and Portuguese were not the 1492 expellees but rather those Jews who stayed behind and became "New Christians". Some of these were *Conversos* who secretly practiced Judaism, while others did not. Many of these families were among the Jews who fled from Spain to Portugal in 1492 and were forced to convert five years later. Only towards the end of the sixteenth century did these families leave Portugal and Spain to create new communities in Venice, Amsterdam and south-west France, and later other centers in Europe and the Americas

Portuguese Jews to reside in England in 1656 while professing their Judaism openly. His decision was motivated mainly by economic, but also religious and political reasons.[15]

With the immigration of several rich Sephardic merchants from Amsterdam and elsewhere in the sixteenth century, the Jewish population in England was predominantly Sephardic until the early eighteenth century. Sephardic Jews immigrated to England from Portugal, Holland, Italy, France, Germany, and North Africa throughout the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, by the end of the eighteenth century, only two thousand Sephardic Jews were living in London, due in the main to their rapid assimilation into the non-Jewish English population.[16]

The first Sephardic Jews living in England—who posed as Catholics in Spain, Portugal, and France—had learned to adopt the external signs of European culture without surrendering their religious beliefs. Even those Sephardim who had not lived incognito were receptive to the social and cultural life of their non-Jewish surroundings.[17] In eighteenth-century England, Sephardic Jews were more (outwardly) anglicized than their Ashkenazic counterparts while retaining Jewish beliefs and customs.

> In matters of dress, speech, manners and the like, bourgeois Sephardim were indistinguishable from their non-Jewish counterparts. They cultivated non-Jewish learning, composed poetry, plays and philosophical treaties in European languages, and still attempted to preserve the learning and customs of traditional Judaism. For the Sephardim who settled in England and for their children the

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15. For an extensive description of the admission of Jews into England in 1656, see Todd M. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain 1656-2000* (London: University of California Press, 2002), 19-27.

16. Vivian David Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain since 1858* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990), 5-7. In comparison, by the end of the eighteenth century the number of Ashkenazim living in England was 20,000. For more on the rapid assimilation of Sephardic Jews into non-Jewish society, see Todd M. Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish history 1656-1945* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), 1-32.

17. Sephardic Jews living in Protestant areas such as Hamburg and Amsterdam that were more tolerant toward Jews did not have to hide their identity. Upon arriving in England, these Jews were compelled to assume Catholic appearances and attend mass, etc'... See Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 18.

> acquisition of English manners and attitudes did not represent as dramatic a break with the past as it did for their Ashkenazi coreligionist. [18]

Having adopted non-Jewish patterns of life, educated Sephardim entered English upper-class circles much earlier than Ashkenazic Jews. This was due in part to the social and cultural makeup of the Ashkenazic communities, who had lived among non-Europeanized Jews for the most part before immigrating and were uncomfortable socializing with upper-class non-Jews. Another reason was the fact that the Ashkenazic Jews did not accumulate enough wealth to enter upper class circles until the beginning of the nineteenth century, whereas the more established Sephardim had settled earlier and entered these spheres a century earlier.[19]

Between 1700 and 1830, the Jewish population in England increased by 2500 percent, primarily due to the immigration of Ashkenazic Jews. By 1730, the majority of Jews were Ashkenazic, and by 1837, ninety percent of the community was Ashkenazic in descent, originating from Holland, Germany, Central Europe, and communities in Eastern Europe.[20] Members of the Sephardic community continued to occupy important positions in British society, but were heavily outnumbered by Ashkenazim.[21]

The Sephardic openness to general non-Jewish culture was countered by Sephardic institutional adherence to religious traditions. This control was clearly articulated by the creation of the *Mahamad* by the *Ascamot* they gave in 1663.[22]

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18. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 120-121.

19. Ibid., 251-263. Wealth and acculturation to the English way of life were the most important prerequisites for outsiders attempting at that time to enter upper-class English life.

20. Ibid., 172.

21. For example, the first Jew to be knighted was Sephardic Moses Montefiore in 1837, following his election as sheriff of London. In 1846, he was made a baronet.

> The *Mahamad* shall have authority and supremacy over everything and no person shall rise in the Synagogue to reprobate the decisions which they may take nor shall they draw up papers concerning it, and they who shall do so shall be subject to the penalty of *Herem*.[23]

In general, the Sephardic religious establishment was reluctant to reform their ritual, refusing to implement even those changes that would be permitted according to Jewish law. This rigidity inadvertently prompted members of the Sephardic synagogue, who had urged reforms in the services in the 1820s and were rebuffed, to branch off and create the reformed West London Synagogue in 1842.[24]

Sephardic Jews in their new countries of settlement tended to view their previous lives through rose-tinted glasses.[25] When reflecting on their ancestors' lives in the Iberian Peninsula, they tended to exaggerate their prominent positions and influence, as well as their learning, wisdom and wealth. The Jewish communities of the past in Spain were said to have exceeded all the other Jewish communities of the Diaspora in every respect. By romanticizing their former lives, Sephardic Jews were laying the foundation for what later became the myth of Sephardic superiority through which they viewed their entry into upper class English society as "natural."

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22. The Sephardic *Mahamad* was the governing committee of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, based on the model of the Amsterdam and Venice ex-*Converso* councils. It was the *Mahamad* that had the authority to give the *Ascamot*, meaning the laws and regulations—these were the civil and religious laws of the Spanish and Portuguese community.

23. See Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England: A History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish Community* (London: Methuen and Co., 1951), 28. The term *Herem* implies excommunication from the Jewish community.

24. David Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews: Social Relations and Political Culture, 1840-1914* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 49-51. The complete control enjoyed by the Spanish and Portuguese *Mahamad* over every aspect of Jewish life in their community from readmission in 1656 till the nineteenth century is well illustrated in Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England.* See in particular, 27-29.

25. For sources on the next two paragraphs, see Todd M. Endelman, "Disraeli and the Myth of Sephardi Superiority," *Jewish History* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 21-36

With the emigration of poorer, less well-educated Ashkenazic Jews to Western Europe, Sephardic Jews tried to find a stronghold that would distance them from their co-religionists; they were mortified at the prospect of being identified by non-Jews with the newly-arrived emigrants' undesirable image. This desire to dissociate from immigrant Ashkenazim strengthened their obsession with their Sephardic lineage, leading them to deploy the myth of the Sephardic nobility in an effort both to redirect any anti-Semitic sentiments that might arise and to enhance their own self- image.

In the words of Endelman, "The core of the myth...was the belief that Jews from the Iberian Peninsula were different in kind from other Jews, that they were superior by virtue of their culture, learning, wealth, descent, or indeed, even blood."[26] Among the consequences of this racial myth was Sephardic contempt for Ashkenazic Jews, which resulted in the Sephardim's adoption of discriminatory measures against their co-religionists from the seventeenth to late eighteenth centuries. In Amsterdam, these measures included prohibiting Ashkenazic women from attending services in Sephardic synagogues and revoking the membership of Sephardic men daring to marry Ashkenazic wives. In London, the tension between Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews was less severe. However, there is evidence that the Bevis Marks synagogue authorities imposed humiliating restrictions on the celebration of "mixed" marriages during the eighteenth century.

In contrast to the financial, social and cultural success of Sephardic Jews, Ashkenazic immigrants to England were in a much less fortunate position. Some three hundred Ashkenazic immigrants were living in London by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and between 1700 and 1750 around six thousand Ashkenazim immigrated to

26. Ibid., 22.

Britain, mostly from central Europe.[27] By and large, these were poor refugees. Their standard of general culture was lower and economic occupations more humble, resulting in their dependence on affluent Sephardic Jews. In fact, they were often employed as servants in Sephardic households.[28] Although the comfortably established English Sephardic community helped the newly arrived immigrants settle in their new country, the Sephardim did not consider them their equals.[29] Ashkenazic Jews differed from Sephardic Jews in many aspects: pronunciation of Hebrew, prayer rituals, melodies and cantillation. Ashkenazim appreciated and cultivated rabbinic scholarship; they spoke Yiddish, the Judeo-German dialect.[30] When they first arrived in England, they were strictly orthodox in practice and in 1753 showed little interest in acquiring Naturalization of Rights from the House of Lords, compared to the Sephardim who had much interest in it.

After the 1800s, Ashkenazic immigrants constituted the majority of immigrants arriving in England. Like their predecessors, they came from humble socioeconomic background and tended to be traditional, at least for the first few generations. The newly-arrived Ashkenazic immigrants held fast to their religious traditions, which offered a

27. Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 42.

28. Immigrants were often peddlers and street traders, and beginning in the 1760s, petty criminals as well. Ibid., 71.

29. On the topic of the Sephardic communities' attitude toward the Ashkenazic immigrants in Western Europe, see Kaplan, *An Alternative Path to Modernity*, 51-77. It is important to note that a handful of Sephardim also immigrated to England during the eighteenth century. Yet, in contrast to the Sephardim who arrived in the seventeenth century, most Sephardic immigrants arriving during this era were poor.

30. Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in England*, 197.

familiar island of comfort amongst a sea of foreign customs and language upon encountering a new land.[31]

During the first half of the nineteenth century, Jewish immigrants to Britain had come mainly from Central Europe. After 1850, a greater number began arriving from Eastern Europe. The emigration from Eastern Europe was partially instigated by Nicholas the First's persecution of the Jews in the Russian empire in the 1840s and other wars, pogroms and epidemics.[32] Poverty and changing Eastern European economy also caused the mass immigration to the West.

The Process of Acculturation

It would be misguided to assume that Ashkenazic Jews of Poland and Germany arriving in England were experiencing their first encounter with the modern world.[33] In Germany, in particular, many ancient Jewish communities had been exposed to European culture from as early as 1700. In this regard, immigrant experience was not homogenous. Jews from places such as Posen and Bavaria, with traditionalist Jewish communities, tended to be less modern than those from the more cosmopolitan Amsterdam and Berlin. Those hailing from upper-middle class homes had been exposed to a greater extent to European culture and learning than those from more impoverished families. In England,

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31. Steven Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858" (Ph.D. diss.,Yeshiva University, 1981), 138-143. Endelman claims that religious laxity was commonplace among the lowest and the highest classes, due to both groups' close connections to non-Jewish society. See Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 54-55.

32. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain*, 12-13. The persecution of Nicholas the First included conscriptions of Jewish children for military service, restrictions on Jewish economic activities, and limitations placed on practicing traditional Judaism. Other reasons for leaving Eastern Europe were the Crimean war, the cholera epidemic in western Russia in 1868, the Lithuanian famine of 1868-9, and the Odessa pogrom in 1871. Beginning in the 1840s and 1850s, England was used as a stop en route to the United States.

33. The following two paragraphs are based on Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 120-123.

Ashkenazic immigrants became acculturated at speeds proportionate to their income; the higher the economic status of the immigrant, the speedier his transition. Like Sephardic immigrants of the past, well-to-do Ashkenazim internalized the values of English life and remodeled their own lives and the life of their community based on these newly acquired values. They changed their dress, diet, education, and sexual behavior. Some central elements, such as synagogue worship and Jewish education, were retained in modified forms, while other characteristics—the long beard, central European dress and Yiddish language—were abandoned relatively quickly.

Examining the immigrants' relation to the issue of beards offers a window into the process of Anglicization. As one of the most distinctive Jewish characteristics, beards were among the first elements of Jewish life to be abandoned by the Anglo-Jewish middle class, in an attempt to adopt the clean-shaven look of wealthy Georgian gentlemen. As early as 1729, a foreign diplomat noted that if one saw a Jew wearing a beard one could be certain that he was either a rabbi or a very recent immigrant.[34] For Ashkenazic traditionalists, beards were not just a characteristic that set Jews apart from their non-Jewish counterparts; they were also an explicit prohibition mentioned in the five books of Moses.[35] However, the practice was so widespread by the early nineteenth century that even recent immigrants felt obliged to shave off their beards in order to secure employment as teachers in the homes of other well-to-do Jews.

Religious leniency characteristically occurred with Jewish immigrants arriving in England, Ashkenazic and Sephardic alike. Endelman claims that religious leniency

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34. Ibid., 122.

35. Leviticus 19:27. "Thou shall not destroy the side-growth of your beard." Chief Rabbi Hirschell Levin was greatly opposed to shaving off beards and reprimanded his congregants in the 1750s for transgressing such a serious law.

was widespread among the upper- middle class Jews, even by the 1730s or 1740s.[36] Laxity of observance of Jewish law was not motivated by ideological reasons. In contrast to the *Haskalah* movement in Germany, most English Jews stayed within Orthodox frameworks but ignored those elements of observance which were simply inconvenient to their daily lives.[37] Endelman appropriately labels them "Non–Observant Orthodox Jews."[38] Understanding the leniency in the observance of Jewish law by those Jews commonly termed as Orthodox Jews enables a better grasp of their later drives for reforms in the Orthodox synagogues. As they accustomed themselves to general English life in many aspects, including religiosity, there was no reason to prevent the entry of English influences into the synagogue.

Legal Status

For the first few decades after the Jews were unofficially readmitted into England in 1656, they saw themselves primarily as Jews and rarely, if ever, as Englishmen. This classification of identity was partially due to the circumstances created by the readmission of the Jews into England. When Dutch Jews wrote petitions appealing to Oliver Cromwell for official recognition of Jews already living in England during the early 1650s, they never received an answer. However, once they had openly admitted that they were Jews (in the petition) without a notable protest, it became clear that it was safe to request a

36. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 132-34.

37. The *Haskalah* was an ideological Jewish movement that encouraged disseminating modern European culture among Jews. It began in the 1750s in Germany and spread to Galicia, Lithuania and Russia. 'The *Haskalah* movement contributed towards assimilation in language, dress and manners by...fostering loyalty toward the modern centralized state. It regarded this assimilation as a precondition to and integral element in emancipation which *Haskalah* upheld as an objective.' *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Haskalah."

38. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 154.

place of worship and a burial ground, which they were permitted to have in 1656. The lack of legal permission was to the Jews' benefit. Because there had been no formal admission, no special rules were given to the Jews as a prerequisite for their admission, and they had no special status. In contrast, Jews in other parts of the continent had to conform to prescribed conditions, if they were tolerated at all.[39]

English Jews were granted many of the rights given to Christian citizens from the time they were admitted in the seventeenth century, privileges unheard of elsewhere in Europe. English-born Jews had the same legal status as other non-Anglicans and thanks to the absence of special anti-Jewish statutes, were not treated as second-class citizens. Because there were no laws preventing Jews from pursuing specific occupations or restricting the size of Jewish settlements, Jews did not feel that they had to fight for legal rights.[40] The long journey to achieving full emancipation began in 1833 and came to complete fruition in 1858, when Jews were finally exempted from taking an oath on the Christian Bible if they wanted to become members of the House of Commons.[41]

In essence, the circumstances of English Jews differed from that of their European counterparts not only in the absence of English legal anti-Semitic discrimination but also with regard to the relative ease with which laws that did disable them were repealed.

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39. Lipman, *A History of the Jews in Britain*, 4.

40.Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 272-278. The only legal obstacles to obtaining full political rights were the Christological oaths which had to be taken by anyone wishing to participate in public life.

41. For more on the process of emancipation of English Jews, see Michael C. Salbstein, *The Emancipation of the Jews in Britain: The Question of the Admission of the Jews to Parliament 1828-1860* (London: Associated University Press, 1982); Jacob Katz, *Out of the Ghetto: The Social Background of Jewish Emancipation, 1770-1870* (Syracuse, New York: Syracuse University Press, 1998), Maurice Freedman, ed., *A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish community* (London: Vallentine, Mitchel & Co.,Ltd., 1955), 37- 47.

Social Acculturation

Following emancipation in 1858, English Jews were not harassed by political or social anti-Semitism—yet another realm in which the behavior of non Jews toward Jews in England vastly differed from that of the continent.[42]

The social acceptance of English Jewry since their admission in 1656 had great influence on their social behavior. Because they felt accepted and even relatively on par with general society, many Jews were at ease and adapted their behavior to that of Englishmen. This was particularly apparent in the wealthy upper class circles into which Sephardic Jews were quick to integrate, due to their wealth and history of acculturation in their lands of origin.

Efforts to immigrate to England between 1798 and 1815 were thwarted, as a result of the French revolution and Napoleonic wars. The result was a considerably lower rate of immigration — and a Jewish community that was increasingly British born and of British ancestry.[43] Lower rates of immigration also caused Jews to gain financial stability, with many rising to the middle class even before full emancipation was achieved in 1858. As fewer impoverished immigrants arrived, native-born English Jews did not have to care financially for their newly- arrived poorer co-religionists.

By the nineteenth century, English Jews felt at home; their average economic and social status was relatively high whereas their degree of religiosity diminished in direct relation to the extent of their acculturation.

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42. For more on the effects of the emancipation on British Jews, see Israel Finestein, *Jewish Society in Victorian England* (London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1993), 154-179. See in particular his chapter entitled *Post Emancipation Jewry: The Anglo- Jewish Experience.*

43. Vivian David Lipman, "The Victorian Jewish Background," in *Victorian Jews through British Eyes,* eds. Ann and Roger Cowen (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986), xii.

> The immigrant came poor, observant and hard working: as he rose in the social scale, he aped the attitude of the older established families, including, of course, their religious view. As the older settlers disappeared through drift, intermarriage or sterility, the one-time immigrants took their place and were themselves replaced by a more recent set of arrivals.[44]

This quote tells of the repeated cycle of immigration, acculturation, and often assimilation. In these cycles, fresh immigrants would have similar social status and religiosity to those who preceded them. English coreligionists who had become anglicized during their time in England looked askance at their brethren; they perceived the new immigrants to be old-fashioned and embarrassing. By and large, established English Jews thought that new immigrants (with their foreign language and foreign customs) did not promote a healthy image of Jewish people to general English society. This notion was particularly strong during the Victorian era, when respectability and properness were perceived as crucial characteristics of law-abiding English citizens. The political emancipation granted to English Jews promoted the feeling that they truly belonged in English society and ultimately drove them to try to live up to the Victorian image of the emancipated liberal Jew.

The granting of equal civil rights in Europe beginning at the end of the eighteenth century empowered Jews to feel that they did indeed have a place as Jews in general society. As termed by Endelman, "the corrosive effects" of the emancipation were that Jews either abandoned their religion completely or began to implement changes in Jewish rituals, one of which will be addressed in this thesis. With political emancipation, English

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44. Norman Cohen, "Trends in Anglo-Jewish religious life," in *Jewish Life in Modern Britain*, eds. Julius Gould and Saul Ash (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964), 47.

Jews - as new citizens of Western society - felt compelled to modernize their religious services and the movement for religious reform began.[45]

Reform and Anglicization

In central Europe, where emancipation had been achieved from the start of the eighteenth through the late nineteenth centuries, large numbers of Jews left Judaism completely and converted to Christianity. This mass flight prompted the initiative to reform traditional Judaism, (first in Germany, and subsequently spreading to other European countries and to America), offering an attractive alternative to abandoning Judaism altogether that would preserve Jewish identity for the coming generations. These movements advocated reform of certain Jewish beliefs and law as well as that of synagogue rituals and traditions.[46] The reforms discussed and executed in the newly created Reform Temple in Hamburg (1817) began more than twenty years prior to those made in England. The actual changes to the rituals by the reformed German Jews were more far-reaching than those eventually made by the English Jews.

> By mid-century [1850s] those favoring reform had introduced drastic changes in the religious life of many Jewish communities in Germany...among the more advanced proposals were the elimination from prayers of references to the Temple sacrifices, to the ultimate restoration of the Temple, and to the return of the Jewish nation to the Holy land in the messianic times. Restrictions on Shabbat activities were to be reduced as inappropriate to modern conditions and some even urged the transfer of the Shabbat from Saturday to Sunday... such changes were regarded as likely to facilitate the acceptance of Jews as equal citizens of their countries of residence.[47]

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45. Vivian David Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain,*, 7. Poignant is the question of maintaining Jewish identity in tolerant surroundings. The corrosive impact that emancipation had on Judaism as a culture and religion is a relatively new area of research. This is exemplified in Endelman, *Radical Assimilation in English Jewish History.*

46. Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, 21.

47. Ibid. The drastic changes initiated by the Reform movement in Germany in the 1810s were not the only reaction to the emancipation and secularization. Changes in Jews' status in society in Germany,

Synagogue Services in England of the early nineteenth century were commonly described by non-Jewish visitors as being disordered and indecorous.[48] When non-Jews visited the Hebrew houses of prayer out of curiosity, they often commented on the "disgraceful babblings" and "barbaric shouting in disharmony." In Steven Singer's *Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858*, he elaborates on this point:

> Services, as they were conducted in the early nineteenth-century English synagogues were far from models of propriety in Gentile terms. There was an unrestricted amount of movement and conversation by the congregants during prayers. Individuals arrived and departed at will, with little consideration for the time announced for the beginning and end of public worship. Some of those present loudly uttered passages from the prayer book as the spirit moved them, often with no regard to the place that the rest of the congregation had reached in the liturgy... the general impression made by the synagogue services of the time on those regarding them from an English perspective was clearly one of disorder and strangeness.[49]

In an era when laws preventing Jews from being members of the House of Lords were being repealed and Jews were becoming equal citizens in every way, Jews felt that it was important to maintain a respectable image of their community. In one of the earliest moves to anglicize Jewish worship, the Ashkenazic Great Synagogue of London instructed its cantor to wear canonicals in the mid- eighteenth century.[50] In the early

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coupled with a reaction to the ideas of the reform movement, yielded more minor reforms in the Orthodox community as well. This inspired the Neo-orthodox movement, which combined a strict adherence to traditional ritual and laws with acceptance of aspects of secular modernity that did not contradict normative Jewish law.

48. Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858," 130.

49. Ibid., 131. Singer refers to a description of services in the early nineteenth-century English synagogue as recorded in a newspaper article: Morris Joseph, "The Synagogue Fifty Years ago," *Jewish Chronicle*, 13 November 1891.

50.. A description of canonical dress is given: "...a long black robe with a pair of white ribbons hanging at the front of the neck." Endelman continues:, "In a mezzotint of Isaac Polack, *Hazan* [cantor -NCZ] of the Great Synagogue at midcentury, shows him dressed in such a manner. With his clerical robes, his three cornered hat, his powdered wig and his clean shaven countenance, he is indistinguishable from a minister of the Church of England." Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 160.

1820s, several members of the Great Synagogue suggested changes to the synagogue service. These included limiting the time for *Mi Sheberakh*s [prayers in honor of those donating money to the synagogue] and training English-born cantors to replace foreign-born ones from central Europe. Both proposals ended in failure; the former due to a lack of alternate means to finance communal activities, and the latter due to an absence of English-born cantors capable of teaching the younger generation a different version of prayers than that already practiced.[51]

More radical changes to the service were suggested during the nineteenth century, mostly intended to imbue worship with formality and dignity. In 1824 and 1827, children were prohibited from making loud noises purposely to interrupt the reading from the scroll of Esther on Purim in two of the large Ashkenazic synagogues, the *Hambro* and the New Synagogue. In 1829, the elders of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue approved shortening the singing of psalms and making synagogue proclamations in English.

