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THE ART OF THE KLEZMER:
Improvisation and Ornamentation in the Commercial Recordings of
New York Clarinettists Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras 1922-1929

by

Joel Edward Rubin

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Department of Music

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# ABSTRACT

This thesis is an investigation into the instrumental social music of the Eastern European Jewish immigrant community in New York during the early decades of the twentieth century. A professional tradition with roots in medieval Germany, klezmer music had developed in the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe during the course of several centuries and was brought to North America by immigrants beginning in the late nineteenth century. European klezmorim had formed a socio-economic group which fulfilled a ritual function within traditional Jewish society at weddings and other celebrations. Like Yiddish culture in general, the Jewish instrumentalists adapted to the New York environment, creating a synthesis during the period 1880-1950 which contained both Eastern European and American attributes.

This study begins with the hypothesis that there is a unique style and repertoire created and interpreted by the klezmorim, of which key stylistic aspects can be identified. Utilising a three-prong approach — historical, ethnographic and musicological — it provides a focused study based on the recordings of the clarinettists Naftule Brandwein (1884-1963) and Dave Tarras (1895-1989) made during the years 1922-1929 and, at the same time, places their music within a larger socio-cultural context. Drawing on musical parallels to Harshav's theory of polylingualism in Yiddish, the study treats the various genres within the overall category of metric dance tunes as a single field, investigating key stylistic elements at the syntactical and improvisational levels. It focuses in particular on issues of modality, compositional process, improvisation and ornamentataion. A dynamic approach to modality presents a new way of looking at oral musical traditions which contain elements of both modal systems and Western tonality. The study both confirms the importance of ornamentation as being crucial in defining style in oral traditions and suggests that certain categories of ornaments may also serve a structural function. Building upon Nettl's concept of a "point of departure" upon which musicians base their improvisations, those of Brandwein and Tarras may be regarded as being based on a myriad of points of departure at every level of detail which, when aggregated, made up the performance. Finally, through investigating the interface between syntactical and improvisational elements, a new way of looking at improvisation is suggested — one which blurs the boundary between the compositional and the performative.

# ORTHOGRAPHY AND TRANSLITERATION

Yiddish and other foreign words have been italicised except for the words "klezmer" and "klezmorim", due to their frequency of usage. Yiddish words and phrases have been transliterated according to the YIVO system as presented in Weinreich (1968:xxi), with the following exceptions:

- Some Yiddish words of Hebrew-Aramaic origin have been rendered according to the more common Modern Hebrew pronunciation (*haskalah* as opposed to the Yiddish *haskole, chanukkah* instead of the Yiddish *khanike,* etc.).

- Spellings of European place names follow wherever practicable the entries in Cohen (1989) or Mokotoff and Samdur Sack (1991).

- Spellings of the names of New York musicians have been based wherever possible on the *Local no. 802 Directory* of the American Federation of Musicians (1937).[1]

- No attempt has been made to standardise the transliterated titles from record labels. These have been reproduced as listed in Spottswood (1990) or have been taken directly from the recordings themselves.

- Transliterations of the names of well-known individuals such as Sholom Aleichem or Isaac Leybush Peretz follow the most common Romanised spelling known to the author. Moyshe Beregovski has been adapted from Slobin's Hebraised Moshe Beregovski.

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1    The author wishes to thank Paul Gifford for access to this source.

The research for this dissertation grew out of the my practical experience as a performer of traditional and contemporary klezmer music since 1980. Although I am Jewish and the majority of my ancestors stemmed from Yiddish-speaking Eastern Europe, I did not grow up directly with this musical tradition. My paternal grandfather was born in 1893 in Kiev. Like his father before him, he had apprenticed in the barber trade as a youth. My grandfather played Yiddish, Russian, Ukrainian and American folk music by ear on the guitar. He accompanied balalaika players, mandolinists and singers, including my grandmother. It is quite likely that his father — also a musician — was a klezmer, for it was quite common throughout the Ukraine and Poland for Jewish wedding musicians to be barbers as a supplementary profession to that of music (Trivaks 1923:168; Stutschewsky 1959:91; Beregovski 1987:29-30).

In 1985 I was invited to teach at the first Yiddish Folk Arts Program of the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research in New York. It was there that I first encountered the New York clarinettist Sid Beckerman (b. New York ca. 1919), son of the clarinettist Shloimke Beckerman (b. Imperial Russia 1884 - d. California 1974). In addition to playing side-by-side with Beckerman from 1985-1991, I began to learn from, perform with, and document the music of other traditional performers. Of particular importance was my relationship with the clarinettist Max Epstein (b. New York 1912 - d. Florida 2000), which developed over the course of his last ten years from one of documentation to that of collegiality. Others included: the drummer-entertainer Ben Bazyler (b. Kaluszyn, Poland 1922 - d. Los Angeles 1990), the last surviving member of the *Kalushiner Klezmurim* from a town east of Warsaw; Leopold Kozłowski of Cracow (b. Przemyslany, Poland 1923), the great-nephew of clarinettist Naftule Brandwein and last surviving European member of the Brandwein klezmer dynasty; the Yiddish folk singer Bronya Sakina (b. Golovanevsk, Podolia province, Imperial Russia 1910 - d. New York 1988); the violinist Leon Schwartz (b. 1901 Karapchiv, Austrian Bukovina - d. New York 1990); Max Epstein's brothers, the trumpeter Willie Epstein (b. New York 1919 - d. Florida 1999) and the drummer Julie Epstein (b. New York 1926); the Yiddish Theatre singer-actors Seymour Rexsite (b. Piotrkow, Congress Poland 1912) and Miriam Kressyn (b. Bialystok, Grodno province, Imperial Russia 1911 - d. New York 1996); as well as Moshe "Musa" Berlin (b. Tel Aviv 1938), the leading contemporary interpreter of the related "Meron" style of Israeli klezmer music.

My extensive personal relationship to klezmer music gives me to some extent an emic, or insider's point of view. On the other hand, the material and spiritual worlds of both the klezmer musicians whose music is under study here, as well as those of their audiences, are a thing of the past — be it in Europe or the United States — and can to a certain extent only be viewed from an etic, outsider's perspective. Timothy Rice writes: "Even so-called 'insider' ethnomusicologists, those born into the cultures they study, undergo a

productive distanciation necessary to the explanation and critical understanding of their own cultures" (1994:6). Rice, originally an outsider to the Bulgarian *gaida* (bagpipe) tradition, writes of the learning process which allowed him to eventually move "beyond both Western concepts and the few words of explanation older musicians had for their music to a much more complete understanding of the tradition I began with" (1994:72). He speaks of his new understanding as being "ultimately realized as self-understanding" (after Paul Ricoeur), resulting from an expansion of his own horizons so that a "partial fusion of horizons" between him and the Bulgarian musicians had taken place (1994:87). This self-understanding is "neither precisely emic nor etic, insider nor outsider" (1994:88). It is this *Zwischenwelt* between emic and etic that formed the framework for the present study.

# CHAPTER 1. INTRODUCTION

As the result of a revival movement which commenced in the mid-1970s, a type of music began to be known among a general audience as "klezmer", a term referring to its origins among the professional ritual instrumentalists of Yiddish-speaking Jewry in large parts of Eastern Europe. During the past several years in particular, the myriad forms of music being marketed as part of the so-called klezmer revival or renaissance have become popular enough to warrant best-selling CDs and separate klezmer sections in the "world music" bins at record stores, award-winning film documentaries, dedicated radio and television programmes, numerous articles in the mainstream print media, as well as internet discussion groups, bulletin boards and a large number of web sites.[1]

The combination of the rapid popularisation of this music with a corresponding dearth of intensive scholarly research has led to a situation in which the original tradition upon which this populistic movement is based has become so obscured that it faces the danger of becoming permanently distorted and misunderstood. The object of study in this dissertation is not the klezmer revival which has taken place during the past three decades, but rather the tradition of the klezmorim itself as it developed over the course of several centuries in Europe and North America.[2]

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1   A www.google.com search of the internet under "klezmer", for example, yielded 73,900 results on 8 July 2001.

2   As the research of Rita Ottens has shown, the current revivals in the United States, Europe and elsewhere may be attributed to a combination of factors, such as issues of cultural identity and ideology, fetishism and representation (in the Freudian usage), the Shoah, nationalism, commerce in late capitalism, and post-modernism (see Ottens' dissertation in progress: *The Place of Yiddish Music in Berlin since 1989: Issues in Cultural Identity and Ideology*, City University, London, Department of Music).

Beyond that, additional factors contributing to differences between the klezmer revival and the klezmer tradition include: repertoire and performance style, modes of transmission, performance and social contexts, the language, cultural, and religious backgrounds of the performers and audience, as well as the intent on the part of the performers and the reception on the part of the audience (Rubin 1998a:205-219; Rubin forthcoming a).

For a further discussion of the klezmer revival and differences between the revival and the klezmer tradition, see Dion (1986); Ottens and Rubin (1995b and 1995d, liner notes); Zaagsma (1996); Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1998); London (1998); Slobin (1998); Svigals (1998); Ottens and Rubin (1999a:9-13, 285-311); Slobin (2000a); Cuthbert (2001); Kaminsky (2001); Ottens and Rubin (2001).

On folk music revivals in general, see Rosenberg (1993).

## 1.1 Terminology

### 1.1.1 The origins and meaning of the Yiddish term klezmer

The Yiddish word *klezmer* (pl. *klezmorim, klezmer* or *klezmers*; Weinreich 1968:581) derives from the compound in rabbinical Hebrew of the words *kle* (vessels, instruments; sing. *kli*) and *zemer* (song), which originally meant musical instruments (Salmen 1991:15). By the sixteenth century, the term klezmer had begun to be used by Jews in Eastern Europe to signify the instrumentalists themselves rather than their instruments (Salmen 1991:15). More specifically, klezmer referred in the Yiddish-speaking world of Jewish Eastern Europe — and subsequently in immigrant communities in North America, Israel and elsewhere — to the mostly hereditary socio-economic group of professional Jewish instrumentalists who performed a ritual and entertainment function at *khasenes* (weddings) and other *simkhes* (festive occasions).[3] Until the last quarter of the eighteenth century the term klezmer to denote instrumentalist was used only among Yiddish-speaking Jews in Eastern Europe (Rivkind 1960:15). Among the Yiddish-speaking Jews in the Germanic territories known as *ashkenaz,*[4] the word klezmer still referred to musical instruments. There the Jewish ritual musicians were generally called *leytsim* or *letsonim* (sing. *leyts;* "buffoon, clown, wag, prankster; scoffer"; Weinreich 1968:564), a word deriving from ancient Hebrew, where it meant "boisterous, unbridled, unscrupulous, cheeky" (Gesenius 1962:389).[5] The term klezmer is still used in the predominantly Yiddish-speaking hasidic communities to refer to "musicians who are totally dedicated to the performance of traditional music in Hasidic social contexts, primarily in weddings and festivities" (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:127-128).[6]

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3   The notion of a "Jewish" Eastern Europe refers to the areas in which Jews lived in significant concentrations during the approximate period from the middle of the fourteenth to the early decades of the twentieth century. During most of the nineteenth century and up until the end of World War One, this area included portions of Imperial Russia (Congress Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Western Belorussia, Western Ukraine, and Bessarabia), the Austro-Hungarian Empire (Galicia, Bukovina, Máramaros, Slovakia, Subcarpathian Rus), and Romania (Moldavia). These territories corresponded to what are today portions of Poland, Ukraine, Belarus, Lithuania, Latvia, Moldova, Romania, Slovakia, and Hungary.

4   *Ashkenaz* is the Hebrew term for the geographical area encompassing the first concentrated Jewish communities along the banks of the Rhine and its tributaries, such as Mainz, Speyer and Worms, as well as the Danube. The meaning has often been extended to include the Jewish communities which developed throughout the entire German language and culture area in what is now mostly Germany, Austria and the Czech Republic (Bohemia and Moravia).

5   Walter Salmen asserts that the geographical dividing line between the use of the terms klezmer and *leyts* was the Elba River (1991:15).

6   Hasidism is a popular pietistic movement which emerged among Eastern European Jewry during the second half of the eighteenth century. Today its main centres are in Brooklyn (New York), Jerusalem and Bnei Brak near Tel-Aviv.

## 1.1.2 The term klezmer to describe a repertoire or style of music

Nowadays "klezmer music" is in common use to describe the music performed by klezmorim. This is, however, a recent development. There is no evidence that the klezmorim themselves used this term to describe their music, nor do they seem to have had another standardised name for it. The English-language term repeatedly used by the author's informants was "Jewish music" or, simply, "music": "Years ago they didn't ... say klezmer music. If you played a wedding or *bar mitzvah*, you played the music" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).[7]

It is not clear when and where the use of the term "klezmer music" to describe a repertoire and style of music originated. An article which appeared in the Yiddish-American press in the mid-1920s about Joseph Cherniavsky and his Hasidic Jazz Band already made use of the terminology "*di alte yidishe klezmer muzik*" (old Jewish klezmer music) and "*di alte klezmer muzik*" without any additional explanation, as if it were already self-evident to the readers (*Yoysef Tshernyavski...* n.d.).

The use of "klezmer music" by the scholarly community can, however, be found no earlier than in the works of Soviet-Jewish ethnomusicologist Moyshe Beregovski (1892-1961), the first major researcher in this field. The Russian-Chuvash musicologist Ivan Lipaev (1865-1942), who wrote the first article on Jewish klezmer ensembles, used neither the term klezmer nor did he attempt to characterise their music as klezmer music, referring only to the Jewish orchestras ("*evreiskie orkestry*"), or to an individual musician as a "*muzikant*" (1904:102, 206). Nikolai Fyodorovich Findeisen (1868-1928) referred to the musicians as klezmorim but did not name their music (1926:39). In 1932 Beregovski wrote of "*klezmerishe shafungen*" (klezmer creations; 1932:134); in 1935 he referred to a non-Jewish fiddler as having learnt the "*klezmerishe shpil-manirn*" (klezmer manner of playing; 1935:98); and, in 1937 he used the phrases "*yidishe instrumentale (klezmerishe) folks-muzik*" (Jewish instrumental [klezmer] folk music), "*klezmerishe kunst*" (klezmer art), and "*klezmerishe muzik*" (klezmer music) (1937:3-4). By 1971, "klezmer music" was used in the English-language *Encyclopaedia Judaica* (Avenary 1970-1971a: 632).

The use of klezmer to describe a type of music first became popularised among the general public during the mid-1970s when it was employed by some of the early protagonists of the klezmer revival in both Israel and, especially, the United States. From today's perspective, a klezmer is seen as

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7    It has been argued that the term klezmer music is anachronistic for the period under study, since it was not used by the musicians themselves. It is not the aim of this author to invent a new term for the music. Jeffrey Wollock lists some of the contemporary Yiddish terms used to describe klezmer music. He does not, however, specify whether these terms were current in Eastern Europe, the United States, or both, or whether they were actually used by the musicians, either (1997:50).

somebody who *plays* "klezmer music", rather than "klezmer music" being regarded as the music played *by* a klezmer, a member of a specific professional group.

### 1.1.3 On arriving at a working definition of klezmer music

Today there is still no consensus as to what the term "klezmer music" exactly represents. Clarinettist Max Epstein would assert:

> There's no such thing as klezmer music. A klezmer is a musician. It made no difference whether he played in the opera or in a symphony, or he played a Polish wedding. ... If you want to analyse it, klezmer music is any kind of music. What does the word klezmer mean? ... So if you're a klezmer, if you're a musician, you play anything! ... Klezmer music can take in Hungarian music, Polish music, Romanian music; takes in all of that! ... The types of music that we played was considered klezmer music, 'cause it wasn't American music. Anything Jewish was klezmer music. Jewish theater? Klezmer music! (M. Epstein 1991, interview; M. Epstein in M. and W. Epstein 1994, interview).

This lack of consensus was borne out by two recent academic gatherings on the subject: the 'Klezmer Research Conference' at Wesleyan University in October 1996,[8] and the two-day round table session 'Towards a Typology of Klezmer Music', held at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem in July 1997.[9] At both symposia, which were attended by scholars and performers from the USA, Israel and Europe, considerable time was expended on attempting to define klezmer music, but without arriving at any precise conclusions. This need to define klezmer — and the apparent inability to do so — seems to stem from the facts that the study of klezmer is a relatively new discipline, as well as because of the various ideological and national differences in viewpoints between the participants. This is not unlike the continuing debate on defining ethnomusicology as a field, as described by Bruno Nettl: "There clearly is such a thing as ethnomusicology. But just as I find myself unable to give a single, simple definition, confident that most people in my field would subscribe to it, the literature of the field abounds in them" (1983:2). In fact, at the Wesleyan conference, folklorist Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggested the participants drop the discussion on defining terminology altogether and rather look at the tradition of the klezmorim itself and how it functions.

In order to develop a more precise definition of klezmer music for the purposes of this study, it is necessary to look more closely at the word klezmer

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8     Some of the papers from the Wesleyan conference organised by Mark Slobin and Hankus Netsky have been published in Baumgarten (1998).

9     The session was chaired by Simha Arom and took place within the framework of the symposium 'The Jewish Music Collections from Russia and Ukraine: The Retrieval of Lost Treasures' organised by Israel Adler and Edwin Seroussi of the Jewish Music Research Centre as part of the 'Twelfth World Congress of Jewish Studies'.

itself and its various meanings. In her study of Macedonian *čalgija* music, Sonia Tamar Seeman has written:

> ... čalgija can be narrowly defined as comprised of these elements: an urban-based professional ensemble of instruments of Ottoman origins; as playing a set vocal and instrumental repertoire; as performing in an Ottoman-derived style based on the mekam system, yet emphasizing innovation and improvisation. Čalgija is thus an ensemble, a repertoire and a style (1990a:17-18).

In a similar fashion, klezmer may be viewed as comprising five elements, the first two of which are of a socio-religious and the last three of a musical nature (parallel to Seeman's definition): (1) a mostly heriditary socio-economic group, with its attendant guild-like structures and lifestyle; (2) performing a specific ritual function within the Eastern Europen Jewish life and calendrical cycles; (3) an urban-based ensemble performing on mostly Western orchestral instruments; (4) a body of instrumental repertoire associated with that ensemble; and (5) a musical performance style associated with that ensemble, characterised by its own unique set of expressive devices, including various techniques of ornamentation and performance practice. At the confluence of these five factors is klezmer music in the strictest sense. In a more general sense klezmer can be seen to have different or compound meanings, depending on the context.

A further stumbling block in defining klezmer music is the exceptionally wide spectrum of repertoire demanded of the musicians. Like the modern Bulgarian Rom (Gypsy) wedding musicians, who service a diverse clientele, the klezmorim in Eastern Europe had to perform for disparate groups, a result of their not being able to make an adequate living playing for Jewish weddings and festivities alone. The repertoire of the Rom musicians is "dictated by their patrons, the hosts and guests" and must include not only the typical regional Bulgarian folk music styles, but also the "folk music of other ethnic groups in the country such as Gypsies and Turks, and popular and folk music heard on the radio from Serbia, Macedonia, Greece, Romania, and Turkey" (Rice 1994:243). In a similar manner, Eastern European klezmorim had to perform not only for Jews, but also for the *pritsim* (the mostly Polish landowners), as well as for peasants of a number of ethnic groups, such as Ukrainians, Lithuanians, Poles, Belorussians, Romanians, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians and Germans, depending upon the geographical location. Within the Jewish context, the klezmorim not only had to know music for all of the various rituals and ceremonies associated with the traditional wedding, which would last for an entire week (Weissenberg 1905; Rivkind 1960:18-27), they also had to have repertoire which was appropriate for other Jewish events, such as the holy days *purim, sukkoth, simchat torah,* and *chanukkah,* for dedications of new Torah scrolls and for the various Hasidic courts. In the United States, the customs associated with the traditional Eastern European Jewish wedding ceremony lost currency as a result of the forces of acculturation and assimilation, and the entire ritual was reduced in most cases to several hours. At the same time, the musicians were met with new repertorial challenges. The repertoire of the

traditional wedding was gradually augmented with the music of the (mostly American) Yiddish theatre and Yiddish-language radio, as well as ragtime, vaudeville blues, early jazz and other forms of American vernacular music. Especially in New York, new performance contexts required knowledge of the music of neighbouring ethnic groups, such as Greeks, Rom (Gypsies) and Italians. Thus, klezmorim always had to be in command of not one, but a number of musical repertoires and styles in order to satisfy their various performance contexts.

