

A Musical Exploration of the Sabbath Morning Service in Dublin's Orthodox Jewish Community

**Thesis presented for the degree of
Ph.D. by research**

by

**Melanie Brown
B.A. (Mod.), M.A. (T.C.D.); M.A. (N.U.I.);
F.T.C.L.; A.R.I.A.M.**

University of Limerick

**Supervisor:
Dr Helen Phelan**

Copyright © 2012 by Melanie Brown

Table of Contents

Abstract	i
Declaration	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
List of Ethnographic Interviews	iv
Introduction	1
Chapter 1	7
Jewish Liturgical Music in Dublin: Research in the field	
1.1 Introduction	7
1.2 Motivations	9
1.3 Selecting a Musical Theme	11
1.4 The Field	13
1.5 Methods	22
1.6 Reciprocity	57
1.7 Disengagement	59
1.8 Conclusion	60
Chapter 2	62
Irish Jewish Identity: Historical and Cultural Contextualization of the Dublin Jewish Community	
2.1 A Brief History of the Jews in Ireland	62
2.2 Outlining Jewish Culture and Identity in Modern Ireland	81
2.3 Community	86
2.4 Identity	98
2.5 Culture	124
2.6 Conclusion	138
Chapter 3	139
Ritual Space and Context in Jewish Dublin	
3.1 Introduction	139
3.2 Orthodox Jewish Domestic Ritual In Dublin	140
3.3 Prayer and Ritual in the Dublin Synagogue	141
3.4 Structure of the Orthodox Sabbath Service	170
3.5 The Cantor	178
3.6 Conclusion	182

Chapter 4	185
Aspects of Performance Practice in the Jewish Liturgical Music of Dublin	
4.1 Introduction	185
4.2 Capturing Data on the Music of the Dublin Synagogue	187
4.3 Five Faces of Jewish Music in Dublin	201
4.4 Congregational Singing in Terenure Synagogue	292
4.5 Music as Part of Worship in the in the Dublin Synagogue	332
4.6 A Theoretical Framework for Examining Performance Practice in the Dublin Synagogue	341
4.7 Musical Language in the Dublin Synagogue	352
4.8 Conclusion	370
Chapter 5	372
Functions of Music within Dublin Jewish Identity: Concluding Propositions	
5.1 Introduction	372
5.2 Music and Identity	374
5.3 Congregation Singing: Activism in Maintaining Cultural Identity	387
5.4 The Transfer and Acquisition of <i>Nusach</i>	392
5.5 Women and Orthodox Jewish Liturgical Music	401
5.6 Liturgical Music and Emotion	411
5.7 Conclusion	419
Appendix 1	
Glossary of Hebrew and Yiddish Terms	422
Appendix 2(a)	
Table of names and trades corresponding with Appendix 2(b)	428
Appendix 2(b)	
Map: Jewish Commerce: Clanbrassil St., Dublin, 1930s	429
Bibliography	431
Discography	463

Abstract

Thesis title: A Musical Exploration of the Sabbath Morning Service in Dublin's Orthodox Jewish Community

Author: Melanie Brown

The Jewish community of Dublin has been in existence for 400 years. Nowadays, many Dublin Jews are descended from Lithuanians who settled in Dublin at the turn of the twentieth century. Most Dublin Jews are integrated into Dublin society, yet little is known of cultural practices specific to Dublin's Jewish community. This dissertation focuses on the practice of liturgical music in Terenure synagogue, one of Dublin's two remaining Orthodox synagogues. While music is an integral part of all synagogue services throughout the year, the musical repertoire of the Sabbath morning service has been selected as representing the music which is most commonly experienced by practicing Orthodox Jews in Dublin. Much of the music in Dublin's Orthodox synagogue has been retained as part of a Lithuanian oral tradition. However, the Dublin Jewish community is currently undergoing a demographic shift, owing to the emigration of Dublin-born Jews coupled with migration into Dublin of Jews from a variety of social, cultural and national backgrounds. As the profile of the Jewish community changes, there is evidence of a gradual shift in the musical tradition of the synagogue. Here there is an attempt to preserve part of the Lithuanian musical tradition for the future.

Ethnographic fieldwork has been conducted among all sections of the Jewish community of Dublin in order to obtain information regarding the history, culture and identity of Dublin Jews. This has provided insight into the oral tradition which has retained the music of the Orthodox synagogue thus far. Other sources of information have included archives and further published/unpublished resources. The research has also involved recording, transcribing and analysing examples of liturgical Jewish music performed in Dublin. This has resulted in a comprehensive historical account of the Dublin Jewish community together with a discussion on Irish Jewish identity. Such material provides a background for the corpus of music which has been collected from various contributors. As well as recordings, this features six fully transcribed versions of the main sections from the Orthodox Sabbath service performed by five individuals, and a discussion on performance practice within the synagogue. It also includes examples of congregational singing which also forms a significant part of the service. Considerations are given to issues including emotion, identity, transmission, gender and the role of the congregation in the performance of music within the Orthodox synagogue of Dublin.

The findings reveal that musical performance in the synagogue assists in promoting a sense of community among those who participate. Orthodox Jewish liturgical music and the way it is disseminated whether in the synagogue or other setting also provides a link with the past, dialogue with the past being an integral part of broad Jewish culture. Prior to this, little has been documented regarding the music of the Orthodox Dublin synagogue; therefore this research provides a basis on which further study of the topic may be conducted.

Declaration

I hereby declare that this is my own work and that it has not been submitted for the award of any degree in any other University or third-level institution.

Melanie Brown

Signed _____ Date _____

Supervisor: Dr Helen Phelan

Signed _____ Date _____

Acknowledgements

There are numerous people whom I need to thank for their time, effort and contribution to the information contained in this thesis.

My wonderful parents, Elaine and Leslie Brown have been enormously supportive throughout the entire research process which they have facilitated in every conceivable way.

Thanks must go to all those people who consented to be interviewed, recorded and photographed, and whose testimony has told so very much with regard to music, culture and identity in Dublin:

David Adler; Mildred Adler; Hilary Abrahamson; Maurice Abrahamson; Bernie Balfe; Andrew Barling; Tara Bell; David Brown; Fiona Brown; Michael Coleman; Diarmuid Curraoin; Alec Diamond; Harold Eppel; Joan Finkel; Howard Freeman; Jim Gibney; Celia Gittleson; Reuben Glass; Hilary Gross; Joseph Katz; Marilyn Kron; Miles Levine; Seton Menton; Kenneth Milofsky; Michael Mullin; Carl Nelkin; Moti Neumann; Emeritus Chief Rabbi Ya'acov Pearlman; Vanessa Rojack; Barry Rojack; Stanley Rojack; Edmund Ross; Stuart Rosenblatt; Maurice Samuelson; Shirley Samuelson; Alan Schwartzman; Edward Segal; Avron Shulman; Nurit Shulman; John Simon; George Smith; Menashe Twig; Karen Walsh; Terence Walsh; Evelyn Weil; Linda White; Andrew Woolfe; Valerie Woolfe.

I am particularly grateful to Howard Gross, Rev. Alwyn Shulman and Stanley Siev for the huge amount of time and immense quantity of information which they were prepared to share, and for the degree of commitment which they showed towards this project.

I must also acknowledge those who made valuable contributions to this project, but who are no longer with us and whose memories we cherish:

Cynthia Baker; Izzy (Isaac) Bernstein; Donald Buchalter; Stanley Buchalter; Louis Davis; Nick Harris; David Harrison; Geoffrey Kronn; Lila Kronn; Rene Lapedus; Malka Meron; Raphael Siev; Judge Hubert Wine.

Finally, I should like to thank my supervisor at UL, Dr Helen Phelan, for her invaluable advice, guidance and support throughout the preparation of this thesis.

Melanie Brown, 2012

List of Ethnographic Interviews

Name	Date	Place
Adler, David	15/07/10	Terenure synagogue
Adler, Mildred	15/07/10	Terenure synagogue
Abrahamson, Hilary	08/10/10	DJPC
Abrahamson, Maurice	07/11/07	Home of E. & L. Brown
Baker, Cynthia	23/08/07	Home of H. Wine
Balfe, Bernie	10/02/09	Newpark School
Barling, Andrew	04/08/10	Own home
Bell, Tara	17/02/10 23/12/10	Home of M. Brown Own home
Bernstein, Izzy (Isaac)	06/02/08	Bloomfield Care Home
Brown, David	19/11/07	Own home
Brown, Elaine	15/12/07; 18/01/08; 02/10/10; 09/10/10; 26/12/10; 29/04/11; 15/05/11	Own home
Brown, Fiona	20/06/06	Own home
Brown, Leslie	24/06/06; 18/01/08; 03/06/10; 26/12/10; 08/03/11	Own home
Buchalter, Stanley	01/02/08	Own home
Caplin, Adrian	06/06/09	Terenure synagogue
Coleman, Michael	11/06/08	Home of E. & L. Brown
Curraoin, Diarmuid	11/07/11	Home of B. Rojack
Davis, Louis	21/02/07	Own home
Diamond, Alec	06/08/09	Own home

Donn, Joanna	04/03/11	Own home (London, UK)
Eppel, Harold	12/09/09	Terenure synagogue
Finkel, Joan	15/03/10	Own home
Freeman, Howard	10/02/08	Terenure synagogue
Gibney, Jim	04/07/11	Castlecor cemetery, Co. Meath
Gittleson, Celia	20/07/06	Own home (Manchester, UK)
Glass, Reuben	22/08/10	Own home (London, UK)
Gross, Hilary	02/10/10	Terenure synagogue
Gross, Howard	13/07/06; 13/02/08; 12/10/08 23/06/09; 02/08/10	Home of E. & L. Brown Own home Terenure synagogue
Harris, Nick	30/06/06; 14/07/06; 08/08/07	Own home
Katz, Joseph	04/09/10	Machzekei Hadass synagogue
Kron, Marilyn	28/10/10	Home of V. & A. Woolfe
Kronn, Geoffrey	04/04/06	Own home
Kronn, Lila	04/04/06	Own home
Lapedus, Rene	04/1999	Own home
Levine, Miles	26/08/07; 11/05/08	Home of E. & L. Brown
Menton, Seton	17/09/06; 24/02/08	Home of E. & L. Brown
Meron, Malka	22/12/08	Own home (Ashqelon, Israel)
Milofsky, Kenneth	19/09/10	Terenure synagogue
Mullin, Michael	04/07/11	Castlecor cemetery, Co. Meath

Nelkin, Carl	15/06/10	Home of E. & L. Brown
Neumann, Moti	11/03/07; 25/03/07	Home of E. & L. Brown
Pearlman, Emeritus Chief Rabbi Ya'acov	13/06/07	Office of the Chief Rabbi
Rojack, Vanessa	06/07/11	Own home
Rojack, Barry	27/06/11; 11/07/11 06/07/11	Own home; Home of V. Rojack
Rojack, Stanley	06/07/11 11/07/11	Home of V. Rojack; Home of B. Rojack
Ross, Edmund	16/08/07	Home of E. & L. Brown
Rosenblatt, Stuart	02/07/10	Irish Jewish Museum
Samuelson, Maurice	01/02/08	Own home (London, UK)
Samuelson, Shirley	01/02/08	Own home (London, UK)
Schwartzman, Alan	03/08/06	Home of E. & L. Brown
Segal, Edward	13/01/08	Home of E. & L. Brown
Shulman, Rev. Alwyn	06/07/06; 20/09/06 24/01/07; 14/03/07; 25/03/07; 16/09/07; 18/01/09; 23/06/09; 22/09/09	Home of E. & L. Brown Own home
Shulman, Avron	22/09/09	Home of N. & Rev. A. Shulman
Shulman, Nurit	23/06/09	Own home
Siev, Raphael	22/06/06; 23/01/07; 24/02/08; 25/02/08; 18/12/08 20/02/08	Irish Jewish Museum Terenure synagogue
Siev, Stanley	02/07/06; 06/08/06; 17/12/06; 31/07/07; 07/08/07; 20/01/08; 31/12/08; 06/09/09; 24/12/09; 22/08/10; 30/12/10	Home of E. & L. Brown

Simon, John	24/02/08	Home of E. & L. Brown
Smith, George	04/07/11	Castlecor cemetery, Co. Meath
Tillman, Nora	22/11/11	Home of E. & L. Brown
Tweig, Menashe	27/07/09	Machzekei Hadass synagogue
Walsh, Karen	06/06/09	Machzekei Hadass synagogue
Walsh, Terence	02/07/06	Home of E. & L. Brown
Weil, Evelyn	22/08/07 23/08/07 29/08/07	Home of E. & L. Brown Home of H. Wine Own home (London, UK)
White, Linda	28/10/10	Home of V. & A. Woolfe
Wine, Hubert	23/08/07	Own home
Woolfe, Andrew	28/03/08	Home of E. & L. Brown
Woolfe, Valerie	28/10/10	Own home

Interviews took place in Dublin except where otherwise stated.

Introduction

The small but enduring Jewish community of Ireland, to which I belong, has existed for nearly four centuries. During this time, its members have experienced periodic fluctuations in population, changing fortunes, various political regimes, and differing levels of religious and racial tolerance, along with all other inhabitants of this country. A consequence of the continuing Jewish presence is that within Irish society, a separate Jewish culture has been fledged, with its own customs, traditions, religious practices and languages, together with its holy sites and burial grounds. It is from this culture that Irish Jewish identity has evolved, a bifurcated identity at once beset with contradictions and equipped with certainties.

A number of questions are raised by the very presence of Jews in Ireland. From where did they come, and why have they remained? What is Irish Jewish culture? How is it experienced, and in what ways does it define Irish Jewish identity? How is Irish Jewish identity expressed, and by whom? Is it possible to choose a single aspect of Jewish cultural practice to examine in terms of its impact on Irish Jewish identity?

Knowing the history of Jews in Ireland allows us to extrapolate some meaning derived from the presence of the Irish Jewish community, which may assist in answering the above sequence of questions. There is abundant literature documenting the Jews in Ireland. Some of this is biographical or autobiographical (Author unstated, 1979, 2010; Benson, 1977; Berman and Zlotover, 1966; Briscoe, 1958; Glass, 1986; Harris, 2002; Herzog, 1997; Kenny, 2005; McAuley, 2003; Price, 2002; Pyle, 1966; Sanders, 2007; White, 2009). These are largely based on personal anecdotes, and very often narrate the experience of being Jewish in Ireland from the specific point of view of the author or authors. There are also those books and articles which seek to present, to a greater or lesser extent, a broader view of Jewish history in Ireland (Benson, 2009; Butler, 1974, 1993; Crain, 1998; Cronin, 2008; Fitzgerald, 2010; Hyman, 1972; Keogh, 1997, 1999; Kooris, 2008; Hezser, 2005; Landy, 2007; Lentin, 2000; O'Brien, 1981; O'Gráda, 2004 and 2006; O'Riordan, 2007; Rivlin, 2003; Schweppe, 2008; Shillman, 1945; Siev, 2000; Spencer-Shapiro, 2003; Tracy,

1999; Traynor, 2010; Walsh, 2009; Weiner, 2002). These outline the history of Jewish migration into (and from) Ireland, and describe Jewish life, mainly in Dublin in the mid-twentieth century. They also examine specific phenomena such as the decline in the Irish Jewish population, or anti-Semitism. However, it has emerged that notwithstanding the amount of literature generated by the presence of Jews in Ireland, contained within these publications there is little or no in-depth examination of Irish Jewish cultural practices, and how these might impact on the cultural identity of Jews in Ireland today.

I believe there is an imperative to conduct research into Jewish culture and identity in Ireland at this time because, while the Jewish community has remained for nearly 400 years in Ireland and is extensively documented (as demonstrated above), it is currently undergoing a process of demographic change. Many members of the community are descendants of Lithuanian Jewish immigrants who arrived in Ireland between 1882 and 1920. In the recent past, the community has been decimated by emigration, yet as of now the numbers appear stable (at an estimated 2,000). The profile of the community has changed; as of now, not all Jews in Ireland are necessarily of Lithuanian extraction, yet Lithuanian Jewish ritual is still the norm, certainly within the Orthodox synagogue. This state of affairs may or may not change in the future, nonetheless it is important to document the cultural and religious practices introduced from Lithuania more than a century ago and still relevant in today's community, before they are eventually diluted by more heterogeneous American and Israeli Jewish traditions imported into Ireland by more recent immigrants, many of whom do not share a Lithuanian background with the Jews of Dublin. Also, contextualizing Jewish culture within Irish culture (itself an overwhelmingly strong majority culture which has become something of a commodity both at home and abroad), it must be noted that although the Irish Jewish community is so very small, it manages to retain a strong cultural identity of its own, so there is a need to acknowledge this, and to investigate how this identity is shaped through cultural practices.

One problem in determining Jewish identity in Ireland is the reflexive nature of any definition of identity; it is a fact that most recent discussions on Irish society, with few exceptions (Fanning, 2009; Hegarty, 2009; O'Sullivan, 2007), make no reference to

the Jewish community whatsoever (Ardagh, 1997; Brady and Simms, 2001; Cleary and Connolly, 2005; Casey, 2005; McDonald, 2009; Smith, 2009). Such gatekeeper representations of Irish society do not fail to reach any satisfactory conclusion regarding this particular minority culture. Instead, the issue is circumvented completely, permitting no theorization from a valuable sociological perspective on the development of Irish Jewish culture or identity, and giving no etic perspective on the lived experience of being Jewish in Ireland, either now or at any other time. It is difficult to explain this omission, given an assumption that the presence of the small but well-established Jewish community cannot but have noticed by the wider academic community, based on the ongoing presence of Irish Jews in the very public arenas of academia, medicine, justice, politics, arts and media. Yet it can only be concluded that in an Irish academic context, Jewish cultural identity does not exist; this is unhelpful in the quest to define Irish Jewish identity. The fate of Irish Jews has also escaped the notice of those who have prepared ethnographic studies of the worldwide Jewish diaspora (Brenner, 2003(a) & (b); Cohen, 2008; Gitelman, 1998; Safran, 2005; Schoenberg and Schoenberg, 1991; Tye, 2001). Perhaps Ireland is considered too distant, or the number of Jews therein too small to be statistically significant in such discussions.

Whatever the reasons may be, there remains much scope for the exploration of Jewish cultural identity in an Irish context, for the reason that little empirical knowledge has been presented in terms of Jewish cultural and religious practices, or synagogue-based ritual in Ireland. Heretofore, there has been no focus on a broad Jewish culture in Ireland, or on any one particular aspect of that culture, and no real examination of the phenomenon of Irish Jewish identity as it is experienced or expressed through any cultural practices. This thesis falls into two distinct parts; the remit of the earlier part (Chapters 2 and 3) is an attempt to address these missing points. To this end, I both make use of existing published and unpublished material, and conduct my own ethnographic research into Dublin Jewish society, as this is where the Irish Jewish community is most concentrated (the former commercial locus of the Dublin Jewish community is charted in Appendix 2). In doing so, a survey of Irish Jewish ritual spaces, cultural practices and their probable origins is conducted, followed by discussions on how these cultural practices help to assert Jewish cultural identity in Ireland. The methodology which served to achieve this is outlined in Chapter 1.

Reflections on Jewish history (Alperowitz, 1980; Beckerlegge, 2001; Brym, 1978; Dubnow, 1920; Fletcher-Jones, 1990; Finzi, 1999; Grayzel, 1960; Kriwaczek, 2006; Lipman, 1954; Meyer, 2001; Panami, 1999; Roth, 1941; Sachar, 2005; Schoenberg and Schoenberg, 1991; Silberstein, 2000) tend to focus on the tropes of migration, anti-Semitism and the Holocaust. While all of these have their role in the construction of Jewish, and Irish-Jewish identity and are addressed in this thesis, I am generally more concerned with the ontology of Jewish Ireland in a localised (Dublin) setting and within a fairly narrow time-frame (mainly the twentieth century).

The latter part of the thesis (Chapters 4 and 5) extracts a single Irish Jewish cultural practice, namely that of liturgical music in the Orthodox synagogue of Dublin, in order to see how identity might be refracted through this one practice. It explores how knowledge of this music is perpetuated, raises issues regarding gender and identity, and includes a discussion of style and performance practice with reference to five individual performers, all male, one a trained cantor, the others members of the Jewish community skilled in the art of leading religious services through the medium of music. Chapter 4 contains the full transcriptions, in staff notation with Hebrew transliteration sensitive to anomalies of Lithuanian pronunciation, of three complete versions of the Jewish Sabbath morning prayers (*Shachris*), and three complete versions of the additional Sabbath morning service (*Mussaf*) recited after the cantillation of the weekly portion of the *Torah*. It also includes transcribed versions of sections of the service which are sung by the congregation. In the synagogue, cantillation is performed according to prescribed musical phrases; the version of these which I have also recorded and transcribed is consistent with current practice in Dublin. Many Hebrew and Yiddish terms appear throughout this dissertation, mainly in a religious context; those which are recurrent are explained in the glossary provided in Appendix 1.

Many ethnographic studies of the music of Jewish diaspora communities exist (including, but not limited to Bromberg, 2009; Friedmann and Stetson, 2008; Frühauf, 2009; Gottlieb, 2004; Lachmann, 1940; Loeffler, 2010; Nettle and Bohlman, 1991; Potter, 1996; Radano and Bohlman, 2000; Randhofer, 2004; Rossen and Sharvit, 2006; Seroussi, 1998; Shelemay, 1988, 1995; Slobin, 1990, 1992, 1993; Summit, 2000; Tarsi, 2002; Werner, 1967, 1984; Wise, 1867; Yanting, 2004); it is a

popular field of endeavour. One such study of Jewish music in Dublin has been made in recent years (Spencer-Shapiro, 2003), with particular reference to the music of the Reform (Progressive) synagogue. This describes in detail certain musical practices within that one synagogue, while some general observations are made regarding Irish Jewish history, and about musical practices in the Orthodox synagogues of Dublin.

However, there is the potential for much more Irish Jewish history and music to be taken into account if research is not limited to one synagogue, but rather takes in representatives from all extant synagogues and as many age-groups as possible, not only older contributors to the research process who provide valuable insight into traditions associated with people and places now out of reach. It is inarguable that the further back peoples' memories extend, the more information can be obtained regarding practices in the past; a universal aspect of Jewish culture is a veneration for the past, and a desire to maintain connections with the past. My main reason for choosing liturgical music above all other Jewish cultural practices is that at an experiential level, it is this music that has been shared most consistently among Dublin Jews in the past and in the present. While not allowing us to communicate directly with ancestors who have performed and listened to the same music, we can nonetheless treat this music as an artefact, an object given to us by those from the past. Its use and preservation are dependent on the way in which it is regarded in the present.

Discussions of Jewish music in a wider context (Edelman, 2003; Gradenwitz, 1996; Glass, 2003; Heskes, 1994; Idelsohn, 1948; Levy, 1991; Rothmüller, 1953; Shiloah, 1992; Werner, 1967) acknowledge a distinct Lithuanian musical tradition, and include small sections of synagogue services notated for purposes of illustration. There appears an assumption that this tradition is universally common among all Lithuanian Jewish communities; to a large extent, this is correct. Yet in the various realisations of, for example, the musical symbols which guide the cantillation of the *Torah* (Idelsohn, 1948; Rosowsky, 1957; Tunkel, 2002), those represented as Lithuanian are only partly similar to each other and to those which are performed in Dublin. There is the suggestion that all Lithuanian Jewish communities, over time and due to regional and personal influences, develop their own distinct musical voice. Thus, other than the preservation of this musical tradition, the main reason behind the transcription

process to which I have subjected the different Dublin performances of Sabbath-day music (all five of whose exponents were born in different decades of the twentieth century) is to facilitate comparison between them in relation to melody, modality and rhythm. It is with less regard to differences, and more to the similarities which emerge between the different performances, that conclusions may be drawn relating to the influence which the past has to bear upon the present in the context of this one Irish Jewish cultural practice. However, the very real differences between each performance indicate the extent to which these musical traditions are changed and adapted according to personal considerations of technical vocal accomplishment and aesthetic value.

This thesis contains detailed descriptions, not only of Irish Jewish liturgical music, but of Irish Jewish history and Irish Jewish customs and traditions, together with the places in which they are practiced, primarily in Dublin. The importance of this research hinges on the fact that cultural practices and identity are not yet truly represented in the extensive literature which already exists on the Irish Jewish community. Also, music is a central feature of Jewish religious ritual in Ireland and elsewhere, yet until now it has not been cited as a cultural marker contributing to Jewish identity in Ireland. It is hoped that this thesis addresses all of these issues, in order that it may assist in harnessing the role of music in the definition of Irish Jewish identity.

Melanie Brown, 2012.

1. Jewish Liturgical Music in Dublin: Research in the field

1.1 Introduction

Jewish liturgical music has been performed in Dublin since 1660, when the first synagogue was established in an adapted room in a building on Crane Lane, in the Temple Bar area, near the quays on the south side of the River Liffey (Shillman, 1945). No sketches or paintings are in evidence of this early synagogue or of the people who worshipped within it. No record exists of its *minhag*, that is to say, the protocols and traditions unique to this one synagogue (as indeed every synagogue in the world possesses its own *minhag*). The *nigunim*, or melodies to which the sacred texts were sung, are lost from living memory four hundred years later, as is the *nusach* (the entire repertoire of modes and melodies unique to a congregation or community). No headstone marking the grave of any of these Jewish pioneers can be found in Dublin; even the dead of that early community repose elsewhere, perhaps in London (Hyman, 1972) where the sister synagogue to Crane Lane had been established four years previously in 1656, along with a *beis olam* or Jewish cemetery (Barnett and Levy, 1970). Due to a cessation of Jewish activity in Dublin in the years between the closure (for lack of congregation) of Crane Lane synagogue in circa 1710 and the opening of another on Marlborough Street in 1760 on the north side of the city centre (Hyman, 1972), it cannot be claimed that any modern practices which take place in today's Dublin synagogues are modelled on those of the very first synagogue.

Jewish religious practice relies heavily on ancient oral traditions of action, text and music, yet the Jewish community of Dublin in the twenty-first century retains no legacy from its seventeenth century predecessors that we know of. Given the lack of material retained from this era of Irish Jewish history, I determined that it was necessary to evolve a methodology to capture and preserve a record of Jewish cultural practices in Ireland. This is in order to reflect the modern history of the Irish Jewish community, and my research focuses mainly on Orthodox Jewish cultural and religious practices in Dublin, as the majority of practicing Jews in Ireland are based in

Dublin and affiliate themselves to a greater or lesser extent with Orthodox Judaism. To this end, I have engaged in a process of research, much of it involving fieldwork over a five-year period. The fieldwork is complemented by written sources which have also been of great assistance in presenting certain phenomena relating to the past and also the present.

This research has been undertaken partly in an attempt to ensure that at least some aspects of the present Jewish community will not disappear so very completely, and partly to ensure that in the future, there will be evidence of the people and places that constitute the Dublin Jewish community from this particular point in time. In engaging in this research, I am also trying to ensure that earlier practices, still dimly recollected in today's community, remain on some kind of experiential level in the present and future consciousness of the Jewish and perhaps wider communities. Thus, while my fieldwork has occupied a finite number of years, the musical timeframe which I have explored has been more open-ended, extending to a period long before the synagogues we attend in Dublin were ever built, and before I and many of my contributors were born. Knowing even some details of past Jewish liturgical musical practices in Dublin assists in our understanding of why some endure to this day, and who instituted them. It allows us to identify with our predecessors whose forbidding black-and-white photographs give little clue to the personalities of those pictured, but whose voices we can imagine were lifted in prayer, mouthing the same words used in worship today. Philip Bohlman expresses this in the essay 'Returning to the Ethnomusicological Past', which is itself a journey of discovery into the music of a lost and mainly forgotten Jewish community in Burgenland, Germany:

It becomes increasingly important to know why we want to understand this ethnomusicological past, and knowing why may, in the best of circumstances, draw us slightly closer to the past lived by others we can no longer know.

(Bohlman in Barz and Cooley, 2008, 255)

1.2 Motivations

My reasons for undertaking a study such as this are two-fold. Firstly, they are bound up in a desire to memorialize the past, a past that one could argue is receding gradually from the visions and memories of those who remain to share it. Secondly, I find a need to acknowledge the present, to observe those who combine their legacy of a shared past with other Dublin Jews, with the very pressing and real concerns of today's lived experiences. The place at which this past intersects with the experiences of the present is the point at which we begin to define Jewish cultural identity in Dublin. An exploration of how this is refracted through certain social, religious and musical practices will be attempted in subsequent chapters within this thesis.

At the risk of straying into the realm of what is described as 'self-indulgent and confessional ethnography' (Cooley in Barz and Cooley, 2008, 20), I consider that this requires further clarification. I reached a critical point in the realisation of a desire to document the musical past of Jewish Dublin when, around six years before the time of writing, I attempted to recall a melody sung in the synagogue, now long gone, where my family attended during my childhood. I was twelve years old when that synagogue closed. It took a long time for me to dredge this melody from my recollections of the past; nobody I knew could help. When, with some relief, I finally did remember the elusive melody, I realised that mine was the last memory in which it resided. If, or when I should forget it, it would disappear—one more piece of musical ephemera to be lost, part of a chain of oral history perhaps broken. In order to dispel this sense of loss, it seemed necessary to delay no further, and to commit every piece of such music that was possible to a retrieval system that was larger, more accurate and more reliable than my own memory. Thus I have interviewed many individuals in the Jewish community of Dublin, listened to their accounts and their singing, written the data, recorded it and, most importantly, stored it digitally, so that the portion of Dublin musical (and incidentally social history), which I obtained from many sources, shall not be lost.

This sense of loss informs the work of many historians and ethnographers when dealing with Jewish topics; it is often accompanied by feelings of nostalgia, together with the desire to preserve. Edna Fernandes's *The Last Jews of Kerala* investigates the diminution of the Jewish community in the region of Cochin in India, from where most Jews have left for Israel (Fernandes, 2008). The very title of Peter Renton's study of London's Jewish past is underscored with regret: *The Lost Synagogues of London* (Renton, 2000). Frédéric Brenner undertook a massive photography project, capturing images of Jews from all walks of life, across the world. In his introduction to the final, published volumes, he puts forward the perhaps unduly alarmist view that Jewish culture, all of it, is gradually being lost:

My work was driven by a sense of imminent loss. Two thousand years of history were about to vanish, were vanishing. I felt a desire and a responsibility to document these permutations of survival in exile before they disappeared; photography was simply a means to that end. As I began my journey, I realised how much loss had already taken place.

(Brenner, 2003(a), ix)

While the history of the Dublin Jewish community extends 400 years and beyond, most Jews living in Dublin at this time are descended from Lithuanian immigrants who arrived in Dublin between 1880 and 1920. The culture and traditions of Lithuanian Jews thus filter down to the 21st century, and traces of them are noticeable among the religious and domestic practices in Dublin Jewish households even now. The same is true of practices within the institution that is the Dublin synagogue, with particular regard to the music. The *nusach* of the Lithuanian Jewish immigrants has been passed down through the years, or to use a phrase which crops up very frequently throughout the Jewish liturgy, '*ledor vador*' ('from generation to generation') (Singer, 1962, 83, 188, 207, 213, etc.). It is sung in the Orthodox synagogues of Dublin every Sabbath and every weekday, voices from the past resonating through the shrill sopranos, sweet tenors and muscular baritones of the present, a massed choir uniting the absent and the living.

The Jewish community in Dublin currently numbers approximately 1000. The exact figure is difficult to gauge owing to the fact that since the 2001 Irish census, 'Jewish' is no longer an optional field to be filled in under the category of 'Religion'. This number appears fairly stable, and the descendants of the Lithuanian immigrants are now joined by Jews of many nationalities and backgrounds. These relative newcomers revitalise the community, contributing a new life-force to important institutions and adding their images to the varied gallery of Dublin Jewish society. With their presence come their traditions, rituals and *nusach*, some of which can be absorbed into existing Dublin practices and others which cannot, replacing old customs and allowing them to fade.

The music of the remaining Dublin Orthodox synagogues is still demonstrably similar to that which was performed when the numbers of Lithuanian Jews and their descendants were highest, during the mid-20th century. However, social and cultural changes happening within the Jewish community, albeit gradually, may lead to a shift in these musical traditions. Just as the *nusach* of the 17th century Portuguese Jewish settlers in Dublin is irrevocably lost so many years after their 50-year sojourn, so it could be that the music of the Lithuanian Jewish settlers might also be changed or even lost. Through my processes of ethnographic writing, recording, transcription, photography and other tools for the documentation of this musical tradition, I aspire to preserve even a small part of it. I do this for myself, for my family, for my many contributors, and for the future.

1.3 Selecting a Musical Theme

The repertoire of Jewish ritual music is very large, even within a small Jewish community such as that in Ireland. It became necessary to reconcile the temptation to capture all aspects of this (whether associated with, for example, domestic, funereal or synagogue music) with the need to limit the scale of the research in order that it should be manageable within the scope of a single dissertation.

The decision was made to focus on the Orthodox Sabbath service, with emphasis on ritual and musical practices in Terenure synagogue, the larger of the two remaining

Orthodox synagogues in Dublin. The age profile of many of those who contributed to the project, coupled with the fact that many of these people attended other synagogues among the many which proliferated in Dublin during the 20th century meant that listening to present-day musical practices forced a degree of engagement with the past and enlightened me as to musical practices common in Dublin's synagogues up to around eighty years before the time of writing. It appeared that the musical practices common during the past were at least partly instrumental in forming the practices presently in use.

The decision to focus upon what developed into an ethnographic study of the music and ritual practices of Terenure synagogue was predicated on various facts. Firstly, the Jewish community in Ireland is now based in Dublin. Whereas there are Jews living in most parts of the country, Dublin is the place where there is the greatest concentration in terms of numbers, and is the place where Jewish cultural and religious practices are most likely to be observed. Secondly, the Orthodox Jewish liturgy is most familiar to me, given that I am a practicing Orthodox Jew and was raised in this tradition. Thirdly, I was more confident in the level of co-operation which I might receive from potential contributors in Terenure synagogue than in either of the other synagogues in Dublin (one Orthodox, one Reform), as I am a long-standing member there. Finally, it seemed that liturgy, ritual and music performed on the Sabbath morning were most representative of what was (and is) habitual and expected among the Orthodox Jews of Dublin, in terms of a customary activity such as synagogue attendance. This was due to a high level of involvement on the part of members of the congregation, in addition to and sometimes in place of the cantor leading the services. Therefore, I found the music of the Orthodox Sabbath service to be emblematic of Dublin Orthodox Jewish ritual, more so than that of festivals such as *Rosh Hashona* (New Year) or *Pesach* (Passover), or other major Jewish holidays. This is because liturgy and music associated with festivals tend to be less well-known to the regular congregation, itself augmented by infrequent visitors and strangers, than those of the Sabbath which are more established due to their ongoing weekly repetition.

In Terenure synagogue, as elsewhere, three separate services combine to create the entity which is the Sabbath morning service in its entirety, all of which will be

explored in greater detail in Chapters 3 and 4. These are *Shachrit* (known in the local Lithuanian-inflected Hebrew as *Shachris*); reading from the *Torah* and Book of Prophets; *Mussaf*, also referred to as the Additional Service. The music and Hebrew texts which have been transcribed and transliterated for the purposes of this dissertation derive principally from complete versions of *Shachrit* and *Mussaf*. I have included excerpts from the *Torah* service but have chosen not to represent this in its entirety because of its complexity resulting from the large number of individuals involved and the consequent lack of musical continuity and homogeneity.

As mentioned above, the musical transcriptions include transliterations of the Hebrew texts used throughout the Sabbath service. In Terenure synagogue the pronunciation of Hebrew by most (although not all) of the congregation differs somewhat from modern spoken Hebrew (*Ivrit*), and indicates the Lithuanian origins of the Jewish community in Dublin. This can be detected in, for example, the replacing of “t” with “s” when reading the Hebrew consonant *Tav* (ת), or the rendering of the diacritic *Qamets* (ך) as “oh” instead of *Ivrit* “ah”. It will be seen in many of my transliterations that I have captured the Lithuanian form of Hebrew pronunciation, as this is a true reflection of current practices in Dublin in this regard. Where *Ivrit* pronunciation is used, notably in the versions recorded by Rev. Alwyn Shulman, I have expressed this in the transliterations.

1.4 The Field

In embarking upon the research into Jewish culture and identity in Ireland, it became evident how elegantly the following words of Jacques Derrida describe how any researcher might engage in an ethnographic research process, and how necessary it is to be fully conversant with issues contained within the area of study:

Let us imagine a scholar. A specialist in ritual analysis, he seizes upon this work, assuming that someone has not presented him with it (something we will never know). At any rate, he makes quite a thing of it, believing he can recognize in it the ritualized unfolding of a ceremony, or even a liturgy, and this becomes a theme, an *object* of

analysis for him. Ritual, to be sure, does not define a field. There is ritual everywhere. Without it there would be no society, no institutions, no history. Anyone can specialize in the analysis of rituals; it is not therefore a speciality. This scholar, let us call him an analyst, may also be, for example, a sociologist, an anthropologist, a historian, or, if you like, an art critic or a literary critic, perhaps even a philosopher. You or me. Through experience and more or less spontaneously, each of us can to some degree play the part of an analyst or critic of rituals; no one refrains from it. However, to play a role in this work, to play *a* role wherever it may be, one must at the same time be inscribed in the logic of the ritual and, precisely so as to perform properly in it, to avoid mistakes and transgressions, one must to some extent be able to analyse it. One must understand its norms and interpret the rules of its functioning. Between the actor and the analyst, whatever the distance or differences may be, the boundary therefore appears uncertain. And always permeable. It *must* even be crossed at some point only for there to be analysis at all but also for behaviour to be appropriate and ritualized normally.

(Derrida in Wood, 1992, 5)

1.4.1 At Home in the Field

The Jewish community of Dublin constitutes my research population. Much of the fieldwork, the observation, the interviews, the recording, the participation in synagogue services, has taken place in the south Dublin suburb of Terenure, where I have lived for most of my life. It could be said that when I leave my house, or dial a telephone number, I am inside the field. Conversely, some of my fieldwork seems little different from other normal encounters I might have with family, friends and neighbours. This could be a potentially confusing situation for both myself and my contributors, where polite conversation can be mistakenly thought of as an interview, or where an interview situation is treated as an opportunity for a companionable chat. This issue arises in the essay ‘Why I’m Not an Ethnomusicologist: A View from Anthropology’, in which it is cautioned that ‘[T]he hidden assumption here is that it is not really *work* if someone is so dangerously “inside”’ (Bigenho in Stobart, 2008, 31).

I am irrevocably situated within my own field, forming an element of that field, just as being part of that field has influenced the manner in which I function, the way in which I engage with everything and everybody within my orbit. Thus at times, whether interviewing a participant who happens to be a neighbour, or taking part in a synagogue service to which familial and social expectations would probably lead me notwithstanding the circumstances, the parameters of what constitute “normal day-to-day interactions” or otherwise become less clear. This fact is consolidated by Henry Stobart’s assertion that: ‘...the temporal, spatial and cultural boundaries between so-called “fieldwork” and “everyday life” are more blurred for many of us today...’ (Stobart in Stobart, 2008, 14).

When fieldwork is conducted among people and situations familiar to the researcher and where cultural practices, memories and even family bonds are common to both researcher and subject, it is not always easy to make assumptions regarding the respective roles of insider and outsider. These differences are not always quite apparent, as noted in the experiences of Lillis Ó Laoire, a native Gaelic speaker from Donegal conducting ethnographic research in the largely Gaelic-speaking community of Tory Island: ‘...the categories of emic and etic are blurred and up for negotiation because of, and through, reflexive field experience and interaction with tradition’ (Ó Laoire, 2003, 118). It is not a simple task to live in a community for many years, perhaps one’s whole life, and abruptly one day attempt to amend one’s position within that community from member to researcher, participant to observer, perhaps even insider to outsider. How one defines oneself during the course of the research process is critical in any of the three foregoing dichotomies, and influences, in very real terms, the degree of information which can be obtained from one’s real, live, sentient human subjects. In other words: ‘The identities that are attributed to us and the roles we are placed in during fieldwork matter-to the people we study, to us, and to the research process’ (Horland, 2009). While the entire panoply of human relationships is moveable and prone to adjustment, such a change in status is neither possible nor desirable. The benefits of not attempting to do so are manifold, reducing the need to negotiate relationships based on trust or power. Acknowledging a shared history with one’s informants and apprising them of one’s interest in any or all aspects of that history combine to allow for communication to take place on a deep, intuitive

level. Jonathan Stock and Chou Chiener probe this very issue in the chapter 'Fieldwork at home' where it is stated:

... "home" is as constructed as the "field." It may be multiple, as we add new "homes" to older ones as our lives progress. Doing fieldwork there activates a cluster of qualities. These include a sense of shared linguistic and interactive codes and emotional repertoires, possibly allowing (or requiring) certain assumptions to remain unstated or certain modes of humor to unfold; a recognition of commonly held cultural values, expressive norms, and local knowledge; a (re)turn to deep-rooted musical intuitions and memories that predate any explicit research training or agenda; an awakened appreciation of affinities based on variables such as age, gender, class, and taste.

(Stock and Chiener in Barz and Cooley, 2008, 112)

In a similar vein, doing fieldwork within one's own community could be said to promote greater confidence in the approach that researcher and subjects have towards each other than might be the case with a researcher approaching the field from an etic perspective. This allows for greater ease in the transmission and exchange of information.

In a sense, some fieldwork has taken place in the past. It has been achieved through visits to the haunts and holy places of Dublin Jews long gone, through sifting among written accounts of their activities, and through time spent with the descendants of such people. This partial reconstruction of the past complements the detailed knowledge which abounds regarding the present, and unites to form as large a picture as possible of Dublin Jewish community: its culture, traditions, and most importantly, its music.

1.4.2 Research Population

The field in which I have been operating for the purposes of this research does not refer to a conceptual population, but to a very real constituency, involving mainly Orthodox members of the Dublin Jewish community. This population is now mainly resident in the suburbs of the south side of Dublin.

A man who submits to various customary obligations, who follows a traditional course of action, does it impelled by certain motives, to the accompaniment of certain feelings, guided by certain ideas. These ideas, feelings and impulses are moulded and conditioned by the culture in which we find them, and are therefore an ethnic peculiarity of the given society.

(Malinowski, 1922, 55)

The Orthodox Jewish men and women of this “given society” in Dublin follow a traditional and moreover ancient course of action when they engage in any activity which could be defined as Jewish ritual, and particularly whenever they enter the synagogue, be that frequently or not. These are the people who, by agreeing to participate in this research, have assisted me in illuminating social, cultural, religious and musical practices. Throughout the processes of fieldwork, I have found that empiricism has moved beyond positivist assumptions, to be replaced by post-positivist considerations of the subjective knowledge and experiences of my contributors and of myself.

It is of benefit to consider Burgess’s five criteria for selecting field sites, in order to determine the suitability of this field as a viable subject for research. These are: simplicity, accessibility, unobtrusiveness, permissibility and participation.

‘Simplicity (selecting a site that offers the opportunity to move from simple to more complex situations and subsites)’ (Burgess, 1984, 61).

My investigations into the liturgical musical life of this community have led from a simple observation of musical practices to a more detailed study of the places in which these practices have taken place, and the people behind the practices.

‘Accessibility (selecting a site that permits access and entry)’ (ibid.).

No factors currently exist which prevent me from access to my research population, as I am an indigenous member of the Irish Jewish community, and am resident in Dublin, allowing for me to maintain an emic perspective of the community. Moreover, I have very often been invited into the homes of my contributors, and have been actively encouraged to explore ritual spaces outside the normal hours of access (Sabbath and Holy Days). However, there exist barriers to recording in certain places at certain times; the Orthodox Jewish proscription relating to work on the Sabbath has precluded me from recording the Sabbath service *in situ* in the synagogue.

‘Unobtrusiveness (selecting a site that permits the researcher to be low profile)’ (ibid.).

As a member of the Jewish community in Dublin, it is unremarkable to see me attending synagogue services and socializing with members of this community; people familiar with me found my interest in Jewish music consistent with my profession as a musician.

‘Permissibility (selecting a site in which the research is permissible and the researcher has free entry)’ (ibid.).

Again, my status as recognised member of the community, and musician, has allowed for both clergy and lay people to discuss all aspects of music and religion with me, at various times and in many places. This has meant that the more religious among my informants were able to assume my familiarity with religious topics, making communication easier for them. It also gave them the assurance that I would deal with the musical information in a knowledgeable and impartial way.

‘Participation (selecting a site in which the researcher is able to participate in the ongoing activities)’ (ibid.).

Having attended Orthodox synagogue services from my early infancy, there are few aspects of the synagogue ritual with which I am unfamiliar, and no barriers to my ongoing participation in these rituals. I have also been continuously involved in other social, cultural and religious activities within the community, and move freely amidst people who either know me or somebody else in my close or extended family.

The above would suggest that for all practical purposes, my chosen field is entirely suitable as an area for research. In terms of the music of this community, there are two contiguous areas to be examined, one of which is also concerned with the past, specifically with the practice of music in the past. The other is the continuous and immediate nature of the music, those who perform it, and those who witness it.

1.4.3 Sampling Strategy

The contributors in my research population were mainly chosen by a process of purposive sampling of Orthodox Jewish people (mainly men) who participate in the institutional ritual of synagogue attendance. To a lesser degree, I adopted a process of convenience sampling (family members and close friends). The regularity and frequency with which music of the synagogue is performed has reduced both the music and the act of performance (especially in the eyes of those who perform it most often) as an unspectacular, pedestrian entity, learned in childhood and repeated as an everyday chore. This poses a challenge to the researcher who, in dealing with potential contributors, is faced with a degree of negativity allied with scepticism as to why such an ordinary, routine activity should merit investigation, and incredulity as to why any individual should be credited with possessing an unusual skill, when all he is doing is taking part in this supposedly ordinary and routine activity. Indeed, it was said to my face by a reluctant although ultimately co-operative contributor: ‘I’m very sceptical about all of this!’ This is not a unique experience during the process of fieldwork; Caroline Bithell acknowledges that during her time in the field researching polyphonic singing in Corsica:

At a broader level, many were sceptical about the value of academic analysis with its tendency to categorize or evaluate trends that, from their perspectives, were a more or less organic part of real people's lives and that happened for reasons of their own (or for no ostensible reason at all.

(Bithell, 2003, 81)

However, my attempt at assigning significance to the mundane nature of Jewish daily prayer is endorsed by Steyn in her discussion of the banal:

...my perception of the banal is at least twofold. It connotes writing about the Jew as seen in everyday life, the individual alone and together with others, the Jew at home, at work or in society. In this sense, the banal encourages us to remember what may seem trivial and mundane details.

(Steyn, 1999, 1)

It would be unfair to state that all potential contributors reacted with scepticism, and it became apparent that there were two main reasons behind those unwilling to credit themselves or others with possessing special skills. Firstly, they genuinely believed that the ability to memorise hours of disparate melodies, and many thousands of words in an abstruse, ancient foreign language, in themselves or others, is unremarkable. According to Dr Howard Gross, who was expressing genuine modesty regarding his competence at leading services: 'There's nothing special about what I do; I just do it. Why would anybody be interested?' (in conversation, 2 February 2008). Additionally, a sense of duty at having to perform the prayers outweighed any appreciation they may have had for their own skills.

There were also those who revelled in their own musicality and skill, and who were willing to advance both positive and negative criticism of other peoples' abilities. These last-named proved to be the most approachable and informative, possibly due to confidence in their own knowledge and skills as performers. Some were anxious to assure me that historically they had always been recognised as good singers, including Alan Schwartzman: 'When I was four years old, I led the *brocha* (blessing) for

Chanukah (the Festival of Lights) in Adelaide Road [synagogue]' (in conversation, 3 August 2006). Others revealed to me their musical training and background, including Stanley Siev:

I went for piano lessons with an old lady who lived near the [river] Dodder; it was hell! When I was a boy, I attended St Katherine's School on Donore Avenue...Our teacher taught us to sing; we learned do-re-me-fa-so-la-ti-do...He showed us how to breathe properly...They didn't learn how to sing in Bloomfield Avenue [a neighbouring school] (in conversation, 2 July 2006).

I managed to gain the support and co-operation both from the clergy and from those lay-people whom I recognised as being both capable and willing to perform both in the synagogue environment and for my benefit. The degree of approachability varied between contributors, and the most effective strategy was to convince the clergy of the value of this entire project in the first instance. With their support and example, it proved easier to gain the co-operation of other members of the community.

The very first potential contributor whose validation was sought was the only cantor in the community, Rev. Alwyn Shulman. Rev. Shulman did not require any convincing of the overall merit of the project. Instead, he concurred with the premise that current musical practices within the Dublin Jewish community were worthy of investigation and preservation. Moreover, he agreed that some past musical practices and practitioners still exerted influence on contemporary ones, an example of many remarks he made in this regard being: 'That's an Adelaide Road [synagogue] tune,' or 'I believe Rev. Hass used to sing that,' or 'Philly Rubenstein taught that to me.' He then revealed that he had, in the past, taken an active interest in the musical practices of an older generation than his own when he first arrived in Dublin (having previously lived in South Africa and Israel). He also loaned me books from his large collection of literature on the subject of Jewish liturgical music. He allowed himself to be treated as a consultant on religious matters, and to describe the full range of duties incumbent upon a cantor. Having thus obtained the support from the cantor, I was in a position to be taken seriously by other potential informants.

Rev. Shulman was one of many who shared the opinion that part of Dublin's musical tradition within the synagogue was now in the process of being overlooked and ultimately forgotten. On one occasion when I complimented Dr Howard Gross on a particularly memorable melody which I had not heard before, and with which he had led the congregation in *Anim Zemirot* (one of the concluding hymns in the Sabbath service, often led by a child), he replied:

Barry [his eldest son] used to sing it when he was little. I don't think it's been sung here for about thirty years (in conversation, 12 September 2009).

Edward Segal was of the opinion that my research project had been started too late to capture any of the past musical practices of the community, and stated positively: 'It's all gone. There's no *nusach* any more!' (in conversation, 15 June 2006).

1.5 Methods

Having defined my field, it was then necessary to crystallise the means at my disposal to obtain information. With many sources at my disposal, it seemed that triangulation of qualitative research methods used to gather data would prove more reliable than using one catch-all means of obtaining information. These have included: interviews; use of recording devices; photography; analysis of archive material; participation observation; performance; ethnography; transcription.

1.5.1 Interviews

In adopting interviewing as the primary method of gathering data, it is an obvious truth that the researcher must submit to accepting the testimony of contributors, who are, by the nature of the human condition, steeped in their own past, thus colouring their perspective. Such testimony is the hermeneutic portrayal of the world in the individual experience of each informant, and is the root of subjectivity. This definition of subjectivity is consolidated by Madison's words on the subject:

Subjectivity begins with an individual identity, a site of consciousness and a thinking self. In order for there to be a perception or a subjective view, there must be a subject, and in turn this subject is composed of meaning and history.

(Madison, 2005, 14)

On a human level, I felt it vital to establish and maintain a positive rapport with my contributors. The importance of building a satisfactory rapport with one's informants cannot be underestimated, especially when, as stated elsewhere, I will continue to engage with these people and their families long after this research process has ceased. The people in my field continue to interact with me whether or not I am conducting research into the lives of themselves and their families; many have a past, a present, and perhaps a future inextricably bound up in my own:

If we, the researchers, take a moment to consider our own fieldwork contexts, the faces and voices of individuals with whom we spent time flood the halls of our memories in an instant: individuals who shared with us their expertise, knowledge, music, food, homes, secrets, joys and sorrows. Our experience of the field was and is enmeshed in a web of human relationships, more or less intimate, more or less personal.

(Hellier-Tinoco, 2003, 19)

When considering the balance of power between interviewer and interviewee, the interviewer must not allow a situation to arise in which the interviewee feels belittled by the scope of the questioning, or by the presupposed "superior" knowledge of the interviewer. Thus, it is important for the interviewer to consider the impression that he or she gives, and to tailor this according to the personality of the interviewee. The issue of reactivity is thus a reflexive one, in which I, as interviewer, have had to guard the impression I give of myself to my informants, just as they have been likely to act in a particular way in response to my questioning:

Attempts to convey a desired impression of one's self and to interpret accurately the behaviour and attitudes of others are an

inherent part of any social interaction, and they are crucial to ethnographic research.

(Berreman in Robben and Sluka, 2007, 138)

The most satisfactory outcome of this is that the atmosphere created during my interaction with my contributors was conducive to mutual tolerance and understanding, leading to the sharing of facts. Gordon sheds further light on this process of establishing rapport in his essay 'Dimensions of the Depth Interview' when constructing a model based on the following considerations: degree of ego threat; degree of forgetting; degree of generalization; degree of subjective experience; conscious versus unconscious experience; degree of trauma; degree of etiquette (Gordon, 2003, 160). I believe it is the case that maintaining a satisfactory rapport is dependent on sympathy and consideration for the point of view of the contributor. Addressing each degree of the Gordon Model, I came to the following conclusions:

Degree of ego threat. The pitfalls of arrogant perception can easily be avoided by the interviewer ensuring that he or she is not deliberately represented as an "expert" in the field of enquiry, but rather is reliant on the reminiscences and opinions of the interviewee as a source of information and insight. It must also be mentioned that a very small minority of interviewees felt that their expertise in the matters under discussion was far greater than mine, and did not trouble to hide this fact.

Degree of forgetting. While this might be distressing for the individual contributor (one particular interviewee cried out in frustration at being unable to recollect a person's name: 'I'm getting old, Melanie!'), from the researcher's point of view, this is less inimical to the gathering of data when there are many individuals to be interviewed, several of whose reminiscences overlap.

Degree of generalization. Generalization is not always negative, because a certain amount of theory can develop from general observations. It should be avoided if it originated in a lack of knowledge or understanding of the subject, or if it leads to stereotyping (a nonchalant and consistent response which I received from a number of London-based cantors when I described my research at a cantors' convention in

London, was: ‘Dublin? There’s nothing special about Dublin; it’s *Litvishe* (Lithuanian)’ (in conversation, 9–10 July 2008).

Degree of subjective experience. When sentient people are regarded as the source of information, then that information is garnered through the narrative processes of these people, and must be accepted on those terms. However, as before, when the reminiscences of many individuals overlap, the subjective views of many people can be examined in tandem, and different results may emerge.

Conscious versus unconscious experience. The recounting of anecdotes is based on the conscious experiences of the informants. When broaching spiritual or religious topics with a group of people who share a common past, it is possible that these people react to certain events or phenomena at levels which are both conscious and unconscious.

Degree of trauma. This is a serious ethical issue, which should underscore any line of questioning, in order to avoid the effort of recollection causing pain or unhappiness to the interviewee. However, there were occasions when interviewees, dredging memories of events from fifty or sixty years ago, such as their own *bar mitzvahs*, when experiences that had not been thought about for long tracts of time, surfaced in the consciousness of these people. When I asked Dr Stanley Buchalter about the period of study leading up to his *bar mitzvah* (a topic I raised with all my male contributors), he replied, with some bitterness: ‘My father took more interest in my brother’s religious education than mine’ (in conversation, 1 February 2008). Dr Andrew Woolfe recounting his *bar mitzvah* experiences recalled the following:

I felt really sick that morning, but I had to go to *shul*. I got up on the *bimah* (altar) with my father, and I cried all the way through my *maftir* (reading from the Book of Prophets)...Later on, at the dinner, I got up to make my speech, and I just stood there and cried...Apparently I had the measles (in conversation, 28 March 2008).

A comment I made to Michael Coleman regarding his Hebrew pronunciation brought forth an account of his very disturbing memories of having served in the RAF during the Second World War, most of which he had never articulated before (in conversation, 11 June 2008). To me, this demonstrated the far-reaching and sometimes unfortunate consequences of seemingly simple questions.

Degree of etiquette. This is another ethical issue in which it must be recognised that certain modes of address, behaviour or even dress should be observed depending on the people with whom the interviewer is dealing, or the places in which interviews or discussions take place. When conducting interviews in the homes of some of my older and respected contributors, and indeed elsewhere, I was careful always to dress formally, underscoring the seriousness with which I regarded the interview process. Those with whom I was already on first-name terms, I addressed by name; however, I was careful to address the others by their titles, for instance Mr, Mrs, Rabbi, Dr or Judge.

It has been necessary to refine a field strategy which allows for an inoffensive and painless technique for extracting information from participants. This I tried to manage in a democratic, egalitarian way, keeping in mind that '[I]nterviewer and interviewee are in partnership and dialogue as they construct memory, meaning and experience together' (Madison, 2005, 25). Depending on the personality with whom I would be dealing, and the nature of the knowledge sought by me at that time, I would proceed with a questionnaire, a guided conversation, a semi-structured interview, or a combination of these. This last was perhaps the most valuable method, described thus:

A relatively informal style; a thematic, topic-centred, biographical or narrative approach; and the belief that knowledge is situated and contextual, and that therefore the role of the interview is to ensure that relevant contexts are brought into focus so that the situated knowledge can be produced.

(Mason in Lewis-Beck *et al*, 2004, 1020)

It allowed for an holistic approach to the gathering of information, rather than focusing on one single topic to the exclusion of all others, resulting in much that was relevant being revealed without the exhaustive questioning of individuals, many of whom were frail and elderly. When developing questions for semi-structured interviews, it was useful to reflect upon the Patton model which gave guidelines on questions alluding to behaviour, experience, knowledge, feelings, sensory perceptions, value judgements and background (Patton, 1990). Supplementing these with others proposed in the Spradley model, such as “once-upon-a-time” descriptive questions, contrast questions and explanation questions (Spradley, 1979) proved helpful in achieving a still broader scope of enquiry.

Interviews took place in various venues: the home of my parents, situated near the two Orthodox synagogues; in the homes of contributors; in the Irish Jewish Museum; in both of the Orthodox synagogues, and in the Chief Rabbi’s office. The primary reason for using so many different places as impromptu recording studios was convenience for the contributors. For instance, all but one of the nine sessions with Raphael Siev took place in the Irish Jewish Museum, because, as the late Curator of the Museum, he spent a great deal of time there. Appointments were made outside normal opening hours to avoid distraction and extraneous noise from visitors. Many other contributors preferred to be interviewed at my parents’ house. This proved a suitable arrangement (with my parents’ permission) as all the people involved knew where the house was from previous visits. Additional benefits included the fact that some contributors were neighbours, there was car-parking nearby, and the house was surrounded with sufficient foliage to block out the noise of passing traffic. There was plenty of space for books and equipment to be laid out, and my father’s collection of religious books was made available to those who required. It was always necessary for me to disconnect the telephone from its socket to avoid potential interruption and to request co-operation from family members regarding the volume of radio or television being played, or the opening and closing of doors, so that these sounds would not be reproduced in the recordings of my contributors. Towards the end of my fieldwork, I revisited contributors and requested them to sign a release form drafted with particular reference to my incorporation of photographs taken and audio recordings made during interviews into this thesis. All were most willing to sign this

form, as it was suggested by more than one contributor that a similar degree of ethical clearance had not been sought in the past by other researchers.

Menashe Tweig preferred to be interviewed and photographed in the Machzikei Hadass synagogue where he is a member. The many sessions with Dr Howard Gross took place either in my parents' house or at his own home, with the exception of the occasion on which I recorded him blowing the *shofar* (instrument made from a ram's horn, usually blown during the High Holy Days). We both agreed that the decibel level would be too great for this to be successfully recorded in a domestic setting, so the recording took place in Terenure synagogue, with him standing on the *bimah* and the recording equipment set up some distance away.



Fig. 1(i) Dr Howard Gross demonstrating the *shofar*.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 12/10/08).

Certain contributors preferred to be interviewed in their own homes. When visiting peoples' homes, I was unable to be as particular as in my parents' home regarding noise-producing activity. Consequently, there were occasionally problems with external distractions during these interviews and recording sessions. The occasion on which I interviewed Judge Hubert Wine proved somewhat chaotic. I requested Judge Wine to allow my father's sister, Dr Evelyn Weil, to be present, as she had expressed considerable interest in my research processes. Judge Wine willingly acquiesced and

my aunt and I visited him at his apartment. Unbeknownst to me, Judge Wine had also invited a mutual friend of his and Dr Weil's, Mrs Cynthia Baker. While I was attempting to interview Judge Wine, the two ladies wheeled out the drinks trolley, prepared canapés, and an impromptu cocktail party took place among the three friends, rendering much of the recorded interview inaudible. At one point, Mrs Baker seemed conscience-stricken, and asked me: 'Oh, darling, are we being too loud?' (in conversation, 22 August 2007).



Fig. 1(ii) The revellers: Dr Evelyn Weil (left) and Mrs Cynthia Baker.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 23/08/07).

I received much hospitality from those whose homes I visited, and thus often had the opportunity of continuing discussions informally over the tea-table with the wives and other family members of the contributors. One elderly gentleman was concerned that his wife was anxious to meet me after the interview, and warned me:

Don't take any notice if she says something rude to you; sometimes she doesn't know what she's saying...She says things over and over again. It's her illness [Alzheimer's disease]

(name and date of interview withheld)

After explanations of who I was and the families to which I belonged, it transpired that the lady had been at school with my father's eldest sister seventy years earlier and was delighted to relive her schooldays, to the evident relief of her husband.

Some interviews took the form of casual conversations after Sabbath morning services, while most others were more formal appointments and required a great deal in the way of preparation for everyone involved. Most of these latter interviews culminated in the recording of the contributor singing. Some people refused to sing, but were happy to talk to me. In all but four cases, the contributors were uncomfortable with our conversations being recorded. They permitted me to record their singing but not their speech, thus I was instead obliged to take field notes.

I found that by starting each initial formal interview with a highly structured format of questions, it was then possible to proceed with guided conversations about specific places such as the former synagogues, or situations such the Greenville Hall choir. This strategy appeared to increase each contributor's confidence in my interest in his or her recollections. I conducted these interviews primarily on evenings, weekends, or other days when informants had no other engagements. In doing so, it was possible to create an atmosphere in which there was no hurry and no pressure to produce facts. This was of particular benefit when dealing with the more elderly.

The preliminary questions in most interviews would typically be asked in the following sequence: 'Which *haftorah* are you going to do for me today?' or alternatively: 'Which part of the *Shabbos* (local variant on the pronunciation of the word *Shabbat*) service are we recording today?' If a *haftorah* was being recited, I would then ask: 'Was this from your *bar mitzvah sedra*?' If the answer was in the affirmative, I would then ask: 'Do you remember roughly when you made your *bar mitzvah*?' Some respondents remembered the exact date; others remembered with less clarity. It must be noted that not all *haftorahs* are learned for purposes of a *bar mitzvah*, so some had been learned in order to celebrate a wedding, to remember a *yahrtzeit* (anniversary of the death of a close family member), or to be recited on the Sabbath or another holy day. Some were learned alongside an older or younger brother during his period of study prior to the *bar mitzvah*; some were known as a matter of course, because the contributor was skilled in reciting any and all of the

haftorahs. During Dr Seton Menton's initial recording session, he explained: 'I can do quite a few [*haftorahs*], but the ones I know best are my own *bar mitzvah*, my father's one and my brother's one. My son's one is the same as mine' (in conversation, 17 September 2006).

The next question was usually 'Which *shul* did you belong to?' The majority of contributors attended Orthodox synagogue services in Dublin. Given that out of the twelve Orthodox synagogues dotted around the south side of Dublin during the twentieth century there now remain two, it was of some interest to gather statistics about synagogue membership based on the recollections of the various contributors whose age profile varied somewhat. During a recording session with Raphael Siev in the restored synagogue that forms part of the Irish Jewish Museum in Dublin, he walked around the gentlemen's seating area, gesturing as he did so:

This is where Maurice Elliman used to sit. Robert Isaacson sat there; he used to encourage young people to stand up and lead the service...he got me to take *Mussaf* (the final section of the Sabbath morning service). Harry Gittleson used to come sometimes, he always sat there... (in conversation, 23 January 2007).

This question was usually followed with 'Do you remember who used to lead the services?' This often led to a discussion on cantors, rabbis and lay-readers, and also choirs, choristers and choirmasters. The Orthodox synagogue choirs were all male, and it appeared that choir membership conferred high status upon the men and boys involved. Nick Harris described the excitement of travelling to a Liverpool synagogue at the age of thirteen with the choir of Greenville Hall synagogue to perform during the High Holy Days in 1932:

We were invited over by Mr Bryll; he was *our* choirmaster before he moved to Liverpool, must have been 1931 or '32. We went in the boat; it wasn't the way it is now! (in conversation, 28 June 2006).

Mr Harris also had insight into some in-fighting which had taken place between rival choir-masters in Dublin during his own childhood:

I joined Greenville choir when I was ten. After we came back from Liverpool, Mr Moddel asked me to join Adelaide Road choir. That's why Greenville choir folded; the members went over to Adelaide Road (in conversation, 30 June 2006).

When I visited Izzy (Isaac) Bernstein in Bloomfield, the Jewish retirement home where he was a resident, he described his own efforts as choir-master in Adelaide Road synagogue. Excusing himself during the course of the interview, he returned with a gold fob-watch, which he allowed me to hold. He told me that it was his most prized possession; the inscription on the back was partly worn away, but he told me: 'They presented that to me for fifty years' service to the Adelaide Road choir' (in conversation, 6 February 2008). Howard Freeman was happy to reminisce about his time in the Adelaide Road choir during the 1970s and 1980s, and illustrated his descriptions with graphic hand gestures: 'Yes, Izzy had his own style of conducting; like this! We never knew what he was doing!' (in conversation, 10 February 2008). During an interview with Dr Stanley Buchalter at his home, he disappeared into another room, and returned with an ancient, flaking photograph of a young, bearded man surrounded by six elaborately-dressed boys. Showing it to me, he said:

This was taken around the turn of the century. That's my grandfather...I don't remember him; he died before I was born. He was sent for from Lithuania in the 1890s...He was the *chazzan* (cantor) in Lennox Street [synagogue]...He set up a choir there; those are two of my uncles. I don't know which two...The whole family always loved music (in conversation, 1 February 2008).



Fig. 1(iii) Lennox Street synagogue choir, circa 1900.

(Photograph: Dr Buchalter's private collection, photographer and exact date unknown).

Dr Buchalter then produced another photograph, featuring a larger group of boys and men, the boys in blazers and short trousers, the men in three-piece suits, all of whom were draped in the prayer shawls known as *tallisim*, two of the men wearing the traditional high hat of the cantor. He pointed at a small boy with a serious expression on his face, and said 'Look, that's me in the [Adelaide Road] choir in about '37 or '38!'



Fig. 1(iv) Adelaide Road synagogue choir, circa 1937. Dr Buchalter is circled, the second boy from the right in the front row.

(Photograph: Dr Buchalter's private collection, photographer and exact date unknown).

If the interview involved the recording of either a *haftorah* or other part of the Sabbath service, we would usually proceed with that after the first few questions. Some respondents were very comfortable with the recording process, while others were very uneasy. One person made eleven false starts before he managed to sing through the *haftorah* which he had performed perfectly in the synagogue on the previous Sabbath, two days before. On another occasion, when the interview took place in the home of my parents, there was an unfortunate demonstration of the power relationship formed between interviewer and interviewee. The subject of the recording (who had been a guest in the house more than once) began his recital. He became so agitated that he sweated uncontrollably, his hands and feet trembled visibly, and his symptoms appeared to increase when I lifted my pen to take notes, so much so that I made the point of putting my pen away while he was singing, in an attempt not to add to his obvious distress. Others were fascinated with my recording equipment, begging me to show them how it worked, and actively telling me (using hand-gestures) when to start and stop recording.

When the singing was finished, I would then ask ‘Who taught you your *bar mitzvah*?’ or ‘How did you learn to lead a service?’ Some answers to these questions were consistent, while others varied. When asked about leading the service, Dr Howard Gross replied ‘I learned by following Rev. [Solly] Bernstein [in Terenure synagogue in the 1950s]’ (in conversation, February 13th, 2008). Asked the same question, Raphael Siev replied in a similar vein ‘I listened to the services over and over again [in Walworth Road synagogue in the 1940s]...one day I was asked to get up and have a go at *Shachris* (the earlier part of the Sabbath service)’ (in conversation, 23 January 2007).

The question regarding *bar mitzvah* preparation also evoked various responses. The names of private *cheder* (religious education) teachers appeared, as well as those in the Talmud Torah. Dr John Simon told me: ‘George Albert taught me my *bar mitzvah*. He taught me the symbols (tiny signs denoting the trope, or melodic phrases to which the *haftorah* is sung)...I don’t need much practise because I know the trope’ (in conversation, 24 February 2008). Dr Howard Gross attended the Misses Gavron [the two unmarried daughters of Rabbi Gavron who was Rabbi in Lombard Street West synagogue during the 1930s and 1940s], as did my own father, and later, my

brother and sister. Many respondents replied simply: ‘I went to *Talmud Torah*.’ Raphael Siev sheepishly told me: ‘It didn’t work out between me and my teacher, so my father had to teach me my *bar mitzvah*!’ (in conversation, 22 June 2006). Mr Alec Diamond described how he learned his *bar mitzvah* prematurely:

My father taught me to read Hebrew. Did you know he was a singer? He used to sing with an opera company in Cork in the 1920s, before he was married; he was a tenor. He was the *ba’al tefilah* (lay-reader) in the *shul* in Cork, before we moved to Dublin...He taught me the trope by the time I was nine...One day, he said ‘We’re going to visit your Grandma [in Cork], and you can show her that you can do *haftorah*’ ... I was very worried (I was only nine, you know), and I said ‘Which one will I do?’ He said ‘You can read Hebrew, can’t you? And you know the trope? You can do any of them.’ So the next day, we went to my Grandma’s house; she always used to spoil me. And my father opened the *Chumash* (the book in which readings from the *Torah* and Book of Prophets are printed) at random, and said ‘Do this one.’ And I could (in conversation, 6 August 2009).



Fig. 1(v) Alec Diamond, pictured at his Dublin home.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 15/07/10).

The discussion regarding *bar mitzvah* preparation highlighted differences in teaching methodologies between the various *cheder* teachers in Dublin which has led to some men and boys having greater or lesser facility than others to read Hebrew or recite *haftorah*. It appears that, even to this day, some teachers teach Hebrew literacy to a very basic level, and rote-learning is their primary means of ensuring that their pupils know important texts, including *haftorah*. Others ensure a higher level of Hebrew literacy among their pupils, but teach *haftorah* by rote. One teacher in Dublin today teaches the trope to *bar mitzvah* candidates, but only to those whom, according to his judgement, are capable of learning it; in previous generations, the trope was more widely taught. The result of the above differences in teaching is that some men and boys, when I approached them regarding the possibility of recording *haftorah*, replied that they were unable to because they had only ever learned one which was forgotten, and did not possess the necessary skills to re-learn it or to attempt another. One of my contributors, who has recorded extensively for me and enjoys considerable status within the synagogue hierarchy, admitted that his Hebrew reading skills are poor and that he has committed almost the entire Sabbath service to memory, so that nobody is aware of this shortcoming when he leads services.

My final question was ‘What is your full Hebrew name?’, the Hebrew name being an aspect of Jewish identity explored more fully in Chapter 2. Edward Segal was eager to explain how his Hebrew name revealed that he was a *Levite*, or member of the “tribe” of Levi, and that he was named thus: *Yoachmin Ezra ben Harab Mordechai HaLevi*, or *Yoachmin Ezra* [Mr Segal himself], *ben* [son of] *Harab Mordechai* [his father] *HaLevi* [member of the “tribe” of Levi] (in conversation, January 13th, 2008).

I became impelled by the need to discover information not only on the music, but in respect of those who performed the music, and of the institutions in which the music was performed, as this seemed to be the ideal way in which the music could be presented in context. Thus, I found myself requesting descriptions of places and people, from informants who had agreed to sing samples of music for me. This appeared to act as an aid to memory, and assisted in forming a clearer picture of the origins of these musical samples. It also assisted in allowing informants to describe the music in more emotional terms, both in relation to their reactions towards the

music itself, and more specifically, towards contexts in which the music was heard. Mrs Shirley Samuelson, describing the interior of Lombard Street West synagogue where her grandfather worshipped in the 1940s, was unimpressed: 'It was always very cold, very austere, there wasn't a scrap of carpet in the place' (in conversation, 16 August 2009). Nick Harris described his former choirmaster in the 1930s thus: 'Bryll, you know he was French? He was a big, tall, very solid man...he always had a swagger. He was friendly with the Copeman girl, the one who taught the piano' (in conversation, 14 July 2006). Edmund Ross recalled his experiences as a chorister under the baton of Mr Philip Moddel in the 1950s: 'Everybody had a lot of respect for Mr Moddel. He was always "Mister" Moddel' (in conversation, 16 August 2007).

Herzfeld's view of sensorial fieldwork suggests that memories are not restricted to events as facts, but that all sensorial experiences play a part in constructing memories. He states: '...sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell are not only means of apprehending physical phenomena but are also avenues for the transmission of cultural values' (Herzfeld, 2001, 131). This was illustrated during many of my ethnographic interviews. For example, Stanley Siev described occasional diversions when attending services with his father in Lombard St West synagogue in the 1920s and 1930s:

Us boys, we knew that if we went to *shul*, we had to pray; there was no running around like there is today [nowadays, Terenure synagogue is renowned for the boisterousness of its younger members]...Mr Woolfson sat behind us...on *Yom Kippur* (the Day of Atonement) he used to take out his snuffbox and pass it around. You put a pinch of snuff on the back of your hand, like this, and you sniffed it up (in conversation, 20 January 2008).

Most interviews proceeded on a one-to-one basis, but there were a few occasions when my contributors actively requested me to record them singing duets, usually parts of the Sabbath service which they had rehearsed themselves for performance on particular Sabbaths, such as *Shabbos Rosh Chodesh* (the Sabbath preceding the New Moon). This often highlighted relationships between friends and siblings. Two contributors, unrelated and aged between 50 and 60, both of whom I had recorded

separately on other occasions, arrived at my parents' house by appointment; their gleeful mood was apparent by the way in which each tried to prevent the other from passing through the front door. During a session with Rev. Alwyn Shulman and his brother Avron, who was visiting from South Africa, it was obvious that both were delighted to be in each other's company, and also to be recorded together (they had sung duets in the synagogue, from the *bimah* on the previous Sabbath), to considerable admiration from the congregation. When we eventually began the recording session, the spontaneity with which they harmonised demonstrated that they had sung together since early childhood. Mild squabbling broke out at times:

Alwyn: 'I'll take the top line.'

Avron: 'No, Al, don't you remember, *I* always took the top line for this' (in conversation, 22 September 2009).

Although the response from most of the informants was mostly very positive, a number of issues needed to be addressed. The first of these was convincing some of the participants as to the value of the project, and how this was reflected in the time and effort on my part and on the part of those who would agree to participate. I was obliged to stress the fact that the corpus of recorded material would form an archive of Dublin Jewish voices in the 20th and 21st centuries. Raphael Siev commanded me: 'Make sure you make a copy for the [Irish Jewish] Museum when you're finished!' (in conversation, 24 February 2008). I also needed to explain my interest in the work of those cantors and teachers whom I barely remember or never knew, but who were active when the community peaked numerically in the 1950s and 1960s. It was necessary to point out that those outside the community would be able to access its music, if I were enabled to collect and collate enough material, and if I were given permission to allow this to enter the public domain. Finally, I explained that I wished to acknowledge the musical and vocal abilities of those who regularly perform the music, and who rarely receive credit for possessing the aptitudes needed for this.

Some problems which I have encountered include non-response, when desired informants either could not be reached, failed or even refused to co-operate, often citing work or family reasons. One Saturday after a Sabbath service, I asked an

elderly doctor whom I knew to be a long-standing and regular member of the congregation about the possibility of allowing me to interview him. He thundered, in front of others: 'I have no intention of doing *haftorah* for you!' and walked away. On the same day, I approached a contemporary of his in the same regard, who replied honestly:

Well, you see, I didn't go to *shul* when I was younger, and I never brought my children to *shul* when they were young. I always worked on Saturdays...I only started coming to *shul* regularly in the last few years...I can't read Hebrew; I say the prayers in English.
(name and date withheld).

There are deeper issues regarding non-response. The Jewish community of Dublin, although never large, has been extensively documented (for example, Shillman, 1945; Hyman, 1972; Keogh, 1999; Harris, 2002; Rivlin, 2003; O Gráda, 2006; Benson, 2007, etc.). Concerns have been raised regarding misrepresentation and exaggeration of facts in these texts, as a consequence of which I occasionally encountered suspicion or a refusal to co-operate based on grievances directed at previous researchers.

Within the broad spectrum of my research population, there are instances of undercoverage; for example, women are under-represented, as are people under the age of thirty. The nature of Orthodox Jewish prayer accounts for the lack of female interviewees, given that in the synagogue, services are led by men, men read from the *Torah*, and *haftorah* is recited by men. As a consequence, the vast majority of my contributors are male, giving weight to the claim in the essay 'A View from Popular Music Studies: Gender Issues' that: 'Academic culture has largely been centered on the white middle-class male subject...' (Holt in Stobart, 2008, 43). Of the relatively few women I spoke to with regard to this project, a minority were very helpful regarding various aspects of Jewish life in Dublin, including synagogues, religion, *cheder* and music. However, most were unwilling to participate, and I formed the opinion that they had decided, or were conditioned to believe either that such topics were of little interest, or that their role as women in Jewish patriarchal society precluded them from taking an interest in these topics. The lack of participation from those under the age of thirty was due to the high rates of emigration from Ireland on

the part of Jewish school-leavers (male and female); the shyness and reluctance of teenagers to be involved in the project; finally, a generally low standard of attainment in Hebrew literacy and religious education in those between the ages of twelve and thirty. There also occurred a small number of cases of response bias, in which people overstated their ability to perform, or told verifiable untruths in a misguided effort to be of assistance.

It became necessary to address the problems of reactivity among people unused to being recorded or listened to objectively. It has been observed that:

In ethnographic fieldwork, fieldworkers have adopted various strategies to make themselves inconspicuous and hence reduce the dangers of reactivity. They may rely on literally being an inconspicuous bystander; or they may take the opposite approach and reduce reactivity by participating as fully as possible, trying to become invisible in their role as researcher if not as human participant.

(Davies, 1999, 7)

It was possible for me, as an insider, to take the second course of action, but I could not always succeed in being invisible, particularly during recording sessions. Having attended synagogue services over an extended period of time, I had become familiar with the idiosyncratic styles of all my informants. I explained a need for the recorded performance to reflect, as closely as possible, the typical Sabbath-day performance of each person. However, there emerged a tendency with some to strongly embellish their performance, or to add melodies usually restricted to High Holy Days. Another related difficulty was that of bashfulness when confronted with the recording equipment. This rarely had an impact on the singing, but it often proved difficult to record the answers to questions, causing me to rely heavily on field notes to recall information. Whilst in the synagogue, I observed that, once details of the project became known to the general congregation, some members began to improve their performances, singing more loudly and clearly and introducing more varied and complex melodies. This appeared to be an obvious attempt to attract my attention, and

I benefited from it as it proved that there were many more potential informants than I had initially supposed when my research began.

1.5.2 Use of recording devices

In order to create a sound-bank, both for the analytical aspects of this project and as an archive of voices for future reference, it has been necessary to record both the music and the testimony of my various informants. This must be stored in such a way that it is accessible now and in the future. I have been offered space in the Irish Jewish Museum to house copies of these recordings.

My preferred recording device has been the CD-2 recorder, manufactured by Roland. This portable device is about twice as large as a shoebox tape-recorder, and possesses the facility to record on to CF card, or else directly on to CD, which is automatically formatted to play in any CD player. I found it more useful to record on to the CF card and transfer the material to CD as required, for two reasons. Firstly, it was easier to perform small edits and to divide long takes into individual tracks on the CF card. Secondly, it allowed for greater transparency if, for instance, a contributor was unhappy with a take, and insisted on my erasing it; this was a simple and irreversible process using CF, and the contributor could be confident that the offending material had been removed immediately. Each person was assigned an individual CD (some people recorded sufficient material to be stored on more than one CD), on which all recorded material relevant to him or her was stored. This material was also backed up on the hard disk of my PC.

In addition to the CD-2, I occasionally used a Sony ICD-P530F pocket digital recording device. This had the advantage of being very portable. It proved useful for recording spoken interviews, and was used when I visited Isaac Bernstein at the retirement home and when I travelled to Manchester to interview Mrs. Celia Gittleson, widow of the late cantor at Greenville Hall synagogue, as travelling by air with the CD-2 was not practical. The information stored was uploaded to a PC, converted to mp3 format and then saved on to CD to be filed with the others.

My third invaluable recording tool was my collection of spiral-bound notebooks, seven in all, which I used as field journals. Six of these were A5-sized for ease of carrying, numbered sequentially 1–6, and were a chronological record of virtually all interviews, conversations and reading material in respect of this project since I began fieldwork in 2006. The seventh was the A4-sized notebook which accompanied the CD-2 recording device at all times. This was where I jotted notes during actual recording sessions, and kept a list of photographs. While all recorded and written material was stored on my PC, towards the end of the writing-up process I invested in a Toshiba laptop computer, which enabled me to back up all my material once again, and permitted me the luxury of working on the thesis in the libraries of Trinity College, Dublin (where, as an alumnus, I have lifelong access to the various reading rooms). This allowed me to work in an atmosphere more conducive to study than my own home, and a large amount of reference matter was permanently on hand.

Most contributors were interested in the notes and lists I made during the interviews and recording sessions, and I always explained my process for correlating the data which I had obtained with regard to personal information, sound recordings and photographs. Thus each contributor was made aware of this system of record-keeping, and no objections were raised regarding any of this personal information being in my possession.

A major obstacle arose from the need to capture the many congregational responses which occur during the Sabbath morning service. The service exists as a constant sequence of prayers recited solo by the cantor or whoever else may be leading the service at a given time, with musical responses from the congregation. The responses are often brief, and many are widely used in congregations of Lithuanian origin throughout the world. It is my belief that some of these responses are unique to the Dublin congregations, but their origins are now unclear. The act of responding is spontaneous, and even visitors to the congregation are expected to familiarise themselves with the responses in order that they may participate fully in the service.

While it has been possible to organise recordings of the main parts of the service in a studio-type environment, it is not possible to do the same regarding congregational responses, as these involve so many people at different junctures within the service.

Because of the specific proscriptions relating to the act of work, including the operating of recording equipment on the Sabbath, it is forbidden to record the Sabbath service. In discussion with the Chief Rabbi, it was made clear that not only was I precluded from doing so because of my status as a member of the Orthodox congregation, but that a non-Orthodox or non-Jewish assistant would be equally unable to do so, as Sabbath-day limitations extend to the place of worship as well as those housed inside it. These considerations are based on the Orthodox interpretation of work on the Sabbath and are relevant to my research conducted within the Orthodox Jewish community of Dublin. It is possible that similar limitations would not have been imposed in the Dublin Jewish Progressive Congregation, where various aspects of Sabbath observance are interpreted differently.

Others conducting ethnographic research into Jewish liturgical music have been subject to similar constraints. Summit theorizes that observing these limitations is crucial both to the understanding of the true sanctity of the musical context, and of the ephemeral nature of live musical performance while in this context:

Not being able to record these services live was both a loss and a gain. On the one hand, I would have loved to collect and preserve the music of each of these five services, capturing the music *in situ* for the compact disc. However, the Jewish legal restrictions on recording Sabbath music underscore a truth that ethnomusicology has been confronting in its full complexity. A musical event has its own singular nature, not capturable on tape, video or notational transcription. When the Sabbath is described as *Shabbat Kodesh* (holy Sabbath), the meaning of the Hebrew word *kodesh* indicates that this is a time set apart, unlike any other; nonreproducible. Understanding this point is both good Judaism and good ethnomusicology.

(Summit, 2000, 10)

1.5.3 Photography

I have maintained photographic records of all my contributors, most of whom were co-operative about being photographed. Some appeared to enjoy the experience of being photographed, or were amused by it; frequent jocular responses to the process included: ‘You can contact my agent!’ and ‘When do we get the royalties?’ Others, though permitting me to take a photograph, seemed less comfortable. In one case, I had to make a separate appointment, as the subject said, appalled: ‘You can’t take a picture of me wearing this cap!’ In another case, I felt that the subject would be more relaxed and thus project a better image in his own home, so I arranged to pay a visit with my camera. His wife was most welcoming towards me, and assisted in the process: ‘Go and comb your hair! Can you not straighten your tie?’ (in conversation, 23 June 2009).

These pictures were taken on a Fuji digital camera, saved on two CF cards separate from the ones on which the interviews were saved, and uploaded to the hard disk on my PC for backup. In addition, I managed to obtain photographs of some of the deceased cantors and lay-people featured as part of the research, either from family members or from the Irish Jewish Museum archives.

I have provided photographs of as many Dublin synagogues as possible, both extant and otherwise, in order to broaden readers’ perspectives of these institutions. I have also photographed other places of Jewish interest in Dublin, for example, the streets around South Circular Road where a high concentration of Jewish families resided until the 1950s; the former home of Chaim Herzog, late President of Israel; the former Jewish schoolhouse on Bloomfield Avenue. Most of these I have taken myself, visiting the various sites around the city either on foot or on my bicycle; others have been reproduced with permission from family archives, or from the Irish Jewish Museum archives.

1.5.4 Analysis of archive material

The late Curator at the Irish Jewish Museum granted me full access to all of the unpublished records held at the Museum. Thus I have been able to sift through all

documented material regarding the Dublin synagogues and their employees, including the cantors. Minutes of Synagogue Council Meetings and annual reports on these institutions contain information regarding the cantors and lay-people responsible for leading services, and provide insight into the development of these institutions, patterns of attendance, and also the subsequent demise and closure of most of them.

Some of my informants, notably Mrs. Celia Gittleston, Mr. Nick Harris and Judge Hubert Wine, have allowed me to examine family archives, including relevant photographic images, acknowledgements for services rendered to the Jewish communal institutions, and press cuttings. Others, including Rev. Shulman, as well as Mrs Celia Gittleston and Mr Nick Harris, allowed me to copy recordings they had made of themselves, family and friends singing liturgical music in the past.

