Jewish Ceilidh

A Study of Irish-Jewish History, and the Hybridization of Jewish and Celtic Music

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Contents:

Digest	1
Chapter One	2-16
Chapter Two	17-35
Chapter Three	36-57
Bibliography	58-60

Digest

In this capstone project, "Jewish Ceilidh: A Study of Irish-Jewish History, and the Hybridization of Jewish and Celtic Music," I analyze the intersection of Jewish and Celtic identities. This study is divided into three chapters, with the first surveying Celtic-Jewish history, the second asking questions of Jewish and Celtic ethnomusicology, and the third involving explicit hybridization of Jewish and Celtic musical concepts.

In my first chapter ("Early Jewish Settlement in Ireland, From the First Settlers to Crane Lane Synagogue"), I study one specific place where Jewish and Celtic culture meet, Irish-Jewish history. This chapter traces Jewish history in Ireland from its earliest documented time (when Jews first came to Ireland in 1079) through to the point when Irish Jewish history became firmly rooted in the Dublin community, in the post-Cromwellian era, with the Crane Lane Synagogue which lasted from the 17th to 19th centuries.

My second chapter ("The Place of Jewish and Celtic Music") focuses on questions of what defines genre (understood as "place") within each of Jewish and Celtic music. To answer these questions, I examine a number of the normative aspects of both Ashkenazic Jewish liturgical music and Scottish folk music.

The data from my second chapter assists me as I strive, in my third chapter ("Hybridization of Celtic and Jewish Music"), to arrange musical settings which can be understood as combining aspects of Ashkenazic Jewish liturgical music and Scottish folk music. In particular, my goal within this chapter is to construct musical arrangements which can be understood as both authentically Jewish *and* Celtic.

Early Jewish Settlement in Ireland, From the First Settlers to Crane Lane Synagogue

Myths of Irish Jewish History

Myths and reality combine in any attempt to document the settlement of Jews in Ireland. There are three major myths about the history of Jews in Ireland which ought to be addressed in any historical overview such as this. The first myth—one which is, admittedly, easier to distinguish from reality than the subsequent two—is that Ireland's national origins exist as some derivation from biblical characters or the Israelite nation. One example of such a tale comes from the 8-9th century old Irish work, *Cin Dromma* Snechtai, which states that the original discoverer of Ireland was Banba, a grandchild of Noah. Alternatively, there is a tale of Lia Fáil, which states that Tea-Tephi, an immigrant after the fall of the 1st Temple, came and settled at the Hill of Tara in Ireland. There, she apparently married Eochaid, the king of Ulster. There are many other myths which try to claim that Irish settlers first had some sort of biblical origin. However, the only element common to all of these stories is that they lack any compelling evidence for their veracity. In fact, it is worth stating the obvious fact that all these myths are highly improbable and seem, by a test of basic common sense, to merely be fanciful narratives of a nation's origins.¹

The second myth to dispel is grounded in a kernel of historical truth, but involves the drawing of inferences where none are justified. In 1290, King Edward I issued the Edict of Expulsion which expelled the Jews from all English territories. It is presumed by many scholars of Irish history that this edict would have also affected the Jews of Ireland,

Ballaban

¹ Duffy, Medieval Ireland, 2005.

and thus many works describing Irish Jewish history repeat this claim. ² The evidence for this lachrymose claim is, apparently, that there are few Jewish names in Ireland during this time. While this is valuable evidence, it is certainly not a guarantee that Irish Jews were expelled in any way comparable to those in England. The most notable scholar to write on this topic was Lucien Wolf, who very clearly documented that Jews remained in English territory throughout the entire period during which Jews were presumed not to live in England or Ireland.³ One notable piece of evidence which suggests that Jews remained in both England and Ireland during the whole period of the Expulsion was the discovery of a lawsuit from 1596. In this suit, which pertained to the seizing of property by the Inquisition, some of the litigants brought evidence which showed that Jewish ceremonies were observed regularly in one of the defendant's homes. As Cecil Roth, an important British Jewish historian, put it:

It is remarkable that these facts [the reality that Jewish services were held in English territories] were alluded to in court without any sense of incongruity, and without untoward results: it almost seems that the Judge who heard the case was in agreement with Glynne and Steele, who at the time of the Whitehall Conference [a conference held in 1655 by Cromwell about readmitting Jews to England] gave it as their considered opinion that there was no law prohibiting the residence of Jews in England.⁴

The final myth to dispel before discussing how Irish Jewish settlement *did* take place relates to a comment made in James Joyce's *Ulysses*. In this passage, one character makes a pithy statement suggesting that Ireland is the only country never to have persecuted its Jews—the reason being, according to him, that Ireland never let the Jews into the country. The exchange in question reads as follows:

² See, for instance, Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland*, 5, "History," or Spencer-Shapiro, *The Jews of Dublin*.

³ See Wolf, "The Middle Age of Anglo-Jewish History (1220-1656)."

⁴ Roth, "The Middle Period of Anglo-Jewish History (1290-1655) Reconsidered," 8.

Mr Deasy halted, breathing hard and swallowing his breath.

"I just wanted to say," he said "Ireland, they say, has the honour of being the only country which has never persecuted the Jews. Do you know that? No. And do you know why?"

He frowned sternly on the bright air.

"Why, sir?" Stephen asked, beginning to smile.

"Because she never let them in," Mr Deasy said solemenly.⁵

While this myth is not as pervasive as the previous myth I discussed, it has a certain danger not possessed by the first. It could, at first hearing, be plausible that Ireland had made a policy not to admit Jews throughout the ages. In the earliest cases of Jewish travel to Ireland, we will see that this may even have been true to some extent. However, we will also see that Ireland ultimately *did* permit Jewish settlement throughout most of its history: there is no truth to Mr. Deasy's quip. As noted, it may even have been possible for Jews to settle in Ireland when equivalent settlement in England would have been impossible.

Beginnings

It is fairly clear that what might be called the starting point of Jewish settlement in Ireland came in 1079 as five Jews attempted to enter Ireland. This episode is recorded, in very short order, in the Annals of Innisfallen, a chronicle which was probably kept by the monks of the Abbey of Innisfallen. All that was kept of the tale is as follows: "Five Jews came from over sea with gifts to Tairdelbach, and they were sent back again over sea."

The ambiguity of this story has not been missed by scholars; it is unclear in many ways.

⁶ See Gifford and Seidman, *Ulysses Annotated*, 40 and Ó Gráda, "'Because She Never Let Them In': Irish Immigration a Century Ago and Today," 3.

⁵ Joyce, *Ulysses*, 25.

The terseness of the story could indicate that the tone regarding the Jewish attempt was negative; alternatively, it could just be the to-the-point style of the chronicle as a whole. Additionally, it is not obvious from the description what the Jews who came to Tairdelbach, the Irish King, meant to accomplish: Were they merchants hoping to sell the gifts they brought? Could they have been seeking a home for their compatriots still beyond the sea? Were they, perhaps, just hoping to engender good will with a nearby king? Scholars disagree on the answer to this question, but most seem to agree that the meeting probably was not a success. 8

However, other interpretations of this first visit are possible. Stanley Siev, in his work *The Celts and the Hebrews* (published by the Irish Jewish Museum of Dublin), argues from the limited evidence that this first encounter between Jews and Tairdelbach was likely positive. He suggests that the phrase "over the sea," which is in singular, suggests a closer point of origin, from beyond only one sea. Siev suggests that this may have been Rouen, and that the Jews likely travelled to Limerick in the hopes of establishing trade or even a Jewish colony in Ireland. If Siev's theory that the Jews traveled over only one body of water is correct, then Rouen may well be the place from which the Jews came: they would have had to come either from England or Normandy, and because England did not have a very large Jewish presence after the Norman conquest, Rouen seems most likely. While it seems unlikely that any colony was established by these five Jewish travelers, Siev takes the phrase "they were sent back again over the sea" as a positive sign. He suggests that the fact that the men were sent

⁷ This is the suggestion put for by Louis Hyman.

⁸ Hyman, The Jews of Ireland, 3;

⁹ Siev, *The Celts and the Hebrews*, 12.

¹⁰ Duffy, Medieval Ireland, 2004, 240.

back is a sign that they had some prestige or influence, since the Irish king probably would have killed the Jews or taken them captive if he saw them as any sort of problem or threat ¹¹

Cormac Ó Gráda, an economist and scholar of Irish Jewish history, describes the Jewish presence in the Annals of Inisfallen as an inauspicious start to Jewish history in Ireland. ¹² However, while this is undoubtedly the first record of Jews in Ireland, it is not yet possible—given the dearth of evidence—to state with any certainty how this first encounter between Jews and the Irish king went.

