

EDITED BY

TINA
FRÜHAUF



≡ The Oxford Handbook of
**JEWISH MUSIC
STUDIES**

THE OXFORD HANDBOOK OF
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I am indebted to countless people who knowingly or unknowingly helped this project come to fruition: archivists, librarians, and informants all over the world who aided the authors of the volume with their research for the chapters presented here. The contributors worked with me through the worst surges of the COVID-19 pandemic and under truly less-than-ideal conditions finalized their chapters without great delay. None of my work as editor, translator, and contributor would have been accomplished if it were not for my husband, Pryor Dodge, who continually and strongly supported this endeavor. I am grateful that Mark Podwal generously allowed me to use his painting as a window to the highly diverse content that awaits the reader beneath the cover.

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ON TRANSLITERATION AND TRANSLATION, SPELLING, AND NAMES

MANY of the foreign terms used in this volume do not exist in the English language and are left in the original. To make this book accessible to a broad readership, these are glossed en route. The different Hebrew and Yiddish pronunciations—often rendered in various spellings such as “Shalom aleikhem,” and “Shuloyim aleykhem”—and other divergent spellings were kept intact in quoted and transliterated sources. Otherwise, as with all Hebrew transliteration in this volume, they are reconciled following the standards of the American Library Association–Library of Congress. Yiddish is transliterated according to the Standard Yiddish Orthography established by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York. Following the YIVO guidelines, the romanization of titles uses initial capitals only for the first word. Personal names and the names of organizations and places are capitalized. Judeo-Spanish is transliterated using the system of the journal *Aki Yerushalayim*, in consultation with Rivka Havassy.

This volume contains numerous other languages. The romanization of Chinese used in the chapter of Sophie Fetthauer follows pinyin and relies on the stylesheet of the *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*. The transliteration of Cyrillic for Tajik Persian in Evan Rapport’s chapter is based on Edward Allworth’s romanization; the system is applied to both Persian and Russian words. Transliteration from Persian written in the Perso-Arabic script follows a slightly adjusted version of the Library of Congress system; the same applies to Arabic. The transliteration of Cyrillic for Russian is based on a compromise between phonetic transliteration and legibility in English. The handbook follows the system developed by Gerald Abraham for the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, while respecting the accepted spelling of a number of names that, through common usage, have become so established that a different spelling might merely confuse the English-speaking reader. The transliteration of Greek follows the ELOT 743 (type 2) of the conversion system of the Greek Standardization Organization. Exceptions to all these rules pertain to words and concepts that have become an integral part of the English language and are now in common usage (such as Hanukkah), quotations from other works, and sources that already exist in transliteration (such as the journal of the Tel Aviv–based World Center for Aleppo Jews Traditional Culture *Darkhey “Eretz”*).

The *Merriam-Webster’s Collegiate Dictionary*, eleventh edition, serves as the authority for assimilated terms. Different spellings of the same personal name, such as Avram Goldfadn, Avrom Goldenfode, and Abraham Goldfaden, were reconciled in

the chapters, but are preserved in the index. The *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, second edition (2007), is the last word on all other Hebrew names and common terms, such as tractates and others. Psalm numbers refer to those of the Hebrew Bible, which differ from those of the Vulgate. Geographic terms appear in the form current during the period discussed. Where those differ from the terms used today, current usage is provided as well. Translations and transcriptions, unless marked otherwise, are by the respective authors.

ABOUT THE COVER

THE cover presents an acrylic, gouache, and colored pencil painting by New York-based artist Mark Podwal, entitled *Hebrew Zodiac* and created in 2001. The artwork has been widely exhibited and is featured on a Rosh Hashanah card offered by the Jewish Museum in New York. The artwork is inspired by the mystical ideas of the Kabbalah and Jewish magic regarding the composition of the universe, as well as by the colorful legends from the Talmud and the daily world of prayer and celebrations of the Sabbath and Jewish holidays. Following Jewish mystical thinking that Jerusalem is the center of the universe, the artist draws an imaginary rendition of the city with recognizable houses, trees, and the Temple Mount as shared symbolism, an iconography in line with similar depictions by Jewish artists from the late fifteenth century until today (though in light of recent events in the region, an iconography perceived as problematic by some). Many of the zodiac's themes resurface in various chapters of this volume. Indeed, the choice of the zodiac for a book on music is not arbitrary. Attempts to link the organized knowledge of astronomy and music hark as far back as Plato and Pythagoras, to Johannes Kepler's *Harmonices mundi* of 1619, in which he imagined the musical scale extending along the zodiac which he uses as a comparison to the Greater Perfect System. In this way, the zodiac serves also as a bookend to the last chapter of the volume, which discusses the music of the spheres.

Podwal's drawing is a two-dimensional representation of a three-dimensional reality, created through the artist's use of shadowing. This approach relates to the content of this handbook, which presents the multiple dimensions of music, though only shadows the actual sounds. The zodiac visually encapsulates spatiality and temporality—two of the volume's key concepts. With its metaphors and symbols, it resembles the handbook's structure, which is also rooted in such approach. No other artwork could better capture this volume's subject: a Jewish music that is neither solely sacred nor secular, nor bound to a particular place and time—but a universal and inclusive ontology (and by extension epistemology). There is also an inherent musicality in Podwal's painting, reminiscent of notated music of the *ars subtilior* and later graphic notations. Given the symbolic meanings of the zodiac, Podwal's painting visually represents ideas *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* seeks to convey as well as an encompassing inclusiveness of Jewishness that, indeed, reaches beyond the perimeters of this world, drawing on the largest spatiality possible: the universe beyond the belt of the zodiac.

INTRODUCTION

Mapping Jewish Music Studies

TINA FRÜHAUF

וְהָיָה זְרַעְךָ כְּעֹפֶר הָאָרֶץ
 וּפְרָצְתָּ יָמָה וְקִדְמָה וְצָפֹנָה וְנִגְבָּה וְנִבְרַכְוּ בְּךָ
 כָּל-מִשְׁפְּחוֹת הָאָדָמָה, וּבְזַרְעֶךָ

Your seed shall be like the dust of the earth
 and you shall burst forth to the west and the east and the north and
 the south;
 and all the clans of the earth shall be blessed through you and through
 your seeds.

Genesis 28:14

THE inner meaning of this verse from Bereshit (Genesis 28:14), which is known as Ufaratsta (And you shall burst forth) and rendered in a “vivid” language, pertains to the dissemination of the Jewish people.¹ The term *ufaratsta* appears in this form only once in the Hebrew Bible. It has been translated and interpreted with slightly different meanings, as an indication of strength (Rashi, 1040–1105), as an authorization to break down a wall or fence in order to make a road (Mishnah Sanhedrin 2:4), and, adopting this reading, as suggestion that God promised Jacob that his descendants would break through the borders of the Land of Israel (Rabbi Obadiah Sforno, 1468/1473–ca. 1550). Abraham Ibn Ezra’s interpretation of the whole verse as the expansion of Judaism through growth of numbers represented itself in the later twentieth century with the Lubavitcher Hasidim’s extensive outreach efforts initiated by its last rebbe, Menachem Mendel Schneerson (1902–1994), who in 1958 adopted Ufaratsta as the central mission for the movement.

The Lubavitcher musically eternalized Ufaratsta in the nigun “Daled bavos” (Melody of four stanzas or gates), also known as “Rav’s nigun,” and “Alter rebbe’s nigun,” uniquely attributed to the first Lubavitcher rebbe, Schneur Zalman (1745–1812). Solemn and serious in nature, “Daled bavos” sets the fourness of Ufaratsta to music: it consists of four stanzas, each of which intends to elevate the singer and listener to the next spiritual level to ultimately achieve *deveḳut*, closeness to God. Set in common time, “Daled bavos” reiterates the same four notes before moving stepwise; only occasionally is there a leap.² Like most nigunim, “Daled bavos” is not sung on text (only some use psalm texts in Hebrew) but employs various vocables phonemically consistent with Hebrew, Russian, and Yiddish. These are not nonsense syllables but aim to transcend words and soar above semantics (usually for theurgical purposes) to create a deeper connection with the divine. Wordless signifies limitless. In “Daled bavos,” the syllables symbolize YHWH, the tetragrammaton of God’s name. The pervasive fourness of this nigun has many meanings, and its presence is not arbitrary. Four is an important number in Judaism, signifying completion and fullness. It corresponds and lifts those at the Hasidic tish to each of the four spiritual worlds in the descending chain of existence, as outlined in the Kabbalah. It also corresponds to the four-stage process of *deveḳut*: closeness to God through awakening, self-evaluation, work, and union.³ Thus, Ufaratsta can be understood in geographic and demographic terms, as well as in a spiritual and cultural sense, as a practice and aesthetic experience; and musically it has burst forth with countless arrangements of the nigun and new settings, many of them in the domain of popular music.

The *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* bursts forth with these and further understandings, discovering and uncovering the reach of “Jewish music” in all hemispheres, past and present: to the west, where in North America ultra-Orthodox women have created feminine musical scenes, balancing new technologies and norms of modesty (*tsniut*) to create dynamic artistic spaces; to the east, where Ḥakham Yosef Ḥayyim Ben ’Elijah al-Ḥakham provided spiritual leadership through paraliturgical songs for the Babylonian Jews in Baghdad before they departed Iraq in the early 1950s; to the north, where Jewish Displaced Persons found a temporary or permanent home in Sweden, transplanting Yiddish song and theater from Poland to new environments, rebuilding and revitalizing their culture. To the south, where émigrés sought integration in the city of Buenos Aires, contributing to the local music scenes and the growing cultural industries, with their cultural heritage leaving a permanent mark on the city’s musical life. As these snapshots of topics convey, Jewish music can be found around the world, constituting a global phenomenon. It even reaches beyond, to the spheres, as revealed in Alexandre Cerveux’s chapter on the concept of harmony in pre- and early modern Jewish literature, or as translocal and transnational phenomena as Ruthie Abeliovich’s chapter on the “Yiddish theater republic of sound,” and as Evan Rapport’s chapter on Bukharian Jewish wedding music affirm. All this is nothing new. Since the early twentieth century, Jewish music studies have had a wide geographic scope, prefiguring the recent trends in the academy to “go global.” This reach also extends to their growth and internationalization, with insights from cultural contexts that have

both expanded and challenged accepted approaches, priorities, and ideas regarding what has been labeled “Jewish music.”

“JEWISH MUSIC”

In 1978 at one of the most inclusive congresses on Jewish music held after the Second World War, Israel Adler (1925–2009) proclaimed in his keynote address: “In trying to define the subject of our discussion we shall avoid ambivalent topics such as ‘what is Jewish music’ or the so-called ‘genuine character of Jewish music’. We shall attempt, rather, to provide a workable definition of the scope of subjects related to our field of study, which for reasons of convenience we shall designate under the overall label of ‘Jewish music.’”⁴ Ever since its scientific use in early modern Europe, that is, since early modernity, “Jewish music” and its many variants—*jüdische Musik*, *musica hebraica*, *música judía*, *Musik der Hebräer*, *muzikah yehudit* (מוזיקה יהודית), *musique juive*, among others—has been a conceptual vessel, exclusive and inclusive, narrow and broad, and as such filled with differing content over time.⁵ It is commonly used as the overarching working term in the academy, the synagogue, the Jewish world, and beyond, and as shorthand for an expansive and disparate series of conversations. It has been debated, contested, avoided, defined, and redefined.⁶ As such it embodies a dialectical process and the mobility of the same. Indeed, the term has grown to take on different meanings in a wide variety of contexts across the world, for a diverse conglomerate of people at different places and at various times. Accordingly, definitions are reflections, responding to the state of Jewish music in its respective milieu and habitus. In the academic context, they often mirror the anxieties Jewish music studies have faced.

In his aforementioned speech Israel Adler, continues his elaborations, surprisingly stating, by way of agreeing with Batya Bayer, that the “functional definition” by Curt Sachs (1881–1959)—“Jewish Music is that Music made by Jews, for Jews and as Jews”⁷—is most workable (this definition, set forth in 1957, has been repeatedly adopted, although many scholars wrestle with it).⁸ (Assaf Shelleg has proposed its expansion to include music about Jews, a category that emerged in the fifteenth century.⁹) Sachs’ definition, as it were, echoes a similar phrase Abraham Lincoln used in the Gettysburg Address, which in turn was adopted to the French Constitution of 1958; it assumes an underlying principle of nationalism, which after the foundation of the modern State of Israel has territorially grounded itself. And yet, Jews have represented throughout their history a unique fusion of peoplehood and religion, which cannot be grasped on either side of such dichotomies or by a delimiting to national, racial, cultural, ethnic, religious, linguistic, and other categories. Jewishness was never a simple or unitary identity and in light of the evolving heterogeneity of the Jewish people cannot serve as a marker for what is Jewish music and what is not; especially in light of a long prevalent and increasing participation of non-Jews as well as what Isaac Deutscher termed “non-Jewish Jews” (those who abandoned particular Jewish practices and instead searched for

universal solutions to the world's problems), a concept taken further by Yuri Slezkine.¹⁰ Indeed, creators, performers, and audiences and those who study them are as diverse as the sounds themselves.

Another factor in this discourse is music's variable ontology—as performing art, artifact, culture, representation, and so on. As an organized collection of sounds, it can submit to but also resist fixed notation; it can attain, convey, and traverse meaning beyond resounding. As the most abstract of the arts, an art without referentiality, music as a practice and discourse is a cultural reality that functions as a mirror of diverse collectives across the geographical-historical-cultural maze. As other musics, Jewish music is and has always been heterogenous, inherently hybrid, and a work in progress, continuing existing and established expressions and creating new ones. More specifically, it encompasses complex and multifaceted relationships between Jewishness, inwardly and outwardly, and sounds from ancient times to the present day, and not necessarily in linear patterns but rather in discontinuous and fragmentary lines as a result of migrations, persecutions, and exterminations (a discussion of temporality will ensue below). As such, it is the focal point of shared ideas and beliefs. It offers a positive and open term of categorizing a spectrum of musics, whatever they mean to the reader and listener; or as Stefan Wolpe poignantly affirmed in 1940: “The question of Jewish music conceals the questioner. Who asks and who needs the answer.”¹¹ Indeed, there are levels of authenticity that can never be agreed upon due to their subjectivity. Seeking a common denominator, Philip Bohlman asserts that, “at the core of the paradox of defining Jewish music is the frequent belief in authenticity, chosenness, and uniqueness.”¹²

What seems like another paradox—there is a field with active scholars, but disputes about the definition and even existence of Jewish music continue to linger—refers to a productive openness and fluidity of a term that relates to musics and musical activities that have been surfacing, persisting or evolving, and expanding in the course of time.¹³ Thus the use of the term does not imply any *one* definition as it can be understood in a variety of ways, reflecting a myriad of possible contexts and experiences.

With every chapter being a mediator that thickens the network of Jewish music(s), the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* consciously maintains the term, thus accepting its historical precedence and function, while acknowledging its complexity. It relies on it also as a shorthand for Jewish musical activities and expressions, and with the understanding that it is non-hierarchical with regard to the repertoires and practices generally associated with it. Such equity also expresses itself in the range of musics the handbook chapters include—from Asia to the Americas, from antiquity and early modernity to the very present day, from vernacular and popular to classical repertoires and prevalent in various contexts, as well as to the spectrums filling these bookends. Jewish music requires no rigid definition as its holistic understanding will emerge with sufficient clarity in the chapters that follow this introduction and that together form a meaningful whole. Instead of a singular definition or apologetics of the same, a productive way then to approach “Jewish music” is through a problematization of the issues it faces in our time and through a proposal of how it can be adequately studied.

JEWISH MUSIC STUDIES— THEORIES, METHODOLOGIES

In the early twentieth century Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882–1938) advanced an overarching theory for the study of Jewish music. Born in Latvia, he began as a peripatetic cantor, active in different European cities and in Johannesburg, before emigrating to Ottoman Palestine in 1906. Having settled in Jerusalem in 1907, he observed a great diversity of musics among the resident Jews who had settled there from various places. Supported by the Phonogrammarchiv in Vienna, he engaged in the recording, transcription, and analysis of these oral traditions. Idelsohn discerned unique recurring motifs and progressions, which to him suggested a common origin in the first century CE. The results of his comparative studies present the first encompassing, though still fragmentary, description of the variety of surviving Jewish musical practices. A Zionist in the early stages of his career, Idelsohn proposed the underlying cultural unity of the Jewish people, despite their millenary dispersion among nations, and promoted the view that the music of the various Jewish communities in the present reflects aspects of that unity.¹⁴ Working under a complex and fluid ideological agenda, in his landmark book *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* (1929) Idelsohn presented a unilinear and linear historical narrative of Jewish music from biblical times to the early twentieth century rooted in essentialism. Written after Idelsohn had moved to the United States, it displays a departure from the primordial theory, toward a more multilayered approach, reflecting a sober balance between diaspora and territorial Zionism.¹⁵ It still lacks the understanding that history is too complex to be fully depicted through a singular representation of events. Despite its problematic assumptions, it is widely consulted; in fact, Idelsohn's basic ideas have shaped Jewish music research for decades, granting him the title of “father of Jewish musicology”—deservedly so in light of his monumental ten-volume *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz—Thesaurus of Oriental Hebrew Melodies* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel et al., 1914–1932), which in its final form covers a universe of over eight thousand Jewish melodies including the musical traditions of Yemenite, Babylonian, Persian, Bukharan, Oriental Sephardi, Moroccan, German, eastern European, and Hasidic Jewish communities in Palestine and elsewhere, laying the groundwork for subsequent generations of scholars.

Apart from Idelsohn's questionable attempt at a metatheory, there have been similarly problematic theories on the relations between Jewish and Christian religious musical practices, solidifying with the work of Eric Werner and lingering on into the 1990s,¹⁶ and turning into a critical approach and broadening toward secular musics with the work of Ruth HaCohen.¹⁷ More specifically, Werner pursued the theory of an active and passive assimilation, categorizing musical examples based on the presence or absence of a “Judaizing” process as Jewish collectives absorb “foreign” musical elements. His student William Sharlin expanded this thinking by way of a third category, that of experiential assimilation, wherein sounds that are not overtly “Judaized” can still be actively

absorbed and transformed by a prevailing “Jewish spirit.” Apart from this, there have also been attempts at modal theories, though their application is narrow and they do not apply to a broad and inclusive Jewish music.¹⁸ Still, the perpetuation of modality as a widely applicable cross-cultural category pioneered by Idelsohn and furthered by European and American scholars has been an important train of thought that in the twenty-first century culminated in broader methodological ideas.¹⁹ While Jewish music studies, by responding to various disciplines and fields in the course of the later twentieth century, have largely moved away from essentialist approaches—whether or not a piece or practice is studied as Jewish music lies less in the music itself than in the context of its creation and in its meaning as a marker of Jewishness—a new overarching theory has not crystallized and should not be expected to emerge in light of the collapse of disciplinary partitions and with academic crossovers becoming almost unpredictable (and representational methodologies invalid).²⁰ What often passes for theorizing amounts for the most part to what has been done and suggestions for what might be done rather than statements of relationships to be explored. Edwin Seroussi, in his seminal article “Music: The ‘Jew’ of Jewish Studies,” evaluates what he calls “four key theoretical concepts for a musicology of the Jewish,” which are tradition, binaries, genres, and canonization. These he rightfully critiques for implying unifying and homogenous aspects of Jewish music from the Bible to modern times, and yet he does not advance alternatives that take into consideration the transcending of geographical, cultural, and linguistic boundaries.²¹ Likewise, in several of his writings, Philip Bohlman has advanced ontologies of Jewish music (such as those relating to religion, text and language, embodiment, geography, and politics and culture) without synthesizing them.²² In parallel, an ever-increasing number of focused Jewish music studies that populate the musicological landscape outshines the relative paucity of attempts to theorize, asserting a praxis of multiplication, nonsystematic and non-differential proliferation, and most importantly contiguities.

