ABBREVIATIONS

Af.	Afʿel, the parallel of Old Aramaic/ Hebrew Hafʿel/ Hifʿil
BH	Biblical Hebrew
DJBA	*A Dictionary of Jewish Babylonian Aramaic*
DJPA	*A Dictionary of Jewish Palestinian Aramaic*
Itpa.	Itpaʿʿal , reflex of the Paʿʿel in Aramaic
Itpe.	Itpeʿel, passive reflex of the simple stem in Aramaic
JBA	Jewish Babylonian Aramaic
JPA	Jewish Palestinian Aramaic
MH	Middle Hebrew
Pa.	Paʿʿel, the Aramaic D-stem
Pe.	Peʿal, the Aramaic simple stem
TB	Talmud, Babylonian
TN	Targum Neophyti

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REVIEW ESSAY

"MUSIC IS THE PEN OF THE SOUL":[1] RECENT WORKS ON ḤASIDIC AND JEWISH INSTRUMENTAL KLEZMER MUSIC

by

Joel E. Rubin

Ellen Koskoff. *Music in Lubavitcher Life*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000. xviii, 225 pp.

Yaakov Mazor. *The Klezmer Tradition in the Land of Israel: Transcriptions and Commentaries*. Yuval Music Series 6. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, The Jewish Music Research Centre, 2000. 276 pp. (Hebrew and English; accompanying CD).

Mark Slobin. *Fiddler on the Move: Exploring the Klezmer World*. American Musicspheres. New York: Oxford University Press, 2000. 154 pp. (Accompanying CD).

Henry Sapoznik. *Klezmer! Jewish Music from Old World to Our World*. New York: Schirmer Books. 1999, xviii, 340 pp. (Accompanying CD).

Despite the focus by the popular media on the revival of Jewish instrumental *klezmer* music during the past decades, surprisingly little of a scholarly nature has been written until recently about either the *klezmer* tradition or its revival. Since 1999 a relatively large number of new book publications of both a scholarly and a popular nature have appeared. Besides the four volumes under review here, they include books by Rita Ottens and Joel Rubin, Moshe Beregovski, Seth Rogovoy, Mark Slobin, Zinovij Stoljar, and Yale Strom.[2] It is hoped that the publica-

1. R. Schneur Zalman of Lyady (1745–1813).

2. Rita Ottens and Joel Rubin, *Klezmer-Musik* (Kassel/Munich: Bärenreiter/dtv, 1999) [accompanying CD: *Oytsres (Treasures): Klezmer Music 1908–1996* (Mainz: Wergo, 1999)]; Moshe Beregovski, *Old Jewish Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski*, trans. and ed. Mark Slobin (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2000); Moshe Beregovski, *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music: The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski*, trans. and ed. Mark Slobin, Robert Rothstein, and Michael Alpert with annotations by Michael Alpert and foreword by Izaly Zemtsovsky (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 2001); Seth Rogovoy, *The Essential Klezmer: A Music Lover's Guide to Jewish Roots and Soul Music, from the Old World to the Jazz Age to the Downtown*

tion of these four works (and the other recent works not reviewed here) will open a broader discussion of the complex of issues surrounding *klezmer* and ḥasidic music and stimulate further research in these areas.

The publications discussed here span several interrelated topics, most prominently ḥasidic musical traditions and *klezmer* music. As the mostly hereditary socioeconomic group of professional instrumentalists within Yiddish-speaking, Eastern European Jewry, *klezmorim* performed a ritual and entertainment function at weddings and other celebratory events. In this capacity they functioned, among other things, as mediators between the various ḥasidic courts and between ḥasidic and non-ḥasidic Jews. A number of well-known *klezmorim* were *ḥasidim* or had been raised in ḥasidic families, including the popular New York immigrant clarinetists Naftule Brandwein (1884–1963) and Dave Tarras (1895–1989), whose music has been canonized by the *klezmer* revival.[3] Within the scope of this interaction, *klezmer* music has been considered by some to be a subset of ḥasidic music (i.e., comprising the instrumental repertoire associated primarily with the events surrounding the traditional wedding); others interpret ḥasidic dance tunes (*nigunim*) as a subset of *klezmer* music (i.e., as constituting a portion of the total repertoire of *klezmorim*).

Ellen Koskoff's *Music in Lubavitcher Life* is the first monograph in English dealing with ḥasidic musical traditions, and the first in any language to focus on music within a single American court—that of the Lubavitcher or Chabad *ḥasidim*. It is based on field work carried out intensively from 1973–1976 and on and off through 1995 in three Lubavitcher communities in the United States: Crown Heights in Brooklyn, Pittsburgh, and St. Paul, although the primary focus is on musical life in the group's spiritual and administrative center in Crown Heights. Many readers interested in Jewish life may not realize how central a role music plays in Hasidism. In fact, one could argue that Hasidism cannot be understood without it. Building on previous writings on ḥasidic music, in particular by Yaakov Mazor and André Hajdu,[4] Koskoff looks at the relationship between Chabad philosophy and its performance through music, as well as at societal changes that have occurred in the United States during the past several decades and the Lubavitcher response to them. These include the "back to the roots" movement (as evidenced by the absorption of non-ḥasidic returnees or *ba'alei teshuvah*), the women's movement, and the increased use of technology. At the same time, it is a work of what Koskoff terms "self-reflexive ethnography." Following the current trend in anthropological and ethnomusicological writing, she includes herself in the discourse, bringing in her own changing attitudes as a secular Jew and feminist towards Orthodox Judaism and her process of personal growth.

