PROVISION FOR THE JOURNEY:
Recovering Lost Religious Folk Songs in Yiddish of East European Jewry

JANET B. LEUCHTER

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of
Requirements for Master of Sacred Music Degree

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
School of Sacred Music
New York, New York

February 5, 1999
Advisor: Dr. Martin A. Cohen

Table of Contents

SUMMARY

The goal of this thesis is to complement the research undertaken as part of my senior project. This project sought to research and bring to a wider public a corpus of "religious" folk songs at least partially in Yiddish that derive from the East European Jewish cultural milieu. This component of the traditional Yiddish song repertoire has never been studied formally. Moreover, the Yiddish song public, even in the Orthodox world, does not know much of this repertoire. Many of the songs I studied had to be "discovered" by me, either in oral tradition, in archives, in older collections, or on a handful of recordings circulating among contemporary Hasidim. My contribution has been to identify, transcribe and analyze two songs that have never been transcribed or recorded and are largely unknown today; to analyze two versions of a third song that has been folklorized and appropriated by opposing ideological camps; and to discuss the major issues involved in and sources for researching this song genre. My recital program-notes will include information about several other songs that are more well-known, at least among some Hasidim today, though not generally outside these circles.

The thesis is not divided into chapters but rather is organized under the following headings: introduction, definition of the genre, Yiddish as a criterion for identification and categorization, and methodological problems in research. Following this are extensive analyses of three songs: "*Tseydo ladorekh*," *Di neshume fin aydlnshtand*," and "*Ovinu malkeynu*." The analyses cover text, music, performance practice, and context. The three original musical transcriptions and one photocopy of a published transcription conclude the body of the thesis. Appendix A lists interviewees (current and former Hasidim) and is followed by a bibliography (divided into printed music and related books/articles), a list of field recordings and a discography.

My research included primary sources (song informants, interviewees, and archival field recordings) and secondary sources (books, articles, printed sheet music, commercial recordings). Included were all the classic Yiddish song collections published before World War II, from Ginsburg and Marek (1901) on.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many people provided invaluable information and guidance along the way to this paper's completion. At HUC-JIR, I would like to thank Dr. Mark Kligman, for having started me off on a productive path, and my advisor, Dr. Martin A. Cohen, for having reassured me at critical points that it was possible to finish. I would also like to thank Dr. Eliahu Schleifer for allowing me to record his singing of various *lernen shteygers*; Dr. Richard White for his help in translating Aramaic; and Dr. Leonard Kravitz for sharing with me his wide and deep knowledge of religious literature and willingness to check sources for me.

Outside HUC-JIR, I would like to express my deep gratitude to the following experts on East European Jewish music and folklore who graciously shared their precious knowledge and sources with me: Eleanor Gordon (Khane) Mlotek, music archivist, and Jenny Romaine, sound archivist, of the YIVO Institute of Jewish Research (New York); Nancy Zavac, University of Miami music librarian, and her husband Jeffrey; scholars and performers of Yiddish song and klezmer, East European, Middle Eastern and Central Asian traditional music Dr. Walter Zev Feldman and Michael Alpert; Yiddish ethnologist Dr. Itsik Gottesman of University of Texas; Dr. Gila Flam, director of the Israel National Sound Archives, and Yiddish folklorist Prof. Dov Noy (Jerusalem); *klezmer* clarinest Jack (Yankel) Falk; Dr. Jeffrey Shandler of New York University; and ethnomusicologist Dr. Mark Slobin.

I am particularly grateful to the following persons for graciously granting me extensive personal interviews about their Hasidic upbringings and personal knowledge of Yiddish religious songs: singer

Avraham Fried (Crown Heights, Brooklyn); Yiddish instructor and raconteur Michael Wex (Toronto); Hazzan Isaac Goodfriend (Atlanta); Irene Widerman (Williamsburg, Brooklyn); Pearl Gluck (New York); and Sheyndl Fogelman (Crown Heights, Brooklyn).

Yiddish experts Alan (Avrum Yankl) Sachs and Dr. Sheva Zucker of Duke University helped me transcribe Yiddish songs on tape. Maxine Schwartz of the University of Miami Jewish Studies Program suggested numerous potential interviewees in the Miami area and provided precious entree into the University's music library. Dr. Solomon Mowshowitz researched the Bar Ilan Responsa Project CD-ROM for me. Ethel Raim, director of the Center for Traditional Music (NY), tried to connect me with knowledgeable recent Russian Jewish immigrants.

My dear friend Bina Presser, granddaughter of the last Dinever Rebbe in Europe, answered uncounted numbers of questions about her family and community's brand of Hasidism, and about growing up Hasidic in Brooklyn. She also helped me with translations.

Finally, I owe a debt of love and gratitude to my companion, Hal Glicksman, for his patience and encouragement through four long years of graduate school, and to my parents, sisters, and brother-in-law for their love and support.

Bod zikh di yidishe gas in lider.
("The Jewish street is bathed in songs.")
--Noyekh Prilutski, 1911[1]

We in the Jewish world are forced to work with fragments, with the merest crumbs of the rich banquet that was once the Yiddish folksong tradition.
--Mark Slobin, 1984[2]

In these sections of Brooklyn, one can hear Orthodox music playing in bakeries, restaurants, butcher shops and giftstores...Members of the Orthodox community claim their space...by 'broadcasting' their music as other ethnicities do.
--Mark Kligman, 1994[3]

Introduction

The foregoing quotes encapsulate the extraordinary death, revival and transformation of East European Jewry and its popular music in this century. Traditional instrumental (*klezmer*) music has undergone a remarkable world-wide revival in the last twenty years, bringing in its wake a smaller revival of songs in Yiddish, the principle vernacular of East European Jewry. In the rich legacy of Yiddish songs that has been reclaimed, one major sub-genre has largely been overlooked: religious songs. And although Yiddish as a spoken language has been preserved among most Hasidim here and around the world, and as an educational language even in non-Hasidic right-wing yeshivas, the old Yiddish folksongs have survived among the Orthodox only in truncated form.

---

[1]Noyekh Prilutski, *Yidishe Folkslider*, vol. 1 (Warsaw: Farlag "Bikher-far-Ale," 1911), from the foreward.

[2]Mark Slobin, "Studying the Yiddish Folksong," in *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 6 (1973-84): 10.

[3]Mark Kligman, "The Media and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews," in *Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review* 16, no. 1 (1994): 9-11.

In researching this thesis, it was my goal to examine the corpus of traditional religious folksongs in Yiddish: to survey the repertoire in print, on recording, on archival field recordings and in oral circulation; to choose some relatively unknown and outstanding examples for analysis; and to notate those that have never been collected or published, of which I myself knew at least one before I began. Indeed, this lovely song--*Tseydo[sic] ladorekh* ("provisions for the journey")--was the single greatest impetus for this study. Its haunting melody and moving text seemed to come straight out of another world, and yet it spoke to me with surprising relevance. Not only did I want to study it, but I wanted to find more like it. I wondered whether other unknown gems were "out there" waiting to be rescued from obscurity and preserved for posterity.

As I discovered in the course of research, surveying the field was by far the most challenging of these tasks. Although I have made considerable progress, I could not at this point write anywhere near a scholarly survey of this multi-faceted genre. For one thing, I discovered that among Hasidim many new Yiddish religious songs are being written and recorded on cassette tape and even compact disk. These deserve their own study and will not be treated here except in passing. What I intend to do below is to define the genre under study and delineate some of the major issues confronting a researcher in this field. Following this, I will offer several examples for detailed analysis. Included will be a discussion of some contemporary Orthodox approaches to this repertoire.

In researching this project I have been struck--despite the often passionate methodological and ideological disagreements among collectors and researchers over the past century--by what we all share: the sense of being on a cultural rescue mission, to record beautiful and rich fragments of a dying way of life. I cannot know in what ways this repertoire "spoke" to its collectors in the past. But for myself, I can say that much of the repertoire moves and inspires me, and thus has relevance to my life, over and above the feelings of group identity it engenders. I feel honored to have the opportunity of making even a tiny contribution to this noble endeavor of preservation, study and--I hope--dissemination.

A Word About Transliteration

Both Hebrew and Yiddish are transliterated throughout this paper. For the Yiddish, I have followed the standard YIVO transliteration. For the Hebrew, I have used the Encyclopedia Judaica transliteration style, unless it appears as *loshn koydesh* ("the holy language") embedded in the Yiddish. In these cases, I have used the YIVO transliteration.

Definition of the Genre

The appelation "religious" has no standard definition among the pre-war collectors. Ginzburg and Marek, the commonly acknowledged first major collection of Yiddish folk songs, designated their first category of song texts as "religious-spiritual, national and holiday" (1901). In his multi-volume Thesaurus (1932), Idelsohn devoted an entire book to "the folk song of the East European Jews" and another

to "the songs of the Chasidim." Yet many seemingly "religious" songs also appear in the former volume, which is categorized not by text at all but entirely according to Idelsohn's melodic scale types. In Kipnis (1918, 1925), one can find religious songs under two categories: 1) "religious, Hasidish, Misnagdish, and philosophical folksongs", and 2) "Jewish-Ukrainian" or "Jewish-and-goyish" folksongs (these appellations are used synonymously in different collections). Hazzan A.M. Bernstein (1927) calls his collection "*zemirot* and folk melodies," yet they are all either wordless *niggun*im, instrumental tunes for the various stages of a wedding, or songs with sacred texts.

Nor are matters more clarified in popular post-war collections. In her comprehensive treatment of Yiddish folk song, *Voices of a People* (1963), Ruth Rubin puts this material in two different categories: 1) "customs and beliefs," which she further delineates as songs about the Sabbath, the Messiah, superstitions and death, and bible heroes, as well as mixed-language songs; and 2) "Chasidic melody and song." Vinaver's two anthologies, one of "Jewish" and one of "Hassidic" music, are both devoted entirely to religious material. Dov and Meir Noy, in their publication of songs collected before the war by S. Z. Pipe, divide the religious material between "religious and national songs" and "songs for the festivals and holidays." In their second popular collection, *Pearls of Yiddish Song* (1988), Joseph and Eleanor Gordon Mlotek scatter religious songs among "humorous songs and songs for celebrations and parties," "our beloved rabbi," and "songs of survival and national aspiration." In their third volume, *Songs of Generations* (1996), religious songs can be found under the renamed category of "hassidic and national songs,"

as well as under "songs in a quiet and reflective mood" and "songs of the Holocaust." Velvel Pasternak's second volume of Hasidic songs (1971) includes a "songs in Yiddish" category (which also includes a Hungarian and a Russian song).

So how shall we define "religious songs"? For the purposes of this project, I am defining "religious folksong" as is customary: through the text's subject matter (rather than through musical traits or performance context). Excluded are those whose composer is known, except if it has become folklorized, such as songs attributed to Rabbi Levi Yitzkhak of Berdichev. Somewhat arbitrarily but simply to narrow the field down, I also exclude the following categories: songs about or for use on holidays and weddings, and ballads about love and topical subjects, even though many of their texts include entreaties to God and statements embodying religious beliefs such as divine reward and punishment.

agreement as to what? Nature of songs?

So what are the "core" topics about which there could be broad agreement? 1) parts of the standard liturgy, as well as liturgical and paraliturgical hymns [known traditionally as *zmires* (Yid.), *zemirot* (Heb.) and as *piyyutim* in their purely literary form], that include some Yiddish text along with the Hebrew and/or Aramaic; 2) texts on the following subjects: the sabbath, God's giving the Torah to the Jews, the soul, the Messiah and redemption, the Land of Israel and Jerusalem, the stages of life, Hasidic rebbes (not the common parodies thereof), biblical events, the ten mystical emanations of God (Yid. *s'fires*, Heb. *sefirot)*, and the importance of observing *mitzvot* and of helping the poor.

Yiddish as a Criterion for Identification and Categorization

Much of the repertoire identified is not strictly in Yiddish but is actually in Yiddish plus one or more other languages. These "mixed-language" songs have long fascinated collectors and scholars. Several forms of mixed-language songs exist: 1) Yiddish lines, verses or even phrases alternating with *loshn koydesh* (lit. the "holy language," meaning Hebrew or Aramaic in one of a variety of forms--biblical, Talmudic, medieval); 2) Yiddish plus the East European non-Jewish vernacular (the most common being Ukrainian, but also incuding Russian, Polish, Hungarian and even Czech); 3) the addition of *loshn koydesh* to #2. If, then, a noticeable part of the East Ashkenazi repertoire is in more than one language, why define it as "Yiddish" altogether?

To explore this issue, I will start with my own place on the complicated Jewish map. Like most American Jewish children educated Jewishly in the 50's and 60's, I was oriented toward Hebrew, the language of Jewish prayer and the spoken language of our present and future. Yiddish and Ladino were languages of the past, period. The intense Zionist indoctrination I received as a teen-ager underscored this outlook. However, as I began to realize the cultural differences between American and Israeli Jews, I began--perhaps unconsciously--to look for an alternative source of Jewish cultural identity. I found much of it finally in East European Yiddishkayt--and particularly in Yiddish song. As I had grown up loving the sounds of traditional prayer as well as the songs of the Yishuv, I was delighted to discover that both musical traditions were essential components of Yiddish song (albeit that the former is a source and the latter an offshoot). Moreover, I had studied

and performed Balkan and Russian traditional song, and was delighted to find that they shared their beautiful musical language with a folk repertoire I could call my own. Finally, I was happy to discover that the repertoire included popular, theater and even art songs, so that I could put my classical vocal skills to good use.

In short, the Yiddish song repertoire is diverse enough to appeal to a post-modern fragmented identity like mine. But it was not always viewed as such. Indeed, the socio-historical reality of Yiddish-speaking Jews in the last century dictated a different view. For centuries, the use of Yiddish in the last century has been intimately connected with ideology.[4] That is, to speak Yiddish, to write and sing in Yiddish, to use Yiddish expressions in another vernacular--and not to do any or all of these--are statements about Jewish identity in a particular time and place, and are often decisions made consciously by both individuals and groups. My initial framing of my thesis topic as "Yiddish religious songs," rather than as the wider genre of East Ashkenazi or Hasidic religious songs (which could include cantorial music, wordless *niggunim*, and traditional religious songs in Hebrew and/or Aramaic), itself reflects a frame of reference that is modern but not contemporary. That is, the topic "Yiddish religious songs" takes as its standard a Jewish identity based on language, which is a kind of Yiddishist perspective--the perspective of a once mighty portion of Ashkenazic Jewry whose Jewish identity meant secular Yiddish culture.

wasn't it rather intertwined without formal distinction

[4]For a good overview of this topic, see Emanuel S. Goldsmith, "The Language of Ashkenaz," in *Modern Yiddish Culture* (New York: Shapolsky Publishers and the Workmen's Circle Education Department, 1987), 27-44.

Most of the classic pre-war Yiddish folksong collectors and scholars shared this perspective and defined their work in its terms. With few exceptions, they collected only those religious songs that included some Yiddish in their texts. These songs were then laid side by side with the non-religious songs in the same collection. While this approach can certainly be useful and even illuminating, it misses the larger religious-music context of the songs--the context of traditional prayer modes (*nusach*), cantorial recitative and Hasidic *nign* (Heb. *niggun*).

Only two collectors in print took this more comprehensive approach to religious song: Bernstein and Idelsohn. Monumental and sophisticated as Idelsohn's collecting and analysis was, the fact remains that his locus of activity was the Ashkenazi communities of Jerusalem, where repertoire was not developing along the same lines as the main body of Yiddish-speaking Jewry in Europe. Paradoxically, political conditions in Palestine were more favorable to his activities than conditions in the USSR were to Yiddish folklore scholars there. Had the Soviet Jewish musicologists been permitted to publish a truly representative sample of items from S. An-Ski's and Joel Engel's voluminous pre-World War I field collections, which after the revolution were reposited in St. Petersburg and later Kiev, we would today have a far more complete picture of religious song in Yiddish (Mlotek 1977-78: 75), and perhaps even of the totality of East European Jewish song. The survival of a good portion of this "mother lode" of wax cylinders in the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences in Kiev has recently been confirmed, and limited scholarly investigation by Western and Israeli scholars is

being allowed by the Ukraine government. A single compact disk with 40-odd items has been pressed in limited quantities, and is available at the YIVO Institute of Jewish Research. (I have heard selected songs.) So perhaps we may all yet see and/or hear more of these treasures.