Working with contemporary and retrospective primary documents has brought the history of the Dublin Jewish community into sharp focus in the context of this research. The Dublin Jewish community tends to be defined by its past more than by its present or future. This causes the past to become an epistemological entity which must be known and understood in order to be communicated to a present-day audience. My own, and indeed everybody's acquaintance with the distant Jewish musical past in Ireland, is limited by the timespan of human recall. The main means by which I can reconstruct this past is to rely on those whose recollections extend back far beyond my own, and who grant me the privilege of extrapolating elements of their past into my present. The Irish Jewish community having reached its numerical peak some fifty years ago, it is possible to argue that that era is perhaps the most representative of Irish Jewish culture. However, the structure of this community rested on a foundation formed by an established community which had been present for decades or even centuries before, and which must not be overlooked in discussions about the past, although this past may recede as far back or further than the recollections of my informants.

Reflexivity is brought to bear upon a project such as this, which seeks to establish a dialogue between the musical past and present, when it becomes necessary to acknowledge one's own past as part of this temporal continuum. This is made more complicated for me, because, as an insider conducting research within my own

community, aspects of my past are shared or intertwined with those of my informants. Bohlman forces this issue to be addressed in a series of questions:

A more hermeneutic consideration of self, however, would insist on problematizing the identity of self. Whose self is it that the fieldworker seeks to discover? His or her own, or someone else's? Must we assume that the identity of the past bears a relation to the identity of the present? Whose past does the self narrate when telling tales from the past?

(Bohlman in Barz and Cooley, 2008, 257)

This is another issue in which reflexivity is paramount in defining whose, or which past is to be recounted. It is possible that a shared past will be presented, one in which my own past has certain elements in common with that of others, particularly people of all ages whom I have known since my own childhood, and people who, over time, attended the same institutions such as schools, university, synagogues, youth groups and *cheder*, as I.

1.5.5 Participant Observation

The method of participant observation in sociological research pioneered by Malinowsky is invaluable in a project such as this. The methods mentioned in the previous paragraphs relate either to contact with individuals, or else with the analysis of archive material. However, engaging in participant observation allows the researcher to witness and experience the music and ritual of Orthodox Jewish practice in its customary context, that is, with the people in the places where this ordinarily exists.

In its classic form, participant observation consists of a single researcher spending an extended period of time (usually at least a year) living among the people he or she is studying, participating in their daily lives in order to gain as complete an understanding as

possible of the cultural meanings and social structure of the group and how these are interrelated.

(Davies, 1999, 67)

Fundamental to undertaking a project exploring the practice of Jewish liturgical music (or indeed any type of liturgical music) is for the researcher to become familiar with the music against a backdrop of the religious ritual which underpins it. This is an experiential process, for which I possess a definite advantage in this regard, being a member of the Orthodox Jewish Community in Dublin. The question arises:

What if there is no other as the focus of study, but I want to study the culture of my own group, my own community, my own organisation, and the way of life of people like me, the people I regularly encounter, or my own cultural experiences?

(Patton in Lewis-Beck *et al*, 2004, 47)

No difficulty has presented itself to me, either from learning about the musical genre, learning the requisite language skills in Hebrew to follow services, or indeed to comprehend order of the service and the actions taking place during this. The music, the language, and the order in which the service is conducted have all been presented to me since infancy, as were the majority of those people willing to participate in the research. I have attended weekly services throughout my entire life. In this way, I have always been a participant. However, I find that during this period of research, although my attendance pattern is unchanged, I have become more objective with regard to the service as it unfolds. Thus the act of observation is becoming more significant than my own routine of almost mechanical participation with respect to the Sabbath service. Also, due to the performative nature of Jewish religious and musical rituals, and the exclusion of women from these rituals in the Orthodox synagogue, I have found that as a female insider, to some extent one is destined to remain an observer and not a participant in rituals reserved for men.

With reference to the interviewing process, however, I have been obliged to participate far more fully in the lives of Dublin Jewish people, some of whom were not well known to me before this research started, nor I to them. My aim was thus not

to understand the Jewish culture in Dublin in which I am steeped, but to form new relationships, or to strengthen existing ones in order to achieve perspectives other than my own relating to this culture:

The hallmark of participant observation is long-term personal involvement with those being studied, including participation in their lives to the extent that the researcher comes to understand the culture as an insider.

(Davies, 1999, 71)

While I fully understand Dublin Jewish culture from an emic perspective, I have acquired greater insight into the core cultural and religious values of those other than myself. I have also been fortunate to meet with a great deal of co-operation and assistance, and many cases, I have been welcomed with unstinting hospitality into peoples' homes, and into their lives.

As an insider conducting research within the cultural and ethnic framework of my own upbringing, my efforts are validated by Nettl's assertion that:

...there certainly does not seem to be any reason why a Western ethnomusicologist should not make a field investigation of his own surroundings. In doing this he must, of course, maintain the same standards and safeguards which he would have to accept if he were working in another culture. He must be critical of his own observations, make complete records of his findings, and preserve (in his own thinking) the distinction between himself as an investigator and his neighbours as informants.

(Nettl, 1964, 70-71)

Rabinow also constructs a model for participant observation, in which he suggests that:

Observation...is the governing term in the pair, since it situates the anthropologist's activities. However much one moves in the

direction of participation, it is always the case that one is still both an outsider and an observer...In the dialectic between the poles of observation and participation, participation changes the anthropologist and leads him to new observation, whereupon new observation changes how he participates. But this dialectical spiral is governed in its motion by the starting point, which is observation.

(Rabinow, 1977, 79-80)

This creates an insider/outsider tension, when the insider gets caught in the helix of Rabinow's "dialectical spiral." As a practising member of the Dublin Jewish community, one might presuppose that one's ready-made familiarity with every aspect of Dublin Jewish ritual, precludes the need for definition as an observer, because the need to observe is less, while the expectations of others are that one's role as a participant will not become less. However, conflict does exist between one's position as insider and as observer. For example, there is a possibility that certain information may be overlooked because, as an insider, this seems too trivial to be of importance to the outside world. There can be a shift in relationships between myself as observer, and neighbours or family friends who find themselves used instrumentally as sources of information. In short, '[I]t makes the familiar strange, the exotic quotidian' (Clifford in Clifford and Marcus, 1986, 2).

Other researchers within their own communities are also aware of such difficulties; the following is an excerpt from Heilman's study of social interactions within his own synagogue:

Moreover, when I decided to embark on my research, I was already a member and could thus expect few problems in gaining access to the group I would study and observe, as well as their permission and trust. Having originally joined the congregation with no ulterior motives of research, I had established a degree of intimacy with the insiders which is rare even among the most dedicated of participant observers. Finally, as an insider I could supply, both through introspection and a sense of the relevant questions to ask,

information about dimensions of inner life not readily available to pure researchers.

Opposing the real advantages were the concomitant disadvantages. I have already suggested the epistemological liability of taking too much for granted. This danger was of course intensified by my being not only Orthodox but also a member of the congregation. There were personal drawbacks as well.

Relationships which I had over time developed on emotional grounds would have to become instrumental; friends would be transformed into informants and I into primarily a collector of social facts.

(Heilman, 1976, xi)

Thus, while there are genuine advantages being an established insider engaging in participant observation, considerations must be made in respect of potential problems that may arise out of this familiarity.

1.5.6 Performance

Allied with the previous section on participant observation, given the performative nature of synagogue music, I felt that it became necessary, as my research proceeded, to assure my research population that I was fully familiar with all parts of the synagogue service on a practical level: 'Indeed, few would doubt the benefits of participation in performance as a research methodology, where both feasible and culturally appropriate' (Stobart in Stobart, 2008, 14). To this end, I made greater efforts than in the past to join in all congregation responses, prayers and hymns. I also proved my knowledge of the repertoire by singing extracts from the service during interviews, when I wished to elicit certain information about either the text or the music. Given the protocols within the Orthodox synagogue regarding the impossibility of women leading any part of the service, I was (and remain) unable to demonstrate this skill from the *bimah* during an actual service.

1.5.7 Ethnographic Writing

The act of ethnographic writing fulfilled several vital functions within the framework of this research. Ethnographic writing proved an ideal means by which I could present observations and findings. It allowed me to give an account of the people, places and practices I encountered in the field. Importantly, it allowed me to crystallise the results of the various encounters between my contributors and myself, to examine the respective roles that they and I played out during these encounters, and to ensure that we were represented as fairly and as fully as reasonably possible, in the final analysis:

During participation observation ethnographers attempt to be both emotionally engaged participants and coolly dispassionate observers of the lives of others. In the observation of participation, ethnographers, both experience and observe their own and others' coparticipation within the ethnographic encounter. The shift from the one methodology to the other entails a representational transformation in which, instead of a choice between writing an ethnographic memoir centering on the Self or a standard monograph centering on the Other, both the Self and the Other are presented together within a single narrative ethnography, focussed on the character and process of the ethnographic dialogue.

(Tedlock, 1991, 69)

Bringing techniques of conversation analysis to bear upon the many interviews which were conducted, as well as the interpretation of data obtained from various archives, enabled me to give a rich account of the community, the places it inhabits, and the liturgical musical practices which endure.

Those who contributed their input into this corpus of research provided information about all the elements which created Jewish culture in Dublin and in doing so, nominated me to represent them to an audience outside the social framework of the Jewish community. This caused me to consider how best to portray the community during the final drafting of the written thesis, and I was reminded that: 'We must take

responsibility for how we choose to represent ourselves and others in the texts we write' (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2006, 258). As in the essay 'New Disciplines in Ethnomusicology: Seven Themes toward Disciplinary Renewal', I often sought biographical or autobiographical information, and I would ask more than one contributor for an account of an event, place or person, in order to obtain as wide a perspective as possible:

Writing biography, we can approach the historical depth that always surrounds music, using the individual's ongoing life story as a lynchpin or narrative vector for a wider-ranging assessment of musical life. Coherence and continuity are likely to be relatively unproblematic in this genre of writing. Indeed, it is also possible to write multi-biographies, whether combing comparative life stories of several musicians or looking at one individual's life from compound perspectives.

(Stock in Stobart, 2008, 197)

Writing an ethnographic account of Jewish life in Dublin, there arose an opportunity to postulate some theories regarding the phenomena of Jewish music and the synagogues in which it was (and continues to be) performed. There would appear to be some truth in the statement that:

...one of ethnomethodology's abiding interests is the explication of the ways in which members, through their practices, produce the social structure of everyday activities, the aim being to describe those practices and show how they work.

(Benson and Hughes, 1983, 19)

It is also possible to discuss gender issues solely in the context of the Orthodox synagogue, given that services can only take place in the presence of ten or more males over the age of thirteen, and that the participation of women is optional. Young children are differentiated in all Orthodox synagogues, although in theory small boys and girls have equal status. Certain Orthodox rituals associated with men, for example opening the Ark or tabernacle in which the sacred scrolls are stored, and

leading the congregation in prayer, can be carried out by boys of any age; in this way, they are initiated into solely male practices; they are rehearsing at being men. Their sisters, though permitted to sit in the gentlemen's seating area until the age of twelve, can only watch these actions, as they will do from behind a partition or looking down from a ladies' gallery in later years. This relates to the music of the Orthodox synagogue in the sense that, other than in the case of congregational responses, the music is invariably performed by men, so that music is a critical factor in defining the respective roles of men and women within the Orthodox synagogue.

Cantors who practiced their art in the synagogues of Dublin during the twentieth century left a legacy of music originating from Eastern Europe, mainly Latvia, Lithuania, Hungary and Poland. These cantors enabled a musical tradition or *nusach* unique to the Dublin Jewish community to evolve. Synagogue music is based on *nusach*. The term *nusach* itself is interpreted in different ways. Firstly, it is a set of musical protocols, behaviours and traditions, developed in an individual congregation, or in an entire community. Secondly, it is a repertoire of musical phrases, tonalities, modes and entire prayers, which allows for endless variations within its style, again practised by one congregation or a whole community. Thirdly, it can also represent modes and melodies specific to certain festivals which are only performed at certain times of year.

In Dublin, the musical style within the synagogue has evolved from the various cantors who also superimposed their personal singing styles upon the Lithuanian *nusach* which was brought to Dublin with the Lithuanian Jewish immigrants of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This has been filtered through the memories of those who contributed to this project, creating an archive of music and thus allowing me to reach certain conclusions. It will be beneficial to note these countries, known even by second or third-generation Irish-born Jews as "*der Heim*," (the homeland) in order to chart the genesis of the style of Jewish music in Ireland. This is borne out by Bruno Nettl in his remarks:

It may seem that representing the distribution of musical style traits on a map, for example, has nothing to do with other aspects of culture. But doing so might, for example, perhaps enable us to show

how this distribution coincides with that of cultural or linguistic features, and how it is associated with them. It could tell us something of the way in which music was affected by the movement of peoples from country to country, and it might show something about the past associations of neighbouring or distant peoples.

(Nettl, 1964, 225)

These remarks are particularly apposite in the case of Jewish people in the diaspora, who possess a history of moving from country to country.

Ethnographic writing allowed me, as the researcher, to express my own perspective of the information gathered as part of the research process. ‘Voice is the personal rhetorical imprint of who we are and what we write’ (Goodall, 2000, 139). The ultimate act of reflexivity is to project one’s own hermeneutic considerations upon one’s findings. The ethnography should then reflect the ‘qualitative and reflexive research methods characteristic of ethnographic fieldwork’ (Davies, 1999, 41). My own interpretative lens has tended towards those of social history, and also historical musicology. Rev. Shulman’s performance of the Sabbath service was my primary source of material for a comparative musicological study of Orthodox Jewish liturgical music in Dublin. This has acted as a model against which all others could be compared and analysed in terms of form and structure; the relationship between text and music; how the tropes (signs indicating melodic patterns used when reciting portions from the *Torah* and Book of Prophets) are currently interpreted, and if this was different in the past.

The Sabbath service is theatrical and full of symbolism, detected not only in the artefacts used, but in clothes worn, gestures made, and the encryption of prayers in a language whose alphabet has no relation to that of the vernacular language of this country. An exploration of the semiotics of the synagogue and of Jewish prayer assisted in contextualising the data presented in the ethnography.

When writing the ethnography, it was important to consider the consequences of basing the findings of this research on data collected from a large number of

individuals, and to allow for the possibility for the truth to be undermined by anecdotalism, or manipulating the information obtained to suit certain hypotheses:

There is a tendency towards an anecdotal approach to the use of data in relation to conclusions or explanations in qualitative research. Brief conversations, snippets from unstructured interviews...are used to provide evidence of a particular contention. These are grounds for disquiet in that the representativeness or generality of these fragments is rarely addressed.

(Bryman, 1988, 77)

It is not difficult to see where this can be a temptation, and the most satisfactory way of presenting an accurate account of the field is to explore contrary cases, or those which do not conform with an expected or anticipated outcome. An example might be the supposition that all Jewish men in Dublin who have attended *cheder* and made a *bar mitzvah* are competent to perform *haftorah*. This, I discovered, was manifestly not the case, and I possessed sufficient knowledge of my research population for it to have been possible to exclude those unable to perform from the research, yet the findings would have been distorted if I did so.

During the course of the ethnographic research, I became aware of the dangerous possibility of seizing every piece of information, no matter how trivial, and treating it as vitally important data, illustrating the statement in the essay 'Grounded theory in ethnography' that: 'A potential problem with ethnographic studies is seeing data everywhere and nowhere, gathering everything and nothing' (Charmay and Mitchell in Atkinson *et al*, 2001, 161). I also had to be mindful that not every dialogue I held with members of the Jewish community would become an ethnographic interview, and that I had to guard against transforming myself from interested conversationalist to ubiquitous nuisance forever repeating and trying to continue trains of thought with others from day to day or week to week.

1.5.8 Musical Transcription

A central part of the data capture process in respect of this project was that of musical transcription. Most of these transcriptions were based on material which had been recorded by members of the two Orthodox congregations in Dublin between 2007 and 2009 as part of the interview process. Some additional material (mainly the sections of the Orthodox Sabbath service associated with congregational singing) relied on my own memory, given the limitations regarding the use of recording equipment within the Orthodox synagogue on the Sabbath, described above. Nearly all of this music, whether recorded or transcribed (or both) was derived from the Orthodox Sabbath service performed in Dublin at the time of writing. In this way, a primary written source has been generated from what was previously an exclusively oral tradition virtually unknown outside its own ritual setting.

For example, I recorded Rev. Shulman's version of *Shachrit* and *Mussaf* sections of the Orthodox Sabbath service, which I transcribed fully by hand in staff notation (a process to be described more fully in Chapter 4 of this dissertation), after which I typeset the material using Finale notation software. In addition, recordings of other versions of the same sections were made by four others whose age range differed widely, and all of whom were indigenous members of the Dublin Jewish community, as distinct from Rev. Shulman who is originally from South Africa. These versions were also transcribed, the resulting set of transcriptions then compared for differences and similarities in melody and rhythm. Details relating to performance practice revealed themselves during this process. Finally, there exists in the Irish Jewish Museum a document written by Rev. Herman Semiatan, cantor at the former Lombard Street West synagogue until 1923, when he emigrated to New York. Rev. Semiatan transcribed parts of the Sabbath service which he composed and performed himself. The score includes the Hebrew text transliterated phonetically. This proved a most interesting point of contact between the distant past, beyond the recollections of even my oldest informants, and present-day practice. By studying the notated scores and comparing their respective form, structure, melodic and rhythmic patterns, I could explore the possibility of any musical legacy of Rev. Semiatan's work in evidence in contemporary Dublin musical practice.

The *haftorah* is usually performed by a different member of the Orthodox congregation each week, always male and either of *bar mitzvah* age or older. A person is often selected for *haftorah* on the anniversary of his *bar mitzvah*, or during the week of a *yahrzeit*. There are over sixty individual portions spread over the year. I recorded many of these, involving as many informants as possible. However, I did not transcribe all of these, as musically, they tended to conform to a set pattern. The principal value of recording these individual portions was that it allowed me to make contact with a far greater cross-section of the Jewish community, than if I had restricted the recording activities to the five men who performed the Sabbath service. It is my ultimate intention (not yet completely realised) to record the complete *haftorah* cycle involving as many people as possible.

The tropes are tiny shapes or symbols appended to the Hebrew lettering, customarily known as *te'amim*. To each such symbol is assigned a particular melisma to which the Hebrew word containing the trope must be sung. Tropes vary depending on the country and the tradition in which they are performed such as Eastern European (*Ashkenazi*), Spanish (*Sephardic*), Middle Eastern (*Mizrachi*). Additionally, different tropes can be used at certain times of year, so that the trope used on a festival such as *Rosh Hashona* (the New Year) may not resemble that used on the Sabbath. I have transcribed the Sabbath trope used in Terenure synagogue as presented by Rev. Shulman, in order to keep an enduring record of how the *te'amim* were interpreted in Dublin during the timeframe in which my research was conducted.

1.6 Reciprocity

It appears that the very fact that I spent time and expressed interest in recording and listening to my various contributors; that I respectfully treated them as sources of historical information, and as exponents of the liturgical music, was sufficient acknowledgement to them for all their considerable efforts in assisting me in my research. Copies of the recorded material were offered to all of those who

participated in the recording process, but only three people availed of this. Of the photographs which I took of all these people, seven requested prints.

One example of the benefit of having created this archive of matching faces and voices arose around six months after the death of one of my contributors, Louis Davis. A few weeks prior to his *matzevah* (tombstone consecration), my mother happened to be speaking with Mr Davis's daughter, Mrs Joyce Shaper. Seemingly, during the course of the conversation, my mother reminded Mrs Shaper of the fact that I possessed both a recording and a fairly recent photograph of Mr Davis. Mrs Shaper contacted me, and asked if it would be possible to have a copy of each. A few days later, I gave the CD containing Mr Davis's recording, along with a print of his photograph to Mrs Shaper's husband, in her absence. At the cemetery on the occasion of the *matzevah*, Mrs Shaper came to me in her grief and said: 'I can't thank you enough for recording Daddy...I sat and listened to it yesterday, and the tears poured down my face' (in conversation, 23 August 2009). Her genuine gratitude and pleasure in hearing her father's voice again illustrated Caroline Bithell's discovery that:

The prospect of returning individual copies of recordings to all of those we have ever recorded is both daunting and, in many cases, impractical, but in human terms any such gesture is likely to be worth its weight in gold. In some cases we might be returning a person's youth to them; in others we might literally be bringing back the voices of the dead.

(Bithell, 2003, 88)

In return for his efforts on my behalf, I agreed to assist Rev. Shulman in his attempts to transcribe recordings of his former teacher in South Africa. It must be stated that I was not made feel under any obligation to do so. Another short transcription project which I conducted of my own volition, was that of the *Kedusha* (a constituent part of the Sabbath service), as sung to me by another of my contributors, Stanley Siev. At the time when I was allowed to record this, I found the music to be very compelling, and the performer was obviously so fond of it, that after I had transcribed it, I composed a piano accompaniment for it. I was able to overlay a copy of the

original recording, playing the piano part myself while using multi-tracking technology. I presented Mr Siev with a copy of both his solo recording, and the recording with the accompaniment, with which he was delighted.

In addition to the very tangible benefits to myself, including new friendships and an added appreciation of the history and the people of the Dublin Jewish community, two unforeseen events occurred. The first was that, in recognition of my genuine interest in the Jewish history of Ireland, Chief Rabbi Ya'acov Pearlman appointed me a trustee of the Jewish Cemetery in the Castletroy area of Limerick in 2007. An even greater honour was accorded to me when the Board of the Irish Jewish Museum, acknowledging my commitment to the preservation of Jewish heritage in Ireland, appointed me as a trustee to the Museum building in 2009, and in addition, trustee to the Museum artefacts in 2010.

1.7 Disengagement

Once the writing-up process of this project entered its final stage, it became necessary to attempt to cease engaging in fieldwork. My fieldwork activities having taken place over an extended period of time, I found it difficult to convince myself, various current and potential contributors who had made promises to co-operate in the long term, but from whom it proved impossible to obtain a firm commitment, that the fieldwork had reached an end. On a positive note, many of those who had co-operated with me maintained an interest in the work, often enquiring as to my progress and in doing so, reassuring me that there need not be a total separation between the subjects of the research and its final presentation, nor was I obliged to sever links and end friendships solely because the fieldwork was not continuing. Seemingly, such a response to the cessation of fieldwork is not unique: 'The work felt incomplete and retaining links with my subjects was a source of comfort' (O'Hare, 2007).

Once field research has concluded, it is often necessary to retreat from the chosen field. It is very likely that none of my informants expected me to retreat or disengage fully from the field, given that my field is one which I inhabit, and of which I am part.

However, I stated to each of my contributors that I was seeking particular information regarding a specific topic over a finite amount of time, after which the research could proceed in another direction, or simply cease. The option of physically leaving the community was not available to me for various reasons allied to the fact that I am an active and participating member of the community. Most of my contributors have been people with whom I interact on a daily or weekly basis; also, geographically, my home is located within walking distance of the two Orthodox synagogues, where much communal activity takes place. This is not to suppose that the cessation of my research activities will go unnoticed; upon hearing that my fieldwork was at an end, one of my contributors jokingly said: ‘Do you promise you’ll stop nagging me?’ (in conversation, 3 October 2009).

Engagement and disengagement are also part of an emotional response to the relationships built over a sustained period of time living and working in a particular field. Given the age profile and precarious state of health of many of my contributors, I was forced to confront the deaths of several of those who had shared their time, space, knowledge and experience with me. I made hospital visits which brought into sharp focus how fragile life can be; in many cases I attended funerals and visited the bereaved families. This is always a sad duty, made more so by the realisation that each death represented the loss, not just of the person, the friend, the neighbour, the family member, but of inestimably valuable wisdom and insight into the past, neither of which can be recreated.

1.8 Conclusion

Among my reasons for selecting the Dublin Orthodox Jewish community as a subject for ritual and ethnomusicological research, lies the fact that a host of historical research has already been conducted in the field of this diminutive community. This exists in the form of personal reminiscences, or is presented as historical data gathered from archives and the recollections of others. The Dublin Jewish community has been exhaustively studied by many scholars, authors and diarists, but never from a perspective of that fundamental daily activity which is performing liturgical music. All the people listed above, and others who will appear elsewhere in this document,

proved anxious to contribute to the fund of data contained within this research project. Permission was willingly given to use names and to quote conversations and musical performances. Where I have omitted names from my narrative of certain events, it has been in order to avoid confidential information being made public; to avoid pejorative associations being made with particular people; and to avoid embarrassment, particularly with regard to descriptions of conditions including stage-fright, illness or ignorance of religious topics, or the fortunately few instances of hostility shown towards me as a researcher.

My intention was to provide a lucid, faithful account of musical practices in Dublin synagogues since 1923 (when Rev. Semiatan left Dublin, leaving his transcriptions as evidence of his idiosyncratic *Ashkenazi* style), to the present day. The responsibility which I assumed has been manifold; firstly to preserve the ephemera of the present, and secondly to memorialize the people and their traditions who contributed to the musical life of the community in the past, and who shall continue to influence it now and in the future. Finally, these were achieved through examination of the complex cultural identity of Jews in Ireland.

This cultural identity gives rise to the central cultural practice under discussion in this dissertation, namely the liturgical music of Dublin's Jews (see Chapters 4 and 5). Historio-cultural and ritual context to this are provided in Chapters 2 and 3, principally by means of fieldwork and through a review of ethnographic and other literature pertinent to the Dublin Jewish community. Thus these chapters present the circumstances which brought Jews to Ireland; the places in which they conducted their secular and religious lives are described; finally, the religious and cultural practices born of these people and places are brought into focus to provide background for the musical exploration of the Sabbath service to follow in the penultimate and concluding chapters.

2. Irish Jewish Identity:

Historical and Cultural Contextualization of the Dublin Jewish Community

2.1 A Brief History of the Jews in Ireland

According to Mike Crang:

[Tropes] are ways of telling a story, through a particular format, a scenario or relationship of characters so that the pattern is repeated in different concrete situations with different contents.

(Crang, 1998, 62)

Tropes have a particular significance for Jews. Firstly, they are the prescribed musical means by which the ancient narratives contained within the *Torah* are communicated in an unchanging sequence, every week of the year. Secondly, if considerations of era, language, countries of destination and departure are employed in a formula in which these factors are the variables and Jews are the constant, there is a trope which tells and retells the history of Jewish migration.

The history of Jewish migration patterns throughout Europe is a long and fascinating one. A brief overview of these marking key historical moments, might note the fall of the Roman Empire, after which Spain was ruled by the Moors for a period of around five hundred years, while the rest of Europe endured the so-called Dark Ages. The Moors were Muslims, and the Islamic world at this time was an enlightened and pluralist society to a greater degree than Christian Europe was. When Christianity spread to Spain, the Muslims were expelled, and then the Jews, in 1492. While the Muslims mainly migrated east, the Jews sought other pluralist societies within Europe, some settling in Britain and Holland and most in the Ottoman Empire, where they were joining established Jewish communities there (Goodwin, 1999).

In 1700, the Ottoman Empire experienced an insurgence by the Russian emperors, who conquered the Ottoman territories (ibid.). Consequently, the Jewish communities moved away, this time to pluralist parts of the Polish empire, for example Poland, Ukraine and the area which is now the Czech Republic. Eventually, these territories were also taken over by Russia in 1800, which explains why majority of European Jews nominally originate from Russia.

1861 saw the emancipation of the Serfs' Act, allowing for greater freedom of movement from Russia. The opening of America to unlimited numbers of immigrants was an enticement, while an alternative route for immigrants to take was the trade route between Helsinki and Greenock (in Scotland). From 1870, the number of pogroms against Jews in Russia increased sharply, incurred by Czar Nicholas II and exacerbated during the second Russian Revolution of 1905. As Britain became more industrialised, the need for labour there at this time was considerable. Britain exerted the additional attraction of being a democratic country where one was free to practise one's religion at will, and people were enfranchised. This was the basis for the influx of Jews into the British Isles from the late 1800s, and the contemporary Jewish community in Britain and Ireland stems from this tide of immigration.

While the contemporary community is therefore rooted in the nineteenth century, the presence of Jews in Ireland is recorded in the Annals of Inisfallen. The oft-quoted (in this context) paragraph states that '1079: Five Jews came over sea with gifts to Tairdelbach and they were sent back again over sea'(MacAirt, 1951; Shillman, 1945, 9 [N.B. Shillman gives the date as 1062]; Hyman, 1972, 3; Irish Jewish Museum: wall-mounted display, 1985; Spencer-Shapiro, 2003, 4). Shillman assumes that this small party originated from France (Shillman, 1945), while Hyman inclines to the belief that they originated from England or Normandy (Hyman, 1972). However, the text could be interpreted differently, given that by 1232, a sufficient number of Jews were domiciled in Ireland for the Viceroy of Ireland Pierre de Rivaulx to be charged with their custody, when King Henry III instructed that 'all Jews in Ireland shall be intenteive and responsive to Peter and all things in touching the King' (Shillman, 1945, 10). There is also speculation that the party may have originated from Rouen (Kooris, 2008).

Historian David Brown has put forward several hypotheses (in conversation, 19 November 2007), the first being that the date 1079 might be only accurate within a margin of thirty years before or after (that Shillman and Hyman fail to agree upon a date would give some credence to this argument). It is likely that the journey originated from Spain, given the large Jewish community there at this time, and that the rise of the ship-building industry at Santander and Barcelona made overseas trade possible. This is supported by the fact that Jews were settled mainly in urban centres around Spain, and were engaged in trade. Also, from the perspective of the monks responsible for the Annals of Inisfallen, England and France were known to them, and so either country would probably have been recognised and mentioned in the Annals (although it has been stated by other historians that a settled Jewish community was recorded as early as 1075 in the town of Oxford in England, so it is not impossible that the visitors came from there (Lindsay, 1993)), whereas a party of travellers from an unknown land might well be classed as having arrived from “over sea.”

Hyman avers that ‘the Jews in mediaeval Ireland must have dwelt in Dublin or its environs’ (Hyman, 1972, 4). No evidence is offered in support of this, and again, it is more likely that the destination may have been Waterford, given that Waterford was the principal port in southern Ireland at the time, and that it is stated in the original text that the gifts were destined for Tairdelbach, who was King of Munster. The route between Santander and Waterford would have been uncomplicated, following a straight line.

This entire episode would not have been reported, however laconically, in the Annals of Inisfallen, had it not have been of some historical importance. The interpretations of Shillman and Hyman do not take into account the way in which the monks would have been permitted to express themselves. For example, “Five Jews” is taken literally, and yet it is difficult to conceive five individuals in a vessel on a speculative journey which must have taken some weeks to complete (given that the Jews had no history of being a sea-faring race). There is greater likelihood that the five were heads of families or clans, who brought their family members on a trade mission in the expectation that a trade route could be established between Ireland and “over sea”. The “gifts” were probably a precursor to trade, and given that the adventurers were

sent back *again*, this would suggest that it was decided to enact the trade. There is no mention of a confrontation, and if a place of worship had been established in a tradition other than the Christian Church, or that other Jews had remained to worship in it, it is possible that the monks were not allowed to acknowledge this. If it existed, this colony would not have been under protection until the King of Munster was deposed by the Normans. It was a Norman king who made his Viceroy the custodian of the Jews, probably in recognition of their success in trade. Whatever their origins, the Jews remained in Ireland until 1290, when they were expelled by royal decree, along with the Jews of England.

Much of the above is based on deduction, and the interpretation of a small amount of documentary evidence from a very distant period of Irish history. Further back even than the Annals of Inisfallen are the Annals of the Four Masters. The interpretation of these Annals by Geoffrey Keating in 1636, (Comyn and Dineen, 1914) suggests that in around 700 B.C. (as before, it is difficult to be accurate regarding the date), a single Jewish smelter was a member of a Phoenician mission trading in Wicklow gold. This smelter, referred to as *Iucadan* would have learnt his craft in Egypt, and the monks who inscribed these Annals refer to his religious devotions in terms of idolatry.

The inference is that a sporadic Jewish presence dwelt in Ireland until 1290, and effectively ceased until some refugees from the Spanish and Portuguese expulsions of 1492 were allowed to settle here (Hyman, 1972). However, these Marrano Jews (those who practised Sephardic Judaism in secret while professing Christianity to their neighbours) remained here only briefly, and it is likely that they joined greater numbers of their fellows who were established in England. With little documentary evidence on which to base a definitive history of Jews in Ireland prior to 1290, it is very likely that if they came to Ireland, they came through England, and that their experiences were common to the Jews of England in this period. The first Jewish settlers to officially establish themselves in England were Dutch, and did so during the reign of William of Orange (1066–1087), at his invitation (Lindsay, 1993). Earlier than this, Jewish soldiers were present in England as part of Caesar's army, although who these individuals were remains a mystery:

The lack of recognition given to Jewish soldiers who served in the Roman military stems primarily from...the inability to recognize Jews with Greek or Latin names unless they are identified as such.

(Schoenfeld, 2006, 117)

The Jewish community lived in peace and prosperity until the accession of Richard I (1189–1199). While the king himself was not, in principle, anti-Semitic, issuing a proclamation that Jews were to be left in peace in 1189 (Lindsay, 1993), he was absent for much of his reign, away at the Crusades which continued across Europe and the Mediterranean until 1485. In 1190, six months after his coronation, a massacre of Jews took place at York; the number of lives lost is estimated at 1,150 (Fletcher-Jones, 1990).

In the 13th century, King John (1199–1216) granted certain rights and privileges to Jews, the caveat being that huge taxes were exacted upon Jews and their property. The Crown during the reign of Henry III (1216–1272) was more sympathetic, and saw some repeal of these taxes, but the Church became increasingly more hostile towards Jews during this period. It became obligatory for Jews to wear a symbol of identification on their clothes, a small representation of the stone tablets bearing the Ten Commandments, embroidered in yellow, predating by many centuries the yellow Star of David worn by German Jews during the days of the Third Reich (Lindsay, 1993). During the latter part of the 13th century, the reign of Edward I (1272–1307), greater persecution of Jews took place under the auspices of the Crown, Edward being a more religious king than his father. Crucially, during this period, other foreign sources of investment existed, therefore the supertax on Jews was no longer needed by the Crown, rendering the Jewish community dispensable. In 1290, after the community had endured imprisonments, the seizure of its assets and the redistribution of its property, including holy places such as synagogues and cemeteries, the Jews were expelled by royal decree, an estimated 16,000 people forced to leave the country (Mundill, 1998).

It was forbidden to practise Judaism openly throughout the fifteenth, sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, yet Elizabeth I (1559–1603) was apparently tolerant towards Jews to the extent that a Portuguese Jewish physician by the name of

Roderigo Lopez practiced at her court, during which time he became her Chief Physician in 1586. Lopez's story is not without irony. Having escaped the Inquisition, he arrived in England initially as a prisoner of Sir Francis Drake (Lindsay, 1993), but came to mix freely among the higher echelons of English society, before ranking Chief Physician at Elizabeth's court, and being appointed Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians in 1570. He became involved in a Spanish-sponsored plot, first to poison potential pretenders to the throne, and then to poison the Queen herself; such conspiracies failed to succeed, and he stood trial and was executed in 1594 (Pelling and White, 2004). An awareness of Jewish culture is reflected in contemporaneous English literature, examples being Christopher Marlowe: *The Jew of Malta*, first published circa 1590 and William Shakespeare: *The Merchant of Venice*, first published circa 1596; the eponymous Merchant is speculated to be based on the character of Lopez (ibid).

After the English Civil War, which raged between 1642 and 1651, Cromwell determined to permit toleration outside the Church and readmitted Jews into what had become the Commonwealth in 1656, not least because Puritan doctrine was heavily based on the Hebrew scriptures (Brearley, 2010). By 1657, a synagogue had been established in London (Barnett and Levy, 1970); by 1700 the community had increased to 6,000 (Sachar, 2005). In 1663 there were a sufficient number of Sephardic Jewish men (at least ten) engaged in trade in Dublin, mainly Spanish or Portuguese merchants, to warrant the establishment of the first official synagogue there. This occurred at Crane Lane in the area leading from Dame Street towards the River Liffey. A ninety-year lease was granted to King James I by Jacob Newman (given the name, I would suggest that Newman was Jewish) for this parcel of land (Bennett, 2005); on this land was the property owned by a Jewish merchant named Isaac Phillips, in which was housed the synagogue. Worship would have taken place here for around fifty years.

No descriptions of Crane Lane synagogue exist, but contemporary drawings of this area of Dublin where Temple Bar is now, suggest that it was a grim, cramped room in an industrial building (McLaren, 1993), with religious artefacts provided by the newly-appointed Rabbi Aaron ben Moses, who arrived from London and who 'furnished the community with such requisites of public and private observance as

Scrolls of the Law, phylacteries, and mezuzoth’ (Hyman, 1972, 25). It would appear that Rabbi Aaron’s appointment in Dublin did not endure for long, yet professionally, he became closely identified with the city. The Great Synagogue, Dukes Place, London, functioned between 1690 and 1958, and it is known that: ‘Aaron the Scribe of Dublin’ (Renton, 2000, 36) officiated at Dukes Place from 1700–1704. It is likely that the synagogue service in Dublin resembled that of London, given how many personal contacts other than Rabbi Aaron existed between the two communities at this time (Shillman, 1945; Hyman, 1972). A Holy Burial Site was established at Ballybough in north Dublin, in 1718, four years after the land was purchased (Hyman, 1972).

A contemporary eyewitness account from the ethnographer Gamaliel ben Pedahzur gives some insight into the origins of synagogue worship in London (and by extension, Dublin) when he states: ‘The Jews of Poland or those who follow their ceremonies, which the Jews of England do...’ (ben Pedahzur, 1738, 149). This would confound the easy assumption that all synagogue worship in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century London and Dublin was based on the *Sephardic* (Spanish and Portuguese) tradition, given the Portuguese background of the founders of synagogues in these cities (Shillman, 1945; Hyman, 1972; Renton, 2000). However, the same observer suggests a Jewish community which was far from homogeneous, and within which existed tensions between Jews of different ethnic backgrounds. A Sabbath-day synagogue ritual is described, that of blessing the heads of children, which is almost identical to one which I have observed in *Sephardic* synagogues in Italy:

They lay their right Hand on the Head of the said Kindred, and to the Male-kind they say, *G-d* make thee as Ephraim and Manasseh; and to the Female-kind they say, *G-d* make thee as Sarah, Rebecca, Rachel, and Leah.

(ben Pedahzur, 1738, 66)



Fig. 2(i) The building which housed Crane Lane synagogue.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 16/11/09).

The reason why ben Pedahzur's work should be of relevance to any description of Jews in Ireland in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century is that there are strong suggestions that certain Jewish families, particularly the Pereira family, resided in both London and Dublin during this period. It seems certain that members of the Pereira family were instrumental in establishing both the 1657 London synagogue (Barnett and Levy, 1970; Lindsay, 1993) and the 1663 Dublin synagogue (Shillman, 1945; Hyman, 1972; Lindsay, 1993). This would suggest that there would almost certainly have been similarities between the two cities in terms of Jewish religious and cultural practices during this period. In J.G. Simms's essay 'The war of the two kings 1685–91' it is suggested that the Pereira family were merchants of some regard across Europe. When William of Orange hired infantry and cavalry from Christian V, King of Denmark during the Jacobite rebellion in Ireland (1685–91), his forces received their rations from various sources. Through the offices of the Pereira brothers in Dublin, it is known that '[T]he bread contract was given to Isaac Pereira, a member of a well-known Jewish firm in Holland' (Simms in Moody *et al*, 1991, 495). It is further thought that a party of Jewish bakers was dispatched from Holland and domiciled in Meath at this time (Shillman, 1945). A tiny Jewish cemetery is also recorded on a map of Meath as the 'Jews' Burial Ground' (Larkin, 1812, 5), near the town of Oldcastle. No reference is made to this cemetery in any oral or published

history of Jews in Ireland, the twin inferences being that it fell into disuse before the land was purchased for Ballybough cemetery in Dublin in 1714 (Shillman, 1945; Hyman, 1972), and that the presence of Jews in Meath during the closing years of the seventeenth century has been largely overlooked and forgotten.



Fig. 2(ii) This battered gate is all that remains of the Jews' Burial Ground at Castlecor, Oldcastle, Co. Meath. (Photograph: M. Brown, 04/07/11).

Civil and social unrest unfolded in Germany and Eastern Europe during the closing years of the seventeenth century, causing many Jewish families to travel west, towards Britain. These people were to establish an Ashkenazi community, existing in parallel with the incumbent mixed Sephardic/Ashkenazi one. By 1770, of the 277 names listed as sponsors of the first Jewish prayer-book or *siddur* to be printed and published in London, with simultaneous Hebrew/English translations, only eight are identifiably Sephardic names, such as Pereira, Lopez Piaz and Da Costa Rabello; the rest are Ashkenazi (e.g. Stein, Rosenthal) or not Jewish (e.g. Smith, Jones) (Meyers and Alexander, 1770, acknowledgements pages).

A century after the synagogue on Crane Lane had been established, it was outgrown by its congregation, who removed to a premises in Marlborough St., close to modern-day Lower Abbey St. on the north side of Dublin, in 1762 (Shillman, 1945). By the

mid-eighteenth century, the congregation at Crane Lane had relocated to larger premises in a converted area within the glassworks in Marlborough Green, near the site of the Abbey Theatre today (Benson, 2007). At this period, it was not unusual for industrial premises to have more than one function, with people living (or in this case worshipping) in factory or office buildings (Picard, 2001). Worship continued there for a further thirty years. However, owing to intermarriage, religious conversion and emigration, together with the Irish Naturalization Act of 1783 (from which Jews were excluded), Dublin's Jewish community dwindled until the Act was repealed in 1816. The Jewish community of Dublin now diminished so far that the building could no longer be maintained.

An influx of Ashkenazi Jews, probably from England, arrived in Dublin during the 1820s. With the assistance of the few remaining members of the original community, in 1829 they established a new synagogue in Stafford Street, now Wolfe Tone Street, in the same area of Dublin as before (Hyman, 1972). Worship continued here until 1835, when it transferred to a converted Presbyterian church not far away in Mary's Abbey. This proved to be the last bastion of Judaism on the north side of the city (Shillman, 1945), barring the cemetery at Ballybough.



**Fig. 2(iii) The former Mary's Abbey synagogue, now derelict.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 16/11/09).**

The discriminatory “Temporary” May Laws passed in Russia by Czar Alexander III in 1882, succeeded in distancing Jews from their neighbours, compelling them to live in designated areas, denying many education and permission to practice their trades and professions (Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz, 1995; Sachar, 2005; Sverdlove, 2009). These laws succeeded in definitively making Jews a race apart, the outsiders in Russian society:

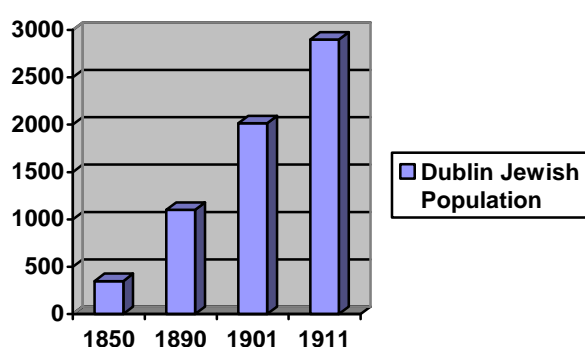
Throughout European history, race has been a problem of defining and enforcing distances between those who belong and those who do not. The ultimate act of racializing is the denial of place, that is, the removal of conditions of belonging.

(Bohlman in Radano and Bohlman, 2000, 645)

This was to cause consequences reaching the remote island of Ireland. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the Jewish community had again decreased in numbers, but those who remained were integrated into Irish middle-class society, maintaining trading and professional links with the indigenous Irish, and educating their children at Irish institutions, including Trinity College, Dublin. It is estimated that the Jewish population in Dublin in 1850 numbered 350 (Irish Jewish Museum: wall-mounted

display, 1985). From 1882 onwards, Jewish asylum-seekers and economic migrants left Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and elsewhere in Eastern Europe (O Gráda, 2006), resettling themselves in the British Isles. In 1890 alone, the Dublin community was swelled by seven hundred Lithuanian Jews (Hyman, 1972), and others continued to arrive over the next thirty years, often via Britain. According to the National Archives, in 1901 (as per the census taken that year) there were 2015 Jews resident in Dublin. Ten years later, the 1911 census shows 2899 Jews in Dublin (see Table 1).

Table 1. Dublin Jewish population growth, 1850–1911



Sources: Irish Jewish Museum wall-mounted display, 1985; Irish Jewish Genealogical Society (2nd July 2010); National Archive, 1901 online census; National Archive, 1911 online census [accessed 9th July 2010].

Stories abound regarding the trajectory of Jews from Eastern Europe to Dublin during this period. One such story occurs in an unpublished memoir of an elderly woman born in Lithuania, who spent most of her adult life in Dublin, emigrating to London when in her seventies to join her four sons (Glass, 1986). Mrs Annie Glass describes how one of her older brothers left Russia for the north of England during the first decade of the twentieth century. This brother stayed briefly in England, working in a clothing factory, and subsequently returned home. Not long after this, two other brothers had joined the Communist party, while two, including the returned emigrant, were anxious to avoid conscription. Thus, two brothers, their sister (Mrs Glass) and their parents moved to England, by which time the 1914–1918 war had broken out. In order to avoid the two young men being conscripted into the British army, the family removed to Dublin. Mrs Glass herself remained in Dublin until 1986, when she moved to London, joining her sons and their families there.

The Elliman family became influential in the field of the arts, particularly the theatre in Dublin during the twentieth century, Maurice Elliman founding a dynasty of theatre impresarios both in Dublin and London. The story of his initial arrival in Dublin is narrated thus:

Kovno was in the north of the Russian Pale of Settlement. Occupied by Tsarist Russia since 1795, it had been a centre in the popular uprisings of the early 1830s and mid-1860s. Since then, Russia had kept a large military force in the area – and pogroms against the local Jews were a welcome distraction for the bored garrisoned soldiers and wretched local people. With destruction of Jewish homes, possessions and sometimes lives, advancement for a young Jewish boy was all but impossible. To build any kind of life, decided 20-year-old Maurice – as did hundreds of thousands of his fellow Jews in these years – he'd have to leave.

This was simpler than he dared hope. A bottle of vodka was all it took for the border guard to look the other way. He walked into Belarus, across Poland and on into Prussia, begging rides, sleeping in barns and working for meals, as he doggedly made his way to the north German seaport of Hamburg. The language and operation of the busy German port were bewildering to the young man, who had spent his whole life in Lithuanian villages. He found his way on board a vessel, but it wasn't until he was at sea that he discovered the ship was bound for Liverpool. It was America, the *goldene medine*, which beckoned Eastern European Jewish immigrants of the time, so he found another ship as soon as he disembarked at Liverpool. It was indeed sailing West – but for Ireland rather than Ellis Island.

At Immigration in Dublin, asked for proof of identity, Maurice produced the same piece of paper he'd shown at Liverpool, one which named him as Moshe ben Moshe Helman. Later, after he had learned to read English, he saw that the immigration official had renamed him Moses Helman. At his next meeting with officialdom,

when he went to register with the local police in Ireland, the name was changed again, this time to Maurice Elliman. Maurice still knew only the Cyrillic and Hebrew alphabets, and couldn't spell out his name in English characters. Instead, he pointed to a van passing the police station window, carrying an advertisement for Elliman's Embrocation, and told the policeman: 'Like that.'

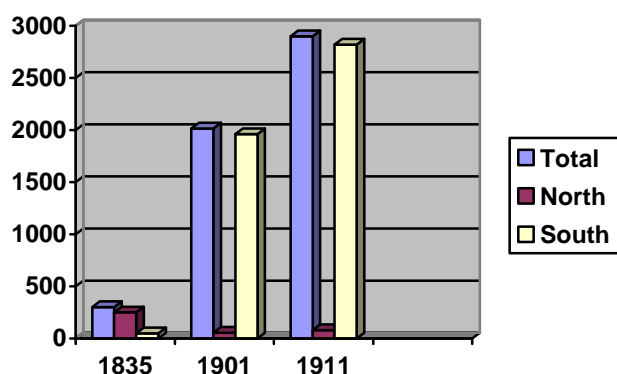
Maurice arrived at Dublin Port in 1892 with just three words of English: rabbi, synagogue and Jew. With this basic vocabulary, he set out to find a Jewish community. Everyone he approached tried to help, people going out of their way to guide him to Dublin's South Circular Road 'ghetto'.

(Author unstated, 2010, 4–8)

While the above events are documented and authenticated by various members of the Glass and Elliman families who have conducted genealogical and ethnographic research within their own families, it is observed that stories such as these have been adopted as part of the ongoing narrative of the history of Jews in Ireland. Whether apocryphal or not, tales of migration from Russia to Ireland have become part of the folklore of the Irish Jewish community. Having explored the background of a particular family which has been continuously settled in Dublin since the 1840s, I interviewed two siblings, direct descendents of the original couple who had originated from Germany. When I asked them if they could tell me a little of their family history, particularly with regard to the family name which is identifiably German, the elder of the two replied, 'I suppose we came over from Russia in the 1880s, like everyone else' (name and date of interview withheld).

It is necessary to acknowledge that not all Dublin Jews gravitated towards South Circular Road in the early twentieth century, even after the closure of Mary's Abbey synagogue. Several families and individuals remained in their homes in the Capel Street area (on the north side of the city, close to Mary's Abbey), while others moved to distinctly more affluent areas on the south side of the city, including Ranelagh and Sandymount (National Archive, 1901 online census; National Archive, 1911 online census [accessed 9th July 2010] (see Table 2).

Table 2. Dublin Jewish population and distribution 1835-1911



Sources: Irish Jewish Genealogical Society (2nd July 2010); National Archive, 1901 online census; National Archive, 1911 online census [accessed 9th July 2010].

Inevitably, some tensions arose between the small, assimilated English-speaking Jewish community and the newcomers (O Gráda, 2006), many with their conspicuous mode of dress, some with their Orthodox observance, and all with their use of the Yiddish language. In the context of similar Jewish immigration patterns into England, such people are further described as ‘...Eastern European immigrants, whose religious tastes and cultural baggage were unwelcome to the more anglicised Jews’ (Williams, 2008, 28). Tensions occurring between acculturated and less-acculturated members of diaspora communities are not solely part of the Jewish experience, and surface for a variety of reasons:

The Pan-American Nikkei Association...aimed to discuss common issues in the Americas rather than to cultivate ties to Japan. It was an attempt to develop lateral ties among later-generation non-Japanese citizens of Japanese descent. In a way, it was a movement away from Japan. Consequently, there were initial tensions between pan-American Nisei and first-generation (Issei) immigrants, and Japanese from Japan.

(Takenaka, 2009, 1333)

It is probable that disagreements within the increasing Jewish community were not as serious or widespread as speculated by O Gráda. The existing synagogue at Mary's Abbey was capable of seating ninety worshippers and open only on Saturday mornings (Hyman, 1972); this represented a maximum possible synagogue attendance of a little over one quarter of the Jewish community, even on Holy Days, suggesting that the majority of Dublin Jews of the mid-to-late nineteenth century had little interest in religious practices or communal life centred around their sole synagogue. However, it is obvious that Mary's Abbey synagogue was inadequate to meet the needs of the enlarged community. Small congregations known as *shtibls* were established in houses in the areas where Lithuanian Jews settled in the newly developed streets around South Circular Road (O Gráda, 2006), and daily services were conducted, adding Lithuanian-Jewish liturgical music to the soundscape of late-nineteenth century Dublin. In December 1892, the last Sabbath service was conducted at Mary's Abbey; on the following Sabbath, both Jews and Christians attended the opening and consecration of a new, specially-designed synagogue at Adelaide Road, on the south side of the city centre (Shillman, 1945). This was destined to remain in operation until 2000.

Adelaide Road synagogue was not the first synagogue to be established on the south side of Dublin. A number of small congregations existed around the South Circular Rd. district, attended by the recent eastern European immigrants and their families, none of which remained in operation beyond the mid 1970s. Prior to the formation of Adelaide Road synagogue, a *shtibl* existed in St. Kevin's Parade from 1883. This *shtibl* currently endures in the form of the Machzikei Hadass synagogue on Terenure Road North, in south Dublin, a fact omitted in Sharman Kadish's survey of Jewish built heritage in the British Isles (Kadish, 2006). Others included Oakfield Place (1885); Lennox St. (1887); Heytesbury St. (1891); Camden St. (1892).

Subsequent to the building of Adelaide Road, and notwithstanding its beauty and grandeur, there appeared Lombard Street West (1893) and Walworth Road (1905) (Irish Jewish Museum: wall-mounted display, 1985). With the exception of Lombard Street West, these synagogues operated from modest terraced houses in residential streets, and were frequently indistinguishable from the neighbouring properties,

endorsing the statement that: ‘Synagogues have been hard to identify also because for hundreds of years they tended to be small and modest’ (Krinsky, 1996, 14).



Fig. 2(iv) The former Camden St. synagogue, in the middle of a terrace of similar houses. The plaque announcing the fact that this building was once a synagogue was erected by the Dublin Tourist Board. (Photograph: M. Brown, 17/02/08).

In 1914, the huge Palladian edifice of Greenville Hall synagogue commenced to be built on the main South Circular Road; this closed in 1984, the remaining tiny congregation unable to sustain regular services after the sudden death of Rev. Abraham Gittleston, who was the last cantor to officiate there. Unusually, there was no deconsecration ceremony prior to the dismantling of this synagogue; after 70 years of continuous use as a place of worship, study and socialising, and having withstood a direct hit from a German bomb in January 1941 (Irish Jewish Museum: wall-mounted display, 1985, scrapbook donated by Elliman family, 2009; Kearns, 2010; Bairéad, 2010), Greenville Hall synagogue closed its doors, ‘unwept, unhonoured and unsung’ (Renton, 2000, 35).



Fig. 2(v) The former Greenville Hall synagogue, now converted into offices.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 05/01/10).

Nor was Adelaide Road the last synagogue to be established in Dublin. The Rathmines Hebrew Congregation was established in 1937 to facilitate Jewish families who had moved south of the South Circular Road area. This congregation originally met in rented rooms in Grosvenor Place, Rathmines, but purchased a building in 1940 on Grosvenor Road, whence it expanded due to the continuing migration to the suburbs. Thirteen years later, the congregation moved further south to Terenure.

Altogether, eleven small synagogues and two large ones were established and deconsecrated between 1883 (St Kevin's Parade) and 1985 (Greenville Hall). A larger burial site was also purchased in the Dolphin's Barn district of South Circular Road in 1898, the date confirmed in the cemetery records updated in 2000. In the late 1940s the community received another influx of refugees, this time from Germany, Austria and Poland, but few remained long, and most had migrated to the U.S.A., England or Israel by 1950, as did many of the descendants of the Lithuanian migrants from the previous century. A more recent trend involves American and Israeli Jews, mainly under contract to multi-national organisations or universities, settling in Dublin or elsewhere in Ireland for a finite number of years, according to the terms of their employment. A number of Jewish families and unmarried people have also

emigrated here in the last decade from South Africa, North and South America, Poland and Russia. One large synagogue remains on Rathfarnham Road in Terenure, south Dublin. Together with the above-mentioned Machzikei Hadass, and a prayer-room at Bloomfield House, (the combined Jewish and Quaker retirement-home in Rathfarnham), these are the existing places for Orthodox Jewish worship in Dublin, the main fora for the practice of liturgical Jewish music within the Orthodox tradition in Dublin.

The Jewish Reform movement spreading through Western Europe from Germany during the nineteenth century, eventually reached Ireland in the twentieth century. In the 1950s, a group originating from the Adelaide Road synagogue, mainly composed of academics and doctors who had become disaffected from Orthodox Judaism and the many restrictions inherent within it, established the Dublin Progressive Jewish Congregation. The small but stable congregation worships in Rathgar, south Dublin, independently from the Orthodox establishment.

However, it does not exist as an entirely discrete community, but is fully integrated within the entity that is the Dublin Jewish community. There are various reasons for this. To outline a few of these, firstly, there are many family ties between Orthodox and Progressive Jews in Dublin, whether by blood or marriage. Secondly, many members of the Orthodox congregations attend services and social events in the Progressive synagogue, a practice which is reciprocated by members of the Progressive congregation. Thirdly, at a political level, members of the Orthodox and Progressive synagogues hold offices in communal institutions such as the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland. Finally, in terms of liturgical music, we find that much music performed in the Progressive synagogue, particularly during the High Holy Days, originated from the former Adelaide Road synagogue. Proof of this abounds in yellowed handwritten manuscripts copied from scores of choral synagogue music composed by Lewandowsky and Sulzer, stamped with “Property of Dublin Hebrew Congregation”, still used by the organist and choir at the Progressive synagogue in conjunction with more contemporary music.



Fig 2(vi) The Dublin Jewish Progressive synagogue in Rathgar.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 26/09/11).

2.2 Outlining Jewish Culture and Identity in Modern Ireland

That the Irish Jewish community exists at all is due to a variety of circumstances which, over time, caused Jews to migrate here. Most, although not all members of the community are descended from those who arrived in Ireland in the influx from Eastern Europe, from 1880 onwards. This has resulted in the establishment of distinct pockets of people from a cosmopolitan Jewish background, coexisting with others in the wider Irish society. In terms of the Republic of Ireland, these are mainly grouped around the larger urban areas of Dublin, Cork, Limerick and Waterford, with some isolated families scattered around Kildare, Wicklow, Kilkenny, Galway and as far north as Cavan. There are also approximately one hundred Jews in Belfast, whose one (Orthodox) synagogue operates under the auspices of the Chief Rabbi of Great Britain. With the gradual diminution of numbers of Jews in Ireland since the 1950s, the greatest concentration of Jews is to be found in south Dublin, while only a few Jewish households remain on the north side of the city. Thus it is the Dublin Jewish community that is the main focus of this discussion.

The history of the Irish Jewish population defining itself as a community extends beyond social networks established upon the arrival of Jews to Ireland. As mentioned

above, most of the Jews in Ireland are descended from those who arrived in an influx from Eastern Europe from the 1880s onwards. In her study of the integration of Jews into the wider community, Brodtkin outlines that:

Eastern European Jews under Czarist rule had long been restricted to the so-called Pale of Settlement, a geographic area comprised of parts of Poland and Western Russia, outside of which they were not allowed to take up residence. It was here, in the 1880s and 1890s, that they began to develop a secular Yiddish culture, *Yiddishkeit*, that provided a common link between Jews from different villages, regions and nations and infused Jewish life with the intellectual, political, and artistic excitement of urban modernism. *Yiddishkeit* and capitalism's dislocations combined to break down the class divisions between the wealthy and learned on one hand, and the ordinary manual workers on the other.

(Brodtkin, 1999, 107)

This ensured that the Jewish migrants were not necessarily from a peasant background, but that in addition to manual and farm labourers, there were those who brought their education, skills and wealth to their new home. They brought their vernacular language (Yiddish), and their language of prayer (Hebrew). They also imported their form of Ashkenazi Jewish worship and music, creating the basis of the liturgy and music used in Dublin to this day. They brought certain domestic customs unrelated to their religious background, such as the widespread usage of glass drinking and dining vessels (still popular in Jewish households here); the use of jam as a sweetening agent for tea drunk without milk (my Dublin-born father prefers his tea served in this way, as did his Latvian father and grandfather). Among the Jewish community, attitudes towards certain Jewish families endure to this day; there are still those regarded by other Jews as “intellectual” or “entrepreneurial” or “artistic” or “ignorant” or “dishonest”, regardless of whether or not these stereotypes still hold true. There is also a history of tension between immigrants from Latvia and Lithuania, (Litvaks) and those from Poland (Pollacken). Traces of this endure even now when comparing recipes (certain savoury dishes flavoured with too much sugar were referred to, disparagingly, as “*Pollacken*, tssst!” by my Belfast-born maternal

grandmother). This is endorsed by Stanley Price in his autobiography, in which he tells us:

The Jews who came from Lithuania, which remained part of Russia until 1918, were known as Litvaks – as opposed to Polaks, who came from the Polish provinces of the Pale of Settlement. There was always a tremendous rivalry between Litvaks and Polaks, and each affected to despise the other. This mutual contempt was to continue long after the emigration to the West, and appears largely based on the fact that they pronounced their Yiddish differently – and disagreed vehemently about recipes for gefilte fish.

(Price, 2002, 29)

It would be impossible to ascertain how far back in time these attitudes and prejudices extend, but it is certain that in a Dublin context, they originated in the *shtetls* (villages and towns) of Latvia and Lithuania from where the forbears of Dublin Jews came, and endure while the Lithuanian Jewish diaspora continues to exist in Ireland.

Worryingly, in the conversation of recent immigrant children, I am aware of similar tensions being played out over a century later, boys and girls cat-calling ‘You’re only a Polish Jew!’ ‘Well, you’re a Russian!’ (Overheard at *Simchat Torah* celebrations in Terenure Synagogue, 21st October, 2008). We see here how these children regard themselves and each other as Jewish, thereby acknowledging the common element between them, in other words ‘[A]t an individual level, migrants’ experience of displacement raises complex psychological questions about their own existence and self-identity’ (Jess in Massey and Jess, 2000, 7). They do not identify themselves or their antagonists in the context of the Dublin community, but instead conflict has arisen over their places of origin. Another feature they have in common is that the families have spent a number of years in Israel before coming to Ireland. During the 1990s, a wave of Jewish emigration occurred from the former U.S.S.R. Unlike those motivated to leave Russia by the May Laws of 1882, these emigrants travelled directly to Israel, where the following was observed:

The transition from one country to another involves far more than just a physical move and affects all areas of life. The experience of immigration is unsettling – in both a physical and an emotional sense, leading to estrangement from the familiar and the predictable and challenging immigrants with the unfamiliar and the unexpected.

(Benish-Weisman, 2009, 953)

At this stage in the psycho-socio-cultural development of the children mentioned above, Israel and Ireland do not play an important part in this conflict, only the certain knowledge of their respective Russian or Polish backgrounds, perhaps because ‘[A]nother reason for feeling little about a place is because you are a stranger there. This is a feeling often experienced by migrants’ (Rose in Massey and Jess, 2000, 96).

What is proven is a strong association between the *shtetls*, (or later, towns in modern Poland and Russia), the people who left them, and their eventual lives in Dublin, either now, or in the context of this discussions, more than a century later than the main Eastern European influx. This is summed up in the essay ‘Migrations, globalization and place’, in which Pat Jess states: ‘At a basic level, migration is a human link between places – the place of departure and the place of arrival and settlement’ (Jess in Massey and Jess, 2000, 27).

Given that the majority of Jewish migrants to Ireland originated from the same *shtetls*, it is unsurprising that some social structures within the Orthodox community were maintained upon arrival in Ireland, and endure to the present day. This is seen in institutions such as the synagogue itself, the *Chevra Kadisha* (Holy Burial Society), *mikveh* (ritual bath), the Board of *Shechita* (the organisation responsible for supervision of kosher food) and *Talmud Torah* (the religious education board), all supported through voluntary donations and taxes levied upon synagogue members. Often, succeeding generations of particular families are involved in particular institutions, while others engage in more passive participation, without wishing to disengage from communal activity. In a sense, this is the type of diasporic living which has defined the Jewish community in Dublin since the 1880s:

Groups around the world engage in similar activities, using remarkably similar language, to foster their 'unique' culture. In so doing, they also make similar claims. First, ties are fundamentally rooted in their blood; because of sharing ancestry, there is affinity among co-ethnics dispersed across countries. Second, these co-ethnics share the same culture, history and experiences in different host countries. And third, strengthening co-ethnic bonds is good for all – not simply for themselves but for all humanity. This claim-making is, indeed, at the heart of all diasporic projects.

(Takenaka, 2009, 1328)

Yet Bohlman appears unsatisfied with effects of the diaspora on Jewish culture, and in particular Jewish music, when he poses the following set of questions in his essay 'Are Jews Musical?':

Do the conditions of diaspora enhance or weaken the ways in which music reflects Jewish identity? Is the culture of diaspora a bulwark against acculturation, or does it hasten the processes that lead to the disintegration of Jewish society? Does diaspora hasten the fragmentation of Jewish history, or does it forge a teleology predicated upon the possibility of return?

(Bohlman in Bohlman, 2010, 158)

Living in the Lithuanian Jewish diaspora in Dublin has permitted Dublin Jews to maintain the continuity of cultural practices largely shaped by the past, contributing to a 'tight culture' (Triandis, 1994, 159) within the Jewish community of Dublin, while engaging with Irish culture in the present without relinquishing a grasp on the past, given that '[A] society's identity is substantially determined by its view of its own past' (Nettl, 1996). Recent trends have propelled certain members of the Dublin Jewish community along a path of visiting the sites of former *shtetls* in Lithuania from where their families were reputed to have originated; apparently, little remains of these places. Such past v. present, Irish v. Jewish dialogues assist in forging bonds between all of these very different and not easily reconcilable entities:

This affirms the sense that the diaspora does not merely involve nostalgia for the past, but more importantly and accurately, is a promise of the future, a future that is still to come.

(Ricco, 2006)

Many, although not all, are thoroughly at ease living in the diaspora, identifying with the community: ‘Primordialism emphasizes the enduring emotional power of ethnic bonds even in the face of changing economic and political condition...’ (Hempel, 2009, 462). This occurs even while others inevitably prefer to integrate into wider society; in the case of Ireland, this supplants Irish, or Jewish identity in favour of a more general European, or even global identity: ‘Cosmopolitanization means, amongst other things, that people perceive themselves as being members of a ‘greater community’ than their own local, regional or national territories would imply’ (Pichler, 2009, 9). Thus, there are “primordial” Jews who function within the Jewish community, motivated by ethnicity, culture and history and asserting their religious practices, while the “cosmopolitans” are more likely to distance themselves from communal activities, and are less inclined to identify themselves to others as being Jewish. However, the eternal paradox of Jewish identity ensures that very often, their Jewish identity will be asserted by others.

2.3 Community

The notion of belonging to a community appears to endure and seems almost necessary against the backdrop of an overwhelming, albeit benign, ethnic and religious majority such as that found in Ireland. There are different strata of community in Dublin; Terenure, the suburb of south Dublin where most Jews now live and worship, is itself a community. There is a rich social mixture; school-children and the elderly jostle for places in the bus queues; nuns and Mormon elders greet each other on the leafy street where convent and prayer-house are almost adjacent; *Big Issue* purveyors accost wealthy solicitors and bankers at the main crossroad. In the autumn, small boys from the local Roman Catholic school forage for chestnuts in the synagogue grounds, and in winter, the Scouts sell Christmas trees

to all and sundry from the Church of Ireland Parochial Hall car-park. The bespectacled traffic-warden lurks while delivery vans disgorge bread and beer during morning rush-hour. Terenure, a hub in topographical terms, situated as it is within 5km of the city centre, the sea, the Wicklow Mountains and the M50 motorway, is moreover a focus of society, education, industry, sport and spirituality; it sustains generations of people. It is a place which has grown and evolved along with its population:

Very often, when we think of what we mean by a *place*, we picture a settled community, a locality with a distinct character – physical, economic and cultural...Places are unique, different from each other; they have singular characteristics, their own traditions, local cultures and festivals, accents and uses of language...

(Massey in Massey and Jess, 2000, 46)

It is the concentrated centre for all those who live, work or for whatever reason, inhabit it; it is part of their activity space. All these people, nuns and elders, bakers and bankers, share, often unknowingly, the lived experience of Terenure. As Massey phrases it, 'These very different lives, with their contrasting activity spaces, touch each other. They intersect and sometimes interact' (ibid, 60).

Given that the Jewish community exists and functions within the Terenure and wider Dublin communities, it is necessary to decide what a community comprises. It is suggested that the conceptual clusters of region/place/locality and space/time/space-time (Agnew in Agnew *et al*, 1996) are illustrated by Young's model of community:

In ordinary speech for most people in the U.S., the term community refers to the people with whom I identify in a locale. It refers to neighborhood, church, schools. It also carries connotations of ethnicity or race. For most people in the U.S., insofar as they consider themselves members of communities at all, a community is a group that shares a specific heritage, a common self-identification, a common culture and set of norms.

(Young in Weiss and Friedman, 1995, 244)

Jews have occupied various spaces around Dublin, from the city centre to the suburbs. What has made these spaces into places with strong Jewish associations is the grouping together of people in areas where they are able to interact with each other, acknowledging a shared heritage. They practise various domestic and religious rituals freely; sufficient density of population is achieved within these areas for ease of recognition and communication, especially by outsiders. Over the past century, Jewish newcomers to Dublin have largely (although not exclusively) tended to settle in or near areas of Jewish habitation. This enables them to familiarise themselves with the people, customs and institutions of their new home, to establish their habitus.

The wider, non-Jewish community generally possesses an awareness of the Jewish presence in such areas. As sustained periods of time pass when people are settled in particular places, the places become more closely associated with those people living there. Crang asserts that it is a combination of people and the places which they inhabit that form communities:

The place is standing for a set of cultural characteristics; the place says something not only about where you live or come from but who you are.

The continued repetition of particular sorts of behaviour comes to be associated with particular places, and newcomers are socialised into the sorts of behaviour found at these places. The result is places provide an anchor of shared experiences between people and continuity over time. Spaces become places as they become 'time-thickened'. They have a past and a future that binds people together round them.

This lived connection binds people and places together. It enables people to define themselves and to share experiences with others and form themselves into communities.

(Crang, 1998, 103)

Communities also develop around mutual dependency, the creation of a comfort zone in which one's neighbours or friends are similar to oneself, accepting appearance, rituals and circumstances as normal, and rewarding this normality with a sense of kinship or belonging. Grayzel's perception of Jews participating in American Jewish communities in the 1950s suggests that this is underpinned by such a need to belong:

An American Jew...thought of himself as primarily a member of a religious group. Moving into a suburban neighbourhood, he sought social identification with fellow Jews, either out of self-respect or out of a lingering sense of insecurity.

(Grayzel, 1960, 158-159)

Belonging to a community brings with it certain social responsibilities, and assumes a morality which compels one to carry these out to the mutual benefit of oneself and one's cohorts:

This morality is based on loyalty, duty, honor, respect, self-control, obedience to authority, and actions consistent with one's social roles. People are defined as having social roles in families, nations, or other social groups that are part of their identity, and interpersonal responsibilities are a moral duty.

(Guerra and Giner-Sorolla, 2010, 36).

This could be extended to define an adaptive morality, which itself changes in response to the challenges of belonging to more than one community, for example, the Jewish community combined with that of Terenure village: 'Individuals move simultaneously within multiple social spheres, each with its own ethical prescription for personal and ethical relations' (Tarafodi *et al*, 2009, 570).

Although the population density of Jews is greatest around Terenure, Jewish households are scattered around various suburbs of south Dublin. Consequently, proximity itself does not constitute the Dublin Jewish community. Nowadays, this is more dependent on communication and on shared habits and behavioural patterns,

(such as frequenting the same shops and restaurants, or attending the same schools), as well as attending more formal communal activities (meetings, socials, religious services), and possessing an almost assumed knowledge of other peoples' backgrounds and even roles within the community. Stanley Price sums up the feelings of his late father (a Lithuanian immigrant who qualified as a doctor in Dublin, subsequently leaving Ireland for England), in the words: 'My father took a rosy view of the cohesive, protective community he had come from. His Dublin was a warm and wonderful place' (Price, 2002, 166). Just as the traffic-warden and the nuns are recognised features of Terenure, for both the Jewish and non-Jewish community, so too are the extravagantly bearded cantor, exuding geniality as he bowls along the streets on his upright bicycle when not leading religious services, making time to visit the sick in hospital or attending to his infinite other duties; the ebullient young rabbi who drives at high speed, always under pressure of time; the eccentric jeweller who, in need, interrupts his everyday business to conduct the sacred task of burying the dead.

This must take place in tandem with interaction between members of the Jewish community and the wider Dublin society (neighbours, friends and colleagues). Young's version of society is one where people benefit from being part of small communities flourishing within wider society, which adequately describes the conditions of the Dublin Jewish community in which members of the Jewish community maintain a mutually supportive involvement with their peers, while generally enjoying respect and tolerance from their non-Jewish neighbours:

Just as the intimacy of living with just a few others in a household has unique dimensions that are humanly valuable, so existing with others in communities of mutual friendship has specific characteristics of warmth and sharing that are humanly valuable...In our version of the good society, we sure wish to include institutional arrangements that would nurture the specific experience of mutual friendship, which only relatively small groups of interactivity in a plurality of contexts can produce.

(Young in Weiss and Friedman, 1995, 249)

It is fortunate, and probably the main reason the Jews have settled over such a sustained period of time in Dublin, that the other inhabitants of the city have been largely tolerant of the presence of the Jewish and other small communities in their midst. Some profess to be unaware of the presence of Jews in Dublin (including students of mine living in Blackrock, Co. Dublin, a suburb where Jewish families have lived since the 1930s). Others have mutually fraternised and co-operated with their Jewish neighbours (Pearse in Benson, 2007).

Until the 1960s, the area around South Circular Road in Dublin was closely associated with the Jewish community, the informal local name for the area reflected in the eponymous title of Nick Harris's autobiographical work *Dublin's Little Jerusalem* (Harris, 2002). Such nomenclature was not unique to Dublin; during the same period in which Dublin's Jewish community was receiving an influx of Jews from Eastern Europe, the same pattern of immigration could be seen on a greater scale in the cities of England. The following observation was made in this regard:

In the course of the great age of Jewish immigration, non-Jews began gradually to perceive in North Manchester the outlines of what they came to think of as a 'Jewish Quarter'. 'Manchester's Jerusalem' was another late 19th century description.

(Williams, 1988, 25)

Unlike nowadays, assumptions could be made regarding the place where the Jews of Dublin were likely to live. Communal living was facilitated by the presence of Jewish neighbours. The area, although not exclusively populated by Jews, was nonetheless an enclave of Jewish society, where families were raised and businesses thrived, providing for the material needs of the people and being recognisable to the outside world. Jewish-owned shops, bearing names such as "Goldwater" and "Rubenstein" proliferated on Clanbrassil Street, demonstrating the following:

Ethnic enclaves also function as a seed-bed for small businesses which further reinforce the character of the district by developing its

ethnic economy. Some of these businesses – shops, travel agents, etc. – serve the ethnic population only.

(Jess in Massey and Jess, 2000, 30)

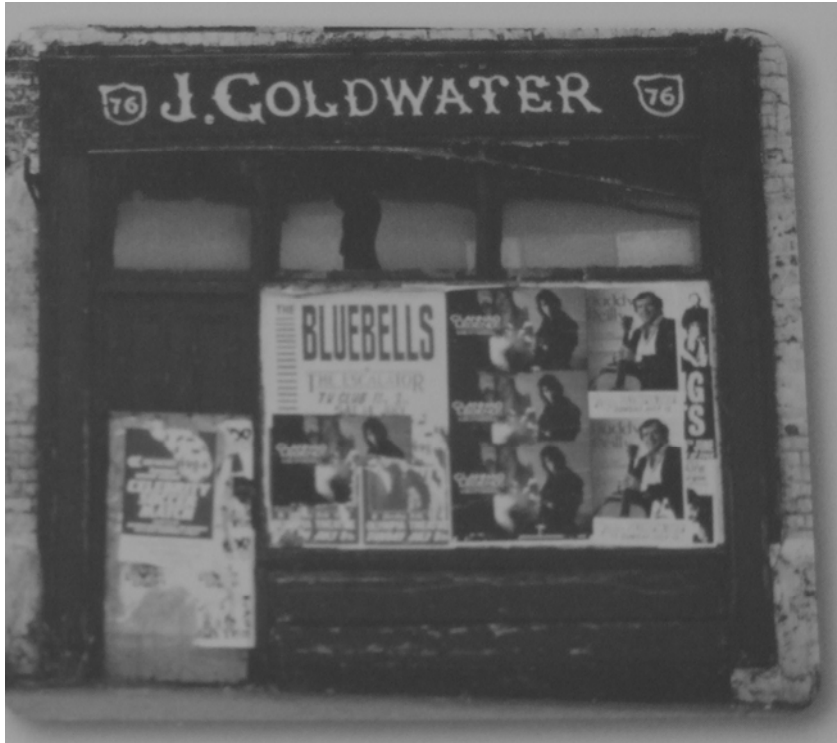


Fig. 2(vii) One of many former kosher butchers' shops on Clanbrassil Street; this belonged to the Goldwater family between 1898 and 1976. This photograph was taken in 1984; the building had already been neglected for some years.

(Photograph courtesy of the Irish Jewish Museum).

Synagogues were numerous in the district (on St Kevin's Parade, Lombard Street West, Walworth Road and Lennox Street, for example). A primary school under a Jewish Board of Management (Zion School, established in 1934 as Ireland's first non-Christian denominational state school) operated on Bloomfield Avenue until 1981. This red-brick school-house still stands, and illustrates another reason that places can and have become associated with the Jewish community. No physical evidence remains of the shops, nor of the *shitbls* converted from Victorian terraced houses, apart from the Irish Jewish Museum which occupies the former Walworth Road Synagogue.



Fig. 2(viii) The former Jewish Zion School building on Bloomfield Avenue, now converted into offices.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 19/07/09).

As Jews left South Circular Road and its environs from the 1960s for Terenure and other Dublin suburbs, or further afield (many families began to emigrate to England, Israel and the U.S.A. as the economic drain of the 1970s emptied many of Ireland's towns), this led to '...the erosion of community and place' (Crang, 1998, 103). However, aspects of Jewish life have been incorporated into the environment of Dublin, exemplifying '...how monuments and buildings may be used to try to bind people together, to stress common interests, to promote group solidarity' (ibid, 4). Eventually, certain Jewish monuments, however small, have become part of the built heritage of places such as Terenure and South Circular Road. An example is the fading Hebrew lettering painted onto the gatepost of 33 Terenure Road North, which reads "*Habonim*" (The Builders), a gesture towards the youth club which congregated there until the early 1960s, and whose presence is unremarked upon by passers-by.



Fig. 2(ix) The faded Hebrew inscription reads “*Habonim*” on the gatepost of 33, Terenure Road North, now a solicitor’s office. (Photograph: M. Brown, 12/02/08).

On a larger scale, another example is the facade of the former Greenville hall synagogue on South Circular Road, with its grand Palladian pillars and elaborate stained glass windows depicting the Star of David. The purpose-built (between 1917 and 1925) synagogue was sold to an engineering firm in 1986; its scale and unmistakable design still dominate the landscape.



Fig. 2(x) Three of the twelve Star of David windows retained by Mason Technology in the former Greenville Hall synagogue building. (Photograph: M. Brown, 19/07/09).

Having outlined the notion of community, and having established the places in which the Jewish community survives, it is necessary to describe how and why the Jewish community functions. This is partly due to the existence of certain conventions possibly unique to the Dublin Jewish community, and known to its members through a lifetime of conditioning. They include rigid codes of dress and behaviour noticeable within the Orthodox Terenure synagogue. They include the use of two particular side streets in Terenure for car parking on Saturdays, at a sufficient distance from both Orthodox synagogues (Terenure and Machzekei Hadass) so as not to offend Jews who are *shomer Shabbat* (those who strictly observe Sabbath proscriptions on work to include activities such as driving and using electrical appliances). These occur along with more concrete examples of communal life, such as the attendance of religious services, educational classes and social functions; the existence of youth groups, card schools and shops servicing the needs of kosher shoppers; participation in actual institutions such as the *Chevra Kadisha*, *Shechita* and *Talmud Torah*, as described above.

The community is organised into hierarchies which oversee most conceivable social, spiritual, economic and artistic needs. Many of these are appointed democratically,

and most duties are performed voluntarily. Synagogues are places of prayer, and also for meeting and socialising, and each is run by an elected council. The Orthodox rabbis and cantor minister mainly to the religious and spiritual needs of the Orthodox sector of the community, and often include Progressive Jews within their sphere of influence. They fulfil other functions involving education, outreach and chaplaincy within the entire community. They also provide hospitality to newcomers, visitors and the needy. There is a secular school for children aged four to eighteen years under a Jewish Board of Management, which accepts Jewish children of different denominations, as well as children from other religious backgrounds. There is an elected lay council for making wider policy decisions, and which represents the community to the wider world (the Jewish Representative Council, cited above); also an office dedicated to the administrative requirements of the community. There are those responsible for matters pertaining to security, who liaise with the Gardaí, and who are ready to mobilise against physical or verbal threats to the community. There are also bodies pertaining to social welfare, and organising charitable donations outside the Jewish community. There is a medical society and a Rabbinical court of justice, (an extension of the London *Beth Din*). There are there are social events to mark milestones in the lunar calendar, clubs for the young and the old, and a nursing facility for the infirm. There is a kosher restaurant, a golf club, a book club, a news-sheet, public lectures and classes, a musical society, a choir and a museum to commemorate the past. Also, central to my ongoing thesis is the *nusach*, or specific set of modes and melodies used in Dublin synagogue chant, carried here from abroad by successive cantors and lay-readers.

Most Jews in Dublin (and around Ireland), notwithstanding their levels of observance, tend to identify themselves as part of the Jewish community for reasons of religion, ethnicity, identity or history. In her essay ‘The Diaspora-Community-Tradition. Paradigms of Jewish Identity: A Reappraisal’, Regine Azria, in her discussion of the Jewish diaspora community, suggests the following:

...it invites us to distinguish between its institutional/organisational level and its traditional/religious/mystical level. In modern times, the latter has been largely turned into a subjective/emotional/ideological level, that can be expressed in

terms of ‘a feeling of belonging’. This feeling is, to a great extent, independent of actual attitudes and behaviours.

(Azria, 1998 in Krausz and Tulea, 1998, 28)

In tandem with these official organs of the community are shared religious practices, experiences, histories and family relationships, all of which contribute to this “feeling of belonging”. This is what fulfils the emotional need to “belong” even when, as in most cases, Jews are not knowingly excluded from the lives of their neighbours, friends and colleagues.

Given that the Jewish community in Dublin now includes people from countries such as England, France, Iraq, Israel, Poland, Portugal, Russia, South Africa, South America and the U.S.A. (and other places), as well as the established community descended from Lithuanian immigrants, it is not possible to argue that a shared heritage of preceding generations is the principal measure cohering the fabric of this community. It has been suggested that the single and only factor uniting Jews in Dublin is a shared Zionist fervour (Landy, 2007). The basis for Landy’s assumption rests on his experiences at an Ireland v. Israel soccer match (played in Dublin in 2006), at which he observed a small number of Dublin Jews cheering for Israel.

It is true that in the past, Zionism, particularly secular Zionism was a unifying force in the Dublin Jewish community, with many people participating in societies such as ZIONA, Dublin Daughters of Zion, and the *Habonim* youth group (known locally as “the Movement”. However, in Dublin, the secular Zionist impetus had largely run its course by the close of the 1950s; by the early 1960s, these societies had ceased to function. Nowadays two organisations, namely the Jewish National Fund and WIZO operate in Dublin. Their remit (which takes priority a long way after entertainment, social and cultural activities), is to raise funds for children’s and medical charities (the Israeli *Magen Dovid Adom* was not recognised by the International Red Cross until 2007) or for agriculture in Israel. Zionist and other political attitudes tend to be personal issues, and are rarely used as a means of promoting solidarity among Dublin Jews. Nor do all Dublin Jews belong to these organisations. It is far more likely that the *raison d’être* of the community is the need, coupled with the means, to belong.

There are even some advantages in belonging to a community which functions separately from the established Christian hierarchies with their preconceptions of one another. For example, the Jewish community in Belfast was always exempt from the power struggles between Nationalists and Loyalists, Roman Catholics and Protestants, which have raged through the history Northern Ireland. My late grandmother Maie Goldwater (née Gordon) (1905–1989), mentioned above, spent her early years in Belfast, and enjoyed a career as a jazz pianist during the 1920s. It was customary for her and her dance-band to play in various church halls, notwithstanding the Christian denomination. She often recounted the many times when tensions would occur between Protestant and Roman Catholic factions at social events—how this would regularly lead to violence, and how the Jewish musicians were left unscathed, excluded from the ideological battleground. In a profile of Guy Beiner, an Israeli sociologist who studied in UCD during the 1990s, it was found that:

Beiner also learned that in Ireland, there are advantages to being an outsider. Neither Catholic nor Protestant, he found he was free in ways that Irish scholars are not. “I wasn’t affiliated with any local conflicts or rivalries,” he said. “I could go and talk to anyone”.

(Sanders, 2007)

2.4 Identity

For most people, identity begins with a name. Jewish people both in Dublin and elsewhere, possess two distinct names, one of which is used for everyday purposes: photo identification, signatures, proof of ownership, greetings or introductions, differentiation from everybody else, the definition of ones own singularity. These are just a few illustrations of the uses of our identity. The other name, known as the Hebrew name, is a vital part of one’s identity within the Jewish tradition; it replaces ones everyday name, and is used for religious purposes.

For instance, my own name is Melanie Brown. This name appears on my birth certificate and passport; it is the name by which I am known. The second part defines the family into which I was born, while the first gives others a clue as to the aesthetic

of my parents when choosing it on my behalf. However, in terms of my religious background, my identification process is entirely separate. My full Hebrew name is *Divorah Yehudit bas Chaim Eliezer*. It reveals that before I was born, there lived, within the wider family circle, people with names similar to *Divorah* and *Yehudit*. It also tells that I am my father's daughter, the daughter (*bas*) of *Chaim Eliezer*, and that both *Chaim* and *Eliezer* appeared somewhere in my father's family tree. This was the name given to me in the synagogue on the first Sabbath morning after my birth; should I marry, it will appear on my *ketubah*, or marriage certificate; it is the name by which I will eventually be remembered in a religious context.