In this extremely well-organized study, Koskoff systematically builds her case, moving from the general to the specific. It first sets the scene with a description of a *farbrengen* (ḥasidic gathering) with the now-deceased Lubavitcher Rebbe Menachem Mendel Schneerson and his followers in the early 1970s (chap. 1), followed by a short analytical framework (chap. 2). Here, Koskoff places herself within the anthropological tradition of Anglo-American ethnomusicology founded by Alan Merriam in the 1960s; at the same time she has been influenced by the more recent postmodernist writings of the 1990s. Within the studies of Jewish musical traditions, she has also adopted Mark Slobin's work on the music of American Jewish immigrants as a model for the present study, "because it attempts to integrate musical sound with social structure and religious ideology." She also aligns herself with recent studies (such as the work of William Shaffir and Janet Belcove-Shalin) concerned with the ḥasidic response to modernization, secularization and assimilation. In addition, Koskoff draws upon current streams of scholarly thought on gender and performance theory.

Koskoff elaborates on the context of her study by reviewing first the history and philosophy of Chabad Hasidism (chap. 3) and then surveying contemporary life among the Lubavitcher *ḥasidim* in Brooklyn (chap. 4). Chapter 5 looks at Lubavitcher conceptions of music and melody. In it, she introduces the concepts of "music as process" (72–74) and "musical *tikkun*." By music as process, she means that Lubavitchers view music as "inherently neutral." It is through the process of performing that the individual is pulled toward the divine soul or toward the animal soul (both of which reside in every individual). Musical *tikkun* refers to the four-stage transformation made to melodies borrowed from outside of the Lubavitcher or ḥasidic sphere—the primary form of Lubavitcher musical composition (77)—from the identification of a "holy spark" hidden within the melody to its release and return to its proper (i.e., holy) place. Such melodies "had to undergo a considerable spiritual transformation. They had to be removed from their non-Jewish performance contexts, changed significantly, and reinterpreted within a Lubavitcher context to take on their new form as *nigun*" (93). The chapter concludes with an analysis of the *Sefer Ha-Nigunim*, the codification of core Lubavitcher repertoire compiled by Rabbi Samuel Zalmanoff.[5]

Chapter 6 looks at musical structures, first in terms of traditional Eastern European Jewish music in general ("Jewish musical codes"), and then in the core Chabad *nigun* repertoire, focusing in particular on the ten pieces attributed to R. Schneur Zalman (incorrectly cited by Koskoff as comprising thirteen pieces). It is here that Koskoff's book is least convincing. It does not sufficiently differentiate between the musical characteristics of Eastern European Jewish music, ḥasidic music as a subset thereof, and Lubavitcher music as one stream within ḥasidic mu-

Avant-Garde (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 2000); Mark Slobin, ed., *American Klezmer: Its Roots and Offshoots* (Berkeley/Los Angeles/London: University of California Press, 2002); Zinovij Stoljar, *A yiddishe Doyne: Jüdische Volksmusik in Osteuropa. Lieder und Melodien, herausgegeben und ergänzt von I. Loberan*, trans. Elisabeth Martirosian-Mayr (Vienna: Mandelbaum Verlag, 2000); Yale Strom, *The Book of Klezmer: The History, the Music, the Folklore* (Chicago: A Cappella Books, 2002).

3. See Joel E. Rubin, "The Art of the Klezmer: Improvisation and Ornamentation in the Commercial Recordings of New York Clarinetists Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras 1922–1929" (Ph.D. thesis, City University of London, Department of Music, 2001) (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan, 2003).

4. André Hajdu and Yaakov Mazor, "The Musical Tradition of Hasidism," in *Encyclopedia Judaica* (Jerusalem/New York: Keter/Macmillan, 1971–72), 7:1421–32; André Hajdu and Yaakov Mazor, *Hassidic Tunes of Dancing & Rejoicing* (New York: Folkways Records/The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, Jewish Music Research Centre, in collaboration with The Jewish National and University Library, 1976 [now Smithsonian Folkways]).

5. Samuel Zalmanoff, *Sefer Ha-Nigunim* (New York: Merkos L'inyonei Chinuch, 1948–1965).

sic. This is likely due to the fact that there have been too few detailed area studies of Eastern European Jewish musical traditions up until now with which Lubavitcher style could be compared and contrasted, and because Lubavitcher music was first documented in print only in 1948 and in recorded form in 1960—some 150 years after the creation of the style and a number of its melodies. Two important points that tie Lubavitcher musical structures to Chabad philosophy are brought out: (i) that the number four (an important number in many aspects of Chabad thought) appears to play an important role at the level of the length and number of individual musical phrases and sections of compositions; and (ii) that many of the *nigunim* follow a kind of "rising pattern" in which "each stanza either extends its range upward or is placed at a higher range," which corresponds to the "upward trajectory of the process of *devekut* and resonates with the core Lubavitcher metaphor of movement from the heart . . . to the head" (93). Furthermore, Koskoff establishes that the vocables used in textless *nigunim*, which have often been assumed to consist of "nonsense" syllables, are "phonemically consistent with Hebrew, Russian, and Yiddish, the languages spoken by a majority of Eastern European *ḥasidim*," and, further, that the vocables "carry much meaning for Lubavitchers" and "are believed to symbolize the four letters of God's name."

Chapters 7–10 move on to actual case studies of music as it is performed in contemporary Lubavitcher life and how the performance of music serves in the performance of various aspects of Lubavitcher identity. Chapter 7 examines music-making at the *farbrengens* and on Lubavitcher recordings ("Performing the Past in Music"), emphasizing the core Lubavitcher belief that "true spirituality is irrevocably linked to the past" (105). Chapter 8 deals with gender issues in contemporary Lubavitcher life, containing a detailed account and analysis of the various interpretations of the dictum *kol ʾisha ʿervah* ("a woman's voice is a sexual incitement"). One response to the prohibition of males' hearing the singing of women has been the creation of occasions, such as women's *farbrengens* (chap. 9) and conventions (chap. 10), during which women perform music with and for women only. Chapter 9 looks at "performing lineage in music," dealing with the spiritual hierarchy in the Lubavitcher community from the standpoint of the relationship to music-making of the different groups, from the Rebbe through the people born into the Lubavitcher community on down to the various levels of *baʿalei teshuvah*. Chapter 10 examines differing musical responses to modernity within the Lubavitcher community.