Klezmer music had its social and functional origins in twelfth century *ashkenaz*. An early form of klezmer music was likely brought to Eastern Europe by Jewish refugees from *ashkenaz* fleeing persecution and seeking new economic possibilities beginning around the mid-fourteenth century. There, the musical repertoire and style today known as klezmer developed over the course of many centuries. Brought with the Jewish immigration wave from Russia and other Eastern European countries during the period 1881-1924, a modern klezmer tradition developed in the urban centres of North America, particularly in New York City. In the United States the music was still dominated by European-born members of klezmer families and continued to maintain its basis as an Eastern European Jewish form of expression, at the same time taking on American attributes.

What exactly *is* klezmer music, is a central question to this thesis. The very eclecticism of the klezmorim, together with the large geographic spread and centuries-long development of their music, begs the question: is it possible to actually speak of *a* klezmer music? In its broadest sense, klezmer music could be considered to be *all* music performed by the klezmorim over the course of many centuries, regardless of musical content or performance context. This would be roughly equivalent to viewing all Western art music in its various stages (Medieval, Renaissance, Baroque, Classical, Romantic and so forth) as consisting of one category, "classical music". In a narrower sense, klezmer music could be seen as the music performed by the klezmorim *as* klezmorim — that is, in fulfilling their traditional function within the Eastern European Jewish wedding ritual and other festive occasions. Yet the klezmorim played many pieces, even within the Jewish context, which they shared with or borrowed from neighboring ethnic groups, and even from Western art music. Still more specifically, klezmer music could be seen as comprising that subset of repertoire performed by the klezmorim in their function as klezmorim, which was *unique* to them. This would include those pieces not shared with co-territorial groups which possesed their own, identifiable stylistic elements, as well as those which may have been shared with other, neighbouring ethnic groups, but which the klezmorim had significantly transformed into their own style; in other words, they had "klezmerised" them.

It is these latter two groups of klezmer repertoire which shall be scrutinised in this dissertation. In so doing, light shall be shed on the following basic questions and issues:

- Is there a music which can rightly be termed to be klezmer, as opposed to being simply a collection of borrowings from or sharings with other cultures?

- If so, what is it that made this music sound different from that of other musical traditions?

- Can the syntactic elements of the musical pieces and the stylistic elements of their performance practice be isolated, described, quantified and categorised?

## 1.2 The basis of this dissertation

Rather than attempting to view klezmer music as a monolithic tradition, a cross-section of the music at a particular point in time shall be put "under the microscope". Deriving data from a limited pool of performers over a relatively short time period within a restricted geographical area shall provide a controlled means of looking in detail at the kind of music-making which went on among klezmorim at that time, how it functioned and what made it unique. For this purpose, the commercial solo recordings of two clarinettists, Naftule Brandwein (1884-1963) and Dave Tarras (1895-1989),[10] made in New York between 1922-1929, shall be focused on as case studies.[11] A detailed comparative analysis of the melodic playing of these two musicians within the ensemble context shall be performed, based on a representative sample of performances. Brandwein and Tarras have been chosen for this purpose primarily because of the relatively large body of solo recordings they made during that period, rendering an empirical study of syntax and performance style possible. Additional factors influencing this decision included: that a clear link could be established to their klezmer heritage and training in Eastern Europe; the leading role both played within the New York immigrant musical community; and, finally, the fact that it is exactly *their* music, more than that from any other source, which has been canonised by the klezmer revival movement since the 1970s.[12]

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10 Whenever possible, birth and death dates of musicians have been verified with the U.S. Social Security Death Register (www.rootsweb.com). The author thanks Paul Gifford for this reference.

11 Commercial klezmer discs made in Europe and the United States from approximately 1908-1948 represent the only body of recordings of klezmer ensembles made by European-born musicians at the time that the tradition was still an ongoing one. Thus, the historical recordings really become a corpus of "field recordings", allowing insights into the musical world of the klezmorim which would otherwise not have been possible.

Limiting the geographical scope and time frame of the present work makes it a focused study of a subset of New York klezmer music. The author makes no claim to extrapolate from this a normative American klezmer music. While New York contained the largest concentration of Jewish wedding musicians and was the centre of the recording industry which produced the discs under analysis here, there were significant Jewish populations in cities such as Philadelphia, Chicago, Boston, St. Louis, Cleveland and Baltimore (Diner 2000:38), each of which had its own Jewish wedding musicians. The first regional study of American klezmer music outside of New York is Hankus Netsky's dissertation in progress at Wesleyan University, which investigates the history of klezmer music in Philadelphia. Some preliminary comments on the regional differences between klezmer music in New York and Philadelphia are to be found in Slobin (2000a.)

12 Slobin refers to the "Tarras-Brandwein canon" (2000a:130).

## 1.3 The methodological approach

In Eastern Europe, what remained of the klezmer tradition was decimated during the Shoah and by the Stalinist anti-Jewish campaigns in its aftermath. After having flourished for several decades, klezmer music in New York declined rapidly following the foundation of the State of Israel in 1948 and the subsequent shift in orientation of the American Jewish community towards the nascent Hebrew-Israeli culture. At the time the current klezmer revival began, klezmer music was rarely performed and the death of Dave Tarras in 1989 marked the passing of the last of the European-born clarinettists to have been active in New York.

Because the tradition of the klezmorim, as it developed in Europe and was brought to America, was no longer an ongoing one at the time this study was undertaken, it was necessary to adopt an interdisciplinary research method, combining aspects not only of ethnomusicology and historical musicology, but of Judaic studies, comparative religion and literature, history, sociology and cultural studies as well. In order to put the music in its historical and social context (chapters 3-5), it was necessary to take a diachronic approach, applying a critical reading to the available secondary scholarly sources as well as those from the memoir and fictional literature.

Although Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras had both passed away, their music and the culture it represented still existed in the memory of the author's informants. It was therefore possible to supplement the historical approach with an ethnographic component, consisting of interviews carried out from 1990 to 2000 with musicians born between 1911 and 1940. These represent the next younger generations following those of Brandwein and Tarras. The experiences and memories of these mostly Amercan-born musicians enhance the picture of this tradition which would otherwise be based solely on historical materials. In particular, two of the author's informants had begun their musical careers in the early to mid-1920s and knew Brandwein, Tarras and the klezmer milieu of the 1920s intimately: Max Epstein and the drummer-entertainer Max Goldberg (1911-2001). In addition, it was possible to carry out interviews with surviving relatives of Naftule Brandwein on three continents.

A number of ethnomusicological studies in recent years have made extensive use of ethnographic interviews. In their studies of jazz improvisation, Paul Beriner (1994:5-9) and, in particular, Ingrid Monson (1996:11-25) deal with the myriad of issues involved in designing, carrying out and transcribing such interviews. The primary difference between the interviews for the present study and theirs is that the events which the informants were asked to recall took place forty to sixty-five years in the past, whereas Berliner's and Monson's improvisers were responding primarily to questions about their present activities and attitudes.[13] When possible, the interviews were carried out in the

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13   Hareven (1978) deals with issues of oral history and generational memory, those "...

informants' homes and were anywhere from forty-five minutes to three hours in length. In a few early interviews, the author attempted to follow a set questionnaire based upon those published by An-ski (1914:141-142) and Beregovski (1937). It became clear that it was not practicable in a live interview situation to adhere to the questionnaire for both reasons of time (see Berliner 1994:6) and due to the disparate experiences of the various informants. Some of the informants were interviewed several times, both live and in taped follow-up conversations on the telephone. The excerpted interview transcriptions included here have been edited slightly to remove asides and redundancies. Missing words or incomplete sentences have been filled out with bracketed words.

The musicological analysis carried out in chapters 6-8 is "synchronic" (albeit in the past) in the sense that it is not attempting to locate a normative klezmer style over a long period of time. It rather looks at a short time period during which — at least based upon the recordings themselves — there was evidenced a fairly stable musical "language" at work. This is consistent with structuralism, which takes a "functional view of language in its 'wholeness'" at a particular point in time (Flender 1992:6). The recordings of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras show many stylistic similarities which point to a generic klezmer clarinet style during the era in which they were recording. Both musicians lived and worked within the same competitive atmosphere of the Yiddish-speaking immigrant communities of New York City and its environs, although they had grown up and apprenticed in different parts of Eastern Europe — Brandwein in Eastern Galicia southeast of Lemberg (L'viv) and Tarras in Podolia southwest of Uman', some 400 kilometres to the East.[14]

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Due to the fragmentary nature of the historical evidence relating to klezmer musicians and their music (see the discussion in chapter 2), this research can be likened to putting together a complex jigsaw puzzle. By piecing this puzzle together, a picture shall emerge of klezmer music as it was performed in New York during the early years of the twentieth century. It is hoped that this study shall make a valuable contribution not only to the study of Eastern European Jewish music, but to that of Euro-American urban ethnomusicology and popular music studies as a whole.

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memories which individuals have of their own families' history, as well as more general collective memories about the past" (1978:137). The author wishes to thank Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett for pointing out this reference.

14    During the years that Brandwein and Tarras were living in Europe, Eastern Galicia was a part of Austro-Hungary and Podolia a part of Imperial Russia. Both areas had belonged to Poland prior to its partitioning in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, and both are now a part of Ukraine.

Beyond that, what Benjamin Harshav has written about the study of the Yiddish language could be easily modified to apply to the study of klezmer music. It is "a treasure trove for the study of language [music] and culture in general: cultural interaction, semiotics of cultural history, and languages [musics] in contact. And, above all, it is interesting for its own sake, for its own ... idiosyncrasies" (1990:xv).

# CHAPTER 2. THE STATE OF KLEZMER RESEARCH

Despite the focus by the popular media on klezmer music during the past three decades,[1] surprisingly little of a scholarly nature has been written about the klezmer tradition, particularly from an ethnomusicological perspective. The situation seems to be rapidly changing, however. Since this dissertation was begun in 1995, Hankus Netsky began his dissertation work at Wesleyan University on klezmer music in Philadelphia, and Rita Ottens began her dissertation at City University in London, *The Function of Yiddish Music in Germany since 1989: Issues in Cultural Identity and Ideology*. In addition, several master's or diploma theses on various aspects of klezmer music and culture have been completed in recent years, including Gerben Zaagsma's *"Music to match the badchn songs" De rol van klezmer en klezmorim in de joodse cultuur in Europa en de Verenigde Staten* (The role of Klezmer and Klezmorim in the Jewish Culture of Europe and the United States, 1996). A number of undergraduate term papers and theses have been written as well, most notably James Loeffler's *A Gilgul fun a Nigun: Jewish Musicians in New York 1881-1945* (1997a). The organisation of the recent klezmer symposia at Wesleyan University and the Twelfth World Congress for Jewish Studies in Jerusalem, as well as the several papers on klezmer music delivered at the International Conferences on Jewish Music in London (City University, 1994 and 1997; SOAS 2000) serve as additional indications that the scholarly community is finally turning its attention to this neglected subject.[2]

## 2.1 The place of klezmer music within the (ethno)musicology of Eastern European Jewish musical traditions

Prior to World War Two, only one scholar had pursued extensive research on klezmer music: Moyshe Beregovski. As he wrote in 1937, "There is, however, one area of Yiddish folk art which has not even barely been touched, not by the researcher and not by the collector. That is Jewish instrumental (klezmer) folk music" (1937:3). Why this is has to do with several factors. These include the relatively late blossoming of research in Eastern European Jewish folklore and musicology in general, as well as the low standing awarded klezmorim and their music within the framework of Jewish society. An

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1     Examples of the popular treatment of klezmer music include A.L. Goldman (1978, newspaper article), Davis (1983, newspaper article), M. Goldman (1987, documentary film), Broughton 1992 (television documentary) and Rogovoy (2000).

2     The first session devoted to klezmer music at an international conference was chaired by Joachim Braun and Walter Salmen at the Thirtieth World Conference of the International Council for Traditional Music in Schladming, Austria in July 1989 (Braun 2000:2). Braun also organised several annual one-day klezmer seminars during the early 1990s at the Musicology Department of Bar-Ilan University in Ramat Gan, Israel, the last one taking place in 1993 (J. Braun 1993, personal communication).

additional determinant was the destruction of many of the traditional Eastern European Jewish communities, first through the ravages of World War One, and then as a result of the pogroms during the Russian Civil War 1918-1921, in which hundreds of thousands of Jews in the Ukraine and Belorussia were left homeless and approximately 150,000 were killed, or died of wounds or illness. The old social and economic relationships were ruined forever (Gitelman 1988:96-108, Levin 1988:121). In the aftermath of the October Revolution the political climate was not conducive to the study of Jewish topics. The Bolshevik stance, as formulated by Lenin, held that "The idea of a distinct Jewish people is scientifically untenable, from a political point of view — reactionary" (quoted in Braun 1974:408). This led to campaigns against Zionism, the Hebrew language and the Jewish religion during the 1920s under the direction of the *Evsektsiia*, the Jewish sections of the Communist Party (Gitelman 1988:111-121). Those aspects of Jewish life which were tied to the religion and the carrying out of religious life — as klezmorim were — were strongly discouraged and effectively driven underground, if not eradicated completely. During the brief period of the "flowering of nationality cultures" from the mid-1920s until approximately 1932 when the government attempted to Sovietise the minority populations by actively supporting their languages and cultures, Yiddish language and culture received the official support of the Communist Party. This resulted in the "creation of Yiddish schools, soviets, newspapers, journals, courts, and theaters", as well as scholarly research institutes (Levin 1988:279).[3] After 1932, there was limited government support for Yiddish language and culture continuing up until the Stalinist anti-Jewish purges beginning in 1948. As a result of the social upheavals in the early years of the Soviet Union, there was a mass migration from the Jewish towns in the former Pale of Settlement, particularly by younger Jews.[4] Beginning in the mid-1920s, a large number of

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3    Regarding Yiddish folklore scholarship in the Soviet Union, see Slotnick (1976); Mlotek (1977-1978); Braun (1978); Soifer (1978).

4    The term commonly associated with the Jewish town is *shtetl* (pl. *shtetlekh*), the diminutive form of *shtot* (city). There is no standardised definition for this term, although it is generally considered to have been an Eastern European town with a large, if not majority Yiddish-speaking, Jewish population centering around a marketplace economy (see Pinchuk 1990:12-19; Soyer 1994:21 ff.).

Since the appearance of Zborowski and Herzog's *Life is With People* (1995), originally published in 1952, the term *shtetl* has become increasingly problematic. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has identified three questionable assumptions associated with the term: (1) *shtetl* was identified with Jewish community; (2) it was imagined to be isolated, self-contained and homogeneous; and (3) it was imagined to be timeless, without undergoing change or modernisation (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995:xiv). In addition, an accurate distinction was not made between *shtetl* (the town itself) and *kehile* (the autonomous Jewish community; 1995:xv). As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett points out, the *shtetl* is only one place where Jews lived, ranging from the *dorf* (village), to the *shtetl* to the *shtot*, in addition to those Jews who lived on the land (known as *yeshuvnikes* or *gut bazitsers*). The effect of a publication such as Zborowski and Herzog's, is that "In English, the meaning of shtetl ... narrows to the world of Sholom Aleichem ... an exclusively Jewish world, a vanished world." The *shtetl* becomes "a protagonist in its own right", "reified" (treated as a thing) and "anthropomorphized" (treated as a person) (1995:xviii-xix).

Jews were resettled to agricultural colonies in the border regions of the Crimea, the Ukraine, and Belorussia, as well as Birobidzhan in the Far East — part of a plan by the *Evsektsiia* to "productivize the Jewish masses" (Gitelman 1988:142). As a result of the industrialisation of the first Five Year Plan from 1928-1933 and continuing throughout the 1930s, a large number of Jews resettled to the urban centres. By 1939 almost forty percent of the Jewish population had left the former Pale (Gitelman 1988:142-168).[5]

In Eastern European Jewish society, klezmorim were generally held in contempt, subject to scorn and derision, in spite of their integral and unavoidable role in community life. They were seen as suspicious figures who made fun of the traditional Jewish way of life, and were viewed almost as ignoramuses, unlearned in *torah* and *talmud* (Stutschewsky 1959:63-65).[6] The klezmer's art was not recognised to be on the level of that of a *bal-melokhe* (skilled craftsman), and most of the players had to take on supplementary professions in order to augment their meagre livelihood as musicians. As a result of these prevailing attitudes, as well as their penury, the musicians formed a socio-economic group of low status within Jewish society. In addition, Yehude Elzet has pointed out that klezmorim had much contact with non-Jews and with women, both of whom were seen as threatening to the traditional patriarchal Jewish society. They were also considered to be sexually dangerous outsiders. As Isaac Leybush Peretz (1852-1915) wrote in his story *Shampanyer* (Champagne), "I guarded my daughter like the apple of my eye ... klezmorim are going around" (quoted in Elzet 1920:33). Because of their association with women at weddings and other celebrations, klezmorim could not adhere to as strict a code of conduct as would have otherwise been expected of them by

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Kirshenblatt-Gimblett advocates the use of the term the "Jewish town" in place of "*shtetl*", and this terminology has been adopted here. At the same time, she stresses:

> Notwithstanding its importance, the "Jewish town" is not the only place that Jews lived in significant numbers and created a recognizably Jewish way of life. Nor is the "Jewish town" to be confused with the shtetl, which has come to signify all that is most Jewish about East European Jewish culture (1995:xix).

The so-called Pale of Settlement was the territory within tsarist Russia in which Jews were legally authorised to live, corresponding roughly to today's Lithuania, Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova. Formed by various statutes during the period following the second and third partitions of Poland in 1793 and 1795 and with boundaries shifting as recently as 1893, the Pale was finally abolished after the February Revolution in 1917 (Ben-Sasson 1992:925-927).

5    For a general account of the events in the Soviet Union during this period, see Gitelman (1988:108-142); Levin (1988, volume 1, chapters 4-5, 8-9, 12 and 14).

6    The study of *torah* (Hebr.) and *talmud* (Hebr.) forms the foundation of the Jewish religion. *Torah* — also known as the Written Law — generally refers to the Five Books of Moses but is also used to refer to the entire Bible or even to the entire body of traditional Jewish laws. The *talmud* — also known as the Oral Law — is a set of books written by a series of rabbinic scholars over the course of several centuries. The *talmud* incorporates both the *mishna* (Hebr.), the codification of the Oral Law completed in the second century, and the *gemara* (Hebr.), which consists of the discussions and commentaries to the *mishna* by later generations of scholars (Helmreich 1982:2-3; Maier and Schäfer 1981:115, 213-215, 288-293, 301-302).

traditional Eastern European Jewish society (1920:33). The disdain for klezmorim was transferred to the Jewish communal structures in America. "Through their professional associations and business activities, the theater conductors, composers, and music publishers of Yiddish New York systematically barred *klezmorim* from their ranks" (Loeffler 1997a:36). A "Jewish music nationalism" arose, the diverse strands of which included the rise of an American-Yiddish theatre élite, the growth of both Zionist and Yiddishist workers' choruses, and the emergence of a Jewish national school of art music fostered in the St. Petersburg music conservatory (Loeffler 1997a:37). In addition, the so-called "*shtetl* myth" came into being in which "there could be no outside contaminating influences of the modern world such as published sheet music, recordings, or any other commercial musical influences" (Loeffler 1997a:38). Klezmorim were "judged not to be true folk musicians but commercial dance musicians":

> ... [Their] connections with Gypsies and other non-Jewish musical sources and their commercialism and knowledge of popular and quasi-popular musical materials disqualified them in the eyes of the Jewish musical nationalists. The professional dimension in the *klezmorim's* musical knowledge and performance style also invalidated them (Loeffler 1997a:38).

Jewish folklore as a field of study was first founded around 1896-1898 by Dr. Max Grünwald of Hamburg (Noy 1980:3), more than a century after the study of folk song in general had been founded by Johann Gottfried Herder in 1778 (Bohlman 1988:6-7). Given this and the low social status afforded klezmorim, it is not surprising that their music was not deemed worthy of serious scholarly study until recently.[7] The (ethno)musicology of Jewish musical traditions is generally considered to have been founded by Abraham Zevi Idelsohn (1882-1938). Idelsohn's ten-volume *Thesaurus of Hebrew Melodies*, the largest undertaking of its kind to date, contains three volumes of Eastern European music (all originally published in 1932). However, the only genres included within them were synagogue song (volume 8), secular folk song (volume 9) and hasidic song (volume 10) (1973a-c) — and *not* instrumental klezmer music. In his book *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development* (first published in 1929) Idelsohn did dedicate part of one chapter to klezmorim (1992:455-60). Here, he concentrates almost exclusively on historical accounts of Jewish instrumentalists in Germany, Bohemia, Poland, Belorussia and Hungary from the Middle Ages through the first half of the nineteenth century, mentioning only in passing that: "in Eastern Europe the *klezmorim* continued as a guild until lately" (458).[8] Idelsohn's condescending attitude towards the

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7    Victor Greene has pointed out the low status of the study of ethnic music in America in general: "Neither classical nor 'popular' in the general sense, ethnic music seemed to be absent from the standard surveys of American music, a surprising circumstance in view of the fact that many people enjoyed listening and dancing to this music" in the urban ethnic centres (1992:viii).