English Jewish progressives were not interested in philosophically rationalizing Judaism, like their German reformist counterparts. Endelman in *The Jews of Georgian England* argues that most of the reforms instigated were cosmetic and did not change the internal content of the prayers. That is, English Jews were apparently more occupied with the appearance of Jewish worship than with its ability to move the congregation spiritually, changing those elements of traditional ritual discordant with British conduct.

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51. Endelman, *The Jews of Georgian England*, 160-161.

> It is inconceivable that the anglicized Jews who promoted these reforms were ignorant of Christian opinion about Jewish worship. To a large degree, their own complaints about Jewish worship were derived from what the non-Jewish world thought- not in the sense that they borrowed them directly, but in the sense that they had internalized the standards of the English upper class and were applying them to their own tradition.[52]

The reforms of the 1820s were not radical, and because they remained within the context of traditional Judaism, they did not represent a break with the community's unity. In the 1830s, several members of the Bevis Marks Spanish and Portuguese synagogue proposed more drastic and revolutionary reforms. They requested the shortening of some prayers and elimination of others, asked to begin the service at a later time, and recommended the establishment of a choir that could sing responses to the cantor in place of the congregation. The refusal of the members of the *Mahamad* to comply with these requests was one of the primary causes for the eventual establishment of the Reform synagogue.

The first movement to create a Reform synagogue does not appear to have been based upon the earlier German reform movement. Rather, the initial decision to create the West London Synagogue of British Jews was influenced by social, religious and even practical factors. In 1840, twenty-four affluent members of both the Sephardic and Ashkenazic communities broke off from their original communities to create a reform synagogue. They were motivated by the desire for a shorter and "more decorous" (namely, a more orderly and respectable) service as well as their need for a place of worship near their homes in central or West London as opposed to the City of London

52. Ibid., 163.

where the rest of the synagogues were located.[53] The Sephardic founding members had unsuccessfully tried to create a branch of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in close proximity to their residences in the 1830s. Although this idea gained support in the community, it also drew strong opposition, eventually resulting in a rejection of the motion.[54]

When these Sephardic Jews discovered a group of Ashkenazim with common needs and views, they met in 1840-41 and subsequently released a joint declaration. The families founding the Reform Synagogue included the Sephardic Moccattas and the Ashkenazic Goldsmids, who were among the wealthiest and most highly respected families in London.[55] In addition to the matter of distance from their homes, other considerations including decorum, respectability and convenience were expressed in the said declaration.

> We, the undersigned, regarding Public Worship as highly conducive to the interests of religion, consider it a matter of deep regret that it is not more frequently attended by the members of our religious persuasion...we ascribe it to...the lengths and imperfections of the order of service; to the inconvenient hours in which it is performed; to the unimpressive manner in which it is performed and to the absence of religious instruction in our synagogues. To these evils, we think that a remedy may be applied by the establishment of a Synagogue in the Western part of the Metropolis, where a Revised Service may be performed at hours more suited to our habits, and in a manner more calculated to inspire feelings of Devotion...[56]

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53. When the first immigrants arrived in London, they settled in the City of London and the areas to its east. After 1825, affluent Jews moved to the western part of the city, which was more comfortable and spacious but not within walking distance of the synagogues. Jewish law prohibits traveling in any manner except by foot on the Shabbat. Affluent Jews who gradually moved to central and West London in the 1820s and 30s would have found it difficult to walk to the City of London, where the rest of the Jewish community and religious institutions were located.

54. For a discussion of the entire episode of the creation of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, its establishment and its consequences, see Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, 269-299.

55. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 50-51.

56. See Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, 280-281.

The changes proposed did not imply a fundamental difference of opinion with mainstream Judaism in the realm of theology and were mainly practical in character. Because theological issues seemed less important to this group of English Jews, their prayers were not changed to the same extent that they were in Reform synagogues in the continent and in the United States. In fact, the British Reform synagogue included more additions to the prayers than alterations. The service was still in Hebrew, prayers for the return of the Jewish people to the Holy Land remained unchanged, and male worshippers even kept their heads covered in synagogue, in contrast to Reform congregants in the United States.[57] Whereas the Reform movement in central Europe was based on systematic "scientific" bible criticism, the West London Synagogue of British Jews believed in the validity of the Written Law (The Five Books of Moses) but rejected the authority of the Oral Law. They abolished the second day of all Jewish holidays, which originated in rabbinic Oral law, and called for the introduction of a new revised prayer book, which was published in 1842. Their denial of Jewish Oral law's validity provoked Ashkenazic Chief Rabbi Solomon Hirschell to issue a caution, stating that "Any person or persons declaring that he or they reject or do not believe in the authority of the Oral Law cannot be permitted to have any communication with us Israelites in any religious rite or sacred act."[58] The Spanish and Portuguese community even reacted by excommunicating members of the Reform synagogues. However, the excommunication was revoked a few years later.

The London Reform congregation neither attracted a mass membership nor did it gain a position as the representative of acculturated Jews, as happened in Germany and

57. Vivian David Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain since 1858*, 22.

58. James Picciotto, *Sketches of Anglo-Jewry*, ed. Israel Finestein (London: Soncino Press, 1956), 319.

the United States. The English members of the Reform synagogue were more conservative and moderate in their desire for changes and thus closer in ideology and practice to the Orthodox denomination at the time.[59] Although the personal observance of many members of Orthodox synagogues did not differ radically from that of their Reform counterparts, the former chose to remain loyal to their synagogue and not join the more liberal Reform synagogue. However, the changes made by the Reform synagogue did influence Orthodox Jews. Most of the upper-class Jews, who were more progressive than their middle- and lower- class counterparts, concurred with many of the Reform movement's critiques of their Orthodox rituals; and although they did not join the establishment of the Reform synagogue, were interested in anglicizing and modernizing the rituals in their own synagogues.

In 1842, members of the Ashkenazic Great Synagogue drew up a memorial suggesting the elimination of monetary offerings and advocating a later hour for the start of services. The memorial promoted the necessity of regular sermons in English and demanded that prayers either be recited by the congregation in unison or sung by a choir.[60]

In 1845, Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler was appointed Chief Rabbi. The choice of a progressive Neo-Orthodox advocating decorous change within the framework of Jewish law for this leadership position presented an opportunity that such reforms might

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59. Singer claims that there was a general neo-karaite tendency among progressive Jews in London at the time. This inclination meant that many progressive Jews rejected rabbinic authority while accepting the authority of what they perceived to be laws emanating from the bible. See Steven Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858" (Ph.D. diss., Yeshiva University, 1981), 306-307.

60. Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858," 135.

be accepted within the Orthodox synagogue.[61] In an attempt to imbue a sense of decorum in Orthodox congregations and prevent his respectable congregants from relocating to the reform communities, Chief Rabbi Adler published his view on how a proper synagogue service should be led. The Chief Rabbi's *Laws and Regulations*, published in 1847, attempted to create a more "solemn" atmosphere for praying, like that of the newly-established Reform Synagogue. In it he agreed to the majority of the demands presented by the progressive members of the Great Synagogue.[62] Children under the age of four were not admitted to services, and it was explicitly forbidden to move around during service, talk, and leave early. A limitation was placed on the number of monetary offerings recited. Responding loudly to the cantor was forbidden, and prayers were to be recited by the congregants together with a choir.[63]

The opposition to these reforms, voiced primarily by lower- and middle-class Jews, was presented as an attempt to adhere to Jewish law, but was often termed as such out of ignorance—since most of the changes made did not transgress Jewish law.[64]. In 1870, the "United Synagogue" in London was established. The United Synagogue,

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61. Rabbi Dr. Nathan Marcus Adler, Chief Rabbi between 1845 and 1890, was followed by his son, Dr. Herman Adler, who served as Chief Rabbi between 1890 and 1912.

62. Feldman, *Englishmen and Jews*, 6.

63. Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858," 148-163. With the reform of traditional rituals in English synagogues, the lower- and middle-class Jews were those opposing the suggested changes. Singer claims that the immigrant background of the members of this social group affected their opposition. As foreigners in a strange environment, they adhered to every detail of the prayer service as they knew it; "[t]he synagogue provided them with an anchor of emotional stability in an otherwise strange and often incomprehensible world." See Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858," 140.

64. However, eventually some of the reforms did go against Jewish law, among them the late hour in which morning prayers were to start. "The most radical innovation he [Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler] sanctioned was the division of the Shabbat and festival morning service to accommodate West End Jews who did not want to attend services that customarily began at 8:00 or 8:30 in the morning. Yielding to pressure from communal oligarchs, he ruled that the early service (*Shacharit*) might be held from 8:30 to 9:30 and then a second service (*Kriyyat ha-torah* and *Mussaf*) might follow, after a break from 11:00 until 1:00." Endelman, *The Jews of Britain*, 118.

conceived by Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler, began as a financial union of the five large synagogues in London and eventually sought to group the Ashkenazic Orthodox synagogues in the London area under one organization, headed by the Chief Rabbi.[65]

In the 1890s, Herman Adler, the son of Nathan Marcus Adler, succeeded his father as Chief Rabbi and endorsed an even larger range of changes.[66] He had studied with Rabbi Rapport in Prague in the 1860s, where synagogue reforms were already taking place. From the very beginning of Herman Adler's appointment, requests from Ministers for changes in the liturgy were made under his auspices. Members of the latter's synagogues who were moving up the social scale wanted grander synagogues with more decorum in the services. To prevent them from leaving the Orthodox synagogues the Chief Rabbi chose to accommodate some of their requests.[67]

Chief Rabbi Herman Adler attempted to introduce select external changes that would encourage more progressive members to remain Orthodox while violating as few Jewish laws as possible. As part of these changes, a mixed choir of both men and women

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65. Aubrey Newman, *The United Synagogue 1870-1970* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1976), 9; Steven Singer, "Orthodox Judaism in Early Victorian London 1840-1858," 130. The idea was to try to provide for the needs of members who moved into areas distant from their synagogues without competing for each member's monetary contribution. It is important to remember that each synagogue member had to pay a membership fee that financially supported the synagogue. The solution was to pool the financial resources by uniting the congregations in a way that when members moved to other neighborhoods and started new synagogues, the older communities could help the newer communities. The Act of Parliament, constituted in 1870, stated that all religious observances of the Ashkenazic synagogues in the United Synagogue were under the supervision of the Chief Rabbi. See Vivian David Lipman, *History of the Jews in Britain*, 25-26. The five Synagogues included in the original United Synagogue were: The Great Synagogue, The Hambro, The New, and their branch synagogues, the Central and the Great Portland Rd.

66. For the following paragraph I am grateful to Mr. Graham Morris, who is currently writing a doctoral dissertation on Chief Rabbi Herman Adler.

67. It could be argued that by being flexible and receptive to changes in the synagogue, Adler succeeded in preventing some of the members of the community from breaking off and joining the Reform affiliation—as there was only one Reform synagogue in England until the 1930s and no Conservative movement. In contrast, in the United States, the rigidity of the Orthodox community indirectly encouraged the creation of Reform and Conservative affiliations. Today, the vast majority of affiliated Jews in England belong to the Orthodox communities, whereas the majority of affiliated Jews in the United States belong to Reform and Conservative synagogues.

was introduced into the synagogue, although Adler never allowed the organ to be played on the Shabbat.[68] He required Anglican clergymen's garb of his Jewish religious leaders, who were called "ministers," as part of his leniency in issues not directly prohibited by Jewish law.

Chief Rabbi Adler encouraged and financially supported the creation of a hymnbook for the congregants of the United Synagogue synagogues that instituted a tradition for singing prayers akin to the Protestant hymnbooks of the time. Francis Lyon Cohen was elected by the United Synagogue Council to edit *The Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* in 1889, intended as the official United Synagogue *Handbook.*[69]

Conclusion

Loyalty to tradition remained sound among upper-class Jews in England to a greater extent than in similar communities during the nineteenth century on the European continent. The majority of wealthy English Jews who saw themselves as progressives did not break completely from Jewish Orthodoxy, nor did they join or found Reform communities, as did their counterparts in Germany and the United States. English Jews were able to express their modernist views within the realm of Orthodoxy. At the same time, Orthodoxy underwent a relatively moderate metamorphosis to accommodate the

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68. Other changes included the omission of *Birkat Cohanim* (the priestly blessing) and no grand festive service on the second day of festivals. In response to some of the questions posed to the Chief Rabbi, he permitted the repetition of the *Mussaf* service on Shabbat to be omitted on the grounds that Sephardim also customarily omitted it.

69. Francis L. Cohen and B.L. Moseley, eds., *Shirei Kenesset Yisroel: Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1889). See also Francis L. Cohen and David M. Davis, eds., *The Voice of Prayer and Praise: A Handbook for Congregational Singing* (London: Greenberg and Co., 1899).

anglicized Jews' way of life. These changes, which eventually became the prevalent custom in England, incorporated ancient Jewish tradition employing the newly acquired, publicly accepted norms of the time. Time was to be respected in England, as were the prayer and cantor. Children were not to disrupt prayers and clergymen donned the garb distinctive of clergymen.

Non-Jewish social views and beliefs were fundamental to the creation of these new reforms and greatly influenced the social standing to which these Jews aspired. Because of the unique social and historical elements leading to the reforms in synagogue ritual in England, distinctive musical customs were created, which will be further discussed in the coming chapters.

Chapter II- Jewish Liturgical Music in Nineteenth-Century London

The introduction of choirs into Jewish Liturgy[70]

The first documented use of polyphonic music in the synagogue can be traced to Italy. The Italian- Jewish composer Salamone di Rossi of Mantua (c. 1565- after 1628), published his compositions of polyphonic synagogue music *Hashirim Asher LiShlomo* (The Songs of Solomon) in early Italian Baroque style in 1622.[71] These elaborate compositions, however, were never popularly accepted contemporaneously by the Jewish community. Two hundred years later, the choral music of Viennese cantor Solomon Sulzer, was adopted regularly in the synagogue service. While Sulzer operated in the moderate Reform temple of Vienna, his influence eventually spread to the Orthodox synagogues. Idelsohn argues, "From 1835 till 1876 practically every modern Synagogue in Central Europe as well as in Eastern Europe reorganized its music according to Sulzer's service."[72]

Reforms to the Ashkenazic Synagogues in London

In 1841, this change found its way into the musical aspect of the liturgy of the Ashkenazic Great Synagogue of London. Previously a reader was accompanied by a

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70. The Ashkenazic liturgy can be roughly divided into *Nussach* and melodies. *Nussach* connotes ancient traditional modes in chanting style which vary according to the occasion. The *Nussach* tends to be the more permanent part of the liturgy, changing very little and very slowly over the generations. Melodies are open to constant replacement and renewal. My thesis focuses on the melodies, which are usually composed or adopted by cantors. Open to constant replacement and renewal, they have more mobility and flexibility. For a good definition of *Nussach*, see Judit Frigyesi, "Preliminary Thoughts Toward the Study of Music Without Clear Beat; The Example of 'Flowing Rhythm' in Jewish Nusah," *Asian Music* 24, (1993): 126-146.

71. Salomone di Rossi, *HaShirim Asher LiShlomo*, Venice, NP, 1622.

72. Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music; Its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt and Co., 1929), 257.

Bassista, (a bass singer) and a *Zingerel,* (a child with a treble voice). The Bass and child would customarily accompany the reader in Baroque style: sixths and thirds. In 1841, as part of the reforms to the service of prayers, a boy's choir singing four-part harmony in Western European style replaced the *Bassista* and *Zingerel.*

The first Ashkenazic choir to sing in an English synagogue in 1841 represented part of the trend that spread across Europe. The use of a choir in the Great Synagogue around the same period as the establishment of the Reform synagogue is not coincidental. I believe that Chief Rabbi Nathan Marcus Adler's efforts to keep liberal minded Jews in the Orthodox synagogue and prevent them from joining the Reform synagogue contributed to the creation of the choir, at least initially.[73]

Israel Lazarus (Julius) Mombach, a German immigrant who began his musical career as boy *Zingerel* in the Great Synagogue, eventually became choirmaster of the Great Synagogue, and held that position from 1841 to 1880. He was renowned as a composer of choral synagogue music. Within a few years, the Great Synagogue's introduction of a choir was paralleled by other synagogues. Thus, choral arrangements became very popular. In fact, Mombach's choral arrangements, together with the choral music of Solomon Sulzer, Samuel Naumbourg and Louis Lewandowski, blossomed and developed into a staple of choral synagogue music in the Commonwealth.[74] By the end of the nineteenth century, the choral trend had spread and most large London synagogues

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73. The Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue also decided to establish a permanent choir in 1838, when members of their community contemplated leaving the community and starting a Reform Synagogue as a response to the lack of reforms. Establishing the choir was indirectly motivated by an interest that some liberal members of the synagogue took in the choral services used in the Reform synagogue at the time (see quote by Seroussi on page 38).

74. Alexander Knapp, "The Influence of German Music on United Kingdom Synagogue Practice," *Jewish Historical Studies* 35 (1996-1998): 180.

had choirs. However there were those who thought that the incorporation of choral music into services transformed the community into an audience and prayer into a performance.

> S. Singer, the minister of the New West End Synagogue, said (in a sermon in 1884) that decorum had gone too far for "the reader and the choir...divide between them the whole service, the congregation remaining for the most part passive, listening to the proceedings...In the days before choirs had become a recognizable auxiliary of the synagogue service the whole congregation joined audibly in the appropriate responses." [75]

Singer described the phenomenon of an audible decrease in congregational responses in the service, which was directly related to the introduction of the choir into the synagogue. Since choirs had been included in synagogue prayers in the 1840s, increasing passivity became commonplace, and during the 1870s and 1880s a strong desire to return the service back to the congregation surfaced.

> Editorials in the *Jewish Chronicle* criticized this lack of participation, but the writers did not propose a return to the traditional audible responses. They argued instead for "congregational singing." The *Chronicle* deplored, in 1872, the displays of the "science of harmony" and it suggested that the synagogues adopt "easily learnt melodies...such as [the] beautiful hymns of the Church of England."[76]

This observation is of interest since it appears that the Anglican Church was going through similar reforms in an attempt to simplify the music it used in services.

> By the early nineteenth century there was a tendency, deplored by some writers, to chant the canticles and to replace anthems with simple hymn tunes or adaptations of popular melodies. Excerpts from Handel's oratorios and from Haydn's and Mozart's masses (adapted to English texts) were also frequently used as anthem substitutes after 1800.[77]

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75. Steven Sharot, "Religious Change in Native Orthodoxy in London 1870-1914: The Synagogue Service," *The Jewish Journal of Sociology* 15, no. 1(1973): 70.

76. Ibid.

77. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians,* 2d ed., s.v. "Anglican and Episcopalian Church Music."

By the 1880s, most synagogues in London had their own choirs and choirmasters. Most if not all central European Jewish immigrants settling in England at that time were accustomed to choirs being an integral part of the synagogue.

Sephardic Music in the Nineteenth Century

The same social and religious processes fueling musical reforms in Ashkenazic synagogues in London brought about musical changes to the Sephardic synagogue service.

Because the first Sephardic Jews in England came from Holland, it is not surprising that traditions in the Spanish and Portuguese community in London stemmed from the Spanish and Portuguese community of Amsterdam.[78] These traditions included the structure of communal institutions, the *Ascamot*, the rules of the congregation, and even the architecture. The edifice of the Sephardic Synagogue of Bevis Marks in London was modeled on the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam; when the former was inaugurated in 1701, the Dutch community donated a replica of their own candelabra to adorn the synagogue.[79] The Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London often brought in cantors from Holland, including David Aharon de Sola, author of *The Ancient*

78. It is important to note that the Amsterdam repertory was originally based on the North African and Ottoman Sephardic traditions, since the first cantors brought to Amsterdam were from Salonika and Fez, Morocco. See *The Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, 2d ed., s.v. "Jewish Music, III, 4: Liturgical traditions of the Sephardi: Iberian roots." As a result, the North African influence existed in the London Spanish and Portuguese community as well.

79. Appendix C, Illustration 2 shows the original brass candelabra in the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam while Illustration 1 shows the candelabra donated to the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in London in 1701. Illustrations 3 and 5 show Ashkenazi synagogues exhibiting candelabras of the same style. The adoption of Sephardic style candelabras in Ashkenazic synagogues may be a further attempt to model the Spanish and Portuguese light fittings as well as their seating plans (mentioned in footnote 96).

Melodies.[80] Musical traditions from Holland were employed in the London synagogue and many of the same melodies are still sung today by both congregations (with local variations). According to Seroussi,

> No other Western Sephardic community owes more of its tradition of liturgical music to Amsterdam than the Spanish-Portuguese community in London. The long tenure in London of cantor David Aharon De Sola, the "learned chazzan," between 1818 and 1860 was a decisive factor in consolidating this tradition...[81]

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London was sung to the monophonic traditional melodies, in contrast to the new choral compositions utilized by the Amsterdam Sephardic community at that time.[82] In the nineteenth century, the decline in religious behavior and synagogue attendance as well as pressure from the more progressive members of the synagogue, led *Hacham* Raphael Mildola to introduce a choir to the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue for a special occasion in 1824. Members of the community committee in 1838 decided to establish a permanent choir as:

> the introduction of a choir in the Performance of Divine Worship in Synagogue has tended...to the promotion of order and solemnity and it is therefore expedient that steps be taken to establish it upon a permanent and solid foundation.[83]

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80. Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies,", 104-5. Other musical sources of influence include the North African tradition, Gibraltar (which influenced Dutch Spanish and Portuguese synagogue music), and the Livorno Sephardic-Italian tradition, from which two of the great scholars serving as *Hacham* in the Sephardic community – Raphael Mildola and Binyamin Artom – originated.

81. Edwin Seroussi, "New Perspectives on the Music of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogues in North-West Europe," *Studia Rosenthalia* 35, no. 2 (2001): 309.

82. Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies," 106.

83. The Sephardic committee's decision to found a permanent choir is quoted in Albert Montefiore Hyamson, *The Sephardim of England*, 276. Another change implemented during that time was sermonizing in English rather than Portuguese. See Ibid., 272. It is important to note that establishing a permanent Sephardic choir preceded Ashkenazic practice.

After 1839, the choir sang regularly in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. Its purpose was to replace congregation participation in the prayers and lend the service an air of decorum. In Hyamson's volume, *The Sephardim of England,* he quotes a request by the synagogue leadership that members refrain from singing loudly so that "the service generally may be conducted with greater order and the chanting of the choir be free from interruption."[84] Seroussi comments, "In London, as well as in Amsterdam, some Portuguese Jews had been attracted by the Choral services of the liberal synagogues. Introducing choirs was one way to halt this trend away from the Portuguese community."[85] However, introducing the choir did not prevent many members of the synagogue from moving to the Reform synagogue, established in 1842.[86] The Spanish and Portuguese choir was neglected and lacked a skilled musical director. As such, it failed to fulfill the general expectation of lending an air of majestic reverence to the prayers.[87] The most effective reorganization of the choir was achieved only in 1880 by conductor Elias Yashurun, who standardized the choir structure, repertoire and function in the prayers.[88]

It is difficult to determine how the sonority and performance of the musical liturgical traditions differed between Sephardim and Ashkenazim. In an essay introducing his compilation *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, de Sola quotes Moritz Steinschneider's criticism of German and Polish cantors' renditions of

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84. Hyamson, The *Sephardim of England*, 288.