One of the great strengths of this book is that it manages to show the many internal tensions and different layers within Lubavitcher society and music-making without ever losing sight of the core concepts and the core music that tie Lubavitcher society together. These are "a basic conceptualization of music, a stable hierarchy of musical genres, a strict adherence to correct performance contexts and behaviors, and a solid bedrock of religious and social structures on which to hang the flexible and always changing musical choices made in real life" (194).

Like any focused study, *Music in Lubavitcher Life* raises perhaps as many questions as it answers. The reader might want to know, for example, what the role of music is in other important Lubavitcher contexts such as in the Chabad liturgy at weddings and holidays. Koskoff also does not look at the interaction, musical or

otherwise, of Chabad with other ḥasidic groups. It is not clear—other than the core of the songs attributed to the five Lubavitcher Rebbes and their court musicians—what exactly differentiates Chabad music from other ḥasidic music. One final point, and this was apparently the publisher's decision: this major work could have been greatly enhanced by the inclusion of an accompanying compact disc, especially since much of the music Koskoff discusses is based on her own field recordings or is not widely available commercially. *Music in Lubavitcher Life* is a profound work that should be required reading for anyone interested not only in Judaic studies, but also in ethnomusicology, anthropology, and American studies, as well.

Yaakov Mazor's short monograph *The Klezmer Tradition in the Land of Israel* is the result of thirty years of research and fieldwork on ḥasidic musical traditions in Israel. It, too, is the first monograph on its subject, and is additionally the only one of the four publications under review to deal with the interrelationship between ḥasidic and *klezmer* music. Mazor's approach tends to be more historically and musicologically oriented than Koskoff's. The adoption of a more self-reflexive approach could have benefited the present work, as Mazor was raised as a ḥasid and knows the ḥasidic world intimately from the inside. *The Klezmer Tradition in the Land of Israel* is organized thematically, beginning with short histories of the *klezmer* tradition in Jerusalem and Galilee, and in Jaffa and the southern *moshavot*. The information is based primarily upon oral histories conducted by Mazor and others, as well as accounts from the memoir literature. As Mazor points out, knowledge of the Israeli *klezmer* tradition is "highly fragmentary" (15)—indeed, beyond two musical generations, not much is known about it.

The discussion beginning in Chapter 2 ("Historical Background") reveals a number of differences between the *klezmer* tradition as it developed in Israel and the more familiar traditions in Eastern Europe and North America.[6] It may therefore make sense to consider the *klezmer* traditions as they developed in Eastern Europe, North America, and the Land of Israel from the mid- to late-nineteenth century and later to be related traditions, which had points of contact but which also developed to a large extent separately from one another.

For example, the *klezmer* tradition as it evolved in Eastern Europe and as it continued in the United States was a professional tradition; in Israel, there are no accounts of fully professional musicians prior to the 1990s. This appears to have been the result of poor economic conditions as well as the Ashkenazic rabbinical ban on instrumental music in Jerusalem, which has been in effect since the 1860s (18–19). The instrumentation of the ensembles in the Land of Israel developed along different lines than Europe or America. While the turn-of-the-century ensembles in Europe consisted of seven to twenty instrumentalists using various

6. For a discussion of the development of *klezmer* music in Eastern Europe and the United States, see: Joachim Stutschewsky, *Ha-Klezmorim: Toldotehem, ʾorakh-ḥayehem, ve-yeẓirotehem* (Jerusalem: Bialik Institute, 1959); James B. Loeffler, *A Gilgul fun a Nigun: Jewish Musicians in New York 1881-1945* (Harvard Judaica Collection Student Research Papers No. 3) (Cambridge, MA: Harvard College Library, 1997); Ottens and Rubin, *Klezmer Musik*, 67–284; and Beregovski, *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music*, among others.

string, woodwind, brass, and percussion instruments, the typical Israeli ensemble comprised only two to three instruments, usually clarinet and percussion, less frequently with the addition of trumpet or violin. In Eastern Europe, it was traditional for *klezmorim* to accompany numerous rituals and celebrations associated with the Jewish wedding with instrumental music, from the ceremonial signing of the *tnoim* (engagement contract), to escorting the bride to the *mikvah* on the eve of the wedding, to nocturnal processions through the streets after the various festive meals. In Israel, the performance of instrumental music at such occasions continued into the 1920s, whereas, in the United States, the role of klezmer music appears to have been largely limited to performances in the wedding hall itself on the day of the wedding ceremony from the very beginning of immigration in the late 1800s.

In addition to continuing to accompany the same rituals as had been done in Europe, new contexts arose in Israel for the performance of *klezmer* music, in particular the annual *hillulot* (folk festivals) of Lag Ba-Omer and the 7th of Adar—both of which involve pilgrimages to Mount Meron, near Safed. In the Land of Israel, *klezmorim* were (and still are) "deeply observant people who obeyed the rabbis without question" (20), and *klezmer* music was strictly the provenience of the people known today as *ḥaredim*. The Israeli repertoire comprised primarily what Mazor terms "Romanian-Wallachian melodies" or Eastern European *klezmer* tunes (22), instrumental versions of Yiddish songs, Turkish tunes from the Turkish army orchestra, and Arab-derived tunes. The latter two parts of the Israeli repertoire were completely unknown to both European and American *klezmorim*.

Perhaps the most significant difference between the *klezmer* tradition as it developed in the Land of Israel and its American variant is that the Israeli tradition is today almost exclusively the product of traditional Judaism. Other than a few commercial events such as the annual International Klezmer Festival in Safed, *klezmer* music simply does not exist outside of *ḥaredi* society and, more peripherally, the National Religious movement. In America, on the other hand, *klezmer* music enjoyed a brief period of more secular development, especially between approximately 1910–1950.