Later, by 1225, it is clear that Jews had some connection to Ireland. Knowledge of this comes from a letter in which King Henry III pardons the interest on loans that Roger Bacon had taken from Jewish investors for Bacon's expenses on the king's service in Ireland. It reads as follows:

...mandate to the justices for custody of the Jews to acquit Roger of the usury of those debts. For the residue of the debts which Roger owes those Jews the justices shall cause him to have such fine and terms as, according to the extent of his land, he can bear without hardship.¹³

It is noteworthy, as mentioned, to recognize that the Jews mentioned in this letter had some influence in the English settlement of Ireland; however, it is not clear that the Jews mentioned in this letter had anything more than financial interests in Ireland: they may have lived in England. Beyond this, it is also striking that the king denied the Jewish lenders in question the fee they desired for their financial services. While this is not unusual for the relationship between medieval European rulers and Jewish lenders, it can

¹¹ Siev, The Celts and the Hebrews, 12.

¹² Ó Gráda, Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce, 179.

¹³ Great Britain. Public Record Office. [from old catalog and Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents, Relating to Ireland*, sec. 1291.

hardly be argued that this is either a positive encounter between Jews and Ireland or even a definitive point at which Jewish interests in Ireland became pronounced.

In 1232, it finally becomes clear that some population of Jews must have lived in Ireland. This inference can be made from the record of an order of the king in which he appointed Peter de Rivall as the treasurer and chamberlain of the Irish Exchequer. The purpose of the office of the Exchequer (known as the *Scaccarium Judaeorum*), which was established by King Richard I, was to: 1) supervise the collection of taxes and or other income which came from Jewry under English rule; 2) act as an administration which could liaise between Jews and the English rulers¹⁴; and 3) decide financial disputes which involved Jews.¹⁵ In his position in this office, de Rivall was granted the right to draw taxes and fees for most things in Ireland, including the right to take taxes from the Jews who lived in Ireland. The following letter, in which the king appoints de Rivall to his position, shows the rights given to de Rivall:

Grant for life to Peter de Rivall, of the office of treasurer and chamberlain of the Irish Exchequer, with all liberties and free customs thereto belonging...further grant for life to the same of...custody of the K.'s Judaism in Ireland; all Jews in Ireland shall be intentive and respondent to Peter as their keeper in all things touching the King." ¹⁶

To state the obvious: It is unlikely that the king would have bothered to specifically delegate authority for taxing the Jews of Ireland were there only a tiny population there. Instead, we can infer that there must have been a community of some size, at least large enough to merit the king's notice.

¹⁴ To enable the Exchequer to perform this job, the Jews in English territory were required to enroll with the office of the Exchequer.

¹⁵ Roth, A History of the Jews in England, 111.

¹⁶ Great Britain. Public Record Office. [from old catalog and Sweetman, *Calendar of Documents, Relating to Ireland*, sec. 1969.

That the letter points to actual Jewish settlement in Ireland (and not, for example, merely a king's expectation that some Jewish community would exist) is supported by the fact that there are multiple recorded letters which convey the same idea as the one above. In another copy of this order, the right given to Peter de Rivall is to "custodies of the Jewry of Ireland." Given the nature of this order, logic suggests that there must have been enough Jews in Ireland to make it worthwhile to specifically dictate to whom their taxes were owed. Additionally, there are records of a similar order being delivered to the Jewish communities themselves, which ordered them to follow the orders of de Rivall. ¹⁸

Not much is known, however, about the Jews who would have been affected by this order. The most significant guess which can be made is that they lived predominantly in Dublin. The basis for such a claim is a record in the Dublin White Book, in 1241, which gives details for a certain land grant. Among the prohibitions which applied to the land grant is included "*in Judaismo ponere*," which corresponded to a common prohibition against selling lands to Jews. ¹⁹

Outside of these letters, there is very little information available to document the lives or activities of Irish Jewry until much later in history. While some evidence refers to certain Jews who lived in Ireland (for instance, a doctor by the name of Joseph), there are not many sources available to understand what the Irish Jewish community would have looked like or how large it was. An additional challenge in delving deeper into this topic is that the collections which organize documents pertaining to Irish Jewry typically are found in general indexes of letters which were preserved for their importance to English rule—particularly the *Calendar of Documents Relating to Ireland*. As such, among the

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¹⁷ Ibid., sec. 1976.

¹⁸ Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland*, 3.

¹⁹ Transactions - The Jewish Historical Society of England, 229.

limited number of documents which do mention Jews, it is not always clear if the Jews actually lived in Ireland, or if they were English and had interests which extended into Irish territory.²⁰

The overall limited amount of evidence about Irish Jewry may suggest that the community was never of great size. The reason for the Irish Jewish community's small size may even be due to the lack of *any* settlement in much of the Irish territory. The fact that large amounts of Irish land were unsettled might have discouraged Jews from settling in Ireland as a whole, because Jews may have preferred to live in countries which had a strong central power to protect them.²¹

After the Edict of Expulsion

In 1290, King Edward I issued the Edict of Expulsion to expel the Jews from English territory. As I mentioned in the introduction to this paper, it is probably not warranted to suggest that Irish Jews were expelled as a result of this edict. However, there are few substantive records of Jewish life in Ireland between the late 13th century and the late 15th century.

In the late 15th century, after Spain and Portugal expelled their Jews in 1492 and 1496, there is record of Jewish refugees settling in Ireland. Some of these refugees would have been openly Jewish, but even more would have likely been conversos ("new Christians"). Louis Hyman suggests that these expulsions probably did not lead that many Jews to come to Ireland, and that however many Jews came at first, they probably only stayed in Ireland for a short period of time. After this, he suggests that they probably

²⁰ Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland*, 4.

Transactions - The Jewish Historical Society of England, 229.

moved to the already-established colonies of crypto-Jews in either London or Bristol. He also notes—in line with his belief that the Edict of Expulsion extended to Irish Jewry that it is unlikely that the Jews who came to Ireland ever attempted to publicly organize or worship.²²

In contrast to Hyman's assertion, there does seem to be proof that Jews settled in Ireland—even if in small numbers—after the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions, and before they were readmitted by Cromwell. There was, for instance, a permanent settlement of Jews established on Ireland's south coast. One of its Jewish residents, William Annyas, was even elected for a one-year term as mayor of Youghal in County Cork, in 1555²³ or 1553²⁴. In a manuscript written by Thomas Cooke in 1749, there are also three records of Francis Annyas—of uncertain relation to William—who may also have been a Jewish mayor (though he is presumed to have been a crypto-Jew)²⁵. Francis served three one-year terms as mayor, in 1569, 1576, and 1581.²⁶

In 1620, there is more evidence which indicates that Jews lived in Ireland before they were formally readmitted to English territory. In this case, there is record of a man, described as a "Jewish merchant," by the name of David Sollom. Sollom is known to have purchased a piece of land in Meath which was owned by his family even into the late 19th century.²⁷ From this information, it is quite clear that even if the Edict of Expulsion was meant to expel Jews from Ireland, it did not fully accomplish this. In fact, the efficacy of the Edict of Expulsion has been challenged by scholars of English history;

²² Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland*, 5.

²³ "History."

Day, "Cooke's Memoirs of Youghal, 1749," 43.
 Roth, A History of the Jews in England, 140.

²⁶ Day, "Cooke's Memoirs of Youghal, 1749," 43–44.

²⁷ Papers Read at the Anglo-Jewish Historical Exhibition, Royal Albert Hall, London. 1887, 76.

not only could there have been Jews living in English territory despite the ban, but crypto-Jews clearly remained in England proper and Ireland throughout the time they were formally supposed to have left these lands.²⁸

Cromwell and "Readmission"

While the Edict of Expulsion may not actually have forced Jews out of Ireland, there are no sizeable, documented Jewish communities in Ireland from the late 13th until the late 17th centuries, after Oliver Cromwell allowed Jews to live in English lands. Cromwell made this controversial decision in 1656 for at least two main reasons: he desired to see Amsterdam's Jewish community bring trade to England and he believed that, if Jews were to live in England, it would be easier to work on converting them to Christianity. This latter interest was guided by his conviction that the second coming of the Messiah could only take place after all Jews had been converted to Christianity.²⁹

Much deliberation went into Cromwell's decision, and among the many ideas put forward is an odd suggestion from James Harrington (a prominent English politician) in his 1656 work, *The Commonwealth of Oceana*. In this work, Harrington suggests that Cromwell turn Irish lands—and not English ones—into places for Jewish settlement.³⁰ He writes:

Panopea [Ireland], the soft mother of a slothful and pusillanimous people, is a neighbour island, anciently subjected by the arms of Oceana....Which in my opinion (if it had been thought upon in time) might have been best done by planting it with Jews, allowing them their own rites and laws, for that would have brought them suddenly from all parts of the world, and in sufficient numbers; and though the Jews be now altogether for merchandise, yet in the land of Canaan

²⁸ Ibid., 53–56.

