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THE LIFE AND MUSIC OF DAVID NOWAKOWSKY AS AN EXPRESSION OF THE HASKALAH

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

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion
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New York, New York

February 8, 1996

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my co-advisors Cantor Israel Goldstein and Professor Mark Kligman for guiding me in the right direction throughout all of the stages of this project; Cantor David Lefkowitz for allowing me access to his vast collection of Nowakowsky's works; Professor Izali Zemtzovsky and Yevgeni Chasdan of the St. Petersburg Society for Jewish Folk Music, and the composer Yakov Tzeglar for presenting me with my initial contacts in Petersburg and Kiev; Ludmila Sholohova at the Central Library of Science in Kiev for granting me access to the musical manuscripts in their collection; and my accompanist, Simona Frenkel for sharing her in-depth knowledge of Nowakowsky's music and life.

A special thanks to my parents, William and Irma Rosenfeld for their undeniably honest appraisal of my work and for their willingness to discuss the subject of this paper in depth with me. As always, they serve as the intellectual inspiration behind everything I do.

Finally, I must thank my wife, Inna Pavlova Rosenfeld for her assistance in this project. She worked indefatigably in making all of my initial contacts, and served as my personal tour guide through St. Petersburg and Kiev. I know that I am truly blessed to have her unwavering devotion and support.

INTRODUCTION

David Nowakowsky (1848-1921) was a key figure in the development of the style of music so closely associated with the Brody Synagogue in Odessa. During his life, he was profoundly affected by important cultural, political, and social movements of the Odessa Jewish community of the 19th Century, chief among them the Haskalah or Jewish Enlightenment. In the following paper, I will attempt to demonstrate how Nowakowsky's music reflects the Haskalah ideals of combining Jewish tradition with secular European education. In order to support my claim, I will analyze several compositions for choir and cantor by Nowakowsky, showing both his thorough grounding in traditional cantorial music and his profound understanding of European musical conventions.

From the evidence presented in this paper, I have drawn the conclusion that Nowakowsky's music, as an extension of Haskalah ideals, indeed has a place in today's synagogues, particularly those of the Reform Movement. This I say in the context of Reform Judaism's claim that it is concerned with preserving the best in the tradition of our people, namely the commitment to honest, heartfelt worship and the highest development of the intellect. Just as the Haskalah exalted the ancient Jewish sources while simultaneously drawing inspiration from contemporary, secular, non-Jewish disciplines, so Reform Judaism claims to reconcile the moral lessons of the Bible with life in modern-day society, where Jew and Gentile learn from one another.

Any discussion of Nowakowsky must include a discussion of the Brody Synagogue as well as some historical backgrouhd on Odessa, because this locale provided the setting in which he flourished. It is also necessary to give some attention to Pinchas Minkowsky, the cantor at the Brody Synagogue, under whom Nowakowsky served as choir master. Together they formed a partnership which bore a distinctive stamp forever associated with that synagogue. The Brody Synagogue or Shul functioned as one of Odessa's centers for the Enlightenment's literati and scholars among which Nowakowsky and Minkowsky counted themselves. Minkowsky had numerous close associations with leading Haskalah figures and even produced a body of scholarly articles in several languages. The most palpable manifestation of the inspiration behind these innovations was seen in the music that came out of the synagogue. In my analysis, I hope to demonstrate the feeling of awe and profound inspiration Nowakowsky expressed in his works as an example of the higher level of worship sought by the congregants at the Brody Synagogue.

I. THE JEWISH COMMUNITY OF ODESSA

The City of Odessa

Odessa was a relatively new city established in the late 18th Century. It soon became a major crossroads and center for commerce between Asia and Europe, largely because of its prime location. The city began to take on the feel of a new land with all the trappings of a frontier settlement, eventually burgeoning into a thriving cosmopolitan community made up of myriad nationalities.

Originally named Chadzi Bey, Odessa was established as a small garrison outpost by the Ottoman Empire on the Northern rim of the Black Sea.[1] In 1789, the Russians captured the settlement, incorporating it and the surrounding area into their empire.[2] The entire region became known as "New Russia," and Odessa itself was nicknamed "Yezsne Palmira"- Palmira of the South because of the palm trees which lined its streets.[3] Under the Ottomans, the inhabitants were primarily Turks, Greeks, Tatars, and Armenians. After the Russians captured the city, they imported many of their own so as to give the it a more familiar Slavic character. In order to do so, the Tsarist government tried to persuade Russian Orthodox peasants to move south in droves, enticing them with accounts of how verdant and bountiful the land was. The government also played upon their patriotic sentiments, convincing them of the necessity to serve the motherland.

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1 Samuel Vigoda, Legendary Voices v.1 (M.P. Press, Inc., 1981), 40.

2 Ibid., 41.

3 Ibid.

Aside from Russian Orthodox peasants, the Tsar permitted and actually encouraged Jews to move to New Russia as well. Thus Jews from all over the region of the Pale, started moving down to the more remote setting of the southern Ukraine. Most of them came from the North, specifically Lithuania and the region of Galicia, largely to escape oppressive social and political conditions. As more Jews migrated to Odessa from all over the Pale, the community continued to grow to the point where, by the 1880's, it became the second largest in all of the Russian Empire.[4] The Jewish community could in fact, be traced back to the time of the city's creation in the late 18th century, the oldest Jewish tombstone dating from 1793, and the Gemilut Hesed Shel Emet society (Hevra Kaddisha) having been founded in 1795.[5]

Under the influence of the enlightened, well-to-do Jews from the North, Odessa soon gained the reputation as the most modern, Western city in the Pale. The advantage to this was that its increasing commercial development brought new capital and therefore material growth to its inhabitants. The disadvantage was that it had little sense of history or tradition with which people could identify. In the case of the Jewish population, this manifested itself in a high rate of assimilation. Jews from other locales often derided those who lived in Odessa for their ignorance of Jewish tradition and observance. Yet because of their assimilation, the Jews

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4 Encyclopedia Judaica. (Jerusalem, Keter Publishing House, Ltd.,1971), s.v. "Odessa," Dinur, Benzion.

5 Ibid.

of Odessa were well versed in Russian language and literature and that of other Western European nations as well. Consequently, they helped spread the study of these subjects to Jewish communities throughout southern Russia and the Ukraine.

The Impact of the Brody Jews on the Odessa Jewish Community

Of particular relevance is the influx of Jews from the Galician capital of Brody. Formerly part of Poland, Galicia was eventually incorporated into the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The city of Brody contained one of the most thriving and active Jewish communities in the region, and contributed greatly to Galicia's economic and cultural development. It thus became a major industrial center in the 18th and 19th centuries and a focal point of commerce between Eastern and Western Europe. Despite their economic success, the Jews of Brody could not ignore the growth of anti-Jewish sentiments in the region. Such sentiments combined with the lure of new economic and social opportunities motivated a good portion of them to move South into New Russia during the 1820's and 1830's.[6] As they did, they brought with them a solid tradition of learning and erudition which inevitably influenced the already extant Jewish community on many levels. Soon conditions were right for the onset of the Haskalah or 19th century Jewish Enlightenment which Moses Mendelssohn had initiated earlier in Berlin. In fact the followers of the Haskalah or *maskilim* came to be known in

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[6] Ibid.

Odessa as the "Brodyists."[7] Their social and economic standing put them in good favor with the ruling authorities and thus enabled them to gain considerable influence among their co-religionists. Consequently, the Odessa Jewish community became the first to be controlled and administered by the maskilim.

One of the Brodyists' most important achievements was the creation of special schools and educational institutions for Jews. The first among them was a modern elementary school established in 1826 largely through the efforts of the scholar Bezalel Stern.[8] Here students studied Hebrew and Jewish subjects along with literature and disciplines taught in secular learning institutions. The creation of this school and eventually others like it signified the changes that were occurring in the region of the Pale, specifically the increased assimilation of its inhabitants into secular society as a whole.

The Assimilation of Jews in Odessa

The assimilation of the Jews in Odessa was largely the result of how ruling European governments attempted to meld all of their disparate nationalities into the general populace, so as to prevent them from corrupting the national identity. The Jews were just one of numerous peoples proverbially perceived by Christian European rulers as an obstacle to keeping that identity intact.

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[7] Ibid.

[8] Encyclopedia Judaica, "Odessa," Ibid.

In Russia, the tsars had sought to assimilate all of the peoples within their empire by a variety of methods throughout their history. In the the first half of the 19th Century, Tsar Alexander I attempted to *russify*, or make Russian, his Jewish subjects by various means, not the least of which was to initiate numerous educational programs and create special schools for his Jewish subjects. Much of this was accomplished under the auspices of his Minister of Education Count S.S. Uvarov, who served in his position from 1833 to 1849.[9] Uvarov believed that Jewish students would be attracted to Russian education if the structure of their schools was predominantly Jewish. It was under his tenure that Jews were admitted into non-Jewish schools for the first time.

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[9] Zipperstein, Ibid., 44.

II. THE HASKALAH

Origins of the East European Haskalah

The word *Haskalah* is translated from Hebrew as "enlightenment," and the verb, *l'haskil*, means "to become wise."[10] The Hebrew root of the word which, in Yiddish, comes out as *seykhel*, means "wisdom" and "good sense."[11] It is therefore only appropriate that its followers were known as *maskilim* or *those who make wise* or *enlighten*.

Though the Haskalah began primarily as a literary movement, it soon began to effect other significant cultural and artistic mediums, like music. Around the turn of the century, figures like Eliakum Zunser and Abraham Goldfaden, in their songs, echoed the sentiments and views of a new generation which sought to liberate their people from cultural as well as political oppression. They saw the oppression rising out of the anti-Jewish mind set of their Gentile neighbors as well as what they believed to be the dogged adherence to an arcane, timeworn way of life in the shtetl.

There was yet another important element which gave impetus to the growth of the Enlightenment. The swelling Romanticism of 19th Century Europe no doubt ignited the same artistic passions in the maskilim as in the rest of Europe, resulting in the need to find new forms of expression. Yet

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10 Ehud Ben-Yehuda, Ed., Ben-Yehuda's Pocket English-Hebrew/Hebrew-English Dictionary (Washington Square Press, Inc., 10th Printing, 1968); Asher Tarmon & Ezri Uval, Hebrew Verb Tables (Tamir Publishers, 3rd Edition-1991).

11 Irene Heskes, Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture (Greenwood Press, 1994), 146.

in their works, the maskilim celebrated the Jewish people, constantly presenting themes from the Bible and life in the shtetl, themes which resound throughout the writings of figures like Mendele Mocher S'forim and Sholom Aleichem. Hebrew was celebrated as both the sacred language of Scripture, and as a modern, living tongue in which Jews could express their highest, most profound thoughts, thereby drawing the connection between the ancient legacy of the Bible and current intellectual development. Reflected in the new literary trends set by the maskilim was a romantic yearning bound up with the aforementioned nationalistic leanings in which lay the roots of Zionism. In his biography of the Haskalah poet/novelist Gershon Shofman, Norman Tarnor offers the following insightful comments:

> There now appeared on the horizon a neo-romanticism which was wrapping the past in a mantle of holiness; the national movement of Zionism urged a renewed appreciation of the Jewish past, a return to Jewish sources, abandonment of Europe, and opted for *aliyah* to the ancient homeland.[12]

Poems and verse from this period reflect an almost militant sense of unifying in order to proceed onward to meet their destiny with child-like optimism and idealism. A number of the pieces I discovered in the National Science Library in Kiev were settings by Nowakowsky and Minkowsky of such poems.

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12 Norman Tarnor, The Many World of Gershon Shofman (Behrman House, Inc., 1989), 28.

The Haskalah and Nationalism

It is no coincidence that the Haskalah began to spread and develop during the rise of nationalistic movements in 19th century Europe. Though one would be hard-pressed to consider the Haskalah a nationalistic movement, one cannot deny the historical connection between it and the inspiration behind such movements elsewhere in Europe. Jews could not help but to be affected by the blossoming patriotic sentiments of the German and French citizens in whose midst they existed. Yet they were most likely aware that their Gentile counterparts would never truly consider them fellow countrymen. This realization led to the search for a national homeland for the Jews, a place they could truly call their own land. Leading Zionistic figures like Theodor Herzl and Leo Pinsker expressed the notion that until Jews were able to govern themselves in their own country, they would forever be at the mercy of despotic leaders who, at the slightest whim, could decide to annihilate them. The birth of nationalistic movements throughout Europe combined with the notion of Jewish peoplehood sparked the rise of Zionism which became inextricably linked to the Haskalah. The maskilim saw the fledgling Zionist movement as a palpable means of liberating Jews from the oppressive conditions under which they were forced to live. At this time, Odessa became the major center of Zionistic activities in the Pale, spawning the creation of movements such as Hibbat Zion.[13]

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[13] Encyclopedia Judaica, Ibid.

Ironically, Napoleon has been credited with helping to set the stage for Jewish nationalism. In 1799, he "identified" Jews as Frenchmen and granted them citizenship.[14] In so doing, not only did he eliminate the greatest obstacle to the success of Jews in France, but he cleverly inspired their loyalty to the state by incorporating them into its citizenry. In 1807, he recreated the Grand Sanhedrin in an attempt to grace his Jewish subjects with a sense of self-government, however ephemeral it may have been.[15] As other European countries began to give voice to their nationalistic inclinations, so too the Jews of Europe began to experience and express the same inclinations.

The Effect of the Haskalah and Nationalism on Music

Of particular relevance to this paper is the connection between nationalistic movements of 19th Century Europe and the arts, particularly music. As the Haskalah developed in the wake of nationalism, moving steadily eastward, it inspired a cultural awakening on the part of Jews in the Slavic lands. Jews in Russia were influenced by the nationalistic fervor in music inspiring the proliferation of works based on distinctly Russian subjects and themes. In this setting, there arose the *Russian Five*, the five prominent composers who were touted as genuine products of the culture from which they hailed: Cui, Borodin, Balakirev, Rimski-Korsakov, and Mussorgsky. Tchaikovsky also achieved

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[14] Irene Heskes, Ibid., 145.

[15] Ibid.

fame as a result of Russian nationalistic leanings, though some of his detractors viewed his music as too heavily influenced by Western European esthetics and stylistic considerations.

The nationalistic urges in Jewish music were expressed through folk songs, particularly Yiddish. The movement toward Yiddish and Hebrew, mentioned earlier, came to symbolize the Jewish nationalistic trend in the literary community of the time, spawning the rise of figures like I.L. Peretz and Ahad Ha'am. The first conservatory-trained Jews composed formal works based on Jewish folk themes as an expression of their own unique heritage.

A major figure in the move toward creating a distinctly Jewish music was Joel Engel (Yuli Dimitrievich Engel, 1868-1927), who studied at the Moscow Imperial Conservatory.[16] He collected Jewish folk songs from the shtetls of Russia and the Ukraine. In 1900, he published a collection of folk songs from Russian Jews.[17] During this period, Jewish composers such as Ephraim Shklar, Michael Gniessin, Solomon Rosowsky and Lazare Saminsky, all of whom had studied under Rimsky-Korsakov, united in an attempt to preserve and propagate the real music of the Jewish people. Their efforts resulted in the creation of the St. Petersburg Society for Jewish Music in In 1908.[18]

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16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

III. THE BRODY SYNAGOGUE

One of the most important new institutions created in the wake of the East European Haskalah was the Brody Synagogue or liberal synagogue of the Brodyists as it was known. It was the gathering place for leading Yiddish and Hebrew journalists of the movement such as Joachim Tarnopol, E. Soloveichik, L. Pinsker, and S. Ornstein who established the periodicals *Razsvet*, *Zion*, and *Den*.[19] A. Zederbaum who founded *HaMeliz* and *Kol Mevasser* also frequented the synagogue.[20] As more began to congregate at the Brody Shul, it came to symbolize the growth of the Haskalah in the Odessa Jewish community.

The Haskalah ideal of combining Jewish tradition with the best that secular education had to offer influenced the Synagogue on all levels, particularly in the areas of liturgy and music. It is only fitting that it would foster the development of a cantorial tradition which reflected this ideal. In addition, the Odessa maskilim sought to raise the service to a higher level, in contrast to what they saw as the rough, chaotic nature of traditional Jewish worship. Consequently, they instituted a series of innovations, inspired by those that had already taken place in Germany at the beginning of the Enlightenment.

Among the numerous reforms they instituted was a general change in decorum to be achieved by eliminating such practices as extra aliyot to the Torah and incessant talking

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19 Encyclopedia Judaica, Ibid.

20 Ibid.

during services, both of which they believed corrupted real prayer. They also began to consider retaining a preacher who could hold forth in "what the maskilim called a living tongue," so as to afford their congregants more intellectually stimulating sermons.[21]

Established in 1841, the Brody Synagogue was built along the lines of a German synagogue.[22] It existed in contrast to Odessa's other major synagogue, the Beit Knesset HaGadol which was established in 1795 or 1796, and came to be known as the Glavnaya or *main* synagogue.[23] The Glavnaya had no regular rabbi, but instead hired Odessa's official rabbi to speak on several occasions during the year. During the 1820's and 1830's, it was said to be in a decrepit neglected state.[24] One of the leading maskilim of the period, Abraham Baer Gottlober, was repelled by the chaotic, frenetic service he attended there in which he claimed to witness congregants pushing each other around and climbing over tables amidst a great din.[25] The one favorable component was the cantor, Bezalel Shulsinger who Pinchas Minkowsky described as "the 'true genius' of classical Jewish cantorial music," and who trained future noteworthy chazzanim including Joshia Abras and Ya'akov Bachman, both of whom ended up at the Glavnaya.[26]

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21 Steven Zipperstein, Ibid., 56.
22 Ibid., 56-7.
23 Ibid., 57.
24 Ibid.
25 Ibid.
26 Ibid.

The Galicians did not like worshiping at the Beit Knesset HaGadol in spite of Shulsinger's ability. They sought a synagogue where they could wield the same kind of influence as they did in Odessa's other Jewish institutions. Thus they established a new house of worship known as the Brody Synagogue which was supported exclusively by its members unlike the Glavnaya which received its support from the community. In order to maintain support and to control the unruly behavior associated with traditional shuls, the Galicians sold permanent seating. Among the other changes they instituted were to abolish the sale of aliyot and to expunge piyyutim from the service. In 1841, they hired Nisan Blumenthal as their cantor, a position in which, according to the historian Steven Zipperstein, he served until 1903.[27] Blumenthal was noted for employing a four-voice choir performing music "based heavily on German classical patterns."[28] But perhaps the most noteworthy change was the introduction of instrumental music into the service, specifically that of the organ.

The creation of the Brody Synagogue by the Galicians came to represent the split between the maskilim and the traditionalists, particularly the Chasidim. In response to the protests of the latter group, the writer Osip Rabinovitch countered with vituperative remarks that the more traditional synagogues contained a raucous setting not at all conducive to worship in which "ignorant, itinerant cantors shamelessly

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[27] Ibid., 58.

[28] Ibid.

stood before the altar singing prayers to dance tunes picked up in taverns or inns."[29]

Not all maskilim rallied behind the Galicians in support of the synagogue. Bezalel Stern criticized the Brody Shul for not serving the interests of the local Jews from elsewhere in the Pale, and he decried the idea of selling permanent seating as being unjustifiably exclusive. If others were not as critical, they certainly displayed ambivalence in their outlook on the institution. Isaac Baer Levinsohn, though having long advocated synagogue reform including those instituted at the Brody Synagogue, believed that it was a greater priority to unify the disparate elements of the Jewish community.[30]

In any case, the sharp criticism of the Galicians had a powerful enough effect to convince the leaders of the Beit Knesset HaGadol to close their synagogue four years after the establishment of the Brody Shul, and to reconstruct a newer one along the lines of the former with space for a choir.[31] They wanted the new shul to reflect the wealth and social standing of Odessa's Jews. Nisan Blumenthal performed at the dedication along with a choir of twenty-two voices.[32] Bezalel Stern delivered an address in German in which, among other things, he called for the unification of the Galicians and the founders of the new Beit Knesset HaGadol.[33] Over the

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29 Ibid.
30 Ibid., 59.
31 Ibid., 60.
32 Ibid.
33 Ibid.

next ten years, leaders from both synagogues negotiated. The Brody Shul closed and reopened in 1863 when they announced the construction of a new synagogue.[34] Located on *Pushkinskaya Ulitsa* (Pushkin Street), it became the best-known synagogue in the city, noted for its Moorish architecture and the organ music which accompanied its services.[35]

The Brody Shul remained, in many ways, a traditional Jewish house of worship. The chazzan wore a long tallit over his entire body during services. None of the prayers were omitted from the siddur, and congregants maintained the tradition of studying portions of Mishnah between Mincha and Ma'ariv. Vigoda describes a setting in which some worshipers could be seen shokeling to and fro with their prayer shawls covering their heads, and bellowing out z'mirot during Shalosh S'udot, the third Sabbath meal, while seated around a long table.

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[34] Ibid., 61.

[35] Ibid.

IV. PINCHAS MINKOWSKY AND DAVID NOWAKOWSKY

The Importance of Nisan Blumenthal

Pinchas Minkowsky together with David Nowakowsky ushered in a new era at the Brody Synagogue. As a result of the innovations they introduced, services took on a new character. It is important to note, however, that their style of worship did not develop in a vacuum; it was influenced by the work of their predecessors, most notably the synagogue's first cantor, Nisan Blumenthal (1805-1903).[36]

The following account is taken from Cantor Samuel Vigoda's book, Legendary Voices.[37] Born in Yassy, Rumania, Nisan or Nisi Blumenthal received his first cantorial appointment in Berditchev in the Ukraine at the age of twenty-one. Said to possess a pleasing, lyrical voice, he eventually moved to Odessa where, as stated earlier, he was appointed to the Brody Synagogue in 1841. Vigoda likens him to Sulzer, saying that both desired to render the liturgy in a contemporary and musically affective manner, the difference between them being that Blumenthal adhered more to tradition than his Austrian counterpart. He composed a goodly number of works in which he attempted to combine ". . .cold Western logic and erudite, astute musicianship with the Eastern sentimentalism. . . into a most suitable synthesis."[38] Blumenthal is said to have been the first to introduce full choral settings of the liturgy into Russian synagogues. In

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36 Abraham Z. Idelsohn, Jewish Music: Its Historical Development, (Dover Publications, Inc., 1992), 307.

37 Vigoda, Ibid., 81-3

38 Ibid.

so doing, he established the Brody Shul's reputation as a model for Russian synagogue choirs, attracting gentile listeners as well as Odessa's most prominent Jewish citizens. Eventually, the congregation subtly but resolutely decided that, after fifty years of service, Blumenthal had given his best, and it was time for him to relinquish his post.[39] This he did, though begrudgingly, and after a series of auditions, selected Pinchas Minkowsky to succeed him.

