

Reading the Paratext:
Leib Kirschner's Cantorial Anthology of 1910

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Declaration

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December 2018

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Abstract

In 1910, Cantor Leib Kirschner compiled a collection of Synagogue music into an anthology. He recorded the composition titles in a table of contents, in Hebrew script. This book currently counts among the holdings of the South African Jewish Music Collection (SAJMC). In order to access the layers of meanings that are represented by this anthology, research and interpretation is necessary. However, there seems to exist a hiatus in historical research in South Africa, both of South African cantors, and of the genre of the cantorial anthology.

This study is approached from the premise of paratext, i.e. textual elements that surround the body text. I apply this theory from three perspectives. The first perspective is historical. I compile a concise background of the cantorial anthology as a genre, and describe the paratexts of five published cantorial anthologies from the SAJMC. The second is a biographic perspective. I use paratextual elements of Kirschner's book to retrace the cantor's steps from the Gardens Synagogue in South Africa back to Poland and Moldova. Thirdly, I make a description of the paratext of Kirschner's anthology itself. While certain paratextual elements are self-explanatory, others first need to be interpreted in order to access its substance. To this end, I conduct a palaeography where I decipher, transcribe, translate and contextualise Kirschner's table of contents.

This anthology represents the collection, notation and dissemination of a specific cantorate. Furthermore, it renders this music of Jewish communities that are isolated in terms of ideology, location and time, accessible to a broader audience today. More personally, Kirschner's anthology represents the remnants of a life.

Opsomming

Kantor Leib Kirschner het in 1910 'n versameling van Sinagogemusiek in bundelvorm saamgestel. Hy het die komposisietitels in Hebreeuse letters in 'n inhoudsopgawe opgestel. Hierdie boek word tans bewaar in die Suid-Afrikaanse Joodse Musiekversameling (SAJMV). Die ontsluiting van die betekenis wat hierdie bundel verteenwoordig vereis navorsing en interpretasie. Daar bestaan egter 'n leemte in historiese navorsing ten opsigte van Suid-Afrikaanse kantors, asook van die kantoriale bundel as genre.

Hierdie studie word benader vanuit die hoek van parateks, oftewel teks-elemente wat die hoofteks vergesel, maar uitsluit. Ek pas hierdie teorie toe vanuit drie perspektiewe. Die eerste perspektief is histories. Hier voorsien ek 'n bondige agtergrond van Joodse liturgiese musiek en van die kantoriale bundel as genre. Verder beskryf ek die paratekste van vyf gepubliseerde kantoriale bundels uit die SAJMV. Die tweede perspektief is biografies van aard. Met behulp van Kirschner se bundel-parateks volg ek die kantor se spore vanaf die Tuine Sinagoge in Suid-Afrika na Pole en Moldovia. Derdens beskryf ek die verskillende tipes parateks van Kirschner se bundel. Sommige elemente van parateks is voor die hand liggend, terwyl ander elemente net deur middel van interpretasie verstaan kan word. Ten einde hierdie doel te bereik, voer ek 'n paleografie uit waarin ek Kirschner se inhoudsopgawe ontsyfer, transkribeer, vertaal en kontekstualiseer.

Hierdie bundel verteenwoordig die versameling, notering en verspreiding van 'n spesifieke kantoraat. Dit stel dit Joodse musiek wat in terme van ideologie, ligging en tydvak geïsoleer is, beskikbaar aan 'n wyer gehoor vandag. Op persoonlike vlak verteenwoordig Kirschner se bundel die oorblyfsels van 'n lewe.

Acknowledgements

I express deep gratitude to my supervisor, Dr Hilde Roos, who approached my interest in music and the Hebrew language creatively and sensitively. She allowed me to work outside of regular structures and deadlines to keep the 'horse' of my vision 'alive'.

Santie de Jongh, Special Collections Librarian at the Music Library of Stellenbosch, was the first to introduce me to the SAJMC. She is passionate about this collection. Throughout my research period, she assisted me in accessing specific items from the collection in her usual professional manner.

Although I have never met Fay Singer, I wish to honour her for her lifework: collecting and making accessible the contents of the SAJMC.

From the time of my preliminary research, Annemie Behr has been generous with her knowledge on South African Jewish musical history. Her thorough and time-consuming digitisation project assisted my research process enormously.

I am grateful towards Dr Willemien Froneman, who introduced me to the theory of paratext, and who referred me to Dr Rachel Adelstein from Cambridge University. Dr Adelstein was the only authority in the field of Judaica who was both able and willing to comment on my palaeographic summary before submission. I wish to thank her for the hours spent on the Hebrew aspect of my research.

Clive Kirkwood, UCT Special Collections Librarians, and the archivists from the National Archives SA made research a smooth and pleasant experience.

Dustcovers bookshop in Nieu-Bethesda very generously allowed me access to their Encyclopaedia Judaica collection during those dusty days of research.

I am grateful to my parents for words of encouragement at pivotal points of despair.

Jannie, my husband, I thank for his unceasing support and prayer throughout the past three years.

תהלים קיז

א הַלְלוּ אֶת-יְהוָה כָּל-גּוֹיִם

שִׁבְחוּהוּ כָּל-הָאֲמִיּוֹת

ב כִּי גָבַר עָלֵינוּ חַסְדּוֹ

וְאֵמֶת-יְהוָה לְעוֹלָם

הַלְלוּ-יְהוָה:

Psalm 117

1 Praise the LORD, all nations;

Laud Him, all peoples!

2 For His lovingkindness is great toward us;

And the truth of the LORD is everlasting.

Praise the LORD!

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Notes on romanised transliterations

Although Kirschner was an Ashkenazi Jew, I transcribe Hebrew words according to Sephardi pronunciation. This is the system of pronunciation that is officially used in Israel today, and which I learnt in my Modern and Biblical Hebrew studies. The Sephardi pronunciation is also used by Marsha Edelman in her indexes of the Gershon Ephros' Cantorial Anthology. The guttural letters נ and כ are often transcribed as 'kh' or 'ch', but for the sake of consistency, I make use of the letter ה, after the diacritical system of *Jewish Encyclopedia*. In the case of names, however, I use commonly accepted romanised transcriptions, for example 'Khersoner', not 'Hershoner'. In the glossary, I provide common alternative spellings in brackets. Foreign words appear in italics in the Glossary and thereafter in plain text. For ease of pronunciation, I make use of the apostrophe to indicate syllable breaks between vowels, for example 'Ma'ariv' (evening prayer). Hebrew script, which is also used in the Yiddish language, is written from-right-to-left, and romanised transliterations from left-to-right.

Nomenclature

Cantor and ḥazzan

The words 'cantor' and 'ḥazzan' (pronounced 'ḥázn' in Yiddish) are indicated as synonyms in most dictionaries. Louis Herrman writes in his 1941 history of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation that Leib Kirschner was "engaged as Chazan".¹ Later, on the same page, the writer refers to Kirschner as "the Cantor, Rev Mr L Kirschner. Similarly, the *SA Jewish Report* and *SA Jewish Chronicle* refers to Kirschner's office as 'Chazzan' (ḥazzan) and his title as 'Cantor' or 'Obercantor' ("Cantor Kirschner, the new Chazan.").² I use these terms accordingly.

'Cape Town Hebrew Congregation' and 'Gardens Shul'

Jewish congregations like the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation are hosted in synagogue buildings – in this case the Great Synagogue in Hatfield Street. It is possible for the congregation to move to another building and, while retaining its identity, receive a new informal name that is based on its location. In the case of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, its first synagogue building became too small for the growing congregation. In 1905 the Great Synagogue was built adjacent to old to become the congregation's new home.³ Often congregants would refer to their congregation by street name or by the suburb of its location. The word 'shul' carries a certain affectionate quality. For example, the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, located next to the Cape Town Company Gardens, is known conversationally as the Gardens Shul. The Beth Hamedrash Hachodosh in Constitution Street, District Six, moved to Vredehoek in the 1930s, and became known as the 'Vredehoek Shul'.⁴ Similarly, 'Marais Road Shul' refers to the synagogue of the Green and Sea Point Congregations. Instead of 'Gardens Shul', I will use the slightly more formal 'Gardens Synagogue', after Mendelsohn and Shain's book, entitled *The Jews in South Africa*.⁵

¹ Herrman, 1941:110.

² A new 'chazan', 1920:847.

³ Phillips, 2005:11.

⁴ Sher, 2003.

⁵ Published in 2008.

Kirschner officiated at the Gardens Synagogue between 1920 and 1937. In other instances, I refer to the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation.

Glossary

Words in italics are in Hebrew, unless indicated as Yiddish.

Acculturation: The process of one culture adapting to another culture (especially to a majority), while remaining a distinct group in itself.⁶

Amidah: Literally ‘standing’. A prayer that consists of a set of blessings.⁷

Anti-Semitism: Discrimination against or hostility toward Jewish ethnicity, religion or race.⁸

Ashkenazi (plural – *Ashkenazim*): Derived from the Hebrew word for ‘German’, the Ashkenazim hail from Central and Eastern Europe. Yiddish was their lingua franca until the 20th century and is still spoken by some (cf. **Sephardi**).⁹

Ba’al korah (*ba’al korai* or *ba’al koreh*): A reader of the Torah at public Jewish services.¹⁰

Ba’al tefillah: Literally ‘master of prayer’. A pious, musically gifted **shaliaḥ tzibbur** or **ḥazzan** who reads prayers at special services.¹¹

Bar mitzvah (plural – *bnei mitzvah*): An initiation ceremony for a thirteen year-old-boy into religious and communal participation.¹²

Bat mitzvah: An initiation ceremony for a Jewish girl at the age of twelve-years-and-a-day, as observed in **Reform Judaism**.¹³

Beth Hamidrash (*beth hamedrash*): Literally ‘house of study’. Refers to a designated location for the study of **Torah** and **Talmud**.¹⁴ Beth Hamedrash Hachodosh was the name of a Jewish congregation in Constitution Street, Cape Town.

Cantillation: The intoned recitation of scriptural text, dependent on the rhythm and sequence of the text, rather than the metrical form of the melody.¹⁵

Cantor: See **ḥazzan**.

Chor Shul (Yiddish): Literally ‘choral synagogue’.¹⁶

⁶ Labaree, 2018.

⁷ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

⁸ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2017.

⁹ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017.

¹⁰ Bard, 2016.

¹¹ Jastrow et al., 1906; Herschel, 1966; Frigyesi, 2010.

¹² *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

¹³ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

¹⁴ Bard, 2016.

¹⁵ Adler & Cohen, 1906; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1998.

¹⁶ Kalib, 2005:90.

Cheder: See *Heder*.

Diaspora: Refers to the dispersion of Jews throughout the Greco-Roman world, or to Jews who live outside of present-day Israel.¹⁷

Emancipation: The process of liberation from legal, social and political restrictions.¹⁸

Enlightenment, Jewish: See *Haskalah*.

Galicia: The Polish region annexed to the Austrian Empire in 1772 and returned to Poland in 1918 with the fall of the Habsburg Empire. After the Second World War, the former region of Galicia was divided between South East Poland and North West Ukraine.¹⁹

Griener (Yiddish): A reference to the greenhorns, or newcomers. In the South African context, a reference to the *Litvaks*.²⁰

Haftorah: Specific portions from the books of the Prophets that follow the weekly *Torah* reading on *Shabbat*.²¹

Halaha (halakha): The religious body of Jewish law that supplements Biblical law, based on *Talmudic* writings.²²

Hallel: A portion of the service for certain festivals, which include Psalms 113–118 (the Hallel Psalms).²³

Hanukkah (Hanukkah or Chanukah): A festival that commemorates the re-dedication of the Temple 165 BC by the Maccabees. It is celebrated with the lighting of candles over eight days.²⁴

Hasidim: Members of a mystical branch of Ultra-Orthodox Judaism that originated in eighteenth century Galicia. Hasidic communities live secluded from Western influence and are recognized by their eighteenth-century black hats and long coats.²⁵

Haskalah (Jewish Enlightenment): An ideological and intellectual movement that originated in Germany and lasted from the 1770s until the 1880s. Followers of the Haskalah were known as *Maskilim*.²⁶

Hazzan (hazan): The synagogue official who leads the congregation in prayer and singing, both solo and communal.²⁷ Also precentor or **cantor**.

¹⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017; Adler & Cohen, 1906:559.

¹⁸ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

¹⁹ Katz, 2016.

²⁰ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2018; Muir, 2013:194.

²¹ Bard, 2016.

²² Jacobs, 2008.

²³ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

²⁴ *Ibid*.

²⁵ Rosenthal & Dubnow, 1906:251.

²⁶ Etkes, 2010; Schoenberg, 2016.

²⁷ *New World Encyclopedia*, 2017.

Hazzanut (*chazanut* or *chazzanuth*): A reference to music of the synagogue, cantorship or a collective term for a body of cantors (cantorate).²⁸

Heder (*cheder*): Literally ‘room’. A Jewish elementary school.²⁹

Litvak (Yiddish): A Jew of Lithuanian descent. However, in the South African context it came to represent any Jew of Russian or Eastern European descent.³⁰

Ma’ariv (‘arvit): Evening prayer service.³¹

Meshorer: Literally ‘chorister’. **Hazzanim** often used one or two of these assistants – usually boy soprano and bass – to provide a background drone to cantorial solos.³²

Minhag: A Jewish custom or practice, e.g. *Minhag Ashkenaz* (German tradition).³³

Minhah: The afternoon prayer service.³⁴

Mitnagdim (*Misnagdim*): Derived from the Hebrew word for ‘opposition’. The Mitnagdim opposed the Hasidic movement in Eastern Europe, especially in Lithuania, in favour of traditional Judaism.³⁵

Musaf: An additional prayer service on Shabbat and certain Holidays.³⁶

Ne’ilah: The additional prayer service that concludes the **Yom Kippur** liturgy.³⁷

Niggunim mi-sinai: Literally ‘melodies from Sinai’.³⁸

Niqqud (plural – *niqqudot*): Hebrew vowel points.

Nusah (plural – *nus’ha’ot*): The specific mode to which a certain part of the liturgy or a specific prayer is sung.³⁹

Orthodox Judaism: A general term for various movements, where the **Torah** and **Talmud** are adhered to. On the opposite side of the spectrum lies **Reform Judaism**.⁴⁰

Pesah (*Pesach*): Passover, one of the three Pilgrimage Festivals.

Piyyut (*piyut*) (plural – *piyyutim*): Liturgical poetry recited in addition to the standard liturgy on Sabbaths, holidays and other special ceremonies.⁴¹

²⁸ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2015.

²⁹ Schrire & Schrire, 2016:236.

³⁰ Muir, 2013:194.

³¹ Serrousi, Braun & Schleifer, 2001:37.

³² Frigyesi, 2010.

³³ Heller, 2010.

³⁴ Serrousi et al., 2001:37.

³⁵ Muir, 2013:194.

³⁶ Serrousi et al., 37.

³⁷ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017.

³⁸ Serrousi et al., 2001:52.

³⁹ Bard, 2016

⁴⁰ Bard, 2016.

⁴¹ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

Psalms: The Hebrew equivalent, *Tehillim*, literally means ‘songs of praise’. *Tehillim* is also the Hebrew equivalent of the Biblical book of Psalms.⁴²

Rabbi: The official leader of a Jewish congregation and authority on *halaha*.⁴³

Reform Judaism: The liberal branch of Judaism, also known as Progressive Judaism.

Rosh Hashanah: The Jewish New Year, which, together with *Yom Kippur*, make out the High Holidays of the liturgical calendar.

Sephardi (plural – *Sephardim*): Jews originating from the Iberian Peninsula, who have retained their Spanish dialect, called Ladino (cf. *Ashkenazi*).⁴⁴ More generally, the term can include Jews from North-Africa, the Mediterranean and the Middle East.

Shabbat (Sabbath; *Shabat*; plural – *Shabatot*): The seventh day of rest, observed from Friday evenings at sundown, until Saturdays at sundown.⁴⁵

Shaharit: The morning prayer service.⁴⁶

Shavuot (*Shavuoth*): One of the three Pilgrimage Festivals in Judaism, celebrated fifty days after the second day of *Pesah*. Apart from marking the traditional harvest time, it also celebrates the giving of the Law.⁴⁷ Also known as the Festival of Weeks, this festival corresponds to Pentecost.

Shaliah tzibbur (*sheliach ha-tzibbur*): Also known as the precentor. Literally ‘messenger of the congregation’, someone who prays on behalf of the congregation. The function of **shaliah tzibbur** can be performed by an untrained member of the congregation, or by a *hazzan*.⁴⁸ **Shaliah tzibbur** is often abbreviated to *shatz*.

Shema (or Shema Yisrael): This text from the Torah makes out an important part of the daily morning and evening prayers. It is also used as a Jewish confession of faith (literally, ‘Hear O Israel, the Lord your God is one Lord’).⁴⁹

Shul: Yiddish word for ‘synagogue’, derived from the German ‘schule’.⁵⁰

Shtetl: A small type of Jewish village formerly found in Eastern Europe.⁵¹

Sukkot (*Succoth*): Literally ‘booths’ or ‘shelters’, this festival commemorates the sheltering of the Israelites in the wilderness, following their flight from Egypt. **Sukkot** is one of three Pilgrimage Festivals.⁵²

⁴² Hirsch, 1906.

⁴³ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2017.

⁴⁴ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

⁴⁵ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2018.

⁴⁶ Serrousi et al., 2001:38.

⁴⁷ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

⁴⁸ Serrousi et al., 2001:38.

⁴⁹ *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2017.

⁵⁰ *Ibid*.

⁵¹ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2018.

⁵² *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2018.

Synagogue: The building where communal Jewish prayer, worship and teaching takes place.⁵³

Ta'amim: Cantillation signs, or accents, that indicate the musical chant of certain Biblical texts.⁵⁴

Talmud: Literally 'instruction', this is the oral tradition that supplements Jewish Biblical instruction. Prior to being recorded in written form between the second and fifth centuries AD, the Talmud had been passed on from Rabbi to student orally. It consists of the Mishna, a large collection of commentaries and opinions of Rabbis, and the Gemara, which in turn includes Rabbinical analyses and comments on the Mishna. The authority of the **Talmud** was opposed by the **Haskalah** in the nineteenth century, and by the resulting branch of Reform Judaism.⁵⁵

Tanah (Tanakh): The Hebrew Holy Scriptures (Old Testament). **Tanah** is an acronym compiled of its subdivisions: **Torah** ('teaching'), **Nevi'im** ('prophets') and **Ketuvim** ('writings').⁵⁶

Tehillim: See **Psalms**.

Torah: Literally 'teaching' or 'doctrine', Torah has also been translated as 'law'. It comprises of the first five books of the Hebrew Bible. **Torah** can also be understood to include both the written and oral law (**Talmud**).⁵⁷

Yeshiva: A Jewish college for Talmudic studies.⁵⁸

Yiddish: Historically the lingua franca of Ashkenazi Jews, **Yiddish** is a synthesis of medieval German, Hebrew and Aramaic.⁵⁹ The Hebrew alphabet is used in **Yiddish** writing.

Yom Kippur: Also 'Day of Atonement'. This solemn fast marks the conclusion of 'ten days of repentance', which start on **Rosh Hashanah**. Together, **Yom Kippur** and **Rosh Hashanah** mark the High Holidays of the liturgical year.⁶⁰

Zionism: Before the proclamation of the modern State of Israel in 1948, Zionism was a movement for the re-establishment of a Jewish homeland. Thereafter, it continued as a movement for the development and protection thereof. Anti-Semitism and renewed Jewish nationalism sparked Zionism in the nineteenth century.⁶¹

⁵³ *Merriam-Webster Dictionary*, 2018.

⁵⁴ Frigyesi, 2010.

⁵⁵ Dimitrovsky & Silberman, 2016.

⁵⁶ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017.

⁵⁷ Jacobs & Blau, 1906; *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017.

⁵⁸ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2012; *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2017.

⁵⁹ Katz, 2010.

⁶⁰ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017.

⁶¹ Stone & Ochsenwald, 2018; *Oxford Dictionaries*, 2017.

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Prelude

I enter the Molteno Room. A windowless space, filled with shelves containing documents, books, records, files.

The collections of the Documentation Centre for Music. I walk to the section I know to contain the South African Jewish Music Collection, and from the top shelf, from among its neighbours, I take a cloth bound, weathered book, which I open. Among its pages, carefully inked characters draw my attention. They lure me into making them known. This is a century old anthology, compiled by Oberkantor L Kirschner.

Lying on its own on the table top, Kirschner's anthology looks almost vulnerable. I had taken it from its place on the shelf where it had been surrounded by other anthologies, which, during the course of my research, I had taken to thinking of as a small group of introverted octogenarians. I had done so, I think, because I sense in this material a presence to which one does a disservice by objectifying it as mere documents. To me, these anthologies became the retirees who contained the solo recitatives of the hazzan who inspired awe among worshippers, who prompted the recitation of ancient Hebrew prayer texts. The ones who helped the choirmaster to direct his choristers in harmony. Their lives as published volumes contextualise the genre of Jewish liturgical music both historically and in terms of its substance. Now these 'colleagues' serve as guides to 'reading' Kirschner's obscure manuscript.

Again, Kirschner's letters catch my attention. His script reminds me of the Hebrew exercises that I copied years ago in childlike manner. Yet, the cantor's letters carry with them the flavour of another time. Another place. Some of them are arranged into words, intentionally and functionally. Others make out spontaneous, personal jots, hardly legible after its long existence.

My engagements with this anthology brought about a constant awareness that it stood for a past that was not demonstratively important nor fully recoverable. It is perhaps in this aspect where I sense the poetic quality of my research resides: in conversing with the past of which I know I won't be able to construct anything comprehensive. Such conversations with the past have something of the melancholy of mortality about them. I recognise in people like Leib Kirschner and his life's work, also myself.

Chapter One

Background and Aims

Fay Singer inaugurated the South African Jewish Music Centre (SAJMC) in 1992. Motivated by a zeal for her heritage, Singer set out to collect Jewish music of all genres in order to promote the study and performance thereof. She presented lectures and organised performances of music from the SAJMC to further these goals. Over time, the content of the centre was stored in various temporary locations, and access and preservation became a concern for Singer. Conversations with Prof Stephanus Muller (head of the Documentation Centre for Music – DOMUS) and researcher Annemie Behr led to the transfer of the SAJMC to DOMUS in 2011. The South African Jewish Music *Centre* became the South African Jewish Music *Collection*. In 2016 I was approached by Santie de Jongh, archivist of DOMUS and Special Collections Librarian of the Stellenbosch Music Department. As part of the DOMUS digitisation project, all the unpublished material in the SAJMC was to be scanned and its contents described. De Jongh asked me to transcribe and translate Hebrew texts for this purpose. One of the unpublished items in the SAJMC was a handwritten music book, marked ‘No 1; Oberkantor L Kirschner; 1910’. For the DOMUS project, I was to transcribe the book’s table of contents. The task proved to be exceptionally challenging as Kirschner’s handwriting, which I later identified as a pre-First World War Yiddish style, was unusual and difficult to decipher.¹

Parallel to the DOMUS assignment, I was searching for a suitable research topic for a MMus degree. My fascination with and appreciation for the Kirschner artefact increased, and I chose this same book for the subject of my research thesis. This book is an anthology of Jewish liturgical music. Cantor Leib Kirschner collected and notated four-part choral arrangements of various liturgical composers, which he compiled into an anthology in 1910. In 1920, Kirschner immigrated from Eastern Europe to South Africa to become ḥazzan of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation.

This study contributes to the field Jewish cantorial research in South Africa. Through this research I aim to promote access to the SAJMC for further interactions with researchers, performers and other interested parties.

Literature Review

While much information is available on the topic of synagogue music, the genre of the cantorial anthology has received less attention. Philip Bohlman’s contribution in this regard is invaluable. In *Jewish Music and Modernity* he considers, amongst others, the meaning of ‘Jewish music’ and the dissemination thereof through anthologies. Sholom Kalib writes about the factors that contributed to the notation and compilation of cantorial anthologies, specifically with regards to nineteen- and twentieth-century Eastern Europe in *The Musical Tradition of the Eastern European Synagogue*.