²⁹ "Oliver Cromwell - Cromwell and the Jews."

³⁰ Hühner, "The Jews of Ireland, An Historical Sketch," 232–233.

(since their exile from whence they have not been landlords) they were altogether for agriculture; and there is no cause why a man should doubt but, having a fruitful country and good ports too, they would be good at both.³¹

Lest one think that Harrington was influenced by some semblance of philo-semitism, he continues:

[Ireland], being farmed out unto the Jews and their heirs forever, for the pay of a provincial army....and for two millions annual revenue from that time forward – besides the customs, which would pay the provincial army – would have been a bargain of such advantage, both unto them and this commonwealth....To receive the Jews after any other manner into a commonwealth were to maim it; for they of all nations never incorporate but, taking up the room of a limb, are of no use or office unto the body, while they suck the nourishment which would sustain a natural and useful member.³²

Harrington's fantasy of settling the world's Jewry in Ireland may have been the result of Cromwell's 1655 attempt to allow exposed crypto-Jewish merchants to remain in England.³³ This seems likely, especially because in 1656—the same year that Harrington's *The Commonwealth of Oceana* was published—Cromwell invited some Portuguese judaisers (i.e., New Christians who were accused of being crypto-Jewish) to establish a community in Dublin. The reason given by Cromwell for this action was to "act as a barrier against the Catholic population."³⁴

In the end, in contrast with Harrington's vision of forbidding Jews from remaining in England, Cromwell chose to allow Jews to settle in all English lands, provided that they practice their faith privately and refrain from proselytizing others. This

³¹ Harrington, "The Commonwealth of Oceana" and "A System of Politics," 6.

³² Ibid.

³³ Ó Gráda, Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce, 9.

³⁴ Shillman, A Short History of the Jews in Ireland, 33.

ultimately led to an increase in the number of Jews who lived in Ireland. In fact, despite the questionable motives which might have led to Cromwell's decision, he has been popularly celebrated by many Irish Jews alternatively as a "savior" or "the great-hearted protector." Even today, in the face of evidence which shows that Cromwell did not actually readmit the Jews to English lands (since they had been there all along) and that his own interests in bringing Jews to his territory were less than magnanimous, Cromwell remains a figure admired by Irish Jews. ³⁶

It should be noted that Cromwell never *formally* established the right for Jews to live in England. In 1655, he was pushed by the petition of Menasseh ben Israel (a prominent Jew from Amsterdam) to repeal the Edict of Expulsion, and this led to the Whitehall Conference on December 4th 1655. This conference, which was attended by lawyers, politicians, soldiers, ordinary citizens, and clergymen, was held in order to address whether Jews could be readmitted to English lands.

While many of those who attended Whitehall were in agreement that the Jews could be readmitted with issue—especially many of the lawyers, who argued that there was no legal reason the Jews could not be invited back, since the Edict of Expulsion apparently expelled the Jews in 1290 but never forbade their return³⁷— there were enough attendees who opposed allowing Jews back into the country that Cromwell was not successful in reaching a consensus on the matter. In particular, many of the religious leaders at Whitehall strongly opposed the readmission of Jews.³⁸ Because he could not formally readmit the Jews, Cromwell unofficially allowed them back by inviting certain

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³⁵ Coulton, "Cromwell and the 'Readmission' of the Jews to England, 1656," 1.

³⁶ Ibid.. 1–3.

Hessayon, "Jews in England: From Expulsion (1290) to Readmission (1656)."

³⁸ Chambers's Encyclopaedia, 703.

Jewish communities to settle in English lands, allowing Jews to purchase territory, and by not persecuting Jews in England or Ireland for openly practicing their religion (and this is despite his earlier stance that they ought not to practice publicly.)³⁹

Dublin

The Jews in Ireland appear to have been emboldened by Cromwell's acknowledgement that the Edict of Expulsion no longer held any effect. After the failed Whitehall conference and Cromwell's unofficial move to allow Jewish settlement—and despite unsuccessful attempts to petition to re-expel the Jews in 1660⁴⁰—the Jews began to publicly organize for the first time known of in centuries. In Ireland, this led to the creation of a small community of Jews in Dublin. This community was first established in about 1660, and was primarily founded by Spanish and Portuguese Jews. Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, in their compendious history of Dublin, suggest that "the Jews may have came as some of the dissenters who came to Ireland after Cromwell's conquests."41 However, Warburton et al. acknowledge that this origin story lacks any tangible evidence, and instead is an oral tale that the Jews of Dublin tell about their own origins. One way or another, Portuguese Jews came to Dublin around this time, became rich through their trade, and probably established a synagogue at Crane Lane in 1660.⁴² This synagogue consisted of a prayer room in the bustling area of Crane Lane, just opposite Dublin Castle. 43 The three Portuguese Jews who probably were the first to arrive

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³⁹ Stokes, A Short History of the Jews in England, 69–72.

⁴⁰ Wolf, "The Jewry of the Restoration, 1660-1664," 8.

⁴¹ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, 845.

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⁴³ "Ireland Virtual Jewish History Tour | Jewish Virtual Library."

in Dublin and who helped to found the Crane Lane synagogue were Manuel Pereira, Francisco Pereira (Manuel's brother), and Jacome Faro. 44

While there is not much known about this Irish synagogue, the fact that this early Portuguese Jewish community took hold is evidenced by the purchase of a plot of land for a Jewish cemetery in Ballybough Bridge in 1728. The deed for this cemetery was discovered in Dublin Castle, and it details how the land was bought in 1727 by William Phillips. Philips gave the land to the Dublin congregation of Jews provided that a portion of the land in the cemetery would be available for the free burial of all Irish Jews. The congregation in Dublin appears to have had connections with English Jews, particularly those of London: in the mid-18th century, the Bevis Marks congregation of London helped the Dublin community afford to build a wall around the Ballybough cemetery. There was a time, too, when the Dublin community even considered affiliating itself with the Spanish and Portuguese Jewish communities of London.

Describing this cemetery (and noting, incidentally, the high cemetery walls which the Bevis Marks congregation helped to build) in his *History of the County of Dublin*, the 19th century Irish historian John D'Alton wrote:

In the centre of the village is, perhaps, the only Jewish cemetery in Ireland, containing about a rood of ground enclosed with a high wall and thinly planted with trees and shrubs, among which are a few headstones with Hebrew inscriptions. It is remarkable that this people never inter a second body in the same grave, an act of veneration which could not be practicable in extensive communities. This, however, and all the other Jewish rites of sepulture, are said to be observed in cases of interment here.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Shillman, A Short History of the Jews in Ireland, 16.

⁴⁵ Hühner, "The Jews of Ireland, An Historical Sketch," 235.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 236.

⁴⁷ D'Alton, *The History of the County of Dublin*, 54–55.

During Crane Lane synagogue's existence, the nature of the Jewish community in Ireland (most of whom, like today, resided in Dublin) began to shift as Ashkenazi Jews started to enter the country. The Ashkenazic Jews who settled in Dublin were even successful in attracting a rabbi to offer his services as a member of the Dublin Jewish community.⁴⁸

The Crane Lane community continued to grow—with the Sephardim and Ashkenazim worshiping together—to such an extent that in 1746 the community was large enough (it numbered about 40 families, and 200 people total) to encourage the Irish House of Commons to vote to allow Jews to become naturalized citizens. While this bill was passed by the Irish House of Commons and was afterward brought (without any changes) to the English parliament, it was ultimately unsuccessful in the latter chamber. 49

The original synagogue of Dublin, at Crane Lane, remained in place until the early 19th century, when the congregation had shrunk down to about 10 men. At this time, the decision was made to dissolve the synagogue. However, this was not the end of Jewish history in Ireland: in Dublin specifically, the Mary's Abbey synagogue eventually took Crane Lane synagogue's place, and after that still others came. Crane Lane, though, symbolizes something momentous in Irish Jewish history. The community there managed to acquire land, organize large groups of Jews in publicly sanctioned worship, and even to induce the Irish legislature to act in favor of Jewish naturalization. All of this signals that, in the post-readmission era, the Crane Lane synagogue successfully marked the beginnings of Jewish community-building in Ireland. All later congregations followed in the path forged by this Dublin community.

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⁴⁸ Hyman, *The Jews of Ireland*, 24–25.

⁴⁹ Warburton, Whitelaw, and Walsh, *History of the City of Dublin*, 845.

⁵⁰ D'Alton, The History of the County of Dublin, 57.

⁵¹ Ibid

^{52 &}quot;History."

The Place of Jewish and Celtic Music

Introduction: Modes and Places

One of the important functions of music is to communicate to listeners a sense of what might be called "place." In this sense, "place" refers not just to geography, but to things as diverse as cultural milieux, social groups, or even particular practices of an ethnicity. In certain musical styles, the concept of place can even refer generally to a notion of Jewish culture. I will seek here to describe some of the most salient elements of place in certain types of Jewish and Celtic music.

