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PREFACE

When in March 1977 I came to Israel to pursue a research project on Hebrew psalmody, I did not know that I was entering a field that had been almost untouched by systematic empirical research.

This was due to the fact that psalm-reading, although a rather popular and widespread custom in the context of synagogal life, does not belong to the nucleus of musically skilled practices such as the Torah-reading, the singing of *piyyûṭîm* or the more elaborated prayer-tunes.

The first person I met in Israel was Prof. Edith Gerson-Kiwi, the well-known pioneer of Jewish ethnomusicology. She referred me to Prof. Israel Adler, Director of the Hebrew University Jewish Music Research Centre, who at that time was also head of the Department of Musicology. Prof. Adler persuaded me to enter the Hebrew University as an M.A. student, so that my research project could be incorporated into the M.A. framework. This gave me the opportunity to discuss my project with many specialists in ethnomusicology, who became my teachers such as Amnon Shiloah, Ruth Katz, Dalia Cohen, Bathia Bayer, and others. A very important part of the recordings was made during a field research workshop organised by the Department of Musicology in collaboration with the Jewish Music Research Centre and the National Sound Archives of the Jewish National and University Library, held in Netivot in 1979. In 1980 I began to write my M.A. thesis under the guidance of Prof. Israel Adler.

The present work is based on my M.A. thesis, which was completed in 1981: *Die Hebräische Psalmodie, Ihr Verhältnis zu Text und Akzenten des Psalters — eine strukturale Untersuchung, dargestellt anhand der mündlichen Überlieferung einiger orientalischer Gemeinden in Israel.* Since then my knowledge widened and I learned to present more precisely the two main achievements of this research work: a) the establishment of a methodology dealing simultaneously with written (paleographic) and oral (ethnomusicological) sources; b) the deciphering of the poetical accent system (*ta'amê emet*).

I am indebted to the Evangelisches Studienwerk Villigst. Without their financial support my four years of study in Israel (1977–1981) would not have been possible.

Among the many people who helped me in my research work I would like to single out Avigdor Herzog, former director of the National Sound Archives at the Jewish National and University Library, and his assistant Ruth Freed, who enabled me to find all references to recordings of psalm singing.

My gratitude is especially due to Prof. Israel Adler, who painstakingly checked my work. We went through the text together word by word and it was he who discovered the surprising parallel between a psalm tune I recorded and transcribed from the Djerba tradition and *barûḵ hag-gever*, the oldest notated source of traditional Jewish music. This finding supported my hypothesis that the oral tradition of today can be brought into relation with the poetical accent system formed 1000 years ago. Furthermore, Prof. Adler contributed to the discovery of psalmodic trichotomy, a principle that underlies Hebrew psalmody's independence from the Gregorian model.

I would also like to thank all the friends and colleagues who prepared the English edition. My appreciation is due to Mark Bruce for the translation from the German, and especially to Lea Shalem for editing the text. She checked and re-checked it, added the glossary and completed the bibliography. Many problems of liturgical terminology were solved with the help of Prof. Eliyahu Schleifer. Edwin Seroussi oversaw the engraving of the musical examples, which were carried out by Svetlana Gordon. Mira Reich re-read the text from the point of view of stylistic consistency.

Reinhard Flender

INTRODUCTION

Terminology

The term "Hebrew psalmody" is a new construction which must first be defined. Psalmody means the singing of psalms. However, this general expression, derived from the Greek (Ψσαλμος), received a specific theoretical foundation in the early Middle Ages, based on the practice of the Roman Catholic Church. This theory laid down four structural elements: *Initium, Tenor* (recitation tone), *Mediant*, and *Finalis*. Latin psalmody possesses eight different models of these structural elements, known as psalm tones (Wagner 1921:83f.).

When at the beginning of this century the various oral traditions of the Oriental Jews became known to researchers in Jewish music, a marked relationship was discovered between these traditions and the written tradition of Gregorian Chant (Idelsohn 1922c; Werner 1959; Werner 1962). This relationship between Roman Catholic church music and oriental Jewish music, particularly with regard to the psalmody, has been further investigated by E. Gerson-Kiwi (1967) and Herzog and Hajdu (1968). The application of the theoretical model of Latin psalmody to Hebrew psalmody proved to be a useful analytical instrument, and the definition of psalmody as it developed in medieval theory will therefore be adopted in this work. At the same time, I am conscious of the inherent weaknesses of inferences from Gregorian to Hebrew psalmody. The Jewish tradition does not contain a term corresponding to "psalmody". Hebrew usage is limited to the descriptive expression *liqrô' tehillîm*, where *liqrô'* means both "to read" and "to call out". Furthermore, no independent theory was developed for the liturgical recitation in the synagogue. As Israel Adler remarks: "La psalmodie juive n'a jamais donné lieu à une systématisation semblable à celle du chant byzantin ou du plaint chant romain, ni en ce qui concerne les tons ou les modes, ni en ce qui concerne les formes d'exécution." (Adler 1980)

However, would a theoretical formalization of Hebrew psalmody be at all useful? Do we not distort the original material of Hebrew melodies by forcing them into analytical categories which do not do justice to their true nature? In this work, I have sought to forestall this critique in describing Hebrew psalmody not as an autonomous musical system, but rather in its relationship to the text and the

accents. My object is not to articulate a theory of the phenomenon of Hebrew psalmody in itself, but rather a theory of the manner in which relationships to text, accents, and liturgy are formed. Within this methodological framework the use of the Latin terminology seems expedient; it helps to limit the abundance of Hebrew material. The diversity of recitation forms in the Hebrew tradition is incalculable, since in the two thousand years of handing down of the oral tradition within the Jewish diaspora communities, new styles and forms of recitation were continually developing. However, there is evidence for the assumption that the recitations displaying a two-part melody form belong to a very old stratum of the tradition. This assumption is supported not so much by elements in Gregorian psalmody, but rather because this dichotomy can be shown in the psalm texts, and it also forms the basic structure of the biblical accent system. For this reason, only those recitation forms that display such a dichotomy, i.e. that obey the *etnaḥtā* are included in the definition of Hebrew psalmody as employed in this work, for only such a definition can provide a foundation for the structural comparison of oral psalmodies from diverse traditions. Of course, a plurality of psalm-like and otherwise structured recitation forms exists besides the material thus strictly defined. Nevertheless, the psalmodic element is remarkably dominant in the Jewish tradition, pointing to the great age of the Hebrew psalmody, and thus the antiquity of its oral tradition.

Through historical sources we can trace the evolution of the texts, the accents, and the liturgy, but not that of the psalmody itself. The musical modifications to which the psalmodic oral tradition was and still is subjected, cannot be historically verified, but the musical realization is always bound to the text (*textus receptus*). The performance practice of Hebrew psalmody is very free, especially with regard to the musical parameters. The binding element is the structure of the text. Thus, Hebrew psalmody falls into the category of music that C. Sachs designates as *logogen* (Sachs 1943:41) that is, a music determined by language (*Sprachmusik*), and not a musical language (*Musiksprache*).

For this type of speech-music, I have employed the term "recitation", although I am conscious of its ambiguity. The literature on this subject also employs the term "cantillation", which looks more definitive, but is misleading because of its Latin meaning, "to sing", as opposed to the original meaning of recitation, "to read aloud", which more nearly approaches the Hebrew expression *liqrô'*.[1]

1 In her essay "La cantilation des rituels chrétiens", S. Corbin (1961) makes the useful distinction between cantillation, which relates to the recitation of the prose texts, and psalmody, the recitation method of the poetical texts.

Methodology — Hebrew Psalmody and Structuralism

Since the beginning of the modern Zionist movement, and especially since the founding of the State of Israel in 1948, a multiplicity of traditions of the Jewish diaspora communities has come together in Israel. For researchers in musicology, this phenomenon has presented the opportunity to study hitherto unknown oral traditions for the intonation of Old Testament texts. The investigation of Hebrew psalmody, especially as it was handed down orally in the oriental Jewish communities, has received particular prominence, especially in the work of Idelsohn, Werner and Gerson-Kiwi. Their research into the Jewish psalmody traditions revealed important links to Gregorian psalmody. Thus, research in this area at first undertook to compare the Gregorian repertory with that of oriental Jewish music.

In the present work, however, the phenomenon of Hebrew psalmody is viewed from a different perspective, tracing the *oral* tradition of the psalms as passed on in the oriental Jewish communities back to the *written* tradition, as established by the Tiberian Masoretes.

The reference from the oral to the written tradition is of great importance for the understanding of Hebrew psalmody, for the connections are very close. Indeed, when closely examined, the interrelations between the oral and written traditions prove to be of such complexity that they cannot be separated into autonomous entities. Therefore, our fundamental hypothesis is that Hebrew psalmody is a system in which the written and oral traditions merge to form a symbiosis. It follows, first, that both the oral and the written traditions must be analysed *simultaneously,* which entails serious consequences for the methodological procedure; secondly, that the text of the psalms must display criteria that determine the necessity of the oral tradition; and, finally, that the oral tradition must display criteria that make it dependent on the text.

Thus, to provide an introduction to the complex phenomenon of Hebrew psalmody, we must employ an *interdisciplinary* research method which covers the texts, the accents, the liturgy, and the recitation as elements brought into relation by the psalmody. An applicable model for such methodology in interdisciplinary research can be derived from structuralism. The structural approach, derived from new methods in linguistics (François de Saussure) and used by Claude Lévi-Strauss, has been applied, extended to, and elaborated in nearly every field of the humanities and the social sciences (e.g. Jean Piaget in psychology and Roland Barthes in literary criticism). This method has been adapted in recent years to Old Testament research (Bovon & Barthes 1971; Koch 1976) and musicology (Arom, Nattiez, Ruwet).

Structuralism originated as a reaction to nineteenth century historicism. The Swiss linguist François de Saussure departed from the historically determined view of language according to which a language was considered defined when it could be placed within a historical process, in favour of a functional view of language in its "wholeness". The diachronic view of language was replaced by a "synchronic" view:

> Der strukturale Gesichtspunkt ist so global dem genetischen Gesichtspunkt entgegengesetzt. Er vereinigt in sich zugleich die Idee der Synchronie (der Priorität des Sprachzustandes vor der Geschichte), die Idee des Organismus (die Sprache als globale Einheit, die Teile entwickelt) und schliesslich die Idee der Kombination oder des Kombinatoriums (die Sprache als eine endliche Ordnung unterschiedlicher Einheiten). (G. Schiwy 1969:17)

It is certainly no accident that the structural idea found its best-known expression in the work of Claude Lévi-Strauss, who successfully applied the method to Amerindian mythology. The oral traditions of tribal culture defy any attempt at historical analysis. On the other hand, they do not represent a petrified, static repetition of an identical object, but rather a living, organic entity, subject to continual change and variation. Lévi-Strauss indeed compares Amerindian mythology with a symphony whose unwritten score represents a structure subject to continually new performances in the oral tradition.

Structuralism has repeatedly and consciously employed musical terminology ("On peut comparer la langue à une symphonie dont la réalité est indépendante de la manière dont on l'exécute...', Saussure 1972:36). This is not an arbitrary metaphor. Music is always bound to a performance, that is, to a certain time span. This "temporality" of music is, however, not historical. A history of music exists since the development of notation, but a performance of Beethoven's Ninth symphony in the time span of an hour is not historical, but synchronic. Simha Arom has pointed out that the problems dealt with in musicological research run parallel to those in linguistics:

> "Comme le langage, la musique, pour se manifester, a recours à la dimension temporelle. Comme le langage, la musique est une 'combinaison variée de signes récurrents'. Dans la monodie vocale, le langage, bien qu'à des niveaux d'importance différents, est presque toujours présent. C'est pourquoi les méthodes mises au point par la linguistique structurale peuvent être utiles, tantôt pour servir de modèle, tantôt pour permettre de vérifier une intuition, mais toujours comme jalons pour la réflexion." (Arom 1974:391)

The investigation of language, as it is spoken, and music, as it is played, is in both cases dependent on a time factor subjecting their external forms of appearance to perpetually new variations. Speech is always an improvised act, i.e. each word that is spoken is decided only out of the *action* of speaking. Exactly the same is true of the act of reciting the psalms in the Jewish tradition. Only the concrete situation in which the worshipper brings text, accentuation, and liturgy into association produces the psalmody in its musical manifestation. Thus, the musical manifestation exists as a realization of a non-musical structure formed by text, accentuation, and liturgy in the medium of the psalmody. In the light of this situation, it is understandable why the Jewish tradition never systematized the musical performance of the psalms, because this would have closed the open character of the psalmody and interfered with the communication between worshipper and text. The improvisational, variable character of Hebrew psalmody does not mean, however, that the psalm as a realization of text and accentuation would be arbitrarily performed in the liturgy. On the contrary, just as every figured bass, no matter how freely performed, is subject to numerous rules and requirements, so the Hebrew psalmody is subject to various laws of realization. For this reason, the aim of this study is to describe the *function* of the psalmody as a whole, and not to offer a survey of all of its possible musical performances.

However, the structural analysis of Hebrew psalmody poses a fundamental problem, which arises from the fact that we have to deal simultaneously with an *oral* and a *written* tradition. Hebrew psalmody differs from orally transmitted folk-songs or myths in that it is based on a source which is fixed in writing, the masoretic text, whose historical origin is known. Adler has justly remarked "that Jewish musical traditions cannot really be considered as essentially 'oral', since their most significant part is organically linked to classical sacred texts, which provide a unifying element between the various traditions." (Adler 1982:21) Thus, Jewish music is partly removed from the field of ethnomusicology, and stands with one foot in the field of Old Testament research and Judaic studies.

The methodological problems confronting this inquiry into Hebrew psalmody are similar to those facing the linguist investigating language.[2] Language breaks down

2 Cf. the definition of the structural concept according to J. Piaget: "En première approximation, une structure est un système de transformation, qui comporte des lois en tant que système (par opposition aux propriétés des éléments) et qui se conserve ou s'enrichit par le jeu même de ses transformations, sans que celles-ci aboutissent en dehors de ses frontières ou fassent appel à des éléments exterieurs. En un mot, une structure comprend ainsi les trois caractères de totalité, de transformations et d'autoréglage." (Piaget 1974:6-7)

into two forms, writing and speech. Both belong to the phenomenon "language", which guarantees their unity (*totalité*). Both manifestations of language arrive at a system which can be formalized for writing as philology and for speech as phonology. Speech can be transformed to writing and vice versa (*transformation*), without recourse to elements outside the language (*autoréglage*). We face a similar problem: the duality of the structures involved in the written and oral traditions. While in the case of the oral tradition the communication takes place synchronically, that is, speaker and listener must communicate *simultaneously*, the written tradition is bound to a diachronic time span, the modifications of the written text taking place over a much longer period of time.

The concepts of synchrony and diachrony are of central importance for the structural method. While the diachronic aspect, in the form of historical research, can draw on the wide-ranging experience gathered in the course of its development, the synchronic aspect of the tradition lacks such experience. Further, the investigation of the oral tradition is subject to the particular difficulties of objectification. The element of simultaneity entails the fact that, in the instant it is realized, every manifestation of the recitation is already a thing of the past. Thus, for instance, the melody patterns of everyday speech are difficult to objectify because they are different for every speaker, although this in no way implies that every speaker is not subconsciously influenced by the melody patterns of his native tongue. In dealing with Hebrew psalmody, the additional difficulty arises that the diachronic aspect of the text is extended to almost unsurveyable proportions. The author and the reader are separated by at least two thousand years. This enormous span of time renders the possibility of historical reconstruction of the original sound of psalmody questionable. Only the synchronic aspect enables us to proceed, for the Hebrew text has been passed on from generation to generation in a continuously recited oral tradition. However, here too, the problem of the significance of such an oral tradition for a two thousand year old text arises, since only its most recent offshoots can be examined.

While the evolution of Hebrew psalmody's oral tradition is beyond empirical analysis, the psalmody as the result of a symbiosis of oral and written traditions can be subject to empirical investigation. The central question of this inquiry is then: what are the elements that have made this symbiosis of written and oral traditions possible?

We are confronted with the fact that this symbiosis is prevalent in the Jewish tradition; all religious texts — the entire Old Testament, Talmud, and the Zohar —

are chanted; not only in the synagogue service, but also in the traditional Jewish school systems, the *ḥeder* and *yešîvah*.[3]

A structural investigation of the Hebrew psalmody can thus be seen as a step towards the development of a theoretical model through which the phenomenon of the symbiosis of the oral and written elements in the Jewish tradition can be grasped.

Transliteration

The transliteration of Hebrew follows the code of the International Organization for Standardization (ISO), with certain modifications. Biblical names are not transliterated but given in the English form according to the Authorized Version of the Bible. Names of Jewish holy days which have a generally accepted English form, are usually not transliterated but are given according to the spelling in *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary*.

3 The recitation of the Mishnah has been extensively treated in a study recently published by Frank Alvarez-Pereyre (Alvarez-Pereyre 1990).

PART ONE
THE WRITTEN TRADITION OF HEBREW PSALMODY

CHAPTER 1: THE PSALM TEXT

The Structural Concept of the Text

Structural literary criticism, as founded by Roland Barthes, has shown convincingly that the text and its reception form a unity. In his work, *Le plaisir du texte*, Barthes describes this structural unity of text and reader. The reading is the condition for the existence of the text. Through the act of reading, the text is transformed from an object into an event, and the reception becomes a constituitive element of the text's existence. Barthes distinguishes the following stages of reception (Barthes 1970):

(1) "*L'évaluation*...Ce que l'évaluation trouve, c'est cette valeur-ci: ce qui peut être aujourd'hui écrit (ré-écrit): le scriptible" (p.10).
(2) "*L'interprétation*...Interpréter un texte, ce n'est pas lui donner un sens (plus ou moins fondé, plus ou moins libre), c'est au contraire apprécier de quel pluriel il est fait" (p.11).
(3) "*La connotation*...La connotation est un sens second, dont le signifiant est lui-même constitué par un signe ou système de signification premier, qui est la dénotation ..." (p.13). "La connotation est la voie d'accès à la polysémie du texte classique, à ce pluriel limité que fonde le texte classique" (p.14).
(4) "*La lecture*...Il n'y a pas d'autre preuve d'une lecture que la qualité et l'endurance de sa systématique; autrement dit: que son fonctionnement. Lire en effet, est un travail de langage" (p.17).

Barthes's reflections are characterized especially by the aspect of synchrony. The evaluation, interpretation, comprehension and understanding of a text are synchronic processes of the communication between the reader and the text. This structure of communication applies generally to the reception of any text at any time, but the results may be quite varied at different times. This is the case, for instance, with the psalms. Historical critical research shows clearly that the text of the psalms is open to numerous possibilities of understanding. Although at first confusing, this perspective will help to illuminate the nature of the psalm text. The plurality which

is typically characteristic of a classical text is in the end revealed to be a sign of quality. The static text concept which traditional philology attached to classical texts gives way to a dynamic concept, as developed by structural criticism.

The structural concept of the text thus provides a foundation on the basis of which Hebrew psalmody can be portrayed as a specific method of reading.

The Book of Psalms in its Historical Development

The psalms evolved over a period of about one thousand years, passing through totally different social, cultural, and religious stages of development. Is it at all possible, in view of this enormous time span, to speak of the unity of the psalm text?

The question we pose here is that of the synchrony or the diachrony of the text. In analyzing the text of the psalms as a concept, these central ideas of structuralism form a crucial antithesis. On the one hand, we know from the historical-critical research that the psalms were composed over a great length of time; on the other, the Book of Psalms is totally lacking in indications or signs of a chronological order, and we find rather the redactors' definite effort to present the texts as a synchronic unity. Over half the psalms (73) are ascribed to David, or are associated with some episode in his life (cf. Ps. 3, 7, 18, 34, 51, 52, 54, 56, 57, 59, 60, 63). The tendency to "synchronize" the texts of the Old Testament, that is to mould them into a literary unity, is evident not only in the psalms, but represents a constant tendency in the canonization of the Old Testament as a whole.[4] A forceful redactional re-working can be observed functioning as a central element in the synchronization of the Old Testament. We know that nearly all the Old Testament writings were composed out of several interwoven sources, such as the Yahweh and Elohim sources in Genesis. This differentiation, famous in the history of biblical scholarship, has also been applied to the psalms. Thus one refers to the Yahwistic (Ps. 1-14, 84-150) and Elohistic Psalms (Ps. 42-83).

In the redactional process, older and newer transmissions were directly combined even when the difference in age between two sources was considerable (cf. Ps. 19).

4 Cf. M. Buber, afterword to his translation of the psalms into German: "Die hebräische Bibel will als *ein* Buch gelesen werden, so dass keiner ihrer Teile in sich beschlossen bleibt, vielmehr jeder auf jeden offengehalten wird; sie will ihrem Leser als Ein Buch in solcher Intensität gegenwärtig werden, dass er beim Lesen oder Rezitieren einer gewichtigen Stelle die auf sie beziehbaren, insbesondere die ihr sprachidentischen, sprachnahen oder sprachverwandten erinnert und sie alle einander erleuchten und erläutern, sich miteinander zu einer Sinneinheit, zu einem nicht ausdrücklich gelehrten, sondern dem Wort immanenten, aus seinen Bezügen und Entsprechungen hervortauchenden Theologumenon zusammenschliessen." (Buber 1962:211-212)

Untersuchung (Hamburg 1967). This work marks a promising new beginning in an area of scholarship previously characterized by a "hopeless" lack of success. Two fundamental obstacles stand in the way of the study of the music of ancient Israel:

(1) In general, very little is known about the music of the ancient world. Even the highly developed music of ancient Greece has been preserved almost only as theory, and the sources relating to the actual character of its sound are very scarce. In the case of the ancient music of Israel, however, not even theory has reached us, and the source material which can be taken from the Old Testament is limited to reports of the instrumentation and melodies (in the psalm-titles), and a few musical or liturgical *termini technici*, whose precise meaning has for the most part remained unclear.

(2) We must view the music of ancient Israel in the context of oriental music history. Just as the Old Testament grew out of the context of ancient Middle Eastern literary history, so it is possible to draw similar parallels for the religious music in the Temple of Jerusalem. However, a fuller understanding of oriental music developed relatively late in the field of musicology, and only after the invention of the phonograph did the discipline of ethnomusicology attain a degree of independence.

Although these obstacles, seeming to be insurmountable in the study of the ancient music of Israel in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, are today still far from being overcome, we nevertheless possess a much clearer idea of the music of the great ancient cultures than we did a hundred years ago. H. Hickmann devoted life-long research to the study of Egyptian music, which has been preserved in pictorial reports. Substantial progress has been made in the identification of instruments mentioned in the Old Testament, thanks to the work of C. Sachs and especially B. Bayer's music-archeological studies (Bayer 1963). Our understanding of the foundations of oriental Arabic music has been strengthened by Farmer's and Shiloah's source studies.

The most far-reaching impact, however, has resulted from the comparative study of the oral traditions of Jewish music, as initiated by A. Z. Idelsohn. This field of study, which has grown into the independent discipline of Jewish ethnomusicology, does not promise to solve the mystery of the music in the Temple of Jerusalem, but it does afford insights as to the practice of the oral tradition within that of the synagogue.[30]

30 As we shall see, only the simple psalmody for the recitation of the Book of Psalms has been preserved in most of the diaspora communities, while the ancient melodies, which certainly existed at the time of the Second Temple, have not survived. Only in remote communities in Yemen and Kurdistan can forms of communal psalm singing still be found (cf. p. 111).

As we have shown in several places in the first part of this work, the tradition of the synagogue goes back deep into biblical times, and the specific connection between text, accents, and liturgy, as seen in the pheonomenon of Hebrew psalmody, is rooted in the institutional conception of the synagogue.

In the next chapter, therefore, we will examine the history of the study of Jewish ethnomusicology, in order to move on to an independent empirical study of Hebrew psalmody.

Literary Sources for the Performance Practice of Hebrew Psalmody

From the text of the Psalms themselves we can infer that the congregation answered with the interjection "amen" after the completion of the psalm recitation (Ps. 106:48). This agrees with the description in Chronicles (1 Chron. 16:36). This performance practice most probably originated in the period of the second Temple.

We can further conclude from Nehemiah 12:40 that an antiphonal psalm performance practice existed at the time of the construction of the second Temple. This practice, however, may be considerably older, going back to the time of the first Temple, or to an old oriental performance practice. The textual structure of Ps. 24, for instance, which most probably goes back to an ancient Temple liturgy, suggests a performance with two choirs.[31]

This evidence from the Old Testament is followed by a series of talmudic documents which discuss the performance of the *hallel*. After Idelsohn (1929b: 20-21), Avenary summarized these sources in his article "Formal Structure of Psalms and Canticles in Early Jewish and Christian Chant". He came to the conclusion that "the various kinds of Jewish psalmody arose altogether from one formal principle: the confrontation of soloist and choir (Responsorial Psalmody)." (Avenary 1963a:3; see also Avenary 1958)

31 The basic poetical form of the *parallelismus membrorum* may thus probably not be viewed as a purely literary invention, but as closely connected to the specific structure of ancient oriental music from the very beginning. It must be noted, however, that antiphonal performance practice is first documented for the era of the Second Temple, and that, as is clear from Gen. 4:23, one of the oldest songs in the Old Testament, solo psalmody preceded antiphonal. Nevertheless, the *parallelismus membrorum* appears to go back to the origin of Middle Eastern music, since analysis of ancient Bedouin melodies reveals a dominance of two-part forms (see also Shiloah, *The Music of the Bedouins in Sinai*, Folkway-record F E 4204).

Avenary finds talmudic evidence for seven different types of responsorial performance (Avenary 1979:108-110):

Type 1: Repetition of every phrase or verse by the choir.
Type 2: Intonation by the precentor.
Type 3: A *motto* from the first verse recurs as refrain.
Type 4: *halelûyah* as responsorial call.
Type 5: Alternate singing of hemistichs.
Type 6: Repetition of verses.
Type 7: Additions to the text of psalms.

This list of responsorial performance practices for the *hallel* is derived from the custom of the Babylonian synagogues. However, it remains to be seen whether these various techniques for the responsorial recitation of the *hallel* were not also the customary practice in the Temple of Jerusalem. In any case, the form of responsorial singing goes back to common oriental roots. At the end of his article, Avenary cites G. H. Dalman's folk song collection *Palästinensischer Diwan* (1901) as support for his theory. Dalman observes that collective choral singing is quite rare among the Palestinian and Syrian Arabs. On the other hand, however, the practice of alternating singing between a lead singer and chorus is much more widespread, the chorus sometimes adding a fixed refrain to a solo, or even repeating each verse or half verse sung by the leader.