That Jewish music studies have been rather untheoretical mirrors the uncertainty among scholars whether it is a field (provided that fields ought to have theories) or whether it merely represents a domain of interest shared by a conglomerate of scholars. Such theory-lacking Jewish music studies would have no use for a methodology; indeed, a specific system of methods is impossible to outline in the absence of theory. The lingering and artificial division between (historical) musicology and ethnomusicology has added to this uncertainty, even though boundaries have become increasingly permeable. (Musicology is henceforth used as an umbrella term for ethnomusicology, historical musicology, music theory, and systematic musicology.²³) Indeed, many chapters in this handbook dissolve these presumed boundaries for the sake of broader, integrative, and holistic perspectives. Quite a few have transcended these presumed boundaries previously.²⁴

As a field, Jewish music studies has been decentered, and along with its supporting and adjacent theories. In the twenty-first century, it mirrors the situation of Jewish studies (as well as other fields), which is an even broader umbrella for the academic exploration of Jewish and Judaic subjects in the context of history, literature, philosophy,

and ritual and religion across disciplinary boundaries. It has likewise seen expansion and a permeability, creating new conditions as well as debates of its ontology.²⁵ While Jewish studies does not conform to the norms of classic historical or literary or other disciplines based upon either a specific time, place, or a specific language, Jewish music studies largely focuses on one specific language, that of music (if music is, indeed, viewed as a language). And yet, with musicology not always using music as language or text but veering toward procedures prevalent in philology and cultural studies as well as criticism based on feminist or gender studies, queer theory or postcolonial theory, among others, one easily faces a cul-de-sac. Additionally, the ontology of music itself has recently come under scrutiny.²⁶

Although not quite equivalent, Jewish music studies could be regarded as analogous to a field of area studies to which various disciplines are applied, such as history and anthropology, literature and philosophy, and many others. Various chapters in the handbook provide clear examples of the disciplinary contributions to the field. Accordingly, it would be pointless to expect an overarching methodology or consistent methods across the field as a whole, but rather one should be open to a breadth of (cultural) theories and a range of methodological options. Indeed, a different perspective on the current state of Jewish music studies might suggest that no single theory predominates and scholars work with many. If a field requires a unifying paradigm, then Jewish music studies might not qualify, but each of its employed theories would account for or require a “disciplined” methodology.

Jewish music studies have unfolded as a methodological palimpsest by picking and choosing from one or another, instead of creating an integrative methodology demanded by the research subject at large. Few research projects have sought explicitly to synthesize disciplinary approaches. Such an interdisciplinary approach would exceed simply bringing together disciplinary competences, as it implies an intellectual construction that goes beyond the intrinsic value of the methods, in order to take into account the very essence of the complex phenomenon that the different disciplines are intended to illuminate. Many chapters in this handbook have overcome this by way of transdisciplinary approaches, combining, for example, archival research, interviews, musical analysis, participant observation for audio-visual and textual documentation, and transcription in one single study such as the chapter by Miranda Crowds on liturgical music and the Romaniote Jews; or relying on procedures prevalent in manuscript studies, music iconography, and source criticism, as can be observed in Suzanne Wijsman’s chapter on music and the Oppenheimer Siddur that crosses into art history.²⁷ There is no doubt that Jewish music studies is en route to being ever more dialogic and embracing difference, with researchers consciously or subconsciously relying on interdisciplinarity by synthesizing links between disciplines into a coordinated and coherent whole, or multidisciplinary by drawing on knowledge from different disciplines but staying within their boundaries. Indeed, a hybrid musical culture warrants a pluralistic approach that overcomes the compartmentalization of disciplines. Georgina Born has advanced similar thinking for musicology, proposing a relational musicology in which music’s ontology is related to the social or is a social

object, beyond text and practice, in an interdisciplinary framework for the sake of mediations.²⁸ Adam Newton takes this even further for Jewish studies, envisioning the field to go beyond the disciplines and interdisciplines to an entirely new place “at once an interruption and a sharing-at-the-boundary among its constituent parties and with its university others.”²⁹

If Jewish music studies is understood as a contraction of and the intersection between Jewish studies and music studies—two bookends between which all disciplined research unfolds—then the choice of methodology must be approached by questions on the nature of music and sound within Jewish contexts or how the sound itself reflects concepts of Jewishness and vice versa. Such objectives can equip the researchers with a richly evocative common ground for substantive and interdisciplinary study.

Jewish music studies should be captured and accepted as a loosely defined and open-ended field at the crossroads of several of the aforementioned disciplines and other fields, first and foremost musicology and Jewish studies, and embedded in the wider humanities and social sciences as well as the performing arts. Relatively unbounded while reflecting the enduring difficulty of bridging disciplinary divides, it is as complex and changing as rapidly as the musical world it purports to study. Jewish music studies, like other academic fields, is constantly being created and re-created through the research, writing, and teaching of scholars. Accordingly, at any given time and working on any given subject, it would be important to ask which paradigms guide the field, what the theoretical and methodological developments in the humanities and social sciences are, and how scholars working in a broad range of disciplines contribute to the field. The trajectories of our aforementioned protagonists—Sachs, Idelsohn, and Adler—point to related issues, namely, the stance of Jewish music studies in the academy and further matters concerning discipline.

INSTITUTIONALIZATION AND CONSOLIDATION

As contributor to musicology and founding father of organology, Curt Sachs, whose degree was in art history, never held a tenured academic appointment in his native Germany for racial reasons, nor in the countries of emigration for reasons too complex to unravel here.³⁰ In the United States he taught as visiting professor at various universities (New York University, Harvard, Northwestern, and Michigan); beginning in 1952, he lectured regularly at Columbia University on topics of the newly emerging ethnomusicology and systematic musicology. Three years before his death, in 1956, he received an honorary doctorate from the Freie Universität Berlin and was appointed an emeritus professor by the German government. Jewish music was not the basis of any of his appointments, nor was it the core of his research. Indeed, one might wonder whether he would have even received these positions had he devoted himself to it exclusively.

As a contemporary rooted in cantorial practice rather than scholarship, Idelsohn exemplifies a different path. After he left Palestine in 1921, he visited Berlin, Leipzig, London, and Oxford on lecture tours and settled in the United States in 1922. In 1924 he began to teach Jewish liturgy and music at Hebrew Union College in Cincinnati, Ohio, focusing on training the clergy (the school would award him an honorary doctorate in 1933). From this point on, the cantorial school would be the most solid framework for scholars involved in Jewish music studies, at least in the United States.³¹

Israel Adler's institutional inroad took place on the grounds of library science. From 1950 to 1963, he headed the Hebraica-Judaica department of the Bibliothèque nationale de France in Paris. In 1963 Adler returned to the country he had called home since 1936. He was appointed by the Hebrew University of Jerusalem as director of the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library, and in 1964 founded there the Israeli National Sound Archive and the Jewish Music Research Centre, which he directed from 1964 to 1969 and, after two years of directorship of the library, again from 1971 onward. In 1971 he became associate professor of musicology at Tel Aviv University, followed by an appointment in 1973 at Hebrew University, where he became full professor in 1975, teaching Jewish music from the Middle Ages to the Emancipation of the Jews in Europe, with a focus on written sources, the rabbinic attitude to music, and the dialectic between the oral and written sources of sacred Jewish music.

These three cases, and many more over the course of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, suggest that there has been no uniform practice to anchoring Jewish music studies, as its institutional presence is different across and even within the nations in which scholars are active. Jewish music studies is neither firmly nor exclusively practiced by musicologists and embedded in musicology departments nor in any other, although musicologists as trained interpreters of music make for the majority of scholars active in the field. This is underlined by the fact that all three chairs of Jewish music—in Weimar, Hannover, and Los Angeles, established in the years 2013 to 2015—are under the auspices of musicology departments. Outside of musicology, scholars are in quite disparate faculties, in which their interest in Jewish music constitutes only one segment in their intellectual work. In recent years Jewish studies has taken a heightened though still fluctuating interest in music, with the American Jewish Studies Association featuring, for example in 2018, an impressively high number of papers and panels of interest in the areas of music, sound, and performance studies; or with the Oxford Seminar in Advanced Jewish Studies of 2019/2020 being devoted to the theme “Jewish musical cultures in early modern Europe.” The quadrennial World Congress of Jewish Studies, which has served as an axis mundus for Jewish music scholars since its second meeting in 1957, foreshadowed this interest, initially scattering music scholarship in topical sections on history, language, literature, and the Bible—and from 1985 on offering a designated art, folklore, and music division. The 2022 World Congress of Jewish Studies offered an ever-more substantial section on music with concerts and workshops as well as papers on music integrated into other sections.

These developments correlate with special-interest or study groups, which have formed mostly within major musicological societies. The Association for Jewish

Studies hosts an interest group as well. The European Association for Jewish Studies accepts an increasingly healthy number of music papers into its quadrennial congress. Subject-specific conferences and the Jewish Music Forum, a project of the American Society for Jewish Music, as well as the recently formed International Forum for Jewish Music Studies, have spun a wide circle, including linguists, historians, pedagogues, practitioners and theologians, and others. All these developments support the presumption that the institutionalization of Jewish music studies has begun to solidify in its being recognized as a field.

While these tendencies can be observed in England, Germany, Israel, and the United States, academic interest has unfolded in other countries of Europe and the Americas, as well as Australia (to a far lesser extent Asia and Africa). Accordingly, and given the nature of its subject, the *Oxford Handbook of Jewish Music Studies* has international participation, with chapters conceived by authors who reside in or stem from Australia, Argentina, Canada, England, France, Germany, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, Scandinavia, South Africa, the former Soviet Union, and the United States. Such breadth and inclusivity are especially critical in light of the recent discoveries in the field, which have brought to discussion the Jewish music of areas previously treated peripherally—countries behind the former Iron Curtain and Latin America—and of the “double” or post-diasporas. With this, studies emerged that investigate issues of place and space, addressing questions about the effect and meaning of uprooting and dislocation, the significance of belonging to a place (or to several), the emergence of new diasporas, and similar. (Earlier studies have mainly focused on music in places and spaces that people created, occupied, passed through, or endured—the material sites that were essential to the implementation of Jewish music and inseparable from people’s experience of it.) Accordingly, reframing the field in a more transnational mode has significant implications for the nature of Jewish music studies, for understanding the past and present, and for shaping it for the future.

In parallel to these developments, a heightened stream of publications emerged at the turn of the twenty-first century, reflecting not only a rise in the field’s popularity, but also emerging subjects as well as topical shifts.³² Holocaust and post-Holocaust subjects are at an all-time peak, and the same is true for modern Israel; the Americas are being approached as a whole as well as by supranational regions, with more attention given to Latin America than ever before; the Islamic world has become of interest anew; and parts of Asia have come into focus. Publications have been increasingly engaging with the role of women, Hasidism, and popular musics. Comparative studies are devoted to Arab-Jewish relations, replacing the earlier focus on Christian-Jewish relations. Specific publications could be mentioned, but a simple keyword search in *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature* will corroborate these observations and unearth specific results (including articles in nearly eighty Jewish studies journals as well as non-music journals published worldwide). This cursory survey underlines that, especially in light of migration and hybridity, any thinking about Jewish music as continuous and unified is not viable, if it ever has been. In order to accept this overarching diversity and multiplicity, it is important to retreat from such ideas, as well as the aforementioned categories scrutinized by Edwin Seroussi.

In his theoretical propositions on twentieth-century Jewish literature, Dan Miron likewise breaks with the idea of a lineage, proposing a “modern Jewish literary complex.”³³ Following his proposition, one might think as well of a “Jewish musical complex” that is vast and diffuse. Adapting Miron’s theory for Jewish music studies (and following Assaf Shelleg’s application of the same that takes into consideration multiple dimensions), nonlinear and noncontinuous contiguities that operate within and across designated spaces—with an abrogation of binary classifications and concurrent retention of differences in mind—can serve as a principle that informs various approaches. Contiguities can be observed in the chapters of this volume that are relational in terms of spatiality and approximate other semblances of significant order, and through links that are more ambivalent and less tangible, or predictable, and yet revealing. Miron captures these links with notions such as “dualities, parallelisms, occasional intersections, marginal overlapping, hybrids, similarities within dissimilarities, mobility, changeability, occasional emergence of patterns and their eventual disappearance, randomness.”³⁴ Other ambivalent and hard-to-define relations between text/music, creator, and the awareness or experience of Jewishness or the sense of being Jewish in the world could be added. Further, contiguity as concept also opens the path to investigating not merely what connects Jewish musics, but what separates and discontinues them.

By embracing contiguities, Jewish music studies circumscribes a new Jewish musical complex based on proximities, unregulated contacts, and moments of adjacency in designated spaces, fathoming the interconnectivity of various collective cultural traditions through various forms of loose or close relations. Such an approach opens the possibility of moving away from various ontological propositions to empirical definitions. As such, a Jewish musical complex implies a new way of thinking about Jewish music as a construct: it suggests that there is no previous, coherent canon to which Jewish music should conform, and there should be no specific, fixed Jewish music canon. By embracing the concept of a musical radican, the field could move beyond a strict taxonomy of musics and musical activities belonging to a canon, and even a Jewish music without Jewish agency, but conceived in reaction to, for example, the Holocaust—or with regard to text-based musical settings of languages that are in neither Hebrew, Aramaic, Yiddish, nor Ladino. This would not only lead to a great expansion of the Jewish musical complex, but also create the basis for an institutionalized cultural capital (in Bourdieusian and Latourian terms) that would, in return, certify the status and the importance of Jewish music studies as an autonomous field. The question remains how to model Jewish music studies rooted in contiguities.

MODELING JEWISH MUSIC STUDIES

In light of the above examined decenteredness of Jewish music studies and its pursuit of multiplication, nonsystematic and nondifferential proliferation, as well as contiguities, the author wishes to propose a three-dimensional model for the approach to Jewish

music studies, as a heuristic device for planning and carrying out research and for thinking and writing about a given subject. Putting disciplinary concerns aside entirely, this model brings forward three conceptual lenses—statements of relationships, as it were—in which contiguities can be explored and ought to be employed to bring into focus Jewish music (each lens has the potential to construct a particular notion of Jewish music, but it does not have to). These lenses exist within or have some relationship with place and space, the quality or state of people being collective, and the state of existing within or having some relationship with time. The model is rooted in the understanding that Jewish music studies, despite its arrival still being en route, paralleling “a Jewish Studies-à-venir.”³⁵

Spatiality

At its most fundamental, a spatial approach begins with the question *where*, inquiring about place and space. In recent years, in the aftermath of the spatial turn, debates on the distinction between place and space have become increasingly differentiated, dependent on the disciplinary context and the subject of interest. Social theorists such as Henri Lefebvre, Michel de Certeau, and others have given much attention to the epistemological and ontological complexities of space and place, and cultural geographers have particularly probed the politics of controlling space and defining place.³⁶ As Barbara Mann asserts, “space and place depend on one another for definition”;³⁷ and in turn, the engagement with them hinges upon the understanding of these concepts, which have varied over time and in different academic disciplines and fields. Acknowledging them to be interrelated (and in some instances also interchangeable), cultural studies generally sees “place” to designate a particular location, to be actual, a physical, static environment through which we move—while “space” is understood as multi-dimensional and fluid, and as an experience of place, it can also be imagined, metaphorical or symbolic, and abstract, a representation, as it were.³⁸ For Jewish music studies, the Hebrew designation *ha-maḳom* might be useful. Offering multiple dimensions *ha-maḳom* allows for middle grounds and in-betweenness to explore contiguities in the (hybridized) ontologies of Jewish music, as the term carries multiple meanings: the relationship to a place, the implied treatment of a place, the act of taking possession thereof, the settlement and development of a place, and even the absence of such relationships to a place. It is also one of God’s names.³⁹ These meanings resonate in the chapters in this volume.

Following the directions other disciplines and fields have taken, spatiality can serve as an important analytical and theoretical lens for Jewish music studies indeed.⁴⁰ It proves fruitful not least because some of the most pronounced spatial concepts such as *galut* (exile), *shtetl*, or *ghetto* are, if not exclusively, distinctively linked to Jewish music. Focusing on Jewish music in various places and within designated spaces also allows for shifting away from tracing—which implies more of a linear process—toward mapping, which recognizes the palimpsest of layers and allows to point to relationships and to

contiguities. Utilized both in a literal sense and as a metaphor, the map is thus also an allegory of space and time.⁴¹ Embracing it as such can uncover the meanings behind seemingly self-evident and unchallenged cultural topographies, as well as representations, versions of place and space that we thought we knew.⁴²

In a world of shifting maps, established lenses tied to specific Jewish geographies and their cultures—such as Ashkenaz/Sepharad, East/West, *Erets* or *Medinat Yisrael*/diaspora, and similar—have long served their purpose; they no longer capture the spectrum of places and spaces of Jewish music. This is especially pertinent for developments from the nineteenth century onward when mobility, migration, and displacement began to accelerate, blurring the meanings between these and other spatially derived concepts, although they can be contested in the *longue durée* given the population shifts from the pre-Christian era onward. Jews were always diasporic, living outside the Land of Israel as well as in it, largely being what we would term today “cosmopolitan.”⁴³ Jewish culture always had multiple centers that have shifted over time and can be expected to shift again. In this, the interactions of Jews and non-Jews, in the various environments in which they have taken place, is a given. With ever-changing (diasporic) maps reordered so many times, musical and other activities began to meld and mutually shape each other.