The second part of Mazor's work (chaps. 3 and 4) consists of case studies of the two most influential Israeli clarinetists of the past seventy years: Abraham Segal (1908–1993) and his protégé, Moshe "Musa" Berlin (b. 1938), who served a diverse clientele of *ḥasidim*, *mitnagedim*, and members of the National Religious movement. These studies are based largely upon interviews with Berlin and with Segal's surviving relatives. While the European *klezmorim* consisted almost entirely of families of musicians, in which the tradition was handed down from father to son over the course of at least several generations, the evidence that Segal and the other musicians stemmed from such musical dynasties is scant. Berlin, at least, did not. They learned rather from diverse sources: in the early years directly from musicians and participants at weddings and other celebrations, and later from radio and recordings, as well. In Europe, America, and Israel, many talented and musically literate *klezmorim* and especially their children began to leave the *klezmer* milieu and enter the musical mainstream, either in the classical or entertainment music fields, or sometimes both. Yet a limited number of members of

klezmer families emigrated to Israel during the interwar years or as survivors of the Shoah and continued to perform klezmer music there in the postwar period. Because of the sacred–secular split in postwar Israeli society, their more "worldly" form of *klezmer* music, which included popular Polish and Russian tangos, was largely not accepted by *ḥaredi* society, and non-*ḥaredi* society was not interested in *klezmer* musicians with their—from a Zionist perspective—"negative 'Diaspora' image" (33). It is unfortunate that these musicians have not been included in the present study.

The remaining chapters deal with musical-technical aspects, including repertoire (chap. 5), "genres" (chap. 6), "musical morphology" (chap. 7), "klezmorim as creative musicians" (chap. 8), and the meticulous annotation of the transcriptions of the 73 pieces included from the Israeli *klezmer* repertoire. Again, the text brings out important distinctions between the Israeli and the other two main *klezmer* traditions. It appears, for example, that unlike their European and American colleagues, who were known for being both composers and performers, Israeli *klezmorim* did not and do not compose new pieces. They are known, rather, for being compilers and arrangers of existing melodies. This is not to say that the Israeli *klezmorim* are not creative musicians. One interesting process brought out by Mazor is the adaptation of traditional melodies from Eastern Europe to new functions in Israel. For example, so-called *gas nigunim* (street processionals), which in Europe had served to accompany important wedding guests through the streets, were adopted for the procession with the Torah scroll as part of the Lag Ba-Omer festival.

Mazor's monograph is a substantial contribution to the literature on *klezmer* music and fills important gaps in our knowledge of how this tradition developed and continues to develop in Israel. It serves two main functions: it provides a history of *klezmer* music in pre-Israeli Palestine in the period prior to the mid-1930s, and it offers case studies of the two most prominent Israeli *klezmorim* of recent memory. What it does not do is look at the changes taking place in Israeli *klezmer* music today. This is partly because the work was ten years in the making. Musa Berlin is today 67 years old, and there are two or three generations of ḥasidic instrumentalists who began their careers after he did and have played or are today playing important roles in *ḥaredi* musical life.[7] It would have been fascinating to include these younger generations of musicians into the study, but perhaps that would have been beyond the scope of the present work. In addition, it would have been very interesting for the readers to learn what differences, if any, exist between the music peformed in ḥasidic, mitnagedic, National Religious, and even secular contexts, as well as how the music of *klezmorim* such as Berlin differs from that of the singer-drummers who perform at *ḥaredi* weddings within Jerusalem, where the playing of instruments is still forbidden by Ashkenazim today. Also interesting would be more about the meaning of the music for both the musicians and their various audiences, including more contextualization of the position of the *klezmer* in contemporary Israeli society.

7. See Joel Rubin, "*Rumenishe shtiklekh*: *Klezmer* music among the *ḥasidim* in contemporary Israel," *Judaism*, no. 185, vol. 47, no. 1 (Winter 1998): 12–23.

Mark Slobin's *Fiddler on the Move* is the culmination of many years of thought on the *klezmer* revival and Euro-American revival movements in general. In his introductory chapter, Slobin points out what he sees as the essential American-ness of the early *klezmer* revival and places it within the overall sphere of the new multiculturalism, which arose in the wake of the bicentennial celebrations of 1976 in the United States. An early observer of the *klezmer* revival, Slobin analyzes here the unpredictable development of the revival from a relatively small group of American Jews in the late 1970s and early 1980s to an international movement with thousands of followers by the late 1990s. The fieldwork that forms the basis of this book was carried out mostly in 1997–1998, and this book is best understood as a snapshot of the transatlantic *klezmer* revival at that time. In a continuation of his thoughts on subcultural music-making,[8] the present work is based largely on an ethnomusicological adaptation of cultural theory and is most concerned with developing a loose but comprehensive theoretical framework for the understanding of what has proven to be a very elusive topic. As Slobin remarks, "Things were so molten in the mid-1990s that it was hard to find my methodological footing." He found himself faced with the challenge of "how to study a constantly morphing and expanding musical system with no surviving homeland, as played by insiders with outsider mentalities and outsiders with uncanny intuitions about how the music works" (5). Whereas historically, *klezmorim* formed a community in the literal sense, a "continuous chain of overlapping musical and family links in a spread-out system of town-based musical professionalism" (67), the complexities of community life in the *klezmer* revival require "different theoretical models than classic ethnography . . . ." (72).

Based largely on interviews—the book focuses in particular on the experiences of four female violinist-informants as case studies—but also on his own participation in the *klezmer* movement as a violin student, Slobin spins his theory around a set of key concepts: *klezmer* as a heritage music (chap. 2: "music that has been singled out for preservation, protection, enshrinement, and revival");[9] *klezmer* as an urge (chap. 3: "what moves musicians and excites audiences to embrace *klezmer*?" [5]); *klezmer* as community (chap. 4); *klezmer* style as statement (chap. 5); and, finally, issues of identity (chap. 6). Slobin weaves a shifting matrix of terms onto these basic concepts, which he spends considerable space defining and expanding upon.