Besides the evidence from the Talmud concerning the performance practice of the *hallel*, we can add several travellers' reports depicting the performance of psalms in Babylonian congregations, and first, the writings of Nathan Ha-Bavli, who lived in the tenth century, probably in Baghdad. In his work *Aḫbār Baghdād* (a chronicle of Bagdad) Nathan gives a detailed account of the ceremony for the installation of the Babylonian Exilarch. In so doing, he mentions the responsorial performance of Ps. 92 as well as the important comment that the *pesûqê de-zimrah* were recited by the entire congregation in unison.[32]

Approximately a hundred years later, Pethahiah of Regensburg arrived in Baghdad on pilgrimage. In the story of his journey, which was probably not written by Pethahiah himself, but rather preserved by several different authors, he reports on the performance practice of the psalms. According to Pethahiah, after the Torah reading the psalm was performed by selected singers with pleasant voices, and on

32 "וכשהוא אומר מזמור של יום השבת עונין אחריו טוב להודות ליי'. וקורין כל העם כאחד פסוקי דזמרה עד שגומרין אותן ועומד החזן ופותח בנשמת כל חי והבחורין עונין אחריו" (Neubauer 1895:83)

the intermediate days of Pesach and Sukkot, psalms were even performed with instrumental accompaniment. There could be several melodies for each psalm.[33]

ואין עם הארץ בכל ארץ בבל...שלא יודע כל עשרים וארבעה ספרים וניקוד ודיוק וחסרות ויתירות כי החזן אינו קורא בתורה אלא מי שיעמוד לספר תורה — הוא קורא.
(Grünhut 1905:8)

ובבבל יש שלשים בתי כנסיות לבד משל דניאל. ואין חזן לשם ולמי שמצוה ראש ישיבה יתפלל אחד אומר ביחיד מאה ברכות ועונין אחריו אמן ואחר כך יעמוד אחר ויאמר ברוך שאמר בקול רם ויעמוד אחר ויאמר כל השבחות ומסייעים אותו הקהל וקולו נשמע למעלה מכולם כדי שלא ימהרו והכל אחריו. ואומר ישתבח קודם ויושע ואח״כ מתפלל. וחולקים התפילה לכמה חזנים. ולא ידבר אדם עם חבירו בבית הכנסת. ועומדים בתרבות והכל בלי מנעלים בבית הכנסת יחיפים. וכשלומדים וטועין בניגון מראה להם ראש ישיבה באצבעו והם מבינים היאך הוא הניגון. ויש בחור שיש לו קול נעים ואומר מזמור בקול נעים. בחולו של מועד אומרים מזמורים בכלי שיר שיש להם מסורת באיזה ניגונים. יש להם עשור עשר ניגונים ואל השמינית שמונה ניגונים ועל כל מזמור יש כמה ניגונים. ויש להם מסורת במזמור אחד כמה יש בו ניגונים ומושך לכמה ניגונים במשך אחת.
(Grünhut 1905:24-25)

These passages reveal two further interesting points:
(1) they provide evidence for the practice of cheironomy in the Babylonian congregation: the head of the yeshivah corrects mistakes in the melody by holding up the appropriate finger (cf. Adler 1981);

33 Pethahiah's report of the performance practice of the psalms in Babylon strangely contradicts Seᶜadyah in his commentary to the psalms. Pethahiah visited Babylon at a time when Seᶜadyah's influence was at its zenith: "In the land of Babel, one studies the interpretation of the whole Bible made by our Rav Seᶜadyah." (A. Grünhut 1905:24-25). While Seᶜadyah forbade the *singing* of the psalms outside of the Temple and only allowed their *recitation*, Pethahiah reports the custom of performing the psalms on the intermediate days of Festivals with instrumental accompaniment during the same period. How can this contradiction be explained? H.Avenary deals with this question and resolves the contradiction with the remark that custom (מנהג) has precedence over rabbinic Law; that is, Seᶜadyah's commentary expresses the theological view of the rabbinic Law (הלכה) from the aspect of the Geonic ruling, while Pethahiah writes of the performance practice, which arises from custom (Avenary 1968:54, note 55). Although Avenary's interpretation seems plausible, we must also consider that Seᶜadyah was striving to reform the Jewish liturgy at a time when the customs of the individual diaspora communities were threatening to overwhelm the uniformity of the Jewish religion's oral tradition. Seᶜadyah's reform seems to have prevailed, for apart from a few exceptions, no traces of the performance practice of the *hallel*, as recorded in the Talmud, or of the variety of psalmodies, as documented by Pethahiah, can be found in the oral traditions of most Jewish communities today. Instead, the performance practice advocated by Seᶜadyah is predominant: 1) the Book of Psalms may only be recited, and 2) there is only one recitation melody for the Book of Psalms in each congregation. Only the Yemenite psalmodic tradition and the responsorial practice of the Kurdish Jews are exceptions to this rule.

(2) we can conclude that the Torah was not recited by a *ḥazzan*, but by each individual member of the congregation.

All in all, Pethahiah's report corresponds nearly exactly to the performance practice of the psalms among the Yemenite Jews.

Early Transcriptions of Hebrew Psalmody

The first transcriptions of Hebrew psalmody originate in the transitional period between the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with the exception of the recitation of *barûḵ hag-gever* notated in the 12th century by Obadiah the Norman Proselyte (cf. Adler 1965; Adler 1989:550–553, Avenary 1966). The great majority of the early transcriptions of Jewish recitation melodies refers to the intonation of the Torah (cf. Avenary 1976).

However, transcriptions of Hebrew psalmody appear precisely in the oldest notated examples of Jewish Bible melodies. Earliest of these is the transcription mentioned above, *barûḵ hag-gever* which, although not based on a psalm text, nevertheless bears a clear psalmodic character (cf. note 56). In addition, the as yet unpublished manuscript by Bottrigari written towards the end of the fifteenth century, ir. which several isolated motives from the psalm recitation are notated, should be noted.[34]

An additional source, likewise from Italy, is the table of the musical motives for the poetical accents, unique in form, by Jacob Finzi ha-Levi (ms. London, Jew's College, Montefiore coll. 479, fol. 147b; see Adler 1966: 48–49, 256; Adler 1989: 23–26).

The earliest notation of Hebrew psalmody to appear in print, which is also the earliest printed notation of Jewish music, stems from Johannes Mader (alias J. Foeniseca) and is contained in the work *Opera ... Quadratum sapientiae, continens in se septem artes liberales veterum* under the heading *Grammatica Hebraica* (Augsburg 1515).[35] See Figure 1.

34 This important manuscript has been partly prepared for publication by the late L. Levi, with a commentary (cf. Adler 1989:215–218).

35 See Adler 1989:875. A facsimile of this notation can be found in A. Sendrey (1970:209), who gives the book's misleading title, *Grammatica Hebraica*. Mader's comments on Hebrew grammar comprise only two pages. We can infer from the text accompanying Mader's notation that it was constructed in a speculative, synthetic manner: two-syllable words received the tones *E–D*; three-syllable words *F–E–D*; and four-syllable words *F–E–D–C*. The notation, however, sometimes deviates from this rule. Thus, we must reserve judgment on this point.

A copy of this notation (Ps. 1:1-2) is contained in a manuscript by Böschenstein (Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cod. hebr. 401) with a reference to the source.[36] A facsimile of Böschenstein's notation was published by Avenary (Avenary 1965:77). Avenary, who considers Böschenstein's notation to be an authentic transcription by the author, came to the conclusion that this musical example was transcribed from an orally transmitted original, which, although not explicitly related to the poetical accents, nevertheless represented an authentic tradition of Hebrew psalmody. In the same article Avenary deals with J. Finzi's table of the poetic accents, but concludes that this is an artificial reconstruction of accent motives without a basis in the oral tradition. This opinion is sharply criticized by Leo Levi (Levi 1966). Levi considers that Avenary has not recognized the independent significance of the Italian ritual, and that he confused it with the Ashkenazi ritual. In fact, Levi is able to distinguish an independent tradition of psalm recitation according to the accents for the Italian ritual (cf. Levi 1972:1143). Literary evidence indicates that the Italian ritual has probably preserved the oldest Palestinian tradition.

Of particular interest is Finzi's unusual terminology, employing exclusively Hebrew terms for the poetical accents instead of the ordinary Aramaic terms. According to Avenary, this suggests an attempt to resurrect the poetic accents artificially. Levi opposes this argument, pointing out that the terminology which is passed down in the *diqdûqê haṭ-ṭeʿamîm* also employs Hebrew expressions.[37]

Avenary's conclusion that this transcription of the poetical accents is an artificial reconstruction seems to me to be premature. Especially when we consider the

36 Böschenstein was the German humanist who placed his transcription of the Torah accents at Reuchlin's disposal. It is not possible to determine with certainty whether Böschenstein himself made the copy of Mader's notation, since his manuscript was revised by an unknown author. In his article, E. Werner dealt with Böschenstein's life and personality (Werner 1954a). His knowledge of Judaism was so profound that he was thought to be a converted Jew. Böschenstein was particularly familiar with the Jewish community in Regensburg, where, according to his own account, he acquired a Hebrew Book of Psalms (cf. Adler 1989:554-556).

37 It seems to me that the Aramaic terminology goes back to the Babylonian accent system, and that the Hebrew terminology of the poetical accent system represents an authentic tradition of the Tiberian Masoretes. If we proceed from the fact that the Babylonian accent system contained no separate poetical accents, and that the second biblical accent system evolved from the Palestinian system, than it becomes clear that the Tiberian Masoretes needed to coin a new terminology for their new system. However, this new terminology did not totally replace the old, the accents identical with the Torah accents keeping the old names which were customary in the reading of the Torah. Only those accents without counterparts in the Torah accentuation, such as *ʿôleh we-yôred* or *ʿillûy* and those added by the Tiberian system preserved their Hebrew terminology, such as קרני פרה,ירח בן יומו (*qarnê farah, yareah ben yômô*).
See the analysis of this source in Adler 1989:23-26.

comments added to the accent motives, an interesting perspective emerges for the divergent method of operation of the *ṭaʿamê emet* as compared with the Torah accents. Whereas the *zarqā*-table provides a musical motive for each individual *ṭaʿam*, Finzi lists a series of cases for the notation of the *ṭaʿamê emet* in which the accents receive no musical expression (Adler 1989: 23–25).

Such rules can hardly originate from an attempt to create an artificial system of motives for the poetical accents with no relation to the oral tradition. On the contrary, Finzi's table appears, as already stated by Leo Levi, to be an attempt to convey the known oral tradition of the psalmody in systematic form, as was done earlier for the oral tradition of the Torah recitation in the form of the *zarqā*-table. This attempt was doomed to failure, however, because the psalmodic method of recitation had not developed an adequate number of motives to enable an independent motive to be assigned to each accent. Complicated rules were therefore added to explain the disappearance of certain motives. Avenary's conclusion was apparently determined by the preconception that there was no connection between the psalmody and the accent system.

Figure 1

Methodology in the Study of Hebrew Psalmody

Research in Hebrew music takes as its methodological starting point the empirical investigation of the Jewish communities' oral traditions. Like other ancient musical cultures, Hebrew music originated in the oral tradition. This also holds true, of course, for Hebrew psalmody, which has been preserved in the oral tradition for centuries. The criteria for the study of orally transmitted music must thus also be applied to Jewish music. However, Jewish music represents a special case in the discipline of general ethnomusicology. Since it is orally transmitted, it belongs in the field of ethnomusicology, but since it has experienced a written fixation through the canonized text and through the accent system (although this fixation allows a high degree of variability), it also belongs to the field of music paleography (cf. Adler 1982; 18, 21).

Through Idelsohn's work the initial phase of Jewish ethnomusicology was determined by the methodological approach of German folk music research. Thus, Idelsohn went about making his collection of Hebrew oriental song in accordance with the theory that the idiom of Hebrew folk music was climatically and geographically determined. He saw this principle primarily at work in the liturgically determined biblical cantillation. His main interest was in the musical motive, where he thought to find the oldest surviving layers of Hebrew music. This approach, however, led Idelsohn into ignoring the delicate problem of the formation of variants in the Jewish cantillation practice. Although in his introduction to the *Songs of the Yemenite Jews* he remarked that "these songs...are not exactly the same note for note in the various synagogues, since...they contain no fixed melodies", he slurred over this problematic point with the statement that these melodies "nevertheless are always alike with reference to scale and motive." (Idelsohn 1925:16)

Idelsohn constructs his entire analysis of the musical material which he collected for the *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* on the basis of this concept, defining the typical motives for each diaspora community. Indeed, he goes so far as to compare the standard accent motives of all the communities with each other and comes to the conclusion that in the recitation of the Torah and the Prophets the accent motives go back to a common origin.[38] The combination of folk song motives and accent motives in Idelsohn's musical thought remains questionable. It is in fact

38 It is interesting that Idelsohn did not attempt to construct a comparative table for the psalm recitation. However, his concept of the motivic determination of Hebrew music remained equally relevant for the psalmody.

the case that oriental folk music, in particular, is based on melodies where a small number of motives constantly recurs, even hundreds of times, and modern folk song research has demonstrated objectively that the style of folk songs is characterized by selective interval and motive groups and modal preferences (cf. Cohen and Katz 1977). However, the forming of motives in psalmodic recitation must be seen as an artificial system developed for the purpose of liturgical text intonation. Although P. Wagner viewed the psalmody as a further development of primitive melody forming through repetition, E. Werner and E. Gerson-Kiwi have clearly shown that the origin of psalmody is to be found in the context of the highly developed religious poetry of the Old Testament (Werner 1954b; Gerson-Kiwi 1967). Thus we must distinguish between musical motives which constitute the idiom of a folk music style and those whose function lies in the syntactical intonation of a canonized text. Idelsohn overlooks this distinction and identifies the liturgical cantillation with folk music: "That the modes are really of great antiquity and represent folk song may be deduced from the circumstance that all the old Jewish centres have the same in spite of many centuries of separation from one another; this would indicate that they were already folksongs before the destruction of the Second Temple." (see Idelsohn 1923a:8f.)

Lachmann's critique of Idelsohn derives from this point. Although he, too, sought to trace an ancient tradition of Hebrew music from the time of the second Temple in his study of the songs of the Jews on Djerba, he was much more cautious in his conclusions. First, he called attention to the problem of melodic variant forming in liturgical cantillation, which, as a specialist in oriental music, he had already encountered in investigating Arabic instrumental music. Lachmann's methodological procedure is strictly empirical, and he soon shows that it is impossible to speak of fixed motives in liturgical cantillation. Instead, he speaks of melodic figures, which are seldom identical with each other and which the singers continuously vary.[39] He sees the characteristic of a melodic figure in its ideal form, that is, in its rising and falling motion, which can be expressed in many combinations of intervals, or, indeed, in various modi. According to Lachmann, this form cannot be done justice to in a single transcription, and the exact transcription of several versions of the same piece is required. This methodological approach, then, is determined totally by the

39 "Der orientalische Musiker kennt keine Noten, sondern nur melodische Bewegung; verschiedene Töne und Tonfolgen konnen einander vertreten, solange sie — für ihn — die gleiche musikalische 'Gestalt' bilden, die gleiche musikalische Bewegung gestalten. Für den Aussenstehenden entsteht mit dem Eintreten einer Note oder Notenfolge für eine andere eine neue Fassung, eine Variante." (Lachmann 1978:52 quoted by Adler 1982:24)

discipline of ethnomusicology, which attempts to question all the pre-conditions of the western concept of music in order to arrive at an objective concept of oriental music.

Although the analysis of Hebrew music according to the oriental conception is a crucial pre-condition for any understanding of Jewish music, the definition of liturgical cantillation in its particular historical and religious significance remains open. Oriental Jewish cantillation music may, as Lachmann has shown, have been influenced by the practice of Arabic art music — just as Ashkenazi cantillation, in its modus and melody type, has clearly been marked by western music — but it has not been totally absorbed by acculturation. Thus Idelsohn is correct in his theory that the identity of Jewish biblical cantillation lies beyond the influence of other cultures, since it represents an independent musical system capable of absorbing foreign influences without losing its own specificity.

E. Werner has attempted to analyse Jewish cantillation on the basis of its religious and liturgical roots. For him, the music of the Roman Catholic Church represents a system parallel to that of the synagogue. In the attempt to systematize the wide spectrum of synagogal vocal music, Werner referred back to the ordering principles of Gregorian chant. Although he emphasizes that Gregorian terminology cannot be applied to Hebrew music, in his analysis he nevertheless draws parallels with orally transmitted Hebrew music, based on the modes of Gregorian chant.

Whereas Idelsohn began with the ordering principles of Jewish music and then drew analogies with Gregorian chant, E. Werner and E. Gerson-Kiwi have worked in the opposite direction, looking for Jewish parallels to the styles of Gregorian chant.

Although the attempt to find a theoretical foundation for monophonic liturgical music is entirely justified, one must be more cautious in comparing Gregorian with Jewish music. Most of this research arises from a historical concept and seeks to show the dependency of Gregorian music on the music of the synagogue, but before such a comparison can be properly made it is necessary to undertake a theoretical foundation for Jewish music in its own right. The previous comparisons have remained fruitless, because they blindly search for parallels at a level where no inner connection of the systems exists. This is the case, for instance, with the parallels which Werner gives for the *tonus peregrinus*. More detailed field research had revealed that the Lithuanian Jews' tradition of singing Ps. 114 in a mode comparable to the *tonus peregrinus* represents an isolated phenomenon of the Ashkenazi rite (Herzog and Hajdu 1968).

Thus, we must return here to Idelsohn, because he, like Lachmann, is the only scholar who attempted to order Jewish music according to its own principles. The principle which Idelsohn applied systematically in the *Hebräisch-orentalischer Melodienschatz* first makes a fundamental distinction between synagogal vocal music and vocal music outside of the synagogue. Idelsohn divides synagogal vocal music into a certain number of species, partly defined by their connection to a particular text or a liturgical function. Thus, in the case of the Yemenites, he enumerates 15 species (Idelsohn 1925:16-17):

1. Mode for the Pentateuch		9. " "	Job
2. " "	Zemirot	10. " "	the Mishnah
3. " "	the Prophets	11. " "	Tefilla
4. " "	the Psalms	12. " "	Selihot
5. " "	Songs in the Pentateuch	13. " "	High Holidays
6. " "	the Song of Songs	14. " "	Ta^{c}anit
7. " "	Esther	15. " "	Azharot
8. " "	Lamentations		

We see that two principles are represented: the first says that a recitation melody exists for each book of the Bible; the second — that every liturgical function has its own recitation melody. These two principles overlap precisely in the case of the Book of Psalms.

Classification of the Types of Hebrew Psalmody

When we consider the functions in which the psalms can appear, a number of melodic possibilities arise. First, the Book of Psalms has its own "book melody".

Most of the books of the Old Testament have their own specific recitation melody, which is used in public recitation. However, the Book of Psalms serves other liturgical functions as well, which are connected to the prayer order. For instance, the *pesûqê de-zimrah* consists of psalm texts. Psalm compilations and psalm texts also appear here and there in the daily and Sabbath prayers, where they are recited according to the Tefilla-melody. On the Ninth of Av (the day of mourning for the destruction of the Temple), Psalm 137 and Psalm 79 are recited in the Lamentations melody.

Wagner's law that the liturgical function determines the recitation melody, only partly applies to the Jewish tradition, since, in this tradition, one of the strongest bonds is that between text and recitation alone. These bonds are formed on the one hand by a very ancient oral tradition, and, on the other, by the accent system, its written codification. It would be correct, in general, to define the reading of scripture as one of the liturgical functions. This applies, however, only to the recitation of the Torah, since the entire Torah is read in the course of the year.

This is not the case with the Book of Psalms, for the reading of Psalms takes place at the discretion of the community. The entire book can be read daily after the *šaḥarît*, or on Sabbath eve, or at the sick-bed. This does not mean that these readings are not liturgical acts, but that this form of liturgical reading is not bound to any obligatory prayers. Therefore it seems important to distinguish between liturgically free psalmody and liturgically fixed psalmody. Whereas the reading of the Torah always belongs to the liturgically fixed order of the statutory prayers, the cyclical reading of the psalms rests on private initiative and social requirements. On the other hand, a limited number of psalm passages belongs to the obligatory prayers and depends on the recitation melody of the prayer in this function. Here the connection between liturgy and recitation is stronger than that between text and recitation, and as a result of this, we can observe that the psalm passages in the prayer books are written without accents. The liturgically fixed recitation of the psalms displays a considerably less rigid relation to the accents.

Beyond this, a third aspect of the psalm recitation is associated with the High Holidays and has received a fixed melodic style there. This is mainly the case for the *hallel* recitation, which has become a permanent part of the High Holidays services, and for the psalms which are ranked with the Lamentations of Jeremiah on days of mourning. Our presentation of Hebrew psalmody in Part Two, chapter 3 is consequently divided into three sections. The first deals with liturgically free psalmody, namely, cyclical book psalmody; the second with Yemenite choral psalmody; and the third with liturgically fixed celebration and mourning psalmody. This classification is derived from the practice of Hebrew psalmody and not, like that of Werner and Gerson-Kiwi, from the ordering principle of Gregorian chant.

Book Melodies and Prayer Melodies

In the Jewish tradition we find two interwoven principles. Idelsohn fails to keep them apart and confuses "book melodies" and "prayer melodies." This can be ascribed to the fact that as a *ḥazzan* he started out from the musical practice of the synagogal religious service. Indeed, most of the "book melodies" are liturgically

fixed. Thus, the Torah is recited three times weekly, and on the Sabbath the reading from the Prophets follows the Torah reading. Esther is recited on Purim, the Lamentations of Jeremiah and Job on the Ninth of Av. Although the Book of Psalms is also recited, partly, as with the ***halelûyah***-psalms (in ***pesûqê de-zimrah***) or ***šîr šel yôm***, the liturgical function of the psalms goes far beyond the occasion of the synagogal service. Indeed, the Book of Psalms as an entire unit is only recited outside the synagogal service. In this it can be compared with the Prophets, which are also only recited selectively in the synagogal liturgy. The Proverbs melody lies entirely in the area of free liturgical recitation.

A few words must be devoted here to the definition of what is meant by a "free liturgy". Among religious Jews, the forms of expression of religious devotion are not confined to what we know from the prayer books as statutory prayers. Indeed, it is clear from what we said in the previous chapter, "The Psalms and the Liturgy", that the appearance of written prayer books represents a relatively late institution of synagogal Judaism. As Zunz pointed out, at the beginning of research into Jewish liturgy, the liturgical order of the synagogal prayers depended on local custom, and only the basic prayers and the Torah reading belonged to the unchangeable pillars of the Jewish liturgy. This characteristic of synagogal liturgies has remained constant until the present day, although the number of liturgically fixed texts increased continuously with the written fixation of the ***siddûr*** and ***maḥzôr***. We observed, for instance, that in Seᶜadyah's ***siddûr*** the psalms constituted only a very small part of the statutory prayer. Indeed, Seᶜadyah did not reckon the ***pesûqê de-zimrah*** as part of the statutory prayer, but rather left them to the custom of each congregation.

Thus we can conclude that the free liturgical forms originated from the customs of individual congregations. These customs can possess considerable antiquity; for instance, the custom of reading the psalms at the sick-bed appears to be quite ancient. Not their age, but rather their flexibility characterizes the free liturgical forms. This flexibility is influenced, in the first place, by the fact that they arise from private initiative and, secondly, that they are not bound by regularity, but rather arise out of necessity. Thus, the Book of Psalms is pressed into service when the aim is that of averting affliction, whether sickness, death, famine, persecution, or defeat. This appears to be an authentic mode of employment for the psalms, as can be seen in numerous psalm-verses (cf. Ps. 18:7, 20:2, 37:39, 50:15). We also know that the so-called ***taḥanûnîm*** (supplications) belonged to the permanent parts of the Temple liturgy. After the daily morning sacrifice the people prostrated themselves to the sound of the priest's trumpets and made their supplications in silence.

Another basis of the free liturgical forms is the study of scripture. Following the example of the Torah, almost all the canonical books of the Old Testament are recited. The only recitation, however, which binds the entire text of an Old Testament book into a one-year liturgical cycle is that of the Torah. All other books are recited in their entirety only in the course of religious instruction in the synagogue, with the exception of the five scrolls (Song of Songs, Ruth, Lamentations, Ecclesiastes and Esther) which are bound to liturgies of specific holy days. Since ancient times, the synagogue was not only a house of prayer, but also a school for religious instruction. This double function has until now not been accorded sufficient attention with regard to the differentiation of musical forms. That religious instruction as a whole in Judaism takes place in a musical form is generally known, but this phenomenon has only recently been subjected to musicological investigation (cf. Herzog 1963; Sharvit 1980). In fact, the symbiosis between the canon and the various forms of recitation must be viewed as the result of millenia-old Jewish pedagogy. However, the study of canonical scripture, for the religious Jew, is itself a sacred act. For this reason, every book of the Old Testament possesses not only its own form of recitation, but also its own specified liturgical introductory and concluding formulae. When a group of men gather in the synagogue at some time or other to study the holy scriptures, this act is given a liturgical framework through the joint singing of the introductory formula, which in the case of the psalms begins with Ps. 95:1-3. Then each individual recites a portion (in the case of the psalms each person usually recites five psalms) according to the seating order. The group proceeds to study the text in this manner until the appointed section has been covered, after which they finish with the joint recitation of the concluding formula (for the psalm recitation, Ps. 14:7, "Oh that the salvation of Israel were come out of Zion!...").

The extent of each reading is totally optional. In the case of the psalm recitation, we find the custom of reciting the entire Book of Psalms on one afternoon. In most congregations, this practice is performed by the elders, men beyond working age. Among the Yemenite Jews the custom of reciting the *šillûš* in the afternoon before the *ʿarvît* has been preserved. In most cases, this consists of the study of three different texts: Mishnah, Prophets, Hagiographa. This practice was customary throughout Yemen, but its actual performance varied from synagogue to synagogue.[40]

40 Thus, in *Sanʿa*, in the synagogue of the Alsheikh family, on the first three days of the week it was customary to recite three *halaḵôt* from the Mishnah, then a chapter from the Prophets, and, finally three chapters from the Hagiographa, starting with the psalms and continuing to the Books of Chronicles. In the synagogue of the Al'usta family, however, the *šillûš* was performed thus: 1) three

These examples should provide sufficient illustration of the peculiar nature of the free liturgical forms. In the following chapter the details of the various customs will be discussed more extensively on the basis of our empirical investigation of the liturgical practice of psalm recitation in representative oriental Jewish congregations in Israel. At this point, it is enough to indicate the distinction between liturgically fixed and liturgically free psalmody.[41]

CHAPTER 2: PROJECT OUTLINE FOR THE EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE MUSICAL PRACTICE OF HEBREW PSALMODY

In the previous section we dealt with research which, among other subjects, pertains to the field of Hebrew psalmody. We must now introduce an approach dealing exclusively with the empirical investigation of the practice of Hebrew psalmody in representative oriental Jewish congregations in Israel.

An empirical investigation of Hebrew psalmody as it exists has not yet been undertaken. Idelsohn of course collected psalmodic melodies for his *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz.* However, for him the psalm melodies represented only a small part of the abundance of oriental Jewish melodies. Only in the second volume of his work does Idelsohn deal more specifically with the problem of Hebrew psalmody. He proposes the seminal theory that the recitation of the psalms

chapters from the Mishnah; 2) a section from the Prophets and the Hagiographa, starting with Hosea and continuing to the Chronicles; and 3) three psalms (cf. Ratzaby 1953:273).
These two variants of this custom have in common the principle of the cyclical recitation of canonical scriptures, except that the cycle is not bound to a fixed span of time. On the contrary, the recitation cycle of the *šillûš* is performed in a free time-span. The date of the beginning of a new cycle is not important, and can fall in any season.