Although location is a crucial substrate of the many places of Jewish music, it is just one of its many spatial facets. With musical activities and manifestations in material or non-material settings, certain places and spaces are more strongly tied to Jewish music or a container for the same. This handbook proposes specific places and spaces distinct to Jewish music, which will be elucidated in the last part of this introduction, “Organization”—a first comprehensive foray into capturing Jewish music spatially that ought to be expanded over time. More concretely, it focuses on both general or mainstream spaces that are material, such as the concert hall and similar spaces that offer stages, material *Jewish* spaces such as the chuppah, non-material Jewish spaces such as the phenomenological space of *shekhinah*, and spaces that can be captured as either material or non-material such as ghetto. The concept of “Jewish space” is taken literally as opposed to its prevalent post-1945 application, when it began to designate the space occupied by Jewish culture and Jewish memory within mainstream society, entailing the ways in which European countries have begun to integrate Jewish history and memory, and also the Holocaust, into an understanding of their national history, regardless of the current size or activity of the local Jewish population.⁴⁴ Jewish studies scholars have scrutinized and proposed many other places and spaces for further study, such as *beit ha-midrash*, cemetery, shtetl, mellah, and other loci of a given Jewish community—as well as imagined and conceptual ones that point to the constructedness of the two notions.⁴⁵

Ultimately, differentiated and undifferentiated spaces can be produced and enacted as Jewish through musical activity by Jews and non-Jews alike. This is significant, given that some spaces may be thought of as neutral before receiving meaning through Jewish music. Related to this is the question of how music and music making are part of performing certain kinds of spaces into being, and the wider significance of people’s direct

engagements with the material (including sonic) qualities of musical environments. As such, spaces as sites of Jewish musical enactment are dependent on sound, narrative, or similar production while often being bound up in matters of religion, ethnicity, politics, power, and similar. They also have the ability to affirm specific musics as a Jewish space in itself. As such, Jewish music in a given space or place can be composed or improvised, performed, transmitted, staged, maintained, shared, and so on. These are central spatial strategies of Jewish music in their respective places situated in the world at large. And yet, a typology would depend on and correlate with the peoples that inhabit them in and through time.

Temporality

The destruction of the temples, the Inquisition, the birth of the Reform movement and the subsequent reimaginings of Jewish worship, the Holocaust, and the creation of the modern State of Israel—each of these and other moments put their own stamp on the meaning of Jewishness and time, and of the (Jewish) past as well as a given present. In the most recent encyclopedic entry on Jewish music, for *MGG Online*, Edwin Seroussi has addressed the meaning of linear time, cyclical time, and communitarian versus domestic time. For the first, he asserts that it is largely devoid of tangible substance until it enters the stage of European music history during the Enlightenment, followed by a linear development that also swept synagogue music (which begins, I would assert, already in the nineteenth century, not in the early twentieth century). For the second, Seroussi seeks to put aside linear development in favor of a cyclic conception of time that stresses repetition as an ideal rather than development, leaning on the fact that cyclical repetition is the hallmark of liturgy. For the third, Seroussi asserts that communitarian time regulates Jewish musical performances that depend on the concerted effort of the congregation and are carried at fixed times, while domestic time generates musical performances that depend on the rhythms of the life cycle of individuals and their immediate social surroundings. Where is time outside the European concert canon, the congregation, and domestic space in this? What about layers of time that a music scholar can be easily confronted with in the twenty-first century, when contemplating the performance of music created in the late Renaissance, which draws on prayers going back to the Middle Ages or earlier (perhaps to the Bible)? Tradition—in the sense of *tradere* as a process—abolishes time, making all agents contemporaries. And yet the music of Salamone Rossi does not quite belong in the same dimension of reality occupied by us. With research subjects stretching from the Bible to the very present, Jewish music studies requires distinct and multiple understandings of temporality.

Spatiality is adding another layer of complexity, in light of certain cultures in distinct places having had different understandings of time throughout history. As I have argued elsewhere, music studies need to depart from established notions that describe temporal phenomena and related concepts such as “revival” or the prefix “neo,” which

suggest cycles, but are ultimately bound to linear conceptions of an absolute time.⁴⁶ Jewish music studies, with its long temporal (and spatial) reach, needs to think of musical activities within a given place and space in terms of temporal conceptualizations that are in essence conjunctive (in which two or more times follow one another or coincide), disjunctive (a mixture of times beyond any notion of linearity), and heterogenous. Temporal connections can manifest themselves beyond this and in various ways, in concentric circles that imply a fluidity between past, present, and future without closure and in which the previous is also a new beginning; they can render themselves in more distinct circular formations (conceived by or related to space), that is, spiral or curvilinear formations in which Jewish music goes forth and returns, creating moments of simultaneity and coeval-ness of diverse experiences of time, signifying repetition but with a difference.

New and distinct approaches to temporality can cut across established boundaries of historical eras and propose an approach to comprehending Jewish music that counteracts the preponderance of single-period or other narrow thinking. It cultivates an understanding of how Jewish music may be grasped not only in a single moment, during a specific period, but also in the *longue durée*. Several chapters in this handbook have done so such as Vanessa Paloma Elbaz in connecting historical Al-Andalus and the timeless Sepharad with present-day Morocco and Spain, Phil Alexander in his assessment of klezmer's changing social role, or Yoel Greenberg and Rebecca Cypess as well as Diana Matut, who address synchronic and diachronic temporal manifestations of their subjects. They underline the importance of microhistories (of micromusics) in lieu of grand narratives, with focused narratives beyond linearity.⁴⁷

Collectivity (Rather than Identity)

In 1994 Richard Handler posed the question whether identity is a useful concept and suggested that we should “be as suspicious of ‘identity’ as we learned to be of ‘culture,’ ‘tradition,’ ‘nation,’ and ‘ethnic group.’”⁴⁸ His theory of identity as a “communicative process” challenges notions of stability and immutability in much the same way as the rethinking of “community” in recent years.⁴⁹ Both concepts are neither monolithic, in geographical or cultural terms, nor fixed. Both are constructed. Both are undoubtedly embedded in collectivity, which as a conceptual container is broad and useful as it veers away from distinguishing between cultures, religious practices, or denominations as lenses of Jewish music studies and aids the overcoming of identity politics. Collectivity also extends to scenes, groups, and other formations of peoples coming together as a body, as well as groupings of individuals and other incongruencies that stem from what might be perceived as a collective.

Theories of collectivity go back to Herbert Spencer and Émile Durkheim—the former's theoretization being broad and extending to concepts of the homogenous and heterogenous, the latter's aiming at more specific features and capacities. Adjacent

theories emerged focusing on collective memory, collective agency, and so on.⁵⁰ As such collectivity hangs loosely at the intersection of affiliation, demographics, time, and space. It is a social process rooted to some extent in ideology. It is fluid, but its inclusivity implies borders. In this, community, while well theorized, is especially problematic. Just as Jewish music comprises a multitude of meanings, so too does community.

Originally the theoretical property of sociologists, the concept of community remained relatively stable, encompassing the elements of locale, social network, and a shared sense of belonging. The basic tenets were based on the ideas of the founding fathers—Émile Durkheim, Karl Marx, Ferdinand Tönnies, and Max Weber. In the 1980s scholars such as Jean-Luc Nancy, Maurice Blanchot, and Giorgio Agamben began to rethink its basic presumptions with a view on its limits and the tangibility of social interactions, questioning the concept's applicability in modern, globalized contexts, where mobility and technological innovations had rendered relatively fixed social boundaries porous; further theories continued to emerge.⁵¹ These lines of thought transformed community into a *metaphysical* idea (rather than one resting on solid, tangible social foundations) and posed a new conceptual difficulty: the tension between the “real” versus the “imagined.”⁵² As Fran Tonkiss has poignantly sums it up: “Difficult to define, harder to observe and unvirtuous to reject.”⁵³

To complicate matters within the Jewish context, the once polar distinctions between Reform and Orthodoxy, Ashkenazim and Sephardim, Zionist and anti-Zionist, and secular Jews and Haredim and Hasidim have diffused into spectrums with many shades, ever more challenging the idea of a “Jewish community.” Various chapters in this handbook nonetheless embrace the concept of community, but by focusing on specific and more graspable formations: a specific Jewish community, the musical community, the urban community, and so on. Other contributors to this handbook have focused on smaller sets of collectivities involved with Jewish musical activity, such as congregations, scenes, or groupings such as a movement, wedding party, and family. Most have theoretically bolstered their collectivity-in-focus as well as inscribed performers, composers, and other seminal personalities into their discussions, thus reflecting the reality of collectivities being products of interacting individuals. Scholars might wish to embrace the above-mentioned poles, not as expressions of identity but as (politicized) literary metaphors or cultural constructions, following the example of Sephardism.

Due to its breadth and in light of the broad and diffuse participation in Jewish musical activity, the concept of collectivity is deliberately chosen as a lens. A model focused on *Jewish* collectivities (genetic Judaism, statist Zionism, or potential victimhood) that stress unity around bloodline would exclude the participation of non-Jews so pertinent to Jewish music. And yet it allows for a focus on specific *Jewish* populations (Syrian and Bukharian Jews, and so on) and denominations (reaching from Reconstructionism and Reform to various forms of Orthodoxy), amalgamations of the same, or temporal formations. Mapping collectivities in places and spaces that embody relationships, while acknowledging their existence within or relationship with time, can be a useful procedure for all Jewish music studies.

ORGANIZATION

The volume presents twenty-nine chapters in eight categories, that is, spaces that are actual and concrete as well as conceptual and are roughly organized according to their scale. The inner structure of each section follows distinct criteria, such as the size or composition of the collectives that musically or sonically inhabit them (while reinscribing individuals). For all their variety, the chapters share a common structure and general approach. In each of their chapters, the authors situate their key spatial questions in the context of relevant scholarship and base their observations upon both musical, visual, and/or textual evidence essential for interrogating and representing select spaces of Jewish music. They interrogate to what extent spaces and spatial experiences influenced the course and perception of musical events—and conversely, which actors and which practices were involved in the emergence, change, or disappearance of places or spaces with significance for Jewish musical life. The focus on the places and spaces of Jewish music not only brings to light previously neglected perspectives, but also challenges the question of perspective itself. As with all collections, the sections and chapters could have been organized in other ways, and some of the chapters, reframed, could have been suitably appropriate in different sections.

As such, this conceptual organization, rooted in spatiality, aims at bringing to the fore how Jewish music unfolds within distinct spaces and how they can be understood anew for Jewish music studies. The very purpose of articulating and exploring them is to inspire cultural topographies of Jewish music and to uncover contiguities. Indeed, what does music within the *eruv* share with other Jewish spaces such as the ghetto, the Jewish quarter, and specifically the *mellah*? With such thinking, the organization of the handbook seeks to defy and transcend binaries and expected designations as well as conceptualizations rooted therein.

Part I: Land—אדמה

The concept of *adamah* originated in the Hebrew Bible, where it surfaces over 220 times, appearing sixteen times in the first five chapters of Genesis alone. It has been translated predominantly as land, but also as material substance and earth, while also referring to *the earth*.⁵⁴ It has also been captured as ground, soil, and territory, as well as country. It recalls the meaning of *arets*, and yet as W. Joseph Stallings asserts, there is a clear differentiation between the two, with the former referring to the “inhabitable land upon the Earth,” while *adamah* designates “the Earth as a plant.”⁵⁵ *Arets* evokes immediate association with the Land of Israel, which is first mentioned in 1 Samuel 13:19, following the Exodus, and ever since has occupied various geographies in the Middle East, to describe a somewhat flexible territory with fluid borders on which the tribes of Israel had their settlements. Veering away from *Erets Yisrael* or *ha-arets* as *the* central land of Jewish

music, the chapters in this section look at various lands and territories in the Middle East and North Africa. In his chapter “Adamot—Art Music—Israel,” Assaf Shelleg focuses on the lands related to Israeli art music that are neither necessarily national nor refer exclusively to the territories of the UN Security Council Resolution 242. In this he resituates key variables of Hebrew culture at the overlap of modern Jewish culture and contemporary art music, acknowledging that several lands have been conditioning Hebrewism since its outset. Vanessa Paloma Elbaz’s chapter, “Land, Voice, Nation: Jewish Music in the Adamot of Al-Andalus,” demonstrates how the Jewish relationship to *adamah* counterpoints the tripartite relationship of Jews to local specificities, to the diverse nation in Spain and Morocco, and to their simultaneous belonging to a larger Jewish polity. She draws on the Jewish voice performed by Jews and non-Jews, but also fertility and burial, to examine these spaces. In “‘We Shall Sing Songs and Praise to the Lord Who Created Us Last in the World’: Ḥakham Joseph Ḥayyim of Baghdad, Leadership with Poetry and Music,” Merav Rosenfeld-Hadad also captures *adamah* in its plural, *adamot*—the diasporic lands and the Land of Israel without defined borders in time and space. These are discussed and explored in the works and paraliturgical songs of Ḥakham Joseph Ḥayyim of Baghdad and vis-à-vis the collectives at the heart of this chapter: his followers, the Baghdadi Jewish community, and the Nation (the people of Israel). Overall, the chapters map Jewish music on territories without fixed borders as well as in the context and problematization of territorialization, deterritorialization, and reterritorialization.

Part II: City—עיר

As with the land, the city can be thought of as a neutral space entirely, and yet with Jerusalem, mentioned in Psalm 46:4 as the city of God, the holiest city in Judaism, and the spiritual center of Jews since 10 BCE when the grounds became the place for the Temple, it can be conceived as Jewish place.⁵⁶ And yet, just like the lands and territories, cities are by no means static. From antiquity onward, a city was often a space that was protected by a fortified wall, in contrast to open places that could be easily attacked. Indeed, the Hebrew word for city—*iyr*—relates to the verb *yaiyr*, which in the Hebrew Bible means “to protect” (Job 8:6). While in the Hebrew Bible *iyr* most commonly refers to a permanent dwelling, it also represents those who live in a given place. The city is thus not just a pragmatic infrastructure but, as Jacques Ellul asserts, has its own dynamics.⁵⁷ *Iyr*’s semantic polyvalence correlates with the Jewish musical dynamics in the different cities presented in this section. The first two chapters closely lean on the city as a protective shelter: In “Jewish Refugees from the Nazi State in Shanghai, 1938–1949,” Sophie Fetthauer focuses on China’s “modern Babel,” which offered exiles from Germany and Nazi-annexed territories a safe if temporary haven. In prior decades, foreigners living in the city had built a European-style infrastructure that created opportunities for musicians. With its cosmopolitan openness, Shanghai thus offered a relatively heterogenous group of refugees the possibility of connection as well as

demarcation, preservation, and remembrance through the music they transferred and performed, while still making it relevant to contemporaneous issues. Silvia Glocer's chapter on "Jewish Émigré Musicians in Buenos Aires: Integration and Cultural Impact, 1933–1945" focuses on a similar environment, but one that offered possibilities for permanence in a then prosperous and stable city. Buenos Aires' different social networks provided the new arrivals with opportunities to truly integrate into the local musical scenes and the growing cultural industries. The powerful local Jewish community helped with contacts and links to social and professional networks. These networks not only facilitated integration, but also led to reciprocity in that the émigré musicians and their cultural heritage would leave their permanent mark on the musical life of Buenos Aires. Oded Erez's chapter, "From a City of Greeks to Greeks in a City: Musical Taste Cultures in Salonika and Tel Aviv-Jaffa," focuses on two urban settings in the early twentieth century tied together by waves of migration that transplanted, transformed, and repositioned the evolving popular music of Salonika Jews. It unravels the complexities of cosmopolitan environments as evident in the identity of perceived collectives as they pertain to ethnicity and class. Phil Alexander's chapter on "Berlin Klezmer and Urban Scenes" brings out another meaning of the term *iyv*, that of excitement (Deuteronomy 32:11 and Psalm 73:20). Klezmer as discovery and development has served as a source of exhilaration in a scene that rapidly grew in the course of a few decades and that navigated the local and the transnational. Focusing mainly on developments in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries, the four chapters in this section map Jewish music in cities as sites of displacement, dislocation, translocation, and creativity. They are followed by chapters that more narrowly focus on spaces within the urban environment: the ghetto, ritual spaces, and the stage, as well as the archive and library and collections therein.

Part III: Ghetto—גטו

The ghetto as a designated "Jewish space" was first called into existence in Renaissance Italy, when in March 1516 Venice confined its Jewish population to the northern part of the city known as the Ghetto Nuovo.⁵⁸ In July 1555, with Pope Paul IV's issuing of the *Cum nimis absurdum*, the institution of the legally compulsory and physically enclosed exclusively Jewish enclave spread to Rome, Florence, Mantua, and a host of other Italian towns and cities. Ghetto became a place of restrictions and danger, but also a space of productivity and self-assertion. It formed the basis for internal religious and social coherence and a certain degree of autonomy as well as for cultural interaction with the Christian world of Europe.⁵⁹ In line with other scholars who have devoted their research to the ghettos of early modern Europe, Rebecca Cypess and Yoel Greenberg's chapter focuses on the Jewish ghetto in Mantua, showing that the political and social division of urban space did not engender cultural isolation.⁶⁰ David Portaleone's *Shilṭei ha-giborim* and the midrashic approach found therein serve as a case study to uncover the paradoxes that unfolded within and beyond the permeable ghetto walls, giving way to

a synchronic collectivity through music and sound, while also cultivating a diachronic collectivity among the music-making Jews.

With the emancipation of the Jews of Italy starting in the late eighteenth century, the dissolution of ghettos began, with Rome's being the last one to be dissolved in 1870. In subsequent decades, the word *ghetto* was resurrected and transferred to refer to new big-city Jewish immigrant neighborhoods, such as Manhattan's Lower East Side (once labeled the "New York Ghetto"). Unwalled, these were ever more permeable, marked by density and diversity of populations. During the Second World War, the Nazis reinvented *ghetto* as a space of enforced Jewish segregation, mass starvation, and disease, and eventually of deportation to the camps. In his chapter "Sonic Transformations: Urban Musical Culture in the Warsaw Ghetto, 1940–1942," J. Mackenzie Pierce looks closely at one such ghetto, the one situated in the city of Warsaw, established in November 1940 by the German authorities within the new General Government territory of occupied Poland. He considers this ghetto with its diverse performance venues as a fluid space within its urban setting to which it responds and with which it corresponds. As Tobias Reichard's chapter, "Sounding Out the Ghetto: Spatial Aspects of Jewish Musical Life during the Nazi Era," elucidates, ghettos became spaces in which the persecution of musicians and composers born Jewish took on a new severity. As Reichard asserts, *ghetto* can also refer to a conceptual space as embodied by the Jewish Culture League, which was exclusive and temporary and, as another Jewish space, constructed only to be deconstructed again by the Nazi regime; it was also a symbolic space, standing for creation, creativity, and survival. Problematizing and indeed mapping the term, Reichard ultimately cautions that its application to Jewish musical life in Nazi Germany needs to be approached with great nuance. The chapters map the ghetto as a fluid space with various meanings for Jewish and non-Jewish relations. The subsequent group of chapters fills quite different topographies with content, by way of taking uniquely Jewish spaces as a point of departure.