Due to the apparent lack of research works on South African cantorial anthologies, I focus on cantorial anthologies that exist in the specific South African context of the SAJMC.² In Chapter

¹ The Yiddish language makes use of the Hebrew alphabet.

² Cf Stephen Muir’s research, p 3.

Two I describe the published cantorial anthologies that are preserved in this archive. Two of these anthologies feature in American journal articles. The first is written by Geoffrey Goldberg and published as “Neglected Sources for the Historical Study of Synagogue Music” in *American Judaica* (1989). Goldberg argues that, while much liturgical music was preserved with the age of the printing press, information about the compilers and composers of this music is lacking.

Without mentioning the word ‘paratext’, he uses this perspective by focusing on the prefaces of Lewandowski’s cantorial anthologies. This nineteenth-century composer is still internationally known and performed in the context of synagogue music. After centuries of oral transmission, Goldberg writes, the printing houses of nineteenth century Europe contributed greatly to the body of published liturgical scores. The prefaces that customarily accompanied liturgical music publications were often the only sources that tapped into the liturgical traditions, motivations and artistic insights of their compilers. Some of these compilers were simply collectors of ḥazzanut, while others arranged centuries old melodies for choir in four-part harmony and organ accompaniment. Yet others composed completely new melodies for the traditional Jewish liturgical prayers. These ḥazzanim, synagogue music directors and choir masters together built the foundational body of their genre. However, Goldberg states that very little attention has been given to the composers and compilers of these scores and anthologies. He was the first to translate Lewandowski’s German prefaces into English. But Goldberg argues that, in addition to being translated, these prefaces have to be analysed in order to access their meaning. He incorporates information gleaned from Lewandowski’s prefaces into the existing biographical data on the composer.

The second related article is Marsha Bryan Edelman’s “Index to Gershon Ephros’ Cantorial Anthology”, which appeared in the American journal, *Musica Judaica*, in 1979.³ Edelman writes of Gershon Ephros’ eminence in the field of Jewish liturgical music. His *Cantorial Anthology* consists of six volumes that were published between 1929 and 1969, the content of which was used in synagogue services across a wide spectrum of Jewish denominations.⁴ Edelman compiled two integrated indexes out of a total of six volumes. The first index lists composers, arrangers and collectors alphabetically, followed by the prayer titles that are attributed to them. These titles are referenced according to volume, section and page. The second index lists the liturgical music, this time arranged alphabetically according to prayer title. Each prayer title is followed by the names of those who composed or arranged their own versions of the standardised prayer text. The editors of *Musica Judaica* write that Edelman’s index project was “enthusiastically received” by the American Society for Jewish Music, that it serves as “a timely remembrance” of Ephros that her work “is a most worthy endeavour and deserves our highest praise”.⁵ Both Goldberg’s study and Edelman’s indexes serve as secondary sources for Chapter Two, and as primary sources for Chapter Four.

During the course of my research, I become aware of the “Performing the Jewish Archive” project.⁶ Dr Stephen Muir, senior lecturer at the University of Leeds music department, is a member of this project’s research team. Muir had discovered music manuscripts that

³ Two of Ephros’ six volumes (numbers II and IV) are preserved in the SAJMC.

⁴ Katz and Weisser in Edelman, 1978:iv.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ The “Out of the Shadows” festival, a project of the “Performing the Jewish Archive” collaboration, took place in Cape Town and Stellenbosch in 2017.

belonged to a contemporary of Leib Kirschner, Froim Spektor, in Cape Town.⁷ His views on the importance of ‘hidden’ pre-Holocaust Jewish music can be related to Kirschner’s cantorial anthology.⁸

Methodology and theoretical approach

This thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of a MMus degree in clarinet performance. Due to the ensuing limitations in terms of scope, I have narrowed my focus down to specific aspects of Kirschner’s cantorial anthology. The musical content which forms the body matter of this cantorial anthology will not fall within the scope of my research.

Paratext

Kirschner’s cantorial anthology represents a confluence of specific cultural, religious, musical and historical fields. I aim to ‘read’, or interpret, the paratext of Leib Kirschner’s anthology from three perspectives. This manuscript book had been compiled from handwritten music scores, and as such provides a richer paratext in comparison to that of a published book. First, I investigate the genre of Jewish liturgical music and make a description of published cantorial anthologies in the SAJMC archive. Second, I conduct a biographical study of Leib Kirschner. Third, I conduct a palaeography of the paratext of Kirschner’s cantorial anthology, paying special attention to its physical appearance and table of contents. Together, these three paratextual ‘readings’ form a multi-faceted representation of this cultural and musical artefact.

The term ‘paratext’ was coined by Gérard Genette in his book *Seuils*, in 1987. Here, Genette defines paratext as the “marginal or supplementary data around the text”, such as titles, insertions, dedications, prefaces, etc. These are the components that do not make out the main text of a book, but which enable the main text to be presented as a book, or in Genette’s words, “to assure its presence in the world”. Since the publication of *Seuils*, paratextual theory has mostly been applied to secondary sources. In recent years, however, the research field has broadened to include other mediums such as film and manuscripts. Ciotti and Lin’s recent contribution in the field of paratext, *Tracing Manuscripts through Space and Time through Paratexts*, develops Genette’s initial definition. The paratextual elements that surround the body text of a manuscript translate into a text in own right, while the function of the manuscript is to ‘carry’ the various layers of text. In this sense, the paratext reflects all the activities connected to the manuscript’s production, transmission and content.

The recent years have witnessed the emergence of some pioneering studies which adopt the paratextual approach to engage with manuscripts. It should be said, however, that the number of such studies is rather limited and most of them do not embrace cross-cultural perspective.⁹

The current study of Kirschner’s anthology echoes Ciotti and Lin’s description above. This anthology represents a confluence of Eastern European Yiddish cultures and the anglicised Jewish culture of the Gardens Synagogue.¹⁰ Ciotti and Lin explain that paratextual clues are in themselves artefacts “that provide temporal and spatial coordinates”, i.e. information that

⁷ Spektor’s cantorial anthology is preserved in the SAJMC. See Chapter Two.

⁸ An article on Muir’s discovery appeared in the *South African Jewish Report* (Moshe, 2018).

⁹ Ciotti & Lin, 2016:viii.

¹⁰ For the cultural surroundings to the creation and function of Kirschner’s anthology, see Chapter Three.

connects the text to specific dates and locations.¹¹ The concepts of spatial and locational coordinates are applied to Kirschner's anthology in Chapters Three and Four.

The primary source of this study is the cantorial anthology by Leib Kirschner. For secondary sources, I consulted other liturgical anthologies from the SAJMC. In Chapter Two, these sources are contextualised in terms of the background of Jewish liturgical music, and the genre of the cantorial anthology, using the historical method. I consult several encyclopedias, among them the dated *Jewish Encyclopedia*. First published in 1906, this source was used purposefully as a reference to Leib Kirschner's lifetime.¹²

Chapter Three contains a biographic description of Kirschner's life. Here, I consider the theories that surround the genre of musical biography. I draw upon the notions of scholars in this field, such as Jolanta Pekacz. She writes that social and cultural assumptions on the side of the biographer are unavoidable and should rather be acknowledged and embraced than denied.¹³ The musical biographer should not claim to 'reconstruct' a life, but to rather compose a construction in which the writer's own subjectivity is not denied.¹⁴ Michael Benton, an authority in the genre of literary biography, goes even further: he defines the genre as a hybrid of historical facts and narrative, where the biographer is to shape the loose threads of a life into an 'engaging whole', a biographical construct.¹⁵ Within the tradition of historical research, I make use of archival and palaeographic studies. Archival work is used throughout for study on Kirschner's anthology and other items in the SAJMC. For historical and biographical information, I glean information from newspaper articles, predominantly the *SA Jewish Chronicle*. A large number of Jewish newspaper articles that relate to music have been digitised and loaded onto the DOMUS website by researcher Annemie Behr. Fourteen articles from the *SA Jewish Chronicle*, published between 1920 and 1939, refer to Leib Kirschner. Other archival sources include the National Archives of South Africa and online genealogy sites, such as the Jewish Roots Project of UCT and JewishGen's online resources.

In Chapter Four, I conduct a palaeography. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, palaeography is "the study of ancient or antiquated writings and inscriptions: the deciphering and interpretation of historical writing systems and manuscripts". Very often in scholarly articles, Hebrew palaeography refers to the deciphering and dating of ancient Biblical texts. However, this technique can also be applied to old handwriting: in this case a pre-First World War Yiddish speaker's handwriting.¹⁶ I discuss the methods that supported my palaeography in four steps: one, deciphering Leib Kirschner's handwriting in the table of contents of his anthology and converting his script into Hebrew typeface; two, transcribing the Hebrew words phonetically into Latin letters; three, translating the Hebrew into English; and four, contextualising each title according to its function in the Jewish liturgy. I utilise the data from my palaeography to make connections between the composers represented in Kirschner's table of contents. Dr Rachel Adelstein, musicologist and researcher at the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge University, provided comments and suggestions that provide credibility to my palaeography.

¹¹ Ciotti & Lin, 2016:viii

¹² Date of birth 1884; date of death 1955.

¹³ Pekacz, 2004:45.

¹⁴ Pekacz, 2004:79.

¹⁵ Benton, 2007:77.

¹⁶ *How to decipher unfamiliar handwriting: A short introduction to palaeography*, 2014:4.

Chapter Two

The Cantorial Anthology: a brief background, with examples from the SAJMC

Without belabouring definitions, the term ‘music book’ refers to works that published music for public consumption, which in turn led to performance of one kind or another, public or private, within a Jewish context or without. The Jewish music book appeared in Central Europe in the late nineteenth century, and it enjoyed its most widespread popularity in the 1920s and 1930s. The Jewish music book was less a genre or object than a means or process of making music available to a broader public. The music book initially served the collection of essentially local repertoires and then recontextualized them to suit the needs of a larger European Jewish audience.¹⁷

This chapter embodies the first of three perspectives on the paratext of Leib Kirschner’s cantorial anthology. It lays the foundation from which the subsequent chapters proceed. At the outset of this chapter, I compile a concise overview of the background of Jewish liturgical music. I explain the role of the ḥazzan and role players in Jewish music reform. I then describe elements of certain liturgical anthologies in the SAJMC. They are examples of what Bohlman entitles the ‘Jewish music book’ in the opening quote of this chapter. I describe *Kol Rinnah u’T’fillah* by Louis Lewandowski (1885)¹⁸; *Works of Sacred Music* by Marcus Hast (1910); From Spektor’s *Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor* (1932); and two volumes from the *Cantorial Anthology of Traditional and Modern Synagogue Music*, compiled by Gershon Ephros in 1953 (volumes II and IV). I focus on the paratext of these published volumes, including prefaces, tables of content and ownership marks.

The ḥazzan

The destruction of the Second Jewish Temple in the year 70 AD changed the course of Hebrew music. In the words of Mark Kligman, scholar in the field of Middle Eastern liturgies, “... ritual life in the Temple ceased, prayer changed, and the context of worship shifted to the synagogue.”¹⁹ As a sign of mourning, all instrumental music was forbidden during worship, and liturgical music “became a purely vocal art”.²⁰ It was only with the nineteenth century Reform movement that instruments were reintroduced to the Liberal branch of Judaism.²¹ In Talmudic times (third to fifth centuries CE), the sheliaḥ tizbbur led services.²² Also known as the precentor, he would recite the prayers on behalf of the congregation, who in turn would confirm his prayer with a communal acclamation of ‘amen’. Any able male over the age of thirteen could lead prayer as a sheliaḥ tizbbur. However, as the complexity of synagogue

¹⁷ Bohlman, 2008:88.

¹⁸ The publishing date of this specific fourth edition of *Kol Rinnah* is not visible on the copy in the SAJMC, the WorldCat database provides the date of 1885.

¹⁹ Kligman, n.d.:1.

²⁰ Seroussi et al., 2001:37.

²¹ Kligman, n.d.:2.

²² Serrousi et al., 2001:38.

services increased, the need of a precentor with musical abilities and knowledge of liturgies and traditionally set prayers increased.²³ By the fifteenth century, the appointment of a ḥazzan became standard practice all over the diaspora. In larger congregations, the ḥazzan increasingly performed ceremonies and educational roles once only reserved for the rabbis, in addition to unrelated functions, such as the role of ritual slaughterer. Rules of conduct were soon drawn up. A suitable candidate for the office had to “be blameless in character, humble and married, possess an agreeable voice and keep aloof from communal disputes”.²⁴ According to Cantor Joshua Lind, the eighteenth and nineteenth century rabbi “was the intellectual pulse and power of the synagogue; the hazzan was its heart and soul”.²⁵ Eastern European cities like Kishinev, Warsaw and Berdichev gained a reputation for hosting influential ḥazzanim. Among these ḥazzanim there existed a measure of rivalry for the most prestigious cantorial positions, and as a result their repertoire and individual styles spread. By the late nineteenth century, increased professionalisation among ḥazzanim sparked the foundation of cantor’s guilds in the Austro-Hungarian Empire.²⁶ Formal training became common practice for ḥazzanim. This training included Western musical skills, such as choral conducting and notation literacy, which in turn led to the publishing of cantorial music scores.²⁷

The sound of the Eastern ḥazzanim around the turn of the nineteenth century was distinct from that of their Western European colleagues. While some incorporated the *bel canto* style of Italian opera, the overarching Eastern sound was a mixture of peculiarities that reflected the highly expressive, sometimes mystical mindset of their culture. These included sigh motives, glottal stops, quarter tones and bended pitches.²⁸

Liturgical music

Jewish religion and tradition permeated the life of the individual from the moment of reciting of prayer upon awakening in the morning [...] to the reciting of the Sh'ma before retiring for the night [...] The Sabbath and Biblically ordained holidays were major family and communal events. Advance preparation, cooking and baking, cleaning and festive clothing underscored the perceived significance of their religious and traditional observance [...] The Jew of this environment was ready and eager to hear the *chazz'n* and choir interpret and beautify those prayers so dear to his heart and psyche, and to be moved to tears of hope and spiritual joy.²⁹

The Jew from the Eastern European shtetl grew up learning the prayers and appropriate *nusah* for every occasion. During the three Pilgrimage Festivals and the High Holidays, guest ḥazzanim and their choirs would draw large crowds to mark these festive occasions.³⁰ Traditional Orthodox liturgical services were standardised according to *halahah*, and took place at specific times of the day.³¹ There was the evening prayer service (*Ma'ariv*), the morning service (*Shaharit*) and afternoon service (*Minhah*). The additional *Musaf* prayer was

²³ Heller, 2010; Serrousi et al., 2001:38.

²⁴ Paraphrased from Adler et al., 1906:285. Cf SA Jewish Chronicle article on Kirschner’s appointment to the Gardens Synagogue in Chapter Three.

²⁵ Quoted in Levin, 2012.

²⁶ Serrousi et al., 2001:38. For Kirschner’s connection to Kishinev and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, see Chapter Three.

²⁷ Serrousi et al., 2001:38.

²⁸ Heller, 2010.

²⁹ Kalib, 2005:88,89.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ The Hebrew names for daily prayer services and festivals play an important role in the palaeography (table 4.1) in Chapter Four.

observed on Sabbaths, festivals and special holidays. Both the Musaf and Ne'ilah services accompanied the standard prayers of Yom Kippur.³² The solemn sounds of the Ne'ilah concluded the Yom Kippur fast, making it the most sacred service of the Jewish calendar.³³

Within the Eastern European Jewish tradition, liturgical music functioned within four basic components: Psalms, prayers, Biblical cantillation, and composed works. Psalms had been the focus of Temple worship since Biblical times, and later become part of the Jewish liturgy.³⁴ According to Jewish tradition, the Psalms were attributed to King David and still carries special significance today. Certain Psalms, such as the hallel praise (Psalms 113 – 118), were recited at certain Special Holidays, while others featured in daily prayer services. The second component, namely prayer, was led by the ba'al tefillah, or the ḥazzan, who improvised the prayer intonation according to specified modes (nusah). In Eastern Europe especially, the folk music of the surrounding cultures (like those from Russia and Armenia) influenced the nusah. Music supported the character of the set prayer text, while providing an emotional element that worshipers could identify with. Instances of hostility towards Jews, together with economic hardship, also found expression in the highly emotional renditions of the Eastern cantorial tradition.³⁵ The third component, Biblical cantillation, required great skill. It involved the intoned recitation of certain Biblical texts for specific occasions. Within the parameters of the spoken voice, the ba'al kore (an appointed member of the congregation, often the ḥazzan), used tonal inflections to support the semantics of the scripture that he read.³⁶ These inflections were indicated in the Biblical texts by cantillation signs, or ta'amim.³⁷

The last component pertains directly to the genre of the cantorial anthology. Certain composed melodies had become associated with certain texts, such as those from the siddur (the Jewish prayer book).³⁸ These composed works were based on various types of melodies. There were the niggunim mi-sinai, which were believed to have originated in the Sinai desert, and which were set.³⁹ Other works for cantor and for choir were created by composers such as Sulzer and Lewandowsky during the nineteenth century. Due to their popularity, some of these composed melodies became known simply as 'traditional', for example Sulzer's *Ein Kamoḥa* and Lewandowski's *Uvenuḥo Yomar*.⁴⁰ Lastly, the Ḥasidic niggunim also provided material for compositions that became associated with specific texts.⁴¹

Music reforms of the Haskalah

The Jewish quest for socio-political emancipation gained momentum from the 1770s, and had lasting effects on the music of the Synagogue.⁴² The resulting Haskalah movement, or Jewish Enlightenment, valued rational thought above tradition. Its adherents, the Maskilim, supported the inclusion of secular (i.e. non-Biblical) subjects into Jewish education. Its purpose was to

³² Serrousi et al., 2001:37.

³³ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 2017.

³⁴ Serrousi et al., 2001:39; Rosenthal & Dubnow, 1906:251.

³⁵ Heller, 2010.

³⁶ *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 1998.

³⁷ Frigyesi, 2010.

³⁸ Muir, 2013:198.

³⁹ In Heller, 2010. However, according to scholars such as Serrousi and Muir, this term is somewhat deceptive. The mi-sinai melodies were probably composed between the 11th and 16th centuries (Serrousi et al., 2001:52; Muir, 2013:198).

⁴⁰ Heller, 2010.

⁴¹ Muir, 2013:198.

⁴² Idelsohn, 1967:233.

encourage the assimilation of Jews to the languages and cultures of their host countries (like Germany, Russia and France). Concurrently, denominational differences were pressurised to the point of separation. Ḥasidic Judaism and Reform Judaism polarised into distinct, even conflicting currents within the religion. The Ḥasidim embraced Yiddish, while the Reform Movement propagated Modern Hebrew. While the Ḥasidic rabbis only read prayers during services, liturgical song was largely replaced with German hymns in Reform temples. In cases of ultra-Reform, the office of ḥazzan disappeared completely.⁴³ In Galicia, an area that today includes portions of Ukraine, Poland and Moldova, many towns hosted parallel movements. The Moldavian town of Kishinev, for example, became a hub of activity for the Ḥasidic, Haskalah and Zionist movements during the nineteenth century. Here, Leib Kirschner served as ‘Oberkantor’ at the outset of the twentieth century.⁴⁴ These developments raised questions around the identity of Jewish music in the East and West European Synagogue.

The leading authorities on the music of the Synagogue agree that Salomon Sulzer (1804–1890) changed the sound of synagogue music irrevocably. His influence spread largely through his anthologies, of which *Schir Zion* (c. 1839) was the first.⁴⁵ Before the appearance of his publications, Jewish liturgical music was rarely notated, since the essence of the ḥazzanut was the oral transmission of music and improvisation. Sulzer’s musical reforms propelled the ‘sound’ of the Synagogue to such an extent that musicologists still classify its music as pre-Sulzer or post-Sulzer. Indeed, he is honoured by many as the founding father of modern synagogue music.

The foundations of Sulzer’s particular musical aesthetics were rooted in Vienna, then capital of the Austro-Hungarian Empire.⁴⁶ The city was defined by the fame of Haydn, Mozart, Beethoven and Schubert, and had reached the apex of Western art music culture.⁴⁷ Vienna modelled to the recently emancipated Jewish ‘high society’ an image that could improve the way German Austrians viewed the Jewish race. Newly emancipated Jews held soirees of high standing Viennese musicians at their homes and began to expect greater auditory satisfaction from synagogue services. Many of them perceived their traditional services as distasteful, and it became Sulzer’s life mission to change these negative perceptions.

As a boy, Sulzer studied with his local ḥazzan as a meshorer before leaving Austria to study at yeshiva. He later encountered Vienna, where he would live and work for 65 years.⁴⁸ Through his publications of synagogue music, and in the spirit of Haskalah, Sulzer sought to restore synagogue music to what he perceived as its traditional roots by stripping it from “unthoughtful” additions. His objectives were achieved by creating choirs of men who were able to read four-part harmony, and by painstakingly standardising the Hebrew pronunciation in liturgies with music that would fit its meaning. Sulzer became the first to publish an anthology of hymns and cantillations for the entire Jewish calendar. Yet, despite his reforms, some of the compositions of *Schir Zion* contain melismatic solo cantorial lines. This ornamental style is associated with the modal and motivic style of the Eastern European

⁴³ The term ‘ultra-Reform’ is used by AZ Idelsohn in *Jewish Music and its Historical Development*, first published in 1929.

⁴⁴ See Chapter Three.

⁴⁵ Tunkel, 1991.

⁴⁶ Prior to immigrating to South Africa, Kirschner spent much of his professional life in Galicia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. See Chapter Three.

⁴⁷ Tunkel, 1991.

⁴⁸ Tunkel, Haschel & Shisler, 2013.

ḥazzanut, which Sulzer may have encountered through itinerant ḥazzanim from Poland and Galicia.⁴⁹

A further reform that created great controversy within Judaism was the incorporation of the organ into Synagogue music. Reformers looked to the instrumental music of the Tanaḥ for “a more original Jewish sound”. For the Orthodox, however, this reform annihilated the age-old ban on instrumental music in synagogue worship. Bach and Handel introduced the organ to the German public, and the instrument became associated with church music. Ironically, it now also became a Synagogue instrument.⁵⁰ Initially, the Jewry of Eastern Europe was affected by these reforms to a lesser degree, partly due to its distance from Western Europe, and partly as a result of the Eastern Synagogue’s strong identification with its local, more oriental ways.⁵¹

The cantorial anthology

Contact between regional traditions increased as the ideals of the Haskalah spread steadily. Musically, Western and Central European influences of Sulzer and Lewandowski did eventually find their way into Eastern European traditions.⁵² Western European concepts of music – existing as notated, preconceived compositions of instrumental and choral music – began to take root, first in the Western, and then the Eastern European Synagogue. From the mid-nineteenth century, liturgical anthologies such as *Schir Zion* by Salomon Sulzer offered ḥazzanim a type of ‘standard repertoire’. As soon as a cantor had composed or collected enough music to represent his congregation’s liturgical calendar, his collection of works would be combined and published. Consequently, different arrangements of set liturgies could be combined in different ways, as long as halāḥah was observed.⁵³ In *Jewish Music and Modernity*, Philip Bohlman provides an insightful perspective of the genre of the cantorial anthology.⁵⁴ He describes the genre as a metaphor for the Central European ḥazzanut:

With more publishing resources at their disposal, Central European cantors recreated their own selfness through their compositions, which increasingly came to represent the cantorate. It represented the emancipation of the Jewish community, for the ḥazzanut provided a text from which all members of the community, as well as non-Jews outside the community, could select compositions and perform them in various contexts.⁵⁵

Published cantorial anthologies of the SAJMC

Apart from Kirschner’s manuscript book of liturgical music, the SAJMC also contains published cantorial anthologies. These volumes represent a corpus of synagogue music that either preceded and represented the ‘Golden Age of Ḥazzanut’. This significant era dawned in the last quarter of the nineteenth century and reached its apex between the two World Wars.⁵⁶ The paratext of these volumes – especially the prefaces – provide insights on the genre of the

⁴⁹ Levin, 2012.