Slobin sees a "*klezmer* core" at the center of all of these overlapping matrices, which "remains untouched by comparativism. The overlaps provide bridges to the core that both outsiders and insiders traverse in search of nostalgia or novelty, tradition or trade" (35). Yet he also points out the significant level of diversity within the "*klezmer* umbrella." Slobin sees what he terms "nostalgic diasporism" (i.e., expressing nostalgia for Yiddish language and culture [29]) as being the primary setting for the music of the *klezmer* revival, a tendency inherited from the legacy of *Fiddler on the Roof*—which had for the first time "provided a safe place for visiting the

8. Mark Slobin, *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West* (Hanover: University Press of New England, 2000).

9. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Sounds of Sensibility," in Slobin, *American Klezmer*, 133.

European past . . ." (23). At the same time, he identifies the *klezmer* movement as part of the "general drive for reaffiliation with Jewishness that has snowballed since the 1960s to become the most important trend in Jewish-American life" (30).

In Chapter 3, Slobin brings the experiences of his four informants into the discussion. Here it becomes particularly clear that this is not a comprehensive treatment of the *klezmer* revival (which it does not claim to be), but rather a set of interlocking essays centered around these four case studies. Based upon the differing experiences of these four musicians and his other interview partners, Slobin sums up thus: "'Klezmer,' a shifting, multilayered assemblage of contexts and items, exists because many people have a stake in it for a huge variety of reasons, often several at once" (64).

Chapter 4 includes a discussion of the problematic *klezmer* revival in contemporary Central and Eastern Europe (83–90). Chapter 5 looks at certain stylistic aspects of the "core" repertoire of the American *klezmer* revivalists, in particular the "canon" of the two American immigrant clarinetists Brandwein and Tarras as it is being reinterpreted by the current generation of musicians. He uses a comparative approach, taking three tunes as case studies, which he combines with the comments of his informants to "illuminate three questions: How do modern players understand the older repertoire that has now become a modern canon? How do they conceptualize their technique? How do they arrive at personal style?" (94).[10]

Finally, in Chapter 6, Slobin tackles issues of identity, the "knotted central term that has been noticeably absent throughout" his discussion (133). It is clear that identity is at the core of the *klezmer* revival movement. This has been expressed in the numerous interviews in Slobin's book, and independently in articles by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, Alicia Svigals, and Frank London,[11] among others—and is corroborated by my own experiences both as a participant in and observer of the *klezmer* revival movement. That participation in the revival is so close to the heart of many participants—be they American, German, or Polish—is evident, for example, in the vehemence of the ongoing debates carried out on the Internet discussion list "World music from a Jewish slant."[12] The debate about the future of *klezmer* music represents nothing less in the eyes of the participants than the future of Judaism, or the formation of a new German or Central European national identity.

Fiddler on the Move is an extremely compact and dense extended essay, and it has been possible to touch on only a few of the issues raised in it. It presents the complex intersection of conflicting approaches present in the *klezmer* revival in its many facets. Its very complexity may leave the reader more confused than before, but will ideally lead to a contemplation of the many contradictions shown and to

10. The CD insert contains multiple versions of the three tunes discussed in ch. 5, consisting of both historical and contemporary performances and including one previously unpublished field recording and two previously unpublished live recordings.

11. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Sounds of Sensibility," in Slobin, *American Klezmer*, 129–73; Alicia Svigals, "Why We Do this Anyway: Klezmer as Jewish Youth Subculture," in Slobin, *American Klezmer*, 211–19; and Frank London, "An Insider's View: How We Traveled from Obscurity to the Klezmer Establishment in Twenty Years," in Slobin, *American Klezmer*, 206–10.

12. Archived at: http://listserv.shamash.org/archives/jewish-music.html.

a broader understanding of the motivations of the various types of people drawn to participation in *klezmer*.

One problem with such an all-inclusive theory as the one developed here by Slobin is that it can tend to obscure fundamental sets of oppositions, such as differences between the *klezmer* tradition as it developed in Europe (and later in America) over the course of several centuries and the music performed by *klezmer* revivalists of all stripes;[13] differences between the American participants in the *klezmer* revival, who are predominantly Jewish and for whom it may generally be said that the creation of a new American Jewish identity is the core issue involved,[14] and the almost exclusively non-Jewish participants in the German *klezmer* movement, for whom the *klezmer* repertoire serves as a forum for so-called *Vergangenheitsbewältigung* and the building of a new German identity;[15] and differences between contemporary Israeli *klezmer* musicians, who are predominantly *ḥaredi*, and non-Israeli participants in the *klezmer* revival, who are virtually all non-Orthodox.[16] In this sense, perhaps it would make more sense to look at the *klezmer* revival as a set of mini-revivals, as argued by Julia Phillips Randel with regard to the revival of Sephardic song.[17]

Furthermore, placing the *klezmer* movement within the larger discourse of the Yiddish-language movement since the 1960s and the current Jewish Renewal movement (as exemplified by Lisa Schiffman's *Generation J*) would show its centrality as an indicator at the popular culture level of much of what is going on in contemporary American Jewish society.[18] One should also place the *klezmer* dis-

13. See Joel Rubin, "'Can't You Play *Anything* Jewish?' *Klezmer*-Musik und jüdische Sozialisation im Nachkriegsamerika," in *Jüdische Literatur und Kultur in Großbritannien und den USA nach 1945*, ed. Beate Neumeier (Potsdam: Universität Potsdam/Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1998), 189–219.