8    The Jewish Middle Ages in Europe are considered to have lasted from 1000-1600. Northern European Jewish society "retained its medieval aspect through the sixteenth century, and considerably later in some places" (Trachtenberg 1939:viii; see also 315).

musicians begins with the first sentence, in which he depicts the term klezmer as a "corruption" of the Hebrew compound (455), and continues through to the last sentence of the chapter, in which he portrays the klezmorim as only the "forerunners of the host of musicians of Jewish extraction ... who, from the beginning of the nineteenth century on, contributed enormously toward the upbuilding of European art-music" (460). In a work which otherwise abounds with musical examples — thirty-five tables of up to ten pages in length each — Idelsohn (1992) did not include a single example of instrumental klezmer repertoire.

Although he did not deal directly with the analysis of klezmer music, Idelsohn was the first musicologist to have attempted to categorise or analyse systematically secular Yiddish song based upon its musical qualities (rather than its textual content). He concentrated particularly on the scalar basis of the pieces, and also made the first efforts to catalogue their basic figures ("motives", 1973b:ix) in his introduction to *The Folk Song of the East European Jews* (1973b:xii-xxviii; see also 1932, 1933 and 1939; Bayer and Schleifer 1986). Unfortunately, Idelsohn's figural charts do not refer back to specific pieces contained within the collection, so that their original melodic context cannnot be traced.

Idelsohn's tendency to view the Jewish wedding musicians as primarily a medieval, Central European phenomenon, is also present in the writings of Albert Wolf (1908) and Paul Nettl (1923, 1927, 1931, 1957) and, later, Alfred Sendrey (1970) and Walter Salmen (1991). The extraordinary growth and development in the music of the klezmorim in Eastern Europe during the course of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries in Europe, and in the first half of the twentieth century in the United States — the only klezmer music that has actually been documented in musical notation and recordings — is completely ignored by these writers, with the exception of Salmen, who devotes three pages to a discussion of European klezmer music after the mid-nineteenth century, American klezmer music and the klezmer revival (1991:46-48; see Rubin 1993-1994).

In his overview of the historiography of Jewish musical traditions, Eric Werner (1901-1988) makes no mention of klezmer music research at all and he completely fails to acknowledge the contributions of Beregovski (1976). In reference to the folklorists and composers of the St. Petersburg *Gezelshaft far yidisher folks-muzik* (Society for Jewish Folk Music), Werner states:

> This group ... was chiefly interested in Yiddish secular folklore, and studiously neglected the Hebrew-religious elements. Consequently, its concern with the mainstream of Jewish Music was scanty and superficial (1976:14).

Werner's attitude seems to embody that of the Jewish musical establishment of his day, that the true Jewish music is sacred music whereas secular music, particularly Yiddish, is of secondary interest. Jewish musical traditions were viewed from a national perspective by researchers in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This attitude, which was influenced both by general

ideas on nationalism, such as those of Herder, as well as the rise of Zionism at the end of the nineteenth century (Zaagsma 1996:9, 17-18), continued into the 1970s. In the *Proceedings of the World Congress on Jewish Music Jerusalem 1978*, for example, only one paper was published on any aspect of Yiddish music, Mark Slobin's '"Looking" at Yiddish Song: Iconography of Jewish-American Sheet Music' (Slobin 1982a).[9]

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9   Bret Werb noted a similar phenomenon regarding the music of the American-Yiddish theatre when he embarked on his research of the music of Joseph Rumshinsky (1879-1956). He attributed this to a "lack of historical perspective", a "bias toward liturgical music" as well as "linguistic attrition" relating to the decline of the Yiddish language (1987:10).

## 2.2 The state of published klezmer research

The following literature review is based upon a survey of Sendrey (1951), *Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (1958), the *RILM Abstracts of Music Literature* (1967-2001), Weisser (1969), *Encyclopedia Judaica* (1971-1972), Werner (1976a), the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (1980, 2001), Heskes (1985), Adler (1995a), Bohlman (2000) and Slobin (2001), among others.

### 2.2.1 Pre-war studies

The first article about klezmorim and their music was written by Lipaev (1904), who laid out many of the themes which would be later taken up in greater detail by Beregovski. These included the role and significance of the klezmer *kapelye* in Jewish society in pre-revolutionary Russia,[10] the organisation of the *kapelye* and its guild-like structures, how the musicians were trained, the economic relationships within the *kapelye*, the expressive elements of klezmer performance style, the "Judaising" transformation into klezmer style of pieces of non-Jewish origin and the creations of the nineteenth violin virtuosi, in particular Pedotser (Arn-Moyshe Kholodenko, 1828-1902).

Beregovski was the only scholar to have attained the equivalent of a PhD for research on klezmer music, being awarded the academic status of *Kandidat* of Artistic Sciences from the Moscow State Conservatory in January 1944 (Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:144).[11] He did not write a separate dissertation on klezmer music, but rather received the degree based upon his submission of the text from volume 3 of the planned five-volume anthology *Evreiski Muzykal'nyi Fol'klor* (Jewish Musical Folklore). This work, first published posthumously (Beregovski 1987), was completed in 1938 and comprised around fifty pages of text and annotations, with transcriptions of 271 musical pieces (Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:144).[12] Beregovski published two writings on klezmer music during his lifetime: the short monograph *Yidishe instrumentale folks-musik* (Jewish Instrumental Folk Music, 1937), a call for the collection of raw data on klezmorim and their music; and the article *Yidishe klezmer, zeyer shafn un shteyger* (Jewish Klezmorim, Their Creations and Lifestyle, 1941), which contained most of the same information as in the text to the posthumous publication (Beregovski 1987). He also discussed some aspects of klezmer music in the articles *The Interaction of Ukrainian and Jewish Folk Music* (1935 in Slobin 2000b:526-27), *The Altered Dorian Scale in Jewish Folk Music* (*On*

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10   *Kapelye* (pl. *kapelyes*): band.

11   *Kandidat iskustvovedcheskikh nauk* is a Soviet degree equivalent to a Western PhD.

12   For the book version, Beregovski prepared 258 musical pieces. The editor, Max Goldin, rearranged Beregovski's original text and further reduced the number of musical examples to 239 (Beregovski 1987:5). An English edition based on Beregovski's original manuscript has been edited by Mark Slobin, Robert Rothstein and Michael Alpert (2001). This publication came out just as the present study was going to print and all quotes are from an unpublished translation of the 1987 Russian edition.

*the Question of the Semantic Characteristics of Scales; 1946* in Slobin 2000b:558-560),[13] as well as the anthology *Jewish Folk Songs* (1962 in Slobin 2000b:301-302). Beregovski's work on the music of the *purimshpiln* (volume 5 of *Jewish Musical Folklore*), the Yiddish folk plays for the holy day *purim* which were traditionally accompanied by klezmorim, remains unpublished.[14]

Beregovski's work is distinguished by its attention to detail, particularly regarding information about informants. He took care to note their age and occupation, the location, date, and circumstances under which they were recorded, as well as the original key and metronome markings. He also was a strong proponent of using mechanical recording equipment in the field (Slotnick 1976:8). Despite this adherence to detail in the field, Beregovski did however tend to rely substantially on his informants for his notated musical source materials. For example, of the 271 notated pieces submitted with his *kandidat* thesis, only eighty-two had been transcribed by Beregovski and his assistant from cylinders (Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:144).[15] Of the remaining 184 pieces, fourteen were transcribed by Beregovski from informants directly by ear, and the other 170 pieces stemmed from a variety of notated sources, primarily manuscripts of anonymous musicians and of Beregovski's own informants (Beregovski 1987:5-6). He justified the use of these materials, because "Many of the klezmers had a very good knowledge of musical notation and they could always be relied upon" (in Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:157).

Of most relevance to the present study, what Beregovski did *not* do in any of his writings was to undertake a detailed analysis of the musical elements in the repertoire and performance practice of the klezmorim. His musical analyses were limited to short descriptions of the repertoire types, their overall ("*skheme*") and phrase ("*period*"/"*fal*") structures (1941:435-441), modes ("*gustn*") (1941:443-445), and what he termed "half cadences" (*polykadansi*) and "final cadences" (*zakliutshitelnie kadansi*) (1987:42-43).[16] Beregovski also wrote about some elements of the klezmer performance style ("Typical features of klezmer performance", 1941:446-447), but he did not use any musical examples to illustrate his points. Beregovski's transcriptions do not contain a high level of detail in comparison to that present on the available commercial klezmer

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13   This article was published in a Russian anthology in 1973.

14   A Russian edition of volume 5 is plannned for publication in 2001 in Kiev (L. Sholokhova-Goyzman 2000, personal commmunication).

   For a more complete discussion of the publications of Beregovski, see Slobin (1986), Braun (1987 and 1988) and Ottens and Rubin (1995a).

15   Of the eighty-two, some may have been recordings made between 1912-1914 by the Music Division of the Jewish-Ethnographic Expedition in the Name of Baron Horace Guinsbourg, the so-called "An-ski Expedition" led by the folklorist and writer Sh. An-ski (Shloyme Zaynuil Rappaport, 1863-1920), author of *The Dybbuk*.

16   The application of Western analytical termininology to klezmer music is problematic. See the discussion in chapters 6-8.

recordings from Eastern Europe from 1908-1914 and 1937.[17] While those recorded performances exhibited a large number of ornaments and improvised variations, as well as phrasing subtleties such as *tempo rubato* and agogic accents, Beregovski's published transcriptions contain few ornaments, variants and articulation markings. In addition, Beregovski was unable to include scores of ensemble playing in his works. When he began his work in 1927,

> ... Jewish weddings rarely took place ... [and] klezmer bands no longer existed — there were only a few individual klezmorim. In any case the klezmer of the 1927-1928 period was already one who played with a contemporary orchestra. It was impossible for me to get hold of even one sheet of a musical score (in Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:157).

Beregovski's work is, therefore, primarily of interest as that of a systematic collector and archivist, but his analyses are of little value from a contemporary ethnomusicological perspective.[18]

Other pre-World War Two writings on klezmorim and their music were mostly of a sociological, historical or linguistic nature. In his short article about the *tsimbl* in Jewish music (1926), Findeisen was the only pre-war scholar besides Beregovski to have actually included musical examples in his work.[19] Several articles dealt with the lives and social role of Jewish wedding musicians of the fifteenth to the early nineteenth centuries in Jewish centres in Western and Central Europe, such as Prague and Frankfurt. Among these, the primary studies were those of Albert Wolf (1908) — who wrote about travelling Jewish entertainers of all kinds, including ritual instrumentalists — and Paul Nettl (1923; 1927; 1931). The music of the *letsonim* in the German-speaking lands was not documented: their tradition had died out by the early nineteenth century as a result of the *haskalah*,[20] as well as the gradual emancipation of the Jews in Central Europe which took place during the years 1781-1869. Several scholars, most notably Nettl (1923:40-45), attempted to extrapolate what the music of the

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17    See, for example, the pre-World War I solo violin recordings of Joseph Solinski, Leon Ahl and H. Steiner as well as the 1937 recordings of M. I. Rabinovitsh. Some have been reissued in Sapoznik and Spottswood (1993), Ottens and Rubin (1995e), Schwartz (1997) and Ottens and Rubin (1999b).

18    Goldin (1987) raises similar concerns about the scientific basis of Beregovski's musical analyses.

      It is possible that Beregovski was prevented from carrying out to fruition his detailed klezmer research plan of 1937 as a result of the Shoah and the subsequent purges in the Soviet Union from 1948 until Stalin's death in 1953: "As a result of the onset of World War II, with the destruction of the communities in which he worked, and his subsequent arrest, much of his work is either incomplete or unpublished ... so we have lamentably little to go on" (Slobin 1986:259).

19    The *tsimbl* (pl. *tsimblen*) is a trapeziform hammered dulcimer popular among European Jewish musicians from the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries in Central Europe and from the seventeenth century to the twentieth century in Eastern Europe.

20    *Haskalah* is the Hebrew term for the Jewish Enlightenment originating from the philosopher Moses Mendelssohn (1729-1786) in Berlin. The *haskalah* had begun to spread to parts of Eastern Europe already by the 1780s (see Fishman 1995).

*letsonim* might have sounded like based upon existing manuscripts of German-Jewish liturgical and para-liturgical music. The works of Wolf, Nettl and their contemporaries shed light on the origins and social context of the *letsonim* tradition which, although a direct relationship beetween the two groups of musicians has not yet been established, did bear striking similarities to those of the Eastern European klezmer tradition. Alfred Landau (1913), Samuel Weissenberg (1913), Noyekh Prilutski (1918), Yehude Elzet (1920), Avrom-Yitskhok Trivaks (1923), and Leon Dushman (1928) contributed linguistic studies on the Eastern European *klezmer-loshn* (klezmer language), the secret jargon of the klezmorim. Weissenberg (1905) had also published an eyewitness report of a Jewish wedding in Southern Russia circa 1880, in which he describes in detail the rituals accompanied by the music of the klezmorim. Y. Lifshits (1930) wrote the first substantial study about *badkhonim* from the sixteenth to the early twentieth centuries, citing archive and scholarly sources, as well as those from the memoir literature and *belles lettres*. The *badkhn* was a wedding entertainer fulfilling a combination of roles, including master of ceremonies, moraliser and jester. The rhyming of the *badkhonim* was accompanied instrumentally by klezmorim.

## 2.2.2 Post-war studies

### 2.2.2.1 Israel

The first monograph on klezmorim and their music written in the post-war period is Joachim Stutschewsky's *Ha-Klezmorim* (1959). Stutschewsky had been born into a klezmer family in Romny, Ukraine and was primarily known as a cellist, music pedagogue and composer (Bayer 1971-1972c). Although not the work of a scholar, *Ha-Klezmorim* is well-researched, drawing together information from many previous publications, including the work of Beregovksi. In addition, Stutschewsky carried out original research, gathering pieces, stories, folk sayings and biographical information about East European klezmorim from a number of informants in Israel (see especially 109-146). He was also the first to write about the klezmer tradition in pre-Israel Palestine (52-55). The most important theme for Stutschewsky was what he perceived to be the quintessentially "Jewish" nature of klezmer music: "The klezmorim of Eastern Europe gave us the most Jewish music that we have got" (194). This, he saw, set klezmer music apart not only from other Eastern European instrumental folk musics but also from other genres of music within the Eastern European Jewish milieu itself. Stutschewsky's basic claim was that the music very clearly reflects a vibrant, spiritual Eastern European Jewish life displaying its own particular sensibility. According to him, it is not the individual elements to be found in the music, such as the recurrent use of the interval of the augmented 2nd, which characterises it, but rather the lyrical musical expression and its emotionality (184-185; see also Beregovski 1941:446 and 1987:32-33). Stutschewsky sees the very lack of theoretical musical

knowledge on the part of the players as allowing them to create a music which was full of fantastic and unexpected flights of musical imagination and great nuance of rhythm (187-88). The author disputes Stutschewsky's image of the klezmer as a naive folk musician without any theoretical knowledge whatsoever. The spectrum of the different types of klezmers and their musical training and abilities shall be discussed further in chapters 3 and 4. Stutschewsky pointed out the essentially monophonic nature of klezmer music and that, even in ensemble playing, use is generally not made of elements such as counterpoint, imitation and polyphony (201). Unfortunately, his musical analyses and statements about style are rather general and vague, and cannot easily be tested.

A year following the publication of *Ha-Klezmorim*, Isaac Rivkind (1895-1968) published a rebuttal to Stutschewsky in the form of the monograph *Klezmorim* (1960). Rivkind admitted he could not evaluate Stutschewsky's writings about klezmer music itself. He accused Stutschewsky in the strongest terms, however, of a lack of thoroughness in his research methodology and presentation of the sociological and historical information (1960:8-11). At the same time Rivkind added historical-ethnographic information of his own regarding the origins of the terms klezmer, *leyts* and *badkhn* (12-16), klezmorim within the context of the traditional wedding (18-27), descriptions of traditional dances (28-36), the demographics of klezmorim in Eastern Europe (36-39), iconography of klezmorim (40-44), as well as other playing contexts of the musicians outside of the wedding (45-48). The folklorist Dov Sadan (1947) contributed the first scholarly study of the flautist and xylophonist Mikhoel-Yoysef Guzikov (Michael Joseph Gusikow, 1806-1837). The composer Moshe Bik's publication of Bessarabian klezmer tunes (1964),[21] although written from the perspective of a practical musician and not a scholar, is the only collection to focus on the klezmer repertoire of a single Eastern European town. In the short, accompanying text, Bik discusses klezmers in Orgeyev from the second half of the nineteenth century until the early decades of the twentieth century and, in particular, the musical interaction between the local klezmorim and the Gypsy *lăutari*, the professional, mostly Rom musicians.

Research in the area of hasidic klezmer music in Israel has been carried out by the composer and ethnomusicologist André Hajdu and the ethnomusicologist Yaacov Mazor, both together and separately. The work of Hajdu and Mazor has shown that there are many inter-relationships between the Israeli "Meron" style (Hajdu 1971) and the Eastern European and American klezmer styles. Of particular relevance to this study is Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer's preliminary study of the related tradition of hasidic instrumental dance

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21    Bessarabia is the historical name of the area between the Prut and Dniester rivers, settled by Romanians from the province of Moldova in the fifteenth century. This area comprises most of the contemporary Republic of Moldova (former Moldavian SSR), as well as parts of Ukraine (see Feldman 1984:31).

*nigunim* (1974).[22] Making use of a sample of 250 tunes as a basis, it was the first attempt to analyse specific aspects of Ashkenazi Jewish instrumental dance tunes. The article was originally planned to be the first of a two-part study. The first part set out to define the parameters of the music and present the data for analysis in the form of skeletal transcriptions. The second part of the study — which has not been published to date — would have then analysed the data from part one making use of a computer. Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer set out to study only two main parameters which they described as "form structure" and "scalar structure and ambitus" (1974:138). They planned to analyse the formal elements at various levels of detail breaking the complete composition into "sections" (1974:140) and the sections into "components" (1974:144). Their planned analysis was to be strictly structural:

> No account was taken of those elements which are beyond the primary procedures of musical analysis, such as performance characteristics — tone colour, tempo and tempo changes, pitch, variants and graces. Nor have there been included two common "analytical" criteria, namely motivic analysis and rhythmical analysis. Their importance is beyond doubt, but this would have demanded a full and detailed description of the motivic and rhythmical elements (and the invention of new terms and new definitions to suit the material analyzed); all this before reaching the classification and statistical analysis of the primary structural elements, which is the aim of our study (1974:138).

The writings of Joachim Braun have shed light on the life and works of Beregovski (1987, 1988), the role of klezmorim and descendants of klezmer families in the development of Russian and Soviet art and popular music (1964; 1978), as well as a preliminary analysis of what he terms the "large klezmer forms" of Pedotser and other nineteenth century klezmorim (1987, 2000). The music critic and pedagogue Isaschar Fater has written biographical information on Jewish musicians in Poland including members and descendants of klezmer families (1970), as well as what he perceived to be the nature and emotional content of the compositions of klezmorim (1985). The literary studies scholar Ariela Krasny wrote her dissertaion on *badkhones* (the art of the *badkhn*) as a literary tradition in the second half of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries (1993, 1998). Israel Adler has written, together with Mila Goisman (Ludmila Sholochova-Goizman), an account of the recovered Beregovski archive in Kiev (1995b). For the Jewish Music Research Centre at the Hebrew University, James Loeffler put together a preliminary lexicon of klezmer terminology and genres (1997b). A work in progress at the time of its first printing, there is no weighting of the relative value or accuracy of the materials of the lexicon, which is based on sources ranging from scholarly articles to *belles lettres* and even liner notes to klezmer revival recordings, so that it is not very useful in its present form. Zvi Friedhaber has contributed a number of historical studies on Jewish dancing (see, for example, 1981, 1984, 1985-86), including some dances associated with klezmer repertoire.

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22 Sing. *nign* (pl. *nigunim*): "Monophonic folk music composition, vocal or instrumental, with or without text, consisting of one or more sections" (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:131).

