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Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein (1806-1880)
A Cantor for the Nineteenth Century

Jeffrey Stock

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

2001/5761
Advisor: Dr. Mark Kligman

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INTRODUCTION

The collaboration between Cantor Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein (1806-1880) and the revered synagogue composer and choir director Louis Eliezer Lewandowski (1821-1894) represents a monumental creative symbiosis in the history of Jewish liturgical music. Lichtenstein and Lewandowski had much in common: both were born in Eastern Europe and exposed to the traditional aesthetic of the Polish synagogue. Both men lived the majority of their professional lives in Berlin, the hotbed of radical reforms in nineteenth century Jewish religious and cultural life. Lichtenstein remained an Orthodox Jew throughout his life, serving from the year 1845 as "Obercantor" (Chief Cantor) of Berlin's traditional community on Heidereutergasse. Lewandowski spent his formative years in the same community: first as a *singerl* (boy soprano) under *Chazzan* Asher Lion (1776-1863), and later as choir director under Lichtenstein. When the "New Synagogue" on Oranienburgerstrasse was completed in 1866, Lewandowski became its music director. It was at this magnificent synagogue—which seated over three thousand people and possessed one of the largest organs in Berlin—that Lewandowski truly flourished, becoming known as the greatest synagogue composer of the nineteenth century.

Lewandowski published three volumes of music for the synagogue service: *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah* in 1871, and two volumes titled *Todah W'Simrah*, between 1876 and 1882. *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah* contains the complete service for Sabbath and Festivals, with recitatives incorporating the entire prayer texts. Many of the pieces are set in a simple

two-part harmony. *Todah W'Simrah*, his "magnum opus," contains much of the same music from *Kol Rinnah*, recast for cantor and four-part choir; many of his settings include extensive and profound organ accompaniments. The music is a testament to Lewandowski's genius in creating a Jewish musical idiom appropriate for the reformation of the Jewish worship service, and assured his place on the throne of the pantheon of Jewish synagogue composers.

But did Lewandowski really write all of the glorious music that we have always attributed to him? Two renowned Jewish musicologists, Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882-1938) and Eric Werner (1901-1988) became familiar with the music of Cantor Lichtenstein through the Eduard Birnbaum Collection.[1] As they studied the transcriptions that the cantor and Jewish music scholar Eduard Birnbaum (1855-1920) made of Lichtenstein's music, both Idelsohn and Werner began to question the originality of Lewandowski's synagogue compositions. Idelsohn writes:

> Lichtenstein's *chazzanuth* [sic.] became to Lewandowski the model and symbol of *chazzanuth*. He studied it; he arranged it; he remodelled it in the course of years, until his spirit was saturated with it. It became so much a part of him that he considered Lichtenstein's *chazzanuth* as his own. For twenty-five years Lewandowski worked on Lichtenstein's *chazzanuth*, until the material acquired a new form–the form bestowed by Lewandowski's genius. And in publishing that *chazzanuth* in his work *Kol Rinnah Utefillah*, Lewandowski did not even mention the name of Lichtenstein, apparently believing that this music was or had become HIS. Only by means of Lichtenstein's manuscripts do we recognize the origin.[2]

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[1] The Eduard Birnbaum Collection is located at the Klau Library of the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, Ohio. Birnbaum labeled the two subdivisions of his collection that I examine in this thesis "No. 125" and "No. 126." In the most recent catalog of the Eduard Birnbaum Collection (compiled by Dr. Israel Adler and his team, and referred to as the "Jumbo Catalog"), Birnbaum's original numbering of these two subdivisions is retained, but renamed "Mus.125" and "Mus.126," respectively. I use Adler's appellation throughout this thesis.

[2] Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1929; reprint, Mineola, NY: Dover Publications, Inc., 1992), 276.

Eric Werner, who created his own catalog of the Eduard Birnbaum Collection, came across the transcriptions of Lichtenstein's music, and like Idelsohn, was astonished with the material. We get a glimpse of Werner's initial exposure to Lichtenstein's material by reading the comments he wrote directly on the index cards of his catalog. Commenting on music of Lichtenstein in Mus.125 of the Birnbaum Collection, Werner writes, "Excellent material, which apparently had great influence on Lewandowski in his later published synagogue music."[3] His comments are considerably stronger in his assessment of Mus.126. According to Werner, Birnbaum himself ascribed this collection of miscellaneous synagogue compositions to Lichtenstein, although the original manuscripts were written in several different hands. Regarding this material, Werner writes:

> Excellently arranged traditional material, slightly influenced by Eastern Hazanuth [sic.]; the similarity to Lewandowski's work is obvious—here we encounter the chief source for Lewandowski, which is, if more simple, sometimes nobler than Lewandowski's conception.[4]

Werner's experience with the Birnbaum Collection lead him to claim in his book, *A Voice Still Heard*, that Lichtenstein's melodies were "...purer, and finer, than Lewandowski's arrangements."[5]

What impact do the claims of Idelsohn and Werner have on the authenticity of Lewandowski's oeuvre? Was Lewandowski simply a great music editor and arranger, and not an original, creative musical mind? What was the extent of Lichtenstein's

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[3] Werner Index to the Eduard Birnbaum Collection.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Eric Werner, *A Voice Still Heard... The Sacred Songs of the Ashkenazic Jews* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1976), 276-277.

influence on his younger colleague, and ultimately, should this collaboration impact our perception of this era in Jewish music history?

The peripatetic careers of Idelsohn and Werner were filled with exhaustive and pioneering research in an array of fields in Jewish music. In their seminal work cataloguing the vast and complex musical treasure trove of the Birnbaum Collection, time did not allow for an extensive analysis and evaluation of its contents. Dr. Geoffrey Goldberg, a contemporary scholar in the field of nineteenth century Jewish music and religion, has asserted that many of the statements made by Idelsohn and Werner were not supported by ample documentation.[6] Their assessments of Lichtenstein, and the impact he had on the creative output of Lewandowski, need to be explored further.

In this thesis I explore the creative relationship of Lichtenstein and Lewandowski by means of an analysis and evaluation of one the essential items in the Eduard Birnbaum Collection: the collection of four music booklets in Mus.125. This collection consists of transcriptions that Birnbaum made of the liturgical music of Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein, much of which bears a striking resemblance to the music of Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah* and *Todah W'Simrah*. This thesis will show that the venerated synagogue composer Louis Lewandowski was highly influenced by Cantor Abraham Lichtenstein, as Idelsohn and Werner had stated, and that this influence runs deeper than any Jewish music scholar has realized.

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[6] Geoffrey Goldberg, "Neglected Sources for the Historical Study of Synagogue Music: The Prefaces to Louis Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah U'T'fillah* and *Todah W'Simrah*"—Annotated Translations", *Musica Judaica* 11, no. 1 (1989-90): 30. Dr. Goldberg contends that Idelsohn's biographical account of Lewandowski—although still one of the most informative—was "largely undocumented," and that in his description of the composer's life, he cited only four sources.

In Chapter One, I offer a biographical sketch of Cantor A.J. Lichtenstein, including first hand accounts of the man and his musicianship. Also included in the first chapter is a general historical background of important developments in nineteenth century German Jewish culture, with an emphasis on Berlin and the Heidereutergasse Synagogue. In Chapter Two, I examine the contents of Mus.125 through a descriptive analysis and assessment of these transcriptions. I discuss the nature of Birnbaum's transcriptions, as well as the problems that such transcriptions may pose. In Chapter Three, I concentrate specifically on the creative relationship between Abraham Lichtenstein and Louis Lewandowski. I gauge the scope of Lichtenstein's impact on Lewandowski by comparing the music found in Mus.125 with Lewandowski's major publications, and describe how this relationship might change our views about the origins and development of this very influential body of material.

There are two appendices at the end of the thesis. Appendix I contains musical examples taken from Mus.125 and a variety of other sources examined in chapters two and three. Appendix II is an annotated listing of Mus.125, including each separate musical item, the liturgy that it incorporates, its key structure, and its setting.

Just as Louis Lewandowski is considered the greatest synagogue composer of the nineteenth century, so too was Abraham Lichtenstein one of its greatest *chazzanim*. The beauty and strength of Lichtenstein's voice, the originality of his *chazzanut*, and his ability to adapt and contribute to the reformation of the synagogue service, reveal a remarkable creative talent in the annals of Jewish music.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein was, from the accounts of his contemporaries, a phenomenal singer and musician. The originality of his *chazzanut*, and the beauty and power of his voice, were praised by many prominent members of the German Jewish community, as well as several highly respected non-Jewish observers. Lichtenstein's influence as a creative force in nineteenth century musical culture impacted the finest musicians of his day, including his colleague, the revered synagogue musician Louis Lewandowski, the composer and director of oratorios Carl Loewe (1796-1869), and the German Romantic composer Max Bruch (1838-1920). Considering the dearth of biographical research on Lewandowski, the greatest and most decorated synagogue composer of the nineteenth century, it is not surprising that there has been even less research on the life and music of Cantor Lichtenstein.

Despite the unequivocal praise that Lichtenstein received from his community, his mentors, and his proteges, biographical information is scanty; a thorough analysis and assessment of his music does not yet exist. Lichtenstein does not have his own entry in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* or any other major English language reference book on Jewish musicians; his name is more likely to be found in articles and materials relating to his more famous colleague, Lewandowski.

The most comprehensive biographical information on Lichtenstein that currently exists can be found in a series of two articles written by the cantor and writer on Jewish music Aron Friedmann (1855-1936). Friedmann was a student of Lewandowski, and served from 1882-1923 as Chief Cantor of the Berlin Jewish Community.[7] Commemorating the hundred year's anniversary of Lichtenstein's birth, Friedmann wrote a two-part series of articles for the *Allgemeine Zeitung des Judentums*, published in January and February of 1906.[8] Friedmann also provides the following brief biographical sketch in his later published three volume biographical book on cantors, *Lebensbilder berühmter Cantorin*:

> Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein was born on the fifth of *Sh'vat*, 1806, in PreuBisch-Friedland. His father was a merchant. His oldest brother became a Cantor and *shochet* in Ortelsburg, and his middle brother became a rabbi in Schlochau and PreuBisch-Stargard. At the age of nine, Abraham Jakob traveled to Königsberg, and studied with Chayim Leib Conrad as a boy soprano, while studying Hebrew, music, and the violin. At the age of 16, Lichtenstein was already a bass, singing with the *Chazzan* Löwe in Glogau. From there he went to Posen and became *Chazzan* of the "*bachurim chevra*." From Posen, Lichtenstein traveled to Frankfurt an der Oder, where he studied *sh'chita* with a cantor Lowenhaen. From Frankfurt he went to Schwedt an der Oder, where he worked as a cantor and *shochet* until 1833. It seems that at this point, Lichtenstein was ready for a more significant step in his career, and he "followed the honorable call" to become cantor in Stettin. The next year, Lichtenstein married the daughter of the highly regarded teacher Hirsch Reichart.
>
> In Stettin (in addition to his duties as Cantor and *shochet*), Lichtenstein played first violin in the orchestra of Dr. Carl Loewe. Loewe was a composer of ballads, and became a great supporter of the young *chazzan*. Lichtenstein received solos in many oratorios, and became "the darling of the community." His popularity as a singer of oratorios seemed to gain him even more respect as a cantor, as he possessed a "powerful voice and excellent musical talents." With every Shabbat, his congregation fell more and more in love with him. It is not surprising, then,

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[7] Macy Nulman, *Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1975), 83.

[8] Aron Friedmann, "Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein," *Allgemeine Zeitung Des Judentums* (Berlin), 26 January, 2 February 1906. All portions of this two-part series of articles quoted in this thesis were translated from the original German by Katja Vehlow.

> his congregation fell more and more in love with him. It is not surprising, then, that his fame spread beyond Stettin, and that "he was counted among the most famous cantors of his Fatherland."

Near the conclusion of his valuable biography, Friedmann offers the reader a first hand account of Lichtenstein's *Chazzanut*:

> The older members of our community might remember the highlights of Lichtenstein's singing, in particular, the *V'sham'ru* on Friday nights, which he sang partly according to Lewandowski's compositions, and partly improvised, and each time with great results. In particular his singing on the holiest day of the year, the *Kol Nidre* of Yom Kippur, the main pieces of *Musaf* and the *N'ilah* service were remarkable.[9]

PORTRAITS OF THE MAN AND HIS SINGING

In his book on the history of Jewish music, A. Z. Idelsohn offers this colorful portrait of Lichtenstein:

> Lichtenstein was gifted with a most wonderful dramatic tenor voice of phenomenal power and brilliancy, with a bewitching art of performance, and with an Italian temperament. He was a pious and warm-hearted Jew, and a master of traditional *chazzanuth.* In comparison with his contemporary *chazzanim*, he was accounted musically trained. He played the violin in the symphony orchestra, and used to sing tenor parts in the oratorio, under the leadership of Karl Loewe. It was he who called the attention of Max Bruch to Jewish traditional tunes, as a result of which interest, Bruch—according to his own statement—composed his *Kol Nidre*.[10]

Idelsohn penned this description of Lichtenstein nearly fifty years after the Cantor's death. There are many contemporaneous accounts of Lichtenstein's powers as a musician from which Idelsohn may have drawn. An early account of Lichtenstein's abilities is found in a journal article written by the daughter of Dr.

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[9] Ibid.
[10] Idelsohn, 276.

Carl Loewe.[11] Lichtenstein had played first violin in Loewe's orchestra in Stettin. When the position of Assistant Cantor at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue was created, Lichtenstein approached Dr. Loewe for a recommendation. Loewe's daughter writes:

> Right at the beginning father had looked at the singer in an astonished way, just as others had done, in awe, as if he was lost in deep thought. When the singing was over, he got up, and passed the singer silently and went to his desk. Soon he gave the singer a sealed letter saying, "take this dear Lichtenstein. Hand this in in Berlin, and I wish with all my heart, that you might receive the good position of the synagogue there, since I would not know how anyone could surpass you."[12]

Loewe was so inspired by Lichtenstein's presentation, that he wrote the oratorio, *Song of Songs*, in its wake. In his enthusiastic letter of recommendation of Lichtenstein to the Berlin community Loewe writes:

> I have come to know the cantor of the local Israelite community, Mr. Lichtenstein, as a very well versed man in the field of music. As first violinist for a number of years, he has participated in the orchestra of the local instrumental association. He has also participated industriously in the great concerts and with great expertise. He has an extremely beautiful voice, a rare coloratura, and beautifully clear *triller* (vibrato). In this, a very decent exterior comes to his help for a well-received presentation of his singing, so that one listens with great joy to his recitals. He has also composed prettily for his purposes. I am therefore glad to write this recommendation for Mr. Lichtenstein, and only regret that we will have to part with this intelligent man.[13]

Somewhat later in his career, in 1855, both Lichtenstein and Lewandowski traveled to Vienna to meet Cantor Solomon Sulzer, who had already achieved an enormous reputation as a reformer in the field of synagogue music. After Lichtenstein

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[11] Carl Loewe (1796-1869), was a prominent German composer and singer. In 1820 he was appointed professor and Kantor at the Gymnasium and seminary in Stettin, where he spent the rest of his life. In 1821 he became Musikdirektor of Stettin and organist of St. Jacobus's Cathedral. Stanley Sadie, *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians Volume 11* (London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980), 126.

[12] Friedmann, 57.

had presented Sulzer with some examples of his singing, Sulzer embraced his guest, saying, "You, dear colleague, have been taught singing by God."[14]

An anonymous article, published in 1865, describes in great detail Lichtenstein's service on Heidereutergasse. The article—entitled "Gesang in der Synagoge Zu Berlin"—was most likely written by Rudolph Tschirch (1825-72). Tschirch was an editor of the important journal *Deutscher Männer-Gesangs-Zeitung.* Although not Jewish himself, he was interested in Jewish musical culture in Berlin; his portrait of Lichtenstein's physical appearance and musical presentation is priceless in the absence of photographs or sound recordings:

> Lichtenstein is worthy of his name. He is a light, and precious stone among the singers and for the singers. Nobody who spends a longer period of time in Berlin should miss hearing this rare man sing. A big, stocky figure with a full face of genuine Oriental demeanor, the part in his hair is covered with a black Sammetkappen (velvet *kipah*). He went in his simple black suit to the *bimah*. He threw his white *Talar* (*tallit*) casually over his shoulders, and straightened his imposing figure. When he stepped up the sacred steps, there was a breathless silence in the whole Temple, a sign of the importance of this man for the service and the community. We must remark that this man has a voice range from the low basso G to the high tenor b-yes, b! One will have to admit that this is a voice that has been sought after by the great operas, in vain, for many years. He began to sing first in the middle range, with a clear, pure tone. The choir, when it begins to sing, was inspired by Lichtenstein's voice, entering in four-part harmony. In the movements that Lichtenstein sang, of course in Hebrew, with the community responding, and partly the choir responding, he used the full range of his voice. Every time the community said a prayer, you could see that he checked the pitch with a tuning fork, and then, depending on the importance of the text, he breathed out his all in a fiery ecstasy (ardor) and lament, employing all technical skills that a well-trained singer has.
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> In one part of the service, commemorating members of the community who had died last week, his voice sounded in minor motives, and we wished that when we were mourners we should be comforted by the power of such a voice. (After the *kaddish*), there followed a beautifully worked out fugue in four voices full of elevated and courageous harmonic combinations. We do not know the text, but in

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[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid, 58.

any case, there was a sentence that meant "trust in God, He will never leave you." At one point, he went up and sang in a free intonation: he sang forte, long notes, one after the other, a, b, a. In the greatest security, in a decrescendo, he goes down in a fifth, back to d, and finally, in piano, cadences.

If anyone would think that in a single phrase in these dangerous registers that a single *Tonansatz* would not be pretty, or that the diction would be unclear, one would be in error. If we should mention one more thing, it should be a masterly coloratura that decorates his singing. (Four kinds of trills) were all very beautiful, delicate, and round. They all pearled delicately, roundly, and purely. The higher registers were sung in chest voice with playful ease, with a beautiful sound that never allowed itself to be overwhelmed by its power—and all of this sung by a man of 58 years. This should remind the reader of what an extraordinary voice we are dealing with here. What must Lichtenstein have been like 20 years ago when he was at the height of his days? When this rock will one day expire, this "Voice of God" will have sung its last with a paling lip, then the Synagogue will have a hard time finding a cantor who can even come close to Lichtenstein. –Deutsche Sanger! Strebt solchem Vorbilde nach!"[15]

EMANCIPATION AND THE HEIDEREUTERGASSE COMMUNITY

In order to understand and appreciate the development of Lichtenstein's services at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue, it is helpful to take stock of the radical changes that were taking place in Western European Jewish life of the nineteenth century. The emergence of the Jewish community into the greater European society had wide ranging ramifications for Jewish economic, social, artistic, and religious life. In the area of religion, many reforms were introduced in order to accommodate the Jews' new relationship with the majority society, including changes in the prayer book and the

[15] This description of Lichtenstein's singing, and the information on Tschirch is found in Friedhelm Brusniak, "*Deutsche Sanger! Strebt solchem Vorbilde nach!* Zur Gesangspraxis des Berliner Oberkantors Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein (1806-1880)." (Portions of the article quoted in this thesis were translated from the original German by Katja Vehlow.) Tschirch was apparently atypically supportive of the opera composer Giacomo Meyerbeer (1791-1864),which may be a partial explanation of his interest in Jewish music.

aesthetic of the synagogue service. When we examine Lichtenstein's service in detail in the Chapter Two, we will see that it may be best described as "eclectic." It draws on the traditional Jewish material of both East and West European *nusach* and *chazzanut*, and incorporates three and four-part choral writing in the Western Classical and Romantic fashion. The religious and cultural upheaval in Germany and its effect on the Jewish aesthetic paradigm created the demand in the Orthodox community on Heidereutergasse for a musical leader of Lichtenstein's traditional background and versatility. We will see that Mus.125 illustrates the polarity between the Eastern (Oriental or Semitic) and Western (Christian) aesthetic on one hand, and a synthesis of these aesthetics on the other.

The nineteenth century was witness to many great changes in the social status of European Jewry. In 1798, Napoleon issued his famous edict that effectively gave Jews status of full citizenship. The emancipation of European Jewry opened up many opportunities, and had an everlasting impact on the philosophical, cultural, and religious aesthetic of Judaism. In the realm of Jewish worship, experiments were initiated early in the century that would give rise to a radical restructuring of the European synagogue ritual. As early as 1787 in Berlin, David Friedlander had attempted to translate the prayerbook from Hebrew to German, and the great Jewish philosopher Moses Mendelssohn did the same for the Jewish Bible.[16]

The first successful reformer of the synagogue ritual was Israel Jacobsohn (1768-1828), who envisaged a service that was musically parallel to the German Church.

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[16] Idelsohn, 235.

Jacobsohn introduced hymns taken from Protestant chorales into the children's service; Idelsohn credits him with erecting the first Reform Temple in Europe, where he installed an organ as well (Seesen, 1810).[17] Jacobsohn abolished the chanting of the service according to the traditional modes, and along with this, eliminated the role of the *chazzan*.[18] In 1815, Jacobsohn opened a Temple in his private home in Berlin, but it did not last long. Following Jacobsohn's model, Jacob Herz Beer opened a similar Temple in his own home, and appointed *Chazzan* Asher Lion (1776-1863).[19]

The conflict between the innovations of the Jewish reformers and the traditional European attitude toward religion was strongly felt in the early nineteenth century. A decree of 1823 instructed that all divine worship was to take place in the local synagogue and according to accepted custom, without any innovations in the language, ritual, prayers, and liturgy. Apparently Jacobsohn's "radical reforms" were too much for the German government as well as the Jewish community, but the stage for innovation and reform had been set. In Frankfort in 1845, the rabbinical conference of young reform rabbis, including Samuel Holdheim (1806-1860), Abraham Geiger (1810-1874), and Samuel Adler (1809-1891), recommended the use of the organ and instrumental music on Shabbat and holidays.

Berlin saw an enormous increase in its Jewish population during the nineteenth century. Due to the partitions of Poland and Lithuania (1772-1795), a steady stream of Eastern European Jews, largely from the province of Posen (or "Poznan," where Lewandowski was born, and Lichtenstein had studied), and later from the Pale of

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[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid, 236.
[19] Ibid.

Settlement, flowed into the northeastern German city.[20] Jews played an increasing role in Berlin's economic life, as newspaper owners, bankers, store owners, in grain and metal trades, in the textile and clothing industry, building construction, manufacture of railway engines and cars, the brewing of beer, and in other fields.[21] By mid century, there were more than 10,000 Jewish residents in Berlin, and in 1890, this population had increased by more than ten times.[22] In 1840, several years before Abraham Lichtenstein would move to Berlin, Jews comprised roughly two percent of the city's total population.

Berlin was a microcosm of the modernization of west European Jewry. In 1819, Leopold Zunz founded the *Verein fuer Kultur und Wissenschaft der Juden* ("Society for Jewish Culture and Learning"). In 1845, Aaron Bernstein founded the Reform Society. The period from 1847-1860 marked the radical Samuel Holdheim's rabbinate of the Reform congregation. From 1870-74, Abraham Geiger was rabbi of the Berlin community at the magnificent Neue Synagogue on Oranienburgerstrasse, and in 1872, the *Hochschule fuer die Wissenschaft des Judentums* was opened.[23]

As the waves of Reform washed over Germany and the rest of Western Europe, the community of the Heidereutergasse Synagogue in Berlin was calling for a restructuring of the service. In 1844, the community brought in Rabbi Michael Sachs as their preacher; he also served as *dayyan* (judge) at the *bet din* (Jewish court). Sachs was born in Glogau, Silesia, and in 1836, succeeded Leopold Zunz as preacher in Prague. He is described as a traditionalist who was, at least in the beginning, opposed to the introduction of the organ in services. But Sachs was ultimately desirable to the Berlin

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[20] *Encyclopedia Judaica vol.4*, 643, column 2.
[21] Ibid.
[22] Ibid.

community due to his generally moderate position, and he represents an excellent example of the struggles between the traditionalism and reforms being played out at this tumultuous era in Jewish history. Sachs had well formed opinions about the role the *chazzan*, the choir, and music in general in the synagogue service. In a letter to the Elders of the Berlin Community in 1844, he writes:

> The cantor is the center of the Jewish service, because although everyone prays for themselves, *he* prays aloud for everybody. It is he who connects the individual prayers to one community, and who makes the private meditation into a public one. What does Public prayer consist of? One prays aloud, and the others listen...the community needs to step back in public prayer, and they should give the cantor 'the stage.' The community should not shout out the cantor, nor should they say what he has to say first. They should not pray what he should be praying...
>
> ...some communities succeeded in giving prayer artistic expression, whereas others did not. These communities succeeded by introducing a choir. If the place of singing is well established and accepted, the question is, how far can this be realized. Singing should not be there for its own sake, but have a higher aim.[24]

Sachs saw Solomon Sulzer's *Schir Zion* as a model for the modern synagogue service, because it connects *chazzanut* with artistic form and newly composed pieces. He wanted Sulzer's music to be used in his Berlin community, so that the "uniformity that had characterized and fortified the old service would also hold true for the newly created service."[25] However, Sachs was not opposed to music by composers other than Sulzer that also might fit into this modern scheme.

Musical practices of the Heidereutergasse Synagogue did not, at least initially, conform to the intentions of Sachs, who had already presided over a regulated Reform

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[23] Ibid., 645.
[24] Friedmann, 45.
[25] Ibid.

service in Prague. As Lewandowski put it, the cult (or ritual) was in disarray.[26] The appearance of Hirsch Weintraub and his singing ensemble in Berlin in 1838 had a profound influence on Lewandowski and the entire Berlin Jewish community. Asher Lion, the cantor of the Heidereutergasse Synagogue, was envious of Weintraub's "singing orchestra," and he did everything he could to reorganize the choral element of the service. In 1840, the community leaders acquired the parts to Sulzer's music, and with this, the reorganization of the service began. Lion tried his best to emulate Weintraub's choir despite his own lack of musical education, and he was able to obtain the services of Weintraub's tenor, Moshe Mirkin, who remained in Berlin.[27] After some effort, Lion had acquired a double quartet. The choir was successful, but Lion became sick often and needed replacements. Mirkin and the synagogue servant Seelig Josef, who had learned with the old Ahron Beer (Lion's predecessor) filled in for Lion, but they were not skilled enough for the community's taste.

To satisfy the demands of the community for a more knowledgeable musical leader, the position of Second Cantor was created. Several applications came in, including one from Weintraub. Lichtenstein auditioned for the position in person, and made an impression that would eventually secure him the job. On January 18, 1844, the committee of the Berlin congregation sent Lichtenstein the following letter:

> A commission appointed by the elders of our committee has considered it important to hire a second cantor for the local Great Synagogue. This commission had been appointed to speak out in an educated manner as to which person would be most qualified for this position. The commission, which also includes a member of the directory board of the community, has now decided in your favor, and the (elders) have agreed. Only the commission of the twenty-seven—which

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[26] Ibid., 46.
[27] Idelsohn, 272.

> will be convened very shortly— will have to vote on behalf of the salary of the second cantor. In a short while you can expect your acceptance.[28]

Lewandowski, who was already an important musical presence in the Berlin community, wrote a letter to Lichtenstein's father-in-law assuring him of the Berlin community's intentions:

> Mr. Reichart, I am happy to tell you that Lichtenstein has met with great success as *vorbeter* in our synagogue. The local community was very excited to meet the world famous man whose name was on everybody's lips. With every note that Lichtenstein sang, the excitement of the audience got higher and higher until after *V'sham'ru*, people dared to breathe. The next morning, the praise was without limits. The tears evoked by the *Sh'ma Yisrael*, touched all very much. I could say many things about this (whole experience). There is only one opinion and one voice, namely that Mr. Lichtenstein combines the best qualities of the three greatest theater singers of Berlin: the instrument and precision of Bader,[29] the tenderness in singing and recital of Mantius,[30] and the forcefulness and fullness of Zschische.[31] There is no doubt that he will receive the position and I am very happy to congratulate you and your family on this occasion.[32]

On Easter, 1845, Lichtenstein began his work as the second cantor, taking turns officiating with Asher Lion. Lion could not measure up to the colossal talent of Lichtenstein, and was soon sent into pension, with his younger colleague promoted to first cantor. Friedmann writes:

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[28] Friedmann, 47.
[29] Karl Adam Bader (1789-1870) was one of the leading German tenors of his time. He was noted in particular for the strength and fullness of his voice, as well as the intelligence of his performance and his fine acting ability (*Großes Sängerlexikon*, 146).
[30] Eduard Mantius (1806-1874) arrived in Berlin around 1829, where he soon acquired a great reputation as a singer of Handel's oratorios "Samson" and "Judas Maccabeus." He was friendly with the Mendelssohn family, taking part in Mendelssohn's Singspiel "Die Heimkuhr aus der Freinde" (Return from the Foreign Land). He performed in more than 150 roles in a long, successful career as the principal tenor of the Berlin Hofoper. He was esteemed "not only for the unusual quality of his voice and the great musicality of his performance, but also for his talent as an actor" (ibid., 2199).
[31] August Zschiesche (1800-1876) was a German bass baritone. In 1829 he began a long and illustrious career with the Berlin Court Opera (ibid, 3823-3824).
[32] Friedmann, 57.

> With the officiating of Lichtenstein, fresh new life entered the life of Berlin's cultural community. His imposing voice, encompassing a wide range, his correct intonation, the powerful accents in his recitativo, the sharp yet singing pronunciation of the words, in particular, the imposing expression of his singing generated by a truly pious feeling as well as for the vivacity and warmth of his temperament, were attracting agents which filled the synagogue every Shabbat with devotional listeners. And even non-Jews were incited to come to the Heidereuter Synagogue. Even the directors of the academy of singing, Grell and Rungenhagen, often numbered among the listeners of Cantor Lichtenstein. Both men, Lichtenstein and Lewandowski dominated the musical part of the service, and they were complementary in their talents and presentation.[33]

Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein was the quintessential nineteenth century Jew in the spirit of the great philosopher Moses Mendelssohn. He was a learned and devoted Orthodox *chazzan*, with a deep understanding of the traditional synagogue service. He was also "renaissance man" whose musical talents bridged the gap between his community and the greater German society. These qualities insured his long successful career at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue in Berlin. He served there for nearly thirty-five years, leaving a great musical legacy.

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[33] Ibid.

CHAPTER TWO

LICHTENSTEIN'S MUSIC

We have the cantor, composer, and music collector par excellence Eduard Birnbaum (1855-1920) to thank for the preservation of Lichtenstein's compositional legacy. Birnbaum, who succeeded Hirsch Weintraub as cantor in Königsberg from 1879 until his death in 1920, amassed an enormous catalog of music stemming from the late eighteenth through the early twentieth century. Birnbaum achieved international recognition as the foremost authority in the field of synagogue music. His collection, which was acquired soon after his death by the Klau Library located at the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati, came to be considered the most important—and yet the least known—collection of Jewish music.[34]

Birnbaum himself, and subsequently the musicologists Abraham Z. Idelsohn and Eric Werner, attempted to catalogue significant parts of the collection, giving rise to multiple layers of call numbers. Because of the complexity of the collection and its cataloguing, the vast musical repertoire of the collection was virtually inaccessible for nearly sixty years. Finally, in the late 1970s, the musicologist Israel Adler and his team compiled a more inclusive catalog (known as the "Jumbo Catalog") incorporating Birnbaum's original system. The Hebrew Union College Library has made the entire

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[34] Israel Adler, *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840*, vol. I (Munich, Germany: G. Henle Verlag, 1989), *lxiv*.

Birnbaum Collection available on seventy-two reels of microfilm, including full documentation of the Birnbaum, Idelsohn, Werner, and Adler catalogs.

The vast array of Jewish music in the Birnbaum Collection presents exciting opportunities for Jewish musical research. Included in the collection are the complete handwritten vocal scores of the liturgies for the whole year, arranged according to the communities in which they developed. Also included are some of the invaluable original manuscripts of the great synagogue musicians Solomon Sulzer (1804-1890), Hirsch Weintraub (1811-1882), and Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894), as well as two arrangements of the music of the great composer of classical music, Felix Mendelssohn (1809-1847).[35]

It is likely that the music of Cantor Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein has not been closely examined or analyzed since Eric Werner attempted to catalogue the Birnbaum Collection in the 1950s. Birnbaum ascribed two substantial areas of his collection to Lichtenstein, labeled "No.125" and "No.126."[36] Mus.125 is devoted solely to the music of Lichtenstein and includes four booklets—numbered 14-18—transcriptions of Lichtenstein's service that Birnbaum made in Berlin.

