A TRADITION OF REFORM: THE MUSIC OF SALOMON SULZER

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This Master's thesis looks at the music of nineteenth-century Viennese composer and cantor Salomon Sulzer and attempts to answer the following questions: How did Sulzer deal with the conflict of modernity and tradition that was so prevalent during his lifetime? What was it about his particular combination of Viennese classicism and the modal nature of the traditional Jewish melodies that allowed Sulzer's music to be so riveting and timeless? How do we characterize the aesthetic he created? And is this aesthetic, which was so viable in nineteenth-century Vienna, still viable today?

It is divided into four chapters, with introduction and conclusion. The chapters explore the following: 19th-century Jewish Vienna and its liturgy, Sulzer's Musical Mileu: 19th-Century Vienna, an introductory analysis of Sulzer's magnum opus, *Schir Zion*, and an analysis of musical examples (*Adon Olom, B'rosch Haschonoh, Way'chulu*), with a conclusion dealing with the legacy of Sulzer's life and music. The thesis also includes an extensive catalog of all music included in both volumes of *Schir Zion*, including piece number, page number, title of piece, service/occasion, and a brief description of the piece itself.

Materials used were primarily books and articles, including the original manuscript of Sulzer's *Schir Zion*. Authors relied upon heavily for their research were Michael Meyer, David Ellenson, Geoffrey Goldberg, A.W. Binder, A.Z. Idelsohn, and Eric Werner.

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Salomon Sulzer's (1804-1890) fame has spread over time and across continents. Millions of Jews today know at least a few selections from the great work of this nineteenth-century Viennese composer and cantor extraordinaire. Sulzer's *Sh'ma* and music from the Torah service have survived the test of time and are standards at religious services all over the world – from Liberal to Orthodox. While, over the 150 years since he began to compose, most of his music might have fallen out of favor, we can credit Sulzer with changing the face of Jewish music in the nineteenth century and beyond; he forever changed the way Jews perceive their music. Frankly, he revolutionized how Jews pray.

Reform Judaism in both Europe and America would not be what it is today without Sulzer. And yet, Sulzer himself was not a Reform Jew, though he created a modern musical repertoire that catapulted Jewish worship into the modern era. He endeavored to meld Jewish tradition, which he was steeped in as a child, with the newlycreated sounds abounding in his generation.

Sulzer was a product and proponent of the Viennese rite (*Weiner Minhag*). The Viennese rite was characterized by attention to decorum, socially-relevant preaching, and aesthetics. His musical creations for the prayer service were the benchmarks of a new aesthetic norm. He brought the highest standards of contemporary musicology into the synagogue. Like the preachers of his day who attempted to combine tradition and modernity in their sermons, Sulzer did the same to music. And the balance Sulzer struck

between tradition and modernity made music appealing to the Jewish population en masse.

This approach to Jewish music was unique and brand-new. Listeners of Sulzer's music appreciated the way in which he elevated their souls to a higher level. But his legacy raises important questions: What was it about his particular combination of Viennese classicism and the modal nature of the traditional Jewish melodies that allowed Sulzer's music to be so riveting and timeless? How do we characterize the aesthetic he created? And is this aesthetic, which was so viable in nineteenth-century Vienna, still viable today?

In response, Eric Werner writes that:

 \dots [t]he standards of decorum..., the aura of dignity that has surrounded the worship service since his time, and last, but not least, the baritone timbre of his voice – these were the three paragon innovations he established, in addition to the new musical repertoire.¹

Indeed, Sulzer was responsible for changing the defining aesthetic components of Jewish music, which had held sway for generations. What initially seemed problematic about his work (the impossibility of melding modernity and tradition seamlessly) turned into a major contribution that would influence scores of Jewish composers who followed. Sulzer's attention to decorum and dignity turned Jewish music on its head. And Sulzer's massive two-volume work, *Schir Zion*, testifies to how he drew on this new principle to create a unique and legendary sound.

¹ Eric Werner, *A Voice Still Heard...The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazic Jews.* University Park and London: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976, p.219.

If Sulzer was drawing from his musical milieu, we must ask whether he was merely imitating his Christian and German brethren? Or did he persist in infusing his music for the synagogue service with the nusach that he knew from childhood? Research has shown that Jewish movements that were a product of the Enlightenment responded to the character and reforming spirit of their Christian neighbors. For instance, Hamburg and Berlin, which were Protestant areas, saw more thorough reforms – such as inclusion of organ music and congregational singing – while in Vienna, which was a Catholic region, reforms tended to be more moderate.²

According to Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, Sulzer lived in a period that was more European-inspired and -culturally driven. He understood, however, that musical expression of a Jewish nature was very different from anything German. It is interesting, then, to discover that *Schir Zion* contains no specific German melodies and contours. This fact may underscore how Sulzer adhered to his Jewish musical education. His ear was trained in a Jewish idiom that had extended over centuries. The same is true of his choral music, in that it is rooted in classical church music, though anything particularly Catholic has been avoided. Thus, I argue that Sulzer expressed something original in his music, classified neither as Jewish nor classical.

Did Sulzer attempt to assimilate? We know that he opposed some Eastern European *hazzanut*, and instead created a unique sound that extended beyond the realm of what this traditional music had to offer. Consequently, did Sulzer preference the

² Sawyer, Caroline. "Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890) and His Times," Presentation Notes for "History of the Cantorate," Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York City, February 13, 2007, p.2.

aesthetic over the tradition that formed him? Caroline Sawyer emphasizes that Sulzer was simply a product of his time and place, nineteenth-century Vienna. Perhaps, for Sulzer, Jewish culture and non-Jewish culture co-existed and that connection was incapable of being destroyed. She writes:

He did not ponder questions (as others of his time did) about whether and to what extent to be guided by *halakha*. He did not object to the *hazzanut* of provincial synagogues because they were 'Orthodox' or Hasid; he objected because it offended his ears and his sense of what was *andächtig* (proper, dignified, worthy, etc.).³

Salomon Sulzer was truly a master innovator of Jewish life. Together with his circle of friends in Vienna, he revolutionized the *minhag* of the synagogue, bringing dignity, decorum, rationality, class, and honor to its inner sanctum. To determine his motivation and to understand his long-lasting appeal and influence, we turn to Sulzer's biography, a history of his cultural milieu, and an analysis of his magnum opus *Schir Zion*.

³ Sawyer, Caroline. "Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890) and His Times," Presentation Notes for "History of the Cantorate," Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, New York City, February 13, 2007, p.6.

Chapter One The Birth of a New Era: 19th Century Jewish Vienna and its Liturgy

Nineteenth-century Jews of Western Europe witnessed the birth of Reform Judiasm as well as the development of the Jewish Enlightenment movement (*Haskalah*).⁴ These extraordinary outgrowths of European thought transformed the way Jews viewed their religious selves. As Jews made changes in practice and behavior, Europeans began to accept them more readily into mainstream society. This new world would provide Solomon Sulzer with the requisite environment to propel Jewish musical life to new heights.

The altered landscape of nineteenth-century Viennese Jewry emerged from a history of governmental policy that fluctuated greatly between unkind and even hostile acts toward this community and a welcome embrace of certain "useful" members of the ancient people. In 1753, the government required Jews to pay a yearly "toleration" tax, forced them to live on specific streets in a small number of houses (there were 700 of them in Vienna), and allowed only a few court Jews to live among Christians. A decade later, there was some improvement in behavior toward the community – Jews who had money and the appropriate papers, or owned a factory or other means, were allowed to live in Vienna beginning in 1764. However, they could not buy houses, and married men had to allow their beards to grow so as to be easily identified as a Jew. In addition, no synagogue building was permitted. The empress Maria Theresa, who harbored an

⁴ "Reform" Judaism signified a reconciliation of modernity and Jewish tradition. However, it appeared in three different forms: Reform, liberal, and progressive. Each are distinct and are resultant of the multiple approaches that Jews took in reconciling these two almost conflicting forces.

extreme hatred for the Jews, was apparently interested in decreasing the number of Jews in her Kingdom. She hoped her strict regulations would drive them elsewhere in Europe, where they would be tolerated, and, most important, far away from her.

In 1782, the Hapsburg Emperor Joseph II issued the "Edict of Toleration." In addition to relaxing censorship regulations, he allowed Jews to learn different trades and to lend money on real estate. "Tolerated Jews" could live wherever they chose in Vienna. Foreign Jews, though, could remain in Vienna no longer than was necessary to finish their business. Pre-existing laws that required differentiation in attire or prohibition from visiting public places of amusement were lifted. Despite the leniency, the 65 families living in Vienna in 1784 were not allowed to form a congregation or acquire a synagogue.

What did all of this mean? These freedoms given to a certain stratum of the Jewish community – wealthy and well-educated Jews – led to an openness toward the European Enlightenment. Moreover, some Jews applied these ideals to their ancient heritage and created a specifically Jewish Enlightenment known as the *Haskalah*, which has embedded within it the word "intellect" or "reason." Places such as Prussia, Galicia, and Russia became home to this phenomenon. Like the Viennese government, they, too, bestowed upon Jews privileges based on their economic status. This movement led to the development of a meeting ground for people of like-minded philosophies, regardless of background.

What did the *Haskalah* mean for the Jews? The movement threatened Rabbinic authority, and eventually led to the dismantling of Jewish corporate life. Moreover, it challenged Jews to rethink their notion of God and religion. If religion, as adherents of

the *Haskalah* argued, was a means to further one's spiritual contentment and a path to happiness, then Jews needed to adapt their practices and even their beliefs.

Over time, a reaction set in against the strict rationalism of the Enlightenment. Intellectuals sought to uncover layers of the past and examine the unique aspects of individuals and communities. In asking what specifically characterizes particular groups, they uncovered the essential dynamism in history. Jews, too, rallied around the notion that change has been a constant of Jewish life, and thus they found a rationale for modifying Judaism – its practices, its theology, its worship.

Given the shift toward modernity, the Jewish community became enthusiastic about changing its musical heritage as well. This came at a price: "the loss of authentic liturgical music" in exchange for "social acceptance and equality."⁵ Jews sought a religious atmosphere of order and magnificence, in keeping with the Western, non-Jewish cultural standards, regardless of what might be liturgically relevant to synagogue worship.

In this way, the nineteenth century grew with "great liturgical ferment," especially in the German-Jewish community.⁶ Throughout the 1800s, a number of modern Jewish streams created new prayerbooks. All Jews, from traditional to liberal, from Orthodox to Reform, struggled to find a place in modern society. These prayerbooks serve as barometers, helping us determine the nature of Judaism in Germany at this time. Their

⁵ Geoffrey Goldberg, "Jewish Liturgical Music in the Wake of Nineteenth-Century Reform," Sacred Sound and Social Change: Liturgical Music in Jewish and Christian Experience. Notre Dame: 1992, p.59.

⁶ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," *After Emancipation: Jewish Responses to Modernity*, Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College Press, 2004, p.193.

contents help us explore such questions as: what were their ideals? what were their leaders fighting for? what did the community see as most important and even indispensable?

Innovations in Jewish worship already appeared by 1809 among the Jews of Westphalia. Israel Jacobson (1768-1828) was instrumental in introducing a number of musical innovations in both Cassel and Seesen. In many ways, liberal Protestantism provided the aesthetic backdrop for the changes being made to the Jewish musical service -namely, the introduction of prayers in German (the vernacular) and hymns, and the use of the organ. Prayers began to be recited, in contrast to the traditional chanting, and hymn-texts were taken from non-Jewish sources. When Westphalia fell in 1813, Jacobson moved to Berlin, where he and others held worship in their homes, including that of Jacob Herz Beer (1769-1825). Moreover, a synagogue was dedicated in Hamburg in 1817, and a siddur followed in 1819. As in Seesen, the Bible was read (rather than chanted) and hymns were sung. A Sephardi cantor was hired, and most melodies sung were commissioned from gentile composers. All told, which reforms were introduced by these early synagogues? Use of the vernacular. Sephardi pronunciation of Hebrew text. The organ. Boys' choirs. Decorum. Removal of *piyyutim*. Robes and processionals. At the same time, secular subjects became approved subjects of study for Jewish children, as the egalitarian confirmation ceremony came to replace the Bar Mitzvah ceremony in some locales.

Meanwhile, the Jewish community of Vienna, which was not emancipated until after the Revolution of 1848, managed to launch a few families to the highest echelons of society. By 1820, there were 135 tolerated families allowed to "mingle freely" with upper-class families. While most Jews remained observant and clung to traditionalism, a handful converted as a ticket into Christian society. Jewish history tells of a group of socalled "salon Jewesses" who held gatherings at their homes peopled by princes, nobles, statesmen, artists, scholars, and dignitaries.⁷ At the time of the Congress of Vienna (1814-1815), Fanny von Arnstein (Nathan von Arnstein) and her sister Cecilia von Eskeles (Bernhard von Eskeles) held such meetings.

By the end of the 1810s, some Jews of Vienna began to express a desire for religious reform to that of Hamburg and Berlin. Such objectives were aided by Francis I's decree of January 22, 1820 that included a requirement that all Jewish service music be conducted in the vernacular resulting from governmental knowledge of such a change elsewhere (likely from the Hamburg Temple). Yet even with these liberal government allowances, hopes for a separate Reform temple did not materialize. Viennese Jewry was forced to continue to exist in the old model of one Jewish community, unlike other communities of Western Europe around them.

When the current synagogue building was declared unsafe and in need of demolition, a new building was erected in its place and dedicated in the spring of 1826. As Michael Meyer wrote of the entrepreneur Michael Lazar Biedermann, who led such efforts, he knew that three things were needed for a "renovation" of Jewish life in Vienna: an "attractive new building, a modern spiritual leader, and a cantor whose singing could hold its own in musically rich Vienna."⁸ Biedermann and the rest of his community were

⁷ "Vienna," *Encyclopedia Judaica*, first edition, online version (www.jewishencyclopedia.com) [accessed December 27, 2008].

⁸ Michael Meyer, Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement of

truly fortunate that they found their spiritual leader and cantor in Isaac Noah Mannheimer (1793-1865) and Salomon Sulzer . This dynamic duo led the new Seitenstettengasse Synagogue to a position of grandeur and success.⁹

In order to keep the Jewish community of Vienna unified, no grand ideological changes were introduced to the liturgy. Rather, the leaders of Seitenstettengasse concentrated on form rather than content, realizing that radical reform would not be tolerated. Thus, Mannheimer, who was known as a moderate reformer, agreed to tone down his position in order to be appointed to his post in Vienna. He understood that the government would not allow reformation to occur. The mantra of the day was restoration, not reformation.¹⁰

With all that, Mannheimer did implement some changes in the community. Early on, he reduced the overall number of *piyyutim* included in the liturgy, and established the confirmation service. In the 1840s, he eliminated *Kol Nidre*. While indicators of overall reform, he did not alter major portions of the liturgy. Mannheimer made specific alterations to theology where he felt that modernity trumped traditionalism, but overall, he remained true to his Ashkenazic liturgical heritage.

An additional factor limiting the pace of Reform in Vienna was the large influx of observant Jews from the East. While the Viennese rite of Mannheimer and Sulzer paid "attention to decorum, aesthetics, and socially relevant preaching," all of this fit within

Judaism. Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1988, p.147.

⁹ It is important to note that Mannheimer was not an ordained rabbi but a pastor, moral activist, and a theologian. Perhaps this was in his favor, as his focus was more political than pastoral.

¹⁰ Ibid., p.149.

the context of tradition and *halakha*.¹¹ Sulzer's music, for instance, unaccompanied until the 1870s, was written for cantor and sometimes for male choir. Although it was vastly different from the cantorial practice of the day, it was perfectly permissible in even the most Orthodox of settings. While Mannheimer and Sulzer accomplished a model of Reform for others, according to scholars such as Michael Meyer and Geoffrey Goldberg, they never intended to become "Reform" themselves.

Prayerbook Reform¹²

In order to determine the pace of Reform in nineteenth century Germany and Austria, I will survey four prayerbooks: those of the Hamburg reformers, Abraham Geiger, Manuel Joël, and Isaac Noah Mannheimer. Each of these men served united Jewish communities – those not divided by denominations. Thus, each wrote a prayerbook that would address the theological sentiments of their entire community. As David Ellenson argued, their works represent the "result of a spirit of compromise," showing a desire on the part of each rabbi to keep peace and unity in his community.¹³ Their objective was to write German translations, which would be meaningful to their congregations. And overall, they sought to reform traditional Hebrew texts whose validity was lost to the modern age. As Lawrence Hoffman claimed and David Ellenson

¹¹ Ibid. p.151.

¹² It is due to the scholarly work of David Ellenson that the details about prayerbook reform in the following section are provided ("The Mannheimer Prayerbooks and Modern Central European Communal Liturgies" and "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion" were instrumental resources).

¹³ David Ellenson, "The Mannheimer Prayerbooks and Modern Central European Communal Liturgies," *Between Tradition and Culture: The Dialectics of Modern Jewish Religion and Identity.* Atlanta, Georgia: Scholars Press, 1994, p.60.

reinforced:

'It was not a question of providing prayerbooks for those Jews who, as a matter of principle, had broken with the beliefs and practices of Rabbinic Judaism – as was the situation that obtained in the United States. Rather, it was a question of swaying whole Jewish communities, rooted in the Rabbinic tradition and attached to their own liturgical rites, towards the acceptance of liturgical reform.' Indeed, this is why they had to proceed conservatively with their prayerbook reform.¹⁴

Abraham Geiger's prayerbook emerged from Hamburg where reforms were implemented over the course of the 1800s. While *siddurim* were published there in 1819 and 1841, and Geiger was certainly involved in this process, it was not until 1854 that he wrote his own *Israelitisches Gebetbuch*, with the additional title in Hebrew of *Seder Tefillah Dvar Yom be-Yomo* (Order of Prayer Day by Day).¹⁵ The 1819 Hamburg prayerbook was, according to Michael Meyer, the "first comprehensive Reform liturgy," though rituals were far from fully developed.¹⁶ The editors of this prayerbook, Meyer Israel Bresselau and Seckel Isaak Frankel, wanted to capture the spirit and essence of this new age of Enlightenment, while maintaining ties to the traditional Jewish community by retaining both Hebrew and the order and structure of the service. The fervor of the Enlightenment is demonstrated by the facts that the book opens from left to right and that prayers appear in the vernacular. Only Sephardic *piyytuim* were included, and the Hebrew was meant to be read with a Sephardic pronunciation, as opposed to the

¹⁴ Lawrence Hoffman, "The Liturgical Message," *Gates of Understanding*, Lawrence Hoffman, ed., New York: CCAR and UAHC, 1977, p.36, as quoted in David Ellenson, "The Mannheimer Prayerbooks and Modern Central European Communal Liturgies," p.62.