In any case, in the last thirty years, scholars have shifted their gaze to the multi-cultural aspects of Yiddish language and culture. Benjamin Hrushavski/Horshav (1990) describes East European Jewry as internally and externally polylingual, and Yiddish as the mediating language among all the languages, both Jewish and non-Jewish, that Jews had to negotiate. In the field of Yiddish ethnomusicology, scholars like Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Mark Slobin have pioneered the study of a folksinger's total repertoire in all languages (see bibliography). And Mark Kligman (1994), taking a contemporary ethnological approach to contemporary Orthodox and non-Orthodox popular music, shows how language choices continue to be ideological markers within the Jewish world.

Methodological Problems in Researching This Repertoire

As touched on above, the problems facing a student of Yiddish religious songs will now be discussed. For reasons that will become apparent, I have also included in this section a detailed description of contemporary Yiddish religious-song recordings.

1. The dearth of surviving Jewish communities in which Yiddish is spoken as the primary vernacular. The Holocaust--coupled with Soviet repression of all but officially-sanctioned Yiddish activity, Israeli

prejudice and American assimilation--decimated the numbers of Yiddish speakers. On the eve of World War II, Yiddish speakers numbered approximately 11 million worldwide: 65-70% of world Jewry.[5] This includes the substantial numbers of East European Jews, and many of their descendants, who had migrated to the United States and Western Europe from c. 1880. The number of native Yiddish speakers today is hard to ascertain, but it is most certainly less than half a million. Today, the only communities in which Yiddish is still being spoken and transmitted (more of this below) are ultra-Orthodox, largely Hasidic communities, centered in the New York metropolitan area and in Israel.

2. The methodological problems of most pre-war Yiddish song scholarship. Before the war, serious study of Yiddish folksong was undertaken by East Europeans and a few Central Europeans in the form of "collecting" songs from informants and publishing song collections, either in text form only or with both texts and musical notation. They did so, according to Philip Bohlman (1998:8-10), because they feared "cultural loss and rootlessness," and because they wished to "rediscover and reassert Jewish identity." (How like the post-war collectors and popularizers, including myself!)

The early collectors were interested in religious songs, and their collections are priceless. For purposes of this paper, I use the term "old core repertoire" to identify the songs contained in these collections. Most of the major East European collectors also wrote important analyses of the song texts and other folklore (Cahan 1952;

---

[5]Ibid., 15-16.

Prilucki 1911, 1913; Idelsohn 1927, 1932; Pipe 1972).

Idelsohn and Beregovski (1934, 1935, 1937, 1938) were unique in their scholarly attention to the music. The Soviet scholar Moshe Beregovski (who published the largest pre-war song collections, as well as analyses, in the '30's and then again in 1962 after his political "rehabilitation") is regarded as exceptional in approaching contemporary standards of notation and analysis (Slobin 1982:2) and for being the first to examine reciprocal Jewish-Ukrainian influence (Goldin 1989:2). Idelsohn is also universally admired for his uniquely wide scope and pioneering musicological approach. However, even some of Beregovski's conclusions have been challenged in the post-war era (Mlotek 1977-78; Goldin 1983).

Besides Beregovski and, to some extent, Idelsohn, most of these collections lack detailed musical information considered essential by contemporary standards, such as an indication of original pitch levels, ornamentation, and deviation from Western tonality. [Although not every scholar agrees that such detail is necessary (Sharvit 1995: XXXIII)]. Cahan, the first to publish music along with texts (1912), was musically illiterate. He memorized the tunes and then sang them to Cantor Henry Russotto, who notated them. In 1972, the eminent Israeli folklorists Dov and Meir Noy published an important critical edition of part of S. Z. Pipe's pre-war song collection from Galicia, as well as some of his writings. To many of the texts they added melodies that they collected from survivors (see below for more detail). The entire book is a major addition to the field, and the selections are beautifully annotated, but again the transcriptions are simple and there is no musical analysis.

Moreover, the pre-war collectors were East European Jewish intellectuals whose work, as Slobin (1995) has pointed out, was informed by urgent ideological agendas that were sweeping the entire Jewish world.

> A people under pressure, the Jews--particularly their intellectuals, chartered by the Enlightenment of the 19th century that granted them that status--could not easily embark on "objective" study of their culture. Too many major decisions had to be made about their current place in European socieities and their future course...A decision to study the secular Yiddish folksong was a political, often ambivalent, choice, whereas in the 1970's, it could be an ethnomusicological alternative.[6]

It would be useful to note the diverse religious backgrounds of these pre-war collectors. Some, like Idelsohn, grew up in traditional religious environments and thus benefitted from their own familiarity with this repertoire. Other major collectors grew up one or two steps removed from "the folk," in urban Westernized circles. According to their memoirs, the Polish collectors Prilucki, Lehman and Graubard prized the songs but disliked and feared their creators, the Jewish *folkmassen*, who tended to distrust these collectors, made fun of them, harrassed them, and often tried to run them out of town (Gottesman 1993).[7] These fascinating memoirs illustrate the profound gaps and passionate divisions among European Jews to which Slobin alludes and

---

[6]Mark Slobin, "Ten Paradoxes and Four Dilemmas of Studying Jewish Music," The World of Music: Journal of the International Institute for Traditional Music (ITM), (Berlin: 1995), vol. 37(1), 19. Slobin's description of the pre-war repertoire studied as "secular" is obviously inaccurate.

[7] A parallel certainly exists in the distrust still displayed by most Hasidic groups towards "outsiders" doing research (Heilman 1992, and my own experiences).

which must be taken into account in any modern study.

3. Post-war scholarship and the new Yiddish-speaking Orthodox.

After the war, the division persisted between the treatment of Yiddish religious songs as, on the one hand, a subset of the entire corpus of Yiddish song (Rubin 1963; Mlotek and Mlotek 1972, 1988, 1996) and, on the other, as a subset of Ashkenazi or Hasidic religious music. Andre Hajdu and Yaakov Mazur (1974), Chemjo Vinaver (1955, 1985), Uri Sharvit (1995), Joachim Stutchewsky (1950), M.S. Geshuri (1955), and Eliahu Schleifer (Vinaver 1985) are all serious post-war Israeli scholars who have focused on Hasidic vocal music. Nevetheless, Vinaver, whose two anthologies are meticulously annotated (the latter by Schleifer), wrote relatively little about the Yiddish component of this repertoire. The others include virtually no songs in Yiddish. They concentrated rather on the wordless *niggunim*.

The only truly ethnological treatment of Hasidic music I have seen was carried out in the late '70's by a non-Orthodox Jewish ethnomusicologist, Ellen Koskoff, who studied musical composition among the Brooklyn Lubavich. Her work, while interesting, is concerned with the legitimation and status of composers of new songs. Coming before the cheap cassette-recording revolution, her research is probably quite dated by now (Koskoff 1978).

In a more popular vein, Velvel Pasternak has written the most extensively in English on the Yiddish song genre within the Hasidic world (Pasternak 1968, 1971). Pasternak, a modern Orthodox native-born American, arranged and produced a number of Hasidic recordings in the

'50's, '60's and possibly more recently, working with the communities in Brooklyn. He is undoubtedly the outstanding American popularizer of Hasidic music in the post-war period. He was trusted by and given wide access to some, if not all, of the Hasidic dynastic circles, including the more insular, and his observations undoubtedly carry weight. However, Pasternak is not a trained scholar. In an interview with me in June 1998, he said that he knows few or no religious songs in Yiddish apart from the handful he has published (1971:167-77).

However, as a Jewish music publisher and seller of recorded music, Pasternak, whose Tara Publications has become America's largest Jewish music distributor, does reflect a popular zeitgeist of the post-war period, at least through the '60's. His "Great Jewish Classics" series, now up to seven volumes of out-of-print sheet music, is a smorgasbord of East European Jewish song types. Each volume might include one or more of the following categories: songs of Levi Yitzhak of Berditchev, songs satirizing the Hasidim, bona-fide religious folk songs, and Yiddish theater and art songs. Popular singers like Jan Peerce performed and recorded similar types of programs. (Notice that cantorial solos were largely excluded.)

A generation arose in the '60's and '70's, however, which knew not Jan Peerce. Its members largely rejected the smorgasbord sentimentalism of the past and began looking for authenticity as they understood it, in the more distant past. The changing parameters of popular taste with regard to East European-derived Jewish music deserves its own serious study. Suffice it to say that in the last twenty years, the American music audience has fragmented into many

more genres and sub-genres than possibly ever before. At the same time, cheap recording technology has become widely available. The Orthodox Holocaust survivors successfully rebuilt their communities, and their children began to benefit from the sustained economic growth of the western world, including Israel. Enter the Orthodox recording industry and its Yiddish sub-genre--which is undergoing a mini-revival of its own.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to treat adequately the complicated role of Yiddish in contemporary Orthodox life. Nor can I give an authoritatively comprehensive survey of current Yiddish-language song recordings and concertizing by Orthodox Jews for an Orthodox audience. What I can do is describe the range of recordings found in major music stores in Boro Park (where both "yeshivish" and various types of Hasidim live) and Williamsburg (dominated by Satmar Hasidim). (I did not get to Crown Heights, the world center of the Lubavich.) Moreover, I can unequivocally state the following: a) Contemporary Hasidim, both in America and elsewhere, speak Yiddish among themselves and with their children as a primary (but not exclusive) vernacular. b) Most Hasidic yeshivas for boys both in North America and in Israel "taytch" in Yiddish (itself a redundancy, for "taytch" is an old synonym for "Yiddish"). That is, they translate bible and talmud from Hebrew and Aramaic to Yiddish, as their forefathers did in Eastern Europe. Non-Hasidic right-wing yeshivas for boys, while they do not translate to Yiddish, do offer some familiarity with Yiddish, sometimes in the form of a weekly lecture from the principal. However, neither Hasidic nor non-Hasidic right-wing yeshivas for girls "taytch"

or otherwise expose the girls to much Yiddish. c) There is considerable divergence among contemporary Hasidim as to their knowledge of Yiddish religious folk songs, particularly parts of the older core repertoire found in all of the pre-war Yiddish-song collections. d) Store holdings of Yiddish songs vary even among different Hasidic neighborhoods.

4. Contemporary Yiddish religious recordings.

The following is a broad categorization of Yiddish religious-song recordings on the shelves at Eichler's in Boro Park:

a) superstar Avraham Fried and Mordecai Ben David recordings of Yiddish songs by Yom Tov Erlich. The arrangements are standard "Ortho-pop": professional studio sound, rich instrumentation--keyboard synthesizer, guitar, bass, strings, woodwinds, brass, and percussion. The compositional style is sentimental and middle-brow, verging on the kitchy, and sounding distinctly dated by today's non-Orthodox standards. (I wish I could find less judgemental adjectives.) Adult and boys choirs and soloists are also used; the boys' voices add to the aura of sentimentality.

Yom Tov Erlich was a European-born Karliner Hasid who lived in Williamsburg after the war, functioned as a *badkhn* (traditional wedding entertainer) and composed numerous Yiddish songs that spread throughout the North American Hasidic world in the 50's and 60's. Beginning in the '70's, he issued many poor-quality home-recorded cassettes of his own singing of his songs. Ehrlich's style is a fascinating combination of the tradition of popular pre-war songwriters of Warshawski and Gebirtig, who wrote affectionately and sentimentally

about many topics, and earlier generations of Hasidim, *maggidim* (wandering preachers) and *maskilim* (proponents of Enlightenment), who wrote didactically to teach a moral or ideological lesson. A sample of Ehrlich's themes include *aggadic* and *midrashic* stories, celebrating holidays, classic and modern Hasidic heroes (including the Soviet underground), assimilated Jews who return to their religion, and the Hasidic neighborhood of Williamsburg and its volunteer ambulance service (*Hatsoleh*).

b) Avraham Fried's two-cassette recording made in Israel with the Prague Symphony, on which he sings newly composed Yiddish songs on Messianic themes, to texts found in traditional Jewish and Hasidic literature. The arrangement style is similar to the above. Avraham Fried is a Lubavicher in his late '30's who grew up and still lives in Crown Heights.

c) Suki and Ding's *Yiddish Classics*, vols. 1-3. Suki Berry's arrangements for volumes one and two are simply keyboard and drums, with the addition of guitar, bass, winds and percussion on volume three. Stylistically, the arrangements are more sophisticated and artistic than Fried and Ben-David--certainly more artistic than any of the official Hasidic dynasty tapes--while still being essentially middle-brow pop. The repertoire is highly eclectic within the strict bounds of current right-wing Orthodox standards, and consists of Ehrlich songs, well-known trademark songs of the various dynasties, a few samples of old core repertoire, and word-for-word, note-for-note copies (with new arrangements) of songs recorded on the hard-to-find series *Zmires yisroel* (see below). Although volume one's jacket contains most of the

lyrics, as well as credits for vocals and composers, volumes two and three contain neither.

d) tapes of new Yiddish religious songs composed and sung by a few younger "yeshiva boys" (as described by Mendy, the head of the music section of Eichler's, a major book and music store in Boro Park and several other neighborhoods)

e) many tapes of Yiddish songs for children, all on religious themes, with simple keyboard or accordian accompaniments, and no lyrics included. The singers are usually boys, when not adult men.

f) tapes and cds of various non-Orthodox *klezmer* bands, including women singers (e.g., Klezmer Conservatory Band) and women instrumentalists playing with male instrumentalists (e.g., Klezmatics). This section had been created, acording to Mendy, by popular demand, and represents a definite cultural shift, for the right-wing Orthodox have heretofore been studiously uninterested in *klezmer* music.

The following were on the shelf (or more commonly, in the drawers) of the Lee Avenue Seforim Center and several other stores on Lee Avenue, the main business street of Jewish Williamsburg:

a) all of the above, except the *klezmer* recordings;

b) many of Yom Tov Ehrlich's own recordings, the jackets made of plain white cardboard and black print;

c) children's music composed by a relative of the owner of the Lee Avenue Book Center and performed by children singing a cappella;

d) the rare two-cassette series *Zmires yisroel* (hereafter designated as "Z.Y."), issued--legend has it, confirmed by Yaakov

Mazur[8]--by a group of Vizhnitzers in Bene-Berak, which is the world headquarters of the Vizhnitz Hasidic dynasty. These cassettes are a re-issue of an earlier LP recording. On neither cassettes nor recordings can any individual's or dynasty's name be found. However, a clue to the Vizhnitz identity of these recordings is the existence of two more recent cassettes entitled *Zmires ba'idish* #3 and #4, on which are original songs by Rav Itzkhak Unger, the "court composer to the House of Vizhnitz," though he himself was probably not involved in the first two. Another clue is that a "songster" called *Hashir Ve-hashevah*, containing the texts of 67 Yiddish religious songs, was published in 1986 by "Halam" of Bene-Berak. A review of a copy of the title page reveals the inclusion of the same Z.Y. songs.[9] A golden-covered *bentcher*[10] also called *Zmires yisroel* and subtitled (in Hebrew) "songs of the God-fearing and Hasidim" includes the complete texts of the songs on the cassettes of the same name. The *bentcher*, the body of which are *zemirot* for Shabbat and holidays, was printed in New York State and is also carried in stores on Lee Avenue.

The Z.Y. repertoire is part of the old core repertoire and includes songs not found elsewhere, except on Suki and Ding volumes two and three (as mentioned above, Z.Y. came first). The adult male singers are

---

[8]The name of the father (a Bene-Berak resident) of the men "who made the tape" was recently conveyed to me from Mazur via Dr. Gila Flam, director of the Israel National Sound Archives in Jerusalem. I am still working on contacting these people.

[9]photocopy courtesy of Jack (Zev) Falk, Portland, Oregon.