⁵⁰ Idelsohn, 1965:276.

⁵¹ Cantor Froim Spektor included organ accompaniment in his anthology, *Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor*. Two South African newspapers published contrasting reports on this fact. See p 13.

⁵² Kalib, 2005:90.

⁵³ Bohlman, 2008:103.

⁵⁴ Bohlman, 2008:31.

⁵⁵ Bohlman, 2008:32.

⁵⁶ Levine, 2011:5; Levin, 2012.

cantorial anthology, while providing a perspective from which Kirschner's volume can be approached in Chapters Three and Four.

Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah (Lewandowski, 1871)

From the legacy of Sulzer's moderate reforms, Louis Lewandowski (1823–1894) emerged as leading influence in the music of the Synagogue. Lewandowski served as choirmaster of the Berlin Synagogue, and his contribution to synagogue music etched his name into musical history.⁵⁷ Lewandowski had a great love for Eastern European cantorial music, through his birthplace, Posen (the modern province of Poznan, Poland). Two of his most famous and influential works are *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* (1871) and *Todah W'simrah* (1876-1882). Both volumes are written for ḥazzan and choir, and the second contains an additional organ accompaniment. Geoffrey Goldberg praises *Kol Rinnah* for being one of the “most significant works of nineteenth century synagogue music”. It is a collection of liturgical music numbers for specific prayer services.⁵⁸ According to Idelsohn, Lewandowski was the first synagogue musician to boast the title of Music Director, and Lewandowski publishes his special status on the front cover.⁵⁹

KOL RINNAH U'T'FILLAH

Ein und zweistimmige Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst,

Componiert und herausgegeben von

L. LEWANDOWSKI

Weil. Königl. Preuß. Professor und Musikdirector und Dirigent der Synagogen Chöre an der jüdischen Gemeinde zu

BERLIN

Vierte vermehrte und verbesserte Auflage.⁶⁰

A large stamp in bold letters states the one-time owner of “Leib Kirschner, Obercantor”. Kirschner's name and surname also appears in his own handwriting on a tattered, loose inner page.⁶¹ It is a florid cursive in faded ink that displays the cantor's characteristic rigid letter loops. The damaged cover and brittle pages of this copy of *Kol Rinnah* testify to much handling. It is unsure when Kirschner obtained Lewandowski's volume. In light of the fact that Kirschner's cantorial anthology was a personal document, however, his possession of Lewandowski's volume may explain why the latter does not feature in Kirschner's manuscript book. On the same loose inner page, another handwriting style marks the change of ownership that occurred three years after Leib Kirschner's death: “Donated by Kirschner, 1958” (this same pencilled phrase, in the same handwriting, is also found in Kirschner's

⁵⁷ Singer & Sohn, 1906:66.

⁵⁸ Goldberg, 1989:29.

⁵⁹ Idelsohn, 1967:275.

⁶⁰ *Kol Rinnah u'T'fillah* [‘the voice of rejoicing and prayer’], hymns in unison and two-part harmony for the Israeli religion, composed and revised by L. Lewandowski, deceased Royal Prussian professor and music director and conductor of the Synagogue choir of the Jewish congregation of Berlin. Fourth and improved edition.

⁶¹ This handwriting corresponds to that of the entire contents of Kirschner's manuscript book.

anthology).⁶² A stamp on the inner cover of Lewandowski's anthology states the recipient of the donation:

THE JEWISH MUSEUM – Old Synagogue, 84 Hatfield St.

CAPE TOWN

Apart from a German preface, the index titles appear in Hebrew, with indications for “Vorbeter” (prayer leader); “Chor” (chorus); and “Gemeinde” (congregation). The index of *Kol Rinnah* is arranged according to the three daily Jewish prayers of Ma’ariv, Shaḥarit and Minḥah, as well as the additional musaf prayer. On Shabbat and special festival days of the Jewish calendar (in this case Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, the Jewish High Holidays), the appropriate musical services were prepared by the ḥazzan and choir, and Lewandowski composed his own melodies for these occasions.

Thanks to Goldberg's translation, Lewandowski's preface to *Kol Rinnah* (originally written in what Goldberg terms “a florid German”), is made available to the English reader. Lewandowski commences his preface with an overview of Salomon Sulzer's liturgical anthology, *Schir Zion*, published thirty years prior to his own *Kol Rinnah*. *Schir Zion* marks the beginning of Jewish religious reforms, specifically in the field of synagogue music: the ḥazzan is no longer the only custodian of worship, and the synagogue choir emerges as an important functionary. Lewandowski proceeds to describe the initial problems that arose between the congregation, the choir and the ḥazzan, until all three elements found their place in worship. One of the solutions to this end was unison singing. Lewandowski stresses the challenge of this type of compositional writing, which he includes in *Kol Rinnah*. Lewandowski does not neglect to deride his predecessors for their “trivial” renditions of Jewish worship music, and his Western ideals become evident as he contrasts these predecessors to “the great Christian masters in the field of Church music, Bach and Haydn”.

Apart from unison works, *Kol Rinnah* also contains two-part pieces which Lewandowski deems accessible to the congregation. He also includes more complex works that are written specifically for the choir of the Chor Shul. As music director and conductor of the Berlin Synagogue Choir, Lewandowski focuses on the choir's role in worship. He mentions his great regard for the recitative of the cantor, or cantillation. The composer again aims criticism against the works of earlier colleagues Sulzer and Weintraub, this time for “containing only short and insufficient outlines” for ḥazzanim, before proceeding to emphasize the educational significance of his own compositions of cantillations. It is interesting to note that ḥazzanim from all over Europe were sent to Lewandowski for training, despite the fact that he never held the office of cantor himself.⁶³ *Kol Rinnah* was the first anthology of musical services for the entire Jewish year, and that contained detailed cantillations with appropriate pronunciations for the ḥazzan.

Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor (Spektor, 1932)

From Spektor (1888–1948) served the New Hebrew Congregation in Roeland Street in Cape Town. He commenced his tenure as new ḥazzan upon invitation in 1928. This synagogue, also known as the Roeland Street Shul at the time, was situated close to the Gardens

⁶² Leib Kirschner died in 1955 (see Chapter Three). The note may refer to his son, Isidore Kirschner, or may refer to a posthumous donation on behalf of Leib Kirschner.

⁶³ Goldberg, 1992:35

Synagogue in Cape Town. Spektor's anthology was published in Cape Town and Warsaw in 1932, which provides a link with Spektor's Eastern European heritage. Spektor grew up in Russia, where he won the position of Obercantor at the Main Chor Shul of Rostov-on-Don in an international competition. He was a member of a traveling choir that performed religious and secular material. And while Spektor was known as a "modest gentleman", his feat of publishing a volume of cantorial recitatives (*hazzanut*) displayed a sense of ambition.⁶⁴ His book cover features a blue monochrome photograph of himself, wearing a winged collar dress shirt, bowtie and suit jacket. The cantor's dignified, Western style is finished off with a top hat (in contrast to traditional Eastern European vestments and headdress) which reflects the "anglicised Litvak" image of the New Hebrew Congregation.⁶⁵ Although the date of Spektor's retirement is not known, sources indicate that the two Cape Town colleagues' tenures overlapped from the year of Spektor's appointment in 1928 until Kirschner's retirement in 1937.

Interestingly, two discrepancies exist between the cover and title pages of this volume. Firstly, the book titles differ slightly, with *שירי תפלה* [*Songs of Prayer*], *Recitativen für Kantor* appearing on the cover and *Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor* on the title page. Secondly, 'E. Spektor' is printed on the book cover instead of 'F. Spektor', the name used throughout the rest of the contents of this book. Due to the phonetic spelling variations, Cantor Spektor's name varies between 'Ephraim', 'Fraim', 'Froim' and 'Frojein', with the latter variant appearing on the shipping manifest of the Balmoral Castle Line.⁶⁶ These name variations point to a certain cultural adaptability on the part of Eastern European immigrants to the West.⁶⁷

[Cover]

שירי תפלה

Recitativen für Kantor, Komponiert und herausgegeben von Kantor **E. Spektor**,

Kapstadt⁶⁸

[Title page]

Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor

Mit u. ohne Orgelbegleitung

Componiert u. herausgegeben durch **F. Spektor**, Kantor der Gemeinde synagoge in **Captown** Rollandstr. Langjariger Kantor der Hauptsynagoge zu Rosdow a/Don, Nachfolger des seeligen Componisten, Herrn Gerovich.

Orgelbegeleitung von I. Gottbeter, gewesener langjariger Synagogedirigen zu Rostow a/Don.⁶⁹

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Mendelsohn & Shain, 2007. See Chapter Two.

⁶⁶ Shipping Manifest, 1928.

⁶⁷ See the case of Leib Kirschner in Chapter Three.

⁶⁸ English translation: *Shirei Tefillah* [*Songs of Prayer*], *Recitatives for cantor*, composed and edited by Cantor **E. Spektor**, **Cape Town**. [Emphasis added by the writer.]

⁶⁹ English translation: Composed and edited by **F. Spektor**, Cantor of the Synagogue congregation of Roeland Street, **Cape Town**, long time cantor of the Hope Synagogue in Rostov-on-Don [Russia],

It is not permitted to reproduce or sing into phonograph plates unless permission is given by the composer.⁷⁰

As in the case of Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah*, this copy of *Synagogale Recitativen* belonged to Leib Kirschner. The same note of donation that appear in *Kol Rinnah* and Kirschner's anthology is pencilled into in Spektor's volume – indicating that all three volumes were donated to the Jewish Museum in Cape Town in 1958. On the inner title page, a personal note from Spektor to Kirschner appears.⁷¹ The note is written in Hebrew and, notably not in the Yiddish or English languages that the ḥazzanim had in common. This may be, at least on the part of Spektor, have been an ideological choice. In surveying the handwritings of Kirschner and Spektor, the latter's handwriting makes for much clearer letter identification. Spektor separates the individual Hebrew letters and displays a uniform, neat style. The letter states that the volume is a gift to “the honourable shaliaḥ tzibbur Meir Yehuda Leib Kirschner, from the author, his friend Ephraim Spektor, signed on the 22nd of July, 1932”. In addition to the author's choice of Modern Hebrew, Spektor refers to Kirschner in his Hebrew given names, Meir Yehuda, and then his Yiddish name, Leib. After the title page, three testimonials of Polish colleagues appear in Hebrew. The first is by “his esteemed friend, Moshe Koussevitzky, shaliaḥ tzibbur of the Great Synagogue in Warsaw”. The second testimonial is written by the choir director of the same synagogue in Warsaw, David Eisenstadt, and the third from the choir director of the Nozyk Synagogue in Warsaw, A Dudovich.

The eighty-nine musical numbers are ended off with two non-liturgical compositions entitled *Traulieder dem Gedächtnis der seeligen Mutter des Componisten*, which have been arranged to the text of Psalm 49.⁷² While Lewandowski printed the titles of *Kol Rinnah* only in Hebrew and the indications – ‘ḥazzan’, ‘ḥazzan and choir’ or ‘choir’ only – in German, Spektor transliterated all his Hebrew titles into the Latin alphabet. Spektor varies his own title throughout the volume. The composer indication appears as ‘Oberkantor F Spektor’ in No. 1, ‘Cantor F Spektor’ in No. 2 and ‘Kantor F Spektor’ in No. 24. The same types of variations appear in Kirschner's anthology.⁷³

The title page indicates that Spektor's musical compositions for synagogue prayers are written for solo ḥazzan or ḥazzan with organ accompaniment. As I discussed earlier in this chapter, the breaching of the traditional ban on the use of instruments in the Synagogue elicited mixed responses. Muir writes that “The organ accompaniment of Spektor's *V'shomru* suggests that Rostov's Jewish community was liberal, since instruments are normally forbidden on the Sabbath”.⁷⁴ The organ controversy reminiscent of the days of Sulzer and Lewandowski were echoed in the apparent ambivalence of the SA Jewish press. Two newspaper articles appeared in response to the publication of Spektor's *Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor*. The first, published in the *SA Jewish Chronicle* in April 1932, reported how “interesting and useful” the volume is.⁷⁵ The rest of the article consists of the views of local organist, Mr NR Ingleby. Ingleby reportedly become acquainted with the art of cantorial singing through the regular

successor of the deceased composer, Mr. Gerovich. Organ accompaniment by I. Gottbeter, previous Synagogue director who served for many years at Rostov-on-Don. [Emphasis added by the writer.]

⁷⁰ This is the only text that is printed in English.

⁷¹ See figure 2.1.

⁷² Literally ‘Songs of mourning to the memory of the deceased mother of the composer’.

⁷³ See Chapter Four.

⁷⁴ Moshe, 2018.

⁷⁵ *Modern Synagogue Music - new publication by Cantor Spektor*, 1932:236.

accompaniment of Jewish liturgical numbers by cantors. The organist commends Spektor's "admirable attempt to set matters right" after previous frustrations with accompanying parts that were "dilapidated", "illegible" and "badly written", and concludes by describing Spektor's music as "rhapsodic" and possessing "beautiful lyricism".

The second response in a South African Jewish publication appeared in *The Zionist Record* seven months later.⁷⁶ The author refers to the genre of the cantorial anthologies, with special reference to Lewandowski and Minkowsky. He mentions the "considerable merit" of Spektor's book, and his "fine musical sense". In a stern tone the author adds that, while organ accompaniment may be useful in Reform congregations,

[...] in this country, however, there are only Orthodox Synagogues and cantors will not be able to make use of all the items with their choirs, certainly not the better ones. Mr Spektor would be well advised in future to arrange his songs for a choir, instead of for the organ or orchestra."

Yet, the liberal Progressive Movement was gaining support in Johannesburg at the time. A meeting was advertised in *The Star* the previous year, in 1931, with the purpose to establish "a branch of the Progressive Jewish Movement in South Africa".⁷⁷ Although Spektor's volume of 1932 did not necessarily comment on the Gardens Shul's denominational music oeuvre or Kirschner's personal ḥazzanut, it represents the contrasting musical ideologies within South African Jewry in the first half of the twentieth century.

⁷⁶ *South African Cantor Publishes Book of Synagogue Music*, 1932:16.

⁷⁷ According to *A History of Reform Judaism in SA* (no date), AZ Idelsohn was one of the movement's initiators.

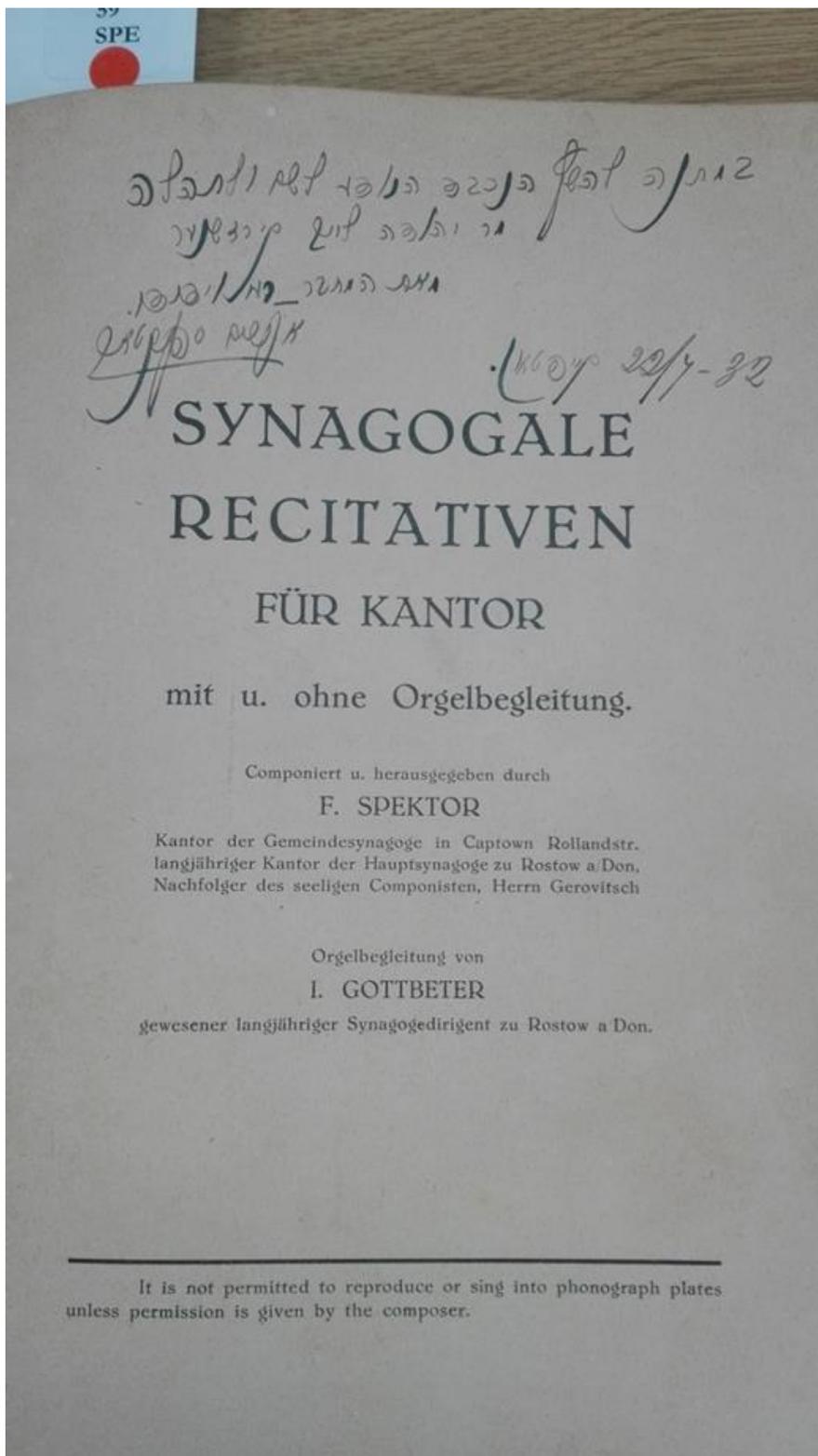


Figure 2.1: A personalised note from Froim Spektor to Leib Kirschner in *Synagogale Recitativen für Kantor* (1932).

Works of Sacred Music (Hast, 1910)⁷⁸

The title ‘Synagogue Music’ is printed in golden letters on a large, leather-bound anthology by Marcus Hast. Inside the leather cover, a neatly printed and glued-in note reads:

The Abraham Zvi and Zilla Idelsohn Memorial Library of the United Progressive Jewish Congregation. Presented by Mr. & Mrs. C. Mayers to commemorate the Bar-Mitzvah of their son Philip David 19th of March, 1960.

This congregation library of the United Progressive Jewish Congregation in Sea Point, Cape Town, was named after AZ Idelsohn. The famous ethnomusicologist was a passionate adherent to Reform Judaism. It has been said that he encouraged his brother Jeremiah (“Jerry”) to hold the very first Liberal meeting in Johannesburg.⁷⁹ A progression of musical reforms are represented by the volumes of Spektor and Hast. While the use of the organ and the very existence of Progressive Judaism in South Africa was questioned in 1932, the ensuing establishment of the liberal branch of Judaism is attested by Hast’s paratext. The book’s Hebrew title עבודת הקודש is followed by “Rev Hast’s Works of Sacred Music, first precentor of the Great Synagogue, London”. Hast’s preface is published in English. The table of contents contains four extensive lists of compositions by Hast. These lists mark special occasions of the religious calendar, all in romanised transliterations of the original Hebrew. In contrast to Lewandowski and Spektor’s anthologies, Hast’s compositions are arranged according to volumes (possibly chronologically) that appear in the same book, and not according to occasion. Volume I lists numbers 1–66, Volume II numbers 67–197, Volume III numbers 198–241 (arrangements on Psalms) and Volume IV numbers 242–267.

Marcus Hast (1871–1911) was born near Warsaw in Poland, but despite his Eastern European roots, Idelsohn writes, Hast became “Occidentalised” in London. While acknowledging his musical skills, Idelsohn writes that Hast’s compositions show no originality, with only hints of “Jewishness”.⁸⁰ Regardless, Hast certainly left his mark on the English ḥazzanut during his tenure as Chief Cantor of the Great Synagogue in London. His monumental *Works of Sacred Music* contain almost all the traditional songs of the Synagogue. According to Mayerowitsch, this work exemplifies Hast’s pursuit for “pure Jewish music for the Synagogue”.⁸¹ In contrast with Idelsohn’s opinions, and notably from an Anglo-Jewish perspective, Mayerowitsch commends Hast for inspiring his congregation with his vocal skills in worship, while stirring admiration by his pious manner and his strictly traditional sentiments. These are reflected in a photograph that appears in Hast’s anthology, where his dignified facial expression befits the cantor’s black vestments and headdress.

Hast’s preface provides a retrospective look onto a long career. He recalls his first publication of original synagogue music compositions thirty-seven years earlier, in 1910. In a tone of humility, the cantor shares his views and objectives as liturgical composer. He affectionately recalls the time in the history of ḥazzanut when the cantor led the congregation in improvisatory cantillations, a time before melodies were fixed by notation. Hast motivates his urge to enliven the music of the Synagogue by means of fresh melodies that would counteract a stagnant musical rite. He also sets out to elevate the integrity of liturgical texts and prayers,

⁷⁸ This volume’s paratext does not provide evidence that it belonged to Leib Kirschner.

⁷⁹ Egnal, 2006:12.

⁸⁰ Idelsohn, 1967:315.

⁸¹ Mayerowitsch, 1942.

while serving the text through “thoughtful” compositions and “carefully” pronounced Hebrew. Hast’s conclusion conveys a sense of sincere piety:

I would only add that that if my efforts should prove of some slight service to the Community whose faithful servant I have been from an early age, the knowledge of that fact will be the greatest joy of my declining years, and will increase my gratitude to the God of Israel through whose mercy and loving kindness I have been permitted to complete my arduous labours.

Cantorial Anthology of Traditional and Modern Synagogue Music, Vol II, ‘Yom Kippur’. (Ephros, 1940)⁸²

Gershon Ephros (1890–1978) was born in Seroszk, Poland (about 40 km north of Warsaw). In 1909 he moved to Palestine to become choir director and cantorial assistant to AZ Idelsohn. In addition, Ephros studied music theory with Idelsohn and assisted the musicologist with collecting music from oriental communities for Idelsohn’s research. After Ephros left for the United States in 1911, their friendship continued. Ephros’ research activities included collecting ḥazzanut, writing music and serving in the Synagogue. He later attributed his work ethic to the influence of Idelsohn.⁸³

Ephros’ comprehensive oeuvre of liturgical literature is an invaluable source for cantor and choir master alike. Six volumes were published between 1929 and 1966 which, collectively, cover the entire liturgical musical calendar. Volume I is entitled *Rosh Hashana*; Volume II, *Yom Kippur*; Volume III, *Shalosh R’galim*; Volume IV, *Shabbat*; Volume V, *Weekdays*; and Volume VI, *Recitatives for Rosh Hashana*.

Both of the Hast volumes in the SAJMC have labels of donation. Volume II was donated on the occasion of a bat mitzvah in 1963 and Volume IV for a bar mitzvah in 1962. Each volume’s index is arranged according to the different prayers within the main theme of each volume, for example, the entries of Vol IV *Shabbat* are organised according to different types of Shabbat services, like ‘Kabalat Shabat’ and ‘Arvit L’Shabat’. Each composer and arranger is indicated clearly in the indexes of the two volumes. Apart from his role as compiler of this anthology, Ephros also features as composer, together with Sulzer and Lewandowski. All the Hebrew entries are written phonetically in Latin letters, with additional information in English.