Mus.126 is more complicated and problematic, as it contains music by several composers, and is written in several different hands. Mus.126 (1) is a 19-page booklet of solo and choral music for the *Tal* Service of *Pesach*, ascribed to Lichtenstein by Birnbaum. Music 126 (3a) is a four part choral setting of Psalm 118, composed by Isidor Rosenfeld; the title page notes its dedication to A. J. Lichtenstein in honor of his fortieth

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[35] See also Eric Werner, "The Eduard Birnbaum Collection of Jewish Music," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 18 (1943/44): 397-428.

[36] As mentioned in footnote #1, I refer to these two collections as "Mus.125" and

birthday, and bears the date January 22, 1847. Mus.126 (3b-i) contains various compositions and parts to choral compositions (for example, '3d' is the tenor part for a choral setting of "*L'cha Dodi*"). These pieces, along with the other music in Mus.126, need to be analyzed further.

In addition to Mus.125 and Mus.126, there are several miscellaneous works ascribed to Lichtenstein. A careful study of the music in Mus.126 together with these miscellaneous manuscripts will no doubt shed more light on Lichtenstein and Lewandowski as research on this topic continues. It may prove fortuitous that the manuscripts of Mus.126 are in several hands, as we will be able to study and compare the handwriting, as well as attempt to date this material.

For this study I have chosen to focus solely on the music of Mus.125 for several reasons. We know that Eduard Birnbaum alone transcribed all of the music in this collection. It was most likely transcribed at one time, and is clearly organized. It contains a wealth of liturgical music from all seasons of the Jewish year. It is therefore my hope that a careful analysis and categorization of this material will represent a significant contribution to the understanding of Lichtenstein's—and perhaps Lewandowski's—music, and may shed further light on the creative collaboration between these two men.

Mus.125 contains four fascicles (folios) of Lichtenstein's music, meticulously and beautifully transcribed by Eduard Birnbaum.[37] Each booklet measures 20 by 25 ½ cm, and includes six staves. Birnbaum labels the four booklets of his transcriptions as follows:

"Mus.126," in accordance with Israel Adler's call numbers.

1) "Lichtenstein 14. u, 15. Maariw & Shachariss."
2) "Lichtenstein 16. Abendgottesdienst."
3) "Lichtenstein 17. Morgengottesdienst."
4) "Lichtenstein 18. Musfaf et N'ilo"

It is apparent that Birnbaum did not copy Lichtenstein's manuscripts in their entirety. In all of the transcriptions, he indicates page numbers in the margins (i.e. "S. 28"=page 28). These numbers seem to refer to the pages of the original manuscripts from which Birnbaum made his transcriptions.

In some places there are large gaps between page numbers, even though the amount of music in the original manuscript would not have taken so much space. For example, Booklet 17, which Birnbaum labels "Morgengottesdienst" (Morning Service), contains liturgy for the *Shacharit* service of Shabbat. Pages 1 through 7 of Birnbaum's transcription include *nusach* for the liturgy of the *Sh'ma* and its blessings. Birnbaum has marked "S. 27" (page 27) in the margin of the *k'dusha d'yotzer* section, which concludes with the text "*baruch k'vod Adonai mim'komo.*" The transcription continues with "*shirah chadasha*;" "S. 42" (page 42) is indicated in the margin. It is clear that much of the liturgy normally chanted by the *chazzan* has been skipped; the fact that Birnbaum chose not to copy this section of the service is corroborated by the gap between page numbers. This liturgy must have been included in the original manuscripts on pages 27 through 42.

An interesting aspect of Booklet 17 in particular is that Birnbaum's transcription begins with Lichtenstein's *nusach* for liturgy not commonly chanted by the *chazzan*. It is possible that the *minhag* (custom) in mid nineteenth century Berlin dictated that the *chazzan* chanted this liturgy. Another possibility is that chanting this liturgy was

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[37] I refer to these folios from here on as "booklets."

Lichtenstein's innovation and Birnbaum wanted to preserve it. What is equally revealing is the *nusach* missing from the transcription. Absent, among other items, is the traditional entrance of the *chazzan* at "*shochein ad*," and its subsequent *nusach*. Perhaps this *nusach* was standard and well known, so Birnbaum did not bother taking the time to copy it. Or, for the same reason, Lichtenstein himself never wrote out the music for these passages. (It is less likely that the *chazzan* did not customarily chant these passages at all). In any case, it is safe to conclude that Birnbaum did not transcribe all the liturgy contained in the original manuscripts.

Another aspect worth considering before delving into the material itself, is the nature of transcriptions. Anyone who transcribes music—even if his values dictate an approach faithful and accurate regarding the composer's original intentions—is, by the very act of transcribing, in effect editing the original. It has been the vogue of the late twentieth century to create the ultimate "Urtext," especially in the field of Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, and Romantic music. In the age of technology, it has become the ultimate goal of the performer of Baroque music, for example, to play from facsimiles of the original seventeenth and eighteenth century manuscripts. Eduard Birnbaum lived in an age before photocopying. It was a common sensibility of the time that any musician was an interpreter, and is therefore possible that Birnbaum could have made certain editorial contributions to Lichtenstein's original manuscripts. Although he had a reputation for clarity and accuracy, it is not impossible that he might have added a dynamic marking, or fixed a clumsy harmonization.

One area in particular where Birnbaum may have edited Lichtenstein's music is in the choral responses for the Friday evening service. The outlay of the four parts suggests

a mixed choir, although Lichtenstein would have only employed a male choir. It is possible that boys sang the soprano and alto parts in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue choir.[38] Unfortunately, we do not at this time have access to the original manuscripts from which Birnbaum prepared his transcriptions.

If Abraham Lichtenstein is the true author of all the music in this collection, he was not only a master of traditional *musach* and *chazzanut*, but also well versed in other musical idioms of the nineteenth century, including opera, classical instrumental music, and even German Protestant church music. We know that he had played the violin in Carl Loewe's orchestra in Stettin, and often was featured as a vocal soloist in oratorios. It is not clear what the extent of his formal musical training was, but based on the breadth and depth of Mus.125, we must conclude that the *chazzan* was also an excellent and original composer.

The collection contains a large array of musical styles: traditional *musach* and *chazzanut* from both the East and West European traditions; the judicious preservation of *missinai* motifs for the appropriate times of year; operatic and instrumental influences; congregational melodies; and three extensive Cantorial Fantasias. A significant influence on the Heidereutergasse service was the service of Cantor Solomon Sulzer (1804-1890) of Vienna, with whom Lichtenstein and Lewandowski consulted in 1855. Sulzer's choral responses can be found in the *K'dusha* of Lichtenstein's *Shacharit* and *Musaf* service for both Shabbat and the High Holy Days.

In the following section of this chapter, I examine and analyze a broad spectrum of the music found in Mus.125. I explain the liturgical context of the music, and point

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[38] Cantor Israel Goldstein has stated that boys were used extensively in such choirs,

out the disparate musical influences on this large body of material. In evaluating the "traditional" material in the collection (the modes, *musach* and *chazzanut*), I refer to several sources; Abraham Baer's encyclopedic *Ba'al T'fillah* (first published in 1877) is my primary point of reference.[39] I analyze the choral music for its harmonic, melodic and rhythmic content, and evaluate the part writing. By these descriptions, I intend on taking the next step in evaluating this material where Eric Werner had left off so many years ago.

Lichtenstein 14 and 15

The first booklet, which Birnbaum labeled 'Lichtenstein 14 u 15' and entitled "*Maariw & Schachariss*," is twenty-two pages long (EXAMPLE #1). According to the comments in Werner's card catalog, the liturgy contained in this transcription is for the Three Festivals (*Pesach, Sukkot,* and *Shavuot*). This classification is incorrect: this liturgy is primarily for the *Ma-ariv* and *Shacharit* services of the High Holy Days. Booklet 14 is ten pages long, and features *musach* for the *S'lichot* section of the Yom Kippur evening service. The transcription continues with Booklet 15, labeled "*Schacharisf*" by Birnbaum, although it also includes music for the High Holiday *Musaf*

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including the synagogue in England in which he was raised.

[39] According to Macy Nulman's *Concise Encyclopedia,* Abraham Baer (1834-1894) was the earliest collector of liturgical melodies. In this sense, he was the forerunner of Eduard Birnbaum and A.Z. Idelsohn. Baer's *Baal T'fillah*: *Der practische Vorbeter* was first published in 1877. A second edition came out in 1883, and was revised and enlarged in 1901. Subsequent editions and publications are a testament to this encyclopedia's importance and authority. According to the preface to the Out-of-Prints Reissue by the Hebrew Union College School of Sacred Music (1953), the book was considered a standard reference for the European cantor. I use this reissue as reference for this thesis.

service. A highlight of Booklet 15 is the four-part "*Todtenfeier*" (Memorial Service) which will be discussed in detail below.

A lovely example of a basic *musach* is illustrated in Booklet 14. Birnbaum's transcription begins with *musach* for the liturgy immediately following the acrostic *piyyut* (liturgical poem) "*Ya-aleh.*" This *piyyut* comes after the silent *Amidah*, and begins the *S'lichot* section of the *Ma-ariv* service for Yom Kippur. The liturgy that follows (set to *musach*) includes verses primarily from the Psalms, as well as verses from the Torah, the Prophets, and the Book of Job. These verses are the building blocks for several substantial paragraphs; most of the text has been set to a recurring melodic pattern. In the Eastern Rite (*Minhag Polin*), the congregation would have chanted these verses silently. In the West (*Minhag Ashkenaz*), these verses were chanted out loud and responsively between the cantor and the congregation (EXAMPLE #2).

As the text for this section of the service is lengthy, the words are set in a mostly syllabic, straightforward manner. The melodic pattern resolves on the tonic of 'D,' and is characterized by two short phrases. The first phrase ends on middle C, and the concluding phrase ends with the motion g to d. Two tones, namely the 'g' and 'a' above middle C serve as psalm tones. They are hangers, tones repeated quickly in succession, upon which several words of the text are sung.

This melodic pattern, a traditional *musach* of the Eastern European tradition, is in the *Magein Avot* mode. It is directly related to the *musach* given by Abraham Baer for the same section of the Yom Kippur service. Baer gives two traditional melodies for this part of the service, which includes the texts "*shomei-ah t'filah,*" and "*han'shamah lach.*" The first example is from the eastern European tradition (designated P.S. for "*polnische*

Weise"), and the second represents the Western European (German) tradition (designated D.W. for "*deutsche Weise*").[40] Lichtenstein's *musach* for this liturgy adheres to the Eastern European musical pattern (EXAMPLE #3).

Birnbaum must have transcribed this section of *musach*—despite its length and repetitive nature—because it represented a unique tradition of performing this section of the service. The Western *minhag* of praying this section out loud and responsively enables it to be experienced in an almost mantra-like manner, where the text is delivered simply, directly, and antiphonally between *chazzan* and *kahal*.[41] In Baer's examples, the pitch 'Bb' is used as a recitation tone, and some of the *musach* is harmonized. These two devices steer the melody more closely towards the key of g minor. But Lichtenstein's *musach* is not harmonized, nor is there a key signature. The pitch 'Bb' is avoided until page three, and is not used again until page eight. In both of these cases the Bb is only a passing tone: a result of Lichtenstein's improvisations upon the original melodic theme. This *musach* seems to approach pure psalmody, and may have been one instance that led Eric Werner to comment on the purity of Lichtenstein's melodic conception.

A melodic shift does not occur until the top of page nine of the manuscript, on the words "*atanu al shimcha*" (EXAMPLE #4). Lichtenstein's melody shifts more clearly towards Bb major, characterized by the arpeggio d, b^b, f. The theme is directly related to Baer's example #1309 on page 302, most notably on the word "*atanu*" (EXAMPLE #5). A great cantor of the twentieth century, Israel Alter, uses the same theme for the text

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[40] Baer, *Ba'al T'fillah*, 301-302.

[41] Comparable to the manner in which some contemporary congregations chant the "*nisim b'chol yom*" section of *p'sukei d'zimrah*, or the psalm "*Ashrei*."

"*S'lach na,*" near the beginning of the Yom Kippur *Aravit* service[42] (EXAMPLE #6). Lichtenstein concludes according to Baer.

The liturgy immediately following, "*Dark'cha Eloheinu,*" is a text written by Yose ben Yose, the Jewish liturgical poet of seventh century Palestine. Baer offers two similar musical versions of the text from *Minhag Polin*[43] (EXAMPLE #7). Both of Baer's versions indicate that the text was sung first by the *chazzan*, then repeated by the choir. An interesting difference between Baer's two examples is that the first is seven bars long, and the second, eight. Lichtenstein's setting is more closely related to Baer's second example, and is likewise eight bars long (EXAMPLE #8). He sets all four verses of the text to the exact same metric melody, and each verse has a repeat sign written in. An outstanding characteristic of this melody, which is in c minor, is the use of a sequence of the first phrase for the second phrase, transposed to g minor. Either this section was sung responsively between *chazzan* and choir, as Baer indicates, or perhaps, as Lewandowski indicates in *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah*, between "*Vorbeter, Chor und Gemeinde*" (between cantor and choir/congregation).

Birnbaum's transcription continues in the same booklet with 'Lichtenstein 15,' labeled "*Schacharisf.*" It begins with the complete *K'dusha* for *Shacharit*. Here we find, for the first time, the influence of the great Viennese Cantor Solomon Sulzer. The first response, beginning with the words, "*kadosh, kadosh, kadosh,*" is set for four-part choir. The music is from Sulzer's service, found in his work *Schir Zion, Volume 1.*[44]

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[42] Israel Alter, *The High Holiday Service* (New York: Cantors Assembly, Inc., 1971), 88.
[43] Baer, 302.
[44] Solomon Sulzer, *Schir Zion, Volume 1. Out of Print Classics Series of Synagogue Music #6*, 85.

Sulzer's original music is in G Major, and is set for mixed choir. The melody, still used widely today, is defined by the opening bars, in which the words "*kadosh, kadosh, kadosh*" are set to an ethereal, upward reaching melody. 'D' is the point of departure, from where the melody first reaches up a major sixth, then a minor seventh, and finally, a full octave, preparing for the word "*Adonai*" (EXAMPLE #9).

Lichtenstein's setting of Sulzer's response is in Eb Major; the music is essentially the same. The placement of the voices suggests a mixed choir, but, as was mentioned previously, only men and perhaps boys were utilized in the Heidereuter community. Lichtenstein's voice leading may be a little bit less elegant than Sulzer's. For example, in the pick up to the first measure, Sulzer writes the bass part in contrary motion to two of the upper three upper voices, with the alto part remaining on the same pitch. Lichtenstein's bass line rises along with the soprano and alto parts, creating hidden parallel octaves. It would have been difficult for him to write the bass voice in a descending motion, since that would have entailed using a low Eb in the first measure (EXAMPLE #10).

Sulzer's phrase is nine measures long, made up of a five bar phrase and a four bar phrase. Lichtenstein's version is also nine measures long, but is divided into a six bar phrase plus a three bar phrase. Whereas Sulzer's phrase is written in a 3/4 time signature, Lichtenstein switches to 4/4 for the second phrase.

For the response "*Yimloch Adonai L'Olam,*" Lichtenstein again reverts to Sulzer's music. Here the harmonic simplification is more apparent. Sulzer's original harmonization is rich and sophisticated: full of suspensions, chromatic passing tones, and

more active part-writing in general[45] (EXAMPLE #11). Lichtenstein's version is simple and straightforward, using primarily block chords (EXAMPLE #12).

Unifying Lichtenstein's *K'dusha* is a musical reprise in Eb Major, appearing three times, on the phrases "*Kakatuv al yad n'vi-echa*," "*l'umatam baruch yomeiru*," and "*al y'dei David*." It is written in a 6/8 time signature, although Birnbaum mistakenly indicates "3/4" the first time[46] (EXAMPLE #13). When this melody appears as it does in the transcription, in 6/8, it looks very much like a snippet of instrumental music, possibly from a classical string quartet. It can also be found in a 3/4 meter in Lewandowski's *Todah W'Simrah, Volume II.*[47]

Immediately following the *K'dusha* for *Shacharit*, Birnbaum has transcribed *musach* for the liturgy of the High Holiday *Musaf* service. The Eb 6/8 reprise discussed above remains a pivot point for the internal verses. The verses beginning "*K'vodo*", "*Mim'komo*", and "*Echad Hu*" are all set to the same *musach*, a *missinai* motive associated with the High Holidays (EXAMPLE #15). *At "Adir Adireinu,"* the *musach* switches to another *missinai* motive, and modulates to the key of Ab Major (EXAMPLE #16). The *K'dusha* for *Musaf* concludes in Ab Major with "*yimloch Adonai l'olam,*" again with the music from Sulzer's service.

Of special interest is the music that follows these two versions of the *K'dusha* in Booklet 15. It is a four-part setting, entitled "*Todtenfeier*." The text is from Psalm 16, "*Shiviti Adonai L'Negbi Tamid.*" Set in the key of f minor and including detailed

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[45] *Out of Print Classics #6*, 122.

[46] Geoffrey Goldberg has pointed out to me that this motif was a known Jewish melody, and it was not traditionally performed in a strict meter. Part of this melody, in a more rhythmically free presentation, can be found in Baer's examples 1198 and 1202 (EXAMPLE #14).

dynamic markings, this piece is one of the most stunning four-part settings in the entire collection. It was a *minhag* of the Eastern European Jews to hold a *Yizkor* (Memorial) Service after the morning service on Yom Kippur, as well as on the last days *of Pesach, Sukkot (Sh'mini Atzeret)*, and *Shavuot*. The Western European Jews would normally only hold such a service on Yom Kippur, which is why this *Todtenfeier* may be found here. The difference in customs may have lead Eric Werner to conclude, upon a cursory review of this collection, that the liturgy was written for the Three Festivals.

The *Todtenfeier* is written in SATB format, further evidence that well-trained boys sang in the choir on Heidereutergasse. The writing is not complexly polyphonic, but a nice counterpoint is achieved between the upper and lower voices at the beginning of the piece. In measure 9, the texture changes from four to three parts, as the music modulates directly to Ab Major. A unison descending figure beginning on the pick up to measure 13 facilitates a modulation to F Major, the parallel major of the original key. In this third and final section, the gentle, lyrical melody of the soprano line is derived from the music of the previous section. The lower voices pair off again on the pick up to measure 22, announcing an eight measure coda to this very brief composition.

An outstanding characteristic of this piece is the rich nature of its harmonic writing. The piece is full of secondary dominant chords, double suspensions, and chromatically altered pitches. The final four bars of the coda are a repetition of the previous four bars, with the exception of the use of the borrowed iv chord to achieve one final splash of harmonic color (EXAMPLE #17).

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[47] *Out of Print Classics #12*, 179.

After the *Todtenfeier*, we find the *nusach* for *Ashrei*. *Ashrei* is recited at the end of the Torah service, and in the case of Yom Kippur, after *Hazkarat N'shamot* (*Yizkor*), which explains the order in which it is placed in the transcription. The *nusach* given for *Ashrei* is a *missinai* motif, associated with the shofar service of Rosh Hashanah (See conclusion of EXAMPLE#17). This *nusach* can be found in Baer's examples for the shofar service of Rosh Hashanah (EXAMPLE #18). For "*Y'hal'lu,*" Lichtenstein incorporates the above *missinai* melody along with a theme associated with the German manner of chanting the High Holiday *Musaf* Service (EXAMPLES #19 & 20).

Lichtenstein 16

Booklet 16, entitled "Abendgottesdienst" ("Evening Service") is twenty-six pages long, and features the complete *Ma-ariv* service for *Shabbat*. Although the transcription contains most of the liturgy traditionally chanted by the *chazzan*, it also weaves in several choral compositions. This service in particular reveals the combination of traditional *chazzanut* alongside Western harmonized choral compositions. It is a fine example of the incorporation of tradition and reform in the synagogue, and may represent the symbiosis of Lichtenstein and Lewandowski's collaboration at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue.

The transcription begins with the traditional entrance of the *chazzan* on the words "*u-ma-avir yom,*" the *chatimah* of the "*Ma-ariv Aravim*" prayer at the beginning of the evening service. The *nusach* is in a major mode, more accurately described as "*Adonai Malach*" rather than D Major. The major mode for this section of the service (from *Bar'chu* through *V'ne-emar*) was popular in the Central European tradition. Although

the Eastern tradition used the major mode here as well, this liturgy was also commonly sung in the minor mode (EXAMPLES #21 & 22).

Lichtenstein's *musach* for this section of the service is florid, and incorporates a fairly large vocal range (C#-g). It is common to sing a particular melodic formula on the words "*Eil chai v'kayam.*" This formula is then usually repeated on the words "*v'ahavat'cha,*" in the second *chatimah*, and sometimes at "*u'malchuto.*" Lichtenstein's melodic formula for these sections is comparable to Baer's example, and he uses it for the first two sections mentioned above (EXAMPLE #23). Both of these *chatimot* include four-part choral responses, and the second *chatimah, "oheiv amo yisrael,"* goes directly into a simple four-part harmonization of "*sh'ma yisrael.*"

In place of the *chazzan* entering again solo with the text leading up to "*Mi Chamocha,*" we find a four-part choral composition for male choir, beginning with the text *"ha-ma-avir banav."* The piece begins in g minor, and contains several fine examples of word painting. At the pick up to measure seven, on the words "*bit'homot tiba*" ("HE caused them to sink into the depths"), the choir is in unison, on a descending arpeggio (EXAMPLE #24). Immediately following, the music shifts into the parallel major (G Major), beautifully pointing out the shift in text to "*v'ra-u vanav g'vurato*" ("When HIS children perceived HIS power, they lauded and gave praise to HIS name."). The first tenor line at this point is especially lyrical (EXAMPLE #25).[48]

This piece segues directly into a four-part "*Mi-Chamocha*" in C Major. The modulation from "*Uma-avir Banav,*" which concludes in G Major, is achieved by a

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[48] The same composition, in e minor, is found in Lewandowski's *Todah W'Simrah, Volume II.*

bridge on the words "v*'am 'ru chulam*." The choral writing is interspersed with the *chazzan's* lyrical recitatives at "*malchut 'cha*" and "*v 'ne-emar*."

The next piece included in the transcription is for the text "*V'sham 'ru*." It is written for the *chazzan*, with a beautiful choral response on the verse "*beini uvein b 'nai yisrael, ot hi l'olam*." In addition to his rendering of the *Musaf* and *N'ilah* services on Yom Kippur, Aron Friedmann recalled that Lichtenstein was especially remembered for his delivery of "*V'sham 'ru*."[49] *Nusach* for the prayer "*Hashkiveinu,*" a standard part of the evening liturgy, is not given in this transcription.

The following *Chatzi Kaddish* is in d minor, and is still used widely in contemporary synagogues. An interesting aspect of the setting found here is that the choral responses are written in D Major, resulting in a constant switch between the major and minor modes. The transcription continues on the bottom of page twelve with what appears to be an *ossia* (alternative version) of the final verse of the *Chatzi Kaddish*. However, this music has no relationship to what came before it: it is written in an unrelated key (c minor), and in an entirely different musical style. I believe that this music was intended as an alternative ending to the *Chatzi Kaddish* that precedes the *Musaf* service for the High Holidays. It is in the same key as the *Chatzi Kaddish* of 'Lichtenstein 18,' (pages 1-6) and ends in the parallel major (C Major), which sets up the High Holiday *Avot* for *Musaf*.

The *chazzan's* partial repetition of the *Amidah* for *Erev Shabbat* (*M'ein Sheva*) begins with "*Va-y'chulu hashamayim*." In adherence to the traditional use of *musach*,

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[49] Friedmann, 58. The "*V'sham 'ru*" of Mus.125 is likely to be the piece to which Friedmann refers; it is discussed in further detail in Chapter Three.

Lichtenstein switches into the *Magein Avot* mode.[50]. The music for "*Vay'chulu*" is written in the grand staff, but in unison, indicating that this liturgy was recited by the *chazzan* and the choir, or perhaps by the entire congregation. The *chazzan* breaks into solo chanting on the words "*vay'varech Elohim et yom hash'vi-i*" through the *Avot* (with a choral response on "*baruch hu u-varuch sh'mo*"). At "*Magein Avot*," the choir and congregation probably joined in again, as the music is again written in the grand staff, in unison. This music is still commonly sung in many modern Orthodox congregations (EXAMPLE #26). The unison writing breaks off on the words "*l'fanav na-avod*," and the *chazzan* takes over again, solo, as the melodic writing becomes more florid, ending in a fairly dramatic fashion on "*m'kadeish ha-shabbat.*" (EXAMPLE #27).

The final two transcriptions of Booklet16 include the *Kiddush* for Friday night, and a lovely three-part composition for the *piyyut* "*Adon Olam*". The *Adon Olam* is written for three-part choir; a young boy may have sung the treble line. The music is in a style typical of Western Classical music. It is in 3/4, and the text is delivered in lyrical, balanced eight-bar phrases. The music alternates between solo verses and harmonized verses (EXAMPLE #28).

Lichtenstein 17

Birnbaum initially wrote the title "*Abendgottesdienst*" ("Evening Service") for the transcription he titled 'Lichtenstein 17.' He corrected the title to "*Morgengottesdienst*" ("Morning Service"), since the music contained in the transcription is for the Sabbath morning liturgy. The transcription, which is twenty-eight pages long, includes a great

[50] Baer, #407.

deal of the Shabbat morning liturgy not commonly chanted by the *chazzan* (this is likely the reason that Birnbaum chose to transcribe it). It begins with nusach for the liturgy opening on the words "*La-Eil asher shavat mikol ha-ma-asim.*" This liturgy is part of the "*Sh'ma U-virchotecha*" section of the *Shacharit* service for Shabbat, which follows the acrostic *piyyut* "*Eil Adon.*"

Baer gives the *musach* for the opening verse to each section only[51] whereas Lichtenstein must have sung the entire text out loud. Lichtenstein's *musach* is similar to what Baer gives, but becomes much more florid as the text continues. There appears a very long run on the words "*Tov L'hodot,*" unraveling on a minor ninth arpeggio. Each note of the arpeggio bears accent marks, and the phrase cadences in e minor (EXAMPLE #29). After returning to the standard *musach* briefly, the fireworks continue with the cadence on the phrase "*b'yom shabbat kodesh.*" Here Lichtenstein writes a scalar run beginning on B, and climbing up an octave and a minor sixth to g. From this dramatic height, the melody descends chromatically, and the phrase cadences again in e minor (EXAMPLE #30). This *chazzanut* continues in similar fashion through the next two paragraphs, with choral responses on "*v'al m'orei or,*" and "*et sheim ha-Eil hamelech.*" Sulzer's music is again incorporated at the "*K'dusha D'yotzeir*" (on the words "*kadosh, kadosh, kadosh*").

Also included in Booklet 17 are two versions of the prayer "*Tzur Yisrael,*" leading up to the *Amidah* for *Shacharit* (the *musach* for the *Amidah* does not appear in the transcription). Following this is *musach* for the prayer "*Mi She-asa Nisim,*" and six harmonized versions of the prayer "*Y'chad'sheihu.*" These two prayers are recited on

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[51] Baer, 124.

Shabbat M'var'chim, the Sabbath immediately preceding a new month in the Jewish calendar. The first version of *"Y'chad'sheihu"* is a "general melody," for months in which no major holiday is anticipated. The five versions that follow announce the themes of the coming months musically. *Nisan* is signified musically with the well-known *Pesach* melody "*Adir Hu*." *Sivan* is announced with the *Akdamut* theme for *Shavuot*. *Av* is announced with the melody *"Eili Tzion." Tishrei* and the High Holidays are announced by their most famous *missinai* melody (EXAMPLE #31): and finally *Kislev*, with the well- known hymn for Chanukah "*Maoz Tzur*".[52]

The last items in Booklet 17 include music for the *K'dusha* of the *Musaf* service of *Shabbat*, and a four part setting of the hymn "*Ein Keiloheinu*." The *K'dusha* is a combination of *musach* (freely composed, with lyrical operatic inflections), and choral responses from Sulzer's service. The music for "*Ein Keiloheinu*" is not unlike a hymn of the Protestant Church. It is in G Major, and predominantly homophonic. Simple, symmetrical eight bar phrases are set in a 4/4 time signature.[53]

Lichtenstein 18

The final booklet, entitled 'Lichtenstein 18,' is the most extensive. It is fifty-five pages in length, and includes liturgy for the *Musaf* and *N'ilah* services of Yom Kippur. The transcription of the *Musaf* service alone takes up forty-seven pages; it contains a wide range and breadth of the High Holiday liturgy, including several extensive Cantorial Fantasias, solo *musach* for the *chazzan*, choral responses, and two complete compositions for four-part choir. The inspiration for this music is drawn from a wide range of sources;

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[52] All of these choral pieces are found in Lewadowski's *Todah W'Simrah*.

it will take a separate and concerted in-depth study in order to uncover the many influences of the music. (A complete annotated listing of the contents of 'Lichtenstein 18' is given at the end of the thesis, in Appendix II).

The transcription begins with the *Chatzi Kaddish* that introduces the *Musaf* Service of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. Lichtenstein's version is an extensive composition in the form of a cantorial fantasia. Including the short four-part choral response on "*y'hei sh'mei rabbah*," it takes up nearly six full pages (requiring more than five minutes to sing).

The Cantorial Fantasia became popular in the late eighteenth century, and despite complaints about its accesses, it remained a common form of *chazzanic* expression well into the nineteenth century. A primary characteristic of the Cantorial Fantasia is the use of long stretches of music without text, comparable to a soloistic "operatic *niggun*." The fantasia can be distinguished from other florid melismatic music, whether it is in an operatic or *chazzanic* style. Melismatic music is florid in that it sets a single syllable of a word to long passages of notes, whereas a cantorial fantasia features long, improvisational passages, sung on "ah," that appear as musical glosses in between verses of the text.

Lichtenstein's fantasia is in c minor/G *Ahavah Rabbah*, and follows the basic melodic structure of the traditional *Chatzi Kaddish* for *Musaf*. Lichtenstein constructs a whimsical, florid improvisation full of runs, trills, repeated notes, spanning a two-octave range (EXAMPLE #32). It ends on an extended improvisation, with running sixteenth-note triplets and finally the text "*v'im 'ru amein*" on an e natural (tierce de Picard).

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[53] The music for "*Ein Keiloheinu*" is discussed further in Chapter Three.

The *Avot* that follows is another Cantorial Fantasia, beginning with a descending C Major triad, a *missinai* theme also associated with the *Great Aleinu*. The *Avot* modulates several times, reaching cadences first in Ab Major, then Db, D, and finally, the original key of C. The vocal range of this remarkable piece is quite large, extending well over two octaves—from a low F# to a high a (EXAMPLE #33).

Following the *Avot* is much of the *musach* for the liturgy of the rest of the High Holiday *Amidah*, including many of the special *piyyutim* for this service. *(Misod Chachamim, L'hasir Michshol, Eil Emunah, and Im L'ma-ano Ya-as)*. In the *piyyut* "*Eil Emunah,*" the music switches from what was primarily *musach* in free rhythm to a metrical melody on the words "*im tamatzei omek hadin*"(EXAMPLE #34). This music is repeated on the words "*v'yasir memu*" in the following stanza.

At the well-known *piyyut* "*Un'taneh Tokef,*" *musach* is given only for the first phrase, whereas the entire text of "*U'v'shofar Gadol*" is set to music. After the florid, melismatic *musach* for the text "*Ein Kitzvah,*" following the verse *"V'atah hu Melech chai v'kayam,*" the *musach* modulates to A Major, where it cadences on page 24 on the words "*Ush'meinu karatah bish'mecha.*" The liturgy continues with the text "*Asei L'ma-an Sh'mecha,*" and is set to a four-part piece for male choir. The composition is in Ab Major; somewhat surprising since the *musach* immediately preceding cadenced in A. Either this piece was taken from another source, or was written in the lower key to accommodate the generally high tessitura of the first tenor line (EXAMPLE #35). The first tenor part of "*Asei L'ma-an Sh'mecha*" carries a lyrical melody in a lilting 3/4 time signature. The melodic and harmonic language of this piece is typical of the Romantic era. The piece segues directly into Sulzer's music on "*kadosh, kadosh, kadosh.*"

The music of the "*K'dushah*" for *Musaf* is similar to the music given for both the *K'dusha* of *Shacharit* and *Musaf* of *Shabbat*. The 6/8 "leitmotif," previously in Eb Major (discussed above), is used again in this *Musaf K'dusha* for Yom Kippur, now in the higher key of Ab Major.