[10]a small book that contains *zemirot* for Shabbat and holidays, as well as prayers to be recited at mealtime

clearly non-professional and not particularly distinguished; the instrumentation is acoustic--accordian and violin. The arrangements sound as if they were improvised on the spot. Neither instrumentalist, particularly the accordionist, sounds sure of what the singer is doing in many spots. A formal analysis of the vocal and instrumental musical style is beyond the scope of this paper. However, the instrumental sound associations are definitely "old world" and were probably meant as such.[11] These tapes are absolutely *sui generis* in the post-war Orthodox world, and I was astonished to discover that no less a Yiddish-song lover than Avraham Fried had never heard of them or the songs on them.

Some of the repertoire I will analyze in more detail below is drawn from the Z.Y. and Suki and Ding series.

5. The difficulty for outsiders in gaining access to Hasidic circles.

Apart from the Lubavich, Hasidim discourage sustained contact with non-Hasidim, albeit to varying degrees. As a non-Orthodox Jew, I face a certain degree of hostility and prejudice. As a woman, I face stringent restrictions on associating with non-family-related men. And presenting myself as a Reform cantorial student is out of the question.

Nevertheless, I was able to conduct three interviews with American Jews who were born Hasidic and remain so, and four interviews with

---

[11]In fall 1998, klezmer authority Walter Zev Feldman and I listened to the first item on side one of the first Z.Y. cassette. His immediate reaction was that the accordionist, who was playing on off-beats, was not playing in an authentic style. However, he did not have a chance to listen to the rest, and I would not want to hold him to his opinion.

former Hasidim. This group includes both European- and American-born, and are of both sexes, ranging in age from mid-20's to about 80. One lives in Atlanta, one in Toronto, and the rest live in New York City. (See Appendix A for names and brief descriptions.) I asked them two major questions: 1)what Yiddish songs they knew, from where did they know them, and when were they sung, and 2)whether they knew specific songs whose names I supplied. Most of these songs I took from recordings currently circulating in the community. This is far from a scientific survey, but I began to see "the lay of the land." Only one of the interviewees considers him/herself a "singer" or "musical," which is unfortunate, for those who particularly love singing are usually the ones who remember songs. I also asked the aforementoned Mendy of Eichler's to describe what types of people buy the Yiddish-song tapes. His answer was: yeshiva-age boys and young men, primarily.

Three major factors emerged as determinant of the level of knowledge of religious songs with a Yiddish component: gender, dynasty affiliation, and residence. Three of the four women interviewees, ages 25-ish, middle-aged and 80, did not know the Yiddish songs I asked them about, nor could they remember others. The fourth woman did, with prodding, remember a few of the songs on Z.Y. as ones she had sung or heard in childhood. This woman, in her mid-50's, grew up in Boro Park in a Galitzianer Hasidic family. The other women belonged to Satmar, a smaller Hungarian dynasty, and Lubavich. The youngest has lived all her life in New York and the others have lived in New York since the end of the war.

The level of familiarity with old core repertoire was slightly higher among the men, but here dynasty and personal predilecton seems to have proved decisive. As stated above, Avraham Fried knows a few Lubavich-identified songs, but otherwise nothing. The well-known hazzan Isaac Goodfriend, a Holocaust survivor in his '70's who grew up in Lodz among Alexander Hasidim (an off-shoot of Ger), knows several Yiddish religious songs not from his childhood but from post-war collections and recordings. Only Michael Wex, who grew up after the war in a Strykover family (also a off-shoot of Ger) among assorted Hasidim in western Canada, is familiar with many of the songs on Z.Y. and other parts of the old core repertoire. He says he heard them at public gatherings in his home community of Alberta, as well as at a Winnipeg yeshiva he attended as an adolescent. Shmuel Weiss, a younger ex-Hasid (early '20's) whom I have met twice but have not interviewed extensively, also indicated that he knew significant parts of the old core repertoire. He grew up in Omaha among Hungarian Hasidim. It is an intriguing but untested hypothesis that those Hasidim who live far from large concentrations of other Hasidim, or even Jews, were more motivated to keep the old songs alive as important symbolic expressions of group values and identity.

But is the surviving Yiddish religious song repertoire in fact of Hasidic origin? The answer cannot be "yes" based on the fact that an older core repertoire exists that some Hasidim still record, listen to on recording, and even sing.[12] Idelsohn writes that the Hasidim would

---

[12] *bentcher* and Bene-Berak songster

"invent new meditations and set them to tunes. Their texts were often a mixture of Hebrew and Yiddish, such as those of Levi Yitzchok of Berditschev...This procedure stimulated the antagonism of the *misnagdim.*"[13] On the other hand, he does not attribute solely to Hasidim either bi-lingual texts in which Yiddish interprets the Hebrew, or tri-lingual texts that include the non-Jewish vernacular.[14]

The larger Yiddish-speaking community knows a handful of religious folk songs through their many renditions on recording and in concert by major star singers of mid-century, such as Jan Peerce. These songs are almost invariably Hasidic and usually those attributed to Levi Yitzhak. (Examples are "A dudele," "A din toyre mit got," and "Meyerke mayn zun.") But, though these songs are also included among the songs collected by pre-war non-Orthodox collectors, the older collections also include many other religious songs. A number of the latter have not been recorded by Hasidim and do not seem to be known by them.

Apart from the results of my random testing of my interviewees, I adduce as evidence for this split a comparison between such non-Orthodox collectors and performers as the Mloteks, Ruth Rubin, and Aharon Vinkovetsky, and the post-war Hasidic collections of Pasternak and Orthodox commercial Yiddish recordings. Apart from the Levi Yitzhak material and the song "Habet mishomayim ur'ey," ("look down

---

[13]A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1929; reprint, New York: Schocken, 1956), 415.

[14]Ibid, 392-93, 396.

from heaven and see"),[15] little correlation exists between the Yiddish religious folk songs published and recorded by the Orthodox on the one hand, and the non-Orthodox on the other, despite the authenticity of both repertoire groups.

For example, "Kotsk" (about making pilgrimages to the rebbe using a triple pun on the Hebrew root R'G'L') and "Fun Kosev biz Kitev" (about Israel Baal Shem Tov, the founder of Hasidism) are two apparently authentic or at least folklorized songs from the old core repertoire that can be found in the post-war collections of Belarsky and the Mloteks. It is mentioned in a non-scholarly English work sympathetic to Hasidism.[16] In fact, according to Hazzan Goodfriend, Elie Wiesel knew "Kotsk" as "Vizhnitz" and the late Grand Rabbi Menachem Schneerson knew it as "Lubavich." This points to a wide diffusion of the song, from Poland to Belorussia to the Bukovina. They could conceivably fit Idelsohn's definition above of Hasidic "meditations" set to music. Yet these two songs do not seem to be part of the Hasidic repertoire of the last twenty years. It is puzzling why today's Orthodox are not singing some of these old songs, like the song *Tseydo ladorekh* below, while continuing to sing others. Perhaps the songs located specifically in European centers of hasidism would be irrelevant to non-European Hasidim, whereas religious texts are still in use. But this is only a guess.

---

[15]published in Kacerginski, Mlotek and B'nei B'rak

[16]H. Rabinowics, *The World of Hasidim* (Hartford, England: Hartman House, 1970), 114.

As for the non-Orthodox post-war collectors and performers, it might be that because they were (and are) mainly secular Yiddishists, they were not attracted to religious songs whose texts are replete with Hebrew liturgy or other traditional texts. (The two songs discussed above are not text-based.)

I will now turn to an analysis of three specific songs. The texts and music will be given first, followed by the description and analysis. Where possible, I have followed Mark Slobin's four parameters of song study: text, music, context and performance practice (Slobin 1980:329). Not all of these can be known for every song. I have tried to transcribe the text in a way that faithfully reflects how the singer pronounced the words, including any dialectical inconsistencies and deviations from so-called "standard Yiddish." Likewise, in the melodic transcriptions, I have attempted to notate what the singer sang, including ornamentation, glides, metrical variations and other stylistic features. I have also noted the original key and an approximate metronomic indication of the singer's tempo.

Tseydo Ladorekh

Tseydo ladorekh nemt aykh,
brider, mit.

Ven ayner furt uf a veg
upgetsaylte tzvay dray teg
esn darf er zakh mitneymen meyr.
In es kimt for zeyer oft
shlekhte tzaytn umferhof
az der ban ken nisht vayter geyn.

Tzi ist [iz] amul a vint in a shney
di veg iz in gantsn ferveynt
der ban ken nisht vayter geyn.
Derum ven ayner geyt uf a rayze
darf er zakh mitneymen meyr
shpayze
hingerik vet er nit darfn zayn.

(refrain):
Tseydo, tseydo ladorekh nemt
aykh, brider mit.
Der ver es tit zikh furbraytn
der laydet kaynmul nisht.
Tseydo nemt aykh, brider, mit
ahin
Vayl ofn veyg ken men shoyn
gurnisht tin.

Tseydo ladorekh nemt aykh,
brider, mit.

Aroys der groyser gevir
vos shoymrim shteyen bay dayn
tir,
efsher hosti a mentshlekh gefil?
In ven es kimt ayn uremen tsi dir,
efenen oyf brayt dayn tir,
in emfang im mitn gantsn harts.

Bevurn ikh dir, brider, du
k'dey di zolst hubn of yenem shu,
in efsher vet dir dort beser zayn.
Bevurn ikh dir, brider, mayn
leyben
in efsher vet men (dir) ayn
shvakh upgeyben
or: shlak (punishment given or
forgone)
in efsher vet dir dort beser zayn.
(refrain)

Provisions for the journey,
brothers, take with you.

When one goes on his way
for two, three days
he must bring more food with him.
And very often (hopefully not),
bad times occur,
when the train cannot go further.

Sometimes there are wind and
snow,
the road is bleary
the train cannot go farther.
Therefore when one goes on a trip
he must bring with him more food
so that he does not go hungry.

(refrain):
Provisions for the journey,
brothers, take with you.
The one who prepares
never suffers.
Provisions, brothers, take with
you
for on the road nothing more can
be done.

Provisions for the way, brothers,
take with you.

Come out, wealthy man,
whose guards stand by your gate!
Have you maybe a human feeling?
And when a poor man comes to
you
open your gate wide
and receive him with all your
heart.

I warn you here, brother,
so that you will not go lacking at
that hour
and perhaps you'll be better off-
I warn you, my dear brother,
and perhaps your way will be
cleared
and perhaps there will be better.

(refrain)

Tsi hosti aynem gringer gemakht?
Tsi hosti aynem nitsn tsebrakht?
Tsi hosti geholfn oy an uriman?

Have you eased someone's life?
Have you been of use?
Have you helped a poor man?

Bevurn, etc.

I warn you, etc.

Tseydo, tseydo ladorekh nemt aykh, brider, mit.
Der ver es bet zikh va[y]kh
dem kvetsht kaynmul nisht.

Provisions for the way, brothers, take with you.
The one who packs light items
is never weighed down.

Tseydo nemt aykh, brider, mit ahin
Vayl of yeynem velt ken men shoyn gurnisht tin.

Provisions, brothers, bring with you
for in the next world nothing more can be done.

Tseydo ladorekh nemt aykh, brider, mit.

Provisions, brothers, bring with you.

Notes on "*Tseydo ladorekh*"

1) Sources.

"*Tseydo ladorekh*" is a genuine find for Yiddish song researchers, for neither text nor tune has previously been documented. It is known to me in two forms: a) the version sung by Moti Friedman of Jerusalem, recorded by me in 1986[17], and again by Itsik Gottesman in 1998[18] (the recordings are virtually identical); and b) a fragmentary version sung by Gottesman himself, as well as his mother, Beyla Schaechter-Gottesman, who grew up in Czernowitz. Their version consists only of a refrain, remembered from the singing of the sister of Ms. Schaechter-Gottesman's late husband Jonah. Jonah and his sister grew up in a small town near Czernowitz in a Vizhnitzer Hasidic milieu, and they considered the song a product of Hasidei Vizhnitz. The refrain's melody is quite similar to the Friedman version, except that it is rhythmically metric (see Ex. 1 on page 58 [459] of this paper). Not even the complete text of the refrain has been preserved.

The version I wish to consider here in depth is that of Moti Friedman, a native of Jerusalem whose age is 50-55. Although Moti works for the Jewish Agency, his passion is religious music and especially hazzanut. He is an experienced Orthodox *baal tefilah* (prayer leader) from childhood, and he worked as a High Holiday cantor in Conservative and Orthodox synagogues during the years he lived in

---

[17]private cassette-tape recording of Moti Friedman, November 1986.

[18]Itsik Gottesman, private cassette-tape recording of Moti Friedman, April 5, 1998.

America. He is known in Israel as a producer of cantorial concerts and possesses an extensive collection of cantorial '78s, particularly of Yossele Rosenblatt. Moti learned this song from his father _____, who grew up in _____, Hungary and emigrated to Israel in 1936. He died in 1985. In his interview with Gottesman, Moti stated that he had not sung "*Tseydo ladorekh*" in a long time and was concerned that he would not remember all the words. He stated that he had sung the song for me shortly after his father's death, when he more clearly remembered his father's singing. Nevertheless, although he initially did not remember everything in the 1998 interview, he quickly reconstructed the song. The earlier and later recorded versions are alike word for word (except for the interchangeable use of *geyn* ("go") and *furn* ("travel"). They are also essentially alike musically, down to the type and placement of vocal ornaments and glides.

Moti considers his Yiddish dialect to be primarily that of his father's though influenced by other dialects to which he has been exposed. He considers his father's dialect to include certain vocabulary more typical of German (to be *daytshmerish*, in Yiddish parlance). These and other departures from standard Yiddish are reflected in the song text: "derum," "umferhof," "ferveynt," "furbraytn," "emfang," "leyben," "upgeyben," and "laydet." Sometimes a whole word is closer to German, sometimes letters within a word, as noted.

Moti remembers only one other Yiddish song sung by his father: "*Habet mishomayim ur'ey*" ("look down from heaven and see"), a Holocaust-era song based on a section of the daily morning liturgy. His father's text varies somewhat from that published by Shmerke

Kacerginsky (Kacerginsky 1948), but its melody is the same. Moti does remember some of his father's *zemirot*, but they are in Hebrew. According to Moti, who knows many *zemirot* tunes, some of his father's tunes are also unique.

Thus, using Slobin's four parameters, we may say that the context of the singing of this song is radically modern. It is totally divorced from any context in which Moti's father would have sung it or in which Moti learned it. An acquaintance of mine during the early '80's, when he lived in New York, Moti sang this song to me on a social visit designed for me to record his Yiddish song repertoire. Thus its performance was in a secular and modern context. It occurred as a private, unchaperoned meeting between two single Jewish adults of the opposite sex, and 2) it was tied to a collecting activity, in which the song is a material artifact that is being "acquired" like a commodity.

All that we might say about the original context of this song is that it probably developed among a coterie of Jewish males--perhaps a Hasidic rebbe's *tish* or a gathering at the *bes medresh*. Now we shall examine the text, music and performance style or practice.

2) The origins and connotations of the phrase *tseydo ladorekh*.

The Hebrew phrase *zeida la-dorekh* or *la-derekh*[19] means "provisions for the journey"--i.e., food and drink--when occuring in the

[19]"Derekh" is the primary form of the word. The variation in spelling reflects alternate grammatical forms appearing in the biblical text. Which form is used depends on the position of the word in the sentence. In Genesis, the word *dorekh* is used both times, because it falls at the end of a major clause.

bible[20] and *midrash*[21]. In his biblical commentary, Rashi affirms the plain sense of the text.[22] In his commentary on Rosh Hashanah 17a, however, he interprets the phrase metaphorically, identifying *zeidat hameitim* ("provisions for the dead") as *takhrikhin* ("burial shrouds").