In Volume II, Ephros reflects on the eleven years that passed between the publishing of Volume I of his *Cantorial Anthology*. The cantor shares fundamental shifts that occurred during this time period, particularly the complex question of the harmonisation of nus’ḥa’ot (plural of nusḥ). One notices the influence of Idelsohn on Ephros’ thoughts in this regard, and their unified quest for original and pure synagogue music that is free from the acculturated additions that have been deposited over centuries. Ephros aims to identify the norms of nusḥ harmonisations of musical reformers such as Sulzer, who harmonised the ancient melodies of the nusḥ according to Western musical harmony. Ephros then expounds the ways in which he has chosen to divert from the norm. The last few paragraphs are devoted to acknowledgements, and ends in a type of credo:

⁸² Neither of the two Ephros volumes from the SAJMC provides signs of possession by Leib Kirschner in its paratext.

⁸³ Heskes, 1994:18.

May my efforts on behalf of Israel's sacred song be acceptable before Thee, O God, my strength and my redeemer.

Cantorial Anthology of Traditional and Modern Synagogue Music, Vol IV, 'Shabbat'.
(Ephros, 1953)

Written thirteen years after the preface to Volume II, the preface to Vol IV contains none of the ideological considerations of the former. Instead, the topic of the Eastern European Ḥazzanut is discussed. Ephros writes about the (mostly) musically illiterate Eastern European ḥazzanim of the nineteenth century. Some of them were excellent "melodists" and composers who taught themselves the basics of music notation. Notably, Ephros specifies ḥazzanim Boruch Schorr (1823–1904), Nissi Belzer (1824–1906) and Zeidel Rovner (1848–1943), all of whom appear in Kirschner's table of contents.⁸⁴ Ephros mentions the influence of this school of ḥazzanim on their "musically cultured" Western colleagues despite their own technical limitations. The opposite was also true: Western influence gave rise to the Chor Shul, which in turn became fertile ground for distinguished ḥazzanim to rise to fame.

Ephros regards David Nowakowsky (1848–1921) to be the most significant musical personality of the Chor Shul and an Eastern counterpart of Sulzer. Idelsohn writes that he was "the most Europeanised Synagogue composer in the East".⁸⁵ As a child, Nowakowsky spent ten years singing in the Chor Shul choir in Berdichev. Later, as choir leader, he made a detailed study of counterpoint and harmony, yet often incorporated traditional modes and melodies. In contrast to Sulzer's "brevity of form", Nowakowsky's characteristically expansive works were more suited to religious performances than to synagogue services.⁸⁶ Interestingly, Froim Spector's commemorative folder, which is mentioned earlier in this chapter, contained a manuscript by Nowakowsky. While Sulzer's group emphasized the aesthetics of music itself, Nowakowsky focused on the Hebraic nature of synagogue music. Together these two groups lay the groundwork for the twentieth century ḥazzan.

In conclusion: considering the Chor Shul

As a final point, it is significant to note that the Ephros preface – his paratext – provides an underlying theme to one of the legacies of the Eastern European music tradition, namely the Chor Shul. The 1840s saw the emergence of this large, formal type of choral synagogue.⁸⁷ It was built upon the model of Sulzer and the Vienna Temple, though most often without the organ of ultra-Reform.⁸⁸ The Chor Shul provided the platform from which the Eastern European ḥazzanut brought forward influential musical 'stars' which again influenced the ḥazzanut of Western Europe and the United States.⁸⁹ They incorporated the music of Sulzer, which became the standard repertoire all over Galicia and the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and eventually left its imprint on South African Jewry in the mid-twentieth century.⁹⁰ The Eastern European musical traditions and its influences are common denominators between the musical heritage of the SAJMC liturgical volumes. These traditions form connections between the synagogue music reforms of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the standard

⁸⁴ See Chapter Four. Ephros also lists Blumenthal and Minkowsky, both featured composers in Kirschner's table of contents.

⁸⁵ Idelsohn, 1967:308.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ Kalib, 2005:90.

⁸⁸ Idelsohn, 1967:306.

⁸⁹ Ephros, 1953:vii.

⁹⁰ See Kirschner's table of contents in Chapter Four.

repertoire that is still used by Jewish congregations across the world today. The Eastern European traditions, in particular the Chor Shul, seem to be descriptive of the musical heritage that Cantor Kirschner functioned in prior to his emigration from Eastern Europe, and that he brought to the Gardens Synagogue in 1920.

Chapter Three

The life of a ḥazzan: from Bessarabia to Bellville



Figure 3.1: 'Rev L Kirschner' (detail from figure 3.4).

Much of Leib Kirschner's life prior to his immigration to South Africa at the age of 36 is unknown. Kirschner's locations (or, in the words of Ciotti and Lin, spatial coordinates), are represented by four connected dots in Eastern Europe that span 871 km.⁹¹ The route starts with Kirschner's birth in the city of Dubossary (today in the Republic of Moldova), makes a short, sharp descent to Kishinev in the South West (today Chisinau, the Moldovan capital), and then proceeds with a long north westerly ascent towards Lancut (today in south west Poland). The route concludes a short distance away in Tarnow, towards the west. Country borders and official names have changed much through regime changes over the last century, and today Kirschner's route would fall across three borders: from his birthplace in Moldova over the Ukrainian and Romanian borders and into Poland, where the city of Tarnow marks Kirschner's last Eastern European address.⁹²

Research revealed limited chronological and geographical records of Kirschner's locations, some of which are unverifiable:

- 1884: Kirschner is born in Dubossary.⁹³
- [Date unknown]: possible tenure in Rzeszow.
- [Date unknown]: appointment to a Kishinev synagogue.⁹⁴
- 1910: Kirschner's anthology is compiled and bound.⁹⁵
- 1912: tenure in Kishinev ends.

⁹¹ See map 3, Appendix A. For spatial coordinates, see Chapter One.

⁹² Gruber, 2010:4.

⁹³ A new 'chazan', 1920:847.

⁹⁴ Walzer, 1963:20.

⁹⁵ Kirschner, 2010

- 1912: appointment to a synagogue in Lancut.⁹⁶
- [Date unknown]: possible tenure in Rzeszow.
- [Date unknown]: appointment to a synagogue in Tarnow.
- 1920: tenure in Tarnow ends.⁹⁷
- 1920: Kirschner is appointed to the Gardens Synagogue (Cape Town Hebrew Congregation).⁹⁸ The Kirschner family boards the Grantully Castle bound for Cape Town on the 16th of October.⁹⁹
- 1938: Kirschner retires from his position as Chief Cantor of the Gardens Synagogue.¹⁰⁰
- 1955: Kirschner dies on the 8th of May. His last residence is Solway Avenue, Bellville.¹⁰¹ Kirschner is buried at Muizenberg Cemetery, Cape Town.

Eastern Europe

Leib Kirschner was born in Dubossary in 1884.¹⁰² The city was in the province Bessarabia in the Principality of Moldavia.¹⁰³ Bessarabia occupied a long triangular area, with the Prut and Dniester rivers forming two borders, and the Black Sea completing the triangle's base. Russian rule was established over Bessarabia in 1812 and lasted until the end of the First World War in 1918.¹⁰⁴ As a result of the War, Bessarabia was incorporated into the Pale of Settlement, the only geographical area where Jews were permitted to travel freely within the Russian Empire.¹⁰⁵

With the death of Tsar Alexander II and the subsequent succession of his son, Tsar Alexander III, the living conditions of Jews in the Russian Empire deteriorated. During his reign of eleven years, the new tsar reversed many of his father's statutes, including those favourable to Jews, according to his conservative ideals.¹⁰⁶ Renewed restrictions followed, while the lingering effects of economic depression fueled underlying anti-Semitic sentiments.¹⁰⁷ One of the ways in which anti-Semitism found expression was through a series of pogroms that occurred throughout the Pale, and as a result persecution and economic hardship was a reality in large areas of the Pale.¹⁰⁸ The Jewish community of Dubossary experienced two serious pogroms, of which the first occurred in 1882, two years before Kirschner's birth.

⁹⁶ Walzer, 1963:20.

⁹⁷ A new 'chazan', 1920:847.

⁹⁸ A discrepancy exists between Hermann (1941:110) and Shipping manifest (1920), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

⁹⁹ Shipping manifest, 1920.

¹⁰⁰ Herrman, 1941:139.

¹⁰¹ Death notice, 1955.

¹⁰² A new 'chazan', 1920:842; Shipping manifest, 1920.

¹⁰³ See maps in Appendix A.

¹⁰⁴ The Pale of Settlement, 2008.

¹⁰⁵ See map 1, Appendix A. Due to the partitions of Poland of 1772, 1773 and 1775, a large number of villages with significant Jewish populations came under Russian rule. In order to curb these Jews' supposed detrimental influence on the local Polish peasantry, Jewish settlement was restricted to a limited number of villages in westernmost Russian territories (Wurmbrandt and Roth, 1966:352).

¹⁰⁶ Wurmbrand & Roth, 1966:344-349.

¹⁰⁷ Stanislawski, 2010.

¹⁰⁸ The Russian word 'pogrom' literally means 'riot', but its full meaning carries deeper implications. In the Russian Empire, it was used to describe spontaneous civilian outbursts in reaction to 'abuses perpetrated by Jews'. In reality, it often entailed violent organised baiting sessions carried out with

Apart from Kirschner's birth date in 1884, no records of his first 28 years are available. Only one source indicates that this period of the ḥazzan's life culminates in Kishinev, the capital city of Bessarabia: "Leib Kirshner [sic] came from Kishinev in 1912 and organised a large choir in Lanzut [sic]".¹⁰⁹ The background of Kishinev provides insight into the type of education that Kirschner may have received, the nature of his training as ḥazzan, and the environment in which he compiled his manuscript book. It also provides insight into the development of Eastern European Judaism during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

During the 1820s, the mystical Jewish sect of Ḥasidism spread from Poland to Bessarabia. The Ḥasidim founded a yeshiva in Kishinev in 1860. In reaction, a group of Mitnagdim (literally 'opponents') formed, and although they resisted the mystical worship of Ḥasidim and their unquestioned loyalty towards their religious leaders ('Tzaddikim'), the Mitnagdim retained Jewish tradition and faith. It was yet another group, the Maskilim (literally 'Enlightened ones') who largely broke away from Jewish traditions in a pursuit of Western ideals. They believed that assimilation with Western European values would curb anti-Semitism. The Ḥasidim, Mitnagdim and Maskilim represented rival movements. They built schools that represented their own ideologies. As the region's capital city, Kishinev was particularly well known for its variety of educational institutions. The city offered alternatives to the ḥeder, where boys were traditionally taught until bar mitzvah at age.¹¹⁰ By 1859, the Maskilim had opened two secular Jewish schools where "secular" subjects such as arithmetic, geography and languages were taught.¹¹¹ Yiddish – or "Ashkenaz" – was the Jewish *lingua franca*.¹¹² According to the *SA Jewish Chronicle*, Kirschner spoke English well at the time of his audition in 1920.¹¹³ From this information one may deduce that Kirschner learned English at a Maskilic school.

According to cantorial tradition, Kirschner would have served his local synagogue and completed an apprenticeship under the local ḥazzan as a meshorer (cantorial assistant). Marriage was a prerequisite for cantors, together with a good voice and a beard, amongst others.¹¹⁴ The date of his marriage to Maria Kirschner is not known, but would traditionally have occurred before Kirschner's appointment to the Kishinev synagogue. The Kirschner family records support this premise: Maria Kirschner was seventeen years old in 1910, and the Kirschners' first child was born either in 1911 or 1912.¹¹⁵ Kishinev boasted many synagogues, the most prominent of which was the Kishinev Chor Shul. The famous ḥazzan Pinchas Minkowsky officiated at the same synagogue from 1882 until 1887.¹¹⁶ This synagogue was founded by a group of Maskilim, and much tension existed between them and the various sub groups that made out Kishinev's Ḥasidim.¹¹⁷ The Chor Shul legacy of this synagogue prided itself in four-part choral music. Kirschner's anthology, in turn, contains several choral numbers that Kirschner attributed to Minkowsky.¹¹⁸

the prior knowledge of local government – even with the latter's support through instigation or lack of intervention. See Klier, 2010.

¹⁰⁹ Walzer, 1963:20.

¹¹⁰ Moskovich, 2010.

¹¹¹ Lohman, 2013:2.

¹¹² Koren, 1950:43-44.

¹¹³ A new 'chazan', 1920:847.

¹¹⁴ Kublin, 2007:502.

¹¹⁵ See table 3a.

¹¹⁶ See Chapter Four.

¹¹⁷ Koren (ed), 1950:50.

¹¹⁸ Idelsohn, 1967:313.

The ḥazzanut of Kishinev was characterised by its Middle Eastern sound, in contrast to the Westernised liturgical music aesthetics that spread to Eastern Europe at the time.¹¹⁹ Shortly after Kirschner's appointment, the committee of the Gardens Synagogue praised the new ḥazzan's "musical rendering of the ancient melodies of Israel".¹²⁰

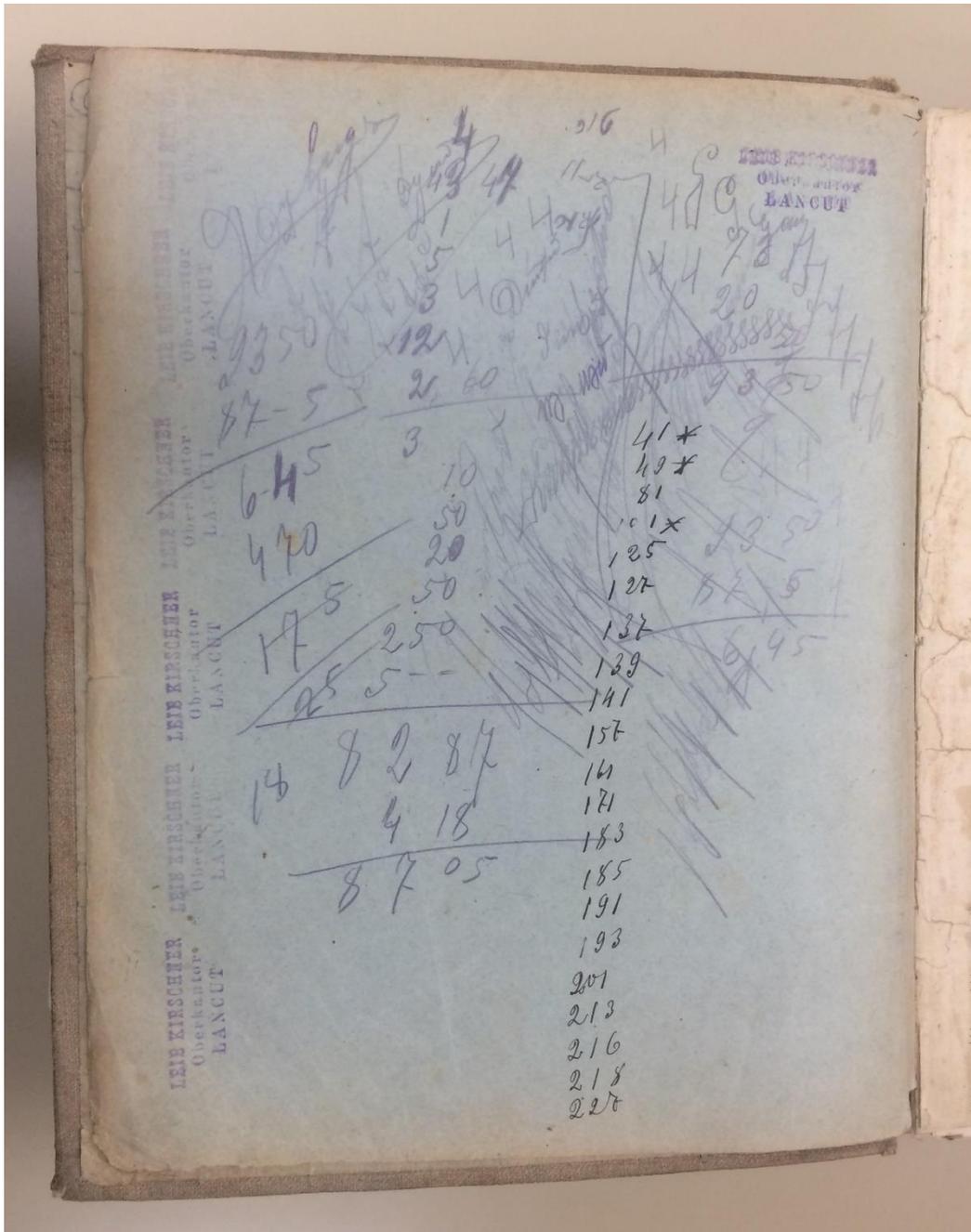


Figure 3.2: Inner page of Kirschner's anthology with the stamps 'LEIB KIRSCHNER, Oberkantor, LAN CUT' (to the left and top right of the page).

¹¹⁹ Koren (ed), 1950:194.

¹²⁰ Herrman, 1941:110.

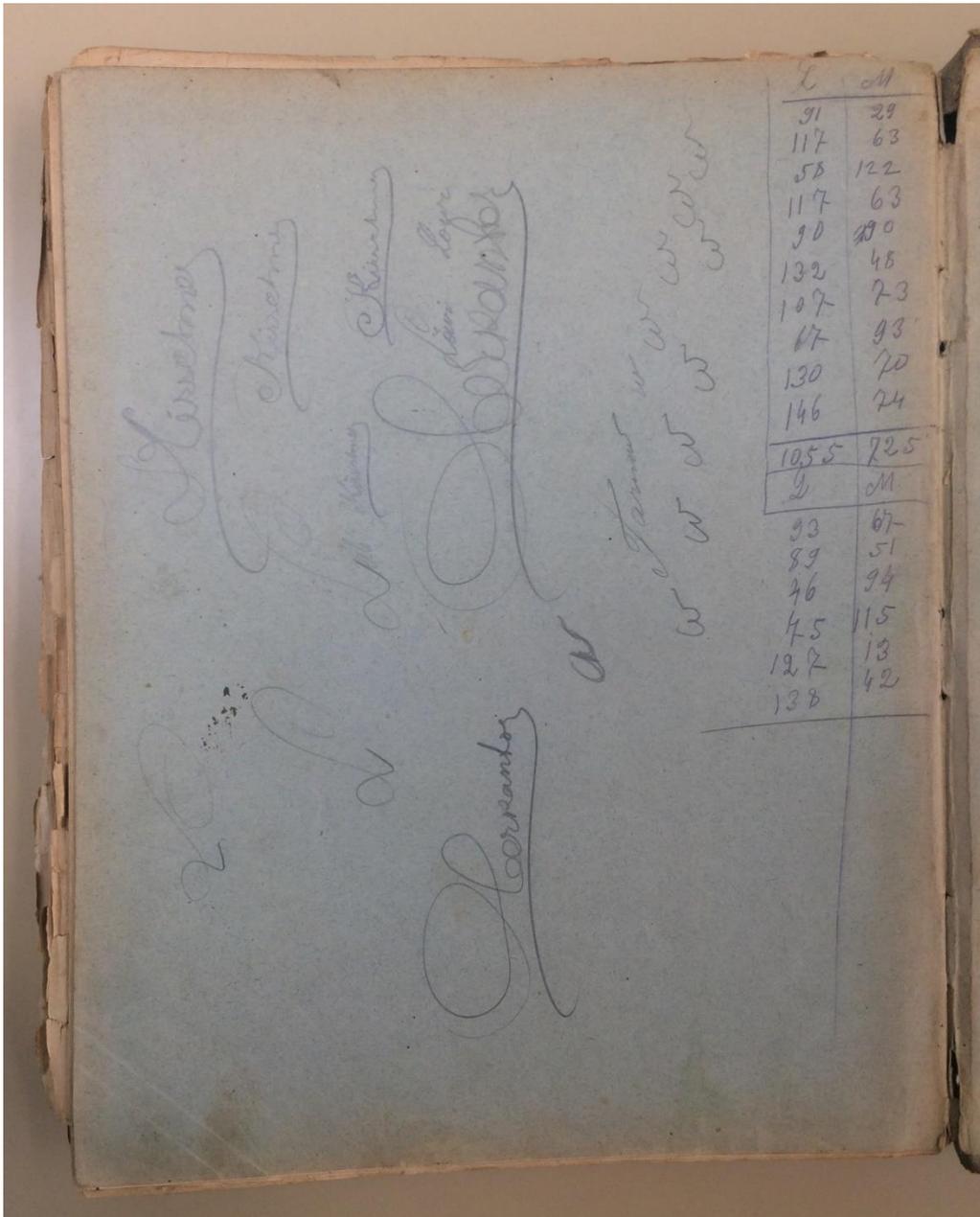


Figure 3.3: Back-page of Kirschner's anthology. Note the words 'Oberkantor', 'Kirschner', 'Lowi' and 'Tarnow' (vertical).

According to Walzer, Lancut follows Kishinev as spatial coordinate in Kirschner's life.¹²¹ The ḥazzan's tenure in Lancut in Galicia (today South-East Poland) is confirmed by an ownership stamp in his anthology (see figure 3.2). The diverse Jewish types that marked the typical Galician town before the rise of Nazism is poignantly sketched in an account by Walzer:

¹²¹ "Leib Kirshner [sic] came from Kishinev in 1912 and organised a large choir in Lanzut" (Walzer, 1963:20). Cf p 22.

Here was a Kabbalist who's like could doubtless have been seen hundreds of years ago in one of the Kabbalist centres of Spain or Safad. And here was the fervent Hassid whose way of life and aspirations remained identical with those of the Hassidim at the time of Rabbi Israel Baal Shem Tov, more than two hundred years ago. And again, there was the shrewd Mitnaged, versed in the Talmud and the Halachic Authorities who might have stepped out of the Vilna of Rabbi Elijah the Gaon, a hundred and fifty years back. Here you would find the young Hebrew intellectual walking about and debating in the streets of Lanzut just as his intellectual forerunners went about in the mid-nineteenth century... And standing apart from this small and colourful group, or so it seemed at first glance, were the half and quarter-assimilated Jews, just as their predecessors once stood in the assimilationist centres of Western Europe.¹²²

The report of Kirschner's appointment to the Gardens Synagogue mentions Tarnow as the city of his most recent employment. Once again, the paratext of Kirschner's anthology confirms this spatial coordinate. An exercise of repeated Roman letters and words in the back of Kirschner's anthology display the words 'Kirschner', 'Lowi' and 'Tarnow'.¹²³ Tarnow is situated approximately a hundred kilometers from Lancut. As a once important centre of Jewish life, the Galician town of Tarnow housed a number of synagogues, schools and other community organizations. However, during the Holocaust, almost the entire Jewish population of Tarnow was exterminated and its synagogues destroyed. The city's Jewish community never recovered.¹²⁴ Among the synagogues that once functioned in the city, the New ('Jubilee') Synagogue with its golden dome and elaborate architecture could have been in a position to support an Oberkantor such as Kirschner. It is still referred to as the greatest of the city's synagogues, but today only a commemorative plaque marks its location. A freestanding bimah (synagogue platform) marks the location of the former 'Old Synagogue'. These remnants of Tarnow's Jewish community now form part of the Jewish trail for tourists.

Upon deciphering the name Blumenkrantz for my palaeographic study of Kirschner's table of contents, a list of past ḥazzanim from Rzeszow emerged.¹²⁵ The list appears in an English summary of the Rzeszow Book of Remembrance which Jerrold Landau translated from the original Yiddish. On this list, Cantor Leibush Blumenkrantz is followed by the name "Leib Kirshner [sic]". No further information is given by Landau, and Kirschner's tenure in Rzeszow may have either preceded Kishinev, or occurred in-between his tenures in Lancut and Tarnow.¹²⁶

South Africa

Eastern European emigration increased from the 1880s. Although the United States became the most popular destination for Eastern European Jews, reports of favourable conditions in South Africa drew an estimated 40 000 Jewish immigrants by the outbreak of the First World War. The flow of immigration to South Africa was determined by forces of attraction and repulsion: on the one hand the discovery of the Kimberley diamond fields and later the Witwatersrand gold reefs drew immigrants to South Africa. On the other hand, bursts of social and political oppression urged refugees to leave Eastern Europe – especially Tsarist

¹²² Walzer, 1963:16.