Pinchas Minkowsky

Pinye or Pinchas Minkowsky was born in 1859 in Biala (Beloya) Tzerkov in the Ukraine near Kiev, the son of a chazzan.[40] As a child, he received a solid cheder education and excelled in the study of Talmud, so much so, that his father encouraged him to become a rabbi. By the age of sixteen, he was married and appointed to the Stempeny'er Synagogue. Soon after, he went to Kishinev to sing as a chorister under Nisi Belzer where he eventually replaced him as the chazzan of the Old Synagogue. It was here that he began his formal cantorial studies under the tutelage of Nisan Spivak, and eventually became the chief cantor at the *Chor-Shul* or choral synagogue in that city. He would later study harmony under his choir-master, David Nowakowsky, as well as counterpoint and composition from Robert Fuchs. In 1881, he traveled to Vienna to study under Sulzer, then

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[39] Steven Zipperstein, cited earlier, states that Blumenthal served until 1903, whereas Macy Nulman, in his Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music claims that Blumenthal retired in 1891.

[40] Vigoda, Ibid., 90.

returned to the Ukraine to posts in Kherson and Lemberg (now Lvov in the Ukraine).[41] From there, he proceeded to Odessa and was appointed cantor of the Great Synagogue of Yevreysky Street, only to move a year later, this time to Kahal Adas Yeshuron in New York. Afterward, he returned to Odessa to succeed Nisi Blumenthal as chief cantor of the Brody Synagogue where he would remain for at least thirty years.

Among other things, Minkowsky was known for the sonorous quality of his voice, though it was said to be somewhat lacking in power. He was also known for his straightforward interpretation of the liturgy as evidenced by his reported shunning of excessive coloratura, needless repetition of words, and falsetto.

Minkowsky gained recognition for his work off as well as on the bimah. According to Vigoda, he was appointed a chair as a full professor at the Odessa Conservatory, and also became the chairman of the HaZamir musical society. He was a prominent member of the group of intellectuals headed by his acquaintance Chaim Nachman Bialik, and eventually set the poet's piece *Shabbat Hamalkah* (Sabbath Queen), a tune frequently heard today at Friday Night services in many Reform synagogues. Though, many of his compositions still remain in manuscript form, he did publish a number of them, particularly in the anthology Ta'amei Zimrah. In addition, he published numerous scholarly articles in Yiddish, Hebrew, and German on the subject of Jewish music. Among them were *Die Entwicklung der*

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41 Ibid.

synagogalen Liturgie bis nach der Reformation des 19. Jahrhunderts (1902) and *Moderne Liturgie in undzere Sinagogn in Rusland* (2 vols., 1910)[42]

Despite his reputation as a singer with a pleasing voice, Minkowsky was opinionated and wont to engage in debates over a number of issues. One in particular was that of recording chazzanut, an issue over which he incessantly attacked Gershon Sirota and Zevulun Kwartin both in and out of print. He derided them for selling out to commercial interests, though it has been suggested that his fiery criticism was motivated more out of envy than righteous indignation.

In 1922, because of the political turmoil in the Russian Empire, he left Odessa for America one more time.[43] After a disappointing reception, he survived for two more years with little or no major recognition. In 1924, the Jewish Ministers and Cantors Association of America and Canada planned a major affair at Madison Square Garden where he was requested to perform, and where he would receive a special award.[44] As fate would have it, a short time before the planned celebration, he fell down a staircase and broke his leg. Soon after, blood poisoning set in and, in January of 1924, he died.[45]

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42 Macy Nulman, Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music (McGraw Hill Book Co., 1975), 174.

43 Vigoda, Ibid., 93.

44 Ibid., 94.

45 Ibid.

David Nowakowsky

David Nowakowsky was born in Malin, a town near Kiev, and lived from 1848 to 1921.[46] In his notes to the 1955 Out-of-Print Classics edition of Nowakowsky's collection entitled, *Gebete und Gesange*, Abraham Binder states that the composer/choirmaster left home "due to an unbearable stepmother."[47] He ended up at Berditchev, also in the Ukraine, where he enrolled in the city's chor-shul. While there, he supposedly studied theory and counterpoint, though, in reality, he probably learned most of it on his own. In any case, he acquired enough of the appropriate skills to be appointed choirmaster of the Brody Shul in Odessa at age twenty-one. He served there for fifty years, first under Nisan Blumenthal then under Pinchas Minkowsky, with whom he would eventually form a long-lasting partnership.

Initially Nowakowsky and Blumenthal had a number of fundamental differences. Blumenthal believed that it was possible to employ music from oratorios and operas in setting Hebrew texts so as to elevate them to a higher, more inspiring level. At one point, he set Psalm 113 to the music of the Hallelujah chorus from Handel's *Messiah*.[48] This grated on Nowakowsky to the point where he felt compelled to protest. Although he appreciated such classics of the Western common repertoire, he believed that they had no place

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46 Macy Nulman, Ibid.

47 A.W. Binder, Gebete und Gesange (for Shabbat), D.Nowakowsky (Sacred Music Press, Out-of-Print Classics Series #22, 1955), preface.

48 Binder, Ibid.

in the synagogue. He thus set out to write his own works for this purpose. Ironically, much of his music is marked by the obvious influence of traditional European choral conventions as we shall see.

According to Binder, Minkowsky's mellifluous voice combined with his superior musicianship and knowledge of harmony and counterpoint, enabled him to realize the full potential beauty of Nowakowsky's compositions. Among other things, Nowakowsky displayed an awareness of the traditional interaction between chazzan and congregation as distinct yet related participants in worship. This is evident in the structure of many of his settings which contain alternating sections between cantor and choir. The above-mentioned elements combined to give Sabbath services at the Brody Shul its reputation for excellence, drawing high-ranking Russian personages to attend. Both Minkowsky and Nowakowsky inspired one another to the point where they each sought ever higher levels in their respective works. In this light, Binder points out that because of Minkowsky's highly developed technical sense, Nowakowsky felt compelled to create increasingly complex arrangements. Consequently he began writing contrapuntal works for five to eight voices and for double choruses. He even composed an oratorio based on Ha-azinu from Deuteronomy, in which Moses offers his song of farewell to the Israelites.[49] Minkowsky, in turn, was inspired to compose numerous works himself, and sought out his choirmaster's assistance in these endeavors.

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[49] Ibid.

Nowakowsky is noted for his choral arrangements under the apparent influence of the western European choral tradition which was becoming popular in Russian and Polish synagogues during the late 19th century. He represents the trend among numerous East European cantor/composers toward incorporating modern vocal styles and arrangements of the time with the traditional modes of the synagogue. As Binder states: "The thing uppermost in his mind was how to utilize the traditional prayer-motifs in his works, and how to express the Jewish soul through his music. Many have sought it, but Nowakowsky was one of the counted few to succeed in finding it."[50] Binder claims that Nowakowsky was one of the first to create fugal themes based on Nusach. As an example, he cites the "V'shamru" in C minor from *Shire David* (to be analyzed later).[51] In contrast, Binder cites the influence of opera as well as the the harmonic conventions of Russian music at that time in Nowakowsky's cantorial recitatives as evidenced in the closing section of "Tov l'hodos" also from *Shire David*.[52] Here, the composer creates a "majestic feeling coupled with superb musicianship and a deep Jewish consciousness."[53] Binder also praises Nowakowsky's ability to develop thematic material in addition to his adept contrapuntal renderings of musical material. My own analysis

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50 Idem, "The Works of David Nowakowsky Establish Him as the Greatest Composer of Synagogue Music," The Jewish Tribune vol.93 (Dec. 7, 1928); 36.

51 Ibid.

52 Ibid.

53 Ibid.

corroborates this. Despite his superlative praise of Nowakowsky, Binder criticizes him for occasionally failing to bring a true sense of Jewish feeling to his harmonies.

Many of Nowakowsky's works remain in manuscript form. Among those that are published are the aforementioned *Gebete und Gesange zum Eingang des Sabbath* (1900),[54] *Shire David-Kabbalat Shabbat*, and *Shire David-Tefilot Neilah* (1895).[55]

The Tenure of Pinchas Minkowsky and David Nowakowsky at the Brody Synagogue

Under the tenure of Minkowsky and his choirmaster, Nowakowsky, a number of significant innovations to worship in Russian and Ukrainian synagogues took place. Chief among them was the introduction of the organ, mentioned earlier. According to Samuel Vigoda, this was originally Nowakowsky's idea. At first, Minkowsky was reluctant to acquiesce, not so much on religious or aesthetic grounds, but more out of practical deference to the more traditional members of the congregation. However, Nowakowsky soon had his way after composing a special setting of Unetaneh Tokef for mixed choir accompanied by organ.[56] Minkowsky was suitably impressed and finally capitulated to his choirmaster, very likely after Nowakowsky convinced him that the organ would indeed complement his style. Nowakowsky then proceeded to sell his idea to the congregation's board of directors, and was eventually able to obtain a quality organ. Not all members

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54 Irene Heskes, Ibid., 50.
55 Macy Nulman, Ibid., 189.
56 Vigoda, Ibid., 91.

were favorably impressed, and some left the congregation in protest. In any case, history was made, as, according to Vigoda, this was the first organ to be installed in a Russian synagogue.[57]

A debate ensued during which a group of rabbis sought to have the instrument removed, referring to it as a " 'Treyf posul.' "[58] Yet Minkowsky's solid Talmudic education served him well, for he was able to offer Halachic evidence to justify the use of the organ at services.[59] Nonetheless, the rabbis and other critics remained unconvinced, likening the synagogue to a church and avoiding it at all costs.

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[57] Ibid, 92.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.

V. THE MUSIC: ANALYSIS

I have selected three pieces as examples of Nowakowsky's compositional style and technique. They are *Ana Tavo/Ashamnu*, from his Atonement Oratorio, edited by Cantor David Lefkowitz; *V'shamru* from the volume of Shabbat music in the collection, Shire David: Gebete und Gesange from the Out of Print Classics series published by the Sacred Music Press; and *Adonai Z'charanu* as it appears in Volume III of Gershon Ephros' Cantorial Anthology of Traditional and Modern Synagogue Music for the Three Festivals. In discussing these pieces, the central thesis of the paper will become apparent, namely the importance of Nowakowsky's music as signifying the goals and ideals of the Haskalah. The following analysis contains examples of conventions and techniques employed by Nowakowsky which were developed by composers of the common repertoire in Europe. I based the bulk of my analysis on the pieces' thematic and harmonic content, particularly in the context of the dominant-tonic relationship as the central defining feature of Western music's harmonic structure. I thus refer frequently to the authentic cadence (V-I) in examining the harmonic makeup of these pieces, because that is how tonality is traditionally established in Western music. I have also called attention to the use of the synagogue modes in numerous key places in the music. The way in which Nowakowsky presented them is crucial in giving each work its special character. I have attempted, though not in as great detail, to address other important elements of choral composition such as voice leading, vocal line, and

word stress. I hope the following analysis demonstrates how Nowakowsky successfully fused traditional European choral and harmonic principles with those of traditional synagogue music.

Anah Tavo (See Appendix A)

The first of the pieces to be analyzed is Nowakowsky's setting of *Ana Tavo/Ashamnu* from the High Holiday liturgy in parts VII and VIII of his Atonement Oratorio. It is scored for four-part choir and cantor, accompanied by organ. Nowakowsky most probably wrote for all male ensembles. Thus the soprano and alto lines would have been sung by boys. The version which I analyzed was thoroughly edited and rescored by Cantor David Lefkowitz.

The key of the piece is c minor although the B natural early on in the first measure and the absence of an authentic cadence (V-I) until measure 5 suggests the Ahavah Rabah Mode on G. In the same measure, the choir enters, and introduces the main theme of the entire work. The bass line of the accompaniment in the first measure contains the G-C-G motive from which the theme soon evolves. The chorus sings in unison until measure 13 where they split for the first time, introducing a second, smaller theme. Here, on the words, "v'al titalam," the choir changes from singing a unison, straight melody to full chords, creating a distinctive contrast in texture. There are abundant accidentals throughout the piece, showing a good deal of chromaticism, particularly in places like measure 17-18 in the bass voice and the accompaniment. This also results in an abundance of

passing and non-harmonic tones in both the solo line and the chorus.

In Cantor Lefkowitz's edition, there are a number of important changes in meter. One occurs at measure 27 on the entrance of the cantor, changing from 4/4 to 3/4; then again at measure 51 where the sopranos and altos sing the first main theme in 4/4 on the top line, a solo quartet sings in 3/4, and the accompaniment plays in 6/4. In the quartet, the soprano voice picks up the cantor's melody. The overlapping of the three different parts in different meters creates a powerful drive and forward motion which endures through the rest of the piece.

The *Ashamnu* section begins in the traditional responsive style with the cantor leading each statement of the Vidui and the choir repeating the words. It is interesting that in the response, however, the cantor's line is not reiterated verbatim in any of the other voices, only the rhythms. Here an antecedent/consequent relationship is created where the cantor initially states the prayer text, and the choir answers him, forming a couplet on each piece of text. The theme heard at the beginning of *Ana Tavo* serves as an ostinato line in the bass and pedal sections of the accompaniment, and then is picked up by the choir in measure 101 in what I term a *choral ostinato* under the cantor's sustained G on "ti-ta-nu." The ostinato continues until measure 109 where the rhythm changes from the steady drive of the quarter notes to half notes in the upper three voices. The soprano voice contains the second mini-theme introduced

back in measure 13. In measures 109-114, the successive entrances of the different voices together create an interesting polyphonic effect somewhat akin to *hocketing* in choral music of Western Europe during the late Medieval/Renaissance period. The piece winds down to a grand finish in the last three measures on "ta-nu" of "titanu," ending with a strong V^7-I cadence.

V'shamru (See Appendix B.)

As mentioned earlier, Abraham Binder alludes to this piece as an example of fugal composition based on nusach. In the piece, Nowakowsky captures the feeling of nusach, yet renders it in a manner which bespeaks an unmistakable sense of traditional European chorale style.

This setting of V'shamru, one of four in the collection is scored for Soprano, Tenor, and Bass, each divided into two parts. It contains two sections, the first in a straightforward chorale style, then the second in which the fugue is introduced. In the first section, the sopranos open with the first theme at the end of which the other voices resolve to a dominant. The opening measures indicate a good deal of tonal activity to come, specifically as seen in the Second Tenor voice where a sharp third appears, creating a genuine dominant chord in the third measure. Here we see Nowakowsky's understanding of functional harmony with his initial statement of the key, C minor, moving to a strong dominant chord on G. No sooner is this chord stated than when, on the fourth beat, the B natural shifts back to B flat

for a chord built on E flat. At this point, the soprano restates the theme in E flat major, the relative major key. Throughout the the first section, the theme is developed, and restated in various ways. From the pick-up to measure 16 through the end of the section at measure 21, the theme is elongated, beginning in the soprano voices, then carried further in the lower voices. In these measures, the basic contour of the theme is retained and rendered quite effectively until it resolves again on a dominant chord, preparing the listener for more to come.

In the second section, the bass introduces the new theme with a change in meter from 4/4 to 12/8. The three-note motive contained in this theme unifies the entire section as it will be repeated, inverted, and restated in various forms in all of the voices throughout the rest of the piece. Interestingly, Nowakowsky has set the words "she-shet" on two dotted quarter notes with a combined value of six beats, perhaps a subtle example of word-painting. In measure 26, the tenor states the theme with an accidental of A natural. The bass also contains two important accidentals, D flat and E natural which, in the key of C, strongly suggests the Ahavah Rabah mode. This is also evidenced by how the bass progresses up the scale through measure 27. The piece will remain in the Ahavah Rabah built on C to the end. In measure 43, the meter changes from 12/8 to 4/4 on the words, "U vayom hash'vi'i," introducing the stirring closing section with the idea of the Seventh Day as its central theme. A new subject is developed from earlier material and stated in the soprano

and tenor voices. Then, as if there is not already enough activity in this section, Nowakowsky implies a modulation to the Ahavah Rabah on F in measures 45-46. Yet in measure 51, there is a resolution to f minor. In any case, this appears to establish F as a new tonal center until the last measure, which ends on a C major chord. In this closing section, the composer has created a beautiful ambiguity between the tonalities of f minor and C major. In terms of functional harmony, f minor would appear to be the tonic with a resolution to the dominant. In modal terms however, this fits in perfectly with the motivic progression of the Ahavah Rabah. In measures 52-53, the chord built on B flat resolves to a chord built on C, offering a fine example of VII-I final cadence, typical of the Ahavah Rabah mode. In these last few measures, the voice leading is reminiscent of choral works from the early Baroque or Renaissance periods. One can almost hear the dramatic final cadence of a Palestrina or Gabrielli motet. The difference lies in that, instead of resolving to f minor, it resolves to C, but not C Major, rather, C Ahavah Rabah.

Adonoi Z'choronu (See Appendix C.)

This is probably Nowakowsky's best-known composition. Like the *V'shamru* analyzed above, it contains two main sections, one a straight chorale rendering and the next, a fugue. According to Cantor David Lefkowitz, the octave interval between the soprano and alto voices in the choral entrance were later added to the score.

The piece opens with a majestic introduction by the organ. Throughout the piece, I was reminded of passages from Grand Opera, particularly in the solo line. The descending line of the cantor's voice in measure 10, as in numerous other places, sounded as if it could have come directly from Verdi's Requiem, creating a regal, awe-inspiring affect.

Though the key is primarily in f minor, the composer immediately suggests the Ahavah Rabah on C what with the accidental on E and the resultant augmented step between D flat and E natural. This effect is heard later on in the piece, especially in the fugue section. The overall harmony shifts around between several tonal centers, creating an exciting sense of harmonic instability. Beginning on the dominant, there is no real resolution to the tonic until measure 6. It is difficult to view this as an authentic V-I cadence since there is no real chord, but rather an arpeggiated version of an f minor triad. Measure 8 contains the first full chord on A flat Major with the entrance of the solo voice. At times, some of the key changes occur rather abruptly without any real preparation such as in measure 8 on the entrance of the cantor's voice in A flat major, then several measures later with the immediate return to F minor, and further on in measure 42 with an instant modulation to D flat major. On the one hand, the piece's beginning creates a stirring affect with the fortissimo choral opening moving quickly to the more melodious entrance of the cantor. Perhaps the affect would have even been greater still if the opening section were a bit longer, thus establishing f minor

as more of a tonal center. This would prepare the listener more for a modulation to the relative major, A flat. Then again, perhaps this was the intended affect, to create a sense of harmonic instability at the outset. In one sense, such ambiguity implies the tension between the accepted conventions of European choral compositions and those of traditional cantorial recitatives which often display a less set, stable sense of tonality.

Nowakowsky demonstrates a thorough understanding of Western choral techniques of composition as seen in the voice-leading, counterpoint, and use of non-harmonic tones like suspensions and appogiaturas. An example of the composer's contrapuntal ability can be seen in measure 35 with the contrary motion between the bass and tenor, then later in measure 88 between the soprano and alto. In the cantor's part at measure 57, there is a striking appogiatura on the word "a-retz," which offers more than a hint of operatic influence. Nowakowsky was also experimenting with chromaticism such as that in the tenor voice in m.38 on the syllable, "noi," of "A-do-noi," and then on the G flat in the alto voice in m.29. Throughout the piece, in fact, there are numerous accidentals in all of the voices which imply a slew of different tonalities at work.

The piece is unified by a number of structural features. Most importantly, the simple motive of the dotted eighth note followed by a sixteenth stands out in the organ introduction in the first two measures, then again in m.7 in the choral entrance on the syllable, "z," of "z-cho-ro-nu." In this

place, there is a sixteenth note rest instead of a fully dotted eighth. But the effect is the same. This motive forms the nucleus of the opening theme of the ascending four notes heard in the choral entrance on "Adonoi z'choronu." The subsequent entrance of the fugue also contains the motive in the soprano voice in m.84 on ". . .n'-vo-rech yoh me-a-to," then in each of the successive entrances. Nowakowsky adroitly reiterates the initial theme of the organ introduction in m.18 between the soprano and altos, and in doing so, restates the suggestion of the Ahavah Rabah on C as mentioned earlier. In addition to the unifying features mentioned above, the first section contains a repetition of the theme stated in the choral entrance, first in m.6, again in m.12, then in the cantor's voice in m.14, and yet again in the chorus in m.62. In m.74, the basses sing an inversion of the theme on, "Lo hamesim."

I call attention to the solo line in m.53-54 which contains the leap of a minor 7th from B flat to A flat. As I become more familiar with Nowakowsky's music, I find this to be a characteristic of his vocal lines. All of the solo pieces and passages I have encountered by Nowakowsky include jumps of large intervals in various places. Certainly this is the case in his setting of Psalm 20, *Ya'ancha,* as well as *Od Yizkor Lanu*. As a singer, I relish them. If implemented properly, such large intervalic leaps create a dramatic affect for both the singer and the listener. They also indicate the composer's understanding of the voice and his desire to render a text in a truly virtuosic manner.

As awe-inspiring and evocative as these pieces are, they are not without certain weaknesses. In Adonoi Z'choronu for example, the syllable stress appears to be awkward in places such as in the choral entrance with the accent on the "do" of A-*do*-noi, and in measures 18, m.34-36 with the stress on "vo" of y'-*vo*-rech, and then at the beginning of the fugue in m.83 in the soprano, to name a few. One could argue that this is a result of the Ashkenazic pronunciation in which the text is rendered. Even so, from a musical standpoint, Nowakowsky might have found another way to set the words in these places. In addition, some key changes occur a bit too abruptly and can even be jarring at times. In Western music, especially that of the 19th century, modulations generally take place after considerable dominant preparation. In places, Nowakowsky appeared to understand this concept, yet in others he did not. This raises the issue of how meticulously a composer should adhere to Western harmonic practices in synagogue music, particularly if it is to include material based on the synagogue modes. I believe that Nowakowsky generally combined both traditions very successfully, perhaps more so than any other synagogue composer of the 19th century. Perhaps his works suffer from a lack of thorough, formal grounding in compositional techniques of Western music. In the end however, his music contains more than enough spirit, passion, and magnitude to create a sense of awe and inspiration suitable to worship in a place such as the Brody Synagogue.

VI. CONCLUSION

David Nowakowsky appeared at a crucial time in the history of the Jewish people. It was a time during which a significant portion of them began to redefine their identity by questioning the old order while attempting to adhere to the timeless ideals that had defined them hitherto. They could not help but to be infected with the fever of rising nationalistic sentiments and Romantic inclinations that characterized the art and music of late 19th Century Europe. These factors combined to give impetus to the development of the Haskalah, compelling Jewish literary figures and composers of the time to express their own unique identity through their works.

