Kol HaTor: Turtle or Turtledove?
Tensions in Current Cantorial Identity

By David Peller Frommer

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Advisor: Dr. Lisa Grant

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Introduction

"For, lo, the winter is past, the rain is over and gone. The flowers appear on the earth, the time of the singing of birds is come and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."[1]

--Song of Songs, 2:11-12, KJV

Of all the creatures in the animal kingdom, few are more difficult to confuse than the turtle and the turtledove. The King James Bible, however, first published in 1611, seemed to have done just that, when it translated the Hebrew phrase *kol hator* ("voice of the turtledove") as "voice of the turtle." The explanation, well known to Bible scholars throughout the centuries, lay not in a mistake, but rather in a literary custom, common for the time, to refer to turtledoves simply as "turtles."[2] Over time, however, this anachronism was forgotten by lay readers, who were left to wonder what strange yet pleasing sounds ancient turtles must have made to warrant inclusion in the vivid portrayal of pastoral renewal described by Song of Songs.

At first glance, this story would appear to have questionable relevance to the state of the current cantorate in the Reform movement. Viewed a second time, however, it serves as the perfect metaphor for many of the tensions faced by Reform cantors in the field. At the heart of these tensions lies the fundamental question of the cantorial role. Is the cantor to be a turtledove, commonly associated with beautiful music, or a turtle, commonly associated with no sound at all? Viewed yet again, the metaphor reveals the subjective nature of the entire discussion, depending on who is asking the question, and who is giving the answer. Cantors, striving for artistic license in the pulpit, might self-describe as turtledoves for their connotation of soaring freedom, while disparaging turtles

[1] http://quod.lib.umich.edu/cgi/k/kjv/kjv-idx?type=DIV1&byte=2578814
[2] Weiss, Andrea L. "Bible Question." Email to David Frommer. 19, October, 2010, and Sperling, David. Personal Interview. 23, November, 2010.

as symbols of boring inactivity. But non-cantors, seeking more participation in worship music, might wish that their cantors were turtles, for their connotation of reliable consistency, while disparaging turtledoves as flighty and unpredictable. Then again, non-cantors who are frustrated with cantors' refusal to change might see them as turtles who withdraw into a shell of stubborn defense at the first sign of conflict. While cantors who are frustrated with the limited musicality of non-cantors might see them as turtles who plod along at the same speed, unable to learn even the simplest melody in fewer than two months. Cantors might metaphorically compare artistic music to a turtledove because they see it bring peace and harmony to the soul. Non-cantors, on the other hand, might use the turtledove as a metaphor for their participation in worship, sacrificed on the altar of musical elitism.[3] The answer to the question of the cantor's role thus becomes difficult to pinpoint, when accounting for not only the answers of *both* cantors and non-cantors, but also the answers that each believes they *should* give, as well as the views that they *wish* to hear from their counterparts.

Viewed from yet another angle, beyond that of defining the cantorial role and the subjectivity inherent in that process, the story of Song of Songs 2:12 also contains several prominent themes that relate directly to, and deepen our understanding of these two central issues. One is the theme of division between elite (whether Bible scholars or cantors) and folk (whether Bible readers or worshippers). The tension between the masses who can only access information at its primary level (where the word "turtle" means just that, and where the musical interval of a tritone sounds unsettling to the ear)

[3] Carried to dramatic extremes, these metaphors do not apply to every cantorial experience in the field, but they speak to a reality of disconnect between cantors and non-cantors, which often simmers and occasionally boils over in dramatic extremes of its own.

and the professionals, who can access that same information at its secondary and tertiary levels (where “turtle” refers to a completely different animal, and where a tritone paints an appropriate musical picture of an unsettling Hebrew text) is a major feature in the current cantorial experience.

A second theme in the story is that of time’s power to shift the foundation underneath long-held assumptions (whether of popular understanding of abbreviated animal names or popular desire for a certain musical aesthetic). Just as the translators of the King James Bible assumed that their readers would recognize the abbreviated form of “turtledove” for all time, so have cantors assumed that their congregants would always appreciate complex musical settings, rendered with professional artistry, in their worship services. Or that their congregants would always have a context of listening to classical music within which those complex prayer settings could be placed. Or, at the very least, that their congregants would never lose the ability to sit and listen to any piece of music, whether classical or not, for more than three minutes, without starting to check their watches. Translators and cantors were once justified in these assumptions but time has brought different realities. The tension that cantors face between past realities and present ones is a second, major feature of the cantorial world today.

Lastly, a third theme in the story of Song of Songs 2:12 is the extreme result produced by either communication or a lack thereof between the elite and the folk. Without explanation from the translators, the verse literally makes no sense to the readers. Turtles that speak and sing are foreign to a modern mind. On the other hand, with only the simplest of explanation from the translators, the verse is completely intelligible. Who has not marveled at the beauty of bird song when it heralds a new year?

Similarly, without explanation from the cantor, the most artistic repertoire remains inaccessible to their congregants, encoded in a language that the latter often struggles to understand. With explanation, however, the language is gradually decoded and the potential for appreciation unlocked. There is a tipping point at which the amount of input from the elite produces several times as much output in the experience of the folk. To explain the meaning of Song of Songs 2:12 requires minimal input for maximal output. To explain the meaning behind a complex musical setting of a prayer might require more input, but can certainly yield important output of its own. A third tension for the modern cantor is determining how much teaching input is necessary to yield the desired output of understanding in their congregants and, once determined, if the required amount is actually feasible.

Ultimately, the search for definition is unfulfilling without an accompanying pursuit of understanding. The first of this thesis' two major goals is to sharpen our understanding of the Reform cantor's role today as characterized by these four tensions—between universal truth and subjectivity, between elite and folk, between assumption and reality, and between desire and feasibility. But Reform cantors are not created in a vacuum. The role they envision for themselves is highly influenced by their education. Thus, the second major goal of this thesis is to examine the specific relationship between their training at the Hebrew Union College's School of Sacred Music (SSM) and their behavior in the field. Since the large majority of Reform cantors are graduates of the SSM, this institution wields enormous influence on how Reform cantors define themselves and their role in the Jewish community. The importance of the SSM's relationship to the tensions that characterize the experience of its graduates cannot be

undervalued. Does the school's educational program create those tensions, or are they inherent in the differences between those who are cantors and those who are not? Does the school prepare its graduates to successfully navigate those tensions, or only to feel frustrated by them? What is the SSM's mission in the first place?

This thesis studies cantors' behavior in the field as it relates to the institution that trained them, *specifically* regarding the music they use on a weekly basis for Shabbat services.[4] The research seeks to answer *why* Reform cantors are not using certain artistic musical settings for weekly worship, given how much such settings are valued at the SSM. If it is neither ignorance nor poor instruction that is preventing cantors from singing the great music of the twentieth century Classical Reform style (in balance with more participatory styles as called for in the literature of the nineties), what then lies at the root of its omission from their services? The identity of Reform cantors in the 21st century—whether they will be turtles, or turtledoves, and which is more desirable, and to whom—can only be defined when the tensions inherent in their work and their education are more fully understood.

[4] This research purposefully does not focus on the music cantors use for the High Holidays, Three Festivals, and other special occasions, since the infrequent and exalted nature of those services allows the cantor more freedom to use musical settings that are both unfamiliar and more artistically complex.

Chapter One: Historical Background and Prior Research

To understand the mission of the SSM today, a brief history of the Reform Cantorate and its development in this country is instructive. The tensions inherent in the cantorial role, particularly between cantors and non-cantors, have existed as long as cantors existed themselves. Solomon Sulzer (1804-1890), considered by many to be the founding father of the Reform cantorate, was the first to blend the Eastern European style of modally-based *Hazzanut* with the Western European traditions of classical harmony, accompanied by organ and choir.[5] Yet even Sulzer, whose cantorial accomplishments inspired the praise of Jewish and gentile listeners alike, could not remain free of congregational and popular constraints in his personal artistic expression. "Unfortunately, the free rubato, recitative style was often forced into a regular meter… and the modal flavor was sometimes compromised by concessions to western tonality."[6] Certain meters and tonalities allowed the average Jewish congregant in Western Europe easier access to the music from the east, and Sulzer felt compelled to accommodate that need. Thus, no sooner was the modern cantor created than the paradigm of cantorial and congregational negotiation and compromise was created as well.

During Sulzer's lifetime, the American synagogue experienced none of the cantorial grandeur that marked its European counterpart. Between 1825-1875, approximately 250,000 German Jews immigrated to the United States.[7] In the

[5] Rubin, Emanuel and Baron, John H., *Music in Jewish History and Culture*. Sterling Heights, MI: Harmonie Park Press, 2006, pp. 160-161.
[6] Goldberg, Geoffrey, "Jewish Liturgical Music in the Wake of Nineteenth Century Reform," *Sacred Sound and Social Change*. Edited by Lawrence A. Hoffman and Janet R. Walton. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, London, 1992, p. 59.
[7] Meyer, Michael, *A Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*. Detroit: Wayne University State Press, 1995, p. 236.

synagogues they founded, rabbis led the worship services while music directors chose the repertoire and the choirs sang the prayers. The wave of German Jewish immigration was followed by a flood of Jews from Eastern Europe, beginning in the 1880's, that would bring the American Jewish population to three million by 1920, and make New York the largest Jewish city in the world.[8] These Jews brought no traditions of reform but rather the well-developed and artistic synagogue music style, based on *nusach* and embellished by improvisation, that required a highly skilled cantor to sing, and that Sulzer had first introduced to the Jews of Austria and its neighbors as early as 1840.

In the first part of the twentieth century, a veritable all-star team of cantors immigrated to the United States from Europe. Aided by commercial radio and recordings, they rapidly created an American craze for their music. "[It] was a time when fans flocked to gala liturgical concerts, or gathered around their phonographs and radios to listen to their favorites… when there were vigorous and knowledgeable debates about the relative merits of various cantors."[9] But as cantorial music in particular and Jewish life in general was enjoying extreme good fortune in America, the storm of Nazism was exploding over Europe. As whole Jewish communities were wiped out, those who survived in America became prouder of their heritage, and more intent on preserving a tradition that was suddenly in danger of extinction.[10]

The combination of European immigrant cantors popularizing their style of singing, European congregants joining Reform Jewish synagogues, and European

[8] Rubin and Baron, p. 242.
[9] Heskes, Irene, "Introduction," *The Golden Age of Hazzanut*, editors Velvel Pasternak and Noah Schall. Tara Publications: Cedarhurst, 1991, p. 10.
[10] Cohen, Judah. *The Making of a Reform Cantor*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009, p. 35.

destruction of those who remained behind created the precise constellation of factors necessary for first a re-awakening of Reform Jewish interest in cantors and subsequently for the creation of a new, American-produced cantorate to fill the role. The most significant step forward in that creation process was the founding of the School of Sacred Music by Hebrew Union College in 1948—the first formal cantorial training program established in the United States. Its faculty represented some of the leading names in the fields of Jewish musicology, composition, and cantorial practice, such as Eric Werner, A.W. Binder, Isadore Freed and Gershon Ephros.[11] Intending to train students to serve congregations across a spectrum of observance and background, the founders devoted fully half of the repertoire curriculum to material deemed "traditional"—that is, in the Eastern European hazzanic style of Adolph Katchko and Israel Alter—while the other half was dedicated to "Reform" traditions ranging from the publications of Sulzer and his contemporaries to more recent compositions, reflecting a distinctly twentieth century musical idiom, by the likes of Ernest Bloch, Max Helfman, Lazar Weiner and Frederick Piket. The school's overarching academic mission was therefore one of both preservation and creation—as Werner put it, a "sacred task not only to seek out and identify germane [Jewish musical] tradition… but also to implement it practically in the training of our students [i.e., to make sure students can present musical material in a way that is true to tradition, yet relevant to a congregation]."[12]

In the sixties and seventies, the goals of the SSM encountered their first serious challenge with the rise of countercultural Judaism, as exemplified by the Chavurah

[11] Schiller, Benjie-Ellen. "The Hymnal as an Index of Musical Change in Reform Synagogues," *Sacred Sound and Social Change*. Edited by Lawrence A. Hoffman and Janet R. Walton. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992, p. 203.
[12] Cohen, p. 42, quoting Werner from letters. The added material in brackets is Cohen's.

movement, and its preference for accessible music from the pop and folk genres.[13] Rebelling against the monolithic, impersonal, and professional proceedings of institutionalized synagogue services, Chavurah members worshipped in small groups, enjoyed close friendships with each other, and celebrated their own active participation in the place of trained clergy. Musically, they tended to favor popular culture over high culture. Their services reflected the tripartite influence of neo-Chasidic repetitive melodies and *niggunim*, like those of Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach, the exuberant style of Israeli music (which became popular after the 1967 Six-Day War), and the folksy sound of simple songs composed for guitar by the likes of Debbie Friedman and Jeff Klepper, at National Federation of Temple Youth summer camps. "Liturgical music of the 1960s and 1970s… gradually became simpler, thoroughly democratic in its singability, largely Hebrew, and playable on guitar."[14]

As the dust from this revolution settled, music from these genres showed no signs of disappearing from the tastes of Reform Judaism's laity. The same tensions between cantor and non-cantor that Sulzer had faced now confronted Reform cantors a hundred years after his death, and the 1990's came to seem like an important crossroads in time. Would the trend of popular music continue unabated, relegating the complex artistic settings to the occasional concert, or would cantors and composers rise to the challenge and learn to balance both styles of music in a new paradigm of weekly musical worship, equally dedicated to past, present and future? Throughout the nineties, leaders of the cantorial, compositional and academic establishments championed the value of artistic music, accepted the reality of participatory music, and urged the inclusion of both as a

[13] Schiller, p. 205.
[14] Ibid, p. 207.

compromise.[15] In 1999, this effort culminated with the joint publication by the American Conference of Cantors and the Guild of Temple Musicians of *Koleinu B'Yachad: Our Voices As One, Envisioning Jewish Music for the 21st Century*, a collection of essays that reiterated their common hope for "Sulzer and Klepper side by side, Freed and Friedman in synch."[16] But would such a compromise, as yet unachieved to a satisfactory degree, be possible?

Ten years later, I was attending a practicum discussion at the School of Sacred Music as a fourth year cantorial student, when a single comment illuminated a general sentiment among the SSM faculty on how the efforts towards such compromise were faring. Cantor Robert Abelson sadly noted that in a bygone age, the *V'ahavta* represented a moment in a service when a cantor would elevate the spirituality of the congregation and the sacredness of the moment by singing a setting of the prayer by one of the great masters of synagogue music composition, like Isadore Freed or Heinrich Schalit. In 2009, by contrast, cantors almost always chose to chant the prayer with their congregants according to the trope, and those settings were rarely sung.