¹²³ See figure 3.3.

¹²⁴ Jewish Historic Sites, 2017.

¹²⁵ Landau, 1967. For Blumenkrantz, see no 107 (p 49) and no 14 in table 4b (p 59), Chapter Four.

¹²⁶ See summary of Kirschner's locations on pp 20 and 21.

Russia.¹²⁷ The greatest proportion of these refugees was represented by Lithuanian Jews. As a result, ‘Litvak’ became a term commonly used for Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, even when they originated from neighbouring Belarus or eastern Poland.¹²⁸ Jews from Galicia – ‘Galitzianers’ in Yiddish – also became known as ‘Litvaks’ upon entering South African society.¹²⁹

In 1904, the Cape Jewish Board of Deputies was founded. One of its aims was to represent a unified image of the Cape’s diverse Jewish community: to put forth a widely accepted image of a confident and respected Jewish middleclass – one that was anglicised, if not completely assimilated. In contrast to this ‘ideal’ image, thousands of ‘undesirable’ Yiddish speaking Eastern European Jews immigrated to South Africa. Many of them were poor and uneducated and fled political upheavals in the Pale of Settlement.¹³⁰ Conditions for these immigrants became more challenging as the Cape Immigration Act of 1902 prohibited immigrants who were not proficient in a “European language”. The latter excluded Yiddish on the grounds of its use of “oriental or Hebrew” letters.¹³¹ This clause was only negated in 1913, after much effort on the part of representatives of the Jewish community.¹³² However, these restrictions did not deter the immigration of Litvaks, nor were they unique to South Africa. In Kishinev, a ban on the use of Yiddish in public gatherings in Bessarabia was issued by military authorities. All public meetings had to be conducted in Romanian. As a reported consequence, “the entire social and political life of the Jewish communities in Bessarabia ceased”. This ban was lifted in 1926.¹³³

The Cape Province, and later the whole of South Africa, developed under the British Commonwealth. As a result, British influence on religious life of Cape Town’s Jews exceed that of immigrants from the Russian Empire. Many influential English rabbis immigrated to South Africa. The Cape Town Hebrew Congregation, for example, was led by Cambridge-educated Rev AP Bender from 1895 until his death in 1937. Even after two independent congregations were established in Cape Town, Bender continued to exert an influence on the greater Jewish society.¹³⁴ On the other side of the denominational spectrum lay the Beth Hamedrash Hachodosh, which was established in Constitution Street, District Six, in 1903.¹³⁵ This congregation observed the Ultra-Orthodox traditions of the new Ḥasidic immigrants from the Russian Empire (including Lithuania).¹³⁶ It was a type of griener shul – a synagogue reminiscent of the Eastern European shtetl – and its beit hamidrash reflected the zealous and expressive modes of worship of its members’ roots. Yiddish was spoken and Modern Hebrew resisted, as it was seen as a “profanity of the Holy tongue”. In the middle of the denominational range lay the New Hebrew Congregation. This breakaway of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation was founded by Jewish refugees from the Transvaal. Externally, they shared traits with the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. Many of the New Hebrew Congregation

¹²⁷ Gershater, 1955:59.

¹²⁸ Gershater, 1955:61; Mendelsohn & Shain, 2008:32.

¹²⁹ Muir, 2013:194.

¹³⁰ Saron, 1955:104; Mendelsohn & Shain, 2008:57.

¹³¹ Saron, 1955:92.

¹³² Saron, 1955:104.

¹³³ Lift Ban on Yiddish Language in Bessarabia, 1926:1.

¹³⁴ Geffen, 1955:46.

¹³⁵ In later years, this congregation would move to Vredehoek to become known as the ‘Vredehoek Shul’.

¹³⁶ Burke, 2017; Geffen, 1955:50.

members were naturalised British subjects. The two congregations shared an Ashkenazi liturgy, and attire of its ministers were similar. However, these Litvaks desired a greater observation of Eastern European Jewish traditions. Additionally, they held strong Zionist ideals, in contrast to their mother synagogue under Rev Bender.¹³⁷ Yiddish was spoken by its members, and reports were printed in both English and Yiddish, while Modern Hebrew education was propagated.¹³⁸ Cantor Froim Spektor was appointed as ḥazzan of the New Hebrew Congregation in 1928.¹³⁹

It was this context that Kirschner and his family entered upon disembarking from the Grantully Castle in 1920. With an education, English proficiency and a religious title, Kirschner would have fit the image of the ‘desirable’ immigrant, unlike many of his co-immigrants, or ‘undesirables’, who were often poor and spoke only Yiddish¹⁴⁰. The most detailed description of Leib Kirschner can be found in a newspaper article which was published on 20 November 1920:

It is interesting to note that the Committee of the Capetown [sic] Great Synagogue has selected a new Chazan in the person of Mr Leib Kirschner. This gentleman at present occupies the position of Ober Cantor of Tarnow, Galicia, and has been selected by a special sub-committee consisting of Messrs. M Eilenberg and Jack Marks, who were recently in Europe. These gentlemen journeyed to Frankfurt where they heard Cantor Kirschner by arrangement. The new Chazan, who was born in 1884 and is therefore just in the prime of his life, originally hailed from Dubossar in Russia. He is married and has three children. Possessed of a fine baritone tenor, he is described as a really good Baal Korah. Upwards of six foot, he has a distinguished appearance and impressive deportment. He wears a beard cut in the Austrian style, and speaks English well. The Gardens Shool [sic] is congratulating themselves upon their selection and it is to be hoped that the new Cantor will fulfill the anticipations expected of him.¹⁴¹

According to the traditional set requirements for a ḥazzan, the specific mention of Kirschner’s voice, marriage status, abilities as ba’al korah and his physique were all deliberate pieces of information. The report that Kirschner “speaks English well” carried much weight in this synagogue, which was known among Yiddish speakers as “der Englischer Shul”.¹⁴² English proficiency was a requirement for rabbis and sermons were delivered in English, while an English translation accompanied the Hebrew text of the communal prayer book.¹⁴³ Typical English attire was donned by the synagogue wardens (“morning coats, striped trousers and top hats”), and the synagogue’s political affiliations were confirmed with prayers, in English, for the Royal family.¹⁴⁴

¹³⁷ Geffen, 1955:48. According to Geffen (1955:46), Bender remained anti-Zionist until the Balfour Declaration was decreed in 1918.

¹³⁸ Geffen, 1955:48.

¹³⁹ Cf Spektor’s use of Modern Hebrew both in his anthology and in his personal letter to Kirschner (see Published cantorial anthologies of the SAJMC, Chapter Two).

¹⁴⁰ Saron, 1955:91,104.

¹⁴¹ A new ‘chazan’, 1920:847.

¹⁴² Pogron, 2001:18.

¹⁴³ Rev Abrahams Appointment [Letter], 1937. In this letter, an official from the Great Synagogue of Manchester apologises to the Gardens Synagogue for the mistaken claim that Rev Abrahams was born in England. An English birth was a prerequisite for his appointment as rabbi of the Gardens Synagogue. As a result, the rabbi’s visa to South Africa was delayed.

¹⁴⁴ Mendelsohn & Shain, 2001:73.

16 October 1920 Source: Shipping manifest, 1920	Estimated dates of birth, based on adjacent sources	20 May 1955 Source: Death Notice, 1955
Rev Leib Kirschner (36)	<u>Date of birth:</u> June 1884 ¹⁴⁵	<u>Date of decease:</u> 8 May 1955 <u>Place of decease:</u> 7 Solway Street, Bellville, Cape Town <u>Age of deceased:</u> 70 years 11 months “Left no immovable property.”
Mrs Maria Kirschner¹⁴⁶ (27)	<u>Date of birth:</u> Between 17 October 1892 and 16 October 1893	Mrs Mania Kirschner (née Bershadsky) <u>Date of decease:</u> 16 October 1950 <u>Place of marriage:</u> Russia
Miss Karolina Kirschner (9)	<u>Date of birth:</u> Between 17 October 1910 and 16 October 2011	Karola van Gelderen (née Kirschner)
Miss Dora Kirschner (8)	<u>Date of birth:</u> Between 17 October 1911 and 16 October 1912	Doreen Salkinder (née Kirschner)
Miss Aerial Kirschner (7)	<u>Date of birth:</u> Between 17 October 1912 and 16 October 1913	Mr Isidore Kirschner, major Present at time and place of death

Table 3a: Summary of Kirschner family records.

Here two discrepancies arise between the available sources. The first concerns Kirschner's children. Although the question around the identity of Kirschner's third child does not relate to

¹⁴⁵ A new 'chazan', 1920:847.

¹⁴⁶ The Shipping manifest of 1920 ('Maria') differs from three post 1955 sources, which all record 'Mania' (Death Notice, 1955, Burial record Mania Kirschner, n.d. and McAllister, 2010).

the context of Kirschner's career, or to his anthology, it does point to problematic issues in the field of historical studies (see table 3a). According to the Grantully Castle's shipping manifest of 1920, the names, gender and ages of the five family members that stepped onto South African soil were: Rev Leib Kirschner, age 36; Mrs Maria Kirschner, 27; Miss Karola Kirschner, 9; Miss Dora Kirschner, 8; and Miss Aerial Kirschner, 7. However, an *SA Jewish Chronicle* article of 1939 reports their names as Karola, Doreen and "Mr I Kirschner".¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the three living descendants listed on Leib Kirschner's Death Notice of 1955 are Karola van Gelderen (née Kirschner), Doreen Salkinder (née Kirschner) and "Isidore Kirschner, major, son of deceased, present at time and place of death". The anglicisation of non-English names, especially those from Russia, was common practice upon immigration to anglicised countries, and thus the variation in the first two daughters' names are not unusual, but a discrepancy exists in the gender of the third Kirschner child.¹⁴⁸ One possibility could be that Aerial Kirschner was mistaken for a girl when the Kirschner family disembarked from the Grantully Castle. *Aerial* sounds similar to Isidore Kirschner's Hebrew names, Chaim *Ezriel*.¹⁴⁹ Additionally, an article in the *SA Jewish Chronicle* of 1926 entitled "An enjoyable concert", refers to young performers I Kirschner, on violin and Carola [sic] Kirschner, on piano. Both were pupils who performed as part of the "advanced class", an implication of close age proximity.¹⁵⁰

The second discrepancy lies in Leib Kirschner's first name. Throughout the accumulated body of sources, different references have been made to the ḥazzan's name. Herrman uses the title 'Rev Mr L Kirschner', but never uses Kirschner's his first name. Kirschner himself wrote 'Leib Kirschner' or 'Hochkantor Leib Kirschner' in his anthology. The *SA Jewish Chronicle* (1920) refers to him as 'Mr Leib Kirschner', 'Rev L Kirschner' (1926 and 1933) and 'Cantor L Kirschner' (1935).¹⁵¹ A back-page scribble in Kirschner's anthology provided a similar name: the word 'Lowi'. The Yiddish language utilizes Hebrew characters, and 'Lowi' could be a phonetic transcription of the name Louis from Hebrew into Roman characters. Therefore, the name 'Louis' may have been Leib Kirschner's anglicised name, a practice common among Russian immigrants.¹⁵²

Limited records of Kirschner's musical career as ḥazzan exist. In a history of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation (1941), Herrman records the following incident: after Kirschner's engagement at the Shul, the Synagogue Committee praised Kirschner's "rendering of the ancient melodies of Israel", and Mr Grosberg assisted him as chorus master "with his comparatively small but efficient band of youthful choristers". Additionally, several articles in the *SA Jewish Chronicle* report on Kirschner's involvement in weddings, and although one might expect a ḥazzan to provide the music at weddings, he apparently assisted Rev Bender in officiating these weddings, while Mr Boris Rome (the choirmaster) performed solo singing on many occasions.¹⁵³ One exception is an article that appeared on the 18th of August 1931:

¹⁴⁷ Van Gelderen–Kirschner, 1939.

¹⁴⁸ Gershater, 1955:60.

¹⁴⁹ Burial record Issy Kirschner, n.d.

¹⁵⁰ An enjoyable concert, 1926:22.

¹⁵¹ The synagogue's website was removed between July and October 2017.

¹⁵² Gershater, 1955:60.

¹⁵³ *SA Jewish Chronicle* (1926, 1932, 1933, 1935 and 1936).

In the Great Synagogue, the Services were inspiring as usual. Rev Kirschner's voice seems to have gained in beauty since his return from overseas, whilst the choir, under the directorship of Mr Boris Rome, was as magnificent as ever. Rev Kibel ably assisted in the conduct of the Service.¹⁵⁴

The only available image of Kirschner is a dim photograph of 1927 (see figures 3.1 and 3.4). This small portrait is one of several portrait miniatures, embedded on a larger image of committee members of the Jewish Sick Relief Society, an inter-congregational committee whose charitable work was based at the Somerset Hospital in Green Point. The ḥazzan of the Beth Hamidrash Hachodosh in Constitution Street, Rev NM Rabinowitz, served as the secretary of the society.¹⁵⁵ The last mention of Kirschner's career at Gardens Synagogue is found in Herrman's historical publication of 1941. He writes that "Chief Cantor L Kirschner retires after eighteen years of service".¹⁵⁶ No information regarding the specific circumstances of his retirement at the age of 53 is reported, but Herrman writes that the synagogue "lost all its old and valued officers" between 1937 and 1939.¹⁵⁷ This season of loss follows the illness and early retirement of Rev AP Bender in 1937. The rabbi died in December of the same year.

According to Leib Kirschner's death notice, his final address of residence and place of death was 7 Solway Street, Bellville. During the 1920s three Jewish congregations were founded in the Northern Suburbs of Cape Town: Bellville Hebrew Congregation (1924), and the Durbanville and Parow Hebrew Congregations (both in 1927). Kirschner's Bellville address was located midway between the Bellville and Parow congregations, but no information can connect Kirschner to either congregation. Interestingly, the *SA Jewish Chronicle* reports a special service that took place at the Parow Congregation in 1948. Rev Abrahams (Rev Bender's successor at the Gardens Synagogue) was a guest of honour, while Cantor Boris Rome lead the Ma'ariv service and "rendered a few songs appropriate to the occasion, which were received with acclaim".¹⁵⁸ The last trace of Kirschner is his grave in the Muizenberg Jewish, where he is buried next to his wife, Mania (see figure 3.5).

Spatial and temporal coordinates from the paratext of Kirschner's anthology directed the research that traced his life: an ownership stamp provided a certain location; a scribble confirmed another. As a backdrop, the historical socio-political climate of Eastern Europe helped shape the biographical facts into a narrative. In retrospect it appears that, in boarding the Grantully Castle in 1920, the Kirschner family slipped out of reach of the growing threat to Judaism that found its culmination in the Holocaust. The catalyst for Kirschner's exit was a successful audition for a ḥazzan who could lead the congregants of the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation in prayer. Here Kirschner served for eighteen years, and here he culminated his career. In 1938 Kirschner retired and moved to Bellville, the Cape Town suburb that spurred the title of this chapter.

¹⁵⁴ Rosh Hashona in Cape Town, 1931:632.

¹⁵⁵ Jewish Sick Relief Society, 1927.

¹⁵⁶ This statement suggests that Kirschner retired in 1938 (Herrman, 1941:139).

¹⁵⁷ Herrman, 1941:139,140.

¹⁵⁸ Parow Hebrew Congregation – Siyum Hatorah, 1948:13.



Figure 3.4: Jewish Sick Relief Society, 1927.



Fig. 3.5: Leib Kirschner's tombstone in Muizenberg Jewish Cemetery (McAlister, 2010).

Chapter Four

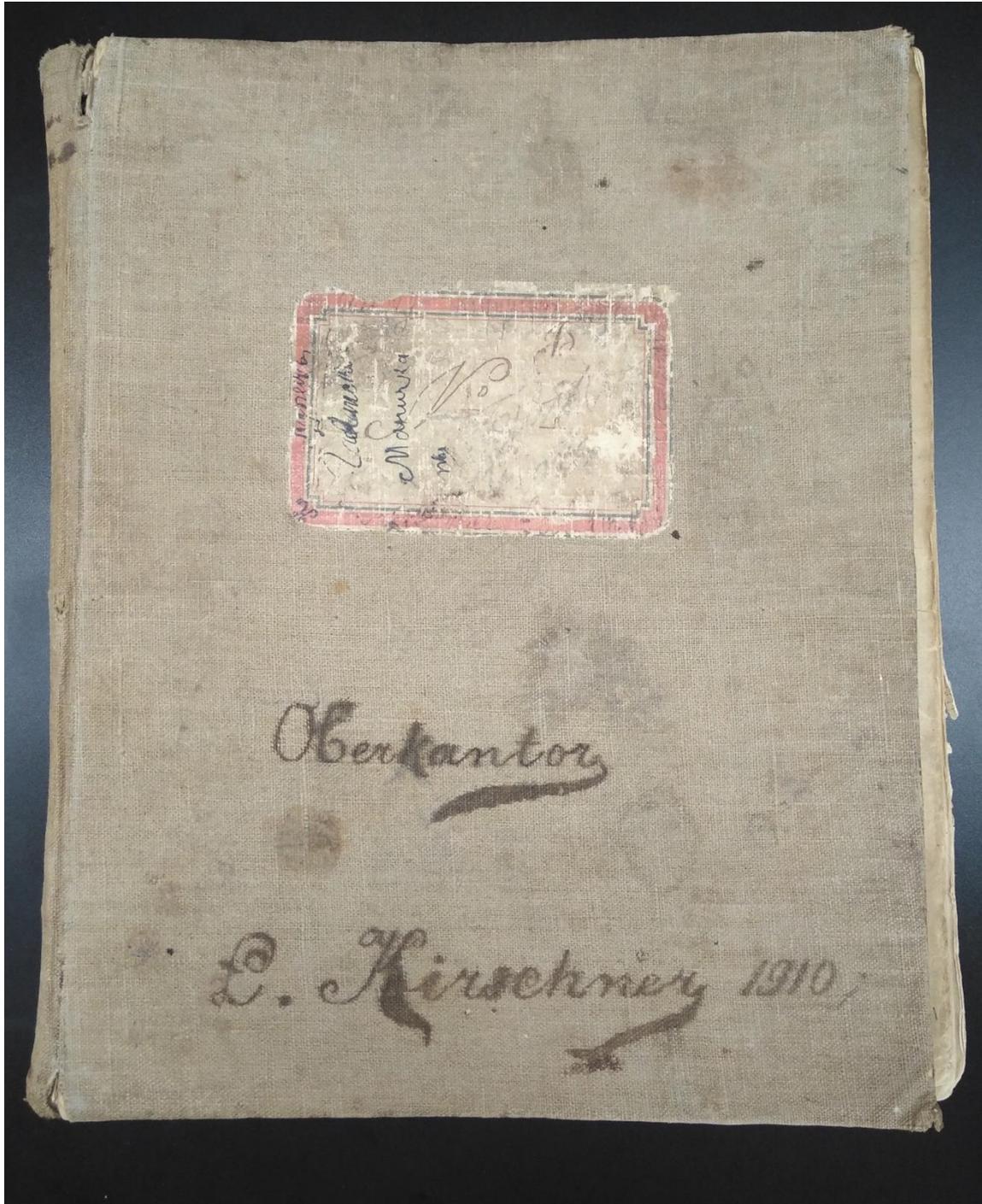


Figure 4.1: Front cover of Kirschner's cantorial anthology.

תוכן

Page No.	Topic (Hebrew)	Page No.	Topic (Hebrew)
119	אברהם אבינו	1	אברהם אבינו
125	יצחק אבינו	2	יצחק אבינו
129	יעקב אבינו	3	יעקב אבינו
132	אברהם אבינו	4	אברהם אבינו
138	יצחק אבינו	5	יצחק אבינו
145	יעקב אבינו	6	יעקב אבינו
150	אברהם אבינו	7	אברהם אבינו
155	יצחק אבינו	8	יצחק אבינו
158	יעקב אבינו	9	יעקב אבינו
164	אברהם אבינו	10	אברהם אבינו
170	יצחק אבינו	11	יצחק אבינו
174	יעקב אבינו	12	יעקב אבינו
181	אברהם אבינו	13	אברהם אבינו
183	יצחק אבינו	14	יצחק אבינו
188	יעקב אבינו	15	יעקב אבינו
189	אברהם אבינו	16	אברהם אבינו
195	יצחק אבינו	17	יצחק אבינו
200	יעקב אבינו	18	יעקב אבינו
207	אברהם אבינו	19	אברהם אבינו
210	יצחק אבינו	20	יצחק אבינו
216	יעקב אבינו	21	יעקב אבינו
220	אברהם אבינו	22	אברהם אבינו
225	יצחק אבינו	23	יצחק אבינו
226	יעקב אבינו	24	יעקב אבינו
232	אברהם אבינו	25	אברהם אבינו
241	יצחק אבינו	26	יצחק אבינו
250	יעקב אבינו	27	יעקב אבינו
254	אברהם אבינו	28	אברהם אבינו
256	יצחק אבינו	29	יצחק אבינו
262	יעקב אבינו	30	יעקב אבינו
270	אברהם אבינו	31	אברהם אבינו
277	יצחק אבינו	32	יצחק אבינו
279	יעקב אבינו	33	יעקב אבינו
282	אברהם אבינו	34	אברהם אבינו
288	יצחק אבינו	35	יצחק אבינו
294	יעקב אבינו	36	יעקב אבינו

Figure 4.2: The first page of Kirschner's table of contents (read from-right-to-left).

404	ה'קל"ח	99	397	רב'נו/על שם ספריה	73
405	ה'קל"ט	100	305	המקדש	74
406	ק'ו'ל'ה - ס' ל'ו'ה	101	309	והו' הח'ק'ה ה'ל'ה	75
408	ק'ב'ו'ת ו'ק'ל'ה ל'ו'ה	102	311	ה' פ'ז'ה	76
412	ל'ת'ה ל'ע'ת'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	103	320	ל'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	77
417	ק'ר'פ'ת ל'ח'ו'ל'ה ה'ל'ו'ה	104	323	מ'ט'ו'ה מ'ט'ו'ה מ'ט'ו'ה	78
419	ה'ת'ו'ת ה'ל'ו'ה	105	328	ז'כ'ו'ת ל'ח'ו'ל'ה	79
422	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	106	330	ז'כ'ו'ת ו'ס'פ'ו'ה מ'ט'ו'ה	80
425	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	107	333	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	81
440	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	108	335	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	82
442	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	109	339	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	83
448	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	110	343	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	84
450	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	111	351	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	85
451	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	112	352	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	86
453	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	113	356	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	87
454	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	114	364	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	88
459	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	115	371	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	89
466	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	116	375	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	90
473	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	117	377	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	91
474	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	118	381	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	92
475	מ'ט'ו'ה ל'ט'ו'ה	119	385	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	93
		120	389	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	94
		121	391	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	95
		122	394	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	96
		123	396	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	97
		124	397	ל'ט'ו'ה ו'ס'פ'ו'ה	98

Figure 4.3: The second page of Kirschner's table of contents.