For men during the Orthodox synagogue service, their Hebrew names (including the names of their fathers) are used when they are called upon to fulfil a duty or *aliyah*. This is illustrated thus: if my father (Leslie Brown) is requested to read from the *Torah* during an Orthodox synagogue service, the cantor will call for *Chaim Eliezer ben David Boaz*, that is, Leslie, son of David Brown, to ascend the *bimah*. In Orthodox Jewish practice, the father's name is appended rather than the mother's name. Only one exception to this exists; in the event that *tehillim* (psalms) are recited by a congregation as an imprecation to the Almighty on behalf of someone known to be gravely ill, then the mother's name is appended to that person's name instead. This practice contrasts with that in Reform synagogues in which both men and women are called up during services, and both parents' names may be mentioned during this process (in the Progressive synagogue in Dublin, the father's name is usually used).

Thus, at birth, the Dublin Jew acquires the first instance of his or her dual identity. Possession of a Hebrew name is at the root of the context-shifting Jew who inhabits the different poles of a dual identity at will, as in the perspective of French Jewish philosopher Jacques Derrida:

In the first place he was called *Jackie*. Later he called himself *Jacques*. In second place, and no doubt at the same moment comes the other name, the Jewish name, the no-name, he says, the one that will remain hidden, a name both brief and immense.

(Cixous, 2001, 13)

There is a need to explore the phenomenon that is the Dublin Jew. The very existence of this creature has been questioned by others:

Who and what is the Dublin Jew? In some ways he does not exist at all, being more a concept than a reality. And yet he is there, very real, very much alive and so much a part of Dublin that without him the city would not be quite the same. The paradox of myth and reality in the Jewish character can, of course, be attributed to the racial and religious elements in his makeup. But that is not enough. There is something quite unique about the Dublin Jew. Like his fellow Israelites in other countries he came to our land in exile, joining hands with our people who were, in effect, exiles within their own homeland. Catholic and Jew suffered under the same religious disability, each knew hardship, each knew oppression, and each succeeded, one helping the other, in establishing the right of equality. The Irish Jew is therefore, very much a part of this land – this land is very much part of the Irish Jew. History has rendered them inseparable.

(O'Brien, 1981, 107)

O'Brien concludes, and I concur, that the Dublin Jew is very real, not just a creature of myth, whose continuing existence was not brought about by James Joyce in his portrayal of the fictional Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* (Joyce, 1922). Instead, it is the Dublin Jew who mourns the passing of the original Bewley's café, who invokes Jesus Christ when provoked into swearing, who wears a Trinity College Dublin Association scarf, who eats roasted chicken on Friday evening, fastens a *mezzuzah* to each door-jamb in his or her home, and through the medium of Lithuanian-inflected Hebrew, participates in a through-sung religious service which is itself symbolic of Otherness in the context of modern Dublin society. 'The conception of personality here is that of a particular social system embracing the whole dynamic of land and life' (Crang, 1998, 18); the Dublin Jew is a product of Dublin's unique social system, coupled with those influences gained from first-hand knowledge of Jewish culture and all it comprises. It is the Dublin Jew who observes St Patrick's Day away from home, with

the other Irish expatriates in Irish-themed bars across the world (Sanders, 2007). He or she is a complex personality whose moral framework is fashioned from Jewish ground rules but held in place by the superstructure of Irish society, and who is provided with certainties and beset with uncertainties resulting from tensions between the twin Jewish and Irish environments of his or her upbringing. He or she is the victim of ‘a cultural car crash’ (Kohli, 2009, 4).

A broad attempt is made to address the vexing question of Jewish identity in a chapter entitled *Israel and Authentic Jewish Identity* in which it is suggested that ‘[T]he result is a “supermarket ethnicity” where a relative indifference to variation predominates since there is an assumption of unity at a deeper level’ (Lindholm, 2008, 120). The problem of Jewish identity extends further back than the dispersal of Russian Ashkenazi Jews in the 1880s. Two millennia before this thesis was written, the struggle for the self-definition of Jewish identity can be detected during the period following the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E., described by Josephus who chronicled Jewish life at this time: ‘Josephus belonged to a Jewish tradition which attempted to forge its identity within the broader context of the Hellenistic and Roman worlds, in the Diaspora and in the land of Israel’ (Rodgers, 1998, 152). It is conceivable that satisfactorily defining Jewish identity is no less of a problem for contemporary Jews than it was for Josephus two thousand years ago.

Based on my own experience, Jews (Irish or otherwise) tend to be differentiated from their neighbours in various ways—physically, culturally and on religious grounds. In the essay ‘Cultural Hegemony and the Race-Definition Process in Chinatown, Vancouver’, it is observed that these differences are what constitute racial differences between one group and another; race is expressed thus: ‘...the cognitive leap that has been made from physical difference to something more fundamental called ‘race’’ (K.J. Anderson in Hamnett, 1996, 210). Thus, living in Ireland does not automatically cause Jews to be identified, or regarded as Irish; there are too many other cultural markers in place: ‘Citizenship is not the same as national identity. The latter involves cultural markers, of birth, ancestry, language as well as residence, and operates through complex processes of social interaction’ (McCrone and Bechofer, 2010, 941). Identity/cultural markers of all people include birth, accent, parentage,

language, residence; there are others, including food, religious practices and appearance. Any or all of these can unite us or set us apart from each other.

There is compelling evidence to suggest that racially, Jews in Ireland differ to an extent, from their non-Jewish neighbours. This can be observable in the appearance of certain physical features associated with people of Jewish or a broader Semitic background, according with geneticist Luigi Lucca Cavalli-Sforza's assertions:

Elsewhere, the Jews have preserved not only their religion and traditions, but also at least part of their genetic makeup, a fact demonstrated by the similarities between the various groups. In the course of the diaspora, they have mixed a little with their new and changing neighbours. The incidence of fair hair and blue eyes among the northern European (Ashkenazi) Jews is probably a result of mixed marriages, although natural selection may also play a part. The same is true for genes determining invisible features.

(Cavalli-Sforza and Cavalli-Sforza, 1996, 236)

He goes on to suggest that:

...endogamy (marriage between individuals from the same group) was sufficiently widespread among the forbears of today's Jews for them to continue to have a not insignificant level of genes in common. Therefore, it is not surprising that there is a certain resemblance between Jews of any kind, and also between any Jewish community and the people with whom they share their origins, those of the Middle East.

(ibid)

The suggestion here is that diaspora Jewish communities, including that in Ireland, possess biology in common, as well as shared religious beliefs and rituals. However, he concludes that it is not merely racial characteristics, but indeed these shared rituals which form the basis of a community:

... there is a certain genetic difference between Jews and gentiles, that the average genetic composition of the Jews is not far removed from that of the peoples now living in the nations now bordering Israel, and that there is a certain level of heterogeneity among Jews deriving from mixed marriages after the diasporas, but that an underlying 'family feeling' still remains.

It is not easy to compare genetics and culture, but the overall impression is that the forces uniting the Jews so strongly are cultural rather than genetic. The Jewish people have preserved their identity mainly through their traditions, on which religion probably has a significant, but perhaps not all-important, influence.

(ibid, 237)

Tradition is so central to Jewish everyday life that a song in the musical show *Fiddler on the Roof* (Bock and Harnick, 1985) set in a Jewish community in a fictional Eastern European *shtetl* includes a song with the word as its title. The song describes how the minutiae of *shtetl* life are governed by the repetition of tasks which must be completed in a certain way; particular trades being learned, marriage taking place at a prescribed age, households being run in only one acceptable way because it has always been so. According to Ullrich Kockel in the essay 'Reflexive Traditions and Heritage Production': '...traditions are viewed as behavioural norms and patterns of practice' (Kockel in Kockel and Nic Craith, 2007, 27). This is framed in a Jewish context by Tsvi Blanchard thus:

Surely there is a truth of being Jewish that is also passed from one generation to another by learning how to earn your living, to cook, eat your food, dress and even sit in a 'Jewish' Way. Mimesis, too, is a way of cultural transmission.

(Blanchard in Brenner, 2003(b), 50)

It could be argued that Jewish communities are almost fixated with custom and tradition. This attachment is far from a recent manifestation of Jewish identity; it is seen in the context of Josephus's contemporaneous accounts of Jewish life in 70 C.E.,

in which Jews are described as: ‘...preferring death to transgressing ancestral customs’ (Rodgers in Rodgers, 2007, 12).

Tradition is one of the strongest practical links between the past and the present. Practices apparent to the public, such as the wearing of beards or *yarmulkes* (skull-caps) by religious Orthodox men, occur in all Jewish communities. Private practices also exist, such as regular synagogue attendance; adherence to *kashrut*; possession of multiple sets of cutlery and crockery for dairy or meat dishes; the hanging of *mezzuzot* (tiny religious scrolls encased in decorative capsules) affixed to external and internal doorways inside houses; the unwavering consumption of roasted chicken every Friday evening. These are a very few of the many and varied traditions which are maintained in the Jewish community in Dublin, cultural practices which, against the backdrop provided by their neighbours, are instrumental in defining “Jewishness,” knowingly setting those in the community “apart” from their neighbours, showing ‘the ways in which people use other cultures to shape their own identities’ (Gruber, 2009, 491).

There is no evidence of absolute homogeneity among Jews, yet Jews continue to be differentiated from others on an ethnic basis, both by themselves and others:

On the one hand, Jewishness comes to be imagined as a fixed essence that Jews are obligated to protect and continue; on the other hand, Jews are so fluid in culture and appearance that they morph into those who surround them. Part of this paradox is generated by language. Some languages – Romance languages and German, for example – encourage us to look for the essence of group identity – Romanness, Jewishness. They make us wonder how far we can become like ‘others’ without losing ‘who we are,’ even if there seems to be no ideal definition of ‘who we are’.

(Brenner, 2003(b), 79)



Fig. 2(xi) Norfolk College, Dublin in 1958, at which time around 40% of the children in this Church of Ireland girls' school were Jewish. Uniformed and posed, they appear no different from their Protestant compeers. (Photograph courtesy of Norfolk College archives).

In the Irish population census taken in 2006, many Jews born here defined themselves as “White-Other”, despite a recommendation from the then Chief Rabbi Ya’acov Pearlman that the “White-Irish” box should be ticked in preference. This is neatly summed-up in the following sentence: ‘Ethnicity, then, emphasises the social rather than the biological and, importantly, it is rooted at least partly in the self-definition of

people themselves' (Mason, 2003, 11). Jewish people in Ireland probably define themselves by religious affiliation, by educational background, actions, traditions, language, family relationships and history, many of which are perceived by themselves, to differ from those of their non-Jewish peers. In other words, '[I]dentity can be defined as much as what we are *not* as by who we *are*' (Crang, 1998, 61). Self-definition also involves defining those from whom one is differentiated, and separating oneself from them in some way, illustrating Young's claim that: 'Any move to define an identity, a closed totality, always depends on excluding some elements, separating the pure from the impure' (Young, in Weiss and Friedman, 1995, 235). One aspect of identity, then, is to partly or totally exclude oneself, to create one's own vacuum. However, this need not be an entirely negative experience, but can instead fulfil a need for autonomy within a larger society.

Examining Irish Jewish religious and cultural practices (experienced by a very small minority) within broader Irish society, the position of the dominant, largely Christian Irish society undergoes a momentary shift so that the non-Jew becomes the outsider. This unfamiliar role as outsider causes members of Irish society to become crucial in the process of self-definition undergone by Irish Jews. In the essay 'On theory and methods in the study of Jewish identity' Stuart Schoenfeld takes a pragmatic view of the portrayal of Jews in the modern media, when he suggests '[I]n popular culture, Jews seem to be represented as either victims, neurotics, or exotics' (Schoenfeld, 1998 in Krausz and Tulea, 1998, 111). For example, it is rare, if not impossible for any discussion of Jewish culture in modern Europe to take place without examining events of the Holocaust, when all Jewish families suffered bereavement, displacement and loss. The term "neurotic" is almost synonymous with fast-paced situation comedies featuring volatile Jewish comedians such as Jerry Seinfeld and Woody Allen. In a more domestic setting, the voluptuous attributes of Nigella Lawson are discussed in the press, on the television, and in peoples' homes. It is possible that part of the Jewish self-identity accords in some ways, with the expectations of the outside world, and that this type of stereotyping is not rejected by Jews themselves.

The fictional Leopold Bloom in *Ulysses* (Joyce, 1922) illustrates the meeting-point between Jewish and non-Jewish worlds in Dublin. Firstly, although not himself Jewish according to Orthodox Jewish laws pertaining to Jewish lineage being

transmitted through one's mother, he acknowledges the Jewish part of his identity, and is categorized as Jewish by the other protagonists in the book. More significantly, some Jews in Dublin, where the novel is set, adopted Leopold Bloom as a figurehead of Dublin Jewish identity. Part of the language of *Ulysses* insinuated itself into Dublin Jewish conversation. Rabbi Isaac Bernstein (1940–1994) was given the nickname “Blazes” Bernstein, after *Ulysses* character “Blazes” Boylan. Dublin-born Louis Hyman (1912–1972) was a renowned scholar of Joyce's work, having known the author personally. If there is any criticism to be made of his comprehensive history of the Jewish community in Ireland, it is that references to Leopold Bloom's progress around Dublin are ubiquitous in his book, phrased in such a way that he occasionally blurs the boundaries between fact and fiction (Hyman, 1972, 146, 148, 164, 167–192, 212–214, 328–332). Later, Gerald Davis (1938–2005) also achieved much recognition as a Joyce scholar. It was Davis's custom every June 16th (known as “Bloomsday”), to dress in 1920s attire and conduct a high-profile ramble around Dublin, in the wake of Leopold's Bloom's fictional adventures on that day. In an obituary to Gerald Davis, written by the director of the Kenny Gallery, the following appeared:

We had the privilege of hosting Gerald Davis's last solo exhibition in February 2005. He was a complete original, a one off, a Dubliner, a Jew, an artist, a Joycean, a raconteur, a gallerist, a jazz fanatic who founded his own recording company, irreverent, witty, loyal, wonderful company, a true friend. We loved him and we miss him. Ní bheidh a leithéid ann arís. Solas na bhFhlaitheas dá anam uasal dhilís.

(Kenny, 2005)



Fig. 2(xii) 52, Clanbrassil St., home of the fictional Leopold Bloom.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 08/08/10).

A non-fictional character entirely at ease with his Irish and Jewish identities in twentieth-century Ireland, Professor Leonard Abrahamson (1897–1961) was an active member of the Jewish community who enjoyed a distinguished career in medicine in Dublin. Born in Newry of Lithuanian parents, it is known that ‘he entered Dublin University on a double sizarship in Gaelic and Hebrew’ (Author acknowledged as ‘W.D.’, 1961, 1295). This interest in the Irish language was sustained during his university career; he is described in an account of his College activities ‘[A]s Honorary Librarian of Trinity College Dublin’s Gaelic Society, and signing himself Mac Abram’ (Devine and O’Riordan, 2006, 29). It is conjectural that this engagement with the Irish language was passed down to his great-grandson William (now a practicing barrister). In 1992, William Abrahamson was part of the Sandford Park Irish debating team who won the Gael Linn Regional Championship, the first time this competition had ever been won by any school other than a *Gaelscoil* (school in which all subjects are taught through the medium of the Irish language).



Fig. 2(xiii) The Irish-language debating team from Sandford Park School, Dublin, 1992. William Abrahamson is circled in the back row. (Photograph: Barry Rojack's private collection).

Circled seated in the front row of the above photograph is Barry Rojack, also a barrister. Born in Dublin in the 1970s, Rojack's south Dublin home bears many hallmarks of Jewish habitation: a large *mezzuzah* displayed prominently on the front door; a ceramic representation of the Star of David hanging on the wall in the hallway; a well-thumbed *siddur* which came easily to hand during our conversation. Uniquely among Irish Jewish men, Rojack, together with his younger brother Stanley, is passionate about Gaelic football, having started to play while a student at University College, Dublin. Formerly a soccer player, his interest in Gaelic football endured beyond university: 'I joined up with friends from work, and we tried to set up a team...I've been player/manager for the last seven years. It's called Cabinteely G.A.A. club' (in conversation, 27 June 2011). During the same interview, when asked about potential religious or cultural differences which may occur, he explained:

There's always been a history of different people playing G.A.A...There are a few Protestant lads, and a lot of foreigners on our team. My Jewishness would never come up. Religion doesn't become an issue in G.A.A.



**Fig. 2(xiv) Inter-Bank match at Croke Park, Dublin, 04/05/11.
Barry Rojack (left) jubilant at having scored a last-minute equalising goal.
(Photograph: Barry Rojack's private collection).**

Irish Jewish identity is greater than the sum of genes, traditions, religion and habitus. It is nebulous to define, some people have a greater or lesser sense of Irish, or Jewish, or Irish/Jewish identity, bringing forth the concept of hyphenated ethnic self-identity (e.g. Irish-Jewish; Jewish-Irish; London-Irish; Asian-American; African-American) (Song, 2010). This elicits the question: 'Is not the very category of identity itself problematical?' (Massey in Massey and Jess, 2000, 66). Dmitri Slivniak also expresses this difficulty of defining Jewish identity in the essay 'The Book of Esther: the Making and Unmaking of Jewish Identity' when he states: '[I]t seems to us that we know what the Jewish difference is, but in fact we don't know it' (Slivniak in Sherwood, 2004, 144). It is not only Jews who experience this ambivalence; Hardeep Singh Kohli grew up in Glasgow, the son of Indian Sikh immigrants. On reaching the age of forty, he undertook a journey around India, to try and ascertain his own sense of identity. This was not easy, nor was it especially successful:

I feel like I barely know who I am; this quest has changed me. I am sure of very little, except that the notion of Indianness for me is utterly meaningless. I am not Indian; not in the slightest. Did I feel Indian in Kovalam or Goa or Mysore? I felt Scottish, British and

Punjabi. Here, almost in New Delhi, I feel Punjabi. I am a Punjabi Sikh Glaswegian who also feels some empathy with being British. That's how I feel today, on my way to New Delhi.

(Kohli, 2009, 193)

Chaim Herzog (1918–1997), President of Israel from 1983–1993, experienced a difficulty typical among Orthodox Jewish children growing up in Dublin. The situation he describes in his autobiography arose in the 1920s; it is just as real today:

The game in school was rugby, and from time to time I was included on the team. But most games were on Friday afternoons, and to play in the winter meant a desecration of the Sabbath, about which I was regularly admonished at home.

My desire to participate in sports created the inevitable conflict between my Orthodox upbringing and my need to be acknowledged in the complicated student hierarchy.

(Herzog, 1997, 14)

The Jewish Sabbath day is Saturday, but the Sabbath itself commences to be observed at sundown on the preceding Friday evening. For those Orthodox Jews who fully observe the Sabbath, this precludes involvement in numerous activities. Herzog (1918–1997) was the son of a distinguished rabbi, and he never questioned his own Jewish identity. However, his sense of identity was embattled between his being Jewish on the one hand, and his desire to identify with his schoolfellows on the other.

It could be argued that Chaim Herzog's father, Chief Rabbi Isaac HaLevi Herzog (1888–1959) exerted far-reaching influence over the condition of Irish Jewish identity. Since the 1880s, the synagogue liturgy practiced in the Orthodox synagogues of Ireland has resembled that of the British United Synagogue movement (formed in 1870 under the auspices of Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi Nathan Adler). Hard evidence of this abounds, with dog-eared copies of the 1890 edition of the Singer *siddur* described as 'the Authorised Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Empire' (Singer, 1962, viii) still found on the bottom shelves of bookcases in Dublin's remaining Orthodox synagogues. The formal title of

Greenville Hall synagogue, established in 1917, was Dublin United Hebrew Congregation; according to minutes taken at early Council meetings, this title also reflected an aspiration (which ultimately failed) to unite small congregations in the South Circular Road area. Rabbi Herzog was appointed Chief Rabbi of the Irish Free State in 1919, and after Irish independence was formally declared in 1922, he remained Chief Rabbi of Ireland until he left to take up the position of Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of the British Mandate of Palestine in 1936 (Herzog, 1997). Although there currently appear no sources to cite in this regard, Chief Rabbi Herzog's deliberate decision not to seek formal affiliation with the United Synagogue movement from 1922 onwards seems prescient. In retrospect, had the Irish Jewish community associated itself with this British institution at such a pivotal point in Irish history, any possibility of Ireland's Jews being accepted as Irish men and women would have been permanently undermined.

In order to possess Irish-Jewish identity, the implication is that one's experiences of life are shaped both by being Jewish and by being in Ireland, and both factors influence the shaping of one's attitudes and frames of reference. For an Irish-Jewish identity to be formed, it is a given that neither element is lost in the duality of such an identity, otherwise there are two extreme possibilities: ghettoization can occur within the community, separating the people in the ghetto from Irish society; alternatively, the process of assimilation into Irish society can cause Jewish identity to be denied. There are manifestations of these two extremes; some very religious Orthodox families have left Dublin over the past few decades, motivated by a publicly-expressed desire to live in larger Jewish communities where there is effectively no need to engage with wider society. There are also many people living around Ireland, who were born Jewish according to Orthodox *halachah* (a set of arcane rules governing what is correct or otherwise in the practice of Orthodox Judaism), but who are not affiliated to the Jewish community in any way and who do not practise any aspect of the religion. Some, although not all of the above, are Irish-born.

Among the manifestations of Irish identity among Dublin Jews are the use of language, the knowledge of literature and music, engagement in sporting activities, familiarity with Irish law, and the consumption of Irish-style foods. Attending school here, all Irish Jews grow up speaking English at home; with the eventual passing of

the Eastern European immigrants, the use of Yiddish has effectively died out as an everyday means for communication (Heanue, 2000), apart from occasional words which flavour the English spoken by many Jews. Often, in everyday conversation, it is necessary to remind oneself not to use these unintelligible non-English words, to avoid synthesising an Irish-Jewish usage of the English language. In 1997, at a conference of Yiddish speakers held at Oxford University, I was mocked for ‘speaking Yiddish with an Irish accent!’ Similarly, Eyal Kaufman, a young Israeli visitor to Terenure Synagogue in 2007, was very scathing to me regarding the general Irish pronunciation of Hebrew as it is used in the synagogue in Dublin, saying ‘It makes no sense!’ Irish Jewish children attend *cheder* classes in addition to normal school, usually until they have reached their mid-teens. In *cheder*, the basic tenets of Judaism are taught, along with Biblical texts, prayers sung in the synagogue, and the reading and writing of Hebrew (although not necessarily spoken modern Hebrew). Depending on the level of religious observance in the home, a child’s parents may well supplement what is taught in *cheder* with additional information. Kaufman’s view was that the Irish version of Hebrew vowel sounds changed the meaning of some words, and made nonsense of other words.

In common with all Irish citizens, members of the Jewish community are subject to Irish civil law, which takes precedence over any Rabbinic judgement, and every Sabbath, a blessing is invoked upon the government of Ireland, in the synagogue. This is not a recent practice; the first ever *siddur* to be published in England with simultaneous Hebrew-English translations, includes the following address:

May he that dispenseth salvation unto kings, and dominion unto princes; whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom; that delivered his servant David from the destructive sword, who maketh way in the sea, and a path through the mighty waters, bless, preserve, guard and assist our most gracious sovereign Lord King George the third, our most gracious Queen Charlotte, their royal highnesses George, Prince of Wales, the Princess Dowager of Wales, and all the Royal Family.

(Meyers and Alexander, 1770, 120)

There remain many Jews active within the Irish legal profession, including, but not restricted to Mervyn Taylor (former Minister for Justice and Law Reform); Alan Shatter, the current (as of 2011) Minister for Justice, Equality and Defence; solicitors Stanley Siev, Norman Gruson and Lewis Citron; husband and wife Quentin and Louise Crivon, respectively solicitor and barrister; brother and sister Jonathan and Jean Tomkin, respectively barrister and solicitor; father and son solicitors Alec and Bernard Diamond; barrister Barry Rojack; Judge Hubert Wine; Jane Barron and Anne Restan, barrister daughters of the late Judge Henry Barron.

Food has formed part of the Irish Jewish identity, both as a means of differentiating Jews from others on dietary grounds, and as a shared experience among Jews themselves. Food is an integral part of Jewish culture:

It's what you do that makes you who you are and what you feel – that old truism, that the Jewish diaspora is connected by spoons of chicken soup, smoked fish, bitter herbs and eggs in salt water.

(Gill, 2010, 62)

In other words: 'Foods offer links between social actors and their cultural pasts, shared bonds of familial or religious identity, and narratives of organizational identity' (DeSoucey, 2010, 434). It has been said that:

For centuries, Jews have moved from country to country, taking their customs and cooking pots with them. The result is that Jewish cuisine is enormously varied. Observant Jews have always kept to the rigid rules set out in the Old Testament about what they can and cannot eat. So wherever they settled they found new foods and adapted them to complement the dishes they already knew.

(Jackson, 1998)

There are idiosyncrasies of diet considered to be the exclusive domain of Jews. The dish known as "chopped herring" (a loose, pungent, mottled-grey mixture of raw salted herrings, raw apples, raw onion, hard-boiled egg, sugar and breadcrumbs, minced together and moistened with undiluted acetic acid), is regarded as disgusting

by most Irish non-initiates who have come in contact with this, but is consumed in large quantities throughout the year, in the synagogue and in Jewish homes. Similarly, the drinking of syrupy, unctuous sacramental wine is inconceivable to those who have not been imbibing it since early childhood. I am unaware of other culinary traditions in Ireland featuring the foodstuff sold as Rokeach™ Imitation Chicken Fat (which is sold in small jars), yet it is an ingredient found in many Irish Jewish refrigerators.

There is much evidence of Irish cooking styles influencing Jewish ones, such as the widespread consumption of potatoes in forms such as chips or mash rather than *latkes* (deep fried potato cakes flavoured with onion). Kosher minced beef is more likely to be turned into cottage pie in Dublin homes than into the more traditional form of *klops* (small meatloaves oven-roasted with root vegetables). Apples, raisins and lemons are staples in Jewish fruit-based puddings such as *lokshen kugel* (noodles cooked until soft, mixed with apples, raisins, spices, lemon juice and honey and baked in the oven). However, other than during Jewish festivals when more traditional foods tend to be prepared, the sweet course in a Dublin Jewish household is more likely to consist of Victoria sponge-cake or ice-cream. Chocolate has been enthusiastically adopted into the modern Irish Jewish diet, supplanting traditional sweets originating from Eastern Europe which tend to be based on honey and nuts, such as *teiglach* (sticky little biscuits coated in chopped caramelised nuts), or based on carrots, such as *ingburs* (a fudge-type confection made from carrots, powdered ginger and copious amounts of sugar). When visiting Israel, it is always necessary for me to bring a supply of Cadbury's Dairy Milk to distribute among my relatives as an evocative reminder of their Irish past. However, it is known that chocolate was enjoyed by Jews in the British Isles long before Lithuanian cultural conditioning became the norm; we are told that eighteenth century Jewish celebrations in London (and possibly Dublin) involved '[W]ine, Drams, Coffee, Tea, Chocolate, Sweet-Meats, Cakes, &c.' (ben Pedahzur, 1738, 20). Both Irish and Scotch whiskey have replaced the Eastern European *bramfen* (plum brandy) as a tippie. Popular dishes such as pizza, pasta and curry have gradually supplanted the more traditional Eastern European ones such as *tsimmes* (a stew of minutely diced carrot, potato, onion and lamb), or *cholent* (a slow cooked medley of mixed pulses), except on holy days and the Sabbath.

An interesting example of culinary cross-pollination can be seen in the dainty meal known as afternoon tea. The custom of taking afternoon tea is thought to have been introduced into Ireland in the 1840s from Russia, through our English neighbours (Mackley, 1992). According to expatriate American Nora Tillman, a *Lubavitch* Jew living with her husband and young family in Terenure, the first time she partook of this unfamiliar meal at my mother's house, she found it to be "...as ritualised as any Japanese tea ceremony" (in conversation, 22 November 2011). Certain elements of the presentation of this meal (which tends not to be eaten every day but which is served for the benefit of invited guests) are traditional, even prescribed, such as the silver tea-pot, the fine china, linen napkins, crocheted doilies on tiered cake-stands. The menu invariably includes tea, assorted savoury finger sandwiches, wafer-thin slices of brack, miniature scones accompanied with butter and jam, and small cakes. At tea-time in a Dublin Jewish home, it is also common to find thinly-sliced home-made *strudel*, buttered *milchik* (a sweetened, spiced fruited bread), and bite-sized *kichels* (light, crispy biscuits made with oil rather than shortening).

The Friday night Sabbath meal is often consumed even by families who do not observe other aspects of the Sabbath. Chicken soup followed by roasted or poached chicken with root vegetables are typical, even predictable dishes on such occasions. Cross-cultural confusion exists even among Jews themselves. In December 2007, I was invited for Sabbath dinner to the home of the then Chief Rabbi Pearlman and his wife, Dr Pearlman, both American. The starter consisted of potato *latkes*; as condiments Dr Pearlman had provided dishes of apple sauce (a gesture towards the Pearlman's American background), and *chrane* (a sinus-clearing relish of beetroot and horseradish, widely eaten in Dublin Jewish homes, and offered out of courtesy to local custom). All of the eight guests were Irish, and the Pearlman's watched, appalled, as every one of us eschewed the apple sauce in favour of the *chrane*, in deference to our Lithuanian-Irish conditioning.

The above are all examples of how everyday practices affect the shaping of identity. Irish Jews did not establish a colony on an uncharted island; it is particularly true of those who settled in Dublin that they found themselves living in an ancient, well-populated city whose inhabitants were steeped their own culture and traditions. For

the Eastern European immigrants in the early twentieth century, their Jewish identity was formed partly from their religious practices, and partly from their places of origin. Their children inherited this identity, but added to it their experiences of growing up in Dublin, mixing with and adapting to the customs of the indigenous population. These children had links with their parents' past, and also with their own present circumstances, together forming '...the personal social networks that reproduce migration chains through time' (Jess in Massey and Jess, 2000, 27). South Circular Road, for example, although populated by Jews, was not a ghetto, and the different groups of people there all had contact with each other, all influenced each other in some way. Differences were acknowledged and accepted over time.

Clanbrassil Street, in the South Circular Road area where Jewish businesses thrived until the 1970s, has very strong historical associations with the development of Dublin city. It begins at Leonard's Corner where it forms a junction with South Circular Road itself, and continues north towards the River Liffey, passing the dour edifice of St Patrick's Cathedral and terminating at the majestic Christ Church Cathedral, both icons of a more ancient time. In close and perhaps ironic proximity to these powerful symbols of Christian worship and of Dublin itself, there were shops selling kosher meat, odd-shaped twisted loaves of bread, aromatic pickled cucumbers, Jewish prayer-shawls (usually called *tallisim* in the local Lithuanian-inflected Hebrew) and skull-caps (*kippot* or *yarmulkes*). This was the place where Jewish immigrants and their Dublin-born children, set in motion the acquisition of their Irish identity.



Fig. 2(xv) A terrace of small shops on Clanbrassil St., Dublin, all of which were formerly kosher shops servicing the local Jewish community until the 1980s.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 08/08/10).

See also Appendix (2a): Jewish Commerce: Clanbrassil St., Dublin, 1930s. This map was produced by Cartouche Publications, Dublin. The accompanying table in Appendix (2b) is based on information regarding names, addresses and trades provided by Stanley Siev.

The Irish part of their identity was (and for today's Irish Jews, still is) shaped by the environment, the language, the education, laws of the land, and the influence of others; the Jewish part shaped by tradition, custom, religious practice, socialisation within the community. The knowledge that one is privy to certain customs which exclude others (for instance, fasting on *Yom Kippur*), just as there exist customs from which one is excluded (such as attending Midnight Mass on Christmas Eve), is a key factor in reinforcing one's own identity, in differentiating oneself from others. Thus location alone does not provide people with their identity:

The idea that identity and place are connected because people feel they belong to a place is certainly not the only connection between identity and place, however. People also establish their sense of

place and of who they are by contrasting themselves with somewhere they feel is very different from them.

(Rose in Massey and Jess, 2000, 92)

It would seem that the Irish aspect of Irish Jewish identity grows stronger among the many Irish Jewish expatriates living in places such as England, Israel and the U.S.A. Throughout his autobiography, Stanley Price describes how strong he feels his Irish identity to be (Price, 2002). Yet Price left Dublin as a child, when he was sent to an English boarding-school, and did not maintain a permanent home here subsequently, implying that his strong sense of Irish identity was shaped during his early formative years in Dublin. There exists an expatriate society called the Irish Jewish International Group, or IrishJig, which organises Irish-themed social events for its members, mainly in England, Israel and the U.S.A. They also operate a website in which news and events are published, and every few years, they organise a trip to Dublin. Another, known as the Loyal League of the Yiddish Sons of Erin, exists for the benefit of Irish-Jewish expatriates in America. Their motto is: 'Erin go bragh, Shalom!' (Irish Jewish Museum: wall-mounted display, 1985). This organisation marches in the St Patrick's Day Parade in New York each year (Harris, 2004). More recently, I have noticed a trend on the social networking website Facebook, whereby Jewish people I remember from my childhood in Dublin, who left when they were young, rarely if ever returning, belong to the group "I'm from Ireland but more importantly I'm from Dublin," wherever in the world they have eventually settled.

In August 2008, I made the acquaintance of an Israeli visitor to Terenure Synagogue, who claimed to be searching for his "Irish roots". I elicited from David Zeller (in conversation, August 28, 2008) that his mother was born in Dublin in the 1930s to Lithuanian parents, grew up on South Circular Road and left here in 1948 to settle in the newly-established state of Israel. His father was a Jewish refugee teenager from Austria in the late 1930s, domiciled at a transit camp for displaced European youngsters in Millisle, Northern Ireland before joining the British army at the age of eighteen. Mr Zeller expressed no interest in the Lithuanian or Austrian aspects of his background; it was his mother's professed "Irishness" which had brought him to Dublin.

I observed this sense of “Irishness” more closely when on holiday in Israel in June, 2008. Along with other members of my extended family, I attended a party at the home of my cousin in Ramat Hasharon, a suburb of Tel Aviv. A large group was gathered, consisting of various generations of the Brown family. My parents and I were the only Irish-born and domiciled people there; one of my father’s sisters (Rita Zell, née Brown) was also present, having been born in Dublin but living in Israel since 1948. The festivities included a sing-song led by our host, Eran Brown, son of my late Dublin-born uncle, Emanuel Brown. All those present (few of whom had ever visited Ireland) rendered emotional, word-perfect versions of many Irish folk songs (including *Molly Malone*, *Rye Whiskey* and the *Londonderry Air*), in sibilant Israeli accents, having rote-learned them from my uncle, who not only maintained his Irish identity in his adopted homeland, but who managed to imbue his descendants with his strong feelings for the country of his birth. To him, his Dublin origins informed the way he led his life, the way in which he saw himself in relation to everybody else. He illustrated the following:

Identity is how we make sense of ourselves, and geographers, anthropologists and sociologists, among others, have argued that the meanings given to a place may be so strong that they become a central part of the identity of the people experiencing them.

(Rose in Massey and Jess, 2000, 88)

It must be pointed out that Dublin does not always generate strong ties with its Jewish inhabitants. My maternal grandmother, born in Belfast to Lithuanian parents, adored Belfast. She moved to Dublin as a young bride in the 1930s, and remained until the end of her life, an unwilling exile from the North, with an uncompromising Northern accent despite half a century living in Dublin; she possessed strong political motivations, probably shaped in part by her Presbyterian education. In her eighties, she spent time in the Jewish retirement home in Dublin, where she was reunited with some of her Belfast contemporaries; they were happiest when discussing the various shortcomings of Dublin and Dublin people, proving that ‘[I]t is important to recognise that a particular sense of place may be felt to be irrelevant to identity. For example, the strength of one sense of place may make it difficult to feel concerned for another place’ (ibid, 96). This is the case particularly if a place has nostalgic

associations with “home” or “belonging,” the following definition being useful: ‘Nostalgia comes from the Greek work *nostos*, meaning ‘return home,’ and *algia*, meaning pain or longing’ (Wilson, 2005, 21). I have been told more than once by my own mother that her grandmother, Fanny Gordon, (my aforementioned grandmother’s mother) ceaselessly longed for *der Heim*, the home of her youth in Lithuania, which she left under difficult and dangerous circumstances aged seventeen, often retiring into a corner in her comfortable house in Terenure, repeating in Yiddish ‘*Ich wil gei aheim*’ (I want to go home).

There is one inescapable aspect of Jewish identity in Europe, including Ireland, and that is the Holocaust of the 1940s. This sequence of events has given rise to a shared tendency to be mistrustful of the wider, non-Jewish society, to be paranoid regarding the possibility of threat, to iterate and reiterate the shrinking headcount of world Jewry. Pinto asserts in her essay ‘The Third Pillar: Towards European Jewish Identity’:

Jewish life can fully blossom in an open Europe only if Jews learn to master the fear of freedom in order to develop a Judaism which no longer has to face debilitating external constraints. European Jews in the future if they are to flourish must above all not be guardians of a static and finalized pre-Holocaust heritage. They must not become the museum keepers of world Jewry. They must cease to think of themselves as a dying species, obsessed with declining numbers.

(Pinto, 1999)

The habitual memorialization of people and past events is a central theme in Jewish life, and in the religion itself; among Jews, there is ‘a cultural obsession with memory’ (Volf, 2009, 11). The importance of this is highlighted by Azria when she states ‘...memory is becoming a sacred duty on equal terms with tradition and *mitzvot* (commandments)’ (Azria, 1998 in Krausz and Tulea, 1998, 31). For example, the fast day *Tish B’Av* commemorates (a) the destruction on the First and Second Temples (586 B.C.E. and 70 C.E. respectively), (b) the fall of Bethar in the Bar Kochba rebellion of 135 C.E., which ended Jewish aspirations for freedom from Rome and (c) the expulsions from Spain in 1492 (Pearl and Brooks, 1978, 33). These events are too

remote from modern life for genuine grief to be expressed, yet there remains ‘a communally reinforced religious obligation’ (Volf, 2009, 7) to observe certain obsequies at this time and in the preceding five weeks. Yet the habit of memorializing—not just people, places or events—but the “past” as an abstract concept, is not unique to Jews; moreover, it is arguable that for all societies, the present is in fact generated by the past: ‘The relationship of past to present is one of the principal issues in human cultures’ (Nettl, 1996).



Fig. 2(xvi) The inscription on the massive granite stone which acts as a memorial to victims of the Holocaust, in the grounds of Terenure synagogue.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 28/04/11).

Every year, the *yahrzeit* of the passing of a family member is marked in the home by lighting a slow-burning candle and reciting a *kaddish* (a particular memorial prayer sanctifying life). On one Sabbath morning every month, a list of *haskoreth* (names of the deceased whose *yahrzeit* occurs during that month) is read aloud by the cantor, and the *kaddish* is recited by all mourners present. Twice yearly, a species of *yahrzeit* is observed by the entire Dublin Jewish community, in respect of the victims of the Holocaust. Complex feelings of grief, mourning and guilt are widely experienced within all European Jewish communities; in Ireland, these have rarely been articulated outside the Jewish community until relatively recently. The ongoing, repetitive nature

of symbols and practices of Jewish mourning ensures that these emotions will probably continue to be experienced until the passage of time renders the Holocaust like *Tish B'Av*, the object of commemoration more out of habit than out of engagement with the actual event. One result is that all Jews tend to be identified with the Holocaust, by association; another is an underlying, often faint reluctance on the part of Jews to identify totally with their neighbours, due to an unacknowledged lack of confidence in the motives and intentions of others. This is described by Pinto:

...identities take shape only if there are people who incarnate them, in this case Jews who feel equally at home in their Jewish and European roots. It is my belief that only now in the context of a democratic (or aspiring democratic) and reunited pan-European continent do we have the premises for such a new Jewish identity.

For a European Jewish identity to emerge a series of major conceptual obstacles have had and still have to be lifted. The most fundamental is historical, cultural and ideological: a profound (and not wholly unjustified) antipathy for the very concept of Europe in a post-Shoah Jewish world dominated by American Jewry and Israel... The third obstacle that had to be lifted was the silence that surrounded the Holocaust, comfortably cordoned off into the realm of private Jewish grief or placed on a lofty pedestal of the “unspeakable” far from the very real life and politics of the continent.

(Pinto, 1999)

In short, Irish Jewish identity evolves from “internalized meanings” (Schneider, 2002, 40) derived from influences in the home, from religious observance, from educational experiences, from engagement with the outside world, and from the influences of history.

2.5 Culture

Many Jewish traditions, for example the hanging of *mezzuzot*, are Biblical injunctions interpreted over centuries by rabbis and scholars, until they are practised by many in a manner relevant to the modern world. Others, often those which take place in individual homes, are part of an ongoing dialogue with the past, part of an unbroken chain of domestic ritual linking twenty-first century men, women and children with unknown ancestors from towns and villages remote from Ireland, no longer in existence. Relics of this past occasionally surface in Jewish households as prized possessions; links with Latvia and Lithuania which still exist through the space/time continuum. These often include brass candlesticks, wrought in the *shtetl*, ferried across vast distances and still used for their original purpose of holding the weekly Sabbath candles. They also include pieces of writing-paper, over a century old and covered with almost indecipherable, spidery Yiddish script (from a time and place where universal literacy could not be assumed). These artefacts demonstrate a physical presence, evidence of a largely undocumented past which heavily influences the present and contributes to the existence of Jewish culture in Ireland. In other words, ‘...cultural belonging can be captured in objects from the past’ (Magowan in Kockel and Nic Craith, 2007, 63). Another of these “objects from the past” is the Jewish liturgical music from these regions, often engaged with on a daily or weekly basis and always asserting a link with cultural practices of the past. Culture is engendered by individuals who share beliefs and ideals, and who participate in common practices. In the essay ‘Properties of Culture: an ethnographic view’, Robert Le Vine suggests that ‘...culture represents a consensus on a wide variety of meanings among members of an interacting community’ (Le Vine in Shweder and Le Vine, 1984, 68).

Jewish culture is a totality of many practices, religious and secular, at once outwardly visible and private, unique to oneself, acquired through time:

Culture encompasses both the explicit and implicit actions of a community. The explicit culture consists of the observable behavioural and physical signs of a culture, that is the content and

the structure. The implicit culture is more abstract, referring to the underlying organisation and transmission systems of a community. The current definition only covers observable behaviour and the physical and it needs to include the non-physical and the non-behavioural. Heritage can be viewed by some as conservation of culture and not culture itself.

(Janke, 1998, 5)

Dublin Jewish culture emanates directly from Dublin Jewish identity, which itself is a result of the shared experiences of the Dublin Jewish community. It is the lens through which members of that community observe the wider world, and is a major factor in how Jews are differentiated (both by themselves and others) from their neighbours.

There are arguments for culture itself being a result of the actions of those who share, or seek to share an identity:

...what is usually referred to as *culture* is defined here as the habits of thought and practice that are shared among individuals. Of particular importance...different ways that shared habits bind people into social groups according to specific aspects of the self (gender, class, age, occupation, interests, etc.), what I call *cultural cohorts*, as well as the broader more pervasive patterns of shared habits that give rise to *cultural formations*.

(Turino, 2008, 95)

Dublin Jewish culture influences all those living within and those who have contact with the Dublin Jewish community. Jewish culture does not stem solely from the practice of Judaism, although this plays a sizeable part in how Jewish culture affects the lived experiences of Jews, expressed thus: 'Nor can we stop at religion: culture spreads further into our lives and societies' (Crang, 1998, 4). There is a symbiotic relationship between Jewish culture and community; the culture dictates how each separate component of Jewish life will be conventionally enacted, while the

mechanisms through which the community functions preserve that culture. In other words:

A culture is a people's design for living. The content of each culture includes systems of belief (ideology), social institutions (organization), industrial skills and tools (technology), and material possessions (resources). A composite and more explicit characterization of a culture is; a historically derived system of standardized forms of behaviour, which the individual acquires as a member of a society. This statement stresses that culture consists of learned behaviour, in contrast to the direct response to inherited biological drives which are common to all animals including man.

(Broek and Webb, 1978, 27)

Dublin Jewish culture consists, although not exclusively, of traditions and superstitions originating from Eastern Europe, sustained by ownership of artefacts which are a tangible link with the distant past. These traditions are adulterated by the effects of living for generations among those from other, distinct cultures. Jewish culture (not necessarily a Dublin phenomenon) also involves much dialogue with the past, much mourning of death and destruction, and regular cycles of celebration. It involves ritualistic behaviour and dress, particularly in religious terms, and indeed many rituals have their origins in the Old Testament. Jewish culture is widely associated with learning; this is an instance where the tradition of detailed study of religious texts has, over time for many, been incorporated into secular life, with the result that, in many Jewish families, academic attainment is of paramount importance.

Music is also part of Jewish culture and consequently Jewish identity, notwithstanding where in the world this identity is asserted or these cultural practices may take place, proving that:

There is no doubt that music – in both production and consumption – can be an important influence in shaping the typically hybrid

identities of people and places, of engendering a sense of place and deep attachment to place.

(Hudson, 2006, 633)

In Chapter 4, it will be demonstrated how religious services are through-sung, and that they can only take place in the presence of music. Music is also widely incorporated into secular life, from ancient Yiddish lullabies (such as *Rosinkes mit Mand'lin* or *Tumbala*) sung by many a Jewish mother with an Eastern European background, to an enthusiastic engagement with Western art music and popular music, evident among Jewish people even before they left Eastern Europe.

Music regarded as “traditionally Jewish” in Dublin, occupies three spheres. One is the secular music sung in the home, including the above-mentioned lullabies, and also other *zemirot* (songs with a Jewish but not necessarily religious context). The second is the music of the synagogue, much of which originated in the *shtibls* and *shetls* of Eastern Europe, and whose tonal character owes much to the genres of Eastern European folk music, brought to a wider public in the works of composers Béla Bartok and Zoltan Kodály (neither of whom were Jewish) in the early twentieth century, coincidentally at a time when most Jews had left or were leaving these places. The third is *klezmer* (an Eastern European folk genre most often associated with Jews), frequently performed at social events such as weddings. However, we are reminded of the incursion of Jewish music into Irish popular culture as far back in time as the early eighteenth century, when we are told of the following event which took place in Dublin:

The Jews Musick is to be had at the Sign of the Fiddle and Dulcimer in Copper Alley by Archibald Williamson whom Gentlemen are pleas'd to call the IRISH JEW. N.B. Mr. Williamson provides Hands of Musick for Private Balls, &c.

(The Dubliner Newsletter, 1738, 3)

The music which accompanies Jewish life in modern-day Dublin journeyed from Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, heavily influenced by extant musical traditions in these countries. If there are ambiguities as to the exact origins of Jewish

music, and the extent to which this may be a variation on Lithuanian or Latvian, but a non-specifically Jewish musical tradition, then the following is true: ‘The ‘ownership’ of a cultural tradition or a heritage is frequently contentious’ (Robinson in Kockel and Nic Craith, 2007, 184). However, setting aside all arguments regarding musical style or origin, there is one very strong indicator of the attempts at musical assimilation of nineteenth-century immigrant Jews into mainstream British or Irish society. This is the item colloquially known among Orthodox synagogue congregations across the British Isles, especially those synagogues which have, or have had an active choir, as the “Blue Book”. As a physical artefact, the “Blue Book” represents acculturation and the desire for acceptance and normalisation. The “Blue Book” was first published in London in 1899, and there have been several editions since then. Its full title is *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*, the first edition compiled and edited by Rabbi Francis Louis Cohen (who later became a chaplain in the British Army during World War 1) (Renton, 2000). Each edition of this book is hardbound in a dark blue cover, the lettering on the cover embossed in gold, the pages edged with red. Inside are four-part harmonisations and arrangements of different sections of the Sabbath, High Holy Day and Marriage services, all in regular metres, the chords and counterpoint reflecting trends in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century German and English tonal harmony. The “Blue Book” is effectively a hymnal; it resembles any contemporaneous Protestant hymnal, the main distinguishing feature being that all texts are in Hebrew, transliterated for convenience.

Food (cited above as an integral part of Jewish identity) is also an important aspect of Jewish, and of Dublin Jewish culture. The ritual preparation of certain foods, as well as traditional dishes, and customs associated with the consumption of food, are a continuous process forming part of the experience of Jewish life. For example, the observance of *kashrut* dominates not only a household, but a large part of the way in which one engages with the outside world. If one observes *kashrut* one accepts many rules, such as the use of distinct sets of cutlery and crockery, depending upon whether or not a dish contains meat; using different, usually colour-coded dishcloths with which to handle the above; never mixing a meat-based ingredient with a dairy-based one; never eating meat and dairy products at the same meal; never eating non-kosher meat and seafood. Following this lengthy list of proscriptions is a constant, daily reminder of one’s religious and cultural background. There are also ritual meals

which follow a prescribed sequence of courses, such as the *Seder* (Passover meal), and fast days on which no food or drink is permitted, such as *Yom Kippur*. Alcohol, although almost always present in Dublin Jewish households and in the synagogue—in the form of wine, spirits, fruit-based liqueurs and beer—is rarely consumed in large quantities.

Certain challenges present themselves to Dublin Jews who aspire to keep their kitchens strictly *kosher*; keeping a *kosher* kitchen elsewhere in Ireland is even more challenging. This is due to a lack of dedicated *kosher* shops since 1997, when the last *kosher* butcher and grocery shop on Clanbrassil Street closed following the death of its owner, Baila Erlich (Benson, 2007). After this, an inconsistent supply of French and English *kosher* goods was available from various suburban supermarkets on the south side of Dublin, during which time many families carried out the illegal practice of importing undocumented goods from London and Manchester. This practice largely ceased during the 2001 foot-and-mouth epidemic on the British mainland. Since then, the Jewish Representative Council of Ireland has made itself the purveyor of *kosher* goods for the Jewish community in Dublin, which are now found in a dedicated section of the SuperValu supermarket in Churchtown, a village approximately 3 kilometres from Terenure synagogue.

Literacy, music, language, religion and food are among the building blocks of Jewish culture: ‘...culture is defined as any form of belief, history, archaeology, oral histories, literature, art, music, skills or traits attributable to a specific group’ (Robinson in Kockel and Nic Craith, 2007, 183). Jewish culture is made up of many practices and tendencies which are attributable to Jews, and which are consciously or unconsciously adopted by the people who belong to that culture. Belonging to a Jewish culture means subscribing to a lifestyle in which some or all of the following resemble others who share in that culture: religion, language, education, cuisine, humour, common ancestry and domestic rituals. These add up to a shared system of meanings: ‘Systems of meanings or cultures work like languages. They provide us with interpretive frameworks through which we make sense of the world’ (Hall in Massey and Jess, 2000, 179).

Jewish people born into a Jewish community are born into a culture, the practices of which are learned over such a sustained period of time that, as one approaches adulthood, they are assumed and rarely need to be considered. This timescale is not necessarily the span of one's own life, but that of all one's ancestors who participated in a world that was shaped in some way like one's own. Such an aspiration to have experiences in common with one's ancestors is the main element linking past and present, a feature of Jewish culture, as mentioned above. It allows the survival of culture across generations, suggesting that actual place is not vital to the continuance of culture. In effect, it appears that most of one's cultural identity depends on learned behaviour and tradition.

This does not encourage an ease of passage for those brought up as part of a different set of traditions, to enter into, and be an accepted part of Jewish, or Dublin Jewish culture. These might include immigrants from areas other than Lithuania or Latvia, whose ancestry and historical frames of reference are different from those who originate from the early twentieth century influx (it is not an uncommon complaint among recent Israeli and American immigrants, that they initially have difficulty "mixing" or "fitting in" with the Dublin Jewish community). Also included can be people who, for whatever reason, decide to convert to Judaism, whether Orthodox or Progressive. These problems possibly arise from ethnic differences, at least partially. Other such problems arise from the difficulty in being inducted into an entirely new culture and a different set of traditions.

It has been shown above that there is some evidence of a discrete Jewish race. However, the sharing of common genes does not in itself represent the existence of culture or ethnicity, although it can contribute to certain inherited or even cultural traits. Instead, ethnicity is rooted in places, in culture and traditions, as well as genetic links through family relationships:

When shared meaning systems are underpinned by long, historical settlement of a population and 'shaping' in one physical environment, with strong kinship links as a result of intermarriage over generations, we get a *very* strong and *strongly bounded* idea of culture and cultural identity. This definition of culture, though not

actually genetic or biological, is often experienced as if it were a part of our biological nature because it is tied up with the sharing of the culture between members with a long and unbroken common genealogy, kinship, residence and descent.

We call this very strong, well-bounded version of cultural identity *ethnicity*. Ethnicity arises wherever shared activities and meaning systems in one place are underpinned by shared kinship and blood-ties, evidence of which can sometimes be ‘read’ into certain shared physical features and characteristics of a population. Where people share not only a culture but an *ethnos*, their belongingness or binding into a group and place, and their sense of cultural identity, are very strongly defined. Indeed, ethnicity is a form of cultural identity which, though historically constructed like all cultural identities, is so unified on so many levels over such a long period that it is experienced as if it were imprinted and transmitted by nature, outside what we would call Culture or History.

(ibid, 181)

It is not easy to gain admittance to a group whose social network is as strongly woven as that of the Dublin Jewish community. Another such impediment may well be represented in the description ‘deterred by a rigid community leadership hierarchy’ (Lentin, 2002), in which the acceptance or otherwise of a newcomer can be dependent upon communal leaders whose attitudes tend to be conservative regarding changes to the structure of the community.

It may seem an obvious fact, but what distinguishes Dublin Jewish culture from the broader Jewish culture is its very situatedness in Dublin, and the influences that all of Dublin society has exerted over Jews living there. In other words:

In the city, strangers live side by side in public places, giving to and receiving from one another social and aesthetic products, often mediated by a huge chain of interactions. This instantiates social relations as difference in the sense of an understanding of groups and

cultures that are different, with exchanging and overlapping interactions that do not issue in community, yet which prevent them from becoming outside of one another.

(Young in Weiss and Friedman, 1995, 251)

As Ireland progresses along the highway of cosmopolitanism, it is easy for a minority as small as that of the Jews to become subsumed by other ethnic groups who arrive in large numbers and to assert their presence more stridently than was ever the case for the Jewish community. However, because a Jewish presence in Ireland has been sustained over long periods of time, and because many Jews were highly-ranked professionals or members of the Irish Government (including Mervyn Taylor, Alan Shatter, Gerald Goldberg, Robert Briscoe and his son Ben Briscoe), Irish society can appear reluctant to abandon or forget the fact of Jewish presence. It has been suggested that Jewish culture has had an effect upon Irish culture, presumably due to its ongoing presence in Ireland:

Historically the population of Jews in Ireland ebbs and flows through history and the Irish Jewish community maintains an association and perseverance for connection with Ireland as a homeland. The struggles and achievements of the Irish Jews to establish a level of tolerance for the differences in religious faith, cultural practice, and individual independence are a legacy that does not deter them from being a part of the community. The long history of generations, maintaining and ingraining these differences, incorporates the values of both cultures into one mix, a rich stew that feeds and defines Ireland, one that should be acknowledged, embraced and sustained as the new face of Ireland emerges and others see to call the island home.

(Kooris, 2008)

There is an emphasis here on what might be termed ‘a continuous creative process linking past, present and future in a meaningful trajectory’ (Kockel in Kockel and Nic Craith, 2007, 31). Kooris proves lyrical on the subject of Irish tolerance towards

minority groups, and its receptiveness towards a possible Jewish contribution to Irish society:

It is this humbleness and hospitality, a sense of tolerance for individual rights, which encouraged a minority of its population to adopt Ireland as a homeland and to embrace Irish culture in tandem with its own stringent traditions. This Irish minority is the group who are Jewish or of Jewish descent, a branch of the Jewish diaspora that has persevered for centuries to maintain a place in Ireland. This persistence has managed to enmesh itself in Irish culture as part of its heritage in the same manner as the early Irish or Celtic culture is imbedded. People unfamiliar with Ireland, its geography, history and culture, are always surprised to discover its sub-culture of Irish Jews who, after many generations as a part of the Jewish diaspora, claim Ireland as a homeland. This fact comes across as a curiosity or dichotomy to the customary image of the country. But the Irish Jews are not an interesting anomaly to Ireland. They have contributed to the history of the country as loyal countrymen and added to its viability whenever possible. With the changes that are occurring in Ireland—its economic re-birth, its participation in the EU, the new influx of immigration—it is time for of Ireland to acknowledge that the Jewish diaspora is a part of a living Irish heritage as significant as the Celtic heritage is to this country's mix.

(Kooris, 2008)

Whereas there is much living proof of Irish or Dublin-Jewish identity and culture, this is a phenomenon experienced by Irish Jews. I have yet to find evidence of non-Jewish people claiming that Jewishness forms part of their own Irish identity, yet many former or present inhabitants of the South Circular Road area profess a kinship, or at least a deeper knowledge of Jewish culture than their counterparts in other areas of the city. Tara Bell, who comes from a Church of Ireland background, grew up very near Greenville Hall synagogue in the 1970s and 1980s. She told me in an interview that:

I was more accepting of the Jewish community because of where I grew up. Mum [her mother had lived in the same street as a child] always used to explain to me about Jewish customs, about different religions. I remember Mr Katz, Miss Levy...(in conversation, 17 February 2010).

Dublin Jewish culture has evolved over the centuries since Jews settled in Dublin, reading and writing English and Irish, being educated by and with indigenous Dublin residents, allowing the traditions of others to penetrate without necessarily compromising their own personal beliefs and practices. Crang's suggestion of any culture resembling a palimpsest is particularly apt regarding Dublin Jewish culture:

The term palimpsest derives from medieval writing blocks. It refers to where an original inscription would be erased and another written over it, again and again. The earlier inscriptions were never fully erased so over time the result was a composite – a palimpsest representing the sum of all the erasures and over-writings. Thus we might see an analogy with a culture inscribing itself ...to suggest the landscape as the sum of erasures, accretions, anomalies and redundancies over time.

(Crang, 1998, 22)

Thus, in Dublin, parts of Jewish culture have been overwritten by elements of Irish culture. This process is known as '...cultural assimilation, whereby a group increasingly uses the language and adopts the customs of another' (Weinstein and Vijayan, 2001, 69). This process is exemplified in the use of the English language at home, in preference to Yiddish or Hebrew. It can also be seen when observant Dublin Jews habitually participate in rituals associated with Christian holy days such as attending Christmas carol services, distributing presents on Christmas Day or eating pancakes on Shrove Tuesday. Further aspects of Irish society have also impressed themselves upon Irish Jewish culture, as part of the following ongoing process:

The spread of culture elements or complexes within a society or from one society to another is called *diffusion*. The manner of its

transfer between peoples may be by direct contact or by indirect transmission through a chain of intermediaries.

(Broek and Webb, 1978, 29)

For example, whereas Irish Jews learn *Hatikvah*, or the Israeli national anthem, which is sung on occasions such as Holocaust Memorial Day in January each year, they also learn simultaneously in childhood, *Amrán na bhFiann*, or the Irish national anthem. There are numerous other examples of diffusion from Irish culture into the Jewish community, from the Irish use of colourful swear-words, to the lifelong recollection of lines penned by W.B. Yeats and learned by rote at school to the cheerful singing of seasonal songs at Christmas time:

The study of diffusion is concerned with the spread of a culture trait or complex. However, one can also focus attention on a specific culture and see how it is affected by the adoption of foreign traits. The result of the transmission may range from a relatively minor change to virtual assimilation. Somewhere in between these two extremes lies *acculturation*.

(ibid, 29)

Colleen Ward suggests that:

Acculturation itself is a neutral process; the changes arising from intercultural contact may be positive or negative. For example, contact with other cultures may result in an individual developing a broader range of cultural skills, better relationships with members of other ethnocultural groups, and a stronger sense of “world-mindedness”.

(Ward in Pedersen *et al*, 2008, 292)

Acculturation is also defined as:

...the process of interaction between two societies by which the culture of the society in the subordinate position is drastically modified to conform to the culture of the dominant society.

(Hoebel, 1966, 559)

Jewish society in Dublin is in the subordinate position, largely due to its diminutive size. The vision of Broek and Webb with regard to acculturation is applied to the Dublin Jewish community. The “relatively minor change” is visible in a certain very few members of the community who speak English, but who wear traditional Eastern European dress (long, dark clothes, with the men cultivating heavy beards and the women keeping their heads covered), and who rarely mix with people outside the Jewish community. “Virtual assimilation” is also not unknown, often, although by no means always, among people whose families were anxious to appear less Jewish and more part of Irish society, with religious observances kept to a bare minimum, or less. Most fall between these two ends of the acculturation spectrum. The GAA All-Ireland Final is always a fiercely partisan affair when discussed in the synagogue, and few Irish Jewish children do not believe in Santa Claus, encouraged and indulged by their parents. Nowadays, there is some evidence of transmission from Jewish to Irish culture. However, this may be due to the prevalence of American influence on Irish media and society. Examples are found in the occasional use of Yiddish words “*kosher*” or “*chutzpah*,” and the increasing popularity of *bagels*, ring-shaped bread-rolls now available all over Ireland, but until recently, only available at the kosher Bretzel Bakery in the South Circular Road district of Dublin, established by Jewish immigrants named Clein in 1920 (Rivlin, 2003).

There is a long history of acculturation on the part of the Jewish community, into Irish society. According to conductor Colman Pearce, who grew up in the Roman Catholic tradition in the South Circular Road area of Dublin in the 1940s and 1950s:

My mother often said ‘the best Christians among our neighbours are Jews’! This was meant as a sincere compliment, as she found so

much kindness and empathy with our Jewish neighbours...My family and I were blessed to live in a community that was not the typical homogeneous society in the Ireland of the times. We learned to tolerate and enjoy the differences that ethnicity and religion can offer.

(Pearse in Benson, 2007, 55)

Pearse describes a childhood in which there was free interaction between Jewish and Christian neighbours. Dr Evelyn Weil, growing up in a Jewish family in the same district in the 1920s and 1930s, has different recollections, suggesting that such interaction had yet to occur:

It was like living in a ghetto... Although we went to Wesley College [a Methodist secondary school enduringly popular with Jewish families] all of our friends were Jewish... My mother only ever cooked Jewish food. We only became aware of the outside world in Trinity College (in conversation, 29 August 2007).

However, in the same interview she also asserts: 'We were lucky, when Ireland was so depressed, to live in such a supportive community.'

Yet Jewish culture in Ireland refuses to be subsumed by a total cultural assimilation. The *Yiddishkeit* element of Jewish culture is quite separate from the religious practice of Judaism (Brodkin, 1999, 107); a combination of these results in a strong Jewish identity which is not undermined, but instead complemented by the influences of Irish culture. Nowadays it is perhaps that which defines the state of being Jewish, both for Jews and non-Jews. It is possible to theorize about the origins of this: perhaps it has its roots in collective race-memory, or collective unconscious (Jung, 1997). Perhaps Marxist theory approaches it more closely with the premise that one's social and economic status determine how one thinks and acts in the world (Marx, 1977), given the travails associated with social and economic movement within the *shtetl*, and the subsequent prosperity of most members of the Irish Jewish community. It is likely that ritual and tradition also contributes to this culture, and a heightened awareness,

not only of one's own past, but that of one's forbears. Nor is it possible to exclude religious practices and teachings.

2.6 Conclusion

The Jewish presence in Ireland is centuries old. It metamorphosed from a Sephardic community to an Ashkenazi one, and concentrated in Dublin, eventually migrating from the north to the south side of the Liffey, leaving only the dead in situ. The Jews submitted to living under the jurisdiction of whoever ruled Ireland at a given moment in history, whether the British monarchy or the Free State. They made haste to assimilate aspects of Irish culture, while retaining the core religious, moral and social structures of their own culture. They set up their own systems of self-government within their small, self-contained community, while integrating with their non-Jewish neighbours and upholding the laws of the land. Their religious and cultural differences were largely tolerated and respected by Irish society, in return for which they were able to enrich Irish society by means of their involvement and engagement with it. A long and complex route has been followed since 'Five Jews came over sea with gifts to Tairdelbach and they were sent back again over sea'. This has been full of celebration and tragedy. There have been contrast and change (reconciling Sephardic and Ashkenazi religious and cultural practice; the move from north to south Dublin; the patterns of Jewish migration to Ireland, and emigration to other countries), permeated with the fixed, immovable nature of ancient ritual, and questions about the unknowable future.

Ritual, whether social, cultural or religious, is a central theme in any discussion on Jewish identity. All rituals are associated with time and place, and their significance as part of the practices which together make up Jewish cultural identity cannot be overstated. Music is associated with most religious and secular practices within Judaism. It is inherited from previous generations and experienced in the present, and part of the Jewish cultural imperative suggests that it, along with so many traditions, should be retained in the future, whether by means of oral or other tradition. The spaces and places which Jews occupy resound to music; in the following chapter, an exploration is made of Jewish ritual space in Dublin.

3. Ritual Space and Context in Jewish Dublin

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to situate Irish Jewish cultural tradition within a framework of space and time. There exist innumerable Jewish secular and religious customs and traditions worldwide, some enduring from Biblical times, others evolving in response to places and situations in which successive generations of Jews have found themselves. The latter part of this thesis will explore one particular Jewish cultural practice, namely that of liturgical music in Dublin. At this point in the narrative of Irish, and particularly Dublin Jewish culture, it is necessary to describe some the spaces and places in which this music is performed.

Since circa 1660, when a small community of Jews settled in Dublin and began establishing their religious and social infrastructure (Shillman, 1945), Jewish rituals have been practised around Dublin, starting in the family homes of the people and, over time, carried out in other spaces, including synagogue, school, sports club, meeting-house and ultimately, cemetery. Wherever and whenever many Jewish ritual practices take place, the following observation has been made:

Jewish ritual may be characterized as the art of significant forms in time, as *architecture of time*. Most of its observances – the Sabbath, the New Moon, the festivals – depend on a certain hour of the day or season of the year. It is, for example, the evening, morning or afternoon that brings the call to prayer.

(Heschel, 1951, 8)

Thus it is time, and not necessarily space, which dictates when and how any given Jewish ritual will be organised.

A multitude of rituals can be observed in the privacy of the home, at different hours of the day, at different times during the year, acknowledged, or otherwise, by others.

Jewish ritual practice outside the home is, by definition, more public. It often takes place within a congregation of people, and is typically carried out in the synagogue, and also the cemetery. As Jewish ritual in the home is also essential to the assertion of Jewish identity, the following makes mention of some Orthodox Jewish domestic practices found in Dublin today.

3.2 Orthodox Jewish Domestic Ritual in Dublin

Defining the home as a ritual space allows for the fact that many everyday tasks relating to Jewish observance are carried out there; these may or may not require the participation of all living under the same roof, particularly in a family unit:

The family is the traditional Jewish institution for religious expression, education, performance of ritual, and sanctification of life's events. The practice of traditional Judaism is centered around the home. The home is the Temple, the parents are the priests, and the dining table is the altar. Eating (and just about everything a Jew does) is transformed into a holy act, augmented by rituals and related to fundamental values. The core practices that traditionally define Jewishness are all home-centered.

(Wagner, 2004, 21)

In common with Jews everywhere, these rituals may be observed by members of the Jewish community in Dublin to a greater or lesser extent depending on circumstances and levels of religious conviction. They may include the placing of *mezzuzot* on doorposts outside their houses to signify that a Jewish person or family lives therein, and also on internal doorjambs. They may extend to the practice of ritual hand-washing, the donning of *tephillin* and the lighting of candles. They may also involve the preparation and consumption of ritual meals on the Sabbath and other holy days. Given the possibilities for ritual practice in the home, it is possible to contradict the following statement:

The synagogue is the only institution claiming as its reason for existence the perpetuation of religious Judaism ... It is the only place offering any form of worship experience. It is clearly the chief employer of rabbis and teachers of Judaism. It assumes the awesome responsibility of educating the vast majority of Jews and their children. For all but a very few Jews the synagogue is the sole vehicle for religious life and response.

(Strassfeld in Strassfeld and Strassfeld, 1980, 104)

Here it is suggested that for most, responsibility does not lie with the individual to engage, alone and unsupervised, in any religious ritual that does not involve a rabbi or other leader, in any setting other than a communal one, whether informally or under the auspices of an established synagogue with all of the trappings of a formal organisation (for instance, a permanent address, or rules and regulations, or annual fees). Yet all practising Jews take the obligation upon themselves to do this very thing.

3.3 Prayer and Ritual in the Dublin Synagogue

It is thought that the democratised institution of the synagogue arose from a need, on the part of displaced Jews, to communicate with God, as well as to mourn the loss of the Temple, emerging, fully fledged, in documentary accounts from the first century C.E.:

...[T]here is a general consensus today that the development of the synagogue followed the destruction of the First Temple in 586 B.C.E., either during the Babylonian exile or soon after, when Jews returned to Judaea during the Restoration period. The need of the exiles for a substitute for the Temple, the newly instituted fast days for mourning its destruction, and perhaps the inauguration of public scriptural readings, dated by tradition to this period, were all factors leading to regular meetings which eventually became the basis of what we know today as the synagogue. Evolving over the course of

centuries, the synagogue finally appears in literary sources as a fully developed communal institution playing a central role in Jewish life.

(Levine, 1981, 3)

Conveying Jewish ritual out of the home and into the synagogue, cemetery or other area usually means that personal or family traditions are superseded by the *minhag* (traditions built up over time in congregations and communities). A few of these might include the time at which the daily or Sabbath morning services start in the synagogue, or the exact order in which the Sabbath service takes place, or whether or not women cover their heads during this service. The synagogue may be Orthodox or Reform, or fall within the many subdivisions which Orthodoxy and the Reform movement have engendered. It may also be run on *Sephardic* or *Ashkenazi* lines.

The practice of Jewish and other religious rituals does not always require a specific time or place. I have often sat on Dublin buses in which fellow passengers, Roman Catholic by persuasion, blessed themselves when passing a church; I have travelled by aeroplane to Israel when the tedium of the journey was enlivened by a spontaneous *ma'ariv* or evening service, conducted by passengers for the assumed benefit of all Jews present (an action dictated by time rather than space). At any time during the festival of *Rosh Hashona*, small clusters of observant Jews can be spotted on the banks of the River Dodder (a tributary of the Liffey whose course winds through the suburb of Rathfarnham, close to Terenure synagogue), performing the *mitzvah* (commandment) of *Taschlich*, that is symbolically casting their sins upon the running water, to be borne away.

In Dublin, worship in the synagogue has continued in an almost unbroken pattern since around 1660 (Shillman, 1945). Nowadays in Terenure synagogue, daily prayers take place at fixed times, morning and evening every day of the week, and these prayers typically last for around half an hour. Friday evening services begin shortly before the Sabbath commences, so begin at a different time each week depending on what time sunset takes place. These services are somewhat longer than the weekday evening services. On Saturday mornings, the Sabbath service starts later than the weekday services, and endures for around three hours. Services on festivals or the High Holy Days can last even longer. The longest of all occurs during *Yom Kippur*

when more than half of the duration of the 25-hour fast may be spent in the synagogue.

Shiurim or study sessions take place twice weekly in Terenure synagogue, after evening prayers. One evening is devoted to interpretation of the *Talmud*, the other to the relevant *sedra* or weekly portion of the *Torah*. Some of these sessions are led by the synagogue rabbi, others by members of the lay congregation. At times, they are led by a visiting rabbi or academic who has been invited to do so by the synagogue council. These study sessions are open to both men and women; however, many more men than women attend.



Fig. 3(i) Study group at Terenure synagogue.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 03/01/10).

In order to discuss religious Jewish practice in Dublin, it is necessary to mention the four possible dimensions of any cultic or religious activity:

...place (or institution), time (or occasion), act (or ceremony)
performed, person (or personnel) performing it – and no description
of cult is complete unless it embraces them all.

(Haran, 1978, 13)

In this case, the institution is the synagogue; the time is Saturday morning; the ceremony is the Orthodox Sabbath service; the personnel are the cantor, rabbi and congregation. With the passing of two millennia since the destruction of Solomon's Temple, some aspects of the synagogue have adapted and changed in keeping with contemporary practises, while others have remained, if not entirely constant, then at least reminiscent of the early days of this institution. While the intentions are similar to those from the synagogues earliest time, the service too has evolved, as:

...the consecutive narration of the history of Jewish prayer as it developed from its beginnings to our time; it is divided into three periods: the period of the statutory prayers (to 600), the period of the piyyut (600–1800), and the period of critical scholarship (1800–1900).

(Elbogen, 1972, 11)

All synagogues have certain requirements regarding topography and furnishings, which combine to put in motion the process of “making space Jewish” (Bohlman in Bohlman, 2008, 157). Terenure synagogue, consistent with Orthodox synagogues elsewhere, possesses its Ark with *Sifrei Torah* contained within, and the *ner tamid* radiating everlasting light which hangs in front of this. There is the *bimah* from where the service is conducted, and the pulpit from where sermons are delivered. Male and female sections of the congregation are accommodated in various seating areas. The above are necessary in an institutional synagogue which itself need not be purpose-built. For instance, it is known that ‘[A]ny unified space suits the needs of a synagogue; a synagogue can be established in an inn, as at Planen in Germany’ (Krinsky, 1996, 12).

Congregations have certain expectations of what should be found in their synagogue environment:

Pious Jews may be indifferent to beauty in the synagogue, but they are sensitive to the correct arrangement of synagogue furnishings. The ritual furniture is connected to liturgy, and to ancestral traditions that help to maintain the cohesion of the minority group. The

interior arrangements were subject to some changes, which varied with time, local custom and the degree of the congregation's orthodoxy.

(Krinsky, 1996, 21)

For the purposes of this thesis, my principal descriptions will be of Terenure synagogue, supplemented by anecdotal information regarding Machzikei Hadass, Adelaide Road, Greenville Hall, Lombard St. West and Walworth Road synagogues, and to a lesser degree, the Dublin Jewish Progressive Congregation, where relevant.



Fig. 3(ii) The former Walworth Road synagogue, now part of the Irish Jewish Museum.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 05/10/10).

At the time of writing, there are three operational synagogues in Dublin, and also a prayer-room at the Jewish retirement home, “Bloomfield” in the south Dublin suburb of Rathfarnham, where many non-residents attend Sabbath and High Holy Day services. This, Terenure and Machzikei Hadass synagogues maintain an Orthodox ethos. The third synagogue is represented by the Dublin Jewish Progressive Congregation. Established in 1946, it is housed in a purpose-built, airy, well-lit synagogue, and embraces philosophical and ritual aspects of Reform Judaism while maintaining dialogue with Dublin’s Orthodox Jewish traditions, noticeably those relating to liturgical music.

As this thesis is mainly centred around the liturgical music of the two Orthodox synagogues in Dublin, it is necessary to explain some of the similarities and differences between Terenure and Machzikei Hadass synagogues. The reasons for both congregations to exist are not always obvious, being in such close proximity to each other (they are separated by a distance of approximately 250 metres). While members of the separate synagogues socialize freely together, it is unusual for Terenure members to attend services in the Machzikei Hadass synagogue, and still more rare to find Machzikei Hadass members at services in Terenure (other than daily ones, as the Machzikei Hadass does not open on weekdays other than holy days). This phenomenon arises in Jewish communities other than that of Dublin:

There are slight and subtle differences between the various Orthodox synagogues in Leeds, but not on the basis of need or liturgy.

Historical developments and family attachments have forged these variations with the result that their respective memberships are strongly parochial in attitude. In the main, few of them patronise the social and cultural functions of synagogues other than their own.

(Freedman, 1995, 10)

The liturgy in both of Dublin's Orthodox synagogues is strongly based on that of the United Synagogue movement in London, which itself had its origins in German Jewish practice:

Zekchariah Frankel, born and educated in Prague, received his Ph.D. in 1831, and served in Dresden as the chief rabbi of the German state of Saxony from 1836 to 1854, when he became the head of the Jewish Theological Seminary in Breslau. He was the pioneer of a middle path in German Judaism, demanding halakhic observance while accepting the possibility of minor modifications, and intellectual openness, except with regard to the Pentateuch.

(Harris, 1995, 190)

Confusingly, while the species of Hebrew used, and the musical chants and melodies performed within Dublin synagogues are clearly Lithuanian in origin, the United Synagogue traditional order of service is in fact German/Anglo-Jewish, and was originally presided over by Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler, Chief Rabbi of the British Empire from 1891 until 1911 (Singer, 1962, viii). The Machzikei Hadass movement originated in London in 1898 as a protest against the perceived laxity of the Anglo-Jewish establishment embodied by Rev. Dr. Adler. In those days, Machzikei Hadass members were renowned for the strictness of their religious observance:

The Rabbis and congregants of the Machzikei Adass were well known for their learning, piety and devotion to prayer. It was truly a synagogue that never closed. As soon as one service had been completed, another one commenced.

(Renton, 2000, 172)

Nowadays, it known more for the informality of the service and the friendliness of the regular members, who are refreshingly non-judgemental of each other and of visitors who are cherished.



Fig. 3(iii) Plaque at the entrance to the Machzikei Hadass synagogue. The curved inscription at the top reads “Beit Ha-Knesset”, or “House of Assembly”.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 11/06/10)

Terenure synagogue, more formally known as Terenure Hebrew Congregation, and now officially Dublin Hebrew Congregation, is situated in a large, leafy site close to the heart of the busy, populous village of Terenure. Built in an avant-garde style by architect Wilfred Cantwell in 1953 (Author unstated, 1979, 5), it is a cubic building, rendered in concrete; its façade, characterised by a row of five Star of David windows, contrasts sharply with those of its residential Art Deco neighbours. It is a “building incontrovertibly identified as Jewish” (Gruber in Gruber *et al*, 2004, 24). Although there is no documentary evidence to support it, it appears to me that the aesthetic of the Terenure synagogue architecture is influenced by the work of architect A. Elzas, exemplified by the synagogue at Lekstraat, Amsterdam, a smooth-walled, flat-roofed stone “box” pierced with small windows, and erected in 1936. However, nestling behind the tall chestnut trees planted by the owners of “Leoville”, the huge house, which had stood on the same site many years previously, it is regarded with affection by residents of the village who queue at the bus-stop outside its forbidding black security gates, a troubling reminder of the ongoing threat of anti-Semitism. This threat is not a new phenomenon; in 1966, the synagogue was set on fire in an “outrageous act of sacrilege” (Author unstated, 1979, 20). For the members and

nearby residents of Terenure, this was a calamity, reflecting the laconic statement: ‘...the destruction of the Temple in 70 C.E. will have been an appalling disaster...’ (Goodman in Day, 2005, 462). Two years later, the interior had been refurbished, the synagogue re-consecrated, and services recommenced.



Fig. 3(iv) Exterior view of Terenure synagogue.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 05/01/10).

Passing through the gates, a short stroll up the tarmacadamed driveway (no cars are allowed on the Sabbath) brings the worshipper to the porch, and then through wooden double-doors, complete with *mezzuzah*, into the hallway. Once on the premises, all men and boys keep their heads covered with a *yarmulke*, known also as a *kippah*. In Terenure synagogue, a wide variety of *yarmulkes* is seen. Some men and boys use them to display their support for particular football clubs (Liverpool and Manchester United teams appear popular among Dublin Jews). Others wear *yarmulkes* heavily embroidered with gold thread, while there are those who favour plain satin *yarmulkes* which are worn in a variety of colours. Occasionally a *yarmulke* in concentric circles of pale blue and white is seen; this indicates the Zionist affiliation of the wearer. The wearing of this particular *yarmulke* was more common in Dublin at a time when Zionist youth clubs (*B'nei Akiva* and *Habonim*, for example) existed. Nowadays, the blue and white *yarmulke* only ever appears on the head of a visitor. While many men

wear hats during their journey to the synagogue (usually a trilby or homburg), these are rarely retained during the service, other than by the oldest members of the congregation (wearing a hat inside the synagogue was a popular convention among Dublin men until the 1990s). Until 2008, members of the synagogue executive council exercised their privilege of wearing top-hats during the service; this practice has been discontinued. The wide-brimmed black hat associated with Chassidic Jews is rarely seen in Dublin, other than on the heads of visitors.

In Orthodox Judaism, and indeed most other denominations of the religion, it is invariably the case that men's heads are covered, contrary to the claim that '...in most parts of the United States, as well as in some British Progressive synagogues, men worship bareheaded' (Brasch, 1969, 183). The term *kippah* is Hebrew, and has migrated to Dublin by way of Israel. Use of the more traditional Yiddish word *yarmulke* is long-standing, and is common across the age spectrum. It is thought that this Yiddish term has its etymological roots in the Hebrew phrase "*Yare Malke*" (awe of the King, i.e. the Almighty) (Brasch, 1969, 205). This may be due to traditional teaching regarding the wearing of the skullcap, in that it is a symbol of respect to one in higher authority: 'It was understood as an expression of submissive respect for the divine majesty' (Elbogen, 1972, 380). Local custom in Dublin dictates that married women also cover their heads with styles of millinery varying from head-scarves to flamboyant designer creations [I recall that a printed sign was prominently hung at the top of the stairs leading to the women's gallery in Adelaide Road synagogue, which read 'Ladies are requested to cover their heads before entering', inspired by a polished brass plaque inscribed with the same reminder which hangs on the wall in the staircase leading up to the women's gallery in the grand and venerable Bevis Marks synagogue in London's East End, built in 1701].



Fig. 3(v) The reminder for ladies to cover their heads in Bevis Marks synagogue, London; the exact wording was replicated at Adelaide Road synagogue in Dublin.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 09/05/11).

In Dublin, it is a tradition that everybody who attends the synagogue is dressed formally, men and boys in suits and ties, women in impeccable day-wear (skirts only; no trousers are worn), little girls in party frocks. Impression management is effected very often within these and any synagogues (other than those of the more religious Orthodox sects, where absolute conformity regarding dress is required, and no other form of dress is tolerated), by a choice of clothing. This can denote various states such as inward (or outward piety); teenage rebelliousness; a desire to impress; a desire not to be noticed; respect (or otherwise) for the surroundings, occasion and compeers present. In the women's section of Terenure synagogue, social standing can possibly be indicated by an obviously expensive hat; the equivalent can be found in the gentlemen's section in the guise of a particularly well-cut suit or an extravagantly decorated *tallit* (usually pronounced *tallis* in the local Lithuanian-inflected Hebrew). The level of religious observance on the part of an individual can also be gauged by his or her appearance, although this can be very misleading: '...clothes are one of the easiest ways to project a fake image' (Heilman, 1976, 54). For example, a woman

wearing an ankle-length skirt, or a man in a black suit and hat, will create assumptions regarding a stricter form of religious observance than is the norm in Terenure. As mentioned above, in Terenure synagogue, it is the custom among married women to wear hats, but not among unmarried women; however, there are instances when hats are abandoned or assumed, contrary to tradition. Until recently in synagogues in Dublin, only men who belonged to the priestly caste (*Cohenim*) wore large *tallisim* elegantly folded on each side and draped around themselves, while most others wore narrow *tallisim* covering their shoulders. Nowadays, nearly all men wear the larger ones.

Back in Terenure on Saturday morning, we find that if the worshipper is male, he will now proceed through another set of doors, this time frosted glass, and into the men's section on the ground floor of the actual synagogue area. Divesting himself of coat and hat, he will pad across the deep blue carpet, remove his silken prayer-shawl from its embroidered velvet bag, arrange it around his shoulders with the muttered blessing (in Hebrew): 'Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the universe, who hast sanctified us by thy commandments, and hast commanded us to enwrap ourselves in the fringed garment' (Singer, 1962, 1), and take his seat. If female, she will ascend the stairs, pausing on the return to admire an ornate stained-glass window, perhaps straighten her hat in front of the mirror in the cloakroom, and take her seat in the women's gallery, watching or participating in the service, as she sees fit, from this dress-circle.

On entering a synagogue, one can be assailed by any number of sensory perceptions, struck by the contrast between one place of worship and another, affected by surroundings that influence the act of prayer and linger in the memory for a lifetime. One might be awestruck at the magnificence surrounding one, or alternatively forced to concentrate on one's fellows and prayers, with few architectural details to serve as distractions. One might find oneself in an environment that expresses the *zeitgeist* of the present day, or one might find oneself moved, not just by the religious and spiritual context of the space, but by that very space relating more to the past, and even then, not necessarily one's own past, which fact might alienate one's immediate surroundings, a possibility suggested by Alfred Werner in his essay 'Synagogues for Today's Jews':

The old notion that a house of God must be heavily decorated, and the corollary notion that simplicity is synonymous with poverty are alien to the Jew of today. He needs no mystifying darkness. Just as the younger generation of Jews cannot go back to the exact type of religious expression of their fathers, so they cannot envisage a return to the *shuls* in which their parents used to worship. Judaism, of course, is always the same, whether practised in China or Venezuela, in the tenth or the twentieth century. But the external forms change, and a mid-twentieth century American Jew and his family might feel as bewildered in the Gothic gloom of the Altneuschul in Prague as would a resuscitated Rabbie Loew, creator of the Golem, in one of the ranch-type synagogues so common to today's America.

(Werner in Gutmann, 1975, 352)

In Terenure, it is the warm lighting and toning, blue-themed décor which give the first impressions of the place. In Adelaide Road, one was surrounded by opulence, by rich colours, gleaming brass and mahogany. Greenville Hall was cold, its high ceiling dominated by a giant circular chandelier whose bulbs were too numerous for a child to count. It smelt of damp and dust; of books and parchment, of tobacco and the floral perfumes of long-departed ladies: in short, it smelt of sanctity. By comparison, Machzikei Hadass is characterised by its strictly functional surroundings; inside, the aroma is redolent of each pickled herring and measure of whisky ever consumed within its walls, particularly when the weather is warm. Upon my raising the issue of the ambiance with one long-standing Machzikei Hadass member, his hurt response was: 'Don't you like herring?' Recently, a more pragmatic congregant commented in this regard: 'The bastards don't care; they sit there and they don't even notice!' Attractive surroundings are not always considered necessary by the congregation; in north London, the first Hendon Synagogue built in 1928 is described as 'austerely functional and could certainly not be called elegant or graceful' (Alderman, 1978, 2).