¹⁵ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.195.

¹⁶ Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, p.56.

Ashkenazic way, which had dominated German Jewry for centuries. Ideological changes are apparent in the excision of texts referring to a return to the sacrificial cult, a personal messiah, and angelology. Often, editors would replace troublesome passages with other parts of the liturgy. For example, they substituted a *musaf* passage for something in *shacharit*, and even made the choice to rid liturgical passages of certain words that referenced uncomfortable theological ideas while keeping the section in question. They accomplished this via "interpretive" translation or the substitution of one Hebrew word for another that did not fit their modern sensibilities.

Despite the Hamburg reformers' efforts to keep the community together, the traditionalists protested these changes. Nevertheless, the editors of this first attempt at prayerbook reform must be commended for their desire to "calibrate between the push of tradition and the pull of the present."¹⁷ They found a way to push Judaism forward without removing the elements that made praying Jews feel comfortable. Despite the balance that the Hamburg reformers tried to achieve, perhaps what "branded" their prayerbook "reform" was that its contents split the community. Did "reform" always refer to a break with tradition? How strong did that break have to be to push a liturgical work pass the threshold of reform? We cannot help but ask such questions as we analyze these prayerbooks.

The 1841 Hamburg prayerbook made two additions to the Sabbath and Festival prayerbook of 1819: a Shabbat afternoon service and a daily service. The scholar Jakob Petuchowski called it "a return to Tradition, and, on the other, an espousal of a more

¹⁷ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.200.

'radical' Reform point of view.^{''18} David Ellenson points out that while the *Pesukei D'zimrah* were eliminated from the 1819 *siddur*, they were restored in Hebrew in the 1841 prayerbook. Notably, the editors of this *siddur* were rather deceptive in how they handled the restoration of this portion of liturgy, as they included the traditional line "O, may You cause a new light to shine upon Zion," in *Pesukei D'zimrah*, only in a smaller type than that on the rest of the page. Moreover, they surrounded the controversial phrase with parenthesis, and did not translate it into the vernacular.¹⁹ This move makes the restoration seem "half-hearted."

Like others seeking a more universal message, the editors of the 1841 prayerbook wished to mute passages referring to the restoration of the Jewish people to the Land of Palestine and the importance of Zion. While they sometimes handled this as described above (through not including a translation into the vernacular and playing with the size of certain texts in relation to others), at other times, they accomplished this goal by substituting a "fictitious" translation into German of what might be offensive in Hebrew. And to justify such changes, they included proof by Rashi stating that Jewish tradition gives people authority to edit traditional Jewish texts. Like others before them, they included this evidence at the back of the volume.

Although Abraham Geiger disputed much included by the editors of the 1819 and 1841 Hamburg prayerbooks, he tended to follow in their footsteps with regard to Reform

¹⁸ Jakob Petuchowski, Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism. New York: World Union for Progressive Judaism, Ltd., 1968, p.54.

¹⁹ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.200.

theology, including priesthood, sacrifice, and chosenness. Often, he maintained controversial passages on these subjects, though he translated them into some alternative German concept for the sake of maintaining Reform ideals. For example, in his landmark 1854 *siddur*, Geiger retained the Hebrew from Isaiah 2:3: "For from Zion shall go forth Torah, and the word of God from Jerusalem." However, in place of the translating the Hebrew *teitzei* (shall go forth) directly, he creatively referred to this Hebrew term as "went forth," assuming that the past historical memory is all that is worth retaining.²⁰

Another example is found when looking at the blessings in the 1854 *siddur*'s daily *Amidah*. Here, rather than relying on creative translations, he composed a new blessing altogether that focuses on "sounding the great *shofar* for our freedom" and saving the people of Israel who have been scattered to the four corners of the earth.²¹

Abraham Geiger believed that change rooted in the strong Jewish traditions of

Tanakh and Talmud would have a better chance of success and acceptance. As he put it,

I can assert with full conviction that the ordering of the prayers does not contradict the laws of the Talmud and the rabbis as long as the essential prayers, *Shema* and its blessings, expressing the acceptance of the yoke of the kingdom of Heaven and the remembrance of the Exodus from Egypt, and the *Amidah* are contained therein.²²

Because the Hamburg rite and his own *siddur* contained these elements, Geiger found the strong reaction of the more traditional community to be unfounded.

Indeed, Geiger and the editors of the Hamburg siddur never intended to create a

²⁰ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.209.

²¹ Ibid., p.209.

²² Michael Meyer, *Response to Modernity: A History of the Reform Movement in Judaism*, p.117.

new branch of Judaism. About the early Hamburg Reformers, Jakob Petuchowski wrote:

The farthest thing from their mind was the formation of a new Jewish sect...The Judaism to which they wanted to bring liturgical reform was a Judaism based on Bible, Talmud, and Codes; and it was by an appeal to these accepted bases of Jewish life that they sought to justify their place *within* Judaism.²³

By basing their decisions on classical Jewish exegetes, they could not conceive of any Jew rejecting what they had devised. They regarded themselves as rooted in the Jewish past.

Before long, a rival prayerbook to Geiger's emerged. Manuel Joël, Geiger's successor in Breslau, undertook the task of revising his predecessor's 1854 prayerbook by reinstating more tradition.²⁴ Joël was closely aligned with the reformer Zacharias Frankel (1801-1875), who espoused the tenets of Positive-Historical Judaism, a Judaism indicative of conservative liberalism. Joël respected Geiger's work, and did not want to alienate him, but his community wanted desired a prayerbook that combined traditional liturgy with Geiger's Reform perspective. Thus, Joël used Geiger's 1854 prayerbook as the basis of his work, making modifications that pushed the liturgy in a more traditional direction.

Joël was a retainer rather than a destroyer; he sought to keep the traditional text as much as possible. Yet he was a great fan of modernity and the focus that this era placed on the individual over the community. He said,

On the one hand, we must express the freedom of the individual, but, on the other, especially as far as ritual is concerned, the individual must give expression not

²³ Jakob Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism*, p.98.

²⁴ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.214.

merely to that which moves him, but also to that which affects Israel and the total community. $^{\rm 25}$

Like many Jews of his time, Joël was in a quandary, caught between tradition and modernity.

Joël found creative ways to avoid conflict in his liturgical rendering of the sacred service. For the *Amidah*, he dealt with the controversial passages on Jerusalem and the restoration and return to Zion and the sacrificial cult by adhering to the German liberal tradition of saying the intermediary blessings silently. People could then say what felt most comfortable to them; there was no attempt to come to a communal consensus. Joël also removed sections of the liturgy that depicted gentiles in a negative fashion or made distinctions between Israel and the other nations. Petuchowski notes that:

Joël printed a "reformed" text of the controversial passages "in large print, and the German translation would refer to that 'reformed' version. But also, in small print and without translation, Joël would restore the traditional text, for the benefit of those congregants who were uncompromisingly attached to it."²⁶

He found it appropriate to substitute an interpretive translation in place of a literal one, as

he had Geiger's example to follow.

Joël differed from Geiger in that he was more comfortable with Jewish

particularity. For instance, Joël used the phrase "from among all peoples" in his

prayerbook, while Geiger substituted something more innocuous. There are several other

examples of particularity in his work, including mention of restoring divine presence to

²⁵ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitsche Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.215, as quoted in Plaut, *The Rise of Reform Judaism*, p.181.

²⁶ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitische Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Communal Liturgy and Religion," p.216, as quoted in Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism*, p.171.

Zion and Israel's mission to bring God's teachings to all of humanity.

In all three of the prayerbooks analyzed thus far, it can be seen that "a common Central European context informed [the] authors...Simply put, the traditionalist ideological consensus and cultural proclivities that marked Joël and Geiger were simply too great to justify the creation of separate religious movements."²⁷ While the Hamburg editors may have desired a more radical break with tradition than Geiger or Joël, all of them found difficulty in severing ties completely. Although these liturgical efforts might be viewed as the first attempts at reform liturgy, it is important to remember that the authors intended to remain a part of the wider Jewish community. Perhaps the world was not yet ready for a true reform revolution, and Mannheimer, who we turn to next, was merely following the lead of his contemporaries in the creation of his sacred service.

Isaac Noah Mannheimer was the son of a cantor and thus no stranger to the Jewish religious world. He was known as a religious conservative, and at the same time, a moderate reformer. His first prayerbook, *Mahazor L'moadei El – Festgebete der Israeliten nach der gottesdienstlichen Ordnung im israelitischen Bethause zu Wien*, published in 1840, shows a strong bond with Jewish tradition. Mannheimer said in response to the reformers in Frankfurt, "...Judaism is not a philosophical doctrine but an historical institution, sanctified by divine revelation, and firmly established and unified by ancestral tradition and filial piety and devotion."²⁸ This commitment to tradition

²⁷ David Ellenson, "The *Israelitische Gebetbücher* of Abraham Geiger and Manuel Joël: A Study in Nineteenth-Century German-Jewish Liturgy and Religion," p.220.

²⁸ Isaac Noah Mannheimer, "Getachten des Herrn Predigers Dr. Mannheimer in Wien," in Salomon Abraham Trier, ed., *Rabbinische Gutachten ueber die Beschneidung* (Frankfurt a. Main, 1844), pp.89-104, as quoted in David Ellenson, "The Mannheimer Prayerbooks and Modern Central European Communal Liturgies," p.65.

would characterize all of his liturgical work. Mannheimer was like Joël, an adherent of the Positive-Historical school of Judaism.

Despite his traditionalist leanings, Mannheimer believed firmly in the use of vernacular in prayer and that every generation was allowed to alter liturgical texts as necessary. After all, he argued, both Sephardic and Ashkenazic rites had developed, proving that there was no single, true rite. He did not believe that the sacrificial cult was one that Judaism would ever return to, and he sought to excise passages referring to it. Mannheimer strayed far from martyrology. In many ways, his struggles were similar to the Reformers of his day.

However, Mannheimer's later prayerbook entitled *Tefillot Yisrael – Gebete der Israeliten* (1843) is considered traditional. Jacob Petuchowski does not even include it on his list of European Liberal and Reform prayerbooks.²⁹ What does Mannheimer do specifically that makes this work so traditional? He did not alter the phrases referring to a return to Zion, but instead offered a creative German translation. Mannheimer spiritualizes the nationalistic hopes of the people of Israel, taking away the feeling of "otherness" typical to these passages. He interpreted the notion of sacrifices metaphorically, indicating that prayer is now the daily offering in their stead. Lastly, he was faithful to the texts that referenced resurrection of the dead.³⁰

Nevertheless, he did sanction changes. Instead of translating *shelo asani goy* as "who has not made me a gentile," he translates the passage as "who has made me an

²⁹ Jakob Petuchowski, *Prayerbook Reform in Europe: The Liturgy of European Liberal and Reform Judaism*, pp.1-21, 393.

³⁰ All of the examples included in the paragraph preceding this footnote are referenced in David Ellenson, "The Mannheimer Prayerbooks and Modern Central European Communal Liturgies," pp.67-70.

Israelite." He removed passages that asked God to avenge the blood of God's servants in both the *Av Harachamim* (which precedes the *Ashrei* in the traditional Torah service) and the *Avinu Malkeinu*.

Mannheimer's prayerbook *Tefillot Yisrael* is not what we today would consider a Reform prayerbook. Like the others analyzed, all four of these significant prayerbooks do not argue for radical change. Rather, they are attempts to bridge from a traditional ground to a new era, which lies still in the future. They are responsible for opening the door to modernity, albeit very slowly. They acknowledged that multiple rites could co-exist and that liturgy could conflict with modern sensibilities. For our story, what they did was open a door for Salomon Sulzer to walk through, allowing a creative master to compose synagogue music that was both inspiringly modern and *halakhically* valid.

Chapter Two Salomon Sulzer's Musical Mileu: Nineteenth-Century Vienna

Throughout much of modern history, Vienna has been considered a cultural jewel among the nations. Its production of superior arts is incomparable to that of its neighbors. The story of its musical life is especially remarkable. It was a center for extraordinary composers, gentile and Jewish alike. The lifting of certain discriminatory legislation enabled Jews of nineteenth-century Vienna to roam relatively freely in the creative melting pot of the Austro-Hungarian capitol. Salomon Sulzer spent much of his life not only surrounded by cultural genius but at the very center of that magical, musical world. Indeed, Sulzer came to write extraordinary music admired by his Christian colleagues. The government gave him both privileges and awards. And the modernizing Jews of the capital and beyond benefited – even to this day – from his reforms and reinventions of the basic worship service.

Jewish liturgy would not have been what it is today without Sulzer. He is singly responsible for changing and elevating liturgical music to be on par with modern music of the finest quality. His introduced a brand new musical service to the liturgy, and, most important, redefined the sound of Jewish music. Changing what is acceptable to the ear is about changing what is acceptable to the soul. This proved Sulzer's greatest task.

Vienna has quite a rich musical story to tell. From 1740 to 1806, Vienna was considered the birthplace of the most prominent compositions, despite the fact that the composers themselves, with the exception of Franz Schubert, were not Viennese by birth. In fact, in no other political entity were there so many religious and secular musical institutions. While the city may not have given birth to sensational composers of its own, it no doubt gave musical masters studying there a place to mature and grow.³¹ Among the stunning composers who did make Vienna their home at some point were Mozart, Beethoven, Gluck, Schubert, Wagner, Brahms, and Haydn.

During the nineteenth-century in Vienna, opera and symphony were the most highly regarded musical genres. Though fashions waxed and waned, there was always a partiality for grandness, majesty, and stateliness. If it was not big and held in a grand theater with magnificent musicians, it was simply not acceptable to a Viennese crowd of the day. Music enthusiasts rooted themselves in Baroque, Classical, and Romantic compositions, especially those written by native Viennese composers such as Schubert. In fact, when in the 1840s there was a shift away from Vienna's classical past, members of the musical society reacted quickly. They identified this as a major problem, and resolved to assist musicians in moving back towards what was considered to be the authentic tradition of Vienna. Classicism simply defined Vienna to its very core.

Scholar Peter Gradenwitz argues that Vienna is home to three schools of music. First, it was the capital of music *par excellence*, home to Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Joseph Haydn, and Ludwig von Beethoven. Second, although lighter in temperament, but certainly no less influential, it was the stomping ground of Johann Strauss's waltz and operetta. Third, it was connected to musical superpowers like Gustav Mahler, Arnold Schoenberg, Alban Berg, and Anton Webern. All three of these schools changed the face of musical history.³² It is impossible to imagine nineteenth-century music and

³¹ "Vienna," *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, Vol. 26, 2001 edition, p.559.

³² Peter Gradenwitz, "Jews in Austrian Music," The Jews of Austria: Essays on their

development thereafter without these schools. In sum, Vienna was crucial in the process of music-making.

At the same time, Vienna offered some freedom to those who sought to create sacred musical traditions. For Jews, the path to musical creativity was especially difficult, given the hardships placed upon them. As Gradenwitz reminds us,

...at the time the classical school was flourishing in Vienna, Jewish emancipation had not yet developed sufficiently for Jews to participate actively in the social and artistic life of the countries in which they lived. The Jewish community of Vienna developed only slowly during the eighteenth century, after hundreds of years of terror and banishment. It was re-organized only in 1790, and set up its first house of worship as late as 1826.³³

Though we might imagine the Jewish musical world of Vienna to have been light years away from mainstream society, aspects of it were as current and profound as its gentile counterparts. For this reason, Gradenwitz assigns musical history a fourth school, namely the religious music of Salomon Sulzer. His work breathed new life into the liturgy and was utilized not only in Viennese synagogues but in those throughout Europe and, eventually, over the world. Indeed, his compositions are performed across the globe and down to our own day. Sulzer's musical accomplishments were extraordinary and his story aptly tells the tale of a man larger than life.

Salomon Sulzer was born on March 30, 1804, in Hohenems, a small town in Vorarlberg, an Austrian province between Tyrol and Switzerland. His parents were faithful adherents of the Jewish faith. The apocryphal story is told that, as a small boy of seven, when Sulzer fell into a river and was miraculously saved from drowning, his

Life, History and Destruction, Josef Fraenkel, ed. London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1967, p.17.

³³ Ibid., p.17.

mother determined that he should be dedicated to the service of God. To symbolize this decision, she dressed him solely in white. While Sulzer's later writings contradict the story, it certainly makes for a dramatic opening tale of a man who certainly dedicated his life in service to God. This story is much like that of the biblical Samuel, whose mother Hannah prayed to God for a child. She promised she would dedicate this child to the service of God should she be fortunate enough to conceive. Thus, both Samuel and Salomon Sulzer share the promise of dedicated service to God. In this way, Sulzer is elevated to a priestly level. If biblical greatness was manifest in nineteenth-century Europe, it belonged to Salomon Sulzer.

Sulzer's education was diverse. As a youngster, he attended a *yeshiva* in Switzerland where he trained in Talmud and then received musical training in Karlsruhe in Prussia. He was known to have an outstanding voice. Already by the age of thirteen, he had been appointed cantor in his hometown of Hohenems. As he wrote,

I was only 13 years old—barely at the age of religious majority—when I first stood before the prayer-lectern. People regarded me as very talented, but also as too young for the office. The authorities, then under the imperial regime of His Majesty Franz I, intervened to grant me a three-year interval in which to mature and complete my training."³⁴

It would seem that some resented Sulzer's prodigious talent at such a young age, and so the matter of his appointment was sent to the capital for none other than Emperor Franz Joseph to approve, on the condition that he first devote himself to further cantorial studies. The fact that the matter was considered by the Emperor was extraordinary. This might signify either new imperial interest in the Jews or that Sulzer's talent was so

 ³⁴ Hanoch Avenary, *Kantor Salomon Sulzer und seine Zeit – Eine Dokumentation*.
 Sigmaringen: Jan Thorbecke, 1985. Unpublished translation by Caroline Sawyer, p.14.

remarkable that it garnered the attention of even the Emperor. Of course, we might consider that the story is apocryphal, though still telling in the "details" that have come down to us.

Various cantors trained Sulzer, and one man by the name of Lippmann took the boy through southern Germany, France, and Switzerland along with a itinerant group that conducted Shabbat services in each community visited. The group became so popular that it replaced public concerts in many smaller communities and found a following in larger communities as well. This tradition of *meshor 'rim* – supporting singers (both a tenor and a bass) accompanying a traveling cantor – formed a trio of sorts, though of unequal parts. Each of the accompanying singers would stand on either side of the *hazzan* and acted as "instrumental accompaniment" to the liturgical melody.