The more I listened to our faculty, the more I heard this regret. At practicum discussion, Cantor Israel Goldstein lamented the "tragedy" that the music of Freed had

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[15] For various examples of articles espousing one or more of these views, see Ibid, Silins, Gershon, "The Discussion of Music in Lawrence A. Hoffman's *The Art of Public Prayer*." *CCAR Journal: A Reform Jewish Quarterly*. Summer, 1991. Adler, Samuel, "Sacred Music in a Secular Age," *Sacred Sound and Social Change*. Edited by Lawrence A. Hoffman and Janet R. Walton. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1992. Schleifer Eliyahu, "Current Trends of Liturgical Music in the Ashkenazi Synagogue," *The World of Music* 37/1, 1995.

[16] Stahl, Howard, "A Wise Legacy," Stahl, Howard and Planer, John, ed. *Koleinu B'Yachad: Our Voices As One*. A Publication of the American Conference of Cantors and the Guild of Temple Musicians, 1999, p. 31.

essentially fallen out of use in synagogue worship. In a personal conversation, Professor Joyce Rosenzweig assured me that the extent to which Reform cantors were singing art music largely began and ended with Cantor Stephen Richard's setting of *R'tzei*. In Cantor Benjie Schiller's workshop, settings by Helfman and Piket were praised and eulogized in the same breath. Cantor Faith Steinsnyder regularly cautioned against repeating the fatal mistakes of previous cantorial giants—"That's how the dinosaurs died out." On my first day in Cantor Jack Mendelson's workshop, he greeted us similarly grim facts: Nobody "daven[s] anymore. The ones who daven are dead." The SSM faculty viewed the attempt to balance the tastes of those within the musical establishment and those outside of the musical establishment as thus far unsuccessful.

The faculty's assessment that much of what they were teaching was not being used in the field seemed to match my own, anecdotal experience in the synagogues I visited. What I could *not* understand was how the state of affairs that they were describing kept perpetuating itself. The combination of a dedicated faculty teaching high-quality music and producing educated students seemed to promise increased use of these settings in synagogues. According to Judah Cohen, who studied the cantorial training at the SSM for his book *The Making of a Reform* Cantor, "Through such activities as promoted by the School, students came to see the music they sang as nearly inseparable from the cantorate itself. The 'loss' of any part of this Jewish music world would represent a tragic shirking of cantorial obligation."[17] Yet by the faculty's own

[17] Cohen, Judah. *The Making of a Reform Cantor*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009, p. 237.

assessment, this inseparability was not translating into corresponding action in the field.[18] Cantors were therefore not only in tension with non-cantors, but also with their parent institution. Any examination of one would be incomplete without an exploration of the other.

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My research sought to accomplish these two goals through interviewing ten Reform cantors in the field. The cantors selected represent a diverse cross-section of the approximately 220 cantors currently serving Reform congregations in full-time positions.[19] To preserve their anonymity, the cantors are simply referred to in this paper by the ten letters A through J, assigned according to the order of their interviews. The general information about them that can be released is important evidence of their diversity. The four men and six women interviewed come from synagogues ranging from fewer than five hundred families to more than two thousand, in urban and suburban settings, from every region of the country. They range experience from upwards of twenty-five years of service to fewer than ten. Other than ACC membership, and training

[18] It is essential to point out here that all information regarding the music that Reform cantors are currently singing in the field is anecdotal, and thus problematic. In general, according to the sociologist Steven M. Cohen, "The topic is wildly under-researched" (see Cohen, Steven M. "Thesis Help" Email to David Frommer. 3 December, 2009). No formal or comprehensive quantitative studies of that music have been published by the URJ since 1994, and even that was severely limited in scope (see Freelander, Daniel, Hirsch, Robin, Seltzer, Sanford, *Emerging Worship and Music Trends in UAHC Congregations.* A project of Joint Commission on Synagogue Music and UAHC-CCAR Commission on Religious Living). Nevertheless, since all current anecdotal evidence seems to point in the direction of cantors choosing popular music more frequently than art music, and since the 1994 report revealed that congregants at 80% of participating synagogues sang along on Friday night either "always," or "often," the assumption of the SSM faculty is taken by this thesis to be a reasonable basis for argument. Further study, however, is drastically needed in this area.

[19] Ostfeld, Barbara. "Survey Monkey Results." Email to David Frommer, December 12, 2010.

at the SSM, the only characteristic shared by all ten cantors is their use of *Miskhan Tefila* in their weekly Shabbat services, a prerequisite adopted in an effort both to represent life in the movement's mainstream, and to keep the study relevant as far into the future as possible.

The topics of these interviews are not sufficiently explored in any of the existing literature related to this subject. Three books, however, offer key foundational ideas and research on which I have built my study. The first is Judah Cohen's *The Making of a Reform Jewish Cantor; Musical Authority, Cultural Investment*. Cohen's ethnomusicological study of the SSM's cantorial training program examines everything from the details of daily classroom life to broader issues such as the cantor's role in current synagogue life, the practicality of the music studied, the balance of tradition and innovation, and the issue of where musical authority lies in the Reform movement—all of which are directly related to (and in some cases exactly the same as) the four tensions mentioned above. Cohen focuses on cantors in their *educational* phase and his research is valuable in establishing the hypothesis of what cantors *should* be singing at their pulpits, based on the education they have received. He does not, however, follow the graduates of the SSM into the field to see how they use the education they have received and, specifically, why they cease to use most of the music they learned on a regular basis.

The second foundational work for my research is Mark Slobin's *Chosen Voices; The Story of the American Cantorate*. Slobin, another ethnomusicologist, provides what was perhaps the first attempt at classifying different types of synagogue music with his categories of presentation, participation, and improvisation. In the years since *Chosen Voices*' publication in 1989, the cantorate felt itself increasingly besieged by an ever-

aggressive laity, demanding more participation through singing and less music that was deemed "presented" by the cantor with no care as to whether anyone liked it or not. As a result, Slobin's terms acquired charged and loaded meanings among cantors, not originally intended by their creator. Cantors responded to both legitimate shortcomings in Slobin's system and also to accusations of favoring performance over prayer by creating new classification systems of their own—the most popular of which has become Cantor Benjie Schiller's "Three M's of prayer," later expanded to four.[20]

Nevertheless, Slobin's categories remain useful because congregants mostly relate to synagogue music on the primary level of whether they are singing it with the cantor or not. Cantors can obviously teach non-cantors how to relate to music on secondary and tertiary levels, including how to listen in a participatory way, or participate through refrains and responses, but the *default* reaction of most non-cantors to synagogue music follows Slobin's categories of presentation and participation quite consistently. Additionally, while cantors' biggest complaint about Slobin's system was the implication that they ever "presented" something completely inaccessible to their congregants, they all agreed on the importance of moments in the service where congregants did not join them in the singing of a prayer. Thus, the need remained to classify the music of those moments with some sort of label, and the term "listening moment" proved to be less freighted and more acceptable than "presentation." While Slobin's categories were derived from interviews with cantors in the field, his subjects were almost entirely from the Conservative cantorate, so his interviews offer no insight into the challenges specific

[20] For the original three M's, see Schiller, Benjie, "Some Notes on the Future of Jewish Sacred Music," *Koleinu B'Yachad*, pp. 22-23. For the version including four M's, see Hoffman, Lawrence A., *The Art of Public Prayer.* Woodstock, Vermont: SkyLight Paths Publishing, 1999, p. 192-194.

to Reform cantors, as well as questions about the disappearance of uniquely Reform repertoire.

The third foundational work is *The Lord's Song in a Strange Land; Music and Identity in Contemporary Jewish Worship*, by Rabbi Jeffrey Summit. Summit serves as rabbi and director of the Hillel Foundation at Tufts University, where he also teaches ethnomusicology. His book compares five different Jewish communities in Boston and seeks to discover what the music of those communities can teach us about the identity of the worshippers. In his study of Temple Israel, a large Reform congregation, and its SSM-trained cantor, Roy Einhorn, Summit comes closest to integrating Cohen's focus on the SSM and the Reform cantorate with Slobin's methods for analyzing synagogue worship music. Indeed, Summit's interview of Cantor Einhorn provided me with a model for my interviews of his cantorial peers. My research is essentially an extension of Summit's, with an emphasis on the Reform cantorate instead of Summit's focus on a pluralistic spectrum.

Additionally, cantors have made no contributions comparable to these three works in the ethnomusicological discussion of their own music. Cohen describes the constant tension for the ethnomusicologist between remaining apart from the subjects under study, to help preserve objectivity, and entering into the subjects' world as much as possible, to better understand it.[21] Perhaps it has been difficult for cantors, being immersed in the world of their profession, to detach themselves enough to observe their own behavior with a critical eye. If so, I hope that my liminal status as almost-cantor, having nearly

[21] Cohen, p. 8.

completed the necessary training but having no experience in the professional field, will lend me the best of both the insider's appreciation and the outsider's discernment.

Lastly, there is the nature of the research itself. A study of ten cantors from a pool of over two hundred, no matter how qualitative and detailed, reveals information about only the ten cantors who are interviewed—in this case, roughly 5% of the total number. This study therefore has no ability to draw scientifically proven conclusions about the wider Reform cantorate. That said, it does use the SSM faculty's general, informal and unscientific assessment of that wider cantorate as a benchmark, to see how the experiences of these ten cantors match up to the perception at the School. The historian Barbara Tuchman, describing the problems of inconsistency among her sources, writes: "It may be taken as axiomatic that any statement of fact… may (and probably will) be met by a statement of the opposite or a different version…. Contradictions, however, are part of life, not merely a matter of conflicting evidence. I would ask the reader to expect contradictions, not uniformity."[22] Each statement made by one or all of these cantors, and thus the conclusions I draw from them, can easily be contradicted by the experience of any cantor reading this study. The urge to do so will run particularly high if, for instance, the view expressed in the study by either interviewer or interviewee portrays the cantorate in any sort of negative light. The contradictions and tensions revealed in this research are offered only with the intention that we may understand ourselves better and function more successfully in our professions, in all the different ways that success might be measured. While personal bias is difficult, if not impossible to eradicate in any endeavor, the goals of this thesis remain to report observations on ten

[22] Tuchman, Barbara W., *A Distant Mirror.* Alfred A. Knopf: New York, 1978, p. xvii.

cantors and on their relationship to their education at the SSM, not to advance a particular position. The profession of the cantorate is no less full of contradictions and tensions than that of anyone else. Like Tuchman, however, I urge readers to prepare for and embrace contradictions, for it is in those places of tension that we learn the most about ourselves.

Chapter Two: Four Tensions in Cantorial Identity

The story of Song of Songs 2:12 provides both a poetic opening and a useful metaphorical model for delineating four tensions in cantorial identity: truth vs. subjectivity, elite vs. folk, assumption vs. reality, and desire vs. feasibility. Now, however, the model must be further nuanced. Even though each of these tensions frequently appeared in the interviews provided by the cantors, an analytical eye might view the second rubric, elite vs. folk, as the overarching concept—the main rubric, if you will—and the other three as variations of that broader theme. Why then the insistence on four tensions instead of one? When cantors spoke of needing more time to teach their congregants about music (an example of the tension between desire and feasibility) or of their congregants' negative reaction to music endorsed by the SSM (an example of the tension between truth and subjectivity), they did not necessarily see these struggles in the context of an overarching tension between elite and folk culture. The ethnomusicologist walks a fine line between analyzing data in an accurate and helpful way, and over-analyzing it to the point that it loses all semblance of the subjects' experience. This chapter will begin by discussing the tension between elite and folk as one possible way for readers to understand the subsequent data, but retains its titular fidelity to four separate tensions in an attempt to accurately reflect the cantors' primary point of view.

Elite vs. Folk

The tension between elite and folk culture in the cantorate is reflective of that same tension in the wider world of music. According to musicologist Christopher Small, industrialized societies like that of the United States divide people into two distinct

groups: musicians (the elite) and non-musicians (the folk). Small argues that in our society, musicality is defined by a level of talent that only a narrow sector of the population can meet, while those who do not meet the standard are deemed unmusical. "This assumption, which is widely disseminated through the media of socialization and of information, places the stars, whether of popular or classical music in a world of glamour and privilege from which everyday people are excluded."[23] The resulting bifurcation is unfortunate because, according to Small, it over-simplifies a much more complicated picture. In many societies that maintain pre-industrial cultural rhythms, the "world is not divided into the few 'talented' who play and sing and the many 'untalented' to whom they perform, but resembles more of a spectrum… with every single individual capable of making some contribution to the communal activity of musicking."[24] The gap that our culture creates between musicians and non-musicians exacerbates the tension between elite and folk, which Small argues is less pronounced in cultures with a more nuanced understanding of people's musicality. To alleviate this tension, Small challenges music educators to stop searching for the next star performer, and start providing a favorable atmosphere for "the musicalizing of the society as a whole."[25]

Just as Small considers professional singers and instrumentalists as members of our secular society's musical elite, cantors are also chosen for unique talents that distinguish them from the rest of the folk. Dr. Lawrence A. Hoffman considers cantors as members of Jewish culture's musical elite, because "both cantorial and art music are

[23] Small, Christopher, *Musicking: The Meanings of Performing and Listening.* Wesleyan University Press: Middletown, CT, 1998, p. 210.
[24] Ibid, p. 208.
[25] Ibid, p. 208.

incomprehensible to all but very sophisticated worshippers."[26] Cohen similarly reports that students enter the SSM as mere enthusiasts of the music at their favorite synagogue or camp, but emerge from their training "as official representatives of the musical traditions of the Jewish people."[27] Viewed by non-cantors, the elite institution of the cantorate is responsible for bringing the music of Jewish prayer to the non-cantorial folk—all in the context of a wider musical world characterized by the same divide.

One of the few opinions shared by all the cantors who participated in this study was an agreement with the non-cantorial world's assessment of them as elite.[28] Due to our culture's inconsistent relationship with the term "elite" (in that many people want the players on their favorite sports team to be elite but not the president of the country), it is important to clarify that cantors implied their elitism only in terms of what they felt they had gained from their years of musical training during (and sometimes before) cantorial school—experiences which non-cantors did not share. The cantors viewed themselves as keepers of Jewish musical traditions, and as educators of those traditions to non-cantors. One cantor described her role as "in part to be a guardian of the past and in part to be a bridge to the future."[29] "I feel obligated, having learned and continue to study, that I have to pass this on in some way,"[30] said another, echoing the connection between the knowledge which rendered him part of the elite, and the need to teach that knowledge to

[26] Hoffman, Lawrence A., "Musical Traditions and Tensions in the American Synagogue," *Concilium*, Vol 222, 1989, p. 35. See also Hoffman, Lawrence A., *The Art of Public Prayer, 2nd Edition*. Skylight Paths Publishing: Woodstock, VT, 1999, Fourth Printing 2006, p. 180.
[27] Cohen, p. 4.
[28] For one cantorial voice who finds this label inaccurate, see Silins, Gershon, "The Discussion of Music in Lawrence A. Hoffman's *The Art of Public Prayer*." *CCAR Journal: A Reform Jewish Quarterly*, Summer 1991, pp. 1-8.
[29] Interview with Cantor J, July 6, 2010 [Telephone].
[30] Interview with Cantor I, July 6, 2010.

the folk. A third cantor described her synagogue's hiring of her as "bringing in an expert" because "they want to know the full breadth of the tradition."[31] Cantors viewed their role as defined by a mission that they, as elite, were best qualified and equipped to accomplish.