An important qualification must be made before I can begin the process of describing these musical forms: This qualification is that the place of music cannot be absolutely determined or described. This is because, not only is the determination of musical place highly subjective, but place is also constantly in flux. Due to the historical reality of migrations and the more recent emergence of globalization, various places may become enmeshed, and to specifically delineate the key features of any given place may be very difficult. Nonetheless, I will proceed under the premise that if one is specific enough about the particular place he wishes to describe, then he may successfully identify and describe certain musical features of that place.

It is worth mentioning that it is quite possible (even probable) that the Jewish prayer modes and scales—some major markers of Jewish place, which we will discuss in

¹ Hudson, "Regions and Place: Music, Identity and Place," 626–627.

² Jewish music possesses, of course, an incredibly diverse body of musical styles—there is no singular "Jewish music." Instead, there are many different branches of Jewish music, and within each branch one can identify a variety of places.

a moment—were not designed specifically for use within Jewish liturgy, but instead were adopted by Jews from other cultural contexts. However, as Abraham Idelsohn notes in his *Jewish Music*, "the originality of a national music is not dependent upon an original scale, but upon original motives and melodic curves which above all express the characteristics of a nation, a group, or a people." I would add that, in addition to the unique ways a culture uses a scale to make it its own, the unique context in which a scale or mode is used allows a culture to claim it as characteristic of its own music.

In addition to this, it is important to recognize that there is no reason why a certain scale or mode cannot relate to more than one place at one time: Due to connected histories and heritages, it is entirely possible that the sound of a given musical mode could evoke different feelings for different cultures. For Jewish liturgical music, an example of this idea has historically been identified in the mode for chanting the Haftarah (a reading from the prophetic books), which in Ashkenazic musical style is chanted in Aeolian minor mode. Some older schools of thought recognized that Western European audiences often perceive this mode as sounding melancholy, since minor modes are frequently thought of as sounding sad by Western listeners. However, such scholars (like Idelsohn) suggested that this mode, in the prophetic context, was not originally meant to sound sad; it was meant to be uplifting, and only ended up gaining this second tonal valence as a result of historical chance and cultural confluence. Writing about the prophetic mode's ambiguous mood, Idelsohn suggested that "although the mode has the character of minor, it is, nevertheless, not melancholy because it has a note of hope—of promise. It expresses a fine and tender sentiment, and turns frequently to a bright and

³ Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*, 84–87.

even joyous mood."⁴ While modern critical methods of musical analysis have not corroborated Idelsohn's particular thesis, the idea that musical modes and motives can be multivalent, expressing different ideas to different audiences, is certainly plausible. A particular mode does not necessarily convey only one mood or place, and a single mode may even be capable of conveying different moods to the same audience depending on context.

Nusach

Since I will be working with liturgical music for the practical component of this capstone project, in this discussion I will focus my attention on the musical places of Jewish liturgical music. Broadly speaking, Jewish liturgy is divided into a small number of branches—called nusachim—each of which includes the liturgy and liturgical music for a given ethnicity's prayer practice. Major types of nusach include Ashkenazic, Sephardic, and Mizrachic.

The nusachim can be further broken down into particular prayer services (which are used during different parts of a given day or year) and also even into subsections within a given service. Nusachim can be thought of as containing varieties of rubrics of prayers, some which occur in a range of rubrics and others which are specifically geared toward the rubric in question (i.e., the rubric for a morning service has prayers specifically meant for morning time, such as the *yotzeir or*). Additionally, each rubric has its own types of music.

⁴ Ibid., 50–51.

Place in Jewish prayer music is marked most commonly by the mode in which music is set. The roots for a practice such as this may have been the different modes used for the reading of scripture in services; ostensibly, the variety of musical modes in the reading of scripture ultimately led to the development of an assortment of musical modes which one would use in the liturgy around scriptural reading.⁵ In Ashkenazic nusach, the main modes of Jewish prayer include Adonai Malach, Selicha, Vidui, Magein Avot, and Ahavah Rabbah. Idelsohn illustrates these modes through the following examples:

Adonai Malach:



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⁵ Ibid., 73.

⁶ Ibid., 76.

Selicha:



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Vidui:



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 $^{^{7}}$ Ibid., 81. 8 Ibid., 83. (This represents a condensed version of line 4 of the comparative tables on these pages.)



⁹ Ibid., 86.

The various names for the prayer modes hint at their functions: Some, like Adonai Malach, mark the first words of a section of liturgy which is chanted in the mode. Others, like Selicha, indicate their actual utility, as they include a subset of modalities all used for penance. 11 These modes are often mixed in the course of a given service. For instance, this is how Andrew Bernard illustrates the modal modulations of the weekday Ma'ariv service:

			Weekday ~ Ma'ariv
	Liturgy	Mode	Remarks/Characteristic Phrases
Introduction	V'hu rachum	Ahavah Rabbah	V' - hu ra-chum, y'-cha-peir a-von v' - lo yash-chit; v'-hir-bah l'-ha-shiv— a-po, v' - lo ya - ir kol cha-ma-to. A-do-nai, ho-shi-ah; ha-me-lech ya-a-nei - nu v'-yom— kor-ei - mu.
E .	Bar'chu	Ahavah Rabbah	Ba-r'-chu et A-do-nai ha-m'-vo-rach. Ba-ruch A-do-nai ha-m'-vo-rach!'-o-lam va - ed.
Sh'ma uvirchoteha	Ma'ariv aravim and Ahavat olam	Ahavah Rabbah	"Baruch atah Adonai" of the chatimah pauses on the 4th scale degree; eg:
Sh²ma	Sh'ma	Ahavah Rabbah	Idelsohn, for example: Sh'-ma Yis-ra - eil, A-do-nai e- lo - hei - nu, A-do-nai e- chad.
	V'ahavta	Torah trope or silent	
	Adonai eloheichem emet thru Yir'u eineinu	Ahavah Rabbah	

¹⁰ Ibid., 90–91. ¹¹ Ibid., 74.

Liturgy	Mode	Remarks/Characteristic Phrases
Chatzi Kaddish	Ahavah Rabbah	Yit - ga-dal v'-yit - ka-dash sh'-mei ra - ba b'-a-l' - ma di v'-ra chi-ru- tei v'-yam-lich mal-chu-tei b'-cha-yei-chon uv'-yo-mei-chon uv-cha-yei d'-chol beit Yis-ra-eil ba-a-ga - la u-viz-man ka-riv; v'-i-m'-ru: A-mein.
Amidah	[silent]	
Sunday thru Thursda Sunday thru Thursda on Saturday night, Chatzi Kaddish below follows Amidah	Magein Avot (study)	Yit-ga-dal v'-yit-ka-dash sh'-mei ra-ba, b'-al' - ma di-v'-ra chir-u-tei v'-yam-lich mal'-chu-teiv'-im-ru: A-mein.

Aleinu l'shabei-ach <i>thru</i> Bayom hahu	Magein Avot (study) or melody in Major		(
 Mourner's Kaddish	Magein Avot (study)	usually read; if chanted, see Kaddish shaleim above	t

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As Bernard shows in this table, this set of liturgy utilizes the Ahavah Rabbah mode from its beginning, through until the end of the Hatzi Kaddish, then (after a silent Amidah) it proceeds in the Magein Avot mode from the Kaddish Shaleim through to the end of the Mourner's Kaddish.

The various prayer modes in Jewish music are capable of communicating emotions and information to listeners. Most broadly, the various branches of nusach, with their different modal constructions, allow a listener to discern the ethnic background of a piece of liturgical music. For instance, while the Ashkenazic Magein Avot mode is pentachordal and favors/resolves to its fifth, the Sephardic-Oriental version of Magein

Ballaban

¹² Bernard, *The Sound of Sacred Time*, 105–107.

Avot is tetrachordal and resolves to its fourth. 13 Idelsohn illustrates this motival tendency as follows. Figures One and Two represent the Ashkenazic Magein Avot mode, and Figure Three represents the Sephardic-Oriental version of this same mode:



¹³ Idelsohn, Jewish Music in Its Historical Development, 84.



¹⁴ Ibid., 85–86.