As the Enlightenment spread eastward into Poland and Russia, it began inevitably to influence a new generation of aspiring writers and musicians in those lands. Because of its newness and diversity, Odessa provided a fertile ground in which the ideas of the Haskalah could take root. Through commerce and trade, the Jews in that city had always come into contact with Western European individuals and thus Western European concepts of culture and civilization. As more Jews flocked to Odessa from the Western nations, so they began to influence the Jewish community there, resulting in the creation of new educational institutions which combined modern, secular learning with traditional Jewish subjects. The same Jews also sought new places of worship, thus resulting in the establishment of the Brody Synagogue.

In the wake of 19th Century nationalistic movements throughout Europe, the maskilim attempted to define the Jewish people as a distinct ethnic group through art and literature. In the area of music this resulted in the creation of the St. Petersburg Society for Jewish Music, mentioned earlier. Jewish composers of this period, like their literary counterparts exalted Western European aesthetic ideals in their work. The Brody Synagogue provided a perfect setting for those who sought the union of Jewish tradition and Western European conventions in the music of worship. Through his compositions, David Nowakowsky became their spokesman.

In my analysis, I have attempted to demonstrate Nowakowsky's understanding of the traditional concepts of Western music. In particular, he showed a firm grasp of functional harmony, particularly the dominant-tonic relationship, which has come to define Western music's harmonic structure. He also experimented with minor and major modalities throughout his pieces, creating a captivating tension for the listener as well as the performer. Furthermore, Nowakowsky effectively employed the device of the fugue, one of the hallmarks of European, particularly German choral music. There are numerous places in the fugal sections of his works which are reminiscent of the works of prominent Baroque choral composers. Elsewhere, he emulated the operatic conventions of the time by creating dramatically contoured vocal lines with striking high points and impeccably conceived phrases.

In addition to his knowledge of Western musical conventions, Nowakowsky displayed an intimate familiarity with traditional Eastern European synagogue music in his constant use of the synagogue modes, particularly the Ahavah Rabah. He also succeeded in creating the traditional dynamic between solo cantor and chorus in all of his choral works which I have encountered. The cantorial recitatives in these pieces beautifully capture the nature of the text, and set the proper mood for both performer and worshiper. They also connote the spirit and passion which sh'lichei tzibbur have traditionally attempted to bring to their davening.

I believe that Nowakowsky combined the traditions of Western choral music with those of the synagogue more successfully than practically any composer I have yet encountered. Nowakowsky's synthesis of both traditions resulted in a body of awe-inspiring works which were perfectly suited to the needs of the congregation at the Brody Synagogue. Abraham Binder has expressed the same sentiments in even more extreme terms. As such, Nowakowsky's music serves as a moving musical representation of the Haskalah ideal of drawing on the unique heritage of the Jewish people while simultaneously culling from the artistic and intellectual legacy of their Gentile neighbors.

At their best, the works of David Nowakowsky represent heartfelt attempts to express the greatness and majesty of the Jewish religion in the context of contemporary existence. At their worst, they may overstate the composer's intentions in an occasionally unpolished, unrefined form which may or

not detract from the desired effect of the works. One's opinion of Nowakowsky's music does not alter the fact that he sought to raise the synagogue service to new heights, and in so doing, create an infinitely more spiritually captivating worship experience for everyone.

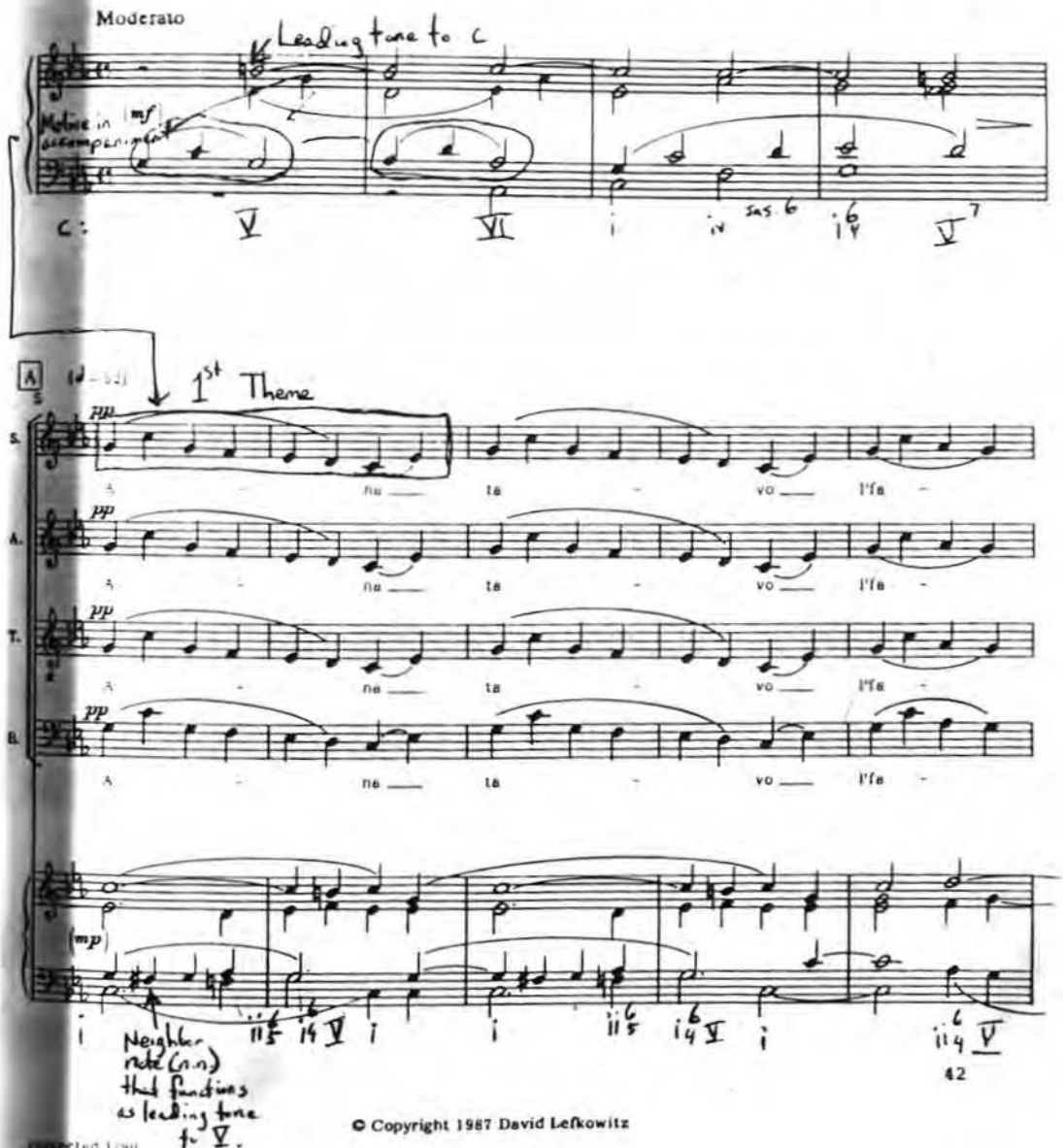
His music serves as a living expression of the intentions behind the Haskalah which I believe to be at the ideological core of Reform Judaism: we are enjoined to know and study the traditions and beliefs that have defined the Jewish people from its beginnings. At the same time, we are expected to sing a <u>new</u> song to God, always moving forward and upward toward the highest level of spiritual and intellectual enlightenment we can attain.

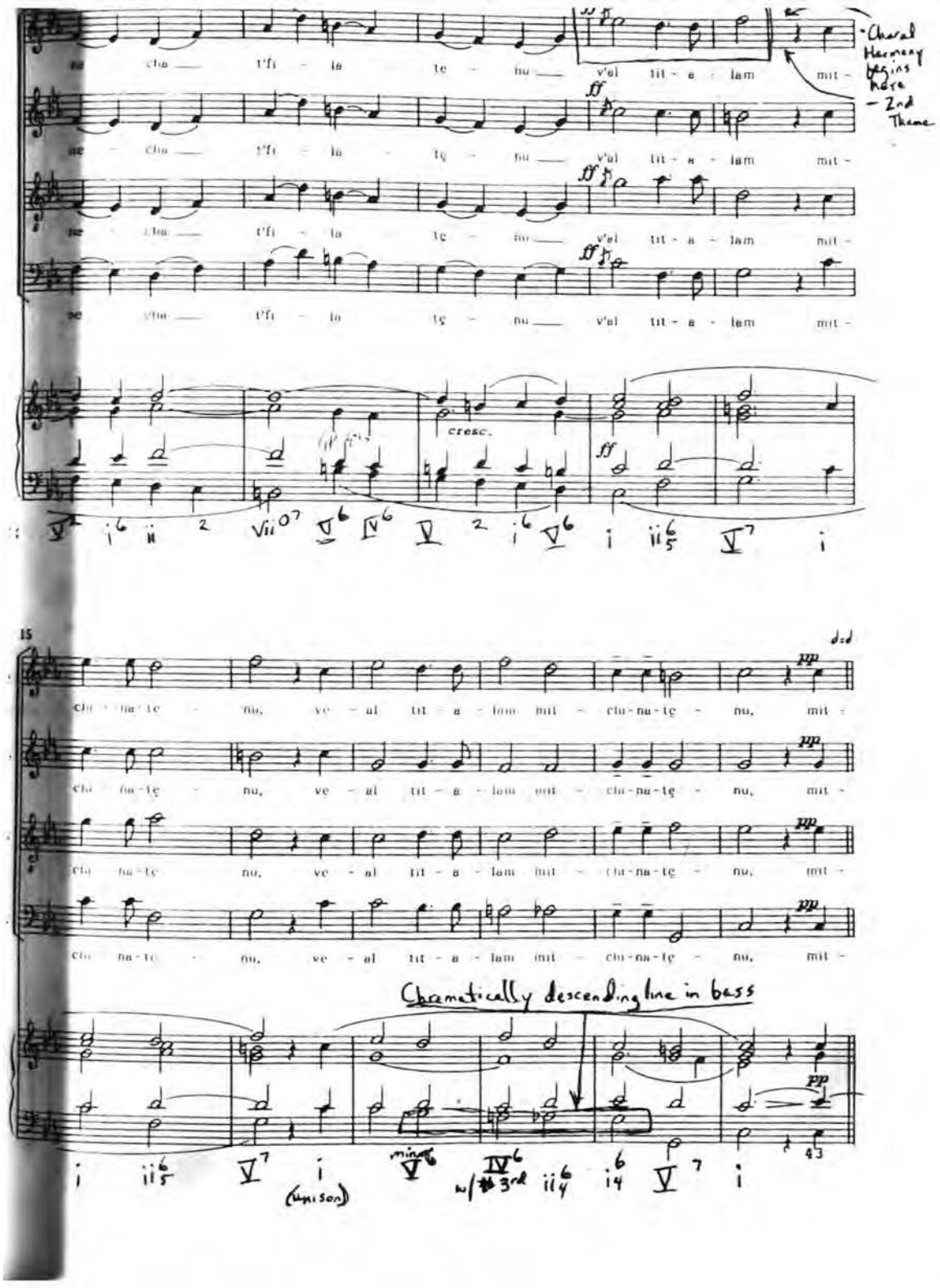
-APPENDIX A-

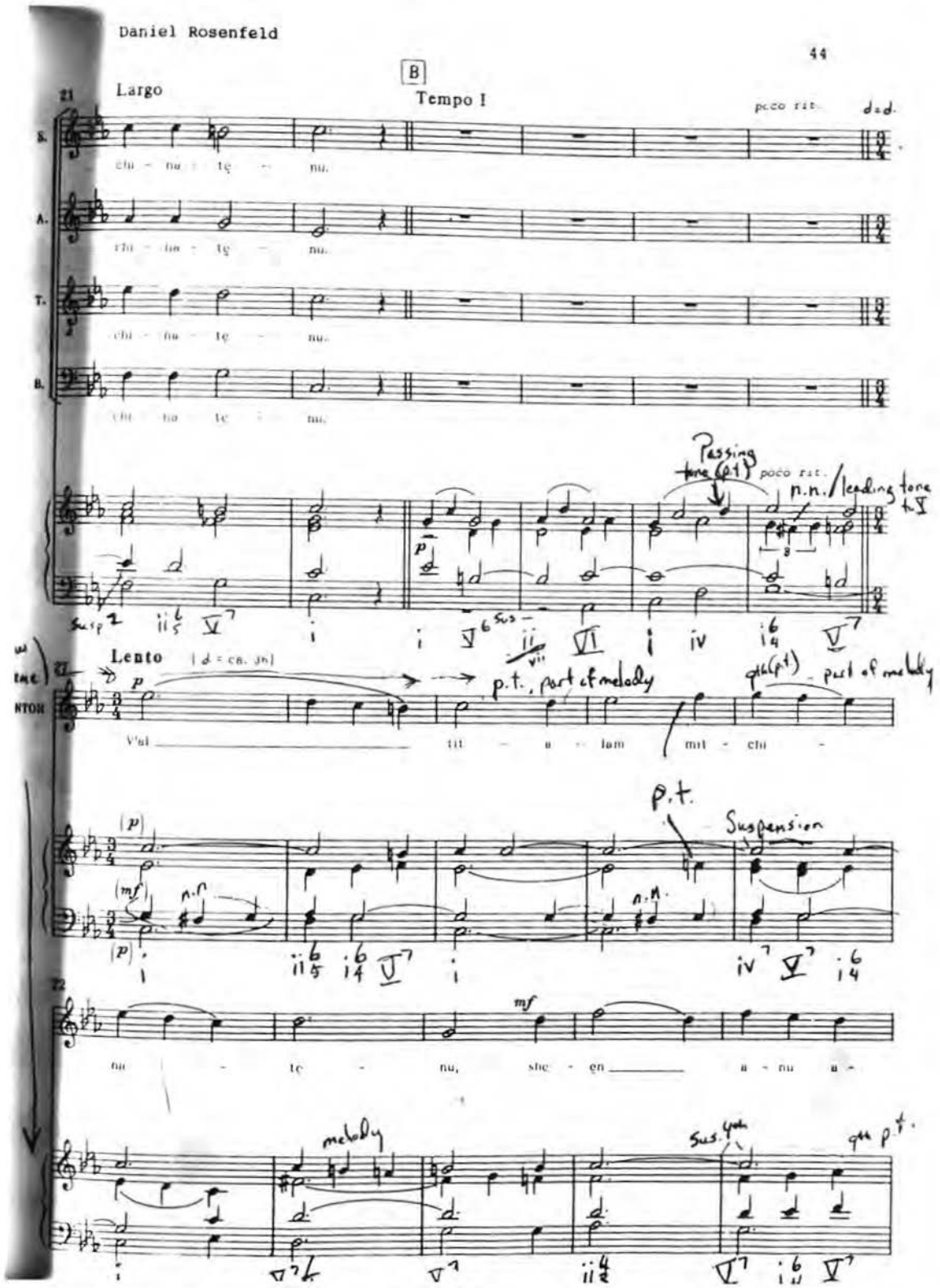
Anah Tavo

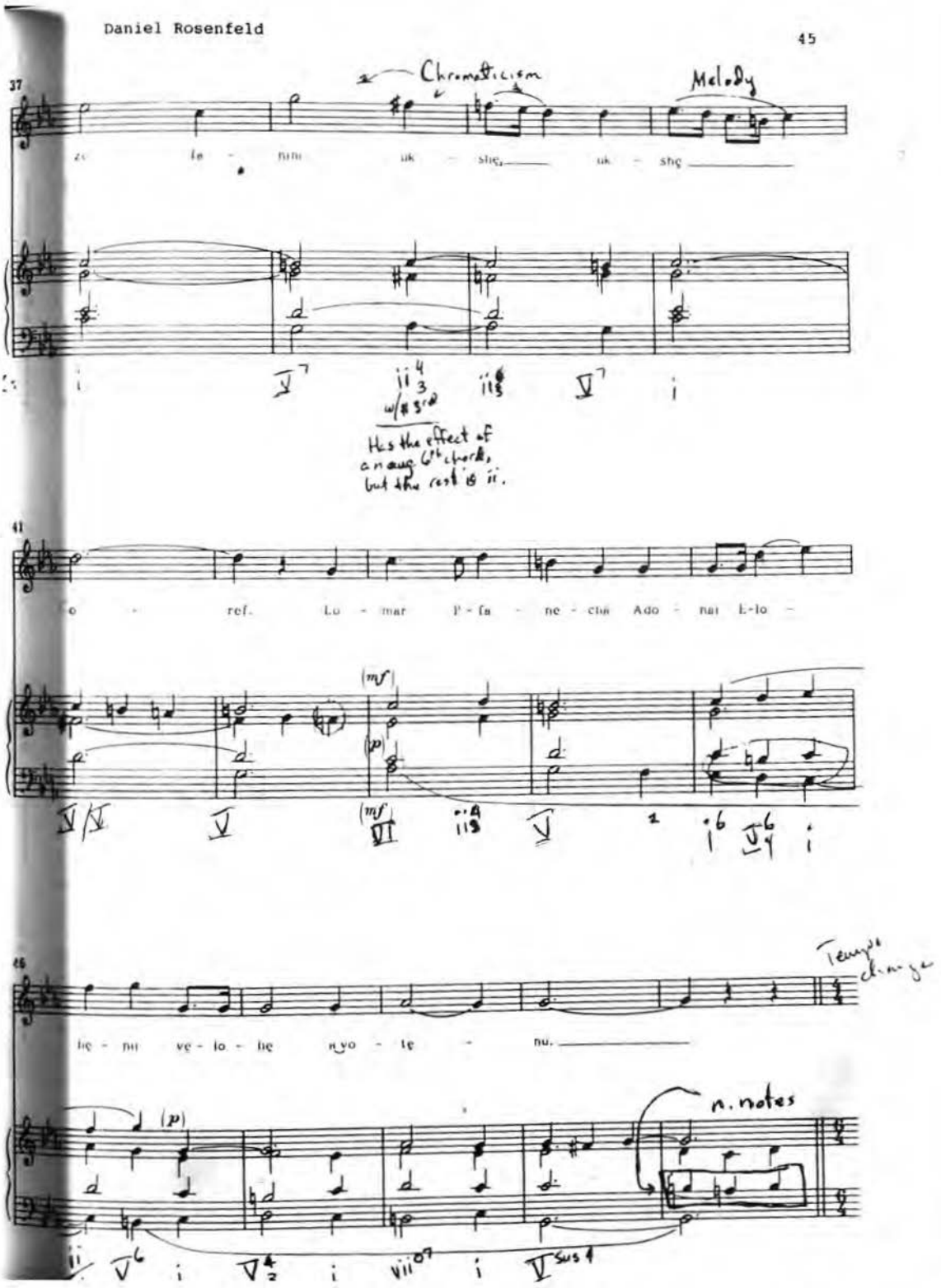
(Atonement Oratorio) Part VII.