Back in Terenure, the service may be starting, or it may be half-way through, or it may be reaching the end of its three-hour duration. People are free to attend when and for as long as they choose. Providing ten Jewish males over the age of *bar*

mitzvah are present to make up the *minyan*, or quorum required for synagogue prayer, it is usual for congregants to appear and disappear without disruption to the service. People can be seen to gather in various places within the synagogue building, or in the grounds, in order to socialise. In *Synagogue Life*, Samuel Heilman provides a detailed study of his local synagogue and of the interactions among its members. He mentions various sociability spots where people are apt to congregate and talk outside the synagogue itself, including the front lobby of his synagogue, and also the cloakroom areas. In Terenure synagogue, this is also true; at any given time during the service, there will be small groups of men and women chatting in the front porch, perhaps under the pretext of rocking a pram whose occupant is asleep or scampering outside. One can find groups of children in earnest negotiations with each other on the raised *da'is* at the end of the hall. After the service, divesting themselves of their overcoats in preparation for the *kiddush*, married women, several at a time squeezed into the cramped cloakroom for a few minutes, discuss family life, birth and death, success and failure, their husbands waiting patiently outside this sanctum of female expression.

Terenure synagogue, built to accommodate 600 (Author unstated, 1979, 10), attracts weekly Sabbath congregations of between 100 and 150 worshippers. Many more flood in for festivals, especially *Rosh Hashona* and riotous *Simchas Torah* celebrations of the end of the cycle of *Torah* readings. Conversely, the twice-daily services on weekdays attract small and ever diminishing numbers.

In Orthodox synagogues in Dublin as elsewhere, men and women are segregated; current religious teaching reflects the view that: 'If, however, a pious man sees a woman while he recites the fundamental 'Shema' prayer, the orthodox believe that the sight may arouse lustful or frivolous thoughts which defile him and his prayer' (Krinsky, 1996, 28). There is no actual religious basis for this; the separation of the sexes is not mentioned in the *Torah* or in the *Mishnah*. It is thought that women's arrangements within the Orthodox synagogue have perhaps evolved from eleventh-century Islamic influences (Levine, 1981). In Dublin Orthodox synagogues, there are examples of solid partitions made of metal or wood, to galleries and token *mechitzas* made of lace, all used to segregate the genders:

A characteristic form is lent the interior structure of the synagogue of today by the women's section, which is usually located on a gallery. This was not always so, for old synagogues have the space for the women behind that for the men on the same floor. It cannot have originated in the institution of the Court of Women in the Temple, for that court served only to bound the area that the women were permitted to enter; it did not belong exclusively to women, for men could also stay in it, and actually had to use it as a passage if they wanted to gain access to the sacrificial altar.

(Elbogen, 1972, 357)

Small synagogues, such as Machzikei Hadass, devote a few rows of seating at the back of the synagogue to female worshippers; the women's section is demarcated by a *mechitzah* represented by a white net curtain. The men in the Machzikei Hadass use this section as a passage, not to the sacrificial altar, but to the kitchen to refresh themselves during the service, sometimes remaining to chat with wives or friends.



Fig. 3(vi) View of the *mechitzah* in Machzikei Hadass synagogue.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 11/06/10)

Walworth Road synagogue was configured in the same way as the Machzekei Hadass; the *mechitzah* is now hidden behind glass cases forming part of the display at the Irish

Jewish Museum. In Terenure synagogue, the women's gallery is towards the rear of the synagogue, the rows of seats tiered, all facing the same direction, East, towards the Jerusalem and facing the Ark which houses the sacred *Torah*. The fact that the seats are tiered is not universally popular as, while those in the front rows feel more engaged with the service, people at the back, especially on occasions when the synagogue is full, such as *Kol Nidrei* (the service held in the evening before *Yom Kippur*), can feel rather isolated. As Karen Walsh remarked of the seating arrangements in the women's gallery in Terenure: 'It's a bit like being at the theatre!' (in conversation, 6th June 2009).

In both Adelaide Road and Greenville Hall Synagogues, the women's galleries ran around three sides, omitting the fourth, east wall; in Adelaide Road, a small choir balcony occupied the space above the Ark, while in Greenville Hall, whose Ark soared almost to the ceiling, this space was left free. According to Stanley Siev's recollections of Lombard Street West synagogue: 'The ladies sat upstairs, like in Terenure. Of course, the balcony was much smaller...not many ladies attended on an ordinary *Shabbos*' (in conversation, 20th January 2008). Traditionally, there is no actual imperative for women to attend services: 'Jewish law exempts women from required attendance because of their domestic obligations' (Krinsky, 1996, 28). However, reasons for this lack of female attendance at Lombard Street West may have extended further than the usual domestic chores of the time, such as minding children or preparing the Sabbath midday meal. Shirley Samuelson, who occasionally used to attend this synagogue with her grandfather when she was a small child, in the early 1940s, recalled: 'It was so dark and dirty, very austere, yes, an austere kind of place. There was dust everywhere' (in conversation, 1st February 2008). Michael Coleman also informed me that little was done to enhance the comfort of the women in this congregation: 'The ladies sat upstairs, in their balcony. Do you know they had a metal *mehitzah*, made of chain-mail!' (in conversation, 11th June 2008).



Fig. 3(vii) A view of the women's gallery in the former Lombard St West synagogue, now a furniture showroom. Note the chain-mail *mechitzah* has been replaced with an iron railing. (Photograph: M. Brown, 15/11/10).

In Dublin synagogues with a three-sided gallery, it was normal for women to sit on the opposite side from male family members, so all parties could surreptitiously greet each other, exchange discreet messages and frown at recalcitrant children [this was certainly true of Greenville Hall, where I attended as a child]. In the event of a bereavement the family would swap sides, so that the empty seat of the departed would not have to be gazed upon. Nowadays, in Terenure on such occasions, bereaved family members often move to a different row of seats for the mourning period of *shaloshim* (thirty days after a death), and then return to their normal seats. Although seating is no longer assigned, most men and women gravitate to the same seat every week; this territory tends to be respected by all other regular congregants. If one regards the congregation of Terenure synagogue seated, participating (or not) in the service, eventually a small number of seating clusters will become apparent. Perhaps it is a coincidence that most of the men and boys in the rows to the right of the Ark are pupils or alumni of Sandford Park School. A little further back, and also to the right are seated most of those congregants who are dentists. To the rear of the synagogue, near the doors, a species of Hebrew can be heard other than the Lithuanian-inflected biblical Hebrew used in prayer; this is where a number of ex-pat Israeli men sit together. One particular row of seats upstairs in the women's gallery

is sacrosanct to teenaged girls; another, further towards the front is a bastion of former Adelaide Road members, their heads always covered in deference to the sign which no longer hangs in their old synagogue.

Difficulties arise when visitors to the synagogue unknowingly commit the solecism of taking a seat “belonging” to somebody else. In Terenure synagogue, it is a frequent occurrence for strangers to be politely but firmly ejected from the seats habitually guarded by the womenfolk of one particular family. In the Machzikei Hadass, where few women’s seats are ever occupied but where gentlemen’s seating is at a premium, more than once I have seen confusion on the face of a particular member who, when returning to his seat after having been called up to the *bimah*, discovers this to have been taken by a stranger. Too mannerly to object, he retires, sulking, to a seat in the corner. This exemplifies the claim that:

The only people in shul without shabbos seats are strangers, newcomers, and guests. The stranger is a potential threat to the integrity of sections. Because of his ignorance, he may invade one without meaning to do so and jar its entire structure.

(Heilman, 1976, 37)

An extreme example of this occurred in Terenure synagogue, on June 24th, 2006, an unusually warm, sunny Saturday morning. Raymond Wasserman walked to the synagogue from his home around two km. away, as was his custom every Saturday morning. He arrived at the synagogue at around 9.05 a.m., and joined a small group of others inside the building; morning prayers had not yet started, as there were not yet ten men present to make up the required *minyan*, or quorum. Ten minutes later, Raymond had quietly died in his seat. [I chanced to enter the synagogue premises as an ambulance was being sought; on being told briefly what had happened, I fetched a family doctor who lived around the corner. By the time we returned, the ambulance had arrived, and Raymond Wasserman had been carried out of the synagogue]. My father, who had been sitting near to Raymond when this happened, was very troubled; it was cathartic for him to tell the family of what he had seen, later that day, and subsequently:

There were just a few of us, we were all just sitting around...Raymond was in his seat. He made this choking noise, like this...but he didn't say anything. And he started choking again, and Adrian [sitting opposite] called out 'Ray, are you alright?' And he didn't say anything, and Adrian came over, and said 'We'd better get a doctor,' and he went outside...Then Cyril [a doctor, and member of the congregation] came in and looked at him, but he didn't do anything or touch him...and he went outside to tell Tom [the security guard] to call an ambulance...There was nothing any of us could do...and then they came in and took him away...Later on, this tourist came in, and he sat down in Raymond's seat (in conversation, June 24th 2006 and June 3rd, 2010).

After Raymond had been brought to hospital, the service resumed. Naturally, his death was the principal topic of conversation for all present, as many people, unknowing of the circumstances, had turned up for the service as usual, and had been obliged to wait until the ambulance had left before they were able to enter the synagogue. Two divergent opinions eventually emerged; some felt it was a terrible, ignominious way to die, sitting up in a public place, while others thought that it was the perfect way to die, tranquilly in a holy place, surrounded by those who knew him. An inescapable part of communal life is that one is present at the major events in the lives of other members of the community, revelling in their celebrations and sharing their grief; administering tea to a fraught mother-of-the-bride a few hours before the wedding, or watching silently in the presence of death during that mystical period between passing and burial in which the dead person may not be left alone. Perhaps for this reason, the synagogue, that millennia-old locus of Jewish ritual and hegemony, is not an inappropriate place from which to make the final exit.

Returning to the usual Saturday morning events at Terenure synagogue, and having installed themselves in their padded dark-blue vinyl seats (Adelaide Road members luxuriated upon red velvet, while congregants in the other synagogues perched on bare wood, as do those in Machzikei Hadass), the worshippers in Terenure can take stock of their surroundings, before concentrating on the order of service taking place. Basking in coloured light streaming through the stained-glass windows in the north

and south walls, they can survey the *Aron Chodesh*, or Ark. In the local Lithuanian/Dublin pronunciation this is interpreted as “*Owr’n Chowd’sh*”, spoken rapidly so that the vowels elide and accents land on the first syllable of each word. In Terenure, the *Sifrei Torah* in their ornate velvet wrappings are guarded by two huge lions (symbolizing the Lions of Judah) with which the doors of the Ark are decorated; the doors to the Arks in other Dublin synagogues are (and were) of unadorned polished wood.



Fig. 3(viii) The Lions of Judah portrayed on the doors of the Ark in Terenure Synagogue. (Photograph: M. Brown, 15/07/10).

As well as the doors, a curtain hangs between the space occupied by the *Sifrei Torah* and the space occupied by people, separating the holy from the profane, the *chol* from the *chodesh*.

Above the Ark in all synagogues, both in Dublin and elsewhere are two inscriptions, both in Hebrew. One, usually carved or painted onto the fabric of the Ark, reads: “Know Before Whom You Stand”; the other represents the tablets bearing the Ten Commandments. This is true of the first purpose-built synagogue building in the British Isles, at Bevis Marks in London (established in 1657, completed in 1701):

The magnificent wooden Ark (or cupboard) resembling a reredos, at the east end, is built in classical architecture in the manner of Sir Christopher Wren's time. It contains (as is the custom in Jewish synagogues) the sacred scrolls of the Pentateuch, or five books of Moses, written in Hebrew on parchment, which are read in consecutive instalments over the period of a year as the central feature of the Sabbath Service...The entablature of the Ark has as its central feature the Ten Commandments written in Hebrew (abbreviated), above which are inscribed in Hebrew the words "Know before Whom thou standeth".

(Barnett and Levy, 1970, 8-9)



Fig. 3(ix) The huge, ornate wooden Ark at Bevis Marks synagogue, London.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 09/05/11).

In a small synagogue such as the Machzekei Hadass in Dublin, the Ark is correspondingly sized.



Fig. 3(x) The Ark at *Machzekei Hadass* synagogue.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 11/06/10).

Suspended from the ceiling directly in front of the Ark in all synagogues is the *ner tamid*, symbolising the light given by the *Torah* (Pearl and Brookes, 1978). This is the case in Terenure, the red bulb inside the silver lampshade casting a dim, subtle glow over the Ark. A little to the left side of the Ark, facing the congregation are desks for the cantor and rabbis; to the left of these is a pulpit, from where the rabbi delivers a sermon. To the right is a huge free-standing *menorah*, in front of which are two seats, separate from the others, where members of the synagogue executive council are privileged to sit.



Fig. 3(xi) A view of the interior of Terenure synagogue.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 24/12/10).

The Ark is such an important feature that even its absence can dominate a room, as in the former Lombard Street West synagogue, where the space once occupied by the Ark has prominence. The interior of Lombard Street West synagogue was once described to me in some detail by Stanley Siev. He particularly mentioned the Ark, of which he stated:

The Ark was magnificent. It was high, it went right up to the ceiling, there were four steps up to the platform [the space for people to stand directly in front of the Ark]. I think it was made of mahogany (in conversation, 20 January 2008).

At the time of this interview, I had never seen inside Lombard Street West synagogue, which closed many years before I was born. However, in November 2010, I had the good fortune to be permitted entry to the former synagogue building, where I instantly verified Mr Siev's description, discovering the original mahogany pelmet as he had indicated near the ceiling, overhanging the space obviously vacated by the Ark, and lovingly maintained by the current (non-Jewish) owners.



Fig. 3(xii) The space formerly occupied by the Ark at Lombard Street West synagogue, the original pelmet still intact circa 50 years after the synagogue closed.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 15/11/10).

The *bimah* is placed in the centre of Dublin's Orthodox synagogues and is elevated by three steps, from where the service is led by the cantor, who faces the Ark. The *bimah* is often given prominence by means of extra light, and by a railing or low partition. In Terenure, standard-lamps are placed on the *bimah*, and it is surrounded by a shining brass rail. In the Machzikei Hadass, the ceiling is sky-lit above the *bimah*, which is itself partitioned on three sides from the rest of the gentlemen's seating area.

In Greenville Hall, a huge chandelier descended from the high ceiling, radiating its light onto the *bimah* which had steps leading up to it on both sides. The *minhag* of that synagogue was that one descended the steps on the opposite side from which one had ascended.



**Fig. 3(xiii) View of *bimah* and *Ark* in Greenville Hall synagogue.
(Photograph: Mark Restan, 1983, courtesy of Irish Jewish Museum).**

Often in Orthodox synagogues, especially in the British Isles, the male congregation is arranged in three sides of a square with the *bimah* in the middle, and the east side left free of rows of seating so as not to obscure the Ark. This results in most congregants facing others across the room, thus maintaining personal contact with those opposite, as well as with those beside or near whom they are sitting, facilitating constant human interaction within the ritual space.

The cantor may stand alone on the *bimah*, or depending on which point in the service has been reached, he may be joined by a variety of others: the rabbi; a member of the synagogue council; a member of the congregation acting as *gabbai*, facilitating the calling-up of other men to make blessings over the *Sefer Torah*; another member who has been called up for *aliyah* to perform this act. After the *Torah* reading, there will be someone who performs *hagbah*. During *hagbah*, the *Sefer Torah* is raised high above the head of the person chosen to perform this ritual. He turns around while holding the *Sefer Torah* aloft, and it can be seen to be open at the portion which has just been read. While this takes place, the congregation stands and sings a brief chorus which translates as ‘This is the Law, which Moses placed before the Family of Israel’ (Singer, 1962, 198). After this, another person is required to perform *gelilah*, dressing the *Sefer Torah* in its decorative clothing and ornate silver finials. Later,

another will recite *haftorah*. Towards the end of the service, a small boy leads the concluding hymn *Anim Zemirot* from the *bimah*. Additionally, the *shammas* who assists in organising all these people may also take his place on the *bimah* from time to time. Participation is required from many people during the course of the service, in order that each section of the service runs smoothly. In Orthodox synagogues across the British Isles, the *bimah* is not usually very large, and can appear rather crowded at certain points during the service. Rev. Alwyn Shulman, the cantor in Terenure, and formerly the cantor in Adelaide Road, complained: ‘The Adelaide Road *bimah* was far too small! In that great big *shul*, why did they have such a small *bimah*?’ (in conversation, 18th January, 2009).

Given the significance of the *bimah* as part of the synagogue ritual, it is not surprising that its appearance, and especially its topographical positioning are crucial in ensuring that services are conducted to the mutual satisfaction of the congregation and the cantor or other who is leading the service:

Every synagogue has its cause célèbre. Hendon has had several. But none has aroused greater passion than the Bimah controversy. When the synagogue was built the Bimah was not erected in the centre of it, but in front of the Ark, and it was from there that the services and Reading of the Law were conducted. Exactly why this was done remains something of a mystery. Probably it was felt that this arrangement made for the greatest amount of seating accommodation in the body of the building. The effect was to make the Reader remote from the congregation. Some members felt, over the years, that this gave both him and the Minister an enhanced sense of leadership; others felt, equally strongly, that it made the Reader seem aloof, and turned the congregation into a mere audience. But there was little doubt that that the arrangement, which smacked of the Reform movement, was against traditional practice, and was contrary to the opinion of Maimonides; and what doubt there was, was silenced when the late Isaac Herzog, the Ashkenazi Chief Rabbi of Israel, invited to preach from the Raleigh Close pulpit, chose to criticise the arrangement in unambiguous terms. It was then only a

matter of time, and money, before the Bimah was moved...In 1962 the Board approved plans, involving no loss of seats, to move the Bimah to the centre of the synagogue.

(Alderman, 1978, 11-12)

In the Dublin Progressive Hebrew Congregation, services are led and readings performed from in front of the Ark, directed towards the entire congregation; all seats face towards the Ark, in rows.



Fig. 3(xiv) The Ark at the Dublin Jewish Progressive Congregation, with rows of seats facing it.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 26/11/10).

In Dublin's Orthodox synagogues, virtually all of the Sabbath service is sung, either by one of the many people taking their turn on the *bimah*, or by the congregation. According to Rev. Shulman, the reason for this is that music "uplifts the soul" (in conversation, 6th July 2007). His opinion is endorsed thus: 'There is an ancient Jewish tradition: "There are two gateways that open into heaven; one the gateway of prayer; the other the gateway of song."' (Goldstein, 1955, 33) However, in the background will be the sound of dozens of *sotto voce* conversations between members, the volume occasionally rising sufficiently for the cantor to pause, exasperated, until a temporary hush prompts him to continue his prayers. The hubbub of voices, combined with the cantor's melody, can be soporific. On one occasion, I

entered Machzikei Hadass to be greeted by the sound of deafening snoring; the other men were too polite or timid to wake the two sleepers. Sometimes such interruptions can be more stimulating; I have vivid childhood memories of the spirited rows that would take place between the late cantor in Greenville Hall, Rev. Abraham Gittleson, and his scornful younger brother Harry who would taunt him loudly and continually ('You're wrong, Abie!' 'Shut up, Harry!') from the back of the synagogue.



Fig. 3(xv) Rev. Abraham Gittleson, circa 1983, cantor at Greenville Hall synagogue.

(Photograph courtesy of the Irish Jewish Museum).

In Dublin a high level of participation is expected on the part of the congregation in addition to the singing heard from the *bimah*. This occasionally elicits surprise from visitors. Recently, the point was made to me by a female *Lubavitch* visitor to Terenure synagogue: 'I'm not used to this amount of singing, I don't think I've ever experienced this amount of *chazzonit!*' Thus in the synagogues of Dublin, music is strongly identified as being integral to religious services. Melodies and chants, rarely notated, are remembered over years of listening and repetition and often these facilitate the learning of the many different prayers, psalms and blessings, given that few members of congregations in Dublin are native Hebrew speakers. It is the music, together with the environment, the people and the very texts themselves, which provides a continuous thread, however fine, weaving through the history of any community. In the case of the Jewish community of Dublin, this suggests that

there may be a musical legacy left by the eastern European immigrants of century ago:

Frequently, in the popular imagination, it is oral tradition that allows a community or culture to believe that some core of musical practices from the past – some essence of past – remains intact in the present.

(Bohlman in Barz and Cooley, 2008, 254)

Orthodox synagogue music in Dublin consists of a fusion of styles and tonalities. Hymns of a genre found in a nineteenth century Protestant hymnal can be heard, as well as the ancient melodic phrases on which each reading from the *Torah* is based, pentatonic scales, Hebrew modes with their augmented intervals, and occasionally a whimsical adaptation of a popular song or excerpt from an opera. This presupposes that a deep knowledge of the musical styles within the synagogue is held by all or at least most of those who worship there. No instrumental accompaniment is permitted in Dublin's Orthodox synagogues on the Sabbath or during holy days:

In Temple days a number of musical instruments were employed, as is evident from descriptions in the Bible and the verses in many of the psalms that form part of the ritual. But for a long period after the destruction of the Temple musical instruments were banned from the Synagogue, partly because their playing seemed a violation of the law of the Sabbath, and partly because it seemed inconsistent to play them during the period of Exile and national mourning for the destruction of the Temple and the dispersion of the people.

(Goldstein, 1955, 32-33)

The various elements of the service include long, often melismatic solo passages sung by the cantor; passages from the Torah which are sung to prescribed musical phrases known as *te'amim*; passages which require a musical response from the congregation; strophic hymns in which everybody joins; everything in Hebrew. There are also periods of silent prayer. The congregation stands during some parts of the service, especially when the Ark is opened, and is seated for others.

In Terenure synagogue, the only parts of the Orthodox Sabbath service heard in English are the rabbi's sermon (the rabbi seldom attends the Machzekei Hadass synagogue) and the Prayer for the President of Ireland, delivered by the rabbi or cantor. This is a gesture towards the world inhabited outside prayer, where the English language is the medium through which most of the congregation communicate. Many rabbis have been affiliated to Dublin synagogues over the years, and the position of Orthodox Chief Rabbi (currently vacant since the retirement of Chief Rabbi Ya'acov Pearlman in 2008) is a high-profile one, requiring a tremendous degree of learnedness in all matters relating to the Jewish religion, as well as the ability to represent the Jewish community to the broader Ireland which it inhabits. An Orthodox rabbi's role does not resemble that of a priest in a Christian context; neither can he join those who belong to the *Cohenim* to deliver the Priestly Blessing, unless he happens to be a *Cohen*, born into that caste; nor is he a spiritual leader. He is "a repository of Jewish learning" (Wagner, 1997, 22) and fulfils other more pastoral duties within a community. There is currently one rabbi serving the Orthodox Jewish community in Dublin, namely Rabbi Zalman Lent, who moved here from London in 2000, along with his wife Rivky and their young family. They are one of only two *Lubavitch* families permanently living Ireland at the present time. Rabbi Lent's appearance is striking, with his bushy beard and wide black hat. Within the synagogue, he rarely leads a service; other than delivering his weekly sermon, he prefers to assume an advisory role.

3.4 Structure of the Orthodox Sabbath Service

3.4.1 Outlining the Orthodox Sabbath Service in Dublin

The Jewish Sabbath begins at sundown on Friday evening, and continues throughout Saturday until sundown on Saturday evening. The Sabbath is fixed and unchanging, unlike other dates and festivals, which, in the Western calendar, are moveable according to the phases of the moon.

Sabbath observation differs from individual to individual. Those Orthodox Jews who are strictly *shomer Shabbat* will obey all injunctions regarding the proscription of work on the Sabbath day; in practice, these include (but are not limited to) a refusal to drive a car, to carry objects, to operate electrical items (including light-switches and televisions). This is in an effort to distance themselves from everyday life, to rise above the constraints and expectations imposed by modern life. However, many people, although following Orthodox traditions in other respects, may observe some, or none of the above. The writer A. J. Jacobs describes his feelings in strictly observing the Sabbath for the first time in his adult life:

This is what the Sabbath should feel like. A pause. Not just a minor pause, but a major pause. Not just a lowering of the volume, but a muting.

(Jacobs, 2008, 124)

The contemporary Sabbath morning service practised by Orthodox *Ashkenazi* Jews across the British Isles follows a particular sequence of events, with minor variations depending on the congregation. These variations contribute to the *minhag* of each individual congregation. This service is very much longer, and attended by greater numbers of people than weekday morning services, whose reasons for attending Sabbath services differ depending on their religious attitudes:

The purpose of worship may change in emphasis from time to time. It is true that some people attend religious services solely as a matter of habit; and that some attend out of respect for their parents, or because of a desire for social contacts, or in search of recreation. But there are others who realize that worship has other purposes and can serve them in other ways. The purpose of worship, as we now understand it, is not single but manifold.

(Goldstein, 1955, 34)

While each congregation observes its own traditions, there will be changes from time to time which do not appear to interfere unduly with the familiar, constant nature of the Sabbath service. These include the *Torah* reading which must change each week.

They also include the use of different melodies to which certain prayers are sung each week (most synagogues possess a repertoire of many such tunes; texts can be forced to fit an infinity of musical phrases). Sometimes the introduction of new material into the repertoire can cause tensions; my sister, Fiona Brown, recalls arguments between the aforementioned Rev. Gittleson and members of his congregation, in Greenville Hall in this regard:

I remember one *Shabbos* when Rev. Gittleson tried to introduce a new tune for...what was it...I think it was *Adon Olam*, and someone, I think it was Mr Segal, went mad and yelled out 'That's not our tune!' (in conversation, 20th June 2006).

Worshippers in the synagogue equip themselves with two books, the Authorised Daily Prayerbook known as the *siddur*, and the *Torah* presented in book form rather than in a scroll, known as the *Chumash*. Most congregants use books provided by the synagogue; some prefer to use their own books. The actual Orthodox synagogue liturgy is mainly distilled from the *Torah*, supplemented with psalms and direct petitions to the Almighty:

The liturgy is based on the Bible. Not only is it saturated with the Biblical spirit, with its ideas and ideals, but whole sections of the Bible are incorporated into the liturgy. There are in our liturgy the *Shema*, verses of song, the Song of the Sea, the nucleus of the *Kedusha*, the Priestly Benediction, the Scriptural readings. Furthermore, the *Seliha* is drawn from Biblical passages.

(Idelsohn, 1932, 32)

The following provides an outline of the Sabbath service in Terenure synagogue. The order in which this takes place is usually consistent with the following:

Shachrit (Morning Prayers)

Introductory *brochas*

Tehillim

Kaddish

Shema

Amidah

Kedushah

Kaddish

Torah Service

Removal of the *Sefer Torah* from the Ark

Leining of the *sedra*

Haftorah

Prayer for the President of Ireland

Replacing the *Sefer Torah* in the Ark

Rabbi's sermon followed by *Kaddish*

Mussaf (Additional Service)

Amidah

Kedusha

Mourners' *Kaddish*

Concluding hymns

3.4.2 *Shachrit* (known locally as *Shachris*)

Followed from the *siddur*, this opens with a series of introductory *brochas*, often led by a member of the congregation other than the cantor, from the *bimah*. After this, the cantor ascends the *bimah*, and commences the section of the service in praise of God. Much of this section is derived from the Book of Psalms, or *Tehillim*. After this, there is a recitation of the *kaddish*, a short prayer which can take up to five forms, one of whose functions is to delineate different parts of the service. This is followed by the *Shema* (which is itself a statement of the central monotheistic principles of Judaism) and its accompanying blessings. Following this is the *Amidah* (standing prayer), intoned silently, during which the congregation stands and faces east towards

Jerusalem. The cantor gauges the amount of time most people take to complete the silent prayer, after which he begins to recite it aloud. During the cantor's recitation, an extra section known as the *kedusha* is inserted; this requires a great deal of response from the congregation. If certain festivals coincide with the Sabbath, then an extra prayer known as *hallel* is inserted after the *kedusha*. This section of the Sabbath service concludes with a recitation of the *kaddish*.

3.4.3 Torah Service

The Ark is opened by a member of the congregation honoured to do so, and a *Sefer Torah* is removed and borne to the *bimah*, often by the cantor, to accompanying blessings. The Ark is then closed. The *Sefer Torah* will have been rolled up and clothed in embroidered silk or velvet since the previous time it was taken from the Ark. It is necessary to remove these wrappings, lay the *Sefer Torah* on the large desk on the *bimah*, and unroll it until the relevant passage for the weekly *sedra* is located. The cantor then undertakes the *leining* (cantillating) of the *sedra*. At this point, the worshipper will take a *Chumash* in order to follow the *sedra*. Each *sedra* has seven sections. At the start of each section, a different member of the congregation is called up to the *bimah* for an *aliyah* in order to bless the *Sefer Torah*. It is considered an honour to be called up, and those who are called up are requested to donate to one of the charities organised by the community (the act of charitable giving is known as *tzedakah*). The *maftir* (last man to be called up) is often given the additional honour of reading the *haftorah*, a passage from the Book of Prophets which corresponds with the *sedra*. When the reading of the *sedra* is completed, another man is invited to hold the *Sefer Torah* aloft as part of the ritual of *hagbah*. Each *sedra* has a corresponding *haftorah*, read by a male member of the congregation over the age of thirteen, or alternatively by a *bar mitzvah* boy. After the *haftorah* is read, the rituals of *hagbah* and *gelilah* are performed, after which the Prayer for the President of Ireland is read, in English, by the rabbi. The *Sefer Torah* is then carried back to the Ark in a procession consisting of cantor, rabbi, men who have been called up, and members of the congregation who wish to follow. Again, the Ark is opened to receive the *Sefer Torah* which is ceremoniously placed inside, and the Ark is closed. This process takes place to the accompaniment of prayers sung by the congregation.

3.6.4 The Sermon

After the Sefer Torah has been replaced and the various people have returned to their seats, the rabbi will usually deliver a sermon, in English. It is the rabbi's prerogative to choose his subject matter; very often, it relates to his interpretation of the week's *sedra*. It is usual, out of respect, for the congregation to remain silent during the sermon, and often, children are removed from the synagogue for its duration. Upon completion of the sermon, the cantor recites the *kaddish* again.

3.6.5 *Mussaf*

Mussaf (usually read as *Mussaph* in Dublin as it is spelt thus in the various editions of the Singer *siddur* in common use) is also known as the Additional Service. It begins with a silent *Amidah*, and the cantor's repetition of this, complete with *kedusha*. This is followed by *Ein Keloheinu*, the first of the three concluding hymns sung by the congregation. After this, there is another version of the *kaddish*, recited by people either in their first year of bereavement or marking the anniversary of the death of a close family member. Certain psalms are then read, and the mourners' *kaddish* is read again, other psalms are read and the mourner's *kaddish* is recited a third time. Then the opportunity is given to any of the younger boys sufficiently skilled, to lead *Anim Zemirot*, the second concluding hymn, from the *bimah*, the verses of which are sung alternately by the child and the congregation. It is usual, during this hymn, for other children to be permitted to open the Ark beforehand, and to close it when the hymn finishes. As soon as the Ark is closed, the mourners' *kaddish* is repeated for the last time. A member of the Synagogue Council will then stand and read out any notices of interest to the congregation, such as forthcoming festivals or events. Finally, *Adon Olam*, the last of the concluding hymns, is sung by the congregation, after which everybody repairs to the hall for *kiddush*.

As mentioned above, other services take place within the synagogue. These can be longer (in the case of festivals, including those which fall upon the Sabbath), or shorter (in the case of the daily morning and evening services. They can be much more sombre in mood, as in the case of *Yom Kippur* and *Tish B'Av* (a universal day of mourning for the loss of the Temple), or joyous and celebratory, as in the case of *Simchas Torah*. Hence there are different moods of which worshippers are aware, during prayer; this has been the case since the days of the Temple: 'The experience of

the individual worshipper was altogether different on the days of festivals' (Goodman in Day, 2005, 462). No Orthodox service, whether on a weekday, holy day or on the Sabbath, can begin until the *minyan* of ten Jewish men or boys who have reached *bar mitzvah* age have assembled.



Fig. 3(xvi) *Minyan* at Terenure synagogue.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 17/06/10).

3.4.6 Attaining Religious Majority in Orthodox Jewish Dublin

If a boy in the congregation is celebrating the attainment of his majority (in a religious context), he will have reached the age of thirteen in the days prior to this particular Sabbath. He will be required to read the *haftorah* as a sign that he is ready to assume his adult responsibilities (again, in a religious context). The Sabbath on which this occurs is known as his *bar mitzvah*.

Until around ten years ago in the Orthodox synagogues of Dublin, it was common for the *bar mitzvah* boy to perform the *leining* of the *sedra*, as well as reading the *haftorah*, which is common practice in Orthodox synagogues elsewhere. Nowadays in Dublin, the *bar mitzvah* ceremony usually follows a standard course of events with the boy reading only *maftir* (the final section of the *sedra*) and *haftorah*.

Occasionally in Dublin, it is the case that boys who are fully Jewish according to Orthodox *halachah* but whose parents choose not to observe most religious practices,

wish to participate in a *bar mitzvah* ceremony in the Orthodox synagogue. On two such occasions which I have attended, the boys had not prepared *maftir* or *haftarah*, but received *aliyah* and performed a blessing over the *Sefer Torah*. In Dublin, the *bar mitzvah* ceremony is closely identified with the middle section of the Sabbath service which involves the *Torah* readings; no other part of the service is affected by the presence of a *bar mitzvah* boy.

The *bat mitzvah* or *bat chayil* ceremony applies to girls reaching the age of religious majority at twelve years. Unlike the *bar mitzvah*, the format of which has become predictable over time, Orthodox *bat chayil* ceremonies in Dublin vary considerably from year to year, and have done so since the ceremony was adopted within the community in 1978 (Benson, 2007). There have been group ceremonies involving girls between the ages of twelve and fifteen who were given a blessing in the synagogue on a Sunday. Such a ceremony followed a year of preparation, the classes attended in conjunction with the usual *cheder* lessons. There have also been group ceremonies in which the girls were all twelve years old, dressed in matching skirts and blouses, and received a similar blessing in the synagogue on a Sunday. The above always took place in Adelaide Road synagogue until its closure, notwithstanding whether or not the girls' families customarily worshipped there. More recently, group events have taken place at Terenure synagogue during which the twelve-year-old girls have been invited into the men's area of the synagogue on a Saturday morning at the conclusion of the Sabbath service to receive their blessing, after which, during the customary *kiddush* after the service, an exhibition of their project work was displayed in the synagogue hall. The most recent *bat chayil* ceremonies have catered for each individual girl as she has attained the age of twelve. On these occasions, the girl has taken her place in the men's section of the synagogue on a Saturday morning, after the service has concluded, and has given a discourse on the weekly *sedra* from the rabbi's pulpit.

3.5 The Cantor

While others take an active role in the Sabbath service proceedings, it is the cantor who is central, upholding tradition, maintaining musical continuity with the past (or not, as he sees fit), dictating melody and tonality, orchestrating the interplay between himself and the congregation, governing how quickly or slowly the service will be completed. In the Orthodox community in Dublin, the rabbi and the cantor assume different but complementary roles. The rabbi's duty within a congregation is to preach; his role within a community is pastoral (Wagner, 1997). In the past, the Chief Rabbi of Ireland, invariably based in Dublin, fulfilled these duties and also engaged with the wider Irish community. However, the cantor, also known as the *chazzan*, is the professional reader engaged by a congregation to conduct services. He is required:

...to have a beautiful voice, an intimate knowledge of all the special services, and (because the cantor represents the congregation regularly) an excellent moral character.

(ibid, 57)

Often in larger Orthodox congregations, two cantors share the workload. (This was the case in Adelaide Road synagogue in Dublin when the community was larger than it currently is, until the 1980s). The senior cantor, known as the *Chazzan Rishon*, will lead the principal services and may represent the community at ecumenical services, while the second cantor, or *Chazzan Sheni*, may lead daily services, and might also fulfil other functions within the community, including education and outreach. There are congregations which do not engage the services of a cantor, such as the Machzikei Hadass; in such synagogues, lay-members of the congregation who possess sufficient skill, do so. Such a person is known as a *ba'al tefilah*.

Many cantors have lived and worked in Dublin, officiating in the various synagogues, small and large. All of them colourful characters, they have generated many of the affectionate anecdotes which abound within the community. There was the cantor in Lombard Street West synagogue in the early 1930s, name now lost and forgotten, who, upon failing to kneel down when required to do so at a particular point in the

Yom Kippur service known as *Avodah*, was forced to the floor by the rabbi who was present. There was Rev. Semiatan, cantor at St. Kevin's Parade synagogue until 1925, who self-published a book of his own melodies for the Sabbath service, and who occasionally forayed on to the professional concert platform with his repertoire of Italian arias. There was Rev. Bryll, French as distinct from the usual Hungarian and Lithuanian cantors in Dublin at that time, who directed a male-voice choir in Greenville Hall in the 1930s, and who conducted a high-profile romantic liaison with Dina Copeman, (who later became a concert pianist and Professor of Pianoforte at the Royal Irish Academy of Music) before he left Dublin to pursue a long teaching career at Jews' College, London. There was Rev. Gluck who revelled in his promotion to *Chazzan Rishon* in Adelaide Road synagogue in the 1950s, apparently a giant step up from his previous post outside Ireland. There was Rev. Segal, on the *bimah* when caught in the crossfire during a violent chestnut-battle among children during a Sabbath service in Greenville Hall synagogue in the early 1950s, who lost his *yarmulke* and his temper, ordering the immediate ejection of every child for the remainder of the service. There was the tragic story of Rev. Freilich who, not long before the Passover in 1949, dragged himself from his deathbed to his post at the *bimah* in Adelaide Road synagogue in order to lead a service, succumbing days later to the cancer which killed him at the cruelly early age of 38. These are but a few of Dublin's cantors from the past.

There was a brief interval of time between Rev. Freilich's final appearance in the synagogue, and his death, unlike the economical epitaph on another, older member of the cantorial fraternity in London: 'Hazzan A. Shechter of Westcliff had been appointed as Reader in 1929. He died, on the Alemar (*bimah*), at the end of what he had intended to be his last service prior to retirement' (Renton, 2000, 153).

Cantors are generally identified very strongly with the synagogues and congregations whom they serve, becoming part of the fabric of the institution in the same way as the Ark or the *bimah*. The cantor's personality and mood is reflected by the congregation; his beneficence leads to a relaxed, contented atmosphere within the synagogue; his strong leadership engenders confident, unified congregational responses. Often the respect he receives from his congregation is in proportion to his commitment to them and the synagogue itself, and it is he who guards and maintains

individual synagogue *minhag*. This can be observed in the case of gallant Oberkantor Davidsohn, during the horrific events of *Kristallnacht* in Germany on November 9th, 1938:

In Berlin, as fire took hold of the magnificent Fasanenstrasse Synagogue and while a crowd gathered to watch a group of frenzied youths defile Torah scrolls and rabbinical garments outside, Oberkantor Magnus Davidsohn, already in his sixties, ignored protestations and ran into the burning building. Having served that Synagogue for over a quarter of a century, he was determined to rescue whatever he could from the flames. Principal among the items he saved were choral books and scores, mostly featuring the musical arrangements of Lewandowski and Sulzer. To this day the service at Belsize Square Synagogue remain steeped in the tradition of Louis Lewandowski's own compositions and his adaptation of works by Saloman Sulzer. The revival of these melodies and of the musical heritage of the German *Liberale* movement owes much to the singular selfless act of Magnus Davidsohn. When the fire finally died he returned to the site and said Kaddish over the ashes.

(Godfrey, 2005, 9)

The two most obvious aspects of Oberkantor Davidsohn's attitude to this, his synagogue, which he had served for so many years, are firstly, his attachment to the physical, organic religious items which he risked his life to save, and secondly, that he mourned the loss of the synagogue in the way in which he would have mourned the loss of a close relative, reciting *Kaddish* (the mourner's prayer) at the smouldering "graveside". Even after part of the congregation of Fasanenstrasse synagogue had reconvened in Belsize Square, north London in the period following *Kristallnacht*, his was a dominant presence, a link with the past, a beacon for the future:

Oberkantor Davidsohn was considerably broader and taller than the Rabbi. In his black gown, with his flowing white hair and beak-like nose, he cut both a dashing and at the same time a quite fearful figure...The Cantor's beautiful baritone voice gave colour and

expression to the Lewandowski compositions, a quality that alone could transport the dark thoughts of those in attendance on to a higher, brighter plain.

(ibid, 47)

In Dublin, the present incumbent, South African-born Rev. Alwyn Shulman, arrived in Dublin in 1991 with his wife, Nurit, and their three small sons (in conversation, 24th January 2007). Originally engaged by the Adelaide Road congregation, the community was fortunate that, upon the closure of Adelaide Road in 1999, the Shulman family decided to remain in Dublin. Rev. Shulman is the sole cantor in Dublin, combining religious, pastoral and teaching duties. Reluctant to comment upon his heavy workload, he leads most services in the synagogue. Additionally, he is responsible for the teaching of *bar mitzvah* boys during their year of instruction prior to the event, and is available to answer all queries on religious matters. He acts as *misgeach*, supervising the preparation of *kosher* food served at social functions and at institutions such as the Jewish retirement home in Dublin. He is a hospital chaplain, consoling the sick, and performs the sacred task of burying the dead with dignity and compassion. On occasion, he is called upon to represent the community at public ceremonial events, such as the National Day of Commemoration which took place at the Royal Hospital, Kilmainham on 12th July 2009, and 11th July 2010, and on the occasion of the visit to the University of Limerick by the Dalai Lama on April 14th, 2011.

In the synagogue on the Sabbath morning, after the introductory blessings have been recited (see above), Rev. Shulman approaches the *bimah* rather in the style of a solo instrumentalist taking his place onstage in front of a symphony orchestra. There is a short pause in the service while he takes his place. His appearance differentiates him from the other men, including the rabbi, as his formal suit is covered in a voluminous black gown, over which is draped his *tallis*. On his head, instead of the usual close-fitting *yarmulkes*, dark or brightly-coloured, plain or proclaiming the wearer's football allegiance, worn by the male congregation, he wears the traditional *Chazzan's Yarmulke*, a high, brimless hat fashioned from black velvet. On assuming his position on the *bimah*, his powerful tenor voice leads the congregation in prayer. The ancient words combine with the traditional musical phrases to continue a pattern of ritual

worship within its ordained space, a pattern whose origins began in 1660, when the first synagogue was established in Dublin.



Fig. 3(xvii) Rev. Alwyn Shulman on the *bimah* at Terenure synagogue.
(Photograph: M. Brown, 17/06/10).

3.6 Conclusion

The construction of any dedicated house of prayer, such as a synagogue, is motivated by a particular desire, forming part of the human psyche, to join others in the act of worship, and to enact the rituals which accompany worship. Worship takes many forms, and the need to engage in such an activity is more ancient than Judaeo-Christian tradition. If worship involves one God or many, it is religious. There are also secular expressions of worship. A crowd of thousands in a stadium, facing one direction, watching and listening to a small group of musicians on a raised platform, everyone making the same physical movements and uttering the same sounds simultaneously, icons of the musical group carried on key-rings or images printed on clothing; surely this could be described as an act of mass worship.

Worship taking place continuously at one designated spot or in a building erected for the purpose of prayer, invests that spot or building with strong religious associations which may eventually develop into assumptions of Divine residence. This appears to

have been true of the Temple built by Solomon in Jerusalem and known as the House of God (*beit elohim*) (Haran, 1978). It may also have been true of the Neolithic engineers who built Stonehenge in the English county of Wiltshire: 'It is a place where much human effort was expended for a purpose we can only guess at' (Ashe in Lacy, 1986, 529). Ashe nonetheless concedes that Stonehenge was, and moreover is still held to be '...a sacred place...a place of honor' (ibid).

The concept of Divine residence was discarded by Jews after Solomon's Temple was destroyed. The synagogues which replaced the Temple acted as places where supplication could take place to God, without an actual Divine presence. No part of Jewish worship needs to take place within a synagogue; every prayer or service can take place anywhere. For even the Sabbath service to occur, all that is required is for the quorum of ten Jewish men to be present at the same time on the Sabbath day; the site is immaterial. This is endorsed thus: 'Physical space is not made holy in Judaism; only time can be sanctified, and that is effected by our intent' (Wagner, 1997, 22). However, it would be very difficult to argue that the protocols observed, the religious artefacts, the images of Jerusalem, the presence of the *Sifrei Torah* and the reverence with which they are treated, do not all combine to differentiate the synagogue from any other space. In effect, while not strictly designated as a holy place, it is made holy by its association with prayer.

The synagogue has, for some people, associations other than prayer which are at least as strong. In an interview, Linda White's voice palpably deepened with pain when the closure of Adelaide Road synagogue was referred to, and she made many comparisons between practices in Adelaide Road and the synagogues currently extant in Dublin. It was clear that her continuing grief at this loss has informed her attitude to synagogue attendance since then:

Nowadays, the service reminds me of a circus...There was great emotion in the *Kol Nidrei* service. I don't find any service emotional any more (in conversation, 28 October 2010).

Jewish worship has taken place in specially-appointed buildings in Dublin since the 1660s, a long time in the history of any city or settlement in the British Isles. Each

converted industrial building, red-brick house or purpose-built facility has provided a focus for communal activities and a starting point for many of the traditions which combine to form Jewish culture in Dublin. In each synagogue, people have prayed and studied, listened and spoken, eaten and drunk. Outfits of clothes have been specially chosen to show respect for the surroundings and the other worshippers therein. People have sat indistinguishable among groups of others, or have led the congregation conspicuously from the *bimah*. Children have sat silent and studious beside their parents or grandparents, or have noisily played, oblivious to the processes taking place around them. Weddings have been celebrated amidst a confusion of flowers and broken glass, week-old babies have been assigned their names, and the mournful *kaddish* has been recited in memory of the departed. These are all changing sets of circumstances, yet the Sabbath service remains constant throughout the period during which Jews have resided in Dublin, played out in a little-changing sequence of events, notwithstanding the calendar year or the people present. The homes of Jewish people have also provided space for rituals to be observed, including those pertaining to the act of prayer. All of these spaces provide a forum for the performance of music, music being almost inseparable from prayer in Orthodox Jewish practice.

Jewish rituals, musical and non-musical, can be carried out in a variety, even an infinity of spaces; also that Jewish ritual spaces around Dublin evolved from a desire among Jews to observe their prayer rituals in communion with other Jews. Having created sixteen synagogues over time, the Dublin Jewish community has both borrowed from and added to the built heritage of this city for more than three centuries.

In respect of synagogue ritual, the following chapter mainly explores the music of the Sabbath service at Terenure synagogue. Particular reference is made to certain individuals who may yet be found there, and whose performance practices represent an integral part of modern Jewish culture and identity in Dublin. The role of the congregation, and the synergy which exists between cantor and congregation is also explored in a musical context.

4. Aspects of Musical Performance in the Jewish Liturgical Music of Dublin

4.1 Introduction

The narrative of Irish Jewish history begins centuries ago, and is rooted in many different traditions and places, some of which remain unknown. The liturgical Jewish music of Dublin is part of the greater oral tradition of the Jewish community, and originates mainly from nineteenth-century Eastern European practices. The earlier chapters in this thesis have been devoted to a written account of Jewish cultural practices in Dublin; Chapters 4 and 5 will deal with the performance of Jewish liturgical music in the Orthodox tradition of present-day Dublin, with particular reference to the musical practices within the Terenure synagogue. There will be a focus on six particular performances by five individuals, four of whom regularly led services until recently. There is also a discussion on congregational singing, and this is illustrated with transcribed examples of the musical repertoire heard in Terenure synagogue at the time of writing, in the order in which they appear during the course of the Sabbath service.

Since the completion of this dissertation, one contributor has left Dublin, one is preparing to leave, and sadly, one passed away during the research process. Thus there is an implication that long-upheld oral musical traditions within Dublin's Orthodox Jewish community are changing rapidly. It is in an effort to avoid the loss of a large corpus of Dublin Jewish musical history that the performances of the five individuals referred to above are recorded on digital media and fully transliterated and transcribed in staff notation. Musical contributions from other members of the congregation at Terenure synagogue have undergone the same process. However, most examples of communal singing, while transliterated and transcribed, are not recorded, owing to the impediment to recording in the synagogue during the Sabbath service outlined in Chapter 1. This may represent a disruption to the usual processes of oral transmission, but is executed purely in the interests of providing as accurate and as permanent a record as possible of this one particular aspect of Dublin Jewish

religious practice, culture and the identity born of these in 20th and 21st century Dublin.

Up to this point, this thesis has been largely devoted to discussions on the history of the Jewish community in Ireland, as well as its rituals and cultural identity. The present chapter focuses on one particular cultural practice associated with the Jewish community, namely that of liturgical music. Music is an integral part of Jewish worship, particularly when acts of worship are situated in the synagogue. Musical performance in the synagogue may last a few minutes (during daily *shachris*, *minchah* or *ma'arev* prayers. It may endure between three and four hours during *Shabbos* or *Yomtov* morning services. Once every year during *Yom Kippur*, almost the entire 25-hour festival (24 hours in most other countries) is set aside for prayer in the synagogue including the evening *Kol Nidrei* service and the *Yom Kippur* service itself which endures for the entire day, from early morning until sunset. This day is a twelve-hour musical marathon of supplication, during which the singing, chanting and cantillation are continuous, and are principally performed by the cantor and supported by contributions from others who lead the service at times in order to relieve him, together with responses from the congregation. These musical events are further punctuated by the sad chorus of those reciting *Yiskor* and *Kaddish* in memory of loved ones, and by the intense, powerful sound of the *Cohenim* who stand in a phalanx in front of the *Ark*, faces hidden by their *tallisim* pulled over their heads, and who deliver the Priestly Blessings over the congregation in a sonorous minor chant. Local custom in Dublin dictates that the *Cohenim* may not be regarded while the Blessings are being made, such is their collective greatness; most congregants turn away or hide their faces in their *machzerim* (prayer books used on holy days) during this time.

The remainder of this chapter is organised into six sections. The first outlines my methods used for recording and transcribing their musical performances. The second introduces the five featured performers, including brief biographical details and my own subjective reasons for wishing to include these particular individuals in this project. This section contains the notated versions of the three complete *Shachris* and three complete *Mussaf* Sabbath services provided by these performers. The third discusses the phenomenon of congregational singing in Terenure synagogue which complements the performance of the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*. The fourth outlines the

role of musical performance as a means of communication, particularly within the synagogue. The fifth suggests a theoretical framework for exploring performance practice in the Dublin synagogue, involving discussions on emotion, identity, transmission, gender and the role of the congregation, with particular reference to the five featured contributors. The sixth section is a discussion on the ontology of musical language in the synagogues of Dublin, based on the aforementioned recordings. It is hoped that the combination of these six approaches to the practice of music in the synagogues of Dublin will provide an insight into this one facet of the cultural identity of those whose practice it is as part of their everyday, lived experiences as Jews in twenty-first century Dublin.

4.2 Capturing Data on the Music of the Dublin Synagogue

During the course of this thesis, it has been discussed how the Dublin Jewish community has evolved its own cultural and religious practices, which in turn help to shape Jewish identity in Dublin. At this point, one particular cultural/religious practice is examined, namely the music of the Orthodox synagogue. Music is integral to Jewish prayer, and thus to the practice of Judaism. Not only does the cantor or lay-reader express worship through music, but so does the entire congregation, male and female. That music should occupy such prominence in the act of prayer within the synagogue is not a recent phenomenon. Specific mention of music is made in the context of early eighteenth century London synagogue practice, for example: ‘...the Reader sings the words...’ (ben Pedahzur, 1738, 71). It is likely that synagogue rituals and liturgical musical practices in London were common to those of Dublin, given the strong family links between the two communities, as mentioned before. Here, the author does not describe the actual sounds of the music, but the fact that prayer is rendered through music is further mentioned:

Here the Reader of the Synagogue, who stands always just before the holy arch which contains Moses’s law, boweth down, and with a melodious voice saith, Bless ye the Lord, who is blessed.

(ibid, 44)

Another musical reference, specifically relating to congregational participation appears further into the narrative, with regard to the Sabbath service:

...and is sung by the Reader, with a melodious tune or air, according to his best capacity; and the Congregation join a Chorus and sing along with him.

(ben Pedahzur, 1738, 132)

A clue to the musical style used in the synagogue at that time, may be in determining what was popularly considered to be a “melodious tune or air” in 1730s London. There may even be implications of a popular style of contemporaneous English song being introduced into the 1738 synagogue service in an effort to help establish an English identity among London’s ethnically diverse Jewish community (Spanish, German and Polish). However, this is only conjecture, as there is no description of the musical style, and no legacy of notated Jewish music from this period from which to draw conclusions. This underscores the need to record, transcribe and preserve musical traditions, particularly oral ones. Oral traditions are most subject to change and most vulnerable to being abandoned in favour of new trends according to changing personnel and changing tastes, or being forgotten, particularly when traditional chains of transmission break down through emigration, lack of communication or lack of interest. This is perhaps the strongest argument that exists in favour of transcribing music which is transmitted orally; without some written record, material can be irrevocably lost within a generation, leaving a huge gap in the oral or written history of any culture. According to the tireless eighteenth century ethnographer Samuel Johnson, ‘[W]ritten learning is a fixed luminary, which, after the cloud that had hidden it has passed away, is again bright in its proper station’ (Johnson, 1775, 106).

Continuing this theme in a musical context, it could be argued that ‘[B]efore notation there is virtually nothing to research or revive in music’ (Leppard, 1988, 27). Musical data are permanently captured during the act of recording, which, as observed above, is of particular benefit in preserving an oral tradition. However, the act of transcribing the music in standard notation facilitates theoretical exploration of the

music; in the case of many of the musical transcriptions included in this dissertation, the relative rhythmical complexity of each performance can truly be appreciated when presented visually. The duration of most of these performances suggests that each has been evolved and extended by the performer during the course of his life. Each lengthy piece of music is thus not easily transmitted in its entirety in an exclusively oral process. Additionally, not all scholars profess to be literate in Hebrew, therefore the transliteration of the Hebrew texts central to these musical performances is of assistance when relating text to music, and especially if future attempts are made to perform this music without prior knowledge of Hebrew. Thus, garnering information and recording it as permanently as possible in various forms, creates or adds to a resource of cultural knowledge to which scholars may always have recourse; without records, the pathways along which cultures progress through time, may be lost entirely.

Capturing specific data on liturgical music in the Dublin Jewish community (excluding broader discussions on Irish Jewish culture and identity) has required the co-operation of many members of the community over a five-year period, resulting in around 20 hours of recorded music and conversations. Other conversations were not recorded, but either partially or fully transcribed. This has been achieved through processes of ethnographic interviews, musical recording sessions, and the setting down of transcriptions. During the course of these processes, 263 photographs were taken, both of the people involved, and of relevant places both within and outside Dublin, in order to provide a visual record of the research as it progressed.

For the purpose of this thesis, discussions on liturgical music in Dublin's Orthodox synagogue focus mainly on the Sabbath service, a hugely significant religious/musical event which takes place weekly, and the structure of which has been discussed in a previous chapter. Additional recordings have featured *haftorah*; psalms; the domestic ritual of grace before and after meals sung by all of those at the table; multiple versions of particular prayers and *brochas*; excerpts from the Sabbath and High Holy Day services, some of which are included in this chapter as musical examples; a recitation of the *Seder* (the narrative of the exodus of the Jews from Egypt performed in the home on the eve of the Passover); *zemirot* and two secular

lullabies. In all, thirty men and seven women have made musical recordings for this study, while others have contributed much information without musical input.

The purpose of creating musical transcriptions of various recordings made during the course of this research was primarily to capture as accurately as possible (on paper) musical practices current in Dublin at the time of writing. Thus, theoretically, it is possible to attend a service in Terenure synagogue on any given Saturday morning, and experience live much of what is presented here in notation, that is, versions of the *Shachris* and *Mussaf* sections which make up the complete Sabbath service, exclusive of the section of the service dedicated to reading from the *Torah*. Given certain difficulties which exist in accessing first-hand knowledge of synagogue practice in Dublin (mainly due to the small size of the community, it is not always easy to establish contacts within the community to facilitate the opportunity for study of practices within the synagogue, a problem which never beset me, given my insider status within the community and the congregation), having the music transcribed in standard notation with the Hebrew prayers transliterated creates a tool with which this music may be studied, understood and performed by a wider musical community.

The process of creating the transcriptions began with the act of making musical recordings of the various contributors. Those recording sessions capturing *Shachris* and *Mussaf* took place at the following venues, according to the preference of each contributor:

Stanley Siev, Howard Gross, Carl Nelkin: my parents' home.

Rev. Alwyn Shulman: his own home and my parents' home.

Raphael Siev: the Irish Jewish Museum.

Each individual performance was digitally recorded on to a CF card which facilitated the editing of unwanted takes and long periods of silence through recovering breath or drinking water while using this medium. Each recording had a name, date and title applied, and was subsequently transferred on to a CD.

Having made the recordings, the first stage of the transcription process was to capture all the pitches in staff notation. This was done by playing the recordings repeatedly,

usually in very small sections, and writing the pitches down using pencil (more easily corrected) on A4 music manuscript paper. It was necessary to execute this process within easy reach of a piano, in order to confirm pitch, rhythm and melodic shape before committing to paper. I kept a *siddur* at hand at all times, in order to assist in following the flow of text and music, particularly that which was executed very rapidly. It was necessary, in some cases, to make my own decisions regarding pitch definition, as there were occasions when actual pitches, as sung, were slightly ambiguous, either flat or sharp in relation to preceding phrases or pitches. There were also situations in which the overall pitch in an extended section of music, tended to go flat, in which case the notated version remains in one key until the end of that section, and then changes, down a semitone or even whole tone, for the next section, even though, when listened to continuously, no discernable key change is occurring. There were very occasional stammers or slight inconsistencies within the text on some of the recordings, which I corrected in the final draft of the transcriptions/transliterations.

In some respects, representing rhythm presented a greater challenge than defining pitch. I perceived this mainly during melismatic sections in which temporal values tended to be fluid, and during extended passages of one-note chant. After repeated listening sessions, rhythmic patterns revealed themselves as being generated partly by internal rhyming schemes embedded within the language of the text. Such patterns could also be detected in the manner by which the text was punctuated, so that very often, the first syllable of a sentence would create an anacrusis into the following bar which contained the remainder of that sentence. Other musical examples were far easier to commit to paper, including strophic sections (for example, *Eil Adon* during the *Shachris* services, seen below) in which there were clearly discernible 2/4, 3/4 or 4/4 patterns. In addition, most material performed by the congregation demonstrated a relatively simple duple or triple metre, although at times this was interrupted by a reluctance to observe rests within the music, which had become habitual to the congregation over time. It will be seen in *Anim Zemirot*, one of the three concluding hymns sung in alternate verses between a child singing solo and the rest of the congregation, that while the melody is far from complex, the difficulty both in performing and transcribing this hymn lies in the scansion of the text. It is a fact that there is no obvious or standard technique to fit all of the words in each verse within

the metre of the melody, and that each child who attempts to lead this hymn has his own idiosyncratic way of dealing with the relationship between text and music.

The next stage of the transcription process was converting my hand-written manuscript into more easily-read printed notation using Finale® music-publishing software. This required the recordings to be painstakingly followed again, while every note had to be inputted manually into the Finale format. As before, the piano was used to double-check the accuracy of each individual pitch as it was entered into a Finale® file. Each finished score was saved to a separate file, which was given a title reflecting the name of the both the performer the section of the Sabbath service which had been recorded, and the date on which the recording had been made.

Comparisons can be made between the manuscript score and the final printed product. In a sense, the manuscript reveals more in terms of methods used to capture the data. Tiny digits appear above certain bar lines (for example, '40; 1'20). These represent the amount of time which has passed during a recording (40 seconds; 1 minute 20 seconds), and pinpoint the sections of the recording which it was necessary to repeat. During the transcription process, they also acted as a reminder of how much of the recording had been transcribed, and how much remained. One obvious difference between the manuscript and printed scores is that there are few time-signatures included in the manuscript version. This indicates the manner in which pitch and text is written down as heard, unburdened by the mathematical calculations required to create time-signatures. The printed version contains greater refinement in terms of the information which it conveys. The reader can discern at a glance how many beats per bar; how succeeding bars differ, or not, from each other; whether the metre is regular or irregular in any one bar. Perhaps it could be argued that freedom from theoretical constraints of defining metre directly reflects the spontaneity of the actual performance, and that in including this degree of detail in the printed score, some of the dynamism of the manuscript is lost. Alternatively, it could be argued that the complexity of the music can be more greatly appreciated when as much information as possible is included, as in the printed score. What cannot be disputed is that the printed score is far more legible; perhaps the faint, pencilled notes with spidery handwritten text below is more emblematic of the ephemeral nature of the oral tradition.

In Examples 1(a) and 1(b) we see the same passage from *Shachris* based on Rev. Shulman's performance, firstly in manuscript form and secondly in printed form. These are facsimile representations included in order to compare two different versions of the same page of music, for which reason each stops abruptly at the end of the page without a final double bar line.

Example 1(a). Excerpt from manuscript version of *Shachris* per Rev. Shulman.

Always Shulman Shachris for Shabbat

Shachris ad ma-rom ve-ka-
 dosh she-moh be-fi yisharim tit-ka-
 lal, u-vidur-rei tzo-di-kim tit-ka-rach u-vi-
 sha-lon chasi-dim tit-ro-mam, u-vi-kerem kelbo-dim tit-ka-
 dash, u-vi-se ma kaba-lot ri-ve-vot
 ri-ve-vot a-me-chah am che seit yit ro
 eil u-vi mo-kolu-lot ri-ve-vot, ri-ve-vot
 a-me-chah am che seit yit ro eil le-
 ri-nah yit-pa-ar shu-ru mat-ker-av be-cal dor ve dor she
 chein des-vot cal char-yitgu-rim keta re e-sha-elo-hei + me ve-to-he a vo
 ter-nu, e-ho-dot le-ho-keil le-sha-ber-cha le-pa-
 eir le-ro-mam le-ha-der le-a-reich le-a-lei u-ke-ka-

WOODSTOCK

Example 1(b). The same passage notated using Finale® music-publishing software.

Shachrit for Shabbat Morning

per Rev. Alwyn Shulman

23 June 2009

Transcribed & transliterated by
Melanie Brown.

Sho-chein ad- ma - rom, ve-ka-
 6 dosh - she - moh, be - fi yi-sha-rim tit-ka - lal, u-vi-div-
 10 rei tza-di-kim tit-ba - rach, u-vi - sha - lom cha-si-dim tit-ro - mam,
 15 u - vi - ke-rev ke-do - shim tit-ka - dash. U-vi-
 20 ma-ka-ko-lat ri - ve-vot, ri - ve - vot - a - me-chah, am - chah beit yis - ro -
 26 el, u-vi - ma-ka-ko-lat ri - ve-vot, ri - ve - vot - a - me-chah, am - chah
 32 beit yis - ro - el, be - ri - nah yit-pa - ar shim - chah mal - kei - nu
 38 be-kal - dor va dor. She - cheim cho-vot kal chai-yi-tzu - rim le-fa-
 42 ne - c'Ha-shem-e-lo-hei - nu v'e-lo-hei a - vo - tei - nu. Le-ho-

It will be seen in each of the completed transcriptions that performances with frequent key changes, either deliberately executed or for purposes of accommodating fluctuations of overall pitch, as described above, are notated with accidentals rather than diatonic key signatures. Those whose tonal centres are more consistent have diatonic key signatures included, although these, too, change during the course of the transcription. In terms of rhythm, time signatures in general are very changeable, mainly due to rhythmic patterns being generated by the text, which is rarely metrical. Yet even allowing for this, in many cases the rhythmic content of the text is reinterpreted differently by each performer, ensuring little rhythmic consistency between each performance.

Example 2(a). Excerpt from the opening section of *Shachris* (morning prayers) for *Shabbos* (Sabbath) Morning per Stanley Siev, bb. 1-5 (see below).



Example 2(b) Excerpt from the opening section of *Shachris* (morning prayers) for *Shabbos* (Sabbath) Morning per Howard Gross, bb. 1-5 (see below).



This lack of rhythmic or metrical consistency contributed to some difficulty in producing entirely faithful transcriptions; such a problem has been encountered by others in the past, and is described in the following terms:

When a Western musician transcribes such songs into his own notation, he has the unpleasant choice between two ways. One is to be inaccurate and fake a tidy one-two one-two where irregularity is typical. The other way is pedantically to count beats not destined to be counted, to change dizzily from five-four to seven-eight and six-eight (beats), suggesting a Stravinsky-like exuberance – or chaos.

(Sachs, 1944, 45)

Example 3. Excerpt from *Shachrit* (morning prayers) for Shabbat Morning per Rev. Alwyn Shulman, bb. 135-145 (see below). Frequent changes in time signature are apparent.

Ein ke-re-ke-chah A-do-nai e-lo-hei-nu ba-o-lam ha-zeh, ve-
 ein zu-la-te-chah mal-kei-nu le-cha-yei ha-o-lam ha-bah, e-fes bi-le-
 ke-chah go-a-lei-nu li-mot ha-ma-shi-ach. Ve-ein do-meh le-chah mo-shi-ei-
 nu le-t'chi-at ha-mei-tim.

Exceptions to this exist in strophic sections, where verses of text are composed to fit a more regular metric pattern, which is reflected in the melodic structure of a given section.

Example 4. Excerpt from *Mussaf* for *Shabbos* (Sabbath) Morning per Raphael Siev; section from concluding strophic hymn “*Ein Keloheinu*”, bb. 270-281

Ein ke-lo-hei-nu, ein a-dow-nei-nu, ein ka-mal-kei-nu, ein ka-mow-shi-ei-nu.
 Mi-ke-lo-hei-nu, mi-ka-dow-nei-nu, mi-ka-mal-kei-nu, mi-ka-mow-shi-ei-nu.
 Now-deh e-loh-hei-nu, now-deh ka-dow-nei-nu, now-deh ka-mal-kei-nu, now-deh ka-mow-shi-ei-nu.

Transliterating the Hebrew texts formed the next part of the process. This involved listening to each recording again, this time following the *siddur* very intently so as to capture all the text as faithfully and as accurately as possible. Four major variances in the pronunciation of the Hebrew text were evident, and which are apparent in the completed transliterations. The first variant is that of the Lithuanian pronunciation of Hebrew. This was the more commonly received style of Hebrew in Dublin until the 1980s, when there was a move right across the worldwide Jewish diaspora to

modernise the teaching of Hebrew, in order to make the Hebrew of the synagogue more consistent with *Ivrit* (spoken Modern Hebrew), similar in many respects to *Sephardic* or Mediterranean pronunciation. Lithuanian pronunciation is noticeable in the performances of Raphael Siev, Howard Gross and Carl Nelkin. The second variant occurs occasionally in Raphael Siev’s performance, and derives from a Chassidic pronunciation of certain vowels, with an “oi” sound replacing the “ow” or “oh” of Lithuanian, German and *Ivrit* styles. The third variant is *Ivrit* itself, which can be found in the performance of Rev. Alwyn Shulman, having received the greater part of his cantorial training in Israel. The fourth is a species of German pronunciation, evident in Stanley Siev’s performance, and which he ascribed to a particular teacher of his who was German. Stanley Siev’s detailed observations on conventions in Hebrew pronunciation are reproduced below:

There are quite a number of different variations in the pronunciation of Hebrew, depending upon where the people who are singing or *davening* [leading prayers in the synagogue] come from. We have, for example, in Northern Europe... *Ashkenazi* Jews, from Germany, from Northern France, and those areas, you have particular sounds which are uttered when the vowels are enunciated. For example, you will have “*Veyisrow-mam* [וַיִּתְרוּמָם]”. Notice I’m saying “*row*”: “*Veyisrow-mam*”. And then we go on further: “*Mevow-roch* [מִבְּרַךְ]”. You notice I’m saying “*ow*”.

But when you go, on the other hand, across the Baltic to Lithuania and to Latvia, you will not have those sounds; you will have “*oh*”. Instead of “*Veyisrow-mam*”, you will have “*Veyisroh-mam*”. You will have, instead of “*Mevow-roch*”, you will have “*Mevoh-roch*”.

There are further variations when you move south from Lithuania, down into Poland and into Czechoslovakia, and you find that the word or syllable “*nu*” very often disappears, and instead of “*nu*” you have “*ni*”. For example, you’ll see here a sentence “*Shalowm oleinu* [שְׁלוֹם עֲלֵינוּ]”. But we will not say what is said in Poland and Czechoslovakia: “*Shalowm oleini*”. The whole vowel is changed...

But then you have a third set, you have a third variation when you go among *Sephardi* Jews who are Mediterranean Jews, and their pronunciation is altogether different again in many respects.

(in conversation, 6 July 2009)

In practice, there are many differences between the variants in Hebrew pronunciation, particularly in the pronunciation of vowels, and in approaches to certain consonants, especially those with a plosive or sibilant sound such as “t” or “s”. A prime example is the word translated as the Sabbath [שַׁבָּת]. This is typically transliterated as *Shabbos* in the Ashkenazi or Lithuanian traditions (examples of this are seen in the titles of the transcriptions of recordings by all four featured participants other than Rev. Shulman); in the modern *Ivrit* parlance, it is transliterated as *Shabbat*, as seen in the transcriptions of recordings made by Rev. Shulman. Similarly, the Hebrew word [שְׁחֵרִית] meaning “morning prayers” is transliterated as *Shachris* in the Ashkenazi or Lithuanian tradition, and as *Shachrit* in *Ivrit*.

The phrase [אֱלֹהֵי אֲבוֹתַי וְאֱלֹהֵינוּ] which translates as “Our God and God of our fathers” recurs throughout the Sabbath service. Stanley Siev’s rendition of this phrase would tend to be transliterated as *Elow-hei Velow-hei Avoseinu*, while those of Raphael Siev, Howard Gross and Carl Nelkin most closely approximate *Eloh-hei Veloh-hei Avoseinu*. Rev. Shulman’s *Ivrit* version is represented as *Eloh-hei Veloh-hei Avoteinu*. The pronunciation of this (and other Hebrew phrases) has changed in Dublin during the life-time of the contributors to this project. However, there are indications that conventions in Hebrew pronunciation have undergone other changes in the more distant past, and that the pronunciation of this particular phrase in 1730s London (and probably Dublin) is quite dissimilar to any contemporary practices, given that it is transliterated as ‘*Alohay Welohay Abothanue*’ (ben Pedahzur, 1738, 147).

The last stage in the process was to apply musical dynamics to each transcription, requiring further listening to each recording in order to reproduce the variations in speed, volume and accentuation. This made each score visually more appealing, and drew attention to those performances which featured a great deal of dynamic contrast (particularly in the case of Stanley Siev) as opposed to those which did not.

Example 5. A wide dynamic range is demonstrated in this excerpt from Stanley Siev's rendition of *Shachris* (morning prayers), bb. 338-343 (see below).

This also signified the way in which each performer responded to the recording process; for example, Stanley Siev was totally relaxed and uninhibited throughout the interview and recording processes, treating every session as a performance opportunity. In contrast, some negative reactivity was demonstrated in the case of Howard Gross; on the occasion of each recording session he was observed to be experiencing some symptoms of stress, sitting very still, never looking up from his *siddur*, rarely pausing for breath, and performing by means of a very rapid delivery which grew faster as each session proceeded.

The act of conducting various recording sessions with each of the five individual performers, together with the processes of transcription, brought into focus two particular phenomena. Firstly, it consolidated the view that no two versions of any particular service were the same, even when taking into account shared experiences of religious instruction and musical training or exposure. Secondly, it demonstrated that, notwithstanding the structure of each portion of text having some bearing on musical concepts such as rhythm and phrasing, it was nonetheless the aesthetic considerations of each performer, rather than the dictates of text or the technical vocal skills relative to each performer, which created such a wide degree of variation between performances. This warrants some discussion of performance practice with regard to Jewish liturgical music in Dublin, in order to observe differences and also consistency between versions of the Sabbath service as it is performed in the synagogue.

4.3 Five Faces of Jewish Music in Dublin

The fieldwork associated with this project brought me in contact with many Dublin people, male and female, of different ages, religions and socio-economic backgrounds, some of whom I had rarely or never spoken previously, others whom I grew to know in a new and different context than before. While I have referred to many such people, and have quoted extensively from conversations and ethnographic interviews which were conducted as part of the ongoing research process, it became necessary to concentrate on findings with respect to certain individuals, each with different sets of knowledge and skills, who could best illustrate performance practices in the music of the synagogue, rather than try to create an account of the infinite possibilities and variations demonstrated across the entire spectrum of my research population. Having decided upon five such people, I decided to concentrate on their performances of the main sections of the Sabbath morning service performed regularly by each of the four surviving contributors. Given the length of each performance, each provides a wealth of musical material from which to take examples and to draw conclusions. In this section, some brief biographical details on each contributor is outlined, and is followed with fully-transcribed versions of either *Shachris* or *Mussaf* prayers for the Sabbath.

Other than their musical performances, each of the five performers contributed to the mix of historical, social, cultural and religious knowledge upon which at least part of this thesis is based. Each performer was born into a different successive decade of the twentieth century. For research purposes, this was felicitous as it seemed that while their social, professional and religious backgrounds did not differ enormously, their world-view (imparted by being born at different times, thereby experiencing different influences, expectations and social mores) appeared to have a demonstrable effect on attitudes, motivations and practices, including those within the synagogue. For convenience, I have introduced these performers together with the transcribed version of their performances in descending order of seniority.

4.3.1 Stanley Siev

Stanley Siev (Hebrew name *Asher Zundel ben Nossen HaCohen*) was born in Dublin to Lithuanian parents during the 1920s, the formative period in the Irish Free State. He experienced life in Dublin's South Circular Road area at a time when this was a thriving centre for the Jewish population, before moving to Terenure, where he is an active member of the synagogue. Educated at The High School, Dublin and Trinity College, Dublin, he is a practicing solicitor, continuing a long association of Jews with the Irish legal profession. In my subjective opinion, the beauty and sensitivity of his musical performance on the occasions when he leads the congregation in prayer, is unsurpassed by anyone else. Objectively, due to his age and also his seemingly limitless memory for past events, places and people, he possesses firsthand knowledge, and carries with him influences from liturgical musical practices in synagogues which have long ceased to exist (particularly Lombard Street West and Walworth Road synagogues, which he attended in boyhood with his father prior to the establishment of Terenure synagogue). He also received a very different and more comprehensive course of religious instruction in his youth than any of the other contributors to this project, which continues to influence his delivery of the prayer and music, thus creating a unique set of performance practices.



Fig. 4(i) Stanley Siev delivering a lecture. (Photograph: M. Brown, 01/03/11).

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

per Asher Siev
December 2008

Transcription by M. Brown
March 2009

Freely, with much expression

Voice

mf Shochein ad, mo-rom ve-ke-dosh shemoh - Ve-ko-sov ra-ne-nu tza-di-

7 kim b'A-de-shem la-ye-sha-rim no - voh - te-hi - loh - Be-fi

11 - ye-sho-rim tis - ha - lol - u-ve-div - rei - tza-di-kim tis-bo-rach.

14 U - vi-la - shon - cha - si-dim tis-ro - mam. U-ve - ke -

19 - rev ke-do-shim - tish ka-dosh - U-ve-mak-ha - lows -

24 vows a-me - choh beis Yis - ro - eil, b'ri - noh yis-po-eir shi-me - choh ma-le-kei-nu ve-kal dor va-

29 dor. Shochein cho - vas kol ha - tzu - rim. Le-fo - ne-choh A-de-shem e-lo-hei-nu, ve-lo-

33 hei - a-vo-sei - nu, le-do - dos le-ha-leil le-sha - be-ach le-fo-eir le-ro-

37 meim le - ha-deir le - bo - reich, le - a - lei u - le - ka - leis.

40

39

 al - kol div-rei shi-ros ve-tis-be-choh Do-vid ben Yi - shaye av-de - choh me-shi-che-

42

 choh. Yis-ka - dash shi-me-choh lo - ad mal-kei - nu, ho - eil ha-melech haga-

48

 dol ve-a-ka'osh ba-sho - ma-yim u-vo ————— retz. Ki le-cho no-eh A-de - shem e-lo-kei -

52

 nu a - vo-sei - nu shir u-she-vo-choh, ha-leil ve-zim-roh, oz — u-mem-sho - loh.

57

 Ne-tzach ge - du - loh u-ge-yu - roh ————— te-hi loh ve-sif-e-res ke - du-shoh u -

62

 ma-le-kus. B'ro - chos ve-ho-da - os mei-a - toh ve-ad o - lom. Ba - ruch a - toh Ha-

68

 shem, eil - - me-lech ga - dol ————— ba-tish-bo - chos, keil ha-cho-

73

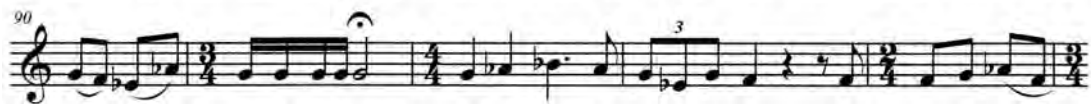
 da - os a - don ha-nif - los, — ha-bo-cheir be-shi-rei zim-roh, me -

78

 - - lech keil chei ————— ho-o-lo - mim, Bo-ru - chu es A-de - shem ha - vo -



84 rach. Bo - ruch Ha-shem ha-me-vo - roch le-o-lom vo - ed. Bo - ruch a - toh-Ha - shem e-lo



90 kei - nu — me-lech ha-döm, yo-tzeir or u - vo-rei ho-sech, o - seh sha - lom



95 u - vo - rei — es ha - kol. Ein ke - er - che -



99 choh Ha-shem e - lo-kei-nu le-lo - lom ha - zeh. Ve - ein zu-lo-se-choh mal-kei - nu, le -



103 cha - yei ho-o-lam ha - boh. E-fes bil-te-choh — go - a-lei - nu le - mos ha-mo -



108 shi - ach. Ve - ein do-me - loch mow-shi-ei - nu le-sa - chi-yas ha-mei - sim.



113 *Eil Adon*

Waltz-like

mf Eil — a - don al kal — ha-ma - sim, bo - ruch um-vo -



119 roch be - pi — kol — no-se-choh, ga - do-loh ve - tu-voh mo - lei — ow -



125 lom, da - as us - vu - noh so - ve - vim — to - roh, ha - mis go - eh al cha -

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

131

 yos ha - ko - - - desh, ve - ne - dar ve - cha - vod al ha - me - re - ko -

137

 voh, ze - kus u - mi - shor li - fe - nei - - - chi - soh, che - sed ve - ra - cha -

143

 mim, li - fe - nei ke - vo - - - doh, to - vim me - o - ros she - bo - roh e - low - kei -

149

 nu, ye - tzo - rom be - da - as be - vi - na - u - ve - has - keil, ko - yach ug - vu - roh no -

156

 san - bo - hem, li - hi - yos mo - she - lim bei - ke - rev tei - veil. *ff* M'lei - im

162

 ziv - um - fi - kim now - gah no - eh - - - zi - vom be - kol - - - ho - ow -

168

 lom, - - - se - ma - chim be - tzei - sam, ve - sa - sim be - vo - - am, o -

174

 sim be - ei - moh re - tzon - ku - nam pe - eir ve - cho - vod no - se -

180

 nim le - sh'mow, - - - tzo - ho - loh ve - ri - noh le - zei - ker ma - le - chu - soh, ko -

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

186

 roh la - she - mesh va - yiz - rach _____ or, roh _____ ve - his - kin _____ tzu - ras hal -

192

 vo - - - noh. She - bach nows - nim loh, kol - tze - vor _____ mo - rom, ti - fe -

198 *mp*

 res ug - du - loh, se - ra - fim ve - o - pa - nim _____ ve - ha - yos ha - cho - desh.

203 *Slow, gravely*

 Ku - lam a - hu - vim, ku - lam be - ru - chim, ku - lam ge - bo - rim, ve - ku - lom _____ o -

207 *mf*

 sim be - ei - moh _____ u - veyir - ah _____ re - tzon ko - nom. Veku - lom _____ po - se -

210

 chim es pikem be - ke - du - shoh e - ve - tar - ho - roh, beshi - roh _____ u - ve - zim _____

214

 roh. U - me - ro - ve - kim u - me - sha - be - chim u - me - po - a - rim u - mo - re - tzim u - ma - ke - di - shim

219

 u - ma - me - li - kim. Ho - eil ha - me - lech ha - go - dol. Ha - gi - bor ve - ha - no - roh ko - dosh

224 *ff* *pp*

 hu. Ve - ku - lom me - ka - be - tim a - lei - hem al ma - le - kus sho - ma - yim zeh mi -

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

230

 zeh, Ve-nowsa - nim re-shus — ze lo-zeh le - ha - ke - dis le-yotze - rom, be-

236

 na - chas ru - chah be - sa - pah be - ru - rah — u - bin - i - moh ke -

239

 do - shoh ku - lom ke - ehad o - nim ve - o - me - rim — *ff* be - yi - roh, *mf* Ka-

243

 dosh ka - dosh ka - dosh *ff* A - de - shem tze - vo - ros me - loh kol ha - a - retz ke - vo - doh.

248

mf V - ho - fa - nim ve - ha - yos ha ko - desh be - ra - as go - dol *f* mis - na - se - nim —

252

p le - u - mas se - ra - fim. — le - u - mo - som me - sha - be - chim ve - o - me - rim.

256

 Bo - ruch ka - vod A - de - shem mi - me - ko - moh. Ha - me - ka - deish be - tu - voh

259

 be - kol — yom ta - mid ma - sei be - rei - shis ko - o - mur, le - o - sei o - rim ge - do - lim,

262

 ki — le - o - lom — cha - se - doh. Or — cho - dosh al

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

266 
 tzi-on ta-ir, ve-niz-keh ku-lo-nu me-chei-roh le-o-roh. Bo-

269 
 ruch a-toh Ha-shem-, yo-tzeir ha-me-o-

273 **Freely, with much expression** 
p ros *f* Ve-ho-eir ei-nei-nu be-so-ro-se-choh, leda-beik li-bei-nu

277 
 be-mi-tzoh-se-choh, ve-ya-cheid le-va-vei-nu le-a-ha-voh ul-yi-rohes she-moh,

281 
 ve-ol-nei-vowsh le-o-lom-vo-ed. Ki ve-sheim kod-she-choh ha-ga-

285 
 dol ve-ha-no-roh ba-tach-nu, na-gi-loh ve-nis-me-choh bi-su-a-te-

289 
 choh. *f* V'ha-vi-ei-nu le-sha-lom mei-ar-bah pa-ne-fos ho-o-retz, ve-

293 
 so-li-chei-nu ko-me-yos le-re-tzei-nu. Ki-eil po-eil ye-shu-os o-toh,

298 
 u-vo-nu mi-char-toh mi-kal am ve-lo-shon. *f* Ve-kei-rav-ta-nu le-

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

302

 shi-me-choh ha-ga - dol se - loh — be - e - mes, le - ho - dos le-choh ul-ya-

306

 che-de-choh b'a - ha-voh. *mf* Bo - - - ruch a - toh Ha - shem - , ha-bo-

310

 heir be-a-moh Yis-ro - eil - , be - a - ha - voh. A-de-

315

 shem e-lo-hei-chem e - mes. Al a-vo-sei-nu vi - oh-o-lei-nu, al bo-

320

 nei - nu ve - al do-ro-sei - nu, ve - al kol do - ros ze-rah yis-ro-eil a - vo-de-

324

 choh. E - mes ve-e - mu-nah chok ve - al ya - a - vor. E -

328

 mes sho-a - toh hu Ha-shem e-lo-kei-nu, ve-lo-hei a-vo - sei-nu, mal - kei-nu

333

 me-lech a-vo - sei-nu. go-a - lei-nu go - eil a-vo-sei-nu, yo-tze - rei — nu

338

 tzur ye-shu-o - sei - nu, *p* po - dei-nu ma - tzi-lei - nu, mei-o - lom —

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

341 *ff* hu she - me - choh, *mp* ein e - lo - kim. *f* zu - lo - se - choh. Te-hi-

344 lows le-keil el-yon, bo-ruch hu a-me-vo-rach. Mo-she u - ve-nei yis-ro-eil loch

348 o - nu shi-roh be - shi-me-choh ra - boh ve-am - ru ku-lom. *f* Mi

352 — cho-mo - choh bo-ei - lim A - de - shem, — micho - mo - choh ne-der ba-ko - desh,

355 no - roh te-hi - lows — o-sei fe - leh. *f* Shi - roh cha-do-shoh shi-be-

359 chu ge-u - lim le - shi-me-choh al se-fas ha-yom, ya-chad ku - lom ho - du ve-

362 him-li-chu ve - am - ru. A - de - shem yim-loch le-o - lom — vo-ed.