85. Seroussi, "New Perspectives," 308.

86. For more on the creation of the Reform synagogue, see Chapter I, pp. 25-28.

87. Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies,", 108.

88. Ibid.

Ashkenazic melodies in England during the late 1840s. "These singers are so wanting in attention to the original simplicity of the music that their ornamentation far surpasses the bravura of Italian opera singers...the recitation of the Sephardim, kept closer to its original simplicity ... underwent fewer changes, owing to the nature of their public service being more rigid and unchanging."[89] De Sola disagreed with Steinschneider, claiming that works by Sulzer, Naumbourg, and others greatly improved the synagogue music of the "German congregations."[90]

Ashkenazic and Sephardic musical practice in the Nineteenth-century English Synagogue

Ashkenazic and Sephardic choirs utilized different musical material, different harmonic styles and each functioned differently in their respective services. Sephardic and Ashkenazic melodies had originated in different time periods and geographical regions.

Western European Ashkenazic melodies were usually diatonic and based on standard Western European harmonic progressions, while Eastern European Ashkenazic melodies were based on Eastern European synagogue modes (such as the Ukrainian Dorian) that sounded more "oriental." Sephardic melodies, on the other hand, were based on the major, minor and Dorian modes.

The melodies were probably the greatest differentiating factor between Sephardic and Ashkenazic choirs. It is difficult to characterize uniform features of Ashkenazic or Sephardic melodies. Ashkenazic melodies traditionally featured a wider melodic range

89. Aguilar and de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, 15.

90. Ibid.

and were less repetitive than their Sephardic counterparts. The two traditions appear to have been separate with relatively few, if any, common melodies prior to the introduction of Sephardic melodies through the *Handbook.*[91]

From the mid-nineteenth century, both Ashkenazic and Sephardic choirs in England sang four-part harmonies based primarily on the Western diatonic system. The Ashkenazic pieces usually originated as harmonized pieces, due to an ever-increasing repertoire of specially-composed choral music in the nineteenth century by both English and foreign composers, whereas the Sephardic pieces were mostly traditional melodies sung by the congregation and later harmonized for choir accompaniment.[92] Ashkenazic choral music of the time used complex German style of harmonization, in which each voice had an independent part in quasi- contrapuntal style and the harmony featured more modulations whereas the Sephardic style of harmonization was more homophonic and simple, employing note–by-note harmonization in quasi- keyboard style.

Another difference between Ashkenazic and Sephardic choirs is the amount of prayer in which the choir participated. The Ashkenazic choir began to accompany the Shabbat service at a much later time in the service than did the Sephardic choir. Ashkenazic choirs began to sing only after the completion of *Shacharit*, the morning service, for the prayer at the removal of the Torah scrolls from the ark, with the words

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91. In 1902, Francis Lyon Cohen discussed in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* the adoption of Sephardic melodies (following their appearance in the *Handbook* thirteen years earlier) into Ashkenazic and Reform practice. Moreover, it is known that a few Ashkenazic melodies were adopted by Sephardim, such as *Maoz Zur*, although the date and circumstances of these adoptions is unclear. Ashkenazim may have been familiar with the Sephardic melody for *Lecha Dodi* since Isaac Nathan included this Sephardic melody in his collaboration with Lord Byron in the 1820s. For an elaboration on these themes, see Chapter III.

92. The tern "traditional" here denotes the use of these melodies in the community even before a choir was introduced into the prayer service. The actual origin of the Sephardic melodies is discussed in Chapter III and IV.

"Ein Kamocha." In other words, a third of the service would take place without the choir's participation. The Sephardic choir, on the other hand, started at the beginning of the Shabbat prayers (as soon as all choir members arrived) which are the *Zemiroth*, according to the Sephardic tradition.[93]

The Ashkenazic choir performed the prayers as performance pieces that awakened reverence in and inspired the congregation, which rarely joined in the music making. The Sephardic choir's function was to accompany congregational singing; therefore, their music remained relatively hymn-like and homophonic. Rabbi David de Sola Pool of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in New York explains:

> The Hazzan and choir guide the congregational singing... but essentially the service of worship remains with the congregation. Indeed in some of the most familiar and best loved hymns, the choir is expected *to follow and not to lead* the congregation.[94]

The harmonic style influenced the level of congregational singing greatly; simpler harmonic progressions were easier for non-musicians to sing. Therefore, it can be argued that Sephardic harmonies remained simple because of its function in the community, since they were especially suited to communal participation.

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93. Daniel Halfon, interview by author, digital audio recording, Jerusalem, Israel, 2 December 2003.

94. David de Sola Pool and Tamar de Sola Pool, *An Old Faith in the New World: A portrait of the Shearith Israel 1654 -1954* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1955), 157. Quoted in Mark Slobin, *Chosen Voices; The Story of the American Cantorate* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 206. [My italics]

Sephardic Presence in Ashkenazic liturgy

As mentioned, the myth of Sephardic superiority was such that the small but rich and powerful Sephardic community considered itself the Jewish nobility.[95] This myth influenced Ashkenazic Jews' and non-Jewish peoples' views of Sephardim at that time to the extent that many Ashkenazic immigrants even claimed Sephardic origins. Strikingly, Ashkenazic Jews did adopt Sephardic names and synagogue seating, beginning in the 1770s with the building of the Great Synagogue of London.[96] One of the reasons the Reform synagogue was attracted to the Sephardic traditions is the preconception that they were more ancient and closer to the original Hebrew traditions.[97] The adoption of Sephardic pronunciation and musical compositions by the Reform synagogue appears to have influenced the Orthodox adoption of these melodies, as will be studied further.

Conclusion

In the nineteenth century, choral music was introduced into English synagogues from synagogues in continental Europe. Indeed, the desire to create a more decorous and respectable service resulted in the introduction of choirs into the synagogue. The mostly Western European Ashkenazim were influenced by the Judeo-German choral tradition,

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95. Todd M. Endelman, "Disraeli and the Myth of Sephardi Superiority," *Jewish History* 10, no. 2 (Fall 1996): 21-36. For a detailed explanation on the myth of Sephardic superiority, see Chapter I, pp. 13-14.

96. Yosef Kaplan, *An Alternative path to Modernity*. The Sephardic seating is generally facing the center of the synagogue while the Ashkenazic seating worldwide is facing the front. However, in most Ashkenazic synagogues in England, nearly all of the congregants face the center in what seems to be a clear Sephardic influence. I believe that Ashkenazim chose to model their own synagogues' seating plans off their Sephardic coreligionists, especially in light of the fact that Bevis Marks was the large impressive synagogue in their area at that time. Appendix C, Illustration 1 shows the original seating in the Sephardic synagogue of Bevis Marks (facing the center) and Illustrations 3, 4 and 5 show seating plans of Ashkenazic synagogues showing the congregants facing the center.

97. See quote by Edwin Seroussi in footnote 7 on the Reform's belief in the origin of Sephardic pronunciation.

created as a consequence of the Reform movement. The Sephardic Jews, on the other hand, were influenced by the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam that had established its own choir.

However, by the 1880s, some believed that the changes made in the Ashkenazic synagogues had been too radical and that it was necessary to again encourage participation from the congregation. Sephardic musical practice involved congregants directly in their synagogues' musical practice and thus served as a model of synagogue services for the Ashkenazic leadership.

One could claim that Cohen and Davis's inclusion of several Sephardic choral pieces in their choral anthology for the Ashkenazic Orthodox United Synagogue *The Handbook of Synagogue Music* came, in fact, as no surprise.

Chapter III- Francis Lyon Cohen and the Background of the Creation of the *Handbook of Synagogue Music*

The *Handbook of Synagogue Music*: Basic Functions

In 1887 a meeting of the Choir Committee of the Council of the United Synagogue, including all choirmasters and *Chazzanim* (cantors) of the London communities under the Chief Rabbi was convened. The purpose of the meeting, in which every participant was asked to suggest suitable compositions, was an attempt to improve choral synagogue service by initiating a collection of harmonized liturgical melodies which would be the choral hymnal of the United Synagogue. Its results were the eventual publication of *Shirei Kenesset Yisroel: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* in 1889, jointly edited by Francis Lyon Cohen and B.L. Mosely.[98] In 1898 the Handbook was already out of print and ripe for revision. It was re-issued as *The Voice of Prayer and Praise: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* (referred in this thesis as the *Handbook*). This second edition, published in 1899, was edited by Cohen together with a new collaborator, the composer and choirmaster David Montague Davis. The broader repertory of music included in the second *Handbook* and its immense popularity (apparent from its six editions and familiarity to all Ashkenazic cantors in London today) have made it more suitable to be the subject of this thesis than its predecessor.

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98. The first edition of the *Handbook* was published as: Francis L. Cohen and B.L. Moseley, eds, *Shirei Kenesset Yisroel: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* (London: Spottiswoode and Co., 1889). It went though further alterations nine years later and was recompiled as: Francis L. Cohen and David M. Davis, eds., *The Voice of Prayer and Praise: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational singing* (London: Greenberg and Co., 1899).

Cohen and Davis remarked on the circumstances leading up to the 1899 edition:

> The Choir Committee of the Council of the United Synagogue of London...came to the conclusion that one of the first steps toward that improvement of the Service of Song which they had in view, lay in the more general instruction of choristers *by note* and not by ear...it was obviously necessary that...there should be available one convenient and inexpensive volume from which all the melodies in ordinary use could be taught.[99]

Throughout the 1880s and 1890s, most synagogue choirs comprised schoolboys who were musically semi-literate, resulting in an embarrassingly low musical and linguistic level of choral performance by western standards. Perhaps the most important goal of the *Handbook*, as stated above was to upgrade and enhance the performance of London's Orthodox synagogue choirs, particularly their difficulties in singing Hebrew and in reading music.

> the aim [of the *Handbook*]... of eradicating that excessively faulty treatment of the Hebrew by which some choirs have been invidiously distinguished, and to follow the original intentions of the sacred poet rather than afford incongruous opportunities for facile vocalization.[100]

In matters of text, choirs had previously mis-accentuated Hebrew words.[101] To remedy these errors, the editors revised the text and its relation to the music, taking into consideration problems of Hebrew pronunciation. For example, they prevented musical accents from being placed on the wrong syllables and took into account English

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99. Cohen and Davis, eds., *The Voice of Prayer and Praise: A Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing*, v. [My emphasis].

100. Ibid., vi.

101. Correct accentuation of Hebrew song texts is tricky. The music can position a mistaken accent on a portion of the text by placing the beat and upbeat in the wrong places.

pronunciation in their transliterations of Hebrew words.[102] In addition to the problem of pronunciation, some schoolboys and adults in the choirs could not read music, yet were expected to memorize parts of complex compositions. The *Handbook* offered two ways to resolve this predicament. First, soprano and alto parts (sung primarily by children) were notated in the tonic sol-fa, taught in many elementary schools, as well as in staff notation. Secondly, complex harmonies were rearranged and intricate melodies simplified so that choirboys who were not trained musicians would be able to sing the elaborate compositions of Sulzer and Naumbourg with relative ease.

In discussing the significance of the *Handbook* in his article "Synagogal Music" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia,* Cohen mentions that the music included the entire Ashkenazic synagogue repertory:

> In 1899 the London *Handbook*, revised by Cohen and Davis, on improved lines, sought to cover with wide choice the whole region of synagogal choral song in the "Voice of Prayer and Praise," invariably associating congregational responses with the traditional intonation of the Chazzanut, and paying due regard to the tonic sol-fa notation taught in British elementary schools.[103]

The quote reveals that that the editors of the *Handbook* intended it as an anthology of the choral synagogue music at that time. According to Cohen, the incorporation of congregational responses into the cantor's intonation was also important.

Choirboys were not the only group targeted by the *Handbook.* According to the preface—in which Cohen and Davis explain their reasons for compiling this tome and their ideas for its usage—the editors saw the *Handbook* as an opportunity to educate the

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102. The German system of pronunciation of vowels was retained, but the English system of consonant pronunciation was used. For example, the key to transliteration given by editors of liturgical music in German-speaking countries such as Sulzer would have used the letter *Z* to represent the letter *Zaddik* (indicating the German "ts" sounding) while the *Handbook* used *Z* to represent the Hebrew letter Zayin, in accordance with the British pronunciation of *Z.*

103. *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Synagogal Music."

masses. They were hoping to see it used by every member of the synagogue as a kind of Jewish hymnal, hence its title: a *Handbook* of Synagogue Music for *Congregational* Singing, which had also been the title of the previous edition of the *Handbook.* Cohen suggested that the entire congregation use the *Handbook* in conjunction with the prayer book.

> It will be found profitable for *the congregants* to use the volume in synagogue as a companion to the *Siddur* (Daily Prayer Book)...the Music as well as the Text must necessarily be in the hands of every worshipper who would wish to take a seemly part in the singing.[104]

Cohen concludes his preface by saying-

> But most may be done [by the synagogal boards to support the musical and spiritual level of the singing] by encouraging the study of the contents of this volume in the Religion classes, and especially in the family circles *amongst their congregations*, so that when the voice of prayer and praise is uplifted in their synagogue, "young men and maidens also, old men and children together, shall laud the name of the ETERNAL."[105]

Rabbi Geoffrey Shisler had already noted about the first edition of 1889: "It was intended that members of the congregation would have one each and use it to follow the singing during the course of the service. One wonders how many people there were, even in those days, who were able to sight-read a piece of music!"[106]

The attempt to create a hymnal had been even more of a priority in the *Handbook*'s original publication in 1889, which apparently had great and ultimately unrealistic expectations of its function. The order of the 1889 *Handbook* was akin to that of the prayers, and even its actual proportions—approximately half the size of the next edition—made it clear that this was meant to be a hymnbook to be held in the hands

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104. Ibid., vii. [The emphasis is mine]

105. Ibid., viii. [The emphasis is mine]

106. Geoffrey Shisler, "Samuel Alman 1877-1947" http://www.chazzanut.com/articles/alman.html.

during service. These elements lead one to assume the *Handbook's* first edition attempted to offer a hymnbook to accompany the prayers.[107] Whereas the 1889 *Handbook* did not include an index of the musical pieces, the latter revised edition did. An index facilitated the identification of each piece outside its liturgical context and was especially useful in cases where there were a number of melodies for one text.

Pre-existing Sources of English Jewish Melodies

Melodies sung in Ashkenazic synagogues prior to the publication of the first edition of the *Handbook* were rarely documented. One of the very few documented sources of Jewish English melodies sung in the first half of the nineteenth century is *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies Old and New,* a collection of Hebrew melodies to which Byron's words were set.[108] This work included some of Nathan's own settings of Byron's poems.

Although Byron claimed "to write words for a musical composer who is going to publish the real old undisputed Hebrew melodies which are beautiful and to which David and the prophets actually sang the 'songs of Zion'."[109] the claim of the antiquity of these melodies was questionable. Apparently, only nine were taken from the synagogue and it

107. The revised version of the *Handbook* (1899) included melodies which did not appear in the 1889 edition. This absence may be because Francis Lyon Cohen had not yet come across them. In 1896, he used new Sephardic melodies in his publications and lectures. Thus, it is possible that he first encountered them in his research for these publications. I discuss this topic in greater length in a later section of this paper.

108. Isaac Nathan and Lord Byron, *A Selection of Hebrew Melodies, Ancient and Modern*, eds. Frederick Burwick and Paul Douglass (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1988). See also Jeremy Hugh Baron, "Byron's Passovers and Nathan's melodies," *Judaism*, 51, no. 1 (Winter 2002): 19-29.

109. Baron, "Byron's Passovers," 20.

is difficult to determine how many of those were "ancient." We can treat this collection as samples of Hebrew melodies sung by Ashkenazi congregations in the 1820s.

One of the Hebrew melodies set to Byron's poems is *Maoz Zur* and the other is the Sephardic *Lecha Dodi*. Isaac Nathan (1790-1864) was an Ashkenazic Jew and it is surprising that in the 1820s—seventy years prior to the publication of the *Handbook* and thirty-five years before the publication of de Sola's compilation of traditional Sephardic melodies—he chose *Lecho Dodi* as one of the Hebrew melodies for this collection. It is possible that Nathan decided to include it after hearing the melody in a Spanish and Portuguese synagogue service. Nathan himself was assisted by John Braham (c. 1774-1856) (born Abraham), a cantor who converted to Christianity and became a well-known tenor in London at the beginning of the nineteenth century. According to Hugh Baron, "[t]o publicize Nathan's edition John Braham helped with the music, co-authored the book, and was given half the profits."[110] Although Braham's role seems insubstantial, he may have advised Nathan in his choice of melodies and as a cantor, may have encountered Sephardic melodies in Sephardic synagogues or upon meeting Sephardic Chazzanim.[111]

The *Handbook*'s Prescriptive and Descriptive Role

It is illuminating to examine the choice of musical material included in the *Handbook* and the guiding principles which steered editorial decisions as to what music

110. Ibid., 19-29.

111. Braham visited Florence and Venice in 1797. These cities had substantial Sephardic communities where he may have learned the melody *Lecha Dodi* sung by Spanish and Portuguese Jews in the European Diaspora.

ought to be included. Did the United Synagogue committee dictate the style of melodies and harmonies to be incorporated, or did the editors enjoy complete artistic liberty over the final choices? It is difficult to secure a clear picture of the decision-making process. How can we tell whether the *Handbook* reflected the tradition of melodies used in contemporary London or whether it dictated what its writers believed should be sung? What evidence can we apply to help us determine whether the *Handbook* was descriptive or prescriptive?

Ethnomusicologists use the term "descriptive" for transcriptions describing a musical event; they use "prescriptive" for musical notation (such as a score) instructing how a piece should be played. The question remains whether the music included in the *Handbook* describes contemporary existing musical practice or attempted to recommend the use of yet-unknown melodies.

Many of the melodies appearing in the *Handbook* were newly composed by mostly Jewish English contemporary composers while other compositions were adopted from extant sources which had not been in use up to then in English Ashkenazic synagogues. Both these types of compositions included in the compilation were unfamiliar to United Synagogue congregants and thus prescriptive in function. David M. Davis, choirmaster of the New West End Synagogue and co-editor of the *Handbook* with Francis L. Cohen, included some of his own compositions in the compilation. The same is true of Samuel Alman, choirmaster of the Great Synagogue, Bayswater and Hampstead synagogues, who upon editing the third edition of the *Handbook* (1933) included a large

portion of his own compositions in the appendix, as a means of introducing his music into London synagogues.[112]

Pieces by Beethoven and Mendelssohn were specially arranged by the authors of the 1899 *Handbook* for parts of the synagogue service by adding words from the appropriate prayers. These were considered "new" music as they had never been sung in the synagogue. In these cases their adoption by cantors and choirmasters was reinforced by the Chief Rabbi's endorsement of the *Handbook.*

The vast majority of melodies in the *Handbook* were already in use in London synagogues and were therefore descriptive in function. Examples included the choral compositions of Julius Mombach, the first choirmaster of the Great Synagogue from 1841, which were popular Anglo-Jewish hymns in the second half of the nineteenth century. Cohen and Davis obtained the rights to Mombach's compositions and included them in the *Handbook* together with works by other English Jewish composers, such as M. Hast, H. Wasserzug, and David M. Davis. In addition, the *Handbook* included the compositions of Sulzer and Naumbourg, whose choral compositions were already in use in the mid-nineteenth century, as evidenced by de Sola's introduction to *The Ancient Melodies* (1857).[113]

Thus the *Handbook* comprised both melodies already in use as well as those introduced as tunes to be sung. For example, fifteen melodies in the *Handbook* are listed in the index as "traditional-Sephardic" meaning that they were already in use. How did these melodies, originally sung exclusively in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue,

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112. Some of these compositions may have already been in use when he was serving as the choirmaster of the Great Synagogue.

113. Aguilar and de Sola,, *The Ancient Melodies*, 15, n. 14.

come to be included in the Ashkenazic *Handbook*? What did the editors consider in choosing the latter? Reasons seem to range from the musical features of the pieces to the personalities involved in producing the *Handbook*. In terms of the music the Chief Rabbi and United Synagogue organization wanted to endorse the singing of choral music by congregations. The Chief Rabbi encouraged choirmasters to use simpler melodies to encourage congregational participation:

> I entreat the worshippers not to imagine that Divine Service can be performed vicariously for them but to offer up the prayers with concentrated attention and fervor, and to join with heartiness in the responses, psalms and hymns. In order to enable *the congregants to do this*, I would ask the choirmasters to use the *simplest harmonies* and to eschew all melodies of an ornate and florid character. [114]

Harmonic and melodic simplicity appear to have been decisive factors in the choice of extant melodies not previously sung. Since the Sephardic melodies were often simple melodically and harmonically, this criterion might afford us some insight into why Sephardic melodies were incorporated into the *Handbook*. This idea will be further examined in chapter IV. The personalities involved in the *Handbook* were another important factor in the choice of music included. I contend that Francis Lyon Cohen was instrumental in incorporating Sephardic melodies into the *Handbook* and that his editorial decisions triggered the adoption of Sephardic melodies in Ashkenazic Synagogues throughout London, a tradition that continues today.[115]

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114. Herman Adler, *The Ritual: The Reply of the Chief Rabbi* (London: Wertheimer, Lea and Co., 1890).[My italics]

115. Since Francis Lyon Cohen served as editor of the previous edition of the *Handbook* and more is known about his choices due to his academic activity in the field of Jewish music, I chose to focus on him rather than on David Montague Davis. However, Davis must have played a considerable role in arranging the pieces, considering the magnitude of musical material that was arranged and harmonized.

Francis Lyon Cohen (1862-1934) was both a rabbi and musicologist, educated at the University College London and at Jews' College, London. Cohen taught at Oxford University after which he became a minister in the Synagogues of South Hackney, London (1883-85), Dublin (1885-86) and Borough New Synagogue, London (1886-1904). In 1905, he became Rabbi of the Great Synagogue of Sydney until his death in 1934; the position was the Australian parallel of the Chief Rabbi in England, albeit with less organized authority.[116] Knapp writes:

> As a musicologist he is perhaps best known for his work as the music editor (and author of most of the entries on Jewish music) for the Jewish Encyclopedia (New York 1901-5). He wrote numerous books, articles and pamphlets on Jewish music in general and on synagogue music and Gregorian Chant in particular, was sometimes editor to the Choir Committee of the United Synagogue and taught a cantorial class at Jews' College.[117]

Francis Lyon Cohen was commissioned by the Choir committee of the Council of the United Synagogue to arrange and edit the choral hymnal of the United Synagogue together with D.M. Davis in 1899.