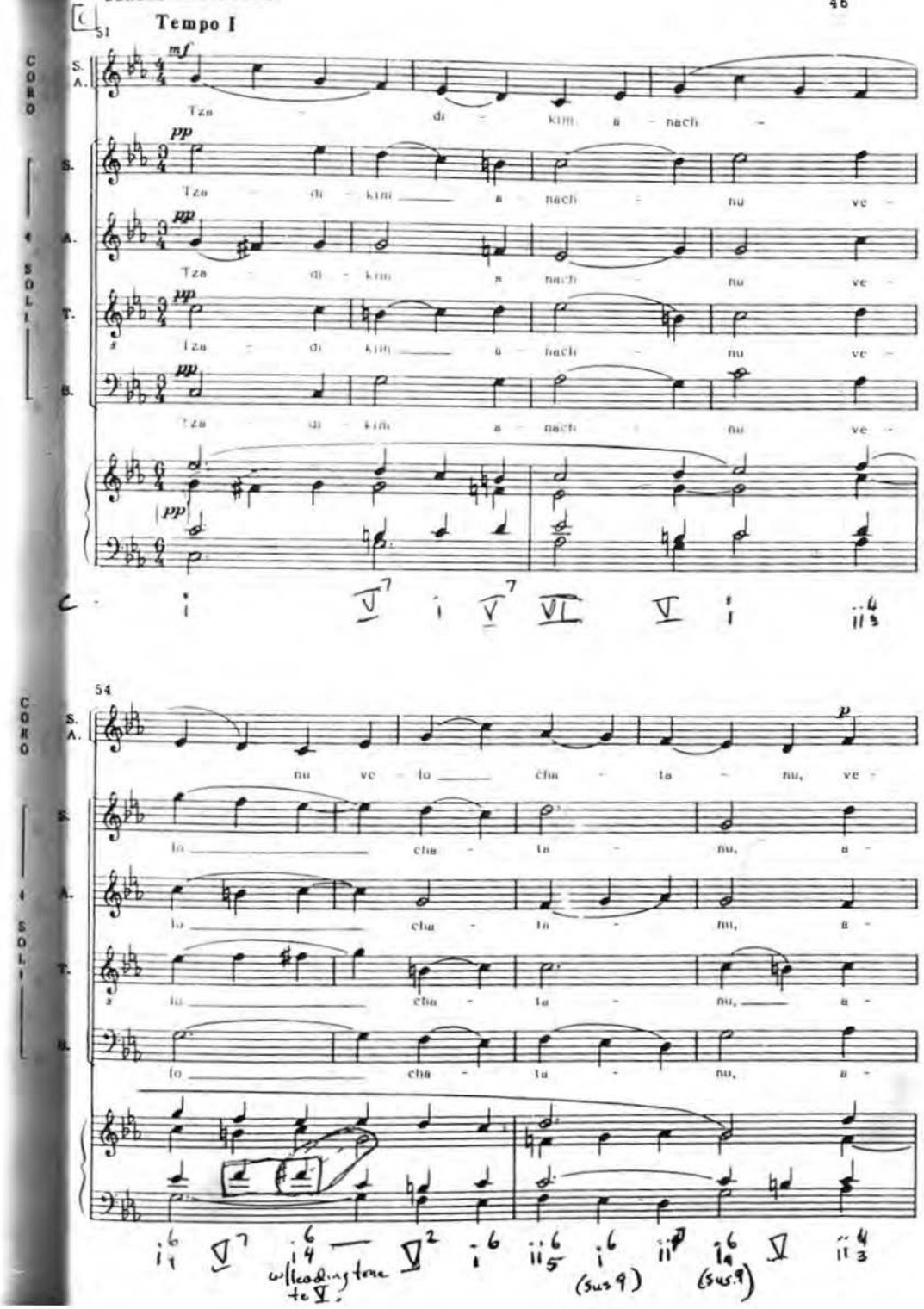
David Nowakowsky
ed. D. Lefkowitz

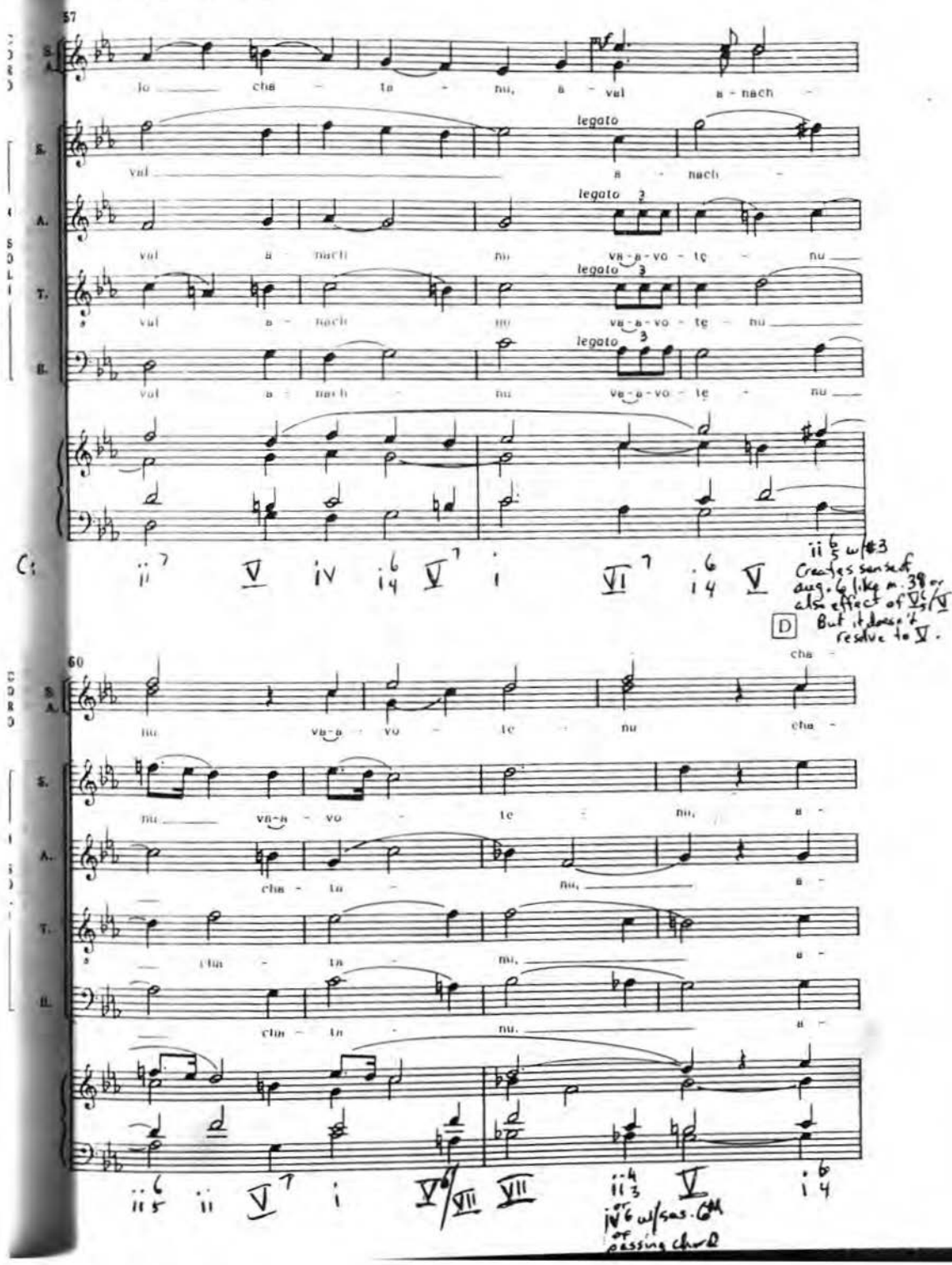


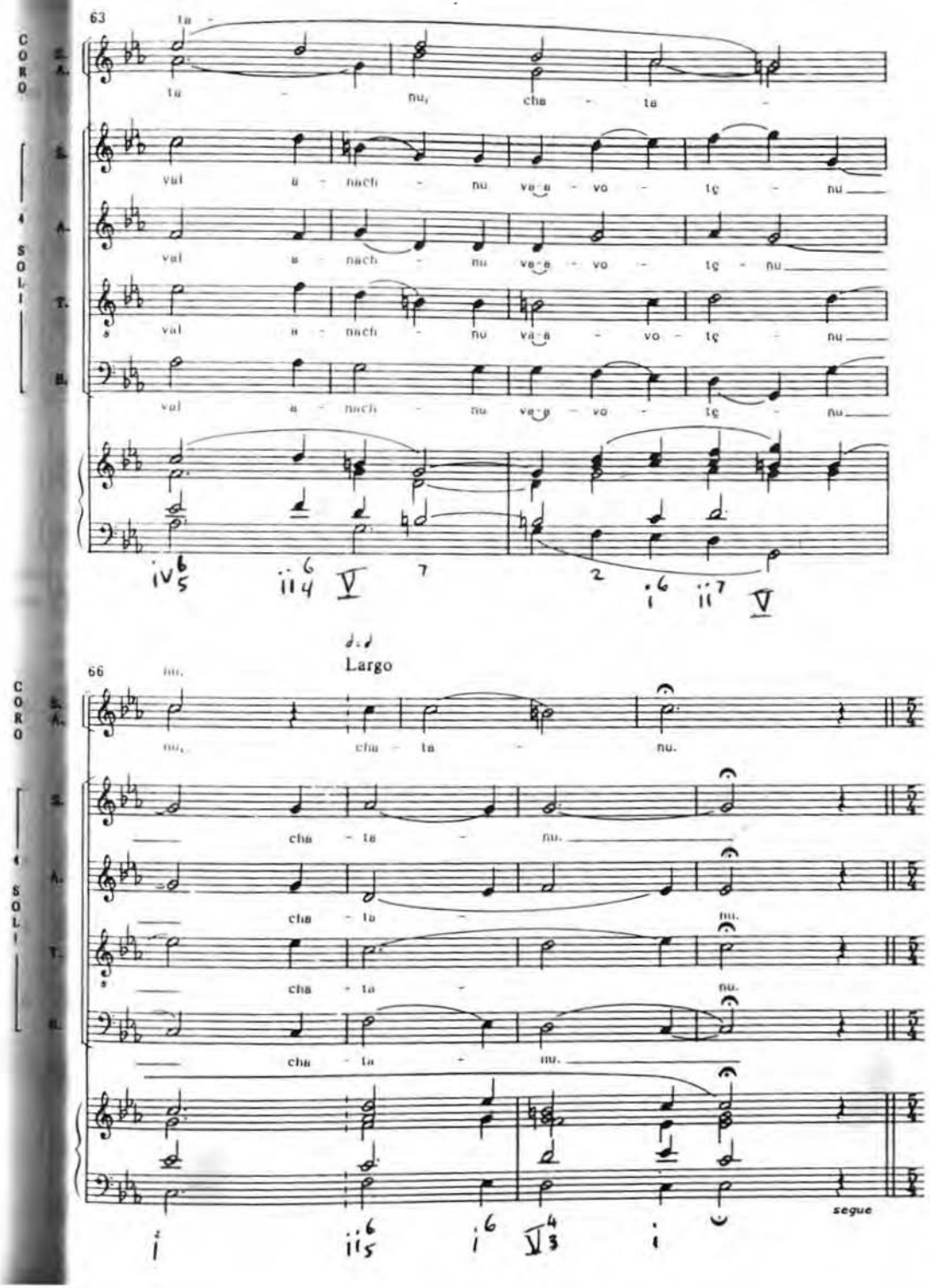

Choral Harmony begins here – 2nd Theme
Chromatically descending line in bass


B
Largo
Tempo I
poco rit.
S.
A.
T.
B.
chi - nu - te - nu.
Passing tone (p.t.)
n.n./leading tone to V
Lento
p.t., part of melody
Suspension
melody
Sus. 4th
p.t.


37
Chromaticism
Melody
ze le - mu uk - shç uk - shç
i V7 ii4 3 w/#5rd iiø V7 i
Has the effect of a reaug 6th chord, but the rest is ii.
41
lo - ref. Lo - mar P - fa - ne - chê Ado - nai E-lo -
(mf) (p) (mf)
V/V V II ø 7 V 2 i6 V6 4 i
46
Tempo change
lç - mi ve - lo - lç nyo - tç - nu.
n. notes
(p)
ii V6 i V4 2 i viiº7 i V sus 4

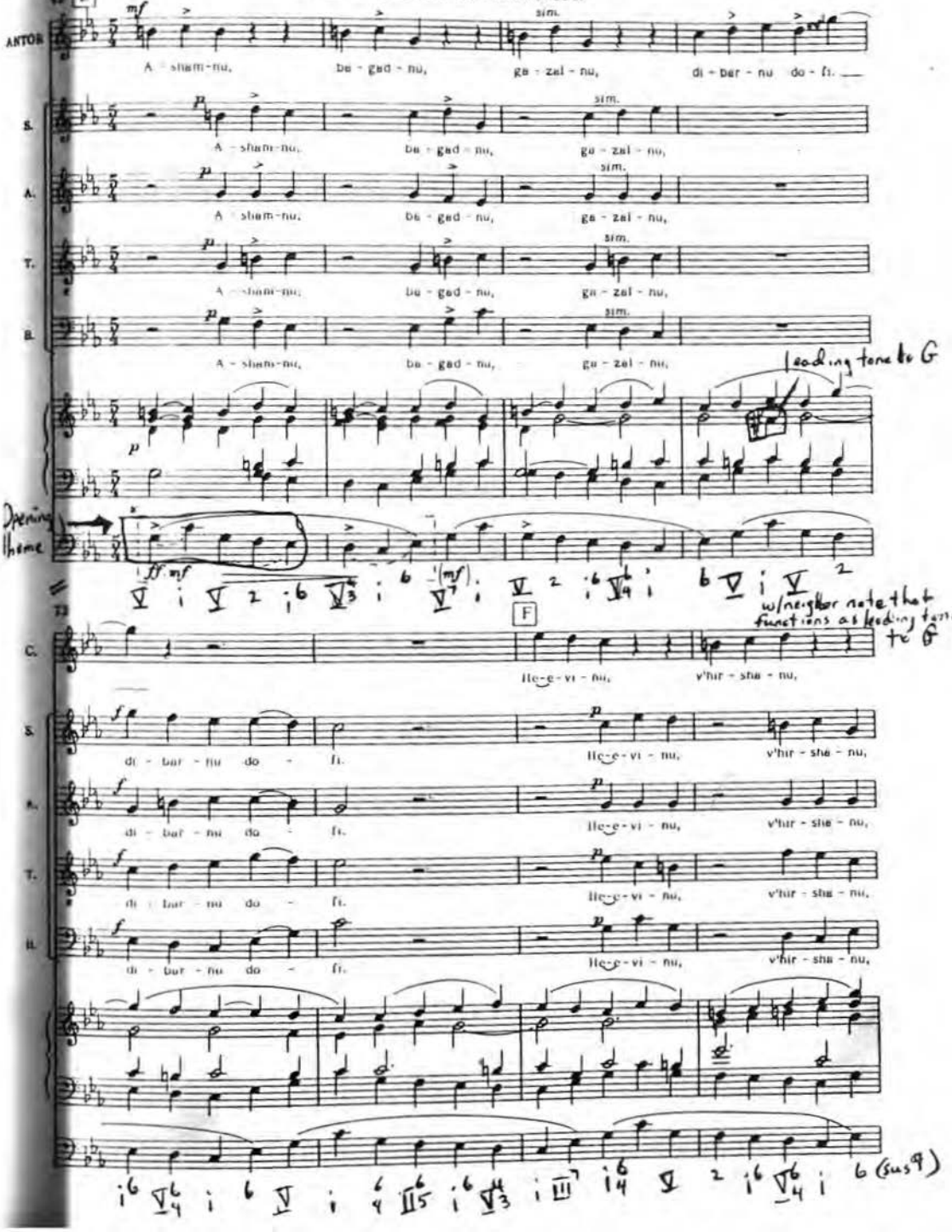

Tempo I
51
CORO
4 SOLI
S.
A.
T.
B.
mf
pp
Tza di kim a nach nu ve
54
p
nu ve lo cha ta nu, ve
lo cha ta nu, a
i V7 i V7 VI V i ii4 3
i6 V7 6 4 leading tone to V V2 i6 ii6 5 i6 (sus 9) ii 6 (sus 9) V ii4 3

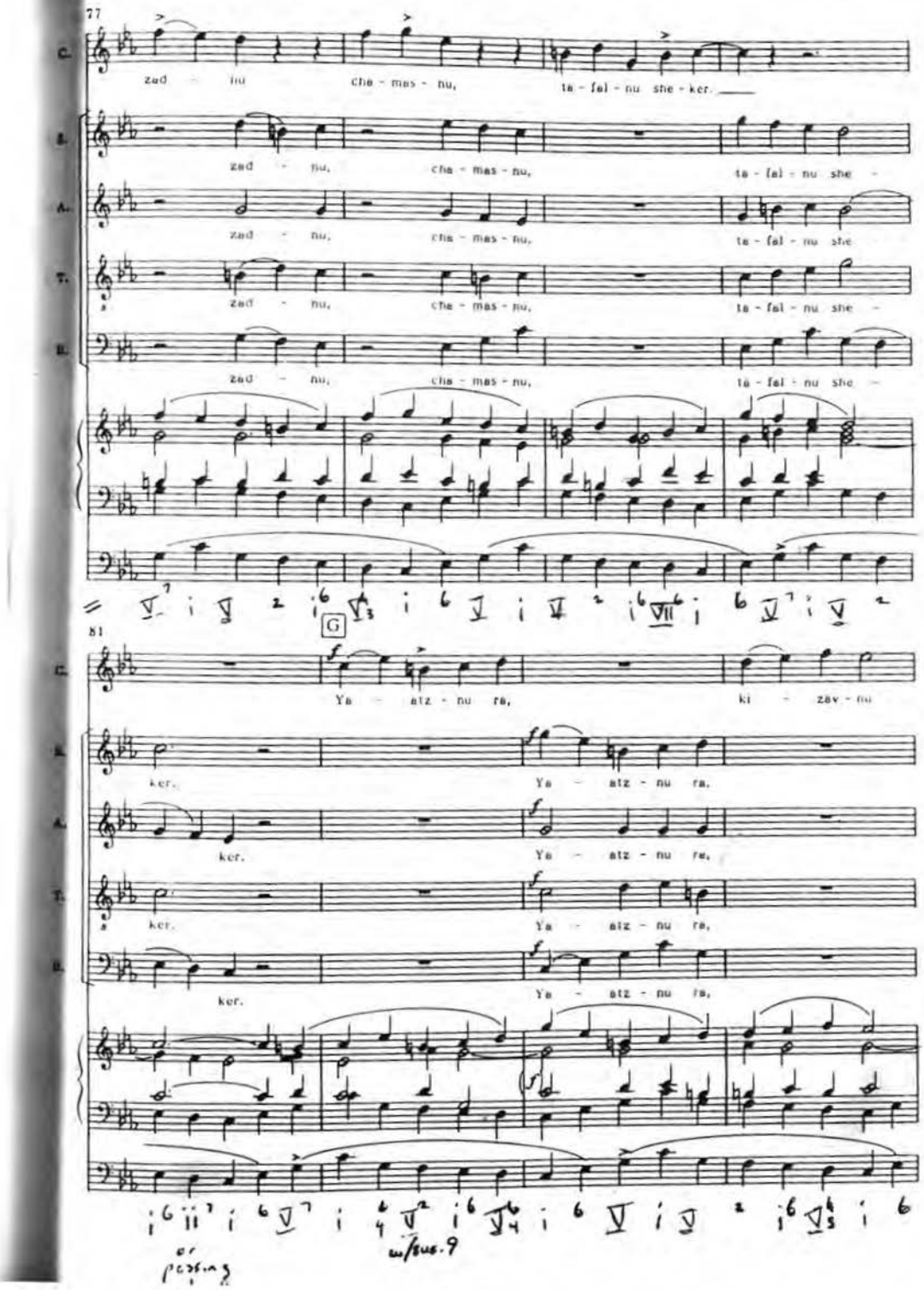

57
S.
A.
Jo cha - ta - nu, a - val a - nach -
S.
val a - nach
legato
A.
val a - nach nu va - a - vo - te - nu
legato
T.
val a - nach nu va - a - vo - te - nu
legato
B.
val a - nach nu va - a - vo - te - nu
C:
ii7 V iv i6/4 V7 I VI7 i6/4 V
ii6/5 w/#3
Creates sensed aug. 6 like m. 39 or else effect of V6/5/V. But it doesn't resolve to V.
D
60
S.
A.
nu va - a - vo - te - nu cha -
S.
nu va - a - vo - te - nu, a -
A.
cha - ta - nu, a -
T.
cha - ta - nu, a -
B.
cha - ta - nu. a -
ii6/5 ii V7 i V6/VII VII
ii4/3 V
iv6 w/sus. 6th of passing chord
i6/4

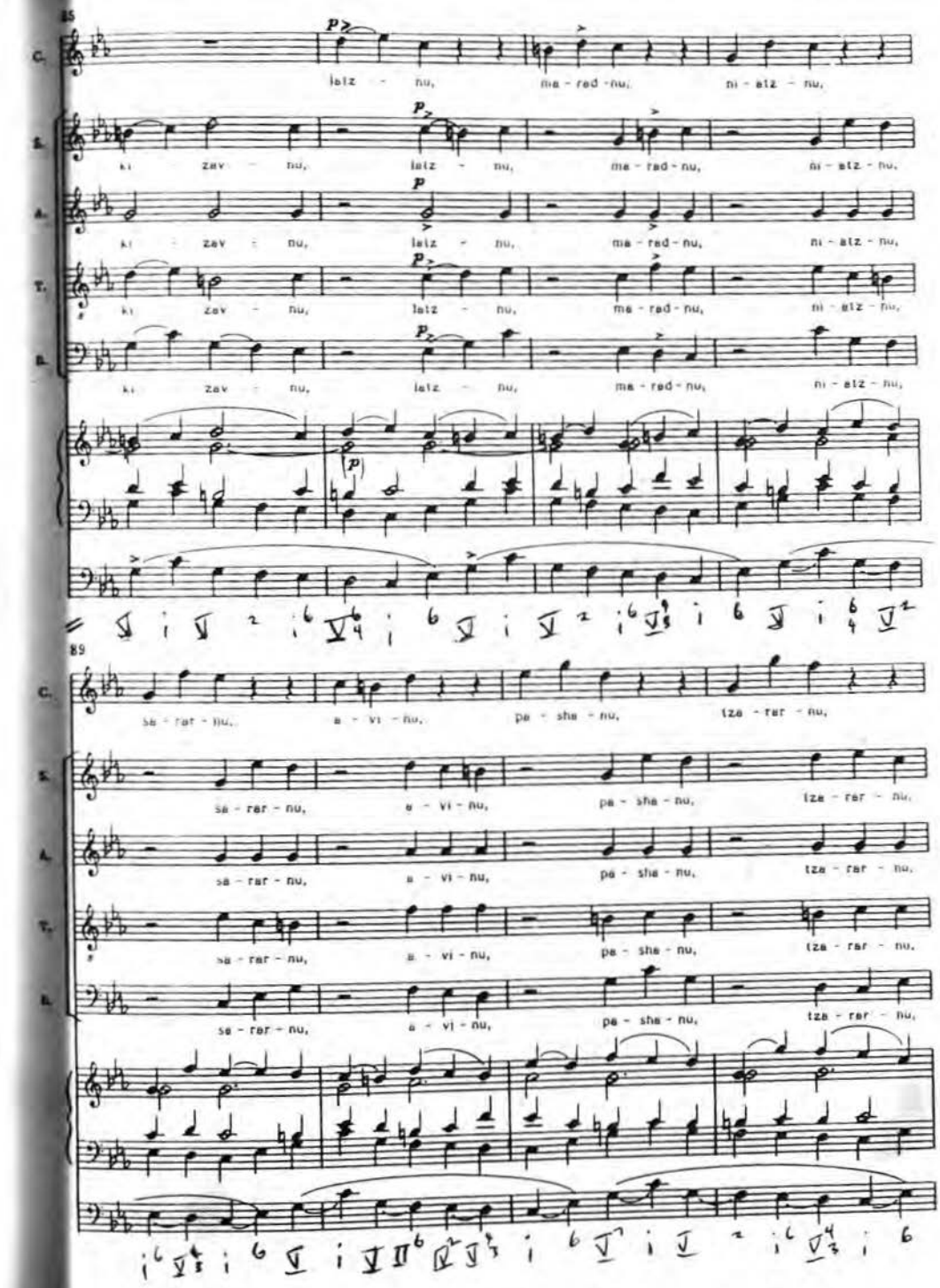

63
CORO
SOLI
S.
A.
T.
B.
ta
nu, cha ta
vai a nach nu va-a vo tç nu
iv6/5 ii6/4 V 7 2 i6 ii7 V
Largo
66
nu.
cha ta nu.
segue
i ii6/5 i6 V4/3 i

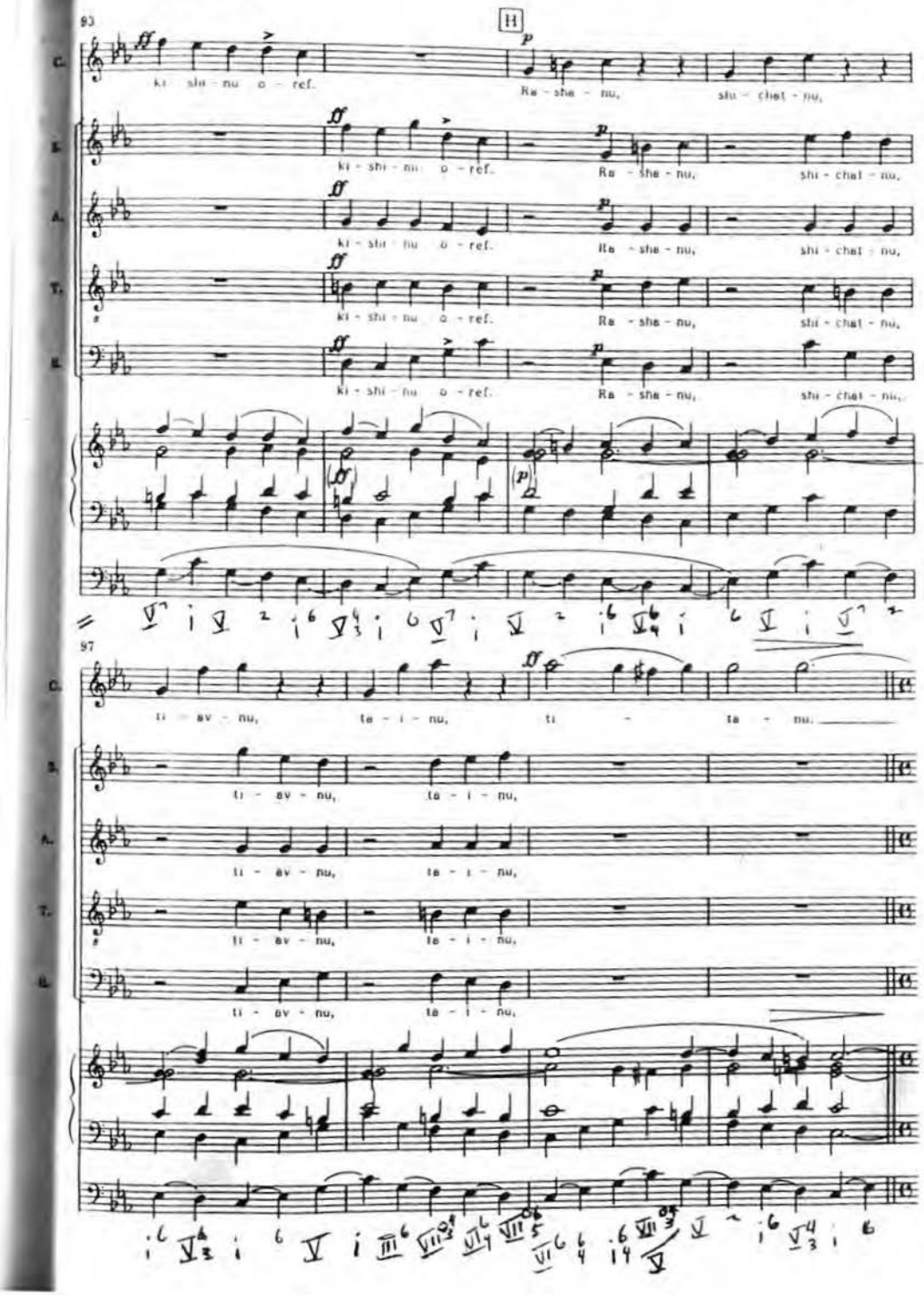
*Organ Pedal theme should be played twice as an introduction.