365 *Slow, rhythmic*
ff Tzur — Yis - ro - eil ku-moh be - ez - ras Yis - ro - eil

369 u-fi-dei kin-u-me - choh Ye-hud ben yis-ro - eil - , go - a - lei - nu

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

374

 A-de-shem tze-vu-os she - moh, — ke - dosh — Yis-ro - eil. Bo- *mp*

379

 ruch - a-toh Ha - shem. — go - - - - al Yis - ro - *pp*

384 *Amidah* *Freely*

 eil. *mf* Bo - ruch a - toh - Ha - shem e - lo - hei-nu, ve-lo-kei a-vo-sei-

389

 nu — e - lo-hei A-vra - ham, e - lo - hei Yitz-chak, ve-lo-kei Ya -

394

 a - kov, — ho - eil ha-go-dol ha-gi bor ve-ha-no-roh, keil eil l'yon, go-

398

 meil cha - si - dim to - vim ve-ko - nei — ha - kol, ve-zo - keir — cha-se-dei — o - *mp*

401

 vos, u-mei - ni go-eil li-ve - nei be-nei hem, le - ma - an she - moh —

405

 be-a-ha - voh. me-lech o - zeir — u-mow-shi-ah u - mo-gein. Bo - ruch a - toh Ha- *mp*

409

 shem. mo - gein — Av-ro - hom. A - toh — gi - bar le-o-

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

414

 lam A - de-shem me-cha-yei — mei-sim — a-toh, rav le-ho - shi-ah

418

 Ma-shiv ha - ru-chah u - mow-rid ha-ge-shem. Me — chal-keil cha-yim ve-che-sed

422

 me-cha-yim mei-sim be - ra - cha-mim ra - bim, so - meich nowfe-lim ve-ro-

425

 fei — cho-lim, u-ma - tir a - su-rim, u-me - ka-yim e - mu-nasoh li-shei - nei o - por. —

429

 Mi — cha - mo-chah ba - al ge-vu-rows, u - mi do - meh lach, me-lech

434

 mei-mis u - me-cha-yeh u - matz-mi - ach ye-shu - ah. *p* Ve-nei - mon — a - toh — le-ha-cha-

438

 yos — mei-sim. *f* Bo - ruch — a - toh — Ha - shem, — ma-ha - yei ha-mei - sim. —

442 **Kedushah**

f **Slow, gravely**
 Mei-ka-deish e - shi-mo - choh — bo-ha - lom, ke-

446

mf
 sheim — she - ma - ke - di-shim o - soh — *Gliss.* bi - she - mei mo - rom, —

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

449

 ka-ka-tuv al yad ne-vi-e - choh, ze - ke-reh zeh el zeh _____ ve - o - mar. Ka-

454

 dosh, ka - dosh, ka - dosh A-de-shem tze-bo-os, me-loh kal ho-retz ke-vo - doh,

459

 Oz _____ be-gol ra-as ga-dol, _____ a - dir ve - cho - zok _____

462

 mash-mi - im kol, mis-na-se-yim le - u - mas se - ra - fim, -

465

 le - u - mo - som _____ bo-ruch yo mei - ru. Bo-ruch co -

470

 vod A-de-shem mi-me-cho - moh. Mim-com-choh mal - kei - nu, mal -

475

 kei-nu, so - fi - - - - ah. Mi-me-cho-me-choh mal - kei - nu-, mal -

481

 kei-nu so - fi - - - - ah, ve-sim - loch _____ o - lei - nu, _____

487

 - ki me-cha - kim _____ a-nach-nu loch. _____ **ff** Ma - sei tim -

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

493

 lowch be-tzi-on, _____ be-ka - rov be-ya-mei-nu, le-o - lom vo-ed _____

497

 tish _____ kon. *p* Tis - ga - dal *pp* ve - sis - ka - dash be - soch ye - ru - sha - la - yim

502

 i - re - choh, le - dor va - dor, le - dor va - dor ul - nei - tzach ne - tzo _____ chim. Ve - ei -

507

 nei - nu si - re - noh, si - re - noh, mal - chu - seh - choh, ve - a - nei - nu si - re - noh, si -

513

 re - noh, mal - chuse - choh, *ff* ka - do - vor ha _____ mur be - shi - rei u - ze - choh, al ye - dei - Do - vid,

518

p al - ye dei - Do - vid, *ff* mo - shi - ach tzid - ke - choh. _____ *mf* Yim - **Freely**

523

 loch A - de - shem le - o - lom, e - lo - ha - yoch tzi - on _____ le - dor - vo - dor ha - le - lu - yoh. Le - dor - vo -

528

 dor na - gid gad - le - choh u - le - nei - tzach ne - tza - chim ke - dush - te - choh nak -

531

 dish, ve - shiv - te - choh e - lo - hei - nu mi - pi - nu loh *f* ya - mus le - o - lom vo - ed, ki - keil

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

534

 me-lech ga-dol ve - ka-dosh a - toh. Bo - ruch a - toh Ha-shem, ha -

538

 keil ha - ko - dosh, Yis-mach ma - sheh be-mat-nas

543

 hel-koh, ki e-ved ne-man kar-soh loh. Cheil ti-fe-res be-re-shoh na - sa - toh.

547

 be-am-doh le - fa - ne-choh al har shi-nai le - shi - nai lo - choh a - vo - nim

550

 ho-rim be - ya-doh, ve - ka - suv bo-hem shim-roh shabos. Ve-chein ka - tuv be-so-ro-se-

553

 choh. Ve - shome-ru be - nei yis - ro - eil es ha-sha-bos, le -

556

 sos es ha-sha-bos le-do-roh sam be-ris o-lom. Bei - nei uv-nei be-nei yis - ro - eil ows him le-o-

560

 lom, ki she-sheis ya - mim o - soh Ha-shem es hash-ma-yim ve - es ha-a-retz u -

563

 va-yom hash - bi - i sha - bos va - yi - pa - nas. *f* Ve - low -

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

567 

ne-sa-toh Ha-shem e-lo-kei-nu le-go yei ha-ro-tzows, v'loh hin - chal-tow mal-kei-nu le -

570 

o - ve-dei fi - si - lim, ve-gam bi - nu-choh-soh loh yish-ke - nu a-rei-lim,

574 

ki le - yis - ro - eil a-me - choh ne - sa - toh be-a-ha-voh, le - ze-rah Yaa - kov

577 

a - sher bam bo-chor - toh. Am me - ka - de-shei she - bi. Ku - lom _____

582 

— yis-be-u ve-yis-an-gu mi - tu-ve-choh, u-vash-bi-i ro - tzi-soh boh ve-ki-dash-tow.

586 

Chem-das ya - mim o - toh-ko-ro - soh, zei - ker le - ma - sei - shis.

591 

mf E-lo - kei - nu ve-lo-kei a-vo - sei - nu, re - tzei bim-nu-cho - sei - nu, ka-de-

595 

shei-nu be-mitz-voh-se-choh, ve-kein chel-kei-nu be-so-ro - se-choh. Sha - be - ei - nu,

599 

mi-tu ve - choh, — ve - sha-ma-chei-nu bi-shu - o - te - choh, be - ta - heir —

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

603
 li - bei-nu, le - av-de-choh — be - e - mes. Ve - han-chi-lei nu, Ha - shem e-lo-kei-nu be-

608
 a - voh v'ro-tzon sha-bas ka-de - she - choh, — ve-ya - nu-chu boh — yi-ro-eil — me-

612
 ka-de-shei she-me - choh. Bô - ruch — a-toh Ha - shem, — me-ka-deish — ha-

617 *Slow, gravely*
ff sha - bos. *mf* Re - tzei A - de-shem e - lo - kei - nu be-

623
 a - me-choh Yis - ro - el, u - vi-se-fi-la - sam, — ve -

627
 ha - sheiv es ho - a - vo - doh, li-de - vir bei - se -

631
 choh. Ve-i - shei Yis - ro - - - el. Use - fi - lo-soh be-a-ha -

636
ff vah te-ka-beil be-ro - tzon. *mf* U-se - chi le-ro - - - tzon, *f* u-se-

640
 chi le-ro - - - tzon, — ta-mid a vo-das, a - vo-das-Yis-ro-eil a-me-choh. *mf*

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

644

 Ve-se-che-ze-noh ei - nei-nu be-shu-ve-choh le - tzi - on be - ra - cha-mim. Bo -

647

 ruch - a-toh Ha - shem, *ff* ha-ma-cha-zir she-chi-no-soh le - tzi - on -

651

p Mo - dim a - nach - nu — lach, *mf* sho-a-toh hu Ha-shem e-lo-

656

 kei-nu ve-lo-kei a-vo - sei-nu *f* le-o-lom vo - ed. *mf* Tzur — cha-yei-nu, mo-

661

 gein yish - ei - nu *f* a-toh - hu le - dor — va - dor. No - eh le-choh

666

 u-ne-sa-peir ————— te-hi-lo-se-choh al ha-ye-ei-

669

 nu — ha-me-su-rim be-yo-de-choh, ve-al nish-mo-tei-nu ha-pe-ku-dos loch, ni-se-

673

 choh she-be-choh she-i-ma-nu, ve-al nif - le-o - se-choh ve-to-vo-se-choh she-be-chol eis,

677

ff e - rev vo - vo - ker ve - tzoh-ro-yim. — *p* Ha - tov

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

681
 ki loh ko - lu ra - cha-me-choh, ha - tov ki loh ko - lu ra - cha-me-choh, ha - *ff*

684
 tov — ki loh ko - lu ra - cha-me-choh, ve-ham - ru - heim ki loh sa - mu cha - so -

688
 de - choh, me - o - lom — *mp* ki - vi - nu - loch. Ve - al - cu - lom yis -

692
 bo - rach v - yis - ro - mam shi - me - choh mal - kei - nu to - mid le - o - lom vo - ed *f* Ve -

695
 choh ha - cha - yim yo - du - choh se - loh, vi - ha - le - lu es shi - me - choh be - e - *ff*

699
 mes, ha - eil y'shu a sei - nu ve - ez - ra - sei - nu se - loh. Bo - rich - a - toh - Ha - *mf*

703
 shem, — ha - tov shi - me - choh u - le - choh no - eh le - cho - dos. *p*

709
f Sim sha - lom, — to - voh, to - voh uv - re - choh, chein ve - che - sed ve - *ff*

714
 ra - cha - mim — o - lei - nu ve - al - kal yis - ro - - - eil a - me -

Shachris for Shabbos (Rosh Chodesh)

719 **Freely, with much expression**

choh. _____ *f* Bo-re - chei - - - nu a - ve - nu, *ff* a -

724

ve - nu ku-lo - nu, ku - lo-nu ke-e - chad _____ be - or _____ pa -

729

ne - choh. *mf* ki be - or pa - ne - choh no - sa - toh lo - nu, A - de -

733

shem e-lo-kei-nu to-ras-cha yim ve a-ha-vas che - sed. _____ u-tze - do-koh *mp* u-ve -

738

ro-choh *p* u - ra-cha-mim *pp* ve - cha - yim ve-sho - lom. *pp* Ve -

743

tov - ve-ei-ne - choh le-vo-reich _____ es a-me-choh Yis-ro - eil, be -

747

chol _____ eis u-ve - chol _____ sho-oh bish - lo - me - - - choh. _____ Bo -

751

ruch _____ a - toh Ha - shem, _____ *ff* ha-me-vo-reich es m'choh yis - ro - eil _____

755

fff ba sha - lom.

4.3.2 Raphael Siev

Raphael Siev (Hebrew name *Raphael Avigdor ben Natan Ya'acov*), younger brother of Stanley Siev (above), was born in 1930s Dublin, during a period of political disquiet across pre-war Europe. Socialised into the milieu of Jewish South Circular Road in his youth, he was also educated at The High School, Dublin and Trinity College, Dublin. Having qualified and practiced as a barrister for a time, he joined the Civil Service, becoming a diplomat in the Dept. of Foreign Affairs, his career enabling him to represent Ireland in embassies throughout the world. After retiring from the Civil Service, he became widely associated with the Irish Jewish Museum, of which he was the Curator. When I regularly heard him in the synagogue, it always appeared to me that he really enjoyed the act of *davening*; his was a true act of communication between himself, his congregation and the Almighty. Of significance in the context of this project, other than the depth of his scholarly religious learning, was the fact that he had attended Walworth Road synagogue in his youth, and had internalized liturgical musical practices from there. In addition to this historical association, he represented practices current in Machzekei Hadass synagogue, where, as *ba'al tefilah*, he led almost all Sabbath and holy day services until his sudden death in 2009.



Fig. 4(ii) Raphael Siev pictured in the Irish Jewish Museum.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 17/02/08).

Mussaph for Shabbos morning

per Raphael Siev

Transcribed and transliterated by

23/01/07

Melanie Brown

With movement *Kaddish*

f
Yis-cha-dal ve-yis-cha dash— sh-mei ra-boh. Be-a-le-moh

p
di-ve-roh ki-re-u-sei ve-yam-lich mal-chusei, *f*
be-cha-yei-chon uv-yo-mei-chon

mp
u-ve-cha-yei di-kowl Beis Yis-ro-el, ba-'la u-biz-man ka - rim, vim-ru A -

mp
men. Veyei she-mei ra-boh me-vo - rach le-o-lam u-le-al-mei-ol-ma - yoh.

f *p*
Yis - bo-rach ve-yis-ta-bach ve-yis-pa-ar ve-yis-ro-man ve-yis-na-sei

f
ve-yis-ha-dar ve-yis-a-leh ve-yis-ha-lal sh'mei di ku-de - shoh brich-hu.

f
lei - loh min kol bi - re - cho-soh ve-shim-ro-soh

mf *Mussaph*
tu-she-ve-cho-soh ve-ne-chem-a-soh di-am-ran be-a-le-man v'yim-ru A -

mf
men - Ba - ruch a - toh— A-do - nai e-lo-

hei-nu ve-lo-hei a-vo - sei - nu, ve-lo-hei A-vra - ham, ve-lo-hei Yitz-

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

30
 chak, ve-lo hei Ya-a - kov. *mp* Hoel ha-go-dol ha-gi - *f* bor ve-ha-no-rah,

34
 eil el-yon, *mf* go-meil cha-si-dim towvim ve-ko-nei-ha-kol, — zo-keir chas-dei o-

38
 vos, *mp* u-mei - vi go-eil li-ve-nei be-nei-chem, *f* *p* le-man she-moh — be-ha - voh.

42
 Me-lech oi-zer u-mo - shi' u-mo-gein. *mf* Ba ruch a - toh A-do - nai ma -

46
 gein — A - vra ham *f* A - toh gi-bor le-o-lam - A-do-nai

49
 me-cha-yei mei-sim a-toh, rav le-ho-shi-ach. *mp* Ma - shiv ha-ru-ach u - mow-rim ha

53
 ga-sham. *rit.* *p* *a tempo* *f* Me - cha - ye-cheil cha-yim ve - che-sed, me-cha -

57
 yei mei-sim b'ra-cha-mim ra-bim, so - meich no-flim, verowpei holim,

59
 u - ma-tir a - su - rim, u - me-ka - yeim e-mu-na - soh li-shei - nei — a -

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

64
 far, *mf* Mi — ka-mo - chah ba - al *f* ge-vo - rows, u -

69
 mid — doi-me-lach, me-lech memis u-me - cha-yeh u-matz - mi-yach *p* ye-shu-

73
 oh. *mp* Ve-ne-man a - toh le - hach - los — mei - sim. Ba -

77
Kedushah
 ruch a - toh — *f* A-do - nai me-cha - yei — ha - mei - sim. *f* Na -

82
 - ri - tze-choh ve - nak — di-she - choh — *p* ke-sod shi-ach sa - re-fei choi-desh,

85
 ha-mak - di - shim shi-me choh ba - choi-desh, *mp* ka - ko - suv al yad

89
 ne - vi-choh, ve - ko - ro - zeh el zeh — ve-a - mar. *f* Ka - doish, ka -

94
 doish, ka - doish A-do - nai tze-vo-ois me-loh, kol ho-retz ke-vo-

98
 doh. — *p* Ke-vo-v - dow ma-lei o-lam me - shor-³sov, *mp* sho-a-lim zeh lo-zeh, a - yei me-

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

102 *f*
 kom ke-vo-doh, le - u - mo - som — bo - ruch yo - mei - ru.

107 *mf* *mp*
 Bo-ruch ke-vowd A-do-nai — mim - ko - moh. Mi-me-koi-moh

112 *f*
 hu yi-fen be-ra-cha - mim, ve-ya-chon am ham-ya-cha-dim she - moh, e - rev va -

117
 vow-ker be-kol yom ta - mid, pa - ma-yim be-a - voh, shema om -

121 *f*
 rim. Shema Yis-ro - eil A-do - nai e-lo - hei-nu, A-do - nai e -

127 *mf*
 chod. Hu-e-lo - hei-nu, hu a-ve-nu, — hu mal-kei-nu, — hu mo-shi-

133 *p*
 ei - nu, hu-ve-ash-mi-ei-nu be-ra-cha-man shei-nis lei nei col chai, le-hi-

137 *f* *mp*
 ois le-chem lei-lo - him. a - ni A-do - nai e-lo-hei - chem.

142 *p* *pp*
 U-di-ve-rei ka-de-she - choh ka - suv lei - mar. Yim - loch A-do-nai le-o-

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

147

 lam ve - cha - yei Tzi - on, le - dor va - dor, Ha - le - lu - - - yoh.

155

 Le - dor va - dor na - gid gad - le - choh u - le nei - tzach ne - tza - chim ke - du - sho -

160

 se - choh nak - dish, ve - shiv - che - choh e - lo - hei - nu mi - pi - nu loh yo - mush le - o - lam vo - ed,

164

 ki eil me - lech ga - dol ve - ka - dosh o - toh. — Ba - ruch a - toh A - do -

168

 nai ho - eil ha - ko - desh. — Ti - kan toh sha - bos ra - tzi - soh

174

 ko - re - be - no - se - choh, tze - vi - soh tzi - vi - soh pei - ru - se - hoh im si - du - rei ne - so -

177

 che - hoh, mi - an - ge - choh le - o - lam ke - void yin - cha - lu. A - me - chah

182

 cha - yim za - chu, ve - gam ho - ow - ha - bim de - bo - re - choh ge - du - lah ba - cha -

186

 ru, oz — mi - si - nah nitz - ta - u o - le - choh, va - ti - tza -

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

190

 vei-nu A-do-nai e-lo-hei-nu, le-ha-ke-riv boh ka-re-ban musaf sha-bos ko-roi.

195

 Ye-hi ra-tzon mi-le-fo-ne-choh A-do-nai e-lo-hei-nu ve-lo-hei a-vo-sei-nu,

197

 she-ta-lei-nu be - sim-choh le-a-re - tzei-nu, ve-si-ta-ei-nu big-vu-lei-nu,

201

 ve-shom na-seh le-fo-ne-choh es kar-be-nos cho-vo-sei-nu,

204

 te-mi-dim ke-sid-rom u-mu-sa-fim ke-hil-cha-som.

208

 Ve-es mu-saf yom ha-sha-bos ha-zeh na-a-

211

 seh ve-na-ke-riv le-fo-ne-choh be-a-ha-voh, ke-mitz-vos re-tzo ne-choh,

214

 ke-moh she-ka-sa-va-toh o-lei-nu be-so-ra se-choh, al-ya-dei mo-she

217

 a-vo-de-choh, mipi ke-vo-de-choh ko-mur.

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

220 *mf*
 U-va-yoim ha sha bos she-nei ke-va-sim be-nei sa-noh, te-mi-mim,

223 *p*
 u - she - nei e - so-rim se-les min-choh be - lu - lah be-she-men ve - ni - sechoh,

225 *f* *p*
 ow-leh sha-bas be-sha-ba-tow, al ow-las ha - ta - mid v'nis-choh.

228 *f*
 Yis-me-chu ve - ma-le-chu-se-choh shoim-rei shabbos ve-ko-rei o-neg, am mei-ka-

232 *p*
 deish she-bi-i, ku-lom yis-be-u ve-yis-an-gu mi-su-ve-choh, u - ba-she-bi -

236 *mf*
 ra-tzi-soh bo ve-ki - dash-tow, chem-das yoi-mim oi - soi - ke - ro-soh,

241 *p* *f*
 zei - ker le - ma-sei be - rei - shis. E-low-hei-nu ve-lo-hei a - vo -

245 *p*
 sei-nu, ra-tzei bim-nu-cha - sei-nu, kado - shei-nu be-mi-tzeh-o - se-choh,


249 *mf*
 ve - sein chel-kei - nu, be-sow-ro-se - choh, sha-ba - ei - nu mi-su - ve - choh,

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

252  *p*
 ve-sam-chei-nu bi-shu-a - se-choh, ve-sa - heir li-vei-nu le - av-de-choh, e -

256  *mf*
 mes, ve-han-ki - lei-nu A-do-nai e-lo - hei-nu be-a-ha-vah, u - ve-ra-tzon sha-


260  *f* *p*
 bas ke-de - she-choh, ve - ya - nu-hu boh yis-ro-eil me-ka-deish she -


264  *f*
 me-choh. Bo - ruch a-toh A-do-nai mei-ka - deish ha - sha -

269  *mf*
 bos - *Concluding hymn*
 Ein ke-lo-hei - nu, ein a-dow-nei - nu, ein ka-mal-kei - nu,

273  *f*
 ein ka-mow-shi-ei - nu. Mi - ke-lo-hei - nu, mi - ka-dow-nei - nu, mi - ka-mal-kei - nu,

277  *f* *mf*
 mi ka-mow-shi-ei - nu. Now-deh e-loh-hei - nu, now-deh ka-dow-nei - nu, now-deh ka-mal-kei - nu,

281  *f*
 now - deh ka-mow - shi - ei - nu. Bo-ruch e - lo - hei - nu, bo-ruch ka-dow-nei - nu,

284  *f* *mf*
 bor - ruch mal-kei - nu, bo-ruch ka-mow-shi-ei - nu. A - toh hu e - lo - hei - nu,

Mussaph for Shabbos morning: Raphael Siev

287



a-toh hu a-dow-nei - nu, *ff* a-toh hu mal-kei - nu, *f* a-toh hu mow-shi-ei - nu. *mp* A-toh-hu

291



she-hi-k'ti-ru a-vo - sei-nu le-fo - ne-choh, es - ke - tsi - res ha - sa-mim

4.3.3 Dr Howard Gross

Howard Gross (Hebrew name *Chaim Moshe ben Nossen*) began life in 1940s Dublin during World War II at a time when anti-Semitism had reached an apotheosis across Europe; in the year of his birth, his father (whose parents were Dublin-born) was legally prevented from buying a dental practice in Dublin on the basis of his religious affiliation. Born and raised in Terenure, beyond the Pale of the South Circular Road Jewish settlement, he was educated at Stratford College, Dublin, one of the first pupils at the (then) new private Jewish secondary school. He subsequently attended the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland, qualifying as a dentist, a profession which he still practices. While continuing to meet the demands of his work, he has devoted his life to selfless public duty towards the Dublin Jewish community; over the years, few communal institutions have not benefited from his learning, wisdom, integrity and humanity. Subjectively, I enjoy his fluent, articulate *davening* in the synagogue; his high tenor voice is intuitively pitch-perfect. He is tremendously learned in religious topics, and is steeped in Jewish tradition, and in the *minhag* associated with Terenure synagogue, having attended there his whole life. Thus he represents religious and musical practices in Terenure synagogue both past and present.



Fig. 4(iii) Dr Howard Gross at his book-lined Dublin home.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 23/06/09.)

Shachris for Shabbos Morning

per Dr Howard Gross,

13 February 2008

Transcribed & transliterated by
Melanie Brown.

Voice **Fast**

6 Sho-chein ad — mo - row - me ve - ke - dowsh she - ma. Vo-ko

10 suv ra-na-nu tza-di - kim ba-how la-ya-she-rim no-voh te-hi-lah. Pa - fi ye-sharim tis-ha-

15 lal. U-ve-div - rai tza-di-kim tis-bo - rach. U-vil - shon cha-si-dim tis-ro - man. U-ve-

19 ke-rev ke-dow - shim tis - ka-dowsh - L'how - dows — le-ha-

24 leil le-sha - bei - chah le - po - eir le-ro - meim le-ha-der le-vo - reich le - a -

28 lei u - le - ka - leis, al - kol di - v'rai shi-rows ve - tish - ve - chows

31 Do - vid ben Yi - shei av - de - choh me - shi - che — choh. Yish - ta -

36 bach — shi-me - choh lo - ad — mal - kei - nu, Bo-ro - chows ve-ho-

41 da - ows — me-a - toh ve - ad o - lom, Ba - ruch a - toh Ha - shem, eil

me-lech ga-dowl ba-tish - ba - chows, eil — ha - do-ows, a - don ha - nif-lo-ows,

2
45

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross



ha-bo-her be-shi-rei zim-roh, me-lech eil, _____ hei ho-ow-lo-mim. —



— Yis-ka - dal ve - yis - ka - dash she - mei — ra - boh. Be-al-



moh di-ve roh ki-re-u - sei ve-yam-lich ma-chu-sei, Be-cha-yei - chown u - ve-yo-



mei-chown u-ve-cha-yei di kol beis Yis-ro-el. Ba-a-go-loh u-biz-man ko-riv, ve -



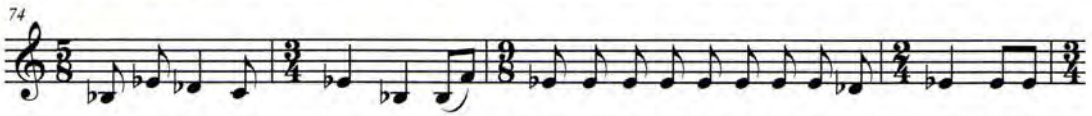
yi-me-ru, A - men. Ye - hei she-mei ra-boh me - v'rach le-o - lom u-lel-mei al-ma-



yoh. Yis - bo - rach — ve-yish - ta - bach ve - yis - po - ar ve -



yis - ro-mam ve - tis - na - sei ve-yis-ha - dar ve-yis-ha-leh ve-yis-ha - lal she-




mei di-kud-shoh breich hu, lei - loh min kal bir-cho-soh ve-shi-ro - soh tush-be-



cho-soh ve-ne-cho - mo-soh, di a-mi - ran bi-a-le-moh, ve - i - me-ru A -

82




men. Bo - re - chu es - Ha - shem — ha-me vo - roch.

87




Bo-ruch Ha - shem ha-me-vo-roch le - o - lam vo - ed. Bo - ruch a - toh Ha -

92



shem e-lo - hei-nu me-teh ha-ow - lom, yo-tzer ovr u-ve-rei chow - shech, ow-seh

97



sho-lom u-vo-rei es ha - kowl. Ein ke - re-che-choh Ha-shem e - lo - hei-nu

100




bo-ow-lom ha - zeh, ve-ein zu - lo-se-choh mal-kei - nu le - cha - yei

105



ho-ow-lom ha - boh. E - fes bil-se-choh go - a - lei-nu li - mows ha-mo-shi-

109



chah, ve-ein dow-meh le - choh mowshi - ei - nu — li-se - chi-yas ha-me -

113

Lively, rhythmic
Eil Adon



sim. Eil o - down al kol — ha-ma - sim, bo-ruch u-me-vo - roch be-

117



pi kol ni-she - moh, — ga-de-low ve - tu - vow — mo - lei — ow - lom,

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

120

 da - as u-se-vu - noh sow-ve-vis ow-sow, — ha-mis-go-eh al chay-ows ha-kow-desh, ve-

124

 ne-dor be-cho - vovd — al ha-mer-co - voh — ze - chus — ve-mi-showr li-fe-nei ki-sow,

128

 che-sed ve-ra-cha-mim li-fe - nei cho-vow - dow, Tow - vim me - ow - rows she-

131

 bo-roh e - lo - hei - nu, yi-tzo - rom beda - as be - vi-noh u-ve-has - keil, —

134

 kow - chah u-ge-vu - roh — no - san — bo - hem, li - hows mow - she - lim be-

137

 ke-rev tei - veil, — m'lei-im zin — u-me-fi-ki-me now - gah, No-eh zi - vam ve-

141

 chol ho-ow - lom, — se - mei-chim bet-zei-sam ve-so-sim be-vow-am, ow-sim be-er-mohi re-

145

 tzon — kow - nom, pe - eir ve - cho - vovd nows - nim — li - shmown,

148

 tz'ho - loh ve - ri - noh le - zei-cher mal-chu - sow, — ko - roh la - she - mesh —

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

151

 va - yiz - rah — ovr, ro - oh ve - his - kin tzu-ras ha-fe-vo - noh, — she - vach

155

 nows - nim low kol — tzi - voh — mo - rowm, — ti - pe - res ug-du - loh se-

159

 ro - pim ve-o - pa - nim ve - cha - yows ha - kow — — — — — desh.

162 **Slower**

 Ku-lom a - hu - vim, ku-lam be - ru - rim, ku-lam gi - vo - rim ve - ku - lam

165

 be - ei - moh u - ve - yi - roh ra - tzown — kow - nom. Ve - ku - lam — — — — — pows - chim - es - pi -

168

 hem bi - ke - du - shoh u - ve - to - ho - roh, be - shi - roh u - ve - zim - roh, u - me -

172

 vo - re - chim u - me - sha - ve - chim u - ma - pa - e - rim u - me - a - a - rtzim u - ma - ke - di - shim —

175

 — u - mam - li - chim. Es shem ho - eil ha - me - lech ha -

178

 go - dowl ha - gi - bor ve - ha - now - rah ka - dowsh hu - - - - Ve - ku - lam — — — — —

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

180

 — me-ka-ba-lim a-lei-hem owl ma-le-chus sho-ma-yim zeh mi-zeh, — ve-

183

 nowsa-nim re-sus — zeh la-zeh, — le-ha-k'dish le-yotzam, be-na-chas ru-chah, be-saw-

187

 faw 'ru-roh u-v'ni - moh ke-du-shoh, ku-lam ke-e-chad ow-

190

 nim ve-ow-me-rim-b'yi-e-roh. Ko-dowsh ko-dowsh ko-dowsh A-de-shem tze-vo-

193

 ows — me-low kol ho'o-retz ke-vow-dow. — V'ho-ow-pa-nim ve-cha-yows ha-kow-desh be-

196

 ra-ash ga-dowl mi-se-na-sim le-u-mas se-ra-fim, le-u-ma-sam me-sha-be-

199

 chim ve-o-me-rim, Bo-ruch ke-yowd Ha-shem mi-me-kow-mow, Ka-a-
 Fast

203

 mur le-ow-sei ow-rim ge-dow-lim ki-le-ow-lam chas-dow. Owr cha-dosh —

205

 — al tzi-yon ta-ir, ve-niz-keh ku-la-nu me-hei-roh le-ow-row. Bo-

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

208

 ruch - a-toh Ha - shem, yow - tzer — ha-me-ow - rows. Va-ha-vi-

212

 ei-nu le-sho - lowm mei - ar - bah ka - na-fows ha - retz,

214

 ve - so - li - chei-nu ko - me - mi - yus le - ar - tzei-nu, ki eil pow-eil ye - shu-ows o -

216

 toh, u - va - nu bo - ha - re - toh, mi - kal am ve - la-shown. Ve-kei-ray-ta -

218

 nu le-shim-choh ha - ga-dowl-se-loh be - e - mes, le-how - dows le - choh u - le - a -

221

 che - de-choh be - a - ha - voh. Bo - ruch - a - toh Ha - shem, ha-bo-

225

 cheir be-a-mow yis-ro-eil — be - a-ha - voh — *Shema* She - ma Yis-ro-el A-de-shem e-lo-

229

 hei-nu — A-de-shem - e - chad. Ha - shem e - lo-hei - chem e - mes.

233

 E - mes sho - a - toh hu Ha-shem e-lo-hei-nu ve-lo-hei-a-vo - sei-nu mal - kei-nu mdech a-vo-

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

237

 sei-nu, go-a-lei-nu go-eil a-vo-sei-nu, yo - tz'rei-nu tzur ye - shu-o-sei-nu, pow-

241

 dei-nu u-ma-tzi-lei - nu mei-o-lom hu she-me - choh, ein e - lo - hum - zu - lo -

244


 se-choh. Te-hi - lows - le-eil e-li-on bo-ruch hu u-me-vow-ro - choh,


248

 Mow-she u - ve-nei Yis-ro-eil le-cho a-nu shi-roh be - sim-choh ra - boh -

252

 ve-am - ru ku-lam. - Mi cha-mo-choh bo-ei-lim Ha-shem, mi-cha-mow - choh -

255

 ne-dar - chow - desh now-roh te-hi-lows o - sei - pe - leh. Shi-ra ha-do -

258

 shoh shi-be-chu ge-u-lim, le - shi-me-choh al-se-pas ha - yom, ya-chad ku-lam

262

 how-du ve-him - li - chu ve - a-me-ru, Ha-shem-yim-loch - - - le-o-lom vo-

266

 ed. - Tzur Yis - ro - eil, ku-mah be - ez-ras Yis - ro - eil, u - fe-dei ki-nu-

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

271 

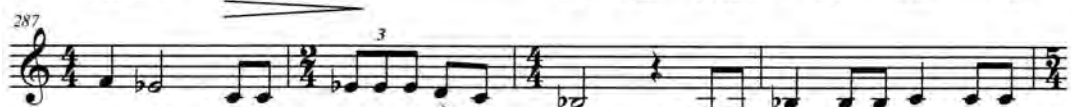
me-choh Ye-hu-dah ve Yis-ro - el. Go - a - lei - nu Ha - shem tze-bo-ows she-

276 

moh, ke - dowsh — Yis - ro - el. Bo - ruch a - toh Ha - shem go-

282 *Amidah* 

al — Yis - ro - el. Bo - ruch a - toh - Ha - shem e - lo -

287 

hei - nu ve-lo - hei a-vo-sei - nu, e - lo - hei Av-ra-ham, e - lo -

291 

hei Yitz-chak, ve-lo-hei Yaa - kov, ha - eil ha-ga-dol ha-gi-bor ve-ha-no-roh eil el-

294 

yon, gow - meil cha-si-dim tow-vim ve-kow-nei ha - kowl, ve-zo - keir chas-dei — o -

299 

vowd, u-meï - vi go-eil li-ve-nei be-nei-chem le - man she-moh be-a — ha - voh.

303 

Me-lech ow-zeir u-mowshi-ah u-mo - gein. Bo - ruch a - toh — Ha - shem, mo-


307 

gein — Av - ra - ham. A - toh gi-bowr le-ow-lom Ha - shem — me-

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

311

 cha-yei mei-sim a - toh rav le-how - shi-ah — Mashiv ho-ru-chah u-mow-rid ha-go -


316

 sed. Me-chal - keil cha-yim ve - che-sed, me - ha - yei mei-sim be - ra - cha-mim-ra -

319

 bim, sow - meich now - flim, ve-ra - fei chow - lim, u-ma - sir a - su - rim, u-me-ka -

326

 yeim e - mu - no - sow, li - shei - nei o - for. mi -

331

 ko-mow-choh ba-al ge-vu-rows, u - mi dow-meh loch, me-lech mei-mis u - me-cha -

336

 yeh u-matz - mi-hah ye-shu-oh. Vene-man a - toh — le-cha - yows mei - sim Bo -

340

 ruch a - toh — Ha - shem, me - cha - yei — ha - mei - sim. Ne -

344

 ka-deish es shim-choh ba - ow - lom, ki - sheim she - ma - ke - di - sim ow-sow bi-se -

349

 mei mo - rowm, ka-ko - suv al yad ne - fi - e - choh, ve - ko - roh zeh

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

354

 — al zeh — ve-a-mar. — Oz be-kol ra-ash ga-dowl —

359

 a-dir ve cho-zok ma-she-mi-yim kol. — Mis-na-si-im l'u-mas se-ra-

363

 fim, — le-u-mo-som — bo-ruch yo-mei-ru. Mi-me-

367

 kow-me-choh ma-le-kei-nu so-fi-a, ve-sim-loch o-lei-nu, ki me-cha kim a-nach-nu

370

 lach. Mo-sei — tim-lowch be-tzi-on, be-ka-rowv be-ya-mei-nu, le-o-lam vo-ed —

374

 — tish-kown. Tis-ga-dal — ve-sis-ka-dash be-sowch ye-ru-sha-

377

 la-yim i-re-choh, le-dor — va-dor u-le-nei — tzach ne-tza-chim. —

381

 — Vi-ei-nei — nu si-re-na mal-chus-choh, ka-do-var ha-mur be-shi-rei u-ze-

384

 choh, al ya-dei do-vid, — me-shi-chah tzi-de-ke-choh.

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

388

 Yimlotvch Ha-shem le-o-lom e-low - ha-yim tzi-on le-dor va-dor— ha-le-lu - yoh. Le-

392

 dowl va-dowl na-gid gad-le-choh u - le - nei-tzach ne-tza-chim ke-du - shas-choh na -

395

 k'dish, ve - shiv-cha-choh e-lo-hei-nu mi - pi-nu loh ya-mush le-ow-lom vo ed ki

399

 eil me-lech ga-dowl ve - ka-dowsh o toh. Bo - ruch— a - toh A - de -

402

 shem, ho - eil— ha - ko - desh. Yis - mach Mow-she be - matnas chel-

407

 kow, ki e-ved ne-e-mon ko ro - soh low. Ke - lil tif - e - res be-row-show na-sa-toh,

411

 be - a - me-dow le - fo - ne-choh al har si - nye. U-shi - nei lu-chows - a - vo-nim

414

 how-rid be-ya-dow, ve - ka-suv bo-hem she-mi-ras sha - bos. Ve - chein ka - suv—

418

 — b'sow-ro-se - choh. Ve - shom-ru ye - nei yis - ro - eil es ha-sha - bos, la'a-

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

422

 sows es ha-sha-bos le-dowr-sam be-ris ow - lom. Ve - ni u - vein be-nei yis-ro -

426

 eil ows hi le-o-lom, ki shei-she's yo - mim o-soh Ha - shem es ha-sho-mayim ve-

430

 es ha - retz, u - va-yowm ha she - bi i, — sho-vas va-yi - no-fash. Ve-

435

 owl ne - sa - tow Ha-shem e - low-hei - nu le - gow-yei ha - a - ro tzows, ve-al-hi-ne-

437

 chal - tow mal - kei - nu l'ow - ve - dei fi - si - lim, — ve -

440

 gam bi - me - nu - cha-sow low yi - se - ke - nu a - rei - lim, ki le - yis - ro - eil

443

 a-me-choh ne - sa - tow b'a-ha-voh le-ze - rah Yaa - kowv, a-she'r bom bo-char - toh.

446

 Am me - ka - de-shei she - bi, — ku - lom yi-se-bu ve - yis - an - gu mi - su

451

 ve-choh, u - vashe bi ro - tzi - toh bow ve - ki - dash tow. Chem-das yo - mim

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross


455 
 ow - sow ko - ro - soh. Zei - ker — le - ma - a - sei ve - rei - shis. E - low -

458 
 hei - nu ve - low - hei a - vo - sei - nu, re - tzei bim - nu - cho - sei - nu,

462 
 ka - de - shei - nu be - mitz - vo - se - choh, ve - sein che - le - kei - nu be - so - ro - se - choh. Sa - be -


465 
 ei - nu mi - su - ve - choh, ve - sam - chei - nu vi - sua - te - choh, ve - sa - heir li - vei - nu, le -

471 
 ov - de - chah be - e - mes. Ve - han - chi - lei - nu A - de - shem e - low - hei - nu

473 
 be - a - ha - vah u - ve - ra - tzon sha - bas ka - de - she - choh, ve - ya - nu -

475 
 hu boh yis - ro - eil me - ka - de - shei she - me - choh. Bo - ruch — a - toh Ha -

478 
 shem, me - ka - deish — ha - sha - bos Ra -

482 
 tzei A - de - shem e - low - hei - nu be - a - me - choh yis - ro - eil u - vis - pi - la - sam,

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

483

 ve - ha - seiv es ha - a - vo - dah li - de - vir bei - se - choh,

484


 ve - i - shei yis - ro - eil u - se - pi - la - sam be - a - ha - vah te - ka - beil be - ra - tzon,

485

 u - te - hi le - ra - tzon ta - mid a - vow - das yis - ro - eil a - me - choh. Ve - se - che -

487

 ze - noh ei - nei - nu be shu - ve - choh le - tzi - on be ra - chaim. Bo - ruch — a - toh Ha -

491

 shem, ha - ma - cha - zir she - chi - no - sow le - tzi - own, — mow - dim a - nach - nu loch. Sho -

495

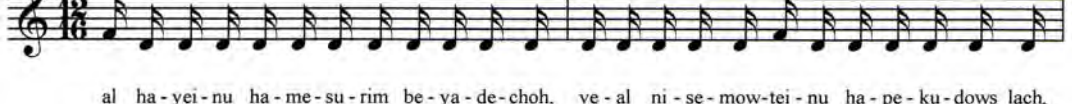
 a - toh hu Ha - shem e - low - hei - nu vei - lo - hei a - vo - sei - nu le - ow - lom vo ed.

496

 Tzur cha - yei - nu, mo - gein yi - shei - nu a - toh hu le - dowr va - dowr.

499

 Now - deh le - choh u - ne - sa - peir te - hi - la - se - choh

500

 al ha - yei - nu ha - me - su - rim be - ya - de - choh, ve - al ni - se - mow - tei - nu ha - pe - ku - dows lach,

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

502

ve - al ni - se - choh she - be - chol yowm i - ma - nu, ve - al ni - fe - low - se - choh

504

ve - tow - vow - te - choh she - be - chol eis, e - rev va - vow - keir ve - tza - cha - ra - yim.

505

Ha - towv ki low ko - lu ra - cha - me - choh, ve - ha - me - ra - cheis ki - low sa - mu cha - sa - de - choh.

507

mei - ow - lam ki - vi - nu loch. Ve - al ku - lom yis - bo - rach v'yis - ro - mam

510

shi - me - choh mal - kei - nu ta - mid le - ow - lom vo - ed. Ve - kol - ha - cha -

513

yim yow - du - choh se - loh vi - ha - le - lu es shi - me - choh be - e - mes, ho -

515

eil ye - shu - o - sei - nu ve - ez - ra - sei - nu se - loh. Bo - ruch — a - toh Ha - shem, ha -

519

tov shim - choh u - le - choh ne - eh le - how - dows. E - low - hei - nu ve - low - hei a - vow -

523

sei - nu, bo - re - chei - nu ba - be - ra - chah ha - me - su - le - shes, ba - tow - roh, ha - ke - su - voh,

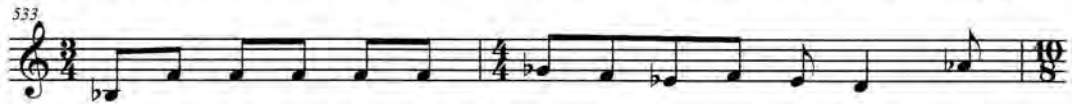
Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

526 

al - ya-dei Mow-she av-de-choh, ha - a - mu-roh mi-pi A - ha-rown u - va - nan, cow-ha - nim

529 

am ke-du-she-choh, ka - mur — Ye - vo - re-che-choh Ha-shem, v'yi - she-me-re-choh, yo

533 

eir Ha - shem po - non ei - le - choh vi - chu - ne - choh, yi -

535 

soh Ha - shem po - non ei - le - choh ve - o seim le - choh sho - lowm. —

537 


Sim sho - lowm tow - voh, u - ve - ro - choh, hein, vo - che - sed, ve -

539 

ra - cha - mim o - lei - nu ve - al kal yis - ro - eil a - me - choh, bo - re -

541 

chei-nu a - vi - nu, ku - la - nu ke - e - chad be - ovr po - ne-choh, ki ve-ovr po -

544 

ne-choh no - sa - toh lo-nu, Ha-shem e - lo-hei-nu, tow-ras cha-yim ve - a - ha - vas che-sed,

548 

u - tze - do - koh, u - ve - ro - koh, ve - ra - cha - mim, ve - cha - yim ve - sho-lowm. Ve -

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

550

 towv be-ei-ne - choh le-bo-reich es a-me-choh yis-ro-eil, be-

554

 kol eis u-ve-kol sho-oh, bi-sh'low-me-choh. Bo-

558

 ruch a-toh Ha-shem, ha-me-vo-reich es a-mow yis-ro-eil ba-sho-

563 *Kaddish*

 lowm. Yis-ga-dal ve-yis-ka-dash she-mei ra-boh. Be-o-le-

566

 moh di-be-roh ki-ru-sei, ve-yam-lich ma-le-ku-sei,

567

 be-cha-yei-chown u-ve-yow-mei-chown u-ve-cha-yei di kal beis yis-ro-eil,

568

 ba-a-go-loh u-vi-ze-man ko-riv, ve-i-me-ru, A-men. Ye-

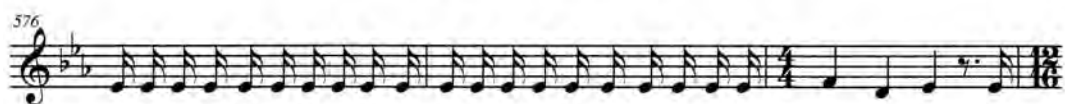
571

 hei she-mei ra-boh me-vo-rach le-olam u-le-a-le-mei ol-ma-yoh. Yi-he-bo-rach

574

 ve-yi-she-ta-bach ve-yi-se-po-ar ve-yi-se-ro-mam ve-yi-se-na-sei

Shachris for Shabbos per Dr. Howard Gross

576 

ve-yi-se-ha-dar ve-yi-se-a-leh ve-yi-se-ha-lal she-mei di ku-de - shoh b'rich hu. Le-

579 

ei-loh min kal bi-re-cho-soh ve-si-ro-soh tu-se-ve-cho-soh ve-ne-cho-mo-soh,

581 

di a-me-ran be-a-le-man ve-i-me-ru A - men Tis - ka-dal

584 

tze-low-se-hown u-vo-u-se-hown di-kal yis-ro-eil ka-dom a-vu-hown

586 

di vi-she-ma-yah ve-i-me-ru A - men. Ye-

589 

hei she-lo-moh ra-boh min she-ma-yah ve-cha-yim o-lei-nu ve-al

591 

kol yis-ro-eil, ve-i-me-ru A - men. Ow-seh sho-lowm bi-me-ru-man, hu ya-

593 

seh sho-lowm o-lei-nu, ve-al kol yis-ro-eil, ve-i-me-ru A - men.

4.3.4 Rev. Alwyn Shulman

Rev. Shulman (Hebrew name *Michael Reuvein ben Ariel Leib*) has been part of the fabric of the Dublin Jewish community since 1991. Born in the 1950s, his family avoided the privations of a damaged pre- and post-war European society, having moved to Cape Town from Lithuania at the turn of the twentieth century. Educated at Sea Point High School, and having sung with the choir at Sea Point synagogue from the age of four, he served in the infantry of the South African army until emigrating to Israel in 1979, where he continued his musical studies and attended *yeshiva*. His performance in the synagogue adds dimensions of drama, humour and pathos as well as musicality to the religious experience. It would be impossible to present an account of liturgical musical practices in the synagogues of Dublin without paying homage to the sole professional cantor in Dublin's Jewish community. Acting as cantor at Terenure synagogue at present, he was originally engaged to lead the services at the former Adelaide Road synagogue, where he allowed himself a period of training and acclimatization under the previous incumbent, thereby representing the musical traditions of Adelaide Road over a period of time which extends beyond his presence in that synagogue.



Fig. 4(iv) Cantor Alwyn Shulman in Terenure Synagogue.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 17/06/10).

Shachrit for Shabbat Morning

per Rev. Alwyn Shulman

23 June 2009

Transcribed & transliterated by
Melanie Brown.

Sho-chein ad_ ma - rom, _____ ve-ka-
6
dosh - she - moh, _____ be - fi yi-sha-rim tit-ka - lal, u-vi-div-
10
rei tza-di-kim tit-ba - rach, _____ u-vi - sha - lom cha-si-dim tit-ro - mam,
15
u - vi - ke-rev ke-do - shim _____ tit-ka - dash. _____ U-vi-
20
ma - ka-ko-lat ri - ve-vot, ri - ve - vot — a - me-chah, am - chah beit yis - ro -
26
el, u - vi - ma - ka-ko-lat ri - ve-vot, ri - ve - vot — a - me-chah, am - chah
32
beit yis - ro - el, be - ri - nah yit-pa - ar shim - chah mal - kei - nu
38
be-kal — dor va dor. She - cheim cho-vot kal chai-yi-tzu - rim le-fa-
42
ne - c'Hashem-e-lo-hei - nu v'e-lo-hei a - vo - tei - nu. Le-ho-

46

 dot le-ha-leil le-sha bei-cha le-pa - eir le-ro-mem le-ha-der le-ba - reich, — le-a-

51

 lei u-le-ka - leis, — al ka-le-div-rei shi-rot va-tish-ve - chot Do-vid

56

 ben yi-shei av-de - chah — me-shi - che - chah. Yish-ta - bach shim-

62

 chah la-ad mal - kei - nu, be-ra - chah ve - ho - da-ot me-a - tah ve-ad o - lam. —

67

 Ba - ruch a-tah A-do-nai — eil — me - lech ga - dol ba-tish-ba - chot —

71

 eil ha-ho - dot a - don ho-ni-fla - ot ha-bo - chor be-shim-rei zi-me-rah

77

 me - lech eir — hei ho-la - mim. — Yit-ga - dal — v'yit-ka-

82

 dash — she-mei ra - bah be-a - le-mah di ve-rah ki - ru - ki

85

 v'ya - me - lich mal - ku - tei be - cha - ye

87 

chon u - v'yo-mei-chon u - ve - cha - yei di kal bet yis - ro - el, ba - a - ga -

90 

lah u - biz-man ka - riv, vim - ru A - men. Ye -

93 

hei she-mei ra-bah me-bo-rach le - o - lam u - lya-mei a - le - ma - yah. — Yit-ba -

96 

rach — ve-yish-ta-bach ve-yit-pa-ar ve-yit-ro-man ve-yit-ne - sei v'vit-ha - dar

100 

ve-yit-ha-leh ve-yit-ha - lal — she-mei di kud-shah be - rich hu le -

104 

ei - lah min kal bi - re - ka - tah ve - shi - ra - tah tush-be-cha-tah ve - ne - che - ma -

106 

tah — di a - mi ran — be - a - le - man ve - yi - me - ru A - men. Ba - re - chu

111 

et — A - do - nai — ha - me - vo - rach. Ba -

116 

ruch — A - do - nai ha - me - vo - rach — le - o - lam vo - ed. Ba -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

120

 ruch a - tah A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu me-lech ha - o - lam — yo-tzer

125

 or u - vo-rei ho-sech o - seh sha - lom — u - vo-rei et ha -

129

 kol. — — Ha - kol yo-de-chah ve-hakol yeshab-tu chah ve-ha-kol yo-me-ru, —

133

 ein ka - dosh k'A - do - nai —

135

 Ein ke - re - ke-chah A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu ba - o - lam ha - zeh, ve -

137

 ein zu - la - te - chah mal - kei - nu le - cha - yei ha - o - lam ha - bah, e - fes bi - le -

140

 ke-chah go - a - lei - nu li - mot ha - ma - shi - ach. Ve - ein do - meh le - chah mo - shi - ei -

145

 — — nu le - t'chi - at ha - mei - tim. — *Eil Adon* Eil a - don al

149

 kal ka - me - a - sim, ba - ruch u - me - va - rach — be fi kol ne - sa - mah, gad - loh ve - tu - voh ma -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

153

 lei — o-lam, dal - u-se-vu - nah — so - ve - vim o - toh. Ha - mit-ga-eh al ha-

157

 yon ha-ko - desh, ve-ni - dar ve-ka - vod — al ha-mer-ka-vah, ze - kut o-mi-shor li-fe-

161

 nei — ki-se-oh, che - sed ve-ra-cha-mim li-fe - nei ka - vo-doh. To - vim me-o-rot she-ba-

165

 rah e - lo-hei-nu, yi - tza - ram be-dat — be-bi - nah uv-has - keil, ko-kah u-ge-vu-rah na-

169

 tan — ba-hem, li - hei - yot — mo-sha-lim be - ke-rev tei - veil. Ma - le - im ziv um-

173

 fi-kim no - gah, na - eh zi - vam — be - kal — ha - o-lam, se-mei - chim be-tzei-tam ve-sa-

177

 sim be-vo-am, o - sim — be-ei-mah — ra - tzo-ne ko-nam. Pe - e-re veh ko - vod — no-te-

181

 nim li-she - moh, — tza-ha - lah — ve - ri - nah le - zei-ker ma-le - ku-toh, ke -

184

 rah la - she-mesh va - yiz - rach or, ra - ah — ve-hi-kin, tzu - rat ke-le-vah nah.

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

188

 She not-nim loh kal tzi-vah me - ron, ti - pe - ret u-ge-du - lah, —

194

 — se-ra - fim ve-a-pa - nim ve-ha-yot ha - ko - desh. ve - ku-lam po-ti-tim et pi-

199

 hem, — bi ki - du-shah ub - ta - ka - rah, — be - shi-rah u-be-zim-rah,

203

 u - me - ba - re - chim u - me - sha - be - him, — u - me -

206

 pa - a - rim u - me - re - tzim u - me - ka - di - shim, u - mam - li - kim. —

209

 Ve - ka - lam me - ka - blim a - lei - kem al ma - le - kut sha - ma - yim

213

 zeh — mi - zeh, — ve - no - te - nim — ri - shut zeh la - zeh,

217

 le - ha - ka - dish le - yo - tze - ram be - na - hat ru - chah, be - sa - pah bera-

222

 ah u - be - ni - yi - mah, ka - di - shah ku - lam k'e - chad — o - rim — ve - om-

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

229

 rim — be - yi - rah — Ve-hav-pa - nim —

234

 ve-hi-yot ha - ko-desh, be - rash ga-dol, mit-na - sim lu-mat se-ra - fim, lu-ma-

240

 tam me-sha-ba-chim ve - o - me - rim. — Ba - ruch ko-vod A-do - nai

245

 mi - me-ko - moh. — Ha-me-cho-desh be - tu - voh. — be-

250

 kal yom ta-mid ma-a - sei ve-re - shit — ka - mur — le-o - sei o-rim ga - do - lim —

254

 — ki — le-o - lam — chas - doh, — or — cha - dash,

259

 o - re cha - dash, or cha-dash, al tzi - on, al - tzi - on ta - ir.

265

 V'nis - keh ku - la - nu, v'nis - keh ku - la - nu, me-hei - rah — lei - o -

271

 rah Ba - ruch a-tah A-do - nai — yo - tzer —

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

276



ha-mei - o - rot _____ Va-ha - bi-ei - nu le-sha-lom mei-a - re - koh ka - ne - pat ha -

280



a - retz, ve - to - li - chei - nu ko - me - mi - ot le - a - re - tzei - nu ki

284



eil po-eil ye-shu-ot a - tah, u - va - nu ba - char - tah mi - kal am ve - la -

288




shon, _____ ve - ke - ra - ve - ta - - nu le shi - me - chah ha - ga - dol se - lah be - e -

292



met, le - ho - dot le - chah, le - ho - dot le - chah, u - le - ya - che - de - chah be - a - ha - bah.

295



Ba - ruch a - tah A - do - nai _____ ha - bo - heir be - a - moh yis - ro - eil be - a - ha -

300




vah, _____ She - ma yis - ro - eil A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu, A - do -

306



nai e - chad. A - do - nai el - hei - che - meh e - met,

312



le - dor va - - dor hu ka - yam u - sh'moh ka - yam,

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

315

 ve - ki - se - oh na - kon u - mal - ku - - toh ve - a - mu - na - toh - la - ad - ka - e -

319

 met, al - a - vo - - tei - nu ve - a - ki - nu al ba - nei - nu ve - al do - ro -

324

 tei - nu ve - al kal do - rot ze - rah yis - ro - el a - va - ye - de - chah.

329

 Mal - kei - nu me - lech a - vo - - tei - nu go - a - lei - nu go - eil a - vo - tei - nu, po -

333

 tei - nu u - ma - tzi - ei - nu me - o - lam hu - she - me - chah e - lo - -

338

 him - - - zu - la - te - - - chah. Te - hi -

342

 ot le - eil e - li yon ba - ruch ha - o - me - vo - rach Mo - she u - ve - nei yis - ro - el le - chah

345

 a - nu shi - rah, be - sim - chah ra - bah ve - am - ru ku - lam, - - -

349

 mi - cha - mo - chah be - o - lam A - do - nai mi - cha - mo - chah na - der ba - ko - desh,

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

353

 no - rah te - hi - lot o - sei pe - leh shi - rah ha - da - shah shi - be -

357

 hu ge - o - lim le - shim - chah al sip - chah ha - yom ya - chad ku - lam ho -

360

 du ve - him - li - chu ve - a - me - ru. — A - do - nai yim - loch le - o - lam va - ed.
slow

366

 Tzur yis - ro - el ku - mah be - ez - rat yis - ro - el, u - fe - dei ki - e - u -

369

 me - chah Ye - hu - dah — ve yis - ro - el, go - a -

371

 lei - nu A - do - nai tze - va - ot she - mah, — ka - dosh yis - ro -

374

 el. Ba - ruch a - tah A - do - nai go - al yis - ro - el. Ba -
ppp

381

 ruch a - tah A - do - nai (Ba - ruch she - mah), e - lo - hei - nu ve - lo - hei a - vo - tei - nu

383

 ve - lo - hei Av - ra - ham, ve - lo - hei Yitz - chak, e - lo - hei Yaa - kov, ha -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

389

 eil ha-ga-dol ha-gi-bar v'ha-no-rah eil e - l'yon go-meil ha - sa - dim to - vim,

391

 ve-ko-nei ha - kol, _____ ve - zo - kei ha - si-dei a - vot, _____

393

 u-mei-vi go - eil li - ve-nei be-nei - chem le - ma - an she - moh be - ha - vah.

396

 Me-lech o - zer u - mo-shi - ah ma - - gein. Ba - ruch a - - tah _____ A - do -

400

 nai (Ba-ruch she-mah) ma - - gein A - vro - ham _____ A - tah gi -

404

 bar le-o-lam A-do-nai me-ha-yei mei-tim a-tah rav le-ho-si - ah Ma-siv ha -

408

 ru-hah u - mo-rid ha-ga-sem. Me-kal-keil cha-yim ve - che-sed

412


 me-ha-yei mei-tim be-ra-cha-mim ra - bim, so - meich no-flim ve-ra - fei ho -

416

 lim u-ma - tir a - su - rim, _____ u - me - ka - yei e - mu - na - teh _____

Shachris for Shabbat Morning


421 
 — li-shei-nei a - far, mi - ka - mo-chah ba - al ge-bu - rot, u - mi do-meh

427 
 lach, me-tech mei - mit u - me-cha-yeh u - ma-tzeh mi-hah ye-shu - ah,

431 
 ve-ne-e-man a - toh li - ha-cha - yot - mei - sim. Ba-ruch a - tah — A - do -

434 
 nai (Ba-ruch she-mah) me-cha - yei —

437  *Kedushah*
 — ha-mei - tim. Ne-ka - deish et shi-me-


441 
 chah — ba-o - lam ke - sheim, — she-mah ke-di-shim o - toh —

446 
 bi - she-mei ma - rom. — Ka-ka - tuv al yad ne-vi - e - chah, ve-

451 
 ka - rah — zeh — a-le-zeh — ve - a - mar, Az be-kol

455 
 ras — ga-dol a - dir ve-cha-zak ma - sh'mi - yim kol. Mit-na-si - im lu-meh se-ra-

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

460 
 fim. _____ Le-ma - tam _____ ba - ruch yo-mei - ru.

467 
 Mi - me-ko - mah _____ mal-kei - nu so - fi - ah ve - tim - loch _____

472 
 a - lei - nu ki me - cha-kim a-nach - nu _____ lach. Ay, ay, ay, ma - tye _____

477 
 tim _____ loch be - tzi - on _____ be - ka - rov be-ya-mei - nu le -

482 
 o - lam va - ed _____ tish - kon, _____ ti - te-ka - dal ve - tit - ka - dash be -

486 
 toch ye-ru-sha-ly-em i - re - chah, le - dor _____ va - dor u - le -

490 
 nei-tzach ne-tza - chim. Ay, ay, ay, ve - nei - nu ti - i-rei - nah

495 
 ma-le-chu - te - chah, _____ ka - da - var _____ ha - mur be - shi - rei u - zeh -

500 
 - - chah, a - le ya-dei _____ Do - vid mo - shi-ach tzi-de - ke - chah.

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

505

Yim - loch A-do-nai le-o-lam e-lo-hy - yich tzi-on le-dor va-dor ha - le - lu - yah.

511

Le - dor va - dor na - gid gad - le - chah, u - li -

514

nei - tzah ne - tza-chim ke - du - sha - te - chah na - ka - dish, ve - shi-ve-chah

516

e - lo - hei - nu mi - pi - nu loh ya - mus le - o - lam va - ed, ki

518

eil me-lech ga-dol ve-ka-dosh a - tah. Ba - ruch a - tah A - do - nai — ha -

522

eil ha-ka - dosh — Yis - mach Mo - she — be - ma - tenach hel - koh, —

526

ki e-ved ne - ma-neh ka - ru-tah loh, k'lil - ti - fe - ret be - ro - sho-nah ta - tah be -

530

a-mo-doh le-fa-ne-chah, a - le-ha-ar si-nye, u-shi - nei lu - chot a - ve - nim, —

534

ho - rid be-a - doh, — ve - ka - tuv ba-hem, she - mi-rah sha - bat, ve -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

538

ka - tuv ba-hem, she - mi-rah sha - bat, ve - kein ka-tuv be - to - rah te -

542

- - chah, ve - kei-ne ka - tuv be - to-rah te - chah. Ve - sho-me-ru —

546

be-nei yis-ro-el et ha-sha - bat, la-a shot et ha sha-bat le do-ro-tam be-rit o -

549

lam, bei - ni u-vein be-nei yis-ro-el ot him le-o - lam ki shei - shet

553

ya-mim a-sah A-do-nai et ha-sha - ma-yim, ve-et ha-a - retz, u - va -

557

yom ha - she - vi sha - bat va-yi-na - fash, ve - loh - - -

562

- na - ta - tah A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu le - go - yei ha - ra - tzot —

565

vi - loh hi - ne - cha - le - toh mal - kei - nu le - o - vi - dei pe - si - lim ve - gam bi - me - nu - cha - toh

568

loh yi - she - ke - nu a - rei - lim. Ki le - yi - she - ra - ei a - me - chah ne - ta - toh be -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

572

a - ha - vah, la - ze - rah Ya - a - kov a - sh - re la - ne be - cha - re - tah.

577

Am me - ka - de - shei she - bi - i, ku - lam yi - she - be - u ve - yi - teh - a - ne - gu mi - tu -

580

ve - chah, a - va - sha - bi - i ra - tzi - tah boh ve - ki - dash - toh,

584

chem - dat ya - mim o - toh ka - ra - tah, zei - ker le - me - sei ve - rei - shis.

589

E - lo - hei nu ve - lo - hei a - vo - tei - nu ra - tzeh bi - me - nu - cha - tei - nu, ka - di -

591

shei - nu be - mitz - voh te - chah ve - tein che - le - kei - nu be - to - rah - te - chah,

594

sha - be - ei - nu mi - tu - ve - chah ve - sa - me - chei - nu bi - shu - a - te - chah ve - ta -

597

heir li - bei - nu le - av - de - chah be - e - met, ve - han - ki - lei - nu A - do - nai e - lo -

601

hei - nu, be - a - cha - vah u - ve - ra - tzon sha - bat kad - she - chah, ve - ya - nu - chu boh

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

605 
 yis-ro-el me-ka-desh shei she - me-chah. Ba - ruch ___ a - tah A-do - nai me-ka-

610 
 deish ___ ha-sha - bat. _____ Re - tzeh ___ A - do - nai e - lo -

614 
 hei - nu be - a - me-chah yis - ro - el u - vi - te - fi - la - tam, ve-ha -

616 
 sheiv et ha - a - vo - dah li - de - vir bei - te - chah,

617 
 ve - i - shei yis-ro-el u - ti - fi - la - tam be - a - cha - vah te - ka - beil be - ra - tzon u -

619 
 te - hi be - ra - tzon a - vo - dat yis - ro - el a - me - chah ve - te - cha - ze - nah ei - nei - nu,

622 
 be - shu - ve - chah le - tzi - on be - ra - cha - mim. Ba - ruch a - tah A - do - nai ___

626 
 ha - ma - cha - zir shi - chi - na - toh ___ le - tzi - on. _____ Mo - dun a - nach - nu lach,

632 
 Ka - tov ki loh ka - lu ra - cha - me - chah ve - ham - ra - cheim ki loh ta - mu ha - sa -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

636



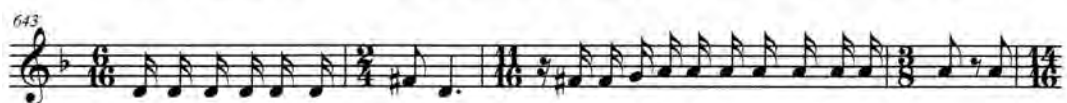
de-chah me-o - la - me ki - vi - nu - lach. Vi - al — ku-lam yit-bo -

640



rach ye-hit-ro-man shi-me-chah mal-kei-nu ta - mid le-o-lam vo-ed ve-kol

643



ha-cha-yim yo-de-chah se-lah. Ve-ha-he-lu et shi-me-chah be-e - met ha-

647



eil ye-shu-a-tei-nu ve-ez-ra-tei-nu se-lah. Ba - ruch a-tah A-do - nai — ha-

651




tov shi-me-chah u-le - chah ne-eh le - ho - dot. E-do - hei-nu ve-lo-hei a - vo-

655




tei - nu, ba-re - chei - nu ba - be - re - chah ha - ma - shu - le - set ba -

657



to - rah ha - ke - tu - vah al - ye - dei Mo-she a - ve - de-chah. Ha-mu - rah mi-

660



pi A - ha - ron u - ba - nan. Ko - ha - nim am ki-du - she-chah ka - mur. Y-

665



va-re-che-chah A-do - nai ve-yish-me-re-chah, (ye-hi ra-tzon) ya - eir A-do - nai pa-

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

670

 nan ei-le-chah vi-hu-ne-chah, (ye-hi ra-tzon) yis 'A-do - nai pa - na ei - le - chah

675

 ve - a - seim le - chah sha - lom (ye - hi ra-tzon). Sim sha -

680

 lom to - vah u - ve - ra - chah, cheim ve - che - sed ve - ra - cha - mim,

682

 a - lei - nu ve - al kal yis - ro - el a - me - chah ba - re - chei - nu a -

683

 vi - nu ku - la - nu ka - e - chad be - or pa - ne - chah, ki - ve - or pa -

685

 ne - chah na - ta - tah la - nu A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu, to - rat cha - yim ve - a - ha - vah

688

 che - sed, u - tze - da - kah u - ve - re - chah ve - ra - cha - mim ve - cha - yim ve - sha -

692

 lom, ve - tov be - nei chah, u - le - ve - reich et a - me - chah yis - ro -

696

 el, be - kal eit u - ve - kal sha - ah be - sha - lo - me - chah. Ba - ruch a - tah A - do -

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

701

nai — ha-me-ve - reich et a-moh yis-ro - el ba - sha - lom. —

707 *Kaddish*

Yit - ga - dal v'yit - ka-dash she-mei - ra - bah. (A - men.) be - a - le-mah

710

di - be - rah chi - ru - tei ve - yam - lich ma - le - ku - tei,

712

be - cha - yei - chon u - ve - yo - me - chon u - ve - cha - yei di kal beit yis - ro - el,

713

ba - a - ga - lah u - biz - man ka - riv v'yim - ru A - men. Ye hei sh'mei ra - bah me -

717

ba-rach le - a - lam u-le-a-lemei a - le - ma-yah. (Yis - ba-rach,) Yit - ba-rach

722

v'yis - ta - bach v'yit pa - ar ve - yit - ro - man

725

ve - yi - se - ro - man ve - yit - ha - dar ve - yit - ha - leh ve - yit - ha - lal she - mei di kad - shah. —

728

(Brich hu,) Be-rich hu le - ei - lah min kal bi - re - cha - tah ve - shi - ra - tah,

Shachris for Shabbat Morning

732

 tu - shi - be - cha - tah ve - ne - che - ma - tah di a - mi - ran be - a - le - mah ve - im - ru A -

735

 men. Tit - ka - bal tze - lo - t'hon

738

 u - va - u - te - hon di kal yis - ro - el ka - dam a - vu - hon di vi - she - ma - yah ve - im - ru A - men.

740

 Ve - hei she - la - mah ra - bah min cha - yim, a - lei - nu ve - al kal

743

 yis - ro - el ve - im - ru A - men. O - seh sha - lom bi - me - ro - man,

747

 hu yo - seh sha - lom a - lei - nu ve - a - le kal yis - ro - el ve - im - ru A -

751

 men. _____ (A - - - - - men.)

N.B. Bracketed words indicate congregational responses.

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

per Rev. Alwyn Shulman

24 January 2007

Transcribed and transliterated

by Melanie Brown

Fairly quick, freely *Amidah*

Ba - ruch a - toh Ha - shem e-lo

4
kei - nu ve-lo-hei a-vo-tei - nu, e-lo-hei A-vra - ham, e-lo-hei Yitz-

7
chak ve-lo - hei Yaa - kov, ha - eil ha-ga-dol ha-gi-bor v'ha-ro-rah,

11
eil el-yon, go - meil cha-sa-dim to-vim ve-ko-nei ha - kol,

14
ve-zo-keir chas-dei a - vot, u - mei - vim go - eil li-ve-nei ve-nei-

17
hem, le-man she - moh be-a-ha - vah, me-lech o-zer u-mo-shi-ah ma-gein. Ba-


20
ruch a - toh Ha - shem, ma - a - gein A - vra - ham, a -


24
toh gi - bar leo-lom Ha-shem, me-cha-yei mei-sim a - toh rav le - ho -


26
shiah, Ma-shiv ha-ruch, u - mo-rid ha - ga - shem, Me-cha -

Mussaph for Shabbat morning


29 
 ye-keil cha-yim be - che-sed, me-ch-yei mei-sim ba-ra-cha-mim ra - bim so -

33 
 meich no - flim vro - pei ho - lim ³ū-ma-tir a-su - rim, _____

38 
 u - me - ka - yei e-mu-na-toh le-she - nei a-far. Mi _____


41 
 — cha-moehah bal ge-vu - rot, u - mi _____ do-me-lach, me - lech ma -

45 
 mit ³ū - me - cha - yeh _____ u - matz - mi - ach, ye - shu - ah. Ve-ne-


48 
 ma'an a-tah le-ha-cha-yot mei - tim. Ba-ruch a - tah _____ Ha - shem, me-cha-

52 
 yei _____ ha-mei - tim. *Kedushah* Na - - - ri - tze-chah ve -
 f

56 
 nak - di - she - chah, ke - sod _____ si - ach sa-ra-fei ko -

61 
 desh, *f* ha - mak-di-shim shi-me - chah _____ ba - ko - desh, ka - ka - tuv al

Mussaph for Shabbat morning


66

 yad ne-vi-e - chah, ve - ka - rah_ zeh el zeh_ ve-a - mar. Ka-
mf

70

 dosh, ka-dosh, ka - dosh, Ha - shem tze-va - ot, me - loh kal ha-e - retz ke-

75 **Slower**

 vo - doh. Ke - vo - doh ma - lei_ o - lam, me - sha re -

81

 tav_ sho - a - lim zeh la - zeh, a - - -

85

 - 3 - - - yei me - kom_ ke - vo - - -

89

 doh, le - u - ma - tam le - u - ma - tam_

93 **Fairly quick, freely**

 - ba - ruch yo-mei - ru. Ba - ruch ko-vod Ha-

97

 shem, mi-me-ko - moh. Mim - ko - moh, mim - ko - moh,

101

 hu_ yi - fen be - ra - cha - mim. Ve - ya - chon am, ve-

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

104
 ya - chon — am ham - ya - cha-dim, ham - ya - cha - dim she - moh,

107
 e - rev va-vo - ker be - kol — yom — ta - mid, pa - ma - yim be-a - ha-vah she-

110
 mah o - me-rim. *f* She-ma Yis-ro - el Ha-shem e-lo-kei - nu,

113
 Ha - shem e - - chad. Hu — e-lo-kei - nu, hu — a - ve - nu,

117
 hu mal-kei-nu, hu mo-shi-ei - nu. Ve-hu yash-mi-ei-nu, be-ra-cha-man shei - nit,

121
 lei - nei — ei — kol chai. L'che-yot la - chem — — — — — lei-lo -

125
 him, — — — — — A - ni Ha - shem e - lo - hei chem.

129
 U-div-rei kadshechah ka-tuv lei - mar. Yim-loch A-de-shem le-o-lam e-lo-

132
 hei-yich Tzi-on le - dor va - dor — — — — — Hal - le - lu - chah. Le-dor va-

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

137

 dor na-gid gad-le - chah u - li - nei - tzach ne - tzca-chim ke - du - sha - te - chah nak -

140

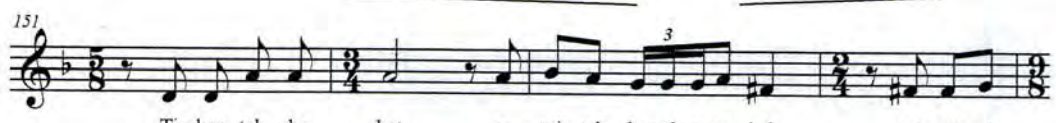
 dish ve - shi - ve - chah e - lo - hei - nu mi - pi - nu lo ya - mus le - o - lam vo -

142

 ed, ki eil me-lech ga - dol ve-ka-dosh a tah. Ba - ruch a - tah Ha -

146

 shem, ha - eil ha - ka - dosh.

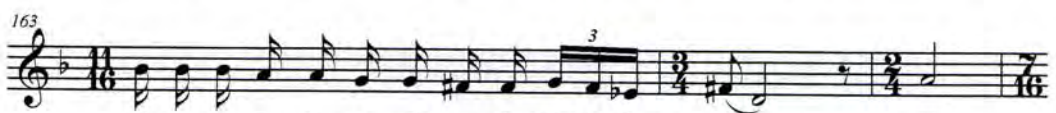
151

mf Ti - kan tah sha - bat ra - tzi - tah ka-reb-no-te - hah, tzi - vi - tah


155

 pe - ru - shi - hah im si - du - rei ne - sa - che - chah, me - a - ne - ge -

159

 hah, le - o - lam ka - vod yin - ha - lu, tu - a - me - chah cha - yim za - ku, ve - gam

163

 ha - o - ha - vim dev - re - chah ge - du - lah ba - cha - ru, az

166

 mi - si - nah nitz - ta - u a - le - hah, va - te - tza - vei - nu Ha - shem e - lo -

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

169

 kei - nu, le-hak - riv bah kar - ban mu - saf sha - bat ka - ra - u. Ye -

173

 hi ra - tzon mi-le-fa-ne-chah Ha-shem e-lo-hei ve-lo-hei a-vo-tei-nu she-ta -

176

 lei - nu be-sim-cha-la-ra - tzei-nu ve - ti - ta-ei-nu bi-ga-vu-lei - nu ve -

180

 sam na-a-seh le-fo - ne-chah et ker-be-not ho - vo - tei - nu.

184

 Te-mi-dim ke-sid-ram u-musa-fim ke-hi-le-ka - sam. Ves

188

 mu - saf yom ha - sha - bat ha - zeh na - seh.

191

 - v³-nakriv ³le-fa-ne-chah b'a-ha-va³ k'mitz-vat ra-tzo - ne-chah, ke - moh she-ka-tav-tah a -

194

 lei-nu be-to-ra - te - chah, al ya-dei Mo-she-av - de - chah, mi - pi ke - vo -

197

 de - - - - chah ka - mur. U-ve-

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

200

yom ha-sha-bat she-nei ke-va-sim be-nei-sha-nah tei-mi-mim, u-she-nei

203

es-ro-nim su-let min-chah be-lu-lah ba-she-men ve-nis - koh. O -

205

lat sha-bat be-sha-ba - toh, al o-lat ha-ta-mid ve-nis - chah. Yis-me-

210

chu be-mal-chu-te-chah shom rei sha-bat ve-ko-rei o-neg, am me-ka-de-shei she-

213

bi, ku - lam yis-ve-hu ve-yis - a - na-gu mi-sa - ve-chah vu - hash -

216

vi rat-zi-tah bo ve-ki-dosh - toh. Chem-das ya-mim o - toh ko-ra - toh

220

ze - - - ker le-ma - sei - - - ve-rei - shit. E-lo-

225

hei ve-lo-hei a-vo-tei - nu ra - tzei vi-mei-nu - ha - sei-nu ka-do -

228

shei - nu be - mitz - vah - se - choh ve - sein chal - kei - nu be - so - ra -

Mussaph for Shabbat morning


229 
 te - chah sha-ba-ei-nu mi-tu - ve-chah ve-sam-chei-nu bi-shu - a - te-chah ve -

232 
 ta - her li-vei-nu le-av-de - chah be - e-met ve - han - ki - lei - nu Ha - shem e - lo - kei - nu, ve -

236 
 a - cha - vah uv - ra - tzon sha - bat - ko - se - chah u ³ ya - nu - chei - vah yis - ro - el me -

240 
 ka - de - shei she - me - chah. Ba - ruch a - tah A - de - shem mei - ka -

243 
 deish ha - sha - bat.

245 
 Ra - tzeh Ha - shem e - lo - kei - nu be - am - chah yis - ro - el u - ves - fi - la - tam ve - ha -

247 
 sheiv et ha - va - chah lid - vir bei - te - chah vi - shei yis - ro - el ut - fi - la tam ba - ha - vah te - ka - beil be - ra -

248 
 tzon u - te - hi la - ra - tzon ta - mid a - vo - dat yis - ro - el a - me - chah

250 
 ve - te - cha - ze - na - ei - nei - nu ve - shu - ve - chah le - tzi - on ve - ra - cha - mim. Ba -

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

254

ruch a - tah Ha-shem - - - ham - chah - zir she-chi-na - toh

259

le tzi - on. Ha - tov ki lo-kal nu - ra-cha-me - chah

263

ve-cham-ra-cheim ki-lo-ta-mu ha-sa - de-chah me-o - lam ki-va - nu - lach

268

ve - a - le - ku - lam ve-ti - ba - rach

270

ve-yit-ro-man shim-choh mal-kei-nu ta - mid le - o - lam vo - ed ve-col ha-cha-

273

yim - yo-de-chah se - lah. Vi - ha - la - lu et sim-cha be - e - met ha-

277

eil - yi-sho-ha - tei - nu vi - ez - ra - tei-nu se - lah. Ba -

281

ruch a - tah Ha - shem ha - to - ve shim - chah u-le-

285

cha-neh le - ho - dot E - lo - hei-nu ve-lo-hei a - vo - tej-nu ba-ra-

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

290

chei - nu ba - bra - chah cha - ma - su - le - set ba - to -

292

rah ha - ka - tu - vah al ya - dei mo - she a - vo - de - chah a - ha - ma - rah mi - pi - a -

295

ha - ron ko - ha - nim a - mi ke - du - se - chah ka - mur

299

y - va - re - cha - shem va - yi - sha - me - ne - chah ya - eir Ha - shem pa - nan ei - le - chah vi - hu -

304

ne - chah yis Ha - shem pa - nan ei - le - chah va - ne - sam la - chah sha -

308

lom. Sim sha - lom to - vah u - va - ra - chah cheim va - che - sed ve -

313

ra - cha - mim a - lei - nu vi - al kal yis - ro - el a - me - chah — ba - re -

318

chei - nu a - vi - nu ku - la - nu ki - e - ched be - yor - pe - ne - chah ki - ba - yor pa -

323

ne - chah na ta - ta - la - nu — Ha - shem e - lo - kei - nu to -

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

328

 rat — cha-yim va - cha - va che-sed u - tze - ro-kach u - ve - re - chah ve -

332

 ra-cha-mim ve - cha - yim ve - sha - lom, ve - to - ve bei - ne - chah le

336


 ba-rach et a-me-chah yis - ro - el ve - kol eit - u - ve - kal bi-sha-lo-me -

341

 chah. Ba - ruch a - tah Ha - shem ha-me-va-

344

 reich et a - mo yis - ro - el ba - sha - lom.

349 **Kaddish**

 Yit - ka-dal ve - yit - ka-dash she-mei-ra - bah (A-men) Be-a-le-na

353

 ve - rah ki - ra - tei - nu ve - ya - me - lik mal - ku - tei,

355

 be - cha - ye - chon u - ve me - ye - chon u - ve cha - yei di kal - bet yis - ro - el

357 **congregation**

 u - biz-man ka - riv ve - yim - ru (A-men) Yeshei she - mei-ra - bah me - ve -

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

361 *congregation*
 rach le-o-lam v' lal-mei-al ma-yah (Yis-ba-rach) Yit-ba-rach ve-yis-ta-bach pa-ar

363
 ve-yit-na-sei ve-yit ha-dar ve-yi-ta-leh ve-yi-t'ha-lal she - mei di kud - shah

370 *congregation*
 (B'reich hu.) Bereich hu le - ei-lah min kal bi-re-ka-tah ve-shu-ra-tah

373 *congregation*
 ta-shi-ba-chat ve-nech-ma-tah di am-ri-an be-a-le-man ve-yim-ru (A-men.) Tit-ka-bei-le

376
 tzi - lot - hon u - va - u - te - chon di kal yis - ro - el

378 *congregation*
 ka - dam a - vo-hon di bish-ma-yah ve-yi-me-ru (A - men.) Ye - hei

381
 she-la-mah ra-bah min she-ma-yah ve - cha-yim a-lei-nu ve-al kal yis-ro-el

384 *congregation*
 v'yim-ru (A - men.) O - seh sha - lom b'yim-ru man

390
 hu - yo-seh sha - lom a - lei - nu

Mussaph for Shabbat morning

395 *ve-al kal yis-ro-el ve - yi-me ru* *congregation* (A - - men.)
Concluding hymn:

399 **Ein Keloheinu**
Lively, rhythmic
mf
Ein ke-lo-hei - nu, ein ka-do-nei - nu, ein ka-mal-kei - nu, ein ka-mo-shi-ei - nu,

403
mi ke-lo-hei - nu, mi ka-do-nei - nu, mi - ka-mal-kei - nu, mi ka-mo-shi-ei - nu,

407
no-deh le-lo-hei - nu, no-deh la-do-nei - nu, no-deh la-mal-kei - nu, no-deh le-mo-shi-ei - nu,

411
ba-ruch e-lo-hei - nu, ba-ruch a-do-nei - nu, ba-ruch mal-kei - nu, ba-ruch mo-shi-ei - nu, a -

415
ta-hu e-lo-hei - nu, a - ta-hu, a-do-nei - nu, a - ta - hu mal-kei - nu, a - ta-hu mo-shi-ei - nu, a -

419
ta-hu she-ki-ti - ru a - vo - tei-nu le - fa - ne - chah, et - ki - to - rat ha - sa - mim.

4.3.5 Carl Nelkin

The youngest of the five featured performers, Carl Nelkin (Hebrew name *Calman Yosef ben Menach Mendel*) was born in 1960s Dublin, in an era when social attitudes were changing and modernising across Europe. Raised in Terenure, he was educated at Stratford College, Dublin and Trinity College, Dublin; he practices as solicitor specialising in the sale and purchase of aeroplanes. I am aware that he is an enthusiastic amateur singer, with particular interest in traditional Yiddish songs which inform his performance in the synagogue. His competence at leading the services in Terenure since childhood makes him an obvious subject for inclusion in this discussion of musical practices in the synagogue.



Fig. 4(v) Carl Nelkin during a recording session.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 15/06/10).

Mussaph for Shabbos Morning

per Carl Nelkin
15 June 2010

Transcribed and transliterated by
Melanie Brown.

Moderately quick, freely
Amidah

mp Bo - ruch a - toh — A - de - shem e - low - hei - nu ve - lo - hei - a - vo -
5 sei - nu, e - low - hei Av - ra - ham, e - low - hei Yitz - chak, e - low - hei Ya - a - kov. Ho - keil
8 — ha - go - dol ha - gi - bar v'ha - no - rah eil el - yon, go - meil chas - i - dim to - vim ve - ko - nei ha -
12 kol, ve - zo - keir chas - dei — a - vos, u - mei - vi go - eil liv - nei b'nei - hem le -
16 man she moh be - a - ha - vah. Me - lech o - zer u - mo - shi - ah mo - gein. Bo -
19 ruch a - toh — Ha - shem, mo - gein Av - ra - ham. A -
23 toh gi - bar le - o - lom A - do - nai, me - cha - yei mei - sim a toh rav l'ho - shi - ah. Me - chal -
26 keil cha - yim ve che - sed, me - cha - yei mei - sim be - ra - cha - mim ra - bim, so -
30 meich nof - lim, ve - ro - fei ho - lim, — u - ma - tir a - su - rim, u - me - ka - yeim
35 e - mu - na - sovm li - shei - nei o - far, mi cho - mo - choh bal ge - vu - rows,

Mussaph for Shabbos Morning: Carl Nelkin

40

 u - mi do - meh lach, me-lech mei - mis — u - me-cha - yeh — u - matz-mi-ach ye-shu-

45

 ah, Ve - ne - man a - toh le - cha - yos mei - sim. Bo - ruch a - toh — Ha -

49

 shem, me-cha - yei — ha - mei - sim. *Slower* *Kedushah* Na

52

 ritz - chah ve - nak - dish - chah ke - sod — si - yach sar - fei ko -

56

 desh, ha - mak - di - shim shim - choh na - ko - desh, ha - mak - di - shim

60

 shim - choh ba - ko - desh, *f* ka - ka - suv al yad ne - vi - e - choh, ve -

64

 ka - rah zeh el zeh *p* ve - a - mar, ke - vo - doh — mo - lei — o - lom, me -


68

 sho - re - son sho - a - lim zeh — la - zeh, a - yei — me - kom — ke - vo - doh,

72

 le - u - mo - som *rit.* bo - ruch yo - mei - ru. *mf* *Moderately quick, freely* Mim - ko - mo, mim - ko - mo,

Mussaph for Shabbos Morning: Carl Nelkin

76

 hu — yi - fen — be - ra - cha - mim, ve - yo - chon am, — ve - yo - chon am — ham -

80

 ya - cha - dim she - moh. — E - rev ve - vo - ker be - chol yom — ta - mid, be -

84

 chol yom ta - mid, pa - ma - yim be - a - ha - vah, — she - ma, she -

89

 ma — om - rim. *mf* She - ma — yis - ro - eil, Ha - shem — e - lo - kei - nu,

92

 Ha - shem e - chad. Hu e - lo - hei - nu, hu — o - ve - nu,

96


 hu mal - kei - nu, hu mow - shi - ei - - - nu, *f* ve - hu yash - mi - ei nu,

99

 be - ra - cha - man shei - nis, shei - nis lei - nei — kol chei, ve - hu yash - mi - ei - nu,

103


 be - ra - cha - man shei - nis, shei - nis lei - nei — kol — chei. Lei - hows la - chem


107

 lei - low - him. — U - divrei ko - shechov kosuv lei - mar. Yi - me -


Mussaph for Shabbos Morning: Carl Nelkin


110 
 loch Haem le-o-lom, e-lo-hei — yich tzi-on, — le-dor va-dor, ha-le-lu-coh. Le-

114 *Fast* 
mf dor — va-dor na-gid gad-le-choh u-le-nei-tzach ne-tza-chim

117 
 ke-du-she-te - choh — nak-dish, ve-shiv-cha-choh

120 
 e-lo-hei-nu mi-pi-nu loh ya-mus le-o-lom vo-ed, ki keil

122 
 me-lech ga-dol ve-ka-dosh a-toh. Bo-ruch a-toh Ha-shem, —

125 
 ho - keil — ha - ko - dosh. —

4.4 Congregational Singing in Terenure Synagogue

In all areas of the Jewish community of Dublin, congregational singing appears fundamental to the act of prayer, and is an integral part of the religious experience in Terenure synagogue. The act of singing invites those present to engage with the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*, and with each other. The *Shachris* and *Mussaf* services presented above do not represent purely solo activity. Instead, they are punctuated with brief congregational responses throughout, and during certain passages (such as *Eil Adon*, cited above) the congregation will join in. In this section, examples of music performed by the congregation are given; they appear in the order in which they occur during the service. It will be seen that transliterations of the Hebrew texts are based on the Lithuanian mode of pronunciation in respect of all passages of music sung by the congregation, as this is largely representative of the congregation at Terenure synagogue at present. Those texts sung by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* (or Reader, in the case of *Anim Zemirot*, which is usually led by child) are transliterated in the modern *Ivrit* pronunciation, as these transcriptions are based on Rev. Shulman's performance practices.