The text "*V'hakohanim*" appears three times during the *Avodah* service of Yom Kippur *Musaf*. Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* for this text is in the form of another Cantorial Fantasia, characterized by its wordless cascades of sixteenth note triplets. Many of these phrases begin on high f# and descend stepwise. The scale used for these runs is a combination of the *Ukrainian Dorian* on E, and the *Ahavah Rabbah* on B (EXAMPLE #36).

The large amount of *musach* in Lichtenstein's High Holiday *Musaf* service, together with the demanding nature of this music, suggests that the *chazzan* garnered his most creative powers for this awesome occasion. Aron Friedmann remarked that Lichtenstein was remembered in particular for his praying of this part of the service.[54] The *chazzan's* task during the *Yamin Noraim* requires a great amount of stamina; the fact that Lichtenstein would open the *Musaf* service with such an involved improvisation on the *Chatzi Kaddish*, as well as the litany of large scale compositions that follow, is a testament to his great stature.

In contrast to the *chazzanic* drama of the *Musaf* Service, Lichtenstein's *N'ilah* Service is written in a simpler, more tranquil style. The opening *Chatzi Kaddish* begins slowly and smoothly with an ascending scale of quarter notes and eighth notes (EXAMPLE #37). In the Eastern European rite, the opening of this service is

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[54] Friedmann, 58.

characterized by a haunting theme beginning on two stepwise notes (i.e. D-E-D), and then cadencing on 'a' (EXAMPLE #38). Another predominant musical theme in this service is the descending sequence from 'a' down to 'D.'

Both of these themes are prevalent in Baer's "*polnische Weise*;" the second theme, in a different harmonic context, is also found in the "*deutsche Weise*." Lichtenstein's *musach* does not seem to correspond with either of these traditions, although it may be related to the "*deutsche Weise*." It appears to be a freely composed melody, only loosely associated with the tradition. The descending sequence does appear at the bottom of page 50, but in a different melodic context than either of Baer's examples. The *Avot* that follows is set to the same simple, melodic *musach*. The transcription of Booklet 18, and with it, the entire collection of Mus.125, ends with a melody in g minor for "*M'chalkeil Chayim B'Chesed*." This metric melody was likely known and sung by the entire congregation (EXAMPLE #39).

Eduard Birnbaum's more than one hundred pages of music representing Lichtenstein's services at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue are an eclectic mix of tradition and reform. In the vast fund of *musach* for Shabbat and the High Holidays, we get a glimpse of a *chazzan* steeped in both the Eastern and Western European Jewish traditions. This *musach* adheres to the traditional modes and leitmotifs, while revealing Lichtenstein's vocal genius and mastery of improvisation. From the simple and direct *musach* for the *Aravit* Service of Yom Kippur and the more florid yet contained *musach* of the *Ma-ariv* Service of *Shabbat*, to the original and flashy operatic *musach* of the

Shacharit Service of *Shabbat*, Lichtenstein runs the gamut of this traditionally Jewish art form.

Another major strain woven throughout these services is the cache of three- and four-part choral music, including the responses from Cantor Solomon Sulzer's service in Vienna. The major influence here is the Western Classical and Romantic musical tradition that so greatly affected the aesthetic development of the synagogue service in the nineteenth century. The choral compositions of Mus.125 are generally not as advanced as the *musach* and *chazzanut*, in that they are not developed to the full potential of through-composed choral music. As rich as the "*Todtenfeier*" is, for example, it is a very short composition, without a great deal of development. Still, the pieces are all functional harmonizations for the demands of the synagogue service of this time, and in some cases they approach the sublime.

These choral compositions, in particular, bring us back to the subject of the creative collaboration between *chazzan*/composer Abraham Lichtenstein and choir director/composer Louis Lewandowski. Considering their close relationship as musical colleagues in the Heidereutergasse Synagogue from 1845 to 1864, coupled with the marked similarity between Lichtenstein's service in Mus.125 and many of Lewandowski's published synagogue music, one cannot help but wonder where one man begins and the other ends. This question is the subject of the third and final chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

WHO IS THE COMPOSER?

After a close examination of Eduard Birnbaum's four booklets of the collection Mus.125, I have discovered several disparate threads of musical influence, ranging from traditional Eastern European *chazzanut* to German Protestant church music. The most enigmatic of these remains: what was the extent of the creative collaboration between Abraham Lichtenstein and Louis Lewandowski? Five out of seven of the four part choral compositions found in Mus.125 appear, in nearly identical or similar form, in Lewandowski's publications *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah* and *Todah W'Simrah.* There are also significant similarities between some of the *musach* in Mus.125 and the *Vorbeter* (Cantor) lines of Lewandowski's publications.

These two musicians worked closely together for nearly twenty years at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue—Lichtenstein as the tremendously talented and erudite *chazzan*, and Lewandowski as the skilled choir director and budding composer. In such a collaborative relationship each artist inevitably exerted a creative impact upon the other, but just where did Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* leave off and Lewandowski's compositions begin? In order to attempt a clarification on the chronology of influence between these two musicians, I have considered the following timeline of significant events:

> 1838—Hirsch Weintraub and his "singing orchestra" perform in Berlin, making a great impression on the young musician Louis Lewandowski.

1838-1840—First publication of Solomon Sulzer's *Schir Zion, Volume One*, in Vienna

1840—Heidereutergasse Synagogue in Berlin acquires parts to *Schir Zion.*

1845—A.J. Lichtenstein becomes assistant cantor at the Heidereutergasse. Synagogue. *Chazzan* Asher Lion retires soon after, making Lichtenstein Principle *Chazzan.*

1855—Lichtenstein and Lewandowski travel to Vienna to be advised by Sulzer.

1864-1866—The "New Synagogue" is established on Oranienburgerstrasse. Lewandowski becomes choirmaster, and composes music for the liturgy of the new prayer book developed by Geiger and Joel.

1871—Publication of Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah*, containing the complete liturgy for the Sabbath and Festivals.

1879—Eduard Birnbaum becomes Cantor in Königsberg and begins his scholarly activity.

1880—Death of A.J. Lichtenstein.

1876-1882—Publication of Lewandowski's *Todah W'Simrah*, Volumes I and II.

Birnbaum must have made the transcriptions of Mus.125, in Berlin, after 1879 at the very earliest. It was in this year that he became cantor in Königsberg, a position that permitted him to devote much of his time to research. It is more likely that Birnbaum's research in Berlin was carried out years after this date, well after Lichtenstein's career at the Heidereutergasse Synagogue was over. Most or all of Lewandowski's music had already been published. Surely, then, a scholar such as Birnbaum would have been able to distinguish between Lichtenstein's and Lewandowski's music, as Lewandowski's stature was already widely recognized.

The original manuscripts from which Birnbaum made his transcriptions must have been written between Lichtenstein's arrival in the Berlin community in 1845, and no later

then the *chazzan's* death in 1880. How, then, do we explain that several choral compositions that the meticulous scholar Eduard Birnbaum ascribed to Lichtenstein and took the time to transcribe by hand appear (in some cases, note for note) in Lewandowski's publications?

The first of the choral compositions in Mus.125 also found in Lewandowski's publications is "*Ha-ma-avir Banav*" (Booklet 16, pages 4-6). The setting as it appears in Mus.125 (discussed in Chapter Two) is for male choir, and begins in g minor (it shifts to the parallel major after the first eight bars). We find the same composition in e minor, set for mixed choir and organ, in Lewandowski's *Todah W'Simrah, Volume I.*[55] Lewandowski's version indicates that this piece was sung on *Shabbat Shirah* as well as the evening service of the seventh day of *Pesach*, although Lichtenstein's version appears in the context of a general *Ma-ariv* service for Shabbat.

The four part setting "*Mi-Chamocha*" that immediately follows in Booklet 16 appears in the same key (C Major) in Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah,*[56] but in a simpler, two part harmonization (EXAMPLES #40 & 41). The Cantor's recitatives for "*Malchut'cha*" and "*V'ne-emar*" are essentially the same in both sources as well. The cantorial melody for "*V'sham'ru*" in Mus.125 resurfaces in *Todah W'Simrah, Volume II,*[57] and we find the choral response both in *Kol Rinnah* and *Todah W'Simrah.*[58] (The "*V'Sham'ru*" is discussed in greater detail below).

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[55] *Out of Print Classics #10*, 90-92.
[56] *Out of Print Classics #9*, 15-16.
[57] *Out of Print Classics #12*, 129.
[58] *Out of Print Classics #9*, 18 (in two part harmony); #10, 100 (four-part harmony).

All of the settings of "*Y'chadsheihu*," found in Mus.125 are in *Todah W'Simrah, Volume I*.[59] The music is nearly identical, with a few differences in the Cantor's recitatives. The key signatures are preserved as well, with the exception of Booklet 17, pages 18-19 (the blessing for the month of *Tishri*). The setting in Booklet 17 is in D Major; Lewandowski's appears in C Major.

A composition closely related to the four part setting in Mus.125 of "*Ein Keiloheinu*," is found in both *Kol Rinnah* and *Todah W'Simrah, Volume I*.[60] Lewandowski's version in *Kol Rinnah* is also in G Major, set as a responsive hymn between the Cantor (*Vorbeter*) and two part choir. A note at the beginning of this composition reads, "*Mit Benutzung einer Composition v: M. Heinemann*," indicating that it is at least partially derived from yet another musical source. Lewandowski's version of "*Ein Keiloheinu*" in *Todah W'Simrah, Volume I* is in F Major, and is set as a responsive piece between "Vorbeter" (Cantor) and "Chor und Gemeinde" (Choir and Congregation) with organ accompaniment.

Lewandowski's two versions of *Ein Keiloheinu* are melodically identical. These compositions begin with the same eight-bar melody as in Mus.125. The music in measures 9-12 of Lewandowski's version is identical to the first four measures in the "B-section" of Mus.125; after this point the melodies diverge. The music in all three of these guises is rhythmically similar, and in one instance, nearly melodically identical, to the well known composition by Julius Freudenthal for the same text[61] (EXAMPLES #42-45).

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[59] *Out of Print Classics #10*, 121-123.
[60] *Out of Print Classics #9*, 47; #10, 145.
[61] Abraham Zevi Idelsohn, *The Jewish Songbook*, Third Edition (Cincinnati, OH: Publications for Judaism, 1961), 347.

In Booklet 18, for the High Holidays, there is a four part composition in Ab Major for the text "*Asei L'Ma-an Sh'mecha.*" Lewandowski offers two settings of this liturgy in *Todah W'Simrah, Volume II*: one for unaccompanied male choir, in G Major, and the second for mixed choir with organ.[62] Lewandowski's first setting is nearly identical to the music in Mus.125, although it is in a different key, and contains more detail in rhythm and dynamics (EXAMPLES #46& #47).

The last four part composition in Mus.125 is for the text "*S'u Sh'arim.*" The same music, with organ accompaniment, appears in *Todah W'Simrah, Volume II.*[63] This piece is well known to the contemporary Reform synagogue; it is often sung as part of the Torah service found in Gates of Prayer (page 442). The music itself is included in the Union Songster (pages 314-315), and attributed to Lewandowski. Idelsohn posits that this melody was one of the few that Lewandowski borrowed directly from a Christian composer, from the new service in Dresden in 1840. The original manuscript is now in the Klau Library of the Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati.[64]

Returning to the "*V'Sham'ru,*" found in Mus.125, I have noted that the melody appears in essentially identical form in Lewandowski's *Todah W'Simrah, Volume II.*[65] Lewandowski's version is in the key of c with the key signature bearing 3 flats, whereas the version in Mus.125 is in the more demanding key of d, and bears two sharps. The difference in key signatures between these two versions points out the vagueness of the music's tonality (EXAMPLES #48 & #49). The *V'Sham'ru* in Mus.125 includes a choral response on the text "*beini uvein b'nei yisrael ot hi l'olam.*" Lewandowski's version

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[62] *Out of Print Classics #12*, 197-199.
[63] *Out of Print Classics #12*, 214-215.
[64] Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 278.

continues the solo texture on this verse, with "original" music (i.e. not found in Mus.125). We find the choral response of Mus.125 in two different places in Lewandowski's publications: as a two-part response in *Kol Rinnah*;[66] and as a four-part *Todah W'Simrah, Volume I.* [67] However, in Lewandowski's publications, the response is written in the context of a *different* melody for "*V'Sham'ru.*[68]

The remarks of Cantor Aron Friedmann refer to the collaborative nature of the first *V'sham'ru*, suggesting that the piece was essentially "team written." Recollecting Lichtenstein's services, Friedmann writes: "The older members of our community might remember the highlights of Lichtenstein's singing, in particular, the *V'sham'ru* on Friday nights, which he sang partly according to Lewandowski's compositions, and partly improvised, and each time with great results."[69]

What are we to glean from these various pieces of evidence? Perhaps Lichtenstein performed the *V'sham'ru* in his own original style, and eventually wrote it down in the form that Birnbaum transcribed in Booklet 16. Lewandowski, as choral director, may then have written the four-part choral response separately. Or, Lewandowski wrote the basic melody of this *V'Sham'ru* as well as the choral responses, and Lichtenstein improvised on Lewandowski's compositions. It is also plausible that Lichtenstein wrote the melody and the response.

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[65] *Out of Print Classics #12*, 129.
[66] *Out of Print Classics #9*, 18.
[67] *Out of Print Classics #10*,100.
[68] Making matters more complicated, the *V'Sham'ru* melody for which Lewandowski's response are written is also found in the Ephros Anthology for Shabbat, Volume IV. Ephros credits Lewandowski as the composer of this lovely unison melody, but includes a note saying that "some Cantors attribute this melody to A.J. Lichtenstein." Sure enough, there is a manuscript of this melody in Mus.126!
[69] Friedmann, 58.

This discussion of the "mystery of the *V'sham'ru*" might serve as a model for the entire discussion concerning the mystery of authorship of Mus.125. Based on his exposure to the Birnbaum Collection and his knowledge of Lewandowski's later published music, Idelsohn wrote the overarching assessment quoted in the introduction to this thesis. In his summary of their collaboration, Idelsohn infers that Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* was the chief inspiration for Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah*. But in referring only to Lichtenstein's *chazzanut*, we are not presented with the entire puzzle. *Chazzanut* specifically describes the liturgy set in a 'traditional' style—including the use of *nuschaot* in the traditional prayer modes, the *missinai* melodies, and larger scale compositions for the solo *chazzan* (whether they include syllabic *parlando* singing, florid runs, or even Western operatic elements).

What Idelsohn does not seem to account for is the preponderance of four-part choral compositions in Mus.125. Lichtenstein and Lewandowski's debt to Sulzer is easy to trace; the responses for the *K'dusha* already appear in Volume I of *Schir Zion*, published in 1839. Furthermore, we know that the Heidereutergasse community had already acquired the parts to Sulzer's service in 1840, before Lichtenstein had moved to the Berlin Synagogue from Stettin. But how do we account for the many other choral compositions in Mus.125, most of which reappear in various guises in Lewandowski's publications?

There are several possible ways to explain the striking similarity between the transcriptions of Mus.125 and the music of Lewandowski's publications *Kol Rinnah U't'fillah* and *Todah W'Simrah*. The first hypothesis is that *all* of the music found in Mus.125 is Lichtenstein's. Lichtenstein himself may have written down all of this

material, to serve as a reminder during services, and/or as a guide for other *chazzanim*, and for his choirmaster, Lewandowski. If we are to believe the card that Birnbaum wrote for Mus.125 and the comments in Adler's "Jumbo Catalog," then this would indeed be the case.

If in fact this were the case, the conclusion would be startling: Lichtenstein is the true composer of many of the pieces that have been ascribed to Lewandowski for the past one hundred twenty years. Furthermore, Lewandowski "stole" (or put more elegantly, borrowed) many of Lichtenstein's compositions for his own publications, without assigning credit to the true composer.[70]

Another possibility is that Birnbaum's transcriptions were not intended to represent Lichtenstein's compositions literally, but were a general representation of Lichtenstein's service at the Heidereutergasse synagogue. We have seen that this service wove together many musical elements, including traditional *nusach* and *chazzanut* alongside "Western" four part choral music. In this scenario, Birnbaum could have made his transcriptions from original manuscripts written in several different hands. Some of the music (i.e. the four part responses and choral compositions) could have then been written by Lewandowski, and later revised for *Kol Rimah* and *Todah W'Simrah*. Other sections of these transcriptions could have been Lichtenstein's own notation of the traditional *nusach* and *chazzanut* he developed, or, Lewandowski's transcriptions of Lichtenstein's *nusach* and *chazzanut*.

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[70] Dr. Mark Kligman noted that composer attributions are not found in Lewandowski's printed music, although he may have indicated them in his original manuscripts.

Idelsohn claims that although Lichtenstein was "accounted musically trained," he "lacked knowledge of harmony."[71] According to Idelsohn, Lewandowski therefore needed to arrange Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* for four-part choir. To what music does Idelsohn refer when writes about Lichtenstein's "*chazzanut*?" Mus.125 does not contain a single example of *chazzanut* arranged for four-part choir. The choral pieces are more accurately described as examples of Western art music in four-part harmony.

I have discussed the distinction between *chazzanut* and "Western Art Music" throughout my description of Mus.125. *Chazzanut* can sometimes be used as an all-encompassing term, denoting all music from the Jewish cantorial tradition. This would include *musach* sung in a *parlando* style and set in one of the Jewish prayer modes, as well as more formal and extensive compositions (often for central texts such as "*Hin 'ni*" or "*Ki K'shimcha*" from the High Holiday liturgy). *Chazzanut* may also refer to specific (in most cases virtuosic and improvisatorial) passages within a musical setting of the Jewish liturgy. None of the music of Mus.125 that fits this description of *chazzanut* has been harmonized, although many of these pieces include simple four-part responses.

Did Idelsohn believe that Lewandowski wrote these choral responses for Lichtenstein's *chazzanut*, as well as the full-length compositions such as "*U-ma-avir Banav*" and "*Mi Chamocha*" for the new service aesthetic developing in the mid nineteenth century? It is demonstrable that Lewandowski adapted much of Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* for the new service on Oranienburgerstrasse. Many of the major themes in Lichtenstein's *musach* (for example, his *musach* for the Shabbat *Shacharit* service and his

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[71] Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 276.

Avot for the *Musaf* Service of the High Holidays) appears—in a revised form—in Lewandowski's collections.

If we conclude in the end that all of the four-part music in Birnbaum's transcription was written by Lewandowski, how do we account for the two remaining choral compositions, namely the fine "*Todtenfeier*" in Booklet 15, and the three part "*Adon Olam*" in Booklet 16? It is possible that Lewandowski wrote these two pieces as well, and they did not make it into his publications. Or, if Birnbaum's transcriptions represent a compendium of music written in several different hands, then a third person could have written this music.

At this stage of research, it is reasonable to conclude that Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein was not only a master of traditional *musach* and *chazzanut* and one of the finest tenors and *chazzanim* of his day, but also a respectable composer of Western art music set in a Jewish liturgical context. He was a trained violinist, and sang tenor roles in the oratorio in Stettin, where he was no doubt exposed to a great deal of western Romantic music. The music director and significant nineteenth century composer, Carl Loewe, observed that Lichtenstein had "composed prettily for his purposes."[72] Loewe had been impressed and inspired by Lichtenstein's singing and overall musicianship, and heartily recommended the young cantor for the position created in Berlin. Lichtenstein's biography reveals an erudite personality, who in addition to impacting his congregation, inspired some of the foremost musicians of his day. In addition to Lewandowski and

[72] Friedmann, 57.

Loewe, Lichtenstein came in contact with the composer Max Bruch, and is believed to have inspired the famous "*Kol Nidre*" for 'cello.[73]

There is no reason to believe, then, that Lichtenstein did not possess enough of a fundamental knowledge of harmony to compose the "*Todtenfeier*" and the "*Adon Olam*," as well as several of the other compositions found in Mus.125 traditionally attributed to Lewandowski.[74] Many of the questions posed in this thesis will remain unanswered unless we are able to obtain the original manuscripts from which Eduard Birnbaum made his transcriptions. The Heidereutergasse Synagogue no longer exists, and it is possible that many or all of the originals were destroyed during World War II.[75] The magnificent Oranienburgerstrasse Synagogue was almost entirely destroyed during the war as well (ironically, by Allied bombs). It has been partially rebuilt, and made into a museum of the history of the Berlin Jewish community.

In addition to attempting to obtain Lichtenstein's original manuscripts, further research will be achieved through the study and dating of Lewandowski's extant manuscripts, as well as delving deeper into Birnbaum's transcriptions. It would be satisfying to prove, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that Lichtenstein was the true composer of the entire collection Mus.125. This would show that Lichtenstein had a significantly larger role in the development of synagogue music than anyone had realized. Whether or

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[73] Idelsohn refers to Lichtenstein's relationship to Bruch in *Jewish Music*, p.276, and in a footnote that contains a letter from Bruch to E. Birnbaum (p. 513). This relationship is also discussed in Sabine Lichtenstein, "Abraham Jacob Lichtenstein: eine jüdische Quelle für Carl Loewe und Max Bruch," *Die Musikforschung* 49, no.4 (1996): 349-367.

[74] This assessment does not even take into consideration the collection Mus.126, which may also contain harmonizations attributed to Lichtenstein.

[75] The article cited in the footnote above was written a woman named Sabine Lichtenstein. Dr. Israel Adler has informed me that Sabine Lichtenstein is a living relative of Cantor Abraham Lichtenstein, and that she may have information on the

not Lewandowski "copied" some of Lichtenstein's music is ultimately not important. The composer of the masterpieces *"Enosh K'yatzir Yamav,"* *"Zacharti Lach,"* *"U'v'muchu Yomar,"* *"Tzaddik Katamar"* and so many others will always remain a giant in the annals of Jewish music.

The nature of "ownership" in the domain of traditional Jewish music is difficult, if not impossible, to define. Both A. Z. Idelsohn and Eric Werner observed the deep influence that Abraham Lichtenstein had upon Louis Lewandowski. Idelsohn commented that Lewandowski had completely absorbed Lichtenstein's *chazzanut*—to the point where he could no longer tell where Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* left off and his own compositions began. However, we must remember that Lichtenstein's *chazzanut* was not completely Lichtenstein's own either, but a combination of *shalshelet ha-kabbalah* (the chain of tradition), and creative genius. Nobody "owns" the *nusach* for the *Amidah* for the Shabbat *Shacharit* service. *Chazzan* Adolph Katchko has written his own version, as have Israel Alter, Jack Mendelson, and many others. These *chazzanim* have composed their services according to the traditional Jewish modes, melodic formulas, and affect that many of us claim as our unique ethnic heritage; each service, at the same time, bears the unique, personal stamp of these great musicians.

Whereas many of Lewandowski's cantorial lines were deeply influenced by Lichtenstein, these melodies also reveal his skill as a unique and original craftsman. Lewandowski has been credited with evolving a "*cantabile*" style of synagogue song, appropriate for the grandeur of the services of the "New Synagogue" on

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whereabouts of the original manuscripts.

Oranienburgerstrasse: both Lichtenstein and Felix Mendelssohn can be counted among his chief creative influences.

It is my hope that this paper, and further research in this area of the Eduard Birnbaum Collection, will contribute to our understanding of the evolution of the synagogue service during this formative period in Jewish music history. More than this, I hope that I have done justice to one of the great musical personalities of the nineteenth century—a man that inspired and touched so many—Cantor Abraham Jakob Lichtenstein.

APPENDIX I

MUSICAL EXAMPLES

#25—Mus.125, "Hama-avir Banav," continued

#26—Mus.125, "Magein Avot," from Ma-ariv of Shabbat

#27—Mus.125, M'ein Sheva, conclusion, from Ma-ariv of Shabbat

#28—Mus.125, "Adon Olam," from Ma-ariv of Shabbat

#29—Mus.125, "Tov L'hodot," from Shacharit of Shabbat

#30—Mus.125, Shacharit...

#31—Mus.125, excerpt from "Y'chad'sheihu"

#32—Mus.125, Chatzi Kaddish for High Holiday Musaf

#33—Mus.125, Avot for High Holiday Musaf

#34—Mus.125, metrical melody "Im T'matzeh"

#35—Mus.125, "Asei L'ma-an Sh'mecha"

#36—Mus.125, "V'hacohanim,"

#37—Mus.125, opening of Chatzi Kaddish for N'ilah

#38—Baer, Chatzi Kaddish for N'ilah

#39—Mus.125, "M'chalkeil Chayim"

#40—Mus.125, "Mi Chamocha"

#41—Louis Lewandowski, Kol Rinnah U't'fillah, "Mi Chamocha"

#42—Mus.125, "Ein Keiloheinu"

#43—Lewadowski, Kol Rinnah, "Ein Keiloheinu"

#44—Lewandowski, Todah W'Simrah, "Ein Keiloheinu"

#45—Julius Freudenthal, "Ein Keiloheinu"

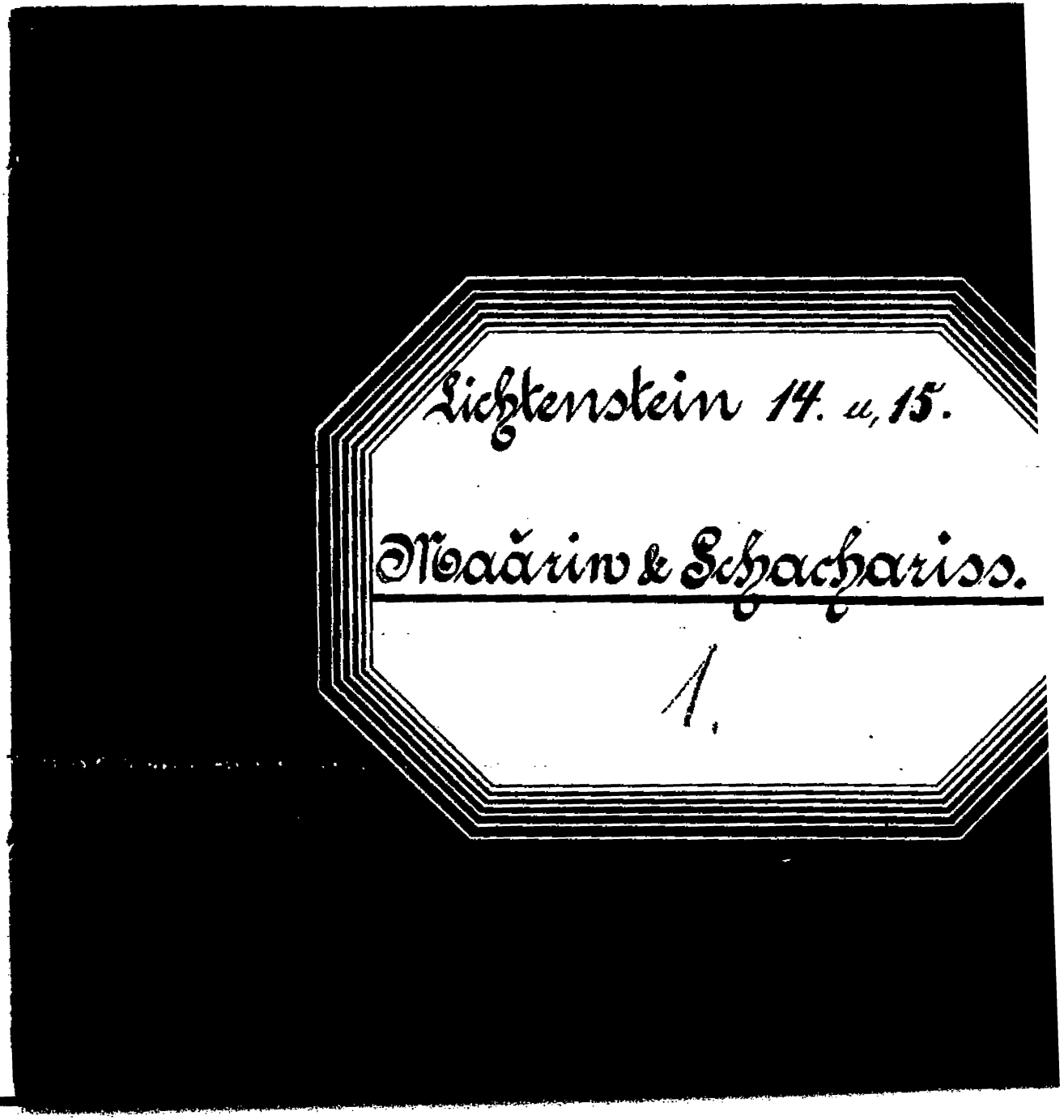
#46—Mus.125, "Asei L'ma-an Sh'mecha"

#47—Todah W'Simrah, "Asei L'ma-an Sh'mecha"

#48—Todah W'Simrah, "V'Sham'ru"

#49—Mus.125, "V'Sham'ru"

EXAMPLE #1 — Eduard Birnbaum's Title Page for first book

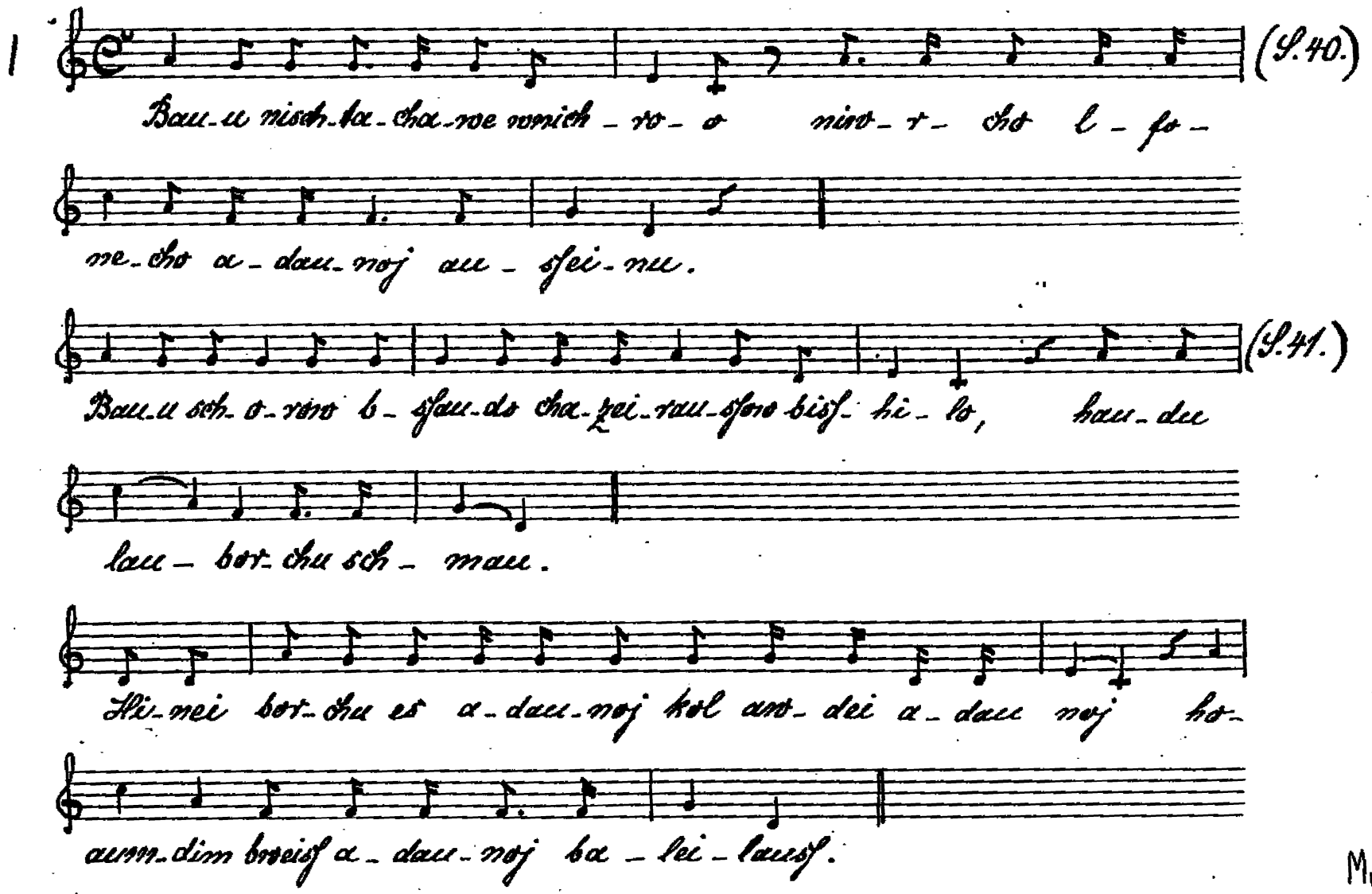


EXAMPLE #2 (Mus. 125)

59

Maärino.