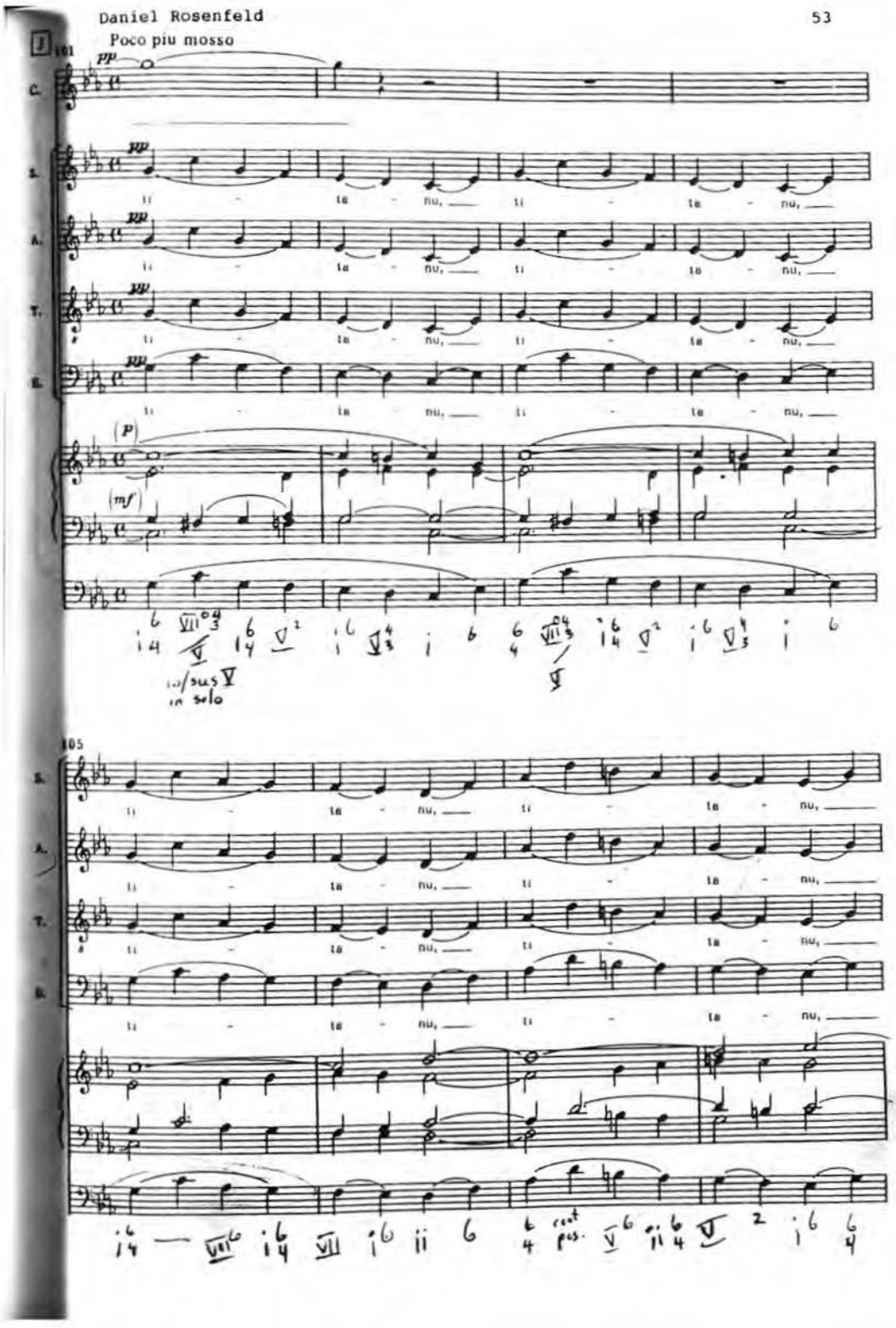
Part VIII. Ashamnu

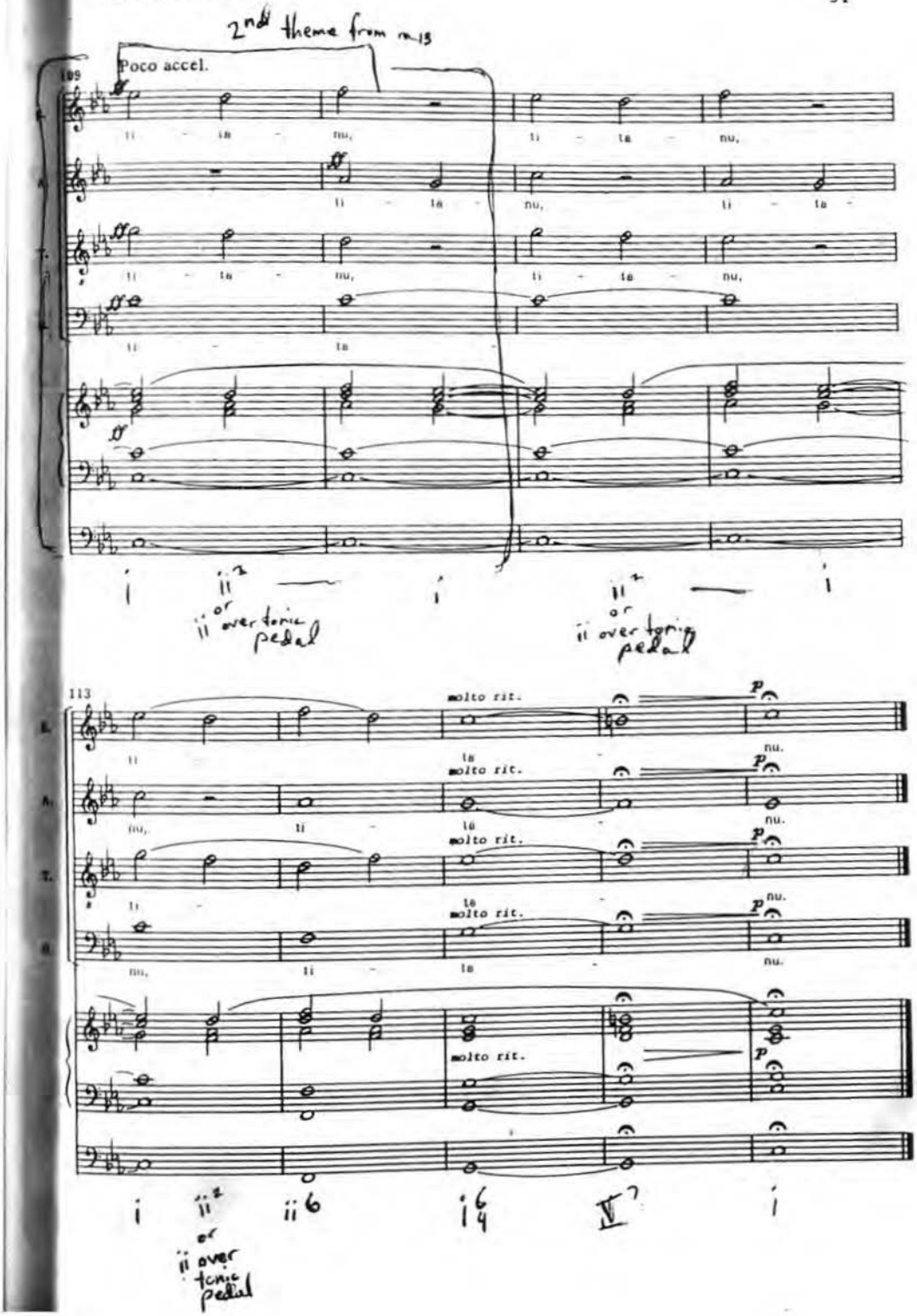


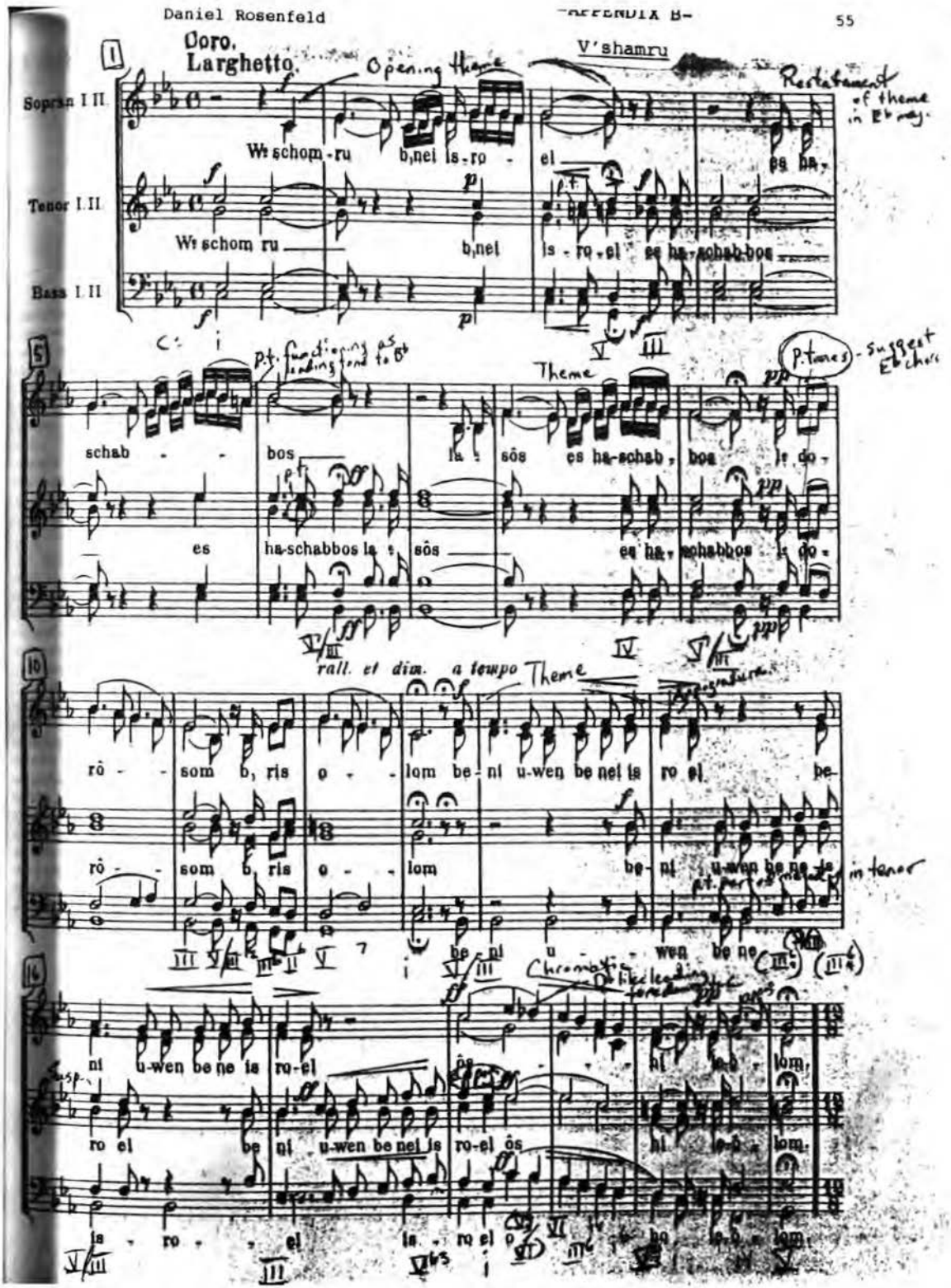

77
C.
zad - nu cha - mas - nu, ta - fal - nu she - ker.
S.
zad - nu, cha - mas - nu, ta - fal - nu she -
A.
zad - nu, cha - mas - nu, ta - fal - nu she
T.
zad - nu, cha - mas - nu, ta - fal - nu she -
B.
zad - nu, cha - mas - nu, ta - fal - nu she -
G
81
C.
Ya - atz - nu ra, ki - zav - nu
S.
ker. Ya - atz - nu ra,
A.
ker. Ya - atz - nu ra,
T.
ker. Ya - atz - nu ra,
B.
ker. Ya - atz - nu ra,
or
w/sus.9

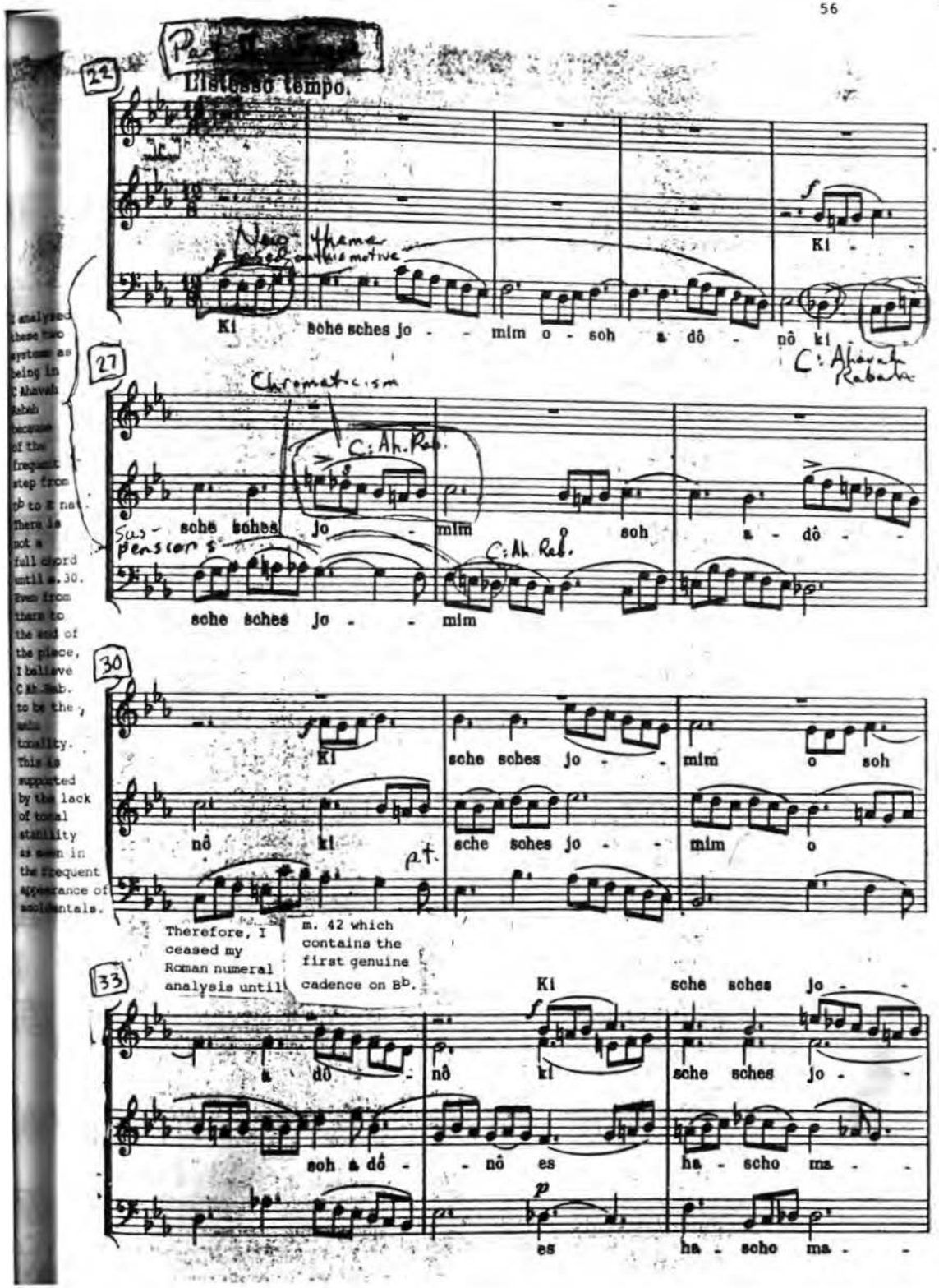

85
C.
S.
A.
T.
B.
laiz - nu,
ma - rad - nu,
ni - aiz - nu,
ki zav - nu,
laiz - nu,
ma - rad - nu,
ni - aiz - nu,
89
sa - rar - nu,
a - vi - nu,
pe - sha - nu,
tza - rar - nu,


93
H
ki - shi - nu o - ref.
Ra - she - nu,
shi - chat - nu,
97
ti - av - nu,
ta - i - nu,
ti - ta - nu.


J
Poco piu mosso
101
pp
ti - ta - nu, ti - ta - nu,
(p)
(mf)
105

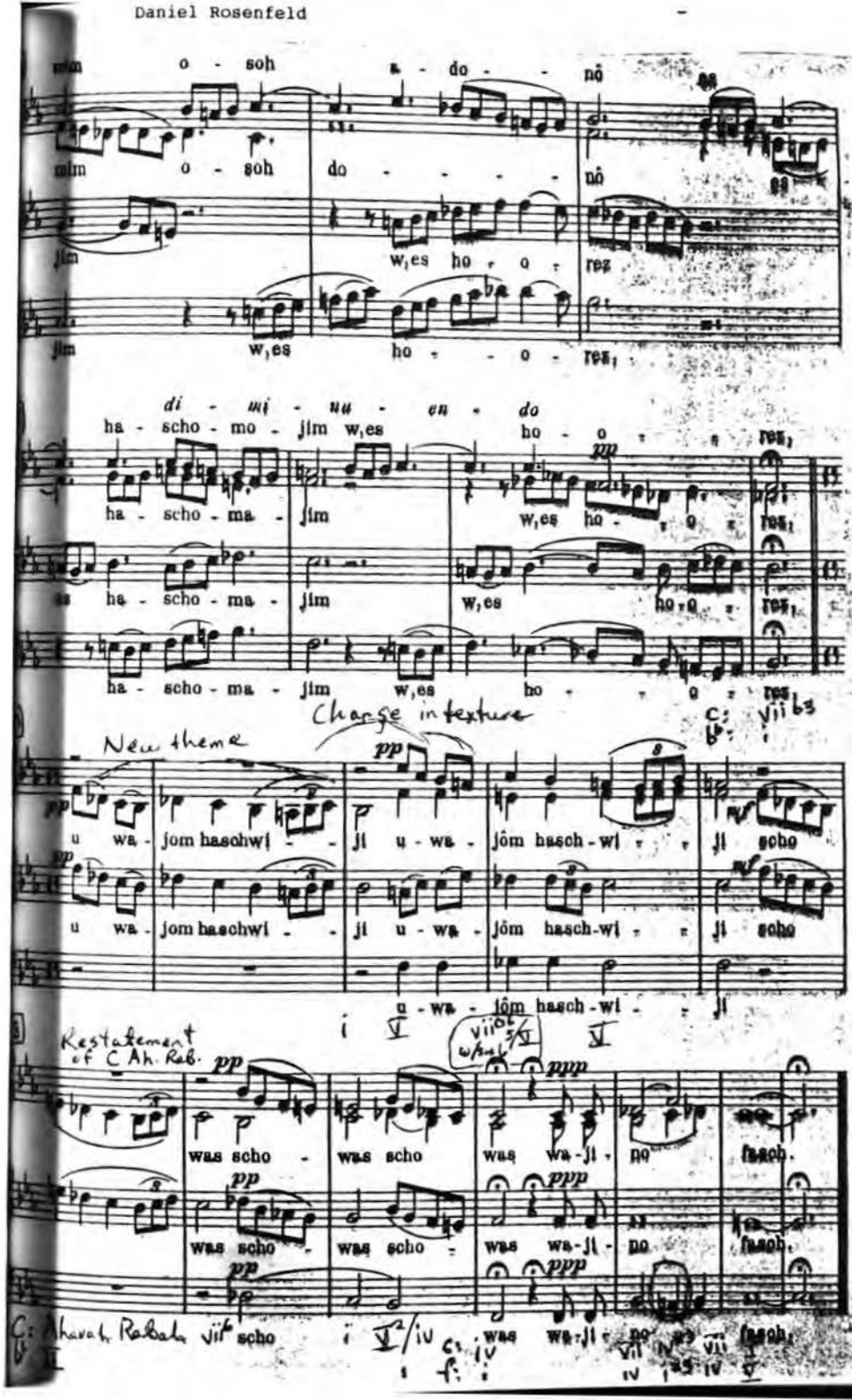

2nd theme from m. 13
Poco accel.
109
ti - ta - nu,
molto rit.
113
i
ii 7
or
ii over tonic pedal
ii 6
i 6 4
V 7


Coro.
Larghetto.
Opening theme
V'shamru
Restatement of theme in Eb maj.
Soprn I II
Tenor I.II
Bass I.II
W'schom-ru b'nei is-ro-el
es ha-
W'schom ru
b'nei
is-ro-el es ha-schab-bos
P.t. functioning as lead. tone to Bb
Theme
P. tones - suggest Eb chord
schab - bos
es ha-schabbos is sôs
es ha-schabbos
rall. et dim.
a tempo
Theme
rô - som b'ris o - lom be-ni u-wen be nei is ro el be-
rô - som b'ris o - lom
be-ni u-wen be ne is
in tenor
ni u-wen be ne is ro-el
ro el be ni u-wen be nei is ro-el ôs
Chromatic
is - ro - el
is - ro el
lom
lom.