41 It is interesting to note that the liturgically fixed psalmody is derived in every case from the Temple liturgy. This holds true for the daily psalms as well as for the psalm passages quoted in 1 Chron. 16:8–41. The recitation of the *hallel* also belongs to the Temple liturgy, so that we can say that the few psalms which belong to the statutory prayers were all sung in the Temple.
This does not mean, however, that the melodies to which these psalms are sung in the synagogue today go back to the ancient Temple melodies. Although Benjamin of Tudela reports that Rabbi Eliezer ben Zemah and his brother in Babylonia still knew how the psalms were sung according to the melodies of the Levites in the Temple, the present-day musical practice of these psalms displays no signs of such an ancient musical tradition. On the contrary: either the psalms are recited in the *tefillah* melody without any melodic individuality, as in many Ashkenazi congregations, or they are set to a dynamic, usually march-like melody, as in certain Sephardi congregations. The Yemenite Jews again form an exception: they are the only community which has preserved a psalm cantillation style with large choruses, whose archaic character indicates great age. In the next chapter we will go into this question in detail on the basis of musical examples.

according to the poetical accents has been preserved in the tradition of the oriental Jewish communities. Idelsohn repeats this thesis in his fundamental work on the history of Jewish music, and expands it by adding that the poetical accents have been preserved especially in the recitation of the Book of Job (Idelsohn 1924:209–210). In the chapter on psalm recitation he concentrates more on the historical sources for early Christian psalmody and restricts his treatment of Hebrew psalmody to the abundant collection of transcription material, with examples from most Jewish communities.

Lachmann's work similarly only touches on the subject of Hebrew psalmody, without concentrating on it. The essays by Werner and Gerson-Kiwi, as well as Herzog and Hajdu, are dedicated exclusively to psalmody but take Gregorian psalmody as their point of departure, so that the important relationship between psalmody and the poetical accents is not considered. To this author's knowledge, almost every scholar has treated Idelsohn's theory of the performance practice of the poetical accents among the oriental Jews with scepticism.

And indeed, without further examination, the specialists in this field have arrived more or less at the opinion that the musical value of the poetical accents has been lost or never existed. Thus A. Herzog (1972:1332) writes: "Although the psalms are furnished with accents in the masoretic texts, the question, whether they were ever, or still are, sung according to the accents is still moot."[42]

As we have seen, however, most of the research in the field of Hebrew psalmody has proceeded from the pre-conditions of Gregorian psalmody. This form of psalmody never possessed an accentuation system, although the Latin neumes developed from reading-signs. In this case, however, we are dealing with a limited number of punctuation signs whose function is easy to recognize. Compared with this, the Hebrew accent system for the psalms appeared much too complicated to elicit detailed correspondence in the quite simple musical form of Hebrew psalmody. "Most scholars think that the system of the accents is too sophisticated to be followed precisely or that there was a 'lost art' of psalm cantillation." (Herzog 1972:1332) How complicated the poetical accent system really is, however, can only be estimated when we distinguish between the different functions which this

42 Cf. also A. Dotan "...the reading tradition for the books of Psalms, Proverbs and Job was not preserved by various Jewish communities, and the system of the signs — and even more so, the rules behind them — were not understood by the scribes and printers, and lacked all meaning for the reader." (Dotan 1972:1458)

system performs simultaneously. As we saw in our discussion of the poetical accents in their historical development (Part One, chapter 2), it is clear that the "complicatedness" of the poetical accent system is not based on an equally complicated cantillation practice, but is rather the result of various aspects of its historical development. Aaron Ben-Asher already remarked that only four of the poetical accents possess melodies. Idelsohn, too, points out that certain groups of accents translate into respective single melodic motives. It would seem that scholars in the field of Hebrew psalmody who claim that no connection can be seen between psalmody and the poetical accent system have not given sufficient attention to the latter's historical background and sources.

In the previous section, "Classification of the Types of Hebrew Psalmody", we attempted to establish a theoretical foundation that does not apply an ordering principle from an external source, such as Gregorian chant, to the Jewish material, but rather one derived from the historical development of the elements of Hebrew psalmody itself. For this reason it was necessary to examine these elements individually, and to illuminate their historical development, as we did in the first part of this work, in order to achieve a theoretical formalization adequate to the musical material. Only this procedure can allow a differentiated view of the practice of Hebrew psalmody in certain oriental Jewish communities today.

The Practical Execution of the Project

The purpose of the empirical research which was carried out for this study was not to collect a comprehensive corpus of Hebrew melodies for the texts of the psalms, nor to elaborate the particular features of the psalm recitation in each individual congregation, but rather to ascertain the historical sources of Hebrew psalmody in its present-day practice. The questions which we shall pose here are those which remained unanswered in our historical investigation. Two problems stand out: first, to what extent is present-day practice connected to the poetical accent system, and secondly, how does the form of recitation of the psalms relate to the liturgical circumstances?

The practical execution of this project was carried out in two stages: (1) interviews, and (2) tape recordings of a selected repertory of psalm recitation together with the related book and prayer melodies. The interview was chiefly designed to examine the informant's musical, liturgical and accentological state of awareness. This is of great importance, since the structure of this awareness forms the basis for the informant's musical creativity. For instance, it is possible that an informant may choose a particular recitation style which is otherwise quite uncommon, to please

the researcher. At the moment of recording, there is a general tendency to perform something very unusual, since the informant does not consider his normal repertory to be interesting enough. This holds true especially for psalmody, since the melodies are musically very simple and unadorned, so the performer is quasi-"ashamed" to deliver them in front of the microphone.

For these reasons, we must distinguish between two types of recordings: (1) those made for the purpose of research and combined with an interview, and (2) those that document a liturgical event in its function, where an attempt was made to reduce to a minimum the negative effect of tape-recording on the naturalness of the musical performance. The following questions were posed in the interviews: Where and how was the psalm recitation learned? When are the psalms recited? Are the psalms recited according to the accents? How many recitation melodies are there for the psalms? And, are the psalms sung in a chorus or individually?

All these questions become comprehensible in the light of the problems discussed in Part One. The question about learning the psalm recitation is directed towards the technique of the oral transmission. Throughout Part One we observed the dominance of oral transmission in Hebrew psalmody, but how this takes place in practice remained undefined. The form of the oral transmission is, however, crucial for the forms of the musical performance practice.

The question about the liturgical occasions of the psalms is of particular importance, since, as we have seen, most of the psalms are performed in free liturgical forms which depend on the customs of each individual congregation. The purpose of this question was to become acquainted with the customs and to compare the usages of the different congregations.

The question about awareness of the accent melody proved especially problematic. It has long been known that informants of oriental background claim to read the psalms according to the accents, but when they are asked to sing the individual melodies for the accents, they get into difficulties. Even the terminology of the poetical accent system is often not known, and instead the expressions for the Torah accents are given.[43]

43 The apparent contradictions in the statements of the informants led A. Herzog to the conclusion that this situation represents a model of back-formation: "It may even be, that some present-day practices of following the accents approximately are a back-formation phenomenon. Since the accents were there, it was felt that they had to be obeyed somehow and after many generations some characteristic motives became attached to the accent-signs in coexistence with the overall psalmodic line." (Herzog 1972: 1332)

The question about the number of psalm melodies is also explained by the historical context. The example of the eight Gregorian psalm-tones and Nathan ha-Bavli's remark about the eight and more psalm-tones of the Babylonian Jews have always led to discussion of the number of melodies in the present-day tradition of Hebrew psalmody.[44] Kafih, a prominent scholar of the Yemenite community, even reckons twelve different psalm melodies in the repertoire of the Jews from San^{c}a (see Kafih 1960/61). These presumptions must therefore be re-examined on an empirical basis. Does the Yemenite community, with its large repertory of psalm melodies, represent a special case, or is this phenomenon verifiable in other oriental Jewish communities as well? Are we really dealing with twelve different psalm-tones in the case of the Yemenite Jews?

The final question, concerning the performance of the psalms by a chorus or individually, will be discussed in detail at the end of chapter 3 of Part Two: "Yemenite Choral Psalmody".

The Phenomenon of Acculturation

The methodological procedure for the treatment of this problem complex can be divided into three stages. The first, that of the formulation and refinement of the questioning has already been discussed. This is based on the historical sources. The second stage is the inventory of the empirical material. This inventory was drawn up by means of questioning individual representatives of various oriental communities in the course of three years field work, although only a small segment of the existing material could be collected. However, it is in the nature of oral tradition to be

Herzog's conclusion, however, is based on erroneous assumptions. He identifies the psalm recitation with the melodic technique of psalmody, and thus considers an authentic performance practice for the accents to be impossible, since on the other hand he identifies the accent melody with the melodic technique of the Torah accents.

As we have already seen, however, the principle of Torah cantillation follows the *zarqā*-table and thus represents a type of neumatic melody. It is clear, moreover, from our discussion of the historical development of the accent system that the neumatic interpretation of the biblical accents represents a stage in the development of biblical cantillation technique, and we must be cautious in viewing the principle of the *zarqā*-table as an authentic interpretation of the Tiberian accent system. On the other hand, it is entirely wrong to apply the principles of the *zarqā*-table to the poetical accents and to ask the informants to perform the accent-motives for the Book of Psalms. Instead, we must seek a way less obstructed by preconceptions, and based on a careful analysis of the historical sources.

44 E. Werner, who has devoted extensive study to this theme, based on the historical sources, comes to the conclusion that a codified system of eight psalm-tones never existed in the Jewish tradition (Werner 1948).

grasped only in parts, never as a whole.[45] The third stage is the rigorous critical examination of all the information collected in the field and its verification through careful analysis of the musical material.

Here Lachmann's procedure is exemplary. His laboratory examination of the collected material represents a precedent setting methodological direction. Field research in present-day Israel, however, is subject to a peculiar problem of great complexity. Whereas Lachmann, who made his recordings on the island of Djerba itself, was not faced with the consideration whether or not his material reflected the original oral tradition of the Jews on Djerba, the question of authenticity has to be posed regarding every informant who is interviewed and recorded in modern Israel. The contemporary researcher has the advantage that almost all the oriental Jewish communities are gathered in Israel, but as time passes acculturation processes set in which must be taken into account. In the diaspora the oral tradition may often be of great antiquity and according to community, can exhibit a high degree of continuity; in Israel, especially in the last few years, it has undergone considerable changes. These changes can be found on two levels. First, the differences between the oriental communities are increasingly disappearing, and a new "pan-Sephardi" style is becoming widespread, especially among young oriental Israelis. Particularly affected by this process is the Iraqi community whose musical tradition has almost disappeared from the synagogue. A contrasting example is that of the Yemenite Jews, who maintain their ancient tradition with great determination. Also, a difference can be drawn between the cities and the country. While the innovations are mainly initiated in the city, *môšav* (rural settlement) inhabitants are much less ready to give up their traditional orally transmitted melodies.

45 Idelsohn emphasized in the Foreword to his *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* that he could not claim to have collected the complete material (Idelsohn 1914:V). His method of dealing with the huge quantity of available material consisted of first getting to know the oral tradition in practice through constant listening to and participation in the synagogal services. Only at a second stage did he select the informant who seemed to best represent the repertory of a specific congregation. This methodological procedure is still the only valid one: before he can proceed to tape recordings, with the considerable distorting effects mentioned above, the student must, if at all possible, first attempt to become familiar in a practical manner with the repertory of the oral tradition of the synagogal melodies in their living functions, through attentive listening and participation in the life of the congregation. This is the basic prerequisite without which a conscientious exploration of the oral tradition and a sensible conducting of the interview are impossible. However, this first stage of becoming familiar with the material must be followed by scientific analysis. Here Idelsohn is open to criticism, since he presents the results of his analysis, such as the comparative study of the musical motives for the *zarqā*-table, without describing his methodological procedure and without giving an account of how he arrived at his conclusions. Even his method of transcription is unclear, but he was not aware of the problematic nature of this point. Thus, we don't know today what Idelsohn actually heard and what is due to his own musical conception. Unfortunately, only a few of his recordings have survived.

The other level of the acculturation process is associated with the influence of western music, which is disseminated through the country by radio, television, and in the schools (cf. Katz 1968). The influence of western music on people of oriental origin affects primarily the modal structure of their vocal music: instead of the quarter-tone system inherent to oriental vocal music, the young generation goes over to the diatonic system of western music. The modern Israeli folk song, too, plays an important role in this process. Since it is taught systematically in the schools, it makes a determinant impression on the musical consciousness of the new generation of Israelis of oriental descent.

For further source material the researcher can have recourse to the large collection of tape recordings collected by the Jewish Music Research Centre of the Hebrew University in collaboration with the National Sound Archives of the Jewish National and University Library in Jerusalem. Some of the few surviving cylinders from Idelsohn's phonograph recordings and a large number of Lachmann's recordings are also to be found there.

The Taped Documents of the Oral Tradition

We have already remarked that, following on after Lachmann, Gerson-Kiwi's collection of extensive material represents an important achievement. During the great waves of oriental Jewish immigration to Israel in the 1950's Gerson-Kiwi and Herzog were able to record on tape many local traditions which later became obscured in the process of acculturation. Further important tape collections (especially of psalms) were made in the 1950's by J. Spector and L. Levi. These recordings form the background material in the light of which the present-day practice of the oral traditon becomes clearer. Indeed, it can be said that for the first time we are in a position to trace the historical development of an oral tradition, since research in this field spans about seventy years. Idelsohn's oldest recording, as well as his transcriptions; Lachmann; the recordings of Gerson-Kiwi; Herzog, Spector and L. Levi; all form a continuous series of documents for the same oral tradition of Hebrew psalmody, by means of which the present day tradition can be examined for reliability and continuity. This background material provided the decisive orientation for my field work, which was begun in the spirit of Idelsohn through extensive visiting of oriental synagogues in different parts of Jerusalem. Only as a further step were individual informants selected, interviewed, and their oral repertory recorded.[46]

46 The most important informants selected in this phase were Hayyim Ya'ish and Yosef Toubi for the Yemenite community; Yedidyah Yerushalmi, from Kashan, for the Persian community; and Yosef Hai, from Cochin, for the Indian Community.

By far the greater portion of the material, however, was recorded in the course of an ethno-musicological workshop set up by the Musicology Department of the Hebrew University together with the Jewish Music Research Centre and the National Sound Archives in March, 1979. This workshop took place in the development town of Netivot in the Negev, and its surroundings. In Netivot itself live mainly congregations from North Africa, but in the neighbouring region we can find various Kurdish congregations as well as one Yemenite congregation and one from Djerba.[47]

Selection of Informants

All the informants were asked the questions noted above and were requested to recite three psalms (Ps. 1, 24, and 104). These three were chosen in order to cover as broad a spectrum of psalm forms as possible. Psalm 1 belongs to the species of liturgically free psalmody, but is, on the other hand, the regulating factor for the "book melody" of the psalms, since this mode remains determinate for the entire Book. Psalm 24 belongs to the species of liturgically fixed psalms and is added at the end of the *šaḥarît* as the *šîr šel yôm* for the first day of the week.[48]

Whereas Psalm 1 and Psalm 24 are comparatively short, consisting of only six and ten verses respectively, Psalm 104 is one of the longer psalm compositions, in 35 verses. It has been recited since ancient times as the introduction to the *ʿarvît* on the day of the New Moon, since it deals with the theme of creation. In addition to these three psalms,[49] which all the informants recorded, I asked them, as background and comparative material, to recite a series of Old Testament texts displaying a certain

47 The most important informants selected during the workshop were Ashuri and Mordechai Ben-Hai for the Kurdish community of Persia, and Gedaliah Bar-Lev and David Salman for the Kurdish community of Iraq. Baruk Huri and Hadad Makikis represented the community from Djerba, and Rabbi Madmoni and Uzi Sa'id that of Yemen.
This group of informants was born between the years 1906–1939 in the diaspora and came to Israel between 1946 and 1951.

48 This psalm is probably an ancient Temple liturgy and was sung by the Levites on the first day of the week in the Temple. Thus it has an ancient liturgical tradition. It is still sung today before the raising of the Torah in the Sabbath *šaḥarît*. Psalm 24 was also added by the Kabbalists to the liturgy of Rosh Hashana and after the *ʿarvît* of every day.

49 These three psalms originate from three different stages in the development of psalm-poetry. Psalm 24 is certainly a pre-Exile work, and played a role in the liturgies of the First Temple. On the other hand, Psalm 1 is post-Exilic, and was composed as an introduction to the collection of psalms. The central theme of Torah-study and the specific polarity between the just and the godless, which determines the form and content of this psalm, reflect the already highly developed theology of post-Exile Judaism. Psalm 104 possibly originates in the period of Exile, as is suggested by its close connection with the Creation mythology of the Babylonian Gilgamesh epic, although this cannot be proved conclusively.

similarity to the psalm poetry, such as the Song of the Sea (Exod. 15), Lamentations, and the Song of Songs, as well as the beginnings of the other two books that have the poetical accent system: Proverbs and Job. In addition, the informants were free to recite further selections from the psalms which they claimed to have a special melody. For this purpose, they chose primarily melodies derived from liturgically fixed psalmody, such as Psalm 92, the *hallel,* Psalm 137, etc.

Apart from the research tapes described above, another series of recordings were made as documentation, without interviews. These were recordings of free liturgical forms of recitation, where the entire Book of Psalms or one half (70 psalms) of it was performed in a recitation lasting several hours. Such extended psalm readings were recorded in functional performance and later analysed. The congregation that still extensively carries out this recitation of the entire Book of Psalms up to the present day is the Moroccan, and the recordings of it were all made in Moroccan synagogues.[50]

The psalms sung on the Sabbath in the synagogue could not be recorded in their function, since the use of electronic machines is forbidden among religious Jews on the Sabbath.

The Problem of Transcription

The third step in this research project consisted of the analysis and evaluation of the material collected, and here the methodological procedure involved particular difficulties. The method usually employed in the evaluation of such material is that of transcription. We have already seen that differences of opinion in the manner of making such transcription existed between Idelsohn and Lachmann. Since this is a crucial point, upon which the objectivity of the scientific analysis stands or falls, a comprehensive discussion of the question becomes necessary. To set the problem in a broader perspective, we must first note that the orally transmitted music of the orient and the western system of notation stand in diametric opposition to each other. Those elements which are easy to notate in the western system, such as pitch, duration, and dynamics, are subject to constant variance in the oral tradition; while those elements which are more consistently transmitted, such as timbre, melodic formulae, rhythmical variations and micro-

50 In the synagogue *Zekhor Avraham* in Jerusalem a small group of elderly men gathers every day after the *šaḥarit* and reads the entire Book of Psalms. This recitation was recorded twice. In Netivot a group of elderly men meets every day around mid-day in the old people's center and reads half the Book of Psalms. The same takes place at mid-morning in the synagogue Bet Ya'aqov in Netivot. All these recitations were recorded in their usual functions.

tonality, are either impossible or very difficult to notate. Thus the notation must result in the deformation of the musical material.

Idelsohn, who perhaps transcribed the largest amount of orally transmitted Hebrew music, did not appear to be unduly disturbed by this problem. As an Ashkenazi *hazzan*, he was familiar with the tradition, and transformed the oriental material, in itself difficult to fixate, into clearly notated melodies, whose final form he determined himself. He transcribed no ornamental details, but rather the melodic framework, as he defined it. Indeed, even today it is possible to identify the melodies in Idelsohn's transcriptions with the originals in the oral tradition. It was in fact Idelsohn's reductive method that led to the popular comparisons between Gregorian chant and Jewish music. Thus although according to Idelsohn's own words his transcription of the songs of the Yemenite Jews represents only a poor copy of the original, in the transcription itself a similarity to Gregorian chant is perceptible, and this similarity has been invoked by scholars again and again. However, when the acoustical original of the Yemenite songs is compared with that of Gregorian chant, the parallel becomes questionable. The enormous importance of the tone colouring, the singing technique, the tremolo in oriental vocal music cannot be underestimated. R. Katz has shown this with the melograph for the singing of the Samaritans (cf. Katz 1974).

Lachmann pushed western notation methods to their extreme limits in an attempt to approximate the original more closely. Instead of reducing variants to one form, he gives at least two versions of the same piece; that is, he had the piece performed twice and transcribed it twice so that the differences between the versions come to light, thus demonstrating the flexibility of oriental vocal music. However, this procedure still does not answer the question whether the detailed precision of the transcription can convey the specific nature of the oral tradition, since the categorical antagonism described above between parameters which can be orally identified and those which can be fixed in writing remains unreconciled. Even transcriptions in the finest of detail, such as those of A. Herzog, can give no indication of vocal colour, technique, or fluctuation in intonation.

S. Arom offers a new methodological approach in this area in his essay "Nouvelles perspectives dans la description des musiques de tradition orale." (Arom 1981) Arom works from the fundamental hypothesis that all oral transmissions originate from an underlying code. This hypothesis is based on the fact that every oral transmission represents a form of communication and must remain bound by the laws of communicability.

The researcher's central task is to decipher this code. In order to do this, he must first determine which of the musical elements are significant, that is, which changes in the musical parameters does the hearer or receiver perceive as meaningful. Lachmann himself was aware of this problem, having observed that melodies which were different for western ears were preceived as identical by orientals (see note 39 above). He attributed this to the nature of vocal music. Defined pitch is unknown to the oral tradition, since this parameter originates in instrumental music. Instead, the oral vocal tradition contains melodic forms whose significant element is the rising and falling movement of the melodic line. The transcription must thus relate proportionally to the significant elements. At this point, Arom refers to the concept in structural linguistics of the differentiation between *étique* and *émique*. Out of the traditional discipline of phon-*étique*, that is, the descriptive depiction of the sounds of speech, there develops phon-*émique*, a discipline which analyses the function of these sounds in grammar.

If we apply this concept to the method of transcription, descriptive transcription would belong to the *étique*-category, while analytical transcription represents the *émique*-type. Arom asserts the right of both categories to exist. Transcription of the *émique*-type represents an abstraction of the mode derived from the oral transmission. This model cannot be based on a single instance, but rather requires the comparison of numerous variants of the same melody. In a way, this type of transcription is a hypothetical model which arises from the analysis of the material. This hypothesis must then be authenticated by one or more transcriptions of the *étique*-type. When the *étique*, the descriptive photographically exact transcription, fits the *émique*, the analytical model transcription, then the correctness of the hypothesis is proved.

The application of this concept to our subject, Hebrew psalmody, results in the following modification: it is not necessary to analyse the melodic model of Hebrew psalmody, since two traditional models are already available. The first is that of Gregorian psalmody which distinguishes between *Initium*, *Mediant*, *Tuba*, and *Finalis*. The second model, which is of greater immediate interest, is established by the accent system. Thus, for us the accents represent the abstraction of the recitation melody's structural elements. What remains to be tested is the verification of these given melodic models. This empirical verification must be undertaken in two steps.

As we have already emphasized at various points in this work, the relationship between psalm recitation and the poetical accent system must first be investigated. The Hebrew psalm cantillation must then again be referred to Gregorian psalmody

with the question: is it in fact possible to apply the Gregorian model to the Jewish material? Only then can it be determined whether the Gregorian model and the poetical accent system exclude each other, or whether we have here two separate, but equally valid attempts towards a theory for the same musical material.

What are the principal considerations in the descriptive transcription of Hebrew psalmody? As we have said, the starting point of our investigation is the verification of the melodic model of the poetical accent system in the practice of psalm recitation. But which musical elements do the accents address? If we assume that the accents determine the structure of the form of recitation, in which musical parameter is this structure expressed? Or, in other words, which significant elements of the recitation stand in direct relation to the significant elements of the accentuation?

It is clear from the historical analysis of the poetical accent system that the accents are not connected to parameters such as pitch, mode, etc., but rather more generally regulate the rising and falling of the recitation tone, as well as the rhythmization of the text and its melismatic punctuation. Thus, since the historical analysis excludes pitch and mode as conveyers of meaning for the psalmody, we have not subjected these parameters to a detailed analysis in the transcription. The traditional view of the accent system states that the motive is the carrier of meaning leading to the identification of the recitation melody. But Lachmann's historical analysis showed that in the case of the Jews of Djerba we cannot speak of fixed motives, but rather, at the most, of melodic figures, which appear in a wealth of variants. What, then, are the significant elements in the performance practice of Hebrew psalmody?

(1) The rising and falling of the recitation tone, that is, the different positions of the recitation tone, called "shofar" in the Hebrew terminology. (2) The melismatic punctuation of the text. (3) The rhythmization of the text. These three indications led us to direct our main efforts towards a rigorous transcription of the rising and falling of the recitation tone, the melismatic punctuation, and the rhythm, rather than to mode and pitch. The quarter-note form was chosen as the fundamental unit for the rhythmic notation. The recitation tone and punctuation melismas are clearly differentiated in that the variable ornamentation is transcribed as a "second voice" with the note stems turning in the opposite direction from those of the recitation tone, while the framework melody is emphasized by thick bars.

Most of the melodies were transposed so that the primary recitation tone lay on "g" or "f". This was necessary in order to enable the comparison of melodies from different congregations. Finally, all melodies belonging to the same species and the

same text were listed in a table. The top line of this table gives the Hebrew text with its accentuation; below this follows a version of cantillation with the transcription of the Hebrew text. Each word and note group belonging to an accent is separated from the following group by a bar line, so that the melodic segment for each accent is registered as a clear unit. In the same way, all the versions of the same text are arranged vertically in the table, so that the melodic segments belonging to the same accent can be directly compared.

The research project described here was carried out, analysed and evaluated in the years 1977–1980. The two final chapters of this work are devoted to the systematic exposition and analysis of the material collected.

CHAPTER 3: TYPOLOGY OF LITURGICALLY FREE PSALMODY

The Relationship Between Text and Recitation in Liturgically Free Psalmody

As we emphasized in the Introduction, the relationship between text and recitation plays the decisive role in book psalmody. Our original hypothesis, thus, was that text and recitation cannot be separated in the Jewish tradition. In this chapter we will examine empirical evidence verifying this hypothesis.

In Part One we saw that the *parallelismus membrorum* represents the *conditio sine qua non* for psalmody and psalm poetry. It is impossible now to determine whether this principle represents a literary adoption from the original musical practice or a musical adoption from a literary-poetical form. As Werner has shown, we have here a very old form of expression in Semitic culture, which appears fully developed in the very earliest stages of ancient Semitic poetry. Even to the present day, poetry and song form a unit in oriental culture. Thus, we can infer that the *parallelismus membrorum* originates with the ancient oriental poet or singer, who spontaneously created both song and poetry. As a formal principle, the *parallelismus membrorum* actually represents a form of variation. The underlying thought of a phrase is restated in a parallel phrase. This is not, however, merely the repetition of the same thought, but rather a process of verbal association, and indeed, verbal association is one of the dominant principles in the progression of thought in Hebrew poetry.

Just as the *parallelismus membrorum* represents the necessary condition for psalm poetry, so the half cadence at the division between the half verses is the *conditio sine qua non* for psalmody. The half cadence is the first and most important criterion for

the identification of a psalmodic melody. In the performance practice of Hebrew psalmody among the oriental Jews the half cadence is even more prominent than the full cadence, as Lachmann remarked (Lachmann 1978:86ff.). In the recitation, the end of the verse is often passed over by the psalmodic line, which returns to the fundamental only after the next verse. This principle can be traced throughout oriental recitation practice. Here, too, the underlying reason can be found in the symbiosis between text and recitation.