The early part of *Shachris* is usually led by a member of the congregation other than the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*, and begins with *Ma Tovv*. Nowadays in Terenure synagogue, it is the usual practice for each individual member to say this silently as he or she enters the synagogue, notwithstanding which part of the service is being conducted at that particular time. However, until Nick Harris's death in 2006, he used to sing *Ma Tovv* aloud recalling the tradition of the former Adelaide Road synagogue, where the choir (of which he was a member) opened the service with this prayer.

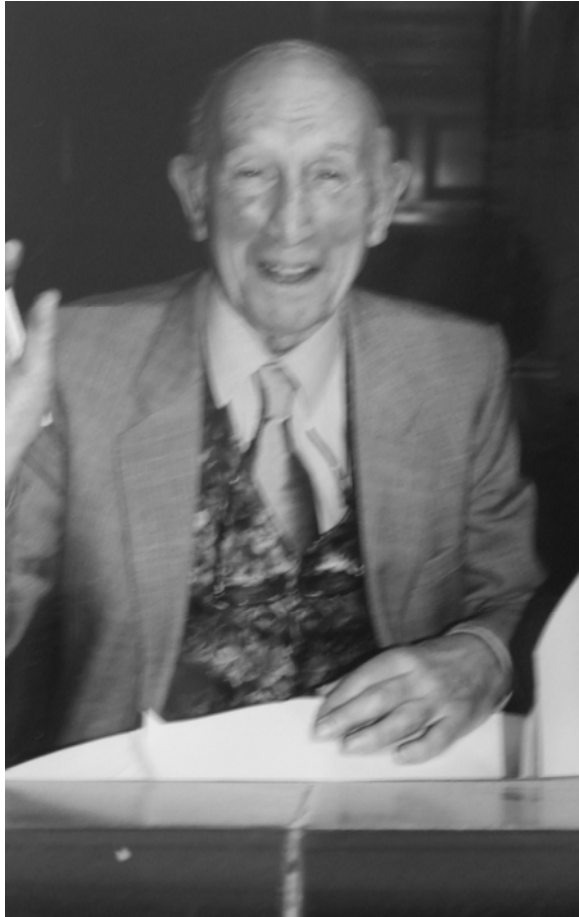


Fig. 4(vi) Nick Harris in a characteristically expansive mood.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 14/07/06).

Example 6. Nick Harris's version of *Ma Tovv*.

Ma Tovv

Based on an original composition by
Louis Lewandowski
(1821-1894)

Moderate

mf Mah tow - vu, mah tow - vu, ma tow-vu o-ho-le - choh ya - a -

8
14 kov mish-k'noh - se-choh yis-ro - eil, mish-k'noh se-choh yis-ro - eil. Va-a - ni be-rov chas-

19 de - choh o - vovs — vei - se - choh esh - ta - chavoh, esh - ta - chavoh, el

25 hei - kal ka-de-she choh be - yir - o - se - choh, el che - ka-de-she - choh be -

31 yir - o - se - choh. O-hav - ti, o-hav - ti, me - on bei-se - choh, u-me-

36 kon mish-kan ke - vo - de-choh. Va-a - ni esh-ta-cha - veh ve-e - ke - ro-oh ho-o-

41 rom, lif-nei E-low-hei ow - si. Va-a - ni se-fi-lo - si le - choh, le choh,

— eis — ro - tzovn, eis — ro - tzovn, E-lo - him be - rov — be -

46
rov cha-se - de - choh a - nei - ni be - e - mes yi - she - e - choh.
rit. -----

There are further examples of congregational singing within the early part of the service. The following transcription is based on one of the few recordings made by women as part of this research. Of the women whom I requested (or who agreed) to participate in my study, my reason for wishing to include “the Watson sisters” (Linda White, Valerie Woolfe and Marilyn Kron) was based on their shared prowess at

singing and participating in synagogue services, a fact of which I was aware due to the proximity of their seats in Terenure synagogue to my own.



Fig. 4(vii) (L-R) Sisters Linda White, Valerie Woolfe, Marilyn Kron (née Watson). (Photograph: M. Brown, 28/10/10).

Studying interactions between the three sisters at close quarters revealed that middle sister Valerie Woolfe was deferred to by the others in respect of her musical prowess. It was she who directed their impromptu rehearsal, and it was she who beat time with her hand throughout their performance. However, Linda White in her role as eldest sister dictated where they should sit, and who should sit beside whom. The following version of *Nishmat* was performed at the home of Valerie Woolfe who hosted us.

Example 7. *Nishmat* per sisters Linda White, Valerie Woolfe and Marilyn Kron.

Nishmat

Traditional, as performed
by Valerie Woolfe and Marilyn
Kron, 28/10/10.

Slow, solemn

The musical score is written in a single treble clef with a key signature of three flats (B-flat, E-flat, A-flat) and a 4/4 time signature. The tempo is marked 'Slow, solemn'. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words underlined. Dynamic markings include *mp*, *f*, *rit.*, and *pp*. The score is divided into three systems, with measure numbers 4 and 8 indicated at the start of the second and third systems respectively.

Nish - mat kol chai te-vo - rech et shim-choh A - dow - nai e -
mp

low - hei - nu, ve - ru - ach kol bo - sor ti-fo - eir - u-tro - mein, ze - chre - choh mal-
f

kei - nu ta-mid, min ha - o - lom ve - ad - ha-o-lom, a - toh eil a - toh eil.
mp *rit.* *pp*

Nishmat occurs towards the end of this early part of the service, after which the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* will ascend the *bimah* and continue with the part of *Shachris* beginning with *Shochein Ad*, as seen above in the transcriptions of *Shachris* as performed by Rev. Shulman, Stanley Siev and Howard Gross. Each of these versions concludes before the *Torah* service, and the *Kaddish* prayer is then recited in order to conclude *Shachris* before the *Torah* service begins.

The *Torah* service itself begins with rituals relating to the handling of the *Sefer Torah*. Firstly it is ceremoniously removed from the Ark in which it is housed, usually by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*. It is carried around the synagogue to an accompanying musical chorus from the congregation (see Example 10). It is usual for the congregation to face the *Sefer Torah*; in Terenure synagogue, most male members of the congregation leave their seats and kiss it as it passes by, usually by means of kissing a gathered fold of their *tallis* and touching the *Sefer Torah*, or by kissing a corner of their *siddur* and touching the *Sefer Torah* with this. Small boys and girls are encouraged to kiss their fingers and touch the *Sefer Torah* (during my childhood, the *minhag* in Greenville Hall synagogue included the doling out of boiled sweets to children who performed this *mitzvah*). The *Sefer Torah* is brought to the *bimah* where it is divested of its silken or velvet covering and its silver finials before being unrolled for the purpose of reading. Whoever reads from the *Sefer Torah* is careful never to

touch the letters with his hands; instead a carved silver pointer called a *yad* (hand) is used. In the Irish Jewish Museum there are many examples of the *yad*, all of them having been salvaged from former Dublin synagogues and fashioned not only from silver but from carved wood, ivory or bone. As mentioned in Chapter 1, the actual *Torah* reading does not fall within the scope of this discussion (other than a description of the trope commonly used in Dublin, which is consistent with that used in United Synagogue congregations in London and Manchester). However, it is the celebration of the appearance of the *Sefer Torah* which is accompanied by musical interplay between the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* and congregation, and which is exemplified below.

The following excerpt occurs before the doors of the Ark are opened. The importance of the action which follows this chorus (the removal of the *Sefer Torah* from the Ark) is underscored by the way in which some members of the congregation spontaneously create harmony against the melody sung by others. In Terenure synagogue, there exists a core group of men who provide this harmony; some harmonise to fulfil their own personal aesthetic in capturing a sense of grandeur in this situation, while others are conditioned to providing harmonic lines having sung with the choir in the former Adelaide Road synagogue. Women usually sing the melody line only. In the following example, we see mainly three-part harmonisation with the use of a seventh chord in the final cadence:

Example 8. Spontaneous harmony at the start of the *Torah* service in Terenure synagogue.

The musical score consists of two staves. The top staff is labeled 'Stately' and 'Congregation'. It shows a melody line with lyrics: *f* A - do - nai me - lech, A - do - nai mo - loh. The bottom staff shows a harmonic accompaniment with lyrics: A - do - nai yim - loch le - ow - lom vo - ed. The score includes a measure number '6' at the start of the second staff and a '10.' at the end of the second staff.

Following this, just before the Ark is opened, we have a further chorus. It can be seen that as the rhythm becomes more complex, the harmony becomes more simplified, ending in a succession of thirds:

Example 9. Variation in harmony as the *Torah* service proceeds.

13 **Stately** Congregation

f Ki _____ ve - choh le - vad bo - toch - nu me - - -

19

lech eil rom ve - ni - son a - down ow - lo ³ mim.

23

Once the Ark is opened and the *Sefer Torah* removed, the following is sung. Further examples of harmony can be seen, and the congregation sings with much energy; the overall mood in the synagogue at this time is one of joy.

Example 10. This is sung while the Sefer Torah is removed from the Ark.

35 **With Movement** Cantor

mf Ve - ye - hi bin - soh ha - ron va - yo - mer — mo -

39 Congregation

she. *f* Ku - moh A - do - nai ve - yo - fu - tzu ow - ye -

43

ve - choh ve - yo - nu - su mi - san - e - choh mi - pa - ne -

47

choh. Ki mi - tzi - on tei - tzei — tow -

51

roh, ki mi - tzi - on tei - tzei — tow -

55

roh u - de - bar A - dow - nai mi - ye - ru - sha - la - - -

59

yim. Bo - ruch she - no - san — tow - - - -

63

roh, bo - ruch she - no - san — tow - - - -

67

roh le - a - mow yis - ro - eil bi - ke - du - sho - - - - sow.

rit.

The *Sefer Torah* is held aloft for all to see, and is borne around the synagogue in a procession, brought to the *bimah* and unrolled in preparation for the weekly reading. While these actions are occurring, the following musical interactions take place between the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* and the congregation. Two alternative versions of

the initial “*Shema Yisroel*” statement are given, as the choice of which melody to use varies from week to week. When asked about this, Rev. Shulman replied “It just depends what mood I’m in, that’s how I choose which tune to use” (in conversation, 17 June 2012). Once again, the members of the congregation are inclined to provide harmony, particularly sequences of thirds.

Example 11. Shema Yisroel as performed by cantor and congregation at Terenure synagogue.

Shema Yisroel

The musical score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). It is divided into sections for Cantor and Congregation. The lyrics are in Hebrew with English transliterations below. The score includes various musical notations such as dynamics (ff), articulation (accents), and phrasing slurs. The piece concludes with a final cadence.

Cantor

ff She - ma Yi - sro - el A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu, A - do - nai — e -

Alternatively

chad. *ff* She - ma Yi - sro - el A - do - nai e - lo - hei - nu, A - do -

Congregation

nai e - chad. She - ma yis - ro - el, — A - dow - nai e - low - hei - nu A - dow - nai e -

Cantor

chod. E - chad e - lo - hei - nu ga - dol a - do - nei - nu ka - dosh — she -

Congregation

moh. E - chod e - low - hei - nu ga - dowl a - dow - nei - nu ko - dowsh she - mow. Gad -

Congregation

lu A - do - nai — i - si un - ro - ma - mah she - moh — yach - don. Le -

Cantor

choh A - dow - nai ha - ge - du - loh ve - ha - ge - vu - roh ve - ha - tif - e - res ve - ha - nei - tzach ve - ha - chowd,

Congregation

ki kowl ba - sho - ma - yim u - bo - o - retz, le - choh A - dow - nai ha - mam - lo - choh, ve -

48
ha - mis-na-sei le - kowl le - rowsh. Row-ma - mu A - dow-nai e - low - hei - nu, ve-

52
hish - ta-cha-vu la-cha - vovm rag - lon ka - dowsh hu. Row-ma - mu A - dow-nai e - low-

56
hei - nu, ve - hish-ta-chavu le - har kod-show ki ko - dowsh A-dow - nai e-low-hei - nu.

rit.

At this point, the weekly *Torah* reading takes place, followed by *haftorah*, which as mentioned elsewhere, are beyond the scope of this research. After this follow prayers for peace and prosperity in Ireland and Israel. Then *haskoreth* (memorial prayers) are read out by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* in respect of those whose *yahrtzeit* is being observed by family members within the entire Dublin Jewish community, irrespective of whether or not they are members of Terenure synagogue. If a particular Sabbath precedes the first day of a new month in the Hebrew (lunar) calendar, a brief naming ceremony for that month is introduced into the service. In recent years, this has been enlivened by a duet performed by Rev. Shulman and Moti Neuman (an Israeli who has made his home in Ireland).

Example 12. Performed in Terenure synagogue to mark *Rosh Chodesh*.

Prayer for Rosh Chodesh

(celebrating the beginning of each month in the lunar calendar)

Traditional, this version performed in Terenure synagogue by Cantor Alwyn Shulman and Moti Neuman since 2007.

Fast, rhythmic

Tenor 1
f Mi she-sah ni-sim, — mi she-sah ni-sim, — ni - sim — la - a - vo-

Tenor 2
f Mi she-sah ni-sim, — mi she-sah ni-sim, — ni - sim — la - a - vo-

4
 T 1
 tei - nu, Mi she-sah ni-sim, — mi she-sah ni-sim, — ni -

T 2
 tei - nu, Mi she-sah ni-sim, — mi she-sah ni-sim, — ni -

7
Slow
 T 1
 sim — la - a - vo-tei - nu, *mf* ve - ga - al ve -

T 2
 sim — la - a - vo-tei - nu, *mf* ve - ga - al

10
 T 1
 ga - al *ff* ve - ga - al o - tam, *mf* ve - ga - al —

T 2
 ve - ga - al *ff* ve - ga - al o - tam, *mf* ga - al —

Prayer for Rosh Chodesh

14

T 1
o - tam, mei - av - rut le-chei - rut, ve - ga - al o - tam mei-

T 2
o - tam, mei - av - rut le-chei - rut, ve - ga - al o - tam mei-

19

T 1
av-rut le-chei - rit. hu yig-al o-ta - nu, hu yig-al o-ta-nu be-ka-

T 2
av-rut le-chei - rit. hu yig-al o-ta - nu, yig-al o-ta-nu be-ka-

Slow

24

T 1
rov, vi-ka - beitz ni-da-chei - nu, vi-ka - beitz ni-ka-chei - nu, mei-

T 2
- rov, vi-ka - beitz ni-da-chei - nu, vi-ka - beitz ni-ka-chei - nu, mei-

29

T 1
a - re - bah ka - ne - fot, ha - a - retz.

T 2
a - re - bah ka - ne - fot, ha - a - retz.

33

T 1
mf Cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim,

T 2
mf Cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim,

Lively, rhythmic

Prayer for Rosh Chodesh

T 1
36
8
cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el,

T 2
8
cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el,

T 1
39
8
cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el, *ff* cha-ve-rim

T 2
8
cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim, cha-ve-rim kol yis-ro-el, *ff* cha-ve-rim

T 1
43
8
kol yis-ro-el, ve-no-mar, ve-no-mar, ve-no-mar, A-men.

T 2
8
kol yis-ro-el, ve-no-mar, ve-no-mar, ve-no-mar, A-men.

The procession to return the *Sefer Torah* to the Ark begins, led by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* carrying the *Sefer Torah* in his arms and followed by the rabbi (if present), any adult male members or the congregation who choose, and boys and girls who have not yet reached the age of *bar* or *bat mitzvah*. This takes place to an accompanying chorus sung by the congregation:

Example 13. This is performed by cantor and congregation in anticipation of replacing the *Sefer Torah* in the Ark.

The musical score is written in G major and 4/4 time. It consists of six staves of music. The first staff is labeled 'Congregation' and begins with a *mf* dynamic. The lyrics are: 'Va - a - nach - nu ne - vo - reich yoh, mei - a -'. The second staff is labeled 'Cantor' and begins with a *mf* dynamic. The lyrics are: 'toh ve - ad o - lom, ff Ha - le - lu - yoh. Ve -'. The third staff continues the Cantor's part with lyrics: 'ha - la - lu es - shein A - do - nai ki - nish - nov she - moh le - va - doh.' The fourth staff is labeled 'Congregation' and begins with a *ff* dynamic. The lyrics are: 'How - dow al e - retz ve - sha - ma - yim. Va - yo - rem ke - rem li - a - mow, te -'. The fifth staff continues the Congregation's part with lyrics: 'hi - loh, le - kol - ha - si - don, Li - vnai yis - ro - eil am - ki - row - vow,'. The sixth staff concludes with the lyrics: 'Ha - - - le - lu - yoh, Ha - le - lu - - - yoh.' There are measure numbers 5, 9, 13, 17, and 21 marked at the beginning of their respective staves.

This procession continues while the congregation, led by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*, sings either of two melodies. These are both given below in Examples 14(a) and (b). The first was always performed in Adelaide Road synagogue led by the choir there, and is frequently performed in Terenure synagogue nowadays.

Example 14(a) This is sung by cantor and congregation while the *Sefer Torah* is being carried to the Ark.

Mizmor (Adelaide Road version)

Moderate speed, very steady throughout

Cantor **Congregation**

mf Miz-mor le-do-vid. *f* Ho - vu l'A - dow - nai be - nei - ei - lim, —

6
ho - vu l'A - dow - nai ko - vovd vo - owz. — Ho - vu l'A - dow - nai ke -

12
vovd — she - moh — hi - she - ta - cha - vu l'A - dow - nai be - chad - ras kow - desh.

18
Kowl A - dow - nai al ha - mei - im eil — ha - ko - vovd — hi - rei - im A -

23
dow - nai al mei - im ra - bim. Kowl A - dow - nai ba - kowl - chei

28
kowl A - dow - nai be - ho - dor. Kowl A - dow - nai show - ber — a - ra - zim, va -

34
ye - sha - beir A - dow - nai es a - ra - zei hal - bo - nown. Va - yar - ki - deim ke -

40
mow ei - nel le - vo - nown ve - si - re - yown ke - mow — ben — re - ei - mim. —

46
Kowl A - dow - nai how - tzeiv la - ha - vovs eish. Kowl A - dow - nai yo -


52
hil — mi - de - bor yo - hil — A - dow - nai mid - bar ko - deish.

58

 Kowl A - dow - nai ye - how-leil a - yo - lows, ve - ye - che - sowf ye -

64

 o - - - rows uv - chei-ko-low ku - low — ow - meir ko - vovd. *p* A -

70

 dow - nai la - ma - bul — yo - - - sov, — va - yei - sev A - dow - nai

76

 me-lech le - ow - lom. — A - dow - nai owz. — le - a - mow yi - tein, — A -

82

 dow - nai ye bo - reich es a - mow ba - sha - lowm.
rit.

The second version given here is known to have been performed regularly in Terenure synagogue since the 1950s. While the musical style is similar to the previous example, this version tends to be performed at a quicker pace by the congregation.

Example 14(b). A variant of the above example.

Mizmor (Terenure version)

Quite fast

Cantor **Congregation**

The musical score is written on a single staff in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. It is divided into two parts: Cantor and Congregation. The Cantor part is marked *mf* and the Congregation part is marked *f*. The score consists of 33 measures, with measure numbers 5, 9, 13, 17, 21, 25, 29, and 33 indicated at the start of their respective lines. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words underlined. The piece concludes with a double bar line and a fermata over the final note.

mf Miz-mor le-do-vid. — *f* Ho - vu l'A-dow-nai be - nei - ei - lim, ho - vu l'A-dow-nai

5 ko - vovd vo-ovz. Ho - vu l'A-dow-nai ke - vovd — she-moh, hi - shet-cha-vu l'A-dow-nai be-

9 chad-ras kow - desh. Kowl A-dow-nai — al ha - mei - im eil ha - ko - vovd

13 hi - rei - im *ff* A - dow - nai al mei-im ra - bim. *f* Kowl A - dow - nai —

17 ba - kowl - chei, kowl A-dow-nai be - ho - dor. Kowl A-dow-nai show-

21 ber a - ra-zim, vei-sha - beir A - dow - nai es az-rei hal-bo-nown. Va - yar - ki - deim ke-

25 mow ei - nel, le - vo - nown ke-mow ben — re - ei - mim. Kowl A-dow-nai how-

29 tzeiv la - ha - vovs eish. kowl A-dow-nai — yo - hil mid - bor yo - hil — A-dow-nai — mi - de -

33 *ff* bor ko - desh. *f* Kowl — A - dow - nai ye - how - leil — a - yo - lows, ve - ye - che - sowl

37
ye - o - rows uv - chei-ko-low ku-low, ow - meir ko-vowd. A-dow - nai la-ma-bul

41
yo sov, va - yei - sev me-lech le - ow-lom. A-dow - nai owz le - a -
mf

45
mow - yi - tein, A - dow - nai ye - bo-reich es a - mow va - sha - lowm.
rit.

The music finishes simultaneously with the procession reaching the Ark, and the *Sefer Torah* is placed within. This action is also performed to a musical accompaniment by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*, which reaches a climax when the congregation again join in.

Example 15. This is performed by cantor and congregation before the doors of the Ark are closed on the *Sefer Torah*. Note that the congregation spontaneously harmonises in thirds.

Slow and solemn

f Eitz — cha - yim hi le ma - cha - zi - kim, Bo ve - sow - me -
 4 che - choh me - u — sar. De - ro — che - hoh da - re - chei no - am Ve -
 8 chol ne - si - vo - se - choh sha - lowm. Ha - shi - vei - nu A -
 12 dow - nai, Ei - le - choh ve - no - shu - voh, Cha - deish — yo mei - nu ke -
 16 ke - dem, Cha - deish yo - mei - nu ke - ke - dem. *ff*
 20 Cha - deish yo - mei - nu, ke - ke - dem. *rit.*

A number of different melodies can be sung at this juncture. Below we see a different conclusion, beginning at the sentence which opens “*Hashiveinu* etc.”. This is another example of a melody commonly used in Adelaide Road synagogue, and which travelled to Terenure after Adelaide Road synagogue closed.

Example 16. This variant is often performed, and is preceded by a different musical sequence from that shown in Example 14.

Slow and solemn

f Ha - shi - vei - nu A - dow - nai ei - le - cha ve - no - shu - voh,
 4 Cha - deish yo - mei - nu. yo - mei - nu ke - ke - dem, Cha - deish yo - mei - nu ke - ke - dem. *ff*

The doors of the Ark are closed as this chorus finishes, after which the rabbi usually delivers a sermon. When this is finished, the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* recites *Kaddish* from the *bimah* in order to signal that a new part of the Sabbath service is about to commence. This is *Mussaf*, as seen in the complete transcriptions above. *Mussaf* begins with a period of silent prayer known as the *Amidah*, for which the congregation stands. In Terenure synagogue, it is usually judged when the majority of the congregation has completed the *Amidah* by the quiet conversations which begin, and by the fact that some members of the congregation sit down when they have reached the end of this prayer. The cantor or *ba'al tefilah* now begins to recite the *Amidah* aloud, and inserts an extra portion known as the *Kedushah*, as seen in the complete transcriptions above. The *Kedushah* includes brief congregational responses, and also more sustained ones, as in the example below. Two versions of the closing sentence “*Ani Adonai elowheichem*” are included. The second is sung only by some former Adelaide Road members, who perform it simultaneously with the first version sung by the majority of the congregation; this results in a slightly confused overall effect.

Example 17. The congregation responds to the cantor during *Kedushah*.

Congregation

6 *p* Hu e - low - hei - nu, hu — a - ve - nu, hu —

12 mal - kei - nu, hu — a - ve - nu, hu — mak - kei - nu,

18 hu — mow-shi - ei - nu, ve - hu yash-mi - ei - nu be - ra - cha-man

24 shei - ni, shei - ni le - nei — kol - chai, *f* ve - hu yash - mi - ei - nu be -

29 ra - cha-man shei - nis, le - ei - nei kol — chai.

Cantor **Cong.**

Le-chi-ows lo-chem lei - lo-him. A - ni A-dow-nai e-low - hei — chem.

33 **Alternatively**

A - ni A - dow-nai e - low - hei - chem.

Mussaf continues as in the more complete versions given above, until the first of the concluding hymns is reached, known as *Ein Keloheinu*, or *Ein Kelowheinu* in the local Lithuanian-inflected Hebrew. Many versions of this exist all over the world; the two given below are those most frequently sung in Terenure synagogue. A third version is included in the complete transcription of Raphael Siev's version of *Mussaf* (above). Due to the repetitive nature of both text and music, this hymn in one form or other has traditionally been the first example of congregational singing learned by children in the Orthodox synagogues of Dublin.

Example 18(a). One version of *Ein Keloheinu* frequently performed at Terenure synagogue.

Ein Keilowheinu

Based on original composition by
Charles Kensington Salaman (1814-1901)

Lively

1. Ein kei-low-hei - nu, ein ka-dow nei - nu, ein ka-mal-kei - nu, ein ka-mow-shi-ei - nu.

5. Mi ke-low-hei - nu, mi ka-dow-nei - nu, mi ka-mal-kei - nu, mi ka-mow-shi-ei - nu.

9. Now-deh lei-low-hei - nu, Now-deh la-dow-nei - nu, Now-deh le-mal-kei - nu, now-deh le-mow-shi-ei - nu.

13. Bo-ruch e-low-hei - nu, bo-ruch a-dow-nei - nu, bo-ruch mal-kei - nu, bo-ruch mowshi-ei - nu.

17. A-toh hu e-low-hei - nu, a-toh hu a-dow-nei - nu, a-toh hu mal-kei - nu, a-toh-hu mow-shi-ei - nu.

21. A-toh hu she-hik-ti - ru a-vow-sei-nu le-fo-ne - choh es— ke-tow - reh ha - sa-mim.

The second version tends to be sung at a slower tempo, and remains in a major tonality throughout.

Example 18(b). Another version popularly sung in Terenure.

Ein Kelowheinu 2

Moderate

1. Ein kei-low-hei - nu, ein ka-dow-nei - nu, ein ka-mal-kei - nu, ein ka-mow-shi-ei - nu.

5 2. Mi e-low-hei - nu, mi ka-dow-nei - nu, mi ka-mal-kei - nu, mi ka-mow-shi - ei - nu.

9 3. Now-deh lei-loe-hei - nu, now-deh la-dow-nei - nu, now-deh le-mal-kei - nu, now-deh le-mow-shi-ei - nu.

13 4. Bo-ruch e-low-hei - nu, bo-ruch a-dow-nei - nu, bo-ruch mal-kei - nu, bo-ruch mow-shi-ei - nu. 5. A-

17 toh hu e-low-hei - nu, a - toh hu a-dow-nei - nu, a-toh hu maki-kei - nu, a - toh hu mow-shi-ei - nu. 6. A-

21 toh - hu she - hik - ti - ru a - vow - sei - nu le - fo - ne - choh es ke - tow - reh ha - sa - mim.

Mussaf continues with silent reading of certain psalms, until the Mourners' *Kaddish* is chanted twice. After this, one or more boys who have not yet reached *bar mitzvah* age are invited to open the Ark. Another ascends the *bimah* and stands beside the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* who will often drag the low footstool dedicated to this purpose over to the desk for the (usually) diminutive Reader to stand on so that he can reach the desk. Thus the stage is set for the second concluding hymn, *Anim Zemirot*, sung in alternate verses between the Reader and the congregation. The most confident and word-perfect among the boys who lead *Anim Zemirot* are able to maintain both pitch and rhythm throughout this long, challenging performance. Others are treated with indulgence by the congregation who try their best to be supportive by bellowing out the responses and by prompting when necessary. It will be seen in the following transcription of *Anim Zemirot* that the transliteration of the Reader's verses reflect the modern *Ivrit* pronunciation, as this is currently taught in the *cheder* classes in both Orthodox and Reform sectors of the Dublin Jewish community (it must be acknowledged that some boys in Dublin pronounce *Anim Zemirot* in the Lithuanian style and refer to it as *Anim Zemirows*, having been taught the hymn by their fathers or grandfathers). However, the congregational responses are transliterated in the Lithuanian manner, as this reflects current practice in Terenure synagogue in which both forms of pronunciation are used during the same hymn.

Example 19. Anim Zemirot, this version of which has been in continuous use in Orthodox Dublin synagogues since the 1950s.

Anim Zemirot

(the verses sung alternately
between the Reader, usually
a boy younger than *bar mitzvah* age,
and the congregation)

Reader

A - nim ze-mi - rot ve - shi-rim e - rog, ki ei - le - chah naf-shi ta - rog.

5 Congregation

Naf - shi him - doh be - tzeil ya - de - choh, la - da - eis kol roz so - de - choh.

9

Mi-dei dab - ri vi - ke-vo-de - chah, ho - meh - li - vi do - re - chah. Al

13 Congregation

kein a-da - beir be - choh nik va - dows, ve - shim-choh a - cha-beid - be - shi-rei ye - di-dows. A -

17 Cong.

sa-perah ke-vo-de-chah ve - loh re-i - si-chah, a - da-me-chah a - ka-ne-chah ve - loh ye-da-e-si-chah. Be -

21 Reader

yad ne-vi - e - choh be - sowl a - va-de-choh - di - mi - soh ha - dar ke - vovd how-de - choh. Ge -

25

du - la - te - chah u - ge - vu - ra - te - chah, ki - nu le - to - kef pe - u - la - te - chah.

29 Congregation

Di - mu ow - seehoh v - low ke - pi - yeslehoh, va - ye - sha - vu - choh le - fi ma - a - se - choh.

33 Reader

Him - shi - lu - chah be rov che - zi - o - not, hi - neehah e - chad be - kal di - me - yo - not.

37 **Congregation** **Reader**

Va-ye-che-zu ve-choh zik - noh u - va - cha - rus, u - se - ar row - se - choh be - sei - boh ve - sei - charus, Zi -

41

ke - na be - yom din u - ba - cha - rut be - yom kerav, ke - is mi - le - cha - mot ya - dav lo - rav.

45 **Congregation**

Cha - vas kow - vah ye - shu - ah be - row - show, how - shi - oh low ye - mi - now uz - row - ah ka - de - show.

49 **Reader**

Ta - lei - lei o - rot ro - sho - ni - me - loh, u - ke - vu - tzo - tav re - si - sei la - ye - lah.

53 **Congregation**

Yi - sa - peir bi ki cha - feitz - bi, ve - hu yi - he - yeh li la - a - te - res - tzvi.

57 **Reader** **Cong.**

Ke - tem ta - hor paz, de - mut ro - soh, ve - chak al me - tzach ko - vod shem ka - deshoh. Le -

61

chein u - le - chavowd tzvi si - fe - o - roh, u - ma - sow low i - te - roh a - to - roh.

65 **Reader** **Cong.**

Ma - che - le - fot ro - sho ke - vi - mei be - chu - rot, ke - vu - tzu - tav ta - le - ta - lim she - ho - rot. Ne -

69 **Reader**

vei ha - tze - dek tzvi si - fe - a - re - tow, yi - a - le - noh al rows si - me - chosow. Se -

73 Cong.

gu-lo-toh te-hi be-ya-doh a-te-ret, u-tze-nif me-lu-kah tzvi ti-fe-e-ret A-

77

mu-sim ne-sa-am a-tes i-nedam, mei-a-ser ya-ke-ru be-ei-nav ki-be-dam.

81 Reader

Pe-ei-roh a-lay u-pe-ei-ri-a-lav, ve-ka-rov ei-li be-ka-re-i ei-lan.

85 Reader

Congregation

Tzach ve-o-down li-le-vu-show a-down, pu-roh be-do-re-chow be-vow-ow mei-e-down. Ke-

89

sher-te-fi-lin he-re-oh le-a-nav, te-mu-nat A-do-nai le-ne-ged ei-nav.

93 Congregation

Rowtzeh be-a-mow a-no-vim ye-pa-eir, yow-seiv te-hi-lows bam le-hi-se-pa-eir.

97 Reader

Ros-de-va-re-chah e-mes ko-rei me-ros, dor-va-dor am do-re-se-chah de-rosh.

101 Reader

Congregation

Shis ha-mown shi-rah no-o-le-choh, ve-ri-na-si ti-fe-rav ei-le-choh. Te-

105

hi-la-ti te-hi le-ro-se-chah a-te-ret, u-te-fi-la-ti ti-kon ke-to-ret.

109 **Congregation**

Ti-kar shi-ras rosh be - ei ne - choh, ke - shir yu - shar al ko - re - vo - ne - choh. Bi -

113 **Reader** **Cong.**

re - cha - ti ta - leh le - rosh ma - she - bir, me - cho - leil u - mo - tid tza - dik - ka - bir. U -

117

ve - vi - re - choh - si se - na - na - li - rowsh, ve - ow - soh kach le - choh ki - ve - sa - mim rowsh.

121 **Reader and Congregation**

ff Ye - e - rav - na she - chi a le - chah, ki naf - shi ta - a - rog ei - le - chah.

125 **Reader and Congregation**

Silent Prayer **ff** Mi ye - ma - leil ge - vu - rot A - do - nai ya - she - mi - ah kal te - hi - la - toh. *rit.*

As soon as *Anim Zemirot* is finished, the Ark is closed for the final time, and a third repetition of the Mourners' *Kaddish* takes place. The last of the concluding hymns, *Adon Olam* (or *Adown Owlom* in the local Lithuanian-inflected Hebrew) is then sung by the congregation. There are an almost infinite number of settings for this hymn around the world, in every conceivable musical style. In Terenure synagogue, the congregation is disciplined to listen to the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*, and to be able to join in within half a bar. The ten most common examples of *Adon Olam* melodies performed in Terenure synagogue are given below.

Examples 19(a) – (j). Ten different and contrasting versions of Adon Olam regularly sung by cantor and congregation at Terenure synagogue.

Adon Olam 1

(Adown Owlom when pronounced in the Lithuanian manner)

Usually performed at a moderate speed



1. A - down ow-lom a - sher mo-lach, be - te-rem kol ye - tzir ni-vroh, le -



eis na-soh ve - chev - tzow kowl, a - zai me-lech she - mow ni - kroh. 2. Ve etc.

2. Ve'acharei kichlows hakowl, levadow yimlowch nowroh,
Vehu hayoh, vehu howveh, vehu yihyeh besiforoh.
3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.
4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowsli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.
5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

* When performed slowly, this F is sung as E.

Adon Olam 2

Quite fast



1. A down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be - te - rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le -



5 eis na - soh ve - chev - tzow kowl, a - zai me - lech she - mow ni - kroh. 2. Ve etc.

2. Ve'acharei kichlows hakowl, levadow yimlowch nowroh,
Vehu hayoh, vehu howveh, vehu yiyeh besiforoh.
3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.
4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowsli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.
5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Adon Olam 3

Based on an original setting by
Simon Waley (1827 - 1876)

With movement

1. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be - te-rem kol — ye-tzir ni -
5 vroh, — le-eis na - soh ve-chevtzow kowl, a - zai me - lech she-mow ni - kroh. 2. Ve-a-cha-
10 rei kich-lows ha - kowl, le-va - dow yim-lowch now - roh. — Ve-hu ha - yoh, ve-hu how-
15 veh, ve - hu yi - yeh be - si - fo - roh, 3. Ve - hu e etc.

3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha-owz vehamisroh.
4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.
5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Adon Olam 4

Lively

1. A - down ow-lom a - sher mo-lach, be - te - rem kol ye-tzir-ni-vroh, a -
 5 down ow-lom, le - eis na-soh, ve - chev-tzow kowl, a - zai me-lech she-mow ni-kroh, A -
 9 **Chorus**
 don o - lam, A-don o - lam a - sher mo - lach, be-te - rem kol yit-zir ni-
 13 vroh - , le-eis na - soh, ve-chev-tzow kowl, a - zai me - lech she-mow-ni - kroh. etc.

2. Ve'acharei kichlows hakowl, levadow yimlowch nowroh,
 Vehu hayoh, vehu howveh, vehu yiyeh besiforoh.

Chorus

3. Vehu achod le-ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
 Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.

Chorus

4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
 Vehu nisi umanowsli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh,

Chorus

5. Beyadoh aflid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
 Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Chorus

Adon Olam 5

Flowing

p 1. A - down ow-lom a-sher mo - lach, be - te-rem kol ye-tzir ni - vroh, le -

6 **Chorus**

eis na-soh ve-chev-tzow kowl, a-zai me - lech she-mow ni - kroh, *f* A - down ow - lom a - sher mo -

11

lach, be - te - rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le - eis na - soh ve - chev-tzow

15

kowl, a - zai me - lech she - mow ni - kroh. *p* 2. Ve etc.

2. Ve'acharei kichlows hakowl, levadow yimlowch nowroh,
Vehu hayoh, vehu howveh, vehu yiyeh besiferoh.

Chorus

3. Vehu echod le-ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.

Chorus

4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowsli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.

Chorus

5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Aownai li velow iroh

Chorus

Adon Olam 6

Very fast

1. A - down ow - lom, a - down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be -
 4 te - rem kol, be - te - rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le - eis na - soh ve - chev - tzow kowl,
 8 a - zai me - lech she - mow ni - kroh. *p* 2. Ve - a - cha - rei kich - lows ha - kowl, le - va - dow yim -
 13 **Chorus**
 18 lowch now - roh, Ve - hu - ha - yoh, ve - hu how - veh, ve - hu yih - yeh - be - si - fo - roh, A -
 22 down ow - lom, a - down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be - te - rem kol, be - te - rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le -
 eis na - soh ve - chev - tzow - kowl, a - zai me - lech she - mow ni - kroh. *p* 3. Ve
 etc.

3. Vehu echod le-ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
 Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.

Chorus

4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
 Vehu nisi umanowshi, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.

Chorus

5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
 Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Chorus

Adon Olam 7

Briskly

1. A - down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be - te - rem kol ye -
 5 izar ni - vroh, le - eis na - soh - ve - chev - tzow kowl, a - zai me - lech she - mow ni - kroh. 2. Ve -
 10 a - cha - rei kich - lows ha - kowl, le - va - dow yim - lowch now - roh, Ve etc. *Repeat until final line of Verse 5.*
 14 Final line of Verse 5.
 im ru - hi ge - vi - o - si, A - dow - nai li ve - low - i - roh.
rit.

2. Ve'acharei kichlows hakowl, levadow yimlowch nowroh,
Vehu hayoh, vehu howveh, vehu yihyeh besiforoh.
3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.
4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowslí, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.
5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Adon Olam 8

Lively

Cantor

1. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be-te-rem kol ye - tzir - ni -

Cong.

1. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be-te-rem kol ye - tzir - ni -

5 vroh, — le-eis na - soh ve-chev-tzow kowl, a-zai me - lech she - mow — ni -

5 vroh, — le-eis na - soh ve-chev-tzow kowl, a-zai me - lech she - mow — ni -

9 **Chorus 1.**
kroh. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be-te-rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le-eis na -

9 **Chorus 1.**
kroh. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be-te-rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le-eis na -

14 soh ve - chev-tzow kowl, — a - zai me-lech she-mow ni - kroh. 2. Ve-a-cha-

14 soh ve - chev-tzow kowl, — a - zai me-lech she-mow ni - kroh.

18
 rei kich-lows ha - kowl, le - va - dow yim - lowch - now -

18
 2. Ve - a - cha - rei kich-lows ha-kowl, le - va - dow yim - lowch - now -

21
 roh, Ve-hu ha - yoh, ve-hu how - veh, ve-hu yih - yeh be - si - fo -

21
 roh, Ve-hu ha-yoh, ve-hu how-veh, ve-hu yih - yeh be - si - fo -

25 Chorus 2 - 5 Chorus 2 - 5
 roh. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be-te-rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le-eis na-

25 Chorus 2 - 5
 roh. A-down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be-te-rem kol ye - tzir ni - vroh, le-eis na-

30
 soh ve - chev-tzow kowl, a - zai me-lech she-mow ni - kroh. 3. Ve-a - cha etc.

30
 soh ve - chev-tzow kowl, a - zai me-lech she-mow ni - kroh.

3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
 Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.

Chorus

4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
 Vehu nisi umanowsli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.

Chorus

5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
 Ve'im ruhi gevi'ose, Adownai li velow iroh.

Adon Olam 9

Performed in
Terenure synagogue
only when Carl Nelkin
leads the Sabbath
service.

At a brisk march tempo

ff 1. A - down ow - lom a - sher mo - lach, be - te - rem kol ye -
5 tzir — ni - vroh, — le - eis na - soh ve - chev - tzow kowl, a - zai me - lech she -
9 mow — ni - kroh, — 2. Ve - a - cha - rei kich - lows ha - kowl le - va - dow yim - lowch now - roh, ve -
12 *p* **Chorus** hu ha - yoh, ve - hu how - veh, ve - hu yih - yeh be - si - fo - roh. A - down ow - lom — a - sher mo - lach, — be -
16 te - rem kol — ye - tzir — ni - vroh, — le - eis na - soh — ve -
19 chev - tzow kowl, — a - zai me - lech — she - mow — ni - kroh, — 3. Ve etc. *p*

3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.

Chorus

4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowsli, menos kosi beyowm ekroh.

Chorus

5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Chorus

Adon Olam 10

Introduced into Dublin
in the 1960s by way of
Kinloss Gardens synagogue
in London by Leslie Brown.

Moderately

1. A - down - ow - lom - a - sher mo - lach, be -
 5 te - rem kol - ye - tzir - ni - vroh, le -
 9 eis na - soh - ve - chev - tzow - kowl, a -
 13 azai me - lech - she - mow - ni - kroh.

2. Ve'acharei kichlows hakowl, levadow yimlowch nowroh,
Vehu hayoh, vehu howveh, vehu yihyeh besiforoh.
3. Vehu echod le'ein sheini, lechamshil loh lehachbiroh,
Beli reishis, beli tachlis, veloh ha'owz vehamisroh.
4. Vehu eili vechai go'ali, vetzur chevli be'eis tzoroh,
Vehu nisi umanowsli. menos kosi beywom ekroh.
5. Beyadoh afkid ruhi, be'eis ishan ve'oh'iroh,
Ve'im ruhi gevi'osi, Adownai li velow iroh.

Thus the Sabbath service in Terenure synagogue concludes, after which most members of the congregation repair to the synagogue hall to hear *Kiddush* being recited, and to eat, drink and socialize before returning home.

4.5 Music as Part of Worship in the Dublin Synagogue

The music of the synagogue is functional; its role is to lift prayer from the printed page, or to disarticulate it from human memory, and to bring it forth to a space where all can experience it both individually and simultaneously. It is the voice which brings the music and prayer to this space; the voice embodies music and prayer. The importance of music, the spiritual power which it is ascribed in the synagogue is indicated thus:

Sacred melody the text, according to our custom, consists of three two-word phrases: tranquil spirit (*nachat ru'ach*), pure speech (*safah berurah*), and sacred melody (*neimah kedoshah*). They summarise the ideal elements of prayer: spiritual *tranquillity*, cognitive *clarity*, and aesthetic *beauty*.

(Singer, 2006, 379)

In the chapter entitled 'Song Must Write: Roland Barthe's *Hallucinations*', Dayan discusses Barthe's exploration into the processes by which the voice gives music and the message contained within, a material presence:

But music is nothing without the physical presence of its signs. That physicality of the signifying medium, always resistant (to an indefinable extent) to translation, to the dissolving power of perceived signification, is what distinguishes art; through song, music shares it with literature. Furthermore, in song, we hear that physicality as rooted in the materiality of the human body. Barthe has a term for the quality of a sound heard as giving voice, not to a sense, but to that physicality and materiality: he calls it 'le grain'.

(Dayan, 2006, 99)

The following has been observed of the relationship between performer and audience:

Music seems to have an odd quality that even passionate activities like gardening or dog-raising lack: the simultaneous projecting and dissolving the self in *performance*. Individual, family, gender, age, super-cultural givens, and other factors hover around the musical space but can penetrate only very partially the moment of enactment of musical fellowship.

(Slobin, 1993, 41)

If the relationship between music, performer and listener begins only when music is introduced to a space through the human voice, then it is also true that this relationship can only be sustained during the act of performance. Therefore it is limited by considerations of time, that is, “the moment of enactment”. In the context of the Dublin synagogue, music is performed both by one (whoever leads the service), and by many (the congregation, who are also the audience), all of whom are bound up in the religious and musical events during the hours of the synagogue service. It is Barthe’s claim that ‘...through the voice, two bodies (that of the singer and of the listener), at least, enter into a relationship that no science can define’ (Barthe in Dayan, 2006. 100). Perhaps it is difficult to define this relationship, but it is possible to acknowledge it. In the Dublin synagogue, the meaning embedded in the text (that is, prayer), is transmitted via the music by the performer (usually male), who, through his idiosyncratic performance style, transforms prayer into a tangible quantifiable medium in space, which is experienced by those who share that space (the congregation).

The performative nature of ritual music inside the Dublin synagogue ensures a high level of personal involvement on the part of those present, whether leading the congregation in prayer or participating as part of the congregation itself. It is not easy to be a passive observer; assuming familiarity with the service, there is a level of musical expectation which requires to be fulfilled by all who are present. The

following has been observed of the complex act of musical performance: 'Performance involves causing and expressively shaping ordered pitch and rhythm sequences, all of which requires many distinct skills' (Godlovitch, 1998, 53). There exist neither song-sheets nor hymn-books for the cantor, *ba'al tefilah*, nor for the congregation; the "skills" to which Godlovich refers, and the ability to lead the service or to participate, are honed over the passing of years. Different members of the congregation may make musical responses at certain points in the service (few of which are acknowledged in the *siddur*), or may prompt or join in with the person leading prayers as he (or less frequently, she) chooses. In the essay 'Performing through history', Colin Lawson makes the following comments on musical relationships between performer and audience, which are relevant to those between cantor and congregation in a ritual setting: 'In ritual situations where there is no reason to write down the music, there is less distinction between composing, rehearsing and performing; listeners and bystanders may well contribute' (Lawson in Rink, 2002, 3). The synagogue service is effectively a communal musical event to which everybody present must contribute in some way. The act of prayer is executed during the performance of music, and there is a two-fold implication for the role of music as part of prayer. The voice is raised in song in order to articulate prayer, so that the intention behind the performance of this particular music is in fact prayer. Yet we do not raise our voices in a vacuum; in singing aloud in the company of others, there must be an awareness of one's own contribution to the musical processes taking place, and equally we are aware of the efforts of those around us. Thus, contiguous to the act of prayer, when we are participating in the synagogue service we are all performers, performing to ourselves and for the benefit of our neighbours.

If everybody attending this Sabbath-day religious ritual/musical event is a performer, then other than defining the act of performance itself, knowing what these performers do is critical to understanding who or what these performers are. The function of those who perform music is explored by Eric Clarke in the essay 'Understanding the psychology of performance', in which the following is addressed:

What, then, do performers do? At one level the answer to this question is obvious: they produce physical realisations of musical ideas whether these 'ideas' have been recorded in a written notation,

passed on aurally (as a non-literate culture) or invented on the spur of the moment (as in free improvisation). The most basic requirement is that a performer should produce (more or less) the correct notes, rhythms, dynamics, etc. of a musical idea – if an appropriate reference point exists (notational or conceptual) against which ‘correctness’ can be measured. However, over and above that, performers are expected to animate the music, to go *beyond* what is explicitly provided by the notation or aurally transmitted standard – to be ‘expressive’.

(Clarke in *ibid*, 59)

The music of the synagogue is the medium through which both the language and the meaning of prayer itself are expressed. This can be seen throughout the service, but can be exemplified in the repetition of a single word: *kadosh* (holy). The significance of the word itself is stressed by the three repetitions, while both pitch and volume rise with each repetition, creating more emphasis with each statement of the word.

Example 21. Musical expression of the word *kadosh* in Stanley Siev’s performance of *Shachris* (morning prayers), bb. 242–245 (see above).



However, textual meaning and the emotional responses to these are communicated, not only by changes in pitch and dynamic levels, but through facial and bodily gestures. These are an output for emotional expression, as well as a physical response to rhythm and metre within music. The visual qualities of physical movement are affective upon those who observe them within a ritual setting, particularly that of the synagogue. A bowed head, an outstretched hand, a rhythmical swaying of the body, these actions simultaneously assist the performer to channel meaning and emotion, whilst they serve to impress those watching with the depth of engagement on the part of that performer (who may be leading prayers from the *bimah* or seated in the

congregation, perhaps in the row in front of the observer). Thus, music itself is not the sole conduit for the message which it conveys, but rather the ability to communicate through music is supported by differences in approach to musical performance, which are themselves as numerous and as varied as the people who perform the music. This is particularly true in a ritual setting such as a synagogue, among a homogeneous group of people, nearly all of whom are familiar with each other, with the text, with the music, and with those who perform the music. This is borne out by Anna Czekanowska in the essay ‘Neighbours – Foreigners – Visitors: Towards a Contemporary Concept of Identity’, in which it is suggested:

Undoubtedly, in traditional regions people reveal their emotions better, not being restricted by the rigid rules of conventional behaviour. The way of communication is also complemented by gestures, timbre of voices, by specifics of intonation and accentuation. The vitality of the non-verbal message so directly expressed by music perfectly completes the verbal communication.

(Czekanowska in Hemetek *et al*, 2004, 27)

The reference to “gestures” is consolidated in the following remark: ‘Researchers have confirmed that performers’ use of body movement affects listeners’ perception of musical expression’ (Juchniewicz, 2008, 424). Further sources suggest that bodily movement is integral to the act of musical performance: ‘Movement is itself a part of performance as an audio-visual event’ (Clarke in Rink, 2002, 67). I observed this constantly during the course of my fieldwork, but it was especially noticeable in the case of Stanley Siev, during the recording sessions which took place at my parents’ home. Stanley Siev’s dynamic vocal performances were animated by different types of physical movement. At various junctures, he conducted time with his hands; he struck the table-top synchronically; he gestured with outstretched hands at points in the text which imprecated the Almighty; he threw his head back and directed his prayer towards the sky; he closed his eyes and appeared oblivious to his surroundings.

One type of bodily movement which is carried out in response to the rhythm inherent in prayers and music, is the characteristic vigorous rocking motion known as *shokeling*, which tends to be associated with Orthodox Jewish congregations, and

which, paradoxically, is rarely seen in the synagogues of Dublin, except in the case of very few members of the congregation during certain religious festivals. It is not always obvious why an act of prayer should be accompanied by such an exaggerated motion, yet this action would appear to contribute to the religious experience of those who perform it while praying:

Shokeling (bowing, rocking during prayer)...is simply a natural bodily accompaniment to devotional prayer. Whatever its sources, however, it stands now as a cultural attribute with sociological meaning.

(Heilman, 1976, 218)

It is suggested by Patrick Shove and Bruno H. Repp, in the article 'Musical motion and performance: theoretical and empirical perspectives', that such use of movement/gesture is generated by the music itself:

...[P]erformed music, by virtue of its temporal and dynamic microstructure, has the potential to represent forms of natural motion and to elicit corresponding movements in a human listener. While a rigid rhythm may inspire only foot tapping or finger snapping, an expressively modulated structure can specify movements with complex spatial trajectories which, for the purposes of demonstration and analysis, can be realised as guided movements of the limbs or the whole body.

(Shove and Repp in Rink, 1995, 78).

Beyond the confines of the synagogue, the use of physical movement in a musical performance can have a powerful effect upon the audience. At the conclusion of a recording session with Raphael Siev, I mentioned that I was to attend a concert given by pianist Murray Perahia that evening. He responded by describing a concert which he had recently attended, during which a number of orchestral pieces and a piano concerto were performed. What particularly impressed Raphael Siev was the way in which the musicians moved in response to the music:

It was amazing, the way they were all moving to the music... You should have seen the conductor. You could tell how involved they all were... When I'm in *shul*, I like to see people moving when they're on the *bimah*. It shows that their minds are completely engaged in what they're doing; you know they're really concentrating on the *davening* [here he refers to the act of leading the service], not just going through the motions.

(in conversation, 23 January 2007)

The above quote is an example of the relationship which is formed between performer and listener, while both music and the message conveyed through this are relayed through the act of performance, whether in a secular or religious environment. In context of the Dublin synagogue, the male voice is directed at the congregation during the act of performance. Familiar texts and music are interpreted through the filter of his own past and present experiences, and are presented through the medium of his voice. The sound of his voice, together with the expressive skills which enable the performer to communicate meaning, is the finished product with which the congregation engages; here is where the relationship is forged between performer, audience and music; we experience '...the voice not as a vehicle for communicating a message, but as the material presence of the signifying process itself' (Dayan, 2006, 99).

The GERMS model has been constructed by Patrik Juslin for the analysis of performance expression:

- (a) Generative rules that function to clarify the musical structure;
- (b) Emotional expression that serves to convey intended emotions to listeners;
- (c) Random variations that reflect human limitations with regard to internal time-keeper variance and motor delays;
- (d) Motion principles that prescribe that some aspects of the performance (e.g. timing) should be shaped in accordance with patterns of biological motion; and
- (e) Stylistic unexpectedness that involves local deviations from performance conventions.

(Juslin, 2003, 273)

It is possible to apply this model to performance practice in the Dublin synagogue:

Generative rules that function to clarify the musical structure. These originate from the text itself; the text will determine the length of a piece of music, together with the metre. Less frequently, the mood or emotion in the text will be suggested through the music itself (for example, by means of speed or modality), or may be expressed through the interpretation of the actual performer.

Emotional expression that serves to convey intended emotions to listeners. Often, the emotions expressed are very personal to the performer, and are thus subject to interpretation by each performer. I have already made observations upon the greater emotional [and outwardly expressive] content in Stanley Siev's performance than in that of the other contributors; this is reflected through mechanisms such as changes in speed, dynamics, tone of voice, emphasis, and physical response to text and music.

Random variations that reflect human limitations with regard to internal time-keeper variance and motor delays. These can be illustrated by the slight changes which occur in different performances of what can be deduced to be the same melodic theme. For instance, the melodic profile is similar in the opening bars of the *Kaddish* section in each of Howard Gross's and Rev. Shulman's respective versions of *Shachris*. However, variations in rhythm are apparent, due to differences in the speed of delivery, and the interpretation of metre inherent in the text on the part of each performer. It has been demonstrated that this performance phenomenon is also true among exponents of Persian traditional music, of which it has been observed: 'The same piece never sounds quite the same twice, even as performed by the same person on the same day' (Farhat, 1990, 21).

Example 22(a). Opening bars of *Kaddish* per Rev. Shulman, bb. 707–708 (see above).

Kaddish

Yit - ga - dal v'yit - ka - dash she-mei - ra - bah.

Example 22(b). Opening bars of *Kaddish* per Howard Gross, bb. 564–565 (see above).

Kaddish

Yis - ga-dal ve-yis - ka-dash she-mei ra - boh.

Motion principles that prescribe that some aspects of the performance (e.g. timing) should be shaped in accordance with patterns of biological motion. In the context of the Dublin synagogue, this can be most easily observed during those sections of the Sabbath service in which the congregation join with the cantor; these include, but are not restricted to sections of the *kedusha*; points in the service when the *Sefer Torah* is borne in a procession either from or towards the Ark; the concluding hymns. This material is usually in a strongly discernible simple or compound duple time, and the inference could be made that such rhythm mirrors biorhythms generated from breathing, the heartbeat or the act of walking (especially in procession). This is exemplified in the previous section of this chapter (4.4) in the music sung at both the start and end of the *Torah* service when the *Sefer Torah* is carried in a solemn procession from the Ark to the *bimah* and back again.

Stylistic unexpectedness that involves local deviations from performance conventions. If it is the case that Rev. Shulman's version of the Sabbath Saturday morning service is conventional to Terenure synagogue, given the frequency and regularity with which he conducts services, then what has been easily discernible throughout the research process is the degree to which others deviate from his performance practices in terms of style, delivery and actual musical content. In the following excerpt from *Shachris*, the opening bars from three completely different versions of *Eil Adon* are presented; Rev. Shulman's which is heard most often, and the versions performed in Terenure synagogue by Stanley Siev and Howard Gross.

Example 23(a). *Eil Adon* per Rev. Shulman, bb. 148–151 (see above).

Eil Adon

Eil a - don al kal ka-me-a-sim, ba - ruch u-me-va-rach — be fi kol ne-sa-mah,

The musical score for Example 23(a) is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It features a melody with a triplet of eighth notes on the word 'ba'.

Example 23(b). *Eil Adon* per Stanley Siev, bb. 113–121 (see above).

Eil Adon

Eil a - don al kal ha - ma - sim, bo -
ruch um - vo - roch be - pi kol no - se - choh,

The musical score for Example 23(b) is written in 3/4 time with a key signature of one flat (Bb). It features a melody with a triplet of eighth notes on the word 'be'.

Example 23(c). *Eil Adon* per Howard Gross, bb. 114–117 (see above).

Eil Adon

Eil o - down al kol ha - ma - sim,
bo - ruch u - me - vo - roch be - pi kol ni - she - moh,

The musical score for Example 23(c) is written in 4/4 time with a key signature of three sharps (F#, C#, G#). It features a melody with a triplet of eighth notes on the word 'o'.

4.6 A Theoretical Framework for Examining Performance Practice in the Dublin Synagogue

Having argued that expressiveness in musical performance is instrumental to communication through music between those involved in the act of performance, whether as performers or audience, it is necessary to construct a theoretical framework upon which to base further discussions on performance practice, particularly within the Dublin synagogue. This framework is based upon the introduction of the following concepts: transmission, identity, gender, emotion and the role of the congregation in the performance of music in the synagogue, all of which are integral to the experience of Jewish liturgical music. While the chapter following this will utilise the same concepts to consider broader issues associated with music, at this stage in the thesis, this framework will be applied to performance

practices in the Dublin synagogue. Most of the following discussion is based on phenomena which I observed during fieldwork and recording sessions with the five featured performers; other conclusions are based on observing practices during synagogue services which cannot be recorded, as mentioned earlier in this thesis.

4.6.1 Transmission

The term “transmission” is loaded with meaning in the context of a discussion of religious music. The transmission of a body of knowledge is usually achieved through interpersonal relationships; musical knowledge, religious observance, behaviour and dress are often directly transmitted from one generation to another, whether through family relationships, through teacher/pupil relationships or through friends and acquaintances. During the course of my fieldwork on liturgical music in the Dublin Jewish community, various sources were cited as sources of musical knowledge. These mainly included the teachers of *cheder* and different cantors who had served the community. Contributors’ fathers (or other male family members) were mentioned; Maurice Abrahamson informed me: ‘Uncle Bunny, that was my wife’s uncle, taught me the *haftorah* for the *Shabbos* before our wedding-day’ (in conversation, 7 November 2007). Also cited were other, often older members of a synagogue; more than one contributor mentioned: ‘I learned this from Philly Rubenstein’ or ‘I picked that up from Myer Erlich’, both Philly Rubenstein and Myer Erlich having been respected and influential lay-readers in Terenure synagogue for a period of around forty years from when it opened in the 1950s.

It can be seen that there is some consistency between musical material performed by different contributors; this suggests that at least some of the material has originated from common sources at least one generation older than the featured performers. In the following example, a similar musical phrase is sung by two performers, while the text applied to the music is different.

Examples 24(a) and (b) Stanley Siev and Howard Gross perform the same musical phrase in their respective versions of *Shachris*, yet this phrase appears at different points in the two versions of the service, and different texts are sung in each case. (See above).

Example 24(a). Per Stanley Siev, bb. 591–593.

The musical notation for Example 24(a) is a single staff in G major. It begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, an eighth note A4, and a quarter note B4. This is followed by a dotted quarter note C5, then a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4. The phrase concludes with a triplet of eighth notes: G4, F4, and E4. The lyrics 'E-lo - kei - nu ve-lo-kei a-vo - sei - nu,' are written below the staff, with hyphens indicating syllable placement under the notes.

Example 24(b). Per Howard Gross, bb. 162–164.

The musical notation for Example 24(b) is a single staff in G major. It begins with a quarter rest, followed by a quarter note G4, an eighth note A4, and a quarter note B4. This is followed by a dotted quarter note C5, then a quarter note B4, and a quarter note A4. The phrase concludes with a triplet of eighth notes: G4, F4, and E4. The lyrics 'Ku-lom a-hu - vim, ku-lam be-ru - rim,' are written below the staff, with hyphens indicating syllable placement under the notes.

This is endorsed by the following statement: ‘The amount of freedom allowed to the performer in his creative realization of a score or oral tradition varies from culture to culture and within different epochs of the same culture’ (Meyer, 1956, 199).

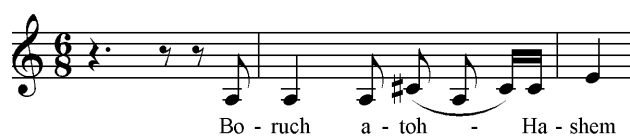
However, it can be observed that in the recorded performance of each featured contributor, whether *Shachris* or *Mussaf*, the opening phrase of the *Kedushah* section is almost exactly the same in all cases, which would suggest the same eventual source. Given that all these performances differ widely in most other respects, it is indicated that that a conscious effort is being made to maintain consistency with regard to this one section of Sabbath prayer. In other words: ‘In comparing various versions of the same work...the key to any external evidence lies in the answer to the question whether or not the two versions aim at the same musical result’ (Neumann, 1982, 63). In Examples 25(a) – (e) five versions of the opening of the *Kedushah* are given, with little musical variation in evidence. However, textual variations occur around the Hebrew word *Adonai*, the name of the Almighty. In the examples below it is seen that *Hashem* or *Adeshem* are substituted by some in accordance with the tradition of not articulating the name *Adonai* other than during the act of prayer.

Examples 25 (a) – (e) There is little variation between any of the five individual versions of the opening phrase of the *Kedushah*. (See above).

Example 25(a). Per Rev. Shulman, bb. 380–382.



Example 25(b). Per Stanley Siev, bb. 385–387.



Example 25(c). Per Howard Gross, bb. 284–286.



Example 25(d). Per Carl Nelkin, bb. 1–3.



Example 25(e). Per Raphael Siev, bb. 24–26.



In a religious context, the phenomenon of transmission does not end with music. Many other aspects of religious or cultural markers are transmitted by means of personal relationships between people and between generations. The following sections will address two such aspects, namely musical identity, and gendered music in the context of the Dublin synagogue.

4.6.2 Identity

Music can be used either to express or to assign identity. It might be associated with nationality, or with religion, or with historical period. It might assert socio-economic or socio-cultural differences. Within the Dublin Jewish community, liturgical music is mainly associated with the Lithuanian forbears of Irish Jews. The liturgical music of Jewish Dublin creates bonds between people; such bonds transcend differences in age, gender, religious observance, educational, professional and socio-economic background; it is a unifying factor across time and space. What is referred to as *nusach* is the repertoire of modes and melodies specific to a community, or to an individual congregation. As observed in the previous section, there is some evidence of a common musical source (or sources) for the *nusach* of Dublin, given that all of the five featured contributors, by virtue of the age-span between youngest and oldest, have been subjected to many different religious and musical influences. This fact has given rise to a commonality of musical style, whether or not the melodies and their usage vary somewhat between people or between congregations. It is this musical style which identifies the music as Dublin *nusach*. Specific technical aspects of this style, particularly tonality and modality, will be discussed later in this chapter; that such a style exists, and that this music is a factor in the experience of being Jewish in Dublin, justifies its inclusion as a cultural marker among the Jews of Dublin.

Music can also serve as a unifier across cultures, and can assist in reconciling simultaneous identities, such as Irish-Jewish. While Carl Nelkin's extensive knowledge of Jewish musical traditions originates in the synagogue, he has embraced Irish traditional song to the extent that he recorded and released a commercial CD on which he performs both Irish and Yiddish songs. It is described thus: 'Nelkin released his first bi-cultural CD in 2003, entitled "Irish Heart Jewish Soul, Favourite Irish and Jewish Songs"' (Udasin, 2009).

On at least one occasion (to my knowledge), Raphael Siev was also inspired to superimpose one musical identity upon another. Passing him at a bus stop on the main street in Terenure one day during the summer of 2007, he hailed me.

‘I have an idea for a new version of *Adon Olam*. You know “The Star of County Down”? [I obligingly hummed the opening bars].

Listen, it works.’

He proceeded to fit the first few verses of the hymn to the traditional Irish melody in a joyful rendition at the bus-stop, to the confusion of others in the queue. At the time of writing (2012), this version of *Adon Olam* has not yet performed in either of Dublin’s Orthodox synagogues, and thus is not included among the many other examples of *Adon Olam* given in this chapter.

Example 26. *Adon Olam* to the tune of “The Star of County Down” per Raphael Siev, 2007.

A - down ow-lom a - sher ma-lach be - te - rem kol yi - tzir ni-vroh, le -
 6
 eis na - soh ve - chef - tzoh kowl a - zei me - lech she - moh ni - kroh. Ve -
 10
 a - cha - rei kich - lows ha - kowl le - va - dow yim - lowch now - roh, ve -
 14
 hu hah - yoh ve - hu how - veh ve - hu yih - yeh be - sif - oh - roh.

4.6.3 Gender

In the Orthodox synagogues of Dublin, as in most Orthodox communities across the globe, gendered behaviours are particularly noticeable, especially in the performance of music. Gender-specific male-oriented synagogue rituals begin in infancy, when boys from the age of three years and onwards are expected to wear the *yarmulke*. The art of draping a *tallis* or winding the straps of *tephillin* is passed down through generations of men and boys, usually through grandfathers, fathers and teachers.

Another such ritual, rooted in the performance of music relates to *Anim Zemirot*. The text of this hymn (in Hebrew) is composed in rhyming couplets, sung alternately between a child leading from the *bimah* and the congregation. The couplets which

are performed solo are learned in early childhood by boys, never by girls; girls may internalize the text, may even trouble themselves to learn it, but it is the nature of social organisation within the synagogue that they are never invited to lead this hymn, even if they are younger than the age of twelve and have thus not yet reached the age of *bat mitzvah* which would preclude them from sitting among men. Boys are expected to read from the *Torah* in preparation for attaining their *bar mitzvah*, after which they may join the adult congregation, with all its attendant privileges and responsibilities. In religious terms, achieving religious majority signifies relatively little for girls in the Orthodox Jewish community of Dublin. The difference in gender roles is an inescapable part of Orthodox Jewish observance in Dublin; it is far from recent, and is not unique to Dublin Jewish cultural practice.

In Orthodox Jewish culture outside Ireland, the concept of *kol isha* (in which men may not pray in the presence of the sound of a raised female voice) creates a very real impediment to women participating in music as part of the synagogue ritual. Among the male and female contributors to this research, any mention of *kol isha* was greeted either with blank ignorance or else with derision. However, religious rituals in the Orthodox synagogue including the act of leading the congregation in prayer, opening and closing the Ark and carrying the *Sefer Torah*, are mainly gender-specific and tend to relate to men rather than to women. Thus synagogue music becomes a gender-related issue for the reason that music is so powerfully associated with Orthodox synagogue ritual, and this ritual is itself male-oriented.

The question emerges: how have these rituals emerged as gender-specific to men? It is necessary to address this issue while trying to avoid the dogma of an increasingly feminist overview of gender studies, and to acknowledge that ‘[T]he risk of accusation of chauvinism, misogyny and particularly patriarchy are strong themes in masculinities studies’ (Harrison, 2008, 20). It is suggested that “hominid social patterns” (Tiger, 1984, 42) have developed over time which have determined male behaviour, and especially male bonding patterns as part of overall human social organisation going back millennia before Jewish, or indeed any cultic practices ever evolved. Such groupings of men can be observed at different times and places, and in different sets of circumstances (monasteries, cathedral choirs, armies, Freemasons, brass bands, rugby teams, rock bands, working-men’s clubs and gentlemen’s clubs);

such groupings of men existed long before similar organisations occurred among women. The inference here is that subconsciously or otherwise, Jewish men assign the same value to the act of Orthodox synagogue ritual in a group (bearing in mind that synagogue ritual can only take place in the presence of a group of ten or more men), as they do to the religious and spiritual properties of this ritual. Thus, the group act of worship may itself play a key role in establishing the self-identity of men, whether in a separate physical sense (from *bar mitzvah* and *bat mitzvah* age onwards, men and women occupy different spaces within the synagogue), in terms of appearance (in the synagogue, there are obligations upon men, not women, to assume appurtenances of clothing such as the *tallis* and *yarmulke*), or as being instrumental in the act of worship in a way that women are not (given that unlike women, men are an indispensable element in synagogue worship).

The following observation would tend to support the argument that group membership can be integral to the self-identity of men:

People derive their self-concept from their knowledge of their group membership together with the emotional significance attached to those memberships...Men act to maintain the value and distinctiveness of their group.

Wilson, 2003, 82



Fig. 4(vi) A bastion of Jewish male-oriented group worship embodied in “*Zimratya*”, a choir of Orthodox cantors from Jerusalem in concert on a rare visit to Terenure synagogue. (Photograph: M. Brown, 29/01/11).

It might be argued then that, among Jewish men, one way in which masculinity is expressed is through the performance of music in the synagogue. However, despite efforts to discuss the role of masculinity in the practice of liturgical Jewish music (and the corollary, namely the role which the music plays in the assertion of masculinity within the practice of Judaism), there was a distinct reluctance on the part of all the male contributors with whom I raised these issues to engage in a discussion. The exception to this was my father, Leslie Brown, who observed the following:

‘The fact that Jewish music is mainly performed by men is an indicator of male dominance in the religion. It’s not necessarily an indicator of masculinity...If the religious services are essentially male-oriented, then the music will be male-oriented; it’s part and parcel of religion’

(in conversation, 8 March 2011).

Thus, in the Dublin synagogue, we observe a male-oriented group activity which the participants are unwilling to acknowledge as such. Perhaps this is due to external social influences which assign a problematic status to activities whose performance are dominated by men; perhaps, like the music itself, it is so familiar, so normative in the practice of Judaism that it has ceased to be articulated in terms of anything other than tradition.

4.6.4 Emotion

Communicating the emotional content of the text can presuppose, not just knowledge of or familiarity with the text, but the deep understanding of the meaning of the text (this was true of each of the five performers featured in this chapter), along with the desire to state the emotional content of the text through means of music. This may be for the benefit of the performer (it is apparent who enjoys the act of performance over and above those who do not). It could be for the benefit of the Almighty (to Whom all these musical supplications are offered). It could also be for the benefit of the listeners, whether classed as congregation or audience.

Emotion in vocal music such as that of the synagogue can be communicated through many means. These may include the timbre of the human voice and the vocal range employed, together with changes in speed and dynamics. Emotion may also be reflected through physical means (as indicated above), with changes in the demeanour of the performer, or by obvious bodily movement including swaying and hand gestures. Often when leading the service, emotion is inherent in the act of prayer itself; the emotional experience on the part of the performer may be enhanced by efforts at communicating the meaning of text (although this is not always attempted). For the congregation, other than in the act of prayer, emotions can be triggered by the sound of the music; an exploration of these emotions will be made in the next chapter.

A text may be performed to music in more than one emotional context. This is reflected in the *brochas* made over the *Sefer Torah*. Stanley Siev's performances of two different versions of this were recorded. The first is the melody in common use in Dublin's Orthodox synagogues on most Sabbath mornings, while the second is sung only on *Tish B'Av*.

Examples 27(a) and (b). Two versions of the same *brocha* (blessing) per Stanley Siev; the second version, sung on *Tish B'Av* is always performed noticeably slower and in a deeper register.

Example 27(a). Sabbath *brocha*.

Bo - ruch a - toh A - de - shem e - low - hei - nu me - lech ha - o - lom.

Example 27(b). *Tish B'Av brocha*.

Bo - ruch a - toh Ha - shem e - low - hei - nu - me - mech ha - o - lom.

4.6.5 The relationship between congregation and cantor or *ba'al tefilah*

I have observed that in both the synagogue and during recording sessions that the congregation is vital in the overall performance of Jewish ritual music. Its role in providing responses is often the key to providing impetus for the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*. An engaged and enthusiastic congregation shares in the religious and social experience of being together and participating in a single activity with a common purpose. Equally, when part of the congregation ceases to engage in the events of the service, or when they talk at volume over the prayers, it is distracting for the person attempting to lead the prayers, and tempting for the remainder of the congregation to cease participating in the religious rituals. Rev. Shulman once commented in this regard: 'It's difficult sometimes; they're talking in front of you, they're talking behind you, they're talking on your left and your right!' (in conversation, 6 July 2006). For this reason, there is always spontaneous silence in Terenure synagogue when a child ascends the *bimah* to lead the concluding hymn *Anim Zemirot*.

While the cantor may have certain expectations relating to the behaviour and level of involvement shown by the congregation, the congregation reacts according to the demeanour and level of competence demonstrated by the person on the *bimah*. A strong voice and fluency in Hebrew are the minimum requirements of the congregation to assure that service will run smoothly and with a reasonable degree of decorum. A soft voice on the *bimah*, faltering Hebrew, and/or a lack of leadership in the sections in which all present join together in song may detract from the religious and social experience of the synagogue service. However, when the congregation unites in religious and musical expression, it is an elevating sensation for the cantor. On January 29th, 2011, the male-voice *Zimratya* choir composed of 24 Orthodox cantors, visited Dublin. They performed a Saturday-evening concert of secular and religious songs in Terenure synagogue; prior to this, they attended the Saturday morning Sabbath service. The addition of these huge voices to the usual congregation was electrifying. The reaction of Rev. Shulman, who conducted the service as usual, was very positive; he felt that his own performance was enhanced by the presence of the newcomers, but more importantly, hearing the rich choral responses to his own cantorial singing was a

uniquely uplifting experience. He commented to me afterwards: 'It was an incredible feeling: this wall of sound' (in conversation, 29 January 2011).

Of the five featured performers in my recordings, three commented on the lack of congregational response affecting their performances adversely (as they themselves perceived) during recording sessions. Raphael Siev invited me to participate in his performance of *Mussaf*: 'Come on, you could give the responses; it would make it easier for me' (in conversation, 23 January 2007); I declined, mainly because I did not believe that responses given by a lone female voice would provide an adequate replacement for the almost entirely male congregation to which he was accustomed. Such reactions to the recording process were owing to a lack of congregational support during a performance; structural musical expectations were left unfulfilled due to the lack of particular phrases of music which the congregation would normally provide. Thus, there is a symbiotic relationship between the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* (lay reader) as performer and the congregation as performers and audience; each, in their assigned role, complements the other.

4.7 Musical Language in the Dublin Synagogue

As in most Jewish congregations, the music of the Dublin synagogue is a concatenation of assorted musical events; modes, scales, melismas, chants and composed phrases unite across time to create the modern Sabbath service. In this section, an attempt is made to sift through these various entities in order to demonstrate the various musical elements present in the ritual Jewish music of Dublin.

4.7.1 Range

The first topic to be discussed is that of vocal range during the performance of the service. For singers with little formal training in vocal technique, this range is apt to be kept within the most comfortable limits both at the top and bottom registers within the vocal range of the individual. It can be seen in Raphael Siev's version of *Mussaf* that the vocal range spans a tenth, (A2–C4) with a marked preference to remain close to the lower registers within this range. In contrast, Rev. Shulman's

vocal range extends over two octaves (G2–B5), and is much more flexible within that range. This is partly due to his natural vocal range being larger, and partly due to his extensive vocal training which he received from early childhood.

Characteristic of Rev. Shulman's vocal performance is his ability to sustain singing at the top of his range, and to use *falsetto*, changing effortlessly between his chest voice and his head voice. It can be argued that this technique is the legacy of a nineteenth-century vocal style adopted by cantors even now, and is probably owing to the fact that cantorial style has its origins in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this regard, it cannot be ignored that the Dublin Jewish community largely originates from Eastern European settlers who arrived here at the turn of the twentieth century; given that much of the Jewish cultural framework is based on continuity of tradition, then it is not surprising that a nineteenth-century vocal convention endures. In the introduction to the section of Mayer Brown, 1989 entitled 'The 19th Century', it is acknowledged that 'One cardinal feature was the exploitation of the registers in which the greatest power was available. For male singers, this meant high notes, and above all the development of a powerful *falsetto* register in the tenor...' (D. Kern Holoman in Mayer Brown, 1989, 427). Although not featured in the sections of the Sabbath service which comprise the full transcriptions above, Rev. Shulman often sings in *falsetto* at certain junctures in the synagogue services. When asked why, he replied: 'Singing high like that brings me closer to the Almighty' (in conversation, 23 June 2009). In this way, he assigns spatial and physical values to pitch and sound; the higher the pitch, the higher the sound carries prayer towards the Almighty.

Evidence of performance practices in the early twentieth century Dublin synagogue exists in the form of a self-published book of *nusach* written in standard musical notation by Rev. Herman Semiatin, who officiated in St. Kevin's Parade and Walworth Road synagogues in the South Circular Road area of Dublin, until he left the city for New York in 1923. Throughout the scores contained in this book, it is noticeable that a range of two octaves (Bb3–Bb5) is indicated. The assumption here is that this is based on Rev. Semiatin's own vocal range, and much of the written music is sustained towards the top of this range.

Example 28. Rev. Semiatin demonstrates the highest register in his vocal range (Semiatin, 1950, 45).



4.7.2 Ornamentation

1. *Portamento*

Jewish liturgical music, particularly when executed by a trained cantor, is characterised by a high level of ornamentation, some of which also has its origins in the nineteenth and early twentieth century. Very often, the length of an entire service is dependent on the degree of ornamentation and repetition performed by the individual who is leading the congregation. While the structure of the service is defined by the order in which the various texts appear, greater ornamentation within the music suggests greater freedom and fewer prescriptive rules in terms of the way in which prayer is delivered. In this regard, the following has been observed:

In the fine arts, ornament is generally conceived as the antithesis of structure, in the sense that structure embodies all the elements of the art work that are essential to its meaning and purpose, whereas ornament is a nonessential accessory made for additional aesthetic gain.

(Neumann, 1982, 243)

One example of ornamentation which has its origins in the early twentieth century is the use of *portamento* (in which the voice audibly slides between changes of pitch), as observed in the essay entitled ‘The 20th Century, 1900–1940’:

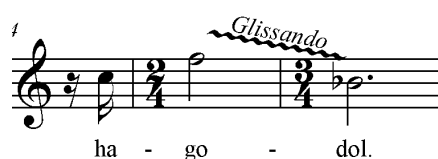
The *portamento* was regarded by singers of the early 20th century not just as an occasional ornament, but as a necessary ingredient of good *legato*, as definitions of *portamento* in the early years of the century make clear.

(Robert Philip in Mayer Brown, 1989, 477).

Evidence of the use of *portamento* can be authentically found in the early twentieth-century performance of Rev. Semiatin, as well in the recordings of Rev. Shulman and Stanley Siev.

Examples 29(a), (b) and (c) demonstrate *portamento* in the performances of three individuals.

Example 29(a). Rev. Semiatin (Semiatin, 1950, 41).



Example 29(b). Raphael Siev, bb. 132–133 (see above).



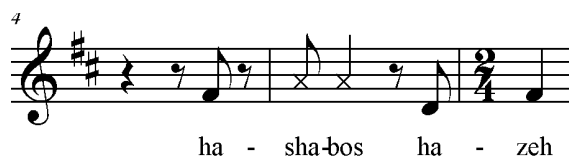
Example 29(c). Stanley Siev, bb. 42–46 (see above).



2. *Sprechgesang*

Another extended vocal technique in use in the Dublin synagogue is *sprechgesang*, in which certain words or passages are spoken at an approximate pitch during a sung phrase, in order to place emphasis upon these. This technique is closely associated with that of *sprechstimme*, although this is aligned more with ordinary speech. The technique of *sprechgesang* was always a feature of Raphael Siev's performance in the synagogue; when asked about it, he replied: 'Certain words need to be emphasised; this is how I draw your attention to these words.' (in conversation, 23 January 2007).

Example 30. Raphael Siev uses *sprechgesang* to emphasise the word *Shabbos* (Sabbath), bb. 208–210 (see above)

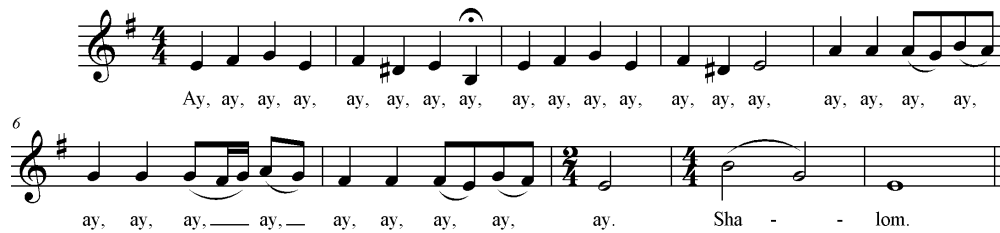


Throughout the complete transcriptions of *Shachrit* and *Mussaf* given earlier in this chapter, examples of this can be found, although it would be true to say that not all performers in the synagogue use this technique. However, as mentioned above, it was a technique which Raphael Siev frequently adopted. During the research process, I came across one other participant, namely Alec Diamond, whose two recordings of *haftorah* also featured this technique to a noticeable extent. Although I did not comment upon this to him, it emerged during the interview (6 August 2009), that he was a contemporary of Raphael Siev's, and that moreover, in his youth he had attended Walworth Road synagogue, as had the Siev family at that time. I concluded that as boys, both men had internalized this part of the *minhag* of Walworth Road synagogue, whether consciously or not.

3. Vocalise

Another type of musical embellishment occurs in the use of *vocalise* in order to extend a phrase of music beyond the length of the text being sung by adding extra syllables (often open vowel sounds). The best-known example of this in the Dublin synagogue takes place, not necessarily on the Sabbath, but during *Yom Kippur* and any other festivals during which the *Cohenim* assemble in the synagogue to make the Priestly Blessings over the congregation. After each blessing is made, the *Cohenim* join in a chorus and sing a musical phrase which they alone may sing.

Example 31. Chorus of *Cohenim* during the Priestly Blessings



4. Melisma

Synagogue music is often characterised by the extensive use of melisma. At times, melisma is adopted by the performer in order to highlight a particular word or syllable by extending it over a long musical phrase. This is in stark contrast with syllabic treatment of text in which each syllable is assigned a single pitch, typified below in the section on synagogue chant. The controlled use of the melisma is demonstrated several times during Stanley Siev's performance; the following example shows how the word *Yisroel* (Israel) is emphasised:

Example 32. Melisma in the performance by Stanley Siev, bb. 754–755 (see above).



Another use for melisma is to demonstrate technical vocal ability. Still another use is to embellish a melody which has already been stated. However, while it is easy to indicate the presence of melisma, it is not always possible to state its precise function: 'Identification of ornaments is harder when we encounter melismas without any direct clue as to whether or not they hide a simple, basic melody' (Neumann, 1982, 246). Melismatic singing is integral to the vocal style adopted by Rev. Semiatin in the early twentieth century; melismas are the main feature of his musical transcriptions:

Example 33. Melisma is widely featured in Rev. Semiatin’s performance (Semiatin, 1950, 55).

4.7.3 Synagogue Chant

A total contrast in musical style can create a “fundamental structural dissonance” (Grimley, 2006, 148) during the Sabbath service in which an inconsistency of musical style exists across the entire service in the Dublin synagogue. This is noted in the use of the one-note chant, which is the antithesis of florid melismatic singing seen above, but is nonetheless practised by those who feature melisma as part of their performance.

Example 34. One-note chant during Rev. Shulman’s performance of *Mussaf*, bb. 270–271 (See above).

It is outlined thus: ‘...the ostinato repetition but also the manifold ceaseless repetition which enchants by its apparent freedom from rule and impulsiveness’ (Seroussi, 2002). It is often a feature of those whose delivery of the service is rapid, and can simplify the musical interpretation of an entire sentence of text. Often the single note upon which the chant is based, will be approached from below by an interval of an ascending perfect fifth; this occurs in order to emphasise the opening word of a sentence in the text.

Example 35. One-note chant preceded by ascending fifth in Howard Gross’s version of *Shachris*, bb. 439–441 (see above).