Mark Slobin was the first American scholar to take up various themes relating to klezmer music. He has been central to the re-evaluation and popularisation of the work of Beregovski (1986, 2000b). Despite his work with Beregovski's writings, Slobin views klezmer as essentially an American-Jewish musical form (1984:34). His other writings on klezmer music have focused on interpreting the meaning of the klezmer revival (1978, 1982b, 1984, 1988, 1998 and, in partifcular, 2000a). Slobin has written on the use of the augmented 2nd interval as a cultural marker in American-Yiddish music and how its meaning may have metamorphosed in its journey from Eastern Europe to America (1976, 1980, 1982c). He was working primarily with American-Yiddish popular song, where he could compare the setting of specific texts to musical material. Determining the semantic meaning of the use of different intervals or modes in instrumental music is, however, a much more difficult task. Slobin's most recent work (2000a) is the first of his writings which contains original fieldwork among klezmer revivalists. In the only chapter relevant to the present study, 'Klezmer Style as Statement' (2000a:93-132), he examines a few key elements of syntax and performance practice, based on multiple recordings of three tunes by both European and American-born klezmorim and revivalists.[23] The analysis is from the perspective of the revivalists and looks at the process of their canonisation of klezmer repertoire and style available on 78 rpm recordings, in particular those of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras. Within the scope of this discussion, Slobin looks briefly at the syntactical elements "form" and "tonality", as well as the performance practice elements "intonation", "ornamentation", "tone color" and "affect" (2000a:97-100). He points out the revivalists' "almost obsessive interest in the little twists and turns, sighs and trills, of klezmer performance" (2000a:99). It is exactly these "twists and turns" which shall be analysed in detail in chapter 8 of the present study.

The first article to look at the origins, development and syntactic elements of a single dance genre within klezmer music is Feldmans' study of the *bulgar* (1994). He traces the American-Jewish *bulgar* to its probable roots, at least choreographically, in the Bessarabian *bulgărească*. Based on his review of diverse recorded and notated musical examples from the period 1913-1945, Feldman notes stylistic and repertorial changes in American klezmer music which he attributes to the ascendancy in popularity and consequent evolution of the *bulgar* to a quintessentially American genre. In the same article, Feldman attempts to categorise the various genres of klezmer music in general (6-10). Classification of the klezmer repertoire shall be discussed in depth in chapter 6. Feldman also discusses the impact several individuals had on the changes which took place in American klezmer music, most notably Dave Tarras (1-2, 21-26).

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23   The first of the three tunes, DT1, is discussed at length in chapters 7 and 8 of the present study.

Further American studies have covered a variety of topics relating to klezmorim and their music. Several scholars published short linguistic studies on *klezmer-loshn* and related topics, including Isaac Rivkind (1959), Mordkhe V. Bernshteyn (1959), Kh. Liberman (1960) and, recently, Robert A. Rothstein (1998). Shulamis (Lynn) Dion has written on the klezmer revival and its relationship to the previous generation of American-born klezmer musicians (1986, 1991). Jeffrey Wollock compiled discographical information about early European klezmer recordings (1997). James Loeffler has written on the decline and disappearance of klezmorim in American-Jewish society during the course of the twentieth century (1997a), drawing together secondary literature on this subject. He also researched the formation in the 1880s of a union of Jewish entertainment musicians in New York (1998). Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett has interpreted the meaning of the current American klezmer revival and placed it in the perspective of American-Jewish culture and music of the 1950s and 1960s (1998). Hankus Netsky has contributed a short overview on the development of klezmer music in the United States (1998).

Research into the traditional dances associated with klezmer music has lagged behind the study of the music.[24] The American dance ethnographer LeeEllen Friedland has written on reconstructing the choreography of the *freylekhs* as danced in the Ukraine (1981), as well as on the meaning of social dancing within Eastern European and American Jewish society (1985-1986).

## 2.2.2.3 Europe

In the lands of the former Soviet Union, Max Goldin of Riga has contributed studies regarding the interaction of Yiddish music with that of the Ukraine, Moldova, and Germany (1983; 1984; 1985; 1987; 1989). In particular, Goldin sets forth the close relationship between klezmer music and that of the Moldavian *lăutari* (1989:22-28, 32-39). In Kiev, Ludmila Sholochova-Goizman (2000) has written a dissertation on Russian folkloristics at the turn of the twentieth century, focusing on the work of Zusman Kiselgof (1876/1884-1939), one of the early collectors of Yiddish music, including of klezmer tunes. In Kishinev, Zinovij Stoljar (2000) has published a short monograph on Yiddish music in Moldavia, together with notated pieces, many of which were already published by Beregovski. The work attempts to discern specifically Jewish and non-Jewish Moldavian elements in the notated pieces, but does not set clear analytical criteria.

In Innsbruck and Freiburg, Walter Salmen has produced a book and several articles on the social history of klezmorim, *badkhonim*, *khazonim* (cantors) and

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24   As Amnon Shiloah has remarked, "unlike Jewish music, the Jewish dance has not yet been the subject of comprehensive, systematic study" (Shiloah 1992:209).

Although Beregovski collected information on dances (Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:159) and he may have written an article on the subject (Slobin 2000b:534), his work has thus far remained unpublished.

Jewish dancers, focusing particularly on Western and Central Europe (1990, 1991). Salmen, who is a specialist in the social history of wandering musicians in the Middle Ages, has expanded on the earlier research of Wolf and Nettl, drawing together information about traditional Jewish instrumentalists from archive and secondary sources.[25] Rita Ottens has written on the reception of Yiddish and klezmer music in reunited Germany (1998a, 1998b, 2001, forthcoming a and b) within the framework of her dissertation research at City University, and, together with the author, on the history of klezmer research in Eastern Europe (Ottens and Rubin 1995a), as well as a general history of klezmer music (1999a) and an introduction to Jewish musical traditions (2001). Gerben Zaagsma interpreted the significance of klezmer music and the role that klezmorim played within the Ashkenazic communities in Europe (1996),[26] drawing on existing secondary sources.

The author has published on a variety of klezmer-related topics. These include the Romanian-Jewish *doina* (1997), the decline of traditional klezmer music in post-war New York (1998a), hasidic klezmer musicians in contemporary Israel (1998b), ornamentation and variation in recorded klezmer music performances of the 1920s and the relationship of the klezmer revival to its historical paragons (forthcoming a), as well as compositional processes in American klezmer music of the 1910s and 1920s (forthcoming b).

* * *

Klezmer music in America was never studied in its heyday. In Europe, Beregovski, who also began his study after klezmer music was no longer being performed regularly, has contributed the only extensive piece of research. Until now there have been almost no detailed analyses on the musical aspects of the tradition. Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974), Feldman (1994) and Rubin (1997, forthcoming a and b) have been the only published attempts in this direction.

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25  Regarding some of the problems inherent in Salmen (1991), see Rubin (1993-1994).

26  In contemporary usage, the adjective Ashkenazic refers not only to Jews tracing their lineage directly to the German-speaking lands, but also to the Eastern European communities settled by Jews from *ashkenaz* after the 11th century — and, by extension, to all Jews in the world today with German or Eastern European heritage.

# CHAPTER 3. KLEZMORIM IN EUROPE

The focus of this chapter is on the musical culture of the klezmorim as it developed in non-acculturated, Yiddish-speaking East Central and Eastern Europe, in particular during the nineteeth century.[1]

## 3.1 Rabbinical attitudes towards instrumental music

Up until the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem in 70 C.E., the use of musical instruments had played an important role both in Temple ritual and in the secular life of the Jews (Idelsohn 1992:7-19, 21-22). As a sign of mourning for the loss of the Temple and the subsequent dispersion of the Jews throughout Asia, Africa and Europe, the rabbinate at first banned instrumental music entirely from Jewish life. Even before the destruction, secular music had been seen to have a "bad influence" which could lead to licentiousness (Idelsohn 1992:92-93). In the course of time, the bans were modified to allow instrumental music at certain festive occasions, most notably at weddings (Idelsohn 1992:97). This arose out of the recognition on the side of the rabbinate that the *mitzvah* (explicit religious duty) of making the bride and groom happy on their wedding day was of overriding importance (Sendrey 1970:346).[2] Influential rabbis of the late Middle Ages, such as the Maharil (Jacob ben Moses Moellin, 1360/1365-1427), the foremost Talmudist of his generation and the leader of the Jewish communities of Germany, Austria and Bohemia, considered the playing of instrumental music at weddings to be an absolute necessity (Wolf 1908 27[3]:89).

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1    This precludes a discussion of the Jewish instrumentalists in those areas of East Central Europe where the communities were predominantly Germanised, Magyarised or Romanian-identified. Such communities included those in the regions of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy now comprising modern Hungary, Austria and the Czech Republic, as well as Western Poland (Poznan and Pomorze) and Romania (with the exception of Moldavia). See the discussion in Mendelsohn (1983:11-23, 85-99, 131-142 and 171-178). While these Jews may have had their own indigenous instrumental musics, too little has been documented about them to draw any conclusions about the relationship they may have had to the klezmer music of Eastern Europe.

2    This *mitzvah* was "a generally recognized Jewish principle attested as early as the fourteenth century ... probably based on the custom described in the Talmud, *Berakôt* 6b and *Ketubbôt* 16b" (Mazor and Taube 1993:168).

## 3.2 Jewish instrumental music in *ashkenaz*

The existence of *Tanzhäuser* (dance houses) by the late twelfth century provides the earliest historical evidence of wedding and dance music among the Jews of *ashkenaz*.[3] The *Tanzhäuser*, which all of the larger Jewish communities erected next to their synagogues, were used mostly for dancing at weddings, the holy days *purim* and *simchat torah*, and other celebrations (Salmen 1991:88-89).[4] It is not certain who provided the music for such occasions, but it has been assumed by Abrahams (1896), Berliner (1900) and Salmen (1991), among others, that it was the *letsonim*, all-round Jewish ritual entertainers who sang, clowned and played instruments. In addition, on holy days and the Sabbath, Christian musicians were hired, as observant Jews are not allowed to play instruments on those days (Berliner 1900:121-122; see also Grözinger 1982:126). Perhaps the first evidence of an instrumental specialisation among the Jewish *letsonim* or *Spielleute* (minstrels) was the formation in 1558 of a Jewish musicians' guild in Prague, the *Prager Juden-Spielleutezunft* (Salmen 1991:13-15, 58; see also P. Nettl 1923 and 1927).

Fig. 3.1 Wedding procession with *letsonim* ensemble, Frankfurt am Main, early 18th century (Stutschewsky 1959)

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3    These were alternately known as wedding houses, bride houses or playing houses. The earliest direct evidence of a *Tanzhaus* is from Augsburg in 1290 but one was mentioned earlier in the writings of Judah he-Hasid (Judah ben Samuel of Regensburg, ca. 1150–1216/1217; Friedhaber 1981:47).

4    Like the Sabbath, full Jewish holy days prohibit the playing of musical instruments. The holy days *purim* and *chanukkah* are considered to be minor festivals from a religious standpoint and allow for music making. Both *sukkoth* and *pesach* last for eight days. The middle days of each festival are considered to be *chol ha-mo'ed* (half holy days), allowing for music as well. The participation of musicians on *simchat torah* actually refers to the evening following the end of the holy day (known as the second *hakafot*), for the day of *simchat torah* itself is a full holy day.

It is likely, but not yet proven, that the early Jewish instrumentalists in *ashkenaz* followed the same migratory patterns as the Ashkenazic communities in general. Accordingly, a form of Jewish instrumental music would have been brought from *ashkenaz* to Poland-Lithuania with the eastward migrations of the Jews. These had already begun following the First Crusade (1096) and were intensified in the aftermath of the massacres of Jews in 1348-1349 following the Great Plague.

## 3.3 Jewish instrumentalists in Eastern Europe

### 3.3.1 Life in the Jewish towns and cities

The Yiddish-speaking Jews of Eastern Europe shared a common culture and lifestyle which differed from those of their Christian neighbours. Their way of dress, dietary laws (*kashrut*), religious calendar and language set them apart. The Jews lived primarily in towns and cities where they earned their livings as artisans and petty traders, whereas the Gentiles were a mostly agricultural population and lived in villages (Soyer 1994:20). The poor living conditions and illiteracy of the Christian peasants discouraged the acculturation of the Jews to Gentile language and culture. While the non-Jews spoke languages such as Polish, Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Russian and Romanian, the mother tongue of most Jews was Yiddish:

> Neither in the Russian nor in the Austrian Empire ... did the majority [of Jews] live among speakers of the state language. Rather, they found themselves in the midst of various minorities: Poles, Ukrainians, Byelorussians, Lithuanians, Latvians, Germans, Czechs, Hungarians. This fact enhanced the preservation of Yiddish — and of Jewish cultural autonomy in general — in the densely populated Jewish small towns or city quarters (Harshav 1990:8).

The division between Jews and Christians was not only reinforced by cultural differences but by negative attitudes towards one another as well (Soyer 1994:27).

After the partitioning of Poland during the period 1772-1795, the majority of Polish Jews became subjects of Imperial Russia, whereas some came under Habsburg and Prussian control. The Jews in these three states experienced divergent political conditions throughout the nineteenth century. "Nevertheless, they continued to share much of the same culture, together with Jews in parts of Romania and some other regions of Austria-Hungary" (Soyer 1994:23-24).[5] Most of the Jews in Eastern Europe lived in small towns with a large, if not majority Jewish population.[6] The Jewish town served as a commercial link between the villages and the larger cities. The urban quality of the Jewish town was not dependent on its size, which may have been as small as a few hundred people, but rather on its function as a marketplace and centre for small-scale manufacturing. Apart from the rhythm of communal religious life, which was dominated by daily prayer and study, the Sabbath and holy days, the week revolved around the market day (Soyer 1994:26-27).

Whereas klezmer music was only played within the context of specific

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5    Steven J. Zipperstein has argued, however, that "The Pale of Settlement was by no means a homogeneous geographical, ethnic, or cultural unit, and the sharp differences within it were reflected in Jewry's far from unified cultural development" (1986:13).

6    The Jewish populace in the larger cities usually comprised a smaller percentage of the overall population than in the towns but their concentration in separate neighbourhoods created a similar Jewish character to the smaller towns (Soyer 1994:32).

events such as the wedding, music in general was deeply woven into the fabric of Jewish life in Eastern Europe. In addition to klezmer music, the only purely instrumental tradition among Eastern European Jewry,[7] there were a number of vocal traditions — sacred and secular, professional and amateur. As Israel Adler has pointed out:

> Religious musical practice, as accepted by the rabbis, was of course not confined to the liturgy proper. At banquets and rejoicings, on occasions, such as a circumcision, a marriage or the feast of Purim, music was not only admitted, but was prescribed. It was assumed that every legitimate social activity in a Jewish context must necessarily have a religious linkage of some kind (1991:3-4).

Within this framework, klezmer music may be regarded as having served a definite religious function in Europe — as it continues to do among certain orthodox, mostly Ashkenazic communities in Israel today — rather than as having been purely secular in the literal sense of taking place outside of the synagogue liturgy.[8] Both prayer and the traditional religious learning system in general were suffused with music: from as early as the age of three, young boys were sent to *kheyder* (religious primary school), where they learned first *torah* and, later, *talmud* with the aid of specific melodic formulae (Lenzon 1989:61).[9] From the synagogue to family gatherings on *shabbat* and holy days, the *purim-shpiln* and other folk dramas, festive banquets and gatherings at the hasidic *rebbe's* court, weddings and other life-cycle celebrations, the home and workplace, music and, especially, song, played an integral role.

Secular traditions comprised primarily the unaccompanied folk songs in Yiddish and other languages, such as Hebrew, Ukrainian, Polish, Belorussian and Russian. The performers (and, likely, the composers) of the folk songs were non-professional and largely female (Idelsohn 1992:391, 393). During the second half of the nineteenth century so-called songs of literary origin were created — songs in the "folk" style for which the author-composer is known. The Yiddish folksinger Mariam Nirenberg (b. Grodno province, Imperial Russia ca. 1908 - d. Toronto 1990) spoke of the pervasiveness of song during her youth in Tsharnovtshits near Brest-Litovsk:

> The town was small... If a guest visited, everyone got together. People who came to visit brought songs. When we used to go to another town, we learned

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7   Within the context of this discussion, the author is considering the instrumental music performed at hasidic weddings in Eastern Europe to have been a form of klezmer music. The boundaries between instrumental klezmer music and instrumental versions of hasidic *nigunim* are not sharply drawn (see Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer 1974; Rubin 1998b; Mazor 2000).

8   There was no clear distinction in general between sacred and secular in European Jewish life prior to the *haskalah* and the emancipation. As Idelsohn has written, "Just as to the Jew religion meant life and life religion, so to him sacred song has been folk-song, and folk-song, sacred song" (1992:358). This was even more true in hasidic society, where the centre of religious life became the home of the *rebbe* (leader of a hasidic dynasty) and no longer the synagogue (Hajdu and Mazor 1971-1972:1423-1424).

9   See also the descriptions in S. Levin (1975).

new songs and brought them back. We always sang — while we worked, while we walked, when we got together. Sabbath and holidays the family sang *zmires* [religious folksongs for *shabbat*]... at home, and special holiday songs (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett et al. 1986:3).[10]

Klezmer was one of four main categories of professional musician within traditional Eastern European Jewish life, the others being *khazn* (cantor), *meshoyrer* (synagogue choirboy; apprentice to *khazn*) and *badkhn*.[11] Whilst separate vocations, members of all four professions interacted at the traditional Jewish wedding. As Sol Liptzin has written about the nineteenth century *badkhn* and songwriter Eliakum Zunser (1836-1913) of Vilna:

> The close relationship between the early music of Zunser and that of the cantors of his generation was not at all surprising. It was, of course, a relationship of ... mutual influence. As Badchen ... he came into constant intimate contact with cantors of many communities, who also officiated at these affairs. A new tune, picked up in the course of his travels, would remain in his subconscious until, evoked by a favorable mood, it emerged in some modified form. Similarly, his own musical creations would stimulate cantors, folk singers, and *Klezmorim* (1950:186).[12]

Within the musical microcosm of Jewish Eastern Europe, "synagogue song represented the highest level of art" (Avenary 1971-1972a:652). The *khazn* and the musical art of the cantorate, known as *khazones*,[13] was of deep meaning to the community (Idelsohn 1992:194; see also Avenary 1971-1972a:628-630, Kieval 1971-1972:1544):

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10  See also the memoirist Pauline Wengeroff's descriptions (1908).

11  Bathja Bayer categorised a hierarchy within Eastern European Jewish life in which the *khazonim* and klezmorim were the professions representing the "two extremes of a continuum to which all the other musically active members of the community and their functions can be related" (Bayer 1971-1972b:678).

12  This contradicts, then, Slobin's statement that "the paths of the *klezmer* instrumentalists and the two types of sacred singers, *khazn* and *meshoyrer*, rarely crossed either in Europe or in America" (1982:16).

13  Eastern European Jewish liturgical music is a composite of various historical layers and "techniques". Joseph Levine has delineated these as psalmodic technique or prayer text recitation, biblical technique or cantillation, and modal technique or *nusekh* (style, formula) (Levine 1989:xxi; see also Werner 1976b:6-7, 13). It is in particular the *nusekh*, the cantor's ability to improvise in the liturgical prayer modes, which is associated with *khazones* (see Werner 1976b:327, Slobin 1989:256-260).

The musical role of the *khazn* was often executed by a non-professional *bal-tfile* ("master of prayer", lay cantor), particularly in smaller communities or congregations. This is still the case among contemporary Jewish communities.

In many hasidic communities,

> ... the Rebbes fought the vanity of professional cantors and personally officiated as precentors in order to try to restore the ancient simplicity and purity of the services (Vinaver 1985:32).

> The Hasidim have never been interested in the hazzan, since they rely on their spiritual leader, the *rebbe*, and tend to view the hazzan as an unwanted leftover of normative eastern European Orthodox Judaism. The Hasidic ba'al tefillah may be a very soulful singer, for the Hasidim highly value music as a direct channel to holiness, but he is not a professional or an ordained musician (Slobin 1989:128).