Within every nusach, the various modes also each communicate their own messages: time of year, mood, and the context of liturgy within a given service. To give one example, the Kol Nidrei prayer is a famous Jewish prayer which marks the beginning of Yom Kippur. Its tune, one of about ten Ashkenazic melodies used for music during the Jewish high holidays, strongly marks place—in this case, the place is the Ashkenazic observance of Yom Kippur, and all of the solemnity which goes with it. The ability of this melody to mark place was so well-known that it even inspired non-Jewish composers to write music around it, as in the case of Max Bruch's iconic version of *Kol Nidrei*, Op. 47 for Cello and Orchestra. 15

A Definition of "Celtic" and "Celtic Music"

Before discussing the characteristics of a so-called "Celtic music," it is important to set a working definition of what "Celtic" means, and what any definition would then suggest as the music of Celtic peoples. In reality, the notion of some sort of Celtic identity is relatively recent: It grew out of Romanticism in the 19th century, which encouraged various ethnic groups—so-called Celts included—to pride themselves on a sense of ethnic and national identity. The peoples now known as Celts developed their own identity in this milieu, and they constructed an image which portrayed Celtic culture as possessing a certain pseudo-primitive virtue which was theoretically preserved from a romanticized, idvllic past. 16 The construction of a Celtic identity also resulted from the recognition, by historical philologists, of a linguistic connection amongst a small group of

¹⁵ Rosenfelder, "Whose Music? Ownership and Identity in Jewish Music," 82–83.

¹⁶ Pittock, Celtic Identity and the British Image, 2–4.

different peoples. ¹⁷ As a result of such ways of classifying Celts, Celtic identity refers to six related peoples in two branches: the Irish, Scots, and Manx are collectively referred to as "q-Celtic," and the Welsh, Bretons, and Cornish are known as "P-Celtic," The origin for these divisions comes from phonological differences between the two branches, particularly that in the former branch a certain phoneme is voiced as "k," while in the latter it makes a "p" sound. 19

Given this perspective, it seems fair to work under the assumption that the Irish, Scots, Manx, Welsh, Bretons, and Cornish peoples comprise the people we can call "Celtic." How then should we define "Celtic music?" In essence, there are two ways to answer this question: First, Celtic music might be that music which is written and or performed by people who are Celtic. Second, Celtic music might be understood as those musical forms which are characteristic of and traditional to the places where Celts historically have lived. The latter definition is probably the more appropriate of the two, since it allows for people who are Celtic to choose intentionally to create music which is not Celtic. Additionally, the second definition allows for the possibility that non-Celts may choose to (and succeed in) creating music which ought to be described as Celtic.²⁰

While I will use this definition for Celtic music in this paper, I must recognize that the notion of any "Celtic music" is one which many musicians of traditional Celtic music oppose. This is largely for two reasons: because it can imply that Celtic music is some homogeneous musical genre²¹ and because the trend to call music and goods

¹⁷ Dietler, "'Our Ancestors the Gauls," 585. Sawyers, *Celtic Music*, 4.

¹⁹ Ball and Fife, *The Celtic Languages*, 68.

²⁰ Sawvers. *Celtic Music*, 6–7.

²¹ Pittock, *Celtic Identity and the British Image*, 2–3.

"Celtic" has a fraught history of marketing behind it²². Nonetheless, I will use the term in this discussion because it may refer to a variety of types of music which, while not homogeneous, do share a variety of defining features.

Place in Celtic Music

The concept of place is a little more straightforward in Celtic musical than it is in Jewish music. In Celtic music, the place which is evoked by music does not necessarily have to do with an ethnic or religious message, but instead it frequently is linked to the geographic notion of space. For instance, the sound of Irish traditional music (ITM) can conjure in the mind of an attuned listener an image of rural Ireland and Celtic traditions, as in the music of the Chieftains. Alternative messages about place can be conveyed by other types of Celtic music, particularly by how the genre of music shifts. One notable example comes from the music of pipe and drum bands. In this genre of music, there is a fusion of great highland bagpipes (GHBs), snare drums, bass drums, and tenor drums; this arrangement of instruments, which comprises the modern pipe band, typically performs a type of music which conveys a sense of place frequently associated with Scotland, though it might be equally fair to state this such music connects with the place of Irish culture (this being because Irish pipe and drums bands are about as ubiquitous as Scottish ones on the world stage of GHB and drum bands.)

Like "Jewish music," "Celtic music" is actually an umbrella term which refers to an incredibly broad range of music. Within the realm of Celtic music, one might attempt

²² Sawyers, Celtic Music, 4.

²³ Connell and Gibson, *Sound Tracks*, 39.

to categorize by the region in which a type of music is predominately produced: Irish traditional music²⁴, Scottish traditional music, the indigenous music of the Scottish border and lowland region from the mid-17th century and onward²⁵, Northumbrian piping music (which, though technically from Northumberland in Britain, enjoys a healthy piping tradition that utilizes a variety of Celtic musical styles), and others. However, categorization of Celtic music on such a basis may not be quite so simple: There are many defining elements of these types of music which are shared amongst categories, such as instrumentation and musical idiom (and this is without even taking into account modern examples of Celtic music which consciously strive to create pan-Celtic and Western-Celtic musical fusions)²⁶.

Defining Characteristics of Place in Celtic Music

As we have seen, in Jewish liturgical music musical mode is a key marker of place. In Celtic music, however, the mode in which music is composed does not indicate very much about its context. In fact, certain types of Celtic music (such as Irish traditional music and the music of the great highland bagpipes) tend to play medleys of tunes, called "sets," which frequently switch amongst keys and modes freely. Though mode and key do not play a role in establishing place in Celtic music, Celtic music still does possess strong markers of place. The two main such markers for place in Celtic

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²⁴ "Irish traditional music" here is being used as a technical piece of terminology which refers to a specific type of Irish music, rather than as an assessment of what qualifies as "traditional Irish music."

^{25 &}quot;About Lowland and Border Piping."

²⁶ Sawyers, *Celtic Music*, 310–313.

music are instrumentation (i.e., what types of instruments are typically played in a certain subset of Celtic music) and types of tunes (e.g., a ballad, march, or strathspey).

In general, instrumentation may be used as a powerful marker of musical place by a performer, whether intentionally or not. In Celtic music, though, instrumentation is an especially significant marker of place; this is particularly true because of the proliferation of similar instruments in different regions. The most obvious example of this is the great highland bagpipe, which is typically associated with Scottish music (though, as noted, this is probably too limited of an interpretation of the place it actually marks.)²⁷ The great highland bagpipes are just one example of Celtic music's strong association with various forms of bagpipe. Other lesser-known examples of bagpipes—each of which marks a different place—are the uillean pipes (the traditional bagpipe of Ireland, which is arguably the most developed of bagpipe forms), lowland and border pipes (a type of bagpipe which originated in the Scottish lowlands), northumbrian smallpipes, and Scottish smallpipes (a style of bagpipes which, after nearing extinction, was revived in the 1980s by celebrated pipe-maker Colin Ross)²⁸. Other instruments which are common within Celtic music are the harp, fiddle, concertina, and tin whistle, all of which are predominately used in, and mark, Irish traditional music.

The other significant marker of Celtic place is musical idiom. In Celtic music, idiom refers to the genre of a tune, including its intended purpose (e.g., a march or a dance), its time signature, its general tempo, and the way it uses agogic stress to emphasize different aspects of its meter. Because the practical component of my capstone

²⁷ Dickson, *The Highland Bagpipe*, 1.

²⁸ "Hamish Moore and Fin of Dunkeld - Makers of Scottish Small Pipes and Highland Bagpipes."

will utilize Scottish traditional music, I will focus my study on the traditional forms of Scottish music as a subset of Celtic music. However, even "Scottish traditional music" itself is an exceptionally broad category: Within it, broadly speaking, the music may be separated into two major categories: *Ceòl Beag* and *Ceòl Mor*²⁹.

The first of these categories, *Ceòl Mor*, is frequently thought of as the classical style of music for highland bagpipes. Its earliest forms were originally played on Celtic harp or fiddle, but in its extant form it exists solely on the Great Highland Bagpipes. It is comprised of a beginning section which has a slow, basic melody (this is known as the "ground"), a long middle section which has multiple variations of incrementally increased complexity and speed, and then, finally, a return to the ground's original, simple structure.

The second genre of Celtic music, *Ceòl Beag* (pronounced "kayle bag"), literally means "light music," and it includes the various Scottish march and dance idioms. Within marches, there are types of marches of various meters, both duple and triple, with the time signatures 2/4, 4/4, and 6/8 being the most common. Scottish march music is meant to be played with an upbeat style to which a person could literally march, at tempos of 60-86 beats per minute, depending on context and the performer's preferences.