For three years, Sulzer had a life of travel. What he learned on the road, he squirreled away for his return to Hohenems. The experience became a model for his future, as he suggested in Alsace-Lorraine:

...[I] encountered organized Jewish communities which afforded me a deeper insight into the requirements of synagogue life. I searched everywhere for the ideal of my future profession, seeking that for which my soul was yearning. Everywhere I gathered impressions which had a determining and shaping influence on my conception of the cantorial office and, even before the three years were up, I returned to my native town of Hohenems to deposit the first fruits on the altar of God at the age of 16.³⁵

This notion of "first fruits on the altar" is another reminder of the parallels forged between Sulzer and Samuel. After all, Samuel was just weaned when his mother took him to Eli the Priest, making good on her promise to give him to God. Sulzer, too, had

³⁵ Eric Mandell, "Salomon Sulzer 1804-1890," *The Jews of Austria*. Josef Fraenkel, ed. London: Vallentine Mitchell, 1967, p.223.

been promised to divine service by his mother following his near-drowning at age seven. By the time he was 16 and sufficiently educated, he, too, began to serve God in the way that he was meant to – through music.

In the Hohenems synagogue, he studied under the tutelage of the *hazzan*, Salomon Eichberg (1786-1880), who himself trained under Israel Löwy (1773-1832).³⁶ While Eichberg taught him the requisite skills for liturgical singing and music, Sulzer's well-to-do parents gave him a proper general education. Later, upon arriving in Vienna in 1825, he continued his general musical studies with Ignaz Xaver Seyfried (1776-1841). The latter had impeccable pedigree: he was a friend and disciple of Beethoven, a pupil of Haydn, and a friend of Mozart. While in Vienna, Sulzer also studied composition with Josef Fischhof (1804-1857).³⁷

In addition to studying and on-the-job training, Sulzer responded to the call to create a magnum opus—his divine service. Even before arriving to Vienna, Sulzer had been engaged in composition. He wrote that he worked early on in remote cities, removed from art and the influences of other artists, using his own taste as guidance for his work. He was surprised to find that these early attempts had gained the attention of Jews as far away as the capital.

At the age of 22, Sulzer's community granted him a leave of absence of eight weeks to travel to Vienna. The months turned into years, and Sulzer never did return to

³⁶ Both Löwy and Eichberg were well-known, important hazzanim of their day. Löwy had attempted to move the synagogues in Europe past the state of musical chaos that they were in, but he did not find success. A.W. Binder writes that it took someone with the talent, dedication, and personality of Sulzer to accomplish this.

³⁷ Josef Fischhoff was a pupil of Ignaz Seyfried, who himself was a pupil of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart. Both Fischhoff and Seyfried composed liturgical music for the Vienna synagogue service of Salomon Sulzer's.

his former pulpit in Hohenems. Rather, he was drawn into the musical milieu of the capital city and engaged in synagogue reform beside Rabbi Isaac Noah Mannheimer. The latter realized that he could accomplish his goal of devising a modern service for the Seitenstettengasse Synagogue with the help of the musical genius Sulzer. Thus, he brought the same to Vienna in order to officiate as cantor.

On February 12, 1826, at an audition performance in Vienna, Sulzer sang traditional melodies, along with two auxiliary singers (*meshor 'rim*) from his hometown. He was very well received. The Viennese Jewish community invited Sulzer to be its cantor, and he officially started on April 26, 1826 for the Sabbath and High Holy Days. Sulzer graciously sought to become a member of the Seitenstettengasse Synagogue community and became immersed in the cultural life in Vienna.

Although he married a woman from his hometown of Hohenems in 1827, the couple, who were very much in love, was at home in the capital city. Sulzer attended secret meetings and befriended those who populated the circle of artists in the city. Franz Schubert became the most important influence on Sulzer. His stamp left a deep mark on Sulzer's music. Schubert taught Sulzer to combine traditional Jewish musical elements with classical elements from the Christian world. As the scholar Eric Werner stated, "Sulzer was the first personality since de' Rossi who combined in himself a thorough knowledge of Jewish tradition, a high musical erudition, and a full appreciation of classical music."³⁸ Sulzer brought this combination of tradition and erudition to his

³⁸ Eric Werner, A Voice Still Heard... The Sacred Song of the Ashkenazic Jews. University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976, p.211. Salomone de' Rossi (1570-1630) was an Italian Jewish composer who sought to bridge the music of the Renaissance and the music of the Baroque by seamlessly transitioning between the two in his compositions.

congregation. He endeavored to reform the tradition by merging it with the beauty inherent in modern compositions.

It is important to note that reforming music was no easy task in Sulzer's day. Many scholars have pointed out that synagogue music of the time was in a "corrupt" state. Sulzer was well aware that while certain modal and melodic elements characterized traditional Jewish music depending on the season, over time these so-called "pure" melodies had been altered to such a degree that they were no longer discernible or recognizable. Sulzer had no contemporary models for "purifying" the ancient but corrupted melodies. While Salomone de' Rossi of Mantua had attempted this kind of reform in the seventeenth century, he died mysteriously at a young age, before realizing his dream of re-creating Jewish music. Sulzer set out alone then to find the pure *nusach* for the various liturgical pieces of the sacred service. He traced them to their earliest roots and thereby hoped to cleanse them of centuries of "dross" and then harmonize them with modernity for all time.

By the eighteenth century, synagogue music focused on cantorial rhapsody with Baroque and Rococo adornments.³⁹ There was occasional three-part harmony that was often improvised. In contrast, the nineteenth-century Reformers who embraced Jewish emancipation, welcomed (democratic) participation. To realize this musically in worship, Sulzer developed Jewish hymns in a Protestant style, thus enabling Jews to participate in the music of prayer along with the liturgy.

In effect, Sulzer reformed the music of liturgy in the same way that Mannheimer

³⁹ Cantorial rhapsody is a type of liturgical music where a basic melody is sung to the text, and extensive melodic sections are inserted at certain points, sung on "ah."

reformed the words of prayer. Sulzer spoke of his relationship with Mannheimer and their joint goal in his *Denkschrift an die Wiener israelitische Kultusgemeinde* in 1886:

To me it appeared that the confusion in the synagogue service was a consequence of the need for a restoration, but one based on historical ground; and that we might discover the original, noble forms to which we should anchor ourselves, developing them in artistic style...Jewish liturgy must satisfy all musical demands while remaining Jewish.⁴⁰

Together, Sulzer and Mannheimer attempted to minimize internal schisms within the Central European Jewish community by minimizing the distance from tradition. In the end, Sulzer would be far more successful than Mannheimer; his influence would be everlasting.

Sulzer's accomplishments are visible in his legendary work *Schir Zion*, the first volume of which was published in 1840. Containing musical liturgy for Shabbat, the Three Festivals, the New Year, the Day of Atonement, Purim, Tisha B'Av, and miscellaneous songs, Sulzer reported that of the 159 compositions, 37 compositions were written by other composers, including Schubert, von Seyfried, Fischhof, and others. Thirty-six of the pieces were based on traditional synagogue melodies. Yet, for the most part, Sulzer deferred to the secular and church styles of his day in his compositional efforts. Unable to resist the effects of being a true Classicist in a city known for its Classicism, he wrote in his introduction to *Schir Zion*:

I see it as my duty...to consider as far as possible the traditional tunes bequeathed to us, to cleanse their ancient and decorous character from the later accretions or tasteless embellishments, to restore their original purity, and to reconstruct them in accordance with the text and the rules of harmony.⁴¹

Sulzer found little to preserve from the Shabbat tradition. He considered the extant

⁴⁰ Peter Gradenwitz, "Jews in Austrian Music," p.19.

⁴¹ Eric Werner, A Voice Still Heard... The Sacred Song of the Ashkenazic Jews, p.213.

liturgy less than authentic, arguing that many profane melodies had been retained by the generations that preceded him. Thus, he felt comfortable substituting these "standards" with the melodies of non-Jewish composers, and creating, in essence, a new tradition.

Sulzer followed up with a second volume of *Schir Zion* in 1865 (which was likely printed in 1866). Having honed his skills and garnered far more experience, Sulzer decided to try his hand at traditional *hazzanut* for cantor and choir. He understood that this volume was markedly different from the one that came before it. As he said:

This second part should not merely supplement its predecessor—it is a separate collection of liturgical songs for all occasions, both ordinary and extraordinary... For that reason it contains everything proved by long-standing usage to be practicable for ritual purposes, as well as of musical worth, and which has already found a permanent place in the hearts of congregants...I have devoted special attention to the venerable tunes of the great Nestor Maharil, often using them as the basis of my own compositions."⁴²

This volume surpassed the first. While both remain a legacy of musical genius, the latter gave the Jewish people a combination of tradition and modernity. The fruits of the second volume allowed the community to experience familiar melodies with a new twist. He gave the people Reform, without removing what remained comfortable to them. In this way, Sulzer facilitated the maintenance of a single community, rather than splitting it down the middle between reformers and traditionalists.

Sulzer, a politico of sorts, was involved in the battle of the Vienna March Revolution in 1848, and, as a result, was imprisoned for a time. But because he had attained such high marks, the government pardoned him. In fact, by 1868, Sulzer had achieved such a high standing that the government bestowed upon him the title Knight of the Order of Franz Joseph, a feat nearly unheard of for a Jew. He received additional

⁴² Eric Mandell, "Salomon Sulzer 1804-1890," p.227.

honors and gifts, including the Great Gold Medal of Austria and Russia for Art and Science, and diamond rings from Emperor Ferdinand, Emperor Franz Joseph, and the Grand Duke of Baden. Moreover, the municipality of Vienna honored him with the freedom of the city, just to name a few.⁴³

After 55 years as the cantor of the Seitenstettengasse Synagogue, Sulzer retired on April 2, 1881, and died nine years later on January 17, 1890, at the age of 85. It is said that "his whole life was a song, a song as sweet and beautiful as that which he sang."⁴⁴

⁴³ Because many Jews of the time were restricted to certain areas of the city and certain occupations, this bestowal of freedom to do anything in the city at any time was significant.

⁴⁴ A. Guttman, "The Life of Salomon Sulzer," *Year Book of the Central Conference of American Rabbis,* Volume XIV (1904), p.234.
All fourteen of his children appear in some form on his death certificate. His four sons, Julius, Emile, Carl, and Joseph signed their names' while the names of his daughters Marie Belart, Hermine Gingold, Henriette Biacchi, Rose Wagner, Rachel Niederhofheim, Auguste Fischel, and Fanny Abrest are listed as well.

Chapter Three An Introductory Analysis of *Schir Zion*

Despite his anti-Semitic leanings and his personal dislike of Sulzer, Franz Liszt

wrote the following after hearing him lead prayer at the Seitenstettengasse Synagogue:

Only once we witnessed what a really Judaic art could be, as the Israelites would have poured out their suppressed passions and sentiments, and revealed the glow of their fire in the noble art forms of their Asiatic Genius, in its full majesty and fantasy and dreams...In Vienna we heard the famous...Sulzer, who served in the capacity of precentor in the synagogue...For moments we could penetrate into his real soul and recognize the secret doctrines of the fathers...Seldom were we so deeply moved by emotion as on that evening, so shaken that our soul was entirely seized by meditation and given to participation in the service...²⁴⁵

There is no doubt that Jew and non-Jew alike were drawn to Sulzer, his Schir Zion, and

the magic of his music. He had the ability to "shake one's soul."

Yet like all geniuses, Sulzer had his critics. Eric Werner and others have regarded

Sulzer's contributions to synagogue music as not much more than an imitation of the

Classicists around him. Werner claimed,

Sulzer's well-known establishment of order and decorum in the divine service likewise must be considered historically. In this respect, he followed the trend of his contemporaries who were chiefly interested in loosening the spiritual shackles, which centuries of ghettoization had clamped upon the Jewish practice and ideology."⁴⁶

I would argue that Sulzer was concerned about freeing the Jews from centuries of mental

persecution, and viewed the act of upgrading their music as a means of achieving this.

We could debate whether Sulzer's goal of dignifying Jewish music even required the

justification that years of governmental oppression stripped the Jews of the creativity he

⁴⁵ Eric Werner, A Voice Still Heard... The Sacred Song of the Ashkenazic Jews, p.215.

⁴⁶ Eric Werner, *From Generation to Generation*. New York: American Conference of Cantors, 1967, p.159.

wished to restore. But there is no denying that Sulzer achieved such a goal. He used the most prevalent musical medium available to him, classicism, to produce a new type of traditional Jewish musical, which would, in the end, surpass its century's-long repertoire and sound.

In his attempt to elevate Jewish music to the standards of his day, Sulzer combined principles of *hazzanut* with Western ideals. Volume I of *Schir Zion* (1840) is infused with a classicist style. Sulzer was a pioneer in transforming non-Western music to Western ideals; he worked on original synagogue melodies with neither time signature nor bar lines and forced them into metered, rhythmic lines. There is no denying that after Sulzer worked with them, they were distorted from the original. And, one could argue, that this very distortion was an aberration from Sulzer's stated goal of "purification." While he pulled the synagogue melodies away from their traditional free-form state, he also provided rhythm which gave the pieces order, leading to dignity and majesty, to which nineteenth-century modern Jews aspired.

In keeping with his objective of orderliness, Sulzer advocated for a standard pronunciation of Hebrew in *Schir Zion*. Even when he invited outside composers unfamiliar with Hebrew to contribute to his work, he ensured that they followed his Hebrew guidelines. Later in his career, he advocated for the organ, as evident by the substantial uptick in pieces written for organ and choir or organ and *hazzan* in the second volume, where none had existed in the first.

Volume one is notable for its five- to eight-part choral compositions set for *a cappella* choir. While some might consider Sulzer an imitation of Salomone de Rossi or

Monteverdi because of such settings, upon closer examination, it is clear that Sulzer "is firmly anchored in the style and tonality of the Vienna classics."⁴⁷ Even with this use of the classical, Viennese style, Sulzer did retain some elements of tradition. His cantorial recitatives have a few embellishments, and are traditional in a very noble way. Also, in this first volume, he ably kept with the tradition with regard to the Three Festivals and High Holidays. He did less so with Shabbat.

In volume two, Sulzer wrote music for voice and organ and solo organ in addition to retaining his *a cappella* approach. The music is increasingly modal, although in future reprints, Sulzer's son Joseph changed some of these pieces to major and minor.⁴⁸ There is less grand choral music because the *hazzan* takes a far more prominent position in the service than had been visible in Sulzer's compositions heretofore. Recitatives, the mainstay of davening in the Jewish synagogue, begin to be accompanied by organ. Generally, music critics say the following about the grand composer:

...all the experts testify that it was Sulzer who restored order, dignity, and lofty aesthetic form in the musical liturgy of Judaism, that he had rescued it from a desolate state of amorphous and capricious negligence...The second volume is incomparably superior to the first, which seemed indebted to the Haydn-Mozart style...at any rate, German. The chants of the second part have not only more liturgical character, but they bear—and this is very important indeed more distinctly, the stamp of genuine Jewish-oriental music...³⁴⁹

In sum, the first volume was Classicist, while the second was modal and traditional.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ Eric Werner, A Voice Still Heard... The Sacred Song of the Ashkenazic Jews, p.213.

⁴⁸ Schir Zion has been reprinted five times to date. Joseph Sulzer played a large role in the first reprint, making some changes to the actual works and adding his own compositions where he saw fit.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p.217.

⁵⁰ For a more detailed overview, please turn to appendix A where I list musical selections as they appeared in the first edition of *Schir Zion* with volume number, Sulzer's item number, page number, name of listing, event, and a brief description of the musical

This modal approach as used in volume two was indicative of Sulzer's use of a style that was prominent among Eastern European cantors. As these cantors came to study with Sulzer, he realized the value of their stylistic approach and adopted it for use in his own compositions.

Sulzer attempted to infuse music into nearly every portion of the service. As the chart below shows, the majority of the liturgical elements were moments in which Sulzer found musical accompaniment necessary. For Sulzer, this is indicative of how instrumental music was in setting the tone of a service. Reform did not mean that the text should be recited instead of sung. On the contrary, Sulzer believed that musical moments should be preserved in the process of reform – yet presented in a new and dignified way.

The chart below is a comparison of the *Kabbalat Shabbat* and *Arvit L'Shabbat* liturgies in Mannheimer's *siddur* (1846) and the music selections of Volumes No. I and II of the first edition of Sulzer's *Schir Zion* (1840 and 1865). Note that the first volume of *Schir Zion* volume appeared before the Mannheimer siddur, and the other almost 20 years after. Thus, we can infer that these men did not develop a written and musical liturgy at the same time. For the most part, Mannheimer followed the standard *Kabbalat Shabbat* and *Arvit L'Shabbat* service. We can assume that Sulzer, too, intended to provide his congregation with rich and bold musical selections that filled out the standard service.

layout of the piece.

Mannheimer Kabbalat Shabbat	Sulzer Kabbalat Shabbat
L'chu N'ran'na—Psalm 95 (p.96)	
Shiru Ladonai Shir Chadash—Psalm 96 (p.97)	
Adonai Malach Tagel Ha'aretz—Psalm 97	
(p.98)	
ShiruKi Nifla'ot Asah—Psalm 98 (p.99)	
Adonai Malach Yirgizu Amim—Psalm 99	
(p.100)	
Mizmor L'David—Psalm 29 (p.101)	
L'cha Dodi (p.102)	L'cha Dodi (5 settings)
Shamor V'zachor	Shamor V'zachor (5 settings)
Likrat Shabbat	Likrat Shabbat (1 setting)
Mikdash Melech	Mikdash Melech (7 settings)
Hina'ari	Hitna'ari (1 setting)
Hitor'ri	Hitor'ri (6 settings)
Lo Teivoshi	
V'hayu Limshisa (p.103)	V'hayu Limshisa (6 settings)
Yamin U'smol	
Boi V'shalom	Boi V'shalom (3 settings)
Mizmor Shir L'yom Shabbat—Psalm 92 ⁵²	Mizmor Shir L'yom Hashabbat (1 setting)
	Mah Gadlu (1 setting)
	V'ata Marom (1 setting)
	Tov L'hodot (2 settings)
	Ki Hinei (1 setting)
Adonai Malach Geut Lavesh—Psalm 93 ⁵³	Adonai Malach (2 settings)
Psalms 134; 46:8/46:12; 84:13; 20:10	
V'hu Rachum Y'chapeir Avon	
Arvit L'Shabbat	
Bar'chu (p.104)	Bar'chu (3 settings)
Ma'ariv Aravim	Ma'ariv Aravim (2 settings)
Ahavat Olam (p.105)	Ahavat Olam (1 setting)
Sh'ma Yisrael	Sh'ma Yisrael (1 setting)
V'ahavta	
V'haya im Shamo'a (p.106)	L'ma'an Yirbu (1 setting)
Vayomer Adonai el Moshe (p.107)	V'lo Taturu (1 setting)
Emet V'emunah	
Mi Chamocha (p.108)	Mi Chamocha (2 settings)

Chart A—Mannheimer and Sulzer: A Liturgical Comparision⁵¹

⁵¹ Sources: Mannheimer, Issac Noah. *Tefilot Israel: Gebete der Israeliten*. Vienna: Druck und Vering, 1846. Sulzer, Salomon. *Schir Zion*. Volumes 1 and 2, as reprinted in *Out-of-Print Classics*, Volume 6, Sacred Music Press, 1954.