Only in this small, dirty and not too wealthy shtetl did I feel what a hazzan can be among Jews. There I saw for the first time, what a powerful figure the hazzan is and what place he occupies in Jewish life. Burdened Jews, who fight tooth and nail all week for a little living, collect in the shuls Sabbaths and holidays, and the hazzan is the one who helps them unburden themselves of all the weekly cares and transport themselves to a purer, higher world of spirituality... They see the hazzan as a true spokesman for their buried feelings, who evokes with his prayers their longing for a better future (Zavel Kwartin [1874-1953] about his experiences at the congregation in the small Galician town of Yaroslav, cited in Slobin 1989:16).[14]

*Khazonim* and their apprentices, the *meshoyrerim*, appeared not only in the synagogue, but in a number of other contexts as well, such as at weddings and singing prayers for the dead at cemeteries. Mikhl Gelbart (1889-1962), a Yiddish theatre composer, educator and former *meshoyrer*, described the lifestyle and additional musical activities of the *meshoyrerim*: "At the end of the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth centuries, every *khazn* in every city and town kept a full-time choir of *meshoyrerim*. The *khazn* paid them no wages". Their sole means of support consisted of singing at various events, such as weddings and circumcisions, and passing around a collection box (Gelbart 1942:7).

Besides the klezmorim, the *badkhn* was the other central performer at Eastern European Jewish weddings. *Badkhonim* belonged to a separate category of entertainer, although the two professions overlapped to some extent: *badkhonim* often played musical instruments, in addition to singing, and there were many cases of intermarriage between families of the two groups. "More of a declaimer than a singer, and frequently only a declaimer" (Lifschutz 1952:49), the *badkhn* appeared together with the klezmorim at the various rituals and festivities. His rhyming during the *kale-bazetsn* ("seating" the bride), one of the central rituals of the entire wedding cycle, was accompanied by the klezmorim, and he would introduce their various salutory instrumental pieces with short rhymes and dedications. The *badkhn* was usually not a member of the *kapelye*, although certain *badkhonim* always appeared with the same orchestra. By the late nineteenth century, many ensembles could no longer afford to share their earnings with a separate *badkhn*, and one of the members of the *kapelye* took over that function (Beregovski 1941:433). Dave Tarras'

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14    Even in many small towns there was generally a variety of synagogue types, ranging from small hasidic *shtiblekh* (small prayer house) to the *shuln* of the artisans and the larger synagogues of the middle class (Slobin 1989:18). In the second half of the 19th century, the Vienna *Ritus* of liturgical music reformer Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890), with its choral synagogues, had made inroads into the larger Jewish communities in Eastern Europe, such as Odessa, Kherson, Berdichev and Lemberg (Idelsohn 1992:306-315).

Idelsohn termed Sulzer's innovations "moderate reform" (1992:246 ff.). "A compromise that would eventually satisfy East and West evolved in the Vienna *Ritus*, an approach that merged Eastern pyrotechnics with Western dignity" (Levine 1989:21).

Levine differentiates between three basic schools or styles of Eastern European cantorial music in the 19th century: "*Chazzanut Haseider* ('formal cantorial singing') ... *Chazzanut Haregesh* ('emotional cantorial singing')" and the Vienna *Ritus* (1989:141).

father, for instance, served as *badkhn* in addition to playing trombone in the Podolian town Ternovka around the turn of the twentieth century. The *badkhn* was himself often quite learned. Tarras remembered of his father, "he knew *torah*. Even when he came among learned Jewish people, among rabbis, [when] he started to say *badkhones* ... they were sitting with open mouths" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:23-24).[15]

### 3.3.2 The emergence of the klezmer *kapelye*: a nineteenth century phenomenon

The earliest archival evidence of Jewish ritual instrumentalists in Eastern Europe is from sixteenth century Poland (Stutschewsky 1959:65; Beregovski 1987:13). By the first half of the eighteenth century, there appear to have been Jewish klezmer ensembles in almost every town and city of Poland with a Jewish population (Stutschewsky 1959:67).[16] The klezmorim in general were an urban phenomenon, and the vast majority of them lived in the Jewish towns and the Jewish quarters of cities, as opposed to in villages or on the land. Up until the second half of the nineteenth century, klezmorim were organized into close-knit guilds.[17] The musicians had their own specific way of life (*lebns-shteyger*),[18] as well as their own secret argot. *Klezmeray* (the klezmer profession), its musical repertoire and style, and *lebns-shteyger* were all passed on within families of musicians, often over the course of many generations. Both Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras belonged to such families, Brandwein in Przemyslany in Galicia and Tarras in Ternovka. Brandwein was one of twelve musician brothers who, together with their father, Pesach Brandwein, formed the Brandwein Brothers Orchestra (Fuks 1989:83; L. Kozłowski 1990 and 1991, interview); Tarras was the eldest of four brothers, all musicians (D. Tarras 1975, interview:3).

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15   See also Lifschutz (1952:49).

16   Stutschewsky (1959:66-70) gives an overview of the few available sources about pre-nineteenth cenury klezmorim in Eastern Europe. It appears that the early ensembles were similar in composition to those of *ashkenaz*, comprising primarily varying combinations of violin, string bass or half-bass and dulcimer (*Hackbrett, tsimbl*; see Salmen 1991:60-67).

17   The klezmer guilds appear to have arisen originally — as had been the case in Prague — in order to safeguard the interests of klezmorim in the face of Christian musicians' guilds, which did not allow Jewish membership (Stutschewsky 1959:66-67; Beregovski 1987:15).

18   Also known as *lebn-shteyger* or *shteyger lebn*.

Fig. 3.2 Pesach Brandwein sometime before 1923 (courtesy Leopold Kozłowski)

The ascendancy of Hasidism — which at its zenith in the first half of the nineteenth century claimed a majority of Eastern European Jewry among its followers — was to have a profound effect on the development of klezmer music during the course of two centuries. Hasidism was a reaction to rabbinic Judaism which was perceived to be elitist and out of touch with the Jewish masses. Under the initial leadership of Israel ben Eliezer (the Ba'al Shem Tov, circa 1700-1760) in Podolia, the hasidic movement was a form of orthodox Judaism aimed at the poor, uneducated and persecuted masses. Hasidism placed an emphasis on piety and stressed the importance of prayer over study, as well as mystical tenets which derived from the Lurianic kabbalists of Safed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The hasidic movement spread rapidly, establishing dynasties throughout the western provinces of the Ukraine and in Galicia, Poland, Lithuania, Romania and Hungary. Music and singing were central to Hasidism from the very beginning of the movement, because they were considered to be even more important than prayer itself in establishing a communion or cleavage (*devekut*) between man and god (Hajdu and Mazor 1971-1972:1422-1423; Hajdu and Mazor 1976:2, liner notes; Koskoff 2000:32-42, 72-84).

Many of the klezmorim, such as the Brandwein and Tarras (Tarrasiuk) families, were themselves Hasidim (C. Brandwein 1993, interview; A. Statman 1997, interview).[19] Additionally, klezmorim acted as mediators and transmittors of music not only between the various hasidic courts (Hajdu and Mazor 1971-1972:1422), but also between hasidic and non-hasidic Jews (Sadan 1947:14).

The number of klezmorim in the Pale of Settlement increased dramatically during the course of the nineteenth century.[20] Beregovski estimated that there were several thousand of them in Imperial Russia by the end of the century, with more than one thousand in the Ukrainian provinces (Beregovski 1941:422).[21] The increase appears to have been the result of a number of factors: (1) the loosening of the authoritarian power of the administrative bodies (*kahal*) of the autonomous Jewish communities (*kehiles*) after the partitioning of Poland, which had regulated all aspects of small-town Jewish life up until that time; (2) a marked increase in the number of Jews living in the towns and cities of Eastern Europe;[22] (3) increased competition due to the disproportionately high number of craftsmen in the Pale, such as tailors and cobblers (Soyer 1994:47-48), which led a large number of musically-talented Jews, who had not been born into klezmer families, to become klezmorim (Beregovski 1941:422-423, 1987:27-28); and, finally, (4) the growth in the size of the *kapelye* itself.

During the nineteenth century a general stream of migration led from the towns to smaller cities and from the smaller cities to larger ones.[23] In particular, there was a movement from the depressed northwestern provinces in Lithuania and Belorussia to the developing South, including Congress Poland, the Ukrainian province of Volhynia and "New Russia" (Soyer 1994;45, 48-49).[24] Klezmorim followed the same pattern of migration (Beregovski 1941:430), which would account for the increasing influence of Bessarabian and other southeastern European musics on klezmorim throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries theorised by Feldman (1994:7-16).

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19    The Brandwein family produced a number of hasidic *rebbes* and claims direct lineage to the Ba'al Shem Tov (C. Brandwein 1993, interview; A. Statman 1997, interview; see also Rabinowicz 1982:193, C. A. Cohen 1989:99).

20    This was likely true for klezmorim in Eastern Europe in general. Beregovski's data were limited to the Ukraine and Belorussia.

21    According to the Jewish Communal Association census of 1898, there were 5,484 Jewish musicians and musical instrument makers living in the Pale (Loeffler 1997a:14). How many of them were actually klezmorim is, however, not known.

22    The Jewish population in Russia more than quintupled during the period 1800-1897 from 1,000,000 to 5,189,000. Of these, 4,874,636, representing 94% of the total, lived within the Pale, where they made up 11.46% of the overall population (Soyer 1994:47).

23    The increase in Jewish population in the large cities during the nineteenth century was even more dramatic. Warsaw's Jewish population, for example, increased from 3,532 in 1781 to 219,141 in 1897 (Soyer 1994:48).

24    New Russia comprised the provinces of Kherson, Ekaterinoslav, Taurida and, after 1828, Bessarabia (Zipperstein 1986:13, 22).

### 3.3.3 The composition of the klezmer *kapelyes* in the nineteenth century

Prior to the second half of the nineteenth century, the klezmer *kapelyes* generally ranged from three to five instruments in varying combinations of violin, *tsimbl*, flute (*fleyt, fayfiol*), clarinet and a Turkish-style bass drum with attached cymbal, known as *poyk mit tatsn* (Beregovski 1941:425-426). Although *kapelyes* as small as three still existed in the second half of the nineteenth century, by the 1870s, the size of the typical *kapelye* had generally increased, especially in the larger towns. Ensembles of from seven to twelve men were common and they could reach a size of twenty, such as Fleitman's *kapelye* in Proskurov, Ukraine (Logan 1949:39). These larger *kapelyes* consisted normally of several violins (occasionally viola), cello, contrabass, one or two clarinets, wooden flute, one or two cornets, trombone and other low brass, and Turkish drum. By the end of the century, snare drum had been introduced as well (Beregovski 1941:427). In the early years of the twentieth century, for example, the Tarrasiuk family *kapelye* consisted of ten men led by Dave Tarras' fiddle-playing uncle. The other instruments included second violin, flute and piccolo, clarinet, trumpet, trombone, string bass, tuba and drum(s) (D. Tarras 1975, interview:5-6).

Fig. 3.3  Szpilman family *kapelye*, Ostrovtse, Poland, 1887 (courtesy Sam Barsh)

The *fidl* (fiddle, violin) was the pre-eminent melodic instrument among the Eastern European klezmorim for four centuries. As Beregovski noted, "the fiddle was especially loved because it favoured lyricism, softness, warmness. In the repertoire of the fiddle soloist ... there were also works of a virtuosic sort. The most loved, however, were the lyrical works" (1941:446). The first violinist was featured in particular as a soloist on the showpieces which were played *tsum tish* (at the table) during the festive wedding banquet (Beregovski

1941:434). "During the supper you [had] to play a Doina [a non-metric semi-improvisatory form derived from eastern Romanian folk music]... So the violin came out — used to be terrific violin players in our [town] ... I used to be jealous of them" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:22).[25] "The better performers among the klezmorim always affected and deeply moved their listeners" (Beregovski 1941:446). It was the violinists, in particular, who possessed the ability to move their audiences to tears. Sayings such as "his fiddle speaks" or "his fiddle speaks words", expressing enthusiasm for a good player (Elzet 1918:34; Beregovski 1941:446), are abundant in Yiddish folklore and literature.[26]

While the band-leader was usually the first violinist, there were also *kapelyes* led by clarinettists and players of other instruments, such as flute or *tsimbl* (Logan 1949:32, 39-40; Stutschewsky 1959:116, 133-134; Bik 1964; Ottens and Rubin 1995e, liner notes). In contrast to the violin, there is no klezmer-related folklore about the clarinet, which appears to have been first introduced into the *kapelye* around the turn of the nineteenth century (Sadan 1947:14). Photographs of late nineteenth and early twentieth century *kapelyes* from Eastern Europe show that the clarinet was firmly ensconced by that time as a basic member of the ensemble, even if it still played a secondary role to that of the violin in most cases.[27] According to Dave Tarras, in the Ukraine during the first decade of the twentieth century the clarinet was already preferred to the violin for dance music largely because of its wider dynamic range. "A good violin player can play everything ... but [if] it's not heard, it's lost" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:22). Nevertheless, the klezmer ensemble would first be dominated by the clarinet in the United States in the early decades of the century.

It was typical for klezmorim to have mastered a number of instruments played in the *kapelye*. For example, Dave Tarras had played flute for five years when he switched to clarinet at the age of fourteen. In addition, he learnt violin (D. Tarras 1975, interview:12-13; see also Beregovski 1941:430-431).[28] Clarinettists such as Tarras may have adapted the flute style to the clarinet. The clarinets used by klezmorim in Eastern Europe as well as by the first generation of immigrant players in the United States were all based on the so-called German, Müller or Albert system developed by the clarinettist and

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25   For an in-depth analysis of the Romanian-Jewish doina, see Rubin (1997).

26   As Beregovski noted at his thesis defence:

> The klezmers and their professional playing are an essential part of the folklore. They were the bearers of a specific musical culture over many centuries, and legends about musicians are of extreme interest in any evaluation of their activities (in Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:158).

27   See, for example, the ensembles pictured in the appendix to Stutschewsky (1959) as well as those on the videodisc 'People of a Thousand Towns' at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research.

28   Tarras also played mandolin and guitar, which were not typically used in klezmer ensembles.

instrument maker Iwan Müller (1786-1854).[29] This was true for the clarinets used by non-Jewish folk musicians throughout Eastern and Southeastern Europe as well. As James Stoynoff has suggested in relation to the transition by Greek folk instrumentalists from the *floyera* (endblown folk flute) to the clarinet:

> Since forked fingerings available only on the Albert system [clarinet] resemble those found on the *floyera*, it is no wonder that flute players found transition to this type of clarinet a natural extension of fingering techniques they had already developed (1990b:1).

### 3.3.4 The training of a klezmer

Prior to the latter part of the nineteenth century, klezmorim did not receive formal musical training. Nevertheless, many of the klezmorim in the nineteenth century — and especially the violinists — were highly advanced musicians, according to accounts by Lipaev (1904), Beregovski (1941, 1987), Stutschewsky (1959) and others. "We learned from one another, but there were no conservatories, there were no schools of music... We'd never seen printed music" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:4, 9).[30] The Russian music conservatories were only first opened to Jewish enrolment in the 1870s and 1880s (Loeffler 1997a:33), some twenty or thirty years after their founding (Slobin 1982c:45). Up until the Russian Revolution in 1917, Jews required special permission to live outside the Pale, which was necessary in order to attend music conservatories such as those in St. Petersburg and Moscow (Gitelman 1988:13-14, Milstein and Volkov 1990:17-18).

The typical klezmer was born into a klezmer family and received his first music lessons from a male family member.[31] As a youth, the boy often began to play the drum in the *kapelye*, later switching to another instrument. When he was old enough he was sent off to a klezmer in another town or city for an apprenticeship of several years. The apprenticeships typically did not comprise systematic lessons but rather solely of playing in the teacher's orchestra at

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29 By 1812 Müller had developed a modern clarinet of thirteen keys which formed the basis of the modern German system as perfected by Oskar Oehler (1858-1936) beginning around 1887 (Kroll 1986:85, Brymer 1990:43-44). Even into the twentieth century, German clarinets of differing key systems were being used by folk musicians. James Stoynoff describes folk clarinets in Greece as ranging from those having as few as five keys and no rings to those with as many as thirteen keys and four rings (Stoynoff 1990a:26-27).

30 Slobin calls this a "communally evolved approach to the use of an outside repertoire" (1982c:23), pointing out that the Jewish musicians generally learnt their classical technique and repertoire from other Jews, who had in turn picked them up indirectly, perhaps from a relative who had studied at conservatory.

31 Because of the patriarchal structures of traditional Jewish society, klezmorim were exclusively male until the twentieth century, at which point it became possible, but never typical, for women to play (see Beregovski 1987:29).

weddings and other festive events (Beregovski 1941:431; Pulver 1970:113). As an adult he either returned to his hometown to rejoin the family band or took a position in another town (Lipaev 1904 [5]:134; Beregovski 1941:431).

According to Lipaev and Beregovski, by the late nineteenth century most klezmorim were musically literate (Lipaev 1904 [4]:103; Beregovski 1962 in Slobin 2000b:501). The violinists made use of method books, such as the three-part *Grosse Violinschule* of Charles Auguste de Bériot (1802-1870) from 1858 or the *Skoła teoretyczno-praktyczna na skrzypce* (Theoretical and practical manual for the violin, 1841) by Józef Niedzielski (1793-1853; Beregovski 1941:431-432). Klezmer music, however, continued to be an orally transmitted tradition and not all klezmorim read music, not even in the twentieth century. Naftule Brandwein, whose career continued into the early 1960s, was reputed to have played entirely by ear (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). Sheet music and manuscripts were used solely as a means of mastering instruments, to convey repertoire to pupils or to klezmorim in other cities, and for recalling larger works (Beregovski 1941:414-415). As Dave Tarras, who learnt to read music at the age of nine (D. Tarras 1975, interview:4), relates, "We played Jewish weddings. We didn't need no music" (interviewed in the documentary film *A Jumpin' Night in the Garden of Eden*, 1987).

### 3.3.5 Social structures among the klezmorim

The system of payment within the *kapelyes* was based on the concept of shares (*khalokim*). Each band-member received a percentage based on his status within the group from the first violinist on down to the drummer. The bride's parents, who organised the wedding, would normally only pay a small fee to the musicians. Their main earnings were the *getsolts* (tips) received from guests for dances, salutations and other musical pieces. The tips, too, were divided according to the same share scheme (Beregovski 1941:432-433). Another typical characteristic of the *kapelyes* was their benefits structure, which was basically that of a mutual-aid society (Lipaev 1904 [5]:135-136, [6-7]:169; Beregovski 1941:433-434). The poor economic conditions of the klezmorim forced many of them to take on one or several supplementary professions, such as that of cobbler, tailor, innkeeper, glazier, watchmaker and, in particular, barber (Beregovski 1941:430). Even full-time klezmorim gave music lessons in order to increase their earnings, especially during the periods of the year when, for religious reasons, no weddings took place, such as during the seven weeks between the holy days *pesach* and *shavuot*. Their pupils were mostly children of well-to-do Jewish households and of the Polish landowners, but also of other klezmorim as well (Beregovski 1941:434).

The klezmorim intermarried and, additionally, they fraternised as a society

within the larger Jewish society (Stutschewsky 1959:140).[32] In some of the larger towns and cities, such as Berdichev and Vilna, they maintained their own prayer houses as well (Stutschewsky 1959:116; N. Aharoni 1992, interview). Besides marrying, socialising and praying amongst themselves, klezmorim had an additional way of separating themselves from the rest of Eastern European Jewish society: they created their own secret argot, known as *klezmer-loshn* (klezmer language) or *labushinske* (Rothstein 1998:26). Samuel Weissenberg sees the primary reason for the development of *klezmer-loshn* as economic: the musicians needed to be able to discuss financial affairs amongst themselves without their employers' understanding (Weissenberg 1913:128). For this reason perhaps, *klezmer-loshn* possessed few words of a musical nature (Landau 1913:143). *Klezmer-loshn* had largely died out by the time researchers such as Weissenberg and Landau began to study it in the 1910s.

### 3.3.6 Emergent musical professions in nineteenth century Eastern Europe

During the course of the nineteenth century, several new professional categories evolved out of the older musical vocations among Eastern European Jewry, including that of the *broder-zingers* (lit. singers from Brody, Galicia), as well as those associated with the emerging professional Yiddish theatre.[33] The *broder-zingers* were mid-nineteenth century Yiddish performers, who appeared in the secular surroundings of inns, wine cellars and restaurant gardens and represented a transitional figure between that of the *badkhn* and the theatre actor (Zylberzweig 1931a:216 ff., Sandrow 1986:36). The founding of a secular Yiddish theatre had only become possible as a result of the *haskalah* which swept Eastern Europe during the nineteenth century and many of the early playwrights, such as Goldfadn, were *maskilim*, followers of the Jewish Enlightenment. Their early plays drew on the traditions of the *badkhonim* and the *purim-shpiln*, and were largely dramatic extensions of the skits and monologues of the *broder-zingers*. The emergence of the Yiddish theatre marked "a period of transition between folk culture and the modern world, between folk and modern art ... when the Yiddish community was breaking with tradition but still dependent on it for nourishment" (Sandrow 1986:43). Yiddish theatre pieces invariably had songs and orchestral accompaniment as integral components (Sandrow 1986:63), thus representing the beginnings of a Yiddish popular music culture. The main musical source for the new compositions was, however, cantorial music and not klezmer (composer Joseph Rumshinsky, cited in Howe 1976:462). This is likely due to the fact that virtually all of the

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32   See also the description in the Soviet-Yiddish writer Irme Druker's (1906–1982) novel *Klezmer* (1976:10-21).