I analyzed these two systems as being in C Ahavah Rabah because of the frequent step from $D^{\flat}$ to E nat. There is not a full chord until m. 30. Even from there to the end of the piece, I believe C Ah. Rab. to be the main tonality. This is supported by the lack of tonal stability as seen in the frequent appearance of accidentals.

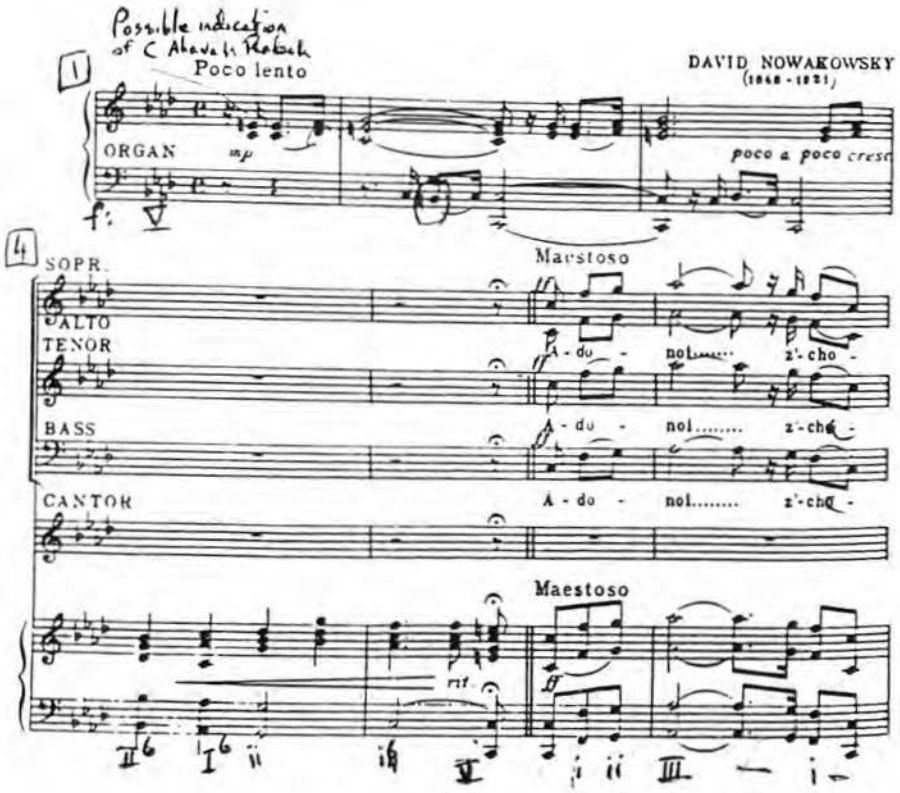
Therefore, I ceased my Roman numeral analysis until m. 42 which contains the first genuine cadence on $B^{\flat}$.

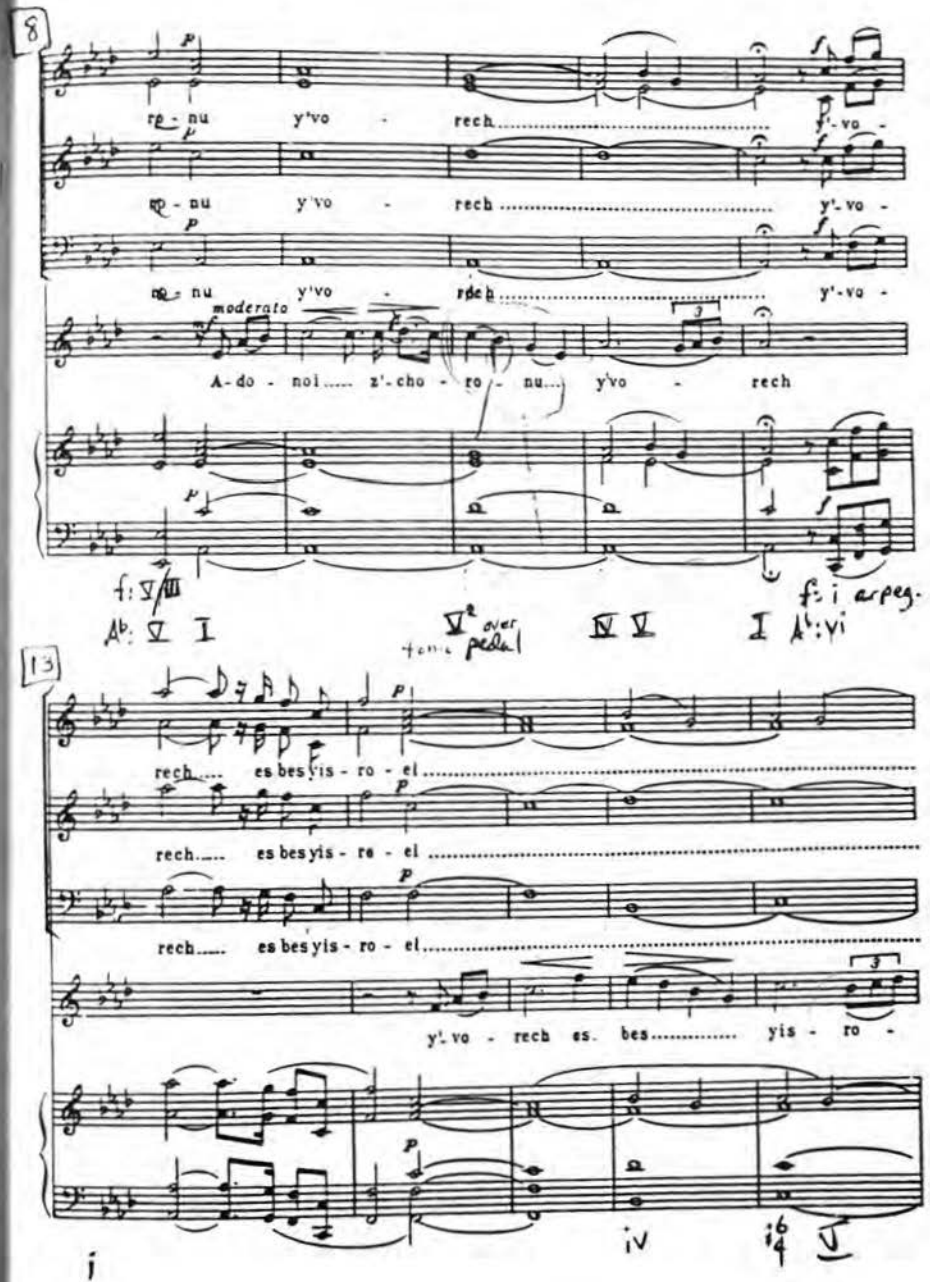


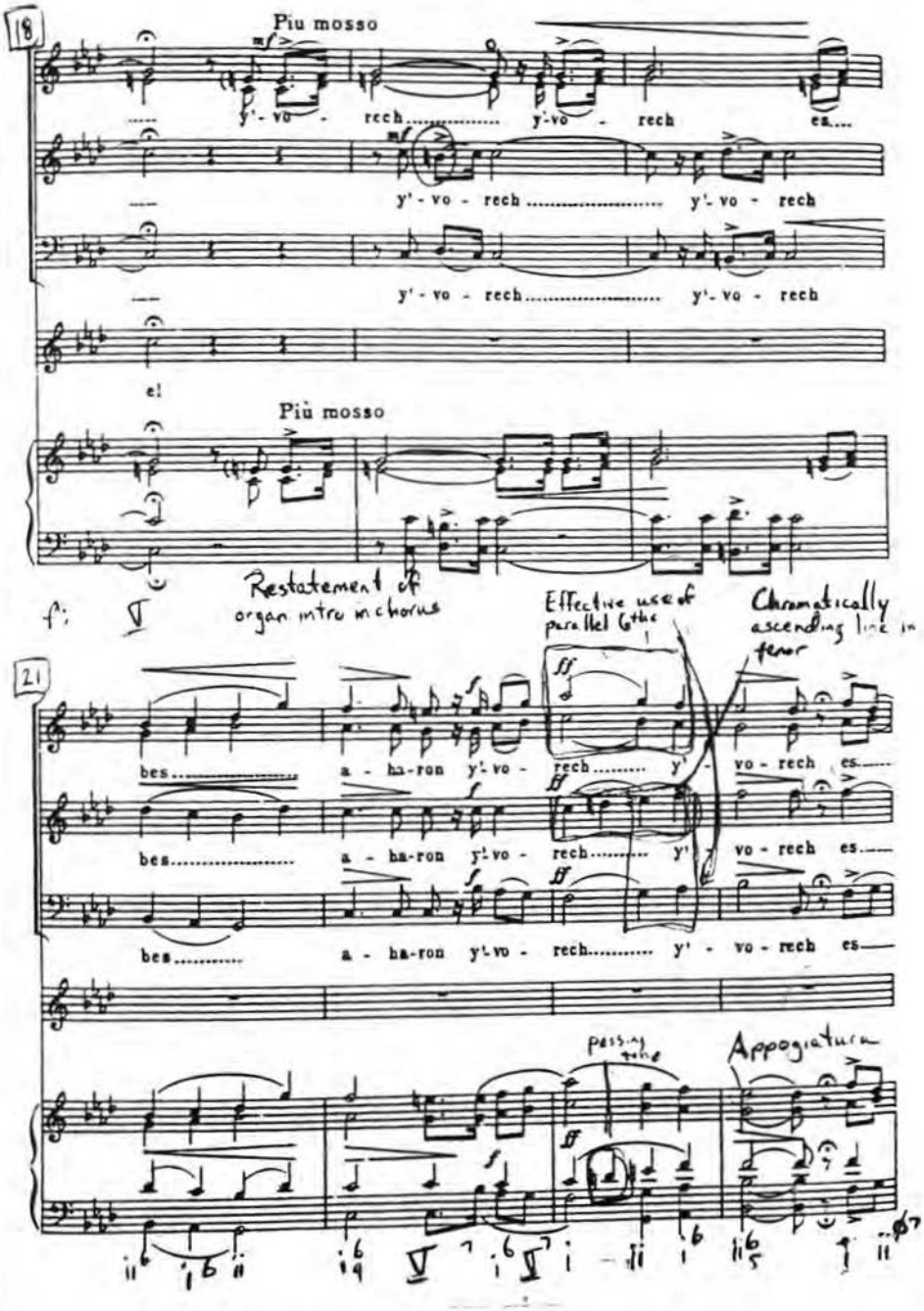
I analyzed m.51-the end both in f minor and C Ah.Rab. The A natural leading up to C in the bass and the E nat. in the tenor indicate Ah. Rab. on C.