⁵² Text not included in this service in Mannheimer's siddur; instructed to turn back to page 30 where text is included in a shacharit service.

⁵³ Text also not included for this Psalm; on page 30 with the previous psalm.

	Mi Chamocha B'shem Chanukah (1 setting)
Malchut'cha	Malchut'cha (1 setting)
	Adonai Yimloch (2 settings)
V'ne'emar	V'ne'emar (1 setting)
Hashkiveinu (p.109)	Hashkiveinu (1 setting)
	U'v'tzeil K'nafecha (1 setting)
	Ki Eil Shomreinu (1 setting)
V'sham'ru	V'sham'ru (1 setting)
	Chatzi Kaddish (4 settings; divided)
Avot (p.112) ⁵⁴	
G'vurot ⁵⁵	
Ata Kadosh	
Ata Kidashta et Yom Hashvi'i	
Vay'chulu	
Eloheinu Veilohei Avoteinu (p.113)	
R'tzei ⁵⁶	
Modim Anachnu Lach (p.114)	
Shalom Rav	
Vay'chulu $(p.115)^{57}$	Vay'chulu (1 setting)
Mein Sheva	Magein Avot (1 setting)
Kaddish Shalem ⁵⁸	
Bameh Madlikin (p.116) ⁵⁹	
Kiddush (p.117)	Kiddush (1 setting)
Aleinu (p.119) ⁶⁰	Va'anach'nu Kor'im (1 setting)
	Bayom Hahu (1 setting)
Kaddish Yatom	
Adon Olam	Adon Olam (6 settings)

What do we learn from this chart? First, we see that Sulzer did not write any

compositions for the first six psalms-95, 96, 97, 98, 99, and 29-of the Kabbalat

Shabbat service. There could be a number of reasons for this. I believe that Sulzer was

shying away from traditional *hazzanut* in this first volume of *Schir Zion* because he felt

⁵⁴ No German translation given.

⁵⁵ No German translation given.

⁵⁶ No German translation given from *R'tzei* to *Shalom Rav*.

⁵⁷ No German translation given.

⁵⁸ No text is included for *Kaddish Shalem*, merely an instruction to recite it.

⁵⁹ No German translation given.

⁶⁰ In a similar fashion to *Kaddish Shalem*, no text is included for *Aleinu, Kaddish Yatom*, or *Adon Olam*; just instructions to recite each prayer.

unequipped to handle its difficulties at this point in his career. He may have been unable to conceptualize the psalms in anything other than the *nusach* in which they had been passed down to him. At the same time, he might have been focusing his efforts exlusively on *L'cha Dodi*, which he wrote numerous settings for, and for which he chose as "the star" of his *Kabbalat Shabbat* service.

Yet Sulzer did not write settings for each and every verse of *L'cha Dodi*, despite his seeming obsession with other particular verses for which he wrote six different settings. As he moved further into the *Kabbalat Shabbat* service, he chose to break up pieces of liturgy, which were meant to be considered as a whole, such as in *Mizmor Shir L'yom Hashabbat*. At the end of *Kabbalat Shabbat*, Sulzer skipped over the psalm verses in fragments and small liturgical elements that Mannheimer includes (psalm fragments that follow Psalm 93, including 134; 46:8/46:12; 84:13; 20:10), and focused on what one might consider the core building blocks of the service. This important idea of identifying key texts within lengthy liturgical selections is one that defines Reform Judaism down to our day.

For the first half of *Arvit L'Shabbat*, Sulzer was very much involved in writing music to augment the service, from *Bar'chu* to the *Chatzi Kaddish*. He chose not to tamper with the *minhag* for selections such as the *V'ahavta* (already likely being chanted to Torah trope) and *Emet V'Emunah*. However, his selections for *Ma'ariv Aravim* and the like are only written for the *chatimot* (closing lines), showing that he modeled them after *nusach*, even if, in the end, they appeared as choral, *a cappella* selections. Unlike his *L'cha Dodi* section, Sulzer usually kept the number of selections to 1 or 2 for each

piece. This might imply that, for him, for the main section of the service, there is still a *Mi-Sinai* way of doing thing—a way that comes from God that is untouchable.

For the *Amidah*, Sulzer keeps silent, as is appropriate in the German tradition of the day. He resumed composing for the *Vay'chulu* and *Mein Sheva*. Sulzer composes nothing for the *Kaddish Shalem*, which is interesting, as he did compose something for the responses of the *Chatzi Kaddish*. There is something about the *Mi-Sinai* melody of *Kaddish Shalem*, though, that signifies that it is the end of the service in the ears of the congregation, and perhaps that was something that Sulzer did not want to tamper with in any way. He did write a *Kiddush*, some elements of the *Aleinu*, and six settings of *Adon Olam*. All in all, both volumes of *Schir Zion* contain an enormous amount of repertoire, able to keep a congregation content week in and week out with both with its variety and its depth. Sulzer could proudly declaim that he had created a complete musical service with choices for each liturgical selection to meet the needs of even contemporary Jewry.

This brief analysis of the contents in *Schir Zion I* and *II* enables us to reflect more closely on the words of Geoffrey Goldberg and Michael Meyer – Sulzer never meant to be a "reformer." We can see this in his approach to his compositions. He attempted to make them current while maintaining their sense of traditionalism. Sulzer was very much like Geiger and Joël and Mannheimer. He did not want to splinter from the precious community that he felt was his sacred obligation to serve.

Early in his life, Sulzer was engaged in experimentation, though within the boundaries of traditionalism. As the external forces – including the *Haskala*, his artistic friends in Vienna, and his German-Jewish community that sought grandeur alongside

tradition – made themselves felt, he adapted his approach. Throughout his life, he would remain rooted in traditional melodies, *nusach* handed down throughout the centuries. Sulzer might have harmonized these melodies in a way more melodious to the modern ear, but he remained true to his Jewish roots.

What for Sulzer was the perfect balance between tradition and innovation? A deeper analysis of specific compositions by Salomon Sulzer written over the course of his lifetime will help us answer this question. In so doing, we can try to discern his techniques and more fully appreciate how he re-aligned this balance at different points in his compositional career.

Chapter Four An Analysis of Musical Examples

Twenty-five years lapsed between the publication of Sulzer's two volumes of *Schir Zion*. We can assume that, since Sulzer began his compositional activities long before he arrived in Vienna, he was composing for at least 14 years before Volume I was published, and then approximately 15 years before the arrival of Volume II. We reflect on this because scholars have outlined these two periods to be markedly different in terms of the character of their creative output. The first was of a classical style; the second, more traditional and modal in character.

These explanations, however, merely provide a overview to Sulzer's work. They fail to give credit to the nuances in his compositions, or the broad scope of each of the volumes. In fact, Sulzer might be overwhelmingly classical in the first volume, but this is not to say that he did not use traditional melodies. He might have harmonized them in a classical way, but the use of tradition cannot be discounted. The second volume has similar contradictions. Thus, we will look at three pieces – "*Adon Olom*" from *Schir Zion I, "B'rosch Haschonoh*" from the same volume, and a three-piece "*M'ein Sheva*" set from *Schir Zion II.* In analyzing these, we hope to gain a clearer sense of Sulzer's progression from a young musician to a mature composer, and then, we will be able to draw more accurate conclusions about Sulzer's legacy of both tradition and reform.

Adon Olom⁶¹

Sulzer composed many settings of "*Adon Olom*" throughout the course of his career. Six total appear in both Volumes I and II of *Schir Zion*, although one is by another composer. The particular "*Adon Olom*" from Volume I that I present for analysis becomes our focal point because it is a four-part, choral, *a cappella* work in waltz time that is typical of both German-Protestant hymns and the Classical era of music. It is typical of the classicist style for which Sulzer is known for in this first volume of his masterpiece.

This example is in Eb Major, and it is simple in both form and harmony. Perhaps this is because the poetry of the liturgical text is basic, and Sulzer finds that simplicity is the best way to musically accompany these words that close the Shabbat *Ma'ariv* service. The text and translation, with an outline of the form, follow:

 (1) Adon olom ascher moloch (2) B'terem col j'zir nivro. 	Master of the universe, Who reigned before any form was created,
(3) Lees naasoh b'chefzo kol	At the time when His will brought all into being-
(4) Asaj melech sch'mo nikro.	then as 'King' was His name proclaimed.
(5) V'achare kich'los (kich'los) haccol	After all has ceased to be,
(6) L'waddo jimloch (jimloch) noro.	He, the Awesome One, will reign alone.
(7) W'hu hojo w'hu howeh	It is He Who was, He Who is,
(8) W'hu jihejeh b'siforoh.	and He Who will remain in splendor. ⁶²

⁶¹ Music for "*Adon Olom*" can be found on page 90 of the appendix.

⁶² Translation from *The Complete Artscroll Siddur*, Rabbi Nosson Scherman, ed. New York: Mesorah Publications, 1984, page 13. The transliteration given in this chapter is found in the original publication and

As is evident from the outline above, there are eight, four-bar phrases in the entire piece. Essentially, the piece consists of two musical periods – from phrase one to four is one period, and from five to eight is the second. These two periods are quite similar, despite minor changes in rhythmic elements that derive from an attempt to set the Hebrew as clearly and accurately as possible.

A harmonic analysis of the piece uncovers the fact that phrases one and five, two and six, three and seven, and four and eight are essentially equal. We only need to determine what is occurring in the first four phrases, or first 16 measures, then, to analyze the thrust of the piece.⁶³

The first two phrases are simple, and ultimately, clear expressions of classicism. The opening phrase is a succession. It is in Eb Major, moves from I-V7-V7-I. No significant harmonic motion occurs in this phrase; the tonic and dominant are emphasized. But Sulzer sticks to standard classical harmonies, and establishes the classical nature of the piece from its very outset. Phrase two is a progression to the V chord, indicating a half cadence is present. Harmonically, it moves from IV-ii-I-V. Again, we are presented with classical harmonies and standard harmonic progressions.

The phrase of interest among this first period is phrase three, as it shows use of the secondary dominant. It is essentially written in Bb Major, the V of Eb, and in this

represents the German Ashkenazic tradition typical of nineteenth-century Viennese Jewry.

⁶³ Since the piece is in ³/₄ time, the strong accent is on the first two beats of the measure. The third beat, then, functions as a pick-up to whatever might be occurring in the following measure. Harmonically, this means that the action takes place during the course of those first two beats, and the analysis presented focuses on those first two beats in presenting the harmonic structure of the entire measure.

modulation, simple harmonies on the I and V chords are used. But when we consider this to be the key change that it is, the degree of harmonic difficulty that the phrase presents ultimately rises. However, this was a traditional harmonic move in the classical world, typical of Mozart. Secondary dominants were commonly used for interest and complexity, and Sulzer employs this same move, demonstrating his allegiance with the classicist world in which he lived.

Phrase four, the final phrase in the period, ultimately moves this first period towards the perfect authentic cadence that is so typical of classical music. The four measures progress as follows: I-IV-[I 6/4-V7]-I. We return to the Eb Major that opened the first phrase of the piece, and move through simple harmonies to reach the conclusion that music of this sort desires.

As the second period is strikingly similar to the first, no analysis is needed. It follows along the same harmonic outline, with the four phrases functioning as equals to the first four phrases presented in the piece. Despite the minor rhythmic changes, then, the piece almost appears to be a short version of a strophic form. Its form is clearly A A.

Harmonically, when looking at the overall thrust of the piece, it becomes clear that Sulzer stayed firmly rooted in both the I and V chords of Eb Major, displaying an emphasis on both the tonic and the dominant and his preclusion for classicism. The secondary dominant chord is an attempt at a more complex harmonic approach to this seemingly simple piece of music. But, this move was standard in classical music, employed frequently by Haydn, Mozart, and Beethoven.

This "Adon Olom" is both clear-cut and straightforward. It is classical in every

element of its construction. It gives us evidence of Sulzer's thorough alliance with the principles of music that surrounded him in his day in Vienna. It is the quintessential example of what the scholars see as the dominant style of composition in this first volume of *Schir Zion*.

But, I would argue that this "*Adon Olom*" is not only evidence of classicism. When the first verse, "*W'hu Echod*," is examined, we can see a stray from classical tendencies in both harmony and style.⁶⁴ Its style is one-hundred percent consistent with that of cantorial recitative, even with the nice and even fit of the recitative passage in 4/4 time. There is even a hint of the *Hashem Malach* mode that is demonstrated in the use of the flatted seventh scale degree. We can see, then, that Sulzer is not as transparent as scholars might think. Even in this basic piece, he pushes himself to bring in elements of traditional Jewish music. It is worthwhile to consider his use of time signature and key in these moments, as they are evidence that Sulzer is being pulled towards modernity. But considering his acts of reform in just this piece alone, it is interesting to note that he cannot seem to divorce himself entirely from the tradition that precedes him.

What defines this "*Adon Olom*," then? It is a classical jewel in a new Jewish style that defined Sulzer's early work and started a revolution of synagogue music. But, it cannot be emphasized enough that moments within it shine with the light of tradition, showing that *Schir Zion I* might be more complicated than originally anticipated.

⁶⁴ The music for *W'hu Echod* can be found on page 90 of the appendix.

B'rosch Haschonoh⁶⁵

"B'rosch Haschonoh" is one of the most famous liturgical moments from the Rosh Hashana service. "On Rosh Hashana it is written, and on Yom Kippur it is sealed, who shall live and who shall die," its text powerfully cries out. It is dramatic and poignant, and serves for many as the wake-up call to recount the deeds of the past year and repent for sinful ways, in fear of what might happen should one incur the wrath of God.

Sulzer is intelligent in his approach to this piece because, although composed for *Schir Zion I*, the piece is traditional and uses choral accompaniment by a male choir as its only hint at modernity. It is a modal cantorial recitative. It is almost anti-classicist, and refutes the notion that Sulzer was overly classical in this first volume of his work.

The piece is composed in a combination of Bb *Magein Avot* (or natural minor) and Bb *Ahava Raba*. It begins quite simply, with the choir in unison on a simple melody that serves to emphasize the first, third, fourth, and fifth scale degrees. This choral opening feels very open in its tonality, allowing the listener to imagine multiple possibilities for the true harmonic destination of the piece. On the very first cantorial melodic phrase, though – "*B'rosch haschonoh jikosewun uw'jom zom kippur j'chosemun*" – Sulzer emphasizes the minor tonality (*Magein Avot*). The cantorial melody, while primarily unaccompanied, highlights the fifth, third, second, and first scale degrees. There is a raised sixth scale degree, which flirts with the harmonic minor (as opposed to the natural minor which the *Magein Avot* scale suggests), but this feature is used just once for the sake of interest. The choral accompanient focuses on the i chord and the III chord in the first instance ("*kippur*"), and for "*j'chosemun*," it follows the progression i-

⁶⁵ The music for *B'rosch Haschonoh* can be found on pages 91-92 of the appendix.

diminished ii-i-Major V. This major V chord is important because it deviates from *Magein Avot* yet again, and appropriately signals an upcoming change in key. The key, while uncertain, does change to the relative major, D Major, for a moment on the words *"ja'avrun, w'chomoh,"* but quickly transitions from this key back to the Bb *Magein Avot* for one final moment on *"jibore'un."*

The use of *Magein Avot* in the first portion of this setting of "*B'rosch Haschonoh*" shows Sulzer's expert use of the didactic and instructive qualities of the mode. But, the section flirts with a tonality that is both present in classical and Jewish modal music. Sulzer could be emphasizing his grounding in either world with this technique. His clear intentions are quickly discovered as soon as the liturgical text begins listing the various ways in which we as humans can die. It is at this moment when Sulzer begins his move towards Bb *Ahava Raba*, one of the most uniquely Jewish modes in its sound.

The phrase "*mi jichjeh*" is firmly rooted in the tonic Bb, but its augmented interval, characteristic of the new mode, lies in the incorrect place. Instead of being between the third and fourth scale degrees, Sulzer first flirts with *Ahava Raba* by giving us an augmented interval between the second and third scale degrees. He follows this with an indiscriminate response by the choir of the same words on an open chord – Bb and F. The lack of the third of the chord tells us that Sulzer has not yet committed to either *Ahava Raba* or *Magein Avot*. He quickly commits, though, and on the following phrase, "*mi jomus*," he emphasizes the interval of Db-E natural. This definitively outlines the Bb *Ahava Raba* scale that Sulzer has been transitioning to for at least six measures. Sulzer then engages in a call and response between choir and cantor, beginning with the choir, on "*mi wekizo umi lo w'kizo, mi wamajim umi woesch*." The focus of the male ensemble is on highlighting the dominant, while the cantor remains prominently grounded in the second scale degree, emphasizing Sulzer's desire to leave the phrase unresolved. In these phrases, we also see the first use of the raised seventh scale degree which is also a feature of the *Ahava Raba* scale.

We reach a climax of sorts on "*mi wacherew umi wachajoh*," as we find both cantor and choir singing together, beginning quite softly and building gradually and yet dramatically. Harmonically, the intention seems to be to continue the lack of resolution prevalent in the previous phrase. However, this lack of resolution quickly dissipates in the following phrase, "*mi woroow umi wazomo*." With a *brummstimmen* (hummed) accompaniment by the choir, the cantor's melody centers around the raised fourth scale degree and the tonic. "*Mi woraasch*," the phrase that follows, uses a bit of coloratura singing, as does the "*umi woesch*" phrase several measures back, to highlight the dramatic content of the words. "*Mi woraasch*" also clearly begins on the tonic and ends on the dominant, preparing us for yet another key change.

The key actually does not settle during the last six measures of the piece until the very last chord. The "*umi*" that follows "*mi woraasch*" is the last moment of Bb *Ahava Raba* in the piece, and because it only utilizes the third, second, and first scale degrees, it could be indicative of either *Ahava Raba* or a return to *Magein Avot*. A D-natural is used in the next phrase, "*umi wamagefoh*," constructing a major tonic triad for the first time in the piece. Then, a Cb is used on the cadence of that phrase and again in the phrase that

follows ("*mi wachanikoh*"), which signals the upcoming resolution. Finally, the harmonic indecision resolves on the last chord, where a Bb Major triad is used. This is clearly a sign of the times. Sulzer does what he feels in right in harmonizing this concluding moment, as he does throughout his compositions.