The logical connection between the verses of a psalm is in many cases very loose, and occasionally even contradictory. In fact, the redactional reworking of the text often attached entirely different text segments to each other. For example, in Psalm 19 we have a "collage" of two totally different textual units. Verses two to seven form a self-contained poetic composition describing the path of the sun above the horizon, probably modelled after an Egyptian sun hymn. Then follows a glorification of the Torah, from verse eight to the end. Historical-critical scholarship quite early established that in the case of Psalm 19 we are actually dealing with two different psalms (cf. Gunkel 1926: 74ff.).

This explanation, however, does not entirely do justice to the redactional process. The two parts of Psalm 19 are, in fact, closely connected. Inherent in the hymn to the sun is the danger of idolatry. To avert this, the redactors added the section glorifying the Torah. This was probably a reformatory work of the Deuteronomic school, which subjected the Temple songs of the Levites to an evident redaction. An interesting moment in this procedure is revealed here. The redactors could simply have eliminated the first part of Psalm 19 from the canon, but did not do so, perhaps out of respect for the poetry. The religious ambivalence of the hymn, however, was neutralized by the addition of the second part, which provided a clear theological interpretation for the whole. What, however, are the consequences of such major reworkings of the text of a psalm for the recitation? If a melody already existed for the first part of the psalm, could this simply be extended to the additional material?

Although lack of concrete evidence prevents us from going into detail, it is obvious that such serious modifications of the text of a traditional song entail an alteration of the performance practice. One such alteration can be seen in the prophetic demand that the instruments of the Temple music and the songs of Zion fall silent. This radical break in the continuity of the musical tradition had two effects. First, it made the redactional work of the Deuteronomic school possible, and secondly, it required a new method of recitation which could deal with the unevenness of the

texts which this redactional process caused, and also with the "collage" of smaller textual units.

While we can suppose that before the Babylonian Exile the poetical texts of the psalms were written for established melodies, after the Exile this relationship is reversed: the structure of the text precedes that of the recitation. We called this musical type "book psalmody", since it covers long passages of text in a uniform manner. While before the Exile individual psalms were still connected to particular melodies, as we can infer from certain elements in the psalm titles (e.g. *'al*), after the Exile the entire Book of Psalms was recited according to a single recitation method. Book psalmody dispenses with all melodic ornamentation and abstains from emotional and hermeneutical interpretation of the text. Its relation to the content and mood of the text is neutral, because its collaboration with the text lies on an entirely different level. The type of psalmody is a method of reading, a method of intonation, and a method of communication: three elements which we discussed extensively in the first part of this work.

Here we must ask what were the consequences of these unusual functions for the musical parameters of Hebrew psalmody? What does the "method of reading" mean for the musical practice? As we pointed out above, it implies the renunciation of a particular tune. What remains is actually no longer a melody as such, but rather the combination of two melodic elements: the recitation tone and the half cadence. These two elements are adjusted to the structure of the text, so that the continuity of the recitation can be maintained for the entire Book of Pslams, in spite of textual unevenness and irregularities.

The concept which underlies the method of reading is that of the canon. The redactors of the psalm collections no longer viewed the psalm as an individual creation, but rather laid stress on the unity and cohesiveness of the entire Book of Psalms as canonical scripture. After its canonization the Torah was comprehended as a synchronous unity and, as a result, was recited in a cycle since the concept of cyclical recitation underlines the synchrony of the scripture. In the same way, the works of religious poetry were collected into canonical scripture and recited cyclically.

It is certainly no accident that the Book of Psalms is divided into five books, like the Torah. The psalmody thus represents the methodical device through which the Book of Psalms, with all its contrasts in subject matter, atmosphere, and theological implication, is welded into a unit. By means of the psalmody, verse after verse and psalm after psalm can be added together without regard to breaks, discrepancies, or changes of mood in the text. When we examine Psalm 19, it is remarkable that no

transition was constructed between the two parts. The sun hymn ends abruptly in verse eight and the hymn to the Torah begins without preliminary. This element of sudden, seemingly unmotivated change of subject and mood dominates, however, throughout the Book of Psalms — a fact that has caused difficulties in much historical-critical research.

However, this confusion in the ordering principles fully corresponds to the intention of the redactors. The absence of indications for the use of the psalms in the First Temple is no accident, but rather the result of the thorough revision of the Temple poetry. The redactors' ultimate goal was to weld the psalms into a canonical book. For this purpose, an autonomous literary character was essential. However, since the pre-Exilic Psalms — and Gunkel may be correct in this point — were connected to specific social and liturgical functions, they first had to be freed from this context before they could be raised to the level of a canonical book of the Old Testament. Thus, they were stripped of all indications as to their previous real position (Sitz im Leben) in order to be made available as autonomous religious literature for the cyclical recitation of book psalmody. In this way, the text of the psalms was prepared for book psalmody to the same degree as their music.

What was gained in this process of transformation? The psalmodic recitation method gave the text the continuity that it lacked, and raised the entire Book of Psalms, through the act of cyclical recitation, to a synchronous unity. The text, however, endows the psalmody with the variability that saves it from mechanical monotony. The fact that the psalmody is forced to adjust itself to the continual irregularities and assymetries of the text produces a musically satisfying play of unpredictable phrase lengths.

An element which the psalmody bestows on the text is rhythm. The redactional operations on the text in many cases obliterated the regular meter, which can still be traced in Psalm 24, for instance. Constant poetic meter never played a very important role in ancient Semitic poetry. The only consistent symmetry was that between the half verses, whose parallel parts usually contained the same number of stresses (cf. Ps. 24). But even these patterns were for the most part obscured in the redactional process. While the exact relationship between text, rhythm, and accents will be discussed in the next chapter, it can be noted here that the recitation alleviates the metrical irregularities of the text but remains bound to them, so that the text gains an element of rhythmical variability.

In the final analysis the relationship between text and recitation is not on the level of expression or interpretation, but is rather one of a structural linkage of syntactic-

logical units with recitative-melodic phrases. This relationship is expressed by the accents, which, as was shown in the discussion of their historical development, do not possess hermeneutical intentions, but form a detailed code for the phonetic-phonemic process in the sense of a generative grammar. The syntactic-logical end of the verse can, but does not *have* to, coincide with the melodic conclusion. The main resting point of the melodic phrase is at the half verse (*etnaḥtā*), and in some cases, the melodic movement overlaps and goes beyond the conclusion of the syntactic-logical phrase.

The relationship between text and recitation is not however limited to this aspect. Detailed analysis shows that not all melodic figures follow the accents. These exceptions to the rule can be traced back to certain key words in the text. Thus, in many cases the recitation tone is raised or an ornament is inserted at the word *adonay* ("Lord"). The same holds true for names such as "Yaᶜaqov."

The influence of content on the recitation can further be seen in verbs like *laᶜalôt*, to ascend. Here the recitation tone is raised without any corresponding sign in the structure of the accents. It must be emphasized, however, that all these are exceptional, and that book psalmody usually reflects neither the emotional mood nor the subject matter of the text, but rather possesses the sober quality inherent to the reading of a book. Lamentation and High Holidays psalmody present deviations from this general rule. These two forms of Hebrew psalmody are strongly connected to the emotional atmosphere of the holy days and days of mourning to which they liturgically belong.

The Relationship Between Accents and Recitation

The central importance of this theme has become apparent again and again in the course of this work. Before presenting the results of our research project, however, we must briefly review the connections revealed by analysis of the historical sources of the poetical accent system.

First we saw that in the Babylonian accent system no distinction existed between the poetical accents and those of the twenty one books (see Part One, chapter 2). Such a distinction began to appear in the Palestinian system and was thoroughly developed in the Tiberian. The Tiberian system introduced another essential alteration with major consequences for the recitation of the psalms. In manuscripts accented according to the Babylonian system the psalms were written in columns, separating the half verses; in the Palestinian manuscripts the half verses were also visually separated by the space of a word, but in the Tiberian manuscripts the half

verses are placed together without any separation. As a result, the half verses can no longer be recognized on the written page. The half-cadence at the division between the half verses, however, is the *conditio sine qua non* for the psalmodic melody. The question immediately arises: how can the reciter find the arrangement of the half verses when these are no longer graphically separated, but written in continuous lines like a prose text? This problem becomes more serious when we notice that, as can be clearly seen in the division of the Babylonian manuscripts, the psalm verse is not always divided into two equal parts, but even occasionally into *three* parallel segments (cf. Flender 1986:322f.).

This is the crucial point, where the difference between the poetical accent system and that of the twenty one books is not only one of appearance but also of function. Since the Tiberian system dispenses with the graphical subdivision of the psalm verse, it must devise an accentuation which distinguishes between the bisection and even trisection of the verse. To indicate the trisection, the accent *ʿôleh we-yôred* was introduced, the only accent of the poetical system not to appear in the twenty one books. The true function of *ʿôleh we-yôred* has been unrecognized or misunderstood by almost all accentologists. Baer transmitted the conventional opinion that *ʿôleh we-yôred* represents the strongest disjunctive accent in the poetical system, exceeding the disjunctive power of *etnaḥtā*. Wickes comes closer to the truth when he observes that *ʿôleh we-yôred* must be six words away from *sillûq,* and must be followed by a disjunctive accent, in most cases *etnaḥtā*. Wickes, however, was hampered by his theory of continuous dichotomy. Indeed, the insight that certain psalm verses are divided into three parts instead of two would have undermined Wickes' accent theory. The function of *ʿôleh we-yôred* as the trisector of the verse can be easily demonstrated on the basis of textual analysis (Ps. 2:7):

אספרה אל חק ה׳ אמר אלי בני אתה / אני היום ילדתיך׃

In some cases, however, *ʿôleh we-yôred* bisects the verse, assuming the function of *etnaḥtā,* as in Psalm 1:2:

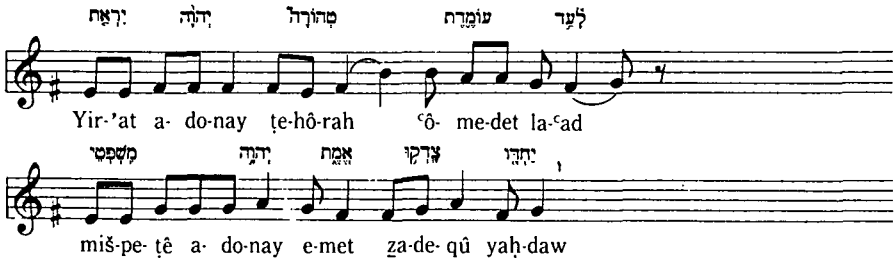
כי אם בתורת ה׳ חפצו ובתורתו יהגה יומם ולילה׃

Here, musical reasons are at work, referring to the fact that *etnaḥtā* not only divides the verse but is also the preparatory accent for *sillûq*, as Wickes correctly observed.

Before we discuss the poetical accent system in detail, let us look at an instance of the musical performance practice for *ʿôleh we-yôred*. This is a recording of a free liturgical function, made without an interview in the synagogue זכור אברהם (*Zekhor*

Avraham) in Jerusalem in 1978. We have chosen a verse of Psalm 19, the two-part construction of which was discussed in the previous section. In the second part of Psalm 19 a verse (10) appears with three parallel sections (musical transcription, see Figure 2).

Figure 2



What does this example show as regards the musical function of *ʿôleh we-yôred*? It is important to remember that *ʿôleh we-yôred* is not an isolated accent, but may rather occasion an entire sequence of accents, as in our example, where it is preceded by *galgal* and *zinnôr*. The sequence *zinnôr-galgal-ʿôleh we-yôred* is fixed, so that the performer can be certain that *ʿôleh we-yôred* will follow when he sees *zinnôr*.

When we examine the melodic line for Psalm 19:10 in the transcription, we see that the melody suddenly ascends over a fourth at *zinnor* and falls once again with *galgal* until it returns to its starting point $F^{\sharp}$ at *ʿôleh we-yôred* and closes on the fundamental tone *G*. The melodic form of this performance practice corresponds astonishingly to the literal meaning of *ʿôleh we-yôred*, namely, rises and descends. If one follows the psalm recitation from which this example was taken over several psalms, one discovers this figure every time the accent sequence *zinnôr-galgal-ʿôleh we-yôred* appears.

Using the same example, let us attempt to trace the fundamental aspects of the relationship between the recitation and the accent system. In our historical analysis of the poetical accent system, we concluded that its primary function must be to indicate the various parallel clauses of the verse, and we must therefore distinguish between three accent sequences which can indicate three types of clauses. We have already seen the first type, the accent sequence of *ʿôleh we-yôred*. The second is the accent sequence of *etnaḥtā* and the third that of *sillûq*. In the following we will call the first type 'o', the second 'm', and the third 'n'.

The melodic figure for the 'o' sequence has already been described. In our example, the melodic figure for type 'm' begins a third below the recitation tone (tenor), on *E*,

then ascends to the second above the recitation tone and closes on the second below the recitation tone. This represents the half cadence.

The melodic figure for type 'n' begins a second below the recitation tone and closes on the fundamental tone *G*.

When we examine those three melodic figures in the transcription of the entire psalm (see Example 1), we see first that the figure 'm' appears regularly with the accent sequence of *etnaḥtā*. This figure is usually introduced by the lower third, its recitation tone is always the fundamental tone *G*, and it comes to a close over the second degree *A* on the lower second, $F^{\sharp}$. The standard accent sequence for the type 'm' is *deḥî-munnaḥ-etnaḥtā*. When we compare all the versions of this melodic figure and its accentuation we see that various factors in the text lead again and again to modifications in the form of the melody and its accentuation, so that note for note, there are almost no two identical versions of the melodic figure 'm'. Nor can we speak of fixed motives as Idelsohn does. Although the half cadence maintains the framework of recitation tone, ascending second, descending third, this series of intervals appears in different rhythms, so that the concept of a fixed motive must give way to that of a flexible melodic formula. The same holds true for the introductory formula (*initium*). We cannot speak of a fixed motive here, but rather of the fact that all the melodic formulae are characterized by an ascending interval, either a third or a fourth (see Example 1).

In the case of the melodic figure 'n', we see that in our example this figure is indeed only found before *sillûq*. The corresponding accent sequence is: *merḵā-revîʿa mugraš-sillûq*. This is the standard sequence which, of course, appears in many variations. In 'n', the recitation tone $F^{\sharp}$ has no *initium*, since this figure always appears in the second half of the verse. (Verse 1 is an exception: here 'n' also forms the beginning of the verse, since it contains no *etnaḥtā*.)

The recitation tone for 'n' usually lies on $F^{\sharp}$, but in certain cases it can lie a fourth higher on *B* (see p.93).

The full cadence is usually reached through the upper second *A*, which then descends to the lower second $F^{\sharp}$ and ends on the fundamental *G*. In spite of the relative simplicity of this melodic framework, no two forms of type 'n' are identical in this psalm. The adjustment of the melodic formula to the word rhythm and the different lengths of the lines once again results in variants (see Example 1).

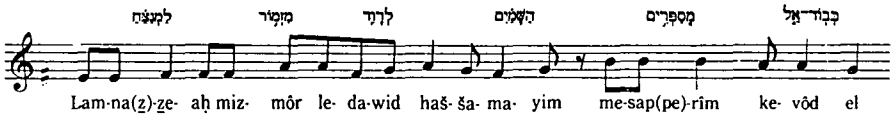
Now that we have examined the melodic figures 'm' and 'n', which follow the principles of Gregorian psalmody in that they possess the structural elements

initium, recitation tone and *finalis*, we must return to the melodic figure 'o' for which there is no parallel in Gregorian psalmody. The reason for this is clear when we recall that figure 'o' is connected with the division of the verse into three parts, a situation which does not exist in Gregorian psalmody.

When we compare all the melodic figures in our example which reflect type 'o', as well as their accents, we see that they are much less uniform than those of type 'm' or 'n'. This applies to both the melodies and the accentuation. At this point we can clearly prove the connection between the recitation and the accentuation system, since all the examples collected under the melodic type 'o' go beyond the melodic structure of Gregorian psalmody and exhibit an unmistakable relation to the accents.

First, let us examine the examples connected with the accent *revîʿa*. This accent has a double function. First, it negates or weakens the final cadence of *sillûq* so that the melodic arch comes to rest only at *revîʿa*. *Revîʿa* is thus the triggering factor for the overlapping of the melodic and syntactic phrases described in the previous section. On the other hand, *revîʿa* has an effect on the phrase that follows. The melodic figure 'm' which always follows *revîʿa* occasionally has the recitation tone *B* instead of the usual recitation tone *G*. A typical example for this can be found in verse 1-2. The melodic phrase of verse 1 does not come to rest until *revîʿa*, which is clearly expressed here by the breath sign. In the continuation, the recitation tone of the accent sequence of *etnaḥtā*, which usually lies on the fundamental *G*, is raised a third. As a result, the accent sequence *sillûq-revîʿa-etnaḥtā* receives a melodic form which is similar to that of *z̲innôr-galgal-ʿôleh we-yôred* (see Figure 3).

Figure 3



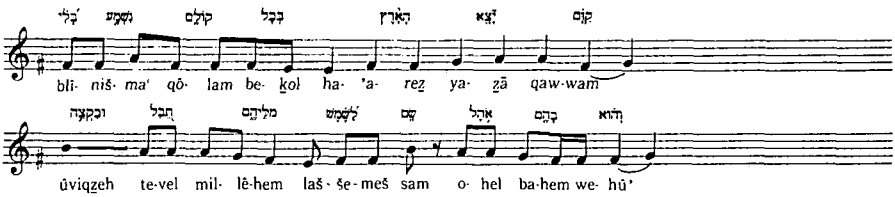
The same interlocking process can be observed in verses 4-6, but with much more complicated accentuation. First, *azlā legarmeh* follows *sillûq* and totally negates the *sillûq* cadence. Then comes *mahpaḵ* as a conjunctive accent to *revîʿa*. Only at this point does the cadence of *sillûq* set in, over the upper second *A*, descending a third to *F*♯ and ending on *G*. *Revîʿa* is followed by the accent sequence of *etnaḥtā*, as in verse 1, with the raised recitation tone *B*, but this is not yet the end of the melodic phrase. The succeeding melodic figure 'n' with the accent sequence of *sillûq* is modified by the inserted disjunctive accent *mahpaḵ legarmeh*, and *sillûq* is once

again followed by *revîʿa*, so that the final cadence of the entire melodic phrase only comes to rest with the first word of verse 6.

A comment is necessary here on the function of *legarmeh*. As Wickes has observed, *legarmeh* indicates the smallest division of a clause and thus cannot take in an additional disjunctive accent. "L'garmeh marks, where it occurs, the last division ... in a clause. With it the continuous dichotomy comes to an end. L'garmeh has, in consequence, no disjunctive accent in its own clause." (Wickes 1881:91)

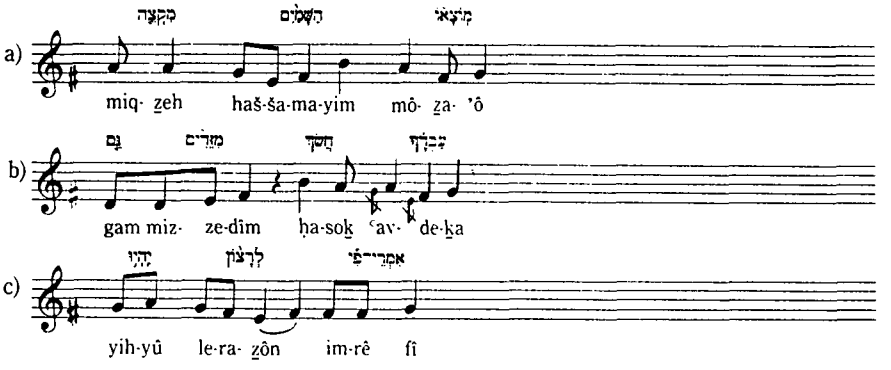
On the other hand, Wickes is wrong when he states that *legarmeh* is the last stage of the continuous dichotomy. The musical performance practice (which he could not have known) reveals an entirely different function for *legarmeh:* it negates the final cadence of *sillûq* and forms a transitional cadence which usually only comes to a close with *revîʿa*. In accentologist theory, *legarmeh* represented the smallest disjunctive accent, whose syntactical meaning was not clearly understood, but empirical investigation of the musical performance practice reveals that *legarmeh* is one of the most important accents in the interlocking of the syntactical and melodic phrases (see Figure 4).

Figure 4



We can trace this same process in verses 9–10, 14–15, but the musical realization is different each time. The modification of the musical line depends on the accent groups which precede or follow *legarmeh*. Thus, we find that in verses 10 and 15 the melodic figure *E* - *F*♯ - *B*, which is otherwise characteristic for *legarmeh*, is weakened to *E* - *F*♯. In verse 10, *legarmeh* is followed by *ʿôleh we-yôred*, and in verse 15 by *pazer*, which explains this modification. In the case of *ʿôleh we-yôred*, the subsequent melodic figure 'o' is expanded, so that the upward movement of the melody to *B* occurs on *zinnôr*. In the case of *pazer* the melodic figure 'o' is abridged, and the rise to *B* is omitted (see Figure 5c). The normal form for 'o' appears when *legarmeh* is followed by *revîʿa*, with the following pattern: *mahpaḵ* indicates the *initium*, followed by the modulation to *B* on *legarmeh* and the final cadence of *revîʿa* (see Figure 5a and 5b).

Figure 5

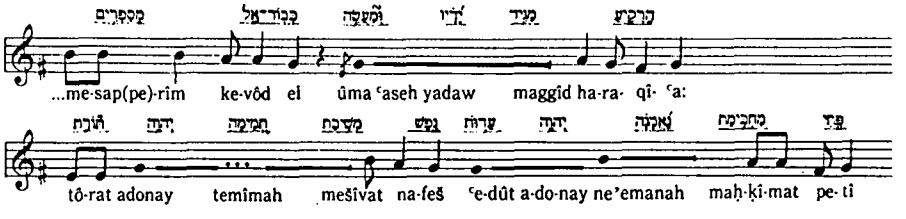


To sum up, we can determine two important functions performed by the melodic figure 'o': first, it indicates the first part of a three-part verse (in the case of *ʿôleh we-yôred*), and secondly, it indicates the overlapping parts of the appended beginning of the verse (in the case of *legarmeh* or *revîʿa*).

Both functions can occur together, however, as in verse 10. Here the functions are combined, and the melodic realization of *legarmeh* is weakened in favor of *ʿôleh we-yôred*.

This, however, does not explain all the melodic phenomena in our example. We also encounter several variants in the melodic figures 'm' and 'n'. Here we can observe a quasi-neutral type of melody, with both recitation tone and cadence on *G*. This type appears in the place of both the melodic figures 'm' and 'n' (see Figure 6).

Figure 6



These two exceptions draw our attention to an interesting phenomenon: both stand at the beginning of a new section. As we have seen, Psalm 19 is a combination of two hymns, one to the sun in verses 1-7 and one to the Torah in verses 8-15. We now observe that the psalmody reacts to this break in the text, for the regular alteration of the melodic figures 'm' and 'n' is suspended not only in verse 8, but also well into verse 9. A similar phenomenon can be seen at the beginning of the psalm. The first verses serve as an introduction, while the regular psalmody with its characteristic alternation of the melodic figures 'm' and 'n' does not start before verse 3. The same procedure is repeated at the beginning of the Torah hymn in verses 8-9. Only in the second part of verse 10 does the normal two-phased psalmody appear. In the accentuation of the text used in the oriental congregations (Bakal edition) this process is expressed by the addition of *zinnôrît* at the beginning of verses 8 and 9, an accentuation which the Koren edition, based on scholarly research, does not have.[51]

At this point we must examine yet another type of variant formation. In the melodic figure 'n' the recitation tone is raised to *B* in special cases, but without connection to the accentuation (cf. verses 7, 8 and 15). In verses 8 and 15 this rise is probably related to the synonym for the name of God *adonay*. A comparison with other psalm recitations shows that *adonay* in many cases is emphasized as an acclamation by the raising of the recitation tone. This, however, does not explain the variant in verse 7, for here we rather have a structural element. Just as the introductory verses are specially marked, so are the concluding verses. Verse 7 forms the final verse of the hymn to the sun, as verse 15 does for the entire psalm. This variant then, constitutes evidence that the oral tradition expressed the transition between Psalm 19a and 19b by means of the usual manner of reciting the transition between two different psalms. Thus the beginning of the Torah hymn is emphasized like the beginning of a new psalm.

Having outlined the relationship of the accents to the melodic form of the recitation, we now turn to the relationship of the accents to its rhythmical form. Robert Lachmann had already indicated the laws determining the relationship between the words and the rhythm of Hebrew recitation. The basic rule is that every syllable receives a certain metrical unit. Stressed syllables receive a multiple of this unit. We

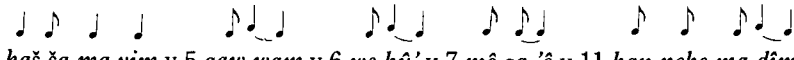
51 Here we encounter a problem which demands a comprehensive programme of textual study. The accentuation and, as a result, the recitation, of the text editions employed by the oriental Jews vary considerably from the scholarly editions. It would be necessary to determine from which sources and manuscripts these "oriental" editions are derived. The scholarly editions for their part, have often been corrected by the accentuation-scholars, who attributed the irregularities of accentuation to copying errors. With regard to empirical research into the oral tradition, however, it would be necessary to re-examine these textual processes.

can now elaborate this simple basic rule and extend it towards the relation between accent and recitation system. Our knowledge of the stress relations in ancient Hebrew is derived entirely from the Tiberian accent system (see Dotan 1972:1453). Every word has an accent above the stressed syllable, with the exception, of course, of words which are connected by *maqqaf* to form a pair, and the so-called pre-positive accents such as *deḥî* and *z̲innôrît*.

If we examine the relationship between accents and rhythm in our example, we find Lachmann's rule confirmed, but subject to numerous modifications. Since our example is of a recitation taken at speed, the syllables stressed with conjunctive accents are not metrically doubled. On the other hand, every half and full cadence receives a special rhythmical formula.

As the comparative table of rhythmical expressions for the half and full cadences shows, in every case a rhythmical prolongation takes place. When the cadential word has four syllables, as in three instances in verses 1–2, it receives the following prolongation: ♩ ♪♩ ♩ . Three syllable words usually receive a simple lengthening of the stressed syllable: ♩♩ ♩ . In the case of two syllable words, both syllables are prolonged when the stress lies on the first syllable; otherwise only the second syllable is prolonged, so that in many cases, especially when the cadential word is preceded by a word with *maqqaf*, the last syllable of the preceding word is also prolonged, resulting in this rhythm: ♩ ♪♩ . Words of one syllable are simply prolonged, or receive an appogiatura as in verse 11.