A paratextual reading

Historians have surely all had the unnerving experience of working in an archive and coming across a handwritten document which looks important but which we simply cannot read. There are of course technical or historically specific hands that paleography can train us to read, but there are also cases where an individual style of handwriting is enormously difficult to decipher, by virtue of the writer's idiosyncratic writing technique, or the fact that he or she just has very bad handwriting. In theory we wrestle with the page until we have deciphered it. But we have to admit that success is not always achieved. Some writing is simply unreadable, and probably in practice even the most meticulous of historians has had to give up the struggle at some point, however important the context, and hope for the best.¹⁵⁹

In this chapter I make a study of Leib Kirschner's anthology in terms of its physical appearance and its table of contents, or simply, the paratext. Paratext studies is the perspective through which I 'read' the rich material that supplements the body text of Kirschner's anthology.¹⁶⁰ I organise Kirschner's paratext accordingly into 'explicit' and 'non-explicit' elements. The explicit elements include temporal and spatial information, while the non-explicit elements represent paratext that calls for interpretation.¹⁶¹ First, I will discuss explicit temporal and spatial information that pertain to the anthology: its physical attributes, ownership marks and scribbles. Then I will discuss my palaeographic study of Kirschner's table of contents as a means to access the meaning of its non-explicit paratext. Lastly, I will discuss the ways in which the palaeography placed Kirschner's anthology within the Chor Shul tradition of Eastern Europe.¹⁶²

Physical attributes

The hardcover binding of the anthology is covered with cloth; the spine stitching has become undone, while blotches on the material indicate years of use; darkened page corners have become rounded over time. The spine and front cover read, 'No. 1, Oberkantor L Kirschner', ink letters bled into the coarse textile.

Different professional titles appear throughout Kirschner's anthology, just as in the case of From Spekter's anthology.¹⁶³ When historian Louis Herrman writes about Kirschner's retirement, he refers to Kirschner as 'Chief Cantor'. This is the equivalent of the German 'Oberkantor', the title that Kirschner held in Kishinev and Tarnow. Another ownership stamp of Kirschner's is stamped into Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah*. Here, Kirschner's title is 'Obercantor'. Interestingly, Kirschner's cantorial anthology itself further illustrates the fluidity in orthographic variants that existed during his lifetime. The Hebrew word חזן ('hazzan') occurs throughout his music manuscripts. Kirschner alternates it with 'kantor' in the first few entries of his anthology, and thereafter writes only the word 'cantor'. According to Neil Levin, writer for the Milken Archives of Jewish Music, the English 'c' was used purposefully in German spelling to distinguish it from 'kantor', which refers to a church choirmaster.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁹ Caplan, 2009:99,100.

¹⁶⁰ See Chapter One.

¹⁶¹ The concepts of explicit and non-explicit paratext, and of spatial and temporal coordinates are conceptualised by Ciotti and Lin (2016:ix). See Chapter One.

¹⁶² 'Palaeography' is the British spelling of the American 'paleography'.

¹⁶³ See Chapter Two.

¹⁶⁴ Levin, 2012.

Explicit paratextual elements

Kirschner's anthology consists of a hundred-and-nineteen notated prayers, or hymns, for four-part male choir and ḥazzan. The name on the cover, together with a consistent handwriting throughout the anthology, indicate singular authorship. Prayer titles are organised into a table of contents in Hebrew script, with most of these titles attributed to the relevant composers. According to the cover date, the book was bound in 1910. The majority of items show signs of being cropped at the top and bottom to fit the binding, removing the top half of their titles in the process. Afterwards Kirschner rewrote the illegible titles, suggesting that these manuscripts must have originally functioned as loose pages, or had been cut from an older, larger binding. Notably, the latter items in the anthology do fit the page size. We may infer that blank manuscript pages were inserted at the time of binding to accommodate post-1910 additions.

The spatial and temporal elements in Kirschner's anthology point towards specific dates and locations. These include the book cover material, title, author, dates and ownership stamps, elements that support the age and origin of the artefact. Ownership marks provide especially valuable spatial elements. These elements played a pivotal role in the archival study of Chapter Three. Max Fölster classifies ownership seals as 'belated paratext' in the book section *'Traces in Red': Chinese Book Collectors' Seals as a Means to Track the Transmission History of a Manuscript* (2016). According to Fölster's definition, the belated paratext includes elements that are applied to documents post production. One ownership stamp in Kirschner's volume – stamped several times successively – reads 'LEIB KIRSCHNER, Oberkantor, LAN CUT'. 'Tarnow' is scribbled in a cursive among other seemingly unimportant doodles on a back-page.¹⁶⁵ On the first inner page, a pencilled note 'Donated by Kirschner, 1958' is reminiscent of the identical note in Lewandowski's *Schir Zion*, which connects Kirschner's volume to the Jewish Museum in Cape Town. In their introduction to the publication *Tracing Manuscripts in Time and Space through Paratexts*, editors Ciotti and Lin write that such paratextual clues are in themselves artefacts "that provide temporal and spatial coordinates", in this case to Kirschner's manuscript".¹⁶⁶

Non-explicit paratextual elements: a palaeography of Kirschner's table of contents

According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary, palaeography is "the study of ancient or antiquated writings and inscriptions: the deciphering and interpretation of historical writing systems and manuscripts."¹⁶⁷ Palaeography is one of the means that can be employed to access the information that non-explicit elements represent. However, as historian Jane Caplan explains at the introduction to this chapter, illegibility poses a stumbling-block to palaeographers as they struggle to render the illegible legible. I compiled my findings into a table according to four actions: decipherment, transcription, translation and contextualisation. Drawing upon Ciotti and Lin's perspective, these actions were employed to access the non-explicit meaning of the paratext represented by Kirschner's table of contents.

While I list the four actions in a linear way, in practice they represent an iterative process. The actions were repeated often, so that my results could be confirmed from different perspectives.

¹⁶⁵ See figures 3.2 and 3.3 in Chapter Three.

¹⁶⁶ Ciotti & Lin, 2016:viii

¹⁶⁷ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2018.

As Caplan puts it, the ideal is to “wrestle” until a satisfactory result has been achieved.¹⁶⁸ The palaeography that I conducted for the purpose of my SAJMC assignment as part of the DOMUS digitisation project ran parallel to my thesis research.¹⁶⁹ As a result, I could make deductions about the process as it unfolded, and immerse myself, as it were, while evaluating the process. The findings of this assignment supplemented the current research, while the research enabled me to complete the SAJMC assignment.

Palaeographic summary of Leib Kirschner’s table of contents.¹⁷⁰

Indexes ¹⁷¹ – Maftehot – מפתחות						
Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
1	Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>Let us speak of the awesomeness</i>	<i>Unetanneh tokef</i> [cf. 14]		ונתנה תוקף	1
5	Prayer for healing in Shabbat service.	<i>He who heals for Shabbat</i>	<i>Mi sheberah shel Shabbat</i> [cf. 76, 93]		מי שברך של שבת	2
11	Wedding song.	Stand up; <i>He who is mighty</i>	<i>Y'amod; Mi Adir</i> [cf. 47]		יעמוד מי אדיר	3
12	From Shaḥarit prayers on Shabbat. ¹⁷²	<i>From Your place by Khersoner</i> ¹⁷³	<i>Mimkomḥa; Khersoner</i> [cf. 33, 54, 65]	הערסאנער	ממקומך	4
15	[unsure] ¹⁷⁴	<i>Crown by Khersoner</i>	<i>Keter; Khersoner</i> [cf. 35]	–	כתר	5
19	Psalm 115, from the <i>Hallel</i> . ¹⁷⁵	<i>The Lord is mindful of us by Khersoner</i>	<i>Adonai z'ḥaranu; Khersoner</i> [cf. 11, 31]	–	ד' זכרנו	6

¹⁶⁸ Caplan, 2009:100.

¹⁶⁹ See Chapter One.

¹⁷⁰ Read table from-right-to-left.

¹⁷¹ According to Dr Adelstein (2018), ‘maftehot’ may also refer to keys in music harmony.

¹⁷² Braunstein, n.d.

¹⁷³ Khersoner is the alias of Wolf Shestapol (Idelsohn, 1967:308).

¹⁷⁴ *Keter Yitnu Leḥa* or *V'Yitnu Lecha Keter Melucha*, from the Musaf services of Yom Kippur and Rosh Hashanah (Zemiroth Song Index, n.d.)

¹⁷⁵ The singing of Psalms 113-118 (Idelsohn, 1967:20).

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
22	For Hanukkah.	<i>These lights</i>	<i>Hanerot halalu</i> [cf. 86, 105]		הנרות הללו	7
26	From the Kriat Shema. ¹⁷⁶	<i>Come quickly to us</i> ¹⁷⁷	<i>Maher vaheve</i>		מהר והבא	8
31	For Erev Shabbat service. ¹⁷⁸	<i>Come, beloved</i>	<i>Leḥa Dodi</i> [cf. 56]		לכה דודי	9
32	The ḥazzan's call to prayer on Rosh Hashanah.	<i>Bless [the Lord] for Rosh Hashanah</i>	<i>Bareḥu shel Rosh Hashanah</i> [cf. 70, 79, 80, 104]		ברכו של ראש השנה	10
33	For Rosh Hashanah. ¹⁷⁹	<i>Remember us [for life] by Blumenthal</i>	<i>Zoḥrenu [l'ḥayim]; Blumenthal</i>	בלומענטאהל	זְכֵרְנוּ	11
34	For Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>He who sustains life by Blumenthal</i>	<i>Meḥalkel ḥayim; Blumenthal</i>	–	מכלכל חיים	12
37	From Psalm 16.	<i>I have set [the Lord] by Sulzer</i>	<i>Shiviti; Sulzer</i>	זולצר	שיותי	13
38	For Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>Let us speak of the awesomeness by Khersoner</i>	<i>Unetanneh tokef; Khersoner</i> [cf. 1]	חערסאנער	ונתנה תוקף	14
44	For musaf service of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>And all shall come by Baruch Schorr</i>	<i>Vaye'etayu; Baruch Schorr</i>	ברוך שור	ויתאו ¹⁸⁰	15
47	For Rosh Hashanah.	<i>Today the world is born by Baruch Schorr</i>	<i>Hayom harat olam; Baruch Schorr</i>	–	היום הרת עולם	16
49	For Erev Shabbat service, from Psalm 95.	<i>Oh come, let us sing for Shabbat by Margowsky</i>	<i>Leḥu nerannena shel Shabat; Margowsky</i> [cf. 18]	מארגאווסקע	לכו נרננה של שבת	17

¹⁷⁶ 'Bedtime Shema' (Adelstein, 2018).

¹⁷⁷ Possible translation provided by Adelstein (2018).

¹⁷⁸ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

¹⁷⁹ Kominsky, 2010.

¹⁸⁰ The standardised spelling of this word is ויאתיו (Zemirot Song Index, n.d.)

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
50	For Erev Shabbat service, from Psalm 95.	Another [version of] <i>Oh come, let us sing</i> by Margowsky	<i>Od Leḥu nerannena</i> ; Margowsky [cf. 17]	–	עוד לכו נרננה	18
52	For Erev Shabbat service, from Psalm 99.	<i>The Lord reigns, let the peoples tremble</i> by Margowsky	<i>Adonai malaḥ yirgezu amim</i> ; Margowsky	–	ד' מלך ירגזו עמים	19
65	For Special Shabbat services.	<i>He who performed miracles</i> by Sulzer	<i>Mi she'asa nisim</i> ; Sulzer	זולצער	מי שעשה נסים	20
68	For returning the Torah to the Ark. ¹⁸¹	<i>His majesty is above the earth and heaven</i> by Sulzer; <i>Your ears</i>	<i>Hodo [al eretz v'shamayim]</i> ; Sulzer; <i>Hate ozneiḥa</i>	זולצער	הודו זולצער הט אזנך	21
70	[unsure]	<i>These are the days of strength</i> by Sulzer ¹⁸²	<i>Zot yamin oz</i> ; Sulzer	–	זות ימין עוז	22
72	For Yom Kippur.	<i>Please forgive</i>	<i>Slaḥ nah</i>		סלח נא	23
75	For Shabbat.	<i>Welcoming the Shabbat</i>	<i>Likrat Shabat</i>		לקראת שבת	24
77	For Rosh Hashanah.	<i>Thy revealed Thyself</i> by Baruch Schorr	<i>Ata nigleta</i> ; Baruch Schorr [cf. 41, 71, 103]	ברוך שור	אתה נגלתה [sic] ¹⁸³	25
85	From Psalm 21.	<i>The king shall have joy in Your strength, O Lord</i>	<i>Adonai b'ozḥa yismaḥ meleḥ</i>		ד' בעזך ישמח מלך	26
87	[unsure]	<i>Ascents</i> [unsure] by Blumenthal	<i>Ye'alot</i> ; ¹⁸⁴ Blumenthal	בלומענטאהל	יעלות	27

¹⁸¹ Adelstein, 2018.¹⁸² Ibid.¹⁸³ Note spelling error. Cf standard spelling (נגלתה – cf 41). No's 71 and 103 are spelled correctly (Harel, n.d.).¹⁸⁴ Adelstein, 2018.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
89	Psalm 93. For Shabbat service on Rosh Hashanah. ¹⁸⁵	<i>The Lord is King, He is clothed in Majesty</i> Shestapol	<i>Adonai melekh ge'ut lavesh –</i> Shestapol	שעסטעפאל	ד' מלך גאות לבש	28
92	For Shabbat service.	<i>And they shall keep by</i> Shestapol	<i>Ve'shameru;</i> Shestapol	–	ושמרו	29
94	From Psalm 113. ¹⁸⁶	<i>Hallelujah, these servants of the Lord</i> ¹⁸⁷ by Sulzer	<i>Halleluyah hallelu avdei Adonai;</i> Sulzer	זולצער	הללויה הללי עבדי ד'	30
99	Psalm 115, from the <i>Hallel</i> service.	<i>The Lord is mindful of us</i> by Sulzer	<i>Adonai z'haranu;</i> Sulzer [cf. 6, 11]	–	ד' זְכָרְנוּ.	31
	[Unsure]	<i>And they will be a sign [or And they are a sign]</i> ¹⁸⁸ by Sulzer	<i>Vahem tav;</i> Sulzer	–	והם תו	32
106	For Shabbat Shaḥarit prayers.	<i>From Your place</i> by Blumenthal	<i>Mimekomḥa,</i> ¹⁸⁹ Blumenthal [cf 4, 33, 54, 65]	בלומענטאהל	ממקומך	33
109	For Saturday night (Motzei Shabbat).	<i>Going out [of the Shabbat]</i>	<i>Bemotze</i>		במוצאי	34
110	For Musaf service of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. ¹⁹⁰	<i>Crown</i> by Baruch Schorr	<i>Keter;</i> Baruch Schorr [cf. 5]	ברוך שור	כתר	35

¹⁸⁵ Braunstein, n.d.¹⁸⁶ Ibid.¹⁸⁷ Ibid.¹⁸⁸ Adelstein, 2018.¹⁸⁹ Harel, n.d.¹⁹⁰ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
113	For Yom Kippur.	<i>Grant us</i> by Shestapol	<i>Hamtzi lanu;</i> Shestapol	שעסטערפאל	המצא לנו	36
119	Psalm 29, Erev Shabbat service. ¹⁹¹	<i>Song of David [from the] Psalms</i> by Margowsky	<i>Mizmor leDavid tehilim;</i> Margowsky [cf. 77]	מארגאווסקע	מזמור לדוד תהלים	37
125	For Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. ¹⁹²	<i>Behold, we are like clay</i> by Margowsky	<i>Ki hinneh kaḥomer;</i> Margowsky	–	כי הנה כחומר	38
129	From <i>Unetanneh tokef</i> , for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. ¹⁹³	<i>Truly You alone are the one who judges</i> by Margowsky	<i>Emet ki ata hu din;</i> Margowsky [cf. 61]	–	אמת כי אתה הוא דין	39
132	From Psalm 61, for Rosh Hashana. ¹⁹⁴	<i>About each nation [its destiny will be given]</i>	<i>Ve'al hamedinot</i>		ועל המדינות	40
138	For Rosh Hashana. ¹⁹⁵	<i>Thy revealed Thyself</i>	<i>Ata nigleta</i> [cf. 25, 71, 103]		אתה נגלתה [sic]	41
145	Weekday blessing for Shaḥarit prayers. ¹⁹⁶	<i>Be blessed forever</i> by Margowsky [crossed out]	<i>Titbarah lanetzah</i> Margowsky [cf. 43, 45, 66, 109]	מארגאווסקע	תתברך לנצח	42
150	Weekday blessing for Shaḥarit prayers	<i>Be blessed forever</i> by Spivak	<i>Titbarah lanetzah;</i> Spivak [cf. 42, 45, 66, 109]	ספיוואק	תתברך לנצח	43
155	From Psalm 92. For Erev Shabbat. ¹⁹⁷	<i>When the wicked spring up [like grass];</i> Khersoner	<i>Bifroah reshaim;</i> Khersoner	חערסאנער	בפרח רשעים	44

¹⁹¹ Adelstein, 2018.

¹⁹² Zemirots Song Index, n.d.

¹⁹³ Braunstein, n.d.

¹⁹⁴ Adelstein, 2018.

¹⁹⁵ Harel, n.d.

¹⁹⁶ Braunstein, n.d.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
158	Weekday blessing for Shaḥarit prayers.	<i>Be blessed forever by</i>	<i>Titbarah lanetzah;</i> [cf. 42, 43, 66]		תתברך לנצה	45
164	Psalm 93 from Kabbalat Shabbat service. ¹⁹⁸	<i>The LORD reigns, He is clothed [in majesty] by</i> Shapiro.	<i>Adonai malaḥ ge'ut</i> – Shapiro	שפירא	ד' מלך גאות לבש	46
170	Wedding song. ¹⁹⁹	<i>He who is mighty by</i> Shapiro ²⁰⁰	<i>Mi Adir</i> , Shapiro [cf. 3]	–	מי אדיר	47
174	For Shabbat Mevarḥim (the announcement of the New Moon). ²⁰¹	<i>May it be Your will.</i> Blessing for the New Moon by Shapiro	<i>Yehi ratzon</i> [reference to] Shabat Mevarḥim haḤodesh; Shapiro [cf. 81, 91]	–	יהי רצון שמברכין [sic] החודש	48
181	[unsure] by Shapiro	[unsure] by Shapiro	<i>Nanaim</i> ; Shapiro	–	נענעים	49
183	Hoshana, a hymn of supplication.	Hoshana; [note that the whole congregation should sing this melody] by Shapiro ²⁰²	<i>Hoshana</i> ; Ki ḥol peh; Shapiro	–	הושענא כי כל פה	50
189	From the Shema prayer.	<i>Rock of Israel</i> by Shapiro	<i>Tzur Yisrael</i> ; Shapiro ²⁰³	–	צור ישראל	52
195	From Psalm 97, for Erev Shabbat service.	<i>The Lord reigns, let the earth rejoice</i> by Pugatch ²⁰⁴	<i>Adonai meleḥ tagel ha'arets</i> ; Pugatch ²⁰⁵	פוגאטש	ד' מלך תגל הארץ	53
200	For Shaḥarit prayers on Shabbat.	<i>From Your place</i> by Shapiro	<i>Mimkomḥa</i> ; Shapiro [cf. 4, 33, 65]	שפירא	ממקומך	54

¹⁹⁸ Braunstein, n.d.

¹⁹⁹ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

²⁰⁰ Edelman, 1979:21.

²⁰¹ Bard, 2016.

²⁰² Adelstein, 2018.

²⁰³ Edelman, 1979:25.

²⁰⁴ Possibly a phonetic variant of the composer Bugatch.

²⁰⁵ Zemirot, 2017.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
202	From the Kedusha, the central blessing of the Amidah on Shabbat. ²⁰⁶	<i>Let us sanctify</i>	<i>Nekadesh</i> ²⁰⁷		נקדש	55
210	For Erev Shabbat service.	<i>Come, beloved</i>	<i>Lekha dodī</i> [cf. 9]		לכה דודי	56
216	For Ma'ariv service. ²⁰⁸	<i>Lay us down</i>	<i>Hashkiveinu</i>		השכיבנו	57
220	Full title perhaps <i>Hodo al eretz</i> (cf. 99).	<i>Above the earth</i> by Meir Yehezkiel, from Zhitomir (Ukraine)	<i>Al eretz;</i> [translation unsure]; Meir Yehezkiel miZhitomir ²⁰⁹	מיר יחאזקל מזשיטאמער	אל ארץ [אפים] ²¹⁰	58
225	For Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur services. ²¹¹	<i>Our Father, our King;</i> opening [or 'introduction'] by Shapiro	<i>Avinu malkeinu</i> pataḥ; Shapiro	שפירא	אבינו מלכינו פתח	59
226	For Erev Shabbat service. ²¹²	<i>Mystery of the Shabbat</i> by Shapiro	<i>Raza de Shabat;</i> Shapiro	–	רצא דשבת	60
232	From <i>Unetanneh tokef</i> , for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>Truly You alone are the one who judges</i>	<i>Emet ki ata hu din</i> [cf. 39]		אמת כי אתה היד דין	61
241	Sung during Passover meal, from Psalm 114. ²¹³	<i>When Israel</i> by Margowsky	<i>Betzeit Yisrael;</i> Margowsky [cf. 102]	מארגאווסקע	בצאת ישראל	62

²⁰⁶ Adelstein, 2018.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ Braunstein, n.d.

²⁰⁹ Adelstein, 2018.

²¹⁰ The translation of the word in context is unsure. A literal translation in 'noses'.

²¹¹ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

²¹² Braunstein, n.d.

²¹³ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
250	Musaf prayer for festival days. ²¹⁴	<i>King of mercy</i> by Blumenthal	<i>Meleḥ raḥaman</i> Blumenthal ²¹⁵	בלומנטאהל	מלך רחמן	63
254	Recited upon entering synagogue. ²¹⁶	<i>O how good</i> by Sulzer ²¹⁷	<i>Ma tovu</i> ; Sulzer [cf. 94]	זולצער	מה טובו	64
256	For Shabbat Shaḥarit prayers.	<i>From Your place</i> by Maragowski	<i>Mimekomḥa</i> ; Margowsky [cf. 4, 33, 54]	מערגאווסקע	ממקומך	65
262	Weekday blessing for Shaḥarit prayers.	<i>Be blessed</i> by Margowsky	<i>Titbarah</i> ; Margowsky [cf. 42, 43, 45, 109]	–	תתברך	66
270	For musaf service of Rosh Ḥodesh. ²¹⁸	<i>You formed</i>	<i>Ata yatzarta</i> ²¹⁹		אתה יצרת	67
277	For Shabbat service. ²²⁰	<i>And they shall keep</i>	<i>Ve'shameru</i>		ושמרו	68
279	For Shaḥarit on festival days. ²²¹	<i>O Lord, in your strength</i>	<i>Hael batatzumot</i>		האל בתעצומות	69
282	The hazzan's call to prayer on Erev Shabbat. ²²²	<i>Bless the Lord</i> by Sulzer, arranged by Nissan Belzer	<i>Bareḥu</i> ; Sulzer; avodah Nissan Belzer [cf. 10, 79, 80, 104]	זולצער עבודה ניסן בעלדזער	ברכו	70
288	For Rosh Hashanah.	<i>Thy revealed Thyself</i> by Blumenthal	<i>Ata nigleta</i> ; Blumenthal [cf. 25, 41, 103]	בלומענטאל	אתה נגלת	71

²¹⁴ Braunstein, n.d.

²¹⁵ Edelman, 1979:43.

²¹⁶ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Rosh Ḥodesh is the first day of the new month. Braunstein, n.d.

²¹⁹ Edelman, 1979:32.

²²⁰ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

²²¹ Braunstein, n.d.

²²² Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
294	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]		אמם\אמעם כו	72
297	For bringing out the Torah on Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. ²²³	<i>Master of the Universe</i> by Shapiro	<i>Ribbono shel olam – Shapiro</i> ²²⁴	שפירא	רבנו של עולם	73
305	For Motzei Shabbat service.	<i>He who distinguishes</i>	<i>Hamavdi</i> ²²⁵		המבדיל	74
309	Blessing of the New Month.	<i>May this month be</i>	<i>Yehi Haḥodesh hazeh</i>		יהי החודש הזה	75
311	Prayer for healing.	<i>He who heals</i>	<i>Mi sheberah</i> [cf. 2, 93]		מי שברך	76
320	Probably Psalm 24. For returning the Torah to the ark on weekdays. ²²⁶	<i>A Psalm of David</i>	<i>LeDavid mizmor</i> [cf. 37]		לדוד מזמור	77
323	From Psalm 30. For Hanukkah. ²²⁷	<i>A psalm, song of dedication [to the house of David] by Shestapol</i>	<i>Mizmor shir haḥanukat; Shestapol</i> [cf. 107]	שעסטערפאל	מזמור שיר חנוכה	78
328	The hazzan's call to prayer on Hanukkah	<i>Blessings for Hanukkah</i>	<i>Braḥot leḤanukah</i> [cf. 10, 70, 80, 104]	–	ברכות לחנוכה ²²⁸	79
330	Blessing	<i>Blessings from a number</i> by Buchman	<i>Braḥot misperah</i> ²²⁹ Buchman	מספירה באכמאהן	ברכות	80

²²³ Ibid.