While cantors unanimously agreed on their dual role as preserver of the past and educator for the future, the questions of *how* exactly the past should be preserved, and *what* they should educate non-cantors about, yielded a variety of different opinions. Some cantors held the traditional view that Shabbat services represent an appropriate time to accomplish both goals at once by creating 'listening moments.' They referred to these moments as opportunities to sing certain settings of prayers that were created by significant cantors or composers from the past (i.e., the *what*), and thus educate their congregants about those settings through exposure, in the real time of worship (i.e., the *how*). "I try to keep a balance so the congregation now feels empowered to participate but also to sit and listen,"[32] explained one cantor who has been in the field for many years, and who regularly uses longer works by Reform composers such as Freed and Binder, not commonly found on other cantors' Shabbat cue sheets. "We're teachers, and we have to educate people. We have to bring them up to a higher plane sometimes." "So much of what makes any listening moment work has to do with how you frame it and, from an education point of view, how you teach it,"[33] described another cantor, who used these moments to introduce works by Max Helfman, among others, on Friday evening. "When I do something like the Bloch *V'ahavta*, the whole rest of the service might be

[31] Interview with Cantor F, June 28, 2010.
[32] Interview with Cantor A, December 29, 2009.
[33] Interview with Cantor E, June 24, 2010.

participatory," noted a third. "Because I feel like, 'I'm sorry I'm doing this to you. I need you to hear this but I'm going to give you what you want at the end.'"[34] Every cantor who regularly included listening moments in their Shabbat services did so in the context of compromise with the non-cantorial folk. Education and balance provided both the ideological foundation for the listening moments, and also the means to successfully present them in the context of a worship service.

In addition to valuing listening moments as an opportunity to educate non-cantors about the value of certain musical settings and styles, several cantors stressed the importance of these moments to educate the folk about the value of the cantorate itself. "If you don't show them a little *Hazzanut*, and if you don't bring in a little bit of Classical Reform, then why do they hire a cantor? Why don't they hire a soloist or a song leader or anybody else?"[35] asked one cantor rhetorically, who integrates those moments within a service that she described as "90% singable." "I think there have to be unique moments for the cantor to show the cantorial art," stressed another cantor. "If cantors don't start doing things that are unique, we will be replaced—easily. Not only by lay people, but by professional song leaders."[36] "I worry that if the cantor of the 21st c. isn't open to new and exciting realms of worship for a congregation, whether they be musically or cantorially challenging or not, that cantor runs the risk of becoming outdated,"[37] echoed a third. Cantors cited the challenge of tenuous job security, and of competition from replacements whose cheaper cost offset their lack of professional training, as a second, and at times even more urgent reason to include listening moments in their services.

[34] Interview with Cantor B, April 7, 2010.
[35] Interview, Cantor F.
[36] Interview, Cantor I.
[37] Interview with Cantor C, May 28, 2010.

Not all cantors, however, took the traditional view that listening moments were consonant with the educational aspect of the cantorial mission. If the major advantage of a listening moment is its potential to expose the folk to Jewish music that is of important historical value, the major disadvantage is that it stifles, if only momentarily, the ability of the folk to participate vocally in the moment. Moreover, listening moments run the risk of mistakenly conveying a directive from the bimah that participation by the folk is undesirable in general. "I don't, in my cantorate, feel the need for a lot of listening moments," confessed one cantor, who has served in the field for over twenty years. "I have a congregation that is enormously participatory and I'm very proud to have built that."[38] "I think that the significant point of departure, for me, is that it's not about repertoire," explained another cantor, referring to the usual use of listening moments to introduce unfamiliar and historically important settings of the prayers. "My biggest accomplishment would be that everyone in the congregation knows the prayers. That they can actually recite the *Avot*, the *G'vurot*, that they can recite parts of Kabbalat Shabbat and actually have some kind of significant emotional connection."[39]

The age of Classical Reform Judaism from the 1940's and 50's might be long gone, but the effects of its aesthetic that de-emphasized congregational participation have proven difficult to reverse. In the efforts to re-train the folk to vocally participate in worship, the elite sometimes find it difficult to send a nuanced message during a service. Some cantors found the risk that listening moments posed in complicating that message was not worth their potential reward. Of that subset, only the most recently cited cantor believed that listening moments for the sake of repertoire-education were *completely*

[38] Interview, Cantor J.
[39] Interview with Cantor D, June 2, 2010.

counter-productive to the service he was trying to create, and comfortably asserted that he only used them for moments of nusach and improvisation. Every other cantor agreed on the importance of using such moments to introduce historic repertoire *in principal*, and simply differed on how many moments to use, or whether they were simply impractical given other educational foci.

Those cantors who did not find listening moments either effective or desirable cited numerous other ways to accomplish the cantorial mission of preserving an awareness of Jewish music tradition among the folk. "For me, it's been educating them through sermons and through articles and through sermons-in-song,"[40] offered one cantor. "Adult education is the best way and the easiest way,"[41] asserted another. Other methods of education outside the worship context included distributing or selling CD's of important music, sponsoring scholars-in-residence, and even, in one case, beginning each service with a five-minute preview of the music, in the style of a pre-concert talk given by a symphony conductor before a concert. Interestingly, while each cantor could name their particular supplementary educational method of choice, no cantor reported either any attempt at or any success with using the educational foundation laid by these methods to build a context in which the folk could appreciate listening moments of such music in their services. For some cantors, the mission to educate the folk could be satisfactorily accomplished outside the realm of singing historically important music in Shabbat services. For others, while regularly singing the music remained the goal, neither listening moments in services nor supplementary education outside of services could

[40] Interview, Cantor B.
[41] Interview, Cantor I.

satisfactorily unlock the mystery of how the folk relates to music that the elite considers important.

* * *

If cantors unanimously agreed on defining themselves as elite, and generally agreed that their mission included preservation and education of the Jewish musical tradition (while differing only on the details of *how* to accomplish this and *what* to focus on), they completely diverged in their description and understanding of their counterpart, the folk. Though the tension of elite vs. folk has been mentioned extensively in this paper so far, and the connection between the elite and the cantorate made clear, the precise meaning of the term 'folk' in our synagogue context has remained unexplored. The simplest way to define the folk is to simply assign anyone to that category who is not a cantor—hence, the frequent use of the term non-cantor in this paper. That said, there are many people in the world of the synagogue who are not cantors, and some do not exactly seem to fit outside the elite category. What of the rabbi, or the president?

It is useful, therefore, to establish a spectrum of those who can easily be defined as folk, and those for whom the designation seems a bit more problematic. At the 'most obvious' end of the spectrum are congregants who have no opinions about synagogue music and who do not take any active role in their synagogue's music or worship committees. In the middle of the spectrum are those congregants who either do have opinions on synagogue music, who serve on musically-related committees, or both. At the 'least obvious' end of the spectrum are two specific groups of leaders. One is the board and its president, who hold ultimate power over the cantor's job. The other is the rabbi or rabbis, who are the only other clergy at the synagogue and thus in an obvious

role of tremendous leadership and influence. Like the group in the middle of the spectrum, this last group sometimes includes musicians, and sometimes does not.

The term 'folk' is assigned to everyone on this spectrum for the specific reason that none of these people have attended cantorial school and thus do not have the specific training to qualify as elite in regards to singing and teaching Jewish music. They are certainly elite in other regards, but not in the narrow subject of synagogue music. This is not a controversial assertion. The cantor is elite in one way, the rabbi is elite in another, the president in another, and the congregant who barely comes to services but is a world-renowned mathematician is elite in a way that is different from any of the first three. Nevertheless, when a cantor is invested, he or she is charged with a special mission that no one else shares, and that mission involves passing down a knowledge of the Jewish musical tradition to everyone in the community, no matter if they are the senior rabbi or a student in the preschool. That said, since the term 'folk' is assigned not on the basis of *power*, but rather on the basis of *mission*, there are obviously constituents within the folk who are more powerful than others. When cantors discussed the influence of the folk on their decision making, they sometimes referred to the entire spectrum and sometimes only to specific constituents, like the rabbis, or the board.[42]

Of the ten cantors interviewed, only one could give documented information on how the different elements of the folk in her synagogue related to worship music. "We

[42] It is important not to mistake this "folk spectrum" as solely descriptive of who among the folk has power, though that is how it might initially seem. In the give-and-take of synagogue relationships, no authority is absolute, and power cannot be comprehensively analyzed by a spectrum model. A determined group of people from the middle of the spectrum, or even a referendum involving people from the "powerless" end of the spectrum, can sometimes effect change despite the wishes of the rabbi or the president, who sit at the "powerful" end of the spectrum.

actually did a survey," this cantor explained, "and one of the things that came out of that was they [the congregants] don't want to sit and listen. They feel left out. They like music but to them music is accessible and it's singable and it makes them feel part of a community."[43] The lay leadership insisted on more participatory music while the rabbi (with whom the cantor describes having a "wonderful relationship") offered no strong opinion to the contrary. In this situation, the relationship between the folk and the elite could be clearly delineated. Though the cantor wished to present complex musical settings during listening moments in services, this desire ran counter to the needs of the folk. Given the obvious power held by certain folk constituents, the cantor prioritized their wishes instead of her own. The outcome might not have been ideal from the cantor's perspective, but the reasons for that outcome were easily identified.

No other cantor was able to speak with as much certainty about the folk with whom they partner in the mission of preservation and education. Some had engaged their congregants in enough dialogue to get a general sense of how they felt. "My congregants have actually spoken to me and said, 'One or two [listening moments] is good. We like that balance. That's good for us,'"[44] reported one cantor, who had served her current congregation for more than five years. "The congregation and the cantorate here are a unique kind of yin and yang," explained another cantor, with more than ten years at his current pulpit. "You need both of them together to be able to bounce off each other. Whether it's me trying to get them to understand the importance of listening music, to whether it's them knowing that they need some participatory time—it's back and

[43] Interview with Cantor H, June 30, 2010.
[44] Interview, Cantor F.

forth."[45] In the absence of such constant or thorough dialogue, many cantors made guesses about their folk using qualified statements like "They'd probably be happy if I did full pieces"[46] and "I don't think they resent sitting back and listening to a really hot piece."[47] One cantor not only claimed he had no idea what his congregants wanted, but also questioned whether the Union for Reform Judaism's answer was accurate or not. "The buzzword is, 'can this cantor create participation?' We've been given the model that this is what the Reform Movement wants. No one else is asking the other side of the coin: 'Do congregations *want* participation?' I don't know that."[48]

While a majority of the cantors interviewed did not convey a particularly deep understanding of what their congregants thought about worship music, they often had clearer ideas about how their rabbis felt. For reasons of sensitivity, however, they were not always as forthcoming in describing their rabbinic partners as in describing hundreds of unnamed congregants. Contrary to certain members of the SSM faculty, who view rabbis as the chief cause of everything that ails the cantorate, many cantors reported strong relationships with their clergy partners. "I didn't think [that I could sing so much nusach in the field] when I graduated but I have a rabbi who's very supportive,"[49] one cantor stressed. "I am lucky," agreed another cantor. "I have a partner in a rabbi that loves worship and is constantly pushing the envelope and we spend a lot of time talking about worship."[50] Others, predictably, revealed that their rabbis did not support the use of complex, artistic music in listening moments. "People say, 'Well, why don't you use

[45] Interview, Cantor B.
[46] Interview with Cantor G, June 30, 2010, (underline added).
[47] Interview, Cantor A, (underline added).
[48] Interview, Cantor I.
[49] Interview, Cantor D.
[50] Interview, Cantor G.

those more in worship?'" explained one cantor, "And my answer is that my senior rabbi is a very talented song leader and he purposefully made the change from Classical Reform all the way over to very folk based."[51] Still others, also predictably, described situations that fell somewhere in between—not perfect, but in process. "There are times that we disagree for sure," described one cantor, who has served at her current pulpit longer than her senior rabbi. "He has spoken against what he calls 'performative' moments and I don't consider moments of listening to be necessarily performative, but on the whole we have a strong, shared vision of what we're trying to create together, and there is definitely lots of dialogue about services."[52] Thus, whether as a result of concerted dialogue, of simply working together, or of relative numerical ease, cantors displayed a clear sense of how their rabbis felt about synagogue music that they often lacked about their congregants.

The one ray of clarity that shone through in every discussion about congregants was the power they had in affecting the cantor's musical decision-making. Whether or not cantors felt knowledgeable about what music their congregants' liked, they all agreed that their congregants would not be shy about taking action against music that didn't meet their approval. "The inmates are running the asylum," one cantor put it bluntly. "I know here, if people don't get what they think they want, they go somewhere else."[53] "I think there is a reality and people do vote with their feet," another cantor explained. "We went from two services to one because neither was particularly well-attended. I look forward to being able to increase the palate. At the same time, I'm happier with more people

[51] Interview, Cantor C.
[52] Interview, Cantor J.
[53] Interview, Cantor C.

there than not there."[54] Two different cantors used the word "regurgitate" to describe how congregants would react to music if they felt it was forced upon them in any way. Cantors who described themselves in healthy relationships with their laity spoke less about fears that the congregants would abandon them, and more about successful efforts to balance their congregants' needs with their own, but all the interviews revealed the same basic tension in the elite vs. folk relationship. While the cantors of the elite felt both entitled and prepared to decide what music should be used in worship, the rabbis and laity of the folk felt equally entitled to contest this authority, to assert their own needs, and occasionally, to take action if their needs were not met. Just as in Sulzer's time, cantorial authority today is constrained and cantorial decisions are shaped by the predilections and power of the folk.

Assumption vs. Reality

Just as the remaining three tensions, assumption vs. reality, desire vs. feasibility and truth vs. subjectivity are both distinct from and related to the overarching tension of elite vs. folk, so are they also distinct from and related to each other. We already saw how the tension of truth vs. subjectivity was closely interwoven in the struggle between the elite and the folk. The "true" owner of musical authority, whether the elite or the folk, became increasingly difficult to identify, when accounting for the relative powers of each side. The "true" nature of the cantor's mission to preserve and to educate proved ever more elusive, as cantors' various understanding of that mission led them to use listening moments in several different ways. And what of the folk? Cantors could least

[54] Interview, Cantor H.

of all agree on any "truth" regarding what the laity actually desired, buffeted instead by conflicting data, such as their congregants' hiring of a cantor in the first place, but with seemingly little desire to hear his or her most beautiful music in Shabbat services. As it turned out, the nature of the turtle and the turtledove proved difficult to define, depending on who was looking at whom. The question of truth vs. subjectivity will be equally prominent as we next examine the tensions of assumption vs. reality, and desire vs. feasibility.