There are also certain additional elements which constitute the relationship between the accents and the rhythmical expressions. We have examined the half and full cadences, but what about the melodic figure 'o', that is, what occurs when *ʿôleh we-yôred* or *legarmeh* are notated? A comparison of the relevant passages shows that the syllable stressed by *revîʿa* is usually prolonged by a factor of four:



v.2 *haš-ša-ma-yim* v.5 *qaw-wam* v.6 *we-hû'* v.7 *mô-z̲a-'ô* v.11 *han-neḥe-ma-dîm*

v.14 *ʿav-de-k̲a*

The same and more applies to *legarmeh:*

v.5 *ha-'a-reẓ* v.7 *haš-ša-ma-yim* v.15 *le-ra-z̲ôn*

and *ʿôleh we-yôred*: v.10 *la-ʿad.*

To sum up, we can establish a wide range of relationships between the accents and the recitation, in both the melodic line and the rhythm. These relationships, however, are dialectical in nature. As in our analysis of the text-recitation relationship we discovered a complex interlocking matrix between the melodic and syntactical structures, so the same holds true for the relationship of the recitation to the accents: the two interact reciprocally. The recitation is not identical with the accents, but rather represents a musical realization of the accent structures. The recitation, however, has its own formal laws, namely that of the psalmody, with the fixed elements *initium*, recitation tone, *mediant*, and *finalis*. In the symbiosis with the accent structure, the simple structure of the psalmody undergoes an essential modification. Both the three-part division and the process of interlocking force the psalmodic dichotomy into modulatory melodic figures which interrupt the symmetrical proportions of the alternating half and full cadences. This can hardly be viewed as a "retrogressive phenomenon", as Herzog suggests but rather as the further development of the psalmodic recitation principle, which pre-supposes a generation-long experience of text and recitation.

The Liturgical Occasion for Book Psalmody

As we saw in the introduction, book psalmody is usually performed on free liturgical occasions. When asked the question, "When is the Book of Psalms recited?", all the informants interviewed for this project answered: "At the sick bed, and in cases of mourning". Rabbi Ashuri emphasized that in the Diaspora the Book of Psalms was recited especially during times of persecution and "hard times", such as natural disasters and other calamities.

In the second place, the interviewees named the recital and study of the psalms after the *šaḥarît*. For this purpose the Book of Psalms is divided into seven parts, one for each day of the week.[52]

Elderly men and those no longer able to work observe the custom of reciting the entire Book of Psalms every day. Our example of Psalm 19 above was recorded at such a ceremony. In the Jerusalem synagogue *Zekhor Avraham* elderly men gather together every day after the *šaḥarît* to study the Mishnah. Afterwards, the entire Book of Psalms is recited, taking about three hours. The readers alternate according

52 Most of the editions of the Book of Psalms used by oriental Jews contain the following arrangement: Psalm 1-29 for Sunday; Psalm 30-50 for Monday; Psalm 51-72 for Tuesday; Psalm 73-89 for Wednesday; Psalm 90-106 for Thursday; Psalm 107-119 for Friday; and Psalm 120-150 for Sabbath (see the Bakal edition of the Book of Psalms).

to the seating order, each reading five psalms at a time. These elderly men are supported by the congregation. In the course of the morning women come into the synagogue and bring them fruit, cake, and other refreshments. They often ask for a blessing for a sick or deceased member of the family. Money is also contributed, which is divided among the elderly men. The recitation of the psalms is considered to have a healing and saving power (*segullah*). The belief is widespread that he who studies the psalms daily participates in the "world to come", will sit below the Throne of God and achieve the liberation of the soul.

After the recital of the complete Book of Psalms, a ceremonial meal with fruit, vegetables, and baked goods takes place, over which the benedictions of the "fruits of the earth", the "fruits of the trees", and "all that thrives through His Word" are spoken.

This widespread arrangement for the study of the psalms in the synagogue is, especially through the influence of the Kabbalah, connected with many festive occasions in the calendar. For instance, among the Iraqi Jews the custom exists of performing the ceremony described above on the day of the New Moon, either after the *šaḥarît* or even before the *minḥah*. In many congregations, in addition to the benedictions on the "fruits of the earth", and the "fruits of the trees", a candle is lit at the end of each group of five psalms and the *"adonay malaḵ"* is sung. Among Moroccan and North African congregations we find the custom of performing the *tiqqûn karet* during the night of the New Moon. They first recite from the *"Ḥoq le-yisra'el"*, then parts of the *Zohar*, and after midnight the Book of Psalms. The belief that the healing power of the psalms is especially enhanced after midnight goes back to the Kabbalistic school of Safed, just as the entire idea of the night-time prayers of penance and supplication (*tiqqûnîm* and *baqqašôt*) derives from Kabbalistic influences.

The custom of singing *baqqašôt* on Sabbath eves between Hanukka and Passover (cf. Katz 1968; Seroussi 1990) is observed among Moroccan and Syrian Jews. The ceremony begins at about two o'clock in the morning and is often introduced by psalm recitation after midnight. However, there are also psalm passages in the *baqqašôt*, which chiefly consist of collections of *piyyûṭîm*. The singing of the *baqqašôt* is derived from Arabic art music and is performed by specialists (*payṭanîm*). Congregation participation takes the form of choral responses. The melodies to which the texts are set are supplemented by elaborate melismatic ornamentation and — especially among the Syrian Jews — by inserted virtuoso solo passages which are based on the improvisation principles of the Arabic *maqāmāt*. The

examples of "melismatic psalmody", as cited by Gerson-Kiwi originate here (cf. Gerson-Kiwi 1967:72). However, the term "melismatic psalmody" is not really applicable, since these examples bear no relation to the musical parameters of psalmody, but merely make use of certain psalm passages as texts for the vocal artistry of Arabic music.

Book psalmody is also given preferential treatment on days of fasting. Among Iraqi Jews we find the custom of so-called "speech-fasting days" in winter. The congregation assembles in the synagogue after *šaḥarît* and begins with a prayer of penance (*seder widdûy*). Afterwards the Book of Psalms is recited three times, which takes the whole day. Each person recites eight psalms, according to the seating order. After three complete recitations of the Psalms, the first eight are recited a fourth time, and the so-called study *limmûd tehillîm* concludes with Psalm 29. The *minḥah* is followed by *baqqašôt*, which the cantor performs. The *ʿarvît* closes the ceremony of the "speech-fasting day", on which, as the name implies, no talking is allowed.

The "study of psalms" on Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur is widespread in almost all oriental congregations. The Book of Psalms is read twice on these days, i.e. 300 psalms, as is the numerical value of כפר (to atone for, to expiate). This mystical numerology is an influence from the Kabbalistic sphere of ideas.[53]

In addition, our informants mentioned the "study of the psalms" before and after *minḥah* on the Sabbath. Usually Psalms 120–150 are recited, corresponding to the last part of the weekly psalm cycle. The custom of reading the *šillûš* in the afternoon on certain weekdays was treated in the introduction to this chapter (see note 40).

This survey of the liturgical occasions of book psalmody does not claim to be exhaustive, but rather reflects the first hand information gathered by the author.

The Performance Practice of Book Psalmody in Some Oriental Jewish Congregations

In the section "The Relationship Between Accents and Recitation" we used a single example to demonstrate the relationship between recitation and accents in book psalmody. In what follows we will present a comprehensive inventory of the repertoire of Hebrew psalmody collected by the author in certain oriental congregations.

53 See also the rite for the psalm recitation at the sickbed which is widespread in many congregations, and proceeds as follows: on the basis of special alphabetical lists of psalm verses, all those verses are recited whose first letters are part of the name of the sick person. This act of "music therapy" is thought to aid the speedy recovery of the patient.

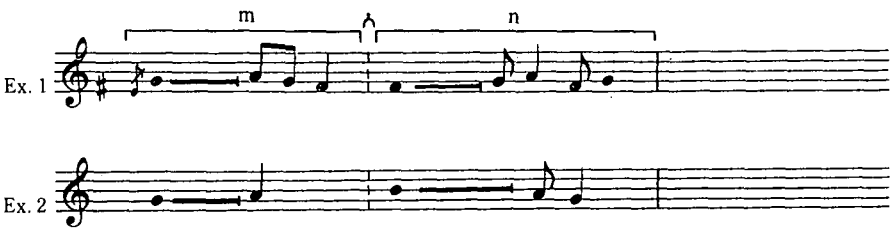
Idelsohn was the only scholar who attempted an inventory of psalm styles which would encompass all the existing Jewish traditions (see Idelsohn 1922a: 63–68, and 1924:228–239). He distinguished between the following regional styles: (1) Oriental Sephardi; (2) Persian; (3) Yemenite; (4) Moroccan; (5) Italian; (6) Western Sephardi and (7) Ashkenazi. Idelsohn's classification system is however, of little use for our study. He classifies and selects his examples according to modes and motives. Thus, he observes that the Persian and certain Sephardi psalmodies are sung in the Lydian mode; the Ashkenazi, Moroccan, Italian, and other Sephardi psalmodies in the Phrygian, etc. In so doing, he confuses examples belonging to specific liturgical occasions, such as the *pesûqê de-zimrah*, with book psalmody, presenting a broad palette of different liturgical functions which can hardly be compared to each other.

We shall therefore attempt to construct a new system for the classification of regional styles of psalmody, based on the principles developed in the course of this work: namely, the distinction between liturgically free and liturgically fixed psalmody. Thus, for the comparison of regional styles of book psalmody, only examples which are known to have no function in the regular synagogal liturgy and which are drawn from cyclical psalm recitation can be used.[54] One such example (Psalm 19) representing the psalmodic style of Moroccan Jews has already been discussed. Let us now turn to another example of Moroccan book psalmody to see if we can justifiably speak of a regional style (see Example 2).

Our second example (Ps. 57) comes from the elderly people's center in Netivot and, like the first, is taken from a documentary recording (without interview) of the entire Book of Psalms. The structural analysis shows that, as in Example 1, three melodic figures can be determined. However, the modal relations are different. In Example 2, the psalmody is realized in the five note range from *G* to *D*. The melodic figure 'm' closes on *A*, a step above the fundamental tone. The recitation tone of melodic figure 'n' is usually *B* or *G*. Thus, the two examples are modally different. Structurally, in Example 2 the melodic figure 'm' occurs in the *etnaḥtā* clause, and the melodic figure 'n' in the *sillûq* clause, just as in Example 1. The melodic development of Example 2, however, is considerably more primitive. We find no melodic formulae for the half and full cadences, but merely the rising and falling of the recitation tone, as a comparison of the standard figures 'm' and 'n' for Examples 1 and 2 shows (see Figure 7).

54 Mention should be made here of A. Herzog's classification of the various traditions of biblical cantillation into five major regional styles (Herzog 1972).

Figure 7

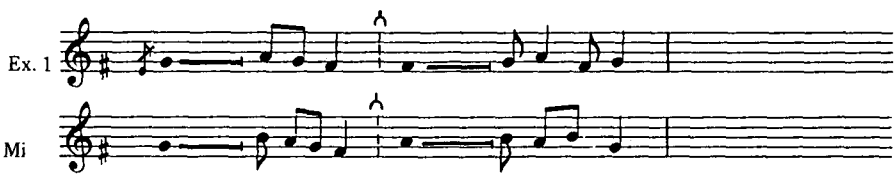


As in Example 1, in Example 2 the melodic figure 'o' appears for the clause of *ʿôleh we-yôred*, as well as in the interlocking signaled by *revîʿa* and *legarmeh*. Although the melodic form of 'o' is once again totally different between Example 1 and Example 2, they nevertheless share the following structural element: 'o' represents a connecting unit between 'm' and 'n' and does not possess a recitation tone. The other structural (text dependent) elements of Example 1 can also be found in Example 2: thus, in verse 1 the melodic figure 'n' is emphasized by the raising of the recitation tone to *D* with the words "when he fled from Saul in the cave" as the recitation tone of figure 'm' is raised from *G* to *B* at the beginning of verse 6 because of the word *rûmah* ("be thou exalted").

To sum up, we can say that our two examples Ma and Mb are structurally identical, although their musical realizations turn out to be entirely different. Neither their modal characteristics nor their motives are the same. We can only observe that the melodic means in Example 2 are confined to a minimum, whereas Example 1 has developed certain standard motives for the accents *etnaḥtā*, *ʿôleh we-yôred*, *legarmeh* and *revîʿa*.

Among Idelsohn's examples for the psalmody of Moroccan Jews we find a transcription of Psalm 47 (Idelsohn 1922a:67 — mistakenly printed as Psalm 74) which comes quite close to our Example 1. Unfortunately, he only transcribed the first four verses of the psalm, so that we can make comparisons only for the melodic figures 'm' and 'n'. His example is identical with Example 1 for melodic figure 'm', but in 'n' the recitation tone lies on the upper second A. Here is a comparison of the psalmodic formulae of Example 1 and Idelsohn's example Mi (see Figure 8).

Figure 8



Idelsohn derived his two motives for the half and full cadences of Moroccan psalmody from this instance. But these motives apply only here, making an analysis of the melodic figure 'o' impossible, since this figure only occurs with *ʿôleh we-yôred*, *legarmeh* or *revîʿa*, none of which appear here. Thus, Idelsohn's analysis remains inadequate.[55]

Having examined two examples of Moroccan psalmody, let us widen our perspective by considering two examples of the psalmody of the Jews of Djerba. We choose Djerba because, thanks to Lachmann, we possess two carefully prepared transcriptions of Psalm 1, which, made fifty years ago, provide an authentic document for Djerba psalmody practice.

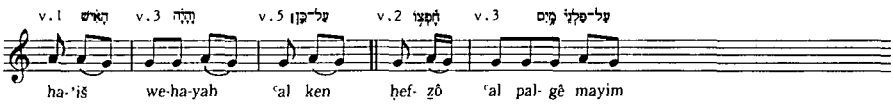
Our first example Da (see Da in Example 3), was recorded on March 26th 1979, in the *Bet Yaʿaqov* synagogue in Netivot. The performer, Hadad Maqiqis, was born in Djerba in 1908 and came to Israel in 1951.

An analysis of Da reveals a version of psalmody which differs considerably from Example 1 and 2. First, we notice that the melodic figures 'm' and 'n' have the same recitation tone, *G* exceptionally *A*, in which case the recitation tones alternate with each other. The standard formula 'm' ends on *G* (with the exception of verse 1). The standard formula 'n' ends on the lower third *E* except when the clause of *sillûq legarmeh* or *revîʿa* follows (see verses 1, 2, and 4). In these cases, 'n' concludes on the recitation tone *G* or *A*; that is, it does not come to a close at all, and the final cadence of *sillûq* is suspended. Here we again clearly recognize the process of interlocking. In certain cases prescribed by the accents the melodic phrase binds two verses together to a greater unity. However, this is achieved by other musical means than in Examples 1 and 2. We cannot speak of a melodic figure 'o' in the case of Da. Instead, we see that melodic motives are much more often connected to particular accents. Thus, the alteration of the recitation tone *G* with the neighbouring note *A* often

55 Idelsohn's procedure is characteristic of the study of Jewish liturgical music. This holds good both for transcriptions and tape recordings. Gerson-Kiwi, Werner, and Avenary often transcribe or quote only the first two-to-four verses of a recitation and draw conclusions from this for the Hebrew psalmody, just as two verses are sufficient to exemplify Gregorian psalmody. In Hebrew psalmody, however, this procedure can be misleading, since the identity of the melodies in Hebrew psalmody does not lie in the mode or the motives, but rather in the structural relations between the texts, accents, and liturgy. These pre-conditions make it necessary to collect extensive material on tape, for instance an entire cycle of book-psalmody, then to take spot-checks from such a documentary recording, and to transcribe at least two complete psalms from different phases of the cycle. Most recordings by Gerson-Kiwi, J. Spector, and others, are limited to only one or one-half of a psalm, an insufficient basis for scientific analysis.

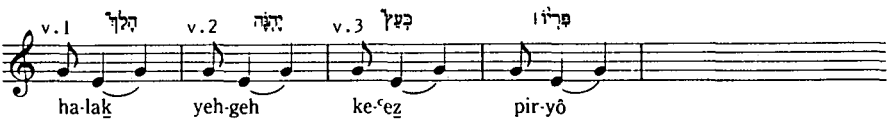
occurs with *revîʿa* and *ʿôleh we-yôred*. This small motive is found even with *legarmeh* (see Figure 9).

Figure 9



Another motive consists of the alternation of the recitation tone with the auxiliary tone *E*, which we find mostly with *zinnôr* or *legarmeh*, but also with *revîʿa mugraš* (see Figure 10).

Figure 10



Thus, our example from Djerba represents a different concept of the musical realization of text and accents. The clear dichotomy between the melodic figures 'm' and 'n', represented by two different recitation tones in Example 1 and 2, is less recognizable in Da. Instead of the psalmodic structure of *initium*, recitation tone and cadence, we can discern individual accent motives in Da. Here the "neumatic" concept of the *zarqā*-table for the psalms becomes apparent. However, it is not worked out systematically, but rather becomes mixed with the underlying psalmodic structure. This is especially clear for the melodic figure 'o', which is dissolved into individual melodic motives, departing from the constant recitation tone *G*, and strung together in a mosaic-like series. In this process the same accent can be realized by two different motives and vice versa.

Let us examine a second example of Psalm 1, performed by Baruch Huri referred to as Db. Huri was born in 1919 in Djerba and came to Israel in 1949 after having worked as a tailor in Tunis for several years. The recording was made on March 27th, 1979 in Sharsheret. Huri's recitation is almost identical with one recorded by Lachmann in Djerba in 1929. This provides important proof for the reliability of oral transmission in the Jewish tradition.

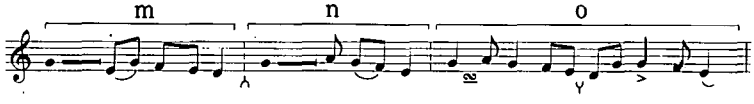
In Example 3, the transcription of our 1979 recordings (Da and Db) and the transcription of Lachmann's recording (Dc) are printed under each other to facilitate comparison. Analysis of Huri's psalmody (Db), authenticated by Lachmann's recording, shows us on the one hand a greater proximity to the dichotomous

structure of Moroccan psalmody, and on the other hand a melodically more ornate embellishment of the cadences than in Da.

A common element in both Da and Db is that the two recitation tones *G* and *A* are employed indiscriminately for both the melodic figures 'm' and 'n'. In Db, however, we find a distinct half cadence on the lower fourth *D* which was absent in Da. The melodic figure 'n' of Db concludes, like Da, on the lower third *E*. It is even possible to recognize a melodic figure 'o' for Db. This descends from the upper second *A* to the lower fourth *D*, rises once again to the recitation tone *G* and ends on the lower third *E*. This melodic figure appears in the clause of *ʿôleh we-yôred*, as well as the transitional clause *mahpaḵ, legarmeh, revîʿa* (see verses 1 and 3). The standard figures 'm', 'n', and 'o' have the following forms (see Figure 11).[56]

Figure 11

In the following figures the order of the accents *ʿôleh we-yôred* (Heb.: rise and fall) were reversed in order to conform to the left to right directionality of the notation.



56 The psalmodic framework of Db bears a striking similarity to the notation of Obadiah the Norman Proselyte. In his article (Adler 1965) Adler already pointed out that the melodies notated by Obadiah show parallels to a repertory of biblical melodies widespread among oriental Jews. The examples cited by Adler, which all display a dichotomous structure (with the half-cadence on the lower fourth and the full cadence with the characteristic half-step from *F* to the fundamental tone *E*), originate from Syria, Djerba, and Italy, and are sung to texts from Proverbs, Psalms, and the Prophets.

In this context, we can develop Adler's general remark into a more concrete statement: the notation of the melody *barûḵ hag-gever* must be seen in the context of Hebrew psalmody, where it represents a thoroughly authentic example of an ancient oral tradition. (It is thus virtually impossible that this melody was composed by Obadiah personally.) If we view Obadiah as a medieval "ethnomusicologist", we have here an astonishing proof of the reliability of the transmission of psalmodic vocal melodies among the Jews. The psalmodies of the Jews of Djerba would thus have a verifiable "depth of field" of approximately 900 years, being traceable back to the 11th century. If this is the case, then two resulting aspects are particularly interesting. First, Obadiah's notation leads us beyond the boundaries of the psalm texts. We are clearly dealing here with a verse-compilation, as we described in the chapter on the psalms in the Jewish liturgy. The connection between verse-compilation and the psalmody is here confirmed by a historical source. Secondly, on the basis of Obadiah's notation we can probably classify the oral tradition of the Jews of Djerba as representing the Palestinian tradition. The parallels of Djerba, Syria, and Italy are certainly not accidental, but rather point towards a common origin, namely, the synagogal tradition of 11th century Palestine.

Obadiah himself was probably educated in Baghdad, but lived later in Egypt, since all his manuscripts were found in the Cairo Geniza. In addition, he also had close contacts with the congregation in Aleppo (Syria). We must also consider the fact that the 10th century brought the *textus receptus* of the Tiberian Masoretes, and thus the emergence of the poetical accent system.

An interesting observation, arising from our examples, can be made on the psalmodic style of the Jews on Djerba. While Huri's psalmody, Db, remains close to the Moroccan example, Da displays a development which departs from the original dichotomy of psalmodic melodies and reproduces the accents as isolated motives. Examples like that of Maqiqi's (our Da), led researchers to view this as a retrogressive phenomenon, since the relationship of the accents to the musical motives is inconsistent and sporadic in execution. In reality, however, these accent motives are not artificial supplements, but rather represent the condensation of the original melodic phrases to individual, isolated motives, arranged in a mosaic-like series. This can be seen clearly in comparing Da to Db. In every example, however, the special technique of interlocking is performed without exception, as in verse 1-3. In both cases the final cadence of *sillûq* on *E* is omitted, and the melodic figure 'o' follows immediately. Verse 2, however, contains an exceptional formation of accents. Here, *ʿôleh we-yôred* is notated at the half verse, preceded by *revîʿa gadôl*. The reason for this is the *sillûq* clause, too long to form a regular clause after *etnaḥtā* and too short to be itself divided by *etnaḥtā*. The editors of the cantillation signs therefore selected *ʿôleh we-yôred* for the indication of the half verse, which must be followed by another disjunctive accent. Since *etnaḥtā* cannot be used, its function is taken over by *revîʿa mugraš*. It is interesting to see how this peculiar accentuation is interpreted in the oral tradition. Db, like Lachmann's version, introduces the melodic figure 'o' at *revîʿa gadôl*. Dc, however, closes on the lower fourth *D* instead of the usual *E*, and thus interprets *ʿôleh we-yôred* correctly in the function of *etnaḥtā*. Db, however, omits the entire cadence of *ʿôleh we-yôred*, while Da omits the whole clause.

In the second half of this verse all our examples employ a motive derived from 'o' at *revîʿa mugraš*. This is an exception, since *revîʿa mugraš* usually signals the melodic figure 'n'. This, however, does not occur here, since *ʿôleh we-yôred* precedes, requiring an additional disjunctive accent between it and *sillûq*. Thus, verse 2 is divided into three melodic phrases, although it displays a clear syntactical dichotomy. The element of the melodic figure 'o', however, once again does not come to a full cadence with *sillûq*, since *revîʿa* follows, suspending the cadence of *sillûq* on *E*. Thus, in verses 2-3 we are confronted with the unusual case of 'o' occurring four times in a row before the regular psalmodic dichotomy sets in after the *etnaḥtā* sequence of verse 3.

Here we must further emphasize that the rhythmical realizations of Db and Dc are fairly strict. Most of the stressed syllables — including those stressed with conjunctive accents — are doubled in length, while the major disjunctive accents,

and especially those which lie in the clauses of melodic figure 'o', are expanded by a factor of 6 to 8. Here we see a clear increase in the "punctuation melismas", which, however, have not lost their connections with the psalmodic structure (as opposed to those in the Sephardi Torah reading, for example).

With our examples of psalmodies from Morocco and Djerba, we have discussed two regional North African styles. We will next turn to three examples of Babylonian psalmody. Idelsohn established a theory of the connection between psalm recitation and accents in the Babylonian tradition, treating this subject extensively in the introduction to Volume II of his *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz* (pp. 13–15). Here we find a list of five poetical accent motives (see Idelsohn 1922a:14).

Among his musical examples (p. 64) Idelsohn gives in § 6,3 a transcription of Psalm 1, verses 1–5, from an anonymous informant, which he classifies under oriental Sephardi (see Si in Example 4). This transcription carries accents, since it is intended to illustrate the connection between accents and recitation.

I encountered considerable difficulties in my search for additional examples of Babylonian psalmody in Jerusalem between 1977 and 1980. The Babylonian tradition has disappeared from most Iraqi synagogues, and the Iraqi Jews have almost all adopted the Sephardi traditions. However, I was able to find two recordings in the National Sound Archives which correspond for the most part to Idelsohn's transcription. The first is a recording of Yeḥezqel Batat, from Baghdad, made by Shlomo Rosovsky in 1934 (see Ba in Example 4); and the second is with Avraham Abdallah, recorded in Jerusalem in 1973 (see Bb in Example 4).

Like the examples from Djerba, these three examples are notated under each other in the transcriptions to facilitate comparison.

In example Ba we have a recitation which is carefully performed as regards both psalmody and motives. The melodic figures 'm' and 'n' possess two different recitation tones, like our Moroccan examples. Phrase 'm' has the recitation tone *F* and ends on the upper second *G*, while phrase 'n' has the recitation tone *G* and ends on the *finalis F*. This dichotomous principle is carefully observed in all the verses, including those where interlocking occurs. This holds for the other Iraqi examples as well.

We can also crystallize a type of melodic figure 'o' out of Ba, which consists of two motives. It begins with a motive which ascends a fourth from the recitation tone *F* to $B^{\flat}$ and returns to the fundamental tone in two thirds, $B^{\flat}$ – *G* and $A^{\flat}$ – *F*. The second element is a small motive in which the recitation tone alternates with its lower

neighbour *E*, and the figure closes with the motive of a fourth, as at the beginning. In Si we find the same motives, but in reverse order (see verse 3): Here the melodic figure 'o' is introduced by the lower neighbour-note motive *F-E-F*, which closes on *G* and leads directly to the fourth-motive $B^{\flat}$-*G*-$A^{\flat}$-*F*, which is then repeated twice.[57]

When we compare our example with Idelsohn's list of accents, we can indeed register a similarity of motives for the accents *sillûq*, *etnaḥtā*, *ʿôleh we-yôred*, and *revîʿa mugraš*. *Sillûq* and *ʿôleh we-yôred* end on the *finalis*. The motive for *sillûq* ends over the upper third, while *ʿôleh we-yôred* has the fourth motive.[58] *Revîʿa mugraš* rises a third from the recitation tone of 'n' and thus ends on the upper fourth. Only in the case of *legarmeh* do we not find a correspondence between our examples. Instead, Ba, Bb and Si clearly use the fourth-motive of *ʿôleh we-yôred* for *mahpaḵ legarmeh*, as in verse 5, and Bb and Si pass over this accent altogether in verse 2. Ba and Bb have an ascending third for *legarmeh* in verses 1 and 3, while Si contains the neighbour-note motive *F-E-F-G* at these points. Thus we see that *legarmeh* receives different musical realizations depending on the context, an observation that we have already made for the psalmodies of Morocco and Djerba. In the case of Bb, however, Idelsohn's list of accents can be extended. Here *deḥî* finds an expression parallel to that of *revîʿa mugraš*, namely a third-motive which ascends from the recitation tone *F*, just as the motive of *revîʿa mugraš* ascends a minor third from the recitation tone *G*.