Part IV: Sacred and Ritual Spaces—חופה / עירוב / כותל

Sacred and ritual spaces as areas of spirituality, ceremony, but also contestation are manifold in Judaism, sounding out and resounding liturgical and paraliturgical as well as secular musics. This section focuses on a modest selection of such spaces, beginning with the Western Wall Plaza, which is most commonly associated with the ancient limestone wall known as *Kotel* in the Old City of Jerusalem. Due to its proximity to the Temple Mount, it is considered closest to the former Holy of Holies and thus to the presence of God (*shekhinah*). With the adjacent plaza created in 1967, it has become a space of worship and public gathering, celebration and ceremony; it is also a contested space, a source of friction between Jews and Muslims. Much has been written about the Wailing Wall with discussions of its historical, religious, cultural, and political significance. However, approaching it as a space of music and sound has hardly entered this body of literature. Abigail Wood's chapter, "Sonic Collectivity at the Kotel ha-Ma'aravi (Western Wall)," focuses on the changing soundscape of the adjacent plaza at large,

thereby highlighting the embodied interaction between a flexible physical and auditory space of religious activity with the politics of individual and collective presence. It thus points to the dynamic processes of contesting discourses and identities that continue to shape it as a contemporary Jewish space of ritual.

If the Kotel has prompted the creation of space, similar can be said of the wire that encloses the eruv. Dating back to the biblical era, *eruv hatserot* (literally, “mixture” or “unification of the courtyards”) has come to designate an urban area that symbolically extends the private domain of Jewish households into public spaces, permitting activities within it that are normally forbidden on the Sabbath. It might cover a few blocks or indeed a whole neighborhood. In the Talmud it refers to the symbolic amalgamation of all the residents in houses that surround a common courtyard and thus suggest the extension of a given collective. As a conceptual, imaginary, provisional, and contingent Jewish space, the eruv expands the religious space to include or absorb secular space. Its existence symbolically entangles place with religion and ritual. In Jewish studies, the eruv has become a compelling concept for marking distinct collectives as well as belonging and difference, and interaction and accommodation between Jews and non-Jews.⁶¹ Further, as Charlotte Fonrobert asserts, an eruv maps a space of Jewish collectivity that is dependent on neither sovereignty nor any form of actual political or territorial control.⁶² Relying on the image of concentric circles, Fonrobert also articulates how an eruv functions to symbolically demarcate collectivity and space.⁶³ The eruv’s symbolism and concentricity unfolds in Jeffrey A. Summit’s chapter, “Reimagining Spiritual Experience and Music: Perspectives from Jewish Worship in the United States.” He leans on the concept of Rav Kook’s “four-fold song” to suggest a typology of categories that can be employed to consider how Jews in the twenty-first century experience music in worship—the song of self, the song of nation, the song of humanity, and the song of all existence. Summit understands these four areas as expanding concentric circles—analogue to concentric eruvim—domains that move from the individual, to the Jewish people, out to all humanity, and ultimately encompassing all creation. Summit points to the flexibility and even permeability of eruv (the root of the term also connotes “mixture”), which music facilitates; he also points to the eruv facilitating collectivity as it does not separate per se, but rather connects. Fonrobert’s assertion, that “the eruv does construct a collective identity with respect to space, but does so in the absence of having control or any form of sovereignty over that space,” is challenged in Naomi Zentner Cohn’s chapter, “Singing at the Sabbath Table: Zemiroth as a Family History.” While zemiroth are historically one of the quintessential collective musical experiences in the private space of the home during the Sabbath, the repertoires used in the families also signify their belonging to ethnic and regional collectives, their affiliation to innovative religious, social, or national movements (specific branches of Hasidism, religious Zionism). In the early twentieth century, zemiroth began to extend beyond the boundaries of the eruv into public spaces, and with it, a specifically religious Zionist repertoire was formalized and popularized.

The third space addressed in this section points to the chuppah, a biblical term that originally referred to a cover in a variety of meanings and contexts.⁶⁴ It has come to designate the canopy under which a Jewish couple stands during the two parts of the

wedding ceremony, a ritual space that envelops the bridal couple (and the family) in the private space of commitment. In broader terms, it relates to the second stage of the wedding, where it can be also captured as a symbolic space for the home the couple will be building. There are pronounced differences in the physical appearance of the chuppah and practices associated with it, depending on Jewish groups and their customs. The last two chapters in this section engage with the space surrounding the chuppah in distinct contexts. Diana Matut focuses on a period when the contemporary meaning of chuppah as a wedding canopy had just begun to crystalize. Her chapter, “Early-Modern Yiddish Wedding Songs: Synchronic and Diachronic Functions,” relies on songs as vehicles for transmitting and instilling social, religious, and ethical norms among the premodern Ashkenazic communities of central and eastern Europe. These songs, rendered by and for members of the wedding party and especially the bride, had an important function within the larger collective as tools of normativization. Evan Rapport’s chapter, “Bukharian Jewish Weddings and Creative Uses of the Central Asian Past,” focuses on the post-chuppah part of the wedding, the celebratory festivities. Using contemporary Bukharian Jews in the United States as a lens of observation, he shows how the wedding party offers an occasion to relate to the past by performing representations of old Central Asia. His chapter uncovers the wedding as a transgenerational space that provides meaning and distinctiveness to the community’s history and experiences, as well as pride. The chuppah is a spatial constant that bridges past and present.

Part V: Stage—בִּימָה

The Hebrew word *bimah* initially referred to a high place and came to designate the platform in the center of the synagogue from which the service is conducted and the Torah is read. Its function as well as its position and design have greatly changed over the centuries, coming in many cases to resemble a theater stage, with the congregation becoming spectators, watching the dramatic action occurring in front of them, reminiscent of the times of the Temples. In modern Hebrew *bimah* also refers to the secular stage on which music and theater are performed. This dual meaning comes to the fore in Jeremiah Lockwood’s chapter, “Hasidic Cantors ‘Out of Context’: Venues of Contemporary Cantorial Performance,” in which he interrogates the performance of cantorial music outside the synagogue, a phenomenon known to have existed since at least the mid-nineteenth century. In the late twentieth century, a group of cantors rooted in Hasidism began to steer their music toward scenes and stages (virtual and actual), where they realized their conception of sacred music. Presenting videos on social media, concertizing in theaters, and performing at private parties offers Hasidic cantors new spaces, in which to resound an ontology of Jewish prayer that features the mediated sounds of early cantorial records upon which they model themselves, prioritizing a musical aesthetic over the social norms of prayer in contemporary synagogues.

In 1917 Habimah became the name of a Hebrew repertory theater company founded in Moscow and permanently reestablished in Tel Aviv in the 1930s. The trajectory of

this first professional Hebrew theater in the world points to the stance of staged performances in two places: the Soviet Union and the Middle East. Focusing on the former, in his chapter “Jewish Music and Totalitarianism in the Post-Stalinist Soviet Union,” Jascha Nemtsov provides insight into the presence and absence of Jewish music in the public sphere of the post-Stalinist Soviet Union. Jews and non-Jews thematicized, performed, represented, and received Jewish culture through Yiddish theater and songs, art music, and popular music. Concerts and works conceived for the Soviet stages demonstrate that Jewishness mattered, with music taking on new symbolism and becoming imbued with new meaning. Jehoash Hirschberg, in “Art Music in the Yishuv and in Early-Statehood Israel,” shows that concert halls, and the compositions that filled them with sound, were spaces of transition for an emerging imagined community that had not yet found itself as a nation. This correlated with a proliferation of diverse compositional styles, especially in the 1950s and 1960s, and a plethora of attempts and approaches that filtered into conception of art music.

These chapters map the various meanings of the stage for Jewish music in the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. But Jewish music as music on the performance stage is manifest much earlier. From the Middle Ages onward it continued to appear first intermittently and later continually, always adapting to changing conditions. Central to the early history is the *badkhn*, the Jewish entertainer who appeared on the wedding stage (*bimah*) and published versions of his performance.⁶⁵ Concert activities of Jewish performers, which have been transmitted in late Renaissance Italy and later in England at the Tudor court, blur the boundaries between meanings of Jewish and non-Jewish stages.⁶⁶ The nineteenth century then saw the firm and continuous growth of Jews as audiences, composers, and performers on the stages of Europe in the aftermath of the *Haskalah*, the Jewish Enlightenment.⁶⁷ This is the time when Yiddish theater emerged, which is at the core of Ruthie Abeliovich’s chapter, “The Yiddish Theater Republic of Sounds and the Performance of Listening.” Recognizing that alongside the synagogue, theater and opera houses, the bourgeois salon, and street performances developed as parallel theatrical arenas for Jewish music, she focuses on modes of listening generated by the Yiddish theater beyond the theater stage. As such, the Yiddish theater has encompassed multiple simultaneous spaces: the live theater event, recorded theater songs, and their performances in the public sphere. Together the four chapters in this section provide a glimpse into a wide range of staged performances of Jewish music, which in the course of the twentieth century have diversified resembling rhizome patterns, spanning disparate genres and hybridizations of the same in a wide array of venues.

Part VI: Collection—זאמלונג

In her seminal book on Jewish studies and space, Barbara Mann challenges the normative identification of Jewishness with exile, history, and textuality by demonstrating that while “often viewed as the ‘people of the book,’ and as somehow lacking geography, spatial thinking has in fact permeated Jewish cultural expression.”⁶⁸ And yet spaces closely

representing the “people of the book,” that is, archives and libraries, have become most vital for Jewish music and in more than one way. Since the *zamlers* movement, which came out of the nineteenth-century interest in historiography and ethnography and culminated in the founding of the Society for the Promotion of Culture Among the Jews of Russia in 1892 (succeeded by the Jewish Historical Ethnographic Society in 1908) and the Yidisher Visnshaftlekher Institut (YIVO) in 1923, Jewish music became an integral part of archives and libraries, and their collections shaped its various trajectories. Eléonore Biezunski, in her chapter “The YIVO Sound Archive as a Living Space: Archiving and Revitalizing Klezmer Music,” surveys some of the early *zamlers* history of YIVO, bringing the reader to watershed moments in the 1970s and 1980s during which the archive saw itself interacting with musicians in the klezmer revitalization movement. Indeed, the archive as a living space serves as a fulcrum that brings in motion and serves as a bridge between a wide variety of peoples regardless of their background—archivists, scholars, musicians, and all recipients of their work. In turn it is performed and archived in itself—all in a temporality of anachronism. In her chapter on “Jewish Music Sound-Recording Collections in the United States,” Judith S. Pinnolis widens the archival landscape, focusing on the origins of selected collections and thus providing insight into individual agency of the *zamlers* and their different understandings of Jewish music. The collection as a constructed space that produces, inhabits, and preserves Jewish music reveals numerous complexities from conservation and preservation to bibliographic control and other issues, and balances the fine line of individuality and collectivity. Turning to Australia, Joseph Toltz, in “Postcustodialism in the Jewish Music Archive,” surveys selected repositories of Jewish music and comparatively discusses the Australian Archive of Jewish Music, held at Monash University in Melbourne, and the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum in Washington, DC, through the lens of postcustodialism. This theory considers the changing role of the archive as not inevitably being *the* central repository for collections, with creators retaining custody of their materials, a complex topic in light of musical material that represent the Holocaust experience. The three chapters focus on the presence of material, and yet they allude to the often-faced problem that sources relevant for Jewish music research are often insufficient in quantity or quality to paint a full picture that would do justice to the subject matter—even if the heterogeneity of the sources is fully embraced by way of loosening disciplinary self-restrictions. And thus, the history of Jewish music remains fragmentary and temporally and spatially scattered. As such, the interest in collections and collecting that these chapters convey is strongly related to the Jewish imperative to remember (*zakhor*), which is at the heart of the subsequent section. In what follows, the spatial configurations discussed are less fixed than the previous, with more fluid boundaries and meanings.

Part VII: Destruction/Remembrance—זכר / חורבן

The *ḥurban ha-bayit* (literally, “the destruction of the House”) originally referred to the physical destructions of the Jerusalem Temple, first by the Babylonians in 587 BCE and

again by the Romans in 70 CE, as well as to the spiritual disconnection. In the twentieth century, *ḥurban* or in Yiddish, *khurban*, also became one of the terms—along with Shoah and Holocaust—to refer to the Nazi genocide of the Jews between 1933 and 1945. The biblical term *zekher* takes on various meanings—from remembrance to commemoration, memorial, or invocation—and is part of a long-standing Jewish practice. Important sources of *zekher* include the invocation to “remember the Sabbath” in the Kiddush text for the Sabbath afternoon and in the Hebrew Bible in the passages describing the punishment of Amalek (Deuteronomy 25:17–19, Amalek will *not* be remembered). The chapters in this section focus specifically on spaces defined by catastrophe or destruction but also remembrance. While spatial analysis of this kind has characterized recent work by historians and geographers, who use techniques of mapping and geo-visualization, there has been less research on cultural examples of space and Holocaust memory.⁶⁹ Space is integral to the representation of Holocaust memory, even—or especially—in cases where such spatial imagery might seem only to be implicit or act as a backdrop.

The following four chapters map musical manifestations of *ḥurban* and *zekher*, which in some cases are intertwined. Miranda L. Crowdus, in “Remembering the Destruction, Re-animating the Collective: Romaniote Liturgical Music after the Holocaust,” focuses on the process of remembering destruction as an intrinsically Jewish practice, taking as a case in point the descendants of the Jews of Ioannina in an “ingathering of the exiles.” Her chapter understands *zekher* as a process, in the sense of remembering and commemorating, but also as the “making present” of no-longer-present Jewish objects, events, and people through religious ritual and the musical transmission of the liturgy. As such *ḥurban* and *zekher* are evoked simultaneously, with *zekher* filling the emptiness that constitutes *ḥurban*. Similarly, Simo Muir focuses on the aftermath of the Holocaust, engaging with a space of represence. His chapter, “‘We Live Forever’: Music of the Surviving Remnant in Sweden,” focuses on the Yiddish performances of Polish Jewish singers after 1945, exemplifying the manifold process of *zekher*: in parallel (and response) to dealing with the trauma of their own persecution and commemorating their perished loved ones, singing and performing was an act of remembering and reconnecting with the prewar Yiddish culture in a new and different environment. The different functions and representations of Yiddish song ultimately suggest both a spatial and a temporal understanding of *zekher*, as remembrance for the future. Silvia Del Zoppo’s chapter, “‘Ferramonti We Do Not Forget’: Jews, Music, and Internment in Italy,” uncovers further layers of *zekher* on the grounds of a site that first served as a concentration camp, then as a Displaced Persons camp, and later on as a memorial when an “imaginary” transgenerational community emerged that shared the collective ritual of *zekher*. In parallel, *zekher* as memorialization expresses itself in the memories of those who had left Ferramonti behind. In his discussion of the concept of *zekher*, Lawrence A. Hoffman illuminates its deeper meaning by drawing on the Talmud, where in a legal context it has nothing to do with remembering but with pointing. He concludes: “As a ‘pointer,’ *zekher* can apply across many lines of thought: temporally, it is indeed ‘memory; in arguments, it is an act of logic; spatially, it is like a road sign drawing attention from

one place to another.”⁷⁰ The road sign to the former concentration camp Ferramonti di Tarsia embodies such a pointer. But a pointer is also figurative, alerting the reader to ambivalences and layers of meaning. With regard to zekher and the role music takes therein, the notion of the road sign is indeed fitting, but as a sign pointing in two opposite directions. These oppositions manifest themselves, for example, in the ambivalence that Ferramonti as a concentration camp represented. The pointer of opposites addresses the different stages of Ferramonti as a concentration camp, Displaced Persons camp, and site of remembrance. The meaning of zekher as a pointer also comes to the fore in Clara Wenz’s chapter, “‘I Say She Is a Muṭriba’: Faded Memories of Aleppo’s Jewish Women Musicians.” The ethno-historical memory of the Khūjahs, musicians who performed songs in Arabic and whose primary performance context was Muslim women wedding celebrations, point to the omission from official records that many of these women were Jewish. In this regard, the concept of zekher, then, implies a fragmentary, dislocated, and at times “suppressed” memory and a form of remembrance that is largely absent from public and persistently male-dominated modes of commemoration. Zekher, here, refers to a history that lacks official memorials and archivization efforts, but lingers instead in the personal stories of the musicians’ dispersed descendants and constituencies. At times, their stories memorialize Aleppo’s Khūjahs as members of a great musical community. Diversely, they reenact the loss of their memory. All chapters underline Maurice Halbwachs’ assertion that collective memory is not a metaphor but a social reality transmitted and sustained through the conscious efforts and institutions of the group.⁷¹ In this way, Judaism itself may be seen as a space of memory, with a set of transmitted and evolving practices.⁷² These equally express themselves in soft memory and hard memory.

Part VIII: Spirit—שכינה

The post-biblical term *shekhinah* literally means “dwelling” or “settling.” As a concept that relates to inhabiting, it unequivocally refers to the process of (filling a) space. In classic Jewish thought, since the emergence of rabbinic literature, *shekhinah* refers to such dwelling or settling in a special sense, namely that of divine presence to the effect that, while in proximity to the *shekhinah*, the connection to God is more readily perceivable. As such *shekhinah* is related to the Holy Spirit or *ruah ha-kodesh*. These facets of meaning entered Jewish prayer. In addition, *shekhinah* also represents the feminine attributes of the presence of God as especially promulgated through the Kabbalah.⁷³ The chapters in this section respond to the multivalent meanings and understandings of *shekhinah*. In her chapter, “Ultra-Orthodox Women and the Musical *Shekhinah*: Performance, Technology, and the Artist in North America,” Jessica Roda builds on the kabbalistic concept of feminine principles of the divine, postulating a feminine musical scene as a quasi-musical *shekhinah*. Indeed, if ultra-Orthodox women claim their productions to be sacred and their manifestation of God’s message exclusively available to women, then the *shekhinah* embraces this feminine attribute of the presence of God in musical production. Roda promulgates an understanding of the *shekhinah* as active and

receptive to matriarchal values, symbolizing the power and status of the ultra-Orthodox woman while also acknowledging its ambivalence, capable not only of challenging the divide between the masculine and the feminine, but also of reinforcing it. Similarly, in her chapter “‘On a Harp of Ten Strings I Will Sing Praises to You’: Envisioning Women and Music in the Oppenheimer Siddur,” Suzanne Wijsman examines shekhinah as the feminine divine as it is prevalent in early modern iconographical sources, particularly in three illuminations created by Asher ben Yitzḥaq in the siddur he made for his family. Due to rabbinic prohibitions against instrumental music in the synagogue, the inclusion in a Jewish prayer book of figures playing musical instruments, especially women, is enigmatic and loaded with symbolism; two of the illuminations affirm the harmony of love between *kneset Yisrael* and her God, on the one hand, while the other suggests a moral warning inherent in the fifteenth-century allegory of the folly of love, which the artist-scribe was apparently familiar with. Turning to a different facet of shekhinah and using the narrative space of writing as a point of inquiry, Alexandre Cerveux, in his chapter, “The Concept of Harmony in Pre- and Early Modern Jewish Literature,” discusses the importance of harmony in a Jewish context, which corresponds to its connection with and a manifestation of shekhinah, here understood as the divine presence of God in the world. In his philological approach he considers what music, or harmony specifically, has to do with matters that are diametrical opposites, such as the microcosm and the macrocosm, terrestrial and celestial beings, or Israel and the shekhinah. He asserts that since biblical times, harmony in its universal (and analogous musical) understanding has served as a link between Jews and the shekhinah, which ultimately transcends space.