Much like the changing times eroded the once solid assumption that the word "turtle" would be understood to mean "turtledove," many cantors reflected on how assumptions they held at the beginning of their careers, or that were bequeathed to them by teachers and mentors, no longer applied in the synagogue world of today. The sociologist Herbert Gans, who studied the relationship between elite and folk culture, described a phenomenon in which the former would criticize the latter and explain the latter's popularity in "a theory of overall social deteriorization."[55] The cantors' responses to the question of why complex and artistic music was difficult to use in their Shabbat services followed Gans' paradigm as if he had written them a script. "I think our cultural milieu has become much less refined," opined one cantor. "It's all very instant and self-directed and easy."[56] "The average attention span is less than it used to be, and this is endemic to society,"[57] was another's appraisal. "We live in an anti-authoritarian world," described a third cantor. "This is the society we live in. It has nothing to do with

[55] Gans, Herbert J., *Popular Culture and High Culture: An Analysis and Evaluation of Taste*. New York: Basic Books, 1974, as cited by Hoffman, "Musical Traditions," p. 35.
[56] Interview, Cantor H.
[57] Interview, Cantor E.

religion, necessarily. It has to do with the culture of the world."[58] Cantors strongly believed that such larger cultural forces were impacting music everywhere, from the symphony to the synagogue. In both places, as one cantor pointed out, "the hall is half full and the average age is old."[59] "The number of people, period, in the United States who can actually appreciate sitting through an art song recital is miniscule," asserted another cantor, who eschews the use of such music on Shabbat. "So how can we, as cantors of a congregation, suddenly change the culture of the entire world in which we live? It's impossible."[60] "In the old days, people knew that they were coming to listen and listening was part of the aesthetic, as borrowed from our Protestant cousins," explained a third cantor. "That's not the case so much anymore."[61]

Gans argued that the elite use 'exaggeration' to construct their theories of overall social deterioration, inventing larger trends that are not necessarily there.[62] The trends the cantors described, however, that move towards instant gratification, personal sovereignty and popular culture, and away from lengthy attention spans, communal activities and classical culture, are well documented and long discussed.[63] Assumptions that could once be made about people in general—that they would value community affiliation despite its challenges, listen to lengthy discourse as opposed to sound bites, and appreciate classical music concerts in addition to the radio—can no longer be taken

[58] Interview, Cantor I.
[59] Interview, Cantor H.
[60] Interview, Cantor D.
[61] Interview, Cantor E.
[62] Gans as cited by Hoffman, "Musical Traditions," p. 35.
[63] For a tiny sampling of the discourse on such subjects, see Midgette, Anne, "Decline in Listeners Worries Orchestras," *The New York Times.* June 25, 2005, Carr, Nicholas, "Is Google Making Us Stupid?" *The Atlantic*. July/August, 2008, and Cohen, Steven M. and Eisen, Arnold M., *The Jew Within*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000.

for granted. In their struggle to maintain the artistic standards of both the historical worship experience and their contemporary training at the SSM, cantors found themselves at war with larger cultural factors beyond the walls of the synagogue itself.

Inside the synagogue walls, these larger trends manifested themselves in ways specific to the power dynamics of clergy and laity, and similarly undermined long-held assumptions about the expectations of that relationship. The worship revolution of the 60's and 70's may not have entirely swept away the laity's discomfort with or indifference to vocal participation, but combined with anti-authoritarian trends in the wider culture, it forever changed the dynamic between clergy and their congregants. Chief among these changes was a new ambivalence of the folk towards the concept of 'elite.' "Years ago, they wanted their clergy to be smarter and better and more talented. 'Look at my cantor—he could be on the stage of the Met.' Or, 'Look at my rabbi—he just gave the valedictory speech at MIT,'"[64] explained one cantor, with more than twenty five years of experience in the field. "In the old days, they were coming to hear a great cantor—you went to Rosenblatt's shul, you went to Roitman's shul," another cantor agreed. "They were coming to hear a cult of personality."[65]

Over time, however, the folk's vision of what is desirable in their clergy changed, and the impact has affected more than just cantors. "In the olden days, who got the best rabbinic positions? The best preachers and scholars. Who got the best cantorial positions? The people with the best voices. Now, in both professions, it's not the case. Who gets the best positions? The people who relate best to congregants, on a human

[64] Interview, Cantor I.
[65] Interview, Cantor E.

relations level."[66] This change in the folk's taste has affected everything from the overall feel of worship, to specifics like the length of the sermon and the type of music selected. "There's pressure not to go too long and the rabbis don't abuse it either. They don't talk for more than 8-10 minutes,"[67] one cantor reported. "If you start doing what was done in the past, which means cantorial recitatives, it's going to reflect back on us that the cantor's an opera singer, the cantor wants to hear his or her own voice, the cantor's not really interested in creating participation, the cantor's a showman, etc.,"[68] another insisted. Overall, cantors described a prevailing aesthetic of worship that was generally inconducive to music that congregants found challenging in any way. "Those moments of having the separation—having the temple be the high-church—has changed to having the synagogue be the place where people can be met with what is popular now."[69] Whereas cantors could once safely assume that their rabbis and congregants would value them for their ability to sing Shabbat prayers at an elite level of musicality and professionalism, the new reality in which they operate does not necessarily include such values. Two of the three cantors interviewed with more than twenty five years of experience described themselves as deeply committed to the value of listening moments for artistic musical settings in Shabbat worship, but attributed their longevity in part to their recognition that this value is no longer shared by the congregants they serve. Nothing warps the straightness of truth like time, and in the two and a half decades since these cantors began their careers, truths that were then assumed to be fundamental had become subjective in a very different reality of today.

[66] Interview, Cantor I.
[67] Interview, Cantor H.
[68] Interview, Cantor I.
[69] Interview, Cantor C.

Desire vs. Feasibility

Like any person or group whose mission it is to preserve the past, the question of *how* to adjust to time's constant creation of new realities is of central importance. In the story of Song of Songs 2:12, as noted above, time created a new reality in which the folk eventually forgot the true meaning of the word "turtle" and the verse became more abstract than originally meant. In our story of the modern cantorate, the problem is similar but more complex. Time has created a new reality in which the folk has grown distant from an entire context that might render artistic worship music both intelligible and enjoyable. According to the cantors, this lost context involves an appreciation for experiencing prayer through listening rather than singing, an appreciation for music that does not come from a folk and pop idiom, and an understanding of the prayers' Hebrew, without which an appreciation for their musical interpretation is extremely difficult. A teacher of Bible can substitute a single translation (i.e., "dove" for "turtle") and bring instant understanding to any reader confused with our verse from Song of Songs. For a cantor, however, there is no magic word or teaching to substitute for this lost context. It can only be rebuilt at a cost of enormous time, energy and political capital, given the power dynamics of the modern Reform synagogue. The successful contextualization of an artistic recitative in a Shabbat service often requires extremely costly input, for the desired output of congregational appreciation. Cantors who believe in singing this music as part of their mission to preserve the past would happily pay this cost if they could. Unfortunately, they find themselves constrained by a variety of limiting factors, struggling in the resulting tension between desire and feasibility.

Of all such factors cantors listed, the theme they share in common is time. Ironically, time is both infinite enough to constantly distance congregants from the original context in which synagogue art music was created, and yet finite enough to constantly restrict cantors' efforts to re-create that context in their daily synagogue activities. "I'm dealing with patients that are dying, I'm dealing with kids that have special needs and I don't get the whole entire week to think about what I want to do on Shabbos and prepare for it," explained one cantor, at a synagogue of 1000 families. "It's not realistic. I don't have the time."[70] "It's just a bigger congregation, I'm doing a lot more management, a lot more of other things, and at the moment, part of it is a function of time,"[71] described a second cantor, of her 1200 family synagogue. "I've taken on a lot of rabbinic responsibilities," agreed another cantor, who serves a 1600-family synagogue, "so for funerals and things, I get a lot of calls. I haven't been able to concentrate as much as I would have liked."[72] "You're bar mitzvah-ing kids, and you're dealing with families, and you're doing a funeral, and you're doing a wedding, and you're doing this, and you're doing that and it's like, 'Where'd the music go?' It's sort of like—whatever I can slap together,"[73] echoed a fourth cantor, whose synagogue has more than 2000 families.

The idea of the cantor as *clergy*, operating in partnership with a rabbi and performing many of the same functions, has taken deeper root in Reform Judaism than in any other movement. While most Reform cantors hail this as a positive development, they are also aware that their expanded role in educational, pastoral and managerial aspects of synagogue life has left them with less time to focus on music. With such

[70] Interview, Cantor G.
[71] Interview, Cantor E.
[72] Interview, Cantor H.
[73] Interview, Cantor A.

competing demands on their schedule, the challenge of creating a comprehensive program to re-create a context for the art music of sixty and seventy years ago is almost insurmountable.

Yet even if cantors were not otherwise engaged in a host of various non-musical responsibilities, and could devote all the time in the world to educating their congregants, they still would be constrained by those congregants themselves. While cantors generally struggled to provide specific information on their congregants' thoughts and feelings about worship music, they furnished a wealth of details on their congregants' linguistic and musical limitations, and the influence of these limitations on cantorial decision making. "Years ago, we had an educated laity, particularly in traditional synagogues, where they knew nusach and they knew Hebrew and they knew trope and they knew customs," described one veteran cantor. "We don't have that any more. We're working on it, but you have to be patient and you have to be gentle in your teaching approach."[74] "I don't use them [artistic recitatives], and one of the reasons is that the folks just don't have the command of the Hebrew to get what you're doing," another cantor echoed. "I could see it in an adult ed class, where you could go line by line and really see on the word 'soar,' he's soaring. It would be transformative for people but that amount of time in a service—we don't have that and wouldn't want to take it."[75]

Education for both adults and children, however, proved to be no panacea in cantors' attempts to cure their synagogues of low Hebrew comprehension and high preference for popular music. "That takes education well beyond our capacity. The amount of time we actually have to spend with these families, with their kids, is *so*

[74] Interview, Cantor I.
[75] Interview, Cantor E.

minimal," explained a third cantor. "It's not enough time to influence them to such an extent that they're suddenly going to step out of their comfort zone with the contemporary music that they listen to."[76] "Your people who go to an adult ed program may not be the same people that come to services every Friday night,"[77] another cantor pointed out. Still another cantor described the difficulties of her attempt to teach a class on liturgy, which she hoped would expand her congregants' understanding of the prayers. "It's so over their heads. I wanted to do so much but the questions were so vast. Not a lot of people sign up for liturgy. And then they come and they're like, 'Where are we? What did you just say? I can't do Hebrew.' So it's very difficult."[78]

Beyond such difficulties in the education of Hebrew and of an appreciation for the music of listening moments, cantors also reported difficulties in teaching music and text to the laity for *singing* moments. In one cantor's response, the gap between desire and feasibility, between input and output is highlighted for the teaching of a simpler piece of contemporary music—not even an entire context to appreciate art music. "You're like, 'Wow! I want to make sure they know the Craig Taubman [*Hashkiveinu*], and how amazing would it be for them to be able to sing in the round!' Well, that takes time to empower that. They have a hard time sometimes with new melodies."[79] This same cantor also explained that she and her rabbi had set a new worship goal that the congregation eventually be able to sing all the verses of *L'cha Dodi*. Fully aware that congregational inertia often overwhelms such projects from the start and saps resolve to continue, she was fully committed to the necessary long-term investment in education

[76] Interview, Cantor D.
[77] Interview, Cantor F.
[78] Interview, Cantor A.
[79] Interview, Cantor G.

and repetition. "If we have to do that the whole entire year, we're going to do it," she declared. Another cantor similarly appreciated the need to reserve massive quantities of time for introducing new music of any kind to her congregants. "I'll introduce one or two new pieces which I'll do for *months* in a row—same piece—until they think they've known that piece forever and ever."[80] Cantors reported that the amount of time needed to teach their congregants about the music they should listen to, the music they should sing, and the Hebrew of both, was more than they usually had available—either in services or in their personal calendars during the rest of the week. In that calculus, since teaching about art music also required swimming against the cultural stream, which in turn required even *more* time, it was often the first to fall from their list of priorities.

Cantors often described the tension between desire vs. feasibility both in terms of what they personally *wanted* to do vs. what they personally had *time* to do, and also in terms of how much they wanted to *teach* their congregants vs. how fast their congregants were able to *learn*. In the first case—that of the cantor's schedule—time limited the cantor directly. Certain goals, like starting a new choir or rehearsing a new piece with an accompanist could only be achieved with more time. In the second case—that of congregants' difficulty learning Hebrew or new music—time limited the cantor indirectly, by way of the congregants. The cantor could use the additional time to move at the congregants' speed, offering them extra Hebrew instruction, or Liturgy classes, or music appreciation seminars, which would empower congregants to feel more comfortable with different styles of music, and thus allow the cantor greater freedom in choosing from those different styles for worship. As difficult as it might sound to create

[80] Interview, Cantor F.

additional time, however, cantors mentioned a final limiting factor of congregational apathy that perhaps poses an even greater challenge. In an earlier quote, one cantor mentioned in passing that "not a lot of people sign up" for the liturgy class she offers. Another cantor described how she used to bring an artist-in-residence, such as William Sharlin, Simon Sargon or Charles Davidson, every year to introduce new artistic music to her synagogue. "I haven't done it in the last several years because people weren't particularly interested," she explained. "I was able to pull together a congregation but from outside the community—not from the synagogue community itself."[81] This final limiting factor of congregational apathy is especially troubling, because it cannot be treated with the usual negotiations and adjustments to a synagogue's program calendar. If congregants are requesting more classes in Hebrew or more classes in Liturgy, time can always be made, teachers found and space created. But if congregants simply don't care, investing more time will not necessarily *make* them care. "There's only so much we can insist on and Jews don't really like to be told what to do or what to think or what to feel," this cantor concluded. "Especially Reform Jews who don't think there are a whole lot of rules."