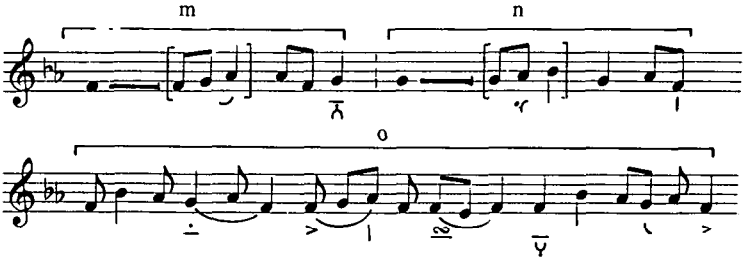
The *deḥî* motive is missing in Si. Further, *revîʿa* contains, in many cases, the fourth-motive of *ʿôleh we-yôred*. To sum up, we can distinguish five motives for Ba, which are distributed over eight accents: *ʿôleh we-yôred*, *revîʿa*, and in some cases *legarmeh* possess the fourth-motive; the clause of *ʿôleh we-yôred* is introduced with *zinnôr* by the neighbour-note motive *F-E-F*; *deḥî*, *revîʿa mugraš*, and in some cases

57 It is interesting that we find two musical motives here which we have already encountered in Ma (see Example 1), except that the modal characteristics are different. In Ma the melodic figure 'o' is introduced by the neighbour-note motive *E*-$F^{\sharp}$, which leads to the fourth-motive $F^{\sharp}$-*B* and closes on *G*. The resemblance in the melodic line is amazing. This finding would support Avenary's thesis that the ancient Babylonian tradition has been preserved in Morocco.

58 Idelsohn notated the fourth motive in a contracted form here, probably with reference to his transcription of Psalm 104 (see Idelsohn 1922a:136). This is clear from the fact that the accent-table on p. 14 (*ibid.*) is notated in $B^{\flat}$ minor, like the transcription on p. 136. Idelsohn seems to have made a mistake here, for *ʿôleh we-yôred* in verse 1 is merely a passing-tone. The same holds true for verse 3. How Idelsohn derived the motive for *mahpaḵ legarmeh* remains unclear. This accent occurs only once in his transcription, in verse 8. We do find $E^{\flat}$-*C* here, but it would be a serious mistake to present this descending third as the motive for *mahpaḵ legarmeh*. The upper fourth $E^{\flat}$ clearly belongs to *revîʿa mugraš*, as Idelsohn himself correctly analysed (p. 14). In the case of verse 8, *mahpaḵ legarmeh* does not receive a separate motive at all, but merely represents the stressed time unit of the recitation tone of melody 'o'. Such a realization for *mahpaḵ legarmeh* can also be found in Si, verse 2 (see Example 4).

legarmeh receive the ascending third motives *etnaḥtā* always contains the half cadence on *G* prepared by the upper second $A^{\flat}$ and the lower second *F*, and *sillûq* always contains the full cadence on *F*, approached over the upper third $A^{\flat}$. Thus, the psalmodic structure of Ba, including its motivic development, can be illustrated in figure 12.

Figure 12



The rhythmical structure of Ba is as highly developed as the melodic. The recitation is not only melodically enlivened by the frequent accent motives, but also by the consistent rhythmization of all the recited words, The *tonus currens* does not appear in Ba, with the exception of verse 4, where the word meaning of אשר תדפנו has probably influenced the recitation. In all other cases the stressed syllable is prolonged. Whereas in Example 1 we found the rhythmization of words with disjunctive accents while words with conjunctive accents fell under the *tonus currens*, in the Babylonian psalmody the words with conjunctive accents were also subject to the principle of rhythmization.

When we examine the words stressed with *merḵa* and *munnah* in Ba, we see that Lachmann's rule of text rhythmization is consistently applied. In so doing, every stressed syllable, including those marked with *gaʿyah*, is stretched to twice the duration of the unstressed syllables, which all have the same minimum metrical unit of recitation. In words where the stress falls on the penultimate syllable both this and the last one are doubled in length. This principle also applies to the disjunctive accents of the melodic figures 'm' and 'n'; that is, *dehî, revîʿa mugraš, etnaḥtā* and *sillûq* are all rhythmically doubled. The distinction lies in the melodic line: the disjunctive accents usually receive an individual melodic motive, while the melody remains on the recitation tone for the conjunctive accents. In the melodic figure 'o', however, every disjunctive accent is prolonged to four or five times the basic metrical unit. The tendency to lengthen the rhythmical values of the 'o' melody was also present in the Moroccan example Ma, where it is introduced by a slowing down of the time values to half speed (see Example 1, verses 5–7).

Comparing the two, we can say that in general Bb represents a simplified version of Ba. Every regional style exists within a certain margin of freedom, as we saw in comparing Da with Db. In Bb the intricate motivic development of Ba is reduced to a minimum, and only the psalmodic structure with the half and full cadences, the two recitation tones, and the richer ornamentation of the 'o' melody are common elements. The fourth-motive $B^{\flat}$-G-$A^{\flat}$-F is employed at the same point in Bb as in Ba, but is lacking in verse 2 and also in Si.

We have already mentioned the unusual accentuation of verse 2. Bb circumvents these difficulties by treating this verse as simple dichotomy and interpreting the *ʿôleh we-yôred* clause with the melodic figure 'm'. Otherwise, Bb possesses a different motive for the introduction of 'o' than Ba. In verse 3, the position of the neighbour-note motive F-E/F-G is taken over by a triplet motive in quarter notes: $A^{\flat}$-G-F/F-G-$A^{\flat}$. This motive is missing in Ba and Si; we will encounter it again in Kurdish psalmody. This finding suggests the possibility that the singer of Bb did not originally come from Baghdad, but from Kurdistan.[59] The pronunciation, intonation, and the recitation tempo also point towards a Kurdish origin for Bb. On the other hand, Bb is not identical with authentic Kurdish psalmody. We are probably dealing with a performer who came from Kurdistan and subsequently adopted the Baghdad tradition.

A few concluding words on Si: Although we cannot go into all the minute differences which distinguish Si from Ba and Bb, we must point out that Si does not strictly adhere to the two recitation tones principle. The recitation tone of melody 'n' is always G, the recitation tone of 'm' can be either G or A.[60]

59 It is necessary for the student to be alert to this phenomenon. A strict hierarchy ruled in the Jewish communities of the diaspora. The wealthy Jews in centres such as Baghdad in Iraq, Sanʿa in Yemen, Tetuan and Casablanca in Morocco, etc., considered themselves superior to the poor provincial Jews, such as the Kurdish Jews, the Jews from the Atlas Mountains or Jews from the North of Yemen, for instance. After all these groups, especially the poorer classes, immigrated to Israel, many immigrants developed a tendency to obscure their true background. For instance, many Kurdish Jews attempt to build a new identity and call themselves Iraqi Jews to strangers.

60 This flexibility is one of the essential characteristics of Hebrew psalmody. The musical realization of an example of Hebrew psalmody is not wholly dependent on the respective regional styles, but even more on the age and function of the performer. Thus, our examples of Moroccan psalmody all come from book psalmody, which is performed by elderly men. For these people, who are mostly over 60, the hour-long recitation is an enormous physical strain, and they make allowance for this by reducing the musical means of the recitation to a minimum. Motives become abbreviated to simple intervals and the recitation tempo is considerably accelerated. Kb (see Example 5), also belongs to this category. Although this is not a documentary recording, it is clear from the informant's voice that the recitation is costing him a certain effort. Da (see Example 3) represents a different case. According to the informant, this represents the recitation melody used for the instruction of children in the Djerba *ḥeder*.

Kurdistan and Persia are among those remote regions which did not immediately adopt the innovations of the Tiberian Masoretes. For a comparison of Kurdish psalmody we will again take two examples. The first, Psalm 24, is sung by Gedalyah Bar-Lev, recorded on March 27th, 1979 in Moshav Givʿolim (labeled Ka). Bar-Lev was born in Halabjah in the Iraqi part of Kurdistan in 1925 and came to Israel in 1951. The second example Kb was recorded by Rabbi Ashurun, from Azerbaijan, in Moshav Melilot on February 28th, 1979.

The psalmodic structure of Kb (see Example 5) is of the same simple type as our example of Moroccan psalmody Mb. The melodic figure 'm' has the recitation tone *G*, which is often initiated by the lower fourth *D*, and ends on *A*. Melodic figure 'n' has its recitation tone on *A* which alternates with *G* and ends on *G*. The distinguishing feature of the melodic figure 'n' in Kurdish psalmody is the special treatment of *revîʿa mugraš*. This is expressed in Kb in that the syllable of *revîʿa mugraš* is prolonged to four times the usual length and sinks to the tone *G*. On the other hand Ka has a special motive, $B^{\flat}$-*G*-$B^{\flat}$-*A*, which is the standard motive of Kurdish psalmody for this function (compare J. Spector's recordings in the NSA Y 271). The melodic figure 'o' does not exist at all in Kb. Instead, *legarmeh* is expressed in a way similar to that of *paseq* in the Torah recitation: a light *glissando* over an ascending fourth. The same realization is found in Ka, and indeed, in all Kurdish psalmody.

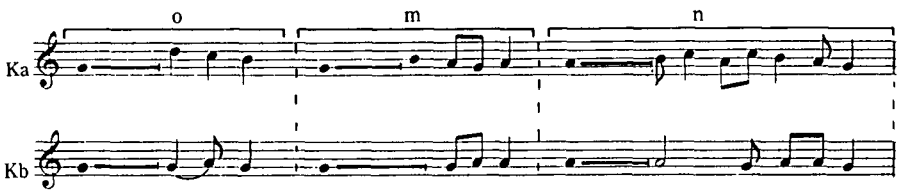
In verses 4 and 8, which display a three-part division, Kb ends three times on G. The psalmodic dichotomy is thus suspended in these verses. Kb is one of those examples which, like Mb and Bb, were performed by extremely elderly people. Rabbi Ashurun was even hampered by additional vocal problems which forced him to reduce the musical means of his psalmody for Psalm 24 to a minimum.

Our example Ka, however, shows that Kurdish psalmody can display considerably more developed musical forms. The underlying structure is identical to that of Kb, but is much more detailed in musical realization. Melody 'm' has its own cadential motive which is introduced by the upper third $B^{\flat}$. This corresponds to the motive for *revîʿa mugraš* mentioned above, which forms the actual preparation for the final cadence of *sillûq*.

Further, a motive for the cadence of the melodic figure 'o' is developed in Ka which proceeds over the upper fifth *D* and ends on the upper third $B^{\flat}$ (see verses 1, 4, and 7; verse 8 is an exception).

The entire psalmody is rhythmized according to the rules which we found for Ba. The psalmodic framework of Ka and Kb can be illustrated as follows (see Figure 13).

Figure 13



In verse 3 the recitation tone is raised to the fifth, again because of the meaning, since the verse begins with the words מי יעלה ("Who shall ascend"). Kb displays a similar reaction here, only to a lesser degree, as the recitation tone is raised briefly to the upper fourth.

These examples of the performance practice of Hebrew psalmody among oriental Jews should suffice to provide a basis upon which the reader can form a general idea as to the diverse forms of book psalmody in the various Diaspora congregations. In this context we should also note the Italian psalmody, which L. Levi discusses in his article on the Jewish musical tradition in Italy (Levi 1972:1144). As for the distinctive form of Persian psalmody, we will return to it in the section on lamentation psalmody.

At this point we can summarize the differences and similarities between the examples treated above. First, all of them possess two different recitation tones. In fact, with the exception of the examples from Djerba, the two recitation tones are each assigned to a specific half verse, a principle similar to the *tonus peregrinus*. Most of the examples, in addition to the two dichotomous psalmodic figures 'm' and 'n', possess a third figure 'o', employed in three-part verses when two verses are interlocked.

Our examples, however, display differences in their modal characteristics and in the motivic execution of the psalmodic structure. In general, the realizations of very elderly informants are devoid of ornamentation, reflecting the bare framework of the psalmody. Otherwise, each regional style has its preferred musical motives for the realization of the half and full cadences, and especially for the melodic figure 'o', which usually receives the richest melodic embellishment. Our findings concerning the melodic realization of the psalmodies also apply to their rhythmical forms. A wide range of rhythmical variants are employed, ranging from the *tonus currens* to the full rhythmization of the text. Example Ba displays a maximum of musical development, while in Kb we encounter a minimum of musical means for the realization of the psalmody.

Yemenite Choral Psalmody

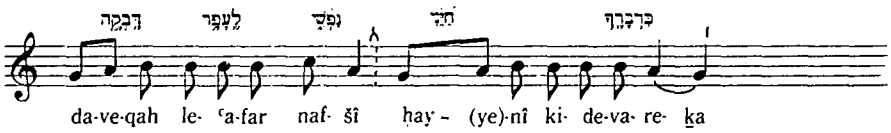
The psalmody of the Yemenite Jews represents a special case within Hebrew psalmody. In the early nineteenth century J. Saphir already drew attention to this special psalmodic form. On the basis of his report, Wickes reflected on the possibility that a musical transmission for the poetical accent system might be preserved among the Jews of Yemen (Wickes 1881:2). Idelsohn even saw remnants of the ancient Temple music in the archaic songs of the Yemenite Jews. This hypothesis found support in the Yemenite Jews' account of their own origin. According to their tradition, they continued their wanderings towards the end of the first Exile and came to rest in Yemen, not responding to the call of Ezra and Nehemia to return to Jerusalem. The true age of the Jewish settlement in Yemen cannot be determined. At all events, we have knowledge of it as early as the second century A.D. Yemen is not nearly as remote and isolated as was long thought (for instance by Idelsohn). Good trade connections existed with India, and the community also maintained close connections with the centers of Jewish cultural and spiritual life in Babylon, and later in Egypt. The questions which the Yemenite community posed to Maimonides are well known in this context. With the rise of the Kabbalah, the Yemenite community split into two factions, one of which accepted the liturgical and theological innovations of the Kabbalah, while the other rejected them. Similarly, a dispute arose in the eighteenth century over the introduction of the Sephardi liturgy into Yemen. This innovation was bitterly resisted by certain circles in San^{c}a, especially since it was forcibly pushed through by the Jewish authorities, working in the interests of Sephardi businessmen who wanted to sell their printed prayer books in Yemen. Thus, a certain tendency of the Yemenite Jews to hold on to their time-honoured traditions cannot be disputed.

However, yet another element contributing to the exceptional conservatism of the Yemenite community must be noted. As Josef Kafih has emphasized, the Jewish community in Yemen was spread out over large distances and distributed over about 200 villages, and every new religious movement took hundreds of years to reach the most remote of these (Kafih 1951). Thus, Kafih estimates that it was five hundred years before the Tiberian accent system was employed throughout Yemen. In fact, the Yemenite community was the only one that used Babylonian punctuated manuscripts throughout the medieval period. S. Morag has demonstrated that the unusual Hebrew pronunciation of the Yemenite Jews goes back to that of the Babylonian Jews (Morag 1963). Their Torah recitation follows the Tiberian accent system only in part. As we have already remarked, there are numerous indications that the musical tradition of the Yemenite Jews, as well, can be traced back to a Babylonian source.

The primary distinguishing feature of Yemenite psalmody is that it is always performed in chorus. While all the examples of book psalmody which we have encountered so far were solo psalmodies, that is, performed by an individual singer, Yemenite psalmody is performed chorally on all liturgical occasions. This phenomenon was already noticed by Idelsohn (Idelsohn 1918, chapter 5). The same holds true for liturgically free psalmody.

Let us examine an example of Yemenite psalmody, Psalm 119, performed in the free liturgical form *šillûš* (see Figure 14). This is a documentary recording made in July, 1979, in Moshav Yinnon (near Ashqelon). The singer comes from the town of Barat in the north of Yemen. For our purpose a transcription of the psalmodic framework, which is repeated in every verse, is sufficient. Here we have an instance of purely dichotomous psalmody with a definite *initium* for both parts of the verse, *mediant* on the upper second and *finalis* on the fundamental tone (henceforth referred to as type Ya). The recitation tone is the same for both half verses (see Figure 14).

Figure 14 (Ps. 119:25)

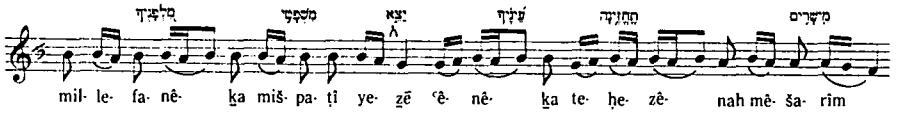


The rhythmical realization of this psalmody is strict. Every syllable receives the same value; only the last syllable of the first half verse and the last two syllables of the end of the verse are lengthened. The tempo of the recitation, however, is very slow. This pattern is followed consistently in every verse. When sung in chorus, different pitches often emerge which grow to bourdon-like chords with a fourth as the upper interval and a third below.

Idelsohn remarked that the Yemenites perform their psalmodies a third or fourth higher on the Sabbath than on weekdays (cf. Idelsohn 1914:27). In fact, however, every participant in the choral psalmody may alter his pitch register at will during the performance. Usually this change takes the form of shifts of a fourth, that is, the same melody is sung a fourth higher for a time, so that continuous parallel fourths emerge (on Yemenite plurivocal practices see S. Arom and U. Sharvit in Yuval 6). This extrapolation of the melody is employed especially on holy days and the Sabbath to create a "solemn" atmosphere. On weekdays the singers usually confine themselves to the lower registers. We were able to record another example of such organum-like psalmody in Moshav Yakhini (near Netivot) on the day of the New Moon after *šaḥarît* (see Figure 15a-b, Ps. 17:2-3). The melodic style in this example is very ornate, and the recitation is performed at an extremely slow tempo and a very

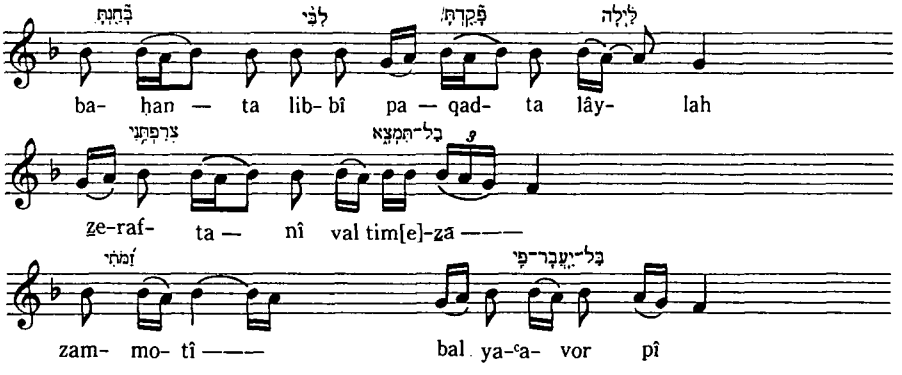
loud volume. This type of psalmody, which we label Yb, begins on the upper fourth, moves between the tones *G*, *A*, and *B♭*, ends at the half verse on the second degree *G* and concludes at the end of the verse on the *finalis F*. It does not possess an embellished recitation tone, but rather moves continuously within a three-tone range, alternating between *G*, *A*, and *B♭* in circular motion. It too is realized in a strict rhythm (Figure 15a).

Figure 15a (Ps. 17:2)



When we examine the relationship between accentuation and recitation in this example, we find many incongruities. For instance, verse 3 of Psalm 17 is divided into two psalmodic phrases (Figure 15b). The half cadence occurs before *etnaḥtā* on *revîʿa* and the final cadence on *F* at *etnaḥtā*. Then a new melodic phrase begins, with the half cadence on *revîʿa mugraš* and the full cadence finally falling on *sillûq* (Figure 15b).

Figure 15b (Ps. 17:3)



The conversion of *etnaḥtā* into the function of *sillûq* is not uncommon in Yemenite psalmody. The oral tradition here has remained independent of the rules of the Tiberian accentuation. We are dealing with a tradition whose origin is clearly pre-Tiberian.

It is interesting that Yemenite choral psalmody of the type Ya (see Figure 14) is specially similar to Gregorian psalmody. Not only the fact that both types are performed in chorus, but also the strict adherence to the dichotomous structure and the existence of a uniform recitation tone suggest a close relation between the two

traditions. It is probable that both go back to a common origin: namely, the psalmody practiced in Palestinian synagogues at the time of the Second Temple.[61]

As a general rule, the psalms are performed in chorus among the Yemenite Jews. The psalmodic melodies are so closely connected to the specific performance practice of the Yemenite congregations that individual singers prefer not to perform them alone. Thus, Rabbi Madmoni from Yakhini emphasized in an interview that the psalms are practically never recited by an individual in private, but rather solely in chorus in the synagogue.

However, in order to show the melodic movement more clearly we will add an example of Yemenite psalmody of the type Yb, made by an individual singer, Hayyim Ya'ish from 'En Kerem (see Yb^1 in Example 6). This example of Psalm 1 displays a psalmody whose melodic execution is realized with great care. The recitation tone, in all our former examples an indispensable element of the psalmodic structure, is not present. The same tone never occurs three times consecutively. We must probably view *G* as the fundamental tone, although the psalmodic phrase ends on *F*. The half cadence is not so clearly developed, ending either on the fundamental *G* or the upper third $B^\flat$. However, since the melody always moves around the three notes *G*, *A*, and $B^\flat$, the half cadence does not emerge as clearly out of the melodic contrast as the full cadence, which ends on the lower second *F*. The beginning of the verse is usually marked by the ***initium*** motive *G-A-*$B^\flat$. This characteristic motive, used only in the function of ***initium*** in the psalmody of the type Ya (see Figure 14), may be heard here at the beginning of every word. $B^\flat$ must probably be regarded as the "imaginary" recitation tone, but it does not function as such, since it is continually encircled by the melodic motion. Its function as "pivot tone" can be seen in the frequent motive *A-C-*$B^\flat$. This motive did not appear in Yb (see Figure 15). There the psalmody was confined to the four-note range from *F* to $B^\flat$, while in our example Yb^1 (see Example 6) this range is extended to a fifth. Furthermore, in Yb (Figure 15), $B^\flat$ is implied as the recitation tone by the melisma $B^\flat$-*A-*$B^\flat$. A simpler version of this type is found in the daily Psalm recitation. As an example we can add the transcription of a recording of a group originating from Barat now residing in Moshav Yakhini (see Yb^2 in Example 6).

61 The question arises here: what conclusions can be drawn from this finding for the Gregorian psalm-tone? Just as the transcription of Yemenite choral psalmody can give no information concerning the special performance practices — the interpolation of the recitation on different fundamental tones, usually in intervals of a fourth, and the high, nasal placement of the voice — so the "primitive" neumatic notation of Gregorian chant is unable to provide information as to the performance practice of the psalmody in Christian monasteries in the first thousand years A.D. We must probably imagine the early singing of Gregorian psalmody as much freer, rhythmized, and even in organum.

Parallels to both types of Yemenite choral psalmody, Ya (see Figure 14) and Yb^2 (see Example 6), can be found in Idelsohn's *Hebräischer Melodienschatz*, vol. I. The first type, Ya, can be found under the heading "Gesänge für Sabbat", in an example of Psalm 8, (Idelsohn 1914:64) and the second Yb^2, under "Psalmen für Werktage" (workdays) once again Psalm 8 (Idelsohn 1914:112).

Idelsohn derived his list of motives for Yemenite psalmody from these transcriptions. Whereas Idelsohn classified the psalmody of type Yb^2 under "Psalmen für Werktage", we were also able to discern a "sophisticated" type for this psalmody which is employed on the Three Festivals and on the New Moon (see Example 15a-b).

It is very difficult to distinguish between the different psalm-tones among the Yemenite Jews. While all other oriental Jews display a tendency to "level off" the different psalm-tones, claiming that there is only one psalm-tone, among the Yemenite Jews the opposite tendency prevails; namely, the claim to know 6, 12, or indeed as many as 18 different psalm-tones. These contradictory assertions are probably the outcome of deeper theological tendencies. The first groups reflect the position of Se^{c}adyah, who expressly forbade the "singing" of the psalms in different melodies, since this was reserved for the Temple music of the Levites. Only the simple recitation of the Book of Psalms in one psalm-tone was permitted. This opinion does not seem to have prevailed among the Yemenite Jews. On the contrary, they take pride in the claim of having preserved the Levitic Temple psalmody. Pethahiah of Regensburg reports a similar claim among the Babylonian Jews.

In a tape recording made by Yehiel Adaqi in Tel Aviv in 1970 (NSA Yc 165, 10), the singer distinguishes between 6 different psalm-tones:

1) for the daily study of the psalms;
2) for the singing of the psalms on Sabbath eve;
3) at the services of *qabbalat šabbat* (Welcoming the Sabbath) and the eve of the Three Festivals;
4) for the *hallel*
5) for the wedding psalm (Ps. 45);
6) for the psalms of the High Holidays.

Adaqi demonstrates these six psalm-tones through Psalm 114, verses 1-3.

Josef Kafih, who is a Yemenite Rabbi, lists 12 different psalm-tones which are all connected to the liturgical functions rather than to the psalms themselves (see Kafih 1960/61: 58f.):

1) for the *hallel*;

2) for the Sabbath psalm (Ps. 92);
3) for the six psalms of Welcoming the Sabbath (Ps. 95–99, Ps. 29);
4) for the psalms sung Sabbath morning at dawn;
5) for the psalm sung at *minḥah* on the Sabbath;
6) for the psalms sung on holy days;
7) for Psalms 1, 2, 3 etc. sung after the service of the eve of Yom Kippur;
8) for the psalms sung on Rosh Hashanah;
9) for the psalm sung on the day of the New Moon;
10) for the psalm sung on weddings;
11) for the psalms sung (choral psalmody) on the days of public fasts (Ps. 79, 137);
12) for the psalm sung between *minḥah* and *maʿarîv*.

There is an artificial character to Kafih's list, since it is consciously constructed around the number 12. Analysis of the musical material reveals that certain liturgical categories are musically identical. Thus, the psalmodic principle of the Sabbath Psalm 92 is identical with that of the Three Festival Psalms, 1, 2, and 150; and category 4 is musically identical with no. 8. The list is nevertheless valuable as a reflection of the Yemenites' psalmodic attitude. They feel that every liturgical function should correspond to a musical category. This principle reminds us once again of Wagner's law of Gregorian chant, according to which every melodic style has a particular place in the liturgy. Although in Yemenite choral psalmody different liturgical functions are sometimes performed on the same psalmodic principles, we can discern here the germ of a tendency which led to a decisive stylistic element in Gregorian chant, namely the differentiation of the fundamental psalmodic principle for different liturgical functions through melismatic ornamentation. We have already seen that the Yemenite psalmody as in type Yb appears in two completely different liturgical functions, as weekday psalmody and in the "solemn" version as Festival and High Holiday psalmody (see Example 6). The difference between the two forms, however, consisted primarily in the register, tempo, and ornamentation of the psalmody, but not in the psalmodic framework. Here we encounter for the first time a "melismatic" type of Hebrew psalmody, something which is absent in the traditions of the other oriental Jewish communities. There we observed a flexible range of performance practices, not, however, tending towards melismatic development, but rather remaining within the framework of the musically correct reproduction of the accents. Elderly performers cultivated a reduced form of musical realization of the accents, while younger ones commanded a musically fully elaborated psalmody, depending on their degree of musical talent. There was no difference between weekday and Sabbath psalmody such as we see

among the Yemenite Jews. We could find no connection to the accent system; on the contrary, for the most part the accent system is disregarded.