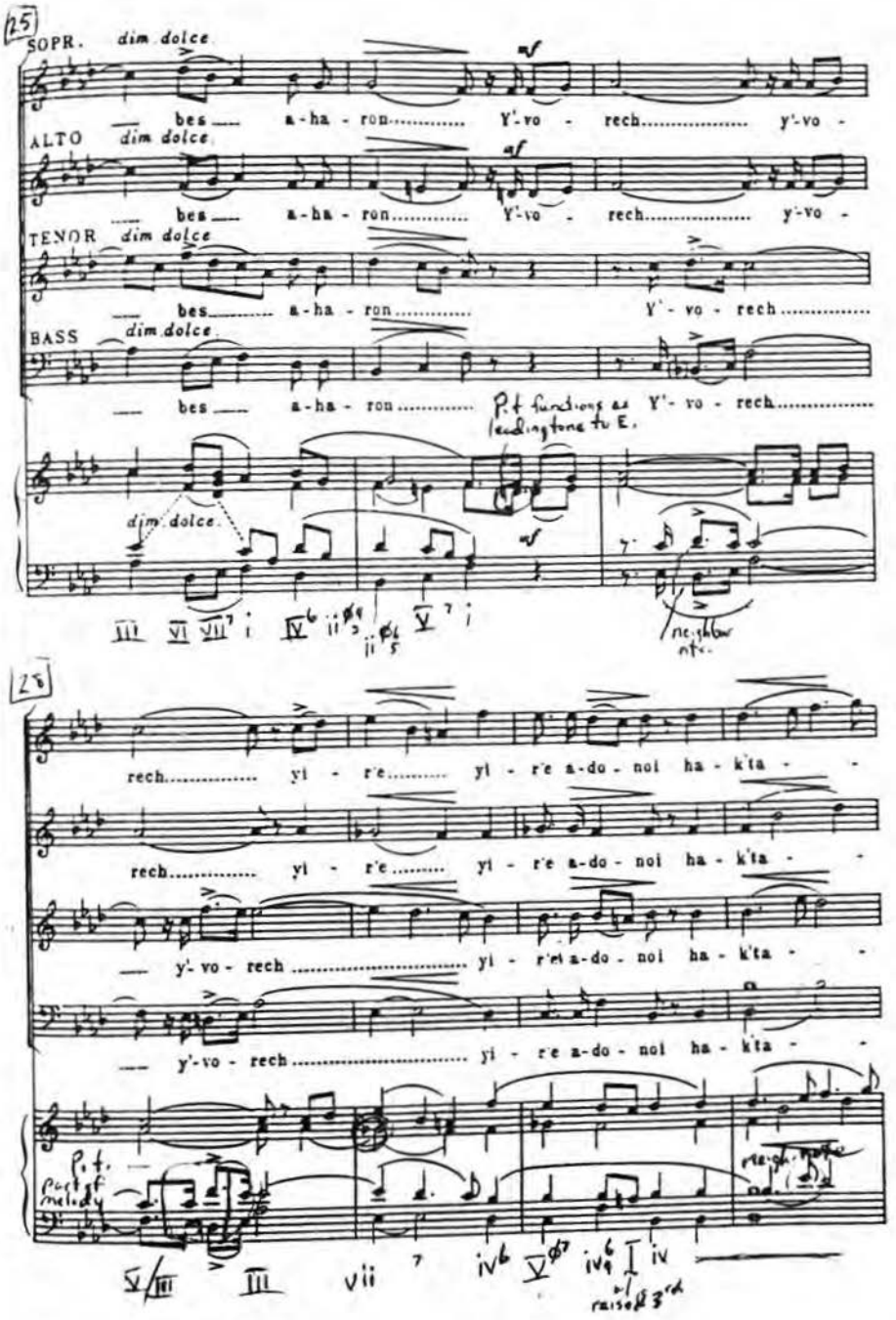
-APPENDIX C-

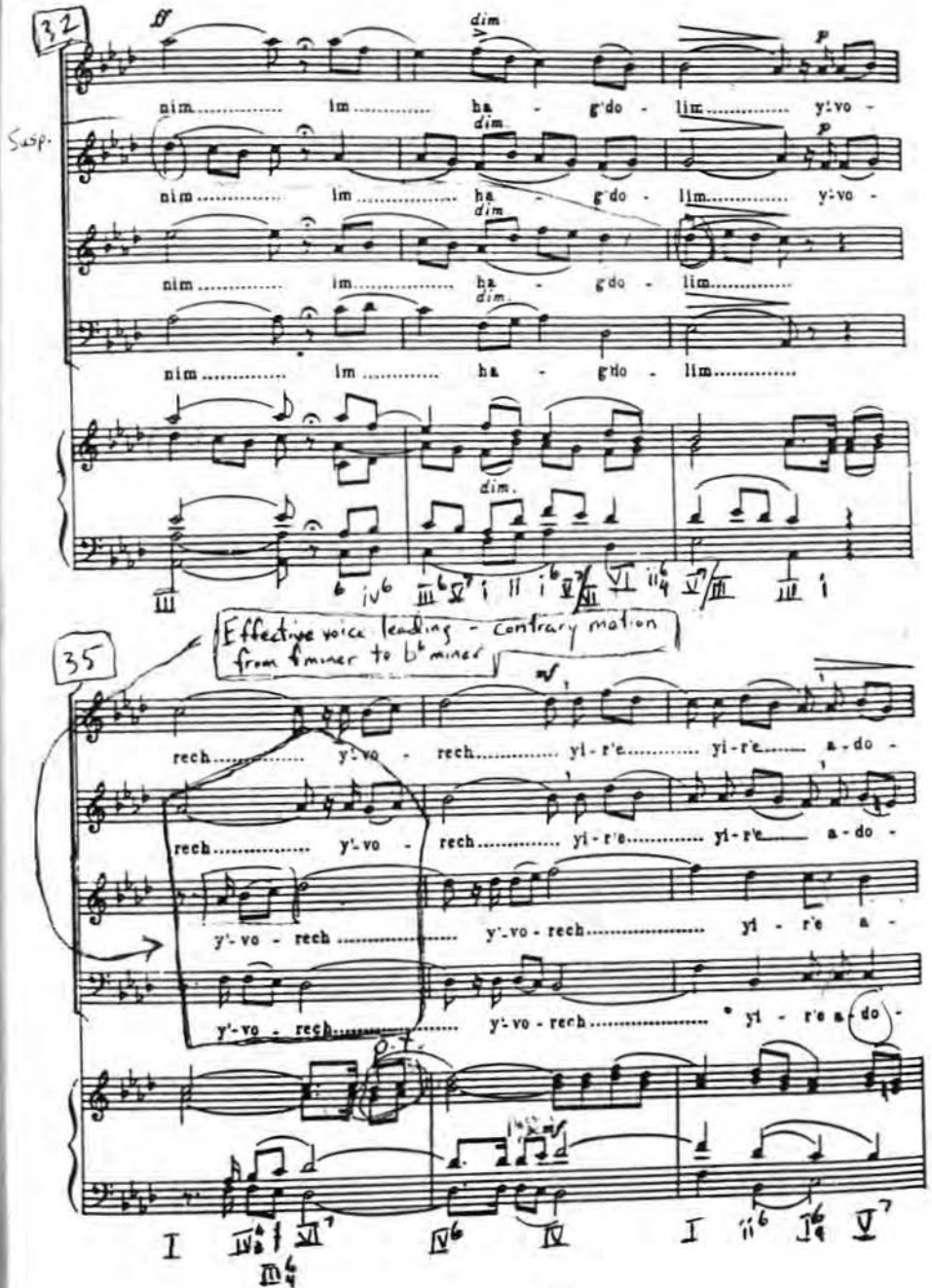
Adonoi Z'choronu

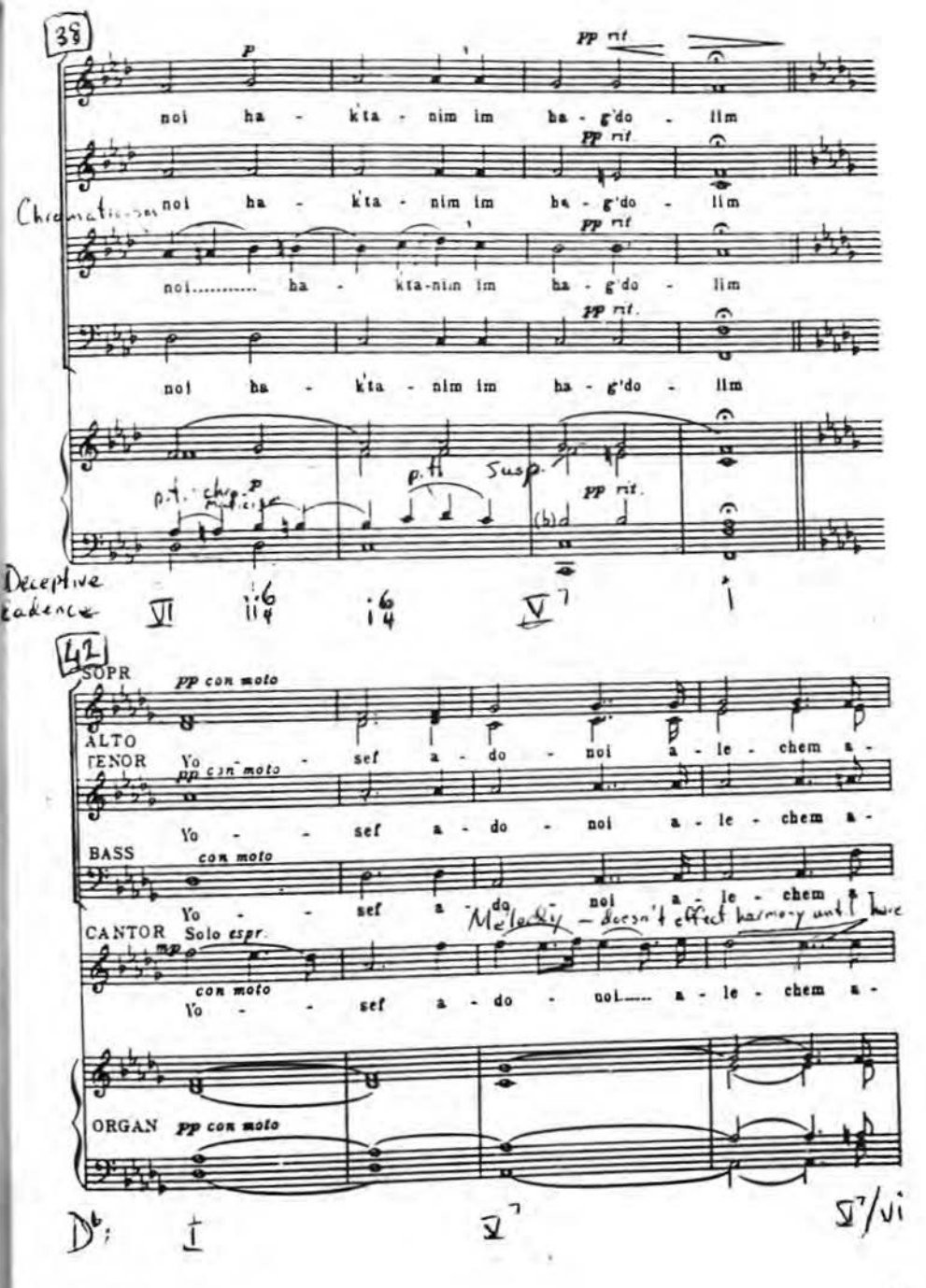


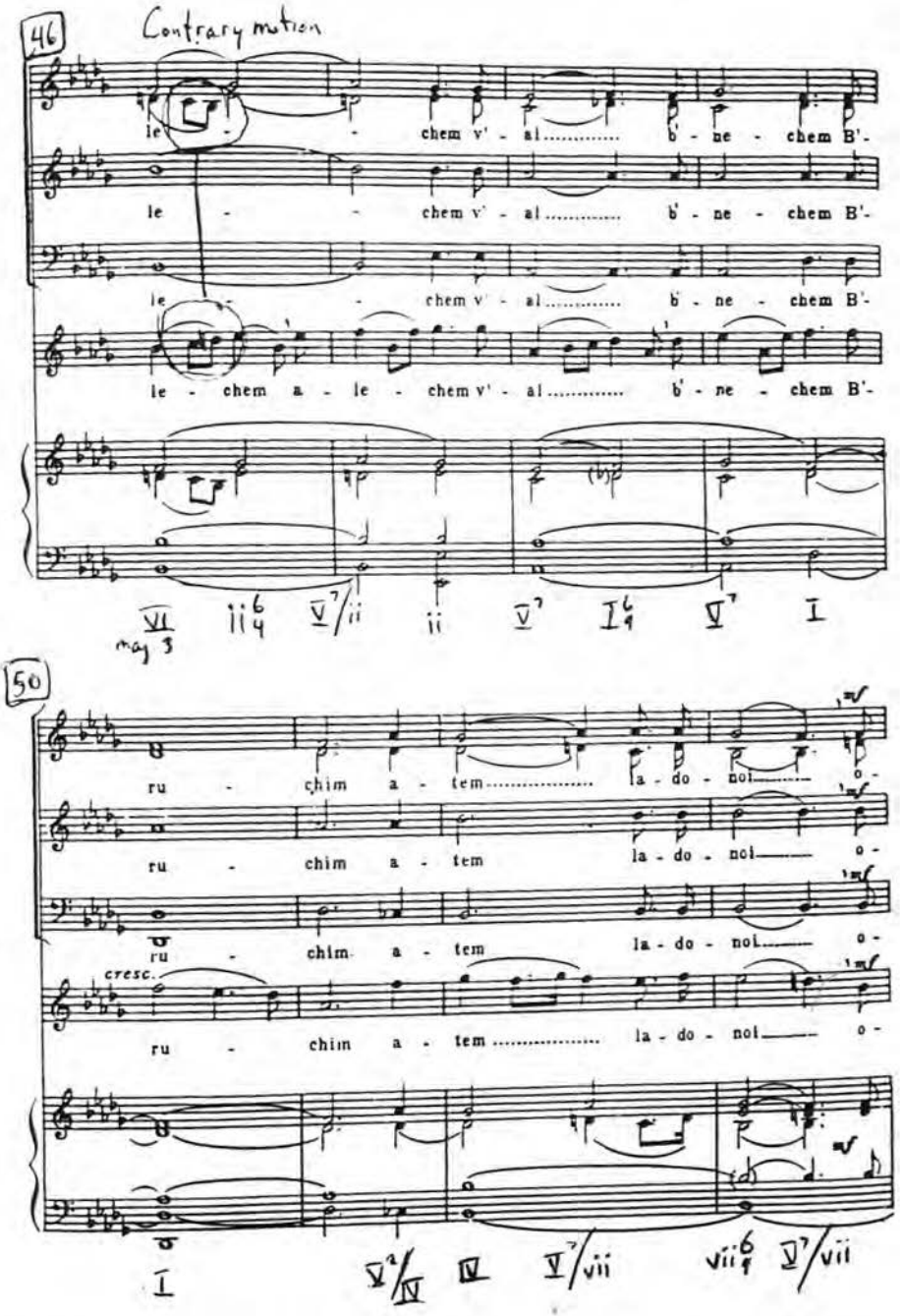

8
re - nu y'vo - rech
re - nu y'vo - rech
re - nu y'vo - rech
moderato
A - do - noi z'-cho - ro - nu y'vo - rech
y'-vo -
y'-vo -
y'-vo -
f: V/III
Ab: V I
V² over tonic pedal
IV V
I
f: i arpeg.
Ab: VI
13
rech es bes yis - ro - el
rech es bes yis - ro - el
rech es bes yis - ro - el
y'vo - rech es. bes yis - ro -
i
iV
i6/4
V

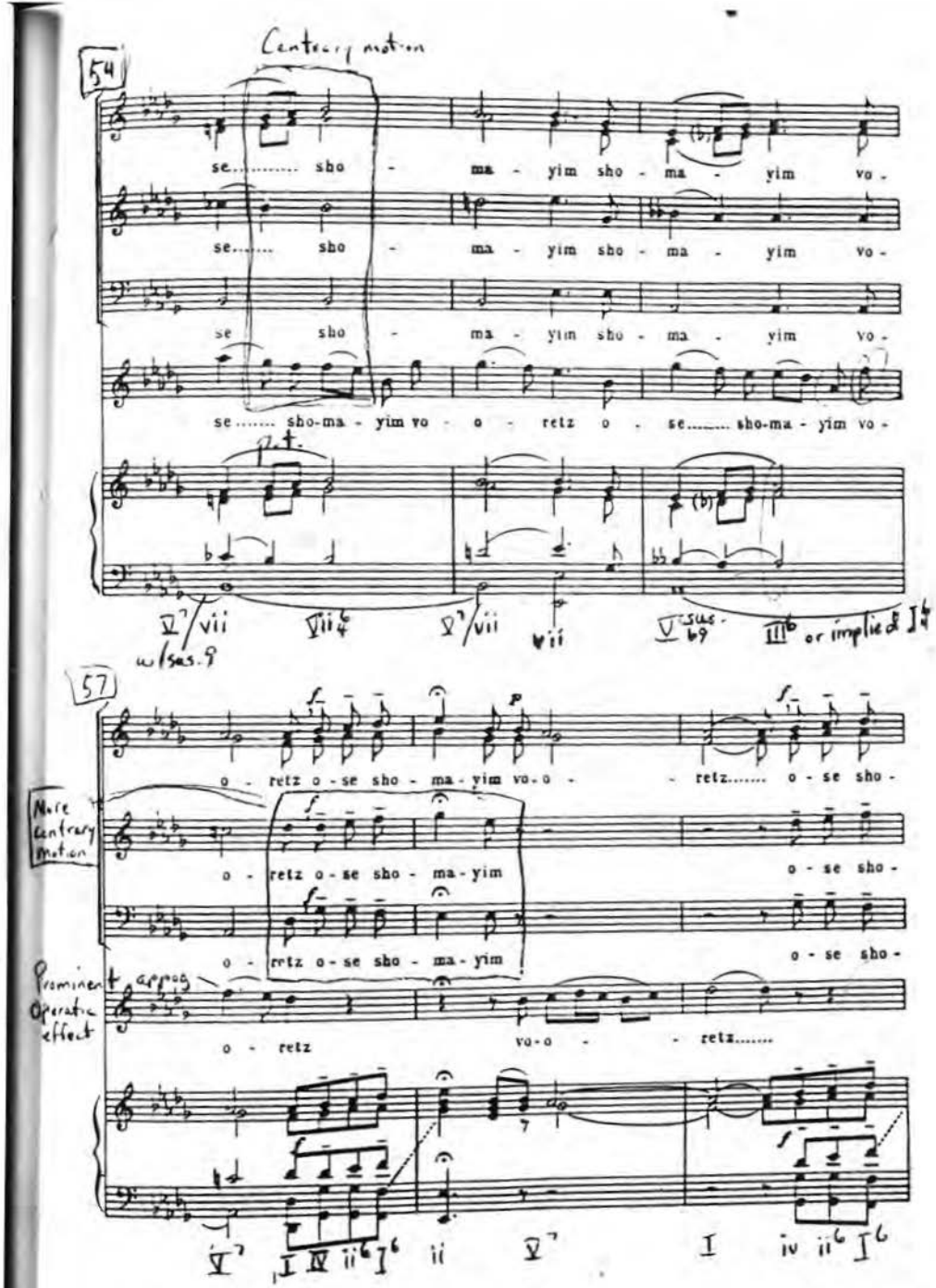

18
Più mosso
y'- vo - rech
y'-vo - rech
es
y'- vo - rech
y'- vo - rech
y'- vo - rech
y'- vo - rech
el
Più mosso
Restatement of organ intro in chorus
Effective use of parallel 6ths
Chromatically ascending line in tenor
21
bes
a - ha-ron y'-vo - rech
y' - vo - rech es
bes
a - ha-ron y'-vo - rech
y' - vo - rech es
bes
a - ha-ron y'-vo - rech
y' - vo - rech es
passing tone
Appogiatura

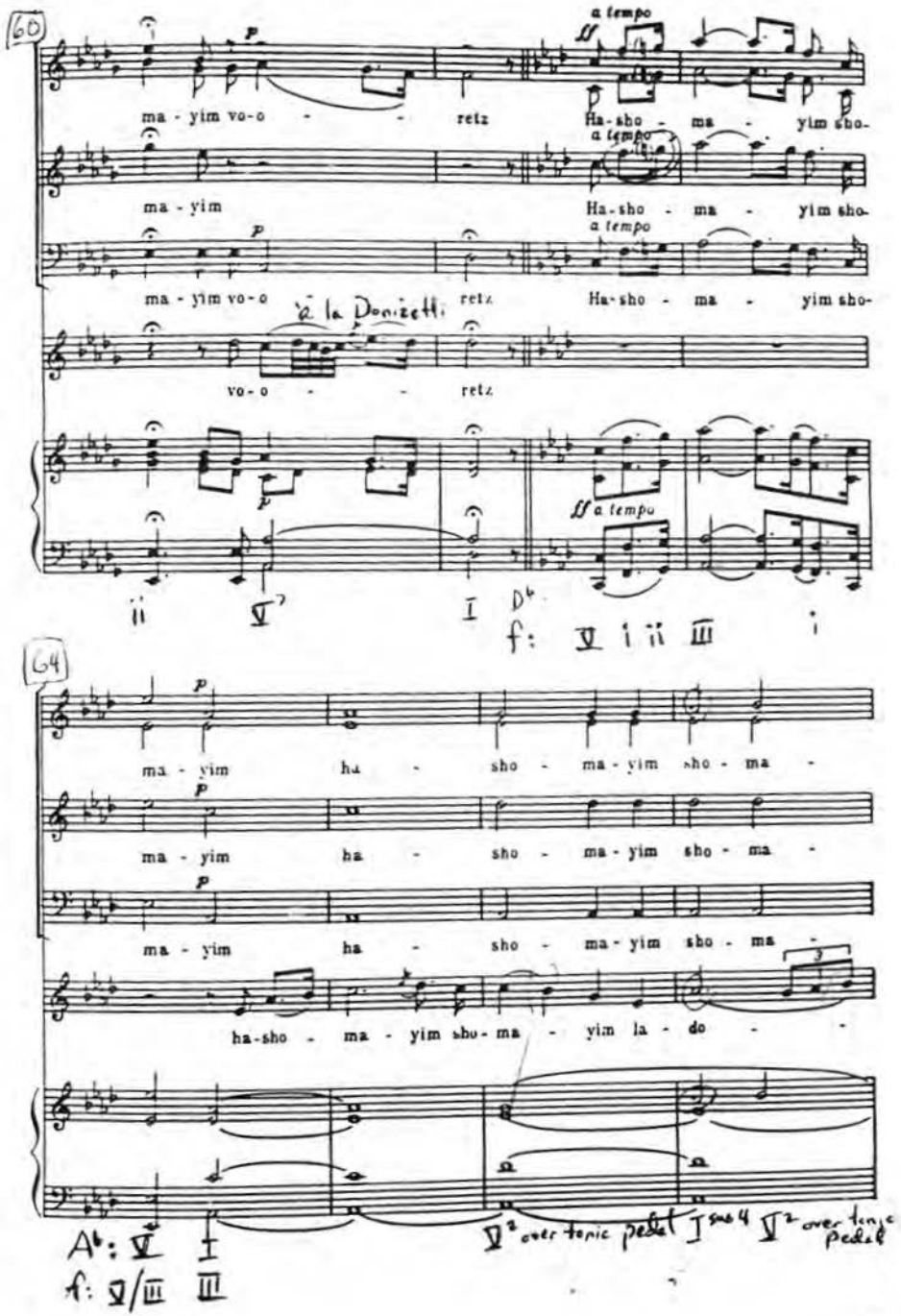

25
SOPR. dim dolce
bes a-ha-ron Y'-vo-rech y'-vo-
ALTO dim dolce
bes a-ha-ron Y'-vo-rech y'-vo-
TENOR dim dolce
bes a-ha-ron Y'-vo-rech
BASS dim dolce
bes a-ha-ron P.t functions as leading tone to E. Y'-vo-rech
dim dolce
28
rech yi-r'e yi-r'e a-do-noi ha-k'ta-
rech yi-r'e yi-r'e a-do-noi ha-k'ta-
y'-vo-rech yi-r'e a-do-noi ha-k'ta-
y'-vo-rech yi-r'e a-do-noi ha-k'ta-
P.t. Pick up melody
neighbor note
raised 3rd

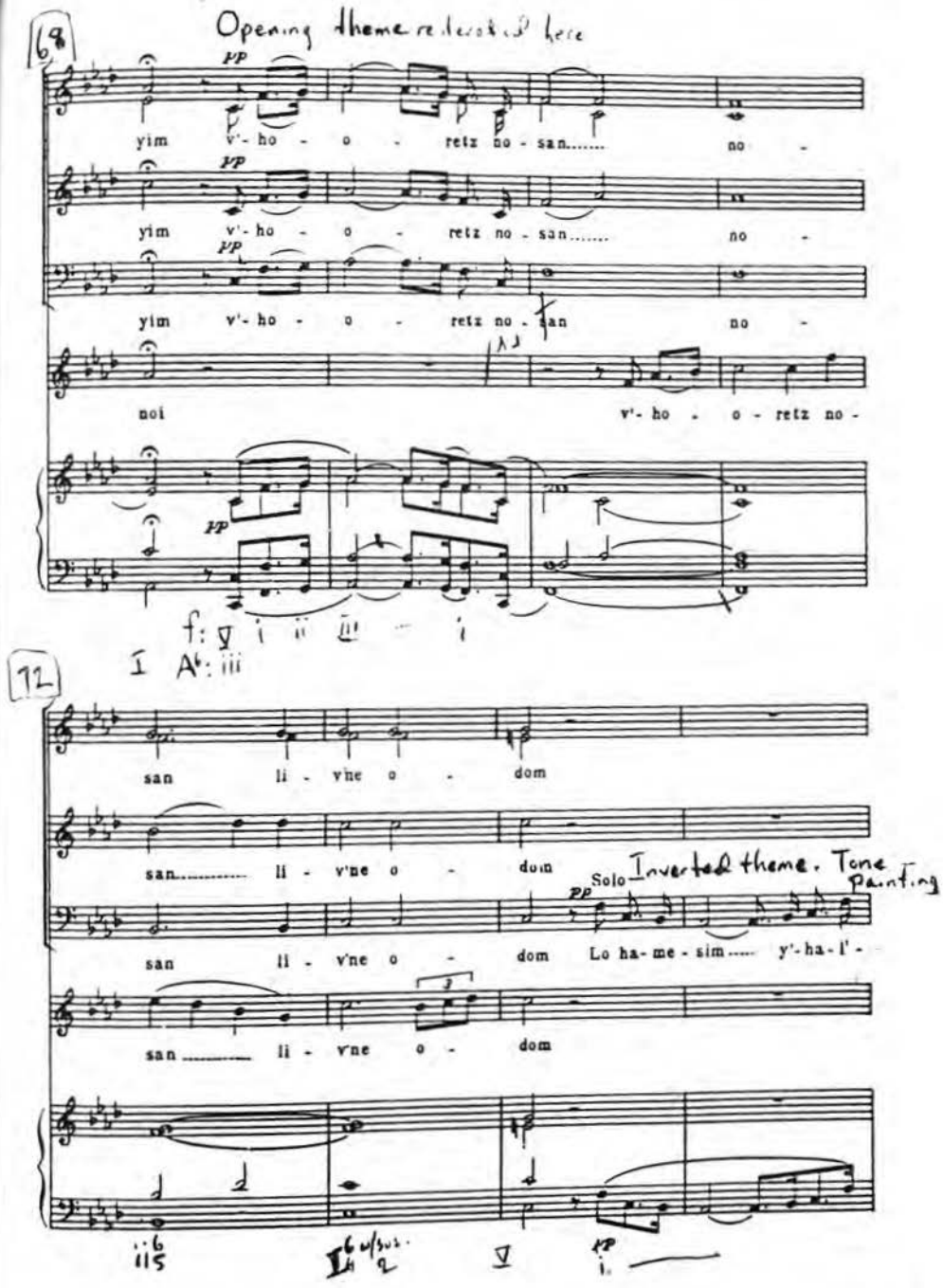

32
35
Susp.
Effective voice leading - contrary motion from f minor to b♭ minor

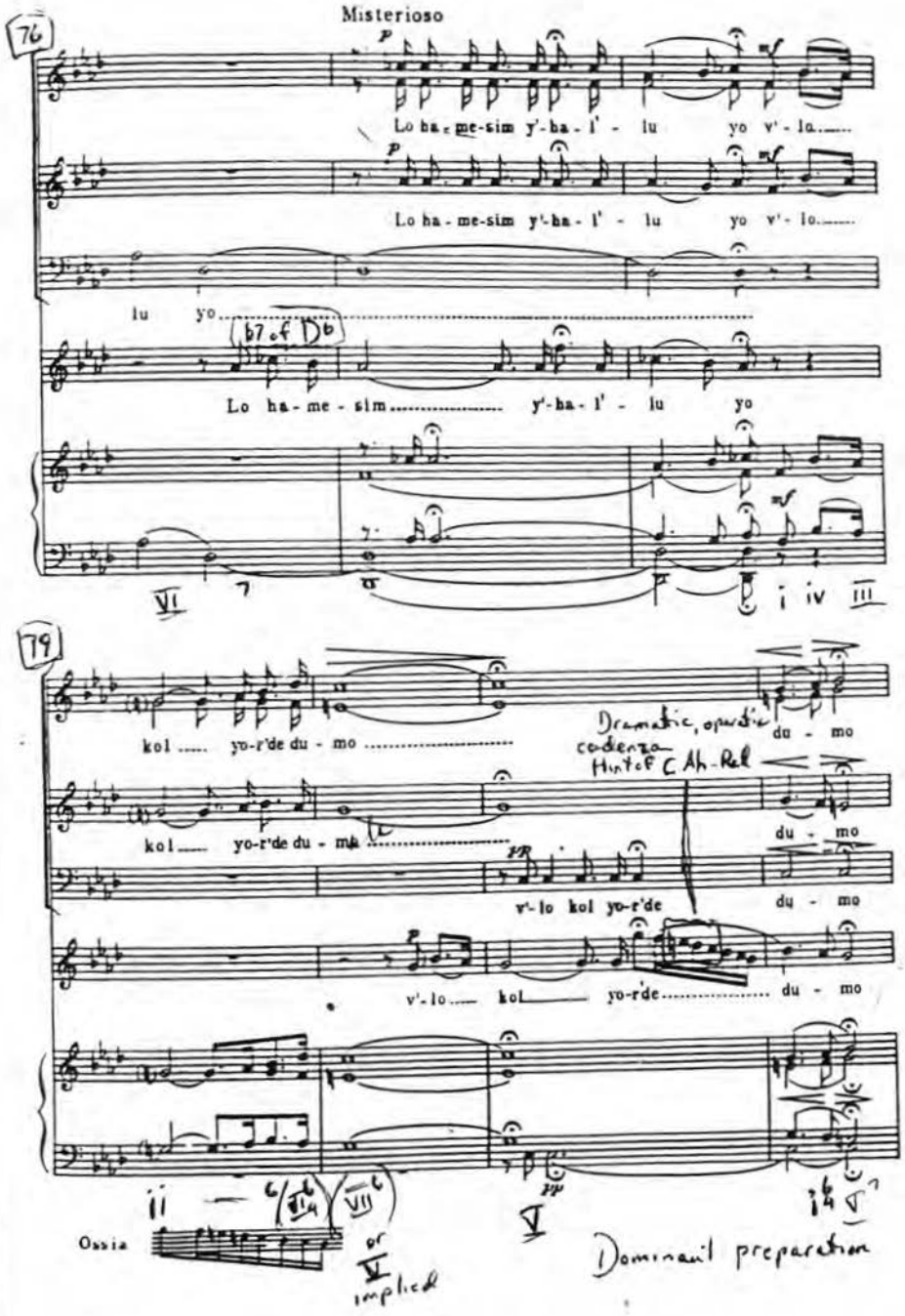

38
p
pp rit
noi ha - k'ta - nim im ha - g'do - lim
Chromatic
noi ha - k'ta - nim im ha - g'do - lim
noi..... ha - k'ta-nim im ha - g'do - lim
noi ha - k'ta - nim im ha - g'do - lim
p.t. chro
p.t.
Susp.
Deceptive cadence
VI
42
SOPR
pp con moto
ALTO
TENOR
Yo - sef a - do - noi a - le - chem a -
BASS
CANTOR Solo espr.
Melody doesn't effect harmony until I have
ORGAN
D♭: I
V7
V7/vi