²²⁴ Edelman, 1979:46.

²²⁵ Zemiroth Song Index, n.d.

²²⁶ Adelstein, 2018.

²²⁷ Braunstein, n.d.

²²⁸ For correct spelling see no 104.

²²⁹ This is a suggestion. Exact meaning unsure.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	
333	For Rosh Hashanah.	To sum up <i>May it be Your will</i> from a number by Buchman	Uvaḥon ²³⁰ <i>Yehi ratzon misperah</i> Buchman [cf. 48, 91]	מספירה –	יבכו יהי רצון	81
335			[Title crossed out]		יבכו ויבכו יתגדלו ויש	82
339	From <i>Untanneh tokef</i> , for Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>For Your Name</i> by Shapiro	<i>Ki keshimḥa;</i> Shapiro	ספירה	כי כשמך	83
343	For Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>And by the hands of Your servants [you went and declared]</i> by Shapiro	<i>Ve'al yedei avadeḥa halaḥ vekrat;</i> Shapiro ²³¹	²³² [–]	ועל ידי עבדך הלך וקראת	84
351	For Rosh Hashanah.	<i>Blow [the shofar] on the new moon</i> by Shapiro	<i>Tik'u baḥodesh [shofar];</i> Shapiro	–	תקעו בחודש	85
352	For Hanukkah festival.	<i>These lights</i> by Shapiro	<i>Hanerot halalu;</i> Shapiro [cf. 7, 105]	–	הנרות הללו	86
356	The tenth commandment. ²³³	<i>Thou shall not covet</i> by Shapiro	<i>Lo taḥmud;</i> Shapiro	–	לא תחמוד	87
364	From Yom Kippur prayer. ²³⁴	<i>And because of our sins</i> by Prachtenberg	<i>Umipnei ḥateinu;</i> Prachtenberg	פראכטענבערג	ומפני חטאינו	88
371	For Rosh Hashanah. ²³⁵	<i>Today the world is born</i> by Prachtenberg	<i>Hayom harat olam;</i> Prachtenberg ²³⁶ [cf. 16]	–	היום הרת עולם	89

²³⁰ Adelstein, 2018.

²³¹ Edelman, 1979:52.

²³² No space is left for a dash. The context indicates that this title is also by Shapiro.

²³³ Adelstein, 2018.

²³⁴ Ibid.

²³⁵ Harel, n.d.

²³⁶ Edelman, 1979:12.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	No
375	From Musaf service of Yom Kippur. ²³⁷	<i>And so He said by Prachtenberg</i>	<i>Veḥaḥ haya omer;</i> Prachtenberg ²³⁸	–	וכך היה אומר	90
377	For Rosh Hashanah.	<i>May it be Your will.</i>	<i>Yehi Ratzon</i> [cf. 48, 81]		יהי רצון	91
381			[This entry is crossed out.]		הללו עבודי	92
385	Prayer for healing.	<i>He who heals</i>	<i>Mi sheberaḥ</i> [cf. 2, 76]		מי שברך	93
389	Recited upon entering synagogue.	<i>O how good</i>	<i>Ma tovu</i> [cf. 64]		מה טובו	94
391	From Psalm 21. ²³⁹	<i>In Your strength, O Lord, the king shall rejoice</i>	<i>Adonai b'azzeḥa yishmah meleḥ</i>		ד' בעזך [sic] ישמח מלך	95
394	From Simḥat Torah.	<i>For out of Zion by Sulzer</i>	<i>Ki Mitziyon;</i> Sulzer ²⁴⁰	זולצער ²⁴¹	כי מציון	96
396	From the Psalms. For the parading of the Torah scroll after taking it from the ark. ²⁴²	<i>Yours, O Lord, is the greatness by Sulzer</i>	<i>Leḥa Adonai hagedula;</i> ²⁴³ Sulzer	שם ²⁴⁴	לך ד' הגדולה	97
397	Prayer for governments. From Shabbat service. ²⁴⁵	<i>He who gives salvation by Sulzer</i>	<i>Hanoten tishuah;</i> Sulzer	שם	הנותן תשועה	98

²³⁷ Braunstein, n.d.

²³⁸ Edelman, 1979:13

²³⁹ Psalms 21, 2013.

²⁴⁰ Edelman, 1979: 40.

²⁴¹ From number 96 onwards composers added in pencil.

²⁴² Adelstein, 2018.

²⁴³ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

²⁴⁴ Adelstein, 2018. The same op. cit. or ditto sign appears in 97, 98, 99, 100, 105 and 106.

²⁴⁵ Braunstein, n.d.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	
404	From Psalm 148, for Shabbat service.	<i>His glory is above the earth</i> by Sulzer	<i>Hodo al eretz</i> , ²⁴⁶ Sulzer	שם	הודו על ארץ	99
405	From the book of Lamentations. For the conclusion of Shabbat Torah service. ²⁴⁷	<i>Return us</i> by Sulzer	<i>Hashivenu</i> , ²⁴⁸ Sulzer	שם	השיבנו	10 0
406			<i>Kitzner's lid</i> [Yiddish]		קייצנר-ס ליעד	10 1
408	Sung during Passover meal, from Psalm 114.	<i>When Israel</i> [Composer crossed out]	<i>Betzeit Yisrael –</i> Leyzerke ²⁴⁹ [cf. 62]	לייזערקע	בצאת ישראל	10 2
412	For Rosh Hashanah.	<i>Thy revealed Thyself</i> by Steinberg	<i>Ata nigleta –</i> Steinberg [cf. 25, 41, 71]	שטיינבערג	אתה ניגלת	10 3
417	Blessings for Hanukkah.	<i>Blessings for Hanukkah</i> by Prachtenberg	<i>Brahot leHanukah –</i> Prachtenberg [cf. 10, 70, 79, 80]	פראכטענבערג	ברכות לחנוכה	10 4
419	For Hanukkah.	<i>These lights</i> by Prachtenberg	<i>Hanerot halalu;</i> Prachtenberg [cf. 7, 86]	שם	הנרות הללו	10 5
422	For Hanukkah. ²⁵⁰	<i>O fortress, Rock</i> by Prachtenberg	<i>Ma'oz tzur;</i> Prachtenberg	שם	מעוז צור	10 6
425	From Psalm 30.	<i>A psalm, song of dedication [to the house of David]</i> by Blumenkrantz	<i>Mizmor shir haHanukat;</i> Blumenkrantz [cf. 78]	בלומנקראנץ	מזמור שיר חנוכת	10 7
[From here original title entries and page numbers are written in pencil.]						

²⁴⁶ Edelman, 1979:8.²⁴⁷ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.²⁴⁸ Edelman, 1979:5.²⁴⁹ This word is crossed out in the original version.²⁵⁰ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

Page	Function in liturgy	English translation	Romanised transliteration	Transcription, composer	Transcription, title	
440	From the Psalms. For the parading of the Torah scroll after taking it from the ark.	<i>Yours, O Lord, is the greatness</i> by Spivak	<i>Leḥa Adonai hagedula</i> ; ²⁵¹ Spivak [cf. 97]	ספיוואק	לך ד' הגדולה	10 8
442	Weekday blessing for Shaḥarit prayers. ²⁵²	<i>Be blessed</i>	<i>Titbarah</i> [cf. 42, 43, 45, 66]		תתברך	10 9
448	From <i>Leḥa Dodi</i> , for Erev Shabbat service. ²⁵³	<i>Temple of the king</i>	<i>Mikdash meleḥ</i> [cf. 112]		מקדש מלך	11 0
450	For Erev Shabbat service. Last verse of <i>Leḥa Dodi</i> , often sung at weddings. ²⁵⁴	<i>Come in peace</i>	<i>Boi beshalom</i>		²⁵⁵ באו בשלום	11 1
451	From <i>Leḥa Dodi</i> , for Erev Shabbat service. ²⁵⁶	<i>Temple of the king</i>	<i>Mikdash meleḥ</i> [cf. 110]		מקדש מלך	11 2
[Entries 113 – 119 are illegible.]						

²⁵¹ Ibid.

²⁵² Braunstein, n.d.

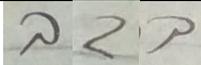
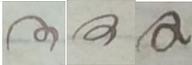
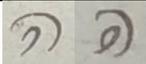
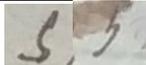
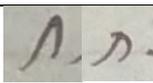
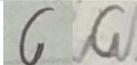
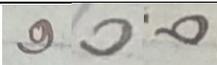
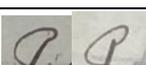
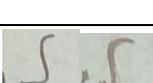
²⁵³ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

²⁵⁴ Ibid.

²⁵⁵ Standardised spelling בואי (Zemirot Song Index, n.d.).

²⁵⁶ Zemirot Song Index, n.d.

Decipherment

Comparative table with samples of Kirschner's script				
	Hebrew letter	Hebrew block script	Hebrew cursive script	Samples of Kirschner's script
1.	Aleph	א	א	
2.	Bet	ב	ב	
3.	Gimel	ג	ג	
4.	Dalet	ד	ד	
5.	He	ה	ה	
6.	Waw	ו	ו	
7.	Zayin	ז	ז	
8.	Het	ח	ח	
9.	Tet	ט	ט	
10.	Yod	י	י	
11. a	Kaf	כ	כ	
11. b	Ḥaf sofit	ך	ך	
12.	Lamed	ל	ל	

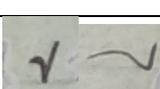
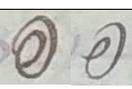
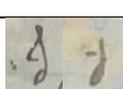
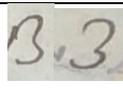
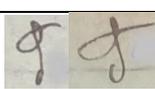
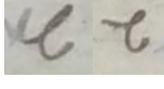
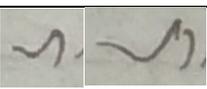
13. a	Mem	מ	𐤌	
13. b	Mem sofit	ם	𐤍	
14. a	Nun	נ	𐤎	
14. b	Nun sofit	ן	𐤏	
15.	Sameh	ס	𐤐	
16.	Ayin	ע	𐤑	
17. a	Pe	פ	𐤒	
17. b	Pe sofit	ף	𐤓	
18. a	Tsadi	צ	𐤔	
18. b	Tsadi sofit	ץ	𐤕	
19.	Kof	ק	𐤖	
20.	Resh	ר	𐤗	
21.	Shin	ש	𐤘	
22.	Taw	ת	𐤙	

Table 4a: Comparative table with samples of Kirschner's script.

The decipherment of Kirschner's Hebrew handwriting was a time-consuming and iterative process. 'Reverse-transcription' describes the process where I looked for possible phonetic results, and then transcribed them back to Hebrew letters. In Hebrew, there is a block script and a cursive script, the former resembling printed Hebrew letters and the latter used in handwriting. First, I had to decipher Kirschner's individualistic handwriting, which is unique to pre-First World War Eastern Europe. Some letters of the Hebrew alphabet seem very similar (cf. letters waw, yod and nun-sofit in no's 6, 10 and 14b, respectively, in table 4a). As a further complication, some letters in Kirschner's script divert from today's standardised block and cursive scripts. The letter mem is one such example (see no 13a). It seems to be a variant of waw or ayin (no's 6 and 16). In the case of the title of the ḥazzan's table of contents, for example, my theoretical possibilities ('wafteḥot' or 'afteḥot') were narrowed down to 'mafteḥot' (literally 'keys' or, more appropriately, 'indexes').²⁵⁷ Similarly, Kirschner's letter aleph seemed like two yod or waw strokes at first (see no 1, table 4a). I compiled a comparative table with samples of Kirschner's handwriting as the process developed.²⁵⁸

In Hebrew cursive script, the letters are separate, unlike Latin cursive script. However, letters can become attached due to the writer's individual style or when written in haste. Two letters that become attached in handwriting is known as a ligature. Especially in the medium of ink, ligatures can save time and prevent ink blotches. Whatever his reason, Kirschner often created ligatures of certain letter combinations, turning them into something that looks like a foreign letter. Through reverse-transcription, certain ligature patterns emerged, which contributed to the decipherment of Kirschner's handwriting (see figures 4.4 and 4.5).

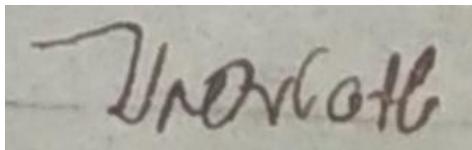


Figure 4.4: No 30, an example of Kirschner's ligatures.

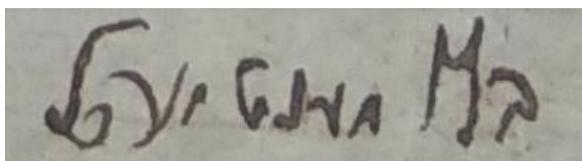


Figure 4.5: No 33, an example of Kirschner's ligatures.

Two further instances where I applied reverse-transcription, was in no 81 and 95 in the palaeographic summary (see figures 4.6 and 4.7). I first transcribed Kirschner's cursive script into possible equivalents in Hebrew block script. I then searched for possible romanised

²⁵⁷ Adelstein, 2018. Although Kirschner calls this list of titles at the beginning of his anthology an index, it functions as a table of contents. According to the Oxford Dictionary, an index describes a list of key words or titles are arranged alphabetically and categorically.

²⁵⁸ See table 4a.

transliteration results, which I then transliterated back into Hebrew script. Through the repetition of this process, I was able to compile a comparative table of Kirschner's handwriting, along with Hebrew cursive and block scripts.

333			[From a number by] Buchman?	מספירה -	יבכוֹבכּוּ יהי רצון	81
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Figure 4.6: Transcription process of no 81.

391					ד' בער [ז'ר'ך] ישחה־ישמה מלך	95
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Figure 4.7: Transcription process of no 95.

Romanised transcriptions

For the transcription column of the palaeographic summary (Chapter Four), Hebrew and Yiddish words are transcribed from Hebrew script into Latin script. The purpose is to generate a romanised transliteration that would allow a non-Hebrew (and non-Yiddish) speaker to pronounce a Hebrew word phonetically.²⁵⁹ As described previously, the transcription was not a linear process that could be completed before proceeding to the translation column. In reality it was an iterant process, where results had to be narrowed down as the palaeography progressed. An important factor to consider is Hebrew pronunciation. In Ashkenazi tradition, the letter tet is pronounced 's', but pronounced 't' in the Sephardi tradition (see Hebrew letter names in table 4a). Ashkenazim pronounce the qamatz vowel as 'o', while Sephardim pronounce the letter same letter as 'a'.²⁶⁰ For example, שבת can be transcribed as 'Shabbos' (Ashkenazi) or 'Shabbat' (Sephardi), and the prayer title הגרות הללו as 'Hanerot halalu' or 'Haneros halalu'.²⁶¹

Yiddish is a phonetic language, whereas Hebrew is not.²⁶² Both languages use the Hebrew alphabet, while orthographic principals exist. In Hebrew, as in other Semitic languages, vowel points are generally not written out, with the result that words have to be known before they can be pronounced correctly. Vowel points (niqqudot) can be inserted above or below consonants, but are only used in the Hebrew Bible, poetry, and children's books. In general Hebrew writing, certain consonants can indicate vowels – aptly named 'vowel indicators' – although these are typically used only once in a word.²⁶³ A Yiddish writer, however, inserts

²⁵⁹ Merriam-Webster Dictionary, 2017.

²⁶⁰ Toy & Levias, 1906:210–212.

²⁶¹ See no's 7 and 105 the palaeographic summary. The decision to use Sephardi pronunciation above Ashkenazi is qualified under 'Notes on romanised transliterations' on p ix.

²⁶² Nakhimovsky & Newman, 2013:16.

²⁶³ Furthermore, niqqudot indicate specific vowels, and there exists different signs for each vowel. The 'a' vowel can be indicated by the qamatz, pataḥ, ḥataf qamatz or ḥataf pataḥ. Vowel indicators are however approximate. The waw vowel can indicate an 'o' or 'oo' sound, while either of these sounds can occur without being indicated. These variations are set by Hebrew spelling rules.

vowel indicators for each vowel sound. Therefore, written Yiddish words are longer than Hebrew words. The difficulty with the transliteration from the Hebrew writing system to the Latin alphabet is therefore the lack of specific vocalisation. In Kirschner's table of contents, the distinction between Hebrew and Yiddish orthography is visible, with prayer titles written in Hebrew, and composers' names written in Yiddish, phonetically. This phonetic orthography enabled me to decipher and research the composers' names in the table of contents, although Kirschner's handwriting was less legible in the longer, more closely spaced Yiddish orthography.

44	For Musaf service of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur.	<i>And all shall come by</i> Baruch Schorr	<i>Vaye'etayu</i> – Baruch Schorr	ברוך שור	ויתאון ¹⁶³	15
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Figure 4.8: Example of variations in Kirschner's orthography in no 15.

328	The hazzan's call to prayer on Hanukkah	Blessings for Hanukkah	Braḥot leḤanukah [cf. 10, 70, 80, 104]	-	ברכות לכנוכה [sic] [for correct spelling see 104]	79
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Figure 4.9: Example of variations in Kirschner's orthography in no 79.

Further challenges exist when transcribing Hebrew and Yiddish texts phonetically. Before the First World War no standardised orthography existed in either Hebrew or Yiddish, which is illustrated by Kirschner's orthographic variants.²⁶⁴ Yet, online finding aids need exact spellings, and simple phonetic variations can stifle such automated searches. In his table of contents, for example, Kirschner spells 'Ḥanukkah' in two different ways by interchanging the homophonic letters ה and כ in no 79.²⁶⁵ Another spelling variation is seen in no 25 (the word should read בגלת – cf. no 41), while no 71 and 103 are spelled correctly. Both no 11 and 31 are examples where Kirschner indicated niqqudot. The same consonants appear in no 6 (without niqqudot), 11 and 31 (cf. Palaeographic Summary and figure 4.2). Kirschner indicated the niqqudot of both 11 and 31, but they differ. Niqqudot clarify ambiguity. Here, Kirschner specifies niqqudot for the words *zoh'reinu* ('remember us') and *z'haranu* ('[the Lord] remembers of us'), words that would have been indistinguishable without these vowel points. In no 95 an orthographic variant occurs again. In this case Kirschner uses ayin instead of the homophonic alef (see figure 4.7). Yet another example is illustrated in no 15 (see no 4.8). Sources provide 'Ve'ye'etaynu' and 'V'yetainu' as possible transliterations of no 15, both phonetic variants of the standard Hebrew spelling [וּיֵאָתֵינוּ]. However, from the Hebrew perspective Kirschner also uses a homophonic variant [וּיֵתֵאָנוּ] instead of the standard

²⁶⁴ Nakhimovsky & Newman, 2013:xiii.

²⁶⁵ See figure 4.9.

orthography. These examples illustrate how variants in historical Hebrew and Yiddish orthography, together with romanised variations, complicated the transcription process of Kirschner's table of contents.

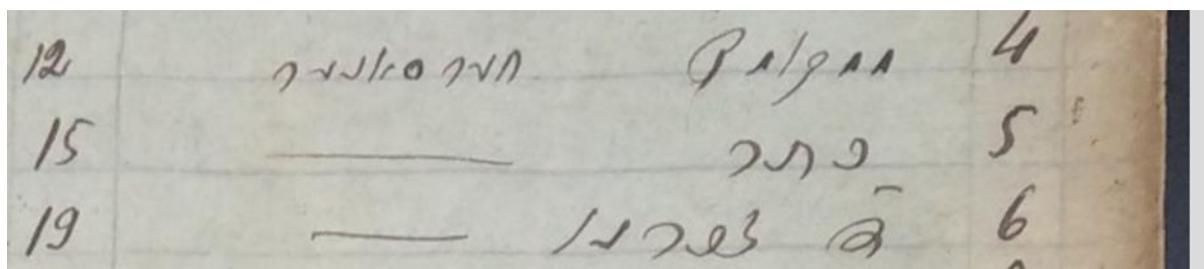


Figure 4.10: Example of the dash as a ditto sign. 'Kheroner' (no 4) is repeated by means of the dash signs of no 5 and 6. Note the abbreviation '7 in no 6.

Temporal and spatial considerations played a role in Kirschner's orthography, typography and use of abbreviations. The question of the dash emerged when I compiled the list of composers represented by the table of contents of Kirschner's anthology (table 4b). Three types of composer indications occur in the manuscript. Some titles are followed by a composer name, some by a blank, while others were followed by a long dash sign (see figure 4.10). In the first case, where a name is written after a title, I researched various options of phonetic transliterations until I found credible corresponding names of ḥazzanim or composers. In the second case, where a composer is referenced, hymns may have been considered traditional by Kirschner, or their composers unknown to him. They may even have been his own compositions, but there is no forthcoming support for this theory in the paratext. In the third case, titles are followed by a dash. I initially considered it to be a type of *ibid* or ditto sign, and that this long dash indicated a doubling of the composer that appears on the line above. An antiquated source, *Typographia*, written by one T Adams in 1837, confirmed this possibility. Adams wrote that the dash could be used as a type of ditto sign in catalogues of books, "instead of repeating an author's name". In table 4b I have combined the number of total compositions by each composer as indicated by name, dash and Hebrew ditto sign (שם).

A second method that Kirschner employed to indicate 'ditto' was illegible at first. The sign seemed to be a ligature of the letters shin and mem-sofit (שמ), which reads 'there' when read as a word. However, ethnomusicologist Dr Rachel Adelstein revealed that the two letters were in fact an abbreviation, indicating 'the same as above'.²⁶⁶ The application of this sign increased the number of hymns that could be attributed to Sulzer: instead of the six contributions, where his name is written out, the two types of ditto signs increased this number to twelve (see table 4b). There appears to exist a changeover in Kirschner's list from the dash method to the 'שמ' method. This may signify new influences that may have been brought about with locational change. This observation is supported with the accompanying increase in ink intensity between the titles and page numbers of no's 90 and 91 (see figure 4.3). No 90 displays the last dash in this list, after which the 'שמ' method is introduced (see no 97 in figure 4.11).

²⁶⁶ Adelstein, 2018 [correspondence].

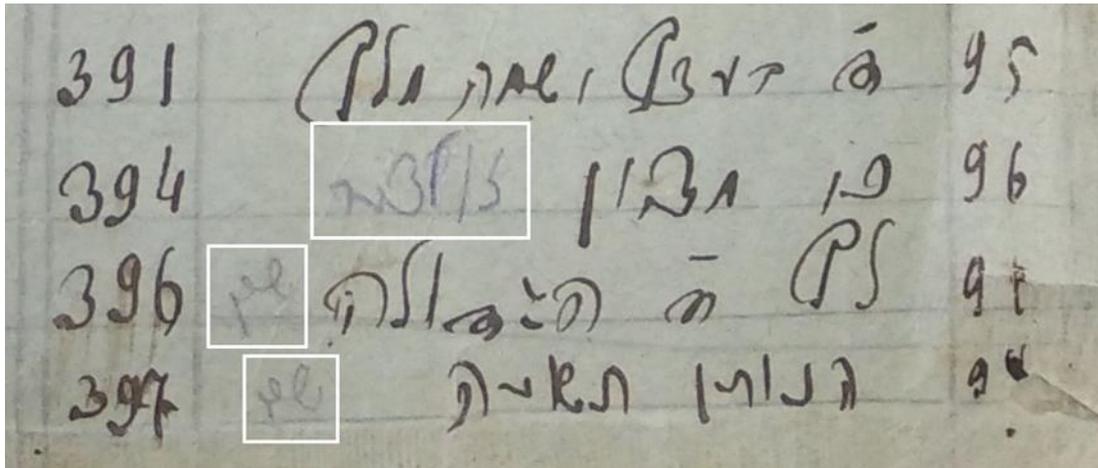


Figure 4.11: In no 96, Sulzer is indicated as the composer (in pencil). No 97 and 98 display a type of ditto sign, also in pencil. Note the 'ד' abbreviation in number 95.