Cohen apparently had special interest in Sephardic melodies, which he originally heard in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogues in London.[118] In addition, he took every opportunity to include Sephardic melodies in his activities as a musicologist and expert on Jewish music. He introduced them to the general Jewish public as well as to musicians and musicologists. Examples abound in his prose publications and the melodies he included in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* (1901-1905).

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116. *Encyclopedia Judaica*, s.v. "Cohen, Francis Lyon."

117. Alexander Knapp, "The Influence of German Music on United Kingdom synagogue practice,", 182. Cohen's various publications are elaborated upon discussion later in this chapter.

118. By 1899, two active Spanish and Portuguese Synagogues were found in London. One was the Bevis Marks synagogue, inaugurated in 1701 and situated in the City of London; it is the oldest synagogue in England. The second, named Lauderdale Rd. and inaugurated in 1895-6, was a branch of the former, situated in Maida Vale, an area in which more Jews were living at the time.

At a time when Ashkenazic rabbis were encouraging congregational singing, the Sephardic model of community participation in the prayers was especially attractive. Cohen advocated congregational participation, a practice borrowed from Sephardic custom. His musicological training is evident in his inclusion of Sephardic melodies, which he felt were historically significant in the development of synagogue music.[119]

By examining some of Francis L. Cohen's choices of material and writings on musical topics, we may ascertain his views and preferences for Jewish music and understand his choices as editor of the *Handbook*. Cohen's writing reflects his appreciation of Sephardic melodies' unique qualities. He admires their antiquity, their preservation over generations, and their performance practice with all the community joining in. The sources that I have chosen to examine are some of his entries in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* ("Adonoi Melech", "Ashira", "Selihah", "Hamabdil"), a five-part lecture he gave on Jewish music (*The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music*) and two collections of music he compiled and edited (*Lyra Anglo- Judaica* and *Zemiroth Israel*).

Sephardic Melodies in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*

We begin with Francis Lyon Cohen's contributions to the *Jewish Encyclopedia* between 1901 and 1905. These entries will likely illuminate some of the aforementioned agendas. In composing the concise bibliography of each Sephardic entry, Cohen mentioned the number of the melody in de Sola and Aguilar's *Ancient Melodies* and its number in his own compilations, if relevant, such as *Zemiroth Yisrael*, or the *Handbook*.

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119. The historical significance Cohen attributes to the Sephardic melodies is evident from a quote in his lecture, "The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music," where he attributes historical importance to the Sephardic melody "Tov Lehodot": "Some idea of the first synagogue music may be gained from the singing of two widely known psalm melodies...the first of them is the oldest chant surviving for Psalm xcii, sung upon the Shabbat day."

He was familiar with *Libro dei Canti d'Israele, Antichi Canti Litugici del Rito degli Ebrei Spagnoli* compiled by Federico Consolo (1841-1906). Consolo focused on the sacred songs of the Leghorn Jews, descendants of the Jews expelled from Spain. Cohen mentions his name and book in the bibliographies of the musical terms.

An example of Cohen's affection for Sephardic tunes is his description of the Sephardic form of the song *Hamabdil* in the *Jewish Encyclopedia:* "Of its many musical settings the finest is the following old Spanish melody."[120]

Cohen's belief that Sephardic melodies are eminently suitable for congregational singing is conveyed in his article "Adonoi Melech" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*:

> In the Sephardic Liturgy...the melodies are intended more for congregational singing than for the cantor's elaboration...*The Sephardim have more traditional strains suited for rendering by a congregational unison*, and as a result these melodies have varied but little in local tradition. In the Ashkenazi liturgy, however, the cantor was from ancient times, not so much the leader of the congregational song as the practiced vocalist who musically interpreted the text to the listening congregation.[121]

This paragraph also implies that Cohen was familiar with the Sephardic liturgical practices, which I believe he came to know through visiting the Spanish and Portuguese services in London during that time.

Another quote along this line appears in his article on "Selihah":

> The Sephardic recitation of Scriptal verses is calmer and more chant like than the Ashkenazi, if only because so much *more falls on the congregants* as compared to with the Precentor [chazzan] in the former.[122]

Keeping in mind Chief Rabbi Adler's request to select music suited for all worshippers to join in, Cohen's observation helps us understand why Sephardic melodies—appropriate

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120. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Hamabdil."

121. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Adonoi Melech." [The emphasis is mine]

122. *Jewish Encyclopedia,* s.v. "Selihah." [The emphasis is mine]

and habitually used for congregational singing—were so significant to him, eventually leading to their integration into the *Handbook*.

In his articles in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Cohen exhibits an admiration for the special qualities of the Sephardic melodies. He is impressed by their antiquity and preservation, and by the communal singing, creating a musical simplicity absent from many Ashkenazic synagogue songs.

Az Yashir in Cohen's Writing

Cohen appeared to be interested in origins and antiquity, and hence his deep interest in the Sephardic melodies to which he often attributes ancient roots.[123] Cohen also seems to have been particularly fond of the melody for *Shirat Hayam* (Song of the Sea) beginning with the words "Az Yashir" or "Ashira". In his entry on "Ashira" in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, Cohen provides three notated examples of melodies sung in the different Jewish communities; two are Sephardic.[124] He implies that the song should be

123. The issue of the antiquity of oral musical traditions is complex. In this case, sources contradict Cohen's claims of a melody originating in the Temple era. De Sola (1857) and Idelsohn (1929) both place its date at a later period; Idelsohn claims that it originated during the settlement in Spain, while de Sola asserts in his introduction to *The Ancient Melodies* that it undoubtedly originated from the period prior to the Jewish settlement in Spain. In the case of oral traditions, it is difficult to ascertain precise dates of birth to melodies. There may be traditions as to when melodies were first introduced, and in that case, the information depends on which informant a researcher queries and believes. Cohen tended to attribute more ancient dates of origin to the melodies, claims often disputed by other researchers.

124. The first example Cohen cites in the entry of "Ashira" is his own transcription of a possible Ashkenazic rendition, since the melody remains fluid with no fixed notes. He writes that this special melodic mode was only used for the singing of certain verses that were to be emphasized (this is an important point, because when Ashkenazim eventually adopted the Sephardic melody, they used it only for emphasis on certain verses). The second version of the melody is a transcription by Consolo in his *Libro dei Canti d' Israele*, which Cohen claims to be the freest amongst the Sephardic versions, and the third version cited is the melody in question which Cohen says he was taken from de Sola's *Ancient Melodies*.

sung by the congregation as a whole ("...the rabbinical exhortation [is] that it should be chanted standing and with melody, and with gladness"[125]).

He has interesting theories as to how the same ancient formula developed in two different variants by the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim over the centuries. He argues that Ashkenazic custom gradually came to be the intonation of the chazzan only, while the Sephardim, who were more inclined in general to congregational singing, chanted *Az Yashir* together, and over the years it developed into a more formal, rhythmic melody (see p.67-68 of this chapter for more on the common origins of Ashkenazic and Sephardic melodies). It is interesting to note that although he cites both versions, he included only the Sephardic version of *Az Yashir* in the 1899 *Handbook*, published three years before the *Jewish Encyclopedia.* Perhaps his choice was motivated by the fact that the Sephardic version was more songlike than the Ashkenazic version—which is a type of cantillation, a melody with a given formula akin to the chant for reading the Torah and not suitable to include in a choral *Handbook* whose target audience is congregants and choristers rather than cantors.

Az Yashir as an Illustration of Cohen's Interest in Sephardic melodies

In a lecture by Cohen at the Anglo Jewish Exhibition in Albert Hall in the 1880s on the *Rise and Development of Jewish Music* (discussed later in this chapter), Cohen claims that *Az Yashir* is the only melody dating before the dispersion (before 70 A.D.).[126] Cohen elaborates on its significance:

125. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Ashira."

126. Francis Lyon Cohen, "The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music," 80-135.

> We have been listening to the best defined and most rhythmic version of this melody, being the form long followed by the Jews in Spain. They had a distinct tradition to the effect that this was the form of the song as it was chanted by Miriam and her companions at the Red Sea. Whether that be true or quite the reverse, we may accept the melody as having directly descended from the form heard in the temple.[127]

This explanation helps us understand Cohen's attachment to this melody, introducing it to all of the communities in England via the *Handbook* and even transporting it to Sydney, Australia, when he relocated there.[128]

Cohen also disseminated the melody outside the synagogues. Since Cohen was the first advocator and staff chaplain of the English Jewish Lads' Brigade in 1896, it is hardly surprising to discover that the *Az Yashir* melody was used for accompanying their parades. Cohen reported this "new usage" of the melody: "Quite recently its [the melody's] martial conception had been interestingly emphasized in its adoption for the Parade March of the Jewish Lads' Brigade."[129]

Cohen believed that this Hebrew melody was one of the oldest in existence, taking this assumption to the extreme by tracing it back to the Temple itself.[130]

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127. Ibid., 94.

128. Cantor Nathan Gluck, who hails from Sydney, testifies that in the Great Synagogue of Sydney, where Francis Lyon Cohen served as rabbi between 1905 and 1934, *Az Yashir* was sung every week in the Shabbat morning service until the 1980s, a custom not practiced elsewhere in Australia. (Nathan Gluck, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 4 February 2004.) It is probable that Cohen imported this custom to Australia with him.

129. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Ashira."

130. As a musicologist interested in the origins and antiquity of melodies, this notion of antiquity must have impressed him greatly. See footnote 123 for a discussion on the antiquity of oral traditions.

The Use of Two *Hallel* melodies in Cohen's Writings

When Cohen discusses the term *Hallel* (festive psalms) in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, he emphasizes the antiquity of *Hallel* melodies that can be heard in the Sephardic tradition and continues:

> Many such melodies, often of marked beauty, have been preserved in the synagogues of the Sephardic ritual. A rich store of them will be found in the collections of De Sola and Consolo. Typical, and of particular interest because of their use in many Ashkenazi and Reform Synagogues are the [following] two well-contrasted melodies here presented...[131]

This paragraph teaches us some very important insights. Firstly, according to Cohen, the Sephardic melodies mentioned here—which appear as nos. 62 and 63 in the *Handbook*—were sung in Ashkenazic synagogues by 1904, at least fifteen years after they were first printed in the 1889 edition of the *Handbook*.[132] This is significant because this is the only mention in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* of the adoption of a Sephardic melody into the Ashkenazic liturgy. Secondly, the melodies were also sung in 1904 in the Reform synagogue, although this was to be expected—because they appear in *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, published in 1880.[133]

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131. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Hallel." For the appearance of the melodies in the *Handbook*, see Appendix B, examples 1a and 1b.

132. The two Sephardic melodies for *Hallel* (no. 62 and 63 in the *Handbook*) originate from Aguilar and de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* 39- 40. Melody number 42 "Hallel" which appears as "Halalu [sic] (no.2) Odecha (no.1)" no. 62 in the Handbook; and melody no. 43 "Hallel" in the *Ancient Melodies* which appears as "Hodu: Onno (no.2)" no. 62 in the *Handbook.*

133. Charles G. Verrinder, ed., *The Music Used in the Service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, 6 volumes (London: Novello, Ewer and Co., 1880), 80-84.

The Origin of the Juxtaposition of the *Hallel* melodies

Another interesting point we learn from Cohen's entry on Hallel in the *Jewish Encyclopedia* is the fact that melodies no. 62 and 63 in the *Handbook* are presented in it one after the other. Originally in the *Ancient Melodies,* they were placed in consecutive order—but there is no evidence that they were performed together in the Sephardic synagogue.[134] This juxtaposition probably stemmed from the Reform synagogue, since the melodies in the Reform hymnbook *The Music used in the Liturgy of the West London Synagogue of British Jews* appear in the same alternating pattern in which they appear in the first *Handbook* (i.e., ABAB). This suggests that Verrinder, editor of the Reform hymnbook, was the first to join them together into one unit and that Cohen adopted the Reform practice in the *Handbook.* Cohen may have heard that Verrinder juxtaposed these two melodies in the same manner, or witnessed them sung in this form in the Reform synagogue service.

Cohen chose to join them together as one composition on more than one occasion as part of other changes made in the functions and placements of the Sephardic melodies he incorporated into the *Handbook.*[135]

Before turning to the manner in which Verrinder and Cohen combined the two tunes, it is important to clarify the form of the *Hallel* prayer. The *Hallel* service is recited only on festivals, as it is the prayer of thanksgiving. Comprising psalms (numbers 113-

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134. The two melodies are currently sung on two different occasions in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. No. 62 is sung on *Chol Hamoed Pessach* (the four days of Passover between the two festivals on the first and second days and the seventh day). It is also sung as the melody for the *Piyut* (liturgical song) "Lech Leshalom Geshem uvo Leshalom Tal", which is sung as part of the prayer for the dew on the first day of *Pessach* (Passover). No. 63 is sung on the first day of festivals as part of what is termed the "big" *Hallel* (meaning it is grand and festive compared to the "quickie" *Hallel* which is sung on days of *Chol Hamoed*, days of semi-festivals).

135. Other changes in function appear in Chapter IV, pp. 75-78.

118), it tends to be sung, rather than chanted, because of its festive atmosphere. What Francis L. Cohen seems to have been proposing was the use of these melodies as a kind of musical theme throughout the *Hallel* service, although there is no indication that these melodies were ever used by the Spanish and Portuguese community together in this manner—or even that they were both used for the same festivals. The following chart shows the psalms of the Hallel service (beginning halfway through the service), and the tune that should be sung, as suggested by Cohen.

Psalms numbers (verses)	Beginning with words	Melody suggested by Francis Lyon Cohen (no. in *Handbook)*
117	Hallelu es Adonoi	62 (A)
118 (1-4)	Hodu ladonoi	63 (B)
118 (5- 20)	Min Hameitsor	____
118 (21- 24)	Odecho ki Onisani	62 (A)
118 (25)	Onno Adonoi	63 (B)
118 (26-29)	Baruch Habo	____

Melody A begins with the words- "Halelu es Adonoi Kol Goyim"; Melody B is employed for the singing of "Hodu Ladonoi Ki Tov", followed by a repetition of Melody A for the verse of "Odecho Ki Onisoni"; and the finale is a reprise of Melody B sung to the words "Onno Adonoi Hoshioh No". In the first edition of the *Handbook*, both melodies were written in the manner described in the chart, and Cohen used them again in the revised *Handbook*, where the two tunes appear successively on the same page but are not written in that form. The title accorded to no. 62 is both *Halalu* [sic] and *Odecha*, and the title of no. 63 is both *Hodu* and *Onno,* implying that this melodic structure was still advocated.

In Cohen's compilation of *Traditional Hebrew Melodies* for piano, the two melodies are joined as two themes of the same piece in the following form: [136]

1- Melody A- (no. 62)

2- Melody B- (no. 63)

3- Melody A- (no. 62)

Francis L. Cohen's lecture on *The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music*

Authoring several pamphlets and articles on Jewish music, Cohen appears to have found it very important to further the Jewish community's knowledge of Jewish music. One example is his lengthy paper *The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music*, a collection of lectures he gave at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibits in 1887 in the Royal Albert Hall in London, and published that same year.[137] In it he divides Jewish history into five main periods and traces the development of Jewish music through these ages. He presents many interesting, though outdated from a contemporary standpoint, ideas on the origins of Jewish musical traditions and melodies. We read Cohen's publication to gain insight into his musical views, considerations and preferences a mere three years before he published the first edition of the *Handbook*.

Not surprisingly, Sephardic music plays a major role in Cohen's writing, as is reflected in the plentiful quotes in the musical examples. These citations prove Francis L. Cohen's extensive knowledge of and interest in Sephardic music.

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136. Cohen and Pauer, *Traditional Hebrew Melodies*, no.12, p.13.

137. Cohen, "The Rise and Development of Synagogue Music," 80-135.

The first musical example he cites is Psalm 112 with the Sephardic melody for *Tov lehodot*, later incorporated into the *Handbook* (no.20). Cohen explains why this musical example was chosen:

> ...some idea of the first synagogue music may be gained from the singing of two widely known psalm melodies...the first of them is the oldest chant surviving for Psalm xcii, sung upon the Shabbat day.[138]

This comment implies that Francis L. Cohen chose to incorporate this Sephardic melody because of its historical significance. I believe that historical importance played a role in determining which melodies were eventually included in the *Handbook*, since the cantillation style of this melody was not especially conducive to congregational singing.

The musical illustration of *Tov Lehodot* provided in Cohen's lecture is notated differently from the Sephardic tune in de Sola and Aguilar's *Ancient Melodies*, the sole published English Sephardic source by 1860.[139] Cohen's version differs in three ways: it begins from a different part of the phrase; it is written in a different key and in the time signature of 3/4 rather than 4/4; and it has more elaborations and a much slower performance indication (see Appendix B, examples 7a, 7b and 7c for *Tov Lehodot* according to the *Handbook's* version, the Reform version, and the *Ancient Melodies* version). Could this mean that Francis L. Cohen transcribed this melody from an oral source and not from the only published Spanish and Portuguese music in England? The melody's notation in the lecture is almost identical to that given in the *Handbook*, published in its early edition in 1889; two years after the lectures had been published. Both versions are in the same key and have the same phrasing. The only difference is the

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138. Ibid., 81.

139. Aguilar and de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* 6. This piece is termed "Tov Lehodot" by the Ashkenazim and "Mizmor Shir" by the Sephardim. For an explanation on the difference in titles between the Ashkenazim and the Sephardim, see Chapter IV, p. 72.

note lengths, since the given illustration in the lecture was sung to the psalm's English translation while the original Hebrew words are retained in the *Handbook.*

The Reform hymnal is a possible source for both the lecture and later the *Handbook*, since it deals with irregular rhythms in the same manner. Measure 16 in the *Ancient Melodies* includes a triplet and four sixteenth notes, while both the Reform hymnal (in m. 27) and the *Handbook* (in m. 23) use the same note length division of a dotted eighth with a sixteenth, a quarter and four eighths. Both Reform and *Handbook* examples use the same time signatures and key signatures and even the lengthening of the quarters to halves to fit the measures is identical in both sources. The similarity of the layouts implies that Francis Lyon Cohen's source for this Sephardic melody was the Reform hymnal and not de Sola's *The Ancient Melodies*, since it pre-dated the lecture and the publication of the *Handbook* by over fifteen years.

Cohen chose to illustrate ancient melodies to which newer texts were linked in his lecture with the Sephardic melody used in the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue as *Lecha Dodi*; he explained that the melody has a Moorish origin and was used as the musical setting of a later sixteenth-century poem.[140] This melody appears to have been copied directly from the Sephardic *Ancient Melodies,* since the phrasing, key, and time signature are virtually identical; the same musical arrangement was used when it was adopted into the *Handbook.*[141]

To elaborate on the difference between the Sephardic and Ashkenazic music Cohen used the Sephardic chant for Ibn Gabirol's "Judge of all the Earth" not included in

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140. Cohen, "The Rise and Development," 114-5.

141. Aguilar and de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*, p.5, n.7. See Appendix B, examples 5a and 5c for *The Ancient Melodies* version and the *Handbook* version.

the *Handbook*. Francis L. Cohen's decision to exclude the Sephardic melody from the *Handbook* may be informative. One of a very few Sephardic melodies in his lecture not to be included in the *Handbook*, it is a solo piece with many melismatic elaborations and no clear beat, very difficult to perform from notation. These characteristics may have rendered it inappropriate to include in a choral hymn book, because its performance requires a high level of musical literacy.

Two musical compilations written and edited by Francis L. Cohen that reflect his approach are *Zemiroth Israel: Traditional Hebrew Melodies* (1896) and *Lyra Anglo-Judaica* (1891).[142] The first is a compilation of Hebrew melodies arranged for piano by Ernest Pauer, and the second is a hymn book of Jewish tunes without words arranged for four-part singing.[143]

Lyra Anglo-Judaica: Cohen's educational motivation

In *Lyra Anglo-Judaica* (1891), four pieces are specifically cited as Sephardic. Three of them were taken from de Sola and Aguilar's *Ancient Melodies*, while one is said by Cohen to have been adapted from Naumbourg's "Agudath Shirim".[144] None of these melodies were included in the *Handbook*. I understand this to be strong evidence that Cohen's use of Sephardic melodies in the *Handbook* was not only aesthetic but

142. Cohen, *Zemiroth Israel.* Born in Vienna in 1826, the virtuoso pianist Ernst Pauer immigrated to England in the 1850s and eventually became a professor at the Royal Academy of Music. At that time, he had studied piano with Mozart's son, counterpoint with Simon Sechter, and composition with Lachner. He became well-known as an editor for Augener of London, for whom he arranged many orchestral and choral pieces for piano. Most were secular non-Jewish compositions arranged for popular use by amateur piano players.

143. Cohen, *Lyra Anglo- Judaica: A Collection of Psalms and Hymns.*

144. Melody no. 3 *Bemotsaei* in *Lyrica Judaica* is an arrangement of no. 23 p. 22 in de Sola's *Ancient Melodies*, entitled there "Bemotsae Yom Menucha".

educational in the broadest sense. Francis Lyon Cohen found these fifteen melodies pleasing to the ear but also wanted to open his public's ears to the wealth and qualities of Sephardic music in general. It is important to remember that this hymnbook was written three years after the first edition of the *Handbook* had been compiled, and it appears that Cohen's wish to continue introducing new Sephardic melodies into the Ashkenazic repertoire motivated him to add these three "new" melodies into *Lyra Anglo-Judaica.*

Zemiroth Israel; Traditional Hebrew Melodies (henceforth *Traditional Hebrew Melodies)*

Cohen wrote the preface and chose the songs later transcribed as piano pieces in *Traditional Hebrew Melodies* (1896) of which seven out of twenty-eight are Sephardic. In the preface he elaborates on each melody's uniqueness and historical background. These explanations reveal the motivation behind his selections for the *Handbook.*

In the preface Cohen states that while the purpose of this compilation was not to represent the antiquity of the Hebrew melodies, he would have liked to represent the different historical layers of Jewish music that can be found in his day.

> ...in a collection of airs arranged for the pianoforte, such as occupies the following pages, the opportunity would scarcely offer itself for the presentation of...the most ancient and most characteristic forms of Hebrew melody preserved by Jewish tradition. Of these the oldest, the cantillation in which the scriptures are recited... is an unaccompanied *recitative*, built up of very brief melodic phrases which interpret the accents ...The form next oldest, the *Hazzanuth*, according to which the prayers generally are intoned, is a free florid development of very short model themes anciently set apart for the particular service...This form ...is likewise hardly suitable for transcription for the pianoforte.[145]

Cohen apologizes that he does not include an example of the oldest melody preserved in Jewish tradition, the bible cantillation, and the second oldest form, *Chazzanut,* because they cannot be represented properly in a harmonic transcription for keyboard. That he felt

145. Cohen, *Zemiroth Israel,* ii.

a need to apologize at all clues us in on his self-defined educational mission, to represent the historical layers of Jewish music in his writings and compilations.