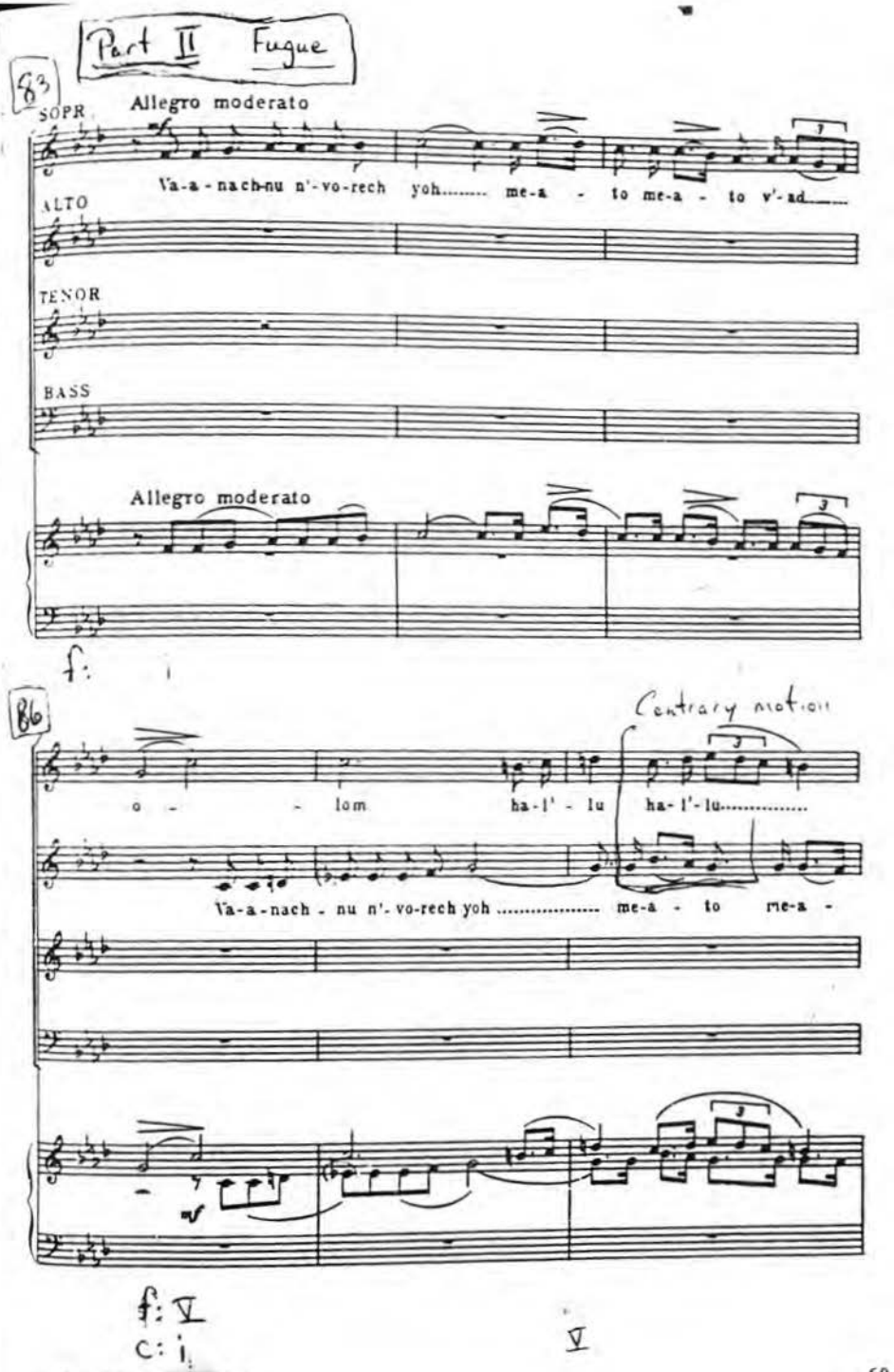

46
Contrary motion
le - chem v' - al..... b' - ne - chem B'-
le - chem v' - al..... b' - ne - chem B'-
le - chem v' - al..... b' - ne - chem B'-
le - chem a - le - chem v' - al..... b' - ne - chem B'-
VI
maj 3
ii6/4
V7/ii
ii
V7
I6/4
V7
I
50
ru - chim a - tem..... la - do - noi..... o -
ru - chim a - tem la - do - noi..... o -
ru - chim a - tem la - do - noi..... o -
cresc.
ru - chim a - tem..... la - do - noi..... o -
I
V2/IV
IV
V7/vii
vii6/4
V7/vii

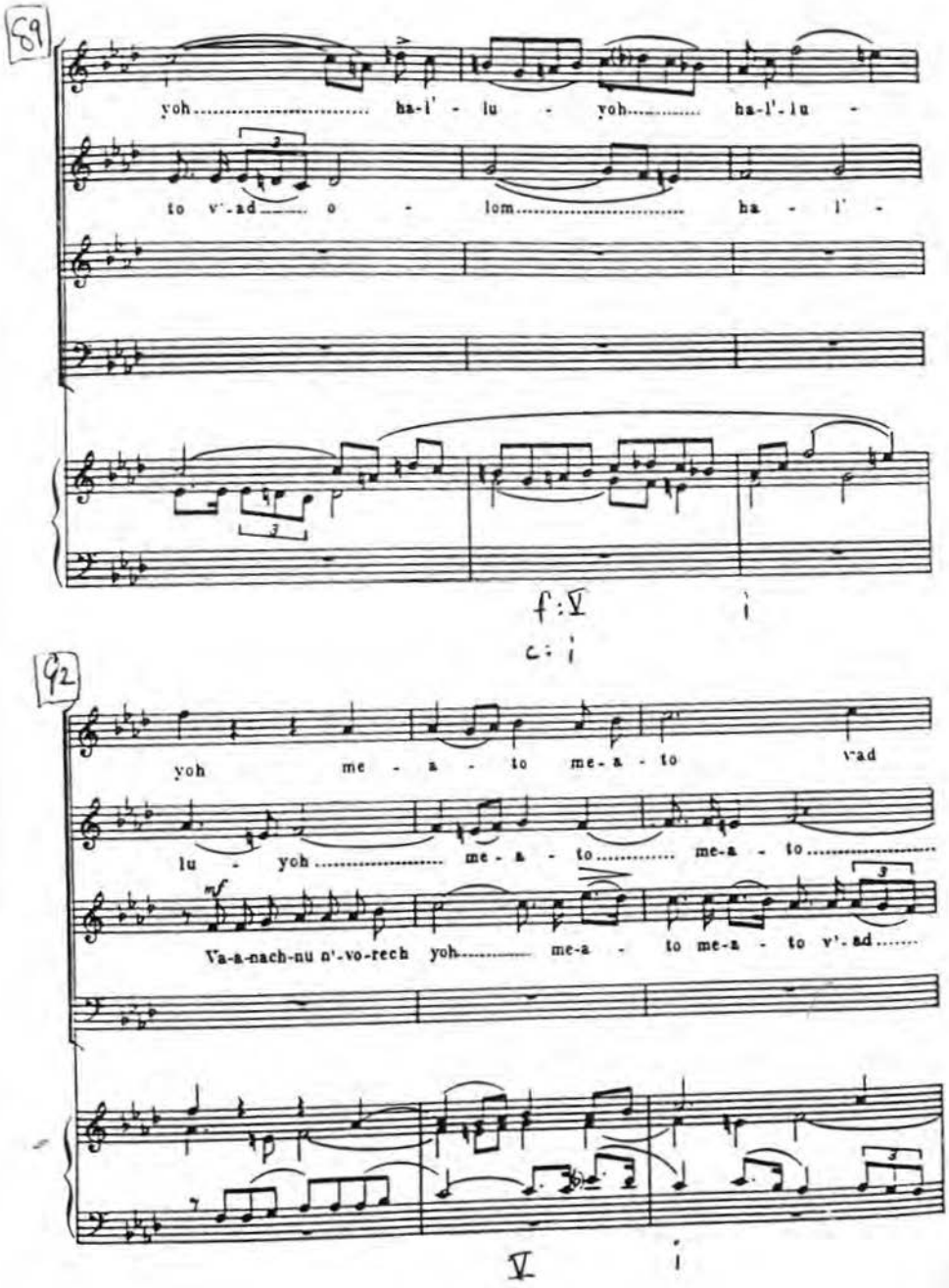

Contrary motion
54
se..... sho - ma - yim sho - ma - yim vo -
se..... sho - ma - yim sho - ma - yim vo -
se sho - ma - yim sho - ma - yim vo -
se..... sho-ma - yim vo - o - retz o - se..... sho-ma - yim vo -
p.t.
V7/vii
w/sus.9
viio6
V7/vii
vii
V sus. b9
III6 or implied
57
o - retz o - se sho - ma - yim vo - o - retz..... o - se sho -
Note contrary motion
o - retz o - se sho - ma - yim
o - se sho -
o - retz o - se sho - ma - yim
o - se sho -
Prominent Operatic effect
arpeg
o - retz
vo - o - retz.....
V7
I IV ii6 I6
ii
V7
I
iv ii6 I6

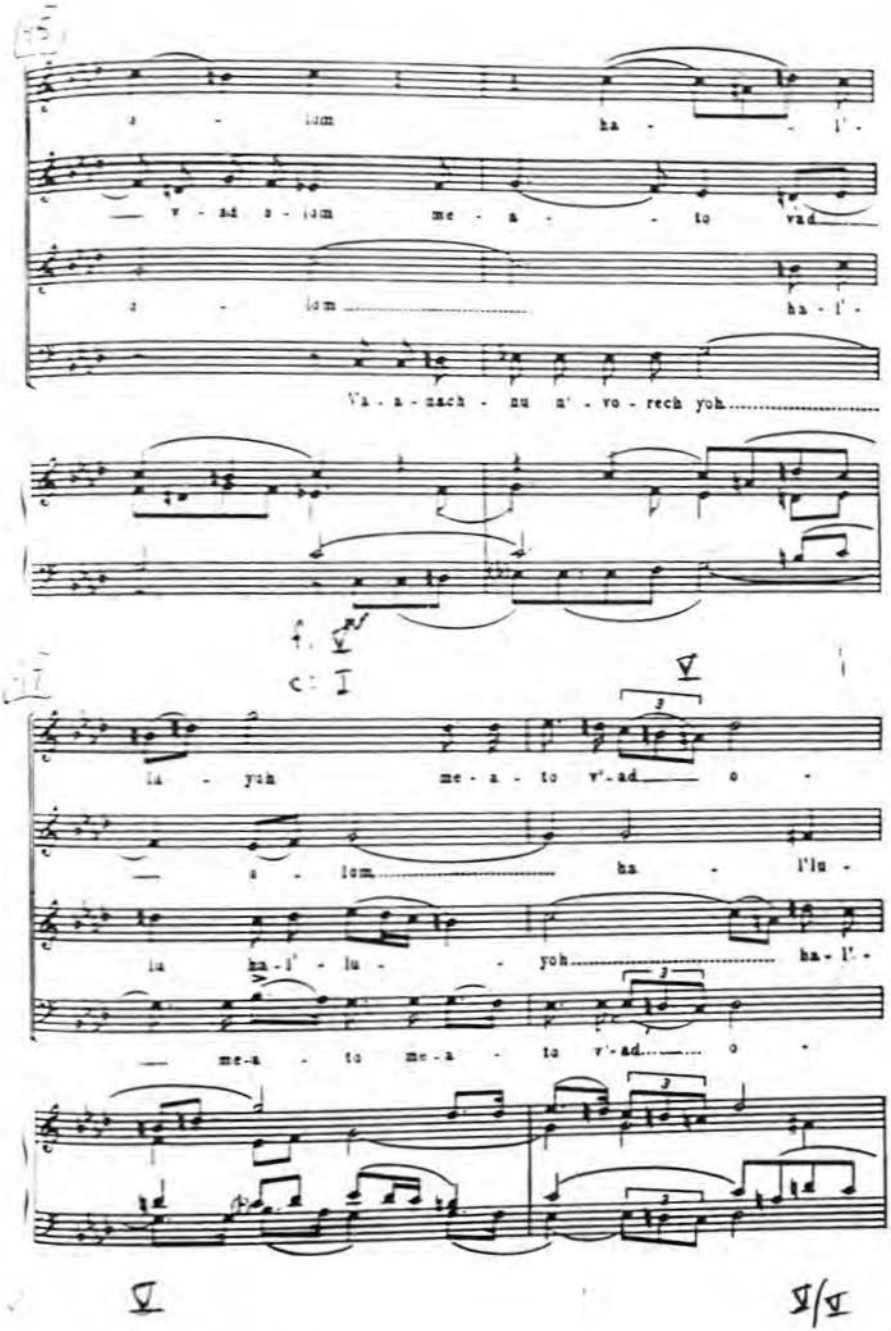

60
a tempo
ff
ma - yim vo-o - - retz
Ha-sho - ma - yim sho-
ma - yim
Ha-sho - ma - yim sho-
ma - yim vo-o
à la Donizetti
retz
Ha-sho - ma - yim sho-
vo-o - - retz
ii V7 I D♭
f: V i ii III i
64
ma - yim ha - sho - ma - yim sho - ma -
ma - yim ha - sho - ma - yim sho - ma -
ma - yim ha - sho - ma - yim sho - ma -
ha-sho - ma - yim sho-ma - yim la - do -
A♭: V I
f: V/III III
V2 over tonic pedal I 5to 4 V2 over tonic pedal

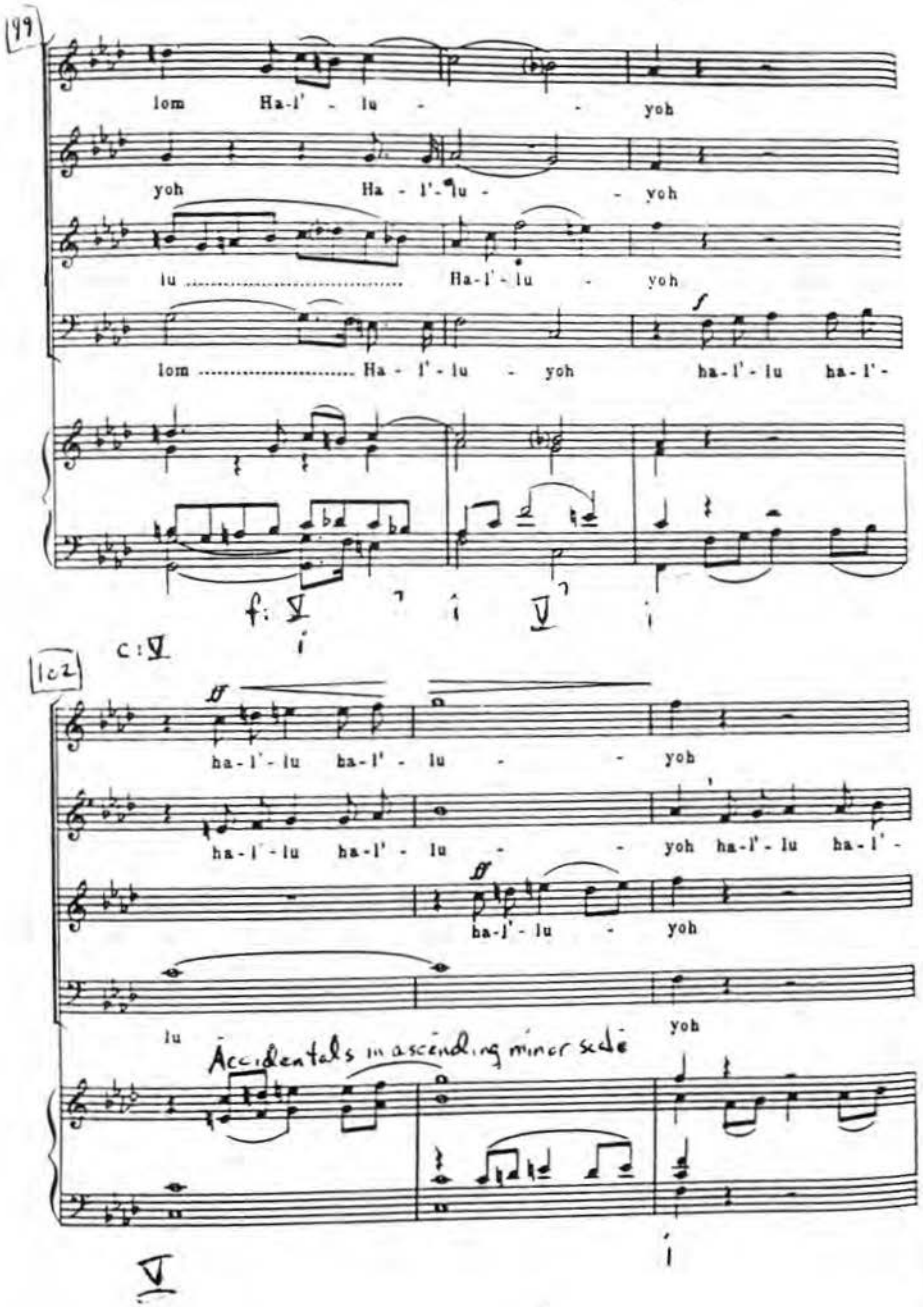

68
Opening theme restated here
yim v'-ho - o - retz no - san..... no -
yim v'-ho - o - retz no - san..... no -
yim v'-ho - o - retz no - san no -
noi v'-ho - o - retz no -
f: V i ii iii i
I A♭: iii
72
san li - v'ne o - dom
san..... li - v'ne o - dom
Solo Inverted theme. Tone Painting
san li - v'ne o - dom Lo ha-me-sim..... y'-ha-l'-
san..... li - v'ne o - dom
i6 I6 w/sus. V i
4 2

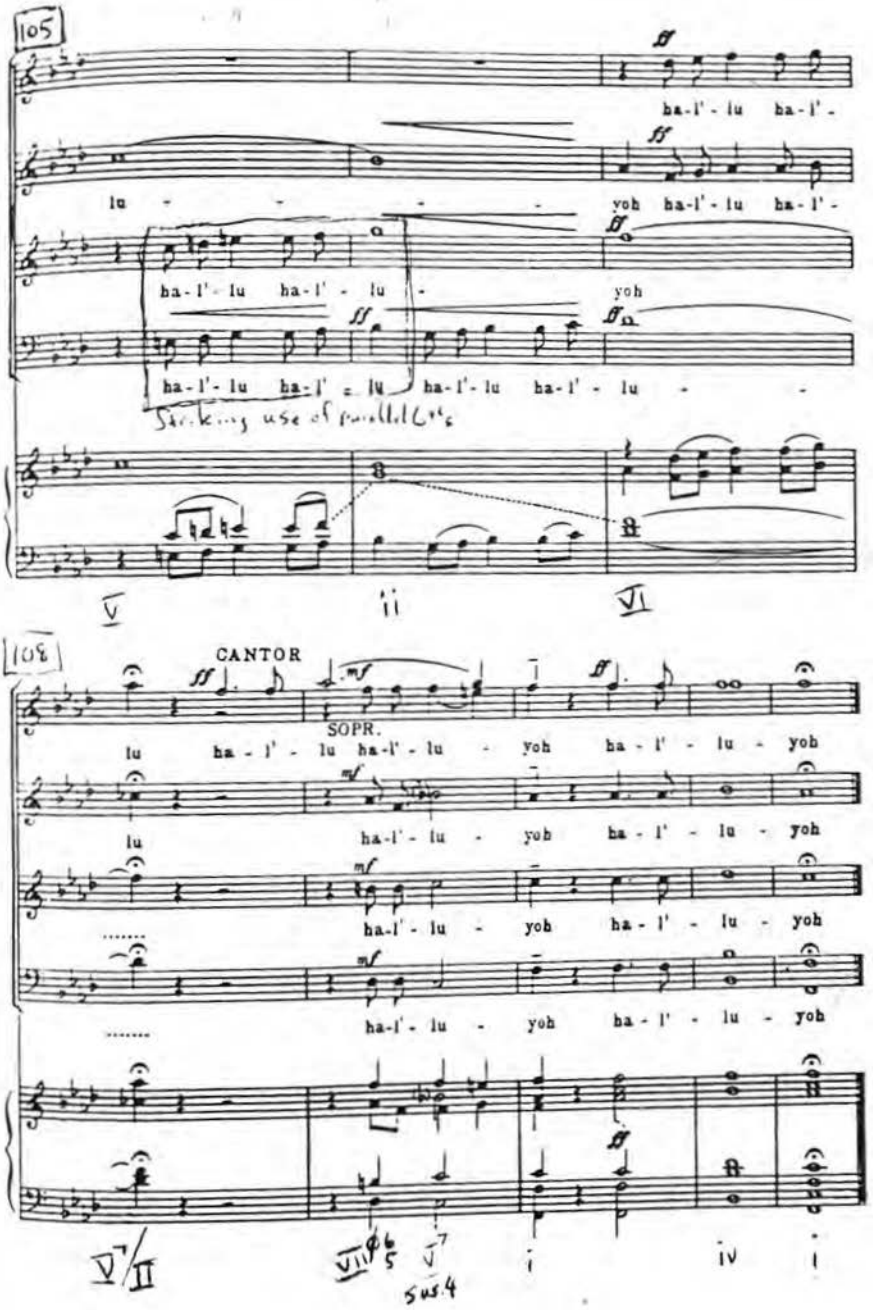

Misterioso
76
Lo ha - me-sim y'-ha - l' - lu yo v'- lo.....
Lo ha - me-sim y'-ha - l' - lu yo v'- lo.....
lu yo.....
b7 of Db
Lo ha - me - sim..... y'-ha - l' - lu yo
VI
i iv III
79
kol ..... yo-r'de du - mo .....
Dramatic, operatic
cadenza
Hint of C Ah-Rel
du - mo
kol..... yo-r'de du - mo .....
du - mo
v'-lo kol yo-r'de
du - mo
v'-lo..... kol..... yo-r'de..... du - mo
ii 6 (6/4) (VII 6)
V
6/4 V 7
Ossia
or
V
implied
Dominant preparation


Part II Fugue
83
SOPR
Allegro moderato
Va-a-nach-nu n'-vo-rech yoh..... me-a - to me-a - to v'-ad.....
ALTO
TENOR
BASS
Allegro moderato
f: i
86
Contrary motion
o - - lom ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu.....
Va-a-nach - nu n'-vo-rech yoh ..... me-a - to me-a -
f: V
C: i
V


89
yoh ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu -
to v'-ad o - lom ha - l' -
f: V
i
c: i
92
yoh me - a - to me-a - to v'ad
lu - yoh me - a - to me-a - to
mf
Va-a-nach-nu n'-vo-rech yoh me-a - to me-a - to v'-ad
V
i


a - lom ha - l' -
v'-ad a - lom me - a - to v'ad
a - lom ha - l' -
v'a - a - nach - nu n' - vo - rech yoh
c: I
li - yoh me - a - to v'-ad o -
a - lom ha - l'lu -
lu ha - l' - lu - yoh ha - l' -
me-a - to me - a - to v'-ad o -


99
lom Ha-l'-lu - yoh
yoh Ha-l'-lu - yoh
lu Ha-l'-lu - yoh
lom Ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu ha-l'-
f: V i V i
C: V
102
ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu - yoh
ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu ha-l'-
ha-l'-lu - yoh
lu yoh
Accidentals in ascending minor scale
V i


105
ha-l'-lu ha-l'-
lu - - - - yoh ha-l'-lu ha-l'-
ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu - yoh
ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu - -
Striking use of parallels
V
ii
VI
108
CANTOR
SOPR.
lu ha-l'-lu ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu - yoh
lu ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu - yoh
ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu - yoh
ha-l'-lu - yoh ha-l'-lu - yoh
V7/II
viiø6/5
V7
sus.4
i
iv
i

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_____. V'shamru, from Kabbalat Shabbat. Gebete und Gesange zum Eingang des Sabbath (originally published under title: Shire David, 2 vols.). New York: Out of Print Classics Series of Synagogue Music #22, reissued by the Sacred Music Press, Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion-School of Sacred Music, 1955.

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