14. See Svigals, "Why Do We Do This Anyway."

15. See Rita Ottens and Joel Rubin, "'The Sounds of the Vanishing World': The German Klezmer Movement as a Racial Discourse," in *Sounds of Two Worlds: Music as a Mirror of Migration to and from Germany* (Madison, WI: Max Kade Institute, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2004) [web-based conference proceedings]. http://csumc.wisc.edu/mki/Resources/Online_Papers/Music ConfPapers/MusicConfPapers.htm.

16. See Rubin, "Rumenishe shtiklekh."

17. Julia Phillips Randel, "Musical Constructions of History: Performance Practices in Recent Recordings of Judeo-Spanish Song," in *Studies in Jewish Musical Traditions: Insights from the Harvard Collection of Judaica Sound Recordings*, ed. K.K. Shelemay (Harvard Judaica Collection Student Research Papers No. 7) (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard College Library, 2001), 113.

18. Lisa Schiffman, *Generation J* (San Francisco: Harper, 1999). See, for example, the continuing debates on the Mendele: Yiddish Literature and Language internet discussion list (archived at http://shakti.trincoll.edu/~mendele/arc.htm) regarding the life or death of the Yiddish language, which were sparked in particular by articles by Michael Chabon and Janet Hadda (Michael Chabon, "Guidebook to a Land of Ghosts," *Civilization* [June/July 1997]: 67–69; Janet Hadda, "Yiddish in Today's America," *Jewish Quarterly*, no. 170, [Summer 1998]). Hadda's psychoanalytic study of the "Yiddish phenomenon in American culture" was coined a "'desertion'" from the Yiddishist cause and "cause-sensationelle" (Joshua A. Fishman, "A Decade in the Life of a Two-in-One Language: Yiddish in New York City [Secular and Ultra-Orthodox]," in *Can Threatened Languages Be Saved?: Reversing Language Shift, Revisited: a 21st Century Perspective*, ed. Joshua A. Fishman [Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters, 2001], 80).

course within that of responses to the Shoah. In a parallel to *klezmer* as a possible response to Haim Soloveitchik's "end of self-evident Jewishness" postulated by Kirshenblatt-Gimblett[19]—the other possible response being contemporary *ḥaredi* life—the *klezmer* urge could be seen as one possible secular way of mourning the Shoah (i.e., the loss of Yiddish language and culture), the other end of the spectrum being represented by the Bobover *ḥasidim piremshpiyl* as described by Shifra Epstein.[20]

Fiddler on the Move provides an excellent foundation for the study of the *klezmer* revival. What is needed now more are concentrated area studies, such as Abigail Wood's recently completed dissertation on the Yiddish song revival in North America and the one in progress by Rita Ottens on the *klezmer* and Yiddish music movement in Berlin.[21]

Henry Sapoznik's *Klezmer! Jewish Music from Old World to Our World* does not live up to its promised title. Sapoznik is a well-known activist who has played a key role in the popularization of American-Yiddish popular music culture through his organization of the performing group Kapelye, the Yiddish Folk Arts Program ("KlezKamp," originally sponsored by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research), and the Yiddish Radio Project, among others. This does not necessarily give him the requisite tools to produce an authoritative history of *klezmorim* and their music, however. The book may be divided into three sections. The first section (chap. 1) comprises a short history of *klezmer* music in Central and Eastern Europe—surprising in its brevity given the many centuries of development the *klezmer* tradition underwent on European soil before it was brought to the United States in the immigration wave beginning in the 1880s. Yet the subheading of Chapter 1, "The European Roots of Klezmer Music," shows its intentionally American orientation, as if everything that happened before emigration were a kind of prehistory to the brief flowering the music now known as "klezmer" experienced in America. The second section (chaps. 2–5) covers American-Yiddish popular music—of which *klezmer* actually occupies/forms a small subsection—from the beginning of emigration until approximately 1960. The final section (chaps. 6–9) deals with the revival of interest in Yiddish and *klezmer* music since the mid-1970s, focusing on the career and accomplishments of the author himself.

19. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Sounds of Sensibility," 131.

20. "The Bobover, who do not have their own commemorative events for the Holocaust, have combined in a folk drama in Yiddish elements of Purim and Yom Kippur to create a ritual transcending the Holocaust . . . . Through a series of inversions and reversals, from the frivolous to the serious and vice versa, the piremshpiyl provides them with the opportunity to confront and come to terms with the abyss, their own experience with the Holocaust" (Shifra Epstein, "The Bobover Hasidim Piremshpiyl," in *New World Hasidim. Ethnographic Studies of Hasidic Jews in America*, ed. Janet S. Belcove-Shalin [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1995], 251–52).

21. Abigail Wood, "Yiddish Song in Contemporary North America," (Ph.D. thesis, Cambridge University, 2004); Rita Ottens, "The Function of Yiddish Music in Germany since 1989: Issues in Cultural Identity and Ideology" (working title; work in progress, City University of London, Department of Music).

The book contains numerous factual errors, and, more important, many historical misinterpretations, only a few of which can be pointed out here. These are exacerbated by its casual, journalistic patter, which makes it additionally difficult to accept Sapoznik as a reliable source. With regard to the flute and xylophone virtuoso Yosef-Michel Guzikov, for example, Sapoznik writes: "Having honed his parlor skills in the provinces he crashed the big time and, with the help of some sophisticated advance advertising perked up the otherwise dull 1836 Viennese summer season in which everyone who was anyone was elsewhere" (3). The "provinces" to which he appears to be referring are Cracow, Lemberg (Lviv), Kiev, and Odessa; the "sophisticated advance advertising" refers to an article in the *Wiener Theaterzeitung* by the theater critic and humorist Moritz Gottlieb Saphir. Contrary to the information on page 5, Guzikov did perform in Paris in the winter of 1836–1837, and he did not die—as the legend will have it—on the stage in Aachen, but several months later.[22] By most accounts, Guzikov does not appear to have been the "friendly, deracinated Jew, amenable to the genteel" (3), but a ḥasid who traveled and resided with other orthodox Jews. His role as the leading *klezmer* in the Belorussion region of Mogilev is not mentioned, and the many questions regarding the music he performed—which included many of the popular classical works of his day—and its relation, if any, to the *klezmer* tradition, are not raised. Sapoznik credits Guzikov with having "popularized" a "domesticated" form of *klezmer* music (5), yet the nature of his *klezmer* performance remains a mystery until today, as none of his instrumental *klezmer* compositions appear to have been notated or otherwise preserved. Sapoznik credits the influential violin teacher Leopold Auer with having helped Mischa Elman, Jascha Heifetz, and Efrem Zimbalist "make the transition from *shtetl* to stage" (25), despite the fact that Heifetz's birthplace was Vilna and Zimbalist's, Rostow—hardly justifying the use of the term *shtetl*.