While this piece is clear evidence of Sulzer's ability to honor tradition over modernity, the final moment of the piece shows that he is in conflict between the two. The balance is, this time, emphasizing traditional modes and styles, and modernity certainly loses out, but the strong pull towards the sentiments of the modern ear push Sulzer to end the piece in a way that is almost startling. He would never desecrate this sacred text in an attempt to make it too modern, but Sulzer has clearly been trained as a classicist, and cannot do completely without his classical sensibilities for the final chord. It is important to remember that Sulzer might be preparing his listener for the next piece to come with such a modulation, but this still does not discount the almost abrupt way in which he accomplishes this. We see here Sulzer's struggle with the balance between tradition and modernity, and as of yet, it is still unclear as to where his allegiances lay.

Way'chulu⁶⁶

Next, we turn to Sulzer's "*Waj'chulu*," a three-section piece including the text of the *M'ein Sheva*, an important repetition of the *Amidah* said on Erev Shabbat services. It is found in Sulzer's *Schir Zion II*, published in 1865, but one must keep in mind that he could have composed it at any time after the publishing of the first volume in 1840. Although the "*Waj'chulu*" paragraph is a part of the *Amidah* itself, it is included in the

⁶⁶ The music for *Way'chulu* can be found on pages 93-94 in the appendix.

liturgy at this point to ensure that it is still said on Festivals that fall on Shabbat, when the paragraph is not davened silently as a part of the *Amidah*. The entire *M'ein Sheva* section has the purpose of forcing the congregation to stay in synagogue a little longer in case a congregant takes a long time to daven the *Ma'ariv* service, as in earlier times, it was dangerous to walk home alone in the dark.⁶⁷ This extra prayer was intended to be a synopsis of the blessings found in the *Amidah*, or *Shmoneh Esrei*—from 18 total down to seven, as a whole meant to capture the essence of the *Amidah's* sentiments.

The text that Sulzer used was true to the traditional rendering of the prayer in *siddurim* of the time. As Sulzer is inventive with the way he breaks up phrases using rests and the way he structures the sections as a whole, it is essential to have an understanding of the text's meaning in order to analyze why he made the choices that he did.

(Waj'chulu)

Waj'chulu haschomajim w'ho-orez

W'chol z'wo'om. Waj'chal elohim bajjom hasch'vi-i M'lachto ascher osoh, Wajjischbos bajjom hasch'vi-i Miccol m'lachto ascher osoh. Waj 'vorech elohim es jom hasch'vi-i Wajj 'kaddesch oso, Ki vo schovas miccol m'lachto

Ascher boro elohim la'asos. Boruch attoh adonoj, (Boruch hu oworuch sch'mo)

Elohenu we'elohe avosenu, Elohe Awrohom, elohei Yizchok, We'elohe Ja'akow, Ho-el haggodol haggibor w'hannoro El eljon, koneh schomajim wo-orez.

Thus the heaven and the earth were finished, and all their multitude. On the seventh day God completed His work which He had done, and He abstained on the seventh day from all His work which He had done. God blessed the seventh day and sanctified it. because on it He had abstained from all His work which God created to make. Blessed are You, Adonai. (Blessed is Adonai and blessed be His name) our God and God of our forefathers, God of Abraham, God of Isaac, and God of Jacob, the great, mighty, and awesome God, the supreme God, Creator of heaven

⁶⁷ The Complete Artscroll Siddur, p.346.

(Mogein Avos) Mogen ovos bid'voro

M'chajjeh mesim b'ma'amoro.

Hoel hakkodosch sche'en comohu Hammeniach l'ammo B'jom schabbas kodscho. Ki vom rozoh l'honiach lohem

L'fonow na 'avod b'jiroh wofachad

W'nodeh lisch'mo b'chol jom tomid Me'en habbrochos. El hahodo'os, adon hascholom, M'kaddesch haschabbos Um'vorech sch'vi-i Umeniach bik'duschoh L'am m'dusch'ne oneg. Secher l'ma'aseh w'reschis.

(Elohenu We'elohe Avoseinu)

Elohenu we'elohe avosenu Rezeh wim'nuchosenu. Kad'schenu b'mizwosecho, W'sen chelkenu b'sorosecho, Sab'enu mituwecho W'sam'chenu bischu-o-secho W'taher libenu l'owdecho be'emes

W'hanchilenu adonoj elohenu, Be'ahawoh uwrozon schabbas kod'schecho

W'jonuchu woh jisroel m'kad'sche sch'mecho.

Boruch attoh adonoj (Boruch hu uvoruch sch'mo)

M'kaddesch haschabbos. (Omen)

and earth.

He Who was the shield of our forefathers with His word, Who resuscitates the dead with His utterance. the Holy God Who is unequalled, Who grants rest to His people on His holy Sabbath day, for He was pleased with them to grant them rest. Before Him we will serve with awe and dread and give thanks to His Name every day continually with appropriate blessings. God of grateful praise, Master of peace, Who sanctifies the Sabbath and blesses the seventh day, and gives rest with his holiness to a people saturated with delight-in memory of the work of Creation.

Our God and the God of our forefathers may You be pleased with our rest. Sanctify us with Your commandments and grant us our share in Your Torah; satisfy us from Your goodness and gladden us with Your salvation, and purify our hearts to serve You sincerely. O Adonai, our God, with love and favor grant us Your holy Sabbath as a heritage and may Israel, the sanctifiers of Your name, rest on it. Blessed are You, Adonai, (Blessed is Adonai and blessed be His name) Who sanctifies the Sabbath. (Amen)

This three part piece, "Way'chulu," "Mogen Ovos," and "Elohenu We'elohe

Avosenu," is rooted in E natural minor, or Magein Avot. The first and third sections,

unaccompanied recitatives, are sandwiched around a choral section (SATB), which is also

unaccompanied. The *nusach* is very straightforward, and is reminiscent of the typical sound of the Shabbat eve service, which is known to be quite modal.⁶⁸

The first section, "*Way'chulu*," moves between the minor and the relative major continuously, and this move is employed broadly throughout all three sections of the piece. The first of these moves from minor to major occurs on the words "*waj'chal elohim*," and this phrase, following several beats of the E minor tonality that Sulzer establishes at the beginning, sets a pattern that is used for the remainder of the piece. The melodic line moves back to minor on "*wajjischbos bajjom*," and then back again to major for the next phrase ("*waj'vorech elohim*"). It is important to note that this move is typical of Erev Shabbat nusach and music written in the *Magein Avot* mode, demonstrating Sulzer's adherence to the past and traditional practices of this kind of *hazzanut*. This consistent moving back and forth between the two relative tonalities creates a traditional mood of Shabbat, albeit in a modern setting.

After the pattern outlined above is established, Sulzer briefly changes the mode to something not yet heard. Through use of accidentals (C# and D#), included in the optional ornament on the phrase "*ki vo schovas*," he establishes a harmonic minor-sounding scale, with a sharp sixth and leading tone. This is the first moment within the piece that we are privy to Sulzer's Western musical style, and we begin to doubt his desire to adhere completely to the tradition of *nusach* that has been passed down to him. However, it is important to emphasize that these ornaments are optional, and one could

⁶⁸ In regards to its relationship with traditional nusach, Sulzer has a style that is at times reminiscent of Israel Alter's use of mode and simplistic melody rooted in the tonic triad of the major scale, ornamented at moments, and moving to other modalities at other times as a means of emphasis.

easily sing the piece authentically by simply staying on the tonic, E', thus, giving no indication of any Western modal flavor. This is consistent with other cantorial music of this era.

At this moment of the piece where a definitive modal flavor is presented, we are encountered with the notion of how one actually should hear harmony in a piece with no accompaniment. The overall harmony and cadences of this section of the piece themselves can be heard in different ways, and are certainly subject to interpretation. They could be modal cadences and harmonies, but Sulzer gives us no indication as to the truth of this statement. This shows us how Sulzer stood at the crossroads of Jewish music. We might be clearer on Sulzer's intent if he had given us more accidentals—for example, a D# that would be indicative of the harmonic minor in E minor—but, he does not do so except in one optional moment of the section. We are left, then, to our own Jewish musical backgrounds and aural training to guide us in our interpretation.

In regards to the overall setting of the Hebrew, Sulzer does quite well, considering the Hebrew diction of his day. In the first few lines of music, we can see Sulzer's use of the accented syllable which clearly differs from our modern, Sephardic sensibilities. Accenting syllables for the sake of the melodic integrity of the line was a common feature among Jewish and non-Jewish composers of music with Hebrew texts, and demonstrates how different their pronunciation might have been from ours.

Sulzer's musical setting of the text is appropriate to the sentiments of the liturgy. On the word "heavens," he ornaments the phrase elaborately, opening the listener up to the vastness of the skies with this detailed melody. Following this, his setting of the word "earth" is much more simplistic and hardly ornamented, providing a distinction between the dwelling place of God and the humble ground of humankind below. Sulzer uses this ornamentation technique sparingly throughout the section, maintaining a close relationship with the fifth, third, and tonic. This keeps the melodic line relatively simple, allowing the ornamented moments to speak volumes about the text.

As these ornaments seem to define the melody in a way that, without them, we are left with unclear answers, it is important to look at the moments in which Sulzer included these ornaments and, perhaps, look at why he might have done so. We have already discussed the ornament on "schomajim" (line 1), which is not given as optional and keeps the *hazzan* rooted in the E natural minor scale. The next ornament, on "w'chol," is optional, and clearly is in the minor mode as well, and it speaks of all of God's creation, the expanse of which is likely what warranted the intricate ornament. Following this, we have two lines of ornament-free melody before reaching the ornamented "hasch'vi'i," stating in the relative major mode the importance of this seventh day of creation. The last prominent, coloratura ornament in this section is the one we have just discussed -"schovas"-meaning "rest." It is interesting that, instead of returning to the calming minor mode of the start of the piece to imitate this rest, Sulzer employs the harmonic minor, giving a completely different, jarring flavor to the melodic line as a whole. It is understandable that he wants to highlight this notion of rest, but to do it in such a harsh manner in comparison with the base tonality of the piece seems to be a strange choice.

After ending the phrase "*ascher boro elohim la 'asos*" prominently in the original minor mode, Sulzer proclaims dramatically in the relative major the words "*boruch attoh*

adonoj" beginning on the third of that mode, heightening the attention of the listener, as this is the first time he has begun on anything but the tonic in the major. He follows this with a simple four-part G major chord for the first entrance of the chorus on "*boruch hu oworuch sch'mo*," before returning to the remainder of the *chatima*.

It has already been mentioned that it is typical of Erev Shabbat liturgy to compose in the minor mode. More specifically, though, this *Avot* prayer that is typically in the minor mode while drawing on the Three Festival motif. A clear moment of Sulzer's adherence to this traditional rule comes at the end of this first section, on the words "*we'elohe ja'akow*." This flourish on "*we'elohe*" is almost identical to the opening *Ma'ariv Bar'chu* of the Three Festivals. Again, we are given evidence that Sulzer's adherence to tradition seems to be exceedingly more important than his intent to Westernize, at least in this piece.

Next, we enter the "*Mogen Avos*" section, which has already been outlined as an SATB choral arrangement. However, it, like its predecessor and the section that follows, is unaccompanied. While it was difficult to ascertain the harmonic structure of the melody in the first section of unaccompanied solo written for cantor, this middle section repeats the harmonic outline from the first section quite clearly, and in it, we see the same move from E minor to its relative G major, reaffirming our analysis of the opening section. However, although it is "choral," we can see in Sulzer's structure of this section (tenor and bass in unison followed by a shorter choral response phrase, repeated throughout) that he was not intending on being overly obvious about these harmonies, just as he was not obvious in the "*Way'chulu*" section.

This second section begins with a lengthy tenor/bass unison section set in the natural minor, the same key that began our piece at "Way'chulu." At "hakkodosch sche'en comohu," Sulzer moves again to the major, highlighting his typical minor-major move. The next phrase flirts with the major, and then moves to a resolution on the second scale degree, F#, leading us into the brief four-part choral section. This choral section is clearly in the major, although it is not a pure one. It contains an A# (second scale degree) and C# (fourth scale degree), creating an altered G Major scale that appears as such—G, A#, B, C#, D, E, F#. The one and a half steps between the first and second scale degree and the full whole step between the third and fourth scale degree are unique, but Sulzer does not keep them in play for long. As the phrase rises, he uses the altered major scale, and as the phrase comes down to resolution, the pure major scale returns. The C# is the more predictable of the two; the A# is quite strange and is perhaps a sign of Sulzer's Westernness, just as the C# and D# were evidence as such in the ornamented phrase in "Way'chulu." It is likely that this A# was simply used as a dramatic ascent, as it highlights the English translation, "for He was pleased with them to grant them rest."

Then, the tenors and basses return in unison again, and also in the natural minor. The choral entrance on "*el hahodo'os*" moves to a major-sounding mode, and "*adon hascholom*" reiterates this questioning type of phrase but, instead, in the minor mode. It is colored by the D# of the harmonic minor scale, though, making it a distinctive cadence with which to return to the tenor/bass unison. This next unison phrase ends on an E which then ascends to an F#, and this is quite a deceptive cadence, as it leads us to believe that the resolution will be a minor one rooted in the tonic, until we hear the second scale degree as Sulzer's true conclusion (or lack thereof) of the phrase. Next, we have the last bit of choral singing to end this section of the piece, and Sulzer's choice in handling this is to give his listener a standard 7-1 chordal resolution. With this, he stays in the mode. He gives no Western flavor to the final cadence. So, with two-thirds of the piece completed, we only have two moments of Westernness, showing Sulzer's true loyalty to traditionalism and the modal system of Jewish music.

Finally, we turn to the last section, "*Elohenu We'elohe Avosenu*." Throughout this section, as in the others, Sulzer reinforces his allegiance to the minor mode that is so typical of this Erev Shabbat liturgy. Thus, we can almost call this section A', as, although the text is different, the harmonic concept seems to be same as in the very first section (A). In fact, since the harmonic concept is the same throughout, it might be useful to label the structure of the piece as A A' A". But, the choral responses that interrupt the clean switch between the minor and major modes make this model debatable, possibly leading an analyst to see the piece as A B A'. The crucial element in deciding upon the form is determining whether one sees the harmonic structure as the one element that controls the unity of the entire piece. As one might tend to take more elements than just harmony into consideration when analyzing the structure, the A B A' model might be more appropriate.

This section, like the others, adheres to the strict natural minor/major model, except in one moment. On the word "*w'sam'chenu*" (and gladden us with your salvation), Sulzer uses the C#, the fourth scale degree in this G major section. This seems exceptionally appropriate considering the exuberant mood of the word, and distinguishes it as Sulzer's vision of God's primary purpose on this Sabbath day of rest.

Amidst these minor-major transitions that fill the section (and the piece), the composer reaches a high point on "*w'taher libenu*"—beginning on the fifth, and ascending to the octave. He then travels down to the seventh scale degree to prepare for a reach up to the high G (third scale degree), which then floats back down to the tonic (although an octave above the original tonic). The resulting melody is intoxicating —"and purify our hearts to serve You in truth." It is perhaps the most precious moment of the entire piece, where Sulzer conveys his highest moment of Sabbath bliss.

At the very end of the piece, the beginning section of the *chatima* is in the minor mode, with a unison choral response on the fifth. The "*m'kaddesch haschabbos*" that follows focuses on the fourth, fifth, and tonic, but ends on the fifth, with a choral unison "*Omen*" on the fifth as well. While Sulzer has flirted with Western musical traits a bit throughout, he clearly wants to leave the listener with the sense that the tonality is not securely established as the piece concludes. One who would want to hear Western harmonies accompanying this final moment can do so, while one who wants to believe that Sulzer has written a traditional piece of *nusach* (which, in all likelihood, he truly has) is perfectly free to do this as well. Again, as Sulzer finds himself at the crossroads of Jewish musical life residing in Vienna in the nineteenth century, he probably finds himself pulled in two directions. He takes the easy way out by not securing himself to either path in this duplicitous of endings.

One of most interesting things about this is that, although his moves are predictable, as a Western composer—a modern Jew immersed in traditional *nusach* but

influenced by the modern era—he does not go where one thinks he would go, which is to compose the piece in a modern Western minor key. As a whole, it is clearly modal, and it is clear that Sulzer wants to maintain the modality of the music as much as possible. Although he has moments of Westernness, at least from the analysis of this piece, it is evident that Sulzer maintained strong ties to tradition—to orthodox *nusach*—and that his reforms are minor. This might be because he is stepping onto new frontiers and does not want to tilt the scales too much in either direction. We must keep in mind that, as this was published in *Schir Zion II* and not *Schir Zion I*, that this was not Sulzer's earliest piece. He had composed many pieces prior to this one, certainly had experimented with modernity, and perhaps decided that the future of Jewish music lay in a return to tradition.

Upon conclusion of our analysis, it becomes clear that Sulzer fought with the notion of balance throughout his life. Each piece presented demonstrates a preference for either modernity or tradition, but none falls along the clear lines that should delineate these preferences. Thus, it is difficult to agree with scholars who call Sulzer's early period as "classical" and his later one as "oriental." "*Adon Olom*" is the perfect example of Sulzer as a classicist, and yet it contains elements of traditionalism in the verses with the use of cantorial recitative. "*B'rosch Haschonoh*" should be another example of classicism because of its compositional date, and yet it is incredibly modal and traditional. The *M'ein Sheva* suite is a traditional example of recitative, and yet its inclusion of certain Western techniques makes it indistinguishable as either modern or

traditional.

Sulzer was evidently stuck in what we can consider to be the greatest conflict of his time. Enlightenment and *Haskala* ideals were easily understandable at face value, and yet they created conflict in the traditional soul that was beyond comprehension. Sulzer struggled to understand, and this struggle is painted boldly in his work. Sulzer must have felt a strong urge to make his music as grand and significant as the music of Vienna that surrounded him. But, his deep desire to not break up his community placed him in the midst of a lifelong struggle.