The tension between desire vs. feasibility shares obvious relationships with the tensions of elite vs. folk and assumption vs. reality that we have previously explored. The divide between cantor as elite and congregant as folk was particularly pronounced in the tension between cantorial desires and congregants' abilities. Unlike cantors, elite singers in opera and theater do not depend on the musical skills of the folk-audience to fulfill their professional and artistic mission. Their desires are not bound by issues of

[81] Interview, Cantor H.

feasibility related to the comfort and sensibilities of the audience. It is not their concern, beyond their own powers of diction, whether audience members understand the words they are singing, or the plot of the story. If the audience members care, it is incumbent on them to obtain that information on their own. Cantors, as we have seen, exist not only as worship "performers"—in the least pejorative, most sacred sense possible—but also as worship educators. If the laity does not know the words or the story, it is as much the cantor's problem as it is the congregants'. Thus, cantor and congregation exist in a relationship halfway between the strict bifurcation between elite and folk of the professional music world, and the pre-industrial society's "musicking" community described by Small. Similarly, while the overall assumptions that guide the experience of mainstream theater have not fundamentally changed in the last hundred years—the space will be majestic, the audience will be quiet, the performers will not explain what they are doing, the feeling will be transcendent—these very same assumptions that were once considered fundamental to the experience of mainstream Reform Jewish worship have been largely overturned in the same period of time. While these tensions of the cantorate may have parallels in the wider secular world, the cantor and the non-cantor's experience of that tension inside the synagogue reflects a dynamic all its own.

Truth vs. Subjectivity

We have already seen how the final category of tension, that of truth vs. subjectivity, permeated all discussions of the other three. It was this tension, after all, that most readily presented itself in our initial analysis of Song of Songs 2:12, when the

task of assigning the roles of turtle and turtledove to the cast of cantor and non-cantor proved more complicated than at first it seemed. Just as an argument could have been made for the tension of elite vs. folk as the overarching theme, so could a similar case have been made for the tension of truth vs. subjectivity. After all, the issues of who is elite and who is folk, of what can be assumed and what is real, and of what is desired and what is possible all revolve around the same axis of subjectivity—namely, who is asking the question. What recommends one system of organization over another—whether four unique categories, or one overarching one, or a different overarching one—is simply how well it fits the data, and data have a habit of ignoring the convenient classifications of analysts. In this case, cantors described phenomena that, while related to the categories previously discussed, fit into no category of tension more comfortably than that of truth vs. subjectivity.

While cantors were more or less prepared to debate with non-cantors on the relative merits of different musical styles, they were completely ill-equipped to debate the relative merits of their vocal make-up. Not that such a response should be hard to understand. Unlike a particularly melody, no matter how beloved, the cantor's voice is a part of their being—an instrument that they spend years crafting to operate at maximum quality. While they regularly subject their voice to the rigorous critique of professional coaches and teachers who instruct them on how it can be "improved," the thought of subjecting it to the equally rigorous critique of non-musicians on how it can be "diminished" is nonsensical at best and insulting at worst. "I heard things such as, 'you sing too beautifully. I can't sing with you.' Or 'You sing too high,'" one cantor reported in distress. "I don't sing too high. I actually consider myself a mezzo. But it sounds

higher in my voice because it's a trained voice."[82] "I've heard congregations say, 'You know, he's a great guy but he just sings so well that it's off-putting. We can't sing with him,'"[83] echoed another cantor. "It's a very big ego adjustment to go from being a music major to being told by your worshippers that you need to sing… [so] that they can sing along,"[84] a third cantor summarized. "I'm singing the *Shireinu* keys," insisted the first cantor. "But a C above middle C in my voice sounds higher than it does in theirs."[85] "I'm a high, light lyric. What can you do with a high, light lyric these days as a congregational cantor? " commiserated her colleague. "I sing in the lower sliver of my range."[86] For many cantors who came from backgrounds of classical training, it was already a difficult enough concession in the struggle of elite vs. folk tastes to sing music that they did not find artistically challenging. Admonitions from congregants that cantors sing even these melodies with less than their optimal vocal ability further taxed their patience and understanding.

These reports reveal a tension between truth and subjectivity that bears more distant relevance to our other categories. The issue of how one person reacts to another's voice may sometimes be influenced by their background in folk or elite culture, but just as often may be unrelated entirely. Similarly, while one could argue that the congregants are, in this case, desiring something of the cantor that is not always feasible, the connection is a bit forced, since a female soprano can hardly become a baritone male as easily as a congregant can, say, learn a new melody or Hebrew text—no matter how hard

[82] Interview, Cantor H.
[83] Interview, Cantor I.
[84] Interview, Cantor C.
[85] Interview, Cantor H.
[86] Interview, Cantor E.

those tasks might seem to the congregant. If anything, the most closely related category of tension to these reports is that of assumption vs. reality, since cantors enter the field with strong assumptions that their voices will be valued, only to encounter different realities on the job. Yet like the relevance of folk vs. elite, this issue may qualify as an example of the tension of assumption vs. reality in some cases but not in others. At the heart of these stories are nothing more complicated than differences in taste—a conclusion that can be as liberating as it can be frustrating. In other cases, the tension between truth vs. subjectivity can help explain why cantors and non-cantors do not always agree on the relative merits of different musical styles. Like all scientists, ethnomusicologists can collect and analyze data in enlightening ways, but sometimes there comes a point beyond which the pursuit of "truth" is fruitless. In these cases, the asymptotic path to the answer of why some see the cantor as turtle and others as turtledove is better left avoided.

* * *

The first goal of this thesis was to refine our understanding of what it means to be a Reform cantor today. Artificial categorizations notwithstanding, all of the cantors agreed that their jobs are marked by various tensions. Whether or not those tensions fall into the four categories I devised is ultimately less important than an awareness of them in the first place. At their core, these tensions describe ten cantors who are highly motivated and dedicated—willing to risk such tension in the first place. These cantors take their job extremely seriously and share a common mission to preserve the music of past generations while educating those of the future. That said, the tensions reveal that these cantors are still struggling to honor historic styles of worship music (especially the

art music of the 1930s-1950s) in the face of powerful countervailing forces in both synagogue and secular culture alike. Many either do not have the time or have never had the idea to comprehensively study how non-cantors relate to worship music, with an eye towards using that information to more successfully build their appreciation of these unfamiliar musical genres. Cantors are acutely aware of both the power that non-cantors hold in synagogues, and the challenges of teaching them unfamiliar material, yet not always clear on how best to negotiate either divide. Mostly, however, cantors are struggling to redefine the cantorate as it, in turn, is being redefined for them by others. In the midst of this thicket of transition, where do cantors want to emerge? What is the direction that they are navigating for themselves? This next chapter will revisit the four tensions we have just studied but this time refracted through an added lens: the relationship between the cantors and the institution that trained them, the School of Sacred Music.

Chapter Three: The Reform Cantorate and the School of Sacred Music

Two mysteries, as it were, stimulated my interest in writing this thesis. In the first mystery, a particular translation of a famous Song of Songs phrase ("voice of the turtle") was not only the most difficult version to understand, but had remained the most popular version despite such questionable word choice. The answer to the question of the translation's simple meaning was easily solved, but the answer to the question of why the confusing meaning was retained for so many centuries and continues to enjoy special resonance, over the more intelligible version, is not so simple to identify. The question, at its core, involves the fundamental paradox of irrationality in human behavior. Readers should have relegated this version to obsolescence, as soon as its meaning was no longer totally clear. That would have been the rational thing to do. Why continue a tradition that only obfuscated understanding? Yet as late as 2002, Detroit Tigers baseball radio commentator, Ernie Harwell, began his first broadcast of every season with a reading of Song of Songs 2:11-12 from the *King James Version*![87] Somehow, this translation's poetry or authority, the readers' loyalty or ignorance, and any number of other intangible factors coalesced into a powerful force that motivated people to irrationally favor this inexplicable course of behavior over a more rational one.

The second mystery also hinged on seemingly irrational human behavior. For decades, the SSM has been training cantors to include a certain genre of artistic worship music in their weekly Shabbat services but today, by its own estimation, very few graduates act accordingly once they are out in the field. Moreover, it seemed like many cantorial voices *beyond* the SSM faculty affirmed their belief that this music was worth

[87] Hamilton, Tracee, "Ernie Harwell: A Voice That Left Many Feeling Safe at Home," *The Washington Post*. May 6, 2010.

preserving to the best of cantorial ability. Judah Cohen, who produced the most recent study of the SSM's training program, describes exactly these sentiments among students and faculty.

> "Through such activities as promoted by the School, students came to see the music they sang as nearly inseparable from the cantorate itself. The 'loss' of any party of this Jewish music world represents a tragic shirking of cantorial obligation. Cantors thereby gained both the material and technical means to fulfill their roles as preservers of *all* music deemed part of the Jewish sound tradition."[88]

When I first read this assessment, it struck me for two reasons. The first was how accurately it described my own experience at the SSM. Though I came to the SSM with no prior exposure to artistic musical settings of Jewish prayers, I am leaving with a healthy respect for them. Many of my fellow classmates, moreover, will graduate with a deep passion for such music and a clear intent to use it regularly in the future. But as perfectly as Cohen's assessment harmonized with this part of my experience at the School, it clashed with a different part of my experience—both my own and the SSM faculty's sense that artistic Shabbat music was *not* being adequately preserved by Reform cantors in the field. If cantors actually believed what Cohen said they believed, what the School *wanted* them to believe, and what they seemed to believe while at the School, why were they not singing more of this music on a regular basis? If they did *not* believe what Cohen said they believed (as their actions seemed to indicate), what was the unspoken belief that underpinned their behavior?

Before discussing the surprising results of the research on this subject, it is important to reiterate that the views of ten cantors cannot possibly stand as representative of the entire Reform cantorate. Be that as it may, the ten cantors

[88] Cohen, p. 237.

interviewed were recommended by the SSM faculty for their reputations as serious musicians, who approach their individual cantorates with thoughtfulness and purpose. Though, as Barbara Tuchman said, it would be easy to meet every statement of theirs with a counterstatement of equal truth, or to dismiss their personal opinions as irrelevant to the larger picture, such a response would ignore an important potential answer to the question of why artistic Shabbat music is not being sung by the Reform cantorate at large. While this paper has already tangentially discussed such answers in terms of the cantor and the non-cantor's relationship, it will now shift its focus to the cantors' relationship with the music itself.

Lastly, what exactly is the music in question? Heretofore referred to in vague terms as "artistic Shabbat music," this genre includes the works of composers who primarily wrote during the 1930s-1960s, although they are as much a group defined by style as by dates. The composers of this genre include, but are not limited to, Bloch, Freed, Binder, Schalit, Herbert Fromm, Helfman, Weiner, and Piket. Thus, though Ben Steinberg was already writing in the last decade of this time period, he is not included in the group because his style was already looking forward towards a more melodic idiom than his predecessors often favored. Steinberg serves as a bridge between the generation of composers that preceded him and the ones that followed, which include the likes of Michael Isaacson and Meir Finkelstein. It is important to note that, while another group of composers like Debbie Friedman, Craig Taubman, Cantor Jeff Klepper and Danny Freelander were making their mark on the world of Jewish music during

the 1960s and beyond, this latter group primarily composed in the folk idiom for guitar, while the former group still maintained a relative fidelity to the classical idiom and composed for piano and organ. Most importantly, Friedman, Klepper and their colleagues were not composing music with any intention of it being used in listening moments. When the cantors in this study were asked whose music they favored for listening moments, Steinberg and Isaacson consistently topped the list.

* * *

Of the ten cantors interviewed in this study, only two reported that they regularly used the works of composers from the 1930s-1960s in their weekly Shabbat worship.[89] As we construct another spectrum—this time to describe cantors feelings about and actions regarding this repertoire—it is useful to start with these two cantors, who anchor this new continuum at one end. Each of these two cantors, one a man and one a woman, graduated from the SSM over twenty five years ago. They currently work at large congregations, where they have served for more than a decade. Both expressed a deep appreciation for the music of this period and a passionate enjoyment for singing it. Beyond that, however, both explained that they sang more of this historic repertoire at Shabbat services when there were other, more contemporary worship options for congregants to attend.

Both of these cantors used only one or two examples of such music in a Friday night service, when it was the only service available and was attended by

[89] See Appendix A and B for examples of cue sheets from these two cantors' Shabbat services.

regular congregants. A Saturday morning service attended entirely by bar mitzvah guests, on the other hand, offered more freedom. "Every week is a new congregation, there's no context. They don't know what we did the week before," one of them explained. Apart from the lifted pressure of explaining musical decisions to an invested laity, this cantor described how attempts to involve these guests in even the simplest forms of participation are hopelessly futile. "For responsive readings, the rabbi reads and I respond. If I didn't respond, there'd be dead silence. So I've chosen a route where I can do music from the older model that might inspire them. They're not going to rock along and clap their hands. They're barely paying attention."[90] "Especially on Saturday morning when I have a choir, we do some elaborate pieces like a *Yism'chu* of Lazar Weiner or a *Mi Chamocha* of Lazar Weiner," the second cantor agreed. For this cantor, who was initially upset by the creation of an alternative minyan where non-cantors led the music, the separation ultimately created space to make fewer compromises with musical selections. "I have five rabbis, so when I have to work with each of them in the main sanctuary, they have to follow my lead. I've pretty much trained them," this cantor described. "My philosophy is that singing along with everything is not good for the soul."[91]

While these two cantors' seemingly behave exactly as the SSM would want, preserving historic repertoire through constant use, they themselves would admit that they are merely preaching to the choir. Upon further examination, their use of larger works by the likes of Freed and Binder is possible, not so much

[90] Interview, Cantor I.
[91] Interview, Cantor A.

because they have re-created a context for that style throughout their broader synagogue community, but because they are either singing those pieces to a minority of congregants who seek such music out, or to a collection of guests who are merely there in passing. In addition, their synagogues can afford to maintain a weekly choral presence, membership is high enough to support simultaneous services, and their stature as the longest-serving clergyperson at those respective synagogues gives them a degree of power not shared by many of their cantorial colleagues. Thus, while the repertoire is preserved and sung, the circumstances that allow for such preservation are in some ways unique, and in other ways far from ideal.

These two cantors represent one end of a spectrum, at which repertoire is preserved at the cost of flawed conditions. A third cantor's views on the music of the 1930s-1960s were the most negative out of the ten interviewees, and when contrasted with the two cantors previously discussed, establish the other opposite end of our 'cantorial behavior' spectrum. Most surprising was that this cantor grew up in a Classical Reform synagogue where such music accounted for the bulk of the repertoire, and thus, the majority of his childhood's Jewish soundtrack.

> "It did not really feel right to me, that whole geshtalt. It felt very churchy. I had been doing church jobs at the same time and I didn't see all that much of a difference in the approach. So for me, it was a little bit uncomfortable, even though I loved and admired my cantor and he did some wonderful things in other genres. But by and large, the congregation was older and they appreciated the old, classical, presentational approach."

Despite exposure to this music from an early age, this cantor was drawn to music of a very different sort while studying at the SSM. "I was resonating much more with the straight-on old folk style: Carlebach, folk or Israeli-style music—those

kinds of things that felt a little bit more like they hearkened back to an older generation and an older style." This participatory, folk style now dominates this cantor's Shabbat services, combined with several original compositions and more nusach and improvisation than are usually heard in Reform worship.