Even the section on Yiddish-American music, which is more familiar territory for the author, is replete with errors. On page 31, the clarinetist Dave Tarras is credited with having arrived in the United States in 1923, whereas he arrived by his own account in 1921; the singer Sophie Tucker's given name was Abuza, not Kalish (35); the Dora Cherniavsky referred to on page 54 was named Lara Cherniavsky; page 103 identifies the clarinetist Naftule Brandwein's birthplace as Przemysl, although he came from Przemyslany, a different town southeast of Lemberg in Austro-Hungarian East Galicia; the Jim Pankower mentioned on page 163 refers to the Bar-Ilan *Tanakh* professor and former saxophonist Jordan Penkower—to mention but a few. As well, the cellist, composer, and conductor Joseph Cherniavsky (1894–1975)—who stemmed from one of the most important Ukrainian *klezmer* families, trained at the St. Petersburg and Leipzig conservatories, and was an important figure in the New York Yiddish theater and, later, in Hollywood—is reduced to being "a failed playwright" (110). Cherniavsky was reputed to be the grandson of the legendary Berdichev violinist Yosele Druker (1822–1879), who served as the role model for Sholom Aleichem's character Stempenyu.[23] The cellist with the Zimro Ensemble, a sextet that popularized the chamber works of the St. Petersburg School of Jewish national composers in the late 1910s, Cherniavsky took a position with Universal Pictures Corporation in Hollywood in 1928 as its general musical director. He thus incorporated in one person many of the diverse strands in the lives of *klezmorim* in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, from playing weddings in the Russian Ukraine to studying at a Czarist music academy, to writing, performing, and recording music for the Yiddish-American popular theater and vaudeville, to Hollywood.

More disturbing than the numerous errors and misinterpretations is the usage of unattributed quotes from unpublished interviews. For example, the quote of clarinetist Max Epstein on pages 119–20 ("I quit my job and bought myself a saxophone . . .") is taken virtually word-for-word from an interview I carried out with Epstein in Plantation, Florida on January 17, 1991; an interview with Dave Tarras from September 11, 1975 carried out by Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett and Janet Elias (Cassel) is quoted on several occasions (see, e.g., 113–114) and is either not properly attributed or cited as "interview with author, fall 1975" (306; only once, on page 303, is it properly cited); and quotes from an interview made by Peter Sokolow with the drummer Irving Gratz on April 4, 1988 are also not attributed (153).

The autobiographic material, particularly in Chapters 6–9, is in the nature of a self-hagiography. Sapoznik's apparent need to have the *klezmer* revival movement center around his own person leads him to a most unfortunate revisionism. This is foreshadowed in the foreword, in which he claims: "what began as a personal quest blossomed into an international movement" (*ix*), which leads the reader to believe that his personal quest led to *klezmer* music becoming an international movement. Yet Sapoznik's first recordings from 1981 were predated by those of Giora Feidman (as early as 1971), the Berkeley group, The Klezmorim (1977; 1978), and Andy Statman and Zev Feldman (1979), as well as a documentary recording of Dave Tarras himself (1979), and were contemporaneous with the first recording by the Klezmer Conservatory Band. Despite having been contacted directly by someone representing himself as Schirmer's fact checker, my own work documenting the music and career of Max Epstein has been changed to make it appear that I first met him in December 1991 at the YIVO and Sapoznik's KlezKamp: "After years of Sokolow's coaxing Max Epstein to come to KlezKamp, the veteran clarinetist finally attended as a teacher in 1991. There clarinetist Joel Rubin, also on staff, met Epstein for the first time . . ." (278). In fact, I had begun my fieldwork with Epstein one year earlier and independently of Sapoznik or KlezKamp. Similarly, the late Mira Rafalowicz is described as having founded Amsterdam's International Yiddish Festival after having attended KlezKamp for the first time in 1995. In fact, she founded the festival in 1991.

22. See Dov Sadan, *Ha-menagen ha-mufla: Chai Yosef Michel Guzikov u-svivehem* (Tel Aviv: M. Newman, 1947).

23. Zalmen Zylberzweig, Zalmen, *Leksikon fun yidishn teater,* vol. 2 (New York: Hebrew Actors Union of America, 1934), 904.

While the kinds of inaccuracies and unsubstantiated opinions made here may be typical of Hollywood autobiographies, they have no place in a purported work of scholarship. It is therefore surprising that Schirmer Books allowed the book to be published in its present form, and all the more surprising that it received an award from the Association for Recorded Sound Collections in 2000. As very little original scholarship on *klezmer* music was published before the mid-1990s, it was possible for lay people and journalists to establish themselves and dominate the field up until that point. Sapoznik is at his best when treating the subjects closest to his heart, such as Yiddish-American recordings, radio broadcasts, and novelty numbers—all of which are actually peripheral to the central issue, that of *klezmer* musicians and their music—yet even here one questions whether the basic facts are reliable. The accompanying CD of the same name contains no documentation on the artists or discographical information; only the titles, years of issue, and the names of the artists are given. Most of the twenty-two pieces are culled from Sapoznik's other previously issued reissue recordings.