Dance tunes, in Scottish traditional style, include strathspeys, reels, hornpipes, and jigs. A strathspey is a uniquely Scottish dance form written in 4/4 time with a signature heavy pulse on the 1st and the 3rd beat; it is usually played around 112-120 beats per minute. Reels and hornpipes are both also in duple time, but they vary from

²⁹ Also frequently called *piobaireachd*, which translates to "pipe music."

strathspeys and each other in tempo, amount of subdivision of the beat, and how they typically are expressed in terms of time signature. Reels are typically written in 2/2 (or the equivalent, 4/4) time, and are played at around 70-75 beats per minute. They are also most commonly played with a bouncy feel (constructed by alternations between long and short notes) and with an emphasis on the up-beat of beats 1 and 3. Hornpipes, meanwhile, are typically composed in 2/4 and have a more even rhythmical phrasing. They tend to be played around 85-92 beats per minute. ³⁰ Finally, a jig is a tune which is written in triple time: most commonly in 6/8 or 12/8 (but also, sometimes, in 9/8); a jig is typically played around 120 beats per minute. ³¹

Scottish dance music, as a branch of traditional Scottish music, communicates a strong sense of place to its listeners. As a broad genre, its functional purpose originally would have been to provide music to which people could have danced. This, in and of itself, is a sign: This is music which would have been used in happy, celebratory (or perhaps just revelrous) occasions. Additionally, it is important to note that dance music—as a musical form—is a type of music with a practical purpose (as opposed to one which is meant only to be appreciated for its beauty, such as orchestral music), i.e., dancing. Each of the traditional Scottish dance idioms has its own unique aspects, and the expression of the music itself is built around the needs of such dances.³² The type of Scottish dance which probably marks place most significantly is the strathspey; this is because it is a dance form which originated in Scotland and is most common there. The name itself calls attention to its origin: "strath" means "valley," and "Spey" refers to the

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³⁰ In truth, the line between a reel and hornpipe (in terms of musical expression) is not always clear. This is evidenced, in particular, by the fact that an Irish reel is roughly equivalent to a Scottish hornpipe and an Irish hornpipe is essentially a Scottish reel.

³¹ Sawyers, *Celtic Music*, 54–56.

³² Stokes and Bohlman, Celtic Modern, 109.

River Spey in northeast Scotland, hence a strathspey was a dance which originated in the valley region near the River Spey. The term for the staccato pointedness of the melody notes of strathspeys even alludes to the place which a strathspey marks: This feature of strathspeys is known as the "Scottish snap."³³

A Common Place-Marker

There is one last marker of place, one which applies both to Celtic and Jewish music, which is worth noting in this discussion: language. Language is an especially potent tool of communication, and it allows one to create a notion of place at the most basic level of discourse. It is possible, depending on how language is used, for it to communicate place in a relatively unambiguous fashion. Additionally, language is a powerful tool for the marking of place because at the same time as it may innately mark place, it can communicate semantic content. The choice to use a particular language, dialect, or register of language in a song can effectively suggest a considerable amount about the implied place of a given song.

In Jewish music, the use of Hebrew can be incredibly effective in the marking of place. Because Hebrew, at least until its modern revival, was a language particular to Jewish culture, it is quite effective in the marking of place. In Jewish liturgy, this is most certainly the case: Even in the most radical of Jewish prayer-settings, the extrication of Hebrew from Jewish liturgy has been mostly incomplete. Similarly, the use of Gaelic (in any of its varieties) can effectively mark a Celtic place in music. Again, the success of

³³ Sawyers, *Celtic Music*, 72.

³⁴ Tuan, "Language and the Making of Place," 684.

Gaelic as a place-marker can mostly be attributed to the fact that the Gaelic languages are used almost exclusively by the Celts. As such, any song which uses Gaelic has a strong possibility of being Celtic in style; at the very least, the use of Gaelic in music signals to a listener that there is a strong possibility that a given song is connected to Celtic musical place. As such, the intentional use of language in this fashion can be quite effective for an artist who seeks a place-marker which can designate his music as Celtic (or, in the case of Hebrew, Jewish).

Conclusions

As we have seen, both Jewish and Celtic music contain characteristic qualities which they use to mark place for their listeners. In the case of Jewish liturgical music, mode is a defining element of how one marks place. In contrast, in Celtic music mode does not play a role in marking place. Instead, choice of instrumentation and musical idiom are the major ways in which Celtic music is able to accomplish this same purpose.

Hybridization of Celtic and Jewish Music

Place-Marking and Ambiguity

For the practical component of my capstone project, I have arranged four tunes¹, each of which constitutes what I consider to be a hybrid of Jewish and Celtic musical styles. In a moment, I will discuss some of the considerations which were necessary for this procedure. However, before I move further, it is important to underscore the fact that, clearly, neither Jewish nor Celtic music is a homogeneous entity (and that each of these musical categories encompasses many discrete types of music). However, in my discussion I will discuss them in such terms for the sake of simplicity. In all cases where clarification of sub-genre for either Jewish or Celtic music is needed, I will specify the particular variety of music to which I refer. In the hybrid arrangements designed specifically for this capstone project, I draw from the Ashkenazic liturgical musical repertoire for all Jewish sources and from the sub-genre of traditional Great Highland Bagpipe music for all Celtic sources.

While this endeavor has the potential to achieve success, there are many important questions and challenges inherent to it which must be addressed in order for it to accomplish its goals. The major questions which are relevant to this process all revolve around one central issue, "What makes a tune or song 'Jewish' or 'Celtic?'" To some degree, I sought to answer this question in the second chapter of this capstone project:

Ballaban

¹ It is worth taking note of this term at the outset of this chapter: its importance will come to bear later on. In this capstone, I will be dealing with *tunes* or *melodies*, not with *songs*. The distinguishing factor here is that a melody or tune is merely a line of notes as a musical theme. This is as opposed to what might be called a song: A tune or melody which has lyrics as part of its nature. Since I will be using instrumental compositions without vocal accompaniments, what I am arranging are properly thought of as tunes.

Music is not created within a vacuum, and therefore musical genres (Jewish and Celtic included) signal their ethnic background to listeners by including elements with which they mark their "place." However, this central question and others like it come to the forefront in my current attempt to merge multiple styles of music; a hybrid of two types of music will be unsuccessful if it fails to sufficiently mark one or both of the musical styles from which it is derived.

In effect, a hybrid of musical styles is bound by the same norms of any individual musical style if it seeks to mark musical place. Just as, to be considered Jewish music, a piece of music must have *enough* markers of place to be identifiably Jewish to an audience, a hybrid of two musical types must have *enough* markers of each type of music to be identifiably a hybrid of both types of music. I emphasize "enough" here to stress that a piece of music obviously does not need to have every possible mark of musical place associated with a genre in order to be connected to it; instead, it only needs enough markers such that it can convey its background in an unambiguous way. If a piece of music does not mark its genre sufficiently, then it may fail to tap into those emotions and thoughts which such a type of music may otherwise convey. Additionally, in connection to this previous challenge, it is worth noting an important reality of place-marking. The more any given place-marker used in a piece of music is culturally unambiguous, the fewer *other* place-markers the piece of music will require to identify with its genre. If a piece of music only includes place-markers which are highly ambiguous, it might need a large number of place-markers before it clearly communicates its place.

An example of this principle may be found in the use of Hebrew in Jewish music.

Until Hebrew's modern revival by Eliezer ben Yehudah, one could have reasonably

assumed that any song which used Hebrew was religious in nature. For the majority of Judaism's history, Hebrew has been a sufficient place-marker for Jewish music. This, for instance, explains the seeming conundrum presented by someone like Moses ibn Ezra, who wrote erotic poetry in Hebrew: the contrast between what would have been expected as devotional poetry (given its author and the language of its composition) with such a seemingly worldly subject as sex. In modern Reform Jewish liturgical music, especially as it is represented in the folk/rock/Jewish musical hybrids, one can see the situation in another light: Is such music (including many works by artists like Debbie Friedman or Dan Nichols) Jewish? If one were to answer yes to this question, then the reason—in the form of a place marker in music—would undoubtedly be linked to the usage of Hebrew (from the Bible, or especially from traditional Jewish liturgical language): A drum set, guitar, and bass hardly mark Jewish place, and these artists frequently eschew such markers of Jewish place such as musical mode.

The same challenges which exist for being able to tell if a piece of music is

Jewish exist for Celtic music; the lines between Celtic music and other musical genres
can be similarly vague. Use of Gaelic (Irish, Scottish, Manx or otherwise)—as Hebrew—
may be an important marker of Celtic music. However, it is not always a sufficient sign
for marking a song as Celtic (there are songs which just happen to be in Gaelic, but they
may *not* be Celtic), and, obviously, a piece of music may be deemed Celtic without using
Gaelic. A significant place-marker for Celtic music aside from language, one with little
genre-ambiguity, is instrumentation. Certain instrumental choices can very strongly
signal that a piece of music is Celtic. Some groups which center their arrangements
around bagpipes and play Celtic tune idioms (such as groups like "Ross and Jarlath") are

clearly Celtic in nature. But what about those artists and groups which include traditional Celtic instruments, like bagpipes, but play exclusively non-Celtic music? One could reasonably ask if such an arrangement would constitute Celtic music. An example of such a blurring of place-markers can be found in Rufus Harley, the famous (or infamous?) "jazz-bagpiper." Indeed, it is not entirely clear if the music he creates is truly divorced from Celtic music.