The absence of the 1930s-1960s repertoire in this cantor's worship is not unusual, compared with the other seven who were interviewed. Unlike those others, however, this cantor promptly and openly declared that such music had no place in his services, ran counter to his sense of mission as a cantor, and was of questionable musical quality. "It's not necessarily that I want to get rid of any music from the past, but some of it just wasn't good. Even if I went to an art song recital, I wouldn't think that a lot of the pieces were necessarily so great that they deserve to be preserved from the classical period," he explained. This cantor described how the biggest problem with this music was not his rabbi or his congregants' reaction to it but his own. "You hear the Classical Reform approach and it sounds like you're going to die going through Kabbalat Shabbat because it's so slow and lugubrious. I used to do the Binder *Hashkiveinu*," he explained, citing a setting that is particularly favored in Shabbat workshops at the SSM, "but I found that it didn't really add anything to the service."

It would be easy to write this cantor off as pandering to the tastes of popular culture, with no regard for the Jewish musical heritage. What confounds this label, and what indeed separates this cantor from many of his colleagues, is that his services would be considered strongly *traditional* by almost any other measure, besides his omission of art music. He includes a full Kabbalat Shabbat

service, uses no English versions of the prayers during worship, and includes music from a diverse group of periods and styles, including the 19th century tradition of Lewandowski, the nusach of Katchko and Alter, Misinai tunes like the Song of the Sea, classic melodies by Israel Goldfarb and Eric Mandell, and folksongs from the Moroccan and Spanish-Portuguese rites.[92] This cantor's selection of repertoire that has been sung across Jewish movements for decades and in some cases centuries firmly establishes him as respectful of Jewish musical traditions. In addition, his strong classical background and impressive vocal ability lend gravity to his criticism of Jewish art music that those without such education and talents would lack.

Beyond his own personal aversion to such music on a qualitative level, this cantor insisted that using it would be counterproductive to his goals for services.

> "Helfman and Schalit had some significant contributions to the world of Jewish music in our realm. But the people who know that is tiny compared to the number of Jewish people out there who simply aren't affiliating with any synagogue because it's not warm or welcoming enough. If you went to Helfman's synagogue, if you went to Schalit's synagogue, I'll bet you it wasn't that warm and fuzzy. But people want warm and fuzzy now. They want to be welcomed. It's more about the connection than about the specific person you're honoring."

This cantor sees both parts of the cantorial mission discussed in chapter two, preservation and education, on a scale that leaves no room for inclusion of this repertoire. To *educate* people, he believes he needs to create an atmosphere that will simply invite them in the door—an atmosphere with which this repertoire was not consonant. "If you did a *R'tzei* by Piket or Schalit, it's like you're way off in the middle of nowhere. I would feel strange doing it, actually," he

[92] See Appendix C for examples of this cantor's Shabbat services.

described. Similarly, to *preserve* the Jewish musical tradition in general, Jews have to be willing to sit through services in the first place. If one style of music makes it particularly difficult for them to do that, it makes no sense for that style to be continuously used, at the risk of endangering congregants' patience for learning anything else. "You have to make a decision about what it is you're trying to preserve,"[93] he stressed.

This question of different views on preservation and education returns us to the four tensions studied in the last chapter, and finally brings the SSM into the center of the discussion. Whereas in the last chapter, discussions about the tensions of elite vs. folk and truth vs. subjectivity focused on differences between cantors and non-cantors, in this chapter those same tensions reflect the dynamic between the cantors (and musicians and scholars) at the SSM and the cantors in the field. At the SSM, musical preservation tends to focus on the most artistic and complex settings of Jewish songs and prayers. Students invest great amounts of time studying and coaching challenging and difficult music to present in a practicum or at oral examinations, or to be used one day for synagogue concerts or special occasions. They spend comparatively little time studying how to preserve simple folk melodies and nusach for regular use—music that Reform congregants know as little about as they know of art music. In the field, however, musical preservation tends to imply more modest goals, like teaching the *Avot* and the *G'vurot*, or gives way entirely to "Judaism preservation," like convincing more than ten percent of congregants to attend regular services. At the SSM,

[93] Interview, Cantor D.

cantors are trained to educate their congregants on a variety of deep and rich topics, such as the history of Jewish music, the concept of musical interpretation and midrash, and the connection between sacred sound and sacred time. In the field, cantors are more concerned with day-to-day challenges of educating their congregants about how to read the aleph-bet, what the holiday of Shavuot celebrates, and why people should even be Jewish at all.

The definitions of preservation and education that a student takes for truth while studying at the SSM become subjective once that student is in the field. Similarly, while many SSM instructors have worked as full-time cantors in the past and continue to serve pulpits in limited service capacities, their pedagogical decisions are made in the elite bubble that characterizes most educational institutions. Their presentations of the music in their curricula are not made in daily dialogue with a non-cantorial element the way those of a full-time cantor are in the field. While cantorial students are encouraged to work in partnership with rabbinic students for the three or four times that they co-lead services over the course of four years, there are no required courses to teach them how to dialogue to each other about their respective thoughts on Jewish music. The idea of asking rabbinic students or faculty for their thoughts on the usefulness of practica or to give their opinion on the music of the SSM curriculum may seem ludicrous, but that is exactly the dynamic that cantors will work in for the rest of their careers. The SSM establishes assumptions of both cantorial authority over music and the ease with which challenging music can be presented to a non-cantorial community. These assumptions make sense in the reality of the School, but break

down in the reality of congregational work. "You can't say, 'Well, this is my job because the SSM told me I have to do these things.' Or 'I'm somehow connected to Helfman in such a way that I have to battle with my rabbi or strangle somebody and maybe I can sing that *Hashkiveinu* that I wanted to sing,'" this cantor emphasized. "Schalit is great stuff, but it doesn't really fit. I hate to disappoint the college I graduated from, but it only works in the context where it seems to belong."[94] Again, what sets this cantor apart from the other seven who fall in the middle of this spectrum is the complete consistency of his position on the repertoire in question. Just as the first two cantors at the opposite end of the spectrum both spoke of the music's importance and consistently used it in services this cantor spoke of the music's relative lack of importance and did *not* use it in services. Though at opposite ends of the spectrum in terms of their feelings towards this music, these three maintained clear consistency between what they said and what they did. They behaved rationally according to their own tastes, whether or not those tastes were in accordance with those of the SSM. The remaining seven, however, did not act with similar consistency, and it was from their interviews that truly interesting information came to light.

* * *

All of the remaining seven cantors shared a common behavioral pattern in both their cantorates and their interviews. While they all spoke very highly of the repertoire from the 1930s-1960s, both in terms of its historical importance and its compositional beauty, none of them used it very much in their Shabbat services.

[94] Interview, Cantor D.

These seven cantors represent a diverse group. Their behavior cannot be attributed to a background in folk music and song-leading (some were classically trained) or to small pulpit size (some work at large and wealthy congregations). They usually began their interviews by expressing how much they appreciated the repertoire, progressed to listing lots of factors that prevented them from singing it, and ended with admissions that they were actually not as connected to the repertoire as they had initially said.

When first asked about repertoire from this era, cantors were both positive in general, and offered specific examples of composers and pieces that they particularly liked. "I used to open services with Schalit's Mah Tovu, [and I] love Helfman's works,"[95] one cantor began. "He's an incredible composer, and glorious,"[96] another cantor echoed. "Piket is particularly wonderful at saying something new with his music,"[97] "I've done the Bloch Sacred Service. It was a thrill."[98] "I love the Bloch *V'ahavta*."[99] "I grew up hearing Helfman, Binder, Fromm, Freed, and I still enjoy it."[100] Despite such positive feelings, these cantors all agreed that they hardly ever used such music for regular Shabbat services. When questioned on this, their first reason was almost always the influence of their rabbis and the laity. "The congregation doesn't have a part in it."[101] "It doesn't speak to a lot of the young baby boomers and then certainly the

[95] Interview, Cantor J.
[96] Interview, Cantor G.
[97] Interview, Cantor F.
[98] Interview, Cantor H.
[99] Interview, Cantor B.
[100] Interview, Cantor E.
[101] Interview, Cantor G.

Gen X's and Gen Y's."[102] "It's not worshipful for your average listener."[103] "My rabbi is very concerned about active participation."[104] "I know here, if people don't get what they think they want, they go somewhere else."[105] "They like music but to them music is accessible and it's singable and it makes them feel part of a community."[106] As discussed in the previous chapter, all cantors cited the desires of the folk as a major factor in the music they selected.

This answer, however, insufficiently addressed the question of why these cantors had almost completely abandoned the repertoire from the 1930s-1960s from their regular Shabbat worship. It is important to remember that since the 1990s and even before, cantors in the field and then at the SSM had revised their original position on the qualitative supremacy of this repertoire, and had instead adopted the concept of *balance* as their new ideal. Balance did not even have to mean equality. It could merely stand for token, yet consistent inclusion of music representative of this period. It *did* mean, however, that this music should be heard to some degree in regular Shabbat worship, and not relegated to only the High Holidays and the occasional concert. Thus, even by the liberal standards of the cantors and composers who contributed to *Koleinu B'Yachad*, these seven cantors were not including this important repertoire enough. The explanation did not ring true that their congregants would renounce their synagogue membership en masse, or that their rabbis would move to replace them with soloists, if they

[102] Interview, Cantor E.
[103] Interview, Cantor F.
[104] Interview, Cantor J.
[105] Interview, Cantor C.
[106] Interview, Cantor H.

simply included a single piece from this repertoire every Shabbat at some point in the service. Nor was it plausible to the other cantors who were interviewed. "They learn to love you and trust you. And if they trust you and they care about you as a human being and they know it's reciprocal, they'll say 'All right, he's gotta do this [one art piece]. We'll go with him on this,'"[107] promised one of the two cantors who regularly used this repertoire. "If you get closer to them and do pastoral work, and respect the rabbi and go at it with *derech eretz*, usually the rabbis come around,"[108] assured the other of the two.

When pressed to think of reasons beyond the influence of the folk why they largely eschewed such repertoire, the cantors then offered explanations that made such little sense as to sound like excuses. Some cited the problem of range. "The Helfman *Hashkiveinu*—I'd love to do that but it gets too high for me. It has a wide range—I think it goes too low or too high."[109] "Often times in the composers to whom you're referring, you're dealing with a much rangier kind of thing. I think as women, we have to be very careful. You don't want to be screaming out a bunch of high notes." When asked why the pieces could not simply be transposed down, this cantor admitted "that is a little bit of an excuse."[110] Another popular excuse was the necessity of a choir. "The repertoire that we're talking about—80% is with choir."[111] "What it is I think is that so

[107] Interview, Cantor I.
[108] Interview, Cantor A.
[109] Interview, Cantor B.
[110] Interview, Cantor E.
[111] Interview, Cantor H.

much of those through-composed services are written for voice and choir."[112] "More often than not with Schalit and Helfman, there's a choral element to the majority of the stuff they're doing. So unless you have a professional quartet that's singing with you on Shabbas, you're not going to do that."[113] "I had a professional quartet with me for Shabbat morning services [but] budget cuts have taken that away."[114] While the absence of a choir or quartet certainly restricts the selections that can be used from these composers, it by no means disqualifies their music entirely. Any SSM faculty member could offer numerous solo pieces for Shabbat services from this group of composers. This reason proved no more convincing than the idea that nothing could be done to change the composers' original keys. A third reason given was that the repertoire in question required accompanists who are talented enough to segue in and out of different musical styles. Two different cantors cited their accompanists' inability to create such segues as a contributing factor in their choice to virtually discard such repertoire entirely. When one cantor who spoke highly of Helfman's music was asked why she didn't use it on Shabbat, she repeated several times that the music she chose must exhibit a connection to the text—which SSM faculty consider to be one of Helfman's many strengths. All of these various reasons hardly seemed convincing, given the fervor with which the cantors had earlier described their passion for this repertoire. Something beyond the rabbis, the congregants, the

[112] Interview, Cantor E.
[113] Interview, Cantor G.
[114] Interview, Cantor J.

choirs, the accompanists and the music was preventing these cantors from representing it in their services more frequently.

As it turned out, the most serious limiting factor influencing the omission music was none other than the cantors themselves. After lengthy discussions about everything from larger societal trends against such music, to changing worship aesthetics, to rabbinic and lay pressure, to the cutting of music budgets to the absence of choirs, four of the cantors finally admitted that they simply did not feel as strong a connection to the repertoire of the 1930s-1960s as they initially said they did. "Well, I guess honestly I feel like I've changed over the years, and much of that—the big classical stuff—I don't think speaks to me in the same way that it did. Classical Reform is not where I am."[115] "I don't find it as accessible. I don't find its place in the service for me right now."[116] "I don't know how articulate I can be about this but a lot about the repertoire you're asking about just doesn't speak to me so much. As much as I loved hearing it growing up, that doesn't work for me prayerfully-wise."[117] "I grew up on that but I just don't love it as much anymore."[118] The remaining three cantors, though they did not confess in so many words, could never satisfactorily explain why they consistently avoided this repertoire, even as they continued to include one or two listening moments in their weekly Shabbat services. While these seven cantors were placed in the middle of the spectrum because they maintained at least a nominal fidelity to this music's importance, their avoidance of it for their weekly worship

[115] Interview, Cantor J.
[116] Interview, Cantor G.
[117] Interview, Cantor E.
[118] Interview, Cantor B.

more accurately places them much closer to the cantor who refused to use it *and* acknowledge its importance, rather than to the two cantors at the opposite end. Of the eight cantors who do not consistently use this repertoire, five either initially or eventually revealed that they felt little connection to it, while another three offered no explanation to the contrary. The mystery of why this music consistently withered once it was carried beyond the SSM's walls by its graduates is no longer so mysterious. Those graduates are simply not currently as invested in the repertoire as the SSM, Judah Cohen, or many of they themselves would have you think. Ultimately, the greatest tension discovered in this research was not one of the original four, but the internal struggle in these cantors between who they think they should be and who they really are.