There is a consensus of opinion among historians of Jewish music that this synagogue tradition was influenced by practices in Persian devotional music as far back as the tenth century C.E. (Idelsohn, 1932; Rothmuller, 1953; Gradenwitz, 1996). The same scholars have made also comparisons between this synagogue tradition and that of Gregorian plainchant. There may be the possibility of more recent influences. Perhaps the origins of this musical practice are shaped in some way by a broader tradition of liturgical music in pre-Soviet Russia (and hence elsewhere in Eastern Europe, particularly in the Baltic areas where borders were fluid until relatively recent times). In the article ‘Right Singing and Religious Ideology’ (Engelhardt, 2009), orthopraxy within a recently-revived tradition of Orthodox Christian music in Estonia is discussed. It is suggested that differences in musical style are regional and that in the past, those in rural areas were inclined to cultivate ‘an ascetic, vibratoless, restrained, word-centred vocal technique in contradistinction to what some perceive as the operatic excesses and purely aesthetic concerns of certain urban styles’ (Engelhardt, 2009, 45). It could be argued that here we have a description of musical practices in the Orthodox synagogue in 21st-century Dublin, in which extended passages of syllabic chant (as described above) are juxtaposed against a more expansive melodic style. It is known that many members of the Jewish community of Dublin are descended from those who came from both urban and rural communities in Eastern Europe. Perhaps their forbears shared certain liturgical musical practices with their Orthodox Christian neighbours, and brought all of these influences, whether rural or urban, to Dublin.

4.7.4 Diatonic melody

Another recognisable feature of music in Dublin’s Orthodox Jewish community is the frequent use of structured melody with strong implications of diatonic harmony. This has been seen earlier in this chapter in the transcriptions of passages of music sung by the congregation, as well as in the complete transcriptions of *Shachris* and *Mussaf* services. In contrast with periods of *ex tempore* melismatic singing, the purpose of such melodies is often to encourage congregational participation. This can be observed during any Sabbath service. Moreover, these memorable tunes are what people identify with their own synagogue or congregation or cantor; they are recalled from the past and are remembered into the future. Many examples occur throughout

the Sabbath service; here, one such example is taken from Carl Nelkin’s rendition of *Mussaf*.

Example 36. Diatonic melody featured in Carl Nelkin’s performance, with suggested harmonies, bb. 25–33, (see above).

Me-chal - keil cha-yim ve che - sed, me-cha - yei mei-sim be - ra-cha-mim ra-bim, so -

meich nof - lim, ve - ro - fei ho - lim, u-ma - tir a - su - rim,

More than technically-accomplished melismatic singing or rapid one-note chanting, these melodies which may be performed by anybody in the congregation are likely to be retained through time, and form a distinguishable part of the *nusach* and therefore the musical identity of a synagogue.

Sometimes it is possible to discern creative input to such melodies, what could be classed as a “compositional ‘writerliness’” (Grimley, 2006, 148), on the part of the performer. During the course of a service, particular melodic themes are repeated verbatim. However, during the course of Stanley Siev’s rendition, it could be observed that he performed variations on such themes, his variation technique structurally recognisable as being Classically-inspired and comparable with Beethoven’s technique for the embellishment of successive statements of a particular theme. Given the fact that Stanley Siev received instruction in the art of *davening* from Dr Teller, a German national living in Ireland since the 1920s, it is conjectural that some of Dr Teller’s musical influences were based on a German eighteenth- or nineteenth-century Classical style. In the following example, we observe Beethoven’s variation treatment of the main theme in the second movement of the Piano Trio Op.1

No. 1, followed by Stanley Siev's treatment of the theme which opens his version of *Shachris*.

Example 37(a) Variation technique in Beethoven Piano Trio Op. 1 No.1, 2nd movement.
 (Extracted from Beethoven, 1795, 1925 ed.) pp. 16, 18, 20.

Theme, p16



Variation 1, p18



Variation 2, p20



Example 37(b) Variation technique in Stanley Siev's version of *Shachris* (see above).

Theme, bb. 1-5.



Variation 1, bb. 22-26.



Variation 2, bb. 80-84.



4.7.5 Cadential figures

Given the number of musical components within the Sabbath service and the vast amount of text employed, cadential figures in the music are frequently used to indicate the end of a section of text. Such figures occur in different ways. One example is a sustained note at the end of a sentence of text, slightly ornamented either by *acciaccatura* or mordent; this is a stylistic legacy from the nineteenth century, indicated thus: ‘Internal cadential points were often embellished with holds or ornaments’ (D. Kern Holoman in Mayer Brown, 1989, 436).

Example 38. Ornamented cadence in Rev. Shulman’s version of *Shachrit*, bb. 110–114 (see above).



Another type of cadential figure is often used to indicate the end of a paragraph of text. Such a gesture tends to be thematic, and will recur frequently throughout a service. Examples are to be found throughout the transcribed recordings of all five featured performers. Here, excerpts from renditions of *Shachris* by Howard Gross and Stanley Siev are used to illustrate this type of motivic cadence. In the case of Stanley Siev, his use of this particular motif is structurally consistent throughout his version of the service, and is used as the final cadence at the conclusion of the service:

Example 39(a). Motivic cadence employed by Howard Gross throughout his performance, bb. 365–366 (see above).



Example 39(b). Motivic cadence employed by Stanley Siev throughout his performance, bb. 467–468 (see above).



A third type of cadential figure is prescribed in the *te'amim* (known among the various contributors to this project as “the trope”). *Te'amim* are tiny accents or symbols which appear above words written in the *Chumash*. For example, here is a single word בְּרוּךְ יְהוָה in which the diacritics below the Hebrew letters represent vowels, while the curved symbols above represent the musical phrase known as *kadma* (illustrated below). Each such symbol or cluster of symbols indicates a musical phrase to which the text must be sung.

Shown on the following two pages is Rothmüller’s ‘Comparative Table of Accent-Motifs in the Pentateuch’ (Rothmüller, 1953, 84–85). It must be noted that there is no set of such phrases universal to all Jews; instead, various phrases are used in different communities. Here the *te'amim* are shown at the top of the table, above the musical realisation of these.

Rothmüller's 'Comparative Table of Accent-Motifs in the Pentateuch'

44

JEWISH MUSIC

Comparative table of accent motives for the intoning of the Pentateuch

1	Babylonian.		Sof pasuq at - nah se - gol zaqef qaton rebi'a
2	Bolcharian.		
3	Persian.		
4	Syrian.		
5	Moroccan.		
6	Gibraltarian.		
7	Italian.		
8	Sephardic (France)		
9	Sephardic (Amsterdam)		
10	Sephardic (Egypt & Pal.)		
11	Ashkenazic.		azlageres
12	Reuchlin's.		
13	for Canticles.		

tēhir gēresin tarḥa qadma pašta

maarih

geršajim, tēhir merḥa kēfulla azia

munah z. qaton

Below we see the trope, or full set of such melodies based on the *te'amim* which are performed in the Dublin Jewish community, and were provided by Rev. Shulman. Those exemplified here are typical of musical practices in Dublin's Orthodox synagogues extending over a period of at least eighty years, based on my own field research among older members of the Dublin Jewish community.

Trope

As performed at Terenure Hebrew Congregation
per Cantor Alwyn Shulman
8 February 2010

Transcribed and
transliterated by
Melanie Brown

1. Munach zarkah



Mu - nach - zar - kah

6 2. Munach segol



Mu - nach se - gol

10 3. Munach munach revi'ih



Mu - nach - mu - nach - re - vi' - ih

15 4. Mapach parshtah



Ma - pach - parsh - tah

18 5. Zakef katon



Za - kef - ka - ton

21 6. Zakef gadol



Za - kef ga - dol

24 7. Merachah tipechah



Me - ra - chah ti - pe - chah

27 8. Munach etnachtah



Mu - nach et - nach - tah

Trope

30 9. Pazer

Pa - zer

34 10. Telishah ketanah.

Te - li - shah ke - ta - nah

37 11. Telishah gedolah

Te - li - sha ge - do - lah

40 12. Kadmah vi'aslah

Kad - mah vi - as - lah

44 13. Gershayim

Ger - sha - yim

46 14. Dargah tevir

Dar - gah te - vir

51 15. Yetif

Ye - tif

53 16(a) Sof Pasuk Cadence 1.

Me-ra - chah ti - pe - chah Sof pa - such

59 16(b) Sof Pasuk Cadence 2.

Ti - pe - chah Sof pa - such

Trope

65 16(c) Sof Pasuk Cadence 3.
Me-ra - chah ti-pe - chah - , me-ra - chah Sof pa - suk.

71 16(d) Sof Pasuk Cadence 4.
Ti-pe - chah - - - - - , me-ra - chah Sof pa - suk.

16(e)
77 Sof Pasuk Final Cadence
Sof - - - - - pa - - - - - suk - - - - -

The image shows three musical staves in treble clef with a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The first staff, labeled '16(c) Sof Pasuk Cadence 3.', contains the melody for 'Me-ra - chah ti-pe - chah - , me-ra - chah Sof pa - suk.' with a 2/4 time signature. The second staff, labeled '16(d) Sof Pasuk Cadence 4.', contains the melody for 'Ti-pe - chah - - - - - , me-ra - chah Sof pa - suk.' with a 2/4 time signature. The third staff, labeled '16(e) Sof Pasuk Final Cadence', contains the melody for 'Sof - - - - - pa - - - - - suk - - - - -' with a 3/2 time signature. The lyrics are written below the notes, and some notes are connected by horizontal lines or slurs.

Included in this realisation of the *te'amim* are five versions of the *Sof Pasuk*. The first four indicate internal cadences within the text, while the fifth and final *Sof Pasuk* indicates full closure at the end of a complete reading.

4.7.6 Synagogue modes and scales

The above type of functional motif also exists within the *dastgāh* concept of prescribed modes in the traditional music of Persia. In this, there is found a constant cadential figure known as the *forud*; the '*forud* is a melodic cadence with a relatively fixed pattern' (Farhat, 1990, 25). Other comparisons exist between the organisation of synagogue music and that of Persian music. For example, the concept of the Persian *radif* is not dissimilar to the *nusach*, that is, the repertoire of modes and scales which are developed into the melodies and chants of the synagogue. The Persian *radif* exists within the *dastgāh* system of modes and themes which are embroidered upon as part of the performance process: 'The pieces that constitute the repertoire of Persian traditional music are collectively called the *radif*' (Farhat, 1990, 21). Farhat further defines these pieces as 'melody models upon which extemporisation takes place' (ibid).

The major scale and both melodic and harmonic minor scales are often employed within the music of the Dublin synagogue; the performance by Raphael Siev transcribed above never deviates from its major tonality. Also prominently featured in the Dublin synagogue is the *Ahavah Rabbah* mode (Edelman, 2003), its augmented intervals popularly associated with Jewish music and corresponding somewhat with the Western Phrygian mode.

Example 40. *Ahavah Rabbah* mode as performed in the Dublin synagogue.



It could be argued that a mode such as the *Ahavah Rabbah* mode functions like the *ragas* of Indian classical music, in which we find melodic shapes ‘derived from parent scales’ (Massey and Massey, 1986, 101).

Example 41. Melody based on *Ahavah Rabbah* mode in Stanley Siev’s version of *Shachris*, bb. 273–283 (see above).

Suggestions of the Mixolydian mode sometimes occur in the context of a major tonality, in which the seventh is flattened.

Example 42. Passage in a major/Mixolydian modality during Rev. Shulman’s version of *Mussaf*, bb. 40–43 (see above).

It is also possible to detect the use of the pentatonic scale, as in this example from Howard Gross’s rendition of *Shachris*.

Example 43. Howard Gross’s use of the pentatonic scale, bb. 46–48 (see above).

4.8 Conclusion

Having explored the music performed in the Dublin synagogue in some detail, and having considered some of those who practice this music, it is possible to conclude that several social, compositional and performance mechanisms contribute to the overall sound identified with Jewish liturgical music in the Orthodox community of Dublin.

Firstly, performance is affected by experience: formal training, other external influences, as well as by the personal aesthetic of performers. Secondly, in a religiously Jewish context, music is transmitted by means of an oral tradition along with other factors, such as identity and gender. Thirdly, within Dublin’s Orthodox synagogue, the congregation has a vital role in both the transmission and performance of music.

It is also possible to detect continuity of thematic material, acquired and passed on using this process of oral transmission. Similarly, certain stylistic traits, if not actual melodic patterns, are retained since the early twentieth century, as it is seen in examples from Rev. Herman Semiatin’s transcribed performances (Semiatin, 1950).

As in most synagogues, the music of the Dublin Orthodox synagogue is characterised by a rich mix of musical styles, tonalities and modalities, whose kaleidoscopic variations are brought about by the individuals who perform the music.

All music is experienced on many levels. The next chapter uses elements introduced in the research framework designed to examine the specifics of the music of the Dublin synagogue (emotion, identity, transmission, gender and the role of the congregation) in a wider context in order to introduce some concluding propositions on the role and function of music in the creation, negotiation and transmission of Jewish identity in Dublin.

5. Functions of Music within Jewish Identity in Dublin

5.1 Introduction

Music is an integral part of Jewish worship. It has its place in the private, domestic domain: typified in a *Kiddush* recited over bread and wine; haunting melodies accompanying *Kabbalat Shabbat*, the mystical ritual taking place on Friday night to welcome the Sabbath; rousing songs, coupled with the lengthy musical sequence *benching* “Grace after Meals” enjoyed by hosts and guests alike around a Sabbath dinner table. Within the Orthodox Jewish community of Dublin, it is shared in public by many, providing a muted accompaniment to the grief of mourners at the cemetery; transporting celebrants to expressions of wild ecstasy during a wedding reception; bringing pride to the parents of a *bar mitzvah* boy as his year-long preparation culminates in his chanting *haftorah* on the *bimah* for the first time before a congregation of family, friends and well-wishers.

Liturgical music, in an Orthodox Jewish context, is integral to all religious ritual whether within or outside the synagogue. Prayer is rendered through music; acts of Jewish worship are observed through music. Music is a channel for spiritual congress, a conduit for emotion, and a universal means of communication through space and time. This chapter investigates the ways in which music is experienced, with particular reference to synagogue practices. Comparisons are also made between these musical experiences and those in other cultural and religious settings.

Propositions have been made in respect of the contribution of music to Jewish identity. These discussions revolve around relationships between music and identity; congregational music and community; music and the processes of transmission; music and gender; music and emotion. Each of these issues is central to the way in which people experience music, particularly in a religious setting. Additionally, these issues have particular relevance to each other; while explorations are made into the role which music may play in the assertion of identity, the possession of identity allows

individuals to participate in communities. Identities within communities can only be maintained while opportunities for transmission of cultural heritage endure. Many factors combine to form the cultural heritage of any given community; one of these is the perpetuation of gender roles, which themselves are particularly noticeable within the Orthodox synagogue. Finally, when music is experienced at an emotional level, it most often triggers emotions associated with the past. An engagement with the past is central to Jewish culture, therefore music is not merely functional as an accompaniment to prayer, but is instrumental in evoking times, places and people in order to place these in the present.

In common with Jewish communities elsewhere, music is vital to Dublin Jewish heritage and tradition. Therefore the first section of this chapter consists of reflections on music and identity, particularly elements of Lithuanian cultural and religious practices which colour the identity of Orthodox Jews in Dublin. A large part of the synagogue service features congregational singing, as illustrated in Chapter 4; therefore, the second section examines both the emotional content and context of congregational singing. Many cultural and religious practices are handed down in an oral tradition; this phenomenon is not unique to Jews. *Nusach*, the musical vocabulary of the synagogue, is an example of both a religious and cultural practice transmitted in such a way. In the third section, the process by which this happens is discussed with reference to members of the Dublin Jewish community. All of those named in this section are male, as the Orthodox synagogue service and many other Orthodox Jewish religious rituals are gender-specific, performed by men. The fourth section of the chapter raises some issues regarding the role of women in institutional Judaism, and particularly their function in the synagogue. The final section explores specific emotional responses to liturgical music.

The above five aspects of Jewish liturgical music examined in their turn should provide some insight into the significance of the role which music plays within the confines of the synagogue, in the construct of people's identity, and in the lives of all who experience music in the company of others.

5.2 Music and Identity

The act of musical performance, especially liturgical music, and most especially in the presence of others, is an affirmation of one's sense of identity. In other words, 'Music is a deep vessel, a form of expressive culture that can combine and hold many expressions of identity' (Summit, 2000, 17). Identity manifests itself in many different ways; it is self-reflexive and is also given meaning in the way in which others see us, and in the way in which we perceive this view of ourselves by others. Even the term "others" can be interpreted in an infinite number of ways, suggesting that every culture, nationality, religion or peer group is in some way mutually exclusive of each and every other such entity. Identity has its uses, forming strong bonds between cohorts. It also has its dangers, observed by Philip Bohlman in the essay 'Composing the Cantorate: Westernizing Europe's Other Within':

Europe is unimaginable without its others. Its sense of selfness, of Europeanness, has historically exerted itself through its imagination of others and, more tragically, through its attempts to control and occasionally to destroy otherness.

(Bohlman in Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000, 188)

Music has a function, not just in shaping one's own cultural identity, but in shaping that of a community. Although the following is expressed in the context of Irish folksong, the same arguments can be adopted in terms of Jewish liturgical music and the way in which this is experienced by members of the Irish Jewish community. They may even signify a meeting-point between Lithuanian-Jewish culture embodied in the small community in Ireland, and its host or majority culture in Ireland:

Song, music, dance, verse and folklore express the personality and identity of a community over time. Song and verse...give the permanence of art to the intimate experiences of the people.

People's memories and emotions, their joys and sorrows, are caught in the sensuous sound-web of this richly verbal art and made resonant in the imagination.

(Mac Gabhann, 2001, 229)

In the essay 'National Identity and Music in Transition: Issues of Authenticity in a Global Setting', John O'Flynn suggests:

Although identity and authenticity can be viewed as ideologically loaded concepts, people's common-sense beliefs around these qualities impact on musical experience. Identification with or in music is at once individual and collective. Any moment of engagement with music may be interpreted in terms of its aesthetic import, but aesthetic experiences cannot be completely divorced from positions of collective identity, including those of national identity. At the same time, music does not simply reflect or, for that matter, constitute national identity. Music-national identifications are discursive constructs, articulated through specific material and symbolic conditions. These include the sonic and structural properties of music and the social contexts in which it is sounded or heard, the mediating influence of national and non-national agencies, and the sets of values with which individuals or groups experience music.

(O'Flynn in Biddle and Knights, 2007, 37)

From this it can be inferred that experiencing music puts in motion the '...processes of cultural validation' (Lebrun, 2009, 3). Reconciling the aesthetic values of music with its semiotic properties allows us to consider all aspects of the experiential nature of music in assisting in the shaping of cultural identity. The following statement succeeds in asserting this, but can only extend to include the issue of Irish Jewish identity expressed through its music, if the term "Jewish culture and/or ethnicity" is substituted for the word "national":

Although national identity and music can be regarded as a socially constructed field of meaning, it nonetheless remains that people's beliefs about any music are dialectically related to its intra-musical elements – that is to say, to the actual sounds of music itself.

(O'Flynn in Biddle and Knights, 2007, 26)

This is supported by the feelings of one who considered herself as an “outsider” in the context of Jewish music, culture and ethnicity. Bernie Balfe, a classically-trained clarinettist originally from a rural, Irish, Roman Catholic background, remarked to me when I interviewed her regarding her experiences having played Jewish music for the first time with a group of Jewish musicians in Dublin, at a concert of Jewish liturgical and secular songs in a restored synagogue with all religious artefacts intact (the interview took place some months after the event): ‘It’s a very special kind of music. It takes you to some very dark places... It was amazing to see how the audience joined in, they all knew it...I was afraid I’d be playing it all wrong’ (in conversation, 10 February 2009).



Fig. 5(i) Moti Neumann in 19th century costume performing at the Dublin Jewish Musical Society concert mentioned above, held in the restored Walworth Rd synagogue, now part of the Irish Jewish Museum. (Photograph: Leslie Brown, 07/12/08).

Balfe discovered that the entirely Jewish audience participated fully, even when not enjoined to do so by the performers, presupposing an historical knowledge of all the music performed, and supplanting all other desires to “belong” during this brief period of time, in this one place, to any other cultural entity. She found, of Jewish music performed in an entirely Jewish cultural and social context, that ‘[I]t is interactive and deeply personal, conveying the spirit of the community’ (Mac Gabhann, 2001, 230). This opinion was endorsed by Marilyn Kron, who is a member of the Dublin Jewish community, when she stated: ‘It has to do with enjoyment, part of your identity has to do with enjoying the music...’ (in conversation, 28 October 2010). In a similar vein, we can speculate that:

Hegemony, then, allows us to theorize aspects of the music-national field in the knowledge that each political entity will have its own specific configuration of musical practices, values and articulations that are constantly subject to processes of (re)negotiation from both endogenous and exogenous sources.

(O’Flynn in Biddle and Knights, 2007, 28)

Journalist Victoria White publicly claims to have spent a lifetime fighting against this religious and cultural hegemony, using social and political reasons for justifying her actions: ‘...I’ve spent most of my life playing down my huge legacy of Church of Ireland hymns and traditions. They set me apart from the mainstream’ (White, 2010, 14). She admits her regret at knowingly adding to the erosion of her own cultural heritage, particularly in respect of her children: ‘No, I think my kids should have got their cultural inheritance by my own efforts at home and at church, rather than at school. And all they’ve had were dribs and drabs...’ (ibid). In her newspaper article published on Christmas Eve, 2010, she narrates how Christmas carols sung at home and in church during her own childhood, served a vital role in transmitting this cultural heritage down through many generations of her family, and assisted in strengthening familial bonds through the act of singing together. Having made the conscious decision not to continue the transfer of her religious and cultural identity to her own children, although the means are at her disposal to do so, she now bitterly regrets this decision, particularly in the light of her own advancing age and the loss of her parents. Musical knowledge in White’s Church of Ireland community was an

entity which created links between people, asserted the identity of these people, and provided powerful associations with specific events (for instance, carol services).

White has acknowledged what could be described as:

...the ways in which music contributes to self-identity and quality of life. Music provides people with ways of understanding and developing their self-identity, of connecting with other people, of maintaining well-being and experiencing and expressing spirituality. It provides strong memories of and associations with a person's life.

(Hudson, 2006, 630)

In the closing section of her article, White concludes that the withholding of this musical knowledge has not only broken the continuity of an age-old musical tradition, but has had a deleterious effect on the cultural identity of the generation to which her children belong.

Simon Dubnow (1860-1941), the highly original and influential Russian Jewish historian and author established the Jewish Historical Ethnographic Commission in 1892. Much of his later work took the form of sociological research into the Russian Jewish community, and he was inclined to the belief that 'music did not count as part of Jewish national culture' (Loeffler, 2010, 57). His view in 1891 was that Yiddish folk music was derivative of Ukranian and Polish folk melody, and moreover, that: 'Liturgical poems and prayer chants were only important for their *textual*, historical value. Judged by the standards of Jewish national content and historical significance, music failed the test of cultural relevance' (ibid).

Yet this was not a widely held attitude in contemporaneous Russian Jewish academic circles; from 1900, music, whether in the guise of synagogue chant, Yiddish folksong or *Klezmer* instrumental melody, had become 'one of the central tropes of Russian Jewish identity' (ibid). Eventually, Dubnow's opinion changed. Joel Engel (1868-1927), the Russian Jewish composer and teacher who conducted ethnographic research into Russian Jewish musical practices documented and compared similarities between Jewish and Ukranian, Hungarian, Polish and Gypsy folk music traditions, concluding that '[T]he goal of musical science...should be to document how the

Jewish people actively made their own national music through the subtleties of cultural expression' (ibid, 69). Raúl Romero highlights the problem of "rediscovering locality" (Romero, 2002, 92) in the context of situating Andean traditional music in Lima, Peru. It could be argued that the same difficulties exist in terms of exactly situating Eastern European Jewish music, given that its influences appear to be so very manifold, suggested thus:

What about this musical freedom? Throughout our history and especially in the Ashkenazi tradition (European Jewish) tradition, wherever and whenever our people found themselves, they brought into the synagogue musical elements out of their Diaspora environments, thus constantly affecting the character of whatever the existent musical mainstream was at any given period. There were times when hardly anything was off limits: peasant songs, folk songs, street songs, military marches, and, on some rare occasions, even church hymns even found their way into the synagogue.

(Friedmann and Stetson, 2008, 59)

In the past, this has inspired the metaphysical question asked by the Russian Jewish writer and poet I. L. Peretz at the outset of his 1901 essay 'The Transmigration of a Melody', in which the following appears: 'Where do our melodies come from? Perhaps we inherited them, perhaps they are from our neighbours' (Peretz in Wisse, 2002, 21).

Engel's theories on Jewish music convinced Dubnow that music was a legitimate field of ethnographic research in the context of Russian Jewish nationalism and identity. However, if Dubnow's original hypothesis were true with regard to the role of music within the context of Russian Jewish identity, it could well be argued that once Jews left Russia and formed their own diaspora throughout the rest of Europe and beyond, music was one of the defining traditions they brought with themselves; an artefact which weighed nothing, occupied no physical space, but which travelled with all who shared it. It is the legacy of those with music at the core of their Russian Jewish identity, which has been passed to their Irish descendants 100 years or more since

they left the Russian Empire and the Pale of Settlement for the relative tranquillity and site of potential opportunities to be found elsewhere in Europe, including Ireland.

The timespan during which ethnographic research into Jewish musical practices in Russia took place was not long. It began in the early years of the twentieth century; in 1912, the first ever ethnographic field trip relating to the music of Russian Jews, (decreasing now in numbers due to emigration to Western Europe and beyond) was embarked upon. This was conducted by urban, university-educated members of the Russian Jewish *intelligentsia*: ‘For together these men, Engel, Ansky, and Solomon Yudovin, a young art student, represented the first members of the newly launched Baron Horace Gintsberg Jewish Historical-Ethnographic Expedition’ (Loeffler, 2010, 87). They travelled around various *shtetls*, collecting examples of Jewish folk tradition, recording songs and stories, people and places using cutting-edge technology which included both the phonograph and the camera. Such expeditions abruptly ceased in the 1930s, and there was no resurgence of interest after the Second World War; by then, most of the Jewish community of Eastern Europe had been exiled or exterminated.

Just as the question of Jewish presence and/or influence could be said to be largely ignored in discussions on Irish culture generally, so too was the presence of Jewish music (and that of other distinct cultures) in Eastern European traditions as part of institutional ethnomusicological projects undertaken across Eastern Europe from the 1950s onwards. Ankika Petrović in her essay: ‘The Status of Traditional Music in Eastern Europe’ describes the situation of music scholarship in relation to Jewish music in an Eastern European post-war context:

Monographic studies of this kind, however, very often neglected existing cultural links and the relevant socio-cultural processes...Studies of musical traditions outside national boundaries or outside Slavonic cultures were not accepted or supported in East European countries.

(Petrović in Porter, 1997, 57)

More light is cast on to the pre- and post-war attitudes that excluded Jewish music in Eastern Europe from being acknowledged, in the essay ‘Bartók, the Gypsies and Hybridity in Music’ by Julie Brown. In this, Brown paraphrases Wagner’s pamphlet of 1850, ‘Das Judentum in der Musik’ (Judaism in Music) in which:

Wagner alleges that Jews always speak the language of the country they are in as a foreigner, that it is inherently impossible to write “true poetry” in a foreign language. And that Jews engage in “reflected,” not “instinctive” expression.

(Brown in Born and Hesmondhalgh, 2000, 126–127)

Thus Jews as foreigners, or Others, have no rights with respect to the contribution, or appropriation, of culture in Eastern Europe; consequently there is a mandate to remove any explicit mention of Jewish minority culture from wider discussions on European music.

Some blame for the dearth of musical research has been assigned to the Russian Jews themselves; certainly no such scholarly interest was demonstrated within the Jewish communities of Russia when they were at their largest prior to the passing of the May Laws by Czar Alexander III in 1882 (Mendes-Flohr and Reinhartz, 1995):

For a society that placed enormous value on recording and analysing religious laws, rituals, stories and customs, traditional Ashkenazi Jews devoted remarkably little time to documenting their own music.

(Loeffler, 2010, 8)

If this is the case, then it could well be argued that such a lack of scholarly interest into its music is a legacy handed down from the Ashkenazi Jews of Eastern Europe to their Irish descendants. Until I engaged in the current investigation of Dublin Jews and their music, there was only one example of research having been conducted into the music of Dublin’s synagogues (Spencer-Shapiro, 2003), itself undertaken by an American cantor, and which largely featured the music of the Dublin Jewish Progressive Congregation. My own experiences in attending services there, and

having acted as Choir Director during two sets of High Holy Day services during the 1990s would tend to suggest that the music of this synagogue is largely based on original compositions by Louis Lewandowski and Solomon Sulzer, much of the text forced to fit four-bar melodies which are themselves harmonised in a Romantic style, complete with organ accompaniment, as unlike Orthodox Judaism, there is no proscription on playing musical instruments in Reform synagogues during Sabbath or High Holy Day services. Both Lewandowski and Sulzer made enormous contributions to the modernising of Jewish liturgical musical practices in nineteenth-century Germany, and both played a vital role in spearheading the Jewish Reform Movement at this time.

It could be argued that the DJPC is rare among Reform congregations in the British Isles in its resistance to musical change, and in its constant musical reminders of Adelaide Road synagogue (most of the founders of the DJPC were originally members of Adelaide Road synagogue). As illustrated in Chapter 4, there are similar reminders which occur throughout the Orthodox service in Terenure synagogue. The actions of the DJPC in maintaining these nineteenth-century musical traditions assist in furthering bonds between the present and the past of the Dublin Jewish community while examples of the *nusach* of Adelaide Road synagogue remain there. After a rehearsal with the DJPC choir some years before I began researching this thesis, I absentmindedly sang a phrase of music upon which we had been working. My father immediately responded: ‘That’s an Adelaide Road tune, that was our *Shema Koleinu!*’ and continued the melody, which I had never heard before prior to this rehearsal.

During an interview with Joan Finkel, a committed and active member and sometime President of the DJPC, with a long history of singing in its choir, she told me:

I loved the music of Adelaide Road until we moved to Leicester Avenue [site of the DJPC]...I was fourteen when we changed *shul*. I love the old traditional tunes, I’m afraid that nowadays they’re out of fashion, some people don’t like to sing them, certainly in our *shul*...Do I believe that music is an important part of Jewish identity? Of course. If you lose your [musical] traditions, you lose your identity (in conversation, 15 March 2010).



Fig. 5(ii) Joan Finkel pictured in her study at home.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 15/03/10).

It must be acknowledged that not all scholars attach particular significance to the role of music in the shaping of Jewish identity. In her ethnographic study of the declining Cochin Jewish community (Fernandes, 2008), the author cites cultural markers such as religious and domestic ritual, ritual spaces, language, education, food and dress as being central to this particular community, yet music is never mentioned. An account of the music of the Copenhagen Synagogue (Rossen and Sharvit, 2006) charts the progress of music in accelerating the process of Jewish acculturation into Danish society rather than its role in asserting a specific Danish Jewish identity. However, as mentioned in Chapter 3, Jewish identity as a concept is problematical. There is no one nationality attached to being Jewish; no single means of religious observance; no homogeneous Jewish race; no pure and unadulterated musical language. Instead, Jewish identity, and by association, Jewish musical identity are defined only through historical cultural practices which are themselves subject to influence by the cultural practices of friendly neighbours and ruthless subjugators alike, over time and from place to place. Thoughts from either end of the spectrum of conjecture regarding the phenomenon of Jewish identity emerge thus:

Jewish identity is not an essence. Its significance in a person's life depends on contexts: personal, national, cultural, religious, political, and historical, to name only a few from the list that keeps Jewish identities in a constant flux.

(Móricz, 2008, 351)

Whereas a contributor to this project, Valerie Woolfe made the following categorical assertion regarding Jewish identity: 'It's in your genes' (in conversation, 28 October 2010). This one statement may give rise to some controversy, not least because there is no proven Jewish homogeneity, and in a musical sense, certain genres of Jewish music are indisputably derivative of Eastern European folk music (Loeffler, 2010). Yet, however credible a Jewish musical genealogy would appear, it is tactfully hinted at in a discussion of the work of Austrian composer Franz Schubert (1797-1828). Here, Schubert's Jewish lineage (despite the composer having been born three generations after the conversion of his branch of the family to Roman Catholicism) is tentatively suggested in the statement '...there were in his musical personality also hereditary strands from the more northerly culture' (Newbould, 1997, 19). Schubert, whose national and musical identities were widely contested and misappropriated after his death, suffered the posthumous indignity of being deprived of his Austrian nationality: '...a conclusion that confirmed the composer's religious credentials while blithely ignoring his citizenship' (Messing, 2007, 57), by the same 'forces that sought to prevent the recognition of Schubert's stature as a purely German artist' (ibid, 62), those "forces" being the right-wing fin-de-siècle German and Austrian press, a process which continued during the ascendancy of the Third Reich across Europe in the twentieth century.

In more modern times, thoughts on American Jewish identity have included the following:

Perhaps a "salad-bar" metaphor is helpful here. Imagine a buffet containing the full array of ingredients possibly associated with Jewishness. These would include more normative ways of being Jewish such as following Jewish law, studying Jewish texts and emulating Jewish teachings. It would also include non-normative,

but culturally understood ways of being Jewish – being smart, eating lox and bagels, being intellectually critical, watching *Seinfeld* on television. It would also contain particularly personal expressions of being Jewish, such as an individual's feelings about his Uncle Louie or his relationship to a particular poem or book. From among the many possibilities displayed in our imaginary salad bar, suppose that each individual fills his/her plate with a unique assortment of ingredients which for him/her constitute “the Jewish” – religious, ethnic, cultural, social, affective, ethical, etc.

(Horowitz, 2003, 8)

Constructing a Jewish identity from a melée of acquired, inherited and assumed traits, traditions and rituals is a daunting task. Constructing a Jewish musical identity is no easier, as there are the same variables regarding culture and nationality, creating only “locally meaningful expressions” (Seeman, 2006) of this identity, rather than a fixed musical macro-identity which can be applied to all Jews everywhere. In much the same way, parallels can be drawn between the development of an Eastern/Western European Jewish musical style, and the evolution of flamenco music in Spain over time, with input from various national and cultural sources: ‘This musical metaphysics is portrayed as a swelling stream produced by the confluence of Oriental, Islamic, Jewish, Christian (liturgical) and Gypsy influences’ (Chuse, 2003, 252). Yet, for informed listeners, Spanish flamenco music is easily recognisable, all its disparate elements comfortably fused together. The same cannot be said of Jewish music, particularly that of the Dublin synagogue, where ancient modes, floridly ornamented melismatic passages, one- or two-note chants and Romantic, through-composed strophes with strong implications of diatonic harmony are performed in a sequence the logic of which is not easy to discover. Yet there is the possibility that within this sequence of musical events is the matrix which will provide the knowledge we need to begin to understand the musical influences which have created the musical tradition observed in the synagogues of Dublin. Put succinctly, ‘...the music of the present is a map to its past’ (Nettl, 1996).

In a discussion regarding the introduction of the organ into nineteenth century German Reform synagogues, the following is expressed, consolidating the view that there can be no one definition of Jewish musical style:

Although...tradition is “a structure of historical culture fundamentally immune to history,” Jewish tradition forms an exception. Rather, it has transformed over time into different Jewish customs through exile and migration, resulting in heterogeneous historical and cultural developments. These developments also apply to Jewish musical tradition, which has been subject to continuous and profound changes throughout history. Tradition is constructed history and, like identity, subject to change. It is a process of individual reinterpretation of the past, a definition that applies well to “Jewish music,” all the more so as there can be no homogeneous tradition of Jewish music.

(Frühauf, 2009, 5)

To summarize the above is to reiterate the problem which symbolises the relationship between Jews and their music. The problem resides in the difficulty of identifying all of those social, cultural and religious precepts which combine to form the abstract concept that is the Jew, just as the combination of historical and stylistic elements which create Jewish music is too varied and too old to be broken down into its constituent parts. Thus Jewish identity and also Jewish music are represented as fragments of cultural history which manage to be reconciled, yet not reconciled with each other, creating a Jewish identity that is many things, yet also one thing. Jewish music is splendidly isolated in the field of musical study; an amalgamation of musical events through history which have made it at once unique and not unique, of itself and yet at the same time strangely familiar within a European and geographically more remote context. Their music is the perfect metaphor for Jews themselves.

5.3 Congregational Singing: Activism in Maintaining Cultural Identity

Insofar as a need for communal acts of worship manifests itself among so many people in the world, even as we enter an era where religious beliefs and dogma are increasingly challenged, such acts are magnified, made more meaningful to participants by the very presence of music. Liturgical music is ascribed certain mystical powers; it is said to be “a signal of transcendent reality” (Friedmann and Stetson, 2008, xv). The suggestion has even been made in the article ‘Beauty and Terror: What Have We to Sing; What Has Worship to Pray?’ by D.E. Saliers, that liturgical music can act as the panacea for the world’s ills, that it can reverse the process of society’s degeneration:

We seem to swim in the corruption of human speech – political, moral, media-dominated aesthetic, and religious – in a popular culture of hype and disaffection. And yet, when it comes to certain matters of extremity, the older discourses of “common humanity” reemerge. Liturgical music in particular can be a sustained resistance to the devaluing of language and life.

(Saliers in Zager, 2007, 213)

Here, the author launches an attack on the manifestation of American society in which he, as Professor of Theology and Worship and also organist/ choirmaster, finds himself in his university community at Emory University, but perhaps awards an optimistic amount of power to the genre of liturgical music (and simultaneously, the act of participation in this) in restoring the (implied) “correct” perspectives and moral standards to a debased society.

During a discussion of *Vak* (a form of Hindu chant), it is concluded that liturgical music is: ‘...more sacred than ordinary speech and carries with it a far deeper significance’ (Beck, 1993, 25). Through music, the banal, the everyday modes of address are somehow sublimated into a channel of communication linking worshippers with a different, unknown plane of existence. Music, in religious terms,

is an offering, a sacrifice, a covenant which assumes the form of sound. This is hardly a brand-new concept; ten centuries ago, Hildegard of Bingen made similar speculations, as quoted in the article “‘The Soul is Symphonic’: Meditation on Luke 15:25 and Hildegard of Bingen’s Letter 23’ by William T. Flynn:

Hildegard’s phrase “the soul is symphonic” uses the Latin adjective *symphonalis*, a word derived from the Greek noun *symphonia*, an important word in Greco-Roman music theory...In Latin, as in Greek, the word *symphonia* can denote music, but it refers more precisely to the special ability of music to symbolize an agreement...

(Flynn in Zager, 2007, 2)

This exemplifies the agreement between language and music, between cantor and congregation, between Man and Almighty, between past and present. Music in the form of congregational singing is also observed to represent unification between people in the presence of each other. Hildegard’s position is consolidated thus:

Hildegard would also have been schooled in the traditional interpretations of Luke 15:25 that had their origin in the commentary on Luke written by Ambrose. The renowned fourth-century hymn-writer and Bishop of Milan. In commenting on this verse, Ambrose noted...that in the congregational singing of his own flock in Milan, one could hear the same *symphonia* when all ages and abilities were united in singing their common praise of God.

(ibid.)

It has been noted that: ‘What we hear stirs us. We are moved to sing. This human impulse starts at the place of listening’ (Hale, 2007, 6). The compulsion to sing with others stems from a desire to participate in a unifying activity, this desire identified in the human condition by Aristotle when he stated that ‘A social instinct is implanted in all men by nature’ (Jowett, 1885, 29). Over two millennia after this pronouncement was made, the same sentiment was echoed during the course of an interview with one of my few female participants as part of my field research. Tara Bell stated that in the context of congregational singing: ‘It’s a natural human desire to belong’ (in

conversation, 17 February, 2010). This view is further endorsed by Ian Cross in the essay ‘The Evolutionary Basis of Meaning in Music’, in which he suggests that research conducted into individual responses to music has elicited findings which ‘...do point in the direction of the notion that music, like language, is a mode of interacting with others’ (Cross in Rose, 2010, 7).

Communal singing is not specific to any one culture or place. Other than the European Jewish and Christian traditions currently under discussion, it is known that shared experiences of liturgical music had spread across India in the fifteenth century:

Devotional music in the form of community hymn singing became immensely popular...Up to this time, Hindu worship was a private matter between a man and his personal god; now...it began to take on a social aspect.

(Massey and Massey, 1986, 45)

Such shared experiences, whether in the act of singing as part of a congregation or listening in a congregational setting, assist in constructing a social framework in which ongoing participation is encouraged, even expected. In his ethnographic research into liturgical Jewish musical practices in his American hometown of Boston, Jeffrey Summit quotes one of his contributors discussing congregational singing:

I think that singing that way also sets up more of what I like to call “Shema consciousness feeling,” you know, that everybody is *ehad* (one) and that everybody is connected.

(Summit, 2000, 45)

As my mother, Elaine Brown, remarked to me in respect of listening or singing in the synagogue, ‘It makes me feel that I belong’ (in conversation, 09 October 2010).

A sense of belonging is engendered by a knowledge of text and musical style common to all who aspire and/or contrive to participate. At the very moment at which these musical experiences occur, other factors which might potentially impede acceptance

into this particular cosmos become minimised; the individual willingly relinquishes his or her autonomy in the effort of contributing to, and receiving the benefits of belonging:

...such depersonalizing and energizing collective rites have priority over all systems of meaning. They provide the real and immediate experience of a felt truth that is beyond ordinary life, and in doing so *create* the bonds that give society its compelling sacred power over the individuals who make it up.

(Lindholm, 2008, 89)

An example of this is narrated in a detective novel by Dorothy Sayers set in a fictional village in pre-war Home Counties England. Immediately prior to the inevitable discovery of a mangled murder-victim in a cellar, members of all walks of village life are coincidentally gathered in a parlour, and take part in a spontaneous chorus:

[Lord Peter] lifted his voice: '*Here we sit like birds in the wilderness –*'

All mad together, thought Harriet, joining in:

'Birds in the wilderness –'

Mr Puffett could not bear it and exploded with a roar:

'Birds in the wilderness –'

The vicar opened his mouth:

'Here we sit like birds in the wilderness –

Down in Demerara!'

Even Miss Twitterton added her chirp to the last line.

(Sayers, 1937, 98-99)

Here we see, joining in one by one, the Peer of the Realm, the doctor's daughter, the vicar, the local chimney-sweep and the spinster (whose exact social standing is ambiguous, her late father named as a farm-labourer, and who earns her own living variously playing the church organ, teaching piano to the village children, and slaughtering chickens). All members of the curiously stratified society in Sayers's England are represented, but any notions of superiority or servility of class are transcended by the universal knowledge of the one song. The song itself is common

property, and all who sing it are temporarily equal members of the same group. More than any other example of social engineering, we see how the act of singing together possesses ‘...an even stronger capacity to merge personal and group consciousness’ (Lindholm, 2008, 88).

The fervour to conform and belong is found in any musical assembly. In the same interview as quoted above, Tara Bell makes the following pertinent observation that:

It’s funny, I think that the latter-day rock concert is a communal gathering, it’s an affirmation of life that maybe the church would have provided in the past...Knowing the words makes you part of the group; not knowing creates a sense of urgency to learn the words, to join in (in conversation, 17 February 2010).

Singing alongside others is an act both defined and motivated by a common purpose. It is a statement of intent to belong to a group, to represent and be represented by that group. International rugby and soccer matches are preceded by lusty rendition of national anthems, many thousands of spectators voicing their collective aspirations in a few short, instantly recognisable musical phrases in which national pride, identity, characteristics, or perhaps stereotypes are supposedly encapsulated before these factors are projected, in the form of a team, on to the playing-field. In the essay entitled ‘National Identity and Music in Transition: Issues of Authenticity in a Global Setting’, John O’Flynn casts light on the mechanism by which the singing of such songs becomes a unifying act when he acknowledges:

...distinct functions of music identity within cultural groupings. Thus we can differentiate between domestically-produced music which may be employed emblematically (external identity) and that which serves catalytically to promote group cohesiveness and belonging (internal identity).

(O’Flynn in Biddle and Knights, 2007, 23-24)

In the essay 'Singing as Communication' Graham F. Welch suggests that the involvement of individuals in the act of congregational singing presupposes certain social factors common to all who participate:

In addition to the communication of a basic emotional state, the act of singing conveys information about *group membership*, such as age, gender, culture, and social group.

(Welch in Miell *et al*, 2005, 251)

The above is true to an extent, although it cannot be said that all members of all groups of those who choose to sing together in a single unifying act can necessarily be defined by many such factors. It is far more likely that, in the case of the spontaneous outburst of song penned by Dorothy Sayers (above), it is the knowledge of the song, rather than assumptions regarding wealth, education, religion or other socially related nuance, which confers group membership. In the context of the Dublin Jewish community, it is the knowledge of the music of the Dublin synagogue which feeds into the sense of Dublin Jewish identity, the experience of singing and listening to music in a sequestered state, knowing the music, and furthermore knowing that few others in Dublin outside this group, outside these walls, have this knowledge. It is these musical traditions and the possession of this musical knowledge which, in some part, differentiate Dublin Jews from their neighbours.

5.4 The Transfer and Acquisition of *Nusach*

Although it may be argued that certain cultural traits are inherited, it remains a fact that the practice of music must be learned, often over a sustained period of time. In Dublin this is exemplified in the *nusach* of Terenure synagogue, which is known to all regular members of the congregation.

The very word *nusach* is open to different interpretations. Firstly, there is *Ashkenazi nusach*, a generic European style readily differentiated from *Sephardic nusach*, music associated with Jews from the Iberian peninsula and also the Middle East (Gradenwitz, 1996; Tarsi, 2002). Secondly, there is the Lithuanian or *Litvishe*

nusach, which is applied to the style of music practised in all synagogues whose origins are Lithuanian. This would include synagogues throughout Western Europe and the British Isles, as well as North and South America, South Africa, Australia, and all places to which Lithuanian Jews dispersed after the May Laws of 1882 were passed. Ironically, I am confidently informed by Edward Segal, one of the contributors to this project who travels extensively around Europe for professional reasons, that Lithuanian *nusach* no longer exists in Lithuania and that moreover, ‘It’s all *Lubavitcher nusach* now!’ (in conversation, 13 January 2008). Thirdly, the term can be used to describe liturgical musical practices in a particular country or city. For instance, it could be argued that the Lithuanian *nusach* practiced in London differs somewhat from that practiced in Dublin, due to external cultural and aesthetic influences. Finally, every synagogue possesses its own *nusach*, even if there are only small degrees of variation between itself and its nearest neighbouring synagogue.

Nusach, while critical in its role in defining the autonomy of a congregation, is generally taught and learned as part of an oral tradition, and is thus subject to change depending on the idiosyncrasies of any one particular exponent, a fact endorsed by Hanoch Avenary in the essay ‘The Aspects of Time and Environment in Jewish Traditional Music’, in which it is stated: ‘Jewish sacred song is transmitted, in theory and in practice, by oral tradition... This system inevitably implies a considerable degree of variability’ (Avenary, 1987, 93). It can be maintained only through an interest on the part of those who lead services on an ongoing basis, and it can be lost, either through the disappearance of the tradition for reasons such as the emigration or death of its exponents, or through intervention, such as the introduction of a high proportion of new or different musical material into regular services. In short, ‘Tradition is but a meteor, which, if once it falls, cannot be rekindled’ (Johnson, 1775, 106). It is suggested here that such a disruption of the oral tradition is occurring in certain Jewish communities in America:

Nusach is a musical, liturgical tradition that best reflects the character, make-up, and history of a community. One of the sad things about the development of liberal Judaism in America has been the relative obliteration of regional variation in *nusach* (i.e. Litvak vs. Ukranian, Sephardic vs. Ashkenazic). A century ago, one could

walk into a synagogue in America (or any Western European city)
and easily tell where the davening came from.

(Tarsi, 2002, 175)

In an American context, this view of the erosion of traditional *nusach* is endorsed in the essay 'Judaism and Music' by Joseph A. Levine, in which it is claimed that American popular culture and influence have succeeded in '...almost eliminating the experience of sacred chant' (Levine in Beck, 2006, 52). Levine suggests that this has come about because '...the amount of actual chanting in contemporary services has been severely curtailed in favour of melodies deemed conducive to congregational participation' (ibid, 44), and lists these as '...mariachi, reggae, soft shoe, calypso, funky...' (ibid). Current attitudes in Dublin quite simply would not permit such liberties to be taken with the *nusach*. This appears to be true of the Orthodox and Progressive synagogues. In response to Rev. Shulman's occasional and very slight variations within the strict parameters of musical style practiced in Terenure synagogue, one member of the congregation remarked to me: 'I wish he wouldn't *change* things. It's really annoying when you don't know what's coming next!' (in conversation, 28 October 2010). This would suggest that congregational participation in the service is based on a high degree of musical expectation, and that any challenge to this expectation is classed as a 'designated cultural enemy' (Lebrun, 2009, 123), in the same way that Lebrun suggests that the alternative rock scene in France represents a challenge to the expression of cultural identity through the medium of the French *chanson*.

The oral transmission of *nusach* is a key factor in retaining the traditions and cultural identity of a Jewish community or synagogue congregation as it provides the interface between past and present. Memorializing the past and forging links with the past are central to Jewish culture; music as a commodity belongs specifically to neither past nor present, and so can represent the past as being part of the present, while directing present-day performers and listeners to a realisation of the past. In other words, functions of Jewish liturgical music include '...connecting insider and outsider, humans and spirits, culture and nature, present to past' (Nettl, 1996). Through this

music, relationships are forged between past and present, between people and places, old and young, expressed thus:

The transmission of such traditional art thus involves key concepts like community, participation, apprenticeship, responsibility and the personal development of identity. Such a heritage draws us into intimate relation with former generations who shaped the traditions.

(Mac Gabhann, 2001, 230)

During the course of this research, I have observed a high level of skill at singing on the part of those who lead the synagogue service in Dublin. Added to this, there is a correspondingly high level of competence among large sections of the congregation, both male and female. Yet, on occasions when I commented upon this especially to those men whom I recorded singing *haftorah*, the most consistent responses included: 'I'm not at all musical!' or 'I can't read a note of music!' or 'My wife wouldn't agree with you!' While most contributors to this project received little or no formal musical training, the vast majority demonstrated considerable musical ability, with particular aptitude for singing. As I am unaware of statistics to suggest that all members of the Dublin Jewish community are necessarily predisposed to singing, I suggest that at least some members of the community are particularly talented in this way. The ability to sing, shared among most members of the synagogue congregation (particularly within the synagogue environment), in all likelihood has its origins in the encouragement to sing coupled with the familiarity of the musical material which has taken place from childhood. Such an hypothesis has been explored elsewhere:

In the United States it is commonly believed that musical talent is innate and that people either are or are not 'musical.' Evidence from other societies, however, suggests that musical abilities, like other abilities, are often largely due to the early habit formation of children that make certain activities easier, or makes them appear natural, for them. Incipient habits are shaped by the values and examples of core people around the child and are reinforced by praise when the child shows interest or ability in a valued activity. Talent also involves

propensities that make an individual better suited for some activities over others.

(Turino, 2008, 97)

It can be seen during Sabbath services in Terenure synagogue that any of the boys who lead the *Anim Zemirot* concluding hymn are always rewarded with chocolate, are formally congratulated with a handshake from the Rabbi and members of the synagogue council, and receive a great deal of praise from both within and outside their families. Rev. Shulman modestly described to me his precocity as a singer: 'I started singing in the *shul* choir in Cape Town when I was four or five' (in conversation, 22 September 2009). Additionally, both Stanley Siev and Howard Gross independently described more than once to me how they had learned their *davening* skills in their youth. However, during the course of this research, both men have demonstrated that they each possess an innate sense of pitch, rhythm, style, performance and communication, or to paraphrase, musicality, to the overall benefit of the congregation. This would appear to endorse a further observation made by Turino:

From firsthand experience, I have found that in societies where participatory music making and dance are a regular part of frequent valued social activities, the general level of musical competence, especially as regards relative pitch production (rendering intervals accurately) and having a good sense of time and rhythm, is generally high.

(Turino, 2008, 97)

Learning to respond musically as part of the congregation requires little effort other than to attend services, listen to ones cohorts, and eventually participate. Training to be either a cantor or a *ba'al tefilah* requires more in the way of dedication, instruction, and very often a period of apprenticeship. It appears that one may possibly become a cantor or *ba'al tefilah* due to the influence of a parent or particular teacher. Rev. Shulman, formerly cantor at Adelaide Road synagogue, now incumbent at Terenure synagogue, explained that although he had received his professional training at *yeshiva* or religious seminary, he was very much influenced, during his formative

years [1960s], by ‘my teacher, Charlie Achron – he was the *chazzan* in our *shul* in Cape Town’ (in conversation, 16 September, 2007). According to Edward Segal (jeweller by profession; *ba’al tefilah* at Machzekei Hadass and Terenure synagogues): ‘My father was a Rabbi... We went to Greenville [Hall synagogue]; I learned *nusach* from Rev. Garb, Rev. Gluck and my father [1950s]’ (in conversation, 13 January 2008). Howard Gross (dentist; *ba’al tefilah* at Terenure synagogue) also cited his father’s influence [1950s]:

My father taught me to *daven* from when I was twelve. He expected everything to be perfect; I couldn’t make any mistakes. For two years, every morning, he’d listen to me *davening* at home... I started attending the morning *minyan* in around 1956 (in conversation, 23 June 2009).

On a previous occasion, he had mentioned ‘I learned *nusach* by following Rev. Bernstein in *shul*’ (in conversation, 13 February 2008). Raphael Siev [career diplomat; *ba’al tefilah* at Machzikei Hadass synagogue] said ‘I learned to *daven* just by listening in *shul* [1940s]’ (in conversation, 23 January 2007). Carl Nelkin (solicitor; *ba’al tefilah* at Terenure synagogue) stated: ‘I learned *leining* from Rev. Halpert and Rev. Bernstein... I started *leining* in *shul* [during Sabbath services] when I was fourteen [1970s]’ (in conversation, 15 June 2010). Stanley Siev (solicitor; *ba’al tefilah* at Terenure synagogue) received a more formal course of instruction [1930s]:

After you made your *bar mitzvah*, there were more advanced classes in *leining* and *davening*... I was taught by Rev. Roith, he always used very expressive language. There was Mr Mansur, he was the first *cheder* teacher in Bloomfield Avenue [the first national school to be run by a Jewish Board of Management, located on Bloomfield Avenue, off South Circular Road]. And Mr Schneider, he was the Headmaster of Bloomfield Avenue. There was Dr Weingreen [later Professor of Hebrew and Biblical Studies at Trinity College, Dublin]. And Dr Teller – he was very particular about pronunciation and grammar – and Mr Greenblatt, and Mr Maslin (in conversation, 31 December, 2008).

The above statements would suggest that '[T]he construction of a personal genealogy serves to represent the transmission not just of the individual tunes themselves but of a complete performance practice' (Grimley, 2006, 151). This assertion is made in respect of the traditional violin music of Norway, but has relevance to the oral tradition of music in the synagogues of Dublin. The act of encouraging various contributors to recall certain autobiographical information has assisted in attributing musical material to particular people from their past, who have in their turn influenced those whose performances it has been possible to study in the present. The musical influences which have been exerted upon of all these contributors, notwithstanding when or from whom the instruction in *nusach* took place, are all similar, Dublin *nusach* being rooted in the Ashkenazi Lithuanian tradition. This consistency of style handed down within musical training is found among cultures other than that of Jews of Lithuanian descent. For example, in common with Japanese exponents of *geisha* music:

Musical training and selection of repertoire tends to follow a general paradigm...However, this paradigm is not rigid, and each [geisha's] training, knowledge and experience are unique.

(Foreman, 2008, 33)

This is true of the exponents of music within the synagogues of Dublin, all of whose musical repertoire conforms to a particular style, even if melodic patterns vary from individual to individual. Each of the cited contributors will too have had a particular relationship with his cantor, teacher or father which has in turn influenced his own musical performance in the synagogue. Also, in common with the *geisha* environment, the synagogue is '...a world where musical ability and fault are always on display and publicly exposed' (ibid, 37). The *bimah* in the synagogue is an elevated island from which the service is conducted; it is almost like a stage from where a solo artist must perform. The congregation is inspired by competent leadership. Equally, interruptions in the musical momentum or mistakes in the Hebrew through which the service is recited (always bearing in mind that few members of the Dublin synagogues are native Hebrew speakers) can be embarrassing for those on the *bimah*, and can provoke ruthless criticism from the congregation. In

my own recent experience, I have witnessed a child on the *bimah* crying due to having stumbled and rendered himself unable to complete his recitation of *Anim Zemirot*, publicly shamed and fighting back tears, surreptitiously wiping his eyes with the edges of his tiny *tallis* while the cantor rapidly continued where he had left off. (After the service, he was feted as a hero by his mother's and grandmother's friends: 'Aren't you great; I could never get up in front of people like that, never!'). Some years ago, I attended a Sabbath service at the Machzikei Hadass synagogue when the normally word-and-note-perfect Raphael Siev hesitated over a line in an unfamiliar *haftorah*; his cohorts in the synagogue, rarely given an opportunity to criticize his performance, lost no time in acknowledging his mistake out loud and to his face: 'Never mind, Raphael; we all make mistakes!'.

The fact that members of the Machzikei Hadass congregation were able to seize upon a barely perceptible hesitation indicates the extent to which they are engaged in the service, and the degree to which they are familiar with both text and music within the service. The relationship between a cantor or *ba'al tefilah* and his congregation is a complex one, with certain expectations regarding continuity, involvement and response on both sides. It has been said of performance that:

Performance in a primary idealized sense is represented most aptly as a highly intricate event comprising players, sounds, works and listeners in a ritual setting.

(Godlovitch, 1998, 1)

In the Orthodox synagogue which serves as Godlovitch's "ritual setting", the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* is the primary player, communicating through means of music and language. The listeners with whom he communicates are far from passive. There is a participatory role, in which they follow the service in their *siddurim* and *Chumashim*; they join in together during the congregational responses, most of which are not indicated in the books, but are known as a result of familiarity born of repetition over time. Often, members of the congregation will raise their voices along with the cantor or *ba'al tefilah* even when there is no designation for congregational response at that point in the service. Significantly, all male members of the congregation must be prepared to carry out various rituals within the service, such as

chanting the weekly *haftorah* reading; making a blessing over the *Sefer Torah*; opening or closing the Ark; reciting the Mourner's *Kaddish* aloud in memory of a loved one. The above demonstrates the validity of Colin Lawson's arguments regarding the performer/audience relationship in the article 'Performing through history' in which he states: 'In many cultures the artificial division between performer and audience has never existed' (Lawson in Rink, 2002, 4). Even small boys are not exempt; as soon as they are tall enough, they may be required to open the Ark during the *Anim Zemirot* hymn, familiarizing themselves with this ritual from an early age. When they are proficient, they may be required to lead some or all of the *Anim Zemirot* which is chanted in alternate verses between the diminutive leader and the rest of the congregation, illustrating the way in which leader and congregation are equally important in the successful completion of the task of performing this hymn. Thus these boys become inducted into the role of leadership from the *bimah*, and learn to recognise the fact that this particular act of leadership is itself inseparable from the act of musical performance.

The 'music-identity power-relations' (O'Flynn in Biddle and Knights, 2007, 28) are symbolised in the infinite ways in which *nusach* is used to express identity (*Ashkenazi, Sephardic, Litvishe, Lubavitcher* to name a few uses of the term to describe broad concepts of nationality and ideology). *Nusach* is the end-product of a particular cycle of learning which is associated with an oral tradition. In the synagogue, it is disseminated by performers (the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*) who conduct the service. The skills associated with performing *nusach* have been consciously acquired from parents or teachers, nearly always from those belonging to an older generation. This musical repertoire with its roots in the past is in turn internalized by members of the congregation who share in the process of performance by acts of participation and response which themselves have often been learned through a process of imitation and mimesis over a lifetime of synagogue attendance. In this way the *nusach* of a congregation is part of a continuous musical tradition. It is, however, not entirely unchanging, because just as technical ability, knowledge of repertoire and aesthetic consideration vary from person to person, time to time and place to place, so too does *nusach* evolve. *Nusach* represents a musical exchange between people of the same and different generations, and all people, by their actions, have an effect upon this music. No two people are exactly similar, and it is the lack of

uniformity between people which brings about change within an oral tradition such as *nusach*, even while *nusach* itself projects the past into the present.

5.5 Women and Orthodox Jewish Liturgical Music

In the previous chapter of this thesis, the discussion was centred around musical performance practices in Dublin's synagogues. This included a discussion of music and gender in respect of the role of men in the practice of Jewish liturgical music. Any exploration into the field of the music of the Orthodox synagogue will demonstrate a huge and irreconcilable difference between the relative roles of men and women. Men are the leaders. Women may or may not follow according to personal choice; whichever choice they make is immaterial. Men are the proprietors of the Orthodox synagogue service; it is the privilege and also the responsibility of men to guard both the *minhag* and *nusach* of a synagogue. Women are excluded from this depth of involvement for a variety of historical and cultural reasons described thus:

Women: the great absent of Jewish music research:

The sexual segregation of the women's voice and the inability of their majority to read written texts excluded them from active participation in the institutionalized rituals of Judaism. These rituals constitute the bulk of social contexts where music was performed in a traditional Jewish community.

Musicology perpetuated this segregation by treating separately women and men's repertoires on the basis of a series of dichotomies based on the language of the texts of the songs (Hebrew for men/vernacular Jewish languages for women); contexts of performance (year cycle for men/ life cycle for women) and style (recitative, cantillation, "great" music traditions for men / folk songs, "small" music traditions for women). When the oral component of Jewish music was recognized as a vital source and started to be

documented since the late nineteenth century, the carriers of this lore, women, were practically absent from the scholarly discourse.

(Seroussi, 2008)

Such an absence (noted in works such as Idelsohn, 1948; Rothmüller, 1953; Gradenwitz, 2006; Friedmann and Stetson, 2008) is wholly unsurprising given the apparent dispensability of women within the Orthodox synagogue tradition. This fact has been observed by other scholars in relation to cultures other than Orthodox Judaism:

For most Euro-American micromusics, gender becomes most obvious by its absence, since the literature seems drawn magnetically to many spheres of male activism without defining them as male and still scants women's distinctive contribution in contexts where it counts.

(Slobin, 1993, 54)

It is an accepted part of Orthodox Jewish culture that the role of women in the synagogue contrasts totally with that of men. No religious service can take place, whether within or outside the synagogue, until ten men (over the age of thirteen and recognised as fully Jewish in accordance with Orthodox *halachah*) are assembled. The presence of women, in this instance, is of no account. Services are led by men, participated in fully by men, rituals are carried out by men. In the Orthodox synagogue, other than helping to add to the atmosphere which accompanies larger gatherings of people rather than smaller ones, it is difficult to form an impression other than that women can contribute very little to the service. This fact is largely dictated by *halachah*, which is itself subject to constant and tortuous reinterpretation, as described by Cantor William Sharlin:

With regard to *halakhah*, serious and rational debate usually ends up as a futile exercise. After all, *halakhah* is not an independent objective entity; it is fraught with subjective selectivity because its interpretation is ultimately bound up with practice. One interprets *halakhah* either to support the preservation of a particular practice or

to officially accept a change in a practice that has, in fact, already become widespread – a way of life.

(Sharlin in Friedmann and Stetson, 2008, 94)

It is also claimed of *halachah* that:

The aims of *halacha* are holistic and experiential, they are concerned with creating the conditions that enable the actualization of certain emotional and religious states, not in focusing on statements of faith and narrow religious dogmas of belief that individuals must accept as a test of their faith and their membership in the Jewish community.

(Schimmel, 2009, 17)

The flexibility of the way in which *halachah* is interpreted, whether by individuals or entire communities is reflected in the way in which the very word is written. It should be noted that within the preceding three paragraphs, three distinct spellings of the word, transliterated from the Hebrew חלצה are used (*halachah*; *halakhah*; *halacha*), all of which are in common usage.

Whether interpreted as a custom, way of life or law, women occupy a separate space from men in the synagogue, and although they can (and do) participate in the service and thus perform the music associated with this, they do so within ‘parameters defined by men’ (Paz, 2007, 91); their presence is not integral to the service. In this regard, the received *halachic* teaching in Dublin (which I experienced myself in the past) is similar to that elsewhere in the world, and reads thus:

...Jewish men are expected to pray three times a day. While women are allowed, and often encouraged, to pray, they traditionally do not have as many liturgical obligations as men since such “time-bound” *mitzvot* (commandments, pl.) might conflict with their primary responsibilities to home and family.

(Summit, 2000, 24)

The above provokes furious debate, and indeed, in recent times, Jewish philosophical movements such as the *Masorti* in the U.K. have reinterpreted *halachah* in such a way that in many (although not all) *Masorti* synagogues, while all other Orthodox customs are adhered to, women may be called up to the *bimah*. Primary differences between Orthodox and Reform Jewish practices are predicated upon the status of women within the synagogue (in the Reform synagogue in Dublin, families sit together; both men and women are accepted as rabbis; male and female cantors lead the congregation in worship). It has been suggested in an in-depth examination of women's involvement in music represented in Biblical texts, especially the Books of Exodus, Judges and Samuel, that *halachic* law regarding the role of women in religious worship, may well not have its roots in the Bible: 'Clearly, the activities of those women musicians served a significant communal ritual function' (Heskes, 1992, 1193). Archaeological excavations of the site of the Temple have not shown definitive proof regarding women in the context of Temple worship (Levine, 1981), while investigations in the field of archaeomusicology (Burgh, 2006; Paz, 2007) are also inconclusive with regard to the relationship between women and music in the context of cultic or religious ritual. Further back in time, representations of women shown singing or playing musical instruments at both religious and secular events in Ancient Egypt are as frequent as those of men (Manniche, 1991).

Nonetheless, *halachic* law holds sway in Orthodox synagogues, including those of Dublin, for the probable reason that '[R]eligious sanction always makes ideas much more invulnerable' (Massey and Massey, 1986, 13). As a consequence, although no member of a synagogue in Dublin would ever refer directly to the above teaching, the status quo remains, and in Terenure synagogue, women inhabit their gallery, while in the Machzikei Hadass, they are seated towards the rear of the synagogue, with a lace curtain separating them from the men. However, as outlined in Chapter 4, the concept of *Kol Isha*, whereby women are discouraged from raising their voices in prayer for fear of distracting men from synagogue ritual, is not an issue within the Orthodox synagogues of Dublin. Thus, despite being physically separated from the male congregation, Dublin women are free to participate in the Orthodox service to whatever extent they choose within the parameters of Orthodox Jewish practice which prevent them from actively taking a leadership role within the service.

In her introduction to the final section of *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*, Susan Bennett includes the description: ‘performance as a gendered phenomenon’ (Bennett in Goodman and de Gay, 1998, 265). This is particularly true of musical performance within the Orthodox synagogue, in which all men have the option of taking a dominant, leadership role, whereas women may only participate as part of the congregation. However impressive a women’s religious scholarship may be, however vast her theoretical knowledge of Jewish religious practices, however accomplished she may be as a singer, she will never lead the service or influence the congregation during the course of that service. Once she has attained her religious majority at the age of twelve, she will be banished behind a curtain or upstairs in a gallery, the eternal onlooker. By contrast, the service is led by men; young boys are initiated into the synagogue rituals from an early age; men are the custodians of synagogue tradition and with it, the *nusach* of the society in which the synagogue flourishes.

The following argument has been put forward:

But definitions of masculinity and femininity, and the ways of acting accordingly, are defined and learned socially and differ from one society to another just as languages do.

(Turino, 2008, 96)

There is much truth in this statement, but in the case of Jewish women, a problem arises out of the definition of femininity when it is characterised within or outside the synagogue; two very distinct and conflicting definitions of femininity would be required. Orthodox Jewish women are context-shifting women, their roles changing depending on whether they are moving within or outside Jewish religious society as it is played out in the synagogue. Tension exists between the portrayal of Jewish female behaviour in the synagogue (sequestered behind a curtain or occupying a different space upstairs and permitted no active leadership role during the service), with normal behaviour in a civil context (in which many modern Jewish women are independent, educated, professional, and very often authority figures outside the confines of the synagogue).

These conflicts arise in the Dublin Jewish community; however, the self-identity of women and external attitudes towards women vary from culture to culture, and no two Jewish communities are exactly the same with regard to *minhag*. In the Orthodox synagogue, music occurs in two forms; firstly, that which is chanted solo by the cantor or *ba'al tefilah*, listened to and followed carefully, with occasional musical interjections from part or all of the congregation; secondly, sections of the service which are sung by the entire congregation. In Dublin, there is a high level of participation in the service among women, and their seating accommodation, although distant from that of the men, is similar in terms of area and comfort. However, in some very Orthodox congregations, including those I have visited in England, women are not expected or encouraged to join in with the congregational responses (this being regarded as a solely male preserve). A member of Machzikei Hadass synagogue, Joseph Katz, himself the son of an Orthodox rabbi, described to me with some horror the status of women at the synagogue attended by his sister in Manchester, a situation which reflects perfectly the teaching cited above in Summit, 2000:

You know, in my sister's *shul* in Manchester, there isn't even a *mehitzah* [partition or curtain]...if the women want to go to *shul*, they go upstairs and there's a...a...how do you say it... trapdoor they can look through, to see the service. Do you know why that is? It's because they're expected to have these big families, to stay at home, looking after the children. Dreadful! (in conversation, 4 September 2010).

This has not been case in Dublin since 1892, when Adelaide Road synagogue was built with ample, luxurious accommodation for its entire congregation. There exist no photographs or descriptions of the interiors of the synagogues which predated this, so it is not possible to speculate upon the possible provision made for women. However, of greater relevance to this thesis are synagogue practices current in 21st century Dublin, and their relation to practices handed down from Jewish Lithuanian immigrants into Dublin at around the turn of the last century. Relatively few such immigrants arrived in Dublin prior to the construction of Adelaide Road synagogue, therefore it is unlikely that there is any surviving musical legacy dating from before

1892. The congregations in both extant synagogues in Dublin are composed partly from former members of Adelaide Road synagogue (which closed in 1999), with the greater number being found in Terenure synagogue. Given that very few women habitually attend the Machzikei Hadass synagogue (rarely more than two or three at a regular Sabbath service), any discussion on female synagogue participation in Dublin mainly refers to practices current in Terenure synagogue.

In Terenure synagogue, most Dublin Jewish women consciously participate in the service to a large extent, usually learning by example from their own mothers or grandmothers (my mother always cites her grandmother as having taught her how to follow the service). Very often, a knowledge of the *nusach* is insufficient to guarantee the ability to join in; it is helpful, although not indispensable, to know at least some of the texts and to be able to read them, a point debated by sisters Linda White, Valerie Woolfe and Marilyn Kron, all of whom attended Adelaide Road synagogue until its closure:

Marilyn: 'I didn't learn to follow the *Shabbos* service in *cheder*; that wasn't what you did in *cheder*. I learned by going to *shul* as a child.'

Valerie: 'It's very important that you can read [Hebrew]; that helps you follow the service.'

Linda: 'I don't read it, I've memorized it.'

Valerie: 'But you *can* read, Linda.' (in conversation, 28 October 2010).

There exists an assumption that more men than women are familiar with the texts, although it is not possible to verify this, as few are willing to discuss the matter and there has never been a set, compulsory course of Jewish religious instruction in Dublin on the basis of which everybody could be said to have received the same education and training. According to my own observations, I would conclude that male and female members of the congregation participate in the service and have internalized the *nusach* of the synagogue to the same degree. It is true of the three sisters quoted above that their knowledge of the synagogue liturgy and *nusach* is considerable, and that they participate fully in the service. A transcription of a recording which they made is included in Chapter 4. Below we see two of the sisters rehearsing.



Fig. 5(iii) Valerie Woolfe (left) and Marilyn Kron rehearse *Nishmat* (an excerpt from the Sabbath morning service). (Photograph: M. Brown, 28/10/10).

Although leadership roles in the Orthodox synagogues in Dublin are specific to men, there are only two gender-specific prayers in the liturgy, both of which occur in the sequence of *brochas* recited during *Shachris*. The first of these, reviled by feminists everywhere, is recited by men, and reads: ‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast not made me a woman’ (Singer, 1962, 7). This is immediately followed by the response for women (my sister used to hiss ‘I’m not saying that!’ when this prayer was recited during the Jewish assembly permitted at our Church of Ireland school), and reads: ‘Blessed art thou, O Lord our God, King of the Universe, who hast made me according to thy will’ (ibid). Otherwise it is permissible (and in Dublin, usual) for women to participate in all other parts of the service, although the ability to perform cantillations from the *Torah* and readings from the Book of Prophets is very much a male preserve, very probably due to *bar mitzvah* preparation in boyhood. An exceptional case whom I regularly hear and observe in the synagogue, is Nurit Shulman, wife of the cantor, who quietly sings every note uttered by her husband on the *bimah* in perfect unison with him from her seat in the ladies’ gallery. It must be noted that while women are forbidden to perform any ritual on the *bimah*, there is no proscription against

women studying the *Torah*; indeed, in Dublin, the Gavron sisters prepared boys for their *bar mitzvahs* for over forty years until the 1970s, including a number of contributors to this project. Many women in Terenure synagogue display an impressive depth of scholarship in this regard. Hence, although actions within this synagogue tend to be gender-specific, the liturgy and the music are shared between all of those who are present. Thus in Terenure synagogue, there is an avoidance of what is described in the introduction to a wide-ranging discussion of the relationship between masculinity and Western classical music as ‘this strict territorialization’ of liturgy and music (Biddle and Gibson, 2009, 7).

Gender-specific music, both secular and liturgical, is found in many cultures, such as that of the Druze in the Middle East. Here we find music exists in the parallel lives of men and women:

...separate but complementary: men’s and women’s musical domains. As with many aspects of Druze society, where men and women inhabit separate but complementary spheres, there is a division of musical domains. Druze men’s songs deal with outward, or worldly, concerns, such as honour, war, and love of homeland; Druze women’s songs, on the other hand, deal primarily with love and social relationships.

(Hood, 2007, 30)

These songs are performed in the context of weddings and other religious festive events, so are not irrelevant to a discussion on liturgical music. However, if the discussion on Jewish music is moved outside the confines of the synagogue and into the other ritual space vital to Jewish cultural practice, namely the home, we find that Jewish secular songs are rarely gender-specific. In many cultures, an association is made between women and the singing of lullabies. However, during the course of my research into Jewish musical practices in Dublin, I have found that there would appear to be a male as well as a female tradition of singing lullabies. During one recording session with Stanley Siev, he sang a lullaby that his grandfather sang to him:

This is a lullaby, a Lithuanian lullaby my *zede* [pronounced *zayda*, Yiddish word meaning “grandfather”] used to sing to me when I was a little boy (in conversation, 7 August, 2007).

Izzy [Isaac] Bernstein associated singing the Yiddish lullaby “*Der Pripchik*” to his namesake nephew [Isaac Bernstein, 1931-94, Rabbi and distinguished mathematics scholar]:

I’ll sing you a lullaby. I used to sing it to my nephew. You remember my nephew? He had the same name as me. I wasn’t Izzy then, I was Isaac. I used to take him out on the back of my bicycle (in conversation, 6 February, 2008).

This testimony serves to illustrate the relationship between Jewish men and music, both in the synagogue and in a domestic setting. Earlier in this chapter, quotes from interviews with Kenneth Milofsky and Hilary Gross have appeared; each spoke in terms of synagogue attendance as part of their past. Significantly, in the case of each contributor, specific memories of their respective fathers were triggered; mothers and other family members were not mentioned. On the other hand, I am informed by Valerie Woolfe and Marilyn Kron that in their homes during the *Seder* [ritual meal served at the start of the Passover], and to the undoubted enjoyment of their families, they perform musical parodies composed with specific meaning for women, taking the arduous preparations for *Pesach* (cleaning, cooking, arranging the *Seder* plate, etc.) as the main subject matter (Teblum, 1999).

It can be seen that musical performance in an Orthodox Jewish context is a special prerogative of men, mainly within the synagogue but also in the Orthodox home. It must not be overlooked that in the home, men perform religious rituals such as reciting daily prayers (from which women are exempt), making *Kiddush*, and leading the *zemirot* and grace after meals around the table. There are daunting responsibilities heaped upon men regarding synagogue and domestic ritual, and the vast musical repertoires attached these. In the Orthodox synagogue, there exists among the congregation a certain level of expectation regarding, not only the musical material presented, but also the quality of that presentation. Thus it can be said that in an

Orthodox synagogue, music is experienced very differently depending upon whether one is male or female. The onus is upon a man to perform, and to possess sufficient knowledge of both the liturgy and the *nusach* so that his performative skills are adequate to lead the congregation, or at least to participate fully in the service if required to do so. There is no immediate need for women to fulfil any such expectations. They are not required to participate or even to attend, and when they do, it is fully understood, both by themselves and by the men of the congregation, that in a religious context they do not have a real function in the mechanism of the synagogue service. At present, there appears no reason to suppose that this situation will change within the Dublin Orthodox synagogue, but it may change, just as some other Orthodox congregations around the world are grappling with halachic interpretation and changing in regard to establishing more gender inclusivity and equality.

Within the Orthodox synagogue there is no battle of the sexes; this would suggest equal and contesting armies. Yet the diametrically opposed concepts of equality and inequality do not belong in this environment. Instead, we see the roles of passivism and activism dealt out to women and men respectively and assigned within the framework of *halachah*, whose laws govern every aspect of Jewish religious practice, including that of music. In a religious context, men perform music and govern its use. Women are subject to greater choice (whether to learn, whether to participate), but also more limitations (in the synagogue, there is no leadership role for women, thus there is no opportunity to demonstrate knowledge or aptitude). Men and women have a different power relationship with the music of the synagogue. This cannot be negotiated but instead assists in asserting the self and external identities of men as men and women as women, thus proving the effectiveness of music as a tool in the process of defining any identity, whether based on gender, culture or religion.

5.6 Liturgical Music and Emotion

The act of participation in a form of liturgical music, whether congregational singing or being in the presence of others while listening to familiar phrases in a particular situation or environment, is known to bring about certain emotional responses. These

emotions often relate to nostalgia, identifying with and in many cases, longing for the past, whether one's own past or a Romanticized notion of the past as an entity (Bohlman in Barz and Cooley, 2008). Exactly why this should be the case, why music in a specifically religious context, most often performed in a particular setting, should evoke such a very consistent response in respect of one set of related emotions, is a question which requires consideration. Part of the answer may dwell in the nature of music as a semiotic entity, and the way in which this attaches symbolic meaning both to specific melodies and an overall musical language shared by a given culture or society. While Janelle Wilson never couples music with nostalgia, instead exemplifying emotional triggers with the use of images, physical artefacts and places, many of the arguments in her extensive study of nostalgia and its related emotions, are valid in respect of music, particularly if, in this case, music is regarded in terms of its semiotic and experiential rather than its aesthetic values. Thus, what is described in the following passage as "symbolic interactionism" is a philosophy which ranges all those properties which together make up the experiences of performing, listening and reacting to music:

...a theoretical orientation known as symbolic interactionism, a perspective concerned with how individuals create and sustain meaning. Symbolic interactionists emphasise symbol use, human interaction, and reflexivity. Given my substantive interests in identity, memory, nostalgia, and meaning, symbolic interaction offers a valuable framework for studying the relationship between nostalgia and identity.

(Wilson, 2005, 9)

This last statement regarding "the relationship between nostalgia and identity" has particular bearing upon the investigation of the relationship between Dublin Jews and their music for the reason that the people and practices of the past exert great influence over those of the present. It is scarcely necessary to add that the relationship between people and their liturgical music is not unique to Jewish culture; perhaps the question '*...how can emotion in music transcend cultural difference?*' (Magowan, 2007, 10) can be answered if the philosophy of symbolic interactionism is applied to music notwithstanding the religious or cultural context.

In the essay 'From mimesis to catharsis: expression, perception, and induction of emotion in music' by Patrik N. Juslin, it is stated that:

Emotions in music often reflect personal and idiosyncratic associations based on arbitrary and contingent relationships between the music experienced and various non-musical factors related to emotion...Associative responses to music involve 'primitive' learning mechanisms (such as conditioning) that are not available to conscious introspection, but the responses typically evoke emotionally laden memories of specific places, events, or individuals.

(Juslin in Miell *et al*, 2005, 103)

According to Tara Bell, discussing how she was affected by hearing music in her local Church of Ireland church when, after a long period of non-attendance, she began to participate regularly in services when she entered her thirties:

You go through a stage when you don't go to church, and then you return in your thirties. A lot of it is about memory and emotion, emotions from your childhood...you remember going with your parents, the emotion of that (in conversation, 17 February 2010).

In other words, it evokes '...a strong sense of cultural antecedence' (Lebrun, 2009, 115). Yet although the term "emotion" is used repeatedly in the above statement, we are forced to speculate as to the exact nature of the emotion (or set of emotions) for two reasons. Firstly, the contributor has chosen not to disclose this during the interview. Secondly, in engaging with what she says regarding the effect of the music, both she, in reporting her response to music in this context, and we readers, in examining these responses she has described, simultaneously enter into a collaboration in which the processes leading to a definition of the responses are commonly exploited by all those who seek to comprehend the relationship between music or image or text, and the emotional responses which these can provoke, as

described thus: ‘At the same time, however, they will also be led to focus on and try to understand what they are feeling (and why) in a reflective way that is rare in ordinary life’ (Robinson, 2005, 277).



Fig. 5(iv) Tara Bell preparing for a choir practise at St Michan’s Church, Dublin.

(Photograph: M. Brown, 23/12/10).

It is necessary to ‘...examine the ways in which it is created, performed and heard by specific people in specific social contexts’ (Martin, 1995, 166), in order that we may observe these associative responses as outlined by Juslin, to Jewish liturgical music. Such phenomena were borne out in separate interviews in respect of the High Holy Days involving two members of the Dublin Jewish community, one male, one female, each from distinctly different age groups and educational backgrounds. Kenneth Milofsky was eloquent on the ability of music to transport him to another time and place, illustrating the claim that ‘When we listen to music with a nostalgic appeal we know that the experience is more about non-musical history than about enduring musical values’ (Kaplan, 1987, 465). On *Yom Kippur*, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, when it is customary to engage with one’s past, and in the course of which memorial prayers for the departed are recited, we spoke at length during a break in the ten-hour service:

It's all about the music, isn't it? Today, I'm sitting in there, and I know Alwyn's [Rev Shulman] on the *bimah*, but I'm seeing other people, I see my father...I'm hearing other tunes, other versions of things we used to sing years ago; I hear Philly Rubenstein [a much-respected *ba'al tefilah* and teacher in Dublin]. I know I'm sitting here today, but I'm hearing and seeing all these different things, different people. It's not better, or worse, it's just different (in conversation, 19 September 2010).

Dr Hilary Gross unknowingly echoed these sentiments two weeks later, when she told me:

On *Yom Kippur*, I'm here in Terenure *shul*, but it's almost as if I'm back in our old *shul* in London, before I got married...I can hear our *chazzan*...I see the people in the congregation, I'm looking around and I see Daddy down there (in conversation, 02 October 2010).

If it is the case that '[T]he tune, separate from the words, serves as a portal to the past' (Summit, 2000, 33), then it could be argued that the non-appearance of a tune (or tunes), creates tension between a view of the past and present-day expectations which are not, perhaps cannot ever be met, given that '[E]mbodied musical meaning is, in short, a product of expectation' (Meyer, 1956, 35). Elaine Brown expresses this with slight differences in describing her experiences at the weekly Sabbath service:

I'm waiting. I'm waiting to hear sounds I know I'm never going to hear. The wonderful singing in Greenville [Hall synagogue] when I was a child, the high notes...Rev Hass was such a real performer (in conversation, 9 October 2010).

The above statements can be said to illustrate '...the expressive content and meaning of sound (the affective and semantic aspect), and the listener's experience (the phenomenological aspect)' (Godlovitch, 1998, 1). In other words, it is through what has been called '...the refractory phenomenon of music' (Zuckermandl, 1969, 44) that the relationship between music, performer and listener can be examined for its

associative and emotional content, and also for its role in the construction of cultural identity.

Although, as discussed above, the primary emotion evoked by liturgical music appears to be that of nostalgia, it is a fact that every form of music is associated with a wide variety of emotional responses (Budd, 1992; Juslin and Sloboda, 2001; Juslin, 2003). Nostalgia is by definition a longing for the distant past. This is, by its nature, an emotion which can only be experienced by adults. Young children, by virtue of their lack of years and experiences, do not filter their world through the lens of their own past, therefore it is childhood reactions towards music to which we might refer in order to seek examples of emotional responses to liturgical music other than those associated with nostalgia. In order to accomplish this, I will dwell briefly on my own childhood experiences.

Music was a constant factor in my childhood, and I am told (and also clearly recall) that I was sensitive to style and content from an early age. My mother is a professional pianist, and from infancy onward, I revelled in her practice sessions and chamber music rehearsals; aged 7, I had developed a marked preference for the musical language of Beethoven above any other composer (this has not changed). Raised in the Orthodox Jewish tradition, I was taken to synagogue services very frequently, and seated beside my father (even in Orthodox synagogues, children of either sex are not subject to segregation, and mingle freely among men or women), I developed a critical appreciation of the music performed around me.

The most significant response that I can recall is that of awe. The high-pitched, decisive singing of the cantor was magnified by the height of the ceiling and combined with the beauty of the surroundings; everything about this environment possessed for me (as a child) a grandeur which surpassed anything to be experienced in secular life, and, in the simplistic view of a child, represented the infinitely large-scale presence of the Almighty. The second response which I can identify is that of pride, the pride in my own achievements at slowly acquiring knowledge of the text and music, and being able to participate. The Greenville Hall synagogue of my childhood was sparsely attended, and unlike the other extant synagogues, no children's service was organised (there were too few children). Consequently, I and

most of the other children sat quietly with our parents. To occupy me, I was always given a silent Hebrew reading task out of the *siddur* by my father; at intervals, he would ask to hear me, and would correct my mistakes: ('That's *af*, not *ach!*'). As I progressed, I was pleased when I finally began to relate text to music, and could properly join in with the congregational singing; I felt that these melodies were the property of the grown-ups who tolerated me in their midst; the act of participation made it seem as though I was being inducted into their adult world. The third response which I clearly recall is one of amusement. Our services were invariably led by the same cantor, Rev. Gittleson. His *nusach* (repertoire of melodies) rarely changed; as I grew older and correspondingly more familiar with the service, I found it comforting in its very predictability; there were musical expectations that were always fulfilled. Any deviation from the usual melodies led to a chorus of disapproval from the older members of the congregation, causing the service to degenerate into a lively spectator sport for those of us uninvolved in these confrontations. Also, at a basic emotional level, I subjectively liked the music I heard in the synagogue, and was happy and content to listen to it.