In *Shaarei Teshuvah* ("gates of repentance"), an influential ethical work of the medieval period, Rabbi Jonah Ben Abraham Gerondi (c.1200-1263) uses the phrase to mean *mitzvot* (in this context, "good deeds").[23] According to the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, Gerondi's "repeated emphasis on the practice of social justice and social ethics undoubtedly contributed to their popularity throughout the Jewish world and to the influence they exercised upon the socio-religious thinking of later generations."[24] Opposing the influence of Aristotelian philosophy on Judaism, Gerondi and other Spanish, Provencal and Italian rabbis propounded the high spiritual stature of the Talmud and *aggadah*. They stressed the importance of deeds, rather than of thoughts and beliefs, as an individual's reward in the world to come. Gerondi spurred the development of *hanhagot* literature, which emphasized the details of daily living and integrated *halakhah* and ethical principles. His *Sefer*

---

[20]Genesis 42:25, 45:21; Joshua 9:11

[21]Midrash Zota on Eicha 1; Otzar Hamidrashim (Eisenstein)

[22]Rashi on Genesis 44:16; on Joshua 9:11; on Isaiah 47:2; on Jeremiah 2:2

[23]Jonah ben Avraham Gerondi, *Shaarei Teshuvah* (Fano, 1505; Constantinople, 1511), *The Responsa Project, version 5* [CD-ROM] (Ramat Gan: Bar-Ilan University, 1995.)

[24]Ephraim Kupfer, "Jonah Ben Abraham Gerondi," in *Encylopedia Judaica*, vol. 10, 180.

ha-Yirah, the prototype of *hanhagot* literature, was translated into Yiddish, in which form it was published numerous times from 1583 on.

Interestingly, the *EJ* cites only one other major work of *hanhagot* literature: *Zeida la-Derekh*, by Menachem ben Aaron ibn Zerakh (c.1310-85),[25] which was first published in Ferrara in 1554.[26] THe book is a code of law concerning *mitzvot* obligatory for individuals as part of daily life (in contrast to those obligatory for the community or groups within it, like the priests). Menachem wrote the book as a guide for the busy members of the upper classes, and he inveighed against those who were beginning to cease observance of *mitzvot.*

It appears, then, that starting in the Middle Ages, *zeida la-derekh* began to be a metaphor that was used polemically by those who wanted to stress the importance of continuing to observe the *mitzvot* in daily life. We will look below at the 19th-century version of this struggle.

3) Clues to its origins: the form of the text.

The verse's basic structural unit of rhyme is a not uncommon type in Yiddish folksong: aab, a form Hrushavski identifies as literature-influenced. The verse is built of four such units: aab ccd eef ggh. On the other hand, the third and fourth units of the verse are longer than the first two (i.e., more words and metrical beats per line). This lends to the text an improvisatory quality, putting it into the Hrushavski category of an older form. The rhyme scheme of the refrain is aabb, which can be an older form, particularly as the melody reinforces the

---

[25]Ibid., vol. 6, 924.

[26]Ibid., vol. 11, 1304.

strophic character. However, the refrain ends with a repeat of its first line--a very non-traditional feature. The text's overall structure is verse, refrain, verse, refrain, half-verse, refrain. (In the second recording of the singer, he stated that he felt that something was missing when he got to the half-verse.) While there are folk songs that have repeating refrains, they would not, in Hrushovski's analysis, be of the oldest strata, unless they were children's songs (which our song is not).

The text contains other unusual and interesting features. 1) The final refrain changes slightly. *Tit zikh furbraytn* becomes *bet zikh vakh*, *laydet* becomes *kvetcht*, and *veyg* becomes *yenem velt*. Such a change is not standard for older folk songs. 2) The song begins with a single line: the last line of the refrain. This too is highly unusual for a folksong. Taken together, then, many of these unusual features would seem to point to a literary influence, if not a literary origin.

4) Clues to its origins: the meaning of the text.

The text's topic advances a central Jewish religious teaching: that one should lead a moral life in order to be rewarded in heaven. Jewish tradition advances multiple reasons for and purposes of observing moral and other religious commandments, including divine reward and punishment and adherence to moral and ethical principles. Responding to the popularity of medieval rationalism, no less than Maimonides (*Mishneh Torah*) and Jacob ben Asher (*Tur*) offered moral principles, *aggadic* literature and other non-*halakhic* "reasons" within their codes

of Jewish law.[27]

In the 18th and 19th centuries, a new context for discussion of observance developed with the Hasidic and Musar movements, both of which stressed the importance of living a moral life. During this period, Gerondi's writings could be found in the libraries of *Musar* yeshivas,[28] and Spanish proto-*musar* texts greatly influenced Hasidic literature as well.[29] Moreover, this *hanhagot* literature was popular not just in sectarian circles but among the common masses of East European Jews.[30] The rise of the *Haskala* (Enlightenment) in Eastern Europe in the mid-19th century produced, among other things, a spate of literature that preached to the masses in Yiddish, propounding the modern (and, in their milieu, subversive and radical) view that ethical behavior is the essential core of Judaism, rather than the fanatic observance of rituals.

Our text was clearly created no earlier than the mid-19th century, in view of the centrality of the train metaphor. The text is highly didactic: its form is that of a moralistic parable (Hebrew *mashal*, Yiddish *moshl*) being preached to an audience. While many Yiddish folksongs, particularly love songs, are similarly addressed to an audience (e.g., my dear mother, my dear people), there are very few such "sermons"

---

[27]M.E., "Codification of Law," *EJ* 5, 639, 646.

[28]H. H. Ben-Sasson, "Musar Movement," *EJ* 12, 536.

[29]Rivka Schatz-Uffenheimer, "Hasidism," *EJ* 7, 1413.

[30]Dr. Leonard A. Kravitz, interview by author, telephone conversation, January 22, 1999.

preserved in genuine folksong.[31] The didactic sermon qua sermon, however, is typical of two "types": *maggidim*, and *maskilic* songwriters in Yiddish, like Eliakum Zunser and Abraham Goldfaden. In an intriguing parallel, Zunser's *Dos Lid fun Ayznban* uses the train journey as a metaphor for life, with God as the conductor. But Zunser's overall moral is different, and nothing in the text would suggest that it might be the origin of "*Tseydo ladorekh.*"

Given the above, then, I would suggest that this text is a folklorized form originating with one of the following: 1) a *maggidic* sermon, 2) a *maskilic* story or song, 3) a parable from *hanhagut* literature, or 4) a Hasidic parable.

What is of particular interest is that the text--as as sermon on the importance of the mitzva of helping the poor--appears to be practically *sui generis* as a song form, as I have not been able so far to locate any other songs like it, either in print, on recording, or in the oral tradition.

5. The music.

a. Form: The melody of the verses are non-rhythmic, non-metrical recitative, in the style of a *baal tefilah.* The melody of the refrain is less easily categorized. The informant sings it in a semi-recitative,

---

[31]For a possible exception, see *Akavyo ben Mahalalel Omer*, a Yiddish interpretation of *Pirkei Avot* 3:1, in Chaim Kotylansky (1944). Kotylansky was a Hasid-turned-Yiddishist who lectured and performed throughout America during and just after World War II. He guessed that the text was derived from a *maggid*'s sermon, because it expressed blind fear of death, sin and God--in contrast to the Hasidic willingness to hold God accountable. But he may have been overgeneralizing from the famous Levi Yitzhak songs, many of which he sang and which form the bulk of the religious songs in his book.

semi-metric style. The endings of each line are at the least syncopated and even a bit rushed--a traditional style also characteristic of the ends of phrases in *klezmer* music. (This may be related to the phrase-shortening that seems to typify unaccompanied solo singing in Yiddish.[32]) In this case, the hybrid style described above could mean that the refrain was originally metric, but that the informant and/or his father adapted it to a non-group style of singing, in which meter could give way to individual expressiveness. Or this is simply a co-temporal variant of the Gottesman family's metrical version.

The melodic pattern is as follows. Verse: aabb. Refrain: abcd e, with c's opening interval being the same as a's. E is the refrain's closing tag line, which also opens the song. In other words, the same text--*tseydo ladorekh nemt aykh brider mit*--is set to two different melodies. This is quite unusual, but is consistent with the Gottesman version. The difference between the two is that the Friedman version is strophic, as noted above, with the last line tagged on almost as an afterthought. It is not needed harmonically, as the previous line has brought the meody back to the tonic. The Gottesman version, on the other hand, is similar to the English-language limerick: a(long) a(long) b(short) b(short) a(long). The last line brings the melody back to the tonic from the "b" lines, which outline the dominant. Thus this last line has an essential function in this version. This "limerick-like" form (my term) can also be found in Yiddish folk song, but Hrushavski does not mention it.

---

[32]Beregovski/Slobin (1962/82:293)

b. Tonal structure: The melody is simple harmonic minor, spanning an octave-and-a-half. Such a span is typical for Yiddish unaccompanied ballads, but their typical four-line strophic form is different than our song. Some religious folksongs also have such large spans, but many have spans of under an octave. Scholars of Hasidic *niggunim* like Sharvit and Vinaver have tried to associate specific categories of span and intervallic development with specific dynasties. This has never been attempted with songs with words, and it would probably be impossible to do so.

6. The performance style or practice.

Moshe Beregovski apparently classified folk singers according to three types: 1)moderate tempo, mezza forte, minimal ornamentation; 2) "considerable rubato, quasi-dramatization of the text through musical gestures, and more frequent" ornamentation; 3) "collectors" who always sing a song the same way (Slobin 1983-84:11). According to this schema, one might characterize Friedman's singing as Beregovski's type #1: singing in a moderate, steady tempo at mezzoforte with minimum ornamentation. There is very little rubato or gliding and swooping. The vocal style is open with just a hint of nasality and little vibrato. One wonders whether his father had a similar vocal approach, but in Friedman's case one can't help being reminded of his familiarity with the "golden age of hazzanut" on recording, for that is the sound his voice most resembles. It is also a vocal quality much more typical of pre-war East Eurpean Jewry than of the post-war American and Israeli Orthodox, whose vocal style is much thinner and more nasal.

Most noticeable is the unvarying phrasing and ornamentation on all four versions of the song (he recorded it 2 or 3 times in the Gottesman interview). The musical renditions were remarkably the same. How can this be explained? After all, he did not acquire the song from the printed page, nor from a recording that could be listened to repeatedly. My hunch is that for Friedman the song is a very strong symbol of his father, and so he tries to sing it the way he remembers his father singing it. In the Gottesman interview, he prefaces his singing with the words, "I didn't sing it for a long time." This implies that he has no ongoing life-context of his own in which to sing the song, even though, as a modern Orthodox person, he sings Shabbat *zemirot* regularly. Therefore, whenever he sings "*Tseydo*," his father's memory is honored and brought to life. (It is also possible that Friedman falls into Beregovski's category #3, if one accepts this schema: the collector, at a distance from the folk tradition, who never varies.) Interestingly, during the course of the interview, Friedman talks of his Orthodox upbringing and his study at a yeshiva in Bene Berak, and he contrasts it with his current hatred of the *haredim* (ultra-Orthodox). Even though he loves their music, he says, "they have made me hate them." This revealing statement illustrates the same "cognitive dissonance" experienced by countless numbers of people throughout the centuries who love, perform and are entertained by the music of particular ethnic groups in their societies, and whose own music derives from it, while disliking the group itself. (This principle has always been true for Jews and is evident today among the Orthodox of North America, in their desire for American pop arrangements.)

Di neshume fin aydlnshtand

(transcribed from the singing of Suki and Ding)

Di neshume fin aydlnshtand
zi leybt in himl zeyer git.
Plitzling makht men ir bakant
az zi vet fin himl aropgeshikt.

The soul of high rank
lives very well in heaven.
Suddenly she is informed that she
will be sent down from heaven.

On khayshek in on glik
tit zi dus osheyrn.
Zi 'ot dus okh gevist
az me tit zi fin himl bashveyrn.

Without enthusiasm or joy
she hears it out.
She also knew this,
that she would be tugged away
from heaven.

"Oy, di himl, di tayer getzelt,
ikh gezeygen mikh fin di atsint.
Ikh gay arup of a naye velt;
alayn zug ikh, "Himl, blab gezint."

"O, heaven, you dear place,
I now take my leave of you.
I go down to a new world;
Alone I say, "Heaven, farewell."

Azoy antloyfn mentshns yurn
mit havulim,
loyfn avek gikh in geshvint.
Di gantze velt iz vi a khulem,
shveybt avek vi a vint.

So do a person's years flee
with vanities
they run away soon and speedily.
The whole world is like a dream;
it spins away like a wind.

Az men 'ot khotsh di z'khie,
tzi tin mitzves iz gur git.
Val az es kimt der yoym hadin
zol men visn vus men nemt zikh
mit.

When one has at least the merit of
doing mitzves, this is altogether
good.
For when the day ofjudgement
arrives
one must know what to take along.

Vayl vi shlekht in vi nisht shayn
az men git up di velt mit bloyze
zind.
Az ayne miz fin di velt gayn,
zugt er tsi di velt, "Blabt gezint."

For it's certainly bad and not nice
when one leaves the world with
only sin.
When one must leave the world,
one says to the world, "Farewell."

the Pipe version in translation

(The first three verses are virtually identical to the Suki and Ding version above.)

When I was only in the stomach/I sat there for nine months./Then what happened to me there?/The angel tore me from everything good.

Suddenly I hear a new announcement/that I must leave my dwelling/oh it was awful for me/but the angel says, "Go already, go!"/I must exit fast/alone I say, "Angel, farewell!"

As I came into the world/my parents embraced me/Mother heard me cry/she crowned me with a name.

She gave me everything my heart desired/she brought her breast up to me/suddenly it happened/that I was already three years old/and had to go heder.

When I began to go to heder/the teacher taught me in my turn/although I didn't learn anything, I loved playing with my friends/but not for long did I enjoy myself.

When I became thirteen/I began with a pitiable groan,/"It is not for me to play with friends anymore/alone I say to you, 'Friends, farewell!'"

When I became eighteen/my parents gave me to understand all-too-well/they want to give me trouble/they want to give me to a certain party.

They quickly made me a wedding/it did not last past one night/my in-laws quickly left/no tears was I allowed to shed/I was left a lonely child/alone I say: "In-laws, farewell!"

After the wedding, things went well for me/my in-laws gave me board/every minute was dear with them/for the first time I knew about the good life.

Good food, good drink, nobody had any problems/my in-laws started pestering me greatly/they didn't trouble me for long/they fought with their only child/alone I say: "In-laws, farewell!"

With troubles and suffering I spent my few years/doing, running, making deals, travelling/my spirits deserted me along with my health/an old man I quickly became.

The angel from heaven flew down/"Ah, dear brother, this is the end of your life/and what merits can you offer now?"/What should I answer for my sins?/But the angel says, "Go quickly already!"/Alone I say, "World, farewell!"

Notes on "***Di neshume fin aydlnshtand***"

1) Sources.

I have located just two versions of this beautiful song. The text above was recorded in 1993 by Suki and Ding on their *Yiddish Classics, vol. II.* Repeated telephone calls between May 1998 and January 1999 to the numbers printed on the cassette jackets were not returned. Thus I know nothing about their source for this song.

A longer text, of 15 stanzas, and melodic variant was published in *Folklore Research Center Studies*, vol. 2, in 1971, by Dov Noy and Meir Noy, editors, as part of the Pipe collection of folksongs and other writings. The text had been notated by Shmuel Zanvel Pipe (mentioned above) during his extensive field collection of Jewish folklore in central Galitsiye (Galicia) during the late 1920's and early '30's. Pipe was murdered in the Zaslaw concentration camp in 1943. Most of the Jews of Sanok, Pipe's hometown, and the surrounding villages were killed during the war; only a few hundred residents of Sanok survived, out of the more than 5,000 in 1939.[33] Fortunately, the manuscripts of his field work were brought to Palestine by two of his brothers in the mid-30's. From 1967-69, the Noys searched throughout Israel for, and found, informants who could provide melodies for the texts. They succeeded in finding, in some cases, the very same people who had been Pipe's informants before the war.

The Noys write the following notes on this song (my translation from the Hebrew; my comments are in brackets):

> Sung [to Pipe] by Khaytshe Lampen, age 17, a seamstress, who heard it from her sister Leah, both of Bukuvsku (Bakovsk). [Bakovsk was a small town near the larger town of Sanok.] The tune was sung [to the Noys] by Sheyndl Zinger-Bokher, 72, of Israel, originally from Sanok [Pipe's birthplace and place of residence until 1935]. Verses 4-7 are written down and were gathered by the singer, who sang verses 1, and 3-7. From a *badkhn*'s song (?) describing the life of man. The melody is given in its entirety (verses 1, 3-7). (Pipe/Noy 1971:327)

2. The Text.

The following compares the two versions above:

---

[33]Aharon Weiss, "Sanok--Holocaust Period," *EJ* 14, 844-45.