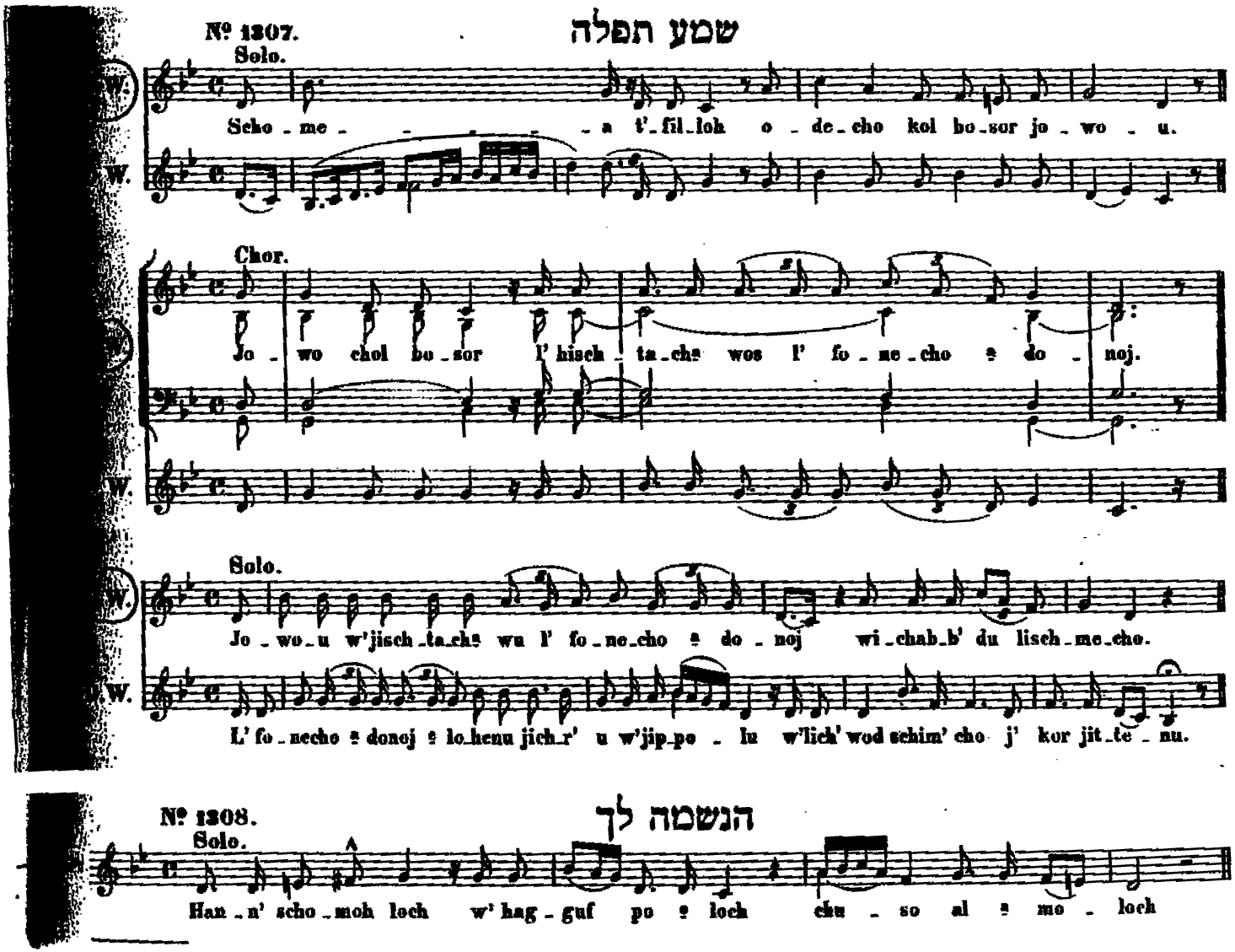
Lichtenstein 14. (150. 11!)



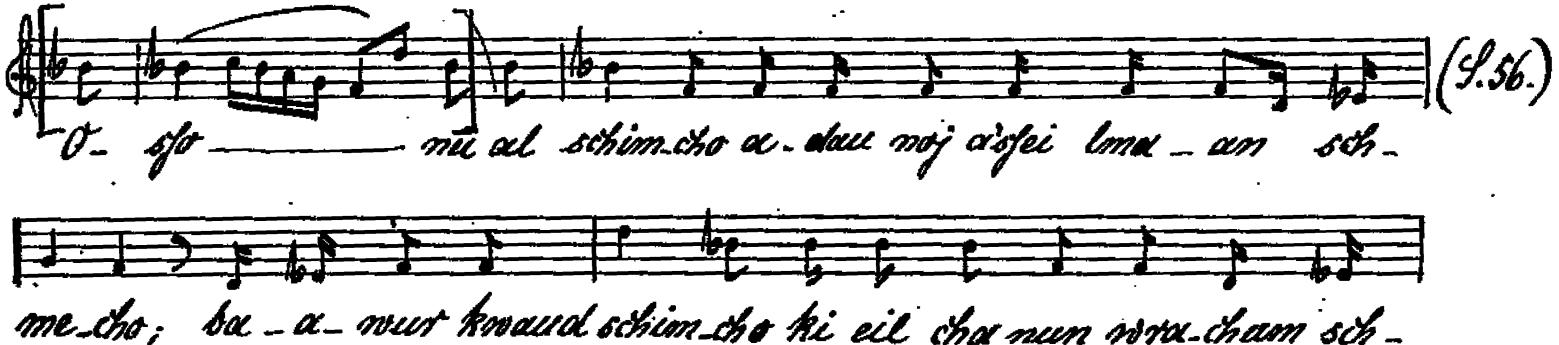
Mus. 125

Baer, Ba'al T'fillah

EXAMPLE #3

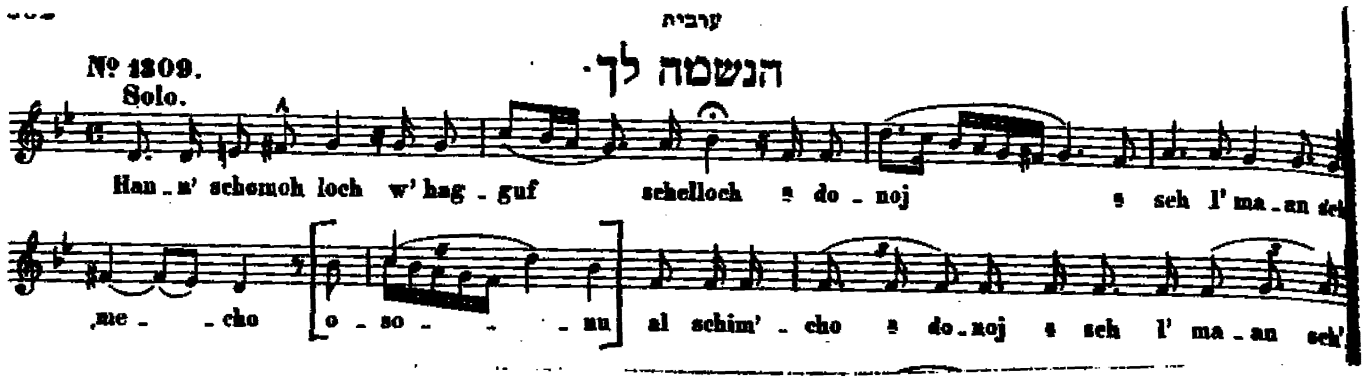


EXAMPLE #4 (from Mus. 125)

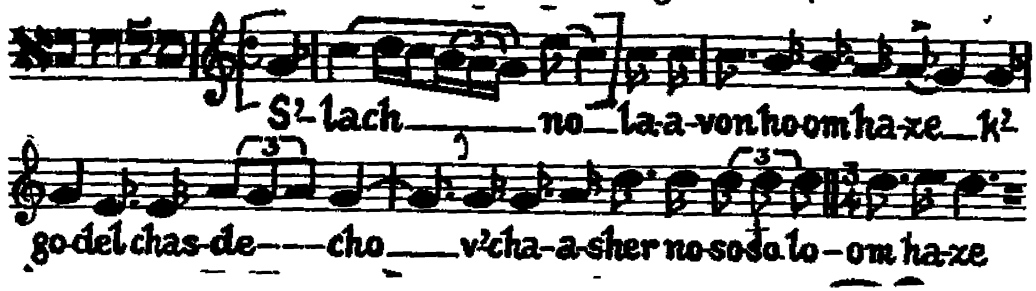


(S. 56.)

EXAMPLE #5 (Baer)



EXAMPLE #6 (Israel Alter, High Holiday Service)



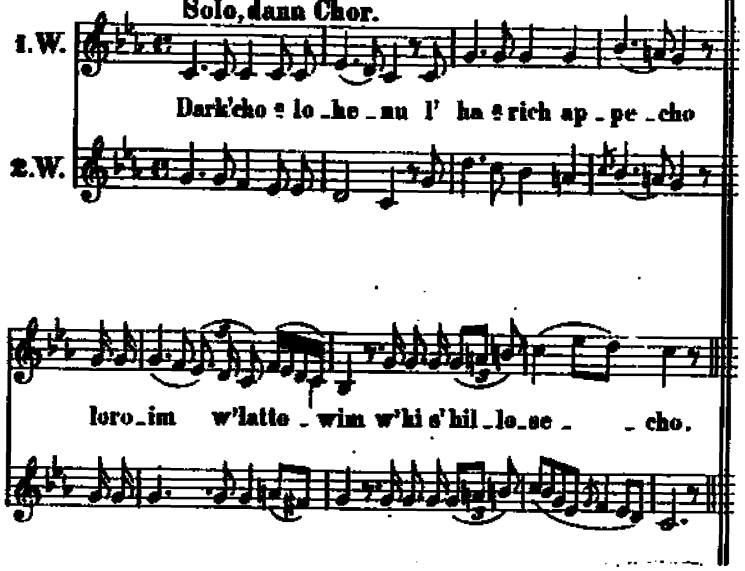
EXAMPLE #7 (Baer)

Minhag Polen.

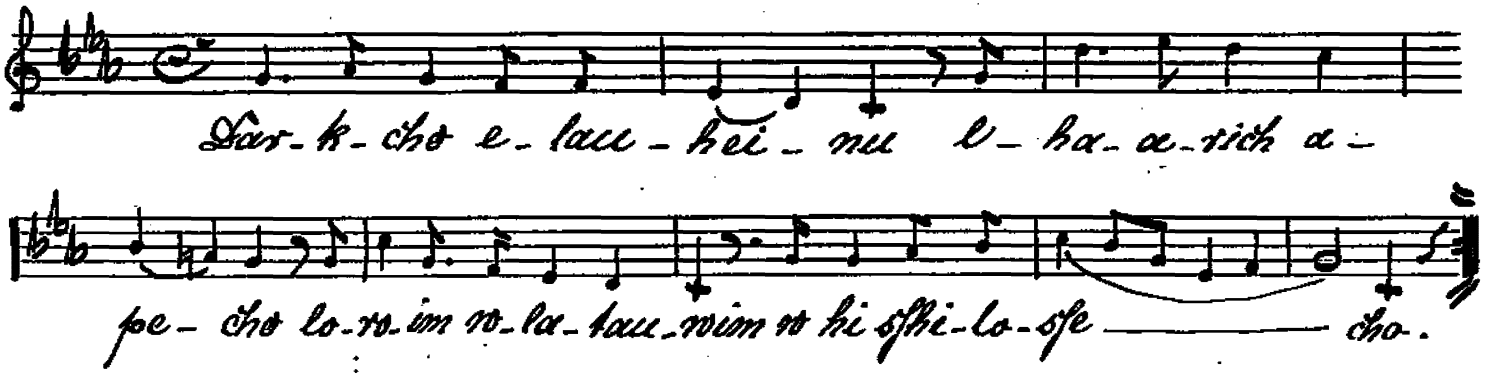
דרכך אלהינו

№ 1311.

Solo, dann Chor.



EXAMPLE #8 (Mus.125)

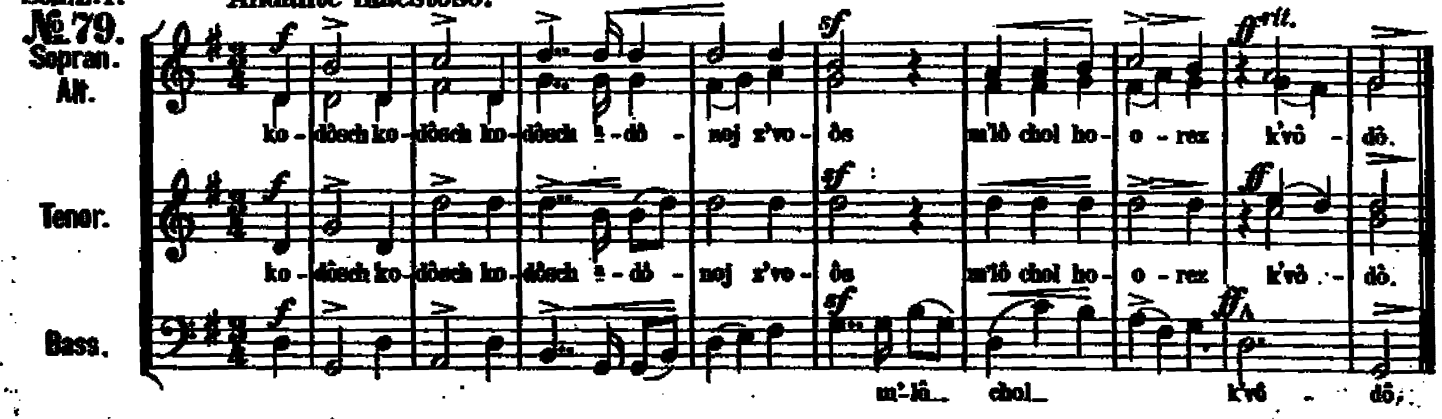


EXAMPLE #9 (S. Sulzer)

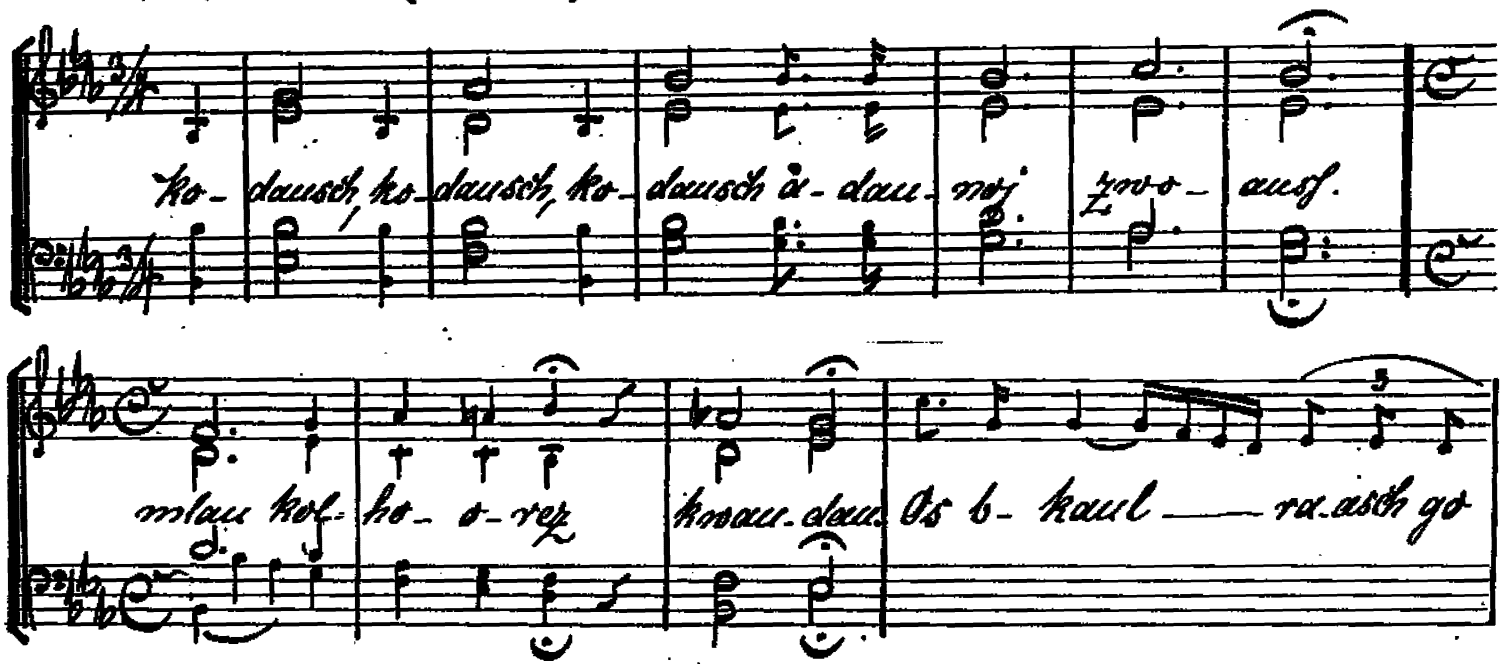
קדוש

Sch.Z.I. №.79.

Andante maestoso.



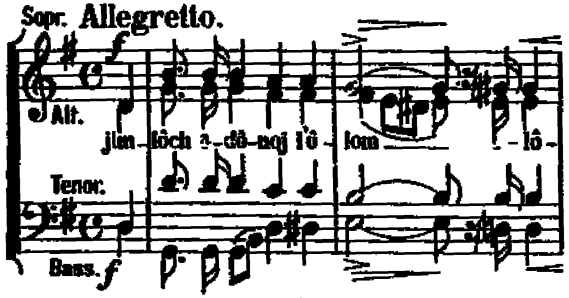
EXAMPLE #10 (Mus. 125)

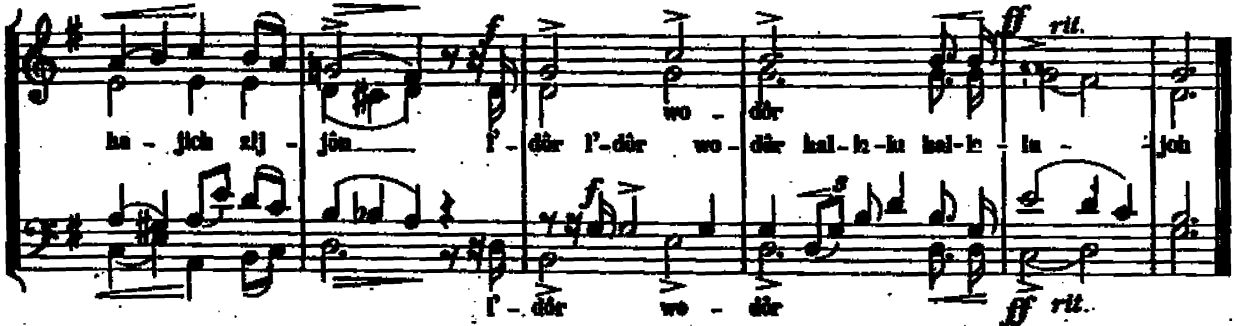


EXAMPLE #11 (S. Sulzer) ובדברי

Sch. Z. I.
№ 134.
Cantor.

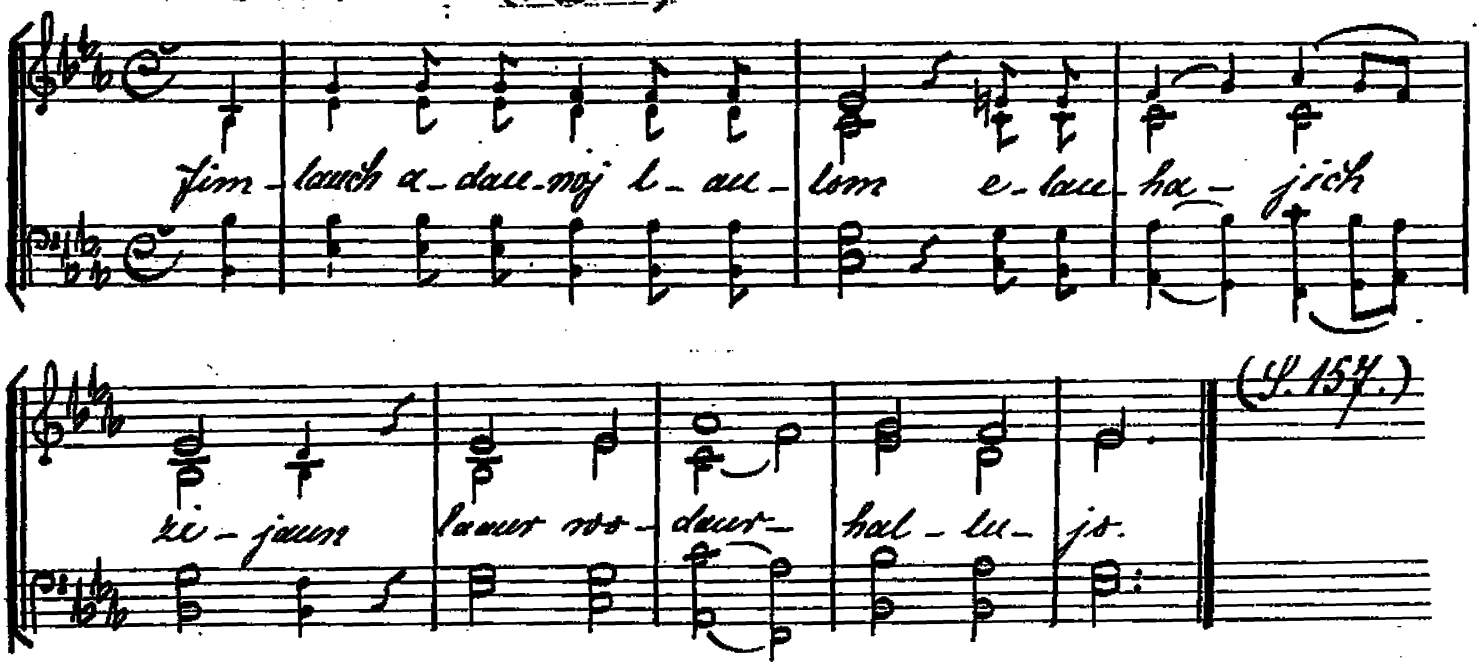
Chor.
Sopr. Allegretto.





לדר ודר
siehe
שחרית

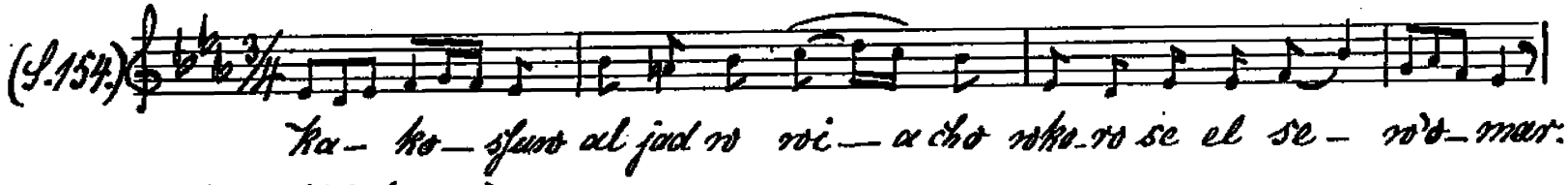
EXAMPLE #12 (Mus. 125)



EXAMPLE #13 (Mus. 125)

Lichtenstein 15.

Schacharis.



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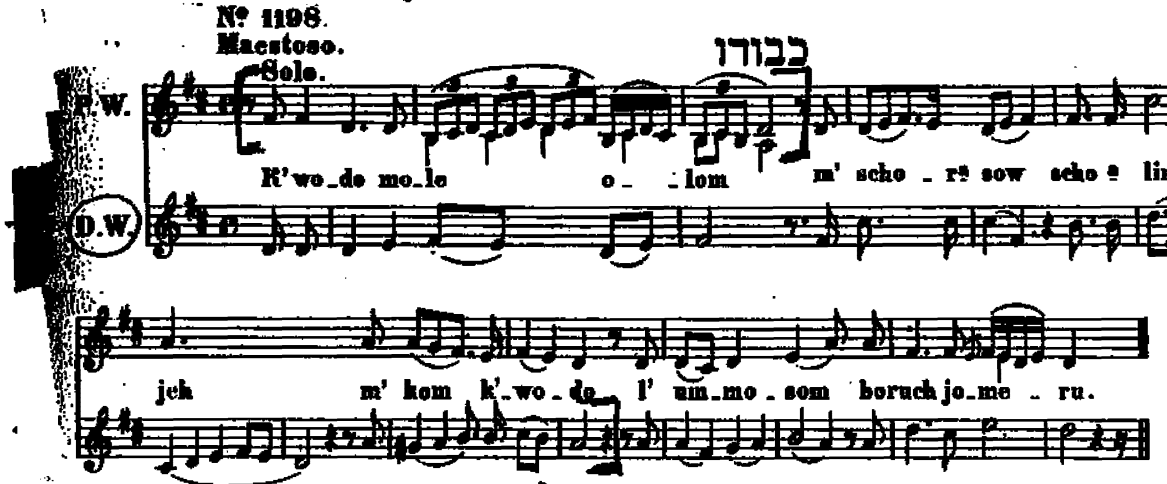
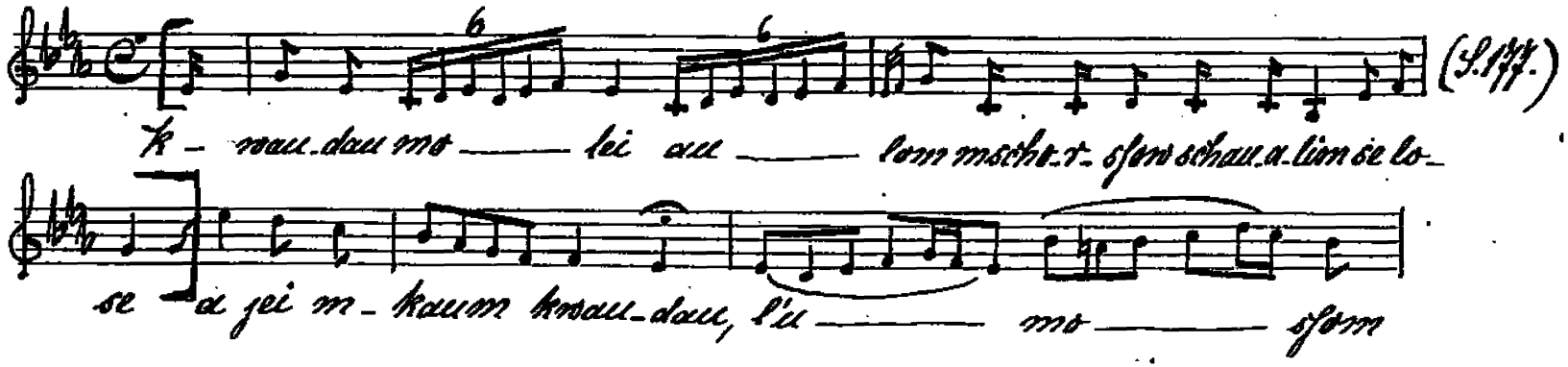
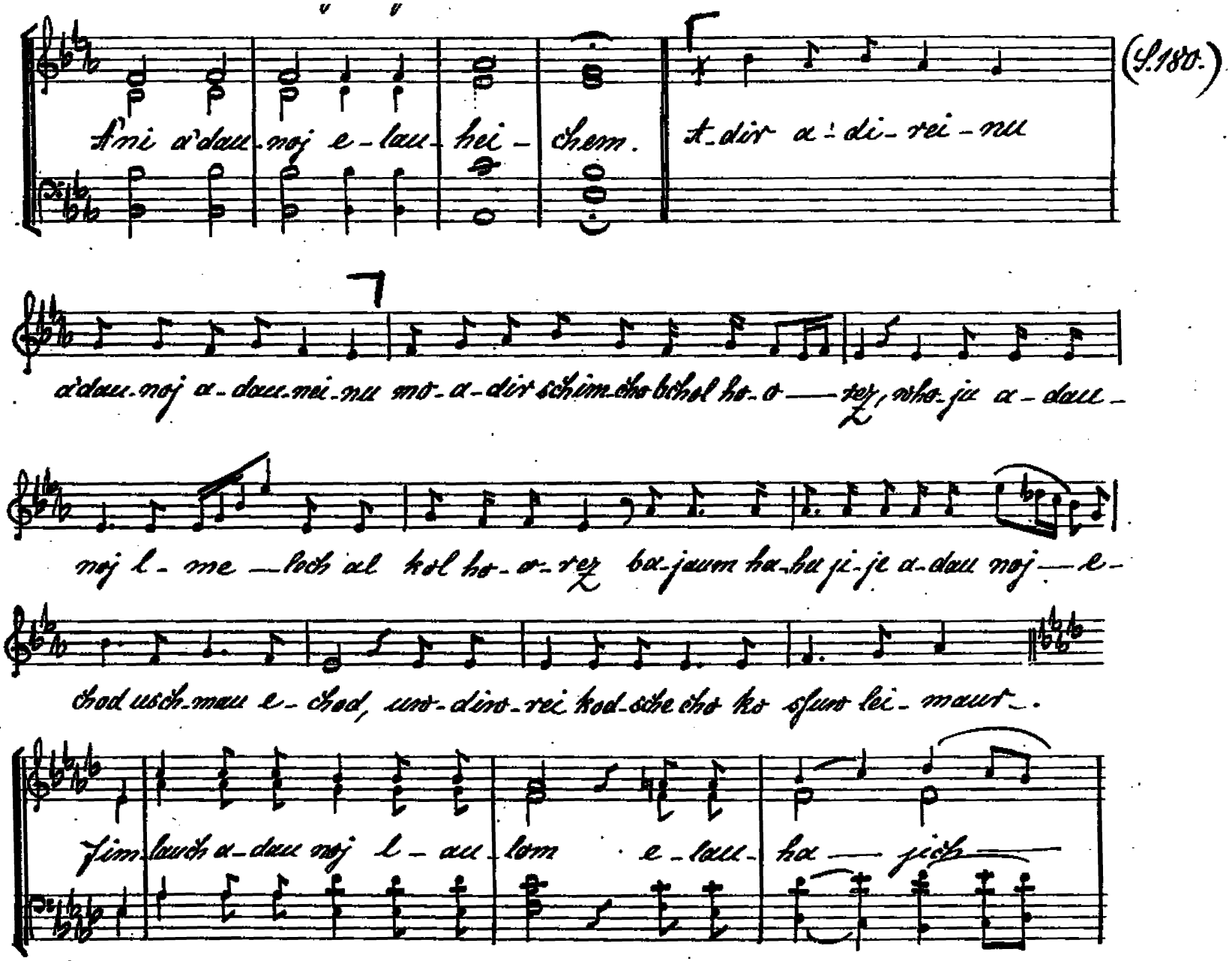


EXAMPLE #15 (Mus. 125)



EXAMPLE #10 (MUSICAL)

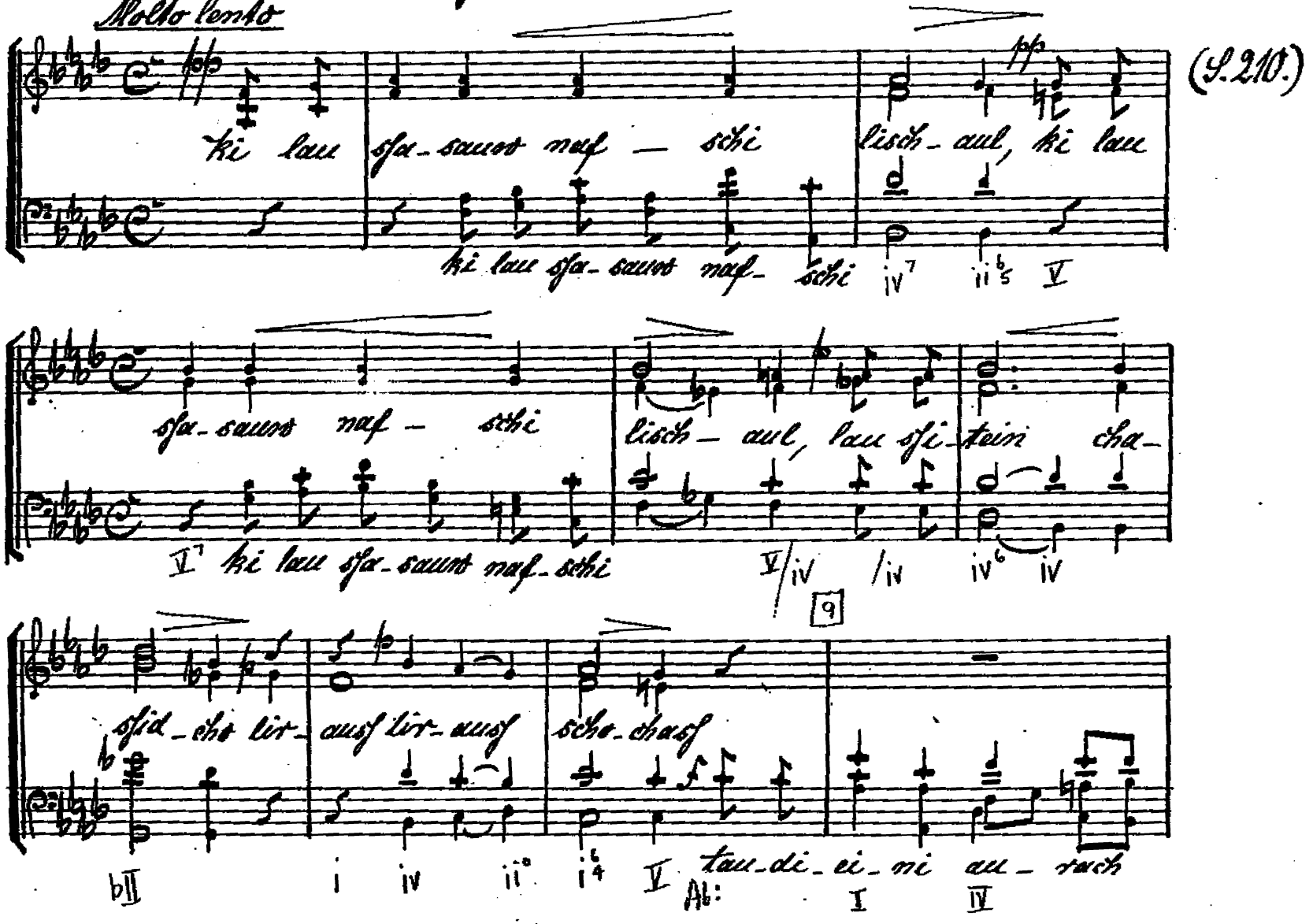


EXAMPLE #17 (Mus.125)

Todtenfeier.