Klezmer! Jewish Music from Old World to Our World is lacking in any of the methodologies current in Judaic studies, historiography, or ethnomusicology. Too many key works by such writers as Moshe Beregovski, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, and Mark Slobin[24] are missing from the bibliography—to mention but three. In addition, Sapoznik's book contains little reflection regarding important questions, such as why Guzikov was such an important figure in European concert life in the mid-1930s, what factors led to the Americanization of the traditional Jewish wedding and how that may have affected the musicians and their music, or what did the fact that Yiddish-American culture was "in a tail-spin" after World War II (154) mean for the American Jewish community. The misinformation in such a work has the potential to be recycled and passed on by other journalists and by scholars as well. This is the kind of journalistic mythologizing—which garbles facts and cannot differentiate fact from fiction—against which historians, Judaic studies scholars, ethnomusicologists, folklorists, and others will have to struggle in order to get to the core of the world and the music of the *klezmorim*.

Joel E. Rubin
Syracuse University
Syracuse, New York

24. Moyshe Beregovski, "Yidishe klezmer, zeyer shafn un shteyger," *Sovetish* 12 (Moscow: Farlag Der Emes, 1941): 412–50; Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, "Sounds of Sensibility;" Mark Slobin, "The Neo-Klezmer Movement and Euro-American Revivalism," *Journal of American Folklore* 97, no. 383 (1982): 98–104; Mark Slobin, "Klezmer Music: An American Ethnic Genre," *1983 Yearbook for Traditional Music* (New York: International Council for Traditional Music, 1984), 34–41.

AJS Review 29:1 (2005), 159–205

Book Reviews

Ziony Zevit. *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches*. New York: Continuum, 2001. xx, 821 pp.

This set of interrelated studies is full of closely reasoned analyses and bold but careful speculation. Several of these studies provide a model, almost unique within biblical studies, of how to integrate biblical and extra-biblical data within a framework deeply informed by theory. The book is intended for specialists with expertise in technical details the book addresses but rarely pauses to describe.

This work's breadth is noteworthy. It contains lengthy studies of Israelite cult places uncovered by archaeologists (not only familiar ones such as Arad and Beer-sheva, but also smaller and less well-known enclosures and tumuli throughout the areas in which ancient Israelites lived), cult items (altars, figurines, cult stands), inscriptions, as well as historiographic and prophetic texts from the Hebrew Bible. Zevit emphasizes that there were many forms of religious practice in ancient Israel, that various gods were worshipped in motley settings, that worshipers of YHWH may often have worshipped other deities as well, and—most significantly—that one can appreciate the varieties of religious experience in ancient Israel only by coordinating the data that come from the full range of texts, artifacts, and perspectives this study utilizes.

New insights regarding specific issues abound. Space permits only a few examples. Zevit's discussion of the origin of the Israelites (pp. 84–121) is one of the finest treatments of this controversial issue available. His mastery of archaeological and textual data is perhaps unmatched by other scholars who write on this subject, most of whom focus on one type of evidence and are embarrassingly unfamiliar with responsible use of the others. Zevit concludes that a significant discontinuity between the Late Bronze and Iron Age populations of the highlands of Canaan emerges from several different types of evidence. It follows that the Israelites did not originate in Canaan, though significant elements of the Canaanite populations were absorbed into Israel early in the period of the monarchy. The range of evidence used by Zevit and the methodological self-consciousness with which he analyzes it render this discussion one of the most convincing ever published.

The lengthy analysis of Hebrew inscriptions is full of new readings and interpretations, which cannot be treated here. The most significant suggestion Zevit makes is that phrases like *lyhwh wlʾšrth* in the Kuntillet ʿAjrud and related inscriptions refer not to YHWH and His partner, the goddess Asherah (which is, as he notes in his painstaking review of the literature, grammatically impossible), nor to YHWH and His cult-pole, but to YHWH and the goddess named Asheratah, whose relationship to YHWH is not spelled out in the phrase itself.

Zevit proposes a startling new view of the Elohistic Psalter (Psalms 42–83). Most scholars believe that the tetragrammaton has been replaced throughout this

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AJS Review

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Volume 29, Number 1 **April 2005**

Table of Contents

Articles

W. David Nelson
Oral Orthography: Early Rabbinic Oral and Written Transmission of Parallel Midrashic Tradition in the *Mekhilta of Rabbi Simon b. Yoḥai* and the *Mekhilta of Rabbi Ishmael* 1

Martin Jacobs
Exposed to All the Currents of the Mediterranean—A Sixteenth-Century Venetian Rabbi on Muslim History 33

Alyssa Quint
"Yiddish Literature for the Masses"? A Reconstruction of Who Read What in Jewish Eastern Europe 61

Arnold Franklin
Cultivating Roots: The Promotion of Exilarchal Ties to David in the Middle Ages 91

Jane Hathaway
The Mawzaʿ Exile at the Juncture of Zaydi and Ottoman Messianism 111

Ariel Furstenberg
Restitution of Lost Property in the Tannaitic and Amoraic *Halakhah:* A Preliminary Philosophical Study of the Forming of a Conception (Abstract of Hebrew Article) 129

Review Essays

Baruch A. Levine
Scholarly Dictionaries of Two Dialects of Jewish Aramaic 131

Joel E. Rubin
"Music is the Pen of the Soul": Recent Works on Ḥasidic and Jewish Instrumental Klezmer Music 145

Book Reviews

Biblical Studies

Ziony Zevit. *The Religions of Ancient Israel: A Synthesis of Parallactic Approaches.*
Benjamin D. Sommer 159

Israel Knohl. *The Divine Symphony: The Bible's Many Voices.*
Marvin A. Sweeney 160

Ithamar Gruenwald. *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel.*
Jonathan Klawans 163