Sulzer clearly experimented with staying in each of the camps in which he aligned himself, as "*Adon Olom*" is an exercise in classicism and "*B'rosch Haschonoh*" and "*M'ein Sheva*" are clear attempts at traditionalism. Those experiments failed, though, in the sense that the works analyzed here are indicative of a muddy approach. The harmonies, the settings of the text, the time signatures used – all elements show that Sulzer was battling with two approaches that he saw as valid. When one looks at his works as a whole, considering the elements of their individual parts, it becomes clear that neither approach definitively won for Salomon Sulzer. He merely let the battle rage on, and the varied and vast compositions that resulted from this battle are evidence that grounding in two different styles can surely result in stunning creativity and the beginning of a revolution that has changed the face of Jewish music forever. He provided the model upon which hundreds of his followers built their own approaches, and it is in this way that we feel the great impact of Sulzer's contributions even today.

Conclusion The Legacy of Sulzer's Life and Music

Sulzer once wrote, "It was the intention of the misbegotten experiments of Hamburg and Berlin to reduce the entire service to a German song before and after the sermon."⁶⁹ Can we imagine a Reform Jewish service today with music limited to these two moments? How absurd this would seem to our ears, trained to hear melodies throughout worship. The simple Protestant ideal is in no way characteristic of Reform. Even early on, as demonstrated on the pages of *Schir Zion*, music could meander through worship, enhancing nearly all rubrics of the service.

Sulzer's work is tremendously complex and shows that simplicity was only one path open to Reform Jews. Sulzer had no thought of reducing a congregation's intellectual capacity by providing only simple, four-part hymns. He pushed communities to think about their prayers and used the context of the melodies to do so. Rather than relying exclusively on traditional tunes, which had become rote to the congregation, and rather than limiting himself to the strict simplicity of classicism, which might have limited his music to the realm of secularism, he ingeniously combined the two. Herein lay the power of his work – the creation of an entirely new genre that was brilliant both to the mind and to the ear.

I argue that Sulzer was not an imitator in any respect. He drew from the world around him and infused his music with knowledge gained by his stellar musical training and his Jewish sense of the necessary components to communicate with God.

⁶⁹ Eric Werner, A Voice Still Heard... The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazic Jews, p.211.

I do not believe that he was an assimilationist. He held true to his tradition throughout his life while bringing to it the best that the wider would could offer. He did so at the service of his people and his God: to elevate the prayer experience of the worshipper and to bring the Jews closer to their Creator. Is a steadfast Jew who embraces modernity one who assimilates?

We liberal Jews ask ourselves this question today. Can we be Jewish and modern at the same time? I think that if one holds true to her or her religion above all, then one can accomplish this without assimilation. Sulzer certainly accomplished this.

In many ways, Sulzer ascribed equal valence to Jewish tradition and the modern musical aesthetic. *Schir Zion* is a living example of this creative balance. I believe, taken together, the two volumes are the ultimate expression of who Sulzer was as a composer and a cantor: a composer of deep Jewish intensity coupled with lyrical, classical melodies.

Sulzer was a deeply religious man who listened to the outpourings of his soul. While the external world played a large role in shaping him as a musician, he never lost sight of who he was as a Jew. His influence has become normative because it speaks to the modern Jews. Sulzer created a timeless, musical resolution to the debate between rationalism and faith.

Sulzer's influence can thus be understood as extending beyond the realm of musicology; it spread to philosophical realms as well. He changed the face of not only music, but the arts and philosophy in general. We owe him a debt of gratitude for so broadly extending our horizons.

Salomon Sulzer initiated a revolution in musical composition among Jews. With him, the art song entered the Jewish world and inspired the likes of Louis Lewandowski, Max Janowski, Charles Davidson, Max Helfman, and Morris Barash, in addition to countless others.

Abraham Joshua Heschel writes in *The Vocation of the Cantor* that the job of one in the cantorate is "to create the liturgical community, to convert a plurality of praying individuals into a unity of worship."⁷⁰ Through their song, Heschel says, cantors must teach that singing is one of the purest acts, when the heavenly is allowed to permeate our own souls and our own world. Heschel beautifully describes the cantorial art in the following description:

Music gains its religious dimension when ceasing to be satisfied with conveying that which is within the grasp of emotion and imagination. Religious music is an attempt to convey that which is within our reach but beyond our grasp.⁷¹

Sulzer was the first cantor to envision a musical path to reveal the the innermost depths of people's souls. By combining tradition and modernity, he defied logical, human expression. He believed in something grand, something majestic, something that could truly elevate the soul. Sulzer opened the door for a new tradition – a tradition of modernity – that resonates today in the souls of liberal Jews everywhere.

⁷⁰ Abraham Joshua Heschel, "The Vocation of the Cantor," *The Insecurity of Freedom*. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966, reprinted by the American Conference of Cantors, p.243.

⁷¹ Ibid, p.248.

Description	Service	Title	Item Number	Page Number	Schir Zion Volume
SATB choir with solo selections and baritone solo	Kabbalat Shabbat	L'choh Dodi	No.1	p.3	SZ I
SATB choir with solo selections and baritone solo	Kabbalat Shabbat	Schomor Wesochor	No.1	p.3	SZ I
SATB choir with solo selections and baritone solo	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.1	p.5	SZ I
SATB choir with solo selections and baritone solo	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisoreri	No.1	p.6	SZ I
SATB choir with solo selections and baritone solo	Kabbalat Shabbat	W'hoju Lim'schisoh	No.1	p.8	SZ I
SATB choir with solo selections and baritone solo	Kabbalat Shabbat	Boi W'scholom	No.1	p.10	SZ I
up to SATTB with S solo; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	L'choh Dodi	No.2	p.12	SZ I
up to SATTB with S solo; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Schomor Wesochor	No.2	p.12	SZ I
up to SATTB with S solo; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.2	p.14	SZ I
up to SATTB with S solo; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisoreri	No.2	p.16	SZ I
up to SATTB with S solo; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	W'hoju Limeschisoh	No.2	p.17	SZ I
up to SATTBB; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	L'choh Dodi	No.3	p.19	SZ I
up to SATTBB; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Schomor Wesochor	No.3	p.19	SZ I
up to SATTBB; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.3	p.20	SZ I
up to SATTBB; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisoreri	No.3	p.22	SZ I
up to SATTBB; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	W'hoju Limeschisoh	No.3	p.23	SZ I
up to SATTBB; solo and choral	Kabbalat Shabbat	Boi Wescholom	No.3	p.25	SZ I
T solo, SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mismor Schir L'jom Haschabos, Psalm 92.1.6	No.4	p.26	SZ I
T solo, SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mah God'lu, Psalm 92.6.10/W'atoh Morom	No.5	p.28	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	Kabbalat Shabbat	Tow L'hodos, Psalm	No.6	p.28	SZ I

Appendix A—Listing of Musical Selections in Schir Zion

		92.2.10			
T solo, SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Ki Hineh Ojewecho, Psalm 92.10.bis Ende/Zadik Katomor	No.7	p.32	SZ I
SATB choir with solo choir section	Kabbalat Shabbat	Adonoj Moloch, Psalm 93	No.8	p.33	SZ I
SATB choir with T solo and choral solo section	Arvit L'shabbat	Bor'chu	No.9	p.34	SZ I
T solo, SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Birchot Schema	No.10	p.35	SZ I
STTB solo, then STTB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Schema Jisroel	No.11	p.35	SZ I
SATB choir, then T solo	Arvit L'shabbat	Ani Adonoj Elohechem	No.12	p.36	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Mi Chomocho	No.13	p.36	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Adonoj Jimloch	No.13	p.37	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Mi Chomocho (for Chanukah)	No.14	p.37	SZ I
Solo with choral Amen (see 36)	Arvit L'shabbat	Hapores	No.15	p.37	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Kaddisch	No.16	p.37	SZ I
SATB choir with T solo	Arvit L'shabbat	Waanachnu Koreim	No.17	p.38	SZ I
SATB choir with T solo	Arvit L'shabbat	Bajom Hahu	No.17	p.38	SZ I
SATB choir with TTBB solo, T solo, also octet (very extensive)	Arvit L'shabbat	Adon Olom	No.18	p.39	SZ I
SATB choir with B solo	Arvit L'shabbat	Adon Olom	No.19	p.42	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	Arvit L'shabbat	Adon Olom	No.20	p.46	SZ I
T solo with TTB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Schochen Ad	No.21	p.49	SZ I
T solo with SB, then TB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Es Schem Hoel	No.22	p.49	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	K'duschoh	No.23	p.50	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Jimloch	No.24	p.50	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Modim	No.25	p.50	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Bircas Kohanim	No.26	p.51	SZ I
TTBB solo, then SATB refrain	Shacharit L'shabbat	Hodu	No.27	p.51	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Hodu (for Chanukah), Psalm 118.1.5	No.28	p.52	SZ I
TTB solo, SAB chorus	Shacharit L'shabbat	Ono, Psalm 118.25	No.29	p.53	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	En Komocho	No.30	p.53	SZ I

TTB, then SATB	Shacharit L'shabbat	Echod Elohenu	No.31	p.55	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Gad'lu	No.32	p.55	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	L'cho Adonoj Hageduloh	No.32	p.55	SZ I
TBB choir with SATB amen	Shacharit L'shabbat	Mi Scheosoh Nisim	No.33	p.57	SZ I
SATB choir and solos with TTBB solo section	Shacharit L'shabbat	Jechad'schehu	No.34	p.57	SZ I
T solo with SAB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Aschre	No.35	p.59	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	J'halelu, Hodo al Erez, Psalm 148.13, 148.14.15	No.36	p.59	SZ I
B solo with SATB choir and solo	Shacharit L'shabbat	Howu Ladonoj, Psalm 29	No.37	p.60	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Haschiwenu	No.38	p.64	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	Shacharit L'shabbat	K'duschoh L'musaf	No.39	p.64	SZ I
SATB choir and solo in various permutations	Shacharit L'shabbat	Anim Smiros	No.40	p.68	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	Arvit L'yom Tov	Mah Towu	No.41	p.73	SZ I
SATBB choir	Arvit L'yom Tov	Bor'chu	No.42	p.75	SZ I
T solo	Arvit L'yom Tov	Umaawir Jom	No.43	p.76	SZ I
T solo, then SATBB choir	Arvit L'yom Tov	Hamaawir Bonow	No.44	p.76	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	Arvit L'yom Tov	Mi Chomocho	No.45	p.76	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'yom Tov	Mi Chomocho (Pesach)	No.46	p.78	SZ I
SATBB choir	Arvit L'yom Tov	Hapores L'Shavu'ot	No.47	p.78	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'yom Tov	Wajedaber Moscheh (Pesach/Shavu'ot)	No.48	p.79	SZ I
SATB choir	Arvit L'yom Tov	Wajedaber (Shavu'ot)	No.49	p.79	SZ I
SATB choir with solos up to SATTBB	Arvit L'yom Tov	Jigdal	No.50	p.79	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'yom Tov	Hoel	No.51	p.83	SZ I
SATB choir with occasional splitting of B part	Shacharit L'yom Tov	K'duschoh	No.52	p.83	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	Shacharit L'yom Tov	Halelujoh, Psalm 113	No.53	p.85	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'yom Tov	B'zes Jisroel, Psalm 114	No.54	p.87	SZ I
TTBB solo, then SATB refrain, then SATB	Shacharit L'yom Tov	Hodu L'Pesach, Psalm 118	No.55	p.89	SZ I

					solos followed by refrain
SZ I	p.90	No.56	Hodu L'Shavu'ot, Psalm 118	Shacharit L'yom Tov	TTBB solo, then SATB refrain, then SATB solos followed by refrain
SZ I	p.91	No.57	Hodu L'Sukkot, Psalm 118	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SATB solos followed by SATB refrains
SZ I	p.92	No.58	Odecho Ki Anisoni, Psalm 118.21	Shacharit L'yom Tov	T solo, then SATB choir
SZ I	p.92	No.59	Ono, Psalm 118.25	Shacharit L'yom Tov	TTBB solo, then SAB choir
SZ I	p.93	No.60	En Komocho	Shacharit L'yom Tov	T solo with SATB choir and solos
SZ I	p.95	No.61	Scholosch Esre Midos	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SAB choir with S solo
SZ I	p.96	No.62	Schiwisi, Psalm 16.8 bis Ende	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SATB choir
SZ I	p.99	No.63	S'u Scheorim, Psalm 24.7 bis Ende	Shacharit L'yom Tov	T solo, SAB choir
SZ I	p.100	No.64	Ez Chajim	Shacharit L'yom Tov	T solo with SATB choir
SZ I	p.102	No.65	K'duschoh L'musaf	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SATTB choir with solos
SZ I	p.105	No.66	Adir	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SATB choir with solos
SZ I	p.106	No.67	Weseeraw	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SATBB choir
SZ I	p.107	No.68	Bircas Kohanim	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SABB choir, Hazzan, Kohanim
SZ I	p.110	No.69	L'simchas Torah (Ana Bish'at Hakafa), Psalm 118.25	Shacharit L'yom Tov	T solo, SABB response
SZ I	p.110	No.70	En Kelohenu	Shacharit L'yom Tov	SAB choir, then STB solo, then return to choir
SZ I	p.113	No.71	Borechu	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	SATB solo, then SATB choir
SZ I	p.113	No.72	Umaawir Jom	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	T solo, then SATB choir
SZ I	p.114	No.73	Sch'ma Jisroel	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	TTBB choir
SZ I	p.114	No.74	Mi Chomocho	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	SATB choir
SZ I	p.114	No.75	Tikeu Wachodesch Schofor	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	T solo, SATB choir
SZ I	p.115	No.76	Kadisch	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	SATB choir
SZ I	p.115	No.77	Jigdal	Arvit L'Rosh Hashana	SATB choir with solos
SZ I	p.119	No.78	Hamelech	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	T solo with SATB choir

B solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Jozer Meschoresim	No.79	p.120	SZ I
B solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Boruch Atoh	No.80	p.120	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Soch'renu	No.81	p.121	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Mi Chomocho	No.82	p.121	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Jimloch	No.83	p.121	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	W'atoh Kodosch	No.84	p.121	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Melech Eljon	No.85	p.122	SZ I
SAB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	B'sefer Chajim	No.86	p.123	SZ I
T solo with SAB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Owinu Malkenu	No.87	p.123	SZ I
T solo with SAB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Owinu Malkenu Kos'wenu	No.88	p.126	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	En Komocho	No.89	p.128	SZ I
SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Sch'ma Jisroel	No.90	p.131	SZ I
SATBB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Echod Elohenu	No.91	p.131	SZ I
T solo, SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Gadelu, Lecho Adonoj	No.92	p.132	SZ I
T solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Kadisch (Likrat HaTorah)	No.93	p.133	SZ I
T solo, then SAB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Aschre Hoom Jodee S'ruoh	No.94	p.133	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir and solos	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Kadisch	No.95	p.134	SZ I
B solo with SATB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Boruch Atoh	No.96	p.136	SZ I
T solo, then SATB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	El Emuno	No.97	p.137	SZ I
T solo, then SATB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Uwechen Ulecho Saaleh Keduschoh	No.98	p.138	SZ I
SAB choir with T solo interspersed	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	B'rosch Haschono	No.99	p.138	SZ I
SATB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Useschuwoh	No.100	p.139	SZ I
SATB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Watoh	No.101	p.139	SZ I
SATB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	En Kizewoh	No.102	p.140	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	K'sod Siach	No.103	p.141	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	K'duschoh	No.104	p.145	SZ I
T solo	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Olenu	No.105	p.148	SZ I
SAB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Waanachnu Kor'im	No.106	p.149	SZ I
SATTBB choir with solos	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	M'loch	No.107	p.149	SZ I
SAB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Hajom Haras Olom	No.108	p.152	SZ I

SAB choir	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Halelujoh, Psalm 150	No.109	p.153	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	Musaf L'Rosh Hashana	Hajom T'amezenu	No.110	p.154	SZ I
SAB choir with T solo	L'Yom Kippur	Kol Nid're	No.111	p.156	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	L'Yom Kippur	Wenislach	No.112	p.157	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Yom Kippur	Wajomer	No.113	p.158	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Yom Kippur	Micol Chatosechem	No.114	p.158	SZ I
each verse has different combo of solo voices and choral responses	L'Yom Kippur	Jaaleh	No.115	p.158	SZ I
SATB choir with TBB solo	L'Yom Kippur	Jaaleh	No.116	p.160	SZ I
SATB choir with solo	L'Yom Kippur	Kaper Chatoenu	No.117	p.161	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Yom Kippur	Elohenu Weelohe Awosenu Selach Lonu	No.118	p.163	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Yom Kippur	Ki Onu Amecho	No.119	p.163	SZ I
SATTB choir with solo	L'Yom Kippur	Ono Towo	No.120	p.164	SZ I
T solo with SAB responses	L'Yom Kippur	Oschamnu	No.121	p.167	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Yom Kippur	Sarnu	No.122	p.168	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Yom Kippur	W'al Kulom	No.123	p.168	SZ I
T solo with SABB responses	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	Imeru Le'lohim	No.124	p.168	SZ I
T solo with SAB responses	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	Wechach Hojoh Omer	No.125	p.169	SZ I
T solo, SATB choir	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	W'hakohanim	No.126	p.170	SZ I
B solo, unison choir	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	Pizmon	No.127	p.171	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	L'Neila	Kadisch L'neiloh	No.128	p.172	SZ I
B solo	L'Neila	Gosch	No.129	p.172	SZ I
B solo with SATB responses	L'Neila	Jisroel Noscha	No.130	p.173	SZ I
ST solo, SATB choir, TTBB solo, SATB choir, T solo, SATB choir	L'Neila	Owinu Malkenu	No.131	p.173	SZ I
SATB solo, then SATB choir	L'Purim	B'rochoh L'Purim	No.132	p.177	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	L'Purim	Lajehudim	No.133	p.177	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	L'Purim	Ki Mordechaj Hajehudi	No.134	p.177	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	L'Purim	L'choh Dodi (L'Schabas Hozon)	No.135	p.178	SZ I