Molto lento

10.



(S.210.)

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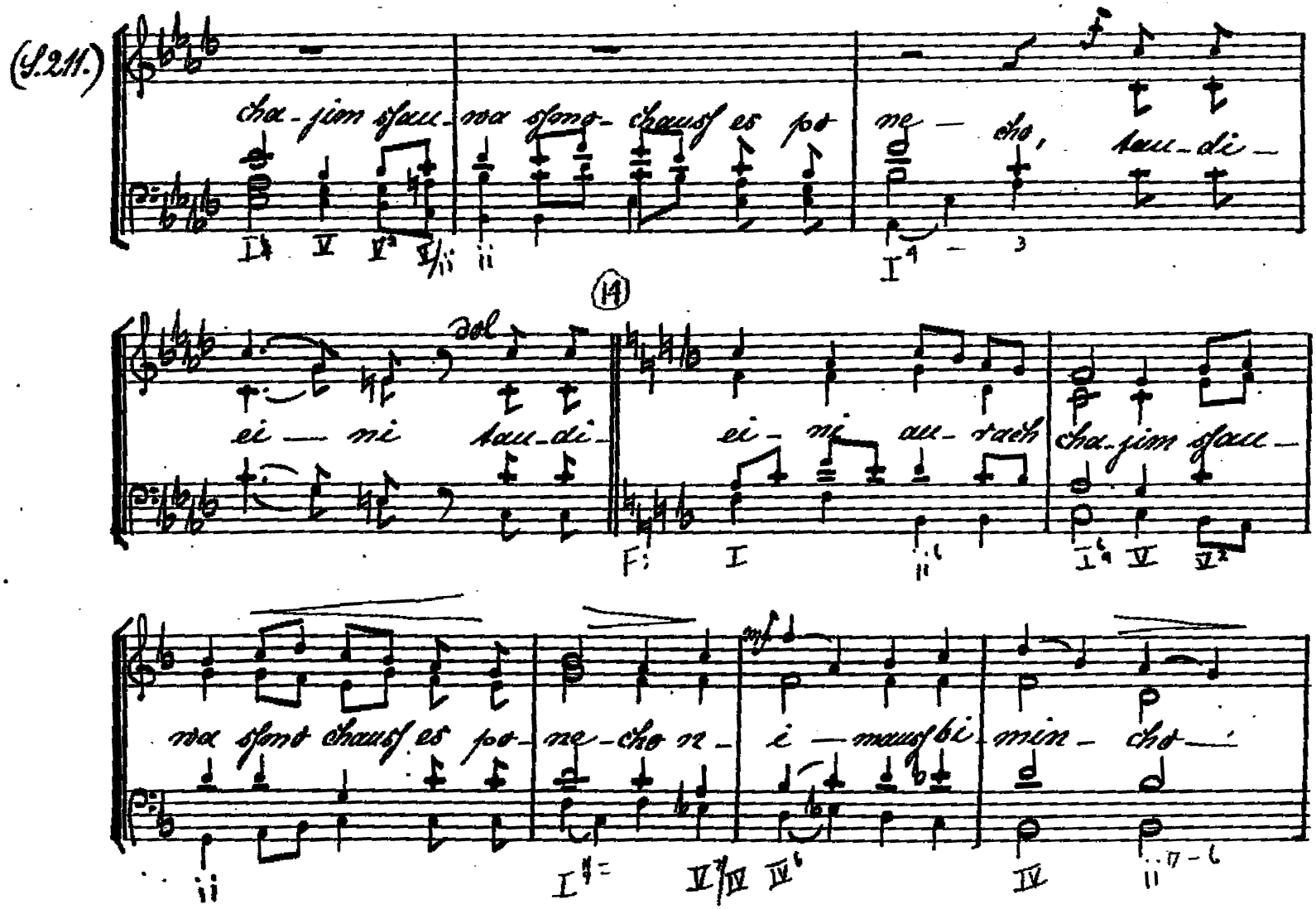
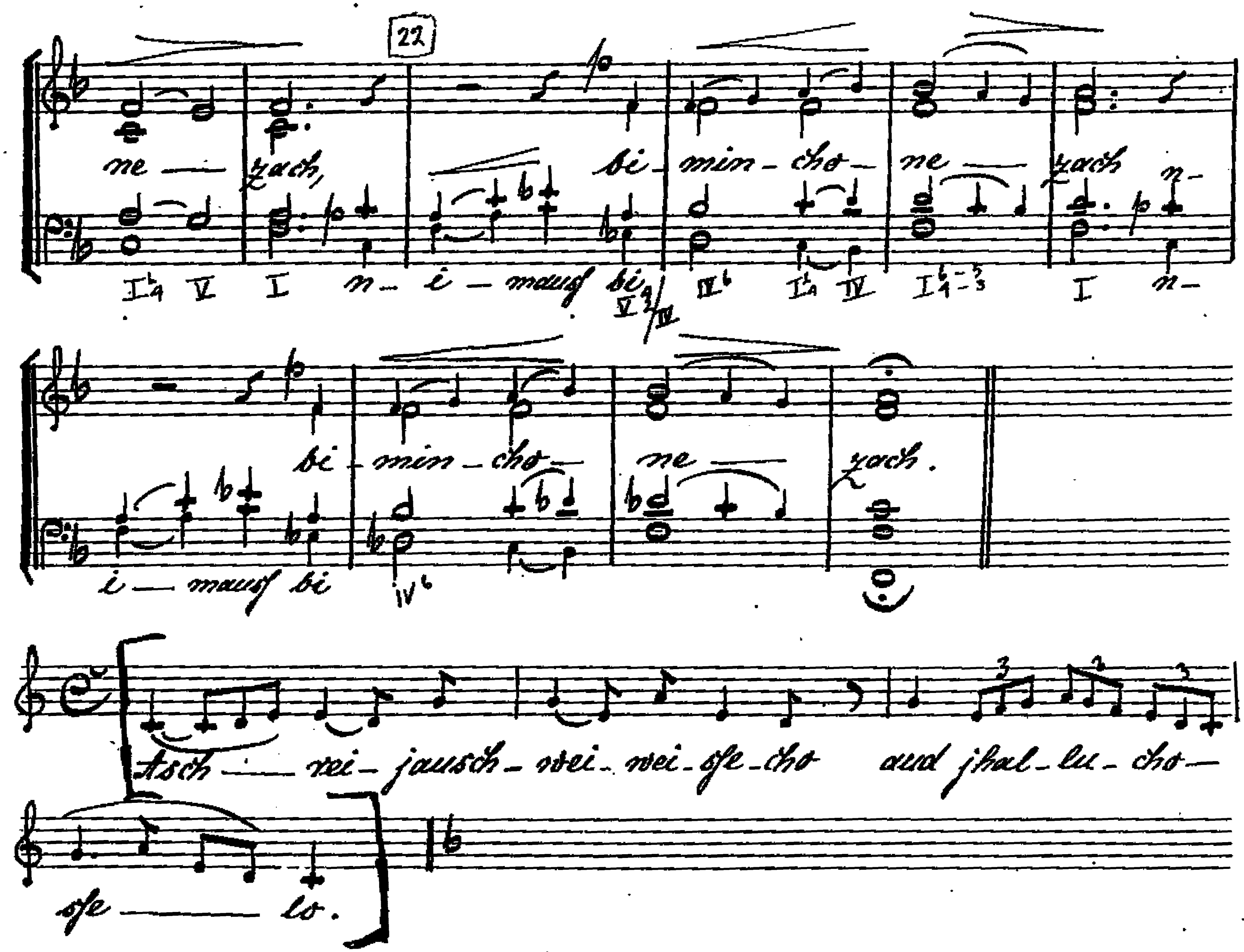
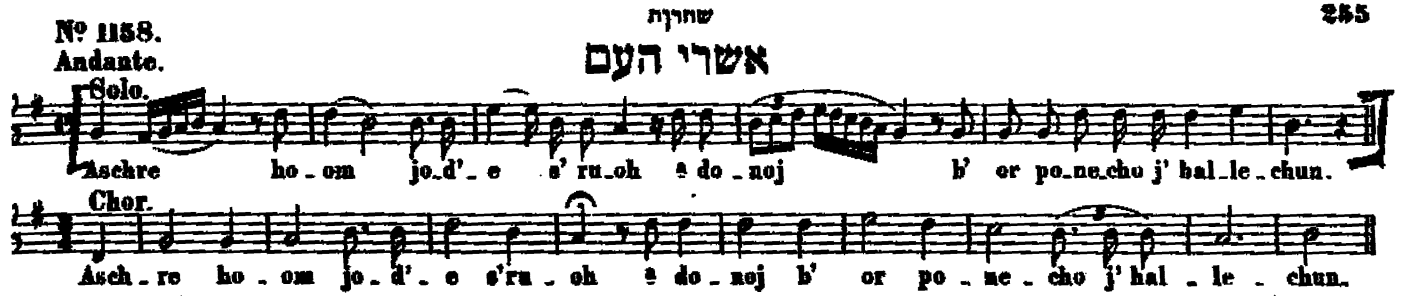


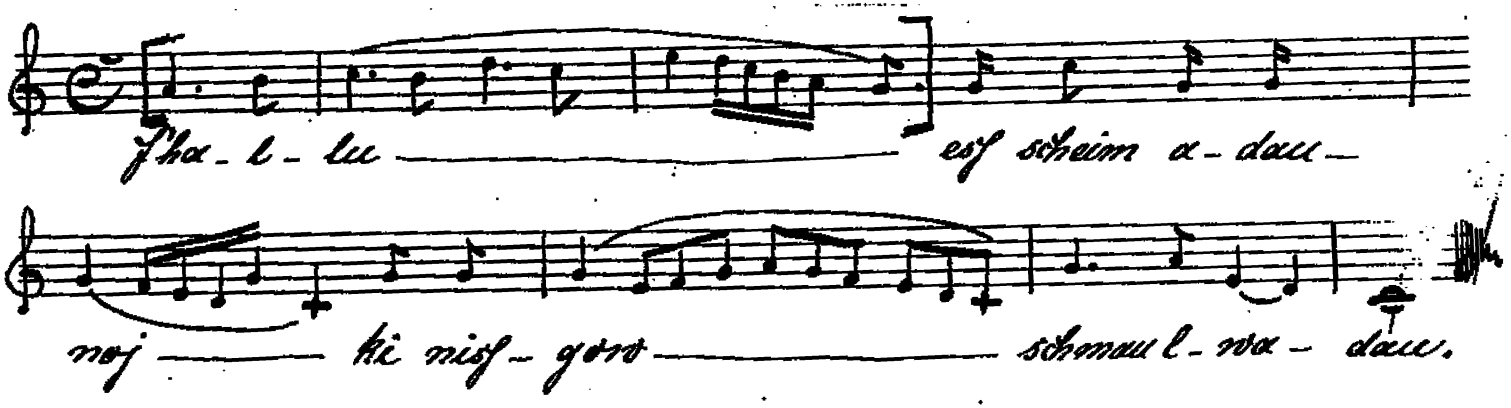
-Example #17-


22
ne — zach, bi- min - cho - ne — zach n-
n- i - mauf bi
i — mauf bi
bi - min - cho - ne — zach.
tsch — vei - jausch - vei - vei - ofe - cho aud jhal - lu - cho -
ofe — lo.

EXAMPLE #18 (Baer)



EXAMPLE #19 (Mus. 125)



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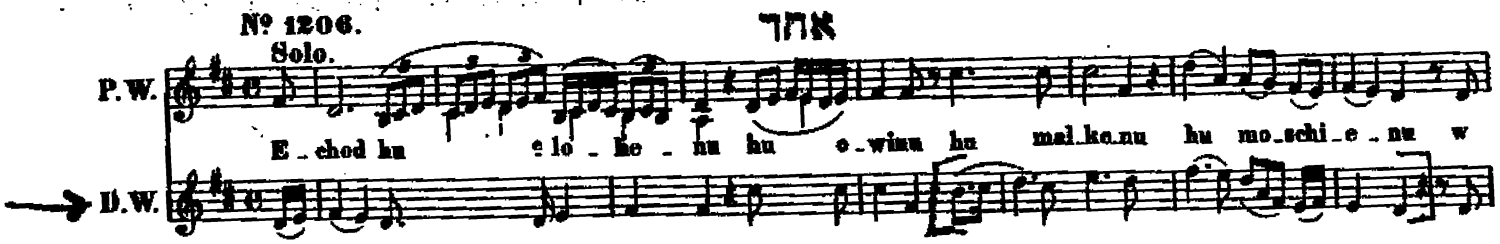
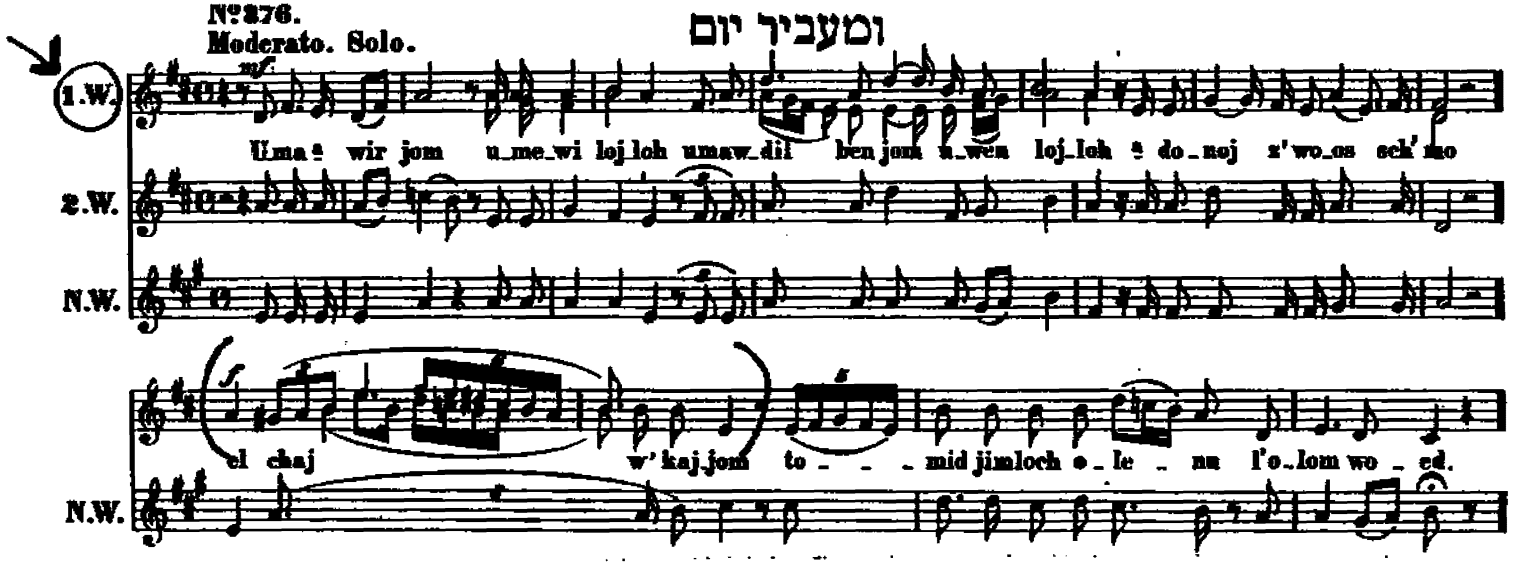
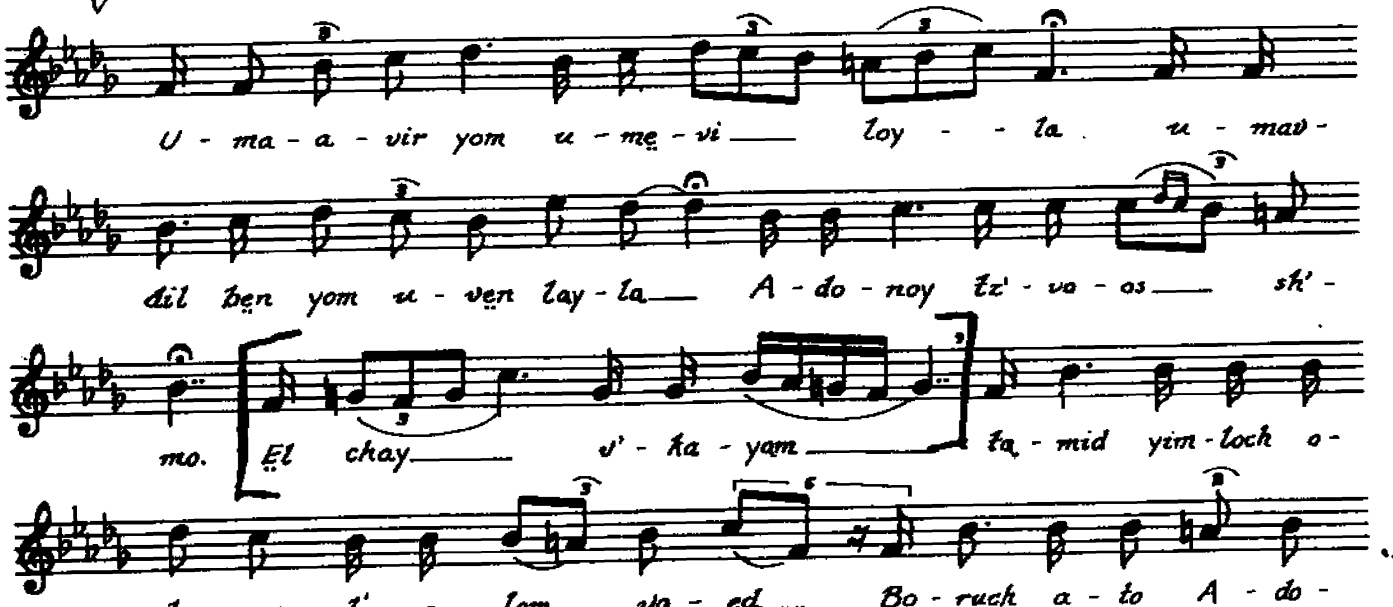




EXAMPLE #22 (A. Katchko)



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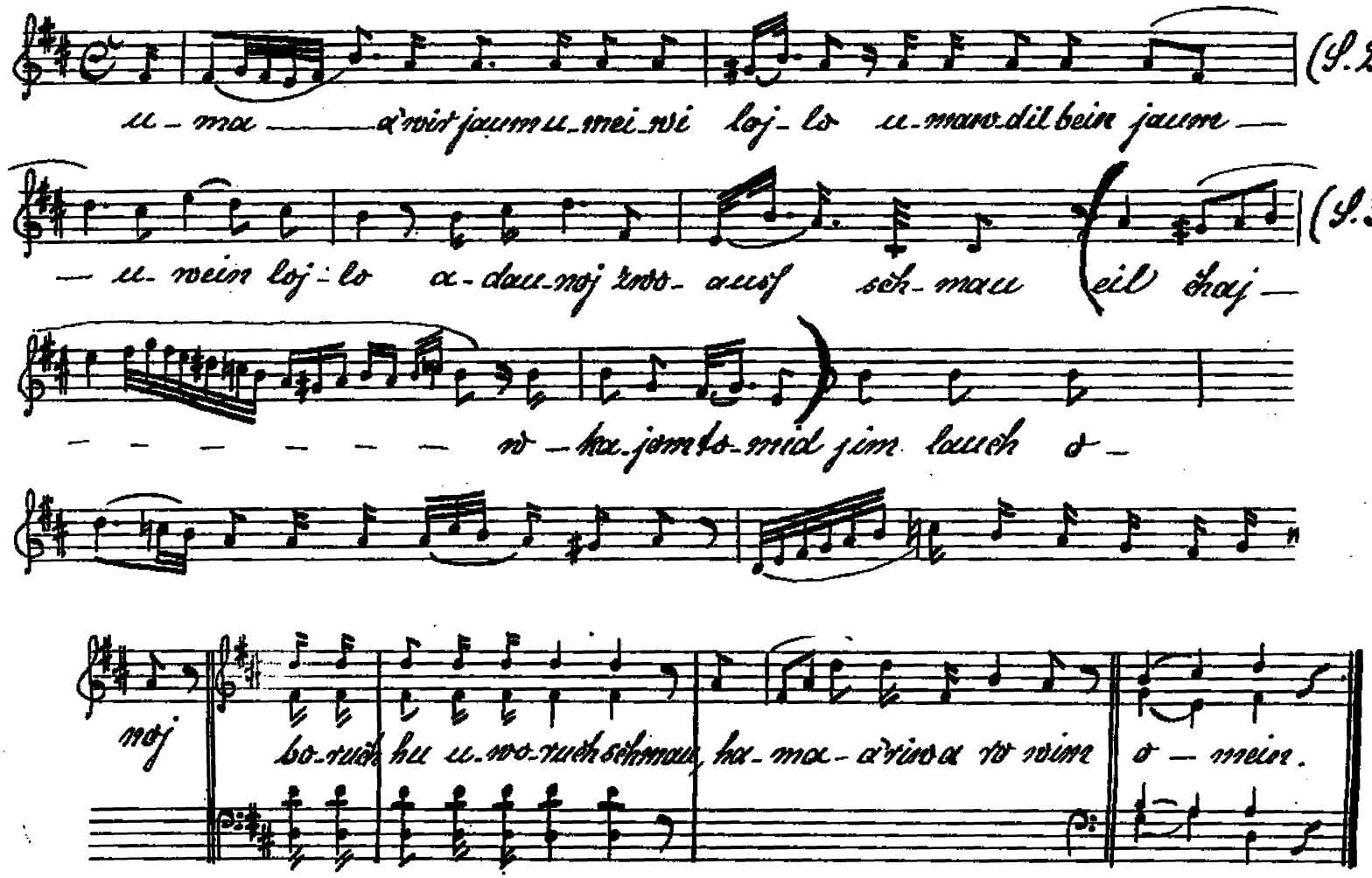

73

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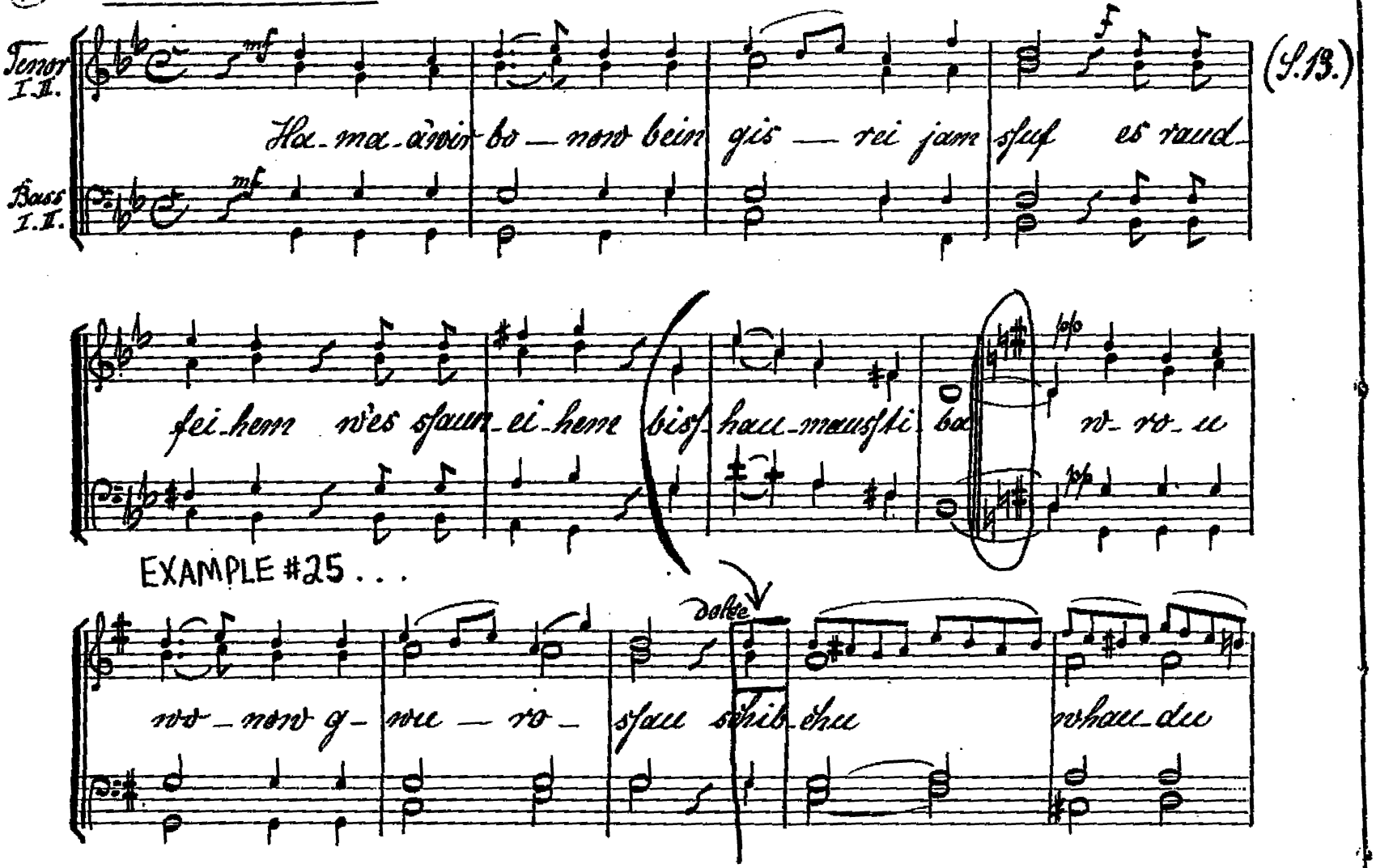
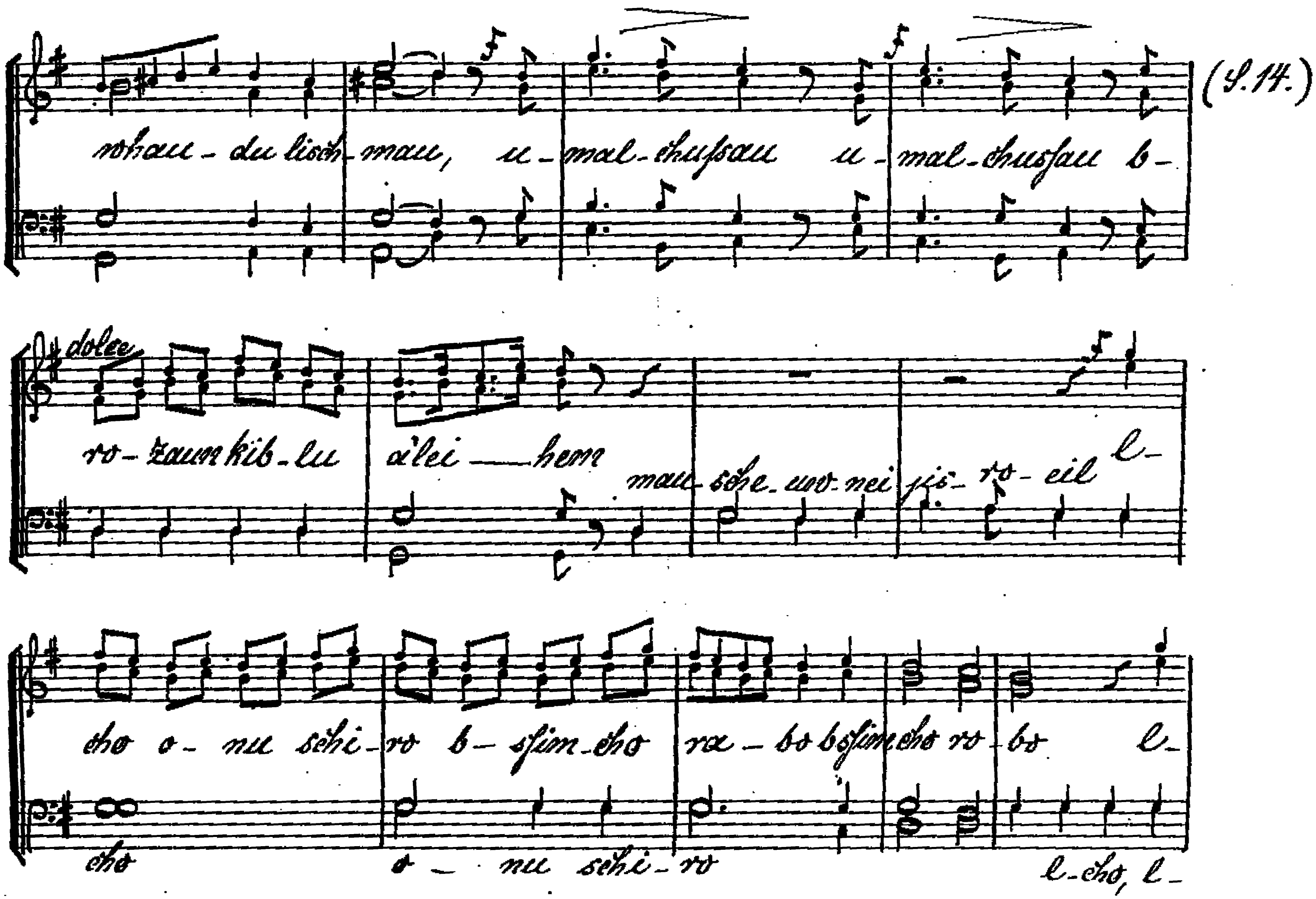
EXAMPLE #24 (Mvs. 125)