Another Hebrew abbreviation that affected the palaeography process, is 'ד'. The Jewish convention is to replace God's name with abbreviations as a sign of respect. Different abbreviations exist. Such abbreviations are conventionally read as 'Hashem' or 'Adonai', and translated as 'the Lord'. Kirschner uses the abbreviation of 'ד' throughout his table of contents (see figures 4.10, 4.11 and 4.12).

52	For Erev Shabbat service, from Psalm 99.	<i>The Lord reigns, let the peoples tremble</i>	<i>Adonai malah yirgezu amim</i>	-	ד' מלך ירגזו עמים	19
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Figure 4.12: No 19 as an example of the abbreviation 'ד'.

Contextualisation of prayer titles

In the last column of the palaeography, the prayer titles in Kirschner's anthology are contextualised in terms of liturgical function. Synagogue services consist of various components, of which three have special musical significance. They are the verses of singing;²⁶⁷ the Shema Yisrael prayer (literally 'Hear O Israel'); and the Amidah prayer of blessings, which is recited while standing. Unique additions occur on the High Holidays of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur, such as penitentiary poems and psalms.²⁶⁸ These liturgical components, together with the daily prayer services and festivals make out the contextual references in the palaeographic summary (Chapter Four).²⁶⁹ For example, the hymn *Vaye'etayu* is sung during the musaf service of Rosh Hashanah and Yom Kippur. No 15 in Kirschner's anthology is set to a composition by Baruch Schorr.

Some hymns are based on specific psalms, such as *Lehu nerannena* (no 15), which is based on the text of Psalm 95, and is sung during the Erev Shabbat service (on Friday nights, when

²⁶⁷ *Pesukei de-zimrah* or *zemirot*.

²⁶⁸ Serrousi et.al., 2001:37.

²⁶⁹ The daily prayer services of Ma'ariv, Shaḥarit, Musaf and Minḥah are discussed in Chapter Two.

Shabbat begins). Other Shabbat services that are applicable here are Special Shabbatot, or Shabbat services that fall in festivals (e.g. no 20), Kabbalat Shabbat services (literally 'welcoming the Sabbath') and Motzei Shabbat services (e.g. no 34), which occur at the end of Shabbat on Saturday evenings. *Yehi Ratzon* (no 48) is sung during Shabbat Mevarḥim, where the date of the New Moon and, by implication, the next Hebrew month, will occur. Festivals that relate to Kirschner's titles are Hanukkah, Pesah, Rosh Hashana and Yom Kippur. Other references in Kirschner's contents that relate to liturgical components are blessings (such as *Bareḥu shel Rosh Hashanah*, no 10) and verses of supplication (like the Hoshana hymn of no 40).

Composers in the table of contents and the East European ḥazzanut

At the conclusion of Chapter Two the Eastern European Chor Shul emerged as a connecting factor in the liturgical anthologies that surround Kirschner's volume. In Chapter Three, the ownership marks of Kirschner's cantorial anthology directed the archival study of Kirschner. This study was further directed to the Chor Shul of Kishinev, the city where Kirschner once officiated, and where his manuscripts were possibly notated.²⁷⁰ In this chapter, concepts that emerged in the first two chapters are confirmed by the palaeography Kirschner's anthology. The individual composers represented by Kirschner's selection of composers point to the definitive religious and cultural setting of the Chor Shul as the zenith of Eastern European Synagogue music.²⁷¹

Transliterated names		Original Yiddish spelling in Kirschner's index	Number of items	Items numbers in Kirschner's index
1.	Sulzer	זולצער	12	13, 20, 30, 31, 32, 64, 70, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100
2.1	Khershoner [Shestapol]	זערסאנער	10	4, 5, 6, 14, 44
2.2	Shestapol [aka Khersoner]	זעסטעפאל		28, 29, 36, 78, 79
Transliterated names		Original Yiddish spelling in Kirschner's index	Number of items	Items numbers in Kirschner's index
3.	Blumenthal	בלומענטאהל	6	11, 12, 27, 33, 63, 71
4.	Baruch Schorr	ברוך שור	4	15, 16, 25, 35
5.	Margowsky	מארגאווסקע	6	17, 18, 19, 37, 38, 39, 42 ²⁷²
6.1	Spivak [aka Belzer]	ספיוואק	2	43
6.2	Nissan Belzer [aka Spivak]	ניסן בעלדזער		70

²⁷⁰ See Chapter Three.

²⁷¹ Kalib, 2005:88.

²⁷² Here Margowsky's name is crossed out in pencil.

7.	Shapiro	שפירא	9	46, 47, 59, 60, 73, 83, 85, 86, 87
8.	Pugatch [or Bugatch]	פוגאטש	1	53
9.	Meir Yehezkiel	מיר יחזקאל מזשיטאמער	1	58
10.	Buchman	באכמאהן	2	80, 81
11.	Prachtenberg	פראכטענבערג	6	88, 89, 90, 104, 105, 106
13.	Steinberg	שטיינבערג	1	103
14.	Blumenkrantz	בלומענקראנץ	1	107

Table 4b: Composers that feature in Kirschner's table of contents

During the transition from the oral transmission of ḥazzanut and the era of the published cantorial anthology, the handwritten manuscript provided the first means of notational dissemination. These manuscripts came into being thanks to an increase in musical literacy, partly due to the Haskalah. In the early cantorial manuscripts, the names of composers were often incorrectly attributed, or, in other cases, omitted.²⁷³ These manuscripts also represent a melange of cantorial styles – as illustrated by Kirschner's anthology, as opposed to edited and printed anthologies. At the same time, these manuscripts enabled the wide distribution of the compositions of certain ḥazzanim like Nissan Spivak and Shmuel Maragowski. Their compositions included choral works and cantorial soli.

Nissan Spivak (1824–1906) hailed from Lithuania (no 6.1 and 6.2 in table 4b). His cantorship at the Belz synagogue gave rise to the alias Nissi Belzer. The use of aliases according to regional association seemed to be common practice amongst rabbis and ḥazzanim of Eastern Europe.²⁷⁴ This is one of two examples where Kirschner uses an original name in certain titles, and aliases in others.²⁷⁵ Idelsohn notes that Spivak was in demand as ḥazzan because of his remarkable talent as composer and choir leader, despite losing his voice at a young age. Spivak changed the role of the choir from a mere accompaniment, to a more dynamic role where choristers sing in duo's and trio's. He also minimised the role of the ḥazzan.²⁷⁶ Idelsohn regarded Belzer as “the greatest musical genius of Synagogue song that Eastern Europe produced”, with his feet “wholly on Jewish-Oriental ground”.²⁷⁷ He served in Kishinev from 1864 until 1877.

The first Chor Shul in Eastern Europe was the Brody Synagogue in Odessa (today in the Ukraine). The decipherment of number 11 of Kirschner's table of contents lead me to this

²⁷³ Heller, 2010.

²⁷⁴ Idelsohn, 1967:303.

²⁷⁵ The other case concerns Shestapol, aka Khersoner. See table 4b.

²⁷⁶ Ne'eman, 2007:125.

²⁷⁷ Idelsohn, 1967:306.

synagogue's first composer and ḥazzan, Nissan Blumenthal (number 3 in table 4b).²⁷⁸ According to Jewish scholar Sholom Kalib there were initial differences between the community synagogue and chor shul (mainly socio-economic), but eventually these institutions shared more similarities. At first, the Eastern Jewish community disliked the West Central style as represented by Sulzer and Lewandowski, however, in time a rather homogenous Eastern European tradition emerged. This merger was exemplified by Blumenthal.²⁷⁹ Blumenthal's successor at the Maskilic Brody Chor Shul was Pinchos Minkowsky (see Chapter Three). Minkowsky filled Belzer's position in Kishinev and later broke away from the Hasidic community, apparently due to a higher salary.²⁸⁰ He succeeded Spivak in Kishinev 1878, and preceded Kirschner, who served at the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁸¹ After his tenure in Kishinev, Minkowsky served in Kherson, Odessa and New York, where he died.

Margowsky, aka Zeidel Rovner, (1856–1943) was born in Kiev (today in the Ukraine). Margowsky became widely known as Zeidel Rovner after officiating in Rovno. Idelsohn calls him "the most gifted *chazzan* who grew out of the chassidic environment" and states that he wrote for a capella synagogue as if it were a symphony orchestra, comparing his compositional style to that of Nissi Belzer. Margowsky officiated as ḥazzan in many cities, including Kishinev, London and New York.²⁸² Boruch Schorr (1823–1904) was born in Lemberg, Galicia (today Lviv in Western Ukraine), a city not far from Lancut.²⁸³ Like Margowsky, Schorr hailed from a Ḥasidic family, and became an Orthodox ḥazzan in the great synagogue of Lemberg. Schorr served in New York for five years before returning to his former position in Galicia. His compositions mostly utilised simplistic, yet ancient liturgical melodies, while largely resisting Western European influence.²⁸⁴ Wolf Shestapol (1832–1872) served as ḥazzan of the Ukrainian city of Kherson, thereby gaining the alias of Velvele Khersoner. The congregation in Kherson sent him to train under Salomon Sulzer in Vienna.²⁸⁵ Khersoner's affinity for Italian opera caused his style to be strongly influenced by Western art music, even to the point that he used operatic melodies in his compositions. One such example is his rendering of *Adonai Zeharanu*, which boasts a motive from Verdi's *La Traviata*. His style was sweet and, according to Idelsohn rather unoriginal, albeit popular.²⁸⁶

These great names – in addition to others, such as Betzallel Odesser ('Shulsinger'), Y'rukum Hakoton ('Blindman') and Gershon Sirota – represent the Golden Age of the Eastern European ḥazzanut. This era declined at the outbreak of the First World War, and ended with the Second World War. According to Neil Levin from the Milken Archive, Sirota was murdered during the Holocaust, together with "many more accomplished cantors whose names, with some exceptions, will never be known". This statement is illustrated in Kirschner's contents: many composers in Kirschner's contents are now obscure, and do not feature in recent publications. The sources for these composers are scarce, and could not be verified as the same composers that Kirschner cited. These include composer Pugatch, whose name could not be

²⁷⁸ Ibid:307.

²⁷⁹ Kalib, 2011:91.

²⁸⁰ Dynner, 2005.

²⁸¹ Walzer, 2016.

²⁸² Idelsohn, 1967:434.

²⁸³ Ibid., 290.

²⁸⁴ Ibid., 309&310.

²⁸⁵ Ibid., 308.

²⁸⁶ Idelsohn, 1967:309.

verified, but may be a phonetic variation of Bugatch.²⁸⁷ The manuscripts of composer and choir leader, cantor Samuel Bugatch (1898–1984), are preserved in the archives of YIVO. He emigrated from Belarus in 1913, but no connection could be made to Kirschner. Leibush Blumenkrantz is simply known as a predecessor of Kirschner in Rzeszow.²⁸⁸ David Moshe Steinberg (1871–1941) may be the cantor to whom a single reference in Kirschner’s contents points (see no 103 in Palaeographic Summary). According to a single source, he was born in Kishinev and served in Odessa for twelve years, from where he immigrated to the United States.²⁸⁹ However, if later prayers were added in South Africa, ‘Steinberg’ may refer to Cantor Simcha Steinberg.²⁹⁰ According to his obituary, the ḥazzan studied ḥazzanut under the famous Minkowsky in Odessa, before serving the Roeland Street Synagogue in Cape Town.²⁹¹ In Edelman’s index, the name Leib (Leo) Shapiro matched the timeframe of Kirschner’s anthology (1880–1920).²⁹² One of Leib Shapiro’s titles in Edelman also correlates with a title in Kirschner’s table of contents.²⁹³ Kirschner attributed nine compositions to Shapiro.²⁹⁴

Two names in Kirschner’s list could not be traced, and were transcribed from the Yiddish phonetically. The first was Prachtenberg, who is represented by six prayer compositions. A single article from the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* cites a certain ‘Prachtenberg’ in a bibliography of an entry of Nissan Spivak.²⁹⁵ The second name, ‘Buchman’, to whom one title is attributed, remains unverified.

The surviving unpublished manuscripts of the cantorial golden age captured the sounds of Eastern composers that may otherwise have been lost. This is especially due to the fact that musical literacy became the norm much later here than in the West and Central European Synagogue. Of these manuscripts, in turn, only a small number was preserved in published form. The Chor Shul ḥazzan “strove to find a musical idiom that would combine the German harmony and counterpoint with the east European modality and idiomatic embellishments”.²⁹⁶ This type of cantorial anthology, of which Kirschner’s manuscript is an example, represents an intersection of the old, ‘flamboyant’ Eastern European solo recitatives, and the newer, ‘fashionable’ sounds of Sulzer, Lewandowski and Naumberg. Indeed, it represents a unique sound of the past.

²⁸⁷ Samuel Bugatch, n.d.

²⁸⁸ An overview of the Hebrew section of the Rzeszow Yizkor book, 1967.

²⁸⁹ Stambler, 2018.

²⁹⁰ See Explicit paratextual elements, Chapter Four.

²⁹¹ Obituary – Cantor S Steinberg, 1945:607.

²⁹² Edelman, 1979:21.

²⁹³ See no 47 of Palaeographic Summary (*Mi Adir*).

²⁹⁴ ‘Shapira’ is another transliteration option.

²⁹⁵ Ne’eman (2007:125) cites *A History of Hazzanut*, published in Yiddish by the Jewish Ministers-Cantors Association in 1924.

²⁹⁶ Serrousi, 2001:58.

Conclusion

“As a music book” Bohlman’s statement reverberates, “[the cantorial anthology] is not so much a genre or object than a means or process of making music available to a broader public”.²⁹⁷ Leib Kirschner’s cantorial anthology inadvertently realised the function of “making available”. It captured the music of a specific time and place in its paratext. In this study, I read Kirschner’s paratext from three perspectives. In the first reading, the office of ḥazzan emerged from being the duty of a layman, to the position of a spiritual leader. The musical components of the Ashkenazi liturgy were an inherent part of Jewish daily life, which found its expression in daily prayers, the weekly Shabbat and in seasonal festivals. Eighteenth-century Haskalah reforms left a lasting mark on these musical traditions. A strong Western Synagogue style was established by composers like Sulzer through the publication of their cantorial compositions. Concurrently, the melismatic ornamentation and soulful recitatives of the East left its mark on the ḥazzanut of London, Berlin and Vienna. Western ideals of music literacy, together with the rise of the printing press, marked the transformation of an orally transmitted cantorial tradition into a notated tradition. Consequently, the cantorial anthology came to represent the transmission of the Chor Shul traditions of Lithuania, Galicia and the Russian Empire to Jewish immigration centres, such as the United States and South Africa. Five liturgical anthologies from the SAJMC represent this dissemination of ḥazzanut.

The second reading involved a survey of the biographic traces of Cantor Kirschner. The paratext of his anthology revealed spatial and temporal coordinates, which pointed in the direction of the Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires within the timeframe of 1884, until the end of the First World War. The socio-political climate of the day provided a backdrop to fragmentary records of the ḥazzan. In 1920 Kirschner commenced his tenure at the Cape Town Hebrew Congregation. He retired in 1938, leaving behind his manuscript book of hymns. In addition to the musical insights that a manuscript book like Kirschner’s provide, this biographical reading emphasises the human element: how the archive can carry with them proverbial images of those who created and owned them.

The third reading of Kirschner’s paratext was fueled by a search, a wrestle, for legibility. While certain paratextual elements were explicit, the meanings of other elements were initially inaccessible. I conducted a palaeographic study of iterative processes to access these further layers of meaning. This study entailed the decipherment of Kirschner’s handwriting into Hebrew block script; romanised transliteration; translation; and contextualisation in terms of liturgical function. The contextualisation of the prayer titles that appear in Kirschner’s table of contents relates directly to the background of Jewish liturgical music, which were laid down in Chapter Two. The ḥazzan’s cantorial anthology was found to be a representation of the golden age of the Chor Shul ḥazzanut.

Dr Stephen Muir reflects that it’s been “fascinating to discover that so many unique, important Jewish music manuscripts from Russia and Eastern Europe ended up in South Africa, thereby circumventing the Holocaust.”²⁹⁸ This statement is applicable to Leib Kirschner’s collection of ḥazzanut, which had, indirectly, sidestepped the route of forgetfulness that other ḥazzanut had

²⁹⁷ Bohlman, 2008:88. Cf Chapter Two.

²⁹⁸ Stephen Muir (2017), in connection with the recovery of unique manuscripts in a commemorative folder that belonged to Froim Spektor.

suffered. Moreover, this circumvention is applicable to the ḥazzan, his family, and to his fellow ḥazzanim who started anew in South Africa. Their professions opened the door of opportunity, and they brought with them their ḥazzanut. Today, Kirschner's manuscript book – a partial representation of this ḥazzanut – provides a text that both Jews and non-Jews have access to, and that can be performed, yet again, within new contexts.²⁹⁹

²⁹⁹ Cf Bohlman, 2008:32.

Postlude

This may be my last engagement with Leib Kirschner's cantorial anthology of 1910. As I reflect on the past months – over a year – I realise that every visit was strained, that I have held my breath lest I were to hasten its slow decay. I photograph Kirschner's scribbles from yet another angle, turning each page in the least distressing manner possible. I try to capture the rough cover torn at the spine. Its texture. Its blotches. The fatty residue; yellowed sheets; blackened corners; and faded words.

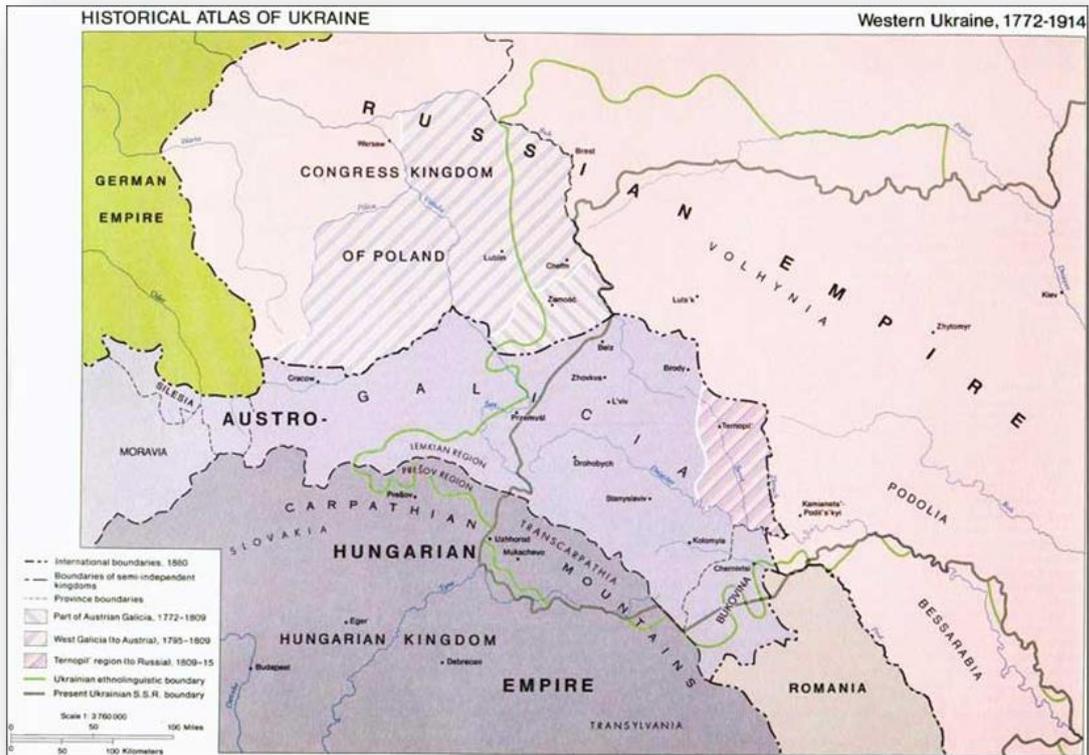
I remember the first time I saw Kirschner's volume in the Molteno room, standing on its shelf. The accompanying liturgical volumes on the shelf seemed more upright, more conventional: Hast, Ephros, Spektor. Even Lewandowski's anthology, the volume that predates Kirschner, seemed more secure, its existence assured by the nineteenth century printing press. It was indeed the exotic quality of Kirschner's handwriting that first drew me to research his anthology. To get to know his neighbours on the shelf. To find out how Oberkantor Kirschner's own work and musical sensibility might have been shaped by those 'retired friends'. To trace as far as possible his journey, from Bessarabia to Bellville. To speculate on his children and even his name. To transcribe and describe the contents of this book in which he signed his name.

I turn the volume over to capture the last page with Oberkantor Leib Kirschner's scribbles. Time is borrowed. I have the sense that the book has already been pushed too far. Gently, I coax the centenarian into answering a last question. It is vulnerable after decades of forgetfulness. I then return the book to its shelf in the hope that my portrait would somehow extend its life.

Appendix A: Maps

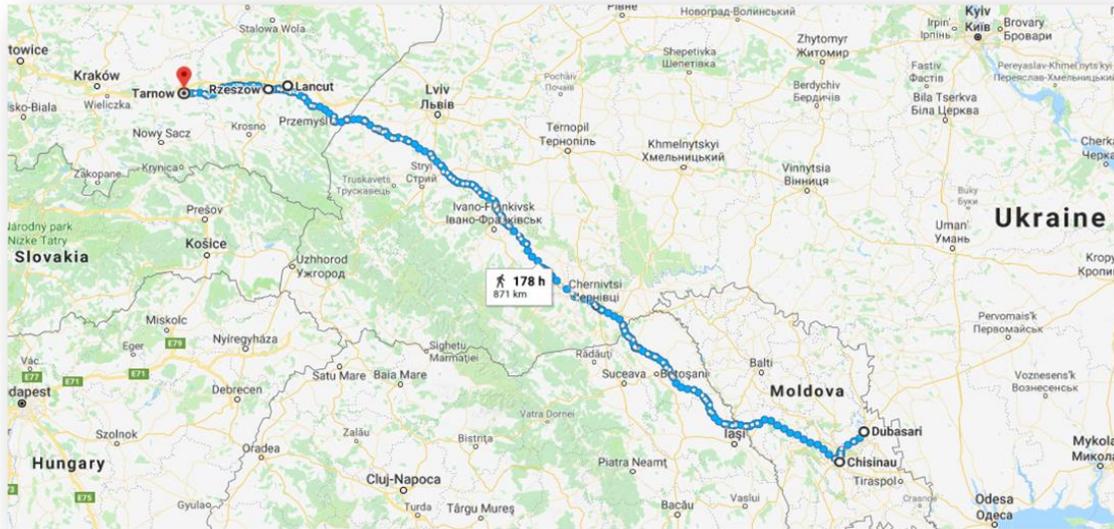


Map 1: The Pale of Jewish Settlement at the end of the nineteenth century (Bookbinder, n.d.).



Map 2: The Russian and Austro-Hungarian Empires, marking the regions of Bessarabia and Galicia.³⁰⁰

³⁰⁰ Ukraine - history maps, 2013.



Map 3: Dubasari (Dubasari), Kishinev (Chisinau, formerly in Bessarabia) and Lancut, Rzeszow and Tarnow, formerly in Galicia.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Dubasari, Moldova to Tarnow, Poland, 2018

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