The Sephardic melodies included in this compilation are *Lecha Dodi*, *Mizmor Shir*, *Az Yashir*, *Hamabdil*, *Hallel*, *El Norah* and the *Hakafoth*. All had been entries in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*. Cohen wrote that *Lecha Dodi* is a tune more ancient than its words: "The chant is thus very much older than the verses, as indeed its Morisco- Spanish character would denote."[146]

The common origins of Sephardic and Ashkenazic melodies

A theme in Cohen's writings was his claim that Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions shared common sources. Cohen wrote in the preface that *Az Yashir* is an ancient melody that might have a common origin for Ashkenazim and Sephardim.

> Despite the modern character of the air, it is undoubtedly of an ancient original which would have displayed closer affinity with the form in which the *Ashkenazim* intone the "Song of Moses" when it occurs as the Lesson of the Day...in the earliest times the Reader of the Lesson intoned this song of victory in a vocal imitation of a trumpet flourish, from which the still partly fluid cantillation of the North [Ashkenazim] and the fixed rhythmic chant of the Southern Jews [Sephardim] have both descended.[147]

In Cohen's article on the term *Az Yashir* in the *Jewish Encyclopedia*, he commented similarly on the common origins of the Sephardic and Ashkenazic melodies. He asserted that the same motives sung in free flowing rhythm in the Ashkenazic tradition became a rhythmic melody in the Sephardic synagogues, due to the characteristic congregational

146. Ibid.

147. Ibid., iii.

singing of the latter.[148] However, the alleged common source is by no means given as a reason for the adoption of Sephardic melodies into the Ashkenazic liturgy; there was no link between the origin of the melodies and their contemporary practice. He finds that many Ashkenazic and Sephardic melodies for *Hallel* also appeared to have had common origins. He theorizes that the two simply developed in different directions, based on the influence of the surrounding non-Jewish musical style as well as other factors. In his *Traditional Hebrew Melodies,* Francis L. Cohen claims that these *Hallel* melodies, "...[originated] in the Netherlands, and [were] based on old themes common also to Ashkenazim."[149]

Conclusion

Francis L. Cohen was an Ashkenazic musicologist interested in the sources and ages of Jewish melodies. He was particularly engrossed by what he perceived to be ancient melodies. He mentions Sephardic melodies in his writings and categorizes them as older than Ashkenazic, stemming from antique sources. His special interest in Sephardic melodies may be part of the reason that he introduced them into the Ashkenazic *Handbook.* However this decision could be seen as problematic, because he essentially placed the community's need for suitable, familiar melodies second to his own interests in musicology and Jewish musical history.

In his *Traditional Hebrew Melodies*, Cohen implies that he would have liked to include musical examples of ancient Jewish music but had been prevented from doing so

148. *Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Ashira."

149. Cohen, *Zemiroth Israel,* iii.

because of their "incompatibility" with western European piano notation and harmonization. Some of the Sephardic melodies that eventually appeared in the *Handbook* were featured in his academic lecture on the evolution of Jewish music through history, the *Rise and Development of Synagogue Music* (1887). It is possible that while researching this talk, he encountered interesting musical examples which he subsequently included in the *Handbook*'s first edition published in 1889.

When assembling *Traditional Hebrew Melodies* (1896), he included Sephardic melodies not previously included in the first edition of the *Handbook* seven years earlier. This gesture might suggest that he continually searched for Sephardic melodies that were interesting for him to study and promote.[150]

Cohen must have realized how appropriate Sephardic tunes were in the context of musical reforms in 1880-1899 London. At that time, Sephardic melodies were being used by the Reform synagogues both in England and abroad, and the London Orthodox community too was influenced by synagogue reforms introduced by Reform Jews. He concluded that Sephardic melodies are simpler and easier to sing, a result of the Sephardic centuries-long tradition of congregational singing. Sephardic melodies were simpler, more repetitive and had smaller ranges. (An analysis of Spanish and Portuguese musical features appears in chapter IV.) Sephardic harmonies had fewer modulations than most pieces in the Ashkenazic liturgy, thus young boys could learn more readily to sing them.

On a trip during January and February 2004 to London, I asked Ashkenazic Orthodox cantors and Jewish musicologists what they thought had drawn Francis Lyon

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150. He may have exercised similar considerations in his inclusion of non-Sephardic music in the *Handbook*, an interesting claim that expands beyond the parameters of this work.

Cohen to these Sephardic melodies. These cantors and musicologists generally replied, "Maybe he just liked them." Cohen's attraction and fascination with Sephardic melodies, as reflected in his written sources, imply that this answer is indeed within range of the truth.

Chapter IV- The Sephardic Melodies in the Ashkenazic *Handbook of Synagogue Music*

The Ancient Melodies

Fifteen out of the three hundred and ten melodies in the Ashkenazic choral compilation *Handbook of Synagogue Music; The Voice of Prayer and Praise* are listed in the index as "traditional-Sephardic."[151] All were first documented and organized in David A. de Sola and Emanuel A. Aguilar's *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London, 1857).[152] These melodies were used in the Spanish and Portuguese communities' liturgy, and most still are today.[153] Seroussi argues in his article, "The Ancient Melodies: On the Antiquity of Music in the Sephardic Liturgy" that de Sola wanted to preserve the traditional Spanish and Portuguese oral repertoire he had learned in Amsterdam and heard in London when he moved there.[154] Thus *The Ancient Melodies* documents Sephardic melodies extant before the 1860s. De Sola explains his aims in his preface:

> to improve the public or private worship of *all* our brethren Israelites...for it is not only to our brethren following the Sephardic Liturgy, that these melodies solely interest or exclusively appertain; for, even as the sublime hymns to which they are joined, they are the common property of *all Israel* and have now been available to all of them...[155]

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151. For a list of the Sephardic melodies and their function in the prayers, see Appendix A, chart 1.

152. Aguilar and de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies*. See also footnote 3.

153. As attested by the choirmaster of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue of Lauderdale Rd. London. Morris Martin, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 1 February 2004.

154. Edwin Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies: On the Antiquity of Music in the Sephardic Liturgy," *Pe'amim 50 (1992):* 99-131. See also Ibid., 118.

155. David de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies,* 2. [The emphasis is mine.]

De Sola died three years after *The Ancient Melodies* was published but his legacy continues. In most London Ashkenazic synagogues today *Az Yashir*, a Sephardic melody from *The Ancient Melodies* continues to be sung. De Sola would have appreciated this phenomenon as it reflects his wish for Sephardic melodies to be used by non-Sephardim.

Sephardic Pronunciation and Names

Sephardic and Ashkenazic pronunciation of Hebrew differ for reasons stemming from linguistic influences in their respective countries of settlement. A sentence written in Hebrew sounds very different when uttered by an Ashkenazic Jew and when said by a Sephardic Jew. For example, an Ashkenazic Jew would say "Oz Yoshir Moishe Uvenei Yisroel" whereas a Sephardi Jew would pronounce the same words "Az Yashir Moshe Ubnei Yisrael." In the following chapter phrases and names of songs will look different in transliteration due to nuances in pronunciation. For example, the Ashkenazic "Uvo Letsiyon" would be pronounced "Uba Letsion" by the Sephardim. Additionally, Sephardim tend to name songs from psalms by their first line; for example, they call a song *Mizmor Shir*, whereas Ashkenazim use the second line of the psalm as its title, e.g. *Tov Lehodos*. These differing approaches to titling have resulted in two different titles for the same song. Hebrew terms and titles in this thesis will be written in accordance with the source (Ashkenazic or Sephardic) discussed.

The Creation of the London Spanish and Portuguese Custom

According to Seroussi, the source of many of the variations and differences between the London and Amsterdam Spanish and Portuguese oral traditions was de Sola and Aguilar's volume *The Ancient Melodies.*[156] Emanuel Abraham Aguilar, the musical editor and arranger of *The Ancient Melodies,* was a musician and composer trained in the Western European musical tradition who tried to reconcile the oriental-sounding music of the Spanish and Portuguese community with the conventions of European art music. Among others, he adjusted melodies and rhythms in the former in an attempt to resolve the difficulties of notating Judeo-Spanish music using Western notation. Seroussi claims that because some of the Sephardic intonations and cantillations in the prayers lacked a regular beat—a concept foreign to Aguilar—Aguilar "fixed" the fluid rhythm into Western style, with measures and regular time signatures, so that the music would be easier for a choir to sing. The melodies, originally monophonic, had to be harmonized for the choir of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue. Aguilar's diatonic rewriting and harmonization of the melodies occasionally led to dissonances. Aguilar also cast harmonies in homophonic textures much like Anglican hymns. According to Seroussi, Aguilar's versions of the Sephardic melodies were so popular they became the "London" tradition of these melodies. Aguilar's arrangements remain influential. Even today the Spanish and Portuguese community of London sings either Aguilar's melodic arrangements or more recent ones based on his.[157]

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156. Serroussi, "The Ancient Melodies", 110. The following paragraph is based on Seroussi's article.

157. An example of the similarity between Aguilar's melodic version of the Spanish and Portuguese melodies and a current-day Spanish and Portuguese rendition of these melodies was revealed during an interview with Mr. Morris Martin, Choirmaster of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue in Lauderdale Rd. Morris Martin, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 1 February 2004.

Chart 1: Location of Sephardic Melodies in *The Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* and their source *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*

Name of Melody in *Ancient Melodies* [1857]	**Number in *Ancient Melodies* (page)**	**Name of Melody in *Handbook of Synagogue Music* [1899][158]**	**Number in *Handbook* (page)**
Adon Olam	Appendix (p. 62)	Adon Olom (No.9)	No. 335 (p. 276)
Adonai Melech	No. 34 (p. 34)	Adonoi Melech (No.1)	No. 67 (p. 45)
Hallel for Shabbat	No. 25 (p. 24)	Beseifer Chayyim	No. 211 (p. 173)
Hallel	No. 42 (p. 39)	Halalu (No.2): Odecho (No.1)	No. 62 (p. 42)
Hallel	No. 43 (p. 40)	Hodu: Onno (No.2)	No. 63 (p. 42)
Mizmor LeDavid	No. 13 (pp. 10-13)	Hovu Ladonoi (No.1)	No. 16 (p. 8)
Lecha Dodi	No. 7 (p. 5)	Lecho Dodi (No.2)	No.16 (p. 14)
El Nora Alilah	No. 36 (p. 35)	Lema'an Yezammer'cho	No. 279 (p. 218)
En Kelohenu	No. 46 (p. 43)	Odecha (No.4)	No. 161 (p. 129)
Az Yashir Moshe	No. 12 (p. 9)	Oz Yoshir Moshe	No. 50 (p. 33)
---	---	Shomreini (No.3) [159] Memorial of the Departed	No. 261 (p. 205)
Mizmor Shir	No. 8 (p. 6)	Tov Lehodos (No.1)	No. 20 (p. 20)
Uba Letsion	No. 14 (pp. 14 -15)	Uvo Le-Tsiyon	No. 278 (p. 217)
Vaani Tefilati	No. 15 (p. 16)	Va'ani Sefillosi	No. 43 (p. 29)
Yigdal for Festivals	No. 38 (p. 36)	Yigdal (No.2)	No.29 (p. 24)

In his comprehensive preface, de Sola notes that all Sephardic melodies may be divided into three subcategories:[160]

158. Some melodies in the *Handbook* were given numbers as well as text titles since several melodic versions were presented for the same text.

159. No. 260 in the Ashkenazi *Handbook*, the melody *Shomreini,* is labeled Sephardic in the index but does not correspond with any of the Spanish and Portuguese melodies in the *Ancient Melodies.* Some similarities can be found between the melody "Shomreini" in the *Handbook* and no. 28 in the *Ancient Melodies,* which is called *Michtam LeDavid* and continues with the words "shomrieni el" with a common first melodic phrase. This is curious; if miscopied, why is the second phrase so different? What is its source? Fragments of the same melody appear in Francis Lyon Cohen's *Traditional Hebrew Melodies* for piano as no. 25 in a slightly altered manner with the omission of the first and third phrases. The melody was sung at burial services. Today, a similar refrain is also sung on Yom Kippur in Kol Nidrei as *Tefila LeDavid* by the Spanish and Portuguese community, and as a *piyut* (liturgical strophic song) sung on Yom Kippur morning – *Elohim El Yakar.*

160. De Sola, "An Historical Essay," in *The Ancient Melodies,* 16.

I- Ancient melodies composed before the Jews settled in Spain. Example: *Az Yashir* (no. 12).

II- Melodies composed in Spain that were influenced by Arabic or Spanish music and subsequently introduced into exiled Jews' various countries of settlement after the expulsion from Spain (1492). Including: *Mizmor Shir* (no. 8), *Mizmor LeDavid* (no.13), *Uba Letsion* (no.14), *Vaani Tefilati* (no. 15), *Hallel* (no. 25), *Adonai Melech* (no.34), *El Nora Alilah* (no. 36) and *Yigdal* (no. 38).

III- Melodies of a later period, composed after the Spanish expulsion, influenced by melodies of the neighboring nations in their new lands of settlement. This category includes - *Lecha Dodi* (no.7), *Hallel* (no. 42), *Hallel* (no. 43) and *En Keloheinu* (no.46). *Adon Olam* (Appendix p. 62) composed by David de Sola (which has become a most popular Sephardic melody in Ashkenazic synagogues today), is included in this group.

Abraham Z. Idelsohn, a renowned scholar of Jewish music, noted seventy years later: "These [tunes in de Sola and Aguilars' *Ancient Melodies*] are mostly adopted tunes of Dutch origin from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, only less than half of them being traceable back to Spain."[161] However, Idelsohn believes the Sephardic melodies from pre-1492 Spain include: *Az Yashir* (no. 12), *Uba Letsion* (no. 14), *Adonoi Melech* (no. 34), and *Hallel* (no. 42). The rest of the melodies originated from the Spanish and Portuguese settlement in Holland.

161. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music, Its Historical Development*, 338-9.

Changes to Sephardic Texts and Melodies in the *Handbook*

While the editors of the *Handbook* included fifteen of the Sephardic melodies published in de Sola's *Ancient Melodies,* they often changed the melodies' contexts. As a result, some of the melodies were allotted to different texts or to different religious functions in Sephardic and Ashkenazic traditions.[162]

An example of a melody changing functions is *Adonai Melech*, no. 34 in the *Ancient Melodies,* which was adopted into the *Handbook* as *Adonoi Melech (no.1)*, no. 67. Although the text remains unaltered in both Ashkenazic and Sephardic sources, the *Handbook* editors changed the circumstance on which it was to be sung. In *The Ancient Melodies* it is part of the prayers for the High Holidays (*Rosh Hashanah*, the Jewish New Year and *Yom Kippur*, Day of Atonement).[163] Cohen and Davis used it as *Adonoi Melech* for regular Shabbat services.

The reason for this might be that a traditional Ashkenazic *Adonoi Melech* (no. 213 in the *Handbook*) had already been established as the customary melody for the High Holidays. Moreover, it is more acceptable to introduce new melodies for Shabbat than for the High Holidays. The festive High Holidays have their own special liturgical modes and melodies which congregants expect to hear as part of their synagogal experience on that holiday, which occurs only once a year. Because Shabbat occurs once a week, introducing a suitable new melody can be perceived as refreshing. *Adonai Melech*, sung today on the

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162. The following melodies remained in their original Sephardic function when adopted into the *Handbook*: *Adon Olam*, *Az Yashir* (no.12), *El Norah Alilah* (no. 36), *Hallel* (no. 42), *Hallel* (no. 43), *Lecha Dodi* (no. 7), *Mizmor LeDavid/Havu Ledonoi* (no.13), *Mizmor Shir/Tov Lehodos*, (no. 8) *Uba Letsion* (no. 14 in the *Ancient Melodies*), and *Vaani Tefillati* (no.15).

163. This and other information regarding the current musical practices of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London was documented with the assistance of Mr. Morris Martin, choirmaster of the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue on Lauderdale Road, Maida Vale. Morris Martin, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 1 February 2004.

High Holidays by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in London, is sung by Ashkenazim for Shabbat.

Another example of a melody's function changing is the adoption of the Sephardic *Yigdal* for festivals (no. 38 in *The Ancient Melodies*). The Ashkenazic *Handbook* assigned this melody for Shabbat evening with no mention of festivals, although in the Sephardic practice it was and is allotted for the *Shalosh Regalim* (the three pilgrimage festivals). Again perhaps Cohen and Davis thought it easier to introduce a new melody for Shabbat than for festivals.[164]

Two examples of contrafacta exist among Sephardic melodies in Ashkenazi liturgy. Melody no. 25 in de Sola and Aguilar's *Ancient Melodies* is *Hallel* for Shabbat, but in the *Handbook* its text was changed to *Beseifer Chayyim*, a special prayer for the New Year. The Sephardic melody for *En Kelohenu* (no. 46 in de Sola's *Ancient Melodies*) is an interesting case for changes that may have stemmed from a number of different factors. When first adapted to the *Handbook* in 1899, it was designated as the tune for *Odecha* in the festive service of *Hallel*.[165] Today it is sung in both Ashkenazic and Sephardic synagogues as *En Kelohenu*, its original Sephardic context when written in *The Ancient Melodies*. One possible reason for the inclusion of the Ashkenazic practice may be the inclusion of the melody in its original context (as *En Kelohenu*) in the West London Reform hymnal (1880) by Charles Verrinder.[166] I suspect that this melody's constant presence in this function in the Reform Synagogue together with its use in the

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164. Even so, Cohen and Davis did try to incorporate Sephardic melodies in festivals too. *Hallel* (no. 25) originally for Shabbat in the *Ancient Melodies* was designated for the High Holidays as *Beseifer Chayyim*.

165. Cohen and Davis, *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*, 129.

166. The influence of the Reform hymnal is discussed further in pp. 85-87 of this chapter.

Spanish and Portuguese synagogue could have influenced Ashkenazim to revert from its function as designated in the *Handbook* to its original function.

Another possible reason is that the melody had existed as *En Kelohenu* in the Ashkenazic synagogue before the *Handbook* became popular, and that the *Handbook* editors were merely changing the tune's function that had been sung previously to different words. Alternatively, *En Kelohenu* could have been adopted into the Ashkenazic synagogue directly from the Sephardic synagogue as an oral tradition, or with the mediation of a cantor.[167]

Harmonic styles

I have suggested in the conclusion to chapter III that one of the reasons Sephardic melodies were adopted into Ashkenazic practice at a time of musical reform may have been due to their simple hymn-like harmonies that emphasized melody and were simpler for a group to sing. This theory assumes that the harmonization found in de Sola and Aguilar was adopted along with the melodies. Numerous melodies were indeed adopted with their Aguilar harmonization almost intact. These include: *Beseifer Chaim* (no. 211 in the *Handbook*), *Havu Ladonoi* (no. 16), *Uba Letsion* (no. 278), and *Yigdal* (no. 29). However Cohen and Davis also transformed the mostly homophonic harmonizations of Aguilar into a more polyphonic texture, probably to suit the musical tastes and standards of Ashkenazic Jews in London, since *The Ancient Melodies* had been published more than thirty years earlier.

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167. Today, Sephardim use this melody only for weddings and as *Kaddish* on festivals. Morris Martin, interview with author, digital audio recording, London, England, 1 February 2004.

One illustration is comparing measures 9-13 in *Halalu/ Odecho* no. 62 in the *Handbook* (Appendix B, example 1a) with measures 4-6 of *Hallel* no. 42 in *The Ancient Melodies* (Appendix B, example 1c). This comparison includes a few interesting elements. Firstly, the *Handbook* editors retained the D minor key yet changed the time signature from 4/4 to 2/4. The text- music relationships have been changed. In terms of harmony and voice-leading in the Sephardic tradition example 1c is a rare example in which each textual phrase is not sung simultaneously in all the parts, but is presented imitatively.

Harmonically, example 1c stays mainly in its tonic D minor, occasionally using the C# as a passing tone (C# is the leading tone over a dominant fifth on A leading to the tonic D in measures 3-4) while the editors of the *Handbook* colored the tonal palette of example 1a with tonicizations (for example, a tonicization to the subdominant [G minor] in measures 10-12). Example 1a also illustrates how modulations and chromatic passing tones were added to Aguilar's simpler harmonization in example 1c.[168] In example 1a the first chord of measure 10 is used as a pivot chord (v chord in D minor and ii in G minor) while the second chord functions as the dominant of G minor. G minor is tonicized from the middle of m. 10 to m. 12. In measure 12 the dominant seventh chord on the last beat leads back to the tonic D minor.

With such changes Cohen and Davis's arrangements seem to have combined the best of both worlds: the relative simplicity and clarity of Sephardic melodies and harmonies, with the harmonic and contrapuntal density of German/ Central European musical style then accepted in London. In sum, the *Handbook* editors changed Sephardic

168. Aguilar's harmonizations were homophonic with few modulations.

music to conform to London musical norms in a time of social, religious and musical reform.

Melodic characteristics

As mentioned in the thesis Overview, a number of Continental Ashkenazic synagogues sang Sephardic melodies and several nineteenth-century Ashkenazic liturgical compilations included Sephardic melodies.[169] The Hamburg Reform synagogue established in 1817 chose to use Sephardic melodies as a substitute for German chorales.

> The Sephardi rendition represented some of the more attractive features commonly attributed to the chorale: a short rhythmic and easily- memorized melody, sung by the congregation either in unison or in a responsorial manner, and a clear enunciation of the text.[170]

According to this quote Sephardic melodies were included in the Reform liturgy because Sephardic melodic characteristics and Sephardic performance practice were deemed suitable for community singing. The following analysis attempts to define melodic features of Sephardic melodies included in the *Handbook* and to speculate why they were attractive for the purposes of the *Handbook*. Because of my interest in the melodic qualities of the melodies, only the melodies and not their settings will be analyzed (i.e. monophonic not harmonic analysis).

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169. Seroussi, *Spanish Portuguese Synagogue Music in Nineteenth-Century Reform Sources from Hamburg*, 43, 49. For example, Abraham Baer's *Baal T'filah*, published in 1883, included twenty Sephardic melodies.