The type of psalmody which we termed "book psalmody" and discussed in the previous chapter does not actually exist among the Yemenite Jews. The psalmody is more closely bound to the liturgical function here than anywhere else. Rather contrary to Se'adyah's rules, the liturgically free psalmody is here far removed from the sober book psalmody of other Jewish communities and possesses a strongly expressive element in the musical performance.

CHAPTER 4: LITURGICAL PSALMODY

The Relationship between Text, Accents, and Liturgy

While in liturgically free psalmody the entire Book of Psalms is recited cyclically, liturgically fixed psalmody presents the opposite case: here selected psalms are recited in a clearly defined liturgical function.

The definite liturgical function for the first time contributes an aesthetic element to Hebrew psalmody, an element totally absent in book psalmody. There the realization of the cyclical principle was of primary importance, characteristically expressed in the technique of interlocking. This aspect disappears in liturgical psalmody, since this type concerns itself with selected psalms and psalm verses which usually display a closed formal structure.

The formal structure of Psalm 24 offers us an example of a text belonging to an ancient liturgical tradition. As we have already noted (see note 48), this psalm was probably part of the First Temple liturgy; that is, the text was composed for liturgical purposes, although its exact liturgical function can no longer be determined. The psalm is divided into four verse pairs, the last of which is repeated with minor variations, giving a total of 10 verses.

The first verse pair describes God as the ruler and creator of the world. If we disregard the title *le-dawid mizmôr*, the metrical structure is entirely symmetrical. Each verse is divided into two parallel half verses with three stresses each. This structure is not determined by the number of syllables, but rather by the accents. Hebrew rhythm is not quantitative in nature, but qualitative (cf. Sievers 1901:79), that is, it is derived from a principle of text rhythmization which cannot be measured in words or syllables, but is formed solely by the recitation technique. (This principle will be analyzed in more detail later.)

The second pair of verses in Psalm 24 is divided into question and answer: "Who shall ascend into the hill of the Lord?" — this question is directed towards man — and the answer, "He that hath clean hands and a pure heart". The rhetorical question is again divided into two parallel half verses with three stresses each. The answer is divided into three parts with the stress sequence 4/4/3. The first third of the verse is logically accentuated with *ʿôleh we-yôred*. The two subsequent parts again display a *parallelismus membrorum* and are divided by *etnaḥtā*. The third pair refers to those who fulfill the conditions of verse 4: "He shall receive the blessing from the Lord". The two verses form four half verses with the stress sequence 4/3-4/4.

The psalm concludes with a theophanic refrain. The Lord enters the Temple and the gates must "lift up [their] heads". Both verses are divided into three parts. In verse 7 the first third is indicated by the accent sequence *legarmeh revîʿa*; *etnaḥtā* follows for the division of the two remaining parts. *Revîʿa* as a disjunctive accent occurs here probably because the first clause consists of only three words and is thus too short for the accent sequence of *ʿôleh we-yôred*. This accent, however, is employed in verse 8 in the sequence *zinnôr-galgal-ʿôleh we-yôred*. We can see that throughout the psalm the verse segments are for the most part constructed with three stresses. This principle is abandoned in the middle part of verses 4-6 in favour of verse segments with four stresses, corresponding directly to the development in the contents of the psalm. While the description of God as ruler and creator of the world in verses 1-2 is expressed in the symmetry of four half verses with three stresses each, with the question in verse 3 a contradiction arises which has a formal parallel in the modulation of the rhythmical patterns.

This becomes even clearer when we examine a recitation of Psalm 24. Our example is by Baruk Huri from Djerba. Psalm 24 is "*šîr šel yôm*" on the first day of the week, sung at *šaḥarît*; it is also sung on the third day of the week after *ʿarvît*, and when returning the Torah scroll (except Sabbath morning). An analysis of the transcription (see Example 7) reveals a strict rhythmical organization which contradiction arises which has a formal parallel in the modualtion of the rhythmical patterns.

represents a tendency opposed to that of book psalmody. Instead of the weaving together of one verse with the next, from one section to the next, which is characteristic of book psalmody, we find here a clear arrangement of the sections and a definite final cadence at the end of each verse, intensified at the end of the psalm.

When we look at the rhythmical organization of the cadential figures in each verse, we find a clear system governing the rhythmical final clauses. In all cases, in fact, only two rhythmical formulas are employed:

The distribution of these two formulae indicates a clear rule of relationship between the text and the rhythmization. There is a definite symmetry between the cadential figure of the half verse and that at the end of the verse. The difference between the rhythmical sum of the half verse clause and that of the full verse never exceeds a sixteenth note (the smallest metrical unit). This symmetry does not exist in the text, but is artificially created by the use of formulas a and b. When the final clause contains five or more syllables, formula a occurs; when it contains less than five, formula b.

This rule is obeyed without exception, thus reinforcing the conception of the verse structure (e.g. Ps. 24:1):

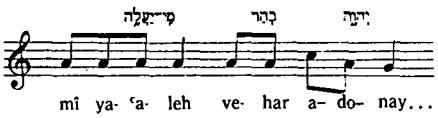
ha-a-reẓ ûm-lo-'ah... we-yôše-vê vah

We could even call this a form of rhythmical cadence which supports the melodic cadence.

The melodic structure corresponds to the Djerba tradition, as described for book psalmody (see p. 100–103), but in a modified form. The melodic figure 'o' disappears entirely, although according to the accentuation it should have occurred three times. The half verse cadence on *D* appears only seldom. Instead, we find a half cadence on *G* which develops the characteristic motives *A*-$B^{\flat}$-*G* and *C'*-*A*-*G*. Here we can make an interesting observation: while the book psalmody on Djerba is confined to the four-note range from *D* to *G*, with the alternative recitation tone *A*, the range of the liturgical psalmody is enlarged by the tetrachord from *G* to *C'*, so that the total range encompasses a seventh, *D*-*C'*.

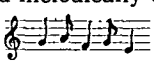
When we investigate where this expansion of the melodic range takes place, we can distinguish certain key words, such as *adonay*, which receive a declamatory emphasis (see Figure 16).

Figure 16 (Ps. 24:3)



Important passages in the contents of the text are thus emphasized and this practice can be confirmed for the liturgical psalmody of all oriental Jewish communities.

To sum up, liturgical psalmody is determined more by the text than by the accents, and displays a stricter rhythmical organization than book psalmody. Thus, the characteristic motive which we found in Db and Dc (see Example 3) is condensed here to the simple interval leap *E–G*, as we had already observed in Da. The underlying reason for this transformation of the melodic material in liturgical psalmody must be seen in the performance practice, usually with the participation of the whole congregation in chorus. This necessitates the quasi-rhythmical organization of the recitation and a reduction of the "melismatic" scansion of the text. We found the same characteristics in Da, an example which originates from the recitation of the *heder*, and also in our example of Psalm 24 (see a in Example 7).

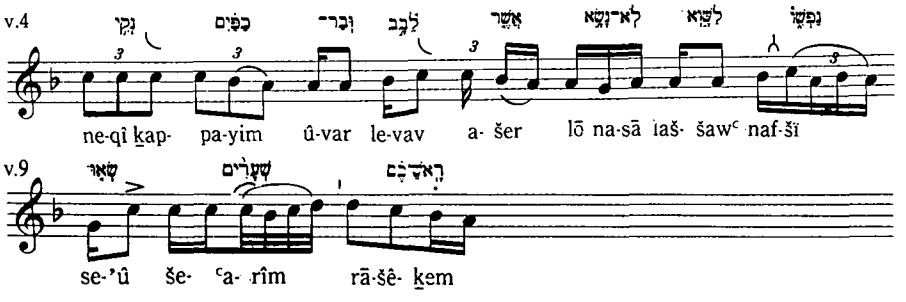
The final cadence is rhythmically and melodically distinctive. Thus we find the characteristic cadential motive:  four times in the first six verses.

If we conpare Huri's psalmody to that of Ashuri from Kurdistan (see b in Example 7), we find a further process of transformation. Huri's psalmody belongs to the type of collective psalm recitation in prayer, while Ashuri's represents the psalmodic style of the precentor. In many cases the cantor has taken over the psalm recitation from the congregation; indeed today by far the greater part of the required prayers is performed solo by the cantor. This development has two important consequences: first, it leads to the mixing of the psalm melodies with the prayer melodies, i.e. of psalmody with prayer recitation; and, secondly, it leads to the virtuoso embellishment of the melodies under the influence of Arabic art song.

Ashuri's psalmody is an example of the first case. Here the psalmodic dichotomy is extremely weakened, and instead the expressive element of leaps of a fourth appears, raising the melody a fourth higher and returning to the starting point. We have already observed an expansion of the melodic range in Huri's psalmody, but in Ashuri's an additional "high" recitation tone is added. As well as the two recitation tones *G* and *A*, which correspond to the melodic figures 'm' and 'n' in Kurdish

psalmody, the recitation tone *C* appears with its neighbour $B^{\flat}$. Ashuri employs this high recitation tone especially in the melodic figure 'o', that is, when the accentuation indicates ***legarmeh*** or ***ʿôleh we-yôred***, for example in verses 4 and 9 (see Figure 17).

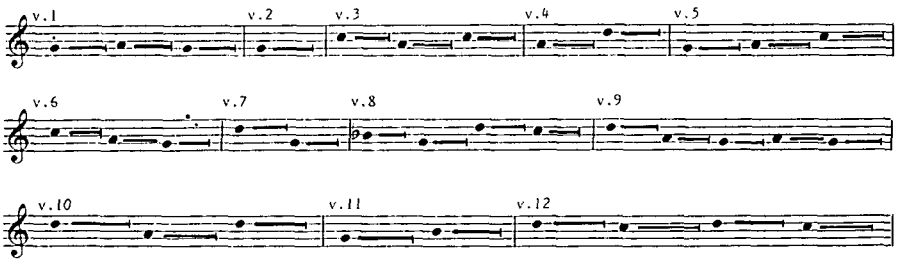
Figure 17



The interpolation of two pairs of recitation tones a fourth apart is an ancient practice of psalm recitation, as can be inferred not only from its widespread distribution in the oriental Jewish communities, but also from its favoured employment in Yemenite psalmody.

When we examine, for example, the psalmody of Psalm 104 sung by Rabbi Madmoni from Yemen we find the systematic application of this principle (see Example 8). The interpolation of two pairs of recitation tones does not have an expressive quality here, as in b of Example 7, nor can it be connected to the requirements of the accentuation, but it seems rather to reflect a purely musical aspect: the avoidance of monotony. Psalm 104 is an extremely long psalm which, after an introduction, contains an extensive series of short, parallel constructed verses praising God's acts of creation in a long list. In this passage, with its extremely regular verse structure, Madmoni breaks up the symmetry through the technique of recitation tone interpolation. A schematic diagram of Madmoni's psalmody reveals an artistic arrangement of the recitation tone sequences. All five degrees of the recitation mode are potential recitation tones, and the connection between these tones is freely constructed. This psalm (see Example 8), is sung at the beginning of the day of the New Moon and belongs to the rare examples of Yemenite psalmody which are not performed chorally, but rather by each individual for himself (see Figure 18).

Figure 18



Another customary procedure in liturgical psalmody usually exceeds the framework of the definition which we have used for the melodic material in this work. This is the technique of *contrafactum*.

In many Sephardi communities it has become customary to take the texts of the psalms which play a central liturgical role in prayer and sing them according to well-known melodies. We will take as one example out of many a melody from Tetuan for Psalm 29 which is often heard in many Moroccan congregations in present-day Israel (see Example 9).

In this example we find a two-part melody which by no means contradicts the psalmodic principle. The opening phrase closes on the upper second, as is usual in Moroccan psalmody. The concluding phrase ends on the fundamental tone *F*. These two melodies, 'm' and 'n', are repeated twice. A three-part verse appears in verse 3, and here the melody reacts in accordance with the psalmodic principle. A new melody is introduced, 'o', which closes on the upper fifth *C*; a continuation follows which replaces 'm' and ends on the tone *A*, and the conclusion is again formed by the melody 'n'. Up to this point, the melodic structure agrees in general with the standard psalmodic structure.

In the following verse, however, the two diverge. The melody is seen to have the song form AAB, whose structure fits the first three verses of the psalm, but cannot adapt to the changing structure of the text. This conflict is not exposed in verses 4 to 5, but in verse 6 the melody 'o' returns although it is not warranted by the accents. Here the melodic symmetry is forced on to the text, and from verse 6 onward the structures of the text and the melody abandon each other entirely.

The technique of *contrafactum* is naturally most highly developed in communities which have had a certain amount of contact with Western music, i.e. it is

concentrated mainly in communities of European Sephardi and Ashkenazi origin. However, in communities which were more influenced by Arabic music we can also find a form of *contrafactum*, distinguished in that Arabic music is much more flexible in both its melodic and rhythmic elements, and thus can often be adapted relatively seamlessly to the Old Testament texts.

We can take as an example of this type of psalmody a recording of Psalm 92 from Egypt which J. Spector made in 1951 (NSA Y3). This type was designated as "melismatic psalmody" by Gerson-Kiwi, who suggested parallels with the melismatic style of Gregorian chant. This conclusion, however, must be viewed with caution. The melismatic element of Arabic art song can in no way be compared with that of the "Jubilus" tradition of Gregorian chant. The Gregorian melismatic tradition is the result of a spiritualistic movement which, as Avenary has shown, goes back to the Gnostics and was incorporated into the Christian Church (Avenary 1958:233).

Melismatic psalmody, however, as practiced in the oral traditions of Jewish oriental community, seems to have emerged some 800 years later, with the rise of Islam and Arabic art music. The assimilation of Arabic elements in Jewish musical praxis is comparable to the adoption of Western art music in the Italian Jewish congregations of Ferrara, Mantua, Venice, etc. (cf. Adler 1966). This development must be seen in the context of the adoption of the *piyyûṭ* in the canon of statutory prayers and the specialization of the cantor as a qualified musician.

An analysis of the assimilation and acculturation processes of Arabic music in the synagogue of course cannot be undertaken here, since this would take us far beyond the scope of our study.

At this point we should call attention to a phenomenon which contributed to the transformation of Hebrew psalmody in the context of the statutory prayers. The structuralism of Hebrew psalmody becomes especially clear in this regard, that is to say, the musical form of Hebrew psalmody to a great degree depends on the balance between its underlying elements. When this balance is disturbed and one of the elements dominates over the others, then the psalmody's form of appearance disintegrates.

The danger of imbalance between the psalmodic elements is particularly great in liturgical psalmody. The process of disintegration of the form of the psalmodic balance has, however, given rise to the new forms of recitation technique which are prevalent in the modern synagogue. The dominance of the text over the melody resulted in cantillation (as defined by Corbin); that is, the text is recited on a *free* recitation tone, important passages or words are emphasized at the performer's

discretion, usually by raising the recitation tone, as we saw in Example 7. The dominance of the melody over the text produced the *contrafactum*, that is, the text is subordinate to the symmetry of the melody, which destroys its internal structure and obscures the syntax. We analysed an example of this procedure in Example 9.

The dominance of the accents over the recitation produced the Torah-reading according to the rules of the *zarqā*-table; that is, the melodic line is solely determined — in the ideal case — by the graphic signs, whereas in the psalmody the accents serve as orientation guides for the realization of the psalmodic dichotomy or trichotomy.

The dominance of the liturgy over the text has produced art music, that is, the introduction of purely aesthetic categories into the recitative.

We must view the Yemenite psalmody, however, as already representing the beginning of this development, just as the development of Gregorian chant led to Western art music. To illustrate the form of the liturgy, once it has been codified, it is necessary to provide certain parts of the religious service with characteristic musical decorations.

Our Example 8, however, by no means departed from the framework of psalmodic melody formation. On the contrary, it is one of the most beautiful examples we know of artistic psalm recitation. The uniformity of the text is counterbalanced by the variable treatment of the recitation tone.

Authentic psalmody is always characterized by the striving for the greatest possible balance between the different elements. As in a of Example 7 we saw the tendency to equalize the asymmetry of the verse lengths, we see in Example 8 the tendency to compensate for the symmetry of the verse lengths through the technique of recitation tone interpolation.

The structural laws of psalmody require its elements to stand in a reciprocal/complementary relationship. On the one hand, the recitation acts as a supplement of the text (complementary relation), while on the other it stands in opposition to it (reciprocal relation).

The psalmody obeys the law neither of symmetry nor of asymmetry, but rather the law of proportionality between these two poles. The result of this dialectical process is the musical form of psalmody. Authentic psalmody is never totally symmetrical,

nor is it ever totally asymmetrical. We recall the analysis of the rhythmic cadences of a in Example 7. Here the asymmetry of the text is relativized, but not totally removed; a small difference remains — in the form of an eighth-note in our example. An analysis of the accentuation reveals a similar procedure. The number of stresses per half verse in Psalm 24 fluctuates between 3 and 4 (except in the final verse). The considerably greater difference in the number of syllables (4 to 16) is compensated for, but not totally equalized. The same holds true for the text. The formal analysis reveals an intricate poetical composition, yet here, too, neither symmetry nor asymmetry predominates, but rather proportionality.

Although liturgical psalmody in its authentic form is maintained only sporadically in synagogal music, it nevertheless belongs to the oldest forms of psalmodic practice. Responsorial and antiphonal psalmody also belong to this category, although they have been better preserved in the Gregorian than in the Jewish tradition.

We must keep in mind that cyclical book psalmody, as practiced today, can be viewed as the result of the efforts of the Tiberian Masoretes, and that a centuries-long tradition of the recitation of individual psalm passages already existed before the codification of orally transmitted psalmody. The reports of Nathan ha-Bavli (10th century) and of Pethahiah of Regensburg (12th century) reflect a veritable flourishing of psalmody, extending even to instrumental accompaniment in Babylonia during this period.

To what degree the assimilation of Arabic art music had already taken place in the tenth century is difficult to determine. However, on the peripheries of the Jewish diaspora, as in Kurdistan and Djerba, definite forms of authentic liturgical psalmody were preserved.

The institution of congregational singing was for very long the supporting pillar of liturgical psalmody. With the rise of the precentor, however, this practice was for the most part abandoned. In his book on Jewish liturgy during the Talmudic period Heinemann showed how the professional precentor almost totally supplanted the congregation's participation in the prayers (Heinemann 1964). It is revealing that present-day precentors do not have a full command of the book psalmody nor the liturgical psalmody, but that the transmission of Hebrew psalmody lies almost entirely in the hands of the congregations. On the other hand, the precentors maintain the traditions of free Torah cantillation and free prayer recitation. As

opposed to these, the psalmody presented no opportunities for the development of soloistic possibilities and, further, confined the musical parameters to a minimum.[62]

In the next chapter we will investigate some examples of authentic psalmody which have found a place in the Jewish holy day calendar.

The Performance Practice of Liturgical Psalmody

The psalms which have a traditional place in the liturgy of the modern synagogue can be divided into three categories:

1) The psalms of the daily prayers and Sabbath (including *pesûqê de-zimrah, šîr šel yôm* and other psalms recited during the services)
2) The psalms of the major and minor Festivals (including *hallel* etc.)
3) The psalms of the days of public mourning and fasts

Among the psalms of the required weekly prayers, only Psalms 2, 29 and perhaps 24, as well as Psalm 19 have survived with a traditional psalmodic melody. *Pesûqê de-zimrah* and also *šîr šel yôm* are recited on a few tones in a very fast tempo in almost all congregations. In Sephardi congregations the precentor chants the psalms in a free recitative while the congregation reads along in a subdued voice. The *pesûqê de-zimrah* did not belong, originally, to the statutory prayers, but rather represented a widespread custom in Jewish congregations. The *siddûr* of Seᶜadyah contains only one psalm as an integral part of the statutory prayers, namely Psalm 92.

The Kurdish Jews have preserved a responsorial performance practice for Psalm 92 (see Example 10). The precentor begins with the first verse and the first half of the second verse. The congregation then answers with the second half of verse 2 and continues with the first half of verse 3. Thus, the precentor and the congregation do not recite alternate verses, but interchange at the half verse. The psalmodic structure is very simple, performed on the three notes *F-G-A*. The precentor

62 It is interesting to observe that Gregorian psalmody, too, has not developed further. The *officium* psalmody even represents a retrogression with respect to the complexity of Hebrew psalmody, which is compensated for only by the rich formal principle of antiphon and response. Thus, we can view liturgical psalmody as one of the great achievements in the history of Jewish music, forming the foundation for Western church music and itself supplanted by the recitation forms of the cantors, such as Torah cantillation and prayer recitation. Only a few strands of the tradition of liturgical psalmody have survived in the oral tradition of the Jewish diaspora communities, and these, too, seem to be dying out in modern Israel.

alternates between the recitation tones *F* and *G*. Although both the precentor and the congregation conclude on *etnaḥtā*, the psalmodic dichotomy is carried out, that is, the precentor ends on *G* while the congregation has the *finalis F*.

Since it is very unlikely that this arrangement of the text is an arbitrary invention of the Kurdish Jews, it most probably represents a pre-Masoretic tradition going back to Babylonian origin. Such a practice is documented by Nathan ha-Bavli for Psalm 92 in tenth century Baghdad. Besides, many passages in the Talmud indicate a responsorial practice for the *hallel* as well.

The ryhthmical execution of Kurdish responsorial psalmody is particularly interesting. While the precentor's textual rhythmization strictly follows the rules analyzed for Babylonian psalmody; that is, every unstressed syllable receives the smallest metrical unit and every stressed syllable is doubled in length; the congregational responses follow a different rule: the unstressed syllables or even whole words are cut in half once again, that is, many text passages are recited twice as fast. This can be seen in the transcription: the precentor's recitation employs only two note values, eighth notes and sixteenth notes, but for the transcription of the congregational responses thirty second notes and thirty second triplets are necessary.

When we examine the totals of the rhythmical values of the solo and congregational passages, we find that the congregational singing compensates for the unequal text lengths and that the absolute length of the response is proportional to that of the solo passages. The technique of responsorial singing requires symmetry. Thus, once again we have an exemplification of the flexibility of the musical parameters of Hebrew psalmody, which is oriented towards a higher concept. Here the concept is that of responsorial psalmody, and the musical form is modified accordingly. Accent motives and ornaments drop out completely, and the melodic line is limited to the concise organization of the rhythmic form. When we compare the responsorial psalmody from Kurdistan to a performance of Psalm 92 from Djerba (see a in Example 11), we find nearly the same characteristics in the melodic construction, but without the responsorial form. The Djerba version is almost entirely syllabic, with the primary emphasis on the ***rhythmic*** form. Examples from Kurdistan and Persia present the same picture (cf. Example 11). This striking homogeneity of the performance practice of Psalm 92, especially in the more remote communities of the Orient, allows us to infer a common tradition.

There appears to have been a greater degree of assimilation of foreign music for Psalm 92 in the congregations of Egypt, Syria, and Morocco. The richly ornamented example from Egypt (NSA Y73) was discussed in the previous section. As one of many other examples we can cite the well-known melody of the Sephardi congregation from Tetuán (see Example 16). This melody has a cadence at the half verse on the lower second *E* and ends on the fundamental *F*.

The Yemenite Jews have preserved an especially archaic psalm-tone for Psalm 92. This psalm-tone stands totally outside the range of recitation-methods which we have seen so far. It was already documented by Idelsohn (1914:68) and A. Herzog has undertaken a thorough analysis, with a detailed transcription (see Herzog 1962:30–34).

The Yemenite recitation remains for the most part on three tones and is thus reminiscent of the recitation techniques of the Samaritans. Every syllable receives a long metrical unit, but those syllables preceded by a syllable vocalized by *šewā*, are shortened by half; sometimes both the *šewā*-syllable and the following syllable are also shortened. The last syllables of sentences which are followed by sentences beginning with *šewā* are prolonged and performed with a trill-like vibrato.

The recitation does not always remain on the third-tone nucleus, but occasionally extends to the lower third. This is usually accomplished by means of an *initium* which can appear at the beginning of a verse or a half verse.

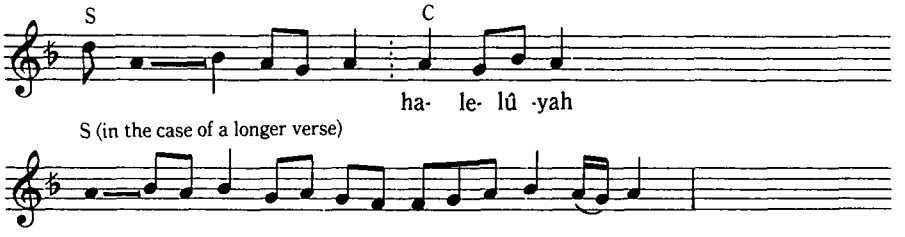
The Three Festivals Psalmody

While in the daily prayers the liturgical psalmody has been best preserved for Psalm 92, in the yearly cycle of the Jewish calendar the *hallel* recitation is of the greatest importance. Among the Kurdish Jews the *hallel* psalms are again sung in responsorial practice, on exactly the same principles as those which we analyzed for Psalm 92. Among the Yemenites, the ancient custom of repeating the *halelûyah* after every half verse in Psalm 113 has been preserved. This responsorial performance practice is already documented in the Talmud (cf. Part Two, chapter 1): the precentor begins with a half verse, and the congregation answers with *halelûyah;* the precentor continues, and the congregation interjects with *halelûyah* after every half verse (see Example 12). The first half verse of every psalm is repeated by the entire congregation; that is, Psalm 114 verse 1a is not followed by the response

halelûyah, but instead is repeated. The same procedure is followed for Psalm 115, etc.

The melodic structure of this *hallel*-tone is almost strictly syllabic and moves within the four-note range from *F* to *B*♭. The recitation tone is *A* and all cadences end on this tone. The precentor's cadence is approached over *B*♭-*G*, while the ***halelûyah*** response forms the inversion, *G*-*B*♭-*A*. In longer half verses, the precentor uses a half cadence on the lower third *F*, so that the following pattern emerges for Yemenite *hallel*-psalmody (see Figure 19)

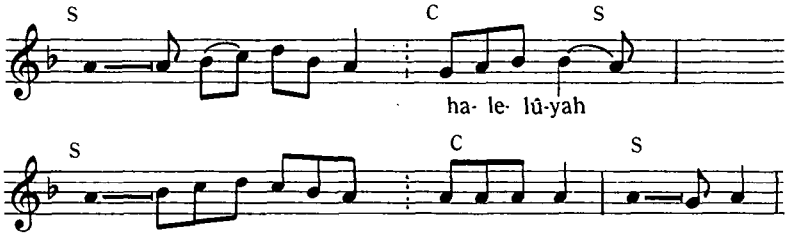
Figure 19



This example was recorded at *šaḥarît* of the intermediate days of Sukkot. The precentor is Ḥayyim Ya'ish, and the Yemenite congregation in ᶜEn Kerem sings the responses (see Example 13).

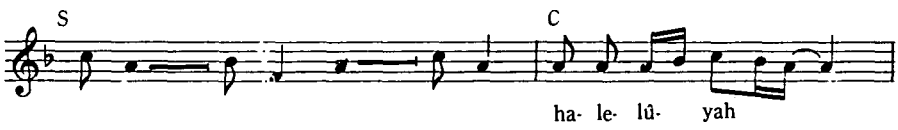
I recorded another type of Yemenite *hallel*-psalmody in Yinnon (near Ashqelon), in a congregation of Jews from Barat (see Example 12). This type uses the five-note range *G*–*D*. The recitation tone and the final cadences are on *A*, as in the previous example, but the psalmodic melody develops a third or a fourth higher. The ***halelûyah*** response has the *initium G* and closes over *B*♭ on *A*. The precentor employs two cadences: the first proceeds over the upper third, or, more often, the upper fourth, and the second over the lower second. Thus, the following psalmodic structure emerges (see Figure 20).