33   Avrom Goldfadn (1840-1908), the first major author of popular Yiddish musical theatre, is generally credited with having created the first professional theatre in 1876 in Jassy, Romania. See Zylberzweig (1931:275-367), S. Perlmutter (1952:51-60), Sandrow (1986:40-69), Heskes (1990:III-IX), Idelsohn (1992:447-454).

early Yiddish theatre composers had received training as *meshoyrerim* and it was common for them to have had additional experience as a *khazn*, synagogue choir director, director of a Zionist choir, military *Kapellmeister* and as a conductor of non-Jewish opera or operetta, as well as possibly conservatoire training (see Perlmutter 1952:317ff.). Very few of the Yiddish theatre composers had direct experience in playing klezmer music.[34] The main contribution of musically literate klezmorim to the theatre appears to have been as musicians in the pit orchestras, either as an alternative to the profession of klezmer, or as supplemental income to that earned in playing for weddings.

### 3.3.7 The hierarchy among Eastern European klezmorim in the nineteenth century and the emergence of a Western art aesthetic

The hierarchy of klezmorim in the nineteenth century ranged from virtuosi, who were considered to be artists, to less accomplished players who were capable only of carrying out the rudiments of accompanying a traditional small-town Jewish wedding. At the same time, the personality types of klezmorim of the nineteenth century ranged on a continuum between two personality extremes: on the one hand, the "debauched fellows and sinners" (Trivaks 1923, cited in Rothstein 1998:25)[35] and, at the other extreme, the pious Jews (Kipnis, n.d.).[36] Whereas the fame and influence of Guzikov was international (Sadan 1947), and that of Pedotser national in scope (Lipaev 1904, Beregovski 1941:414), most klezmorim were not known outside their own region or even their own town and its environs.[37] Within their region, however, the violinists in particular were considered to be artists, as numerous accounts in the Yiddish literature relate (Olgin 1921:21; Kotik 1922, vol. 1:38-39; Sholom Aleichem, *Funem Yarid* in 1944, vol. 3, book 3:145).

Guzikov's career on the concert stages of Eastern and Western Europe in the mid-1830s suggests that the influence of European art music on at least some klezmorim occurred earlier than has been generally assumed. Although often interpreted as having been a naive *Wundertalent* who played entirely by ear and was only capable of performing his own fantasies on Jewish, Russian and Ukrainian melodies, a large portion of Guzikov's concert pieces consisted

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34 Two notable exceptions were Khone Wolfsthal (1851/1853-1924/1925) and Arnold Perlmutter, both of whom had also received training as *meshoyrerim* (Zylberzweig 1931:654-656, S. Perlmutter 1952:328-338).

35 See, for example, Sholom Aleichem's depiction of the violinist Stempenyu in *Stempenyu. A Yidisher Roman* (Stempenyu. A Jewish Novel, 1888, in 1944, vol. 2).

36 See, for example, Y. Kotik's depiction of the violinist Shepsl (Kotik 1922, vol. 1:38-39; Stutschewsky 1959:118-119).

37 The territory covered by the typical *kapelye* in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was generally limited to a radius of approximately thirty to forty kilometres (Beregovski 1941:432; L. Kozłowski 1991, interview). There are accounts, however, of klezmorim having travelled as far as Constantinople to perform (Schwartz 1997:10, liner notes).

of the popular virtuoso pieces of the day, such as a piano concerto by Franz Anton Hoffmeister (1754-1812), a concert allegro by Heinrich Herz (1803-1888) and a rondo by Ignaz Moscheles (1794-1870; Sadan 1947:38, 70, 120). Guzikov's embracing of classical repertoire prophesied a process which would spread to the rest of the klezmer profession sixty years later. Musicians born in the 1880s and 1890s, such as the violinists Pyotr Stolyarsky (1871-1944) and Leyb Pulver (1883-1970) and the cellist Joseph Cherniavsky (1894-1975), began their training as klezmorim but moved into the sphere of Western art music via the Russian, Polish and German conservatoires. Even those klezmorim with no conservatoire training, in particular string players, were able to move into orchestras if they had enough technique. One of the younger brothers of Dave Tarras, for example, became concertmaster of the symphony in Dniepropetrovsk (D. Tarras 1975, interview:4). For musicians such as the violinists Misha Elman (1891-1967), Jascha Heifetz (1901-1987, Joseph Wolfsthal (1899-1931) and the cellist Emanuel Feuermann (1902-1942), the process was complete: it is not likely that any of them had had first-hand experience with klezmer music, even though all had stemmed from klezmer families (Stutschewsky 1959:141, 143, 145, 221).

For those instrumentalists who remained klezmorim in the late nineteenth century, the profession had undergone changes as well. Many of the older customs and practices of klezmorim had already died out, such as accompanying the theatrical pieces of the *purim-shpilers*. The klezmorim were gradually becoming *muzikantn*, entertainment musicians without either the ritual importance or the idiosyncracies of earlier generations (Beregovski 1941:434).

### 3.3.8 Klezmorim and the traditional Eastern European Jewish wedding

The events associated with the traditional wedding in Eastern European Jewish society typically lasted the week from Saturday to Saturday (Weissenberg 1905:61).[38] Klezmorim played an integral role during this entire period, providing both dance and non-dance music for a wide variety of rituals and celebrations:

> Basically the Jewish wedding ceremony relied on instrumental music, which filled the role of a sort of organizer of the whole process. Music accompanied the greeting of the matchmakers, played *mazltov* (congratulations) in honor of each guest, accompanied the *badxn* ... for the custom of *bazecn di kale...* led the couple to the *xupe* (wedding canopy), resounded after the wedding, accompanying the couple and the guests to the wedding feast, and so on. Banqueting songs were played, dance music to speed the parting guests, right

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38    As Rivkind has noted, there were many regional variants among Eastern European Jewish weddings. The role of the klezmer in each specific locality was dependent to some extent upon these local customs (1960:18). The following discussion is of necessity geneneralised.

up to the final *zaj gezunt* (farewell) piece when everyone left (Beregovski 1962 in Slobin 2000b:301).[39]

As Weissenberg pointed out in 1913, the centrality of the wedding celebrations had begun to wane in the face of modernity, at least among a segment of Eastern European Jewish society. They were, "now not celebrated so pompously and gaily as they had been some decades earlier. Thus, the klezmorim — and with them a piece of Jewish folklore — are becoming extinct" (1913:127). The "modern" weddings lasted only one day, with only a few guests and often without music:

> ... it has become an insipid social amusement with no specifically Jewish qualities. From the Jewish dances, only the trivial *freylekhs* has been retained; the *kale-bazetsn* is continued on only as a pale shadow of its former self and with it, the *badkhn* ... has disappeared forever (1913:127-128).

Nevertheless, weddings among traditional families still lasted for a week, even at the dawn of the Russian Revolution, as was the case with Dave Tarras' own wedding around 1916 (D. Tarras 1975, interview:7). A wedding in the town was both a family and a community event.[40] As Tarras described the weddings in his own hometown: "whenever there was a *khasene* [it] was [like] a holiday" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:7).[41]

The main participation of the klezmorim and the *badkhn* began on the *motse shabes* (Saturday evening after the close of the Sabbath) preceding the wedding ceremony.[42] On that evening, the *kale* (bride) would throw a party, called the *forshpil* (prelude), for her girlfriends and their mothers, at which the klezmorim played for dancing until late at night (Stutschewsky 1959:156).[43] The wedding usually took place on the following Tuesday, Wednesday or Thursday.[44] On

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39 Beregovski termed the non-dance music "music for listening" (*muzik tsum hern*; 1941:417). Of the 239 pieces notated in Beregovski (1987), eighty-four, or approximately thirty-five per cent, were listed as music for listening.

A number of different musical genres of both Jewish and non-Jewish origin were represented in each of these two categories. In most cases, the terminology for the various types of pieces was not standardised and it is not possible to judge musical genre from literary descriptions. The classification of the klezmer repertoire according to musical criteria shall be discussed in chapter 6.

40 In the Middle Ages, the Jewish wedding had been entirely a community event. This began to change in the seventeenth century (Lifschutz 1952:48).

41 See also Lipaev (1904 [4]:102).

42 In rare cases, the klezmorim played at the signing of the *tnoim* (engagement contract), which took place some months before the actual wedding (Stutschewsky 1959:155). In wealthier families, the involvement of klezmorim in the festivities sometimes began with the four weeks of preparation of the *oysshtayer* (bride's outfit, dowry) preceding the wedding, which would be accompanied at key points by music (Rivkind 1960:19-20).

43 The same celebration was also known as *motse shabes, zmires* (songs) or *dobrinotsh* (good night).

44 On the intervening days, the klezmorim and the *badkhn* were sometimes hired for various celebrations (especially by wealthier families): to come to the house of the bride every day to play *dobri-vetsher* (good evening) and *dobridzen* (good day) greeting tunes (Wengeroff

the evening preceding the wedding the klezmorim and *badkhn* performed at the *khosnmol*, a banquet organised in honour of the *khosn* (groom) at the home of the bride's parents (Weissenberg 1905:64). While the wedding celebration occasionally took place at the home of the *mekhutonim* (parents of the bride), it was more usual to hire a wedding hall (in winter) or to erect a large tent for that purpose (in summer). On the afternoon of the wedding ceremony, the central rituals of *bazetsn di kale* and *badekn di kale* (veiling the bride) took place. While the women seated the *kale* on a chair, removed her headdress and veil, and untied her braids, the *badkhn* chanted his *gramen* (formulaic rhymes):

> The *badkhn* ... reminded the bride that this day marked the transition to another phase of life ... and this day should be as holy for her as the Day of Atonement. She should implore God to forgive her her sins. ... My sister did not need any reminder! Her tears flowed amply and were strongly felt (Wengeroff 1908:178; see also Weissenberg 1905:65).[45]

At the ceremony of the *bazetsns*, the klezmer soloist — almost always the violinist or clarinettist — also performed a central role. Leyb Pulver described a *bazetsns* he performed in 1893 in Pereshtshepina (Poltava district):

> The fiddler used to play one of his best and most moving *nigunim*. ... My playing got the audience so excited that the *kale* and all of the *mekhutonim* were literally bathed in tears. There was a real wailing going on until I stopped playing" (Pulver 1970:114).

Dave Tarras, too, recalled accompanying his father on the clarinet at *kale bazetsn* ceremonies in the Ukraine (D. Tarras 1975, interview:23-25). Immediately following the *bazetsns*, the *badekn di kale* ceremony took place. The groom was given a silken veil with which he covered the bride's head and face (Weissenberg 1905:67). "During this ritual everyone sprinkled him with hops and flowers. A half hour went by full of congratulations, hugs and lively music..." (Wengeroff 1908:179).[46]

The actual wedding ceremony took place in the courtyard outside the synagogue or in front of the wedding hall. The groom and bride were accompanied separately to the wedding canopy by the klezmorim (Wengeroff 1908:179; see also Weissenberg 1905:69). At the conclusion of the wedding ceremony, which itself had no instrumental accompaniment, the groom would crush a glass under his feet, after which the klezmorim would accompany the

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1908:174); to present shirts the bride had prepared to the grandmother, midwife and wetnurse (Weissenberg 1905:63); to accompany the bride to the *mikvah* (ritual bath; Weissenberg 1905:64, Rivkind 1960:20-21); to visit various relatives on the day of the wedding (Stutschewsky 1959:156); and to accompany the *badkhn* in bringing the wedding gifts to the home of the bride (Wengeroff 1910:46), among others.

45 Because of the solemnity of the occasion, which was equated with *yom kippur*, the bride and groom were required to fast until after the wedding ceremony was completed.

46 In some cases, a similar ceremony known as the *khosn bazetsn* ("seating" the groom) took place at the home of the groom (Weissenberg 1905:67). See the description in the *Allgemeine Musikalische Zeitung* about a Jewish wedding in Podolia towards the end of the eighteenth century (1802:362-365).

newlyweds into the wedding house (Weissenberg 1905:69-70).[47] After the wedding ceremony, the guests began arriving for the *khupe-vetshere* (wedding banquet). Inside the hall, the *badkhn* would greet arriving guests by calling out their names in a formulaic rhyming and the klezmorim would play short salutory pieces honouring each of them (Stutschewsky 1959:157).[48] "They played more solemn, large works for more honored guests, and smaller pieces for the rest" (Beregovski 1962 in Slobin 2000b:500). During the meal the klezmer soloist (violin or clarinet) would play improvisations known as *tsum tish*. "As was the custom at Yiddish *khasenes*, the fiddler had to show off his artistry in its full glory during the *khupe-vetshere*" (Pulver 1970:114). After the meal, the *droshe-geshank* (wedding presents) were handed out and, after the presentation of the gifts themselves, *vivatn* were played for the father of the bride: the *badkhn* would call out the name of the well-wisher and the klezmorim would play a short musical piece, for which they normally received a tip. The *droshe geshank* was followed by the *mitsve tants*, the obligatory dance with the bride. As had been the case at traditional weddings in *ashkenaz*, this was the most important dance performed at the wedding banquet.[49] Most descriptions of the *mitzvah* dance describe how, one-by-one, the important male relatives and other guests danced together with the bride. The question as to "how one dances before the bride",[50] has occupied rabbinical scholars from the beginning of the first millenium onwards (Friedhaber 1985-1986:65). The issue goes to the very root of what is or is not considered to be proper in traditional Jewish life (Friedhaber 1985-1986:65). The *mitzvah* dance was almost always performed with some kind of separation between the sexes, such as by wrapping the hand of the bride, wearing gloves, or the two dance partners holding onto opposite ends of a belt or handkerchief (Friedhaber 1985-1986). As Wengeroff described it:

> The veiled bride was seated in the middle of the bridesmaids, one of whom held a square silk handkerchief in her hand. The *badkhn* called one of the men up to dance with the bride, whereby the bridesmaid handed one end of the handkerchief to the bride and the second end to the [male] dancer. In this way they went around in a circle two times. Then the *badkhn* called out: "*shoyn getanst!*" [already danced] and the bride seated herself once again between the

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47 In Wengeroff's memoirs, the newlyweds were led to the house of the bride's parents following the wedding ceremony, instead of directly into the wedding hall (1908:180).

48 Such pieces were known as *vivatn* ("hurrah", "three cheers"; Stutschewsky 1959:157), *dobridzen*, *dobrinotsh* (good night) and *mazltov* (congratulations) (Beregovski 1941:438).

49 For descriptions of the *mitsve tants*, see also Weissenberg 1905:71-73; Stutschewsky 1959:164-167.

Most of the celebrations associated with the traditional Jewish wedding in Eastern Europe had derived directly from customs in *ashkenaz*. As Joshua Trachtenberg has written, "A study of Germanic Jewry in the Middle Ages discloses the origin and significance of many present-day practices" (1939:ix).

Nothing is known of the similarities or differences in the music accompanying the *mitzvah* dance in *ashkenaz* and the various Eastern European lands (Friedhaber 1985-1986:66).

50 This passage stems from the Talmud, *Seder nashim*, Tractate *Ketubbôt* 17a (Friedhaber 1985-1986:68).

bridesmaids. In this way, the bride danced with all of the men present. That went on until late past midnight (1908:182-183).[51]

After the *mitzvah* dance was completed the bride and groom were led to the bedchamber to consummate the marriage. Most of the guests remained in the wedding hall, dancing until the early morning hours. Everybody wanted to have the honour of *"a tants koyfn"* (to pay for a dance request with tips; Weissenberg 1905:71-73). Very late at night, the klezmorim would play their final tune, known as *a gute nakht* (good night), *zayt gezunt* (farewell), or *es togt shoyn* (it is daybreak already), which they also sang. In some towns, the klezmorim would escort the *mekhutonim* home; in other places they might accompany the *khosn-kale* (groom and bride) home to a march or a *gas-nign* (street melody; Stutschewsky 1959:176). According to Stutschewsky and Rivkind, the klezmorim would leave either that night after the dancing had ended, or on the following day (Stutschewsky 1959:178, Rivkind 1960:22).[52]

### 3.3.9 Further playing contexts of the Eastern European klezmorim

Although the wedding was the main performance context for klezmorim within the Jewish communities of Eastern Europe, they also appeared at a number of other community celebrations, including the holy days *purim*, *chanukkah* and *simchat torah*, as well as for the dedication of new *torah* scrolls (Findeisen 1926:39; see also Weissenberg 1913:127). In addition, LeeEllen Friedland mentions purely secular dance events, at which klezmorim took part:

> It was unusual for instrumental music to be played at any gathering without people getting up to dance. ... There were also dance events that were formally planned. In larger towns, dances were often held in a public dance hall, though formal dance events were also hosted in private homes (Friedland 1985-1986:77).

Klezmorim appeared in other secular settings as well, such as taverns, inns, marketplaces and trade fairs.[53]

The situation for the klezmorim in Eastern Europe was quite different to that of the Jewish musicians in Central Europe where they had had competition from professional Christian musicians and to endure restrictions and persecution from Christian authorities.[54] Within the Ukraine most of the

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51  According to Stutschewsky's description, the *mitzvah* dance followed the normal request dancing (1959:167).

52  In some cases, the klezmorim would remain on the day following the wedding, in order to accompany the stroll (known as *rumplen*) by the bride and her female relatives to the homes of the mother of the groom and other relations (Weissenberg 1905:73).

53  See, for example, the description in Babel (1987:326.)

54  The statement by the Christian gymnasium director Johann Jacob Schudt from Frankfurt in 1716 that "The Jew-*leytsim* are common minstrels and crude tavern fiddlers" (cited in P.

professional entertainment musicians were Jews: "In Ukrainian folk life... folk orchestras of the modern type did not develop to any significant degree. If a Ukrainian landlord needed an orchestra for some family celebration, as a rule he would invite klezmers" (Goldin 1989:25-26). It was therefore not atypical for klezmorim to service the needs of the various local ethnic groups, in addition to playing for Jews. In fact, it was usually necessary for economic reasons (D. Tarras 1975, interview:9). The peasantry accepted, and even valued, the Yiddish repertoire:

> As is known, the Jewish klezmorim also used to play very often at non-Jewish weddings and celebrations, whereby they also undoubtedly used to play Yiddish melodies in addition to the Ukrainian dance repertoire. In the same manner they used to bring their Ukrainian repertoire to the Jewish weddings (*kazatshkes, skotshnes* and so forth) (Beregovski 1935:98).

For the aristocratic landowners known as *pritsim*, however, the klezmorim would play an entirely different repertoire comprising mostly European social dances and light classical pieces. As Tarras remembered, "Near [our] town was a *graf* ... a Polish Count. He made big affairs and they came to the Jewish musicians from our [town]" to hire them. "We had to play certain Viennese waltzes. ... we played different mazurkas and at times we had to play dinner music, too ... classical, like an overture ... let's say *Poet and Peasant* [*Dichter und Bauer*, 1845, by the Austrian composer Franz von Suppé (1819-1895)]" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:4-5). According to numerous sources, the Polish *pritsim* made fun of the Jewish musicians. They would only ask for Yiddish pieces out of spite and, in particular, the pieces referred to as *mayufes* would be requested (Beregovski 1941:432).[55] The playing of the violinists was, however, highly regarded by at least some of the landowners who would invite them to their estates to play.[56]

In addition to playing for the non-Jewish peasantry and aristocracy, klezmorim often gained additional musical experience in the military ensembles of Imperial Russia and the Hapsburg Empire. Dave Tarras was called upon to make use of his entire acquired musical skills during his one and a half years with a tsarist military ensemble during World War One. He played marches and classical music on the clarinet in the military band, polkas

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Nettl 1923:29), seems to reflect the general view of *letsonim* by the Christian majority at that time.

Regarding restrictions against and the persecution of *letsonim* in *ashkenaz*, see also Wolf (1908 27[3]:53 ff.); P. Nettl (1927); Sendrey (1970:351-353); Salmen (1991:32-33, 55)x.