Overall, the chapters take into consideration how Jewish music performs or is part of performing and listening Jewish and mainstream spaces into being, or address the wider significances of people’s direct engagements with the material (including sonic) qualities of musical environments. They map the stages as spaces of presence and absence, transition, and expansion of Jewish music. With these chapters, which exemplify a broad range of approaches and disciplinary perspectives in the context of select spaces relevant for Jewish music studies (and further spaces within, such as utopias, dystopias, and heterotopias), the handbook seeks to propagate inclusiveness. And yet a number of areas, subjects, and perspectives could not be included by twists of circumstance. There is thus, for instance, neither a separate chapter on Jewish music in India or African countries, nor comprehensive coverage of the flourishing subject of art music in Europe and in the United States, or on twentieth-century modernism beyond the Holocaust, although brief discussions in other chapters, suggested readings (select bibliographies), and judicious use of the index might provide help to those who wish to investigate some topics further.

It is the editor’s hope that the categories proposed here will encourage researchers to think about further spaces of and for Jewish music studies as the field evolves. As such, these categories are intended as an initial step to inspire scholars in considering how and in which directions they might expand their research. Indeed, mapping Jewish music in these given spaces is only a first step in a much larger project, that is, the collective work of charting Jewish music-related areas of scholarship and practice for the purpose

of facilitating new entry points for researchers and illuminating connections across disciplines and fields. Indeed, cohesion does not come from inward focus, but from looking outward in many directions. Ultimately, it is the editor's wish that this volume will trigger the immense possibilities Jewish music studies offers as a field of inquiry and help establish the foundation for the systematic scholarly exploration of Jewish music.

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NOTES

1. Robert Alter, *The Five Books of Moses: A Translation with Commentary* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2008), 150.
2. For a detailed analysis of “Daled bavos,” including a transcription, see Ellen Koskoff, *Music in Lubavitcher Life* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 88–91.
3. See also Raffi Ben-Mosheh, *Experiencing Devekut: The Contemplative Niggun of Habad in Israel / בישראל חב"ד בניגוני חסידות*: חזו"ת הרבקות: בניגוני חסידות חב"ד בישראל / חב"ד בישראל, trans. Jonathan Chipman, Yuval Music Series 11 (Jerusalem: Jewish Music Research Centre, Hebrew University of Jerusalem 2015).
4. Israel Adler, “Problems in the Study of Jewish Music,” in *Proceedings of World Congress on Jewish Music, Jerusalem 1978*, ed. Judith Cohen (Tel Aviv: Institute for the Translation of Hebrew Literature, 1982), 15.
5. The earliest documented scientific engagement can be traced back to sixteenth-century Germany and Italy. Noteworthy is a manuscript of 1599, by the Italian scholar, mathematician, poet, music theorist, architect, and composer Ercole Bottrigari (1531–1612), “Il Trimerone de' fondamenti armonici, overo, Lo Essercitio mvsicale: Dialoghi . . . ne' qvai si ragiona de' Tuoni antichi e moderni, e de' Caratteri diuersi vsati da Musici in tutti i tempi,” in which he addresses “il Canto degli Hebrej” (chant of the Hebrews) and the musical rendition of the Masoretic accents that govern the singing of the Hebrew Bible in synagogue liturgy; MS B44, 1–23, Civico Museo Bibliografico Musicale G. B. Martini, Bologna. A discussion of other early sixteenth-century tractates can be found in Edwin Seroussi, “Jewish Music and Diaspora,” in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden, Cambridge Companions to Music (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 33–34.
6. For a discourse on various definitions and complications, albeit limited to the German-speaking world and the nineteenth century, see Heidy Zimmermann, “Was heißt ‘jüdische Musik’? Grundzüge eines Diskurses im 20. Jahrhundert,” in *Jüdische Musik? Fremdbilder—Eigenbilder*, ed. Eckhard John and Heidy Zimmermann, Reihe Jüdische Moderne 1 (Cologne: Böhlau, 2004), 11–32. For a broader, categorizing perspective, see Frank Alvarez-Péreyre, “Sur le concept de musique juive,” in “Studies in Honour of Israel Adler,” ed. Eliyahu Schleifer and Edwin Seroussi, special issue, *Yuval* 7 (2002): 75–91. These and other

- discourses hardly problematize the increasing participation of non-Jews. Similarly, many scholars trace set the onset of “Jewish music” discourses to the nineteenth century, when it in fact began in the sixteenth century; for one such example, see *MGG Online*, s.v. “Jüdische Musik: Schreiben über Jüdische Musik,” by Edwin Seroussi, trans. Matthias Müller; <https://www.mgg-online.com/mgg/stable/372426> (accessed January 30, 2022).
7. Sachs rendered this definition in a speech at the First International Congress of Jewish Music in Paris, in 1957. It is documented in writing by Batya Bayer, “Music,” in *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Jerusalem: Keter Publications, 1971), 12:555.
 8. See Adler, “Problems in the Study of Jewish Music,” 16. In 1995 Kay Kaufman Shelemay still arrives at the same conclusions; see “Mythologies and Realities in the Study of Jewish Music,” *The World of Music* 37, no. 1 (1995): 35. Other scholars, such as Don Harrán, have embraced this definition without reflection.
 9. See Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), 18.
 10. See Isaac Deutscher, *The Non-Jewish Jew and Other Essays* (New York, London: Hill and Wang, 1968); and Yuri Slezkine, *The Jewish Century* (Princeton University Press, 2004), 1 and 17.
 11. Stefan Wolpe, “What Is Jewish Music,” unpublished lecture, February 29, 1940, Stefan Wolpe collection, Paul Sacher Stiftung, Basel. This lecture has been published along with a preface by Austin Clarkson, “What Is Jewish Music?,” *Contemporary Music Review* 27, nos. 2–3 (2008): 179–192.
 12. Philip V. Bohlman, “Ontologies of Jewish Music,” in Walden, *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, 12. On current views on problems and definitions, see *ibid.* Bohlman also provides a detailed reading of Sachs. For further paradoxes, see Mark Slobin, “Ten Paradoxes and Four Dilemmas of Studying Jewish Music,” *The World of Music* 37, no. 1 (1995): 18–23.
 13. For a critique of a broad definition, deemed another paradox, see Alvarez-Péreyre, “Sur le concept de musique juive,” 84. “Ce paradoxe tient au fait que les spécialistes de la musique juive postulant une définition large, non exclusivement musicale—sachant par expérience dans quel paysage culturel plus global s’insèrent les données sonores—tout en présentant une analyse des données qui, majoritairement, semble vite laisser en chemin une analyse détaillée et articulée du complexe d’éléments dont ils laissent pourtant entendre qu’il est constitutif de leur objet et de sa définition.” (This paradox lies in the fact that specialists in Jewish music postulate a broad, not exclusively musical definition—knowing from experience in which global cultural landscape the sound data are inserted—while presenting an analysis of the data that, for the most part, seems to quickly leave behind a detailed and articulated analysis of the complex of elements which they nevertheless imply is constitutive of their object and its definition.)
 14. See also James Loeffler, “Do Zionists Read Music from Right to Left? Abraham Tsvi Idelsohn and the Invention of Israeli Music,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010): 385–416.
 15. See also Judah M. Cohen, “Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States,” *Jewish Quarterly Review* 100, no. 3 (2010): 417–453.
 16. See Regina Randhofer, *Psalmen in einstimmigen vokalen Überlieferungen: Eine vergleichende Untersuchung jüdischer und christlicher Traditionen* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1995); for an overview and discussion on writings by German scholars in the postwar period, see Tina Frühauf, “After the Holocaust: Jewish Music and the Canon in

- German Intellectual History,” in *Partituren der Erinnerung: Der Holocaust in der Musik*, ed. Wiener Wiesenthal Institut für Holocaust Studien (Vienna: new academic press), 12–40.
17. See Ruth HaCohen, *The Music Libel Against the Jews: Vocal Fictions of Noise and Harmony* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2011).
 18. See Boaz Tarsi, “The Early Attempts at Creating a Theory of Ashkenazi Liturgical Music,” in *Jüdische Musik als Dialog der Kulturen / Jewish Music as a Dialogue of Cultures*, *Jüdische Musik* 12 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2013), 59–70; and Boaz Tarsi, “At the Intersection of Music Theory and Ideology: A.Z. Idelsohn and the Ashkenazi Prayer Mode Magen Avot,” *Journal of Musicological Research* 36, no. 3 (2017): 208–233.
 19. See Yonatan Malin, “Ethnography and Analysis in the Study of Jewish Music,” in “Ethnography and Analysis,” ed. Yonatan Malin, special issue, *Analytical Approaches to World Music* 7, no. 2 (2019): 108–125.
 20. The veering away from an essentialist approach paralleled historical musicology’s paradigm shift from a *Kunstwissenschaft* to a *Kulturwissenschaft*, i.e., from a focus on music as art to a focus on music as culture. See also Tobias Janz, “Musikwissenschaft als Kunstwissenschaft?,” in *Historische Musikwissenschaft: Grundlagen und Perspektiven*, ed. Michele Calella and Nikolaus Urbanek (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2013), 15–48.
 21. Edwin Seroussi, “Music: The ‘Jew’ of Jewish Studies,” *Jewish Studies / מדיעי היהדות*, no. 46 (2009): 43.
 22. Subsequently, Bohlman reinforced established ontologies rooted in religion, language, embodiment, space (specified as synagogue and ritual practice), and culture; and, in a second round, translation, diaspora, collection and community (the latter hardly discussed), mass media, and nationalism—instead of creating new ones for more productive discourses of the field. See Bohlman, “Ontologies of Jewish Music,” 141–126.
 23. Criticism of a separation of ethnomusicology from musicology can be traced back to at least 1977, with Frederic Lieberman; for a recent plea, which received numerous responses, see Stephen Amico, “‘We Are All Musicologists Now,’ or, The End of Ethnomusicology,” *Journal of Musicology* 37, no. 1 (2020): 1–32. See also selected chapters in *The New (Ethno) Musicologies*, ed. Henry Stobart, *Europea: Ethnomusicologies and Modernities* 8 (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2008). The call for a unified discipline has been repeatedly reiterated; see the reprint of Tim Rice’s article of 1987, “Toward the Remodeling of Ethnomusicology,” in *Modeling Ethnomusicology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 43–60.
 24. A poignant example is the essay by Rebecca Cypess, who is often identified as an early music scholar: “The Community as Ethnographer: Views of Classical Music in the English-Speaking Orthodox Jewish Community,” *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music* 41, no. 1 (2010): 117–139.
 25. For a summary, see Martin Goodman, “The Nature of Jewish Studies,” in *The Oxford Handbook of Jewish Studies*, ed. Martin Goodman (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 1–13.
 26. For an overview of various positions, see Stephen Davies, “Works of Music: Approaches to the Ontology of Music from Analytic Philosophy,” *Music Research Annual* 1 (2020): 1–19.
 27. For recent literature on methods prevalent in historical musicology and music theory, see Stephen A. Crist and Roberta Montemorra Marvin, eds., *Historical Musicology: Sources, Methods, Interpretations*, *Eastman Studies in Music* (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2004); and Eric Clarke and Nicholas Cook, eds., *Empirical Musicology: Methods, Aims, Prospects* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004). For recent literature

- on methods prevalent in ethnomusicology, see Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley, eds., *Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2008); Jonathan McCollum and David G. Hebert, eds., *Theory and Method in Historical Ethnomusicology* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014); and Beverley Diamond and Salwa El-Shawan Castelo-Branco, eds., *Transforming Ethnomusicology*, vol. 1, *Methodologies, Institutional Structures, and Policies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2021).
28. See Georgina Born, "For a Relational Musicology: Music and Interdisciplinarity, Beyond the Practice Turn," *Journal of the Royal Musical Association* 135, no. 2 (2010): 205–243.
 29. See Adam Zachary Newton, *Jewish Studies as Counterlife: A Report to the Academy* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2019), 80.
 30. For further insights on Sachs, see Martin Else, "Alte Musik in der Neuen Welt: Curt Sachs und die Konzeption eines Musik-Museums," in *Vom Sammeln, Klassifizieren und Interpretieren: Die zerstörte Vielfalt des Curt Sachs*, ed. Wolfgang Behrens, Martin Elste, and Frauke Fitzner (Mainz: Schott, 2017), 277–288; see also Annette Otterstedt, "Curt Sachs und die Entthronung der Linie," *ibid.*, 5–16.
 31. See Judah M. Cohen, "Whither Jewish Music? Jewish Studies, Music Scholarship, and the Tilt Between Seminary and University," *AJS Review* 32, no. 1 (2008): 29–48.
 32. A quantitative survey reveals that the number of publications that have appeared since the year 2000 exceeds the number of publications issued between 1945 and 2000 (more than six thousand) by a few thousand. For a recent historiography of writings from early modernity to the mid-twentieth century, see Seroussi, "Jüdische Musik." See also Seroussi, "Music," which likewise stops short in the mid-twentieth century. Earlier historiographies similarly present a well-defined body of literature on Jewish music, while revealing political and cultural divergence. A future historiography ought to traverse musicology as well as Jewish studies and musicology, while at the same time considering other disciplines and fields.
 33. Dan Miron, *From Continuity to Contiguity: Toward a New Jewish Literary Thinking* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2010), 303.
 34. *Ibid.*, 276.
 35. See Newton, *Jewish Studies as Counterlife*, 15.
 36. For broader overviews and discussions, see, for example, Tim Cresswell, *Place: A Short Introduction* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000); Edward S. Casey, *Getting Back into Place: Toward a Renewed Understanding of the Place-World*, 2nd ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009). Philip Ethington, "Placing the Past: 'Groundwork' for a Spatial Theory of History," *Rethinking History* 11, no. 4 (2007): 465–493; and Alan Baker, *Geography and History: Bridging the Divide* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 37. Barbara E. Mann, *Space and Place in Jewish Studies*, Key Words in Jewish Studies (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 153. See also Barbara E. Mann, "Space and Place," in *Routledge Handbook of Contemporary Jewish Cultures*, ed. Laurence Roth and Nadia Valman (New York: Routledge 2015), 18.
 38. See Brian Longhurst, Greg Smith, Gaynor Bagnall, Garry Crawford, and Miles Ogborn, *Introducing Cultural Studies*, 3rd ed. (London: Routledge, 2016), 192–193. For further references and definitions, see Tobias Reichard, "'Eine abgeschlossene Sache'? Zu einer Topografie jüdischen Musiklebens im NS-Staat am Beispiel Münchens," in *Jüdische Musik im süddeutschen Raum / Mapping Jewish Music of Southern Germany*, ed. Claus Bockmaier and Tina Frühauf, Musikwissenschaftliche Schriften der Hochschule für Musik und Theater München 16 (Munich: Allitera Verlag, 2021), 35–38.

39. See also Richard I. Cohen, ed., preface to *Place in Modern Jewish Culture and Society*, Studies in Contemporary Jewry 13 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), viii.
40. For concise historiographies on recent treatment of place and space in Jewish studies and musicology, see Tina Frühauf, “Resonating Places, Mapping Jewish Spaces: Jews, Music, and Southern Germany,” in Bockmaier and Frühauf, *Jüdische Musik*, 15–17; and Reichard, “‘Eine abgeschlossene Sache?’,” 35–38.
41. This approach should not be confused with the so-called cultural mapping, which refers to a wide range of research techniques and tools used to “map” distinct peoples’ tangible and intangible cultural assets within local landscapes around the world. For a recent collection of essays on the subject in the realm of music, see Britta Sweers and Sarah M. Ross, eds., *Cultural Mapping and Musical Diversity* (Sheffield: Equinox Publishing Limited, 2020).
42. See also David Crouch, Simon Naylor, James Ryan, and Ian Cook, *Cultural Turns / Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geography* (London: Taylor & Francis, 2018), 333. The term *topography* has been layered with different meaning over time. Originally denoted as a description of places in words, it later came to mean “the art of mapping a place by graphic signs.” The now dominant meaning relates simply to “that which is mapped.” J. Hillis Miller, *Topographies* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995), 3–19.
43. For a historicizing discourse, see Edwin Seroussi, “Jewish Music and Diaspora,” in Walden, *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, 27–40.
44. See Diana Pinto, “A New Jewish Identity for Post-1989 Europe,” *JPR Policy Paper* 1 (1996): 1–15; and “The Jewish Challenge in the New Europe,” in *Challenging Ethnic Citizenship: German and Israeli Perspectives on Immigration*, ed. Daniel Levy and Yfaat Weiss (New York: Berghahn Books, 2002), 239–252.
45. For further examples, see Simone Lässig and Miriam Rürup, eds., *Space and Spatiality in Modern German-Jewish History*, New German Historical Perspectives 8 (New York: Berghahn Books, 2019).
46. See Tina Frühauf, introduction to *Postmodernity’s Musical Pasts* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2020), 1–14.
47. See also Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1993).
48. Richard Handler, “Is ‘Identity’ a Useful Cross-Cultural Concept?,” in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*, ed. John R. Gillis (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 27.
49. *Ibid.*, 30.
50. A comprehensive overview and reader has yet to be conceived.
51. See, for example, Benedict R. Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origins and Spread of Nationalism*, 2nd ed. (London: Verso, 2006). See also Anthony P. Cohen, *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, rev. ed. (London: Routledge, 2013).
52. As a consequence of this continued ambiguity, many scholars are ambivalent about community’s efficacy as a sociological concept. But the ubiquity of the term in public discourse alone speaks to the continued meaning this concept has for individuals—just as does Jewish music—however vague and undefined its meaning may be in certain contexts. While modern communities may indeed be, as sociologist Tony Blackshaw argues, “weak ontologies”—existing without solid foundations, their bases always in flux and thus contestable—he nonetheless similarly argues for the concept’s importance: “[W]e are often deeply committed to [communities] because they have fundamental importance to how we see and reflect on our observations about the world as individuals, our sense