170. Ibid., 49.

Chart 2: Melodic Characteristics of the Sephardic Melodies originating from Spain (according to de Sola)

Melody in *Ancient Melodies*	**Melodic range**	**Closed melodic pauses (scale degrees)**	**Open melodic pauses[171] (scale degrees)**	**Salient features**	**Mode**
Az Yashir	Sixth	3-2-1 3-2-2-1	3-1-2-3	Repetitive motives	Major
Mizmor Shir	seventh	4-3-2-1	4-3-2	m. 1-3= m. 8-11	Minor
Yigdal	seventh	3-2-1	1-6-5	Similar melodic pauses	Major
Mizmor leDavid	sixth	4-3-2-1	1-2-3	Repetitive motives	Phrygian
Uba Letsion	Fifth	4-3-2-1	4-3-2-1-2	Phrase ending motives	Major
Vaani Tefilati	Sixth	3-2-1	5-4-3 3-4-5	Repeated motive	Major
Hallel	Octave	2-7#-1	1-2-3-4-5	Repeated motive	Minor
Adonoi Melech	Sixth	1-7#-1	3-2-1-7	Repeated motive	Minor
El Norah Alilah	Seventh	3-2-1	7-1-2	Variations of three motives	Major
Yigdal	Octave	3-2-1	1-6-5	Repeated motive	Major

Analysis of the melodies that de Sola claimed originated from Spain yields several common characteristics. Eight out of the ten melodies have relatively narrow melodic ranges (mostly sixths and sevenths) and comprise repetitive motives and phrases. "Open"

171. When using the term "open melodic pause," I refer to the end of the musical, but not always textual, phrase (a type of musical "question mark" that resolves in the next phrase). The term "closed melodic pause" refers to the end of the musical and textual phrase.

ending phrases end on the second or third scale degree in six out of the ten melodies (a characteristic Sephardic feature) rather than on the fifth. Pauses are often preceded by specific melodic motives.

Two examples of Sephardic style melodies follow. The melody of *Havu Ladonoi* is entitled *Mizmor LeDavid* in *The Ancient Melodies* (Appendix B, example 2). The *Handbook* sets it in G major probably to facilitate use of the (relative) tonic sol- fa system, however since the melody ends actually ends on a B and G does not appear in the entire melody, I conclude that the piece is written in a Phrygian mode on B. Example 2 has open melodic pauses on D, the third scale degree, in mm. 3, 10 and 19. Particular motives are used preceding melodic pauses. For example, D is reached through an ascending B-C-D motive (see mm. 2-3, 9-10) or B-C-D-(E)-D in mm. 17-18.

Appendix B, example 3 - *Uvo Letsiyon* set in A- flat major, is said to have originated from pre-1492 Spain, and has open melodic pauses on both B flat, the second scale degree (mm. 11, 20 and 47) and C, the third scale degree (m. 24, 30, 35 and 39). In this melody, there are distinctive melodic motives before each type of melodic pause. The melodic motive which appears before a pause on C is an exact repetition of four eighth notes: B flat-C- D flat- B flat –(C), (mm. 23, 29, 34); The melodic motive always preceding a pause on B flat is an exact repetition of four eighth notes: D flat-C-B flat-A flat -(B flat), (mm. 10, 19, 46); and the ending motive leading to the tonic appears as two variations of a descending tetrachord from D flat to A flat (mm. 2, 13-15, 48-51).

Chart 3: Melodic Characteristics of Melodies Written after the Spanish Expulsion (according to de Sola)

Melody in *Ancient Melodies*	**Melodic range**	**Closed melodic pauses (scale degrees)**	**Open melodic pauses (scale degrees)**	**Salient features**	**Mode**
Lecha Dodi	Octave	3-2-1	3-2-1	Repeated motive	Phrygian
Hallel	Octave	5-1	6-4-5	Repeated motive	Minor
Hallel	Octave	3-2-1	3-4-2	Repeated phrase	Major
En Kelohenu	Seventh	3-2-1	1-7-6-5	Repeated rhythmic motive	Major
Adon Olam	Octave	3-2-1	3-4-2 1-2-2#-3	Repeated motive	Major

According to de Sola, the melodies in this category were composed after the Spanish expulsion. Not surprisingly, their melodies reflect the influence of Western art music (as they were written in a Western European environment). Compared to the previous group of Sephardic melodies, these all have a slightly larger melodic range (sevenths and octaves), however, the open melodic pause, usually ending on the second or third scale degrees remains typical of Sephardic practice. Another typical Sephardic practice -the use of the same scale degree for both open and closed melodic pauses- also remains, as seen in *Lecha Dodi* (Appendix B, example 5b).

One melody in this category with very prominent Western features is *Adon Olam* in F major composed by de Sola (see Appendix B, example 4). The melody's characteristics lend themselves well to traditional Western harmonic settings. Pauses take place on the first scale degree (mm. 2, 10, 16, 19, 27, 33), second scale degree (mm. 8, 25) and third scale degree (mm. 4, 12, 21, 29) throughout the song. This melody was clearly

composed with harmonic considerations in mind. For example in m. 8 a cadential six-four chord, articulated in the soprano as a sustained A (the 6th of the six-four chord of the tonic) leading to G (the fifth of the dominant) reveals the cadential thinking in the melody.[172]

Lecha Dodi (Appendix B, examples 5a, 5b and 5c) is set in F major in the *Handbook*. Melodically it ends on A, and as a monophonic piece it could have been in the Phrygian mode. A rhythmic motive of four sixteenth notes is prominent throughout example 5b (mm. 2, 11, 15) in a lively and dance-like mood. Another accented rhythmic motive of: a dotted eighth, a sixteenth and two eighth notes, appears repeatedly throughout the piece (mm. 3, 7, 12, 13, 16, 17, 19, 24). The same scale degree (A) serves as both the open melodic pause (mm. 4, 13, 17, 21) and the closed one (mm. 8, 25) which is a characteristic Sephardic trait. The Sephardic rhythmic and melodic musical features mentioned may be part of the reason that Ashkenazic congregations didn't take to it.[173]

After analyzing some of the melodies chosen by the *Handbook* editors, it appears that the majority of melodies (nine out of fifteen) exhibit what I have called Sephardic traits. Melodic pauses tend to occur on second and third scale degrees; the melodies are highly repetitive (featuring only one or two phrases per song); moreover, they are

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172. In Amsterdam at this time, complex compositions for choirs were commissioned and performed in a style influenced by Western Art music. However, this was not the case in London (Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies," 106). Originating from Amsterdam, David de Sola may have been influenced by the complex Dutch compositions he was familiar with from his childhood, which were more compatible with the more Western choral style of the *Handbook*. This might explain why *Adon Olam* is among the two most popular Sephardic melodies sung in Ashkenazic synagogues in London heretofore.

173. None of the Ashkenazic research participants in present-day London was familiar with *Lecha Dodi* from the Ashkenazic liturgy. Nathan Gluck, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 4 February 2004. Moshe Haschel, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 5 February 2004. Alexander Knapp, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 4, 6 February 2004. Graham Morris, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 2 February, 2004. Richard Rosten, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 28 January 2004. Pessach Segal, interview by author, digital audio recording, London, England, 3 February 2004.

relatively simple when compared with contemporary synagogue choral music such as *Av Harochamim* by Naumbourg included in the *Handbook* (Appendix B, example 6).

Probably these differences in musical style attracted the *Handbook*'s editors who may have thought the Sephardic melodies refreshing and interesting to include in the Ashkenazic services. In addition, the partial adoption of the melodies by the Reform synagogue may be another factor influencing their incorporation in the *Handbook.*

Melodies Adopted into the *Handbook* via the West London Synagogue Hymnal

Six of the fifteen Sephardic melodies in the *Handbook* were published earlier in 1880 in Charles Verrinder's *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*, the hymnal of the Reform synagogue.[174] They are: *Tob Lehodot*, *Az Yashir*, *Hallel* (melodies no. 62 and 63 in the *Handbook*), *Yigdal* and *En Kelohenu.* The adoption of Spanish and Portuguese melodies in Verrinder's work as well as of Sephardic pronunciation reveals the cultural connection between the West London Synagogue of British Jews and the Spanish and Portuguese synagogue, the mother community from which they branched off in 1840.[175]

Since the Reform hymnal was published in 1880, nine years prior to the publication of the *Handbook*'s first edition, an interesting question arises. Could some of the Sephardic melodies have been introduced into the Handbook via Verrinder's work? Since only six Sephardic melodies appear in the Reform compilation, this could obviously not serve as the source for *all* of the Sephardic melodies included in the

174. Verrinder, *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue.*

175. For more on the establishment of the West London Synagogue of British Jews, see Chapter I, pp. 25-28.

Handbook (which has fifteen such melodies). Comparison of key signatures and time signatures reveals that the melody of *Lecha Dodi* was appropriated for the *Handbook* directly from the Sephardic *Ancient Melodies,* with no mediation. However four Sephardic melodies in the *Handbook* seem to have been indeed taken from Verrinder's hymnal. For example *Az Yashir* appears in the *Handbook* in a musical arrangement that first appeared in the Reform hymnal. The version in the *Handbook* and in the Reform hymnal exhibit more similarities in key, rhythmic pattern and harmony with each other than with the version in the *Ancient Melodies.*

The arrangement of *Tov Lehodot* in the *Handbook* also appears to have been mediated through its adoption by Verrinder, who changed its title from "Mizmor Shir"—taken from the first words of the psalm—to its second line "Tov Lehodot" (Appendix B, examples 7a, 7b and 7c). In Chapter III I conclude that the similarity between the *Handbook* and Reform versions implies that Cohen and Davis's source for this Sephardic melody and its harmonization was the Reform hymnal.

As I have argued in Chapter III, Verrinder's Reform hymnal had influenced the *Handbook*'s version of two Hallel melodies (Appendix B, examples 1a and 1b). Verrinder had juxtaposed the melodies in his compilation; likewise the *Handbook* combined both melodies as described earlier. The harmonization of both melodies (nos. 62 and 63) in the *Handbook* version and the Reform hymnal are very similar (although the latter was arranged for organ and choir which was changed in the *Handbook*) and differ from that in *The Ancient Melodies.*

Given the number of similarities shared by the *Handbook*'s and Verrinder's versions, the latter apparently served as a partial source of the Sephardic melodies in the

former. It is highly probable that Cohen learned of the existence of these songs through Verrinder's compilation. Verrinder had demonstrated musical examples for Cohen's lecture, so the two men knew of each other's work.[176]

Fifteen melodies of Sephardic origin were included in the Ashkenazic *Handbook* for a variety of reasons. Their main sources were the *Ancient melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Liturgy* and *The Music Used in the service of the West London Synagogue of British Jews.* Their distinct musical characteristics were sometimes altered to facilitate their acceptance as per contemporary musical standards (1880) in London Ashkenazic synagogues. However, they retained most of their Sephardic characteristics.

176. Cohen, *The Rise and Development.* As referenced earlier in this work, Cohen gave his lecture in 1887 while the Reform hymnal was published in 1880.

Conclusion

In the preface to the first edition of the United Synagogue's *Handbook*, the editors had voiced their criticism that contemporary London Ashkenazi synagogues' choral practice had evolved in such a way that it virtually excluded congregational responses:

> ...in the present century his [the cantor's] *Meshorerim* or vocal accompanists, developed into the four-part choir of men and boys, there was manifested from the very first a tendency on their part to oust the congregation from participation in the service of song by arrogating to themselves the singing of the refrains and responses. This tendency became naturally more marked in proportion as the character of the psalms and anthems grew more elaborate...[177]

They concluded that the *Handbook* should steer away from such practice and encouraged more congregational participation in the singing. As a result of this sentiment, the music included in this and the subsequent edition of the *Handbook* was chosen according to its compatibility with congregational singing and arranged accordingly. Melodies that featured characteristics desirable to the editors for their compilation were adopted into both the first and second editions of the *Handbook*, which were intended for all congregation members to use together with the prayer book, similar to the Reform custom in which a congregational hymnal was employed.

The Sephardic synagogue service encouraged congregational participation; Sephardic choirs accompanied congregational singing rather than performing to the congregation during services. Unsurprisingly, those Sephardic melodies with musical qualities suited to communal singing were adopted into the *Handbook* and eventually incorporated into the Ashkenazic service. Other possible reasons for their adoption include their difference from Ashkenazic music which would add variety to the liturgy. Fifteen Sephardic melodies first documented in *The Ancient*

177. Cohen and Moseley, *Shirei Kenesset Yisroel*, v-vi

Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews (1857) were selected for inclusion in the *Handbook*, a number via Verrinder, and were thus introduced into the liturgy of London Orthodox Ashkenazi Jews. Four Sephardic melodies were copied directly from the Reform source into the *Handbook*. *Handbook* editor Francis Lyon Cohen may have learned these four melodies via his personal acquaintance with Charles Verrinder. Cohen became familiar with the eleven remaining Sephardic melodies through a personal interest in Sephardic music which he included in his research and publications as a musicologist specializing in Jewish music.

Upon inclusion in the *Handbook*, the occasions and texts to which the Sephardic melodies had been designated in the Sephardic services were often modified, as were some of the harmonic arrangements. Cohen and Davis, editors of the second edition, added modulations and chromatic passing tones to the Sephardic harmonizations, in attempt to create a medium between Sephardic-style melodic and harmonic simplicity and the London Ashkenazic taste which at that time favored harmonic density and diatonicism.

I believe that this thesis raises many questions that provide a platform for further research. The music included in the *Handbook* reflects the editors' attempts to change the atmosphere of the liturgy of Orthodox English Jewry. A close examination of the music in the *Handbook* would establish the criteria for their selection and could ascertain whether these pieces fulfilled the editors' expectations. The results of such scholarly work are significant due to the *Handbook*'s immense popularity and its role in shaping the music of the English synagogue service.

Future research could look at the influences of the Reform movement on the Orthodox community in London. For example, the musical influence of the Reform synagogue on the Orthodox community in London ranged beyond the incorporation of the Sephardic melodies into the latter's liturgy. The Reform synagogue influenced the establishment of many choirs in London and many compositions used in the Reform services were eventually adopted into the Ashkenazi repertoire (e.g., *En Kelohenu* by Charles Salaman).

Sephardic communities have lived in close proximity to Ashkenazic communities throughout Western and Central Europe since the Spanish expulsion in 1492, yet their musical influence on communities in cities such as Amsterdam has yet to be fully studied.[178] Research on communities in Amsterdam, Venice and Paris would greatly enhance the current knowledge on the topic and shed new light on the conclusions of this thesis.

178. Edwin Seroussi has traced Sephardic influences on Reform musical practices in Hamburg, Germany. See Seroussi, *Spanish Portuguese Synagogue Music*.

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Appendices

- Appendix A- The Sephardic melodies in the Ashkenazic liturgy
- Appendix B- Musical examples
- Appendix C- Illustrations
- Appendix D- Ethics Approval

Appendix A

Chart 1: The Portion of the Prayers to which Melodies marked "Traditional- Sephardic" in *The Handbook of Synagogue Music for Congregational Singing* were sung:

Hallel Prayer

According to Jewish Tradition, the Prophets ordained that six psalms of *Hallel* (literally, *praise*) be recited on each festival, to commemorate times of national deliverance from peril and give thanksgiving to the Lord.

1. *Onno Adonoi Hoshi'oh No* (Please, Oh God, save us): *Hodu LaAdonoi* (Give thanks to God)
2. *Hallelu es Adonoi* (Praise God): *Odecho* No.1 (I thank You)
3. *Odecho* No. 4 (I thank You)

Shabbat Prayers:

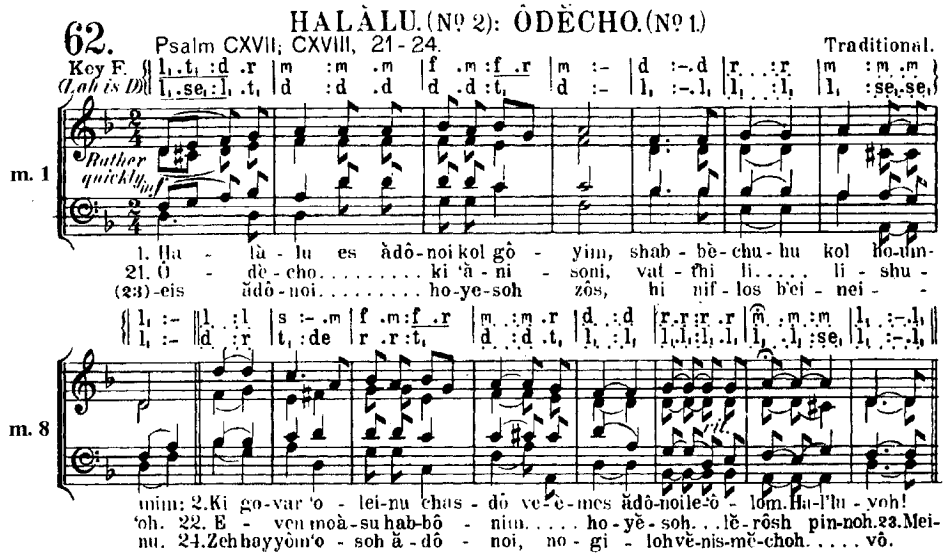
4. *Adon Olom* (Master of the Universe) [Sung in the conclusion of the morning service]
5. *Hovu Ladonoi* (Give unto God)
   [Sung after the Torah reading when the Torah Scrolls are returned to the Ark]
6. *Adonoi Melech* (God reigns)
   [Sung in the morning service when the Torah Scrolls are removed from the Ark]
7. *Lecho Dodi* (Come my Beloved)
   [Sung in the evening service to welcome the Shabbat]
8. *Oz Yoshir Moshe* (Song of the Sea)
   [Sung in the morning service commemorating the splitting of the Red Sea]
9. *Tov Lehodos* (It is good to thank)
   [A Shabbat Psalm sung in the evening service]
10. *Va'ani Sefillosi* (As for me, my prayer)
    [Sung in the afternoon service when the Torah Scrolls are removed from the Ark]
11. *Yigdal* (May He be exalted)
    [Sung in the conclusion of the evening prayers]

Festive Prayers:

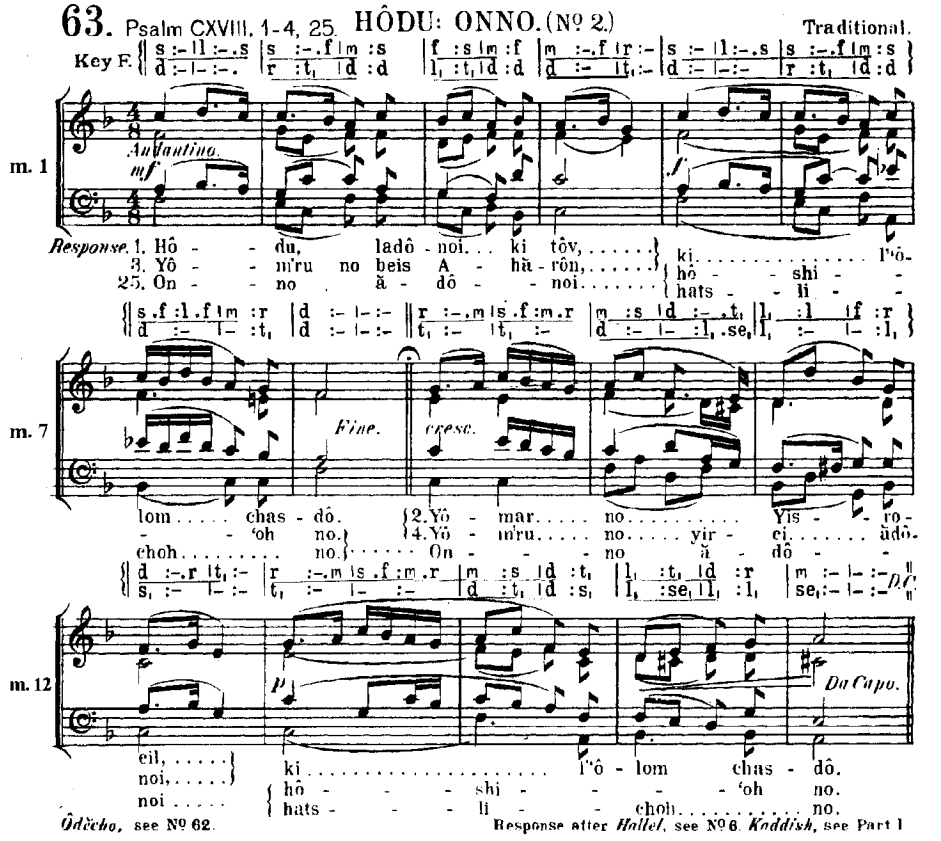
12. *BeSeifer Chayyim* (In the Book of Life)
    [Sung during the Days of Repentance as a special insert to the Silent Prayer]
13. *Lema'an Yezammer'cho* (So that my soul might make music to You)
    [Sung during the conclusion prayer of the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur)]
14. *Uvo Le-Tsiyon* (A redeemer shall come to Zion)
    [Sung during the conclusion prayer of the Day of Atonement (Yom Kippur)]
15. *Shomreini El* (Watch over me, God)
    [Memorial of the Departed]

Appendix B- Music
Printed sources

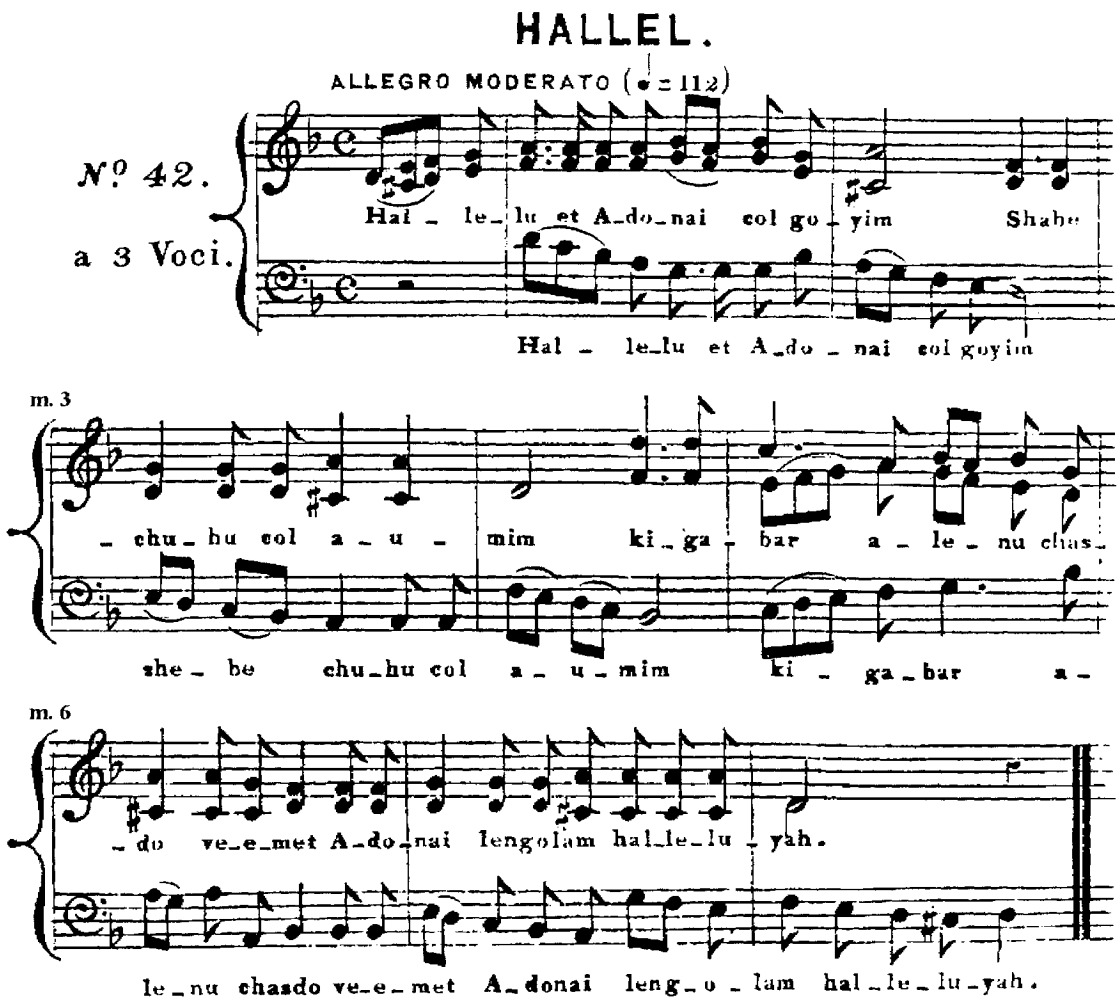
Example 1a: *Halellu/Odecha* no. 62 in *Handbook*