Suki and Ding	Pipe
six verses	fifteen verses
regular 4-line stanzas rhyme scheme: abab	number of lines per stanza varies (4-6) 4 lines: stanzas 1-3,12 rhyme scheme: abab 4 lines: stanzas 4,6,10,14 rhyme scheme: aabb 4 lines: stanza 9 rhyme scheme: abcc 5 lines: stanzas 7,8 rhyme scheme: aabbb 6 lines: stanzas 5,11,13,15 rhyme scheme: aabbcc
High degree of metrical variance	High degree of metrical variance

The Suki and Ding version give no hint that it is missing the lifetime of verses found in the Pipe. Its two penultimate verses sum up the passing of life without reference to particulars. This lack of realism, and the song's brevity, give the song a timeless quality. Its focus is the beginning and end of the generic soul's journey through human life. Its theology is that the origin and destiny of humankind is not life on earth but eternity. The text's subject matter, serious tone, and absence of humor or satire make the song eligible for inclusion in contemporary right-wing Orthodox repertoire.

By contrast, the longer Pipe version devotes 11 out of 15 verses to the life of the man in whom the soul has been incarnated. He is happy with each stage of his life until he is unwillingly propelled to the next stage. After being thrown out by his in-laws, he leads the rest of his life in unhappiness, and in the end has to answer the angel of death for his sins. Depending on the delivery of the song (see below), this text could be either moralistic or lightly satiric. Dov Noy thinks it

is of *maskilic* origin, based on its prosodic style, and could well be pre-Zunser (i.e. from the early period of the Haskalah).[34] If so, this points to a number of possible sources: an intinerant singer-songwriter, a theater troupe, a broadside. I would guess that the song was meant to be entertaining and satiric, based on both text and music (see below for further discussion).

3. The Music.

The two versions of the song can be found as Examples 2 and 3 on pp. 59-61 in the back of this paper. Example 2 is the Suki and Ding version transcribed by me. I have provided notation for the first half of the song only; the second half repeats the melody but with slight ornamental and rhythmic variations to fit the text. I have tried to be faithful to the singer's performance practice, which is discussed below.

The second is the entire setting, collected by the Noys, of verses 1, 3-7. While the tunes are clearly variants of one another, interesting differences can be found.

Suki and Ding's version has three major sections, spanning two groups of three verses. The first section spans an octave, from the 5th below to the 5th above the tonic. The second section shifts up a 4th to span the octave on the tonic. Here, the melody outlines alternately 1) a major pentachord on the 3rd step of the scale (echoing a typical modulation in the liturgical mode *magen avot*) and 2) a IV-chord tetrachord or heptachord on the tonic. The third section spans the smallest interval: a pentachord on the tonic, with a 6th thrown in once

---

[34]Dov Noy, interview by author, written notes, July 1998, and e-mail letter, January 31, 1999.

to outline the IV-chord.

The sections are subdivided as follows: abac $d_1bd_2e_1$ $f_1f_2f_1e_2$. The subscripts indicate that the first half or 3/4 of the line is identical, but the second half or 1/4 is different. These variant elements are themselves repeating phrases that add a distinct harmonic structure (either IV-I or, on the "e" lines, V-I). Clearly, then, the lines are built of many of the same phrases; besides providing harmonic structure, the interweaving of the variant elements add complexity and provide pitch climaxes. Altogether they give the melody an artistic flavor relative to the simpler stropic form of Yiddish folk songs discussed above.

The Noy version is in some ways simpler and in others more complex. It too has three major sections spanning groups of three verses, with the same basic tonal centers. However, there is not a single line that is not varied, and there are a greater number of some line variants altogether (e.g., 3 a's, 4 c's, 3 d's). The second half of the song in particular consists of many repeats and variants of similar lines. Moreover, many of the variants do not accentuate harmonic structure; rather, they dilute it. This structure gives the song a more chant-like, less harmonic feel. It is unclear how many of these changes are due to hazy memory, as the informant was 72 years old and perhaps had not heard the song in many years, since before the war. But she also had a harder job, because she had to deal with verses with extra lines: verse 5 (6 lines) and verse 7 (5 lines)!

In sum, verses 1, 4 and 6--the four-line verses--are approximately the same melodies, corresponding to Suki and Ding's first major section. Verse 3 corresponds, though with more variation, to Suki and Ding's

second major section. And verse 7, the final one, starts with a variant of Suki and Ding's second section and concludes with a variant of their third section. Her final phrase is yet a new variant, which works effectively as a closer. Rearranging notes to produce only step-wise changes, she creates a new phrase that mimics both typical Russian and Ukrainian phrase endings (4-1) and a familiar concluding motif of Jewish liturgical music (*nusakh ha-tefilah*).

This is a map of her setting, compared with Suki and Ding (S&D):

verse 1
a_1 (approximates S&D a_1) / b_1 (approximates S&D b_1)
a_2 (approximates S&D a_1) / c_1 (approximates S&D e_2)

verse 3
d_1 (variant of S&D d_1) / d_2 (variant of S&D d_1)
e_1 (approximates S&D f_1) / c_1 (approximates S&D e_2)

verse 4
a_3 (approximates S&D a_1) / b_1 (approximates S&D b_1)
a_3 (approximates S&D a_1) / c_2 (approximates S&D e_2)

verse 5
f_1 (same pentachord as $d_{1\&2}$ and S&D d_1; descending portamento ending =S&D d_2)
f_2 (outlines same pentachord as f_1 except in minor)
e_2 (first half=first half of S&D $f_{1\&2}$, second half approximates S&D f_2)
e_1 (approximates S&D f_1)
e_2 / c_3 (approximates S&D e_2)

verse 6
a_3 b a_3 c_2

verse 7
d_2 d_3 e_2 c_4
e_1

Another interesting and typical feature of both melodies is the random alternation between triple and duple division of the (quarter) beat. This phenomenon is a feature of song transcriptions since Cahan (1912), of instrumental transcriptions at least since Beregovski, and of

cantorial receitative (Schall 1991). It can be only partly explained by the need to set lines of varying syllable counts.[35]

4. The Performance Practice:

Vocal style: Although it is not notated, the Suki and Ding singer often anticipates the downbeat and sometimes even secondary beats. This is a highly idiomatic style, typical of traditional East European Jewish instrumental phrasing (particularly on the downbeat) though not of all vocal styles. Coincidentally, anticipation--in the form of syncopation on the preceding 16th note and holding over to the 2nd 16th or 8th after the beat--is a standard contemporary American pop-music device. So while the Jewish singer's anticipation is usually subtler, the singer here does occasionally anticipate a full 16th ahead--generally at the ends of phrases. This practice gives the singer an American flavor, and I have tried to notate such syncopation when it occurs. Another practice that gives an American flavor is the singer's use of straight tone throughout the phrase and vibrato at the ends of phrases and other resting points. This practice goes hand in hand with yet a third difference from a traditional East European Jewish sound--the vocal quality itself. Here the singer uses a lightly restricted chest voice in all registers, which differs ~~differs~~ significantly from the full-throated male voice heard on many field recordings (Ukrainian Academy of Sciences 1912-49, Stonehill 1947, University of Miami 1976-79) that I believe represents the folk basis for the cantorial vocal style. However, I would characterize this singer's style as a contemporary emotional male

---

[35]I am not aware that this phenomenon has been explicitly discussed, but as my study has not been exhaustive, perhaps it has--though not by Idelsohn. This topic will have to await a second thesis.

pop style, having more in common with Hispanic and Mediterranian pop singers than with Americans.[36] His type of emotionalism is, of course, similar to Fried and ben-David as well. However, the voices of all three of these Orthodox recording artists have more "body" and less nasality than today's average yeshiva boy. I speculate that these boys are either increasingly influenced by Arabic vocal styles through the continuous interaction with Israeli *haredim*, or their voices are simply reflecting their lack of physical exercise and repression of bodily awareness (Heilman 1992).

Tempo: About Ms. Zinger-Bokher's practice (the Noys' informant), nothing has been written--except that the metronome marking is 112 to the quarter. This tempo is so much faster than the Suki and Ding version that it may give the whole song a different, more upbeat character. This tempo would seem to fit better with the rather more tongue-in-cheek text.

It is this characteristic that, together with the text, may point to a *maskilic* origin (as dicussed above). If this is true, then somewhere along the line the song was folklorized in two different versions: religious and secular. But we don't know when and how the process occurred, or whether Suki and Ding knew the *maskilic* version and

---

[36]Comparing it to American pop, the singer's sound most closely resembles to this ear a '50's-early '60's style associated with non-falsetto doo-wop and such singers as Neil Sedaka and Bobby Rydell, before the triumph of African American gospel-based and constricted white rock singing. I would venture to observe that these similar styles and singers stem from non-Anglo-American origins: doo-wop began as African American and was sung heavily by Italian Americans; Neil Sedaka is the son of Turkish Jewish immigrants and Bobby Rydell of Polish immigrants. But popular American singing styles are beyond the scope of this paper.

altered it themselves. Many Yiddish folksongs are actually folklorized versions of traceable composed and often published songs. It is also known that in some cases the Hasidim appropriated anti-Hasidic satirical songs and made them their own.[37]

Another possibility, however, is that the song was originally religious and was then parodied in the *maskilic* version. The Yiddish song repertoire is replete with parodies, sometimes multiple, of the originals (Rubin 1963; Mlotek and Mlotek 1972, 1978, 1996; Flam 1992). But the text has never been collected in religious form either, although the idea of the soul in heaven being dragged down to earth and vice versa is derived from classic and medieval *midrash* (Frankel 1989/93:17-18, 611). Someday, perhaps these questions will be answered.

5. The Context.

The Pipe version is detached from any performance context we can know from the printed source. The only thing we know about the context of the Suki and Ding version is that it has been recorded professionally--in a professional music studio with studio musicians--and has been issued in cassette-tape format with a professional-looking jacket and graphics. One can buy it in any Jewish music store, though not in a non-Jewish store or even a chain that has a large Jewish section, because it belongs to a genre that does not sell outside the Orthodox market. We don't know on which occasions this song, apart from the recording, is sung or performed in the Orthodox world. We do

---

[37]For example, the Mloteks have researched the origins of all the more than 350 songs published in their three song collections, and have included therein information about the origin of the bulk of the folklorized songs (which account for at least a third of the collection).

know that it can be played at home, on car tape-players, and anywhere that a portable tape-player can be brought and played. This means that one can hear the song and sing along with it both within the Jewish neighborhood and outside in the Gentile world. As Kligman has written (1994:11), listening to recorded Orthodox music in a non-Jewish environment is portable Judaism, reinforcing the sense of both connection to the Jews and distinctiveness from the larger society.

Moreover, it is important to note the overall musical conception of the Suki and Ding cassettes. First of all--in common with most Ortho-pop recordings, no instrumentals are included, except as introductions and transitions to and from songs. This absence demonstrates again the primacy of text as an Orthodox cultural marker, whereas in non-Orthodox society, Jewish instrumental music (*klezmer*) has become a powerful means of Jewish group identification. However the Suki and Ding cassettes also differ from Fried, ben-David, and others, in this way: they rarely perform whole songs; instead, they group 3-4 songs together as medleys. Songs with similar themes are put together, and titles given to the medleys only. A maximum of one slow-tempo or rubato song is included in each medley, either at the beginning or middle. The end is always up-tempo, usually sung by chorus and frequently fades out like American pop music. Avraham Fried[38] recently said that he wants to give positive messages about Judaism in his songs. This seems an appropriate characterization of the "feel" of Suki and Ding's arrangements as well. The prominence of rhythm, the

---

[38]Avr[illegible] Fried, interview with author, August 5, 1998.

professional patina, the brightness of the electrified instruments--these create a feel-good sound. However, Fried admitted that these elements also arouse opposition from conservative members of the community, who view them as dangerously decadent aspects of the outside culture.

So while Fried et al push the community's boundaries through the instrumental aspects of the enterprise, they get away with it by staying within norms by means of the text, the melody, enough of the vocal style, and the directive not to play on Shabbos or Yom Tov. Interestingly, *klezmorim*--who played instruments but did not sing--were historically suspect from a religious point of view for pushing boundaries. Indeed, the most adventurous and sophisticated musicians in the Orthodox world today are Andy Statman and Yossi Piamenta: two instrumentists with entirely instrumental ensembles (i.e., no vocalists). Nevetheless, within the bounds proscribed by the texts, Suki's arrangements--to my ears--the most artistic of the current crop of Orthodox popular musicians, certanly of those recording in Yiddish.

Ovinu Malkeynu

Ovinu malkeynu (3x) khonneynu vaaneynu Ki eyn banu maasim. Asey imonu tzeydokoh vokhesed (2x) V'hoyshieynu.	Our Father our King pardon and answer us for we have done no good deeds. Be charitable and generous with us and save us.
Riboynoy shel oylom oy her mayn gebet un mayn geveynt! Riboynoy shel oylom ikh ken dokh kayn velt nit farshteyn.	Creator of the world o hear my plea and my cry! Creator of the world I just cannot understand the world.
M'hot umgebrakht zeks milyon yidn oy gotenyu in der letste krig Di sonim zaynen nokh nisht tsufridn-- zey shrayen s'iz nokh nisht geni.	They murdered six million Jews, o dear God, in the last war. Our enemies are not yet happy-- they cry that it isn't enough.
Ovinu malkeynu etc.	Our Father our King etc.
Riboynoy shel oylom oy vos vet ir zayn? Riboynoy shel oylom az in undzer heymland lozt men undz nisht arayn?	Creator of the world o what will be? Creator of the world when we are not allowed to enter our homeland?
Far gelt ken men ales koyfn nor nisht kayn heym far der yid. Tsu vu zol mir yetzt loyfn az fun vandern zenen mir shoyn mid?	For money anything can be gotten but not a homeland for the Jew. Where must we run now, when we are so tired of wandering?
Oy ovinu malkeynu etc.	O our Father our King etc.
Riboynoy shel oylom men zaynen sheyn mer nisht tsu shpot un tsu shand Riboynoy shel oylom mir hobn sheyn tsurik undzer land.	Creator of the world We are no more the objects of shame and derision. Creator of the world we now have our land again.
Mir hobn sheyn undzer eigene medine un oykhet a heym far dem yid. To lomir mir ale mit groys simkhe zingen dos eybike lid.	We now have our own state and also a home for the Jew. So let us all with great joy sing the eternal song.
Ovinu malkeynu etc.	Our Father our King etc.

Notes on *Ovinu Malkeynu*

1. Source.

Could our final song be the last genuine anonymous religious folk song to have been created in Yiddish? The song was recorded on October 14, 1976, by Elsie Fardig, as part of the Miami Beach Project, a series of cassette-tape recordings made during the years 1976-79 of a stable group of elderly Jews who met weekly to sing for each other and socialize. Most of them were European-born.[39] The singer is identified as "Mrs. Fay." The collectors noted that she seemed "very reluctant to give any personal information." She did say that she immigrated to the United States in 1926, and that her father was a cantor. Her birthplace is given variously as Russian-occupied Romania and Russia-Poland. However, the dialect in which she sings--while not entirely consistent--is basically Litvish. That would place her in Russia-Poland north of the Ukraine.[40] My transcription is Example 4, page 63.

According to the logs, she was recorded only once or twice more. The items are listed as: 1) "Bashanah" in Yiddish and Hebrew (called a "new song"), presumably *Bashanah Haba-ah*, by Manor and Hirsch, and 2) "Raiseleh," presumably *Reyzel*, by Mordkhe Gebirtig. However, I

---

[39]Elsie Fardig and Sherry Cherna, "Miami Beach Project," 1976-79 (reel-to-reel tapes), Music Library of the University of Miami, Miami, Florida. The recordings were made originally on cassette tapes and then transferred to about 16 reel-to-reel tapes for better preservation. Unfortunately, some of the recording notes do not refer to the right tapes, so no one really knows what is on some of the tapes. The tapes do include multiple repeats of the same person singing the same song.