- of who we are, and how we want to live their lives with other people.” *Key Concepts in Community Studies*, SAGE Key Concepts (London: SAGE, 2009), 11.
53. Fran Tonkiss, *Space, the City and Social Theory: Social Relations and Urban Forms* (Cambridge: Polity, 2005), 24.
 54. On the complexities of the term, see Maximillien De Lafayette, *Etymology, Philology and Comparative Dictionary of Synonyms in 22 Dead and Ancient Languages* (Morrisville, NC: Lulu Press, 2017), 1:65.
 55. W. Joseph Stallings, *The Genesis Cataclysm: Proposing a Noahic Global Flood Within an Old-Earth Scriptural Paradigm* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2020), 21.
 56. For a comprehensive study of twentieth-century Jerusalem as a city of music, see Michael A. Figueroa, *City of Song: Music and the Making of Modern Jerusalem* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2022).
 57. See Jacques Ellul, *The Meaning of the City* (1970; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock Publishers, 2011).
 58. For an in-depth discussion of ghetto’s fuzzy etymology, see Daniel B. Schwartz, *Ghetto: The History of a Word* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019).
 59. Salo W. Baron, “Ghetto and Emancipation: Shall We Revise the Traditional View?,” *The Menorah Journal* 14 (1928): 515–526.
 60. For studies arriving at similar conclusions, see Robert Bonfil, *Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Benjamin Ravid, *Studies on the Jews of Venice, 1382–1797* (Aldershot, UK: Ashgate, 2003); David B. Ruderman, “The Cultural Significance of the Ghetto in Jewish History,” in *From Ghetto to Emancipation: Historical and Contemporary Reconsiderations of the Jewish Community*, ed. David N. Myers and William V. Rowe (Scranton, PA: University of Scranton Press, 1997), 1–16; and Kenneth Stow, *Theater of Acculturation: The Roman Ghetto in the 16th Century* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001). See also Francesco Spagnolo, “The Bimah and the Stage: Synagogue Music and Cultural Production in the Italian Ghettos,” in *Venice, the Jews, and Europe*, ed. Donatella Calabi (Venice: Marsilio, 2016), 264–269.
 61. See, for example, Yosef Gavriel Bechhofer, *The Contemporary Eruv: Eruvin in Modern Metropolitan Areas* (Jerusalem: Feldheim, 2002); Peter Vincent and Barney Warf, “Eruvim: Talmudic Places in a Postmodern World,” *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* 27, no. 1 (2002): 30–51; Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert, “From Separatism to Urbanism: The Dead Sea Scrolls and the Origins of the Rabbinic ‘Eruv,’” *Dead Sea Discoveries* 11, no. 1 (2004): 43–71; Sophie Watson, *City Publics: The (Dis)enchantments of Urban Encounters* (New York: Routledge, 2013); and Manuel Herz, “Eruv Urbanism: Towards an Alternative Jewish Architecture in Germany,” in Brauch et al., *Jewish Topographies*, 43–62.
 62. See Charlotte Elisheva Fonrobert, “Political Symbolism of the Eruv,” *Jewish Social Studies* 11, no. 3 (Spring/Summer 2005): 29.
 63. See *ibid.*, 67.
 64. Abraham P. Bloch, *The Biblical and Historical Background of Jewish Customs and Ceremonies* (New York: Ktav Publishing House, 1980), 31–33.
 65. See Ariela Krasney, “The *Badkhn*: From Wedding Stage to Writing Desk,” in *Focusing on Jewish Popular Culture and Its Afterlife*, ed. Michael C. Steinlauf and Antony Polonsky, *Polin: Studies in Polish Jewry* 16 (Oxford: Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2003), 7–28.
 66. See selected essays in *Music and Jewish Culture in Early Modern Italy: New Perspectives*, ed. Lynette Bowring, Rebecca Cypess, and Liza Malamut, *Music and the Early Modern*

- Imagination (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2022), and Alessio Ruffatti, "Italian Musicians at Tudor Court: Were They Really Jews?" *Jewish Historical Studies: Transactions of the Jewish Historical Society of England* 35 (1996–1998): 1–14.
67. For a comprehensive account, see David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012).
68. Mann, *Space and Place in Jewish Studies*, 153.
69. See, for instance, in Anne Kelly Knowles, Tim Cole, and Alberto Giordano, eds., *Geographies of the Holocaust* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2014).
70. Lawrence A. Hoffman and David Arnov, *My People's Passover Haggadah: Traditional Texts, Modern Commentaries* (Woodstock, VT: Jewish Lights Pub., 2008), 127.
71. See Maurice Halbwachs, *Les cadres sociaux de la mémoire* (Paris: F. Alcan, 1925), and his posthumously published *La mémoire collective* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1950).
72. See Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi, *Zakhor: Jewish History and Jewish Memory* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1996).
73. See Chani Smith, "The Symbol of the Shekhinah," *The Absent Mother: Restoring the Goddess to Judaism and Christianity*, ed. Alix Pirani and Foosiyah Miller (London: Mandala, 1991), 5–13.

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PART I

.....
LAND — אדמה
.....

.....

ADAMOT — ART MUSIC — ISRAEL

.....

ASSAF SHELLEG

THE song “Moladeti” had been popularized in the Jewish community of Palestine in the 1920s, at a time when adjectives like “folk” and “popular” were used synonymously. It was but a part of a wider emergence that saw the importation, borrowing, appropriation, confiscation, and adaptation of musics from Palestine’s Semitic spaces (be they Arab or Jewish), but also from the respective diasporas of the arrangers, composers, and compilers involved in the making and perpetuating of this repertoire. Distinctions between newly composed songs and those concocted from Palestine’s variegated oral musical traditions were therefore blurred; as such, they could sustain the rhetoric of separatism that had constituted Hebrew culture (heretofore Hebrewism), namely, separation from both exilic Jewries and the Arab community of Palestine. As long as this rhetoric was sustained, it concealed procedures of hybridization,¹ thereby allowing the Jewish community of Palestine (the Yishuv) to validate “Hebrew” adjectives and subsequently anchor territorial nationalism and expansionism in biblical, post-biblical, and modern Hebrew. An actualization of this kind, etched in a linguistic register that shaped a national Hebrew culture, subsequently deemed eighteen centuries of Jewish exile (from the destruction of the Second Temple to the emergence of political Zionism) a mere nocturnal episode, *rhetorically* repressing the worlds that defined Jewishness through innumerable symbioses with non-Jewish host societies. Indeed, at least part of this teleology is rehearsed in “Moladeti,” whose lyrics read “My homeland, the land of Canaan / my goal, the fields of Ḥoran” (Example 2.1).

Like many other early pre-statehood songs, the land in “Moladeti” is referred to as the biblical land of Canaan,² thereby symbolically bridging Joshua’s conquests and the Zionist project, and in effect suggesting the actualization of biblical sovereignty in the Zionist present. Cementing this connection are the “fields of Ḥoran,” a location that could refer to Ḥauran, a northeastern region located in the East Bank (according to Ezekiel 47:16–18), which during pre-statehood years had been part of Transjordan, a

EXAMPLE 2.1 “Moladeti” (My homeland), in *Mi-zimrat ha-arets: Kovets zemirot Artsi-Yisraeliyot im tave-neginah* (From the song of the land: A collection of Erets-Yisrael songs with sheet music), ed. Solomon Rosowsky (Warsaw: Jewish National Fund, 1929), 31.

Moderato. Molto tranquillo (♩ = 76-80)

p Mo-la - d' - ti E - retz - k' - na an m' - ga - ma - ti s - dot - cho - ran mo - la - d' - ti E - retz - k' - nan m' - ga - ma - ti s' - dot - cho - ran

British protectorate from 1921 to 1946; alternatively, the “fields of Ḥoran” might refer to Beth-Ḥoron, a pass located in the West Bank and known as the Valley of Ajalon, where hailstones wreaked havoc on the coalition army of the five kings fighting Joshua’s army (Joshua 10:10–11).³ In post-biblical times, the same Beth-Ḥoron witnessed the defeat of Cestius Gallus’ Twelfth Legion in the autumn of 66 CE during the early phases of the First Roman-Jewish War,⁴ which became another source of selective narrativization in Zionist historiography.⁵ Regardless of the exact location of Ḥoran, these events (which the Zionist historiographical hand had disproportionately augmented as the long forgotten and now coveted qualities of the “new Jew”—active, heroic, rebellious, and nationally zealous) were all potentially encoded in “Moladeti.” Notwithstanding hindsight readings that saw the conquests of the Six-Day War of June 1967 as part of a historical continuity operating on particular and only partly conscious cultural, military, and theological premises rooted in the early 1940s,⁶ territorial expansionism had been steering Hebrew culture much earlier, temporarily taming the religious to the national and facilitating the nationalization of the theological,⁷ four decades at least before the conquests of biblical regions in the West Bank would unleash dormant theological ambitions that had been instilled in and transmitted through the Hebrew language. As for “Moladeti,” its appearance in print for the first time in a 1929 songbook titled *Mi-zimrat ha-arets* indeed attested to its oral circulation and popularity, but not without flickering discrepancies that once again marked the gap between rhetoric and processes of hybridizations, beginning with the fact that the melody of this song bore the traces of what had originally been an Arab peasant song. And yet such discrepancies did not prevent the editor, Solomon Rosowsky, from placing “Moladeti” in a section titled “Longing for Zion.” Like many other equivalent cases, “Moladeti” seeped into the Jewish community of Palestine, becoming part of its quest for Hebrew indigenosity in a Semitic space where Jews had been living among a non-Jewish majority.⁸

While this chapter aims at recalibrating the perception and understanding of art music in British Palestine and the State of Israel, “Moladeti” is packed with constituent key variables that had been catalyzing the making of Hebrewism even before the

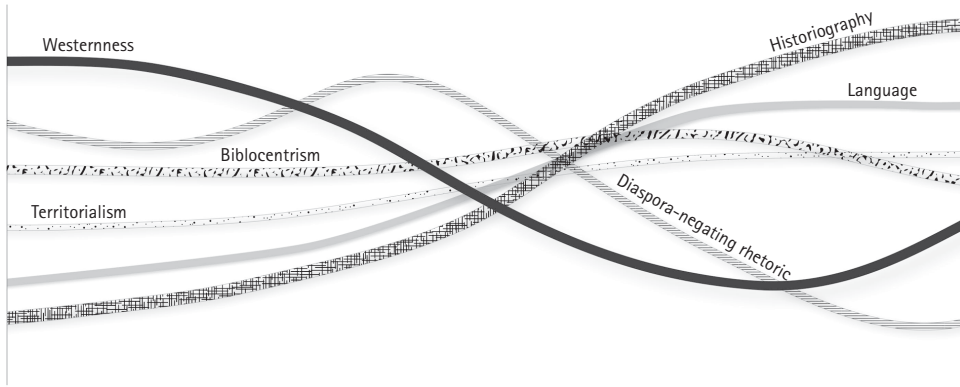


FIGURE 2.1 Key variables of Hebrewism.

institutionalization of art music would take place during the second half of the 1930s, when emigrant composers and musicians from central and western Europe would arrive in unusual numbers to Palestine following the Nazis' rise to power.⁹ These key variables include territorialism, biblocentrism, language, historiography (which later would be characterized here as the Zionist management of Jewish history), and diaspora-negating rhetoric. Figure 2.1 visualizes these vectors (with no specifiable Xs and Ys), revealing their simultaneities, interdependencies, fluxes, and subsequently the inability to discuss one constituent exclusively of the other. As such, Figure 2.1 also functions as a monitor for the entire chapter.

The non-linear proliferation of meanings stemming from these variables (in addition to Westernness, which is discussed below) will be addressed with regard to this chapter's main topic, *adamot*—namely, lands (but also territories, yet neither of which is necessarily national or refers exclusively to *the* territories of the UN Security Council Resolution 242)—and the way they have conditioned the entire ecosystem under discussion. Indeed, even when certain variables become mute (and specifically by post-modern patrimonies and remodernist aesthetic, as the last subhead of this chapter suggests), they continue to narrate the dilution of the heteronomy of territorial nationalism as it transitions into autonomous aesthetics, shifting to modernist practices (*sans* its utopianism) while resituating Hebrewism at the overlap of modern Jewish culture and contemporary art music. Before that could happen, however, Hebrewism would gradually separate from the heteronomy of the territory (but not from the space in which hybrids came to be), and Jewish ethnography would progressively outgrow the national and historiographical receptacles that tamed it. And yet despite the transitions unfolded here, despite their simultaneities and meaningful disharmonies (including the turn to exilic histories and cultures that undermined the territorial foundation around which Hebrew nativism has been constituted), Hebrewism writ large still pertains to an ethnocentric setting in which a dominant Jewish group promotes its expansionism in a contested territory while its domination of power structures maintains a democratic façade.¹⁰

ADAMOT—BIBLICAL, EXILIC, SOVEREIGN

Zionist biblocentrism, the selective appropriation of biblical texts that reenacted Hebrew sovereignty through the Hebrew language (the single surviving linguistic component of ancient Jewish independence), conferred directionality to the Zionist project. Literal reading of selected biblical texts facilitated a Zionist national allegory that actualized tropes of return and returning, of redemption, and of territorial expansionism.¹¹ The Bible validated the Zionist story by attesting to Israel's primordial ownership of the land: it anticipated the return of the country's inhabitants ("And there is hope for your future—said the LORD—and the sons shall come back to their place [country]"; Jeremiah 31:16), the building of the land ("Yet will I rebuild you and you will be built, O Virgin Israel"; Jeremiah 31:3), and the gathering of exiles ("And I will take you from the nations and gather you from all the lands and bring you to your soil"; Ezekiel 36:24).¹² At the same time, Zionism exalted the Bible by actively fulfilling its prophecies and confirming its eternal truth—be it the decree given to Abraham (Genesis 12:1–2), the exodus from Egypt, the feebleness of the generation sentenced to perish in the desert (Numbers 14:31–32), the stoutness of the conquerors of Canaan, the wars of the judges, or the institution of Israelite monarchy.¹³ The realization of biblical sovereignty in Zion of the twentieth century therefore shaped an imposing Zionist allegory; so much so that in a 1936 memorandum submitted to the Palestine Royal (Peel) Commission, which convened following the first stage of the Arab Rebellion, the Jewish Agency traced the origin of the association of the Jewish people with the land of Palestine in the "early pages of the biblical record," specifically Genesis 15:13–14, 46:4, 40:15, Leviticus 26:44–45, and Deuteronomy 30:3–5.¹⁴ Transcribing the sacred into the secular allowed Zionists to conquer and monopolize the diachronic spaces of Jewish presence and absence in the land of Israel while stripping biblical texts of exilic post-biblical rabbinic literature (Mishnah, Talmud, Midrash, Responsa, Zohar, Hasidic literature, etc.),¹⁵ texts that did not promote territorial expansionism.

Several lands (*adamot*) have been conditioning Hebrewism since its outset. The national territory (whose contested borders are still etched in our daily news) activated biblical and eschatological promises of return, and (political) redemption, while musical settings of such texts rehearsed these national territorial topoi—irrespective of composers' stylistic and aesthetic penchants. It is therefore unsurprising to find both Erich Walter Sternberg and Paul Ben-Haim setting to music Ezekiel's Vision of the Dry Bones (Ezekiel 37:1–14) in the late 1950s; notwithstanding their distinctive compositional approaches, both animated Ezekiel's vision, which the Zionist interpretative community had read and heard as an unequivocal metaphor for the restoration of Israel (much like the way post-biblical commentary, too, had interpreted it literally).¹⁶ Verses like "The breath came into them and they lived, and they stood up on their feet, a very very great legion" (Ezekiel 37:10), or "Thus said the Master, the LORD: I am about to open your graves, and I will bring you up, My people, from your graves and bring you to

Israel's soil" (Ezekiel 37:12) lent themselves quite naturally to Zionist literalist readings.¹⁷ Correspondingly, musicalized prophecies envisioning gaping graves and the slain breathed with life, growing flesh, and forming skins were belated extensions of the predominant paradigm of the living dead in modern Hebrew poetry, which a decade earlier had equated burial with espousal, and internment with sprouting and blossoming.¹⁸ Politically obedient and with limited command of Hebrew (a lack that among other things determined his choice of this text), Ben-Haim's *Vision of a Prophet* (1958–1959), a cantata for tenor solo, choir, and orchestra, would amount to a triumphal monument cemented by bare fifths growing tonal skins and making audible the oncoming resuscitated marching multitude (Example 2.2, mm. 236–253). These emerge most conspicuously with the setting of Ezekiel 37:11 ("Man, these bones are all the house of Israel") as the choir pierces this processional march with a secco non-pitched parlando ("Our bones are dry and our hope is lost; we have been cut off"). Ben-Haim modulates this setting into choric shouts against the background of chromatic passages (Example 2.2, mm. 258–268) that consolidate with Ezekiel's reply into an aria, whose pentatonic scaffolds the speaker announces with glaring fanfares (Ezekiel 37:12).¹⁹

Only that this pentatonic macroharmony (beginning with the last measure shown in Example 2.2) is soon revealed as yet another shroud in the tonal becoming of the prophecy's redemptive ascension. It begins with Ezekiel's instructive *hineh* ("see," "here," "lo," or "look") as in "Here is the day, here it comes, the gyre has turned around" in Ezekiel 7:10, or as in Isaiah 7:14, where it acquires the meaning of a divine sign: "Therefore the Master Himself shall give you a sign: [*hineh*] the young woman is about to conceive and bear a son."²⁰ It is with this prevalent visual prophetic idiom, which appears twice in the Vision of the Dry Bones (Ezekiel 37:5, 37:12), that one has to read modern Hebrew poetry. Nathan Alterman's poem "Hineh tamoo yom krav ve'aravo" (Here end the day of battle and its evening) is one example (and to which we will return), but also Haim Gouri's proclamation of the 1948 War dead, "Here [*hineh*] lie our bodies in a long row—and we do not breath," and even Aharon Amir's "Shirat erets ha-ivrim" (Poetry of the Land of the Hebrews, 1947–1949), whose most noticeable caesurae read "My country's great tomorrow, lo [*hineh*] it comes," and "lo [*hineh*] it comes, the great day" (drawing most likely on Jeremiah 7:32, "Therefore, look, a time is coming, said the LORD," or Jeremiah 9:24, "Look, a time is coming—said the LORD").²¹ And so while Ben-Haim's choral *parlando* is a useful illustration for the slain whose breath has just been restored (see Example 2.2), this effect ultimately functions as a negative harmonic marker, following which celebratory fanfares become an apotheotic precursor for the delivery of the promise that stands at the core of Zionist biblical literalism, buttressed in Ben-Haim's formulation by tonal distilment.

And it is here where one touches upon the key variable of language (see Figure 2.1)—the language and its messianic stings. Indeed, for Gershom Scholem, the so-called secularization of Hebrew was "*façon de parler*, a phrase!" In a letter to Franz Rosenzweig, dated December 12, 1926, written a year after he settled in Jerusalem, Scholem, who would soon advocate binationalism (which he perceived as anticolonialism) in order to prevent Zionism's turn to Sabbateanism and avert its usage of religious politics for

EXAMPLE 2.2 Paul Ben-Haim, *The Vision of a Prophet* (1958–1959), cantata for mixed choir and symphony orchestra, mm. 236–276. “. . . and they lived, and they stood up on their feet, a very very great legion; And He said to me, ‘Man, these bones are all the House of Israel. They say ‘Our bones are dry and our hope is lost; we have been cut off.’ Therefore, prophesy and say to them . . .” (Ezekiel 37:10–11). Copyright © 2001 Israel Music Institute. All rights reserved. International copyrights secured.