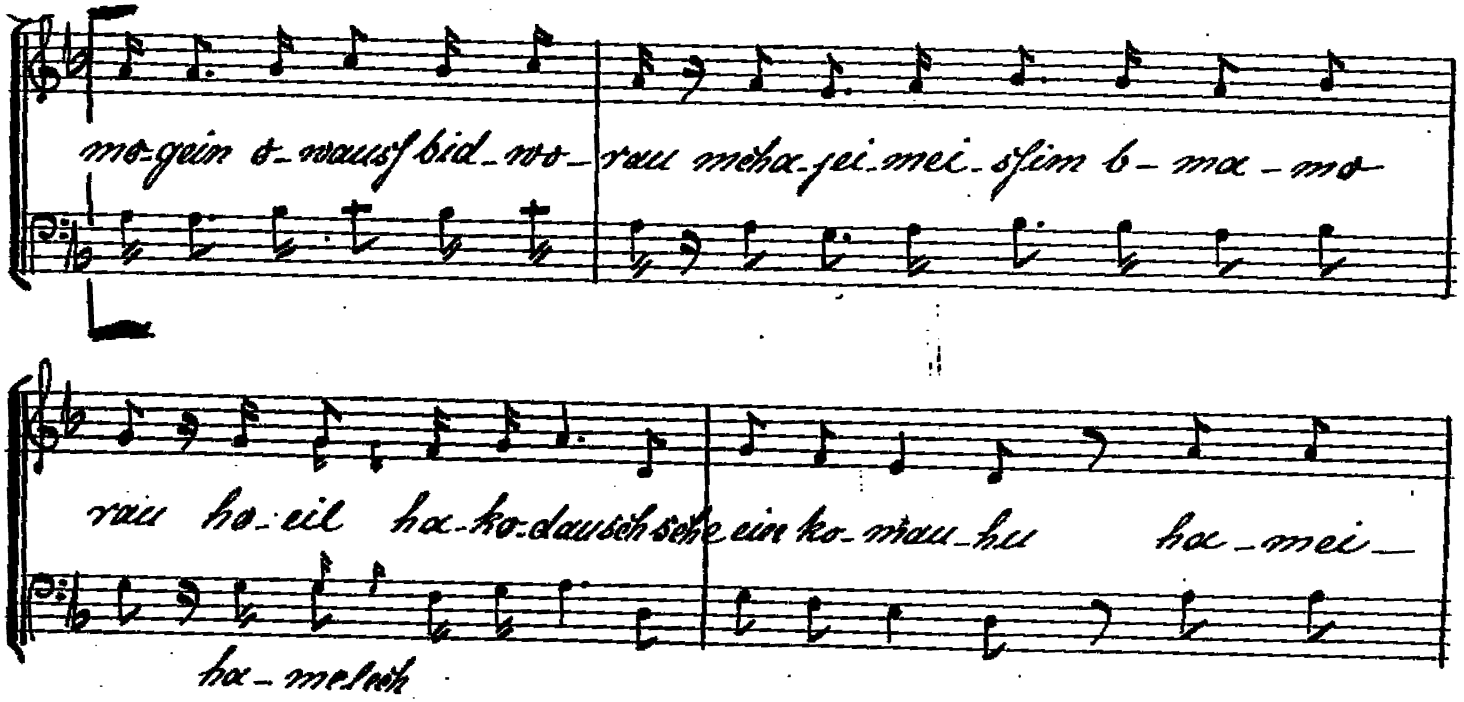
(#4) *Andante con moto.*



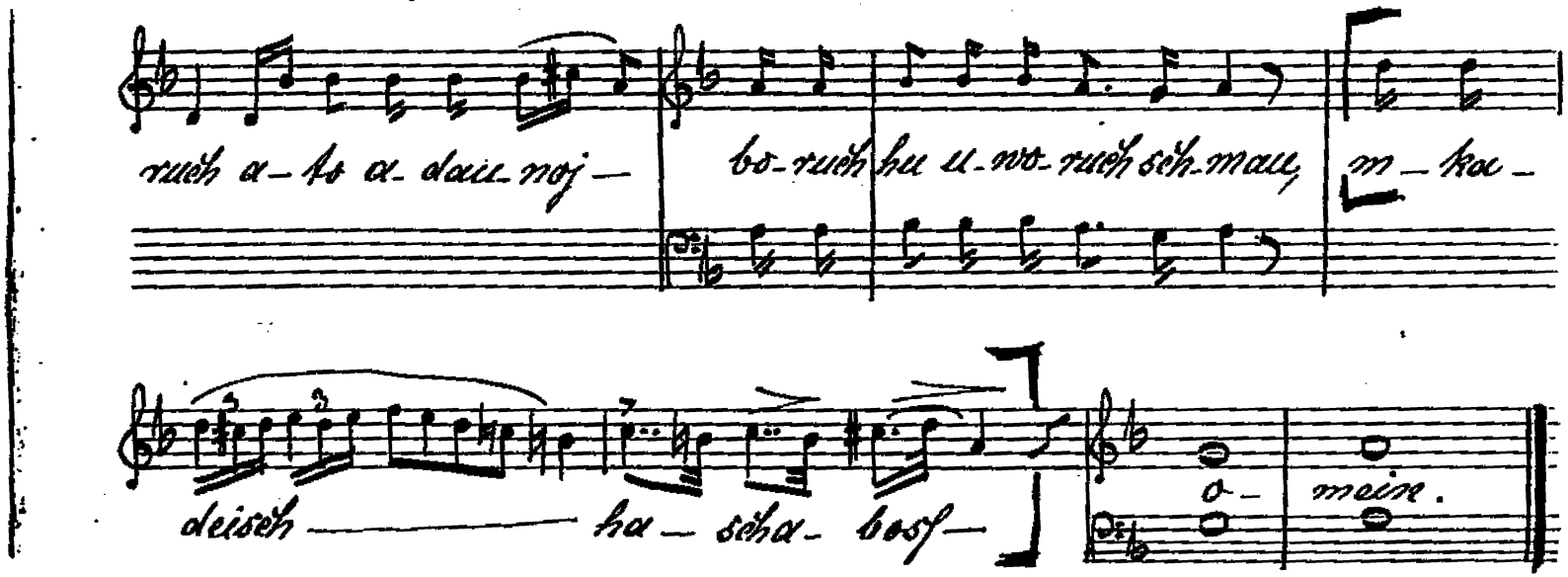

(S.14.)
whau - du lisch - mau, u - mal - chusau u - mal - chusau b -
dolce
ro - zaum kib - lu àlei — hem
mau - sche - uo - nei jis - ro - eil l -
cho o - nu schi - ro b - sfim - cho ra - bo bsfim cho ro - bo l -
cho o - nu schi - ro l - cho, l -

5

EXAMPLE #26 (Mus. 125)

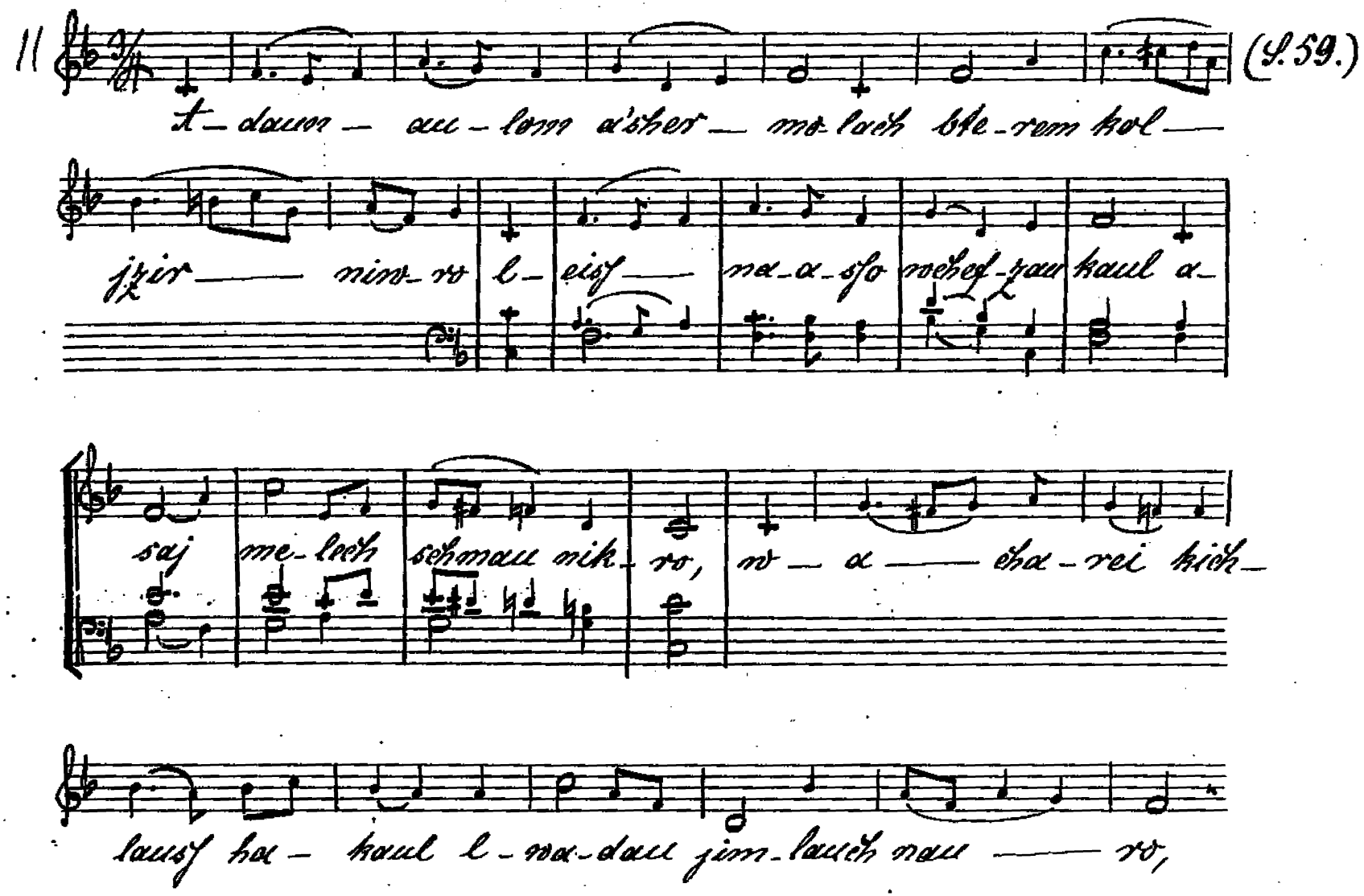


EXAMPLE #27

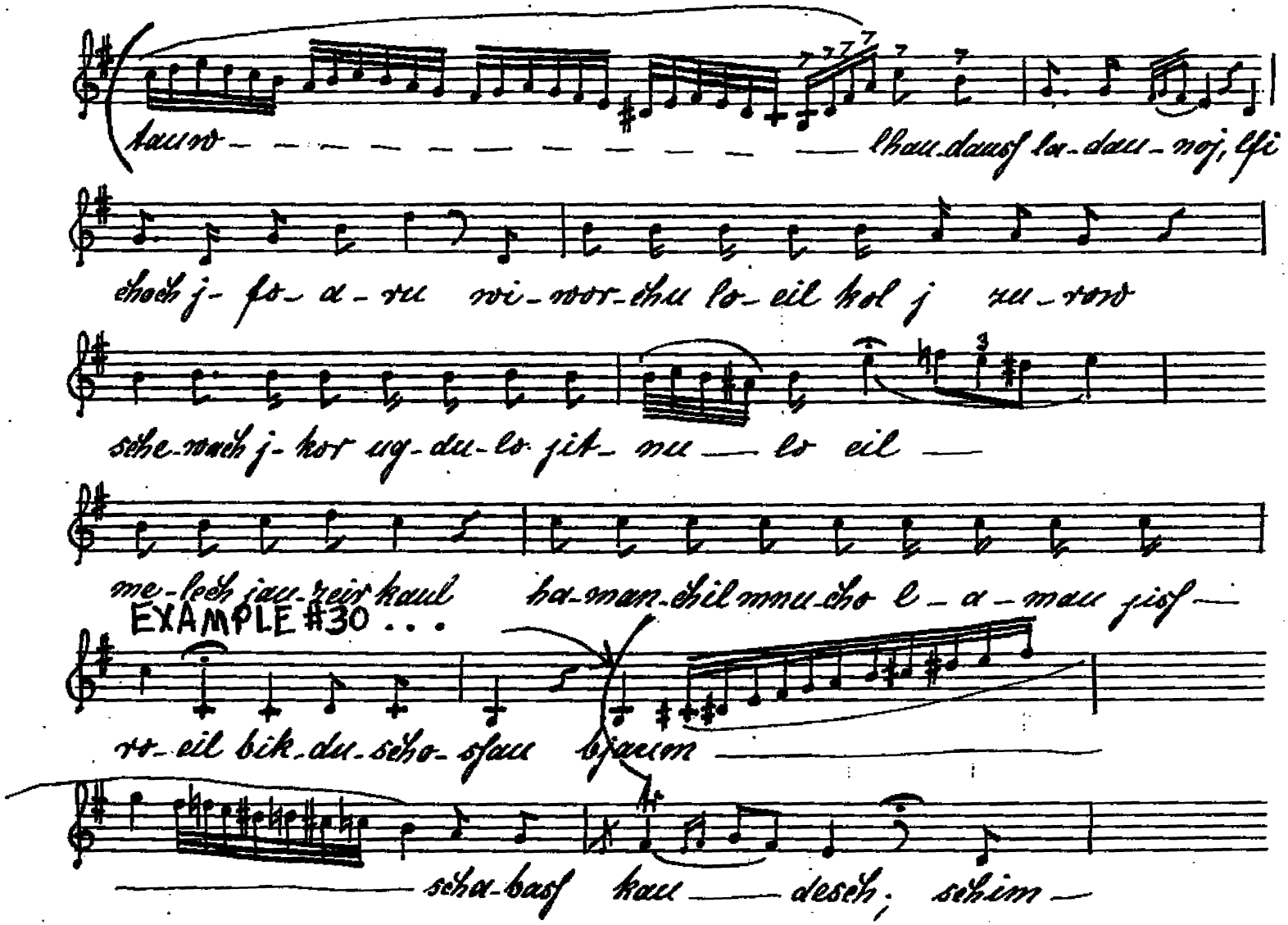


76

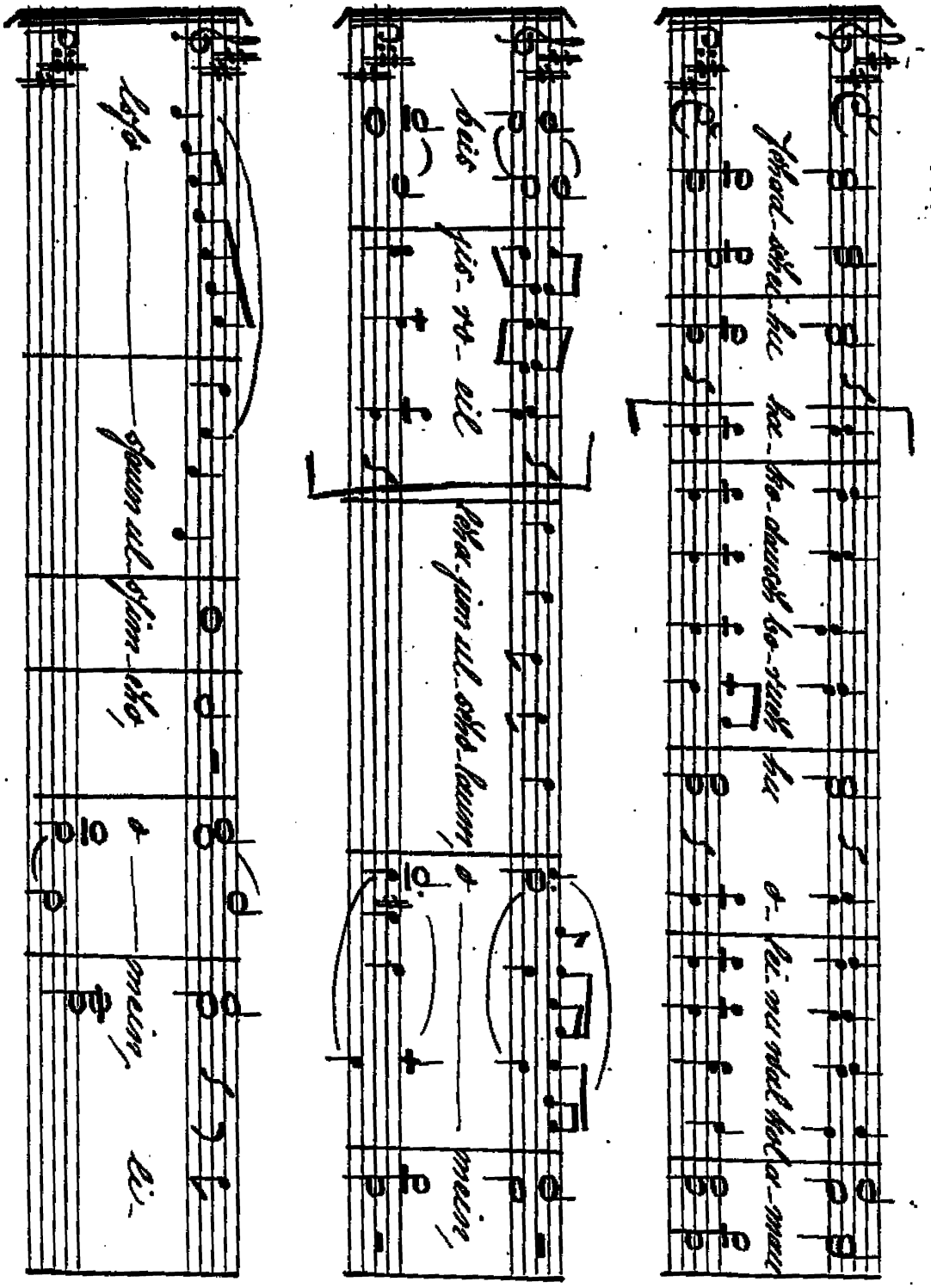
(#17) EXAMPLE #28 (Mvs. 125).



EXAMPLE #29 (Mus. 125)

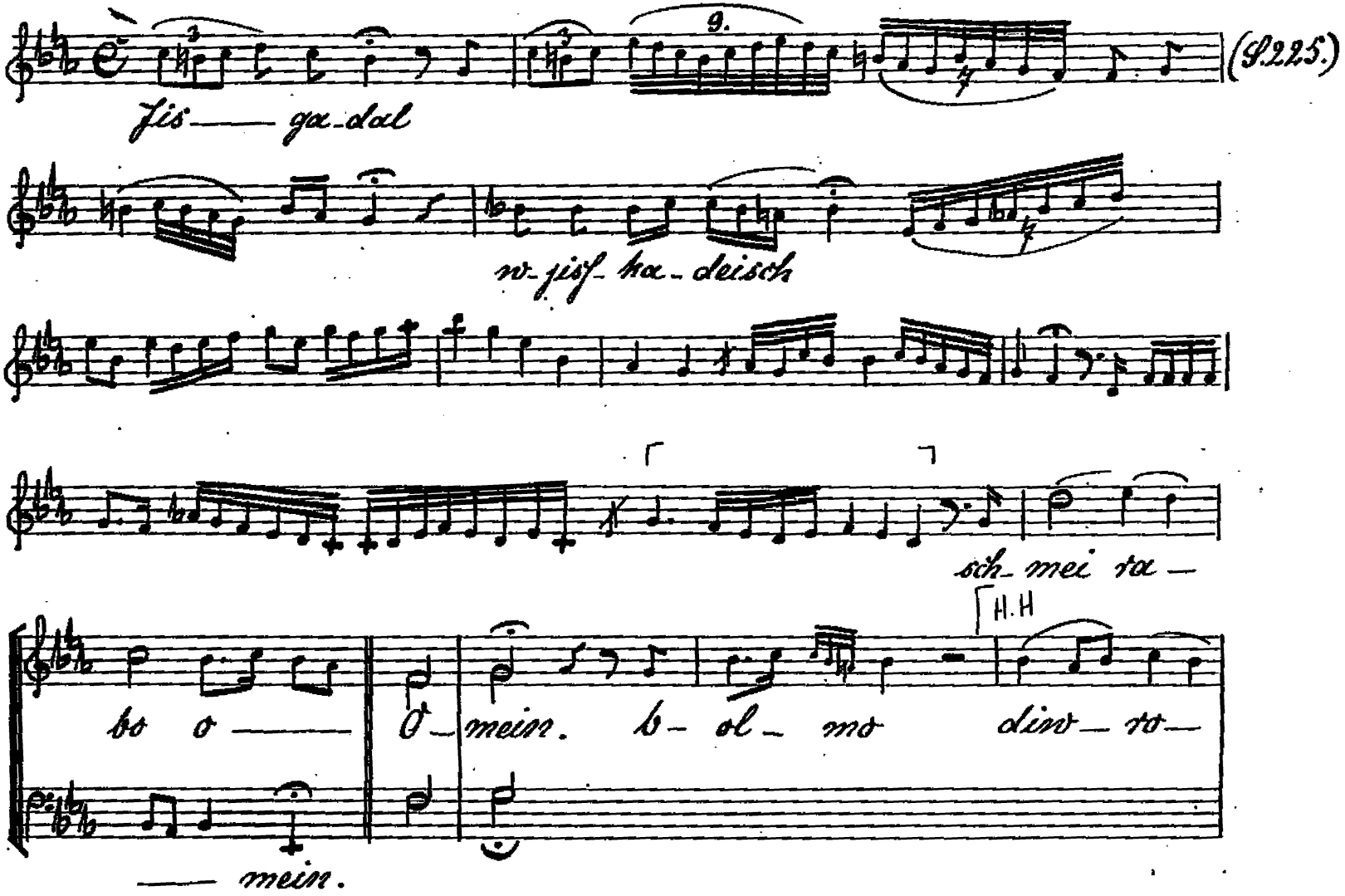


EXAMPLE #31 (Mus. 125)

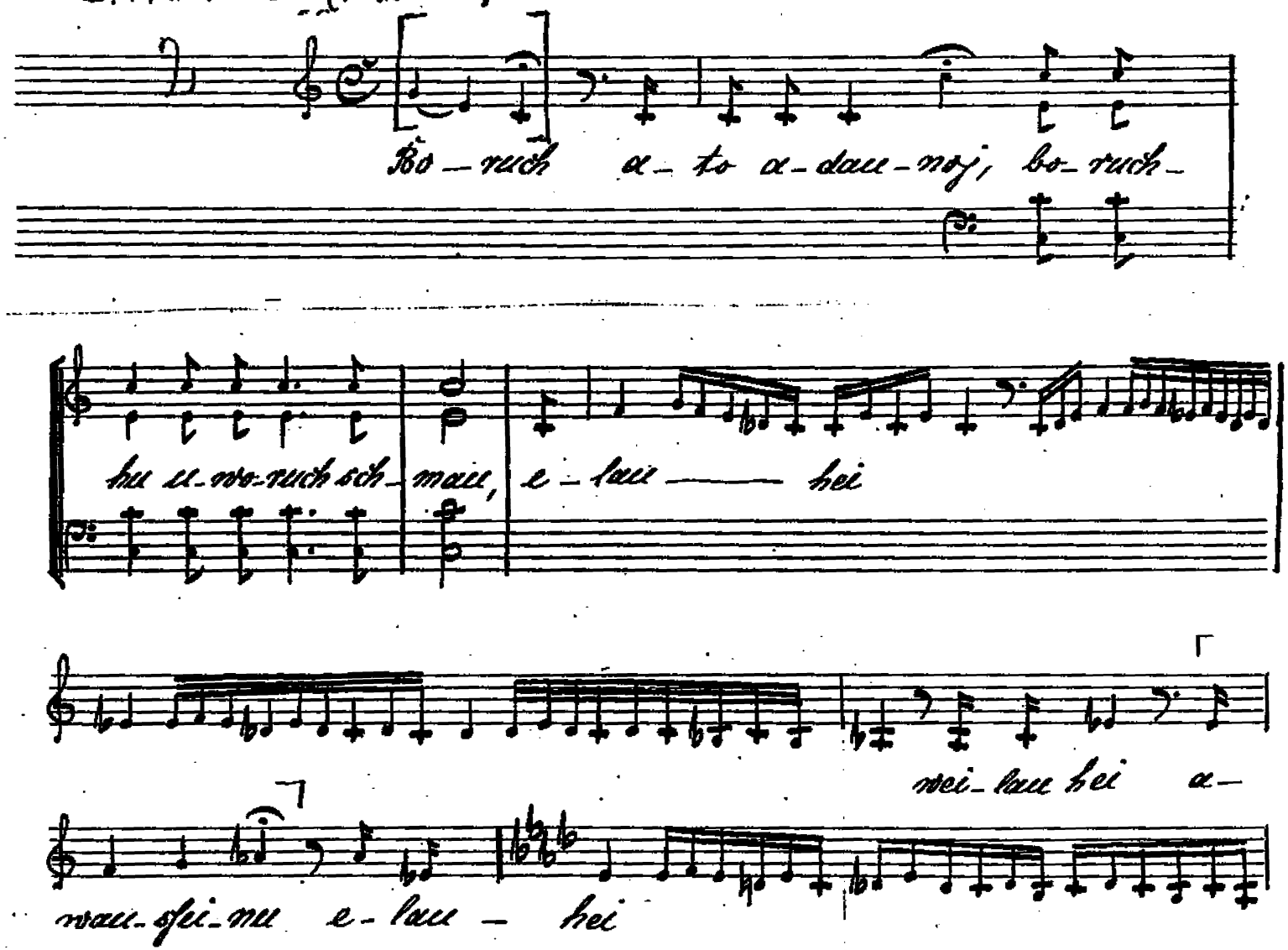


EXAMPLE #32

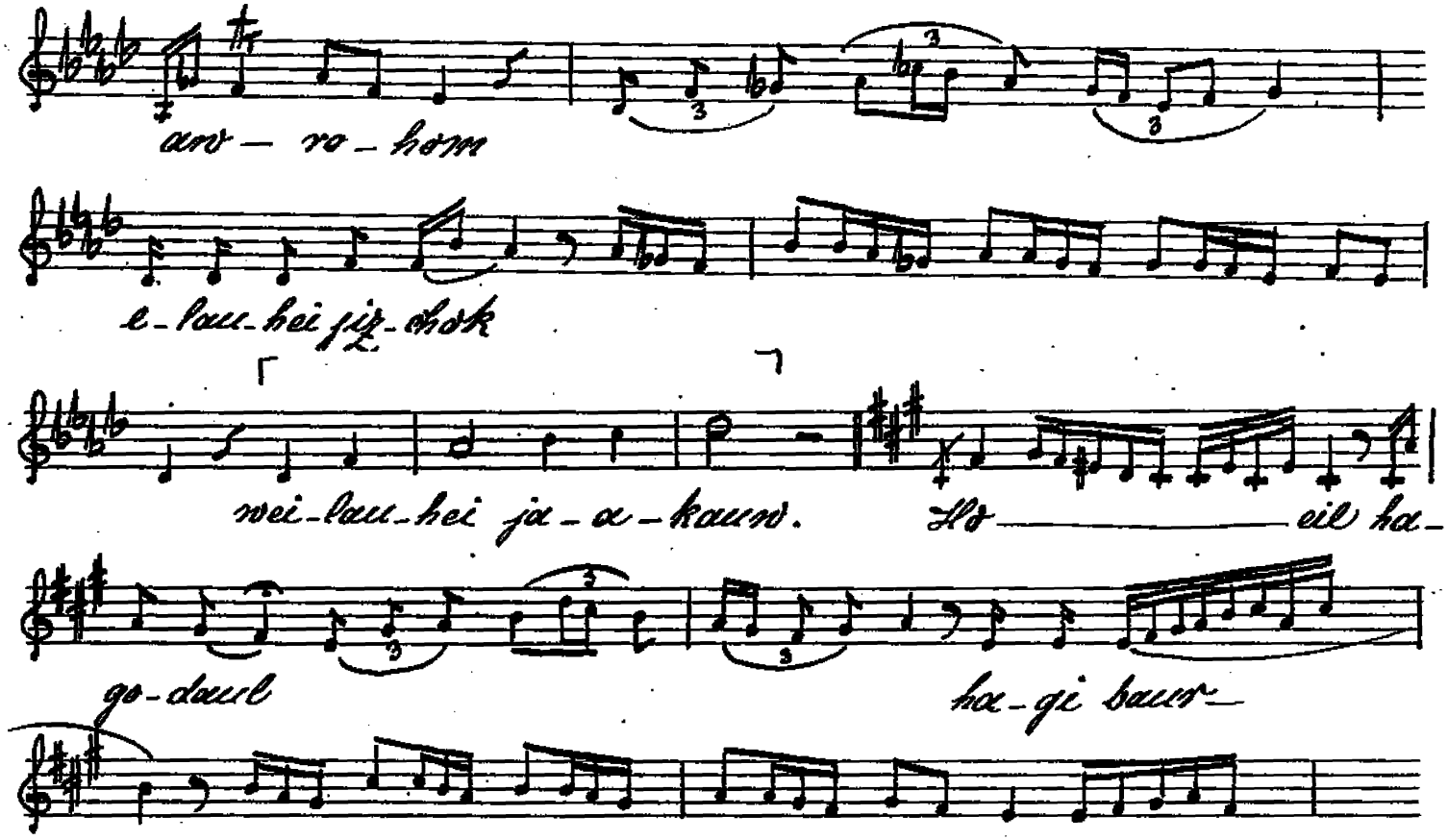
Kuslaf.