[40]Ibid., Mrs. Fay, "Aveno Malkanu," tape #1000, no. 1., rec. Elsie Fardig, October 14, 1976. Notes to tape #1000 give her birthplace as Russian-occupied Rumenia; tape #1005 gives it as Russia-Poland.

could not locate the actual recording.

2. The Text.

The Hebrew portion of the text is the last verse of a penitential litany that is recited on all fast days and the Ten Days of Repentance. Credited in its original short form to R. Akiva (Taanit 25b), the prayer is today one of the most revered and symbolically powerful of the liturgy. It consists of 40-50 (different rites vary) verses beginning with the words "our Father, our King." The verses are of unequal length, and the last verse is the longest, totalling thirteen words.

In contrast to this poetic structure, the interpolated Yiddish verses are in a four-verse strophic form, with a rhyme scheme of abab. The four-verse strophe, either abcb or abab (sometimes aabb), is typical of Yiddish folk ballads. Interestingly, the high degree of metrical variance from line to line is characteristic of the oldest strata of Yiddish folk song, rather than of Yiddish song in mid-20th century.[41] The text itself is extremely topical. The singer laments the murder of the six million Jews during World War II and the murderous hostility that "our enemies" still show. The latter is not Jewish paranoia but

---

[41]See Benjamin Hrushavki (1954:219-66). The first section of this article is a highly technical discussion of meter in Yiddish folk song, with comparisons to old German and Slavic folk songs. One of his arguments is that the oldest strata of Yiddish folk song, derived from the medieval German, consists of four-line strophs whose lines have irregular meters. The melodic settings, usually metric, would compensate for the unequal length of each line by allowing for squeezing and stretching words. This old form, he claims, was gradually replaced starting in the 19th century with lines of identical meter and uniform length, under the influence of literary forms. By the mid-20th century, he says, new Yiddish songs were being written in completely metric form, and he cites songs from the Holocaust era as an example (without naming any in particular). He is indeed correct that the best-known of these songs bear out his observation.

reflects the spontaneous pogroms and individual murders that Poles and others inflicted on Holocaust survivors after the war. She complains that she and her fellow Jews are not allowed to enter their "homeland," and that no money can buy a Jewish homeland. Presumably, by the latter homeland she means a political state. Were one to judge by these two verses alone, one would guess the song was created between 1945 and 1948, during which time most survivors were confined to displaced persons camps in Western Europe as they awaited immigration, and many tried to enter Palestine illegally. But in the third verse, she rejoices in the creation of the "*medine*," undoubtedly the State of Israel. If the song was created in a DP camp, the question would be how Mrs. Fay, who immigrated to America in 1926, could have learned it. In any case, it is impossible without further research to know where it was created. The likeliest scenario is that the song was was written in stages and was updated to fit the new reality. (Naomi Shemer's famous "Jerusalem of Gold" is an example of another such song, in which a new verse was added after the Six-Day War in 1967 to reflect Jerusalem's reunification.)

I played my tape of this song for Eleanor Gordon Mlotek, who besides having published the three well-researched Yiddish song collections refered to above, has been for many years the music archivist at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research. With her husband Joseph, she also writes a regular column in the *Jewish Forward* (*Forverts*) to which Jews worldwide send texts of Yiddish songs they know. Although Mlotek's knowledge of Yiddish song is enormous, she did not know this song and asked to make a copy for the archives. It occurred to me just recently (unfortunately) that the best way to

research the song would be for her to send out an inquiry to her readers. Until then, however, we can only speculate as to its origins.

3. The Meaning of the Text.

It is tempting to look at this text the way one would study a biblical text, looking at both the surface and deeper meanings. Its plain meaning is clear. But what is the relationship between the Hebrew and Yiddish verses? Indeed, the phrases seem positively contradictory. On the one hand, the Hebrew prayer asks God acknowledges our sinfulness and asks for salvation despite it. On the other hand, the Yiddish verses ask for salvation in the face of our enemies' sins, making no mention of our own. Theologically, the Yiddish verses seem closer in spirit to the famous Levi Itzkhak of Berditchev's demanding an accounting from God for our suffering. Both seem to be saying that although our faith in You is unquestioned, we do not intend to grovel before You, for we've done nothing wrong.

One explanation of this seeming contradiction may lie in the highly powerful associations that Jews have with the prayer "*Avinu Malkenu*". Coming as it does at the end of and climaxing the group of *selichot* in each prayer service on Yom Kippur, it functions for many as the symbol of God's mercy and power. Taken out of its immediate context, that aspect of the prayer may be what most people remember, rather than the group's sinfulness. If this is so, then our song functions on several levels: 1) to express the very contemporary anguish and frustration felt by Holocaust survivors, or other Jews with respect to survivors; 2) to affirm Jewish solidarity with previous generations of Jews as well as with Jews worldwide and particularly in Palestine/Israel;

and 3) to express the hope for collective redemption as defined in a modern context; i.e., in the Jewish homeland.

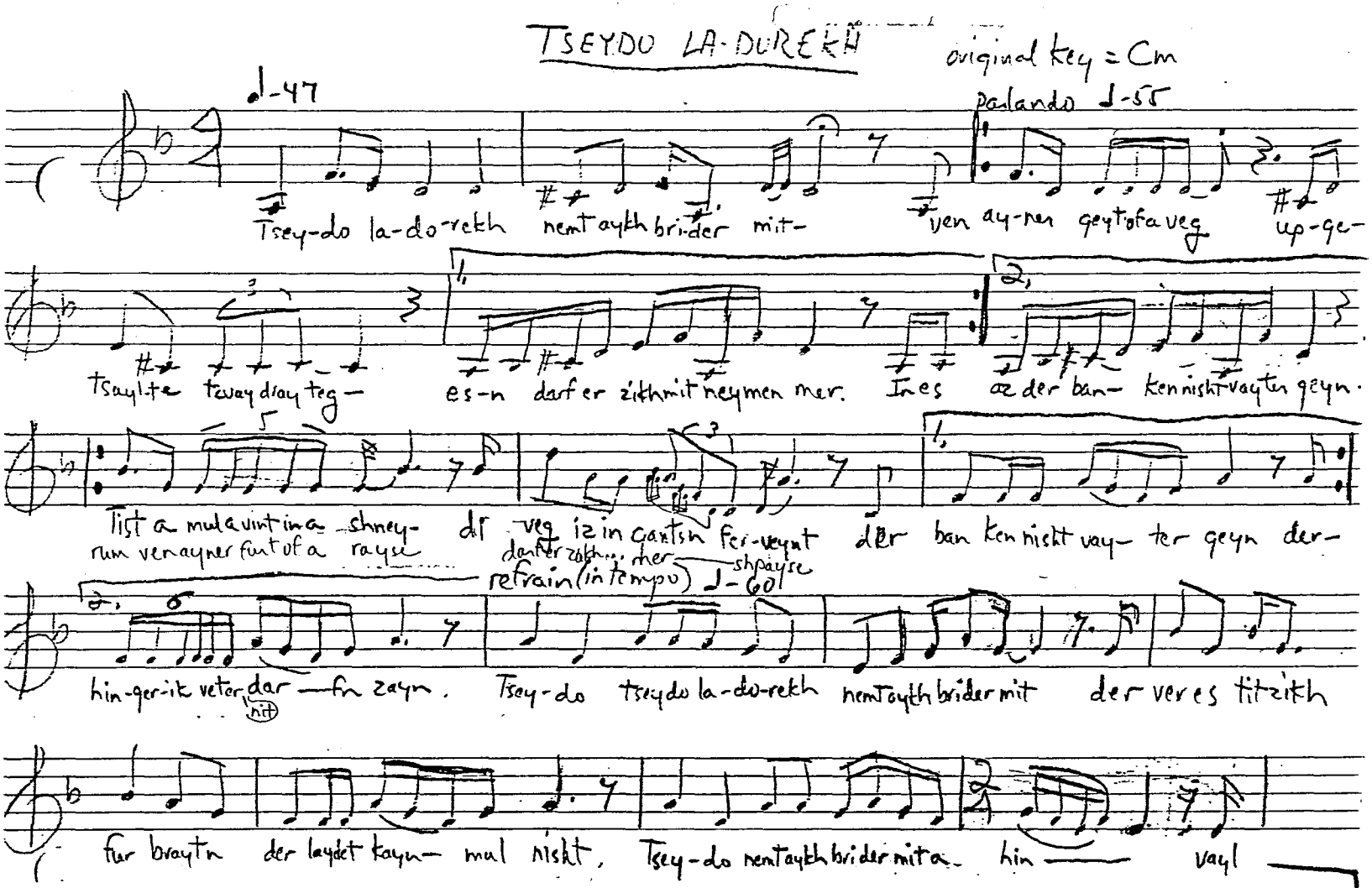
4. The Music

The melody is one of a number of extant traditional Ashkenazi settings of the prayer. It has become the American standard, even among the Orthodox. The melody's overall form is a-b-a. The Yiddish verses of our text is a close variant of this tune, but the verses begin with the "b" section and follow with the "a," slightly altered to fit the strophic form discussed above. The tune is in the traditional Jewish *ahavah rabbah* mode. The "a" section delineates the mode's lower pentachord (from the first to the fifth step), with its raised 3 and lowered 2. The "b" section delineates the mode's upper pentachord, which is a minor half-scale built on the 5th note of the ahava raba mode. Such an arrangement is typical for *ahavah rabbah*; it is ubiquitous in the *nusakh ha-tefilah* (prayer modes), and is also common in the Ashkenazi song and instrumental repertoire.

5. The Performance Practice.

The sound of Mrs. Fay's voice is that of an old woman with a strong and vigorous voice. Like many older women, she sings in a tenor range, in an open, slightly garrulous chest voice. Her pace is leisurely but steady and rhythmic, and she sometimes breathes before the end of a phrase. It's interesting how "Jewish" she sounds despite the length of time she lived in America before making this recording. Like many traditional Yiddish singers, she has a slightly plaintive edge to her voice. Likewise, she does not hold out the last note of a phrase, but rather clips it short. Her pitch on the Bb's on *Riboyno shel oylam*

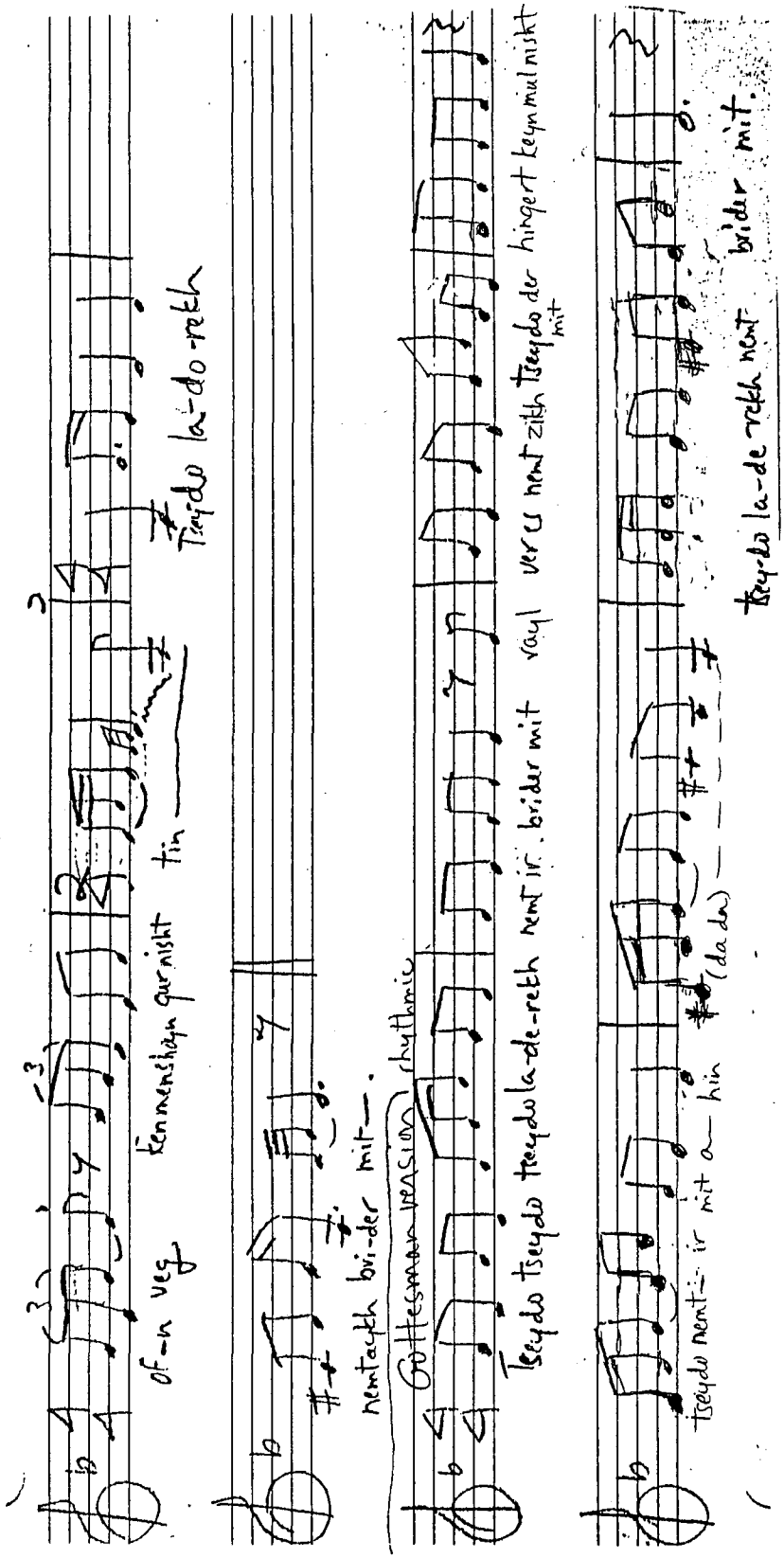
is consistently sharp, a practice on the descent from the 5th to the 4th step in minor that can often be heard on old cantorial recordings and is still practiced by experienced *hazzanim.* Moreover, she sometimes sharpens the ascending and descending 2nd step in minor--also a traditional tuning, although less widely heard. She frequently uses subtle downward portamenti, whether on vowels that are being held for more than one note or when syllabes change. (I have notated those tend to occur from verse to verse, but have omitted others that vary.) However, she uses no ormentation and her phrasing is fairly square. Thus, Mrs. Fay would seem to fall under Beregovski's category #1.