SATB solo, then SATB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Borechu	No.136	p.182	SZ I
T solo, then SATB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Birchos Schema	No.137	p.183	SZ I
T solo with STB, then SATB choir, no Baruch sheim k'vod	L'Tisha B'Av	Schema Jisroel	No.138	p.183	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Mi Chomocho	No.139	p.184	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Haschiwenu	No.140	p.184	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	B'lel Seh	No.141	p.184	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Weoholiwoh	No.142	p.184	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Ad Onoh	No.143	p.184	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Ki Nicham	No.144	p.185	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	L'cho Adonoj Hageduloh	No.145	p.185	SZ I
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Hodo al Erez	No.146	p.185	SZ I
SAATB choir with solos	L'Tisha B'Av	Al Naharos Bowel	No.147	p.186	SZ I
SAB choir	L'Tisha B'Av	Eli Zijon	No.148	p.187	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	Casual-Gesange	Bor'chi Nafschi, Psalm 103	No.149	p.191	SZ I
B solo with SATBB choir	Casual-Gesange	Halelujoh, Odeh Adonoj, Psalm 111	No.150	p.196	SZ I
SATTB choir with solos	L'nisuin	Mi Adir	No.151	p.199	SZ I
SS solo with SATB choir	L'nisuin	Meheroh	No.152	p.200	SZ I
S solo with SATB choir	L'nisuin	Meheroh	No.153	p.202	SZ I
SATB choir	L'hal'vayeit Meitim	Hazur Tamim	No.154	p.204	SZ I
SATTB with solos	L'hal'vayeit Meitim	Schochne Bote Chomer	No.155	p.205	SZ I
T solo, SATB choir	L'hal'vayeit Meitim	Yoschew Beseser Psalm 91	No.156	p.208	SZ I
SATB choir	L'hal'vayeit Meitim	Schiwisi, Psalm 16, verses 8, 9	No.157	p.210	SZ I
SATB choir with solos	L'hal'vayeit Meitim	Ach Elohim, Psalm 49, verse 16 bis Ende	No.158	p.210	SZ I
T solo with SATB choir	L'hal'vayeit Meitim	Adonoj Beos'cho Jismach Melech, Psalm 21, verse 1-9	No.159	p.212	SZ I
verse=cantor with BB, refrain=SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	L'choh Dodi	No.1	p.3	SZ II
verse=cantor with BB,	Kabbalat Shabbat	L'choh Dodi	No.2	p.3	SZ II

refrain=SATB choir					
Cantorial solo recitative	Kabbalat Shabbat	Schomor W'sochor	No.3	p.3	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Likras Schabbos	No.4	p.4	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.5	p.4	SZ II
TTBB choir, then SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.6	p.5	SZ II
SATTB choir with organ accompaniment (!)	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.7	p.6	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisna'ari	No.8	p.8	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Kabbalat Shabbat	Schomor W'sochor	No.9	p.9	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Kabbalat Shabbat	Mikdasch Melech	No.10	p.9	SZ II
SATB choir with solos	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisor'ri	No.11	p.10	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisor'ri	No.12	p.11	SZ II
SSAATTBB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Hisor'ri	No.13	p.13	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	V'hoju Limschisoh	No.14	p.15	SZ II
SATB choir with some solos and divisi	Kabbalat Shabbat	V'hoju Limschisoh	No.15	p.16	SZ II
TTB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	V'hoju Limschisoh	No.16	p.18	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Boi Vescholom	No.17	p.19	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Tov L'hodos	No.18	p.20	SZ II
SATB choir	Kabbalat Shabbat	Adonoj Moloch	No.19	p.21	SZ II
Cantor with SATB solo/choral responses	Arvit L'shabbat	Borchu	No.20	p.23	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Arvit L'shabbat	U'ma'avir Jom	No.21	p.23	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat	L'ma'an Jirbu	No.22	p.23	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat	W'lo Sosuru	No.23	p.24	SZ II
SATB choir followed by cantor	Arvit L'shabbat	Ani Adonoj Elohechem	No.23	p.24	SZ II
SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Mi Chomochoh	No.24	p.24	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat	Mal'chus'cho	No.25	p.24	SZ II
SATB choir	Arvit L'shabbat	Adonoj Jimloch	No.26	p.25	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat	W'ne'emar	No.27	p.25	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat	Haschkivenu	No.28	p.25	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat	U'v'zel K'nofecho	No.29	p.26	SZ II

SATB choir with cantorial recitative to conclude	Arvit L'shabbat	Ki Eil Schom'renu	No.29	p.26	SZ II
Interplay between unison choir, SATB choir, and cantor	Arvit L'shabbat	W'schom'ru	No.30	p.26	SZ II
Cantor a cappella, then with organ accompaniment	Arvit L'shabbat	Jisgadal (Kaddish)	No.31	p.27	SZ II
Choir unison	Arvit L'shabbat	Omen J'he Sch'meh Rabo (Kaddish)	No.31	p.27	SZ II
Cantor a cappella, then with organ accompaniment, concludes a cappella	Arvit L'shabbat	Jisborach (Kaddish)	No.31	p.27	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Bor'chu	No.32	p.28	SZ II
SATB choir, cantor, SATB choir "Amen"	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Boruch Adonoj Ham'voroch	No.33	p.28	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment, SATB responses	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	U'ma'avir Jom	No.34	p.28	SZ II
Cantor a cappella, then with organ accompaniment	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	W'nismach	No.35	p.29	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Waj'chulu	No.36	p.29	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Boruch Atoh (Koneh Schomajim)	No.37	p.29	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative (ossia)	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Boruch Atoh (Koneh Schomajim)	No.38	p.30	SZ II
Unison voice (unspecified), then SATB choir, alternated throughout	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Mogen Ovos	No.39	p.30	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative with unison to 3-part choral responses	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Kiddusch	No.40	p.31	SZ II
SATB choir and solo in various permutations	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Adon Olom	No.41	p.32	SZ II
SATB choir and solo in various permutations	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Adon Olom	No.42	p.34	SZ II
SATB choir and solo in various permutations	Arvit L'shabbat (in alter Weise)	Adon Olom	No.43	p.37	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Jigdal	No.44	p.39	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Birchos Hashochor	No.45	p.39	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shabbat	Schochen Ad	No.46	p.39	SZ II

recitative					
Cantorial recitative with SATB choral "Baruch hu"	Shacharit L'shabbat	B'rochos W'hodoos	No.47	p.39	SZ II
Cantorial recitative with choral unison "Amen"	Shacharit L'shabbat	El Melech	No.47	p.39	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Shacharit L'shabbat	Kaddisch	No.48	p.40	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Boruch Atoh Adonoj, Yotzeir Or	No.49	p.40	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Hacol Joducho	No.50	p.40	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	En K'erkecho	No.51	p.40	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	El Odon, Loel	No.52	p.41	SZ II
Cantorial recitative with SATB choral "Baruch hu"	Shacharit L'shabbat	Tisborach, Es Schem	No.53	p.41	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Shacharit L'shabbat	K'duschoh Culom K'echod	No.53	p.41	SZ II
Cantor with SATB solo/choral responses	Shacharit L'shabbat	Or Chodosch	No.53	p.41	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Shacharit L'shabbat	T'hilos, Schiroh Chadoshoh	No.53	p.41	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Zur Jisroel	No.54	p.41	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Shacharit L'shabbat	Schmoneh Esre (Boruch Atoh)	No.55	p.42	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	N'kadesch	No.56	p.42	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Os B'kol	No.57	p.42	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Shacharit L'shabbat	L'dor Wodor	No.58	p.42	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Jismach Moscheh	No.59	p.43	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	W'schom'ru	No.59	p.43	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative with responses from alternate source	Shacharit L'shabbat	Birkas Kohanim	No.60	p.43	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Waj'hi Bin'soa	No.61	p.43	SZ II
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	L'cho Adonoj Hag'duloh	No.62	p.44	SZ II
Cantor, then cantor with SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Mi Sch'berach	No.63	p.45	SZ II

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SATB choir	Birkat Hachodesh	J'chad'schehu	No.64	p.46	SZ II
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Hodo al Erez	No.65	p.47	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Shacharit L'shabbat	Uv'nuchoh Jomar	No.66	p.47	SZ II
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shabbat	Haschivenu	No.67	p.48	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Musaf L'shabbat	Kaddisch	No.68	p.49	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment, SATB responses	Musaf L'shabbat	Boruch Atoh	No.69	p.49	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	Atoh Gibor, Maschiv Horuach	No.70	p.51	SZ II
Organ	Musaf L'shabbat	(no name)	No.71	p.52	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	Na'aritzcho	No.72	p.53	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	Kodosch	No.72	p.53	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	K'vodo	No.72	p.54	SZ II
SATB choir	Musaf L'shabbat	Boruch K'vod Adonoj Mimkomo	No.72	p.54	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	Mimkomo	No.72	p.54	SZ II
Cantor with SAB accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	Mimkomo	No.73	p.55	SZ II
Cantor with SAB accompaniment	Musaf L'shabbat	Mimkomo	No.74	p.56	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Musaf L'shabbat	Ticanto Schabos	No.75	p.57	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Musaf L'shabbat	Jism'chu B'malchus'choh	No.76	p.57	SZ II
Cantor with organ accompaniment, SATB responses	Musaf L'shabbat	Elohenu Weelohe Avoseinu, R'zeh Vimnuchosenu	No.77	p.57	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	L'shabbat Rosh Chodesh	Hoel Hakodosch, Atoh Jozarto	No.78	p.59	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	L'shabbat Rosh Chodesh	Ul'fi Schechotonu	No.78	p.59	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	L'shabbat Rosh Chodesh	Elohenu Weelohe Avoseinu, W'chadesch Olenu	No.79	p.59	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Mincha shel Shabbat	Uvo L'zijon, Adonoj Chofez	No.80	p.60	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Mincha shel Shabbat	Kaddisch	No.81	p.60	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Mincha shel Shabbat	Waani	No.82	p.60	SZ II

Cantorial solo recitative	Mincha shel Shabbat	Atoh Echod	No.83	p.60	SZ II
Cantorial recitative with choral "Amen"	Mincha shel Shabbat	Elohenu Weelohe Avoseinu, R'zeh	No.84	p.61	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative	Mincha shel Shabbat	Odom Uv'hemoh	No.85	p.61	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	L'Dovid Boruch Adonoj, Psalm 144	No.86	p.62	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Adonoj Moh Odom	No.86	p.63	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Elohim Schir Chodosch	No.86	p.64	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Hanosen T'schuoh	No.86	p.64	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Ascher Bonenu	No.86	p.65	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	M'sovenu	No.86	p.66	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Aschre Hoom	No.86	p.66	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Lamnazeach Binginos, Psalm 67	No.87	p.67	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Elohim J'chonenu	No.87	p.67	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Lodaas	No.87	p.67	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Joducho	No.87	p.68	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Jism'chu	No.87	p.68	SZ II
SATB choir with organ accompaniment	L'motza'ei Shabbat	Joducho	No.87	p.69	SZ II
Baritone (cantor) with SATB response	L'motza'ei Shabbat	J'vor'chenu	No.87	p.69	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Ma'ariv	W'hu Rachum	No.88	p.69	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Ma'ariv	Bor'chu	No.88	p.69	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral responses	Ma'ariv	Eil Chaj	No.88	p.69	SZ II
SATB choir	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Mah Tovu	No.89	p.73	SZ II
Cantorial solo recitative with SATB choral repetitions	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Adonoj Ohavti	No.89	p.73	SZ II
Cantorial solo with solo and choral SATB response	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Wa'ani	No.89	p.73	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral responses	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Bor'chu	No.90	p.74	SZ II

Cantorial solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	El Chaj	No.91	p.74	SZ II
Cantorial solo with three-part choral response	Ma'ariv L'shalom Regalim	Lel Schimurim	No.92	p.74	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Moscheh Uw'ne Jisroel	No.93	p.74	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Pesach	No.94	p.74	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	B'giloh	No.95	p.74	SZ II
TTBB into SATB choir	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Mal'chus'cho (L'Pesach) Adonoj Yimloch (L'Pesach)	No.96	p.74	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Weneemar/Lel Schimurim	No.97	p.75	SZ II
Cantorial solo with three to four-part choral responses	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Boruch atohgoal jisroel	No.98	p.75	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Melech Zur Jisroel/ Ki El	No.99	p.75	SZ II
Cantorial solo with three-part choral response	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Hapores (L'Pesach)	No.100	p.75	SZ II
Unison SAT solo with SAA response, followed by unison SAT solo with SATB choral response	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Hapores (L'Shavuot)	No.101	p.75	SZ II
SATB choir	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Hapores (L'Sukot)	No.102	p.76	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by SATB choir with organ accompaniment	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Waj'daber Moscheh	No.103	p.76	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral response	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Kidusch	No.104	p.76	SZ II
TTBB solo	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Schehech'jonu	No.105	p.76	SZ II
SATB choir	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Jigdal	No.106	p.77	SZ II
Solo voice with organ accompaniment	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Jigdal (Sephardic melody)	No.106	p.80	SZ II
SATB choir	Ma'ariv L'shalosh Regalim	Jigdal	No.107	p.81	SZ II
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Schochen Ad	No.108	p.85	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Yozer Or	No.109	p.86	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Z'enoh Ur'enoh	No.110	p.86	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Chaj Sackenu	No.111	p.86	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Cholim Soim	No.112	p.86	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison response	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Al Horischonim	No.113	p.86	SZ II

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SATB chorus and cantorial solo verses	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	B'rach Dodi	No.114	p.86	SZ II
SATB choir with cantorial solo on chatima	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Big'lal Ovos	No.115	p.88	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Melech Oser	No.116	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Misod	No.117	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Boruch	No.118	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	T'chasek Jodajim	No.119	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral response	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Jimloch	No.120	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SAB choral response	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	W'atoh Kodosch	No.121	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Rizuj Sch'loschoh Eleh	No.122	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo, then SATB choir (repeated twice)	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	El No Hoel Sam'ru	No.123	p.89	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral response	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	L'dor Wodor	No.124	p.90	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Atoh V'chartonu	No.125	p.90	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Elohenu Welohe Avosenu Jaaleh W'jovo	No.126	p.91	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral response on "Hal'lujoh"	Hallel	Boruch	No.127	p.92	SZ II
Organ	Hallel	Präludium (L'Pesach)	No.128	p.92	SZ II
Organ	Hallel	Präludium II (L'Shavuot)	No.129	p.93	SZ II
Organ	Hallel	Präludium III (L'Sukkot)	No.130	p.93	SZ II
Cantorial solo with organ accompaniment	Hallel	Hal'lu Es Adonoj	No.131	p.94	SZ II
Cantorial solo with organ accompaniment	Hallel	Hodo	No.132	p.94	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Hallel	Min Hamezar	No.133	p.94	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Hallel	Seh Hajom	No.134	p.94	SZ II
Cantorial solo, then SATB choir, both with organ accompaniment	Hallel	Ono Adonoj	No.135	p.94	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Hallel	Ki Meolom	No.136	p.95	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral accompaniment,	Hallel	Hodu	No.137	p.95	SZ II

then TTBB					
Cantor with BB accompaniment	Hallel	Ono	No.138	p.96	SZ II
Cantorial solo with organ accompaniment, then SATB choir with organ accompaniment	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Waj'hi Binesoa Ki Mizijon	No.139	p.96	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Adonoj Adonoj	No.140	p.97	SZ II
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	L'cho Adonoj W'hag'duloh	No.141	p.98	SZ II
SATB choir	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Rom'mu	No.142	p.99	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Akdomos	No.143	p.100	SZ II
TTBB, then SATTBB	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Mi Chomocho (L'shirat Hayam)	No.144	p.101	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Oschiroh	No.145	p.101	SZ II
Cantorial solo accompanied by TBB	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Adonoj Isch Mil'chomoh		p.101	SZ II
TTBB choir	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	J'min'cho	No.146	p.102	SZ II
Cantorial solo accompanied by ATB	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	K'vodo	No.147	p.102	SZ II
Cantorial solo accompanied by ATB	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Mim'komo	No.148	p.103	SZ II
SSSA choir, then TTBB choir	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	K'vodo	No.149	p.104	SZ II
T with SSSA responses, followed by SATB choir	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Mim'komo	No.150	p.104	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Os Schesch Meos	No.151	p.105	SZ II
Cantorial solo with organ accompaniment, SATB choral responses	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Weseerav	No.152	p.105	SZ II
Cantorial solo and SATB choir with organ accompaniment	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Bircas Kohanim	No.153	p.106	SZ II
Cantorial solo, SATB choir, and Kohanim with organ accompaniment	Shacharit L'shalosh Regalim	Bircas Kohanim	No.154	p.108	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB responses	L'Hoshana Raba L'shalosh Regalim	Hoshonoh	No.155	p.113	SZ II
CATD 1 1	B'hakafa Sh'vi'it L'shalosh Regalim	L'maan Schim'mos Iroch L'ma'an Tol'dos	No.156	p.114	SZ II
SATB choir	L'shalosh Regalim	L'cho Adonoj Hageduloh	No.158	p.114	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'shalosh Regalim	Uv'soros'cho Cosuv Lemor	No.159	p.115	SZ II

Two versions: 1. Cantorial solo with SABB choral accompaniment; 2. SATB choir	L'shalosh Regalim	Sch'ma Jisroel	No.160	p.115	SZ II
SATB choir	L'shalosh Regalim	Boruch Schem K'vod Mal'chuso L'olom Woed	No.161	p.115	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB response	L'shalosh Regalim	Ani Woho	No.162	p.115	SZ II
SATB choral introduction followed by either cantorial solo or TBB choir, followed by SATB choral response	L'shalosh Regalim	K'hoschato	No.163	p.115	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'shalosh Regalim	K'hoschato	No.164	p.117	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'shalosh Regalim	Ono Hoschioh No	No.165	p.117	SZ II
Cantorial solo with TB choral accompaniment	L'shalosh Regalim	Rachem No K'hal	No.166	p.117	SZ II
SATB choir	L'shalosh Regalim	Rachem No K'hal	No.167	p.118	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SABB solo/choral accompaniment	L'shalosh Regalim	Schaare Schomajim	No.168	p.119	SZ II
Two options: 1. Cantorial solo; 2. SATB unison choir	L'shalosh Regalim	Kol M'vaser	No.169	p.119	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB unison choral response	L'shalosh Regalim	Omez Jischecho Bo	No.170	p.119	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral response	L'shalosh Regalim	L'maan Daas	No.171	p.119	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral responses	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Kadisch Jisborach L'elo	No.172	p.120	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Kadisch	No.173	p.121	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Boruch Atoh	No.174	p.122	SZ II
Cantorial solo with TB choral accompaniment	L'Geshem/L'Tal	B'dato	No.175	p.122	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	L'Geshem/L'Tal	B'dato	No.176	p.123	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Af B'ri	No.177	p.123	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Atoh Gibor T'filas G'vuros Tal	No.178	p.123	SZ II
Cantorial solo; mostly accompanied by TB choir	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Elohenu Welohe Avosenu	No.179	p.123	SZ II
SATB choir	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Tal Zaweh	No.180	p.124	SZ II