EXAMPLE #33 (Mus.125)



EXAMPLE #33, cont…



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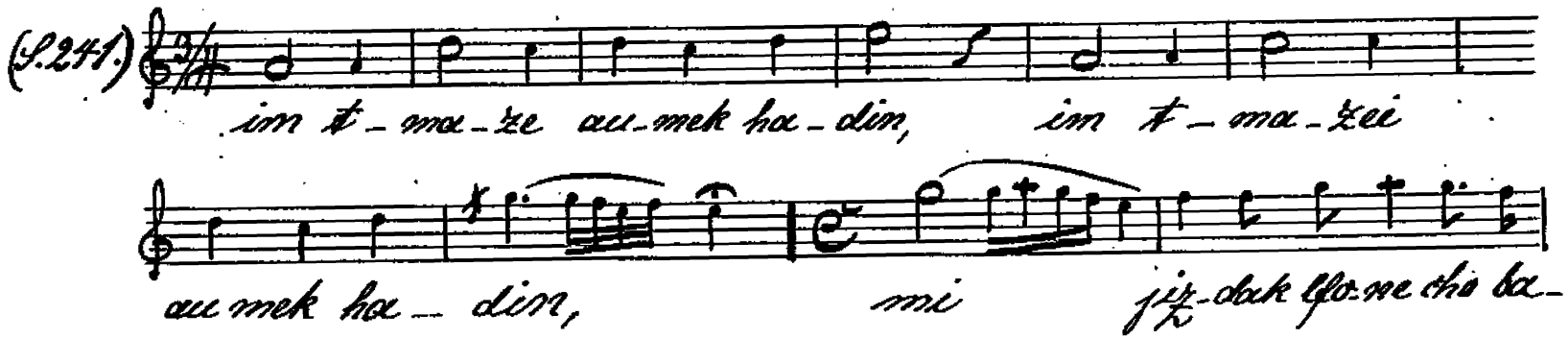
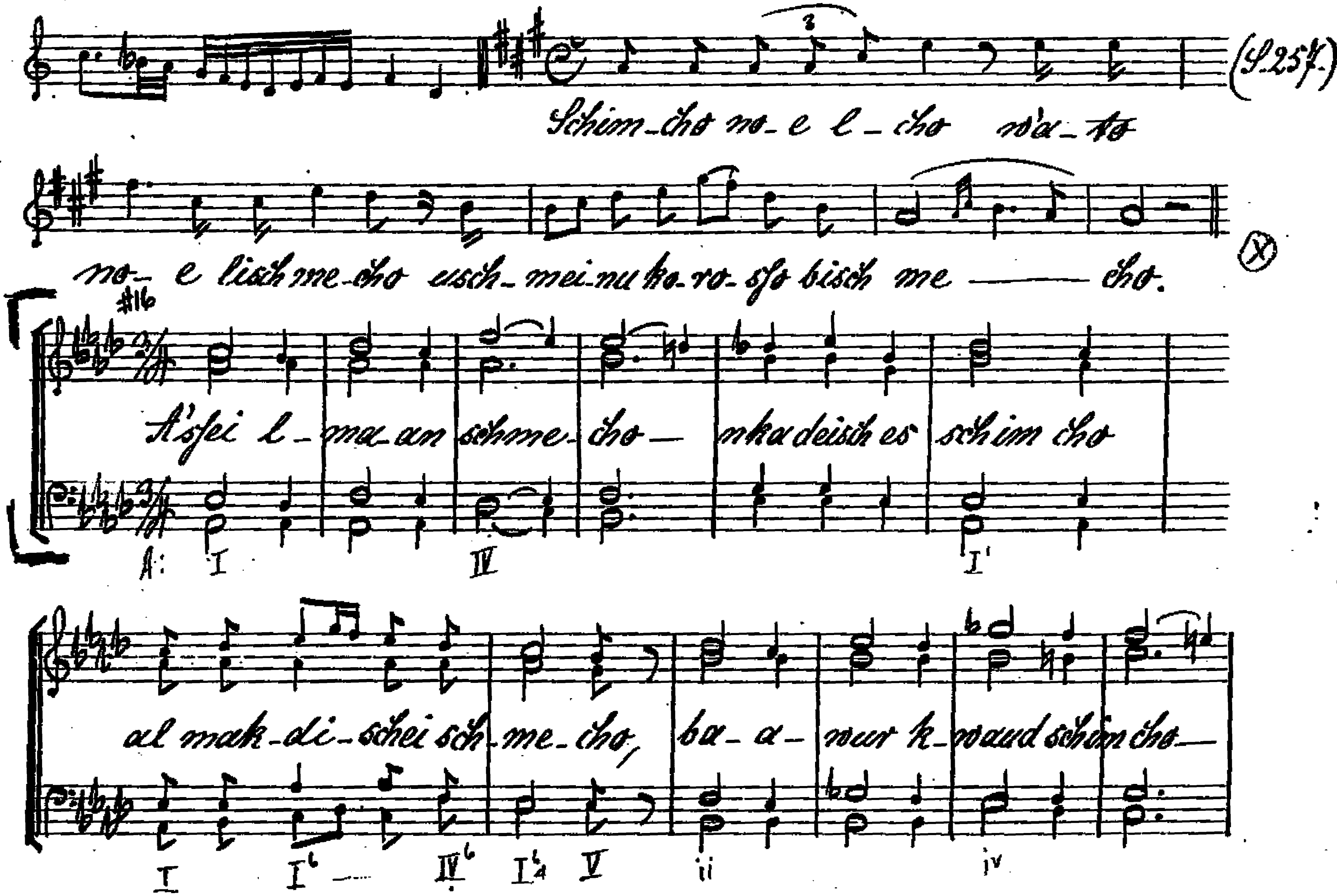
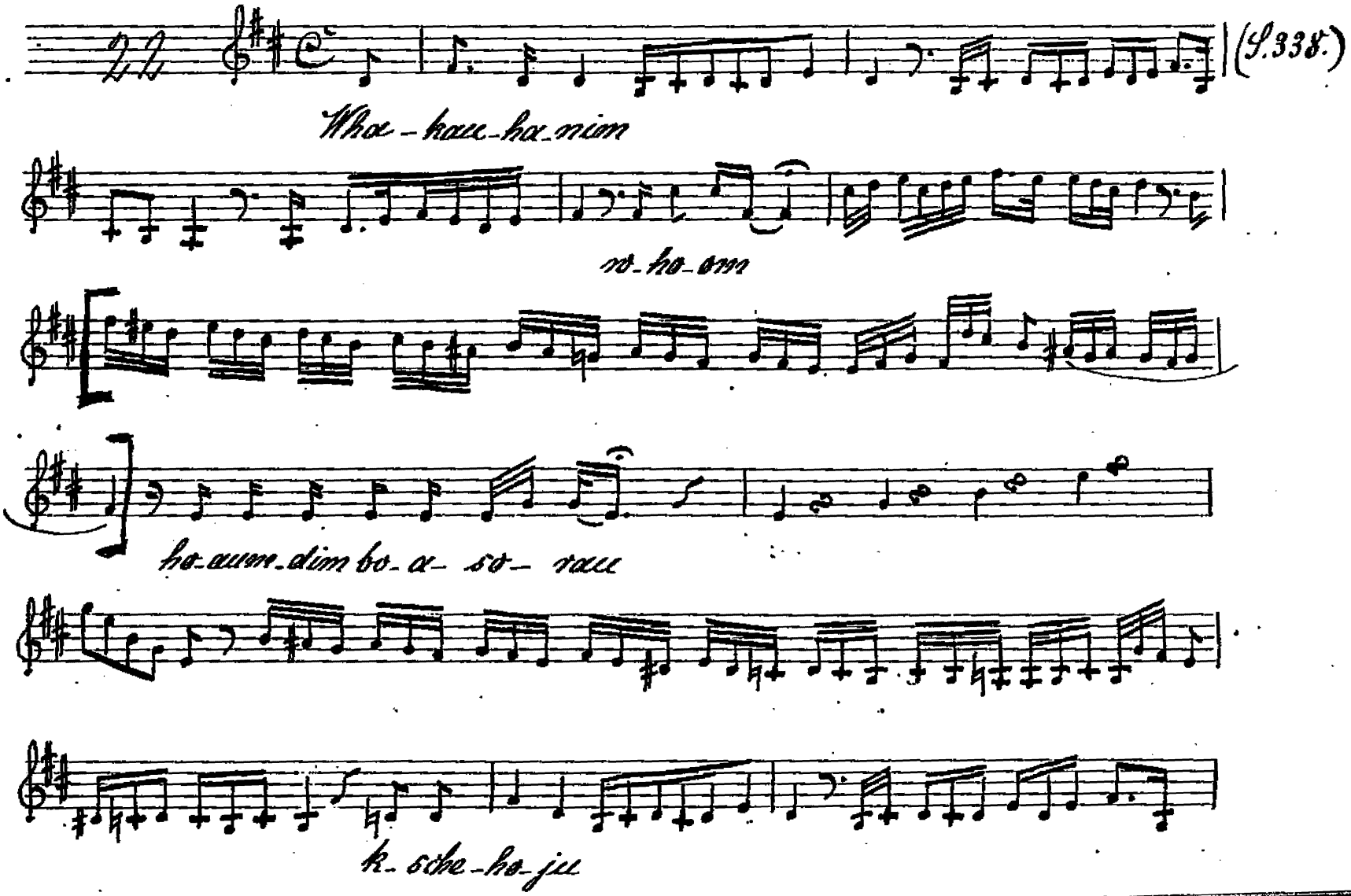


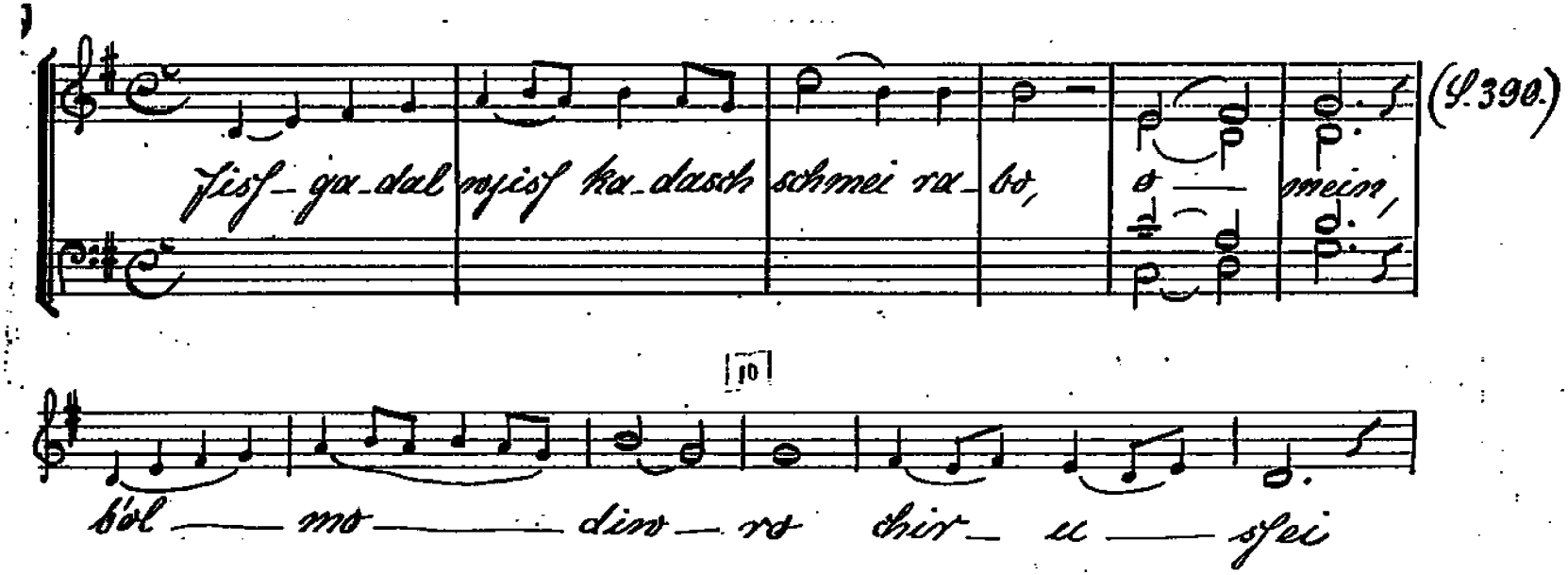
EXAMPLE #35


(S.257)
Schim-cho no-e l-cho no'a-to
no-e lisch me-cho usch-mei-nu ko-ro-sfo bisch me — cho.
#16
1.4
K'sfei l-ma-an schme-cho — nka deisch es schim cho
A: I IV I
al mak-di-schei sch-me-cho, ba-a-nur k-waud schim cho —
I I6 IV6 I64 V ii iv

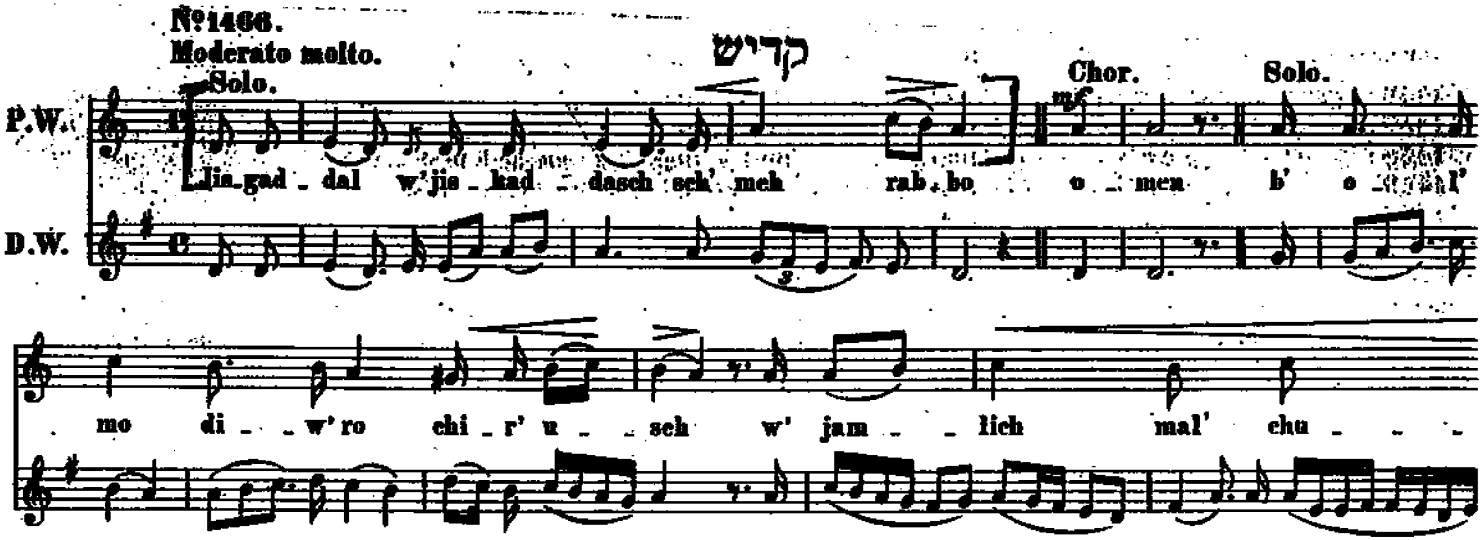
EXAMPLE #36 (Mus. 125)



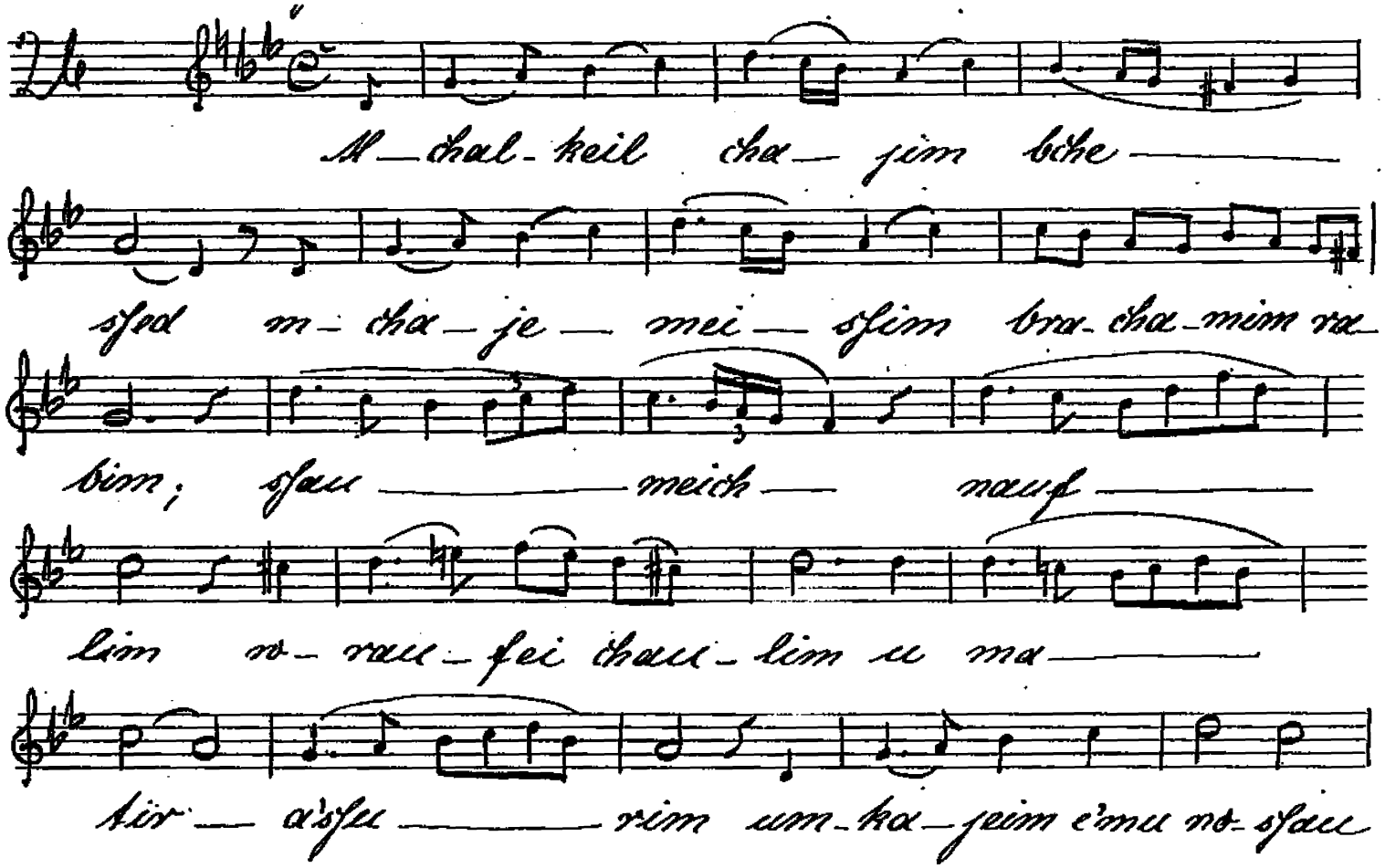
EXAMPLE #37 (Mus.125)



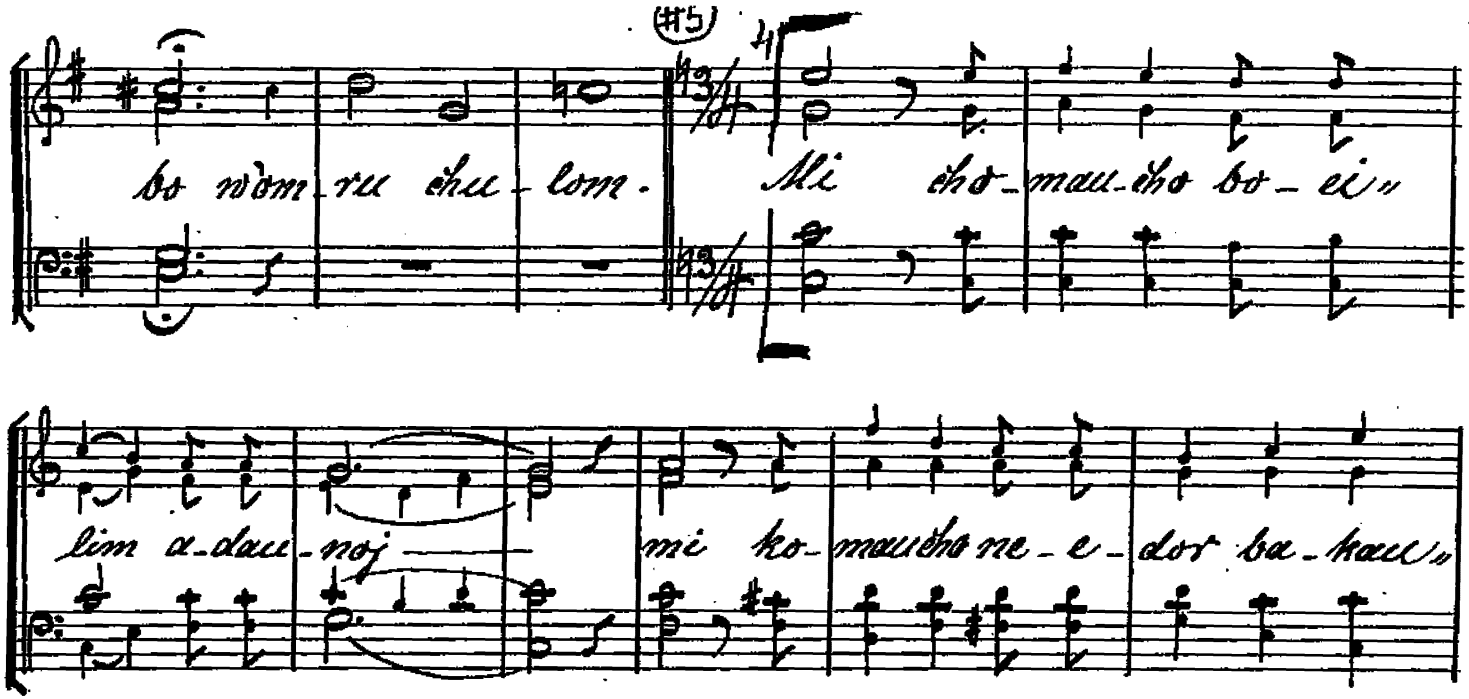
EXAMPLE #38 (Baer)



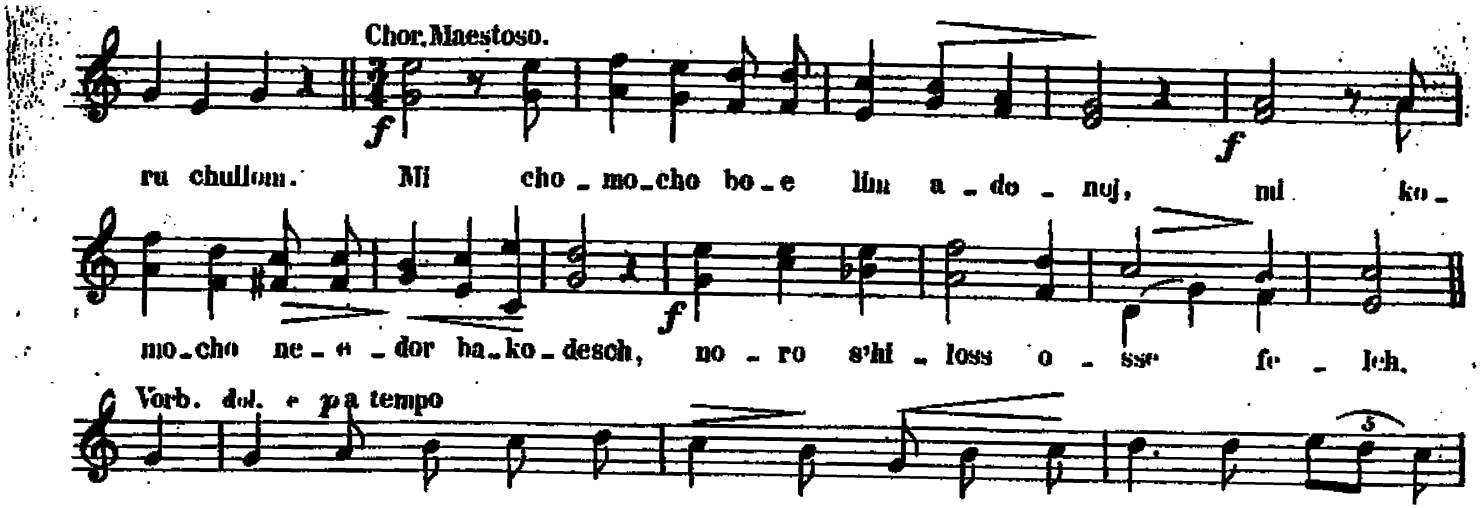
EXAMPLE #39 (Mus. 125)



EXAMPLE #40 (Mus. 125)



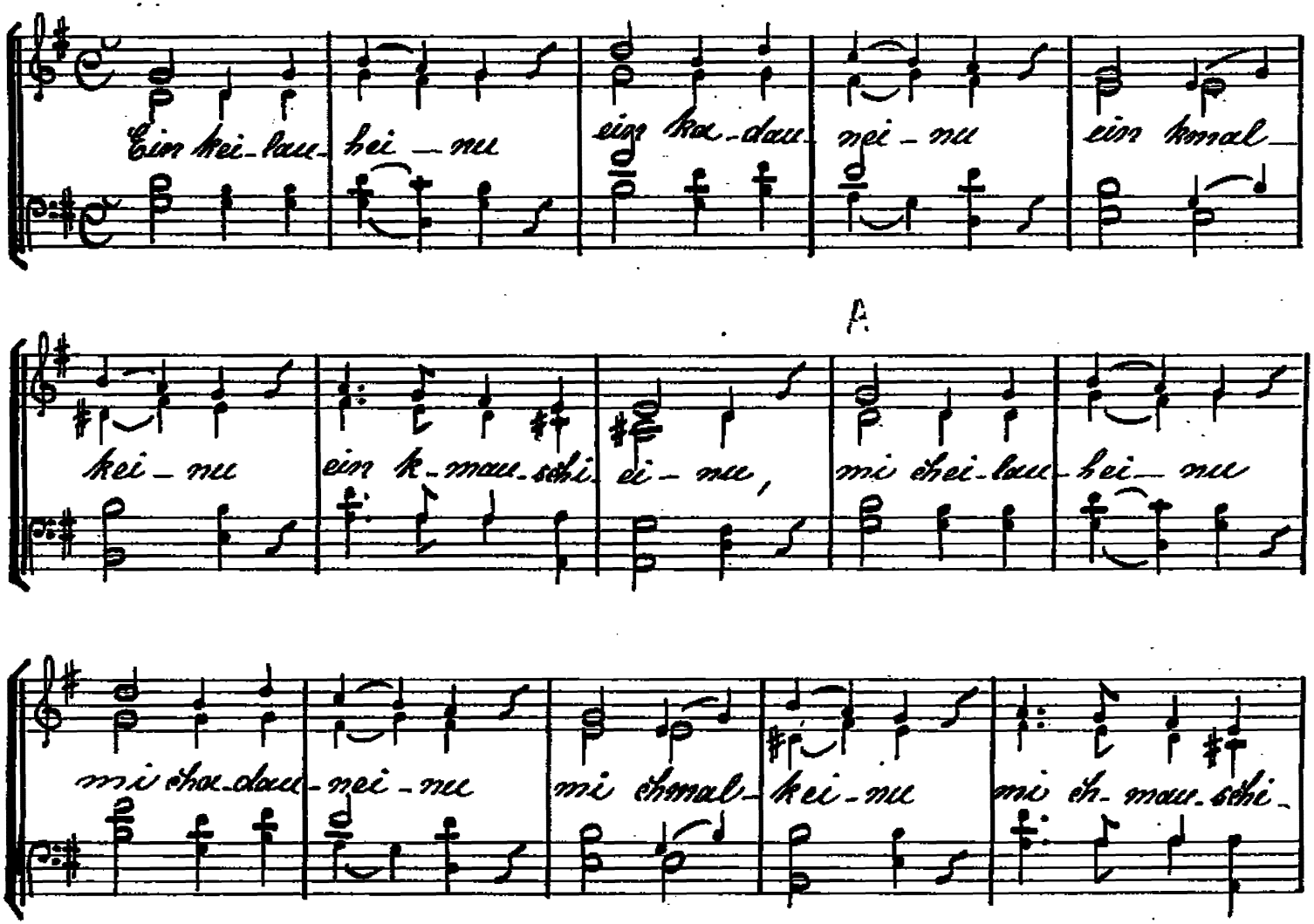
EXAMPLE #41 (Lewandowski, Kol Rinnah U't'fillah)



EXAMPLE #42 (Mus. 125)

(S. 215.)

14



EXAMPLE #43 (Kol Rinnah) EN KELOHENU

Mit Benutzung einer Composition v: M. Heinemann.

№ 60.

Moderato.

Vorb. Chor.

En ke - lo - he - nu, en ka - do - ne - nu,

Vorb. Chor. Vorb.

en k'-mal'-ke - nu, en k'-mo-schi - e - nu, mi che-lo - he - nu,

Chor. Vorb. Chor.

mi cha - do - ne - nu, mi ch'-mal'-ke - nu, mi ch'-mo-schi -

EXAMPLE #44 (Todah W'Simrah)

№ 83. אין כאלהינו

Moderato.

Vorbeter. Chor und Gemeinde. Vorbeter. Chor und Gemeinde.

Vorbeter. En ke-lo-he-nu, en ka-do-ne-nu, en k'-mal-ke-nu, en k'-moschi-e-nu,

Organo.

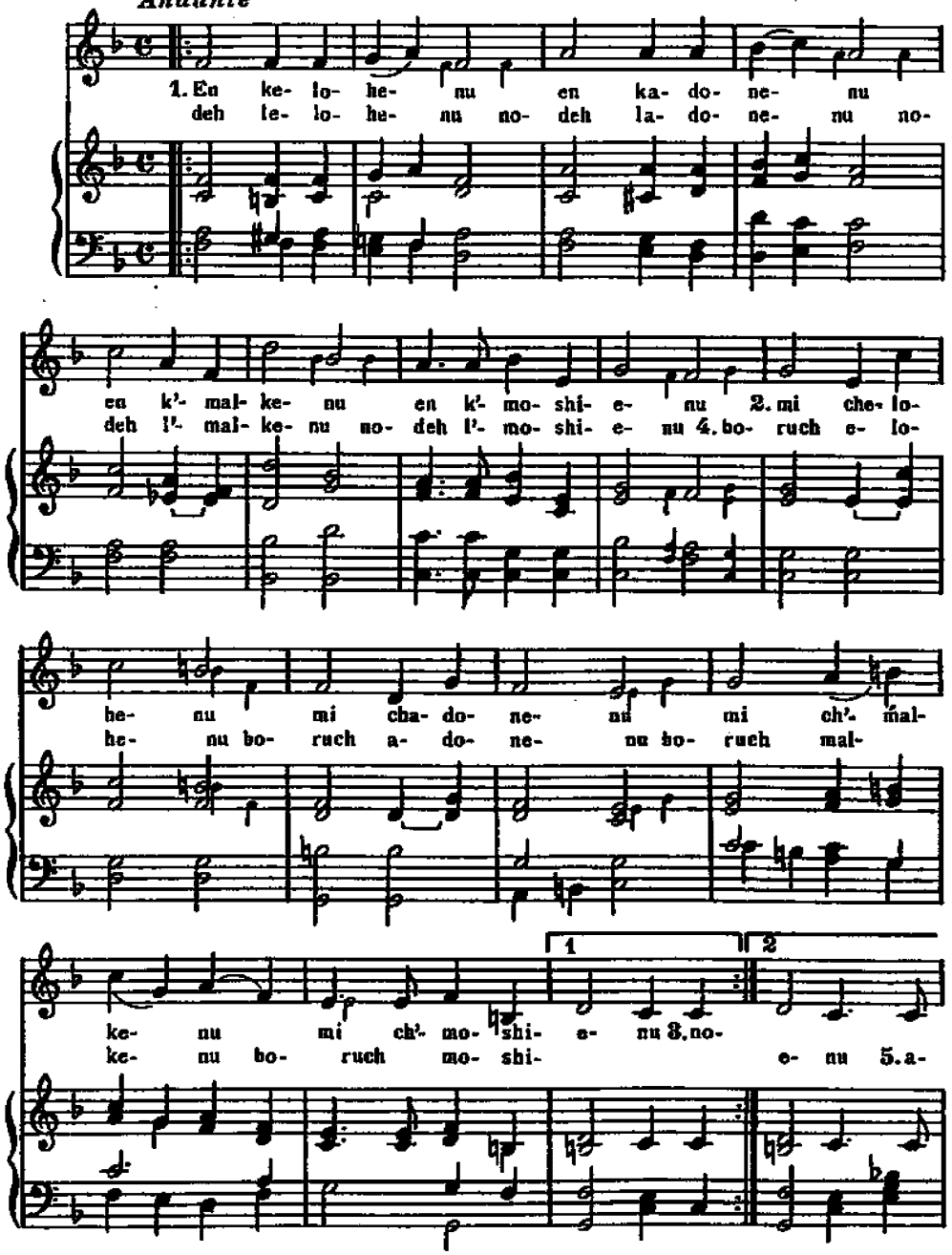
Vorbeter. Chor und Gemeinde. Vorbeter. Chor und Gemeinde.

mi che-lo-he-nu, mi cha-do-ne-nu, mi ch'-mal-ke-nu, mi ch'-moschi-e-nu.