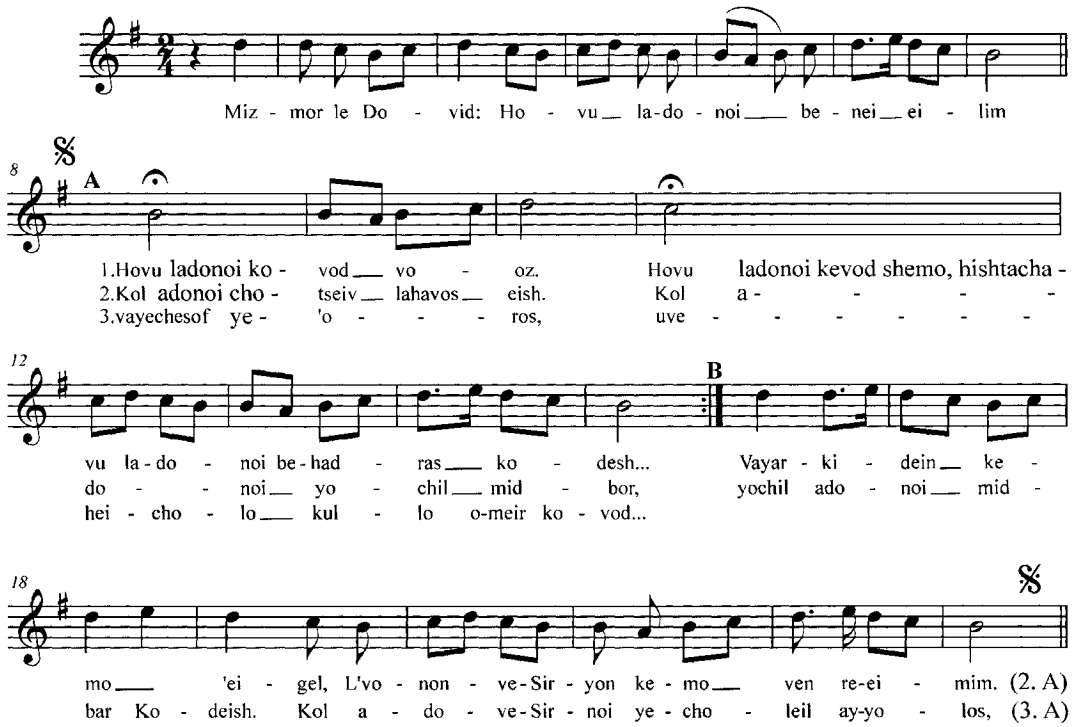
Example 1b: *Hodu-Onno* no. 63 in *Handbook*



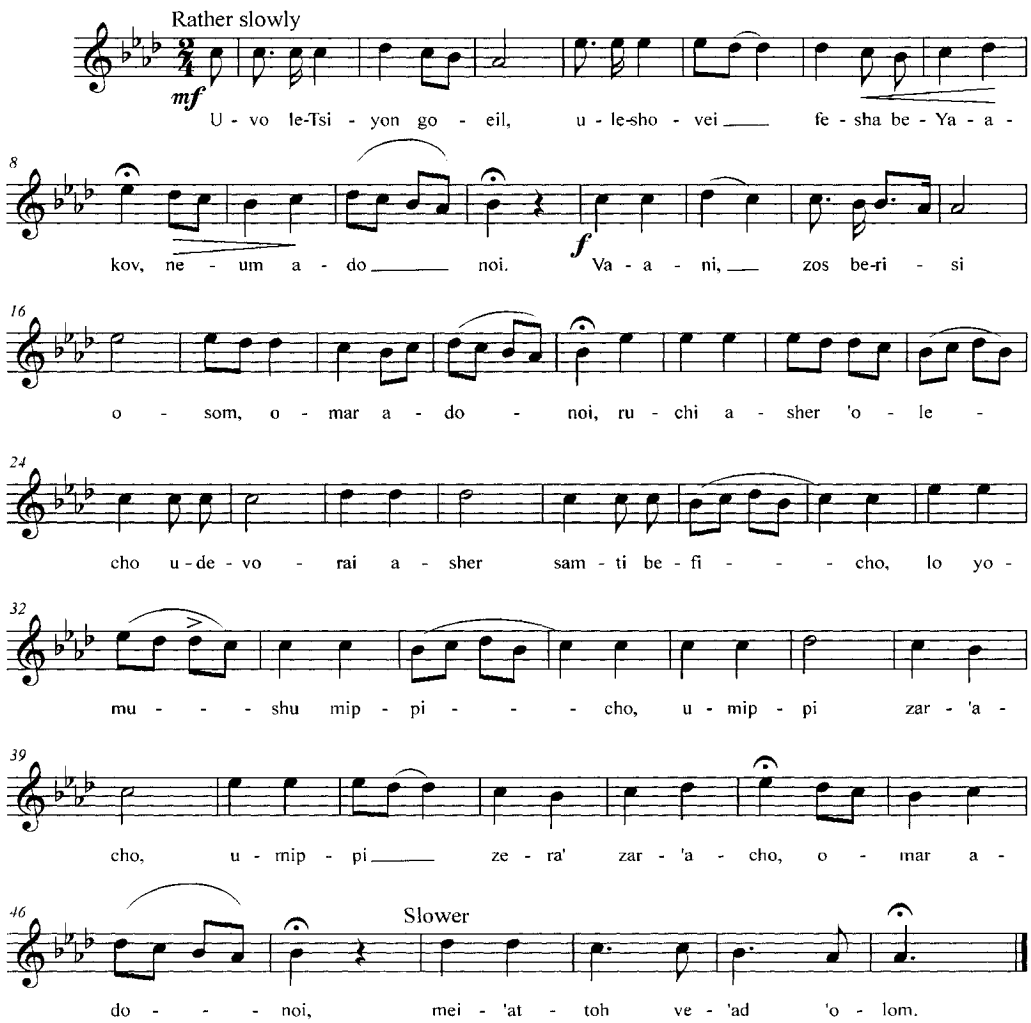
Example 1c: *Hallel* no. 42 in the *Ancient Melodies*



Example 2: Melody of *Havu Ladonoi*, harmonized as no. 16 in the *Handbook*



Example 3: Melody of *Uvo Letsiyon*, harmonized as no. 278 in the *Handbook*

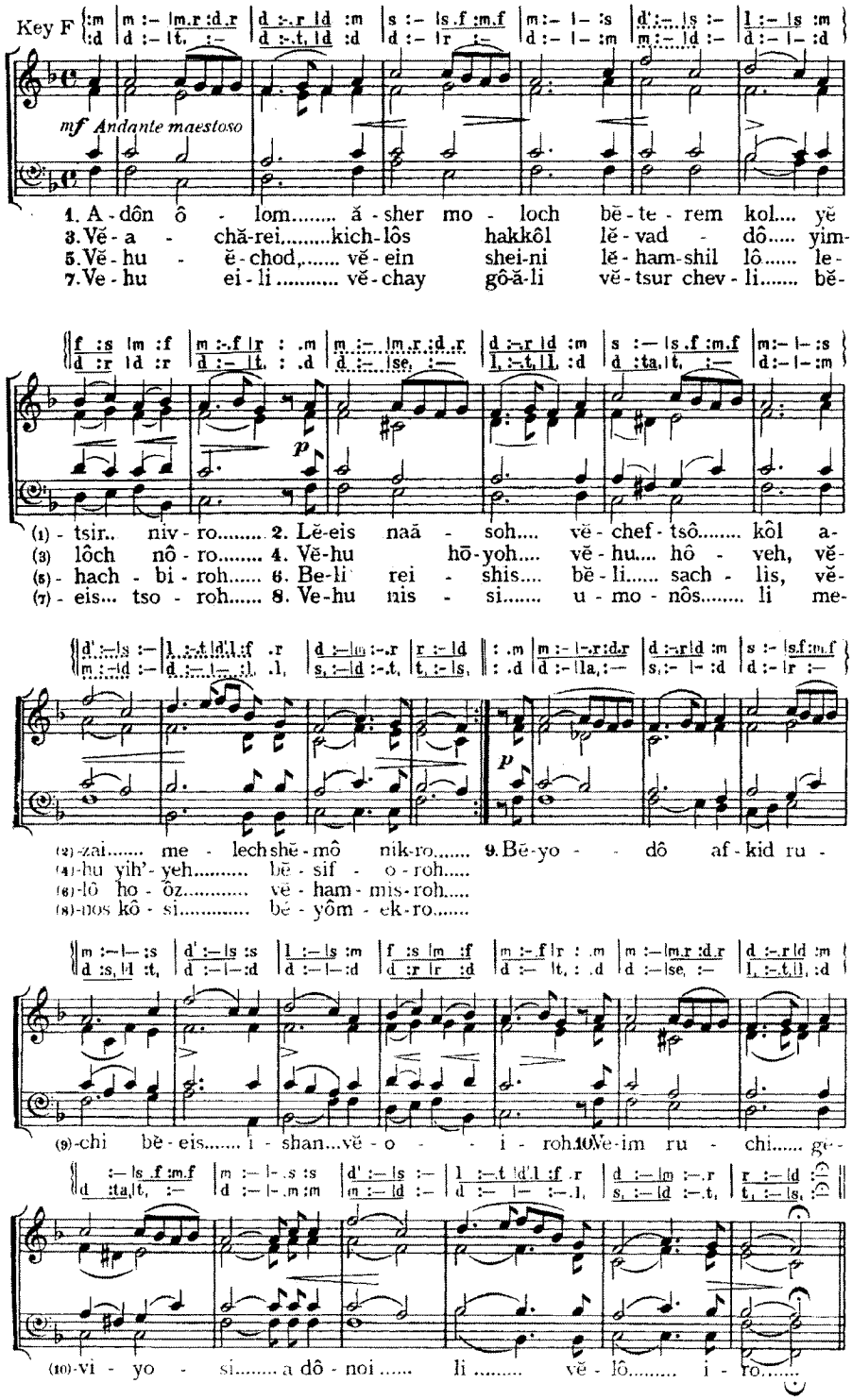


Example 4: *Adon Olom* by D.A. De Sola arranged by Samuel Alman. No. 335 in *Handbook*

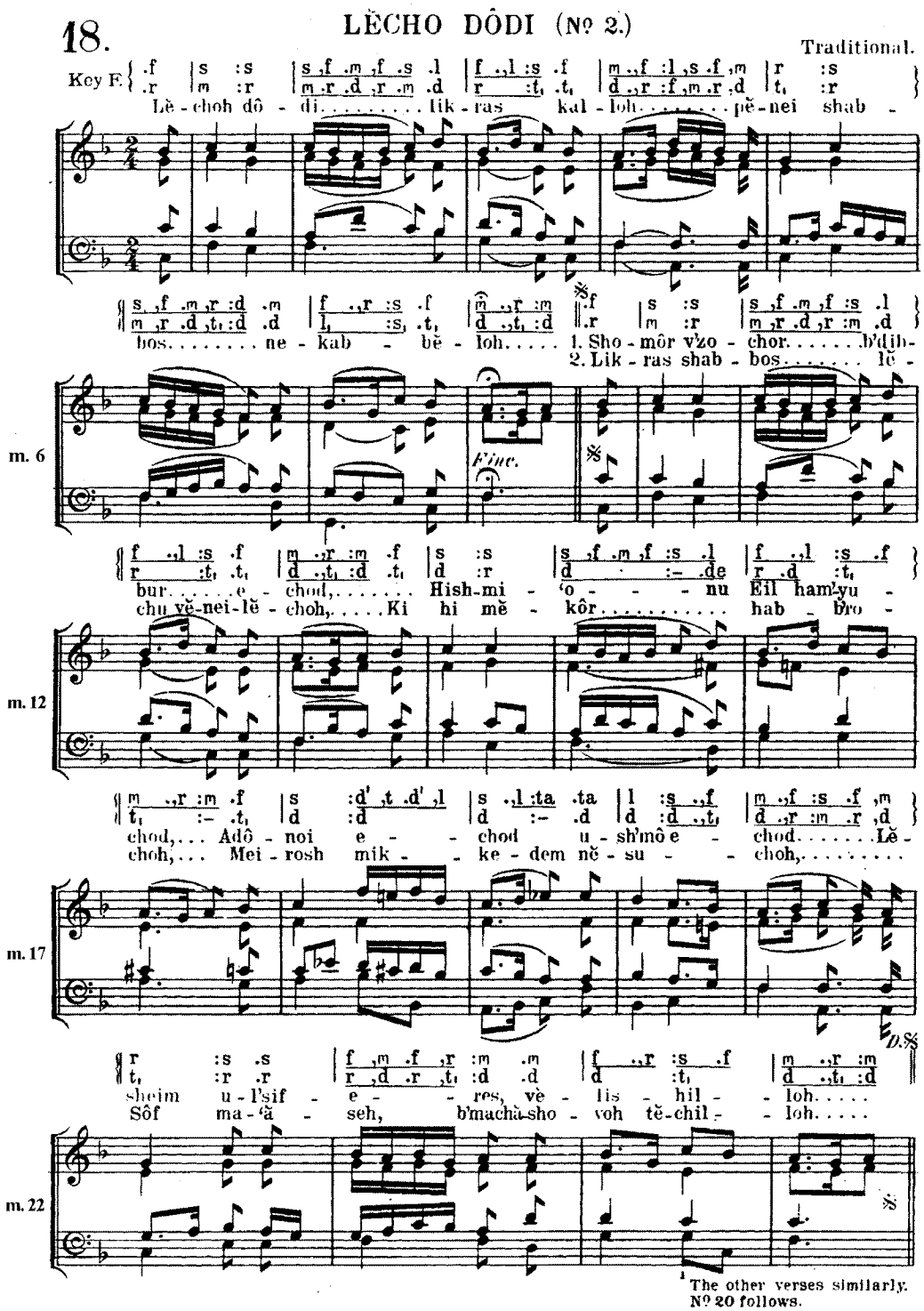
335.

ADÔN ÔLOM. (Nº 9)

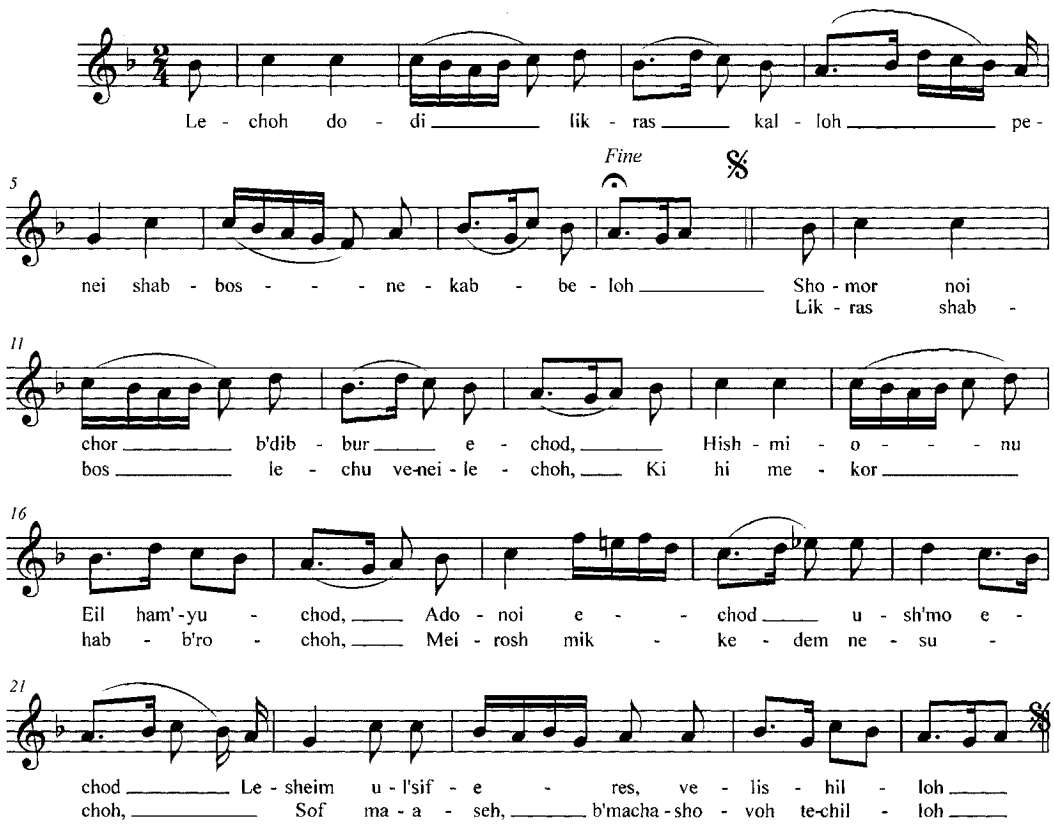
DE-SOLA-S.A.



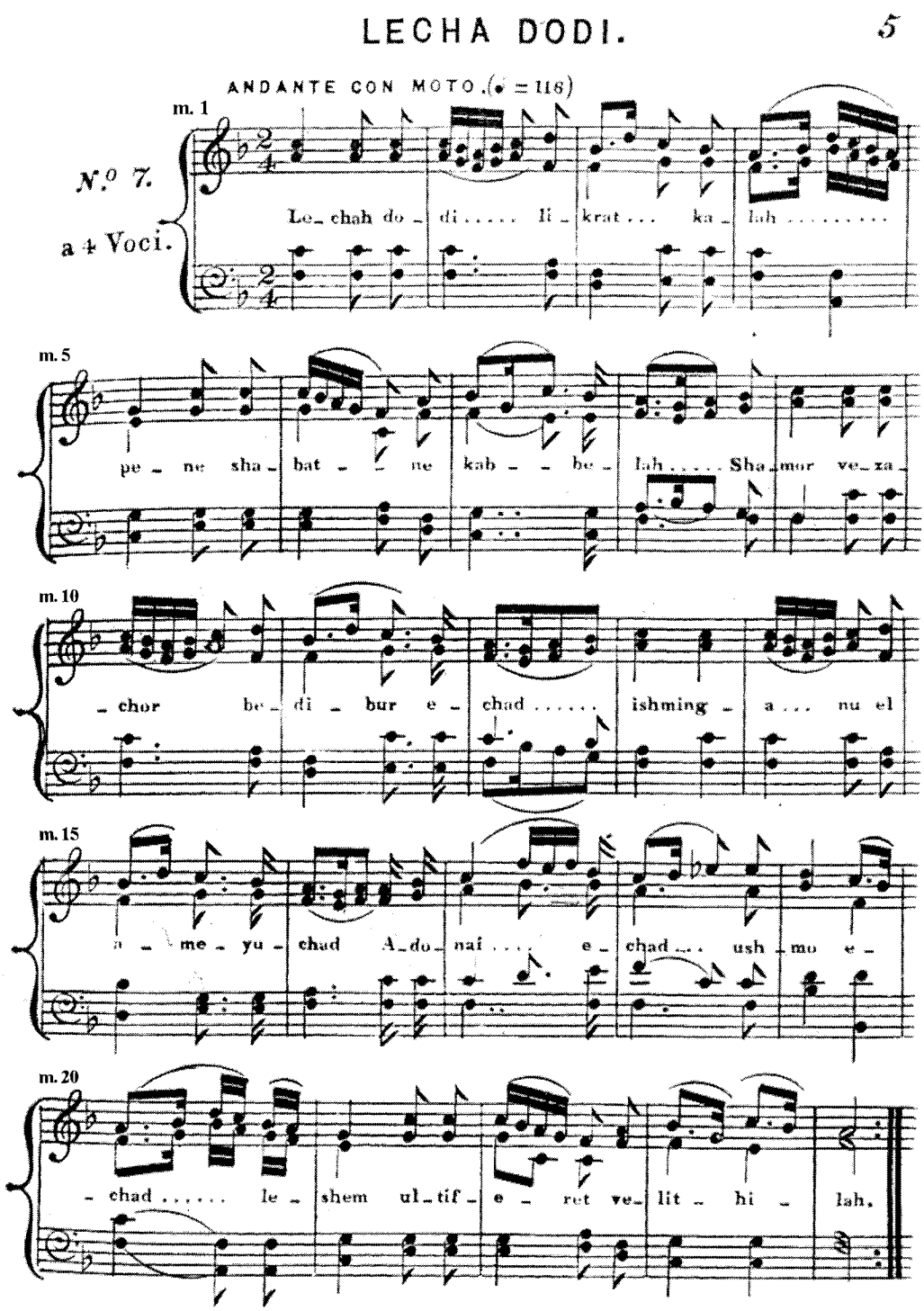
Example 5a: *Lecho Dodi* no. 18 in *Handbook*