55 *Mayufes* is the Polish-Yiddish pronunciation of the Hebrew ode to the Sabbath, *mah yafit* (How fair and pleasant you are, O loved one, in delights; Mordechai bar Yitshak, thirteenth century; Shmeruk 1997:273). "Within the Jewish world, *mayufes* became a term for toadying or coerced conformity to the expectations of Polish gentry. At times it referred specifically to the degrading abuse of a Jew" (Shmeruk 1997:274; see also Werb 1998).

In the novel *Klezme*, Druker describes the exploitation of both Jewish and Christian musicians at the hands of the Polish landowners in the most brutal terms (1976:99-107).

56 See, for example, the description in Kotik (1922, vol. 1:38-39).

on the violin to accompany the administrators' dancing with the local non-Jewish girls, mandolin solos with a mandolin orchestra and accompanied a tenor singing Russian romances on the guitar (D. Tarras 1975, interview:9-14) — but no klezmer music.

### 3.3.10 Emigration

Anti-Semitism in the form of restrictive legislation and the fear of pogroms spurred a great movement of Jews abroad. There were recurrent pogroms beginning in the aftermath of the assassination of Tsar Alexander II in 1881. That, and the Kishinev pogrom of 1903, appear to have influenced great numbers of Jews to take flight. In addition, the same economic and social factors which had prompted the internal migration of Jews from the North to the South and the emergence of new communal structures also played an important role. Around 2,500,000 Jews left Eastern Europe between 1881 and 1914, the majority from Russia (1,500,000).[57] Jews also emigrated heavily from Austro-Hungary) as well as from Romania,[58] where anti-semitic legislation had been enacted in 1883, 1886-1887 and 1902 (Soyer 1994:53-56). Most immigrants settled at first in New York City. Although slowed by World War One, the migration continued on into the 1920s. Restrictive U.S. legislation in 1921, 1924 and 1927 gradually established stiffer quotas for immigrants from Eastern Europe, making it more difficult for Jews to settle there. In particular, the Johnson-Reed Act of 1924 is seen as the effective end of the great immigration wave (Karp 1977:111). Included among the immigrants were musicians, such as Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras, who would bring traditional klezmer music to America.

* * *

Having established the roots of the klezmer tradition in medieval *ashkenaz* and its development in Eastern Europe from the sixteenth century onwards, the discussion shall now shift to the Jewish wedding and entertainment instrumentalists in New York. Particular emphasis shall be placed on the careers of Brandwein and Tarras, whose music forms the basis for the musical analyses in chapters 7 and 8.

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57  The term "Russia" included Jews from Lithuania, Belorussia, Poland, Bessarabia and the Ukraine.

58  Between 1881 and 1910, 380,000 Jews emigrated from Galicia, Bukovina, Subcarpathian Rus and Transylvania.

# CHAPTER 4. CHANGING MEANINGS, CHANGING CONTEXTS: YIDDISH WEDDING AND ENTERTAINMENT MUSICIANS IN THE NEW YORK IMMIGRANT MILIEU 1881-1929

## 4.1 Jewish life on the east side and in the other immigrant quarters of New York City

The Eastern European Jews arriving in New York — even those coming from large cities such as Warsaw or Odessa — encountered a radically different society than that which they had known previously. Over a sixty or seventy year period they developed "a unique transitional culture, which borrowed supports from the Old World and the New", creating "an amalgam of religious and secular Jewish modes, manners, and forms, neither completely eastern European nor fully American" (Sorin 1992:1, 68).[1] They settled voluntarily in crowded immigrant quarters, in particular in the neighbourhood in Lower Manhattan now known as the Lower East Side which, at its peak in 1910, claimed 542,061 inhabitants (Rischin 1977:93).[2] In this neighbourhood, Jewish settlement patterns suggested the "cultural, if not the physical, geography of the old World" (Rischin 1977:76): Hungarians, Galicians, Romanians and Russians all inhabited separate sections of the district. After 1910, the east side began to decline in size as Jews spread out to Harlem, the Bronx and, facilitated by the construction of the Williamsburg and Manhattan bridges, new areas of Brooklyn such as Williamsburg and Brownsville (Moore 1981:8, 20; see also Landesman 1969:372-373). By the mid-1920s, Brooklyn had almost as many Jewish inhabitants as Manhattan and the Bronx taken together. Largely as a

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1    As Mark Slobin has pointed out, the use of the terms "Old World" and "New World" for Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe is not necessarily appropriate. During the entire period from 1881 until the outbreak of World War Two in 1939, American Jews maintained various levels of contact with their relatives and communities in Europe and vice versa. The "flight to the New World did not mean that the 'Old World' disappeared". There existed a "continual coming and going of Jews as they went 'home' to Europe to seek brides or visit relatives", and there was a "nonstop impact on American Jewry of new stimulation provided by successive waves of immigrants. Until 1939 there *was* a parallel Jewish culture in Europe". (Of course, in Russia contact with America was largely limited after the revolution of 1917.) Folk singers (and presumably klezmorim) "carried songs [tunes] back and forth, enriching the musical environments of two continents" (all quotes from Slobin 1982c:12; see also Slobin 1989:22).

2    At no time did the neighbourhood comprise Jews only. In addition, as Hasia R. Diner has stressed, the neighbourhood was not known as the Lower East Side at that time. It was referred to by contemporary observers as "the ghetto", "downtown", the "Jewish Quarter", the "Russian Quarter", the "Jewish east side" or the "Hebrew Quarter", and by its inhabitants as "downtown", "the ghetto" or "the east side". The use of the term "Lower East Side" has become increasingly problematic since the 1950s, as it has become sacralised to stand not only for the "area of first settlement" in America, but — in a similar fashion to the term *"shtetl"* with regard to the Jewish experience in Eastern Europe — "it *was* Jewish cultural authenticity — pure, untarnished Jewish cultural honesty" (Diner 2000:27).

result of immigration, the overall Jewish population in New York increased from 80,000 in 1870 (representing nine per cent of the total population) to 1,400,000 in 1915 (representing twenty-eight per cent of the total population), creating the largest single concentration of Jews in history. The largest immigrant sub-group was the Russians, followed by Galicians, Hungarians and Romanians (Rischin 1977:93-94, Moore 1981:20).[3] Moses Rischin depicts a variegated society on the east side, in which religious observance had relaxed "even among older folk":

> For youngsters and for those who had spent some years in Europe's larger cities, the breach already had been made, the accustomed harmony had been shattered. With the passing of each week daily observance and prayer diminished in regularity and duration. ... Observant greenhorns contrasted with "Yankees," and made all old country customs appear retrograde and uncouth... (Rischin 1977:145-146).

At the core of Jewish life in the immigrant neighbourhoods of New York was the Yiddish language which formed a kind of "cultural tool" with which the immigrants "wove a deep and broad network of secular and religious institutions" (Doroshkin 1969:23). Eastern European immigrants in New York organised their own communal institutions and structures, including schools, synagogues, burial societies, community centres and other social services (Loeffler 1997a:16). Entirely new forms of communal organisation sprang up, in particular the *landsmanshaft*.[4]

Cultural institutions and activities in New York, too, consisted of a hybrid of European and American attributes. Many of these, such as the Yiddish theatre and press, cafés and cabaret-restaurants, dance and music halls, political clubs, and the Jewish recording and film industries, had historical precedents in at least the larger Yiddish-speaking communities of Eastern Europe. In addition, new cultural institutions were created in America without European precedence, such as Jewish sheet music publishing and the firms of the "ethnic music entrepreneurs" (Greene 1992:47).

Taken together, these communal and cultural institutions "constituted a vibrant, hybrid, and improvised Yiddish-language Jewish culture" (Loeffler 1997a:16), which could *only* be transitory in nature:

> Immigrant Jews were nearly unanimous in their desire to shed their immigrant cultural status ... moving out of the ghetto materially and socially. Young and old alike were convinced that Jewish languages, dress, food, and social customs need to be discarded or at least seriously modulated to conform to the requirements and opportunities of American society. Thus, Yiddish culture in America always consisted of the particular, transitional, and temporary, for it stood in the overwhelming shadow of mainstream American identity and

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3    According to the 1910 census, there were 480,189 Russian Jews, 190,237 Galician Jews, 76,625 Hungarian Jews and 33,584 Romanian Jews living in New York (Karp 1977:66).

4    *Landsmanshaftn* are benevolent societies formed by immigrants from the same town, city or region of Eastern Europe. An immigrant from the same town is referred to as a *landsman* (pl. *landslayt*).

culture ... When there were no more Jews to whom American society and English-language culture were variously bewildering, intimidating, and incomprehensible, there simply did not need to be any more Yiddish-language Jewish culture (Loeffler 1997a:16).

From this perspective it could be said that Yiddish culture persisted in America as long as it did essentially due to the steady stream of immigration over a period of almost fifty years.

## 4.2 Musical and entertainment culture among the Jewish immigrants

Jewish immigrants in New York enjoyed a rich musical and entertainment culture, within which the music of the klezmorim occupied a small but specific niche. In his study of Jewish immigrant life in New York, Moses Rischin writes, "synagogue and theater formalized musical expression" (1977:138). This indicates the hierarchy of music in the immigrant milieu quite clearly: Rischin does not mention instrumental music at all in this context.

Victor Greene has written, "A few studies have suggested that lower-class non-white and minority ethnic groups maintained their racial and ethnic identities through their leisure-time activities" (Greene 1992:viii).[5] For Jewish immigrants, of course, religious identity was an additional factor. In the religious sphere, many New York congregations competed with one another to engage popular European *khazonim*, particularly during the 1880s and 1890s (Slobin 1989:54, 58-60). The Yiddish theatre formed the pinnacle of a secular popular music among the immigrants (Slobin 1982c):

> ... [It] came to enjoy an unrivaled position on the Lower East Side; it became a major cultural institution, in which all the problems, hopes, and dreams of immigrant Jews were dramatized. The Yiddish theater provided a collective experience for the entire community" (Sorin 1992:99).[6]

As in the case of the popular *khazonim*, Yiddish theatre managers competed to employ actors, singers and composers from the European troupes (Sandrow 1986:78). The theatre was, however, not a monolithic culture, but rather covered a range from the popular, formulaic Yiddish operettas known as *shund* (literary trash) to Yiddish art theatres (Sandrow 1986:104-106, 109-112, 259-277). All had in common that they relied upon incidental music and song as important ingredients.[7]

Fine arts, too, played an important role in the musical life of the New York immigrants. Continuing a trend which had already begun in Eastern Europe during the first half of the nineteenth century in larger cities such as Odessa (Zipperstein 1986:65-66), immigrant Jews made up an important part of both New York concert-goers and performers. The Russian Symphony, comprising sixty-five Jewish graduates of the Imperial Music Conservatory in St. Petersburg, performed works of Russian and Polish composers during the first two decades of the twentieth century (Rischin 1977:139). Other fine arts ensembles included the Russian Choral Union, the Russian Musical Society, the Halevi Singing Society, the Rubinstein Symphony Orchestra and the Choral Society for the Study of Ancient Hebrew Melodies (Rischin 1977:139-140).

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5   See also Greene (19926-10), Slobin (1982c:2-3).

6   By 1920 there were as many as twenty functioning Yiddish theatres in New York (Greene 1992:63).

7   Besides *shund* theatre, there were other, more vulgar forms of Yiddish musical expression consisting of popular broadsheets and vaudeville playlets (see Slobin 1982c:99-115; Heinze 1990:119).

Music played an important role in a "plethora of organizationally sponsored entertainment events. These were backed by three basic types of groups: unions, *landsmanshaftn* ... and political groups..." (Slobin 12982d:76). In addition, by the late 1880s, a number of wine cellars, cafés and restaurants had sprung up on the east side (Rischin 1977:141). Many of these had musical entertainment, as did the many dance halls (Heinze 1990:118). As Andrew Heinze has shown, the wave of Eastern European Jewish immigration coincided roughly with the emergence of show business in America:

> The forms of commercial entertainment that city people in America took for granted were a novelty to the majority of immigrants from eastern Europe. Festivity in the old world revolved around ritual events such as marriages and births, and around the Sabbath and holidays. Although the emerging Yiddish theater provided entertainment in a few cities of the Pale until 1883 ... Jews had no contact with the variety of entertainment they encountered in the United States... (Heinze 1990:117).

As had been the case in Eastern Europe, amateur singing and music-making assumed an important place in the secular life of the Jewish immigrants and their children.[8] In the United States, the piano, which had been a relatively rare instrument in the Jewish towns of Eastern Europe, overtook the violin in the immigrants' imagination as the proper instrument to have in one's home (Heinze 1990:118, 139).[9] Although Heinze assumes that:

> ... the piano emerged in many Jewish homes as a means of satisfying the group's extraordinary interest in American popular music, which turned into a medium of cultural adaptation, as an instrument for refining Jewish children and raising the social status of the household... [creating] a private stage for the articulation of American Jewish identity (1990:133, 142),

during the same time period, an indigenous sheet music industry for Yiddish music developed. Additionally, while the piano was in ascendancy, the presence of the violin still remained in the popular imagination — although the emphasis had shifted towards a classical aesthetic.[10] Together with the emergence of the piano as a popular instrument for amateur music-making and the ethnic sheet music industry, music lessons played an important role in the life of the immigrants (Rischin 1977:102).

Catering to the musical needs of the immigrants — both professional and amateur — were the ethnic music firms:

> These entrepreneurs and their firms knew what their customers wanted and would eventually play leading commercial roles in the musical life of their ethnic communities. While motivated by the capitalist ethic, the ethnic music businesspeople were also interested in the music itself and eager to promote widespread interest in the cultural traditions of their homelands (Greene

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8    See, for example, the description of the singing of the sweatshop workers in Abraham Cahan's (1860-1951) short story, *Circumstances* from 1898 (Cahan 1970:221).

9    The expansion of the piano market in America in general took place largely between the years 1890 and 1910 (Slobin 1982c:44-45).

10   See, for example, Alfred Kazin's (1915-1998) description of playing Rimsky-Korsakov's *Scheherazade* for his family on the violin as a youth (1951:62-63).

In addition to being publishers of books and sheet music, and selling instruments and accessories, some of these stores became meeting places for the musicians themselves. In the late 1930s, for example, young Jewish musicians would meet on Saturdays at Shimele Blank's store at 190 East Second Street between Avenues A and B in order to pick up wedding engagements (I. Boses 1991, interview; S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview).[11]

The publishing of Jewish sheet music in the United States, which was largely aimed towards the amateur market (Heskes 1990:I), can be seen as having been situated both within a general ethnic music press (Finnish, French-American, Ukrainian, etc.) as well as within the context of Jewish book publishing, which had begun as early as 1845. The first publisher of Yiddish sheet music in New York, Katzenelenbogen, was active in the business by 1897 (Slobin 1982c:122-123). The vast majority of the materials consisted of arrangements of songs with piano accompaniment from the popular Yiddish operettas (Rischin 1977:138; Slobin 1982c:122-123; Greene 1992:59-63, 271). One of the smallest categories of Jewish music publishing — as would be the case with recordings, too — was taken up by arrangements of instrumental klezmer pieces (Slobin 1982c:143-144).[12] In addition to sheet music and home music-making, the phonograph played an important role in immigrant life (Rischin 1977:92, Heinze 1990:133).[13]

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11   See also the description in Abraham Cahan's novel of immigrant life, *The Rise of David Levinsky* from 1917 (1993:142).

12   See, for example: L. Friedsell (1911 and 1920), J M. Rumshi[n]sky (1912), J. Rumshi[n]sky and H. S. Shapiro (1912), M. Leibowitz (1921 and 1922), A. Schwartz (1921) and A. Schwartz and J. M. Rumshi[n]sky (1921).

13   See Kazin's description of the place of the gramophone in his family's home life, which shows the orientation of even working-class immigrants shifting towards opera and classical music (Kazin 1951:63). In his story *Garlic-Wurst* from 1932, Boruch Glazman describes immigrants gathering outside a record store to listen to the latest releases of their favourite *khazonim* (Glazman 1995:140).

For a discussion of the commercial recording of klezmer music, see chapter 5.

## 4.3 Klezmorim in New York and their audience

None of the author's informants, the eldest of whom was born in 1911, could remember anything about Jewish musical culture in New York prior to 1920, or knew indirectly about the time prior to their own parents' immigration in the early decades of the century. Nevertheless, traces of a rich musical life prior to the 1920s have shown through the research of Howe (1976), Rischin (1977), Slobin (1982c, 1989), Joselit (1994), Maffi (1995), Loeffler (1997a, 1998), Soyer (1997) and others. Taken together with literary works of the period by Isaac Raboy (1914, 1920), Michael Gold (1929, 1930) and Abraham Cahan (1970, 1993), among others, the activity of early Jewish entertainment musicians in New York can begin to be understood. In addition, it has been possible to extrapolate based upon the earliest memories and professional experience of informants from the late 1920s through the 1950s, in order to more completely describe the musical milieu of the 1920s in particular.


### 4.3.1 Patterns of emigration

Regarding the demographic composition of Jewish immigration to America, Heinze has written:

> Particularly during the 1880s and 1890s, those who left eastern Europe were probably among the poorest and least educated of Jews. The wealthy, the learned, and the prestigious had good reasons to remain within the old social order (Heinze 1990:59).

In addition to comprising an over-proportional number of poorer and less educated Jews, the immigration wave was clearly a youth-oriented movement:

> Between 1886 and 1898, 128,655 Jewish newcomers, amounting to 34 percent of the total, were under the age of sixteen. Subsequently, in the period 1899-1909, 245,787 incoming Jews were under fourteen, equalling about 25 percent of the total (Heinze 1990:94).

This represented a much higher proportion of youthful immigrants in comparison to other ethnic groups. Taking these two immigration tendencies into consideration, it is likely that the older, established klezmorim — those with enough work in their region of Eastern Europe — would have tended not to have emigrated, whereas the less established musicians, as well as the younger members of established klezmer families, would have been more likely to emigrate in search of economic opportunities. Judging from period photographs of klezmer orchestras, such as those of the Max Leibowitz Orchestra (Leibowitz 1921, in Rubin and Ottens 1995e), the Abe Schwartz Orchestra (in Sapoznik et al. 1981:16, liner notes), Joseph Cherniavsky and his Yiddish American Jazz Band (in Rubin and Ottens 1999a:215), and the *Boiberiker Kapelye* (cover to Sapoznik 1991, CD), it appears that most of the New York immigrant musicians had not been born earlier than 1870.[14]

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14   The youngest of the immigrant musicians had been born in the first two decades of the

twentieth century, such as the drummer Irving Gratz (b. Rzhishchev, Kiev province 1908 -
d. New York 1989). Chronologically, the immigrant musicians thus comprised two to
three generations.

Fig. 4.1  Max Leibowitz Orchestra, New York 1921 (Leibowitz 1921)

Such an immigration pattern would tend to corroborate Max Epstein's theory that the more talented musicians did not emigrate: "Those that came to this country were the poor musicians, because they couldn't make a living there. The good musicians remained there" (M. Epstein 1991, interview). Of course, the forces of anti-Semitism, resulting in restrictive laws and violent pogroms, as well as the ravages of war affected most Eastern European Jews, regardless of their economic status. A respected musician such as the flautist and band leader Isaac Fishberg (Itzhok Beckerman, b. Ukraine 1850/1852 - d. New York after 1949), an uncle of Shloimke Beckerman, remained in Eastern Europe as long as possible. His orchestra, 'Itzhok's *Kompanye'*, had been "the principal purveyor of musical entertainment to what he refers to as 'the Ukrainian Four Hundred society' and performed mostly at the country palaces of the nobility" (Logan 1949:39-40). In 1922, however, Fishberg emigrated at the age of seventy-two to New York, apparently shaken by the violent pogrom in his town, Proskurov, in 1919 (Logan 1949:32). In light of Samuel Weissenberg's statement that the klezmorim were "becoming extinct" in Russia as a result of the modernisation of the traditional Jewish wedding (1913:127), it is also plausible that there were more Jewish wedding musicians in Eastern Europe than there was available work at that time, thus constituting an additional factor which could have influenced musicians to emigrate.

### 4.3.2 The first Jewish musicians' union in New York

The existence of a Jewish Musicians Union (*Yidishe muziker yunyon*) in the late 1880s shows that Jewish musicians were active in New York from the earliest years of immigration. Given the existence of Jewish musicians' guilds in Central and Eastern Europe, as well as the guild-like structures of the klezmer *kapelyes* in Eastern Europe up until the turn of the twentieth century, it is not surprising that the professional Jewish musicians were among the first to unionise in New York. The Jewish Musicians Union had a membership of thirty in 1890, compared to the sixty-seven musicians among the 22,000 employed Jews listed by the Baron de Hirsch survey of the same year; by December 1891, union membership had increased to 100 (Rischin 1977:272, Loeffler 1997a:25, Loeffler 1998:30-33).