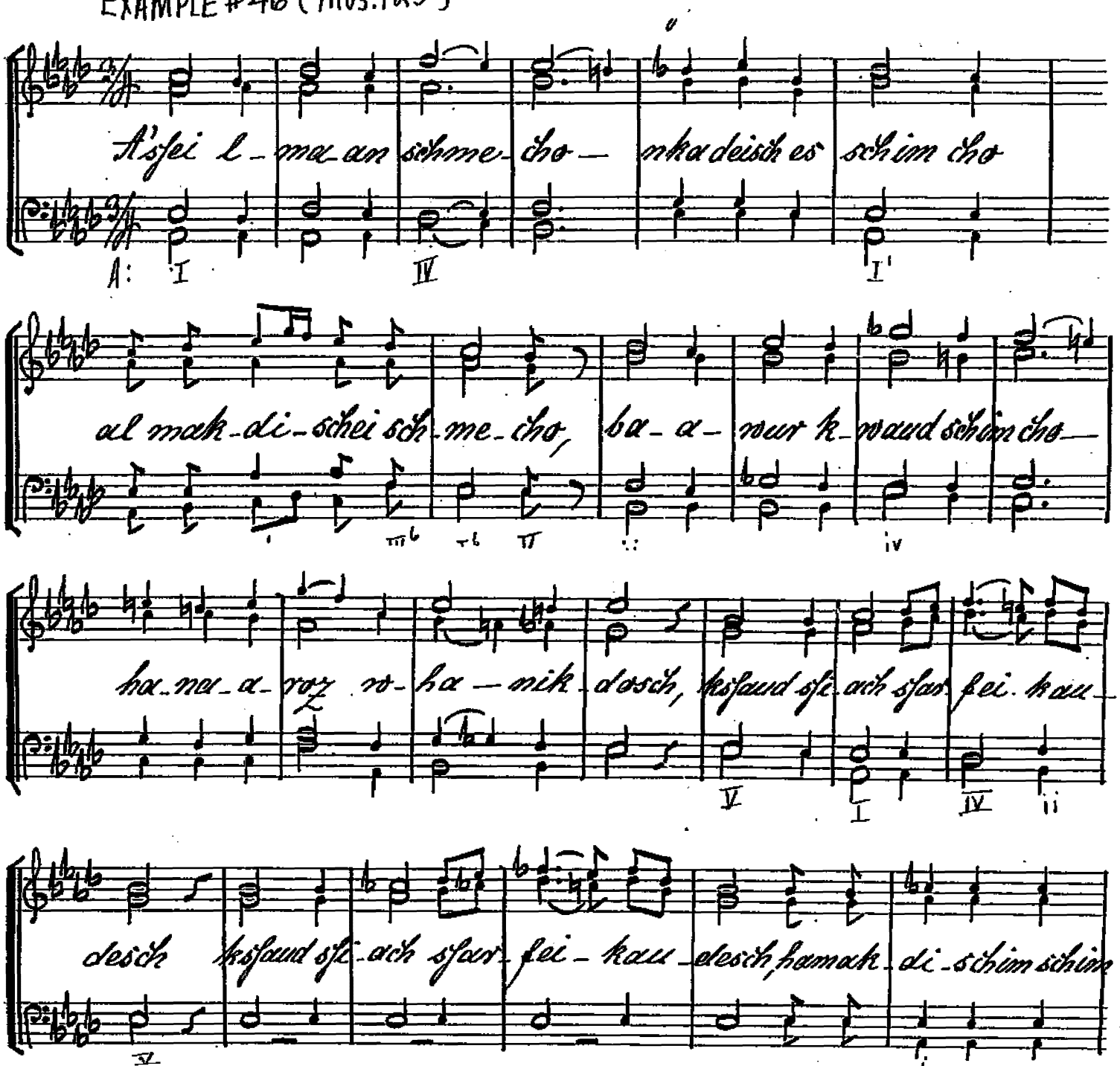
Unison

Andante

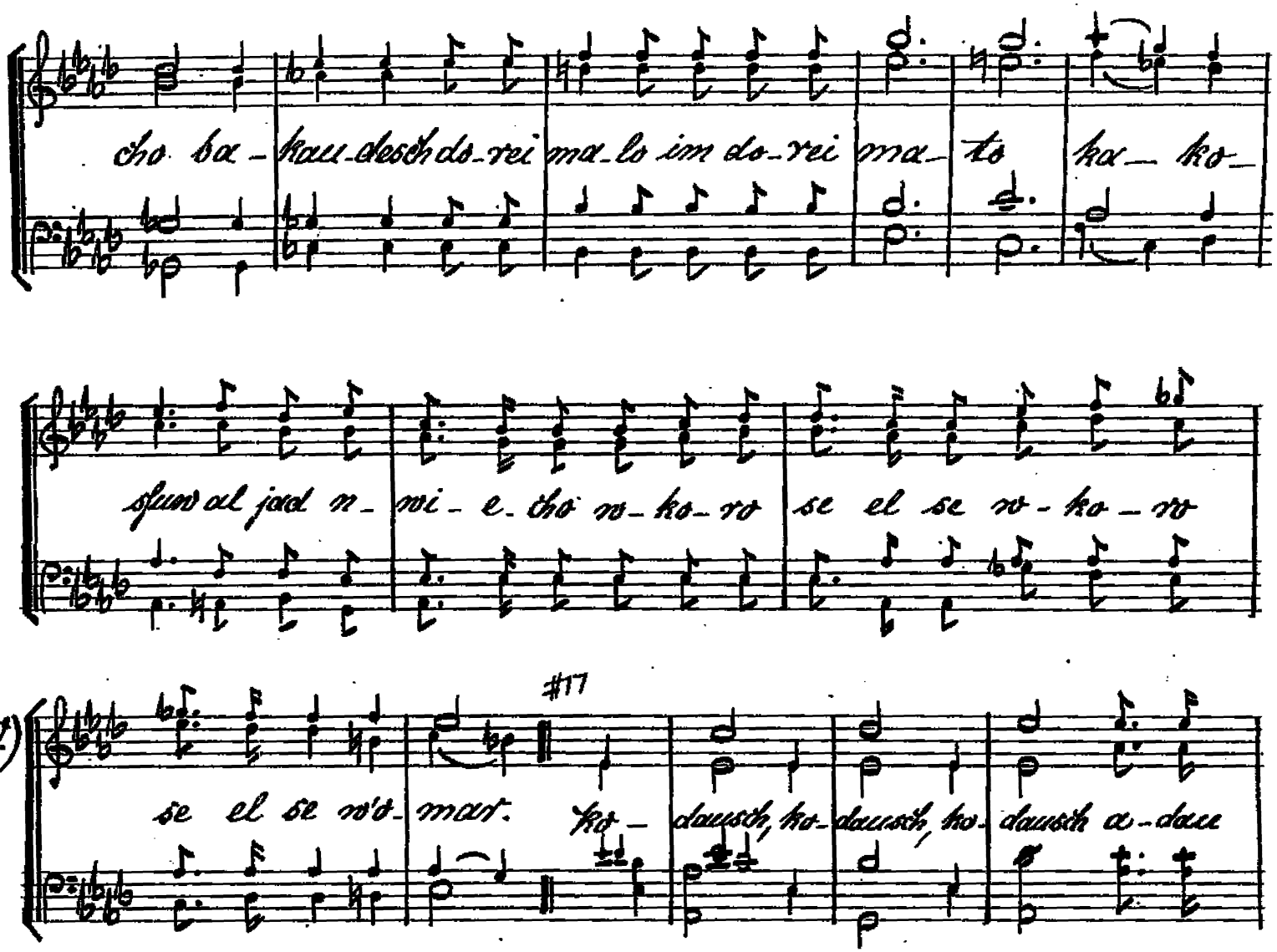
Melody by Julius Freudenthal



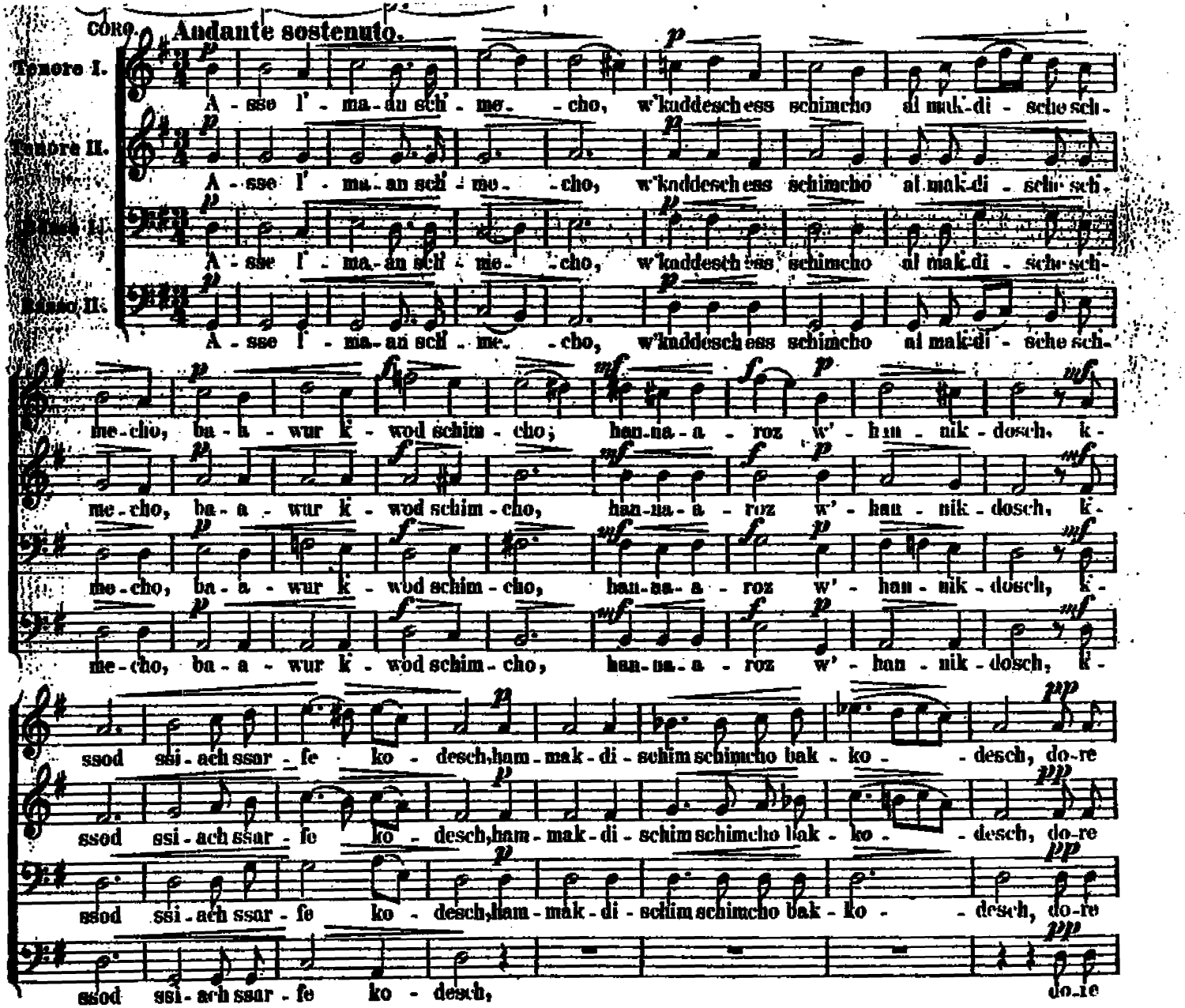
EXAMPLE #46 (MUS. 125)



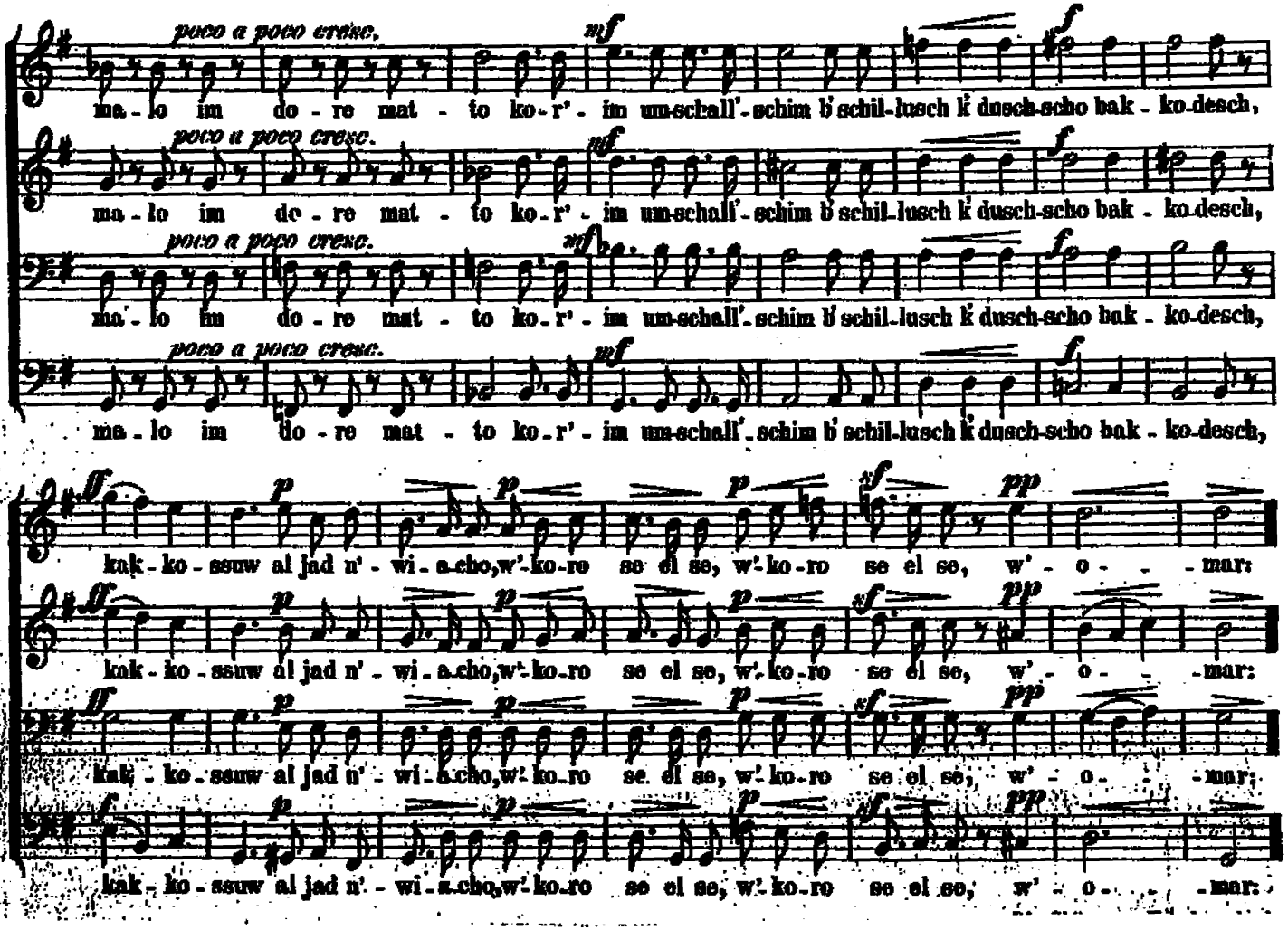
EXAMPLE #46, cont...



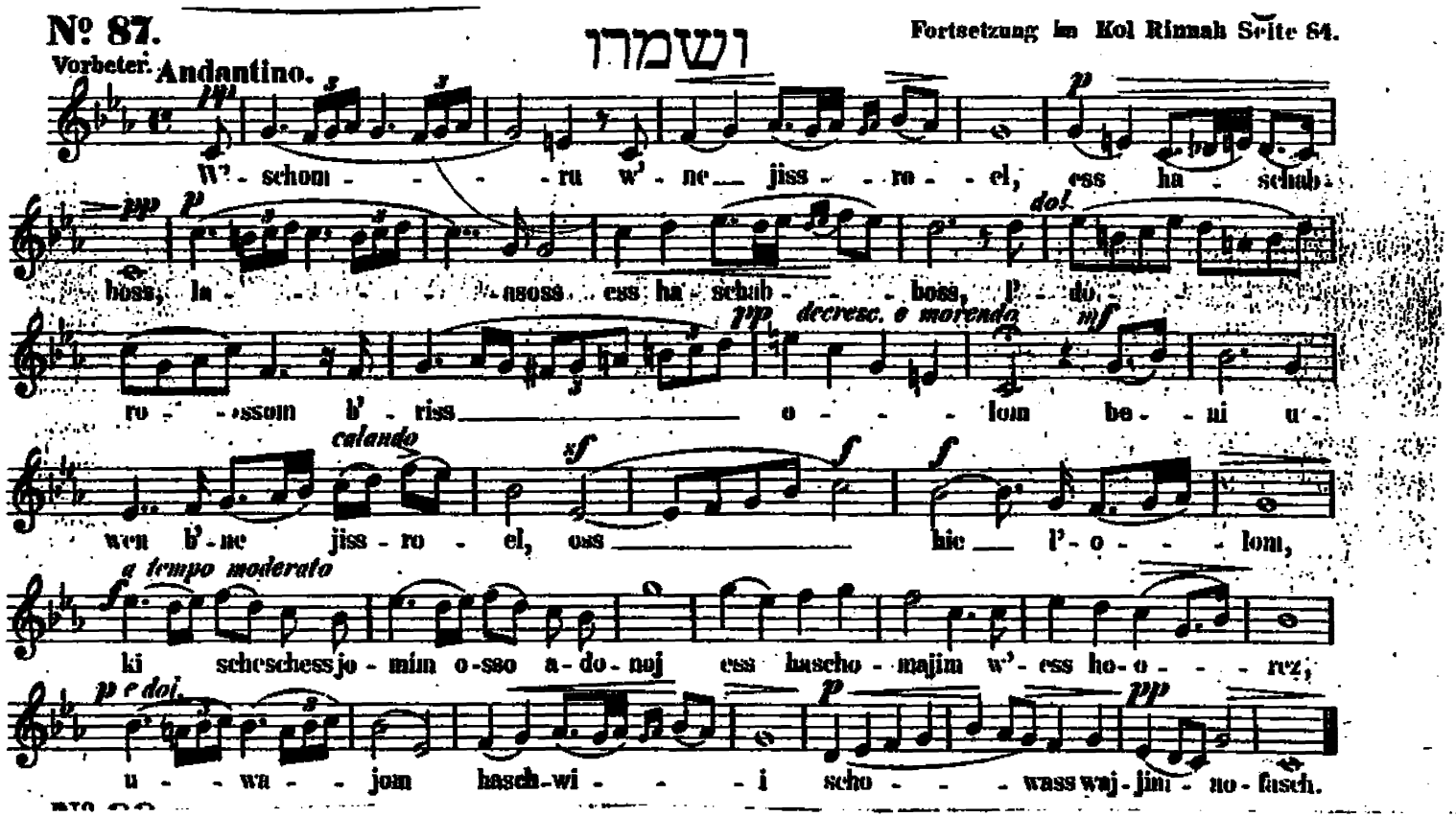
EXAMPLE #47 (Todah W'Simrah)



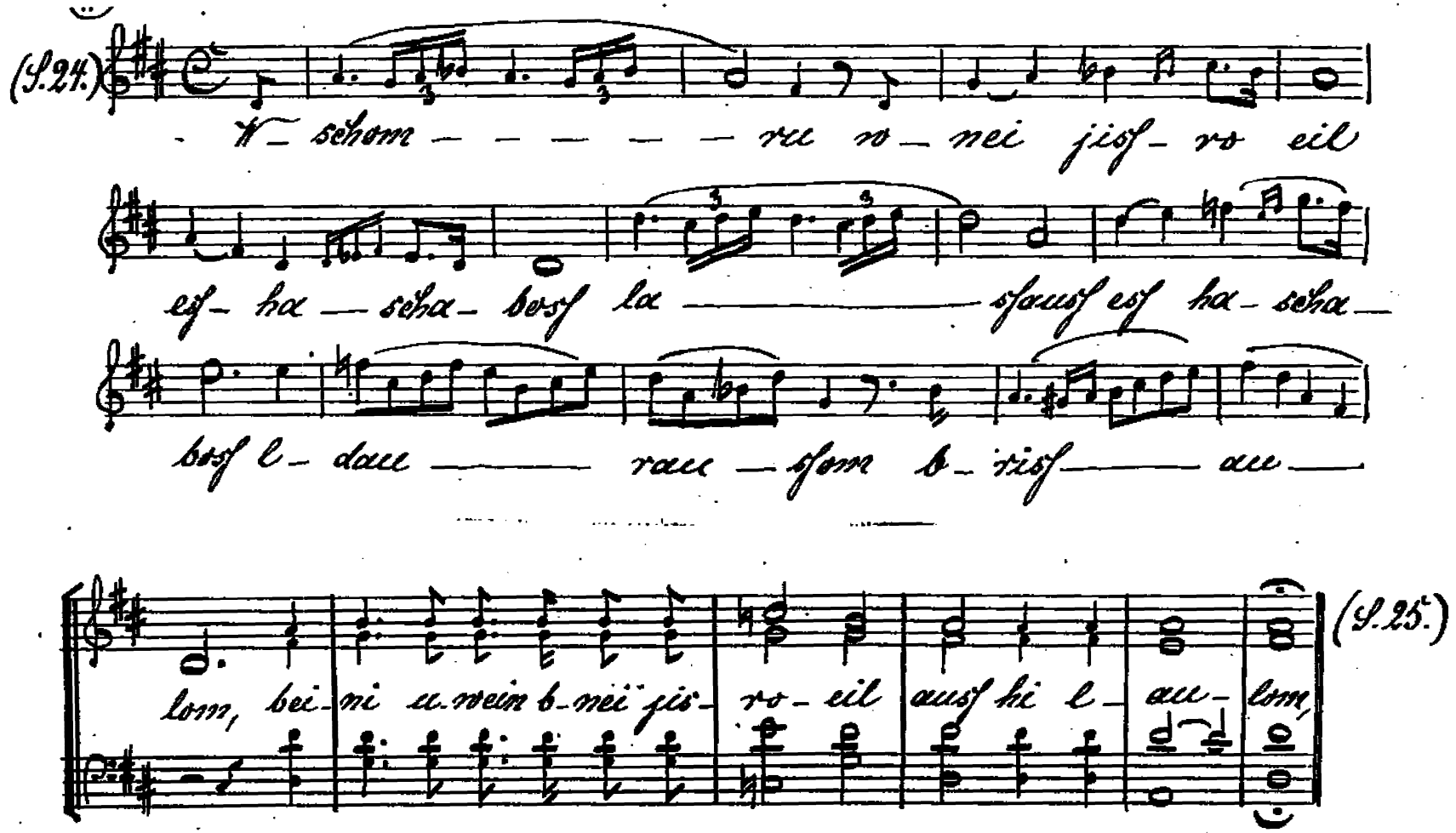
EXAMPLE #47, cont...



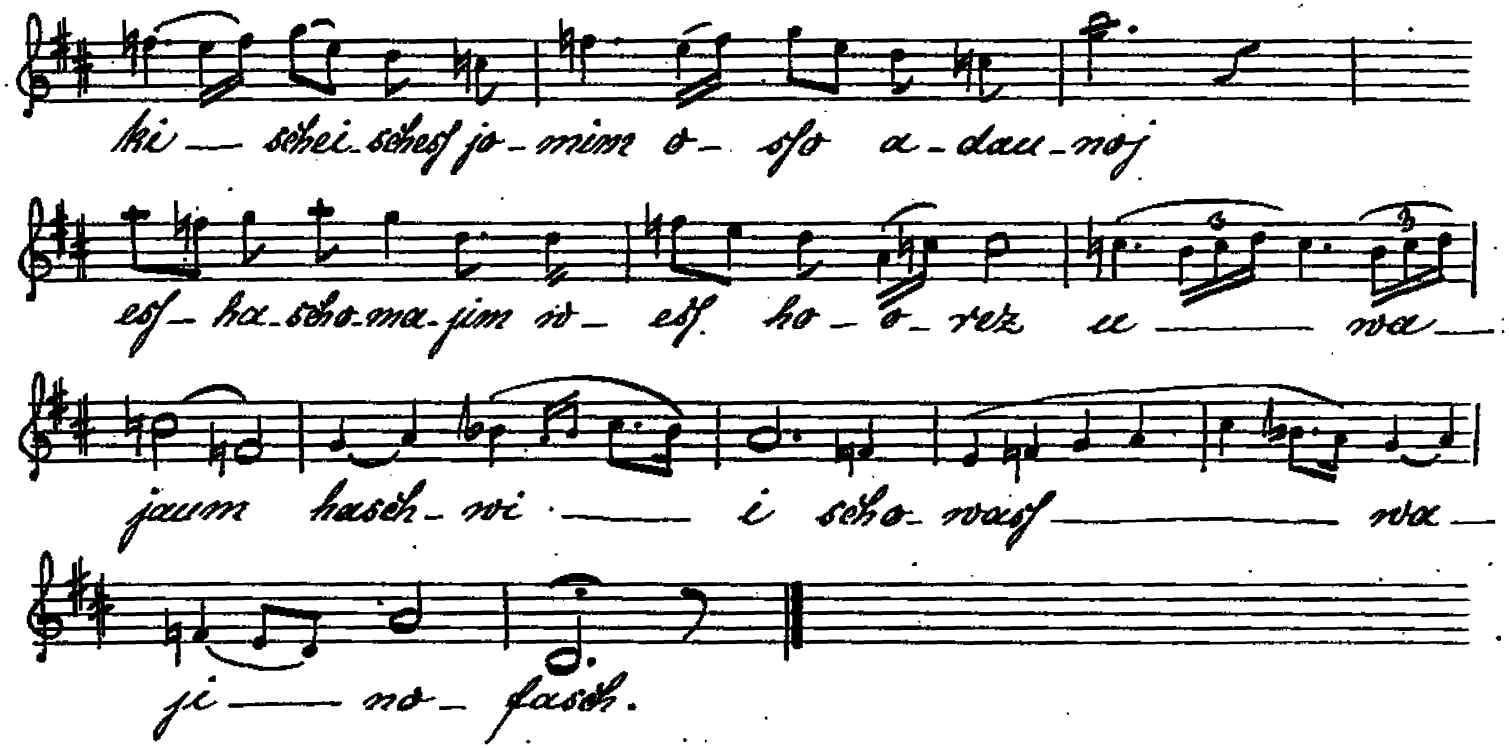
EXAMPLE #48 (Todah W'Simrah)



EXAMPLE #49 (Mus.125)



EXAMPLE #49, conclusion.



APPENDIX II

ANNOTATED LISTING OF MUS.125

LICHTENSTEIN 14 & 15: MA-ARIV, SHACHARIT (HIGH HOLY DAYS)

LITURGICAL CUE	PAGE #	SOLO	CHORAL	KEY	COMMENTS
Bo-u Nishtachaveh	1-7	xxx		d MA	Sung responsively between cantor and congregation
Asher Yachdav	8	xxx		d MA	
Atanu al shim'cha	9	xxx		Bb	
Dark'cha Eloheinu	9-10	xxx		c	Metrical melody, sung responsively
Kakatuv	12	xxx		Eb	Begins k'dusha for Shacharit; should be 6/8
Kadosh, kadosh	12		xxx	Eb	See Sulzer's Schir Zion
Az B'kol	12	xxx		g MA	
L'umatam	13	xxx		Eb	Same 6/8 leitmotif as "kakatuv"
Baruch K'vod	13		xxx	Eb	
Mim'komcha	13-14	xxx		g MA	
Al y'dei David	14	xxx		Eb	6/8 leitmotif
Yimloch Adonai	14-15		xxx	Eb	Schir Zion
K'vodo	15	xxx			Missinai motif
Baruch K'vod	15		xxx	Eb	
Mim'komo	16	xxx			Same missinai motif as "k'vodo"
Sh'ma Yisrael	16		xxx	Eb	
Echad Hu Eloheinu	17	xxx			
Ani Adonai	17		xxx	Eb	
Adir Adireinu	17-18	xxx		Eb	Modulates to Ab; contains second missinai melody
Yimloch Adonai	18		xxx	Ab	Schir Zion
Todtenfeier	19-21		xxx	f min./Maj.	Significant choral composition
Ashrei	21	xxx		C	Missinai theme associated with shofar service
T'hilot Adonai	22	xxx	resp.	F	
Y'hal'lu	22	xxx		C	

LICHTENSTEIN 16: MA-ARIV L'SHABBAT

LITURGICAL CUE	PAGE #	SOLO	CHORAL	KEY	COMMENT
Ma-ariv Aravim	1	xxx	resp.	D AM	
Oheiv Amo Yisrael	2	xxx	resp.	D AM	
Sh'ma Yisrael	3		xxx	D Maj.	
Hama-avir Banav	4		TTBB	g min/Maj.	See Lewandowski Todah V'Simrah
Mi Chamocha	6		SATB	C Maj.	See Lewandowski Kol Rinnah U't'fillah
Mal'chut'cha	7	xxx		C Maj.	Kol Rinnah
Adonai Yimloch	7		xxx	C Maj	ditto
V'ne-emar	7	xxx	resp.	C Maj.	
V'sham'ru	8-9	xxx	choral stza	D Maj./min.	Todah W'Simrah
Chatzi Kaddish	10-13	xxx	resp.	D min./Maj.	
Chatzi Kaddish Ossia	12-13	xxx	resp.	G AR	Belongs as ossia to H.H. Chatzi Kaddish
Vay'chulu	14		unison/solo	d MA	Compare to Kol Rinnah
M'ein Sheva	15-16	xxx	resp.	d MA	
Magein Avot	16-18		unison/solo	d MA	Congregational melody
R'tzei Vimnuchateinu	18-19	xxx	resp.	d MA	
Kiddush	20-22	xxx	resp.	A Maj.	
Adon Olam	23-26		STB	F Maj.	3/4; Landler-like

LICHTENSTEIN 17--SHACHARIT/MUSAF L'SHABBAT

LITURGICAL CUE	PAGE #	SOLO	CHORAL	KEY	COMMENTS
La-Eil Asher Shavat	1-3	xxx		G	Florid, operatic nusach
V'al M'orei Or	3		xxx	G Maj.	
Titbarach Tzureinu	4	xxx			
Kulam Ahuvim	4-5	xxx			
Et Sheim Ha-Eil	5-6		xxx		
V'chulam M'kab'lim	6-7	xxx			
Kadosh, kadosh	7		xxx	G Maj.	Sulzer, Schir Zion I
L'umatam M'shab'chim	7	xxx			Skips "V'ha-ofanim v'chayot hakodesh"
Baruch K'vod	7		xxx	C Maj.	Based on Sulzer response
Shirah Chadasha	8	xxx		G Maj.	Contains congregational melody?
Adonai Yimloch	8		xxx	G Maj.	
Tzur Yisrael	8-9	xxx	resp.	G AR	
Tzur Yisrael #2	9-10	xxx	resp.	G	Contains same melody as "shirah chadasha"
Mi Sh-asa Nisim	11-12	xxx	resp.	G Maj.	For Shabbat M'var'chim
Y'chad'sheihu	12-13		xxx	G Maj.	For Shabbat M'var'chim
Y'chad'sheihu	13-14		xxx	D Maj.	"Adir Hu"
Y'chad'sheihu	15-16		xxx	C Maj.	Akdamut Theme
Y'chad'sheihu	16-17		xxx	g min.	"Eli Tzion"
Y'chad'sheihu	18-19		xxx	D Maj.	Missinai melody for High Holidays
Y'chad'sheihu	19-20		xxx	G Maj.	"Maoz Tzur"
Na-aritzcha	21	xxx		G Maj.	Begins K'dusha for Musaf
Kadosh, Kadosh	21-22		xxx	G Maj.	Sulzer
K'vodo	22	xxx		G Maj.	
Baruch Kavod	22		xxx	G Maj.	
Mim'komo	22-23	xxx			
Sh'ma Yisrael	23		xxx	G Maj.	
Echad Hu Eloheinu	24	xxx			Contains missinai theme
Ani Adonai	24		xxx	G Maj.	
U'v'divrei kodsh'cha	24		xxx	G Maj.	
Yimloch Adonai	25		xxx	G Maj.	Sulzer
Ein Keiloheinu	26-28		xxx	G Maj.	

LICHTENSTEIN 18--MUSAF (HIGH HOLY DAYS)

LITURGICAL CUE	PAGE#	SOLO	CHORAL	KEY	COMMENTS
Chatzi Kaddish	1-6	xxx	resp.	G AR	Extensive Cantorial Fantasia; Follows traditional motifs.
Avot	6-9	xxx	resp.	C Maj	Opens with "aleinu triad." Cadences in Ab, Db, D, and C.
Misod Chachamim	10-11	xxx		E AR	Follows traditional pattern. Motif at "mi-lemed."
Zochreinu	11-12	xxx	resp.	A AR	Amein" contains descending minor triad.
Atah Gibor	12-13	xxx		E AR	
Mi Chamocha	13-14	xxx	resp.	E AR	
L'hasir Michshol	14-15	xxx	xxx	E AR	
Eil Emunah	15-16	xxx		a	On "Im Timatzeh," goes into metrical 3/4 melody
Im Lo	16-17	xxx			Similar themes as "Eil Emunah."
Un'taneh Tokef	17	xxx			Includes opening verse only
Uv'shofar Gadol	17-19	xxx		E AR	
B'rosh Hashana	19-21	xxx			Uses traditional modulation at "Mi Yanuach."
Ut'shuvah	21	xxx		b min.	Short, powerful
Ki K'shimcha	22-23	xxx			Begins at last verse.
Ein Kitzvah	23-24	xxx		d	
Asei L'ma-an	24-26		TTBB	Ab Maj.	Significant choral piece. See Todah W'Simrah Vol. II.
Kadosh	26		xxx	Ab Maj.	See Schir Zion Vol. I.
K'vodo	27	xxx		Ab Maj.	K'dusha contains same themes as Lichtenstein 15
Baruch K'vod	27		xxx	Ab Maj.	
Mimkomo	27-28	xxx		Ab Maj.	Similar to "K'vodo."
Sh'ma	28	xxx		Ab	
Ani Adonai	29		xxx	Ab	
Adir Adireinu	29-30	xxx		Ab AM	Missinai theme at beginning.
Yimloch	30		xxx	Ab Maj.	See Schir Zion Vol. I.
Chamol	30-32	xxx		d...	
Mil'vad	33	xxx		Bb Maj.	Contains a marchlike melody
Great Aleinu	33-35	xxx		Bb Maj.	Strange and interesting piece, with missinai descend. triad.
S'u Sh'arim	36-37		xxx	C Maj.	Todah W'Simrah Vol. II
Birkat Cohanim	38-40	xxx	resp.	Bb Maj.	Excellent.
V'hacohanim	41-43	xxx			Extensive, ornate Cantorial Fantasia
Birkat Cohanim	44-47	xxx	resp.	A Maj.	

LICHTENSTEIN 18-- N'ILAH

LITURGICAL CUE	PAGE #	SOLO	CHORAL	KEY	COMMENTS
Chatzi Kaddish	49-51	xxx	resp.	G	
Avot	52-53	xxx	resp.	G	
Misod Chachamim	53-54	xxx		G	
M'Chalkeil Chayim	54-55			g min.	Congregational Melody.

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