Figure 20



This *hallel*-psalmody from Barat is also documented by Idelsohn (1914: 73-75), though his example is modally somewhat different. It possesses an additional half cadence on the lower third, like the *hallel*-psalmody from 'En Kerem, and it also ends on the lower third (see Figure 21).

Figure 21



When we compare these three variants of Yemenite *hallel*-psalmody, we find a shared element in the tension of the minor second A-$B^{\flat}$. This nucleus, common to all the examples, forms the center of the different recitations. The recitation tone in each case lies on A and all the final cadences end on A preceded by $B^{\flat}$. There are various possibilities for expanding this tonal range. Either an upper or lower second is added to the nucleus A-$B^{\flat}$, resulting in the cadence C-$B^{\flat}$-A, as in Idelsohn 1914:74, or G-$B^{\flat}$-A with the inversion $B^{\flat}$-G-A, (as in Example 13). When his text is longer, the precentor's melodic phrase requires a contrasting half cadence, and the melodic range is accordingly widened to four notes. This results in the two-part melody structure A-$B^{\flat}$-G-F/F-G-$B^{\flat}$-A. Example 12 and Psalm 113 in Idelsohn expand the tonal range to a fifth, but from two totally different models for their dichotomy. Idelsohn (1914:74) has C-A-$B^{\flat}$-F/F-$B^{\flat}$-C-A, while Example 12 forms $B^{\flat}$-C-D/C-$B^{\flat}$-A.

On the basis of these three examples we can study the genesis of Hebrew psalmody. At the beginning is the tension between two tones. These form an axis which is open at both ends. It would be totally incorrect to view this germ-cell of the psalmody as a fundamental or tonic note. On the contrary, it is more of a tonal center, a middle point of the melodic motion, which can develop equally upwards or downwards. The recitation tone — or rather, the recitation tones, for Hebrew psalmody always uses paired recitation tones — lies in this center.

The rhythmized or unrhythmized recitation on these pivotal notes forms the psalmody's continuity. But this continuous recitative, as we saw in an archaic form in the Yemenite psalm-tone for Psalm 92, is not sufficient for the representation of the psalm texts. Every text, indeed, represents a continuity, but as such requires periodization. This periodization corresponds musically to the forming of cadences. What, however, is the meaning of the cadence in monodic music? It certainly cannot

mean the "falling" of the voice since we have encountered many "rising" cadences in the course of this work. The principle of monody is different. It is not subject to the law of gravity, but rather to the law of departure and return. For the cadence an additional tone is necessary which is itself not a recitation tone, be it above or below the pivot tones. For this reason the monodic cadence always takes place on three notes. It must touch a non-pivotal note in order to produce the feeling of a period when it returns to the recitation tone.

Not so with the half cadence. This is literally only half a cadence, that is, a departure from the recitation tone without a return. This produces the effect of periodization without being an ending.

Not only the Yemenites, but also the majority of the other Jewish communities have preserved ancient recitation tones for the *hallel*-psalmody. An analysis of the *hallel* repertoire in all of these congregations would be a rewarding undertaking for future research. In the Jerusalem National Sound Archives alone I found 18 different recordings for the *hallel*.

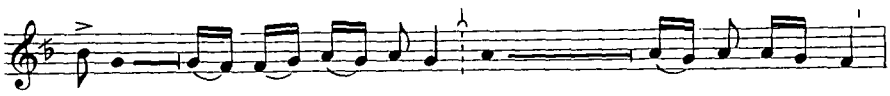
In addition to the *hallel*, the psalms for the other Festivals have specific melodic features in the oriental congregations. As an example we will take Psalm 107, which acts as an introduction to the *'arvît* on Passover (see Examples 15a, b). (Since in the Jewish tradition each new day begins in the evening, the Psalms act as an *introitus* for every Festival.) Among the Kurdish Jews the Festival psalms are again performed in responsorial psalmody (this completes the Kurdish repertory of responsorial psalmody). That the *hallel*, Psalm 92, and the Festival psalms are all performed in the same psalm-tone here is certainly not accidental. These three categories represent the oldest institutions of Festival psalmody.

We find among the Yemenite Jews the same typical variant-formation that we observed for the *hallel*. The congregation from Barat here practiced a simple psalmody, strictly syllabic and moving within the three-note range *F–G–A* (see Figure 22).

Figure 22

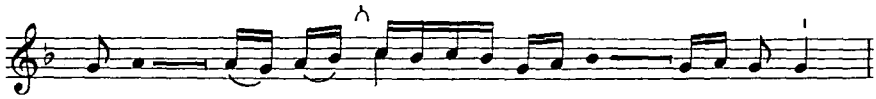
The psalmody of the Jews from Sharab has a *sforzato*-like *initium* on the upper third. Characteristic for this psalmody is the breaking up of the syllabic eighth note rhythm on the recitation tone with melodic sixteenth note motion (see Figure 23).

Figure 23



The breaking up of the recitation tone into melodic sixteenth notes is also characteristic of the Festival psalmody of the Yemenite Jews from San^{c}a (see Figure 24).

Figure 24



In addition, the Yemenite Jews have a special practice of inserting Psalm 1, Psalm 2 and Psalm 150 on the Three Festivals during the *šaḥarît* after the *pesûqê de-zimrah*. These three Psalms are recited according to the same principles as Psalm 92, which indicates the great age of this tradition (see Example 14).

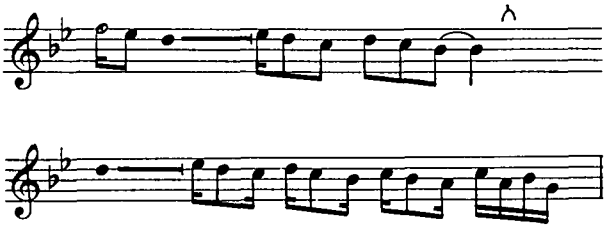
The Jews of Barat have a special custom known as the *hasdarah* that is, "arrangement". After the recitation of Psalms 1 and 2 the seven *'amîdah* benedictions are "rehearsed", i.e., said without *barûḵ attah adonay*. The *hasdarah* ends with the recitation of Psalm 150. This custom originated in the era when written prayer books were rare, and the Yemenite Jews recite this prayer from memory to this very day. Thus, the *hasdarah* performed the function of memorizing the different order of the benedictions *before* the beginning of the actual prayers.

Lamentation Psalmody

A special case in the Jewish liturgical tradition is the recitation of Psalm 137. It is the *introitus* psalm for the Ninth of Av which commemorates the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. We have called this "lamentation psalmody", as opposed to the Festival psalmody discussed above, since the atmosphere of the Ninth of Av is the direct opposite of that of the Three Festivals: the one is intended to express joy, whereas the other is filled with the atmosphere of mourning.

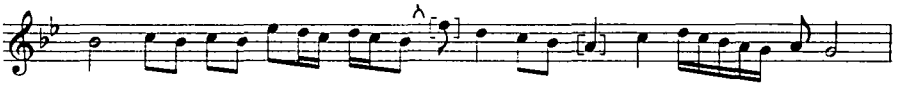
As a result, the psalmody of Psalm 137 differs in *all* Jewish congregations from the usual forms of book or Festival psalmody. A. Herzog has attempted to show connections between the lamentation psalmody of Psalm 137 and the *tonus peregrinus*, citing as a characteristic example the psalmody of the Kurdish tradition (see Herzog and Hajdu 1968: Musical Examples 2-3). This psalmody has a high recitation tone, *D*, a half cadence on the lower third $B^{\flat}$ and the full cadence on *G*. The melodic line is characterized by descending thirds at the cadences. The dominance of descending intervals produces an atmosphere of lamentation. In the course of the psalmody this effect is intensified by the fact that a third can be added above the recitation tone *D*, so that the melodic line sinks in the course of the psalmody over the interval of a seventh from *F* to *G* (see Figure 25).

Figure 25



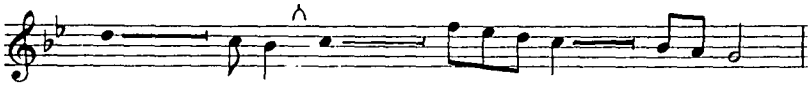
Variants of this psalmody can be found among the Babylonian, Syrian, and Sephardi Jews (Idelsohn 1922a: 111, no.95; Idelsohn 1923a: 171, no. 145; 178, no. 172). The Babylonian version has the recitation tone $B^{\flat}$ with the neighbour-note *C* for the melodic figure 'm', and the recitation tone $B^{\flat}$ for the melodic figure 'n', which is sometimes introduced with the *initium* F, and an extended final cadence on *G* (see Figure 26).

Figure 26



The Syrian variant has the recitation tone *D* and an extended final cadence which is introduced by the upper fourth *F* and ends on the lower fourth *G* (see Figure 27).

Figure 27

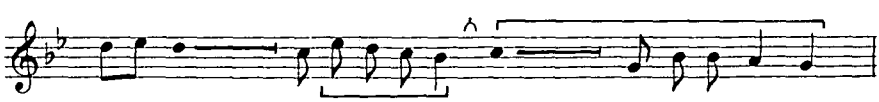


This type of lamentation psalmody can thus be documented for most of the oriental Jewish communities. Although varied in detail, all these forms possess the total range of a seventh, from *F* to *G*. In Kurdish psalmody this descent stretches over the entire verse from the *initium F* to the *finalis*, while in the two other cases there is a stronger dichotomy in the melodic line. The melodic figures 'm' and 'n' each develop their own recitation tones, and the descent of the seventh is reserved for the melodic figure 'n'.

When on the basis of this structural analysis we compare the lamentation psalmody with the Gregorian *tonus peregrinus*, it is difficult to conclude that they share a common origin. It is true that the *tonus peregrinus* has two recitation tones, on *D* and *C*, a half cadence on $B^{\flat}$ and *finalis* on *G*, which seems to indicate its derivation from Hebrew psalmody. On the other hand, when we compare the formation of the cadences in Hebrew lamentation psalmody with the *tonus peregrinus*, some characteristic differences become clear. While in the *tonus peregrinus* the half cadence is formed over the lower second *C* and the upper second $E^{\flat}$, thus occupying the range of a fourth, the cadential figures of Hebrew lamentation psalmody are constructed on the basis of sequentially descending thirds. The contrast between the two forms is even greater for the melodic figure 'n'. The *tonus peregrinus* displays simply the transposition of the four-note complex of 'm', $E^{\flat}$-$B^{\flat}$, a third lower to *C*-*G* (see Figure 28), while the Jewish examples have developed an expanded cadential figure over a descending sixth.

Figure 28

Tonus Peregrinus



The element of cadential formation through interlocking descending thirds is, from the structural viewpoint, the element characteristic of Hebrew lamentation

psalmody; that is, its identity lies in this aspect, whereas the elements of two recitation tones or the cadence on the lower third or lower fourth are often found throughout Hebrew psalmody.[63]

CHAPTER 5: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The Structures of Hebrew Psalmody

Let us briefly review the steps we have taken in the course of this work. The question of methodology faced us at the very outset, and in fact, the answer to it formed the pivot of the entire work, for we came to the conclusion that only a research method commensurate with the material to be explored could lead to authentic, undistorted results. Not even the structural method, which seemed best suited to our purposes, could be applied without precaution, since we had no existing models of *how* to apply the structural method correctly in this field. We could refer to accumulated experience in the fields of linguistics, anthropology, psychology, sociology, etc., but not in Jewish musicology. The additional problem arose that Hebrew psalmody actually belongs to three different disciplines, each of which has developed a methodology of its own: Old Testament scholarship, Judaic studies, and ethnomusicology. The structural approach provided no help in bridging this interdisciplinary gap.

It was thus necessary, although perhaps somewhat tedious, to deal first with the methodology and scholarly history of these disciplines. However, at this stage we already attempted some selectivity. Only information pertinent to Hebrew psalmody was discussed. Thus we confined our treatment of Old Testament scholarship to research on the psalms, that of Judaic studies to the position of the psalms in the Masorah and in the Jewish liturgy, and that of ethnomusicology to the study of psalm recitation.

These limitations, however, did not spare us the necessity of studying the methods and ways of thinking of each individual discipline in order to draw our conclusions for the psalms. Concerning the text, we found that it represents a literary form that developed over hundreds of years. The nucleus of all psalm compositions is the

63 When we trace the roots of Hebrew lamentation psalmody, we find them in Persian Jewish psalmody. Here those musical elements have developed which are characteristic for lamentation psalmody, not only in Psalm 137, but in the entire psalmodic tradition: namely, the expanded, quasi-"melismatic" cadence formed by descending thirds, as well as the heavy rhythm produced by the prolongation of the stressed syllables by a factor of 6–8.
This hypothesis, however, would require a separate empirical study, since Persian psalmody represents a special case, whose origins are still obscure.

individual psalm verse, structured by the *parallelismus membrorum*. The form of a complete psalm is one of verse compilation, subject to continual modifications in the course of centuries. The details of this lengthy process can no longer be reconstructed historically. Of decisive importance for the musical form of the psalmody was the period of the Babylonian Exile. During this period the foundations of the dominance of the scriptures over the Temple cult were laid. The beginning of the cyclical reading of scripture, the formation of the canon of the Old Testament — all these events originate in the Exile. Israel lost its territory, its Temple, and its self-confidence, but gained the individualization of the religious service, the participation of the whole people in the understanding of the scriptures, and the expansion of its literary production.

As a counterpart to these experiences new forms of instruction and of the religious service developed. The new institution of the synagogue placed the didactic element before the representational. In consequence, the oral tradition of the Old Testament was anchored in the people as a whole, and was no longer the domain of specialists. Every adult male learned to read and recite the scriptures. The adaptation of the psalmody for the reading of scripture required the correct understanding of the text. The text became clearly structured and, through constant repetition of the recitation, engraved in the memory.

A repertory of hand signals (cheironomy) for instruction in recitation may have existed at an early stage, but these signs were soon recorded in the text. The accentuation principles underwent a centuries-long period of development before reaching the point where they could no longer be improved in the performance of their necessary functions. This point is marked by the emergence of the Tiberian accent system.

In the second part of this work we concentrated on the question: what concrete practices do we find representing the musical form of Hebrew psalmody? While the disciplines treated in Part One had certain features in common, such as being based on written documents or having a traceable historical development, the disparity in subject matter and methodology with respect to ethnomusicology was especially great. There are no written sources here, nor a traceable historical development, but rather a musical practice whose internal connections are difficult for an outsider to understand. Furthermore, this practice is in a continuous state of flux and difficult to pin down in an objective form.

The methodology of ethnomusicology proceeds strictly empirically, and therefore after a phase of extensive collection and analysis we could bring a certain degree of

order to the musical material. In so doing we found that this material could not be organized according to internal criteria, but rather was dependent on extra-musical factors such as the text, accents, and liturgy. Thus we could distinguish between cyclical psalmody and Festival psalmody, which includes lamentation psalmody.

The focus of this work, however, is directed towards the relationship between the oral tradition and the poetical accent system. On the basis of a detailed analysis of Psalm 19 in the psalmodic tradition of the Moroccan Jews, we demonstrated that, in addition to the usual dichotomous psalmody, a model of a *three*-part psalmody appears in the recitation. These trichotomous models displayed a clear relation to the *ṭaʿamê emet*. The accent *ʿôleh we-yôred* plays a decisive role. It usually occurs before *etnaḥtā* and indicates the three-part division of the verse. We could establish further rules on the basis of this evidence. We came to the conclusion that the accentuation principle of the *ṭaʿamê emet* does not correspond to the law of continuous dichotomy, but rather to the law of non-reversible succession. That is, the series of accents is not determined by the symmetrical division of the verse into a hierarchical order of half verses, quarter verses, eighth verses, etc., but rather the indication of the verse lengths determines the accentuation. In the case of a short verse the accent sequence, *deḥî*, *etnaḥtā*, *sillûq*, *revîʿa mugraš*, appears. This sequence corresponds to the basic psalmodic formula: *initium*-recitation tone I-mediant-recitation tone II-*finalis*. In the case of a three-part verse, however, an additional accent sequence ending with *ʿôleh we-yôred* is inserted before the accentuation for a two-part verse. This pre-inserted sequence is expressed musically in a special melodic figure characterized by lacking a recitation tone.

A further proof for the connection of the *ṭaʿamê emet* and the oral tradition is the technique of verse interlocking. In all examples of Hebrew psalmody we find the practice of extending the reading beyond the end of the verse and delaying the *finalis* until the beginning of the next verse. This occurs especially in cases where the following verse is introduced with the conjunction *kî* or *ʿal ken*. The accentuation displays *legarmeh* in all these cases. This technique is typical for the recitation of cyclical book psalmody. Here the psalmody, always recited by an individual and also providing a method of reading for private study, flows into a continuum, expressed musically by the interlocking of adjacent verses. The individual psalms, too, are connected with each other without break, to emphasize the principle of cyclical reading. Finally, it is usual at the end of the reading to start over with Psalm 1, just as in the cycle of 53 Torah sections the last is joined to the first.

If we attempt to develop a typology for the performance practice of Hebrew psalmody in selected oriental Jewish communities, we come to the following conclusions. The individual regional styles displayed a high degree of homogeneity in the oral tradition. Comparisons with older transcriptions by Idelsohn and Lachmann provided further confirmation. However, there are fundamental differences between the various regional styles. The psalm-tone of the Moroccan Jews is quite different from that of the Babylonian Jews. The structural analysis, however, reveals that the melodies are identical at a different level, especially with respect to the *ṭa'amê emet*. The modal and motivic elements remain disparate. Each regional style has its preferred musical motive for the realization of the half and full cadences, and it also has room for the possibility of various degrees of motivic development, highly ornamented renderings or very simple, rudimentary ones. In general, children and the extremely elderly perform only the structural framework of the psalmody, while adults carry out realizations with richer ornamentation, depending on their musical talent and experience. The same holds true for the rhythmical realization of the psalmody. Thus, the Babylonian psalmody displayed the highest degree of rhythmic differentiation, while in Kurdish psalmody the *tonus currens* predominated. We found different criteria for liturgical psalmody. The connection between the accentuation and the recitation is less dominant here than in book psalmody. Liturgical psalmody is usually performed chorally by the congregation, and thus requires clearly delineated rhythmic and melodic forms. An analysis of Psalm 92 showed this for the traditions of various communities, as the analysis of the *hallel* did for the tradition of the Yemenite Jews. The recitation of Psalm 137 represents a special case. Here we are dealing with an example of a rare form, that of lamentation psalmody. The recitation melody of this psalm is similar to that used for the Lamentations of Jeremiah on the Ninth of Av.

In summary we can say that book psalmody occupies the larger place in the tradition of the synagogal transmission of Hebrew psalmody. The study of the Book of Psalms has priority, not the musical interpretation of its emotional content. Only a few psalms participate in the atmosphere of joy or mourning. Otherwise, the practice of reciting the psalms in their entirety as a book predominates. In this procedure, the accentuation represents an indispensable aid for the correct comprehension of the structure of the text.

In this sober form, as book psalmody, Hebrew psalmody was carried over into the liturgy of the Christian church. The church fathers emphasized on many occasions that book psalmody was the only true form of worshipping God. This type of psalmody contained the Christian virtues of humility of the heart (*katanixia*) and worship through the spirit.

GLOSSARY

ʿamîdah	(Lit.: standing) The central prayer of all Jewish services. It is recited while standing (hence its name) and contains 19 (originally 18) benedictions on weekdays, 9 on Rosh Hashanah and 7 on all other Holy Days and Festivals.
ʿarvît	Evening service.
baqqašôt	(Lit.: requests) Meditative prayers preceding the morning service.
maʿarîv	Evening service.
maḥzôr	(Lit.: cycle) Festival prayer book.
masôrah gedôlah	Long marginalia which expand and interpret the short marginalia.
masôrah qeṭannah	Short marginalia designed to help preserve the traditional Jewish form of the canonic texts.
minḥah	Afternoon service.
parašiyyôt	Biblical paragraphs separated by blank spaces in the scrolls.
parašôt	Weekly portions of the Pentateuch read in public during the Sabbath services. (The beginnings of the portions are also read on Mondays and Thursdays.)
pesûqê de-zimrah	Introductory psalms of *šaḥarît* (the Sephardic term is *zemîrôt*).
piyyûṭ	Sacred poem, recited or sung during liturgical or para-liturgical functions.
qabbalat šabbat	Welcoming the Sabbath.
šaḥarît	Morning service.

seder	(Lit.: order) General name for liturgical or paraliturgical sequences of prayers and acts of worship. Specifically the home service of Pesach night.
siddûr	Daily prayer book. (Some medieval works called *siddûrîm* are collections of regulations and customs pertaining to the liturgy.)
šillûš	Reciting a chapter of Mishnah, Prophets and Hagiographa in the Yemenite synagogue.
šîr šel yôm	The psalm of the day.
taḥanûn	(Lit.: supplication). A series of supplication prayers and poems recited during the weekday morning and afternoon services.
Three Festivals	Pesach (Passover), Shavuot, Sukkot.
tiqqûn ḥaẓôt	A midnight service, recited on weekdays. It contains lamentations and psalms mourning the destruction of the Temple, the exile of the Jews and the removal of the the divine presence (*šeḵînah*).
Yom Kippur	Day of Atonement.
zemîrôt	a) Sabbath table songs. b) Sephardi designation of *pesûqê de-zimrah*.

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MGG Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart, ed. F. Blume. Kassel.

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האוניברסיטה העברית בירושלים
פקולטה למדעי הרוח

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הוצאת ספרים ע״ש י״ל מאגנס, האוניברסיטה העברית

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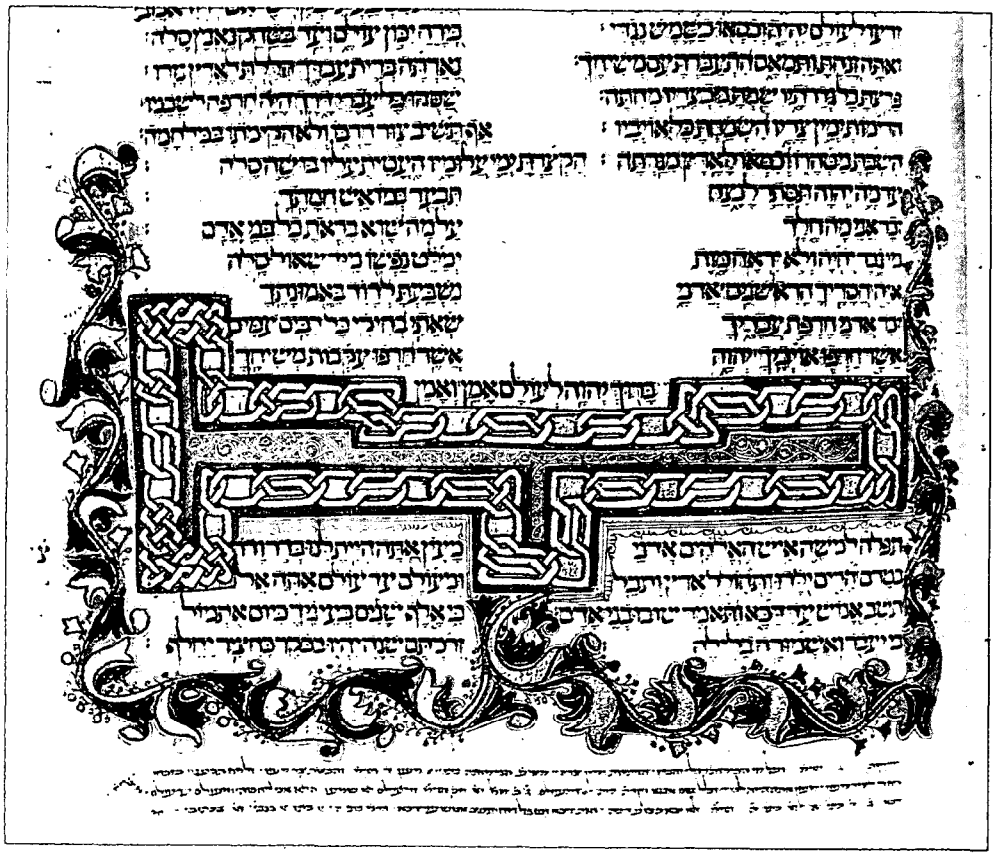

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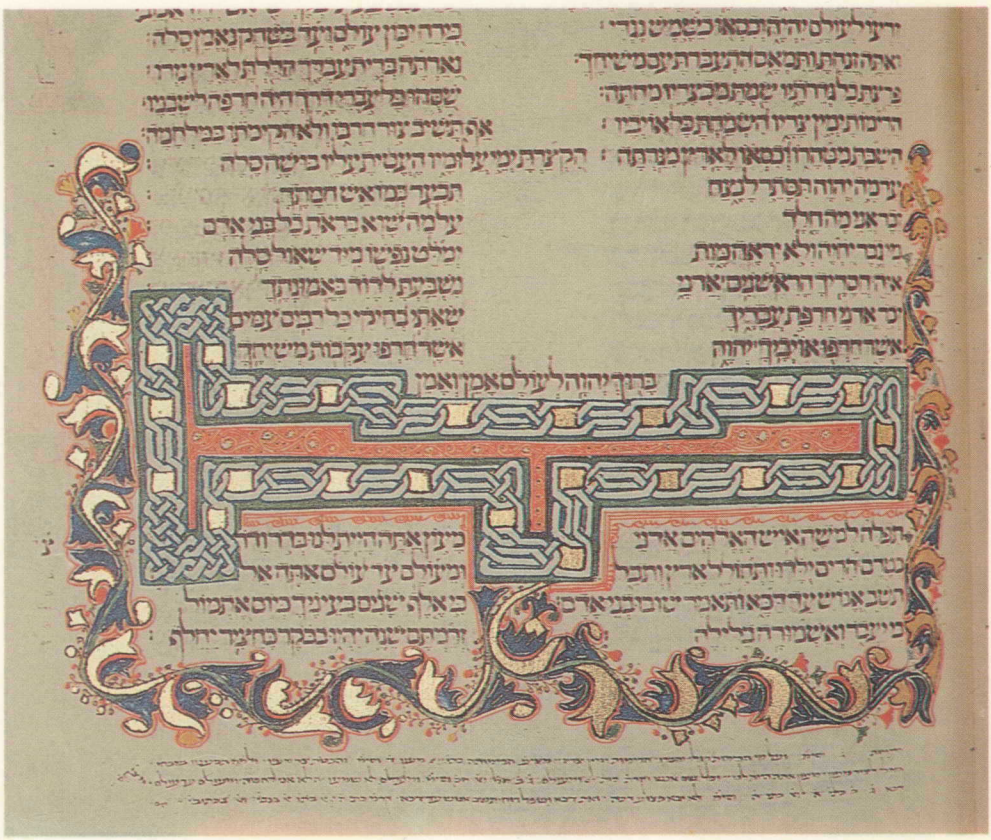

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