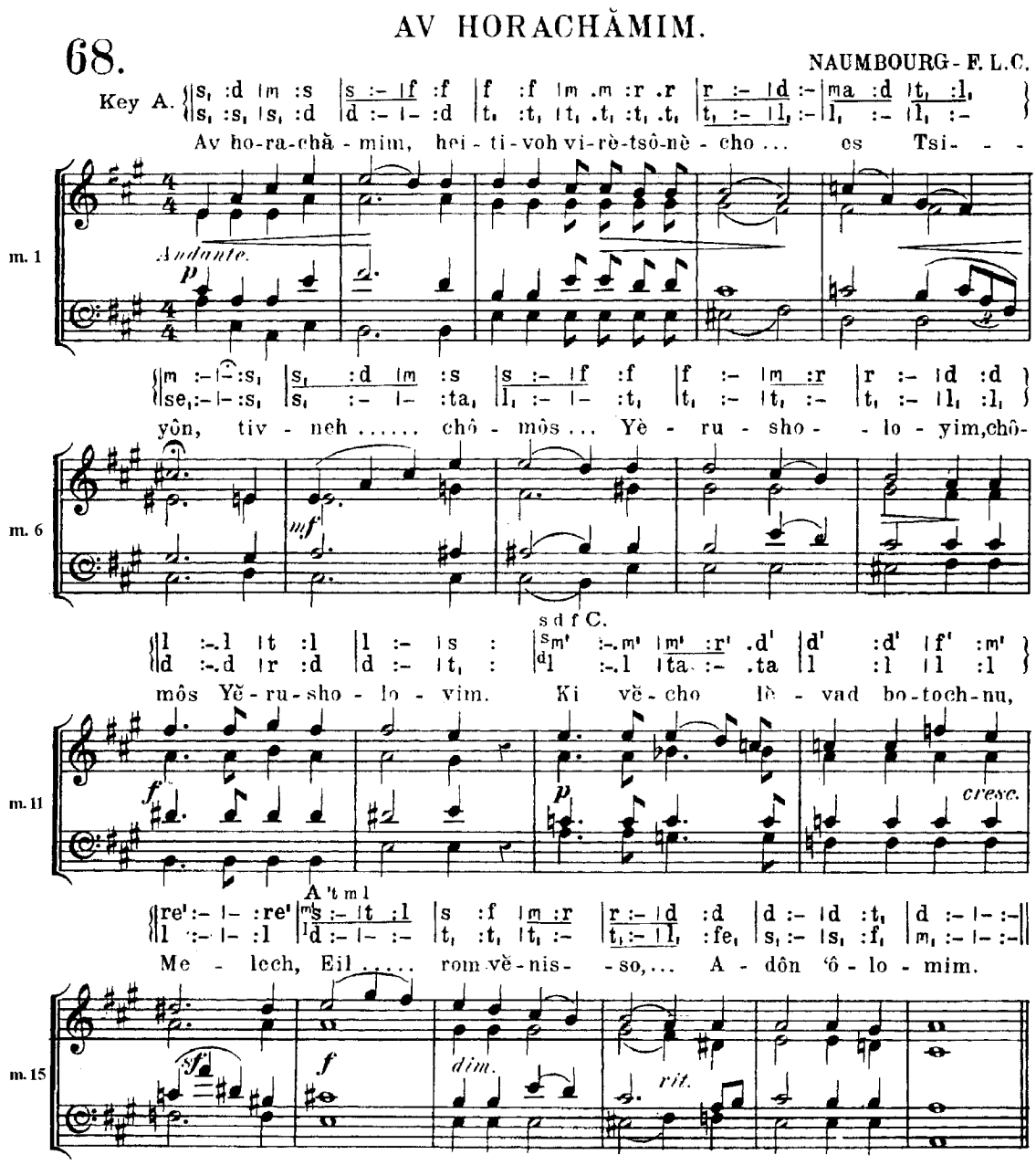
Example 5b: Melody of *Lecho Dodi* harmonized as no. 18 in the *Handbook*



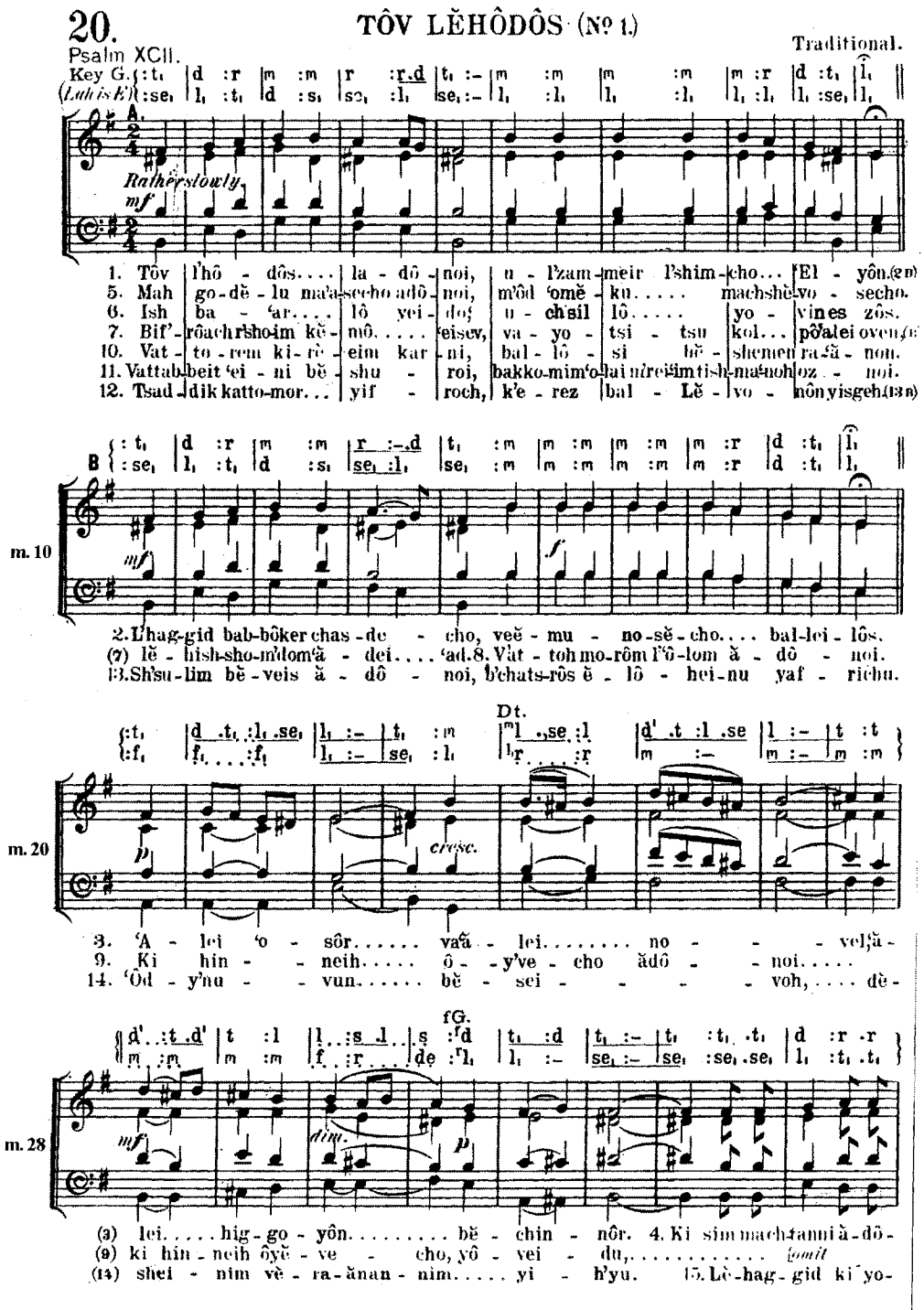
Example 5c: *Lecha Dodi* no. 7 in *The Ancient Melodies*



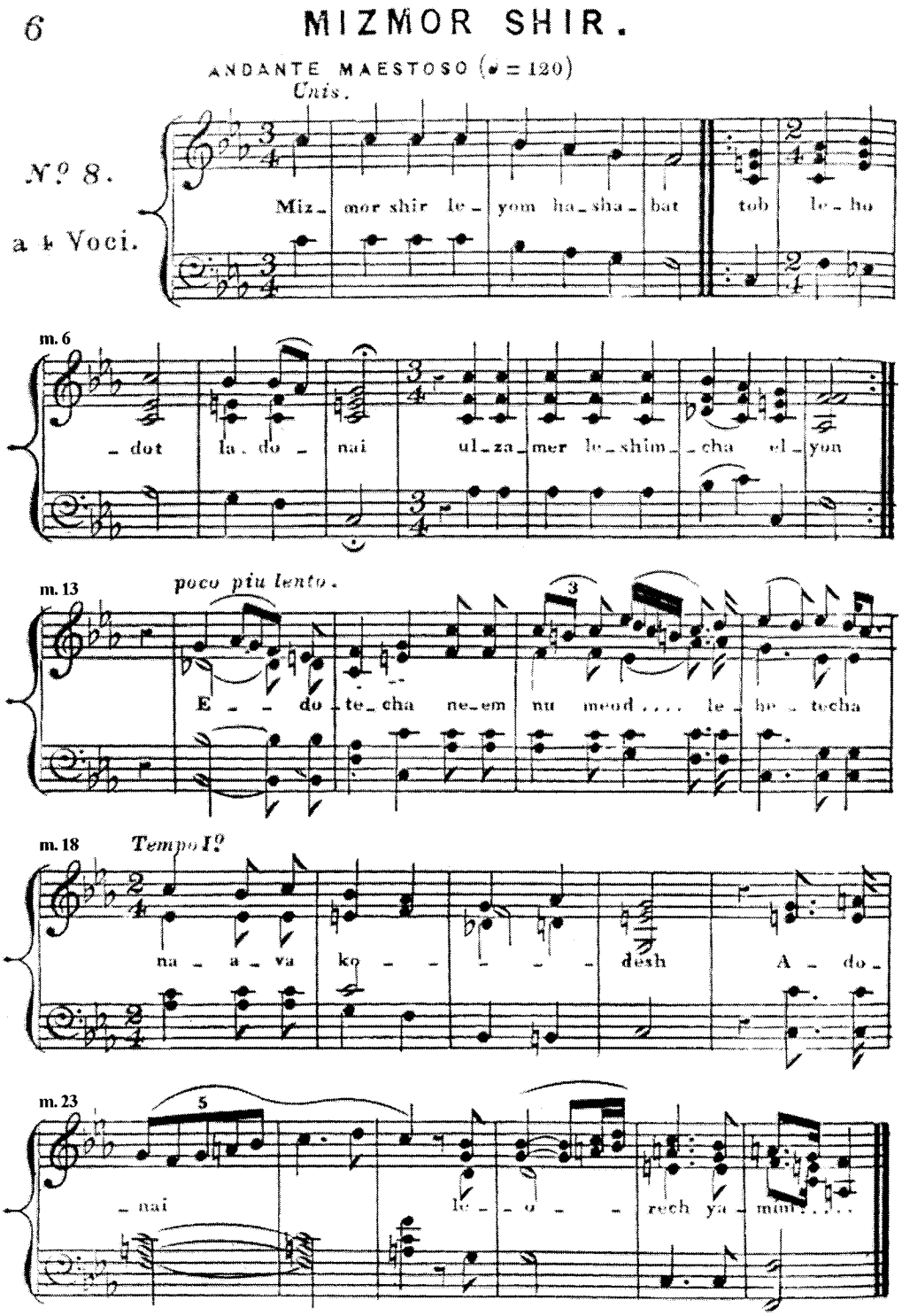
Example 6: *Av Harochamim* by Naumbourg no. 68 in the *Handbook*



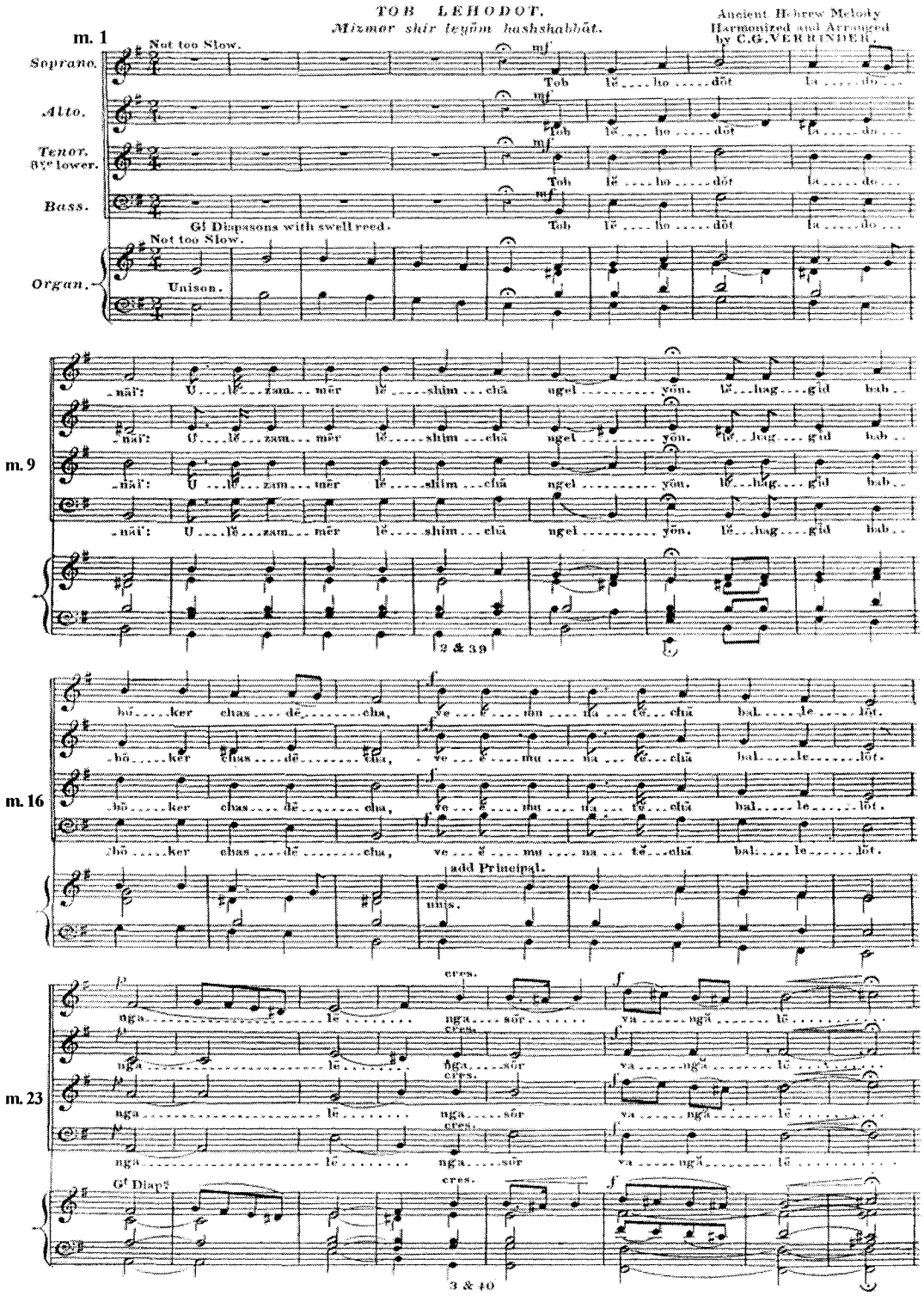
Example 7a: Excerpt from *Tov Lehodos* no. 20 in *Handbook*



Example 7b: *Mizmor Shir* no. 8 in *The Ancient Melodies* (*Tov Lehodos* in *Handbook*)

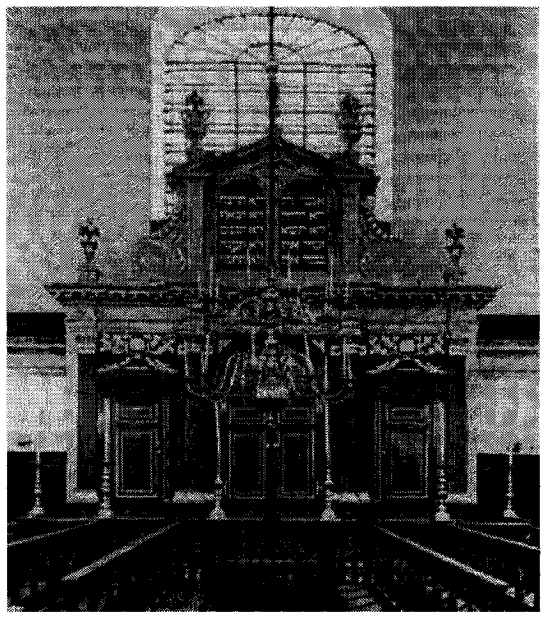


Example 7c: Excerpt from *Tob Lehodot* in the *Music Used in the Services of the West London Synagogue of British Jews*



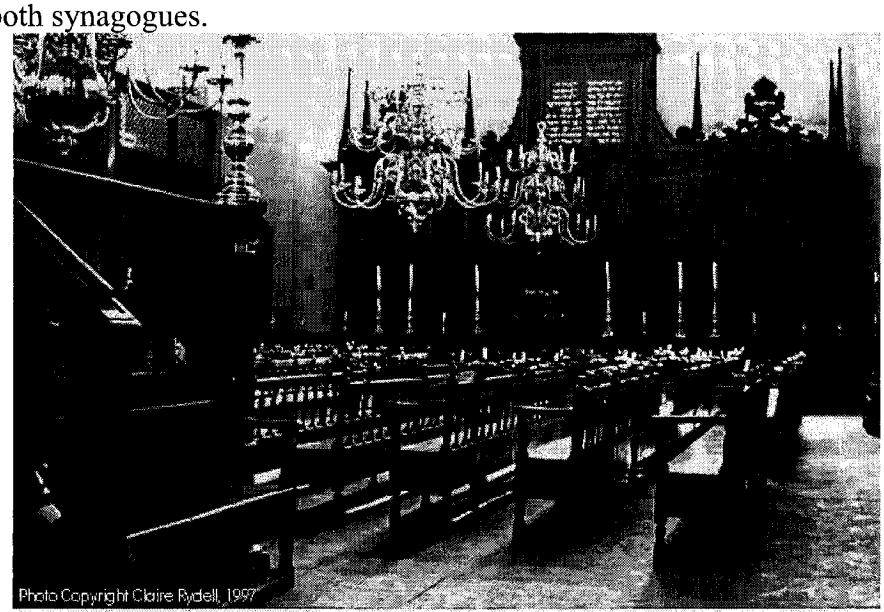
Appendix C- Illustrations

Illustration 1- The Spanish and Portuguese synagogue of Bevis Marks, inaugurated in 1701 The seats in the synagogue face the center as is the Sephardic tradition. The brass Candelabra was donated by the Spanish and Portuguese community of Amsterdam.



(Source: www.sephardim.org/ Neveh_Shalom/interior.html)

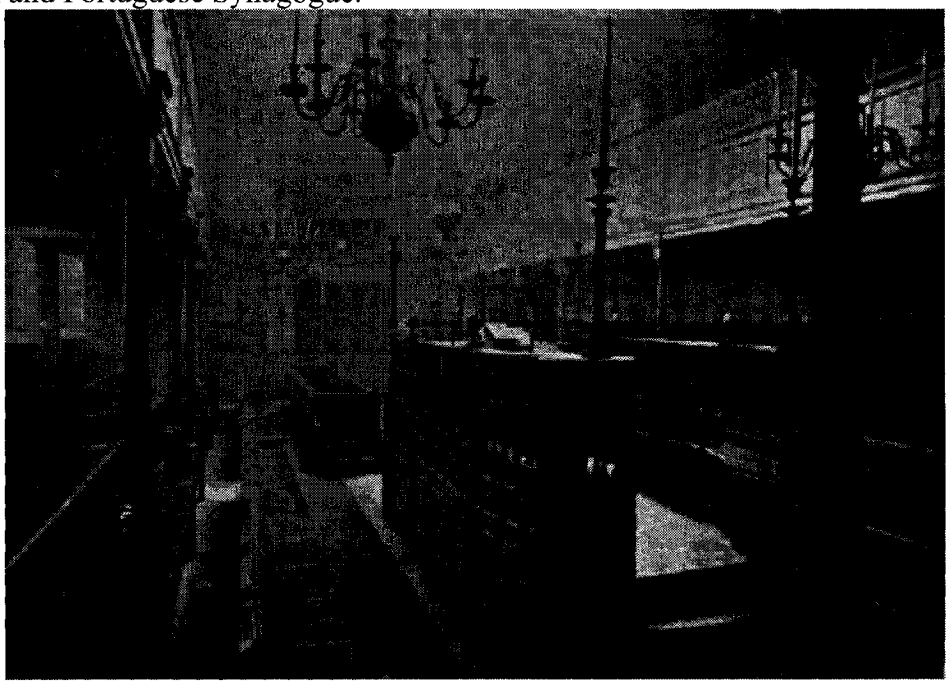
Illustration 2- The Spanish and Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam inaugurated in 1657 The seating plans, Holy Ark and even candelabra of Spanish and Portuguese synagogue in London was modeled according to that in Amsterdam as can be seen in the similarity between both synagogues.



The Portuguese Synagogue, 1675, considered the finest in Holland, is based on a model of Solomon's Temple and faces east, toward Jerusalem. The Ark is made of fine Brazilian wood.

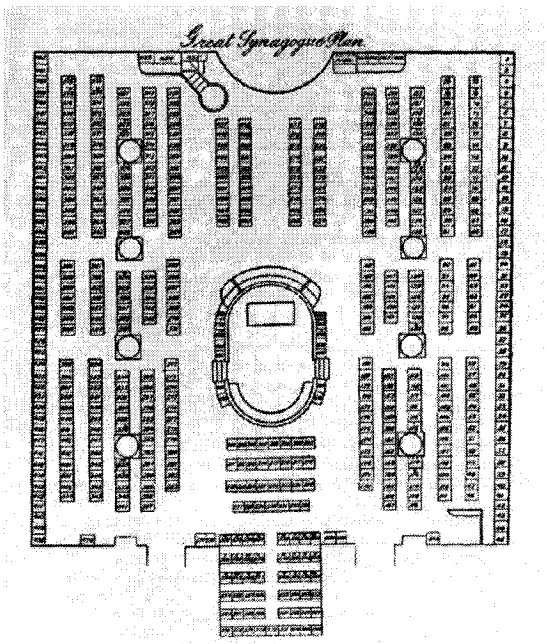
(Source: www.minotaurz.com/ minotaur/letters/Hol7.jpg)

Illustration 3: The Hambro Synagogue [Ashkenazic], Fenchurch Street, 1725-1893
Note the seating arrangements and the shape of the candelabra similar to that of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue.



(Source: http://www.eclipse.co.uk/exeshul/roth/)

Illustration 4: The seating plan of the Great Synagogue, Nineteenth century
Note the seats facing the center.



(Source: http://www.eclipse.co.uk/exeshul/roth/)

Illustration 5: Interior of Synagogue, nineteenth century (from *Illustrated London News*, January, 1890) Note the top hats, the candelabras and the seating arrangements. Only congregants sitting directly behind the *Bima*(the raised platform in the center of the synagogue) are seating facing the front (see chart in illustration 4) the rest of the congregants are facing the center.

(Source: http://www.eclipse.co.uk/exeshul/roth/)

Appendix D: Ethics Approval

McGill

Research Ethics Board Office
845 Sherbrooke Street West, room 429
Montreal, Quebec H3A 2T5

August 10, 2004

Ms. Naomi Cohn Zentner
Faculty of Music

RE: Sephardic Influences in the Liturgy of Ashkenazy Orthodox Jews in London

The above research project received retrospective ethics review and was found to have been conducted in an ethically acceptable manner.

Blaine Ditto, Ph.D.
Chair, Research Ethics Board-II

cc: Prof. Lloyd Whitesell