Hybrids of music, like that of Rufus Harley, highlight the difficulty of discerning where one musical genre ends and another begins. Such musical hybridity also forces one to note that an overly essentialist approach is unwise for the categorization of music.² Genre-ambiguity like this can best be resolved by accepting that musical place cannot be reduced to a set of necessary place-markers. Instead, in practice it is clear that while some music may strongly signal place—the chanting of the *Kol Nidrei* or the playing of *Amazing Grace* on Great Highland Bagpipes—there are other pieces of music which exist in a grayer area and are arguably Jewish or not, Celtic or not. While place-markers which signal musical place are identifiable, the ultimate designation of genre for a piece of music is necessarily subjective. As Stanley Waterman describes it, in the context of discussing musical practices and norms of the Galilee:

There is another, more sinister, side to music. It is a performance art, implying that it is a form of social communication, and musical performance is a site of social discourse...there are always several competing repertoires at any given period and place, distinguished by gender, age, ethnic identity, educational background or economic class. As a socially meaningful art form through which people recognize identities and places and the boundaries separating them, music has always been reflective of cleavages within society, an important component of

² Fitzgerald and O'Flynn, Music and Identity in Ireland and Beyond, 2.

cultural politics. *Place-production brought on by music is always a contested and ideological process*³ (Cohen 1995)⁴."⁵

The Particular Challenges of Place-Marking in Musical Hybrids

In theory, there are some particular challenges associated with creating a successful hybrid of multiple genres of music; such challenges do not exist for one arranging a piece of music meant only to mark a single place.

To begin with, ethnic place-markers in music may be mutually exclusive: a song, in most practical senses, can only be written in one language. At the very least, it is difficult to use language to mark multiple places within the same song; therefore, if there are multiple languages within one piece of music, I would argue that only one may mark place and the other(s) must be "neutral" languages. For an example, Debbie Friedman's *Mi Shebeirach* is a multilingual folk-Jewish liturgical tune; it uses both Hebrew and English. However, the usage of English in the song is not intended to mark place (although it might unintentionally mark the milieu of the Western, English-speaking Jewish world). Instead, usage of the vernacular is only meant to make the song more accessible to the singer or listener. The inclusion of Hebrew in Friedman's song, however, *is* meant to communicate Jewish place.

In practical terms, acknowledging that language may only communicate one place in a song suggests that in a project to combine Celtic and Jewish music, language is of limited utility for ensuring that a song communicates both of its places. Another place-

³ Italics added for emphasis.

⁴ Citation original to text.

⁵ Waterman, "Place, Culture and Identity," 257.

marker, musical mode, is similarly *mostly* limited because it typically can communicate at most one place in an unambiguous fashion. In contrast to language and mode, there are some place-markers which are better suited to facilitating multi-vocality of place-markers; instrumentation may be such a place-marker. Ultimately, though certain place-markers may have the ability to signal multiple places at a given time, the creation of Celtic-Jewish musical hybrid-pieces will rely on the mixing of a variety of place-markers to be successful. In my arrangements, I combine many place-markers (especially instrumentation, motif, mode) in order to strive to mark both places sufficiently such that I can produce effective hybrids.

My Project: A Hybrid of Ashkenazic Liturgical Music and Traditional Scottish Music

The arrangements I have made for this project seek to convey two particular places: Ashkenazic liturgical music and Scottish folk music, as represented in traditional music of the Great Highland Bagpipes. As my discussion thus far has indicated, each of my arrangements will need to contain sufficient place-markers to signal to listeners that it is connected to *both* genres if it is to be understood properly as hybrid.

Signaling that my arrangements are connected to traditional Scottish music proved to be easier than demonstrating that they were Jewish. For the Scottish side of this

Ballaban

⁶ I say "at most," because those modes which are too ambiguous, for instance major mode, do not signal any particular place because they signal too many places, too vaguely. In contrast, there are modes which are quite particular, such as Phrygian dominant, which signal a narrow enough range of places that they are useful as place-markers.

endeavor, the use of the Great Highland Bagpipes within traditional Celtic musical idioms was sufficient to mark Scottish place.

Signaling that the music is Jewish, however, is more difficult. To begin with, since the music I am arranging is all instrumental, it means that a major marker of Jewish music—Hebrew—is inaccessible. For that reason, I needed to select other place markers which could be used in this project. Ultimately, I chose to use three main musical markers to signal that my arrangements were connected to Jewish Liturgy. First, in two of my tunes, I use well-known musical motifs from Ashkenazic liturgical music as core elements of tunes which I set into Scottish traditional musical idioms. Second, in a third piece, I use a modality which is firmly rooted in Jewish liturgical music to create a rearrangement of a Scottish lament. Third and finally, I use a well-known style of Jewish liturgical music as the basis for an arrangement of a traditional type of Scottish tune. I will present the musical arrangements in this order, discussing the fine points of each.

Hatzi Kaddish, 6/8 March

The first tune which I arranged is a rendering of the Shabbat evening Hatzi Kaddish. The traditional Ashkenazic music for this prayer is set in minor mode, with a motif of descending tones. In the traditional nusach, the first phrase (accompanying the words יתגדל ויתקדש שמה רבה) is chanted (in B minor) as follows:



Additionally, this motif of descending notes in minor tonality is reinforced in two other parts of the prayer: first, when the chazzan responds to the congregational line (chanting, independent), then later as the chazzan chants ויתהדר ויתהלה ויתהלל.

In my arrangement, I strove to replicate this motif, especially insofar as the tune starts on the mode's fifth degree. Additionally, I maintained the Aeolian minor modality; for the great highland bagpipes, this restricted me to the key of B. In the resolving phrase of my tune, I sought to allude to the way which this nusach itself resolves, with an augmented leading subtonic. Due to the restricted scale of the great highland bagpipe chanter (which lacks the ability to play an A#), I settled for having the tune resolve to its tonic (as with the nusach), but only after passing through the subtonic (A natural) and the supertonic. The tune is written as a 6-8 march, which is a style of march played predominately in the Scottish traditional idiom. It is characterized by a bouncy feel, created by having contrasting series of cut and held notes. In practice, there are remarkably limited number of rhythms which typify traditional 6-8 marches. While multi-measure phrases may be (and often are) included in such marches, the most basic rhythmic elements can be broken into only so many varieties of 3-beat phrases. The typical combinations are listed below⁷:



Ultimately, I arrived at the following tune:

⁷ It is worth noting that, of course, 3 beats could be broken into subdivisions smaller than 16th notes, and it would mathematically be possible to have, for instance, a 3-beat phrase in 6-8 time of two 16th notes paired with one quarter note. Nevertheless, such combinations are quite uncommon in the idiom.

Hatzi Kaddish

March



Mi-Sinai Melody, Piobaireachd

My next arrangement is set around a motif which comes from the collection of melodies, collectively termed *mi-sinai*, which are used for the liturgy of the high holidays. As Idelsohn says regarding these tunes:

The idea of special modes and tunes for prayers in prose to be used on holidays is not an original Ashkenazic one...however, none of the communities succeeded in creating a new musical genre of "special tunes" as did the Ashkenazim. These tunes were sanctified and were called "sacred melodies"...they were also called Missinai-tunes, which means "received by Moses on Mt. Sinai."

Idelsohn also notes that, despite the antiquity which these tunes' title might imply, that they were a product of the German Rheinland. Indeed, this collection of music is not so much a canon of discrete works, but instead a collection of shorter musical motifs which are combined into larger works.

The particular motif which I focus on in my second arrangement is one which is quite simple, yet powerful. It is a series of three descending chord tones in minor mode, and it is used to resolve many melodies of the High Holiday repertoire (and particularly is featured in *chatimot* of the Amidah benedictions), such as the Rosh Hashanah musaf Avot prayer.¹¹ The motif itself looks as follows in B minor:



This phrase, in its simplicity, is particularly noteworthy as a well-known motif of the High Holiday motival canon. It is often used sung by a cantor at the close of a prayer,

⁸ Idelsohn, Jewish Music in Its Historical Development, 136.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Friedmann, Social Functions of Synagogue Song, 93.

¹¹ Eisenstein, *Heritage of Music*, 55.

then repeated by a congregation (or choir)¹², and it may be that the simplicity of this motif is precisely what allows it to be musically accessible to the average lay-person.

In my arrangement, I replicate this motif (along with the minor mode to which it alludes) as part of a piobaireachd (a piece of music in the classical style of the great highland bagpipes). I chose this musical idiom because I thought it would be well-suited to conveying the solemn mood of the High Holiday period. One more reason I thought a piobaireachd might be capable of conveying this three-tone *mi-sinai* motif is that piobaireachd, while possessing a demonstrable musical flow, are unrhythmical. As such, I thought an intentionally stylized and largo expression of this music would connect well with the mentality of the High Holiday's penitential mindset.