TSEYDO LA-DUREKH
original key = Cm
♩-47
parlando ♩-55
Tsey-do la-do-rekh nemt ayth brider mit- ven ay-ner geytofa veg up-ge-
tsaylte tsvay dray teg- es-n darf er zikh mit neymen mer. Ines ze der ban- ken nisht vayter geyn.
Tist a mul a vint in a shney- dr veg iz in gantsn fer-veynt der ban ken nisht vay- ter geyn der-
rum ver ayner fun tof a rayse
refrain (in tempo) ♩-60
hin-ger-ikt veter dar- fn zayn. Tsey-do tsey do la-do-rekh nemt ayth brider mit der ver es tit zikh
nit
fur brayt n der laydet kayn- mul nisht. Tsey-do nemt ayth brider mit a- hin- vayl

Example 1 (A)

Example 1 (B)

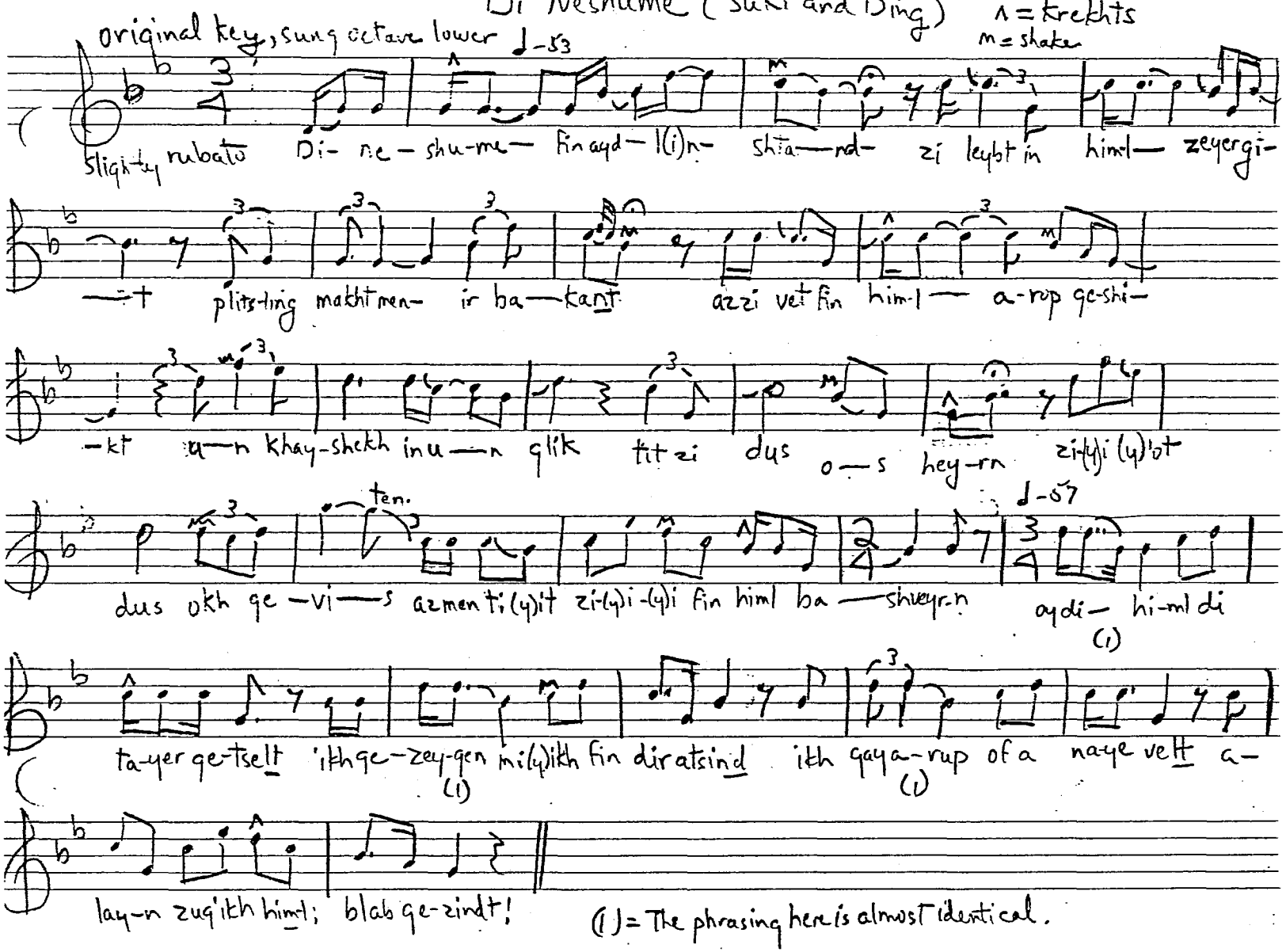
Tseydo la-dorekh (continued)



Example 2

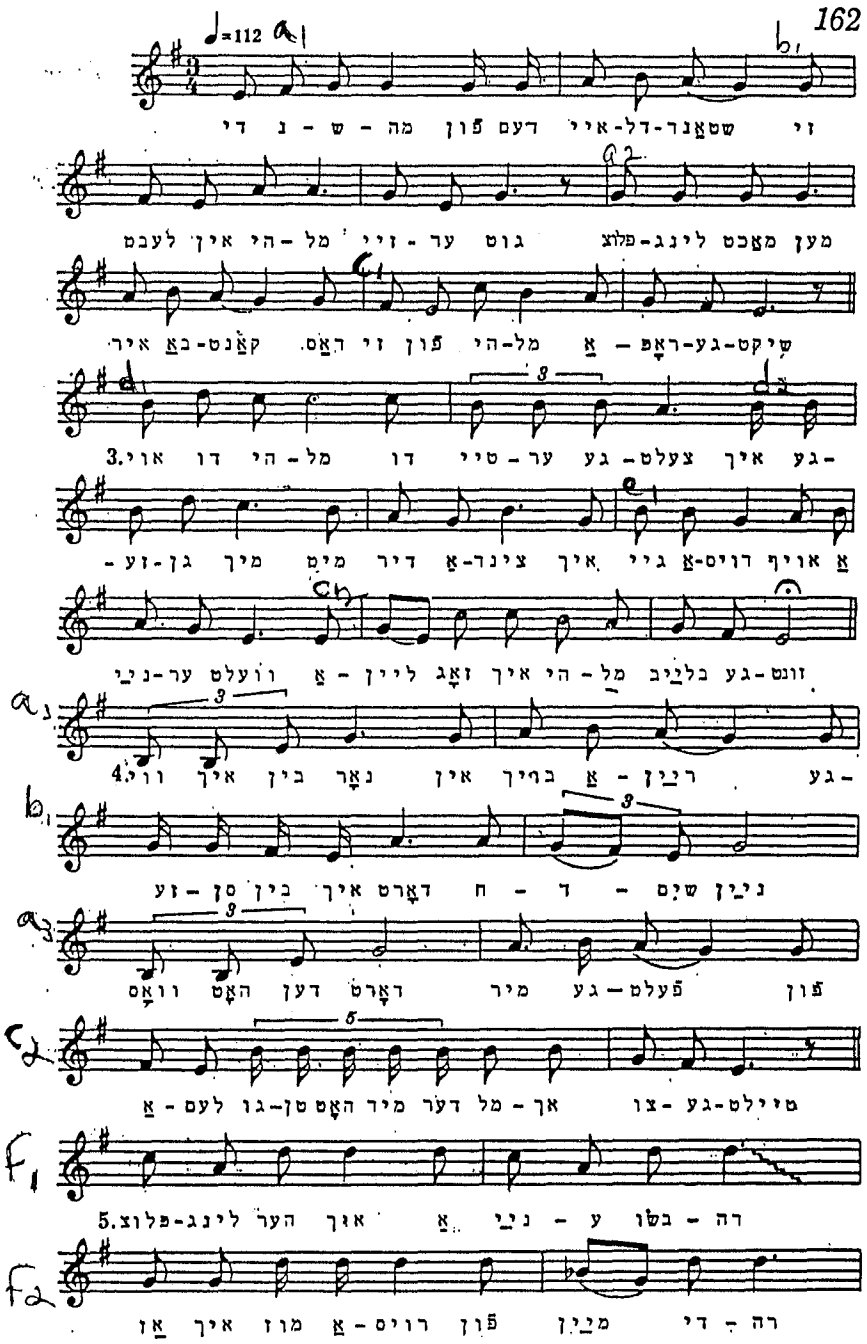
Di Neshume (Suki and Ding)

^ = krekhts
m = shake

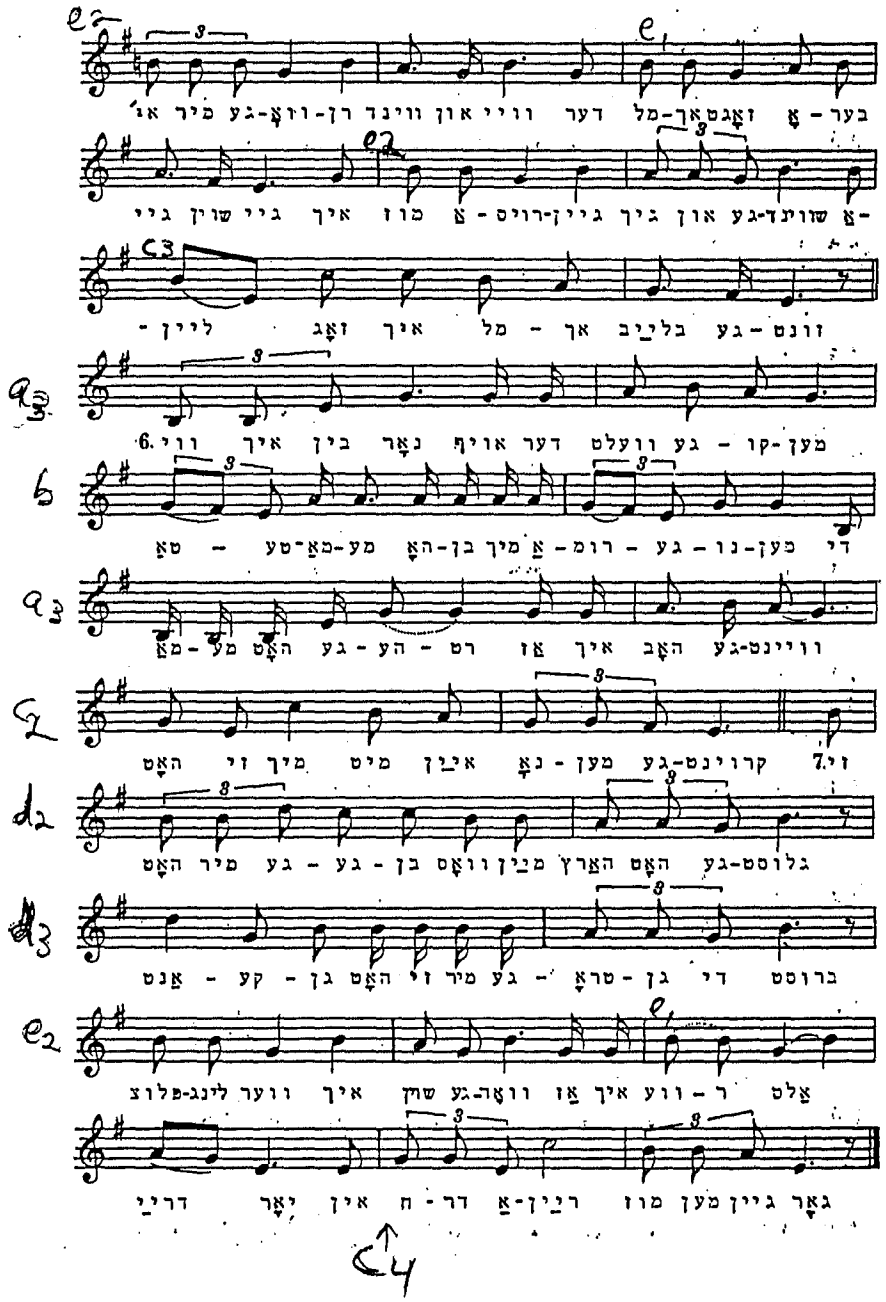


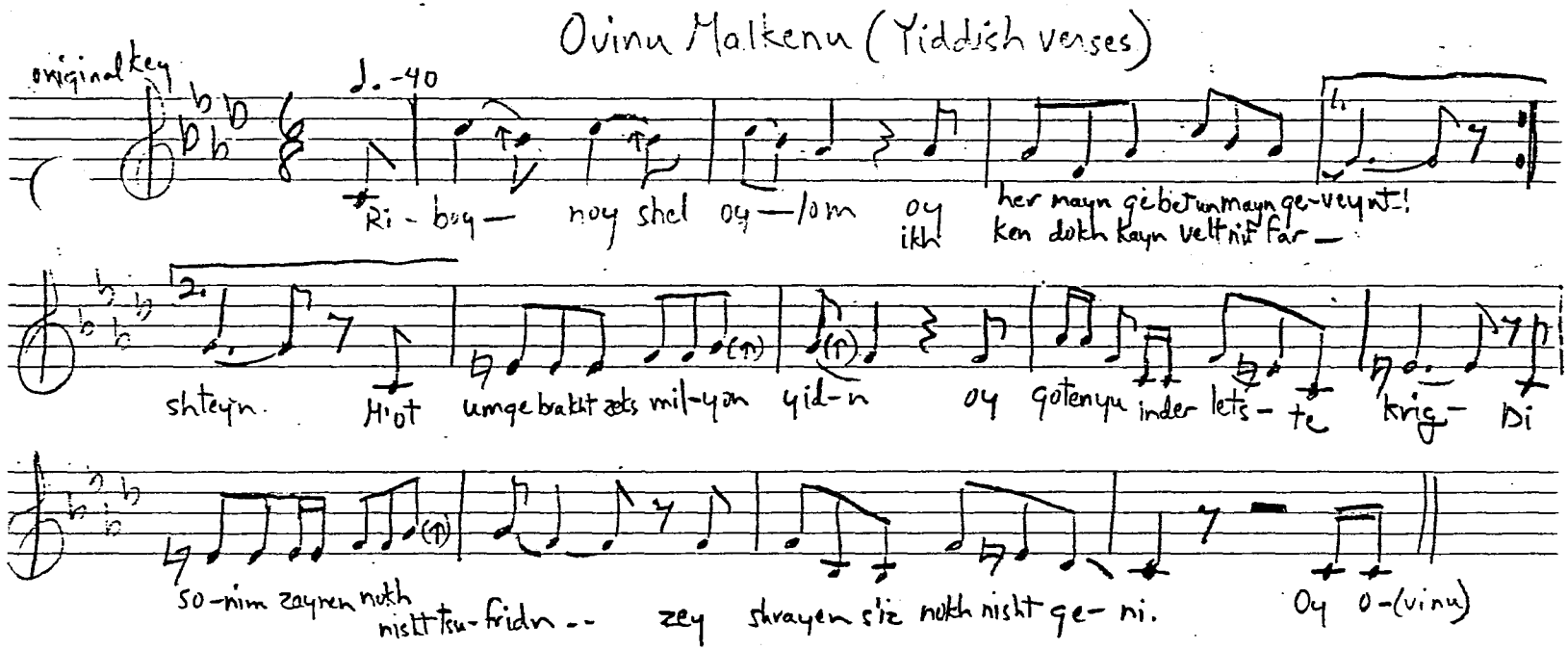
(1) = The phrasing here is almost identical.

Example 3(A) - Di neshume fin aydlnshtand



Example 3(B) - Di neshume fin aydlnshtand (continued)




Ovinu Malkenu (Yiddish verses)
original key
♩.=40
Ri - boy— noy shel oy—lom oy
ikh
her mayn gebet un mayn ge-veynt!
ken dokh kayn veltnit far—
shteyn. Hi'ot umgebrakht zeks mil-yon yid-n oy gotenyu inder lets - te krig— Di
so-nim zayren nokh nisht tsu-fridn -- zey shrayen s'iz nokh nisht ge- ni. Oy o-(vinu)

Example 4

APPENDIX A

Interviewees: name, residence age, date of interview, medium

Sheyndl Fogelman, Brooklyn, NY, late 50's, Wednesday, August 26, 1998 (in person)

Avraham Fried, Brooklyn, NY, late '30's, July 29, 1998 (in person)

Pearl Gluck, New York, NY, mid-20's, June 16, 1998 (in person)

Hazzan Isaac Goodfriend, Atlanta, GA, mid '70's, June 24, 1998 (in person)

Bina Presser, New York, NY, mid '50's, various times during spring, summer and fall 1998

Michael Wex, Toronto, Canada, mid 40's, May 26, 1998 (by phone)

Irene Widerman, Brooklyn, NY, 80+, August 23, 1998 (in person)

BIBLIOGRAPHY (references consulted)

Printed Song Collections

Belarsky, Sidor. *Sidor Belarsky Songbook.* Flushing, N.Y.: Yiddish Books, Queens College/CUNY, 1988.

Beregovski, Moshe. *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski* (1934, 1935, 1937, 1942, 1962). Edited and translated by Mark Slobin. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Beregovski, M. and I. Fefer. *Yidishe folkslider.* Kiev: Meluche Farlag far di Nationale Minderhaytn in U.S.S.R., 1938.

Bernstein, A.M. *Musikalisher Pinkas,* vol. 1. Vilne: Vilne Historical-Ethnographical Society under the name of S. An-Ski, 1927. Reprint, New York: Cantors Assembly, 1958.

Bik, Moshe and Moshe Gorali, eds. *Di goldene pave-Yidishe folkslider, First Collection.* Haifa: Haifa Music Museum and A.M.L.I. Library/Reuven Buniak Ethnomusicological Series, and Or-Tav Music Publications, 1970. *Second Collection,* 1974.

Cahan, Y.L. *Yidishe folkslider mit melodien, volumes 1 and 2.* New York: Yiddisher Ferlag, 1912, 1920.

_____ *Yidishe folkslider mit melodien.* Edited and with an introduction by M. Weinreich. New York: YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, 1957.