* * *

Where then does this leave us in our analysis of the influence of the SSM in the life of the current Reform cantor? To answer that, we must first step back to consider why these eight cantors feel the way they do about the repertoire from the 1930s-1960s. Why is it that in speech and deed, Reform cantors appear disconnected from this repertoire that is so valued by their teachers? A minority, like the cantor at the far end of the spectrum, never connected with the music and believes it to be overrated by the SSM. In full disclosure, I consider myself a member of that minority although, unlike the cantor who was interviewed, I have no classical training and cannot access this music on its secondary and tertiary musical levels. Given that limitation, I can only appreciate music on the primary level of my personal taste, and since my taste is for melodic music with classical

harmonization, I rarely find a connection to this repertoire. That said, several cantors who were interviewed, and who boast many more degrees in music than I, acknowledged the fact that the particular musical style of this repertoire is difficult for even them to appreciate. "Modernism is very pronounced," one cantor explained. "People don't always want to hear atonal notes in synagogue song."[119] "A Piket solo—I think it's so exposed, [with] the odd intervals and the dissonances,"[120] a colleague concurred. In contrast to other, more melodic genres, cantors did not find this repertoire was particularly enjoyable. "Helfman is tonsils on the wall kind of writing and Steinberg is, I feel, a more embracing warmth,"[121] offered one cantor. "There's a melody that's beautiful and arching [to Lewandowski]. It's easy enough to participate in but it's also sophisticated enough that it sounds respectable and uplifting,"[122] agreed another. It is interesting to note that the two composers cited by these cantors as alternatives are separated by approximately a century, on either chronological side of the composers from the 1930s-1960s.

But those concerns, however real they may be for me personally, do not, I believe, represent the majority of cantors who avoid using this music. It is important here to pay close attention to how the cantors worded their concerns. Several of those in the middle of the spectrum did not report that they had *never* felt a connection to this repertoire, but rather that the connection they once felt had diminished during their years in the field until, at the present moment, it was

[119] Interview, Cantor E.
[120] Interview, Cantor H.
[121] Interview, Cantor J.
[122] Interview, Cantor D.

very weak. Each of the four cantors quoted referred to this change over time. What would have happened over that period of time to effect such a change? Here is where the SSM plays a crucial role. Within the walls of the SSM, most of these cantors came to love this music, supported by encouraging faculty and presented with all the resources like talented choirs and accompanists that help bring this music to life. As students, these cantors never needed to explain to anyone why this music was so beautiful, or haggle over how much of it they could sing. The entire process of living in this music may not have always been a happy one, especially at practicum discussions, or in preparation for oral examinations, but there was little discord over the fundamental question of why the music should be sung. Inside the SSM, students were insulated from those larger cultural forces that had largely swept away any popular appreciation for this musical style.

Out in the field, however, the reality shifted. Now, every artistic piece had to be explained to skeptical rabbis and congregants, who constantly demanded singable, participatory music. When these settings were not properly explained, complains were lodged and resentment built. The cantor's musical authority was challenged and power struggles ensued. If this were not unpleasant enough on its own, the SSM does not adequately prepare cantors to deal with such challenges. There is currently only a single class called "Empowering the Congregational Voice" that begins to touch on such issues, but this class did not exist when many of these cantors were in school. The cantors of this study never took a class at HUC in how to respond when told your voice is so beautiful it's off-putting, or

what to do when not a single person in a service understood the musical genius of Bloch and Freed. They were simply programmed to sing incredibly complex music with exquisite artistry and then placed in synagogues, to behave exactly as they had for the last five years in school. When they encountered unfamiliar reactions, to which they were ill-prepared to respond, the experience was not a pleasant one. Because the power dynamics of the synagogue often presented cantors with a choice between singing beautiful music and keeping their jobs, most chose the latter and developed unhappy feelings for the former. It is therefore not surprising that after years of battling all of these constraining forces, cantors would report a diminished attraction to music that proved so problematic.

Judah Cohen's assessment, therefore, is accurate, but only up to a point. It seems quite likely that during their training and at the point of investiture, most cantorial students *do* believe that the music of the 1930s-1960s should be preserved, along with all other worthy genres, in the music of Shabbat services. This is a tribute to the SSM's faculty, who through their passion and dedication create a sense of purpose regarding this music that many students did not feel before entering the School. As the common arc among all these interviews reveals, however, the SSM outdoes itself in a sense, because cantors feel compelled to swear allegiance to this repertoire and, indeed, to come up with layers of excuses for why they don't use it more frequently, rather than simply admitting that it has become a burden and a liability. Though the curriculum shows signs of adjusting to this new reality, the School continues to place a greater emphasis on technical mastery of this repertoire than on how to explain it

to the folk. Many faculty members at the SSM feared that because I do not connect with this repertoire, and because the folk find it difficult to appreciate, that I would recommend it be severely reduced in the curriculum. That is actually not the adjustment I would want, nor is it the adjustment that the findings of this research might suggest. This repertoire should maintain its rightful place in the SSM curriculum, but the faculty must develop a greater awareness for both the fact that the music is simply not as appealing as they often say it is, and that this quality necessitates contextual re-creation if it is to be successfully introduced in worship. Simply paying greater attention to the musical presentation of this repertoire, such as a students' tuning or phrasing, prepares the student to succeed within the walls of the SSM, but ignores the real skills of education and understanding that they will need to use this repertoire in the field. Until this changes, the status quo is likely to continue. Cantors in the field will talk at length of the music's importance and the need to preserve it, while studiously omitting it from their Shabbat services, because selling it to their congregants requires time they can't afford and training they have not received.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to explore the tensions inherent in Reform cantors' relationships to non-cantors and in their relationship to the SSM. Interviews with ten cantors provided the primary data, and Song of Songs 2:12 provided a prism with which to refract their beam of information into four categories of organization. While these categories of elite vs. folk, assumption vs. reality, desire vs. feasibility, and truth vs. subjectivity sometimes stood alone, they more often intersected in a complex web of relationship that, above all, described the challenging nature of the modern cantor's work. Sometimes the data yielded predictable results. Cantors who reported strong connections and healthy dialogue with their rabbis and congregants also reported more freedom to sing artistic music in Shabbat services. Other times, the data yielded unpredictable results. Cantors upheld their right to sing artistic music in listening moments in order to protect their jobs from cheaper and less-talented replacements, but also reported that they rarely invoked that right because congregants often reacted negatively to those moments when cantors took them. In general, cantors described a strong sense of mission, and a clear understanding of the limits to their authority. They seemed less sure of how their congregants relate to worship music, and how to move that relationship from passive acceptance to active appreciation for artistic worship music.

The relationship of cantors to non-cantors was further examined in light of how Reform cantors are trained at the SSM. Here too, the interviews revealed predictable and unpredictable results. Cantors spoke highly of the instruction they

received at the SSM, and of the music they studied, but their actions revealed a more complicated dynamic. Cantors found it difficult to admit that they found the repertoire in question inaccessible, and that they were often just as much at a loss for how to regularly use it as their congregants were for how to listen to it. While the SSM successfully inculcated in these cantors a respect for the music's value, and equipped them with all the artistic tools necessary for its performance, these lessons alone were not enough to translate into an obvious course of action for preserving such music in regular Shabbat worship. Cantors quickly praised the music's importance, and offered excuses as to why they did not sing it more often, but only slowly acknowledged their misgivings about the nature of the repertoire and their struggles to connect with it. Their loyalty to the institution and the instructors who trained them was evident in their reluctance to discuss the shortcomings of their education.

With all of that said, however, this paper more clearly highlighted how much we still do *not* know about this subject, and how much research there is yet to be done. First and foremost is the need to expand this study beyond its current sample size. While these cantors were carefully chosen to represent a diverse yet respected group, they still do not provide any basis on which to draw conclusions about the whole profession. As mentioned at the start, this thesis' entire premise that the repertoire in question is hardly sung in regular Shabbat worship remains only *anecdotally* observed. A formal, qualitative study, investigating what music cantors are currently choosing for their Shabbat services (as well as for other holidays), would help broaden the knowledge of each cantor in the movement, as

well as of the SSM instructors who are responsible for preparing future cantors to succeed in synagogue work. A simpler yet equally illuminating option would be for cantors to compile their cue sheets on the ACC websites, for researchers or other cantors to peruse. This would begin to answer questions such as how many synagogues use choirs, how many use organs, what repertoire they find successful, and a host of other basic inquiries that as of now, are answered based on either hearsay or outdated information.

A second area in desperate need of further study is how non-cantors in general, but particularly the laity, relate to worship music. As mentioned, only one of the ten cantors could speak with any certainty about how her congregants felt regarding such music, and none of the ten were particularly satisfied with congregational attendance at any of the Shabbat services they designed. The question of what congregants want out of their services, musically or otherwise, is as important and as it is least understood. This paper highlighted some hypotheses that cantors made towards an answer but, limited by time and resources, it was unable to pursue such answers from congregants themselves. For cantors in particular, understanding why congregants exhibit high levels of curiosity and intellectual initiative in many areas of their lives but resist musical change or challenge in their Shabbat services would be of immense help in devising strategies to successfully mend this disconnect.

The issue of Slobin's categorization of music as either 'participatory' or 'presented' offers a second example where research into congregational perception would be of huge help to cantors. Most cantors, including several in

this paper, reject this dichotomy because they argue it leaves no room for participation through 'active listening.' They point out that some music combines aspects of both, and are uncomfortable with a concept that the cantor presents music *to* the congregation, rather than experiencing it *with* the congregation. These are all legitimate reasons, but they fail to account for how congregants classify the music they hear. Until cantors better understand how their congregants hear the music of services, and how they classify it themselves, cantorial efforts to refine the classification system will remain a largely academic exercise.

The very concept of participation through active listening, which cantors cite as a major omission from Slobin's system, is itself in serious need of study from a congregational point of view. This concept is considered dogma at the SSM, where it is seen as the necessary counterbalance to constant congregational singing, and the key to unlocking a few moments during a service in which a cantor can use historic and complex repertoire. The problem is that very little data exists regarding how *congregants* feel about active listening. Do they know what it means? How does a cantor teach congregants about active listening, and how does he or she know that their congregants have finally mastered the skill? Much like the cantor who questioned whether congregants actually wanted to participate, the same question can be reversed to ask if they want to actively listen. The point is that neither question can be sufficiently answered until there is data that reaches beyond individual cantors' informal conversations with and educated guesses about the laity they serve.

This paper, then, must be seen as only one voice in part of a broader and unfinished discussion. When exploring difficult and sensitive subjects, Rabbi Abraham J. Heschel cautions against mistaking 'seeing' for 'insight.' "Insight is the beginning of perceptions to come rather than the extension of perceptions gone by," he writes. "Conventional seeing, operating as it does with patterns and coherences, is a way of seeing the present in the past tense. Insight is an attempt to think in the present."[123] By Heschel's account, my undergraduate training in history, where the present is mostly seen in relationship to the past, has equipped me far better for conventional seeing than for insight. I take comfort, at least, in knowing I am not alone, for it is this conventional kind of observation that too often dominates discussions among cantors about non-cantors, and vice versa. By conventional observation, the answer to whether the cantor is a turtle or a turtledove is usually clear, if different, depending on whom you ask. But conventional observation has served neither side particularly well. There are too many articles from the 1990s, calling for the same course of action that too few have successfully managed, for us to continue with convention. This thesis does not pretend to have discovered answers but rather hopes to have raised questions and offered ideas. Hopefully it can serve as one voice out of many in a new discussion guided by insight, "an attempt to think in the present," regarding the challenges and direction of the modern Reform cantorate.

[123] Heschel, Abraham Joshua, *The Prophets*. New York: Harper & Row, 1969. Perennial Classics ed., 2001, p. xxiv.

Appendix A

Example of Shabbat Morning Service (excerpt) of Cantor A.

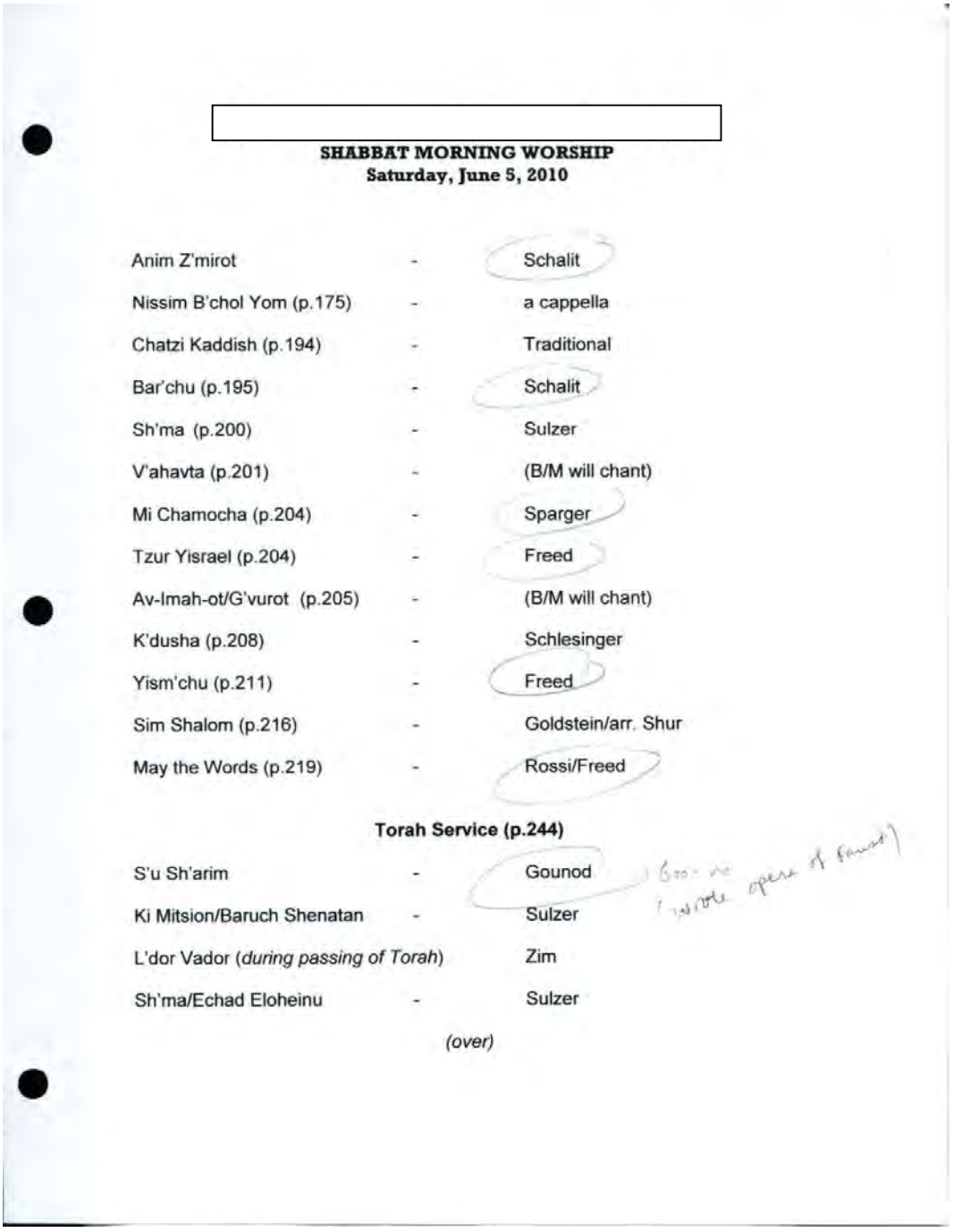
	Opening Music:	
	Hashivenu	round
290	Ma Tovu	Maseng
292	Elohai	Schleifer
302	Tov L'hodot	Aloni
	Tzadik	etc.
306	Ps. 150	Yemenite
312	½ Kaddish	
313	Barchu	Spiro
316	Ahava Raba	
316	Vhaer	trad.
318	Shema	
322	Mi Chamocha	Vinaver
	Tzur	
326	Kedusha	Freed
327	Yismechu	Chasidic
	Sim Shalom	Shur
	May the Words (2-part)	Freed

Example of Shabbat Morning Service (excerpt) of Cantor A.