A piobaireachd is characterized as a piece of music which begins with a relatively simple, unadorned melody (the "ùrlar" or "ground"), which is then retained in succeeding variations which become more and more intricate and embellished. Each variation of the piobaireachd I have arranged (the ground included) is composed of three four-measure lines of music. All three lines end with the *mi-sinai* motif in question. Additionally, the first line of the ground begins with this motif.

Another feature of piobaireachd is that there often are two versions of a variation in a given tune, the first termed a singling and the second a doubling (e.g., a tune may have a ground, first variation singling, then first variation doubling, a second variation singling, and a second variation doubling—hence, though it has only two variations, it would have five iterations of the main melodic line). Singlings are meant to be played

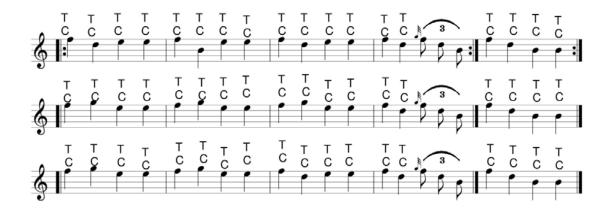
12 Ibid.

Ballaban

more slowly, with the doublings gaining in speed and intensity. In order to gain this intensity, cadences of music which exist in the singling for the sake of disrupting the flow of the tune are often omitted in doublings. To accomplish this doubling style, I omit the three-tone mi-sinai motif in doublings. However, I still allow the tune to resolve to the tonic, as in the motif, and I allow the faster movement to encompass the basic notes of this motif. I wrote the piobaireachd to include a ground (without a doubling) and three distinct types of variations: dithis, tarluath, and crunluath. My rendering of this motif, as a piobaireachd, is as follows:

Mi-Sinai Nusach Piobaireachd





Freygish Mode, Flowers of the Forest

The third tune I arranged takes a different approach to hybridizing Jewish and Scottish music. In this arrangement, I convert one of the oldest and most somber tunes of the traditional Scottish repertoire, "Flowers of the Forest" into Freygish mode. To recognize what is taking place in this arrangement, I must start by describing the manner by which the great highland bagpipes' scale is produced. With only a nine-note scale, and one which is modal rather than chromatic, the ability of the great highland bagpipes to modulate amongst keys and modes is rather limited. The scale of the instrument is set in Mixolydian mode, nominally in A, and includes one full octave of A Mixolydian, with a single tone (G) below the octave. All tunes which are written for the great highland bagpipes must find ways to utilize this scale to effect the keys and modes they desire. The scale of the instrument, g-A-B-C#-D-E-F#-G-A, can inflect keys and modes other than A Mixolydian by way of utilizing enharmonics (and by avoiding troublesome tones which might lie outside of a given enharmonic). Thus, the most common keys and modes for tunes on the great highland bagpipes are: A-Mixolydian, D-major, and B-minor.

Additionally, tunes are occasionally written in E-Dorian or natural minor (the latter by avoiding the C# of the scale).

For this arrangement, I have reworked the scale of the great highland bagpipes such that it is in Freygish mode. In the most plain of senses, since the instrument does not possess a multi-octave range, all that is required to do so is to flatten the Bb and F#, which results in a scale of g-A-Bb-C#-D-E-F-G-A; because the scale is already in Mixolydian mode, there is no need to flatten the G, the scale's 7th degree. Practically speaking, due to the fact that the great highland bagpipes does not have the ability to play accidentals within its scale, I will utilize a technique (which, usually, is only used to fine-tune individual notes) to flatten the two tones necessary to shift from Mixolydian mode to Freygish, two and six.

My choice to pair this modality with Flowers of the Forest arises from both the peculiar tonality of Freygish mode and the solemn nature of this particular tune. Flowers of the Forest is one of the oldest documented Scottish tunes, dating back at least to the 17th century¹³, and its dramatic, somber melody is typically reserved for funerary rites. Given the feeling of this tune, I thought it might be fitting to express it through the lens of one of the more melancholy Jewish prayer modes, Freygish mode. A special consideration in making this choice was that El Malei Rachamim—what I would consider the best Jewish equivalent to Flowers of the Forest—is chanted in Freygish mode. If any Jewish prayer mode is best-equipped to express the feelings of a dirge, it is Freygish.

12

¹³ Chambers, The Songs of Scotland Prior to Burns. With the Tunes. Edited by R. Chambers, xii.

One caveat must be made for this arrangement: In truth, one might argue that the arrangement I have produced is not set in Freygish mode, but in D harmonic minor. While this may be technically correct, this musical choice suits the tune Flowers of the Forest better for the sake of achieving the *feeling* of Freygish mode. I attribute this to the fact that the tune spends most of its time within the key of A, rather than the key of D. Additionally, because both harmonic minor and Freygish modes contain an augmented second (Freygish between its 2nd and 3rd degrees, and harmonic minor between its 6th and 7th degrees, where it includes its noteworthy major 7th), the feel between these two modes can be quite similar depending on what section of a scale is stressed by a given tune. With these questions of theory noted, here is the version of Flowers of the Forest which I have adjusted to reflect the modality of Freygish mode:

Flowers of the Forest, Freygish

Aire



Ta'amei Hamikra, Strathspey

My final arrangement is a strathspey assembled from the combination of a number of motifs from the pentateuchal and prophetic cantillation modes. There are a certain reasons why I believe this arrangement proves to be the most successful of those I

created despite the fact that it has unique challenges absent from the others. First, the challenges: The biggest challenge I faced in reformulating motifs of cantillation into a strathspey was that cantillation is unrhythmical. While this lack of meter is not problematic for the chanting of scriptures—wherein the words of a verse serve as a shifting meter in lieu of a rigid time signature—it poses a major challenge for a musical arrangement which omits the original Hebrew. An additional difficulty was that the musical motifs of cantillation are mostly short and are repetitive. When one chants in the traditional fashion, with words combined with the musical motifs, the simplicity and repetitiveness of cantillation is not problematic. However, if one removes the words of cantillation and seeks only to create an instrumental rendering of the ta'amei hamikra, he may find that the repetitiveness is striking and troublesome.

As a result of this second challenge, I specifically opted to adapt the motifs of cantillation to a strathspey. The reason for this choice primarily was that strathspeys tend to be made up of short, repetitive melodic lines of music. A common pattern for strathspeys might be described as a double question-and-answer: An "A" phrase poses a musical question and receives answer "B," then question "A" is repeated and receives concluding answer "C." This model looks as follows:



A strathspey will always contain at least two sections of music, each possessing eight measures of music in 4-4 time; however, strathspeys typically contain at least four parts.

Thus, the figure above could represent as much as one-half of a tune, but probably would

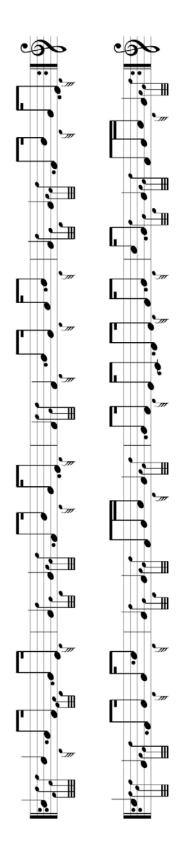
be less than this. In any event, the repetitive nature of strathspeys is a forgiving medium for the simplicity of cantillation music.

In my arrangement here, I use shifting modes in between each section of a sixparted strathspey. The parts alternate between the Ashkenazic pentateuchal and prophetic
modes, the former being written in the key of A and the latter in the key of B. The
resulting composition includes a number of pentateuchal motifs (in part one: *munach*,
zakeif *katon*, *tipchah*, *munach*, and *etnachta*; part three: *gershaim*, *darga*, and *t'vir*; and
in part five: *t'lishah k'tanah* and *t'lishah g'dolah*; additionally, all three parts end with *mercha* and *sof-pasuk*) and prophetic motifs (in part two: *pazer* and *gershaim*; in part
four: *mercha*, *tipchah*, *etnachta*; and part six: *zakef gadol* and *munach le'garmeh*;
additionally, all three parts end with *sof-pasuk*). These motifs have been adapted to the
stringent meter necessary for the success of a strathspey. The resulting strathspey is
transcribed as follows:

Ta'amei Hamikra

Strathspey





Conclusions

I am hopeful that these four musical hybrids successfully mark both Jewish and Celtic music, and as such serve as function fusions of the two styles. While I cannot predict a liturgical utilization for these arrangements, I think that their artistic potential may speak for itself. I see each arrangement as a way of reconceptualizing a distinct Jewish musical tradition such that it now may reflect an altogether different musical background. If I have, in fact, been successful in creating these hybrids, then listeners who are accustomed to recognizing both Jewish and Celtic music will identify these tunes as not just Jewish *or* Celtic, but rather as both at the same time.

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