Tal Cantorial solo	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Tal Nofes	No.181	p.124	SZ II
Cal Cantorial solo	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Tal Jaasis	No.182	p.124	SZ II
Cal Cantorial solo	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Scheatoh Hu	No.183	p.124	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral "omen"	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Liv'rochoh	No.184	p.124	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by SATB choir	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Tal Ten L'razos Arzoch Rov Dogon	No.185	p.125	SZ II
Tal TTBB choir followed by SATB choir	L'Geshem/L'Tal	Tal Zaweh Ir Kasucoh Noseres	No.186	p.125	SZ II
CalCantor with BB choral accompaniment (with SSA response)	L'Geshem/L'Tal	S'chor Ov B'avuro	No.187	p.126	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by SATB choir	L'Geshem/L'Tal	S'chor Hanolod B'zidko	No.188	p.127	SZ II
Cal Cantorial solo	L'Geshem/L'Tal	S'chor Moschuj	No.189	p.127	SZ II
ah Cantorial solo with SATB choral responses	L'Simchat Torah	Atoh Horeso Lodaas J'hi Ch'vod	No.190	p.128	SZ II
ah TTBB choir followed by cantorial solo	L'Simchat Torah	En Comocho	No.191	p.128	SZ II
ah SATB choir	L'Simchat Torah	Ov Horachamim	No.192	p.129	SZ II
ah Cantorial solo with SATB choral responses	L'Simchat Torah	Ono	No.193	p.130	SZ II
ah SATB choir with SAA solo section	L'Simchat Torah	En Kelohenu Nodeh Lelohenu	No.194	p.131	SZ II
ah SATB choir	L'Simchat Torah	Ogil W'esmach	No.195	p.133	SZ II
ah Cantorial solo	L'Simchat Torah	Os Bik'schov Onow	No.196	p.134	SZ II
ah Cantorial solo, then SATB choir, then cantorial solo, then TTBB choir, then SATB choir	L'Simchat Torah	R'schus (L'chatan Torah)	No.197	p.135	SZ II
ah Cantorial solo	L'Simchat Torah	R'schus (L'chatan Torah)	No.198	p.136	SZ II
ah Alternating between cantorial solo and SATB choir	L'Simchat Torah	R'schus (L'chatan B'reshit)	No.199	p.137	SZ II
ah SATB choir with cantor	L'Simchat Torah	Waj'hi Erev (B'kri'at Parashat B'reshit)	No.200	p.138	SZ II
na Cantorial solo with SATB choral response	Ma'ariv L'Rosh Hashana	Adonoj Elohechem	No.201	p.141	SZ II
na TTBB choir with SATB "omen"	Ma'ariv L'Rosh Hashana	Hapores	No.202	p.141	SZ II
choral responses	Ma'ariv L'Rosh Hashana	Kadisch	No.203	p.141	SZ II
na Cantorial solo with choral responses,	Ma'ariv L'Rosh Hashana	Kidusch	No.204	p.142	SZ II

"Schehech'jonu" begins with cantorial solo and ends SACantorB choir		Schehech'jonu			
SATB choir	Ma'ariv L'Rosh Hashana	Jigdal	No.205	p.143	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Jigdal	No.206	p.146	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Adon Olom	No.207	p.146	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Boruch Scheomar	No.208	p.146	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	BoruchEl Molech	No.209	p.146	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Kadisch	No.210	p.146	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Bor'chu	No.211	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo with three-part choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	BoruchJozer Or	No.212	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Melech Boasoroh	No.213	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Bochen Col Eschtonos	No.214	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Sch'eh Schawas Am	No.215	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	L'umosom	No.216	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Or Chodosch	No.217	p.147	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Zur Jisroel	No.218	p.148	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Misod	No.219	p.148	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	B'schofor Afatenu	No.220	p.148	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Melech Oser	No.221	p.148	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Toir W'soria	No.222	p.148	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Rom Al Col Melech	No.223	p.148	SZ II
Cantorial solo with organ accompaniment	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Aafid Neser Ojom	No.224	p.149	SZ II
Cantorial solo (<i>a cappella</i>)	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Aafid Neser Ojom	No.225	p.149	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Adonoj Melech	No.226	p.150	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB solo and choral accompaniment	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Adire Ajumoh	No.227	p.150	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Adire Ajumoh	No.228	p.150	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Uv'chen L'cho Hacol	No.229	p.151	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	K'duscho	No.230	p.151	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Mim'kom'cho	No.231	p.151	SZ II

Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	L'dor Wodor	No.232	p.151	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Uv'chen Ten	No.233	p.151	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by SATB choir	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Sch'ma Jisroel	No.234	p.152	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	Gad'lu	No.235	p.152	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral response	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	W'jaasor	No.236	p.152	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	(No Name) Elohechem Chajjim	No.237	p.152	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	N'ginos (B'krias HaTorah) [trope]	No.238	p.152	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Shacharit L'Rosh Hashana	J'hal'lu	No.239	p.152	SZ II
Shofar solo accompanied by SATB choir	T'kiat Shofar	T'kias Schofar [instructions and musical piece]	No.240	p.153	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral response	T'kiat Shofar	El Melech	No.241	p.155	SZ II
Cantorial solo accompanied by SATB choir at end of piece	T'kiat Shofar	Uv'schofor Godol	No.242	p.155	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	K'vakoras	No.243	p.156	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Mi Jonuach Us'schuvoh	No.244	p.156	SZ II
Cantor with SATB choral accompaiment	T'kiat Shofar	Emes	No.245	p.156	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	W'atoh Hu Melech	No.246	p.157	SZ II
TTBB choir	T'kiat Shofar	En Kiz'voh	No.247	p.158	SZ II
TTBB choir	T'kiat Shofar	Aseh L'maan Sch'mecho	No.248	p.159	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Kakosuv	No.249	p.159	SZ II
BI/BII solo followed by SATB choir	T'kiat Shofar	K'vodo	No.250	p.160	SZ II
Cantorial solo with small unsion section	T'kiat Shofar	Od Jiscor Lonu	No.251	p.160	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unsion choral responses	T'kiat Shofar	B'en Meliz Joscher	No.252	p.160	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Umipne Chatoenu	No.253	p.162	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Mil'vad	No.254	p.162	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Ochiloh	No.255	p.162	SZ II
Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Tomech Mimisrach	No.256	p.162	SZ II
Cantorial solo with TTB and SATB accompaniment	T'kiat Shofar	Elohenu Weelohe Avosenu M'loch al Col Hoolom	No.257	p.163	SZ II
TTBB choir	T'kiat Shofar	Hajom Haras Olom	No.258	p.165	SZ II

Cantorial solo	T'kiat Shofar	Aresches S'fasenu	No.259	p.165	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SABB accompaniment	T'kiat Shofar	Ki Socher Col Hanischcochos	No.260	p.166	SZ II
SATB choir (extends to SSAATTBB at times)	T'kiat Shofar	T'ka B'schofor Godol	No.261	p.167	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	T'kiat Shofar	Ki Atoh Schomea	No.262	p.168	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB accompaniment	T'kiat Shofar	W'seerav	No.263	p.169	SZ II
TTBB solo with SATB choral responses	T'kiat Shofar	Hajom T'am'zenu	No.264	p.171	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral accompaniment	Arvit Leil Kippur	Lo Al Azmi	No.265	p.172	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	W'nislach	No.265	p.175	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	S'lach No	No.266	p.175	SZ II
SATB choir	Arvit Leil Kippur	Wajomer Adonoj	No.267	p.175	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Arvit Leil Kippur	Boruch Shem K'vod	No.268	p.175	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses	Arvit Leil Kippur	Schomea T'filoh	No.269	p.176	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Han'schomoh Loch	No.270	p.176	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Osonu	No.271	p.176	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Dark'cho	No.272	p.176	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Dark'cho	No.273	p.176	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	L'maancho	No.274	p.176	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Taaleh Aruchoh	No.275	p.177	SZ II
BI/BII solo with SATB choral response; also cantorial solo, SATB and TTBB choir	Arvit Leil Kippur	Omnom Ken	No.276	p.177	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Ki Hine Kachomer	No.277	p.178	SZ II
Cantorial solo and unison choir	Arvit Leil Kippur	Os'cho Edrosch	No.278	p.179	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by TTBB choir	Arvit Leil Kippur	Elohenu Weelohe Avosenu S'lach Lonu	No.279	p.179	SZ II
TTBB choir, cantorial solo, and unison choir	Arvit Leil Kippur	Ki Onu Am'cho	No.280	p.180	SZ II
TTBB choir with SSAA responses	Arvit Leil Kippur	Ono Tovo	No.281	p.180	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Arvit Leil Kippur	Schim'cho Meolom	No.282	p.182	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Arvit Leil Kippur	Uv'chen J'hi Rozon	No.283	p.182	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Arvit Leil Kippur	Al Chet	No.284	p.182	SZ II

Cantorial solo with choral responses	Arvit Leil Kippur	W'al Chatoim	No.285	p.182	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Boruch Atoh AdonojHaposeach	No.286	p.183	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Boruch Schem K'vod	No.287	p.183	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Kidusch	No.288	p.183	SZ II
Yotzeir L'Yom KippurCantorial solo with choral responses	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Ono S'lach No	No.289	p.184	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Moreh Chatoim	No.290	p.184	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Hajom Jicosev	No.291	p.184	SZ II
Baritone solo with organ accompaniment (German and Hebrew texts given)	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Hoaderes W'hoemunoh	No.292	p.185	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Yotzeir L'Yom Kippur	Se El Se Schoalim	No.293	p.185	SZ II
Cantorial solo	S'lichot	S'lach Lonu Ovinu	No.294	p.186	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	S'lichot	Taavor Al Pescha	No.295	p.186	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	S'lichot	S'lach No Laawon	No.296	p.186	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choir	S'lichot	Sch'losch Esre Middos	No.297	p.186	SZ II
Cantorial solo	S'lichot	Schofet Col Hoorez	No.298	p.187	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	Regesch Rachaschom	No.299	p.187	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	Nechoschev	No.300	p.187	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Musaf L'Yom Kippur	Uv'chen Ach Chanun Oto	No.301	p.187	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Seder Ha'avodah	Masim	No.302	p.188	SZ II
SATB choir	Seder Ha'avodah	Hoju Cor'im	No.303	p.188	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral accompaniment	Seder Ha'avodah	W'chach Hojoh Moneh	No.304	p.189	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choir	Seder Ha'avodah	Aschre Ajin Roasoh Col Eleh	No.305	p.189	SZ II
SATB choir	Seder Ha'avodah	Ono Tovo	No.306	p.190	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ne'ilah	Misod	No.307	p.193	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Ne'ilah	Pismon (S'chor B'ris Avrohom)	No.308	p.193	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Ne'ilah	Pismon (Enkas M'saldecho)	No.309	p.193	SZ II

Cantorial solo with choral response	Ne'ilah	Pismon (Jachbienu)	No.310	p.194	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Ne'ilah	Pismon (Adonoj Adonoj)	No.311	p.194	SZ II
Cantorial solo with TTBB accompaniment; followed by SATB choir	Ne'ilah	Ono Tovo	No.312	p.194	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yom Kippur Katan	Jom Seh	No.313	p.199	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yom Kippur Katan	Kadisch	No.314	p.199	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Yom Kippur Katan	Haschivenu	No.315	p.199	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choir	Yom Kippur Katan	Masas Capaj	No.316	p.199	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Yom Kippur Katan	Bas Ami	No.317	p.200	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Yom Kippur Katan	Bas Ami	No.318	p.200	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yom Kippur Katan	Rachamomo Idkar Lon	No.319	p.200	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral response	Yom Kippur Katan	Chatonu	No.320	p.200	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yom Kippur Katan	Boruch Schem K'vod	No.321	p.200	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Yom Kippur Katan	Adonoj Hu Hoelohim Adonoj Melech	No.322	p.201	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choir	Sheni V'chamishi Sheni	Malache Rachamim	No.323	p.201	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Sheni V'chamishi Sheni	Sch'eh Neesor	No.324	p.201	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Pizmonim L'shov'vim Tav"Tav	Chonenu	No.325	p.202	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Pizmonim L'shov'vim Tav"Tav	El No	No.326	p.202	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Pizmonim L'shov'vim Tav"Tav	W'al J'akev Chet	No.327	p.202	SZ II
TTBB choir followed by SATB choir	L'Shabbat Hazon	Mikdasch Melech Hisnaari	No.328	p.203	SZ II
SATB choir	L'Shabbat Hazon	L'cho Dodi	No.329	p.204	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by TTBB solo; SATB choral response at conclusion	L'Shabbat Hazon	Hapores	No.330	p.204	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av	[Trope]	No.331	p.205	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av	Eicha [trope]	No.332	p.205	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by SATB choir	L'Tisha B'av	Ki Rabos	No.333	p.205	SZ II

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Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av	Tikro	No.334	p.206	SZ II
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'av	Ascher Tipachti		p.206	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av	Ani Hagever	No.335	p.206	SZ II
Cantorial solo followed by cantorial solo accompanied by SATB choir	L'Tisha B'av	Titen Lohem Tirdof B'af	No.336	p.206	SZ II
TTBB choir with SAA responses	L'Tisha B'av	S'chor Adonoj Me Hojoh Lonu	No.337	p.207	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av	Mizrajim Nosanu Jod Lomoh Lonezach	No.338	p.208	SZ II
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'av	Haschivenu	No.339	p.208	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av	B'lel Seh	No.340	p.208	SZ II
SATB choir	L'Tisha B'av	Ki Nicham Soson W'simchoh	No.341	p.208	SZ II
Cantorial solo	L'Tisha B'av Baboker	Schovas	No.342	p.209	SZ II
Unison choir with SATB choral response	L'Tisha B'av Baboker	Al Har Zijon	No.343	p.209	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB accompaniment	L'Tisha B'av Baboker	Lomoh Ruach Apenu	No.344	p.210	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choir	L'Tisha B'av Baboker	Zijon Halo Tishali	No.345	p.211	SZ II
Cantorial solo with unison choral responses; TTB choir with SATB choral "omen"	Hannukah	Brachos L'hadlik Nerot Schehech'jonu	No.346	p.214	SZ II
Bass solo, TTBB choir, and SATB choir	Hannukah	Haneros Halolu	No.347	p.215	SZ II
SATB choir; cantorial solo	Hannukah	Mal'chus'cho Adonoj Jimloch W'neemar	No.348	p.217	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses;TTBB choir	Purim	B'rachos L'megilas Esther Scheosoh Nisim Schehechejonu	No.349	p.218	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	[Megillat Esther Trope]	No.350	p.219	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Waj'hi Bime Achaschverosch Uvim'loos Wajjomer Homom	No.351	p.219	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	W'chelim	No.352	p.219	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Lih'jos	No.353	p.219	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	W'hanaaroh	No.354	p.220	SZ II

Cantorial solo	Purim	Ascher Hogloh	No.355	p.220	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Uv'hagia	No.356	p.220	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Wajeehav	No.357	p.220	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	W'hoir Schushon	No.358	p.220	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Umord'chaj	No.359	p.220	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Rewach W'hazoloh	No.360	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	W'chaascher Ovadti	No.361	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Sch'elosi	No.362	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	W'chol Seh	No.363	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Balajloh Hahu	No.364	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Kach Es Hal'vusch	No.365	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	Tinosen Li	No.366	p.221	SZ II
Cantorial solo	Purim	W'chol Maaseh	No.367	p.221	SZ II
SATB choir	Confirmation	Lied vor der Confirmation I	No.368	p.225	SZ II
Cantorial solo with organ accompaniment	Confirmation	Adonoj Adonenu (Psalm 8)	No.369	p.226	SZ II
SATB choir	Confirmation	Lied nach der Confirmation III	No.370	p.229	SZ II
SATB choir	N'su'in	Boruch Habo/B'ruchoh Habooh	No.371	p.230	SZ II
Cantorial solo with SATB choral accompaniment	N'su'in	Mi Adir	No.372	p.230	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	N'su'in	Bircas Erusin (U'sheva Brachos)	No.373	p.231	SZ II
SATB choir	N'su'in	M'heroh	No.374	p.232	SZ II
SATB choir	N'su'in	M'heroh	No.375	p.234	SZ II
TTBB choir, SATB choir, TTBB choir	N'su'in	M'heroh	No.376	p.236	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Aninim Shonim	Hazur Tomim/Zadik/ Boruch Hu/ Nefesch Col Chaj	No.377	p.237	SZ II
Cantorial solo with choral responses	Aninim Shonim	Joschev B'seser Ki Hu Jazil'cho Lo Siro Mipachad Ki Hu Jazil'choh Lo Siro Mipachad Midever Miketev Jipol Ur'vovoh	No.378	p.238	SZ II

			Elecho Lo Jigosch		
SZ II	p.240	No.379	Elohim B'osnenu Schomanu (Zur Installation des Gross-Rabiners in Triest)	Aninim Shonim	SATB choir
SZ II	p.242	No.380	Hineh Bor'chu (Psalm 134)	Aninim Shonim	SATB choir
SZ II	p.245	No.381	Od'cho Ki Anisoni (Psalm 118 verses 21-24)	Aninim Shonim	SATB choir
SZ II	p.245	No.382	Even Moasu Habonim	Aninim Shonim	TTBB choir
SZ II	p.246	No.383	Mees Adonoj	Aninim Shonim	SATB choir
SZ II	p.247	No.384	Seh Hajom	Aninim Shonim	Cantorial solo and SATB choir
SZ II	p.248	No.385	Zenu Ur'ena	Aninim Shonim	Organ solo
SZ II	p.249	No.386	El El Chaj	Aninim Shonim	Solo with organ accompaniment
SZ II	p.250	No.387	El No	Aninim Shonim	Solo with organ accompaniment
SZ II	p.251	No.388	Al Horischonim	Aninim Shonim	Solo with organ accompaniment
SZ II	p.252	No.389	Psalm III	Aninim Shonim	SATB choir and baritone solo with organ accompaniment
SZ II	p.259	No.390	Psalm XXI	Aninim Shonim	SATB choir with organ accompaniment

Appendix B – Musical Examples (as a supplement to Chapter Four)

from Salomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion*, Out-of-Print Classics Series of Synagogue Music Volumes 6 and 7, New York: Sacred Music Press, 1954. (*Adon Olom* – Volume 6, p.57, *B'rosch Hashonoh* – Volume 7, pp.266-268, *Way'chulu* section – Volume 6, pp.53-54)







Cantor.	3 ff pp rit.		- - 5
	va-mag-ge - foh		mi_ was-s'-ki - loh
	va-mag-ge - foh pp	<u>.</u>	Tutti. pp 3 f
$\begin{array}{c ccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccccc$	/a-mag-ge - fohTutti.	parlando	was-s'-ki - loh
u- mi_	pp mi_	wa - ch ² -ni-koh	pp 3 sf





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