_____, ed. *Yidishe folklor.* Vilne: YIVO, 1938.

Dobrushin, I. and A. Yuditsky. *Yidishe folkslider.* Moscow: Meluche-Farlag *Der emes,* 1940.

Flam, Gila. *Singing for Survival: Songs of the Lodz Ghetto, 1940-45.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992.

Ginzburg, S.M. and P.S. Marek. *Yidishe folkslider in rusland/Yiddish Folk Songs in Russia--Photo Reproduction of the 1901 St. Petersburg Edition.* Edited and annotated with an introduction by Dov Noy. Ramat Gan: Bar Ilan University Press, 1991.

Goldfaden, Abraham. *The Music of Abraham Goldfaden.* Compiled and edited by Irene Heskes. Cedarhurst. NY: Tara Publications, 1990.

Ha-Shir veHa-Shevah: a collection of songs in Yiddish. Bene Berak: H-L-M, 1986.

Idelsohn, A.Z. *Thesaurus of Hebrew Oriental Melodies. Vol. IX: The Folk Song of the East European Jews; Vol. X: Songs of the Chasidim.* Lepizig: Friedrich Hofmeister, 1932.

Kaczerginski, Shmelke. *Lider fun di getos un lagern.* Edited by H. Leivick. New York: Tsiko Bicher Farlag, 1948.

Kaufmann, Fritz Mordechai. *Die Schonsten Lieder der Ostjuden.* Berlin: Judischer Verlag, 1920.

Kipnis, M. *60 folkslider, ershte tayl.* Warsaw: Farlag A. Gitlin, 1918, 1930. *80 folkslider, tsveyte tayl.* Warsaw: Farlag A. Gitlin, 1925, n.d.

Kotylansky, Chaim. *Folks-Gezangen as interpreted by Chaim Kotylansky - A Collection of Chassidic Songs and Chants, Yiddish-Ukrainian Folk Songs and "Shteiger-Lieder".* Los Angeles: Chaim Kotylansky Book Committee and "YCUF", 1944.

Mlotek, Eleanor Gordon. *Mir trogn a gezang,* 4th ed. New York: Workmen's Circle, 1987.

Mlotek, Eleanor Gordon and Joseph Mlotek. *Perl fun der yidisher poezie/Pearls of Yiddish Song*). New York: Workmen's Circle, 1988.

_____ *Songs of Generations--New Pearls of Yiddish Songs.* Preface by Elie Wiesel. Foreword by Dov Noy. New York: Workmen's Circle, 1996.

Noy, Dov and Noy, Meir, eds. *Folklore Research Center Studies, volume 2. Yidisher folkslider fun galitzye* collected by Shmuel Zanvel Pipe. Jerusalem: Hebrew University, 1971.

Pasternak, Velvel. *Great Jewish Classics,* vols. 1,4,7. Cedarhurst, NY: Tara Publications, n.d.

_____ *Songs of the Chassidim,* vol. 1. Cedarhurst, NY: Tara Publications, 1968, 1982. *Songs of the Chassidim,* vol. 2, 1971.

Pasternak, Velvel and Noah Schall. *The Golden Age of Cantors: Musical Masterpieces of the Synagogue.* Introduction by Irene Heskes. Cedarhurst, NY: Tara Publications, 1991.

Prilucki, N. *Yidishe folkslider, volumes 1 and 2.* Warsaw: Ferlag Bikher-far-ale, 1911, 1913

Rothenberg, Anna Shomer. *Songs Heard in Palestine.* New York: Bloch Publishing Co., 1928.

Rubin, Ruth. *Jewish Folk Songs.* New York: Oak Publications, 1965.

_____ *A Treasury of Jewish Folksong*, Schocken Folio Edition, 1964. New York: Schocken Books, 1950

Saculet, Emil. *Cintece populare evreiesti*. Bucharest: Editura Muzicala, 1959.

Schack, Sarah Pitkowsky. *Yiddish Folk Songs*. Piano arrangements by Ethel Silberman Cohen. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1924.

Sharvit, Uri. *Niggunei Hasidim Me'Galitsia/Chassidic Tunes from Galicia*. Ramat Gan: Renanot (Bar Ilan University), 1995. Cassette included.

Shatzky, Jacob, ed. *Simhath Hanefesh: A Book of Yiddish Poems by Elhanan Kirchhan*. New York: Max N. Maisel, 1926. Facsimile of the Furth edition of 1727.

Stutchewsky, Joachim. *120 Chassidic Melodies*. Tel Aviv: General Federation of Labour, Government of Israel, n.d. [1950].

Vinkovetzky, Aharon, Abba Kovner, and Sinai Leichter. *Anthology of Yiddish Folksongs*, volumes 1-4, 3rd ed. With an introduction by Abba Kovner. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University/Magnes Press, 1989.

Vinaver, Chemjo, *Anthology of Hassidic Music*. Edited with introductions and annotations by Eliyahu Schleifer. Jerusalem: Jewish Music Research Centre, Hebrew University, 1985.

_____ *Anthology of Jewish Music*. New York: Edward B. Marks Music Corp., 1955.

Warembud, Norman H., ed. *The New York Times Great Songs of the Yiddish Theater*. Transliteration and music editing by Zalman Mlotek. New York: Quadrangle/The New York Times Book Co., 1975.

Zalmanoff, S., ed. *Sefer Ha-Niggunim: Niggunei Hasidei Habad*. New York: Habad, 1957.

Academic and Popular Literature

Ausubel, Nathan, ed. *A Treasury of Jewish Folklore*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1948.

Bohlman, Philip V., "Self-Reflecting-Self: Eduard Birnbaum & the Age of Jewish Music Collection." Paper presented at the Birnbaum Conference, HUC-JIR, New York, NY, November 22, 1998.

Feldman, Walter Zev. "The Transformation ofa Klezmer Dance Genre." In *Ethnomusicology*, Winter 1994, __-35.

Frankel, Ellen. *The Classic Tales: 4,000 Years of Jewish Lore.* Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1989, paperback editon 1993.

Frigyesi, Judit Laki. "Modulation as an Integral Part of the Modal System in Jewish Music." In *Musica Judaica* 5 (1), 1982-83, 53-71.

Goldin, Max. "On Musical Connections Between Jews and the Neighboring Peoples of Eastern and Western Europe," trans. Robert A. Rothstein. Amherst: International Area Studies Programs, University of Massachusetts. (Originally published in *Sovetish Heymland*, 1983, 1984, 1985.)

Goldsmith, Emanuel S. *Modern Yiddish Culture: the Story of the Yiddish Language Movement*, foreward Robert M. Seltzer. New York: Shapolsky Publishers and the Workmen's Circle Education Department, 1987.

Harshav, Benjamin. *The Meaning of Yiddish*, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.

Heilman, Samuel. *Defenders of the Faith.* New York: Schocken, 1992.

Howe, Irving and Eliezer Greenberg, eds. *A Treasury of Yiddish Stories.* New York: Viking Press, 1953, 1954. 1st paperback ed. New York: Schocken, 1973.

Hrushovski, Benjamin. "On Free Rhythms in Yiddish Poetry." In *The Field of Yiddish*, ed. U. Weinreich, 219-66. New York: Linguistic Circle of New York, 1954.

Idelsohn, A.Z. *Jewish Music in its Historical Development.* New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1929. Reprint, New York: Schocken, 1967.

Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Barbara. "Patterns of the Jewish Song World." In booklet accompanying *Folksongs in the East European Tradition: from the repertoire of Marian Nirenberg.* Global Village GVM117, 1986. LP.

Kligman, Mark. "On the Creators and Consumers of Orthodox Popular Music in Brooklyn." in *YIVO Annual 23.* n.d.

_____ "The Medium and the Message: The Recorded Music of Brooklyn's Orthodox Jews." *In Jewish Folklore and Ethnology Review*, vol 16, no.1, 1994, 9-11.

Mahler, Raphael. *Hasidim and the Jewish Enlightenment: their confrontation in Galicia and Poland in the first half of the nineteenth century.* Translated from the Yiddish by Eugene Orenstein; translated from the Hebrew by Aaron Klein and Jenny Machlowitz Klein. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1985.

Mintz, Jerome. *Hasidic People: a place in the New World.* Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1972.

_____ *Legends of the Hasidim: an introduction to Hasidic culture and oral tradition in the New World.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1968. Reprint, Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson, 1995.

Mlotek, Eleanor Gordon. "International Motifs in the Yiddish Ballad." In *For Max Weinreich on His Seventieth Birthday.* The Hague: Mouton, 1964, 209-28.

_____ "Traces of Ballad Motifs in Yiddish Folk Song." In *The Field of Yiddish, Second Collection.* The Hague: Mouton, 1965, 232-52.

_____ "Soviet-Yiddish Folklore Scholarship." *Musica Judaica,* vol. II/I (1977-78): 73-90.

Poll, Solomon. *The Hasidic Community of Williamsburg.* New York: Schocken Press, 1969.

Rabinowicz, H. *The World of Hasidim.* Hartford, England: Hartman House, 1970.

Rubin, Ruth. *Voices of a People.* New York and London: Thomas Yoseloff, 1963.

_____. "Slavic Influences in Yiddish Folksong." In *Folklore and Society: Essays in Honor of Ben Botkin,* ed. B. Jackson, 131-52. Hatboro, Pa.: Folklore Associates, 1964.

Schaechter, Mordkhe. "A Vort Frier." In *Zumerteg: Tzvontzik Zinglider,* Beyla Schaechter-Gottesman, 6-7. New York: Yiddishe Kultur-Kongress/Yiddish Lige, 1990.

Schuursma, Ann Briegleb, *Ethnomusicology Research-A Select Annotated Bibliography.* Garland Library of Music Ethnology, vol. 1. New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1992.

Sendry, Alfred. *Bibliography of Jewish Music.* New York: Columbia University Press, 1951.

Sharvit, Uri, ed. *Jewish Musical Culture-Past and Present.* In *Journal of the International Institute of Traditional Music (IITM),* vol. 37(1) (1995): 3-72.

Slobin, Mark. "The Uses of Printed Versions in Studying the Song Repertoire of East European Jews: First Findings." In *The Field of Yiddish: Studies in Language, Folkore, and Literature, Fourth Collection,* ed M. Herzog et al, 329-70. Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, 1980.

_____ *Tenement Songs: The Popular Music of Jewish Immigrants.* Urbana: University of Illinois, 1982.

_____ "Studying the Yiddish Folksong." *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy*, vol. VI (1983-84): 7-11.

_____ "A Fresh Look at Beregovski's Folk Music Research." *Ethnomusicology* 30 (1): 253-60.

_____ "Patterns of Musical Style." In booklet accompanying *Folksongs in the East European Tradition: from the repertoire of Marian Nirenberg.* Global Village GVM117, 1986. LP.

_____ "Ten Paradoxes and Four Dilemmas of Studying Jewish Music." *The World of Music 37(1)*, 1995.

Weiss, Joseph. "Some Notes on the Social Background of Early Hasidism." In *Studies in Eastern European Jewish Mysticism*, ed. David Goldstein, 3-23. Cambridge: Oxford University Press, 1985.

Weisser, Adolph, "The Society for Jewish Folk Music." In *The Modern Renaissance of Jewish Music.*

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

Wohlberg, Max. "The Music of the Synagogue as a Source of the Yiddish Folksong." *Musica Judaica* 2, no. 1 (1978): 21-50.

Zipper, Yaakov. *The Far Side of the River*, ed. and transl. Mervin Butovsky and Ode Garfinkle. Oakville, Ontario: Mosaic Press, 1985.

Unreleased Field Recordings

from the *Cabinet of Jewish Language, Literature, and Folklore of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences*, Kiev. Songs recorded on wax cylinders from 1912-48 by the *Jewish Historic-Ethnographic Society* of St. Petersburg (1912-14) in the Ukraine, by Joel Engel in Volhynia from 1912, and by Moshe Beregovski (1928-48). CD of 40-some items pressed in mid-1990's for scholarly use.

Moti Friedman (songs). Rec. author, cassette tape, New York, November 1986.

_____ (interview and songs). Rec. Itsik Gottesman, cassette tape, Jerusalem. April 5, 1998.

Miami Beach Project. Rec. Sherry Cherna and Elsie Fardig, reel-to-reel tapes, Miami Beach, 1976-79. tapes #1000 and #1005. Music Library, University of Miami.

Ruth Rubin Folk Song Collection (various singers), tapes 9-11. Rec. New York, Shrub Oak and Montreal, 1948-62. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

Ben Stonehill Song Collection (various singers), reels 2,4,5,8. Rec. New York, 1947. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

Released Field Recordings

Nirenberg, Marian. *Folksongs in the East European Tradition: from the repertoire of Marian Nirenberg.* Global Village GVM117, 1986. L (texts included).

Rubin, Ruth, *Jewish Life "The Old Country".* Folkways FG 3801, 1964. LP (texts included).

Schaechter-Widman, Lifshe. *Az di furst avek.* Global Village C111, 1986. Cassette (texts included).

Slobin, Mark. "Appendix B: Archival Resources for the Study of Eastern European Jewish Folk Music." In *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982.

Selected Discography

Berry, Suki and Rabbi Yosef C. Golding. *Heimishe idishe gezangen/Suki and Ding Present Yiddish Classics*, vol. 1. Suki and Ding Productions BH 28, 1991. Cassette (texts included).

_____ Vol. 2, Suki and Ding Productions BH 26, 1993. Cassette (no texts).

_____ Vol. 3, Suki and Ding Productions BH 14, 1998. Cassette (no texts).

Di Kindervelt, n.d. Cassette.

Ehrlich, Yom Tov. *Dai.* Di teyps far di erlikhe idishe heymen (tapes for virtuous Jewish homes) JN-14, n.d. Cassette.

_____ *Avraham Fried Sings Yiddish Gems.* Arr. Yaron Gershovsky. S.M.T. AF101, 1992. Cassette (texts included).

_____ *Avraham Fried Sings Yiddish Gems*, vol 2. Arr. Yaron Gershovsky. Musical Treasures AF102, 1994. Cassette (texts included).

-------- *Ikh hob gevart/I've Waited.* Mordecai Ben David. Oceanphonic Records 451, 1982. Cassette.

Great Jewish Melodies. Cantor Mordecai Hershman. Golden Age Productions GAP 118. n.d. Cassette re-release.

Im Eshkakheh Yerushalayim. Compositions by Ben-Haim, Dvorak, Yossi Green, Verdi. Avraham Fried, Prague Symphony Orchestra, Chorus of the Great Synagogue of Jerusalem, Rinton Chorus. Noam DH 567, 1996. Double cassette (texts included).

Jan Peerce Sings Yiddish Folk Songs. Conducted and arr. Abraham Ellstein. Vanguard VSD-2135, n.d. LP.

Jan Peerce Sings Hebrew Melodies. RCA Victor LSC-2498, n.d. LP.

Kahana, Yosef Moshe. *Lechaim Iden.* Rabbi Yermia Damen, arr. Moshe Mona Rosenblum. Idish Kheyn 2, n.d. Cassette.

Schmelczer, Zisha. *Der mides velt, part 1.* Various singers, arr. Yisroel Lamm. ZS-72, n.d. Cassette.

Sheyne hartsige yudishe lider, sung by children, released by a teacher. Lee Avenue Seforim Center (Brooklyn, NY) TS399, 1982. Cassette.

Shvartz, Yonasen. *A gute vokh!--idishe gezangen.* Cassette, 1993.

Sidor Belarsky--Yiddish Song Recital. Artistic Enterprises B-103, n.d. LP.

Strictly Yiddish--Some of Mama's Favorites. Paul Zim and the Simcha Klezmer Orchestra. Simcha 42488, 1988. Cassette.

Unger, Rabbi Yitzhak (Vizhnitz court composer). *Toyreh--zmires ba-idish*, vol. 3. TS 405. n.d. Cassette.

_____ *Got fun avrom--zmires le-moytzey shabes ba'idish, zmires ba-idish* vol. 4. Cassette, n.d.

Zmires yisroel 1 and 2--niggunei yireim vehasidim ba'idish. Kol yeshurun TS 106, n.d. Cassette.