Alla marcia (solenne)
 (♩ = 80) *mf* *cresc.*

Tenor
 Va - yich - yu va - ya - am

T
 du ya - am - du al - rag - le - hem cha - yil ga - dol me -

T
 od me - od va - yo - mer e - lai

S
mf ben a - dam ben a - dam *p* ha - a - tsa - mot ha - e - le kol - beit yis - ra

A
mf ben a - dam ben a - dam *p* ha - a - tsa - mot ha - e - le kol - beit yis - ra

T
mf a - dam ben a - dam *p* ha - a - tsa - mot ha - e - le kol - beit yis - ra

B
mf ben a - dam ben a - dam *p* ha - a - tsa - mot ha - e - le kol - beit yis - ra

p *f* *p*

EXAMPLE 2.2 Continued

S *f* el he - ma *mf* hi - ne *p* om - rim *poco rit.*
 A *f* el he - ma *mf* hi - ne *p* om - rim
 T *f* el he - ma *mf* hi - ne *p* om - rim
 B *f* el he - ma *mf* hi - ne *p* om - rim *poco rit.*
 Piano: *mf* *f* *p* *mf* *dim.* *pp*

Grave (♩ = 52)
Male voices (invisible)

T *mf espr.* (spoken) ya - ve - shu ats - mo - te - nu
 B *pp*
 Piano: *pp*

T *mf* ve - av - da tik - va - te - nu nig - sar - nu la - nu nig -
 Piano: *f*

B *mf* sar - nu la - nu ve - av - da tik - va - te - nu nig -
 Piano: *f*

Più mosso (♩ = 69)

T *ff* sar - nu la - nu nig - sar - nu la - nu
 Piano: *ff* *mf*
 Più mosso (♩ = 69) (Trumpets)

EXAMPLE 2.2 Continued

The musical score consists of two systems. The first system includes vocal lines for Soprano (S), Alto (A), and Bass (A), and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "ve - a - mar - ta a - le - la - chen - hi - na ve ve la - chen hi - na - ve - la - chen". The second system continues the vocal lines and piano accompaniment. The lyrics are: "hem - a - mar - ta a - le - hem - hi - na - ve - ve - a - mar - ta a - le - hem". The piano accompaniment features complex rhythmic patterns and dynamic markings such as *sf*, *pp*, and *f*.

political purposes,²² argued that “language is name. In the name rests the power of language, its abyss is sealed with its name. We have no right to conjure up the old names day by day without calling forward their hidden power.”²³ As a Kabbalah scholar who studied the meanings and combinations of words and letters, he viewed the “the ‘actualization’ of Hebrew” as a more sinister threat to the Zionist project than the conflict with the Arabs. It is “impossible to empty out words which are filled to the breaking point with specific meaning,” he wrote:

Fraught with danger is the Hebrew language! It cannot remain and will not remain in its present state! . . . We have no right to conjure up the old names day by day without calling forward their hidden power. They will appear, since we have called upon them, and undoubtedly they will appear with vehemence! . . . God will not remain silent in the language in which He has affirmed our life a thousand times and more.²⁴

Before language would appear with vehemence, the nationalization of the theological channeled all cultural constructs to the national territory and subsequently to Hebrewist nativism, thereby rendering *the* Diaspora (always in the singular in the Zionist grammar) a diacritical sign of abnormality, anomaly, and degeneration. (Having rejected both the traditional and modern “spiritualization” of exile as a delusory

obfuscation of its intrinsically tragic nature, Zionists deemed exilic Jewish life untenable and therefore “negated” it spiritually, and ultimately politically, through the systematic dissembling of Jewish life outside the national territory).²⁵ If the richness of biblical pastoral and agrarian imagery was a testimony and “a model of Jewish contact with nature from which ghetto life had been severed,” it was at the same time “a combat weapon against ‘retrograde’ Talmud-centered forces in traditional Jewish society”; having transformed the Jew into a Hebrew, the Bible was no longer the narrative of God’s history, but rather of the history of the Jewish people, the product of Jewish genius whose “luster had paled in exile, but that shone again on its Land.”²⁶ For David Ben-Gurion, the Bible “constituted the ideal common heritage for young Israelis of Ashkenazi origin cut off from Eastern European Jewish culture, and for young immigrants from Islamic countries, for whom Zionist ideology was largely alien.”²⁷

WESTERNNESS AS DUTY (RATHER THAN IDENTITY)

The Hebrewist project of acculturation imposed on the self (on itself) obligatory diagnostic tools like “acculturation” and “normalization” with which it located defects and deficiencies, so that cultural prescriptions could administer a developmental regime. This self-imposed technology of correction and development in turn became the supervising apparatus that classified and controlled societal anomalies: It allowed the agents of the field (usually a minority of Ashkenazi origin, and usually of a particular social class and political affiliation) to experience themselves as the historic spokesmen of a critical and subversive order, even though their critique was interweaved in—and monitored by—the core of the nationalist canonic discourse. Acculturation of this kind, according to Sara Chinski, became a unidirectional track that incessantly vilified the mechanisms capable of manufacturing difference while nonetheless attempting their colonization.²⁸ Hebrew nativism, at the same time, embodied a new beginning, which *ipso facto* entailed the repression of Jewish exiles; “The fact that the beginning occurred here, in the Eretz-Israeli space, constituted an erasure of everything that did not exist ‘here’ but elsewhere, in exile—which is itself summarily denied, because it is not the space of beginning.”²⁹ And yet there is a wrinkle in this attentive critique, as the singularization of *the* Diaspora (as noted above) had by itself been constituent; not only because it “admitted *de facto* the strong theological conception of the Jews as an exiled people upon which modern Jewish territorial nationalism built its foundations,”³⁰ or since this very discourse underscored the phenomenological dimension of exile spoke in political terms of rupture and dislocation,³¹ but also since the mere addition of the definite article, *the* Diaspora underwent dehistoricization and functioned as a universal threshold that rendered the times, cultures, and identities of diasporic Jews a single temporality—ahistorical, contextless, and outside the teleological time of Zionism. The

act of universalizing the Diaspora, in other words, denied the retrospective existence of Jewish collectives (alongside their histories and cultures) while imposing on them the specific meaning stemming from the Ashkenazi diasporic experience in Europe.³²

But the paradox grows more marked since a return to the East involved identification with, and commitment, to the West, to Westernness (see Figure 2.1), which saw the denial of both the Arab East and diasporic Judaism (and this apparatus in turn would deny the diasporic past of non-European Jews and facilitate their subjugation).³³ Westernness in art music written in the Yishuv and the ensuing state had been usually manifested through quotations of popular or folk songs, or otherwise, through transcriptions of non-Western Jewish musical traditions, disciplined by (auto)exoticist formulations that (much like other national peripheries) were marketed as autochthonous.³⁴ Having undergone such “corrections” so that premodern oral musical traditions would complement the Zionist project of Westernness, such musical earmarks relied on the immediacy of recognizable exotic (and, equally, extroversive) semiotics that more often than not were contingent upon a tonal infrastructure (as in Ben-Haim’s *Vision of a Prophet*; Example 2.2).

Tonal constellations featuring (auto)exoticist signifiers communicated Otherness to several interpretive communities, inside the state and outside of it. Yet by the time Mordecai Seter had completed his *Motets* (1939–1951), which he based on transcriptions from Idelsohn’s *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* (*HOM*), he could align the latter’s ethnographic materials with a rhetoric couched in biblical idioms and literalism at the service of an eschatological national narrative. Only that Seter’s semiotics eschewed the immediate symbolism evident in works like *Vision of a Prophet* and dozens of similar compositions from that period that practiced similar mimesis. The first motet, for example, set Psalm 137 after a corresponding dirge, drawn, symbolically, on its Babylonian Jewish musical rendition (Example 2.3a). But having rhythmically augmented Idelsohn’s transcription with no strict duration ratio, Seter deemed this import unrecognizable and its psalmodic parallelism defective (Examples 2.3a–b): only the intervals were left intact, thus giving birth to a cantus firmus whose imitations in the surrounding vocal parts not only distanced themselves from the transcribed source, but also circumvented what Seter had called “immediate folklore.”³⁵ At once, then, psalmodic receptacles were made inoperative and the ethnographic import was stripped of, and dissociated from, manifestations of auto-exoticism. Concomitantly, a chiaroscuro harmonic scheme was the result of a linear voice leading, featuring faded allusions to decontextualized triads or partly formed ones, flickering amid continuously moving melodic planes and modal networks.

Seter’s precursory departure from a peripheralism communicated by tropes of difference signaled new aesthetic horizons for emigrant composers (and soon enough for native composers as well). But even this breakaway from the political plights of auto-exoticism could not withstand the lure of national redemptive trajectories—even if Seter’s case was far less obvious than Ben-Haim’s setting of Ezekiel’s *Vision of the Dry Bones*, which under the purview of Zionist biblocentrism could be set to music *as is*. Seter devised (indeed, compiled) a different track: Psalms 137 and 144, the outer

EXAMPLE 2.3A “‘Al nahārôt babēl” (By Babylon’s streams), in Abraham Zvi Idelsohn, *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz: Gesänge der babylonischen Juden* (Berlin: Benjamin Harz, 1922), 111. (Psalm 137:1–2)

(a)

'Al na-ha-rot ba-bel, šam - ja - šab-nu gam ba - hi - nu be-zoh-re - nu-et sij - jon.

'Al a - ra - bim be-to-ha ta - li - nu kin-no - ro - te - nu.

movements of *Motets*, realized a redemptive trajectory that moved from the low point of exilic lamentation (“By Babylon’s streams, there we sat, oh we wept, when we recalled Zion”), which Seter projected poetically when verse 3 was communicated amid a murky *fugato* (“For there our captors had asked of us words of song, and our plunderers—rejoicing: ‘Sing us from Zion’s song’”), to the royal victory hymn of Psalm 144 (“Blessed is the LORD, my rock, Who trains my hands for battle, my fingers for the fray”).³⁶ And bridging these two psalms were the last three verses from Exodus 2 set according to a Samaritan reading of this same text, which was also transcribed by Idelsohn.³⁷ But then the biblical text from Exodus 2:23–25 was the meaningful choice here, as it cemented Seter’s redemptive design:

And it happened when a long time had passed that the king of Egypt died, and the Israelites groaned from the bondage and cried out, and their plea from the bondage went up to God. And God heard their moaning, and God remembered His covenant with Abraham, with Isaac, and with Jacob. And God saw the Israelites, and God knew.³⁸

Up to this point in the biblical story of Exodus, God has not been evident, writes Robert Alter; but “Now He is the subject of significant verbs—hear, remember (which in the Hebrew has the strong force of ‘take to heart’), see, and know.” Presumably, God knew “the suffering of the Israelites, the cruel oppression of history in which they are now implicated, the obligations of the covenant with the patriarchs, and the plan He must take undertake to liberate the enslaved people. And so, the objectless verb prepares us for the divine address from the burning bush and the beginning of Moses’ mission.”³⁹ Seter, who surely had come across this text in the Passover Haggadah, harnessed its mystifying transition from the exilic lamentation of Psalm 137 to the victory hymn of Psalm 144, all while redeeming the transcriptions from their materiality and symbolic immediacy. Nowhere in his early works did he confirm the hidden protocol between aesthetics and politics and the Zionist nationalization of the theological more so than in the *Motets*. While this kind of national heteronomy would continue to subjugate his

EXAMPLE 2.3B Mordecai Seter, *Motets* (1939–1951). I: “Al naharot bavel” (By Babylon’s streams), mm. 1–15. Copyright © 1962 by Israel Music Institute. All rights reserved. International copyrights secured.

(b) *Adagietto* (♩)

A.I. *pp* Al na -

A.II *pp* Al na - ha - rot

T. *pp un poco marc.* Al na - ha - rot ba - vel

B.I *pp* Al na - ha - rot

B.II *pp* Al

A.I ha - rot ba - vel

A.II *p espress.* ba - vel sham

T. ba - vel

B.I na - ha - rot

B.II na - ha - rot

compositional narratives, Seter’s setting of biblical and post-biblical texts through the 1960s began to undermine the negated historical time of Zionism (particularly in his oratorio *Tikun ḥatsot* [Midnight vigil] and *Jerusalem*, a symphony for mixed choir, brass, and strings), even if its teleological directionality was yet to be renounced. In parallel, semiotic procedures were persistently furthered and experimented with in instrumental

works, where, among other things, psalmic edifices would be free from the texts that conditioned their eschatology.

DEFLATIONS

Equivalent formulations whose linearity was not as subjugated as Seter's to redemptive trajectories were written by other composers during the 1950s and 1960s. Unlike Seter's *Motets*, these designs would weaken the nationalization of the theological and subsequently decenter territorial nationalism and its complementing diaspora-negating rhetoric (Figure 2.1). Josef Tal's 1955 opera, *Saul at Ein-Dor*, was seemingly the ideal Hebrewist actualization of a biblical text as its libretto was word-for-word the text from 1 Samuel 28:3–25. The text narrates King Saul's visit to the ghostwife of Ein Dor, following the Philistines' camping at Shunem and after God had not answered him "neither by dreams nor by the Urim nor by prophets" (1 Samuel 28:6); but his visit takes a turn as Saul learns through the necromancer of his impending death in the battle of the following day.

There were enough precedents in the Yishuv and the young Jewish state that rewrote Saul's demise under the purview of biblocentrism. "Hineh tamoo yom krav ve'aravo," the previously mentioned poem by Alterman, restaged Saul's final moments following the 1948 War, while sanctifying the meaning of death on (and over) the land of Israel. In a setting "echoing the galloping of horses," as Dan Miron writes, Alterman "declared that a people vanquished on its native soil is never fully vanquished," and that the kingdom's fate will not be identical to its king, since he ran himself through a sword supported by the land to which he belonged.⁴⁰ Alterman offered the comfort of the symbol and its potential to immortalize the fallen and the wounded through an immediate symbolism that lacked the internalization by which the cessation of the dead and the deficiency of the wounded (physical and mental) are acknowledged (this maybe the literary equivalent to what Seter called "immediate folklore"). Devoid of the sublimation of shock and mourning, and emptied of their emotional and contemplative content, the blood of Saul's armor bearer who informs his mother of the defeat turns in the poem into a decorative, repulsive-in-its-beauty, crimson (the symbolic blood of the people), which covers the mother's legs at whose feet the armor bearer subsequently collapses. But Alterman's inversion becomes automatic, swift, and declarative, as the mother (yet another immediate symbol standing-in for the nation) orates in a near emotionless manner that a people beaten on its soil "would rise sevenfold."⁴¹

A decade later, however, Yehudah Amichai's poem "Hamelekh Shaul ve'ani" (King Saul and I, 1958) sounded very different. Using King Saul as "a contrasting backdrop against which the speaker defines his otherness" (as Miron remarks),⁴² the latter appears as a tired man entrenched in his bed, which he likens to his kingdom: "I am tired, / My bed is my kingdom. / My sleep is my justice / My dream, a verdict."⁴³ Neither romantic agony, nor stoic courage, nor identifying with or recoiling from Saul's horrible heroic

death is on display. Amichai contrasts Saul's wild energy, uncontained strength, and egoistic and relentless insistence on royal prerogatives with the almost exact opposite qualities of his speaker:⁴⁴ if the king's heartbeats "pound like hammers in a new construction," the speaker's heartbeats are likened to a leaking faucet; if Saul's arms are like armor chains in the harbor, the speaker's arms are too thin and too short. But of the two it is the speaker who inadvertently finds the asses Saul had been sent to retrieve, while they kick the speaker who does not know how to handle them.⁴⁵ If the asses are metonyms for the unmanageable disheveled reality of the early statehood years and the legacy left by the golden dream of kingship, then aggrandizement of the king's qualities is undermined by the shadowy texts that relate to his reign. Amichai's juxtapositions carry the effect of both overt literalism and the deflating of the sacred in an associative logic that Ziva Shamir dubs "delayed understanding."⁴⁶ Yet these procedures do not push toward a synthesis of any sort, but rather form an unstable mixture in which a dissimilarity of imagery is underscored as much as it concurrently undergoes deconstruction. Poetic components therefore enrich familiar portrayals through figurative, analytical, and Midrashic commentary, disclosing the inorganic and the chaotic while unrecognizably expanding the particles' semantic fields, which Amichai knowingly leaves undisciplined.⁴⁷ Amichai's intertextual agency thus amounts to a resignifying that confers a disobedient response to statist interpellations but is nevertheless inextricably linked to their discursive functionality. And yet, what Amichai brings back to his vocabulary, following disarticulations and startling collocations that require leafing through concordances,⁴⁸ does not end with a discrete series of speech acts in relation to statist language, but rather expands the discourse to a "ritual chain of resignifications whose origin and end remain unfixed and unfixable," signaling, as Judith Butler writes, that "agency begins where sovereignty wanes."⁴⁹ And it is this waning that constitutes Amichai and Tal's deflations.

Despite Tal's embeddedness in the biblocentric discourse and the national rewritings of Saul's demise, his use of a primary biblical source stripped of oversized national fonts was a constituent violation of Hebrewist paradigms that colored *Saul at Ein-Dor* in its entirety. Knowingly aiming at the human tragedy behind Saul's demise, Tal employed periodic signals governed by post-tonal arrays that substituted representational paradigms with a self-referential cellular context consisting mostly of 016/056 sets (the intervallic content of a perfect fourth and a tritone). These cells acquire motivic qualities through myriad projections of their intervallic properties while undergoing modifications that do not abrogate traditional compositional tools and formations.⁵⁰ At the same time, periodic signals emerge and remain identifiable despite unsystematic incremental expansions, decremental contractions, near transpositions, and near inversions that are saturated enough throughout the musical score to generate directionality. Amid these continuously transitioning schemes, Tal managed to decenter biblocentrism and render his setting impenetrable to mimesis and extrovert semiotics that could relegate cellular elasticity to representational paradigms and other stand-ins for the nation. Add to that the fact that this was an opera concertante, and the setting as a whole becomes almost an ideologically indifferent psychological drama that continuously deflates national references and shuns transcendence.