	Opening Music:	
	Hariu Ladonai	Binder
290	Ma Tovu (complete)	Maseng
292	Elohai	Schleifer
302	Tov L'Hodot	Aloni
	Tzadik Katamar	etc.
306	Hallelujah	Yemenite
312	½ Kaddish	
313	Barchu	Spiro
316	Ahava Raba	trad.
	V'Haer Eynenu	
318	Shema	
324	Mi Chamocha	Davidson
	Tzur	folk
326	Kedusha	Davidson
328	Yismechu	Chassidic
334	Sim Shalom	Steinberg
	Yihyu	

Appendix B

Example of Shabbat Morning Service (excerpt) of Cantor I.



SHABBAT MORNING WORSHIP
Saturday, June 5, 2010

Anim Z'mirot	-	Schalit
Nissim B'chol Yom (p.175)	-	a cappella
Chatzi Kaddish (p.194)	-	Traditional
Bar'chu (p.195)	-	Schalit
Sh'ma (p.200)	-	Sulzer
V'ahavta (p.201)	-	(B/M will chant)
Mi Chamocha (p.204)	-	Sparger
Tzur Yisrael (p.204)	-	Freed
Av-Imah-ot/G'vurot (p.205)	-	(B/M will chant)
K'dusha (p.208)	-	Schlesinger
Yism'chu (p.211)	-	Freed
Sim Shalom (p.216)	-	Goldstein/arr. Shur
May the Words (p.219)	-	Rossi/Freed

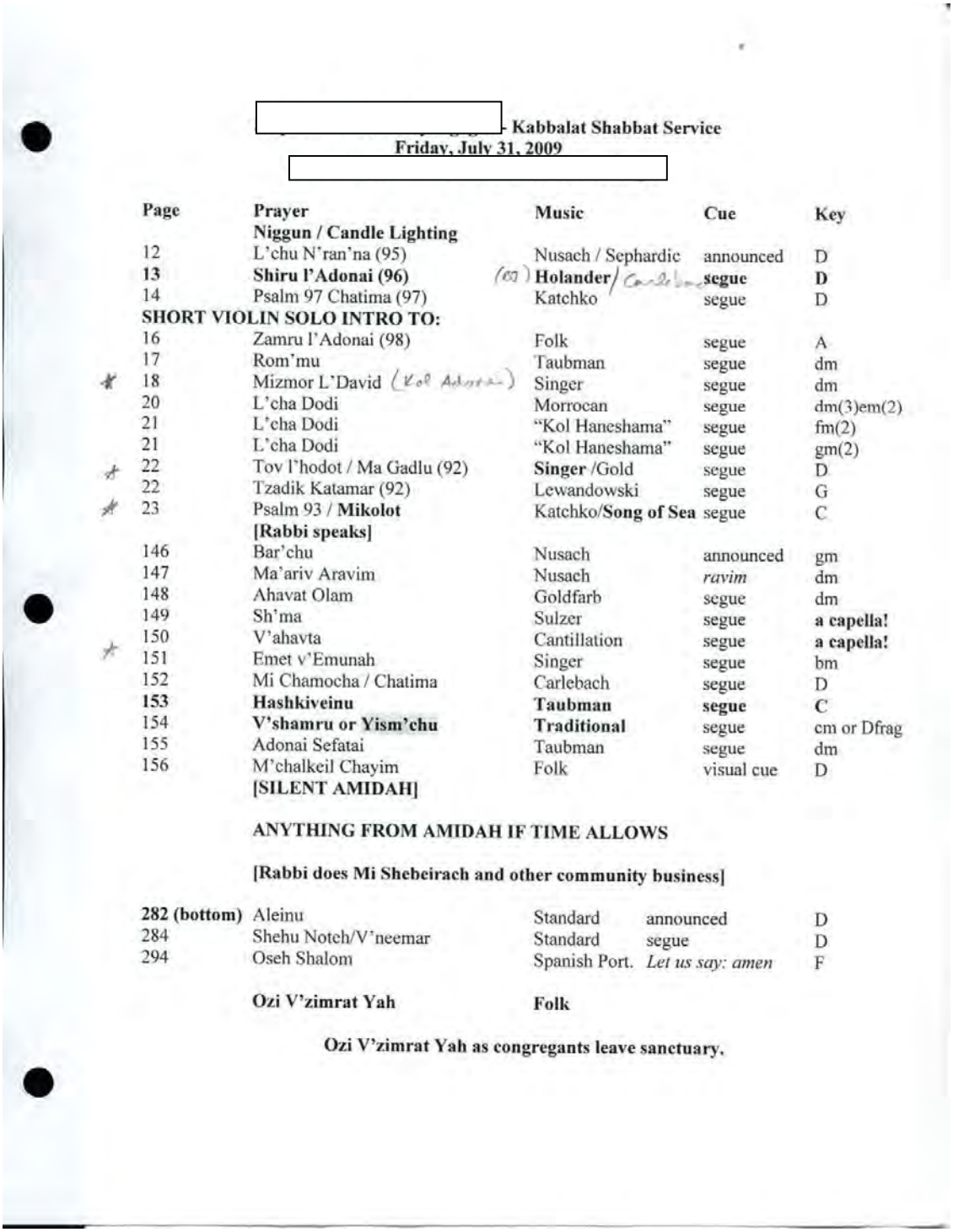
Torah Service (p.244)

S'u Sh'arim	-	Gounod
Ki Mitsion/Baruch Shenatan	-	Sulzer
L'dor Vador (*during passing of Torah*)		Zim
Sh'ma/Echad Eloheinu	-	Sulzer

(over)

Appendix C

Example of a Shabbat Evening service of Cantor D.



[redacted] - Kabbalat Shabbat Service

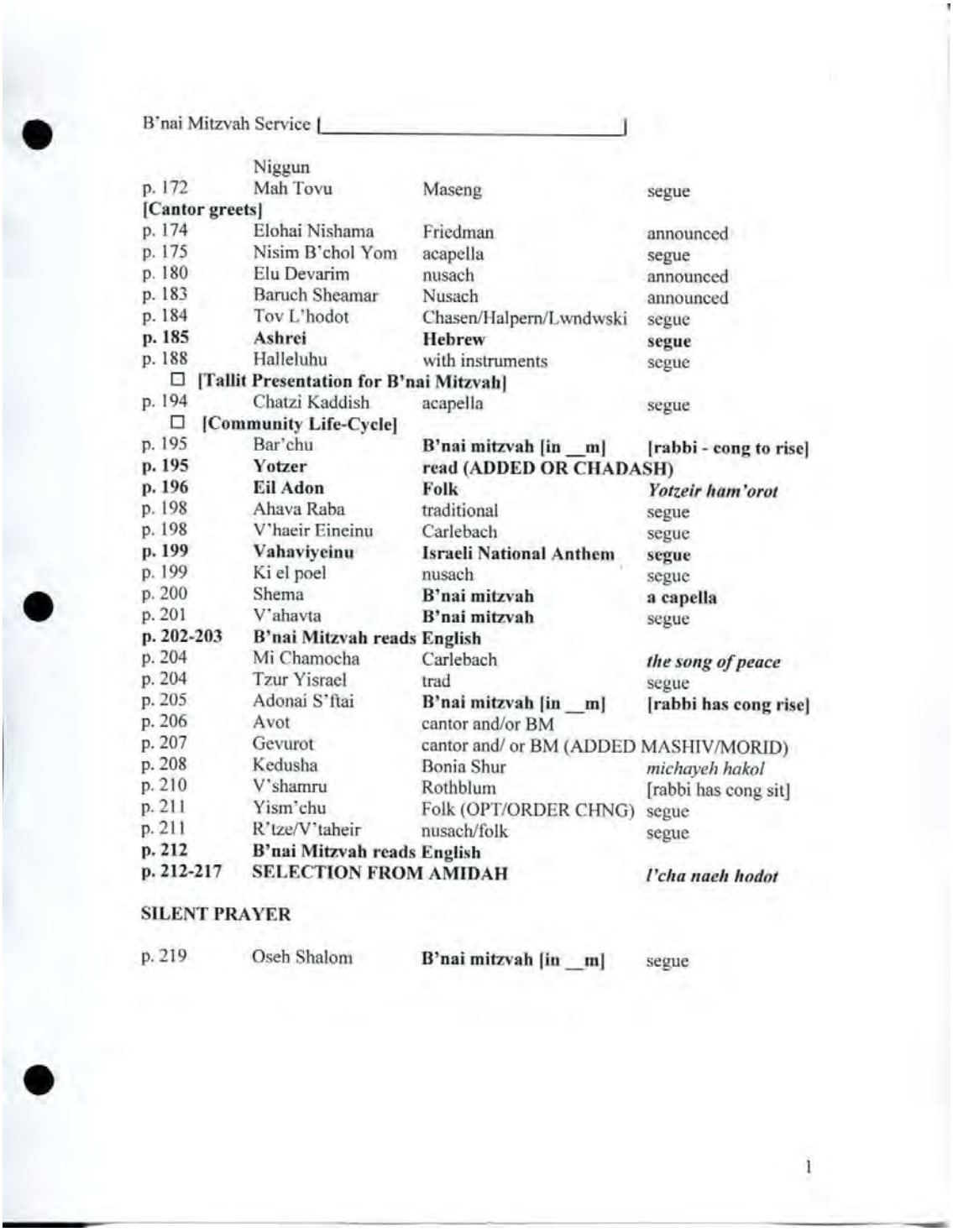
Friday, July 31, 2009

[redacted]

	Page	Prayer	Music	Cue	Key
		Niggun / Candle Lighting			
	12	L'chu N'ran'na (95)	Nusach / Sephardic	announced	D
	13	**Shiru l'Adonai (96)**	(69) **Holander**/ Carlebach	**segue**	**D**
	14	Psalm 97 Chatima (97)	Katchko	segue	D
	SHORT VIOLIN SOLO INTRO TO:				
	16	Zamru l'Adonai (98)	Folk	segue	A
	17	Rom'mu	Taubman	segue	dm
✱	18	Mizmor L'David (Kol Adonai)	Singer	segue	dm
	20	L'cha Dodi	Morrocan	segue	dm(3)em(2)
	21	L'cha Dodi	"Kol Haneshama"	segue	fm(2)
	21	L'cha Dodi	"Kol Haneshama"	segue	gm(2)
✱	22	Tov l'hodot / Ma Gadlu (92)	**Singer** /Gold	segue	D
	22	Tzadik Katamar (92)	Lewandowski	segue	G
✱	23	Psalm 93 / **Mikolot**	Katchko/**Song of Sea**	segue	C
		[Rabbi speaks]			
	146	Bar'chu	Nusach	announced	gm
	147	Ma'ariv Aravim	Nusach	*ravim*	dm
	148	Ahavat Olam	Goldfarb	segue	dm
	149	Sh'ma	Sulzer	segue	**a capella!**
	150	V'ahavta	Cantillation	segue	**a capella!**
✱	151	Emet v'Emunah	Singer	segue	bm
	152	Mi Chamocha / Chatima	Carlebach	segue	D
	153	**Hashkiveinu**	**Taubman**	**segue**	**C**
	154	**V'shamru or Yism'chu**	**Traditional**	segue	cm or Dfrag
	155	Adonai Sefatai	Taubman	segue	dm
	156	M'chalkeil Chayim	Folk	visual cue	D
		[SILENT AMIDAH]			
		ANYTHING FROM AMIDAH IF TIME ALLOWS			
		[Rabbi does Mi Shebeirach and other community business]			
	282 (bottom)	Aleinu	Standard	announced	D
	284	Shehu Notch/V'neemar	Standard	segue	D
	294	Oseh Shalom	Spanish Port.	*Let us say: amen*	F
		Ozi V'zimrat Yah	**Folk**		

Ozi V'zimrat Yah as congregants leave sanctuary.

Example of Shabbat Morning service (excerpt) of Cantor D.



B'nai Mitzvah Service [_____]

	Niggun		
p. 172	Mah Tovu	Maseng	segue
[Cantor greets]			
p. 174	Elohai Nishama	Friedman	announced
p. 175	Nisim B'chol Yom	acapella	segue
p. 180	Elu Devarim	nusach	announced
p. 183	Baruch Sheamar	Nusach	announced
p. 184	Tov L'hodot	Chasen/Halpern/Lwndwski	segue
p. 185	**Ashrei**	**Hebrew**	**segue**
p. 188	Halleluhu	with instruments	segue
☐	**[Tallit Presentation for B'nai Mitzvah]**		
p. 194	Chatzi Kaddish	acapella	segue
☐	**[Community Life-Cycle]**		
p. 195	Bar'chu	**B'nai mitzvah [in __m]**	**[rabbi - cong to rise]**
p. 195	**Yotzer**	**read (ADDED OR CHADASH)**	
p. 196	**Eil Adon**	**Folk**	***Yotzeir ham'orot***
p. 198	Ahava Raba	traditional	segue
p. 198	V'haeir Eineinu	Carlebach	segue
p. 199	**Vahaviyeinu**	**Israeli National Anthem**	**segue**
p. 199	Ki el poel	nusach	segue
p. 200	Shema	**B'nai mitzvah**	**a capella**
p. 201	V'ahavta	**B'nai mitzvah**	segue
p. 202-203	**B'nai Mitzvah reads English**		
p. 204	Mi Chamocha	Carlebach	***the song of peace***
p. 204	Tzur Yisrael	trad	segue
p. 205	Adonai S'ftai	**B'nai mitzvah [in __m]**	**[rabbi has cong rise]**
p. 206	Avot	cantor and/or BM	
p. 207	Gevurot	cantor and/ or BM (ADDED MASHIV/MORID)	
p. 208	Kedusha	Bonia Shur	*michayeh hakol*
p. 210	V'shamru	Rothblum	[rabbi has cong sit]
p. 211	Yism'chu	Folk (OPT/ORDER CHNG)	segue
p. 211	R'tze/V'taheir	nusach/folk	segue
p. 212	**B'nai Mitzvah reads English**		
p. 212-217	**SELECTION FROM AMIDAH**		***l'cha naeh hodot***

SILENT PRAYER

p. 219	Oseh Shalom	**B'nai mitzvah [in __m]**	segue

1

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