Certain negative responses were also evoked. On rare occasions, when visitors from other Dublin congregations attended and their numbers included a boy who had not yet made his *bar mitzvah*, it was customary to invite this boy to lead the congregation in the *Anim Zemirot* concluding hymn. Many different melodies exist for this hymn; in Greenville Hall, the same melody was sung each week, regardless of which boy led it. If a newcomer (in his innocence) sang a different melody, I was deeply resentful; I felt strongly possessive of "our" melody, and regarded the architect of change to "our" routine as an unwelcome interloper. Naturally, this aggravation was not articulated; children were not encouraged to emulate their elders in hurling abuse at the occupant of the *bimah*. I also remember experiencing fear at the sound of the *shofar*. The *shofar* is the only instrument which may be sounded during an Orthodox Jewish service (other than at a wedding ceremony). It is sounded during the festivals of *Rosh Hashona* and *Yom Kippur*; even then, if either of these festivals falls on the Sabbath, then the *shofar* may not be blown. According to Jacques Derrida:

The ram's horn became an instrument whose music, an extension of breath, carries the voice. In what seems song punctuated like a

sentence, the call of the *shofar* rises towards the heavens, recalling holocausts and resounding in the memory of all the Jews of the world. The best known ritual...is repeated...at the Jewish New Year, where, in all the synagogues of the world, the story of the binding of Isaac (Genesis, XX, I) is read. The *shofar* also announces the end of Yom Kippur. Thus it is associated for all the Jews of the world, with confession, expiation, and pardon asked for, given or refused.

(Derrida in Dayan, 2006, 117)

It is a crude instrument fashioned from the horn of a ram; blown in the same way as a trumpet, it requires considerable physical strength on the part of the player, while the sound it produces does not resemble that of any other wind instrument. It is primal and arrestingly loud, with unfamiliar sonorities and strange, clashing overtones which endure after the instrument has been blown. Also, because it is heard so infrequently, its sound has the capacity to shock the listener; it is as though the sound cannot be accurately recalled from one year to the next. Greenville Hall synagogue, with its high ceiling and lack of carpets, cushions, upholstery, people, anything to absorb the sound of the *shofar*, became (for me as a child) a vast resonating chamber of dreadfulness and terror; the three distinct rhythmic patterns of *tekiah*, *shebarim* and *teruah*, themselves directed by the cantor in an ominous chant based on a rising and falling minor third, throbbed and echoed as they were repeated forty times, until the piercing notes receded, and normality resumed.

All of the above appears in marked contrast with Jane Grigson's account of a very different emotional response on the part of children and perhaps their parents with respect to Church of England services, when she drily refers to the boredom and lack of engagement experienced by those who attend church, and how this might be relieved by '...cold apple pie left over from Sunday lunch. The thought of it has buoyed children – and adults too – through the tedium of Evensong' (Grigson, 1974, 246). Stuart Maconie's description of attending Mass during his childhood in the north of England reflects a similar sentiment:

...melodies designed for lusty unsophisticated singing and dreary resolutions at the end of each verse, reek to me of draughty church halls and interminable services, wondering how much of this stuff is there left and will it still be light enough to play football in the park.

(Maconie, 2009, 153)

5.7 Conclusion

Music is imbued with many powers, one of the greatest being that of communication. It can add weight and meaning to verbal language; it is a medium through which Man can make direct imprecations to the Almighty; it is a means by which a message can be shared between those in the present and in the past, perhaps even in the future. It is not fixed in one point in space; it can transcend cultural barriers, or it can erect them. It is associated with time and place, and its matter is fluid, easily altered or transformed by external influence. It can represent continuity, or it can be lost and forgotten; this is the danger of music transmitted through an oral tradition.

This thesis has been directed partly by the sentiments expressed during interviews with various members of the Dublin Jewish community of different ages and with correspondingly different world-views to impart. These interviews, together with recordings and transcriptions of the music of the Dublin synagogue are all brought together to help ensure that a significant strand of Irish Jewish culture is not lost as time progresses. Just as engagement with the past has a significant role in Jewish culture in Ireland and elsewhere, so too do musical practices represent an important relationship between past and present. By reawakening recollections of the past expressed in music, and superimposing them upon the present, we allow echoes of the past to ring in the tumultuous present. Such echoes must be heard, their sound remembered lest a part of the past disappears from conscious memory.

The past exists as two very different concepts. One is our own past, that which we experience over time, and which we share with others with whom we intersect: family, friends, neighbours, teachers, colleagues, community—our whole society. The other is a less definable entity; it is “the past”, existing outside the realm of any

temporal, spatial, cultural or social boundary. For many of us in the present, ritual music originates from either or perhaps both of these pasts, and enters into the present by means of people, through various processes of transmission. In the Dublin Jewish community, culture and identity are as firmly rooted in past traditions as they are in present-day attitudes and practices; music, as part of culture, forms a part of identity which is shaped by time, space and human influence.

In terms of the Dublin Jewish community, cultural practices also reinforce historical links with Eastern Europe (from where many Dublin Jewish families originate), and contribute to a sense of Jewish identity, as described in Chapter 2. This Jewish identity is experienced in tandem with Irish identity which is itself largely acquired through factors such as education, social engagement and external environment. Yet part of this environment is also shaped into something tangibly Jewish, where Jewish religious rituals are contained, as seen in Chapter 3.

Where Jewish religious ritual takes place, it does so to a constant musical background. Very often, particularly in the synagogue, music is not the accompaniment but is itself the medium through which prayer is conveyed. Performed music is part of the genealogy of both performer and listener, represented in the Dublin Orthodox synagogue as cantor or *ba'al tefilah* and congregation, all of whom perform and listen during the course of the Sabbath service. As such this is a means by which the past infiltrates into the present, bearing in mind that the liaison between past and present is a guiding principle in Jewish culture, demonstrated in Chapter 4.

Music evokes a sense of time and place, whether in the past or present. Both time and place are invested with meaning; this is perhaps reflected in emotion, or involvement with people, or gender difference, or either a cognisant or subliminal process of internalising the actual sound. Taking these meanings into account, music is strongly associated with cultural identity for the Jews of Dublin, because all are associated with, and defined by both the past and the present. Often, the performance of music in the synagogue is partly an excursion into the past; we return to the present having been subjected to musical experiences known to previous generations than our own. In this way, ties between past and present and the people and places therein become continuous. It is continuity, whether of music, verbal language, food, clothing or an

infinite variety of cultural practices, which is integral to Irish Jewish identity. The *nusach* of Dublin's Jews extends its roots into the past: variations in Hebrew pronunciation inherited from countries never seen, towns which no longer exist; parents, grandparents, siblings, cantors, all of the people who shared space; the synagogues which rang to the sound of praise and worship rendered through song. In the Orthodox synagogue in 21st-century Dublin, the past is still heard as the music of the Sabbath service echoes from the walls of the ritual space. While the Jews of Dublin remain receptive to the sounds of the past, so will their sense of cultural identity persist. The musical material featured in this research is already part of the past as well as the present. It is hoped that in preserving this (by means of recording and transcription), a fragment of Irish Jewish history, culture and identity will too be retained *ad infinitum*.

Appendix 1

Glossary of Hebrew and Yiddish Terms

<i>aliyah</i>	in the context of the Dublin Jewish community, this is an honour conferred upon a male member of an Orthodox congregation when he is called up to the <i>bimah</i> during a synagogue service. In the Progressive synagogue in Dublin, both men and women may be called up in this way.
Ark	large cupboard in the synagogue in which the sacred scrolls of the <i>Torah</i> are kept.
<i>Ashkenazi</i>	Jewish cultural and religious practices mainly associated with Eastern Europe.
<i>ba'al tefilah</i>	lay-reader, member of the Orthodox congregation (male) who leads the service within the synagogue. In the Progressive synagogue in Dublin, both men and women lead the services.
<i>bar mitzvah</i>	literally “Son of the Commandment”; age of Jewish religious majority attained by boys at the age of thirteen.
<i>bat mitzvah</i>	literally “Daughter of the Commandment”; age of Jewish religious majority attained by girls at the age of twelve.
<i>beis olam</i>	Lithuanian pronunciation of <i>beit olam</i> , meaning Jewish cemetery
<i>Beth Din</i>	rabbinical court dispensing justice in religious matters based on Talmudic law.
<i>benching</i>	repetition of Grace after Meals.
<i>bimah</i>	altar, raised platform in the centre of most Orthodox synagogues in the British Isles from where the synagogue service is led.
Board of Shechita	local organisation responsible for supervision of kosher food.

<i>brochas</i>	Lithuanian pronunciation of <i>brochot</i> (Hebrew), meaning blessings.
<i>Chanucah</i>	Eight-day Jewish festival of Lights beginning on the 25 th of the Hebrew month of Kislev, and occurring during the winter.
<i>chazzan</i>	cantor, professional singer employed to lead services in the synagogue.
<i>cheder</i>	Jewish religious education classes.
<i>Chevra Kadisha</i>	Holy Burial Society.
<i>Chumash</i>	volume containing the Pentateuch and associated readings from the Books of Prophets in book form (pl. <i>Chumashim</i>).
<i>Cohenim</i>	members of the priestly caste within Judaism.
<i>davening</i>	the act of praying. In the Dublin Orthodox Jewish community, the word is usually used to describe the act of leading the congregation in prayer.
<i>der Heim</i>	Yiddish term translated as “the homeland”. In Ireland, this usually refers to Eastern Europe, particularly the Baltic states from where many Irish Jews are descended.
<i>gabbai</i>	member of the congregation who stands on the bimah during the Torah service and facilitates the calling-up of others (men in Orthodox Judaism) to make blessings over the <i>Sefer Torah</i> .
<i>gelilah</i>	the act of dressing the <i>Sefer Torah</i> in its decorative clothing and ornate silver finials during the Torah service.
<i>hagbah</i>	the act of holding the <i>Sefer Torah</i> aloft after it has been read from during the <i>Torah</i> service.
<i>halachah</i>	set of rules governing Jewish religious practice.
<i>haftorah</i>	reading from the Books of Prophets which corresponds with a <i>sedra</i> .
<i>haskoreth</i>	memorial prayers read in the synagogue or at the graveside.

<i>Ivrit</i>	Defines the Hebrew language, in Hebrew. Also the term used in the Dublin Jewish community to describe modern Hebrew pronunciation.
<i>Kabbalat Shabbat</i>	ritual taking place on Friday night to welcome the Sabbath.
<i>Kaddish</i>	memorial prayers. In the Orthodox tradition, these are only said in the presence of a <i>minyan</i> .
<i>kashrut</i>	Jewish laws surrounding the preparation and consumption of food.
<i>Kiddush</i>	prayers said before partaking of food or drink, in particular the blessing over wine or grape juice.
<i>Kol Isha</i>	a tradition found in many Orthodox synagogues excluding Dublin, in which women are discouraged from singing or raising their voices in prayer for fear of distracting men from synagogue ritual.
<i>Kol Nidrei</i>	synagogue service, which takes place on the eve of <i>Yom Kippur</i> .
<i>leining</i>	cantillation; the act of reading from the <i>Torah</i> in the synagogue.
<i>Litvishe, Litvak</i>	of Lithuanian origin.
<i>ma'ariv</i>	synagogue service occurring every week-day evening.
<i>machzer</i>	prayer book used on holy days. Plural <i>machzerim</i> .
<i>matzevah</i>	tombstone, and also the ceremony during which a tombstone is consecrated.
<i>mechitzah</i>	curtain or other physical barrier separating women from men in an Orthodox synagogue.
<i>menorah</i>	seven-branched candelabrum found in a synagogue. The term is often used to describe the nine-branched <i>Chanukiah</i> lit during the festival of <i>Chanukah</i> .
<i>mezzuzot</i>	tiny religious scrolls encased in decorative capsules, usually affixed to internal and external doorposts in homes occupied by Jews.
<i>mikveh</i>	Jewish ritual bath.
<i>minchah</i>	synagogue service occurring every week-day afternoon.

<i>minhag</i>	traditions evolved over time in synagogues and Jewish communities.
<i>minyan</i>	quorum of ten adult Jews (males above <i>bar mitzvah</i> age in Orthodox Judaism) required for religious services to take place.
<i>misgeach</i>	Orthodox Jewish man or woman whose job it is to supervise the preparation of <i>kosher</i> food for consumption outside the home.
<i>mitzvah</i>	a commandment.
<i>Mussaf</i>	usually spelt <i>Mussaph</i> in Dublin's Orthodox community, meaning Additional Prayers; the final section of the Sabbath morning service.
<i>nigunim</i>	melodies, often wordless, nowadays mainly associated with the Chassidic Jewish tradition.
<i>nusach</i>	the musical repertoire of a synagogue, city, country or entire stream of Jewish culture (e.g. Ashkenazi; Sephardic).
<i>Pesach</i>	the festival of Passover.
<i>Rabbi</i>	ordained religious leader within a Jewish community.
<i>Rosh Chodesh</i>	first day of each month in the Jewish (lunar) calendar.
<i>Rosh Hashona</i>	celebration of the Jewish New Year.
<i>Seder</i>	ritual meal served at the start of the Passover.
<i>sedra</i>	also known as <i>Parshat</i> . Weekly portion read from the <i>Torah</i> .
<i>Sefer Torah</i>	sacred scroll upon which is written the Five Books of Moses (Pentateuch). Plural: <i>Sifrei Torah</i> .
<i>Sephardic</i>	Jewish cultural and religious practices associated with Middle Eastern, Spanish and Portuguese communities.
<i>Shabbos</i>	Ashkenazi pronunciation of <i>Shabbat</i> , meaning the Jewish Sabbath, observed from nightfall on Friday until nightfall on Saturday.
<i>Shachris</i>	Ashkenazi pronunciation of <i>Shachrit</i> , meaning Morning Prayers.

<i>shaloshim</i>	period of mourning enduring for thirty days after a death.
<i>shammas</i>	synagogue employee whose role is to oversee that the sequence of events in each service each service takes place in an organised and timely fashion.
<i>Shavuot</i>	the two-day festival of Pentecost, occurring on the 6 th and 7 th of the Hebrew month of Sivan, in early summer. This commemorates the time when the Children of Israel received the <i>Torah</i> from the Almighty on Mount Sinai.
<i>shofar</i>	musical instrument fashioned from a ram's horn, blown during <i>Rosh Hashona</i> and <i>Yom Kippur</i> .
<i>shomer Shabbat</i>	those who strictly observe Sabbath proscriptions on all forms of work.
<i>shtetls</i>	Villages with relatively large Jewish populations in 19 th century Eastern Europe. In an Irish Jewish context, these were villages and towns within the Baltic states (mainly Latvia and Lithuania) from where families originated.
<i>shtibl</i>	a small synagogue or congregation.
<i>shul</i>	Yiddish word for synagogue.
<i>Siddur</i>	prayer book (pl. <i>Siddurim</i>).
<i>Simchat Torah</i>	the last of the High Holy Days, during which the end of the yearly cycle of Torah readings is celebrated.
<i>tallis</i>	Ashkenazi pronunciation of <i>tallit</i> , meaning fringed prayer shawl worn by men in the Dublin Orthodox community.
<i>Talmud</i>	the Jewish Oral Law, codified into two strands; the <i>Mishnah</i> and the <i>Gemarah</i> .
<i>Talmud Torah</i>	local committee responsible for Jewish religious education of children.
<i>Taschlich</i>	ritual carried out during <i>Rosh Hashona</i> in which one's sins are symbolically cast upon running water, usually a river.
<i>tehillim</i>	psalms.

<i>Torah</i>	the Five Books of Moses (Pentateuch) upon which Jewish religious teachings are predicated.
<i>trope</i>	prescribed musical phrases used when reading from the Torah in the synagogue.
<i>yarmulke</i>	also known as <i>kippah</i> . Skull-cap worn in the synagogue by both Orthodox and Progressive Jewish men in the Dublin community. Many Orthodox Jewish men wear <i>yarmulkes</i> beyond the synagogue. Unlike Jewish communities elsewhere, Progressive Jewish women in Dublin do not wear <i>yarmulkes</i> .
<i>yeshiva</i>	religious seminary.
<i>Yomtov</i>	holy day.
<i>Yom Kippur</i>	the Day of Atonement.
<i>zemirot</i>	songs.

**Appendix 2(a) Jewish Commerce: Clanbrassil St.,
Dublin, 1930s (see attached map, Appendix 2(b))**

Ref. No. on map	Name	Trade	Notes
1	Baigel, H.	Butcher	
2	Rubenstein, Barney	Butcher	
3	Woolfe, Mrs Bessie	Draper	
4	Woolfe		
5	Friedman, Wolfe	Wine Merchant	
6	Jaffe	Greengrocer	
7	Goldberg, J.		
8	Rudstein, J.	Tobacconist	
9	Fine, J.		No rere entrance to premises
10	Weinronk, Bessie	Baker	
11	Buchalter		Premises changed hands: Green (greengrocer)
12	Davis, Philly	Butcher	
13	Garber		Family residence; property was divided
14	Posner		Family emigrated
15	Yodaiken		
16	Barron	Fish and chip shop	
17	Erlich	Butcher	
18	Daniels, Mrs Bessie	Draper	
19	Samuels, Abie & Waltzman, Mendel	Butcher	
20	Arnovich	Grocer	
21	Goldwater, Israel	Butcher	
22	Ordman	Greengrocer	Shop was approached through archway off main street
23	Rubenstein, Philly	Butcher	
24	Ginsberg		Family residence
25	Atkins	Undertaker	
26	Hool		Family residence
27	Zion Jewish National School		
S1	Oakfield Place synagogue		
S2	Lombard Street West synagogue		
S3	St Kevin's Parade synagogue		

Annotated map courtesy of Cartouche Publications; additional information in Appendix 2(a) provided by Stanley Siev, 22 August 2010.

Bibliography

Abramov, T. (2005). *The Secret of Jewish Femininity*. New York: Targum/Feldheim

Agnew, J.; Livingstone, D.; Rogers, A. (eds.) (1996). *Human Geography: An Essential Anthology*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Agresti, A.; Finlay, B. (1997). *Statistical Methods for the Social Sciences*. New Jersey: Prentice-Hall Inc.

Ahituv, S. (2006). *The Jewish People*. New York: Continuum

Alderman, G. (1978). *The History of the Hendon Synagogue, 1928-1978*. London: United Synagogue

Alperovitz, Y. (ed.) (1980). *Gorzd book: a memorial to the Jewish community of Gorzd (Gargzdai, Lithuania)*. Tel Aviv: The Gorzd Society

Alston, P.; Bustelo, M.; Heenan, J. (eds.) (1999). *The EU and Human Rights*. New York: Oxford University Press

Alvarez-Pereyre, F.; Adler, I. (1994). *Jewish Oral Traditions: An Interdisciplinary Approach*. Jerusalem: Magnes Press

Ardagh, J. (1997). *Ireland and the Irish: Portrait of a Changing Society*. London: Penguin

Assis, Y.T.; Folberg, N. (2001). *And I Shall Dwell Among Them: Historic Synagogues of the World*. New York: Aperture Books

Atkinson, P.; Coffey, A.; Delamont, S.; Lofland, J.; Lofland, L. (eds.) (2001). *The Handbook of Ethnography*. London: Sage

Avenary, H. (1987). "The Aspects of Time and Environment in Jewish Traditional Music", *Israel Studies in Musicology*, 4, 93–124

Author acknowledged as 'W.D.' (1961). "Professor Leonard Abrahamson", *British Medical Journal*, Issue 5262, 1295–1296

Author unstated (1979). *The Terenure Hebrew Congregation: An Historical Review 1936 – 1978*. Dublin: Self-published

Author unstated (2010). *The Ellimans: A Family History*. London: Self-published

Baer, R.A. (1970). *Philo's Use of the Categories of Male and Female*. Leiden: Brill

Bairéad, E.C. (2010). *The bombing of Dolphin's Barn, Dublin, 1941*. Dublin: Four Courts Press

- Barnett, R.D.; Levy, A. (1970). *The Bevis Marks Synagogue*. London: The Society of Heshaim
- Barrett, F.S.; Grimm, K.J.; Robins, R.W.; Wildshut, T.; Sedikides, C.; Janata, P. (2010). "Music-evoked nostalgia: affect, memory and personality", *Emotion*, 10(3), 390–403
- Barrett, M. (ed.) (2011). *A Cultural Psychology of Music Education*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Barrett, R. (2010). *Twice Condemned: Irish Views of the Dreyfus Affair*. Dublin: Original Writing Ltd.
- Bart, S. (2009). "What blessing is recited upon immersing in a mikveh", Available: <http://www.askmoses.com/en/article/230,2040310> [accessed 6 July 2009]
- Barthes, R. (Heath, S., trans.) (1977). *Image Music Text*. London, Fontana
- Barthes, R. (Howard, R., trans.) (1988). *The Semiotic Challenge*. New York: Hill & Wang
- Barz, G.F.; Cooley, T.J. (eds.) (1997) (2008 edition). *Shadows in the Field: New perspectives for fieldwork in ethnomusicology*. New York: Oxford University Press
- Béhague, G. (1984). *Performance Practice: Ethnomusicological Perspectives*. Santa Barbara: Greenwood Press
- Beck, G.L. (1993). *Sonic Theology: Studies in Comparative Religion*. Columbia, South Carolina: The University of South Carolina Press
- Beck, G.L. (ed.) (2006). *Sacred Sound: Experiencing Music in World Religions*. Ontario: Wilfred Laurier University Press
- Beckerlegge, G. (ed.) (2001). *The World Religions Reader*. London: Routledge
- van Beethoven, L. (1795) (1925 edition). *Piano Trio Op. 1, No 1*. London: Edition Peters
- Bendann, E. (1930) (2007 edition). *Death Customs: An Analytical Study of Burial Rites*. London: Kegan Paul
- Benish-Weisman, M. (2009). "Between Trauma and Redemption: Story Form Differences in Immigrant Narratives of Successful and Nonsuccessful Immigration", *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40(6), 953–968
- Bennett, D. (2005). *The Encyclopaedia of Dublin*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Benson, A. (2007). *Jewish Dublin: Portraits of Life by the Liffey*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Benson, S. (1977). *Down Memory Lane*. Tel Aviv: self-published

- Benson, D.; Hughes, J.A. (1983). *The Perspective of Ethnomethodology*. London: Longman
- Berkowitz, Beth A. (2010). "Allegory and Ambiguity: Jewish Identity in Philo's 'De Congressu'", *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 61(1), 1–17
- Berman, H; Zlotover, M. (1966). *Zlotover Story: A Dublin Story with a Difference*. Dublin: self-published
- Bernard, J. (1973). *The Sociology of Community*. Glenview: Scott, Foreman and Co.
- Beth, L.P. (1967). *The Development of Judicial Review in Ireland, 1937–1966*. Dublin: Institute of Public Administration
- Biddle, I.; Knights, V. (eds.) (2007). *Music, National Identity and the Politics of Location*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Biddle, I.; Gibson, K. (2009). *Masculinity and Western Musical Practice*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Bithell, C. (2003). "On the playing fields of the world (and Corsica): politics, power, passion and polyphony", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 12(1) 67–95
- Black, L (2003). *Franz Schubert: Music and Belief*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press
- Blaxter, L., Hughes, C.; Tight, M. (1996). *How to Research*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Boaz, F. (1928). *Anthropology and Modern Life*. New York: Norton
- Bock, J.; Harnick, S. (1985). *The Fiddler on the Roof*. London: Wise Publications
- Bohlman, P. (1989). *The Land Where Two Streams Flow: Music in the German-Jewish Community of Israel*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press
- (2005). "Music as Representation", *Journal of Musicological Research*, 24(3–4), 205–226
- (ed.) (2008). *Jewish Musical Modernism, Old and New*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Booth, M. (2010). *Sushi and Beyond*. London: Vintage
- Born, G; Hesmondhalgh, D. (eds.) (2000). *Western Music and Its Others*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Boyarin, J. (2008). *Jewishness and the Human Dimension*. New York: Fordham University Press

- Boyle, M.P.; Sawyer, J.K. (2010). "Defining Volunteering for Community Campaigns: an Exploration of Race, Self Perceptions, and Campaign Practices", *Journal of Community Practice*, 18(1), 40–57
- Brady, J; Simms, A. (2001). *Dublin Through Space and Time (c. 900–1900)*. Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Brasch, R. (1969). *The Unknown Sanctuary: The Story of Judaism, its Teaching, Philosophy and Symbols*. Sydney: Angus & Robertson Ltd.
- Brearely, M. (2010). "Philo-Semitism and Proto-Zionism", unpublished paper read at Holocaust Educational Trust Conference, Independent College, Dublin, 28 July 2010
- Brenner, F. (2003a). *Diaspora: Homelands in Exile- Photographs*. New York: Harper Collins
- (2003b). *Diaspora: Homelands in Exile- Voices*. New York: Harper Collins
- Brewer, J.D. (2000). *Ethnography*. Buckingham: Open University Press
- Brinner, B. (2003). "Beyond Israelis v. Palestinians or Jews v. Arabs: The Social Ramifications of Musical Interaction", *Music and Anthropology*, 8, available: http://www.levi.provincia.venezia.it/ma/index/number8/brinner/brin_0.htm [accessed 9 June 2009].
- Briscoe, B. (1958). *For the Life of Me*. Boston: Little, Brown & Co.
- Brod, H.; Kaufman, M. (1994). *Theorizing Masculinities*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Brod, H.; Zevit, S.I. (eds.) (2010). *Brother Keepers: New Perspectives on Jewish Masculinity*. Harriman, Tennessee: The Mens' Studies Press
- Brodkin, K. (1999). *How Jews Became White Folks*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press
- Broek, J.O.M.; Webb, J.W. (1978). *A Geography of Mankind*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Bromberg, B. (2009). "Nusach Carlebach 1 – Nusach Ramah 0", available: <https://www.amherst.edu/taxonomy/term/363> [accessed 21 August 2009].
- Bromley, D.G.; Carter, L.F. (eds.) (2001). *Towards Reflexive Ethnography: Participating, Observing, Narrating*. Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd.
- Brooks-Gordon, B.; Ebtehaj, F.; Herring, J.; Johnson, M.H.; Richards, M. (eds.) (2007). *Death Rites and Rights*. Oxford: Hart Publishing
- Brown, M., McGrath, C.I.; Power, T.P. (eds.). (2005). *Converts and Conversions in Ireland, 1650-1850*. Dublin: Four Courts Press

- Brym, R.J. (1978). *The Jewish Intelligentsia and Russian Marxism*. London: Macmillan
- Bryman, A. (1988). *Quantity and Quality in Social Research*. London: Unwin Hyman
- Budd, M. (1992). *Music and the Emotions: the Philosophical Theories*. London: Routledge
- Burgess, R. (1982). *Field Research: A Sourcebook and Field Manual*. London: Allen and Unwin
- (1984). *In the Field: An Introduction to Field Research*. London: Routledge
- Burgh, T.W. (2006). *Listening to the artefacts: music culture in ancient Palestine*. New York: T & T Clark International
- Burrin-Benor, S. (1999). “Do American Jews Speak a ‘Jewish Language’?: A Model of Jewish Linguistic Distinctiveness”, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 99(2), 230–269
- Butler, K. (1974). “Synagogues of Old Dublin”, *Dublin Historical Record*, 27(4), 118–130
- (1993). “Centenary of a Synagogue: Adelaide Road 1892-1992”, *Dublin Historical Record*, 47(1), 46–55
- Cady, E.T.; Harris, R.J; Knappenberger, J.B. (2008). “Using music to cue autobiographical memories of different lifetime periods”, *Psychology of Music*, 36(2), 157–177
- Cang, J. (1969). *The Silent Millions*. London: Rapp and Whiting
- Casey, C. (2005). *Dublin: the City within the Grand and Royal Canals and the Circular Road with the Phoenix Park*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Cavalli-Sforza, L.L.; Cavalli-Sforza, F.; (Thorne, S. trans.) (1996). *The Great Human Diasporas: The History of Diversity and Evolution*. Harlow: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company
- Chuse, L. (2003). *The cantaoras: music, gender and identity in Flamenco song*. London: Routledge
- Cixous, H.; (Brahic, B.B. trans.) (2004). *Portrait of Jacques Derrida as a young Jewish saint*. New York: Columbia University Press
- Cleary, J.; Connolly, C. (eds.) (2005). *The Cambridge Companion to Modern Irish Culture*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Clifford, J.; Marcus, G.E. (eds.) (1986). *Writing Culture: the poetics and politics of ethnography*. Berkeley: University of California Press

- Cogan, A. (1867). *The Diocese of Meath, Ancient and Modern*. Dublin: Joseph Dollard
- Cohen, F.L.; Mosely, B.L. (eds.). (1889). *A Handbook of Synagogue music for congregational singing*. London: Spottiswood & Co.
- Cohen, F.L.; Davis, D. (eds.) (1899) (1914 edition). *The Voice of Prayer and Praise*. London: J. Curwen & Sons Ltd.
- Cohen, A. (ed.) (1947). *The Soncino Chumash: The Five Books of Moses with Haphtaroth*. Surrey: The Soncino Press
- Cohen, E.H. (2008). “Symbols of Diaspora Jewish identity: an international survey and multi-dimensional analysis”, *Religion*, 38(4), 293–304
- Collins, J. (1913) (2008 edition). *Life in Old Dublin*. Montana: Kessinger Publishing
- Collins, M; Power, D.; Burnim, M. (eds.). (1989). *Music and the Experience of God*. Edinburgh: T & T Clark Ltd.
- Comyn, D.; Dineen, P.S. (eds.) (1914). *Geoffrey Keating: Foras Feasa ar Éirinn, or The History of Ireland, 1610*. London: Irish Texts Society
- Connelly, T. (2009). *Don't Mention the Wars: a Journey Through European Stereotypes*. Dublin: New Island.
- Cowell, J. (1996). *Dublin's Famous People and Where They Lived*. Dublin: The O'Brien Press.
- Crain, T.J. (1998). *The Triumph of Intolerance: Fr. John Creagh and the Limerick pogrom of 1904*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), Arizona State University
- Crang, M. (1998). *Cultural Geography*. London: Routledge
- Cronin, K. (2008). “Dubliners Walk the Walk and Talk the Talk”, *Lifetimes*, 2 July 2008, 10
- Cross, J. (ed.) (2004). *Identity and difference: essays on music, language and time*. Leuven: Leuven University Press
- Cypher, J. (ed.) (1984). *Effective and Ethical Recording: Report of the BASW Case Recording Project Group*. Glasgow: British Association of Social Workers.
- Dawson, L. (2005). “Defining Jewish Identity”, available: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/DefiningJewishIdentity.html> [accessed 17 July 2010]
- Dannenbaum, S.M.; Kinnier, R.T. (2009). “Imaginal Relationships With the Dead”, *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 49(1), 100–113
- Dayan, P. (2006). *Music Writing Literature, from Sand via Debussy to Derrida*. Aldershot: Ashgate

- Davies, C.A. (1999). *Reflexive Ethnography: A Guide to Researching Selves and Others*. London: Routledge
- Dawson, L. (2005). "Defining Jewish Identity in Architecture", available: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/DefiningJewishIdentity-0133859035>. [accessed 9 July 2007]
- (2005). "Defining Jewish Identity", available: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com/DefiningJewishIdentity.html> [accessed 17 July 2010].
- Day, J. (ed.) (2005). *Temple and Worship in Biblical Israel*. London: T & T Clark International
- Delgado-Moreira, J.M. (1997). "Cultural Citizenship and the Creation of European Identity", *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, 2(3), available: <http://www.sociology.org/content/vol002.003/delgado.html> [accessed 17 July 2010].
- Denzin, N.K. and Lincoln, Y.S. (eds.) (1994). *Handbook of Qualitative Research*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Denzin, N.K. (2003). *Performance Ethnography: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Culture*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Derrida, J. (1995). *Archive Fever*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- DeSoucey, M. (2010). "Gastronationalism: Food Traditions and Authenticity Politics in the European Union", *American Sociology Review*, 75(3), 433–455
- Devine, F.; O’Riordan, M. (2006). *James Connolly, Liberty Hall and the 1916 Rising*. Dublin: Irish Labour History Society
- Diamant, A.; Cooper, H. (2007). *Living a Jewish Life*. New York: HarperCollins Publications
- Doherty, C. (2007). "The Language of Identity and the Doctrine of Eucharistic Change", *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 72(3), 242–250
- Doyle, R. (2004). *Trade Names: Traditional traders and shopkeepers of Dublin*. Dublin: New Island
- Dublin Newsletter (1738). *December 26th–30th*. 2(207), 3
- Dubnow, S.; Spiegel, M. (trans.) (1920) (1967 edition). *History of the Jews (5 vols)*. London: Thomas Yoseloff Ltd.
- Durkheim, É. (1912) (1965 edition). *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life*. New York: Free Press
- Edelman, M.B. (2003). *Discovering Jewish Music*. Philadelphia PA: The Jewish Publication Society

- Ehrensperger, K. (2009). "Common Judaism: the quest for Jewish identity", *Journal of Beliefs and Values: Studies in Religion and Education*, 30(1), 79–88
- Elbogen, I.; Scheindlin, (R.P. trans.) (1972) (1993 edition). *Jewish Liturgy: A Comprehensive History*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society
- Elliot, M. (2006). *Singing in Style: a guide to vocal performance practice*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Engelhardt, J. (2009). "Right Singing in Estonian Orthodox Christianity: A Study of Music, Theology, and Religious Ideology", *Ethnomusicology*, 55(1), 32–53
- Erlich, H. (1954). *Dankere*. Johannesburg: self-published
- Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. London: Longman
- Fanning, B. (2002). *Racism and Social Change in Ireland in the 1930s and 1940s*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- (2009). *New Guests of the Irish Nation*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press
- Farhat, H. (1990). *The Dastgāh Concept in Persian Music*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Fernandes, E. (2008). *The Last Jews of Kerala*. London: Portobello Books Ltd.
- Finzi, R. (Jackson, M. trans.) (1999). *Anti-semitism: A Century in Focus*. Gloucestershire: Windrush Press
- Fitzgerald, R. (2010). "The Irish-Jewish Connection", *The Jerusalem Post* online, available: <http://www.jpost.com/Opinion/Op-EdContributors/Article.aspx?id=171198> [accessed 17 March 2010]
- (2010). "Danny Boys – a firm Irish and Jewish kinship", *The Jewish Chronicle*, 19 March 2010, 40
- Fletcher-Jones, P. (1990). *The Jews of Britain: A Thousand Years of History*. Gloucestershire: Windrush Press
- Foreman, K.M. (2008). *The Gei of Geisha: Music, Identity and Meaning*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Freedman, A. (2006). "Did it Flow?: Bridging Aesthetics and History in Joyce's Ulysses", *Modernism/Modernity* 13(1), 853–868
- Freedman, M. (1995). *Leeds Jewry: A History of its Synagogues*. Leeds: Self-published

- Friedman, J. (1994). *Cultural Identity and Global Process*. London: Sage Publications
- Friedman, M.L., Friedlander, M.L.; Blustein, D.L. (2005). "Towards an Understanding of Jewish Identity: A Phenomenological Study", *Journal of Counseling Psychology*, 52(1), 77–83
- Friedmann, J.L.; Stetson, B. (eds.) (2008). *Jewish Sacred Music and Jewish Identity*. St. Paul, Minnesota: Paragon House
- Frigyesi, Judit. (1993). "Preliminary Thoughts Toward the Study of Music Without Clear Beat: The Example of "Flowing Rhythm" in Jewish Nusah", *Asian Music*, 24(2), 59–87
- Frühauf, T. (2009). *The Organ and its Music in German-Jewish Culture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Gainza, M. (2006). *Musical Transcription within Irish traditional music*. Unpublished thesis (PhD), Dublin Institute of Technology
- Garfinkel, H (1967). *Studies in Ethnomethodology*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall
- Garfield, R. (2007). "Articulating a position through research: The practice-led PhD, a case study", *Journal of Media Practice*, 8(2), 221–224
- Gilbert, J.T. (ed.) (1898). *Reports and Printed Documents of the Corporation of Dublin, 1898 – Vol. I*. Dublin: Dollard
- Gill, A.A. (2010). "Table Talk", *The Sunday Times Style*, 6 June 2010, 62–63
- Gitelman, Z. (1998). "The Decline of the Diaspora Jewish Nation; Boundaries, Content and Jewish Identity", *Jewish Social Studies: History, Culture and Society*, 4(2), 112–132.
- Glass, A. (1986). *My Life*. London: unpublished memoir
- Glass, S. (2003). "The Power of Synagogue Music", *Journal of Synagogue Music* (online), available: www.jmi.org.uk/synagoguemusic/powerofsynagogue.html [accessed 7 January 2008].
- (2004). "The British Cantorate: what does the future hold?", *Journal of Synagogue Music* (online), available: www.jmi.org.uk/britishcantorate.html [accessed 7 January 2008].
- Glazer, N.; Moynihan, D.P. (eds.) (1975). *Ethnicity: Theory and Experience*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Glesne, C. (1999). *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*. New York: Longman

- Godfrey, A. (2005). *Three Rabbis in a Vicarage: The Story of Belsize Square Synagogue*. London: Larsen Grove Press
- Godlovitch, S. (1998). *Musical Performance: A Philosophical Study*. London: Routledge
- Goldhill, S. (2005). *The Temple of Jerusalem*. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press
- Golding, G.M. (1982). *George Gavan Duffy, 1882–1951: a legal biography*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press
- Goldstein, S.E. (1955). *The Synagogue and Social Welfare*. New York: Bloch Publishing Company
- Golemdiewski, R.T. (1989). *Men, Management and Morality*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers
- Goodall, H.L. (2000). *Writing the New Ethnography*. California: AltaMira Press
- Goodman, L.; de Gay, J. (1998). *The Routledge Reader in Gender and Performance*. London: Routledge
- Goodwin, J. (1999). *Lords of the Horizons: a history of the Ottoman Empire*. New York: Random House
- Gordon, R.L. (2003). "Dimensions of the Depth Interview", *American Journal of Sociology*, 62, 158–164
- Gordon, S. (2006). *Mastering the Art of Performance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Gottlieb, J. (2004). *Funny, it doesn't sound Jewish*. New York: SUNY Press
- Gradenwitz, P. (1996). *The Music of Israel from the Biblical Era to Modern Times*. Portland: Amadeus Press
- Gray, E. (2009). *Healing the Past: Catholic Antisemitism-Roots and Redemption*. Dublin: Veritas
- Grayzel, S. (1960). *A History of the Contemporary Jews from 1900 to the Present*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, Inc.
- Greenberg, I. (1988). *The Jewish Way*. New York: Touchstone
- Grigson, J. (1974) (1992 edition). *English Food*. London: Penguin Books Ltd.
- Grimley, D.M. (2006). *Grieg: Music, Landscape and Norwegian Identity*. Woodbridge: The Boydell Press
- Gritten, A.; King, E. (eds.) (2006). *Music and Gesture*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate

- Gruber, S.D.; Levin, M.; Young, J.E. (2004). *Jewish Identity in Contemporary Architecture*. New York: Prestel Publishing
- Gruber, R.E. (2009). "Beyond Virtually Jewish: New Authenticities and Real Imaginary Spaces in Europe", *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, 99(4), 487–504
- Gruenwald, I. (2003). *Rituals and Ritual Theory in Ancient Israel*. Boston: Brill
- Guerra, V.M.; Giner-Sorolla, R. (2010). "The Community, Autonomy and Divinity Scale (CADS): A New Tool for the Cross-Cultural Study of Morality", *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 41(1), 35–50
- Gurrin, B. (2002). *Pre-Census Sources for Irish Demography*. Dublin: Four Courts Press
- Gutmann, J. (ed.) (1975). *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology and Architecture*. New York: Ktav Publishing House, Inc.
- Habermas, J. (Shapiro, J.J., trans.) (1971). *Knowledge and Human Interests*. Boston: Beacon
- Hachlili, R. (2005). *Jewish Funerary Customs, Practices and Rites in the Second Temple Period*. Leiden: Brill
- Hale, S.E. (2007). *Sacred Space, Sacred Sound: the Acoustic Mysteries of Holy Places*. Wheaton, IL: Quest Books
- Hallam, E.; Street, B.V. (eds.) (2000). *Cultural Encounters: Representing "Otherness"*. London: Routledge
- Hammersley, M. (1992). *What's Wrong with Ethnography? Methodological Explorations*. London: Routledge
- Hammersley, M.; Atkinson, P. (1995). *Ethnography: Principles in Practice*. London: Routledge
- Hamnett, C. (ed.) (1996). *Human Geography: An essential anthology*. London: Arnold
- Handwerker, W.P. (2001). *Quick Ethnography*. California: AltaMira Press
- Hannerz, U. (2003). "Being there...and there...and there!" *Ethnography*, 4(2), 201–216
- Harland, P.A. (2003). *Associations, Synagogues and Congregations: Claiming a Place in Ancient Mediterranean Society*. Minneapolis: Fortress Press
- Harris, J.M. (1995). *How Do We Know This?* New York: State University of New York

- Harris, N. (2002). *Dublin's Little Jerusalem*. Dublin: A&A Farmar
- Harris, J. (2004). "The Yiddish Sons of Eire; Grand Marshals Already Chosen", *Irish Voice*, 2 April 2004, 9
- Harrison, S. (2008). *Masculinities in Music: Engaging Men and Boys in Making Music*. Newcastle-upon-Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Hart, M.B. (2000). *Social Science and the Politics of Modern Jewish Identity*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press
- Hayward, C.T.R. (1996). *The Jewish Temple: A Non-Biblical Sourcebook*. London: Routledge
- Healey, J.F. (2006). *Race, Ethnicity, Gender and Class* (4th edition). Thousand Oak, Sage
- Healy, J. (1908). *A History of the Diocese of Meath*. Dublin: Association for Promoting Christian Knowledge
- Heanue, M. (2000). *The Decline in the use of the Yiddish language in Ireland*. Dublin: The Irish Jewish Museum
- Hegarty, S. (2009). *The Irish (And Other Foreigners)*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan
- Hellier-Tinoco, R. (2003). "Experiencing people: relationships, responsibility and reciprocity", *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 12(1) 19–34
- Hemetek, U.; Lechleitner, G.; Naroditskaya, I.; Czekanowska, A. (eds.) (2004). *Manifold Identities: Studies on Music and Minorities*. London: Cambridge Scholars Press
- Herzog, C. (1997). *Living History: A Memoir*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson
- Heschel, A.J. (1951). *The Sabbath: Its Meaning for Modern Man*. New York: Farrar,
- Heskes, I. (1994). *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, Culture*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press.
- (1992). "Miriam's Sisters: Jewish Women and Liturgical Music", *Notes*, 48(4), 1193–1202
- Heidegger, M. (Manheim, R., trans.) (1961). *An Introduction to Metaphysics*. New York: Doubleday
- Heilman, S.C. (1976). *Synagogue Life: A Study in Symbolic Interaction*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Hempel, L.M. (2009). "Power, wealth and common identity: access to resources and ethnic identification in a plural society", 32(3), 460–489

- Herzfeld, M. (2001). *Anthropology: Theoretical Practice in Culture and Society*. Oxford: Blackwell
- van Heuten, J.W. (2009). "Jewish Identity in the Greco-Roman World", *Journal for the study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period*, 40(3), 392–399
- Hezser, C. (2005). "Are you a Protestant Jew or a Roman Catholic Jew?: Literary Representations of Being Jewish in Ireland", *Modern Judaism*, 25(2), 159–188
- Hoebel, E.A. (1966). *Anthropology: the study of man*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.
- Hoffman, C. (2008). "Irish Hearts and Jewish Souls", *Jerusalem Post*, March 30th 2008 (online edition) available: <http://jpost.com/servlet/Satellite?cid> [accessed 12 Oct 2008].
- Hood, K.A. (2007). *Music in Druze Life: Ritual, Values and Performance Practice*. London: Druze Heritage Foundation
- Hood, M. (1971). *The Ethnomusicologist*. London: McGraw-Hill Book Company
- Horowitz, B. (2003). *Connections and Journeys: Assessing Critical Opportunities for Enhancing Jewish Identity*. New York: UJA Federation of Jewish Philanthropies of New York
- Horland, I. (2009). "Fieldwork Identities", *Anthropology Matters Journal*, 11(1). http://www.anthropologymatters.com/journal/2009-1/horland_2009_editorial.html [accessed 15 July 2009]
- Horner, A. (2007). *Mapping Meath in the early 19th century*. Dublin: Wordwell
- Hubka, T.C. (2003). *Resplendent Synagogue: Architecture and Worship in an Eighteenth-Century Polish Community*. Hanover: University Press of New England
- Hudson, R. (2006). "Regions and place: music, identity and place", *Progress in Human Geography*, 30(5), 626–634
- Hughes, J.A. (1990). *The Philosophy of Social Research*. London: Longman
- Hyman, L. (1972). *The Jews of Ireland From Earliest Times to the Year 1910*. Shannon: Irish University Press
- Idelsohn, A. Z. (1932) (1995 edition). *Jewish Liturgy and its Development*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc.
- (1948). *Jewish Music: Its Historic Development*. New York: Tudor Publishing Company
- Irish Architectural Archive (2011). *Dictionary of Irish Architects, 1720–1940*. Available: [http:// www.dia/ works/view/32907/building](http://www.dia/works/view/32907/building) [accessed 15 May 2011]
- Jackson, J. (1998). *Strictly Jewish*. London: Hermes House

- Jacob, L. (1995). *The Jewish Religion: A Handbook*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Jacobs, A.J. (2008). *The Year of Living Biblically*. London: William Heinemann
- Janke, J.P. (1998). *Career Profiles of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander People*. Canberra: Australian Public Service Commission
- Johnson, S. (1775) (2008 edition). *Journey to the Western Isles of Scotland*. San Diego, CA: Icon Classics
- Josephus, F. (L'Estrange, R., trans.) (1702). *Jewish Antiquities*. London: Richard Sare
- Jowett, B. (trans. and ed.) (1885) (2000 edition). *Aristotle: Politics*. New York: Dover Publications Inc.
- Joyce, J (1922) (1998 edition). *Ulysses*. London: Picador
- Juchniewicz, J. (2008). "The influence of physical movement on the perception of musical performance", *Psychology of Music*, 36(4), 417–427
- Jung, C. (1997). *Man and His Symbols*. New York: Dell
- Juslin, P.N. (2000). "Cue Utilization in Communication of Emotion in Musical Performance: Relating Performance to Perception", *Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 26(6), 1797–1813
- (2003). "Five Facets of Musical Expression: A Psychologist's Perspective on Music Performance", *Psychology of Music*, 31(3), 273–302
- Juslin, P.; Sloboda, J.A. (2001). *Music and Emotion: Theory and Research*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Kadish, S. (1998). *Synagogues*. Oxford: Heinemann Library
- (2002). "Constructing identity: Anglo-Jewry and synagogue architecture". *Architectural History*, 45, 386–408.
- (2006). *Jewish Heritage in England: An Architectural Guide*. Swindon: English Heritage
- Kallimpoulou, E. (2009). *Paradhosiaka: music, meaning and identity in modern Greece*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Kaplan, H.A. (1987). "The Psychopathology of Nostalgia", *The Psychoanalytic Review*, 74 (465–486)
- Katz, C. (1992). "All the world is staged: intellectuals and the projects of ethnography." *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 10(5), 495–510

- Katz, R. (2003). *'The Lachmann problem': An Unsung Chapter in Comparative Musicology*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University Magnes Press Ltd.
- Kavouras, P. (2005). "Ethnologies of dialogical singing, dialogical ethnography", *Music and Anthropology*, 10(online). Available: http://www.levi.provincia.venezia.it/ma/index/number10/kavour/kav_0.htm [accessed 1 November 2010]
- Kazan, B. (ed); (Weiss, S., trans.) (2000). *Jewish Cities, Towns and Villages in Lithuania until 1918*. New York: Yiskor Book Project
- Kearns, K.C. (1994). *Dublin Tenement Life: An Oral History*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- (1998). *Dublin Voices: An Oral Folk History*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- (2010). *The Bombing of Dublin's North Strand, 1941*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan
- Kenny, T. (2005). "Gerald Davis", *The Kenny Gallery* (online), available: <http://thekennygallery.ie/artists/davisgerald/> [accessed 12 Oct 2008].
- Keogh, D. (1997). *The Limerick Boycott*. Cork: Cork University Press
- (1999). *Jews in 20th Century Ireland*. Cork: Cork University Press
- Keogh, D.; Whelan, D. (2008). *Gerald Goldberg: a tribute*. Cork: Mercier Press
- Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, B.; Karp, J. (2008). *The Art of Being Jewish in Modern Times*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press
- Kleiman, Y. (2004). *DNA and Tradition: The Genetic Link to the Ancient Hebrews*. New York: Devorah Publishing
- Kluger, J. (2009). "Science and Faith: The Biology of Belief", *Time*, 173(7), 62–64
- Knapp, A. (1997). "The influence of German music on United Kingdom synagogue practice", *Jewish Historical Studies*, 35, 167–197
- Knobel, P.S. (ed.) (1983). *Gates of the Seasons*. New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis
- Koenig, H. (1997). *Is Religion Good for your Health: The Effects of Religion on Physical and Mental Health*. Florida: Taylor & Francis, Inc.
- Kohli, H. (2009). *Indian Takeaway: A Very British Story*. Edinburgh: Canongate Books
- Kolach, A.J. (1981). *The Jewish Book of Why*. New York: Jonathan David Publishers, Inc.

- Kooris, L. (2008). "The Irish Jewish Diaspora: Forgotten Ingredient in the Cultural Stew", *Wordpress* (online), available: <http://lauraak.wordpress.com/2008/08/26/the-irish-jewish-diaspora> [accessed 12 Oct 2008].
- Koskoff, E. (2001). *Music in Lubavitcher Life*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press
- Krausz, E.; Tulea, G. (eds.). (1998) *Jewish Survival: The Identity Problem at the Close of the Twentieth Century*. New Brunswick: Transaction
- Krinsky, C.H. (1996). *Synagogues of Europe: Architecture, History, Meaning*. New York: Dover
- Kriwaczek, P. (2006). *Yiddish Civilisation: The Rise and Fall of a Forgotten Nation*. London: Phoenix
- Kushner, T. (2006). "Bill Williams and Jewish Historiography: Past, Present and Future", *Melilah*, 1, 1–16
- Lachmann, R. (1940). *Jewish cantillation and song in the isle of Djerba*. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University
- Lacy, Norris J. (ed.) (1986). *The Arthurian Encyclopedia*. New York: Peter Bedrick Books
- Landman, L. (1972). *The cantor: an historic perspective: a study of the origin, communal position, and function of the hazzan*. New York: Yeshiva University
- Landy, D. (2007). "Zionism, multiculturalism and the construction of Irish-Jewish identity", *Irish Journal of Sociology*, 16(1), 62–79
- Larkin, W. (1812) (2011 edition). *Map of County Meath in Six Sheets for the County Meath Grand Jury*. Dublin: Cartouche Publications
- Lebrun, B. (2009). *Protest Music in France: Production, Identity and Audiences* Aldershot: Ashgate
- van Leeuwen, T. (1999). *Speech, Music, Sound*. London: Macmillan
- Lehrer, T. (1981). *Too Many Songs*. London: Methuen
- Lentin, R. (2000). "Ireland's other diaspora: Jewish-Irish within/Irish-Jewish without", *Golem 3* (online), available: <http://www.hagalil.com/golem/diaspora/irland-e.htm> [accessed 19 Oct 2008].
- Leonard, H. (1962). *Never on Shabbas*. New York: Crown Publishers Inc.
- Leoni, S.A.E. (2007). "Western Middle-East Music Imagery in the Face of Napoleon's Enterprise in Egypt: From Mere Eurocentric Exoticism, to Very Organized Orientalistic Ears", *International Review of the Aesthetics and Sociology of Music*, 38(2), 171–196

- Leppard, R. (1988). *Authenticity in Music*. London: Faber Music Ltd.
- Lester, A.; Bindman, G. (1972). *Race and Law in Great Britain*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press
- Levin, N. (ed.) (1981). *Z'mirot Anthology*. New York: Tara Publications
- Levine, L.I. (ed.) (1981). *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*. Jerusalem: The Israel Exploration Society
- (2005). *The Ancient Synagogue: The First Thousand Years*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Levy, T.S. (1991). *Synagogue Music and Liturgy*. New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis
- Lewis-Beck, M.S.; Bryman, A.; Liao, T.F. (eds.) (2004). *The SAGE Encyclopedia of Social Science and Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Lichterman, P (2008). “Religion and the Construction of Civic Identity”, *American Sociological Review*, 73(1), 83–104
- Lieberman, J. (2008). “The Pathology of the Human Voice”, unpublished conference paper read at 2nd Conference on Cantorial Music, New West End Synagogue, London, 9 July 2008
- Lindholm, C. (2008). *Culture and Authenticity*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Lindsay, P. (1993). *The Synagogues of London*. London: Vallentine Mitchell & Co.
- Lipman, V.D. (1954). *Social History of the Jews in England*. London: Watts & Co.
- (1967). *The Jews of Medieval Norwich*. London: The Jewish Historical Society of England
- Loeffler, J. (2010). *The Most Musical Nation: Jews and Culture in the Late Russian Empire*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Loewy, J.; Guens, J. (eds.) (1961). *The Haggadah: Service for the First Nights of Passover*. Tel Aviv: Sinai Publishing
- Lomax, A. (1968). *Folk Song Style and Culture*. New Brunswick: Transaction Books
- Lynch, S; O'Brien, H. (eds.) (2009). *Clanbrassil Street*. Dublin: The Create Project
- MacAirt, S. (ed.) (1951). *The Annals of Inisfallen*. Dublin: Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies
- Maccoby, H. (1999). *Ritual and Morality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Mac Gabhann, S. (2001). "Sustaining community heritage: the case for political action", *Riocht na Midhe (Meath Archaeological and Historical Society)*, 12, 229–234
- Mackley, L. (1992). *The Book of Afternoon Tea*. Surrey: Ted Smart
- Maconie, S. (2009). *Adventures on the High Teas: In Search of Middle England*. London: Ebury Press
- Madell, G. (2002). *Philosophy, Music and Emotion*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press
- Madison, D.S. (2005). *Critical Ethnography*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Magowan, F. (2007). *Melodies of Mourning: Music and Emotion in Northern Australia*. Oxford: James Currey
- Maher, J. (2012). *Slouching towards Jerusalem: Reactive Nationalism in the Irish, Israeli and Palestinian Novel 1985–2005*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press
- Manco, J. (2009). "Researching the history of synagogues and mikvehs", Available: <http://www.buildinghistory.org/buildings/synagogues.shtml>. [Accessed 22 March 2010].
- Mankowitz, W. (2006). *The Hebrew Lesson*. London: Oberon Books
- Manniche, L. (1991). *Music and Musicians in Ancient Egypt*. London: British Museum Press
- Marcus, D. (1988). *Who ever heard of an Irish Jew? and other stories*. London: Bantam Press
- Marcus, G.E.; Cushman, D. (1982). "Ethnographies as Texts." *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 11, 25–69
- Marjoribanks, K. (1972). "Ethnicity and Learning Patterns", *Sociology*, 6, 417-431
- Martin, P.J. (1995). *Sounds and Society: Themes in the sociology of music*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- Marx, K. (1977). *Early Writings*. New York: Penguin
- Maslin, S.J. (ed.) (1979). *Gates of Mitzvah*. New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis
- Maurer, S. (1996). *Hebrew Reading*. London: Kuperard
- Mayer Brown, H. (1989). *Performance Practice: Music After 1600*. London: Macmillan Press

- Mason, D. (ed.) (2003). *Explaining Ethnic Difference*. Bristol: The Policy Press
- Mason, J. (1996). *Qualitative Researching*. London: Sage
- Massey, D.; Jess, P. (eds.). (2000). *A Place in the World: Plans, Cultures and Globalization*. Oxford: OUP
- Massey, R.; Massey, J. (1986). *The Music of India*. London: Kahn & Averill
- Masters, B. (2001). *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- McAuley, R. (2003). *A Fresh Way of Seeing: Harry Kernoff in his times*. Dublin: The Irish Jewish Museum
- McCrone, D.; Bechofer, F. (2010). "Claiming national identity", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(6) 921–948
- McDonald, B. (2009). *An Introduction to Sociology in Ireland*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan
- McDonnell, G. (2004). *Jewish Influences in Ulysses*. Belfast: Lapwing Publications Ltd.
- McGann, M.E. (2002). *Exploring Music as Worship and Theology*. Minnesota: The Liturgical Press
- McLaren, A. (1993). *Dublin: The Shaping of a Capital*. London: Belhaven Press
- McLeod, N.; Herndon, M. (1980). *The Ethnography of Musical Practice*. Norwood, Pa.: Norwood Editions
- Mendes-Flohr, P.R.; Reinhartz, J. (1995). *The Jew in the Modern World: A Documentary History*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Merriam, A.P. (1964). *The Anthropology of Music*. Evanston: Northwestern University Press
- Messing, S. (2007). *Schubert in the European Imagination, Vol. 2: Fin-de-Siècle Vienna*. Rochester: University of Rochester Press
- Meyer, L.B. (1956). *Emotion and Meaning in Music*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press
- Meyer, M.A., (2001). *Judaism Within Modernity: Essays on Jewish History and Religion*. Detroit: Wayne State University Press
- Meyers, B.; Alexander, A. (1770) (expressed throughout original text as 5530). *Tephilloth, Containing The Forms Of Prayers Which are Publicly read in the Synagogues And Used In All Families*. London: W. Tooke

- Miell, D.; MacDonald, R.; Hargreaves, D.J. (eds.) (2005). *Musical Communication*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Mierow, C.C. (ed.) (1963). *Letters of St. Jerome, Vol. 1*. New York: Paulist Press
- Miller, T.E.; Shahriari, A. (2006). *World Music: A Global Journey*. New York: Routledge
- Moody, T.W.; Martin, F.X.; Byrne, F.J. (eds.) (1991). *Vol. III: Early Modern Ireland 1534–1691*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Móricz, K. (2008). *Jewish Identities: Nationalism, Racism, and Utopianism in Twentieth-Century Music*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Moss, J.; Wilson, G. (1993). *Peoples of the Western World: Western Europeans*. London: Gale Research International Limited
- Moyser, G.; Wagstaffe, M. (eds) (1987). *Research Methods for Elite Studies*. London: Allen and Unwin
- Mullins, G. (2007). *Dublin's Nazi No. 1: The Life of Adolf Mahr*. Dublin: Liberties Press
- Mundill, R.R. (1998). *England's Jewish Solution: Experiment and Expulsion, 1262-1290*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Myerhoff, B. (1978). *Number Our Days*. New York: Simon & Schuster
- Myers, H. (ed.) (1992). *Ethnomusicology: an introduction*. London: Macmillan
- (ed.) (1993). *Ethnomusicology: Historical and Regional Studies*. London: Macmillan
- Myhill, J. (2006). *Language, Religion and National Identity in Europe and the Middle East*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company
- Nason, R. (2005). *Visiting a Synagogue*. London: Evans Brothers Limited
- Nettl, B. (1964). *Theory and Method in Ethnomusicology*. London: Macmillan
- (1983). *The Study of Ethnomusicology: Twenty-nine issues and concepts*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press
- (1996). "Relating the present to the past: thoughts on the study of musical change and culture change in ethnomusicology", *Music and Anthropology*, 1, available: <http://www.muspe.unibo.it/period/ma/index/number1/nettl/ne1.htm> [accessed 10 June 2009]
- Nettl, B.; Bohlman, P.V. (eds.) (1991). *Comparative Musicology and Anthropology of Music*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press

- Newbould, B. (1997). *Schubert: the Music and the Man*. London: Victor Gollancz
- Neumann, F. (1982). *Essays in Performance Practice*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press
- Neusner, J. (ed.) (1983). *Take Judaism, For Example*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- (ed.) (2006). *Religious Foundations of Western Civilisation: Judaism, Christianity, and Islam*. Nashville: Abingdon Press
- Newman, A. (1981). *The Jewish East End 1840–1939*. London: The Jewish Historical Society of England.
- North, A.; Hargreaves, D. (eds.) (2008). *The Social and Applied Psychology of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Northrop, F.S.C.; Livingston, H. (eds.) (1964). *Cross-Cultural Understanding: Epistemology in Anthropology*. New York: Harper & Row
- Novak, W.; Waldoks, M. (eds.) (2006). *The Big Book of Jewish Humor*. New York: Harper Collins
- O'Brien, E. (1981). “‘From the Waters of Sion to Liffeside,’ The Jewish Contribution: Medical and Cultural”, *Journal of the Irish College of Physicians and Surgeons*, 10(3), 107–115
- O'Donnell, E.E. (2008). *The Annals of Dublin*. Dublin: Currach Press
- Oelman, T. (ed. & trans.) (1982). *Marrano Poets of the Seventeenth Century*. London: Associated University Presses Ltd.
- O'Flynn, J. (2009). *The Irishness of Irish Music*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- O Gráda, C. (2004). “Lost in Little Jerusalem: Leopold Bloom and Irish Jewry”, *Journal of Modern Literature*, 27(4), 17–26
- (2006). *Jewish Ireland in the Age of Joyce: A Socioeconomic History*. Princeton: Princeton University Press
- O'Hare, P. (2007). “Getting down to writing up: navigating from the field to the desk and the (re)presentation of fieldwork”, *Anthropology Matters Journal*, 9(2). http://www.anthropologymatters.com/journal/2007-2/ohare_2007_getting.html [accessed 15 July 2009]
- O Laoire, L. (2003). “Fieldwork in common places: an ethnographer's experiences in Tory Island”, *British Journal of Ethnomusicology*, 12(1) 113-136
- Orenstein, W. (1965). *The Cantor's Manual of Jewish Law*. Northvale: Jason Aronson Inc.

- O’Riordan, M. (2007). “Citizens of the Republic: Jews in Independent Ireland”, *Dublin Review of Books* [online], available: http://www.dr.b.ie/pjune_citizens.html [accessed 15 Nov 2007].
- Orlinsky, H.M. (1975) (ed.). *The Synagogue: Studies in Origins, Archaeology and Architecture*. New York: Ktav Publishing House Inc.
- O’Siadhail, M. (2002). *The Gossamer Wall*. Tarsset: Bloodaxe Books
- O’Sullivan, S. (2007). *Contemporary Ireland: a sociological map*. Dublin: University College Dublin Press
- Panami, P. (1999). *Outsiders: A History of European Minorities*. London: Hambledon
- Papineau, D. (1979). *Theory and Meaning*. Oxford: Clarendon Press
- Parris, R.G. (ed.) (1982). *Living in Two Cultures*. Paris: UNESCO
- Parkes, J. (1938). *The Jew in the Medieval Community*. London: The Soncino Press
- Patton, M. (1990). *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Paz, S. (2007). *Drums, Women and Goddesses: Drumming and Gender in Iron Age Israel*. Fribourg: Academic Press Fribourg
- Pearl, C.; Brookes, B. (1978). *A Guide to Jewish Knowledge*. London: Jewish Chronicle Publications
- ben Pedahzur, G. (1738). *The Book of Religion, Ceremonies, and Prayers; of the Jews, As Practised in their Synagogues and Families on all Occasions*. London: J. Wilcox
- Pedersen, P.B.; Draguns, J.G.; Lonner, W.J.; Trimble, J.E. (eds.) (2008). *Counselling Across Cultures*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Pelling, M.; White, F. (2004). “Roderigo Lopez”, *Physicians and Irregular Medical Practitioners in London 1550-1640: Database*, available: <http://www.british-history.ac.uk/report.aspx?compid=17629> [accessed 29 July 2010].
- Peretz, I.; Zatorre, R.J. (eds.) (2003). *The Cognitive Neuroscience of Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Persoff, M. (2002). *Immanuel Jacobovits: a Prophet in Israel*. London: Valentine Mitchell
- Picard, L. (2001). *Dr. Johnson’s London*. London, Phoenix
- (2006). *Victorian London*. London: Phoenix

- Piccioto, J. (1875). *Sketches of Anglo-Jewish History*. London: Soncino Press
- Pichler, F. (2009). "Cosmopolitan Europe: Views and Identity", *European Societies*, 11(1), 3–24
- Pinto, D (1999). "The Third Pillar: Towards European Jewish Identity", *Golem 1 (online)*, available: <http://hagalil.com/golem/jewish-identity/pillar.htm> [accessed 12 Oct 2008].
- Polkinghorne, D.E. (1988). *Narrative Knowing and the Human Sciences*. Albany: State University of New York Press
- Porter, J. (ed.) (1997). *Folklore and Traditional Music in the Former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe*. Los Angeles: University of California Press
- Post, J.C. (ed.) (2006). *Ethnomusicology: a contemporary reader*. New York: Routledge
- Postal, B.; Abramson, S.H. (1971). *The Traveler's Guide to the Jewish Landmarks of Europe*. New York: Fleet Press Corporation.
- Potter, P.M. (1996). "Musicology under Hitler: New Sources in Context", *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, 49(1), 70–113
- Price, S. (2002). *Somewhere to hang my hat: An Irish-Jewish Journey*. Dublin: New Island
- Pyle, H. (1966). *Estella Solomons: Portraits of Patriots*. Dublin: Allen Figgis & Co. Ltd.
- Rabinow, P. (1977). *Reflections on Fieldwork in Morocco*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Rabinowicz, H. (1982). *A Guide To Life: Jewish Laws and Customs or Mourning*. London: Jewish Chronicle Publications
- Radano, R.; Bohlman, P.V. (eds.) (2000). *Music and the Racial Imagination*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Radcliffe-Brown, A.R. (1958). *Method in social anthropology: Selected essays*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Raison, T (ed.) (1979). *The Founding Fathers of Social Science*. London: Scolar Press
- Randhofer, R. (2004). "By the Rivers of Babylon: Echoes of the Babylonian Past in the Musical History of the Iraqi Jewish Diaspora", *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 13(1), 21–45
- Reif, S.C. (1995). *Judaism and Hebrew Prayer*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

- Renton, P. (2000). *The Lost Synagogues of London*. London: Tynsder Publishing
- Ricco, J.P. (2006). "The Surreality of Community", *Culture Machine*, 8, available: <http://www.culturemachine.net/index.php/cm/article/viewArticle/42/51>, [accessed 1 October 2009]
- Rich, T.R. (2001). "Judaism 101: Rabbis, Priests, and Other Religious Functionaries", available: <http://www.jewfaq.org/rabbi.htm> [accessed 6 July 2009].
- Rink, J. (ed.) (1995). *The Practice of Performance*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (ed.) (2002). *Musical Performance: A Guide to Understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Rivlin, R. (2003). *Shalom Ireland: A social history of Jews in Modern Ireland*. Dublin: Gill & Macmillan Ltd.
- Robben, A.C.G.M. (ed.) (2004). *Death, Mourning and Burial: A Cross-Cultural Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Robben, A.C.G.M.; Sluka, J.A. (eds.) (2007). *Ethnographic Fieldwork: an Anthropological Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing
- Robinson, G. (2000). *Essential Judaism: A Complete Guide to Beliefs, Customs, and Rituals*. New York: Pocket Books
- Robinson, J. (2005). *Deeper than Reason: Emotion and its role in Literature, Music, and Art*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rodgers, Z. (1998). *Josephus: Patriot, Priest, Politician*. Unpublished thesis (Ph.D), Trinity College, Dublin
- (ed.) (2007). *Making History: Josephus and Historical Method*. Leiden: Brill
- Roemer, N. (2009). "London and the East End as a Spectacle of Urban Tourism", *Jewish Quarterly Review*, 99(3), 416–434
- (2001). *Debating the past: music, memory and meaning in the Andes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Rose, F.C. (ed.) (2010). *Neurology of Music*. London: Imperial College Press
- Rosowsky, S. (1957). *The Cantillation of the Bible: The Five Books of Moses*. New York: The Reconstructionist Press
- Rossen, J.M.; Sharvit, U. (2006). *A Fusion of Traditions*. Odense: University Press of Southern Denmark
- Roth, C. (1941). *A History of the Jews in England*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

- Rothmüller, A.M. (1953). *The Music of the Jews*. London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co. Ltd.
- Rubin, E.; Baron, J.H. (2006). *Music in Jewish History and Culture*. Sterling Heights: Harmonia Park Press
- Rudashevski, Y. (1973). *The Diary of the Vilna Ghetto*. Tel Aviv: Ghetto Fighters' House
- Rudavsky, T.M. (ed.) (1995). *Gender and Judaism: The Transformation of Tradition*. New York: New York University Press
- Runesson, A.; Binder, D.D.; Olsson, B. (2008). *The Ancient Synagogue from its Origins to 200 C.E.* Leiden: Brill
- Sachar, H.M. (2005). *A History of Jews in the Modern World*. New York: Knopf
- Sachs, C. (1944). *The Rise of Music in the Ancient World*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons Ltd.
- Sacks, J. (2002). *The Dignity of Difference*. London: Continuum
- Safran, W. (2005). "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective", *Israel Studies*, 10(1), 36–60
- Safrai, S. (1985). *Pilgrimage at the Time of the Second Temple* (2nd edition). Jerusalem: Akademon
- Samuel, W. (1924). *The First London Synagogues of the Resettlement*. London: Spottiswoode, Ballantyne & Co.
- Sandel, M. (1982). *Liberalism and the Limits of Justice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sanders, G. (2007). "Israeli Scholar Trains an Eye on Emerald Isle", *The Jewish Daily Forward* (online edition, March 30th 2007), available: <http://www.forward.com/articles/10417> [accessed 19 Oct 2008].
- Sayers, D.L. (1937) (1974 edition). *Busman's Honeymoon*. London: Hodder and Stoughton
- Schaalje, J. (2000). "The Temple and The Western Wall Tunnel", *Jewish Magazine*, available: <http://www.jewishmag.com/36mag/tunnels/tunnels/htm> [accessed 1 February 2010]
- Scheibner, G.B.; Morrison, T.G. (2009). "Attitudes towards Polish immigrants to the Republic of Ireland: an integrated threat analysis", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(8), 1431–1448

- Scherman, N. (1984). *The Gabbai's Handbook*. New York: Mesorah Publications Ltd.
- Scherman, N.; Zlotowitz, M. (eds.) (1987). *The Complete Artscroll Siddur: Nusach Ashkenaz*. New York: Mesorah Publications Ltd.
- Schimmel, N. (2009). "Judaism and the Origins of Erich Fromm's Humanistic Psychology", *Journal of Humanistic Psychology*, 49(1), 9–45
- Schneider, A. (2002). "Probing Unknown Cultures", *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, 6(3), available: <http://www.sociology.org/content/vol006.003/schneider.html> [accessed 17 July 2010]
- Schneider, L. (ed.) (1964). *Religion, Culture and Society*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Schoenburg, N.; Schoenburg, S. (1991). *Lithuanian Jewish Communities*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Schoenfeld, A.J. (2006). "Sons of Israel in Caesar's service: Jewish soldiers in the Roman military", *Shofar*, 24(3), 115–126
- Schwartz, M. (1995). *Guidelines for Bias-Free Writing*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Schweppe, K (2008). "Irish-Jewish diaspora, or is it Jewish-Irish?", available: <http://www.seventymillion.org/diaspora/ireland/irishcommunitiesworldwide/irishness> [accessed 19 Oct 2008].
- Seeman, S.T. (2006). "Presenting 'Gypsy', Re-Presenting Roman: Towards an Archeology of Aesthetic Production and Social Identity". *Music and Anthropology*, 11(online), available:http://www.levi.provincia.venezia.it/ma/index/number11/seeman/see_0.htm [accessed 1 November 2010].
- Semiatan, H. (1950). *Shirim Usmiros: Cantorial recitatives and congregational singing for complete Friday evening and Saturday morning services*. New York: Self-published
- Sendrey, A.; Norton, M. (1964). *David's Harp: the story of music in Biblical times*. New York: New American Library
- Sendrey, A. (1969). *Music in Ancient Israel*. New York: Philosophical Library
- Seroussi, E. (1998) "De-gendering Jewish Music: the survival of the Judeo-Spanish folksong revisited", conference paper, "Music as representation of gender in Mediterranean cultures", Venice, 11-13 July 1998, available: http://www.umbc.edu/eol/MA/ma_dtg/altri/seroussi.htm [accessed 1 October 2010].

- (2002). ““Mediterraneanism” in Israeli music: an idea and its permutations”, *Music and Anthropology*, 7 (online), available: <http://www.levi.provincia.venezia.it/ma/index/number7/seroussi/ser00.htm> [accessed 10 July 2009].
- Shelemay, K.K. (1988). “Together in the field: Team research among Syrian Jews in Brooklyn, New York”, *Ethnomusicology*, 32(3) 369–384
- (1995). “Mythologies and realities in the study of Jewish music”, *World of Music*, 37(1), 24–38
- Sherwood, Y. (ed.) (2004). *Derrida’s Bible*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan
- Shillman, B. (1945). *A Short History of the Jews in Ireland*. Dublin: Eason & Son Ltd.
- Shiloah, A. (1992). *Jewish Musical Traditions*. Detroit: Wayne State University
- Shweder, R.; Le Vine, R. (1984). *Culture Theory: Essays on Mind, Self and Emotion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Siegel, J.T. (2010). *Objects and Objections of Ethnography*. New York: Fordham University Press
- Siev, S. (2000). *Celts and Hebrews*. Dublin: The Irish Jewish Museum
- Silberstein, L.J. (ed.) (2000). *Mapping Jewish Identities*. New York: New York University Press
- Silvain, G.; Minczeles, H. (1999). *Yiddishland*. Paris: Edition Hazan
- Silverman, D. (1997). *Qualitative Research: Theory, Method and Practice*. London: Sage
- (2000). *Doing Qualitative Research: A Practical Handbook*. London: Sage
- Singer, S. (ed.) (1890) (1962 edition). *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book of the United Hebrew Congregations of the British Commonwealth of Nations*. London: Eyre and Spottiswoode Ltd.
- (ed.) (1890) (2006 edition). *The Authorised Daily Prayer Book*. London: Collins
- Slobin, M. (1990). *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press
- (1992). “Micromusics of the West: A Comparative Approach”, *Ethnomusicology*, 36(1) 1–87 (entire issue)
- (1993). *Subcultural Sounds: Micromusics of the West*. Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press

- Smith, G. (2009). *Music in Irish Cultural History*. Dublin: Irish Academic Press
- Solis, T. (ed.) (2004). *Performing Ethnomusicology: Teaching and representation in world music ensembles*. Berkeley: University of California Press
- Song, S. (2010). "Finding one's place: shifting ethnic identities of recent immigrant children from China, Haiti and Mexico in the United States", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 33(6), 1006–1031
- Spencer-Shapiro, K. (2003). *The Jews of Dublin: A Musical History of Migration*. Unpublished thesis (Master of Sacred Music), Hebrew Union College, New York.
- Spilka, B.; Hood, R.W., Jr.; Hunsberger, B.; Gorsuch, R. *The Psychology of Religion: An Empirical Approach* (3rd edition) (2003). New York: The Guilford Press
- Spradley, J.P. (1979). *The Ethnographic Interview*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston
- Stahovski, N. (1999). "On Structural and Functional Status of Culture in the Social System", *Electronic Journal of Sociology*, 4(3), available: <http://www.sociology.org/content/vol004.003/romanian.html> [accessed 17 July 2010].
- Stainer, J. (1879) (1914 edition). *The Music of the Bible*. London: Novello and Company, Ltd.
- Stephan, W.; Stephan, C.W. (1996). "Predicting Prejudice", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 20(3-4), 409–26
- Stephen, L. (ed.) (1888). *Dictionary of National Biography* (63 vols), Vol. 17. London: Elder Smith & Co.
- Steyn, J. (1999). *The Jew: Assumptions of Identity*. New York: Cassell
- Stobart, H. (ed.). (2008). *The New (Ethno)musicologies*. Maryland: The Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Strassfeld, S.; Strassfeld, M. (eds.) (1980). *Creating Community: The Third Jewish Catalogue*. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America
- Strauss, A.; Corbin, J. (eds.) (1997). *Grounded Theory in Practice*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Stokes, M. (ed.) (1994). *Ethnicity, Identity and Music: The Musical Construction of Place*. Oxford: Berg
- (1996). "History, Memory and Nostalgia in Contemporary Turkish Musicology", *Music and Anthropology*, 1, available: http://www.muspe.unibo.it/period/ma/index/number1/stokes/st1_int.htm [accessed 10 June 2009]

- Stone, R.M. (2008). *Theory for Ethnomusicology*. Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Pearson Prentice Hall
- Summit, J. (2000). *The Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Music and Identity in Contemporary Jewish Worship*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Sverdlove, A. (2009). "The Russian Experience", available: <http://www.ldorvdor.net/laws.html> [accessed 10 June 2009]
- Takenaka, A. (2009). "How diasporas emerge: Pan-American Nikkei communities and the Japanese state", *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 32(8), 1325–1345
- Tam, S. (2004). "The 3D Bible Project", available: <http://www.3dbibleproject.com/en/default.htm> [accessed 1 February 2010]
- Tarafodi, R.W.; Shaughnessy, S.C.; Lee, W.W.S.; Leung, D.Y.P.; Ozaki, Y.; Morio, H.; Yamaguchi, S. (2009). "Disregard for Outsiders: a Cultural Comparison", *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology*, 40(4), 567–583
- Tarsi, B. (2002). "Observations on Practices of 'Nusach' in America", *Asian Music*, 33(22), 175–219
- Teblum, G. (1999). "'Twas the Night", available: <http://kosher4passover.com/parodies.htm> [accessed 28 October 2010]
- Tedlock, B. (1991). "From Participant Observation to the Observation of Participation: the Emergence of Narrative Ethnography", *Journal of Anthropological Research*, 47(1), 69–94
- Tenzer, M. (ed.) (2006). *Analytical Studies in World Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Thomas, G. (1997). "What's the use of theory?" *Harvard Educational Review*, 67(1), 75–104
- Thomas, J. (1993). *Doing Ethnography*. Thousand Oaks: Sage
- Tiger, L. (1984) (2nd edition). *Men in Groups*. New York: Marion Boyars Publishers Inc.
- Tracy, R. (1999). "The Jews of Ireland", *Judaism Quarterly*, Summer 1999. Available: <http://www.ucc.ie/icms/irishmigrationpolicy/Judaism%20The%20Jews%20of%20Ireland.htm> [accessed 22 August 2006].
- Traynor, C. (2010). "Young, Jewish and Irish", *The Irish Times Weekend Review*, 11 December 2010, 1
- Triandis, H.C. (1994). *Culture and Social Behaviour*. New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc.

- Torres, R.O.; Miron, L.F.; India, J.X. (1999). *Race, Identity and Citizenship: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Tunkel, V. (2000). "Choral and Cantorial Music", *Jewish Music Institute Newsletter*, 1, 6–7
- (2002). *The Music of the Hebrew Bible: The Western Ashkenazi Tradition*. London: Tumsder Publishing
- (2004). "The Role of the Jewish Cantor", *Journal of Synagogue Music* (online), available: www.jmi.org.uk/synagoguemusic/roleofcantor.html [accessed 7 January 2008].
- Turino, T. (2008). *Music as Social Life: the Politics of Participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press
- Twerky, I. (1980). *Introduction to the Code of Maimonides (Mishneh Torah)*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Tye, L. (2001). *Homelands: Portraits of the New Jewish Diaspora*. New York: Henry Holt
- Udasin, S. (2009). "Celtic-Klez", *The Jewish Week* (online), March 13th 2009. Available: http://www.thejewishweek.com/arts/music/celtic_klez [accessed 16 March 2009].
- Ungar, S. (2008) "Ignorance as an under-identified social problem", *The British Journal of Sociology*, 59(2), 301–326
- Vigne, R.; Littleton, C. (eds.) (2001). *From Strangers to Citizens: The Integration of Immigrant Communities in Britain, Ireland and Colonial America, 1550–1750*. Oregon: Sussex Academic Press
- Volf, M. (2009). "Difference, Violence, and Memory", *Irish Theological Quarterly*, 74(1), 3–12
- Wagner, J.L. (2004). *The Synagogue Survival Kit*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield
- Walker, R. (2001). *Black, White and Jewish*. New York: Riverhead Books
- Walsh, J. (2009). "In Bloom", *The Dubliner*, Issue 87, 34–39
- Waters, R.F. (2008). *Déodat de Séverac: Musical Identity in Fin de Siècle France*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Weber, M. (Fischor, E. trans.). (1922) (1964 edition). *The Sociology of Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press
- Weiner, H.A. (1997). "The Mixers: The Role of Rabbis Deep in the Heart of Texas", *American Jewish History*, 85(3), 289–332

- Weiner, B. (2002). "St Patrick's Purim Shpiel", available:
http://www.killingthbuddha.com/confession/patrick_purim.htm [accessed 18 Oct 2008]
- Weinrach, S.G. (2003). "I Am My Brother (and Sister's) Keeper: Jewish Values and the Counselling Process", *Journal of Counselling and Development*, 81(4), 441-444
- Weinstein, J.; Pillai, V.K. (2001). *Demography: The Science of Population*. Massachusetts: Allyn & Bacon
- Weinstein, J.; Vijayan, K.P. (2001). *The Science of Population*. Massachusetts: 2001
- Weiss, P.A.; Friedman, M. (eds.) (1995). *Feminism and Community*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press.
- Werner, E. (1967). *From Generation to Generation: Studies on Jewish Musical Tradition*. New York: American Conference of Cantors
- (1984). *The Sacred Bridge: The Interdependence of Liturgy and Music in Synagogue and Church during the First Millennium (2 vols.)* New York: Ktav Publishing House
- Wertheimer, J. (ed.) (1987). *The American Synagogue*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- (ed.) (1993). *The Modern Jewish Experience*. New York: New York University Press
- White, H. (1998). *The Keeper's Recital: Music and Cultural History in Ireland, 1770 - 1970*. Cork: Cork University Press
- White, T. (2009). "Opinion", *The Dubliner*, Issue 87, 8-9
- White, V. (2010). "Why a hymn from childhood helps the year end on a high note", *The Irish Times*, 24 December 2010, 14
- Whitely, S.; Bennet, A.; Hawkins, S. (eds.) (2004). *Music, Space and Place*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Wicker, H-R. (ed.) (1997). *Rethinking Nationalism and Ethnicity*. New York: Berg
- Williams, B. (1985). *The Making of Manchester Jewry 1740 - 1875*. Manchester: Manchester University Press
- (1988). *Manchester Jewry: A Pictorial History 1788 - 1988*. Manchester: Archive Publications.
- (2008). *Jewish Manchester: An Illustrated History*. Derby: Breedon Books
- Williams, R.; Keane, R.; McCrave, G. (eds.) (1992). *Educational Jewish Aspects of James Joyce's Ulysses*. Dublin: Irish Jewish Museum

- Wilson, F.M. (2003). *Organizational Behaviour and Gender*. Aldershot: Ashgate
- Wilson, J.L. (2005). *Nostalgia: Sanctuary of Meaning*. Cranbury, NJ: Associated University Presses
- Wise, I.M. (ed.) (1867). *Minhag America*. Cincinnati: Block and Co.
- (ed.) (1868). *Hymns, Psalms and Prayers*. Cincinnati: Block and Co.
- Wisse, R.R. (ed.) (2002). *The I.L. Peretz Reader*. New Haven: Yale University Press
- Wood, A. (1998). *Jewish Synagogue*. London: Franklin Betts
- Wood, D. (ed.) (1992). *Derrida: A Critical Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell
- Woodward, I; Skrbis, Z; Bean, C. (2008). “Attitudes towards globalization and cosmopolitanism: cultural diversity, personal consumption and the national economy”, *The British Journal of Sociology*, 59(2) 117–144
- Yanting, T. (2004). “Reconstructing the vanished musical life of the Shanghai Jewish diaspora: a report”, *Ethnomusicology Forum*, 13(1), 101-118
- Younge, G. (2010). *Who Are We And Why Should It Matter?* London: Viking
- Zager, D. (ed.) (2007). *Music and Theology*. Lanham: Scarecrow Press, Inc.
- Zissu, B.; Ganor, A. (2009). “Horvat ‘Ethri-A Jewish Village from the Second Temple Period and the Ben Kokhba Revolt in the Judean Foothills”, *Journal of Jewish Studies*, 60(1), 90–136
- Ziv, N.; Gilat, S.; Basserman, K. (2008). “The effect of looks and musical preference on trait inference”, *Psychology of Music*, 36(4), 463–476
- Zuckerandl, V. (1969). *Sound and Symbol: Music and the External World*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press

Discography

Ansemble Inejnem. *Melodies of Old Drohobych*. Ansemble Inejnem (CD), 2004

Budapest Klezmer Band. *Yiddishe Blues*. Klezmer Music Ltd. BKB 2000-1 (CD), 2000

Los Desterrados. *Tu*. Crusoe Records CRU001 (CD), 2006

Muzsikás. *Máramaros The Lost Jewish Music of Transylvania*. Rykodisc HNCD 1373 (CD), 1993

Kaufman, Alan; Podbere, Alan. *From Lublin to Dublin*. Alan Kaufman (CD), 1984

Nelkin, Carl. *Irish Heart-Jewish Soul, Favourite Irish and Jewish Songs*. Carl Nelkin (CD), 2003

Various Artists. *The Great Cantors*. Pearl Records Ltd. 9285 (CD), 1990

Various artists. *Israel: A World of Music*. Acum (CD), 2003

Various Artists. *Great Cantors of the Golden Age; Great Cantors in Cinema*. The National Center for Jewish Film (DVD), 2006