Still, deflation of this kind was not an empty soundboard; employing a biblical linguistic register colonized by the state was also an act of biblical literalism—one that Tal pushes to the point of reductionism, as his deflation negates nationalist adulations and renders inoperative assertions of meaningfulness in Saul's death. Tal's low panoramic view generates inner referential projections pertaining to the psyches of his protagonists, with occasional intervening musical commentaries: these include incremental and decremental transformations around 016/056 sets that gradually color the horror shared by Saul and the ghostwife, or the inner references pertaining to the difference between what is being said and what is known in the dialogue unfolding between these two protagonists. But as far as King Saul is concerned, his appearance on Tal's compositional planes arises from an interpellation, the repetition of which (according to Butler) announces the Hebrewist circumscribed field of linguistic possibilities at the gap between redundancy and repetition.⁵¹ Put differently, Tal's agency becomes a reformulated disobedient reiteration that is nevertheless caught in the ideological apparatus. Which means that the negation embedded in regard to the biblocentric discourse marks Tal's simultaneity of adjacency and oppositionality, beginning with his importation of Schoenbergian serialism to British Palestine and employment of cellular harmony in works written in the 1930s and 1940s—works that epitomized his conscious attempt to avoid mechanisms of signification.

Tal's pairing of nonrepresentational aesthetic and post-tonal devices alongside nationalized theological topoi does not necessarily attest to his familiarity with contemporaneous anti-Romantic poetic formulations of this period (Amichai's deflations of biblocentrism, for example), but it is the connectivity of these elements "circulating inside tiny conduits," as Latour writes, that amount to a "trail of associations" of heterogeneous components that follow the actors themselves so as to learn from them "what the collective existence has become in their hands."⁵² And so rather than staging formations in which actors are made to fit in a privileged group (which in the annals of Israeli art music also concerns the somewhat positivistic attempts to partition composers according to generational affiliations),⁵³ they should be assembled as pulsating networks of actors' own ways, starting with the "traces left behind by the their activity of forming and dismantling groups,"⁵⁴ and continuing, in this case, with Tal's oeuvre from the mid-1930s and through the mid-1950s, where a steady consolidation of syntactic linearity destabilizes national constructs while still remaining within their aesthetic orbit.

Such simultaneities anticipated anti-Romanticist readings of North African and Near Eastern Jewish musical traditions in the 1950s. Readings of this kind were announced by Seter's previously discussed *Motets*, yet in Abel Ehrlich's 1953 *Bashrav* for solo violin they appeared devoid of redemptive commitments and immediate national signifiers. Turning to the properties of Eastern music, *Bashrav* records Ehrlich's adaptation of the Ottoman *peşrev*, whose rondo-like form shaped both the simulation of maqāmīc principles (quartertunes included) and periodic signals that functioned as the *peşrev*'s ritornello and which Ehrlich configured as an incrementally growing cell evolving into a synthetic maqam. The core of this ritornello is palpably displayed at the very opening of the work—a two-note cell descending from G to F-sharp (Example 2.4). This modest

EXAMPLE 2.4 Abel Ehrlich, *Bashrav* (1953) for violin solo, mm. 1–40. Copyright © 2006 by Israel Music Institute. All rights reserved. International copyrights secured.

Moderato

sul G *mf* *molto* *f* *f* *mf* sul D *sub. p*
non vib. *dim.* *mp*
f *energico* *mf*
p *sfz poco* *mp* *un poco più mosso* *with intensity* *pp*
più mosso *D* *f* *energico*
mp *w. intens.* *A* *mp* *f*
mf *più mf* *f* *sfz* *f*

intervallic content would shape periodic appearances and reappearances of the ritornello in diverse layouts, projections, and permutations, without renouncing the function of this unit within the larger form.

Having considered serial practices from Schoenberg to Messiaen to be the equivalent of artistic quests in Israel, Ehrlich argued that local artistic undertakings were neither “provincial chauvinist isolationism” nor “reactionary entrenchments,” but rather manifestations of prioritizing local Eastern melodic and rhythmic properties. And he was very specific: With “Eastern melodic properties” Ehrlich referred to transcriptions of Jewish musical traditions found in the first four volumes of *HOM* (namely, Yemenite, Babylonian, Persian, Bukharan, Dagestani, and Oriental Sephardi Jewish musical traditions). Interested in the mechanism of these traditions’ recitatives rather than the fixity of biblical tropes, he discerned motifs that revolve around an axis tone, expanding incrementally to include two to three tones for the entire array, and spawning new motifs while maintaining ties with the primary nucleus.⁵⁵

Ehrlich applied this mechanism to rhythmic irregularities and subsequent asymmetrical accentuations. Rhythm, he maintained, could be employed autonomously, independent of pitch, and develop in the manner of theme and variations, or become

a separate part in a two-part texture wherein its timbres and rhythmic configurations would not be constrained by the rhythm of the melody (harmony, subsequently, becomes the product of joining these planes). By applying such musical attributes in both musical pedagogy and compositional practice, he wrote, “we abandon the field of folklore and begin experimenting.” And like Seter, this decision, too, relegated harmony to be the mere outcome of joined melodic planes and rhythmic modes: “In music that draws only on melodic and rhythmic features,” Ehrlich added, “the ‘what’ of every part is far more important than the total amassed sound. . . . such music would be first and foremost a polyphony in which the intervals between the voices cease to be a problem.” And so regardless of whether these edifices featured perfect intervals, permutating aggregates, or heterophonic textures, the melodic material was to remain equal to the harmonic one: “It is high time we extracted ourselves from the fossilized situation that endangers contemporary Israeli music and turn our back to cheap and shallow optimism,” he wrote.⁵⁶

All this was on display in the intervallic information of *Bashrav*'s ritornello. Orbiting around a G axis, its half-step descent is inverted within four measures (Example 2.4) prior to commuting to A, A-flat, B, and C, and before gravitating back to G through yet another inversion of the ritornello (Example 2.4, mm. 5–9). The new melodic element in measure 10 breaks away from the intervallic content of the ritornello with its ascent from G to D, and F, and finally to a G three-quarter flat. At once this phrase manifests a melodic hyperbole whose gravitation to C inverts the ritornello (Example 2.4, mm. 16–17) and shifts the G axis microtonally, thereby refashioning its descent to F (Example 2.4, mm. 12–13); quartertones, in other words, expand here the scope of cellular permutations. After concatenating the intervallic information of the ritornello through measure 30, a two-part texture ensues. Centered on D, this texture reorchestrates elements that earlier were displayed linearly while gravitating to diverse vertical and horizontal variants of the ritornello. And if the ritornello is differentiated from the couplets by its intervallic content (0, -1 and +7, +3, respectively), Ehrlich progressively infiltrates the latter with permutations of the ritornello, thereby steadily collapsing the differences between both sections (mm. 74–92).

Experiments of this kind with the linear properties of Eastern musics (be they Jewish or not) were inevitable in a culture that perpetuated tropes of return—no matter the discernable gap between Ehrlich's growing aloofness from national musical signifiers and the territorial infrastructure they sustained, and between Seter's theological-cum-national project. Both composers underscored the introversive, nonsignifying semiotics of their ethnographic imports and thus distanced their formulations from immediate symbolism and the territorial functions they had served. But as Seter's case shows, all that did not prevent him from duplicating redemptive national allegories through the 1960s, even when in 1966 he abandoned altogether the use of ethnographic materials, which at that stage he perceived as too extrovert and overtly marked, regardless of the permutations and abstractions he had applied on them. The outcome of this aesthetic choice further de-signified Seter's music; opting for a-thematic melodic proclamations while using the same mechanism that animated *Motets* and his 1961 *Tikun hatsot*, he

breathed life in a musical dramaturgy that used the most rudimentary components—intervals concatenated into monodies and recitatives, or aligned as chords—in two works from 1966, *Dithyramb* for twelve voices a cappella and the aforementioned *Jerusalem*. The latter work compiled biblical texts (mostly from Isaiah 40, 51, and 52), carving an unequivocally bold and redemptive account etched in biblocentrism and in accordance with Seter’s perception of the bible as the nation’s myth and collectivist ethos.⁵⁷ It would be the last time he would install such an allegory. Indeed, take out the compiled biblical texts from *Dithyramb* and *Jerusalem* and the precursory ring of Seter’s works from the 1970s becomes apparent, a ring wherein muted Hebrewist visions are substituted with intervallic soliloquies and synthetic modes are bereft of words.

RETURNS TO OTHER LANDS

By the early 1970s, the Hebrewist mechanism spawned returns to the ethnographic spaces in, around, and outside the State of Israel and to the histories that precede national identitarian earmarks. Concomitantly, other returns were becoming politically palpable: ultra-right-wing religious nationalists maximalized the literalist manner in which the Bible was read in earlier decades and shifted it toward messianic territorialism in the newly occupied territories in the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.⁵⁸ The abundance of incongruencies stemming at this point from biblocentrism, from the agency of non-Western Jewish musical traditions, and from the subsequent emergence of aesthetic hybrids stained by the theological infrastructure of Zionism, saw dialectical returns to Jewish diasporic pasts alongside imagery overproduction that could no longer serve national functions or abide by territorial nationalism. Returns to diasporic Jewish cultures attenuated immediate national symbolism as much as they anticipated the faltering of symbolization by their sheer pluralities. With the usurpation of diasporic Jewish cultures, national referents were progressively decentered and Hebrewist signifiers ceased to activate the national soundboard (and all the more so when toward the turn-of-the-twenty-first-century composers drew on adjacent non-Jewish soundscapes; seemingly this comes full circle with our discussion on “Moladeti,” but the variables that sustained Hebrewism during the statehood era were only partly operative in the early twenty-first century). All this was not commensurate with the thrust of latent messianism in the rank and file of religious Zionism and the subsequent creeping annexation of the occupied territories.

Several prophetic texts from the early 1950s had warned about the radical consequences of too close an overlap between theology and politics,⁵⁹ but it took the demise of the (Ashkenazi) political elite in whose image Hebrewism had been conceived, and the ideological vacuum this founding cohort found itself in during the 1970s, before religious Zionists could repurpose Hebrewist theological receptacles and infuse budding messianic ambitions.⁶⁰ Indeed, the hegemony’s failure to “modernize” Arab Jews (to redeem them from themselves, as it were) undermined the Zionist project of

Westernness through the growing visibility of diasporic alternatives that ultimately resituated Ashkenazy ethnicity. The latter's self-proclaimed universality now underwent *re-ethnicization* alongside additional Jewish collectives: Ashkenazim were placed *in relation* to other Jewish ethnicities (especially those located on the lower rungs of this hierarchy), thereby invalidating the assimilatory apparatus set up by this hegemony for correcting performances (or lack thereof) of Westernness.⁶¹

Compositions written during the 1970s evinced turns to the narrative leftovers of the materials from which Zionist myths were culled. These included post-biblical literatures that were excluded from the national allegory, and ultimately returns to premodern Ashkenazi diasporic cultures. The person to spell out these tensions most violently was Andre Hajdu, a Holocaust survivor who fled Hungary in 1956 to live and work in Paris (where he studied with Darius Milhaud and Olivier Messiaen) prior to immigrating to Israel in 1966 and becoming a *baal teshuvah*. Hajdu's early European works betray a non-sublimated deconstructive approach that jeers at socialist realism (against whose dictates he received his early musical training), but also at Western art music forms in addition to serial and post-serial compositional approaches. At the same time, the same modest compositional output resounded the disbelief of an ethnomusicologist, who, having trained with Zoltán Kodály, could meticulously transcribe his wildest (spasmatic) improvisatory impulses, but also critically assess the road traveled by ethnographic imports as they become artsy constructs. Hajdu's 1970 *Ludus Paschalis*—where Talmudic excerpts and psalmodic verses were gradually eclipsed and eventually stained by the singing of Christian children performing a mock Easter play—and his setting of *Mishnayot* (third-century redactions of Jewish oral traditions) began staging what Hebrewism had repressed. Having visualized the cultural and religious adjacencies of Jews and Christians while setting texts that undermined the Zionist management of Jewish history (including its denial of Jewish diasporas), Hajdu's returns to Europe (as a composer and an ethnographer) and to Judaism (as an observant Jew) were preoccupied neither with auto-exoticism nor with defamiliarization of post-World War II serialism. Rather, after conducting ethnographic fieldwork in Hasidic Jewish communities and institutions for advanced Talmudic studies (*kolelim*) in Israel, he ethnicized, or rather *re-ethnicized*, Ashkenazi Jewry by returning to the early stages of Western musical literacy, from which he could portray repressed ethnographic and liturgical adjacencies.

In *Ludus Paschalis*, Hajdu's penchant for non-sublimated formulations saw the staging of raw and unvarnished psychic energies in a seemingly unskillful heterophony of Jews and Christians in late medieval times. With no aesthetic debts to Hebrewism and its rhetorical constraints, Hajdu felt distanced from the ideological arguments held at the Israel Composers' League, especially since he saw no contradiction between the experience and loyalty to the land, and everything Jews had created in the Diaspora.⁶² The historicist mechanism at the basis of his writing, in other words, was not different from the Hebrewist return to origins (as was the Canaanites' idealization of a pre-monotheistic past, to give another example),⁶³ but the difference was crucial. Hajdu perceived both Judaism and Western existentialism as part of his "pioneer" vision,⁶⁴ having realized that the Israeli elite had been decentered and disoriented, while exilic experiences were

still too close and the “instinct to run away from them was strong” (and notice Hajdu’s striking offhand relabeling of what Figure 2.1 lists as “diaspora-negating rhetoric”),⁶⁵ he could now unload the imports that had been simmering within him since the late 1950s.

Set for a (Jewish) men’s choir (with occasional flickering solo parts), and a (Christian) boys’ choir whose members also play percussion instruments (bells, cymbals, whistle, rattle, bullroarer, small casserole, and side drums), *Ludus Paschalis* sought the ethnographic reproduction of the sonic spaces shared by Jews and Christians. A production inseparable from the autobiography of the composer-ethnomusicologist, the work set tractates from the Babylonian Talmud alongside passages from medieval Passions and Easter plays that called for the participation of impersonated Jews while sampling the Holy Week violence. Hajdu’s main source for such texts was Ernst August Schuler’s 1951 *Die Musik der Osterfeiern, Osterspiele und Passionen des Mittelalters*, in whose spirit of mock or corrupt Hebrew Hajdu took the liberty to further decontextualize several words and refashion others, amid a *gemore-nign* (Talmud melody), which he studied during an ethnographic fieldwork in Israel.⁶⁶ By fleshing out frictions of this kind, Hajdu’s main attention was given to the unsublimated and ultimately violent energies stemming from such religious and sonic adjacencies. Having interpreted Zionist diaspora-negating rhetoric as disingenuous, given the gap he discerned between national rhetoric and the ethnographic findings he had been exposed to in his ethnographic fieldwork, Hajdu staged what had been repressed in Hebrewism, namely the texts, musics, and temporalities of the Mishnah and the Talmud. Both were granted the status of a motif amid the staging of unwanted Christian contiguities. In addition to the blatantly non-biblocentric narrative and the performance of an Eastern European (exilic) soundscape that set Mishnaic Hebrew, *Ludus Paschalis* allowed neither Zionist diaspora-negating rhetoric nor “symptoms of a linear march toward intolerance” (in David Nirenberg’s words) to be easily converted into a territorial Zionist paradigm.⁶⁷ Hajdu was most likely the only person capable of transcribing such musics *about* Jews, while being indifferent to—and disinterested in—national compulsions. With this alone he accomplished the separation of Jewish ethnography from the iron grip of territorial nationalism.

Between 1972 and 1973 Hajdu set fifty-six Mishnaic tractates to music, returning not only to miniature forms (where he had always been at his best), but also to a temporality alien to Hebrewist paradigms. Being a collection of rabbinic traditions redacted at the beginning of the third century and mostly indifferent to Hebrew scriptures, the Mishnah did not lend itself to ideological commandeering. Indeed, it would cause puzzlement to someone who had never seen it before, as it provides contextless information and presents “disputes about facts hardly urgent outside a circle of faceless disputants,” while permitting only slight variation in its authorities’ patterns of language and speech, as authors do what they must to efface all traces of not only individuality, but also their participation in the formation of the document.⁶⁸ With no attempt to imitate biblical Hebrew or attribute its saying to biblical heroes, prophets, and holy men, the Mishnah “does not claim to emerge from a fresh encounter with God through revelation, as is not uncommon in Israelite writing of the preceding four hundred years.”⁶⁹ Being the foundation of the Babylonian and Palestinian Talmuds, the Mishnah’s descriptive rules

(dealing with agriculture rules, laws governing Sabbaths and festivals, laws on the transfer of women and property, a civic and criminal legal system, laws for conduct of the cult and the Temple, and laws on the preservation of cultic purity in the temple and under certain domestic circumstances)⁷⁰ were thus deemed inferior, not to say irrelevant, in a Zionist biblocentric discourse. The oral nature of the Mishnah's encyclopedic law code, Hajdu argued, took forms that were suggestive of folksongs, with characteristic symmetric phrases and rhyme schemes⁷¹ whose formulary units lent themselves to the staging of irregular phrasing corresponding to the variants of recurring cognitive units. In Hajdu's settings such structures are complemented by harmonic tessituras whose tonalities draw on various musics that remain contextually uncommitted—much like the Mishnah itself. Semiotically distancing his settings from constraining Jewish musical earmarks while relying on the Mishnah's lack of emotional context, Hajdu deemed his abundance of stylistic allusions, pastiches, and citations ethnographic raw materials; and through these rebranded raw materials he conveyed a remarkable openness to what was otherwise an assortment of cognitive units resorting to a "limited repertoire of formulary patterns" (according to Neusner).⁷² Hajdu's adamot subsequently not only manifested the temporalities and oralities denied by Hebrew culture, but also featured a radial musical view traversing through art, popular, folk, vernacular, and post-vernacular musics whose animation of Mishnaic tractates defied the identitarian signifiers that sustained Zionist territorialism by mere multiplication.

“EPPUR SI MUOVE”

The last two works to be discussed here in this network of Hebrewism (including its adamot) and the meanings its key variables have accrued and lost were written by Betty Olivero and Chaya Czernowin. Both received their undergraduate training at the Tel Aviv University Music Academy in the late 1970s (Olivero) and early 1980s (Czernowin) during a post-ideological age that author Yaakov Shabtai had meticulously recorded in his 1977 novel *Past Continuous*.⁷³ Both had close acquaintance with Ehrlich's undisciplined linearity (and aloofness from Zionism), with Seter's disillusionment with the nationalization of the theological, and with Hajdu's unsublimated ethnographic deconstructions. The aesthetic penchants Olivero and Czernowin have been developing since the 1980s and cannot be considered apart from the aftermath of the key variables of Hebrewism shown in Figure 2.1, particularly due to their demonstrably dissimilar compositional approaches. Because rather than resistance to these variables, whose spiritual dominance has already become dim and their ideological grip frail, a sense of disbelief in such constructs has led these two composers to render Hebrewism and its territorial corollaries irrelevant and hence ideologically invalid. Indeed, the overt political content of more than three decades of statehood discloses a gap between the Zionist commitment to Westernness and the reality of its social structure, which had been dominated by the state itself and the Labor movement. But if the statist subject