According to James Loeffler, the entire membership of the Jewish Musicians Union consisted of klezmorim (1998:32). The evidence, however, seems to point to the union having comprised Jewish musicians from various branches of the profession, in particular musicians from the Yiddish theatre.[15] By the time Tarras joined in the early 1920s, the Jewish Musicians Union appears to have transformed itself under the name Progressive Musical Benevolent Society into a mutual-aid society along the lines of a nineteenth century klezmer *kapelye* or a *landsmanshaft* (M. Epstein 1991, interview, Loeffler 1998:35).[16] "To that society belonged all kinds of [Jewish] musicians. Musicians that played in the theatre, musicians that played weddings" (D. Tarras 1975, interview: 16).

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15   The orchestras of the two Yiddish theatres in New York in operation when the union was organised were both under the aegis of the Jewish Musicians Union, so that all instrumentalists involved in the Yiddish theatre at that time were required to be members (Loeffler 1998: 32). Since the Yiddish theatre orchestras typically had twenty to twenty-five musicians (Loeffler 1997a:27), these two orchestras alone would have accounted for half or more of the union members. Available documentation of individual Eastern European Jewish musicians in New York during the first three decades of the immigration period is scanty. Consequently, there is not enough evidence to support the argument that these theatrical musicians, too, were klezmorim, although they may have stemmed originally from klezmer families. There is some indication that Jewish classical musicians, too, joined the Jewish Musicians Union (Loeffler 1997a:25).

16   This transformation was probably completed at the time of the formation of the American Federation of Musicians Local 802 in New York in 1921 (Loeffler 1998:35), at which time the members of the Jewish Musicians Union joined the American Federation of Musicians. From that point on, the musicians carried out any collective bargaining through the American Federation of Musicians.

None of the authors' informants could remember or knew that the Progressive, to which Beckerman, Brandwein, Tarras and Epstein all belonged, had ever been anything but a mutual-aid society (D. Tarras 1975, interview:16, 25; M. Epstein 1991, interview; S. Beckerman 1996, interview).

### 4.3.3 Klezmers, *muzikantn* and *yardniks*: Changes in the connotation of the term klezmer

In New York, "klezmer" — which in Europe had been a neutral term — gradually took on a derogatory connotation among the musicians within the Yiddish-speaking immigrant communities. Max Epstein stressed, when the Eastern European Jewish musicians came to America, "they called 'em a klezmer. So the lousy musician, that was a klezmer here, was degrading. If you'd called me a klezmer thirty-five years ago, I'd have hit you with something" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).[17] In their attempts to acculturate and become American musicians, "klezmer" meant to the upwardly mobile immigrants an instrumentalist of limited abilities, who was unable to learn new styles of music or, perhaps, even to read musical notation — in other words, a player only capable of carrying out the function of Jewish wedding musician. It is likely that this change in connotation took place relatively early on in the immigration period: the violin virtuoso Alter Goyzman emigrated briefly to the United States around the turn of the twentieth century.[18] According to his nephew, Louis Grupp: "he didn't like the conditions in America, he went back [to Chudnov, Volhynia]. Because there he was somebody and here he was just another *klezmer* — which he *wasn't*. He was a very good musician" (Dion 1991:7).[19]

Indeed, the more skilled of the New York immigrant musicians did not refer to themselves as klezmorim. According to Marty Levitt, son of the trombonist Jack Levitt (b. near Kiev 1901 - d. New York 1974):

> Most of them were studied musicians. They were divided into three categories ... The ones that didn't read ... were called *yardniks*. ... They were good enough to play in a [court]yard.[20] Then we had the next step, which was pretty

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17   The tendency of Jewish wedding musicians to distance themselves from the term klezmer was already present to some extent in nineteenth century Europe. See, for example, Sholom Aleichem's description of the klezmer Yisroel Benditski, a friend of his father's (*Funem Yarid*, in 1944, vol. 3, book 1:188, Book 2:156).

18   Alter ("Old Man") Goyzman (Alter Tshudnover, 1846-1912) was one of the most influential traditional Jewish violinists in Russia during the second half of the nineteenth century (Beregovski 1941:429).

19   The term klezmer was, however, not seen as derogatory among the general Yiddish-speaking public. In the wedding scene of the Yiddish film *Uncle Moses* (Sidney Goldin and Maurice Schwartz, 1932), the *badkhn* says to the musicians: *"klezmer, git mir a ton"* (klezmers, give me a tone), and in the Yiddish film *Ikh vil zayn a mame* (I Want To Be a Mother, George Roland, 1937), the musicians are referred to as "klezmorim". In addition, the term klezmer is repeatedly used without any derogatory connotation in an article about the band leader Joseph Cherniavsky from the mid-1920s: Cherniavsky's father is referred to as a *"barimter klezmer"* (a famous klezmer), Cherniavsky stemmed from an *"alter yidisher klezmer familye"* (old Jewish klezmer family), etc. (*Yoysef Tshernyavski...* n.d.).

20   Loeffler assumes, in speaking about the Jewish street musicians: "It was here in the streets and the tenement courtyards of the early Lower East Side that the earliest immigrant klezmorim were to be found..." (Loeffler 1997a:18). It seems unlikely, however, that the musicians designated as street musicians or *yardniks* by the American wedding musicians

low, too, they were called klezmers. They played at weddings and so forth and so on. Then we had the *real* musicians and they were called *muzikants*.[21] Now my father was a *muzikant*, 'cause he was a studied trombone player and he played in the Jewish theatre, besides "club dates".[22] ... [He] took lessons privately and practised all day, you know. Very few went to conservatories at that time (M. Levitt 1990, interview).[23]

As Levitt explains it, most *muzikantn* were already trained musicians from Europe, who had played there in symphonic and opera houses. In New York, they could not get orchestral jobs and were forced to take jobs in vaudeville houses and accompanying silent films. In addition, many of them went into single engagement employment at that time (M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview). Levitt clarifies, however, that virtually all the so-called *muzikantn* came from klezmer families (M. Levitt 1996, interview).[24] They seem

were descendants of klezmer families or had been trained in the klezmer milieu, but rather represented a continuation of the kinds of Jewish street musicians who had been active in Europe. (Salmen mentions Jewish street musicians in the industrial cities of Central Europe, known as *Werkelmänner* [organ grinders] or *Hofmusikanten* [courtyard musicians]; Salmen 1991:42.) Max Goldberg's father, Abraham (b. Pabianice near Lodz, 1875 - d. New York, 1939), for example, was a clarinettist who had received his training not in a klezmer *kapelye*, but in a Polish-Russian military ensemble. Emigrating to New York in 1910, he performed, among other things, literally as a *yardnik*: Max Goldberg remembered accompanying his father around 1920 as he played in the courtyards of the east side (M. Goldberg 1991, interview).

For a fictionalised account of *yardnik*-style klezmorim in Poland, see Joseph Green's 1936 Yiddish musical feature film, *Yidl mitn fidl* (Yidl with His Fiddle; see Hoberman 1991:238-243).

21 Here Levitt is using the anglicised form *muzikants*. The proper Yiddish plural is *muzikantn*.

22 The term "club date" is often used by free-lance musicians in New York to signify single engagement performances at "formal social gatherings for celebrating ritual events: weddings, bar mitzvahs ... anniversary parties..." (MacLeod 1993:1). The club date business as described by Bruce MacLeod — and quite likely the term "club date" itself — is a post-World War Two phenomenon; his study does not delve into the pre-war period. Although the term club date is certainly not restricted to Jewish events, within the context of Levitt's usage, it is clear this is what he meant. In fact, MacLeod divides the club date business of the 1970s and 1980s into five categories, of which Jewish celebrations make up the largest one, accounting for forty to fifty per cent of the total (1993:21-23).

23 The Levitt family name was originally Levinsky. Marty Levitt's uncles Frank and Lou took on the surname Levin or Levinn; his father Jack and his uncle Phillip took the name Levitt.

24 It is in most cases not possible to ascertain which of the New York musicians had actually stemmed from klezmer families. A grandson of Brandwein recalled, "Life began [for Brandwein] with my mother and the Lower East Side" (A. Rubinstein 1993, interview). The immigrant musicians did not speak of their previous life, and thus information about it was not passed on to the next generation of musicians. In addition, virtually none of the klezmer families active in New York — including the Beckerman, Brandwein and Tarras families — had been mentioned in the writings about European klezmer families of Lipaev (1904), Beregovski (1937, 1941, 1987) or Stutschewsky (1959). Neither Beregovski nor Stutschewsky wrote about American klezmer music at all: whereas Beregovski appears to have assumed that klezmer music existed in America (1937:6), he had no opportunity for contact with America because of the political situation during the Stalinist years; Stutschewsky seems not to have considered the existence of an American klezmer

to have been those musicians who had received childhood training as klezmers and had then gone onto a general career in music in Europe, returning only to playing Jewish weddings in New York out of economic necessity. *Muzikant* seems therefore to be referring to the level of training a klezmer had received, rather than to his sociological origins or function as a musician. "You're speaking about a different ilk now when you speak about Beresh Katz [a wedding musician and *landsman* of Brandwein]. I wouldn't even call him a klezmer, even though he played klezmer music. He was like above" (M. Levitt 1990, interview). There was, however, in many cases, a division between the wedding musicians — whether *muzikant* or klezmer — and the so-called "legitimate" players, namely those with only classical training. "The people that were really legitimate players didn't play weddings. It was a little underneath [their level]" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).[25] In addition, a legitimate player did not know klezmer performance practice and would therefore not sound "authentic" (M. Levitt 1990, interview; S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview).

### 4.3.4 The career paths of the immigrant musicians

Continuing the trend of entering the musical "mainstream" already established by klezmorim in nineteenth and early twentieth century Europe, the musicians with the most training became classical soloists or orchestra members.[26] The western art music aesthetic reached even as far as wedding musicians, such as Brandwein and Tarras. Brandwein specifically wanted his grandchildren to learn classical music and *not* klezmer (S. Rubinstein 1993, interview). Tarras prided himself in having taught clarinet lessons to a number of musicians who later became symphony players (P. Sokolow 1990, interview).[27]

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music at all.

25  Levitt cites as an example the clarinettist Seilig Teiko, a performer in Yiddish theatre orchestras. Teiko also played for the radio and had toured with chamber music groups in Russia. He had no klezmer background and generally did not play weddings.

26  The membership of Arturo Toscanini's NBC Symphony from 1938, for example, shows the klezmer heritage of a large number of its members: the concertmaster, Mischa Mischakoff (1895-1981) was the youngest son of Isaac Fishberg and a first cousin of Shloimke Beckerman; the percussionist David Gusikoff (1896-1966) "inherited the love of music from his illustrious father and from a long line of musical ancestors of the land of the czars" (Kerby 1938:57). He was a descendent of Mikhoel-Yoysef Guzikov, as was the violinist and composer Michel Gusikoff (1893-1978), concertmaster of the Russian Symphony in New York (Slonimsky 1992:686).

27  Tarras was upset when the revival group, The Klezmorim, appeared at Carnegie Hall in February 1983: "They had the nerve to play Carnegie Hall... Carnegie Hall is a holy place where Isaac Stern and Jascha Heifetz play. I don't think of myself as that big (quoted in Davis 1983, newspaper article).

Those musicians who could read music well, but had less training than would have enabled them to join symphonies, accompanied silent films, became members of dance bands in hotels and of theatre and vaudeville orchestras. When Shloimke Beckerman arrived in New York around 1910, he had been an established musician in the area around the Russian town of Rizish, and was apparently already known on the east side based upon his European reputation.[28] He went to work from the outset as a full-time musician in New York, but not necessarily as a klezmer. Beckerman's competent technical skills, together with his ability to read and write music, to transpose at sight as well as to improvise inner voices, enabled him to move into the mainstream of American entertainment music (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview; S. Beckerman 1996, interview).[29] Howie Leess, who studied with Beckerman for three years from 1929-1932, went to him in order to gain a good foundation on saxophone and clarinet: "He was recommended for his musicianship not because of his being a klezmer" (H. Leess 1999, interview). Beckerman's ability to play the saxophone gave him an additional advantage over most other immigrant clarinettists and was an important additional factor enabling his employment in hotel, vaudeville and theatre orchestras (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview; W. Epstein 1993a, interview). Before the ascendancy of radio, all the large New York hotels had orchestras. Their repertoire consisted largely of the light classical music and Viennese waltzes which the klezmorim had already known from Eastern Europe from performing for the Polish landowners. In addition to hotel orchestras, Beckerman performed in cinemas accompanying silent films, for the circus as well as at private weddings and celebrations of Jews and other ethnic groups (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview).

The movement of klezmorim and former klezmorim out of the Yiddish-speaking milieu and into the American musical mainstream — whether classical or entertainment music — represented a kind of "hemorrhaging of the resources of their enterprise" (Feingold 1992:67).[30] This was an analogous process to that which had taken place among Jewish musicians in the German-speaking lands in the early nineteenth century and in Eastern Europe towards

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28  Rizish was the name as Sid Beckerman remembers it. The author has not been able to locate a town with that name and it is possible Beckerman was referring to Rzhishchev in Kiev province, a town known for its klezmorim.

In Europe, the Beckerman family *kapelye* had been founded in the early to mid-nineteenth century by Shloimke's grandfather, Solomon, a self-taught fiddler in Chudnov, Ukraine. The elder Beckerman led a six to seven-piece ensemble consisting of himself and his two eldest sons on violin, his son Isaac Fishberg on flute, a clarinettist, a trombonist and a drummer (Logan 1949:32, 39-40). One of the two violin-playing sons may have been Boruch Beckerman, Shloimke's father.

29  In the club date business, the ability to improvise inner voices to standard melodies so that they sound like written arrangements is known as "faking" (MacLeod 1993: 2-3).

30  The moving away from klezmer music reflected a more general trend among Yiddish-speaking Jewry, as Harshav has pointed out in relation to the Yiddish language itself (Harshav 1990:85).

the end of the nineteenth century (Avenary 1971-1972a:639). As Bathja Bayer notes:

> Bandleaders and composers of popular music, along with the great string virtuosos, have inherited the *klezmer* tradition. Descendants of *klezmerim* also gravitate to membership in symphonic and entertainment orchestras, since family tradition accustoms them to the discipline of the ensemble (1971-1972b:679).

In the early decades of the twentieth century in the United States, the division between the musicians who played classical music and those in the entertainment field was emergent. Many professional musicians still saw no conflict between performing in a symphony and playing at Jewish weddings at that time.[31]

Those musicians who were neither able to join a symphony orchestra nor to assimilate American popular musical styles remained within the fields of Yiddish and other related ethnic musics. "They couldn't play our [American] music, period" (H. Leess 1988, interview:15). "You take any of the klezmer people ... I doubt very much whether they could sit down and play, let's say, second clarinet in a symphony. They didn't have the sound or the training" (M. Levitt 1990, interview). For such musicians, remaining within the immigrant musical milieu was an economic rather than an aesthetic choice.

At the top of the Yiddish music hierarchy in New York was a musician such as Dave Tarras, who was considered by his colleagues to be an excellent technician on his instrument and to read music well, but who learnt neither to play American popular music convincingly nor to play the saxophone well (J. Barsh 1988, interview; M. Epstein 1991, interview; Danny Rubinstein 1993, interview). In addition to playing at the weddings and celebrations of Jews and other European ethnic groups, he would be able to work as a recording studio musician, in the Yiddish theatre and, later, the studios of the Yiddish radio stations — but his career was essentially circumscribed by the Jewish immigrant milieu.

A musician such as Naftule Brandwein was even more restricted in terms of his career possibilities in the United States. According to his colleagues he did not play the saxophone, he was not competent in American vernacular music, and he could not read music well (M. Epstein 1991, interview; M. Epstein 1999, interview). Sid Beckerman, who played occasionally with Brandwein in his youth in the late 1930s and early 1940s, recalled "all of his jobs were strictly Jewish, he couldn't play any American music" (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview).[32] Arriving in New York around 1909 (David Rubinstein 1993,

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31    The percussionist Jacob Hoffman, for example, played in the Philadelphia Orchestra and at weddings (H. Netsky 2000, personal communication).

      About the development of the division between so-called highbrow and lowbrow culture in the United States, see L. W. Levine (1988, especially 104ff.).

32    Willie Epstein, however, remembered Brandwein as having played some non-klezmer

interview; S. Rubinstein 1993, interview), Brandwein, like his colleagues Beckerman and Tarras, had been a fully experienced, professional klezmer in Eastern Europe. In contrast to them, however, he remained strictly a klezmer in New York as well, limited almost completely to the milieu of Jewish weddings and celebrations.[33] Often accompanied by his elder brother, Azrael, on trumpet and his younger brother, Mookie, on drums, Brandwein dominated the Jewish wedding circuit in New York until the ascendancy of Tarras in the mid-1920s. Hal Silvers, who accompanied Brandwein on piano and accordion in the late 1930s, recalled: "He wasn't just like *a* musician, he was known all over the place. ... When I first played with Naftule Brandwein, I ran home. 'Ma, you know who I'm playing with? Naftule Brandwein!'" (H. Silvers 1994, interview). Despite their inflexibility in acculturating with American musical styles, Brandwein and a number of his New York colleagues were highly respected by their colleagues for their abilities in interpreting traditional klezmer music. According to Willie Epstein, who worked for Brandwein for a decade beginning around 1936, "Naftule was not a good [in other words, schooled] musician. He knew his thing, which he did exceptionally well" (W. Epstein 1993a, interview).

Fig. 4.2 Naftule Brandwein band at a family celebration. L. to r.: Lou Levinn, Mookie Brandwein, Abe Brandwein, Chester Brandwynne, Naftule Brandwein, Beresh Katz (courtesy Dorothea Goldys-Bass)

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music by ear, including popular American songs, such as Dorothy Fields' and Jimmy McHughs' *I Can't Give You Anything but Love, Baby* (1928), as well as melodies from the Yiddish theatre (W. Epstein 1993a, interview).

33 Even in the 1950s, Brandwein had trouble finding other employment because of his limited music reading abilities. Marty Levitt related that the Brookside Hotel in the Catskill Mountains fired Brandwein in the summer of 1955 "'cause he couldn't read music. The shows used to come in and they had a problem" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

At the bottom of the klezmer hierarchy were the musicians to whom Tarras referred as "*khasene* klezmer" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:21). Based upon the reputation of the professional klezmorim from Eastern Europe and, in particular, of the violinists, it is unlikely that these musicians had actually been trained as klezmorim in Europe or stemmed from established klezmer families. It is more likely that they had been amateur or, at best, part-time musicians in Europe, who saw a business opportunity in providing music for Jewish weddings and other festive occasions. This would make sense given the tremendous size of the immigrant Jewish communities of the New York area and assuming that only a small, albeit unknown quantity of klezmorim had emigrated to America.[34] Also, if a large number of talented members of the established klezmer families — and in particular the younger members — had been able to transcend klezmer music and enter other fields of the musical profession, then there would have been an additional need for non-klezmer to service the Jewish wedding market. One additional piece of evidence indicating that a portion of the musicians active at Jewish weddings in New York during the immigrant period had not previously been klezmorim, is the publication of several books of sheet music of Jewish wedding music in the early years of the twentieth century. These included Shapiro (1902), Kamenetzky (1906), Fleischman and Bloom (1911), Kostakowsky (1916) and Kammen (1924, 1928, 1934).[35] Such books would have been completely unnecessary for musicians trained in the klezmer tradition: they composed their own pieces and/or had learnt their repertoire entirely by ear and memorised it. "If you came from a klezmer family and you played out of the Kammen book, you were considered a *goy* [non-Jew; within this context, a non-klezmer]. You're not allowed to use any of that material" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).[36] If the members of klezmer families used written music at all, then it was from manuscript books which they maintained themselves, as had been the case in Eastern Europe. Jack Levitt maintained such a set of hand-written books in which he kept a written history of all the *bulgars*, *freylekhs* and other Yiddish music he had in his repertoire.[37] If a band leader wanted the elder

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34  How many klezmorim or Jewish wedding musicians were actually active in New York during the 1910s and 1920s is not known. When Marty Levitt began playing in the late 1940s, there were still a few hundred musicians playing Jewish weddings as a full-time occupation, according to his estimation (M. Levitt 1996, interview).

35  While it is likely these were also intended for amateur musicians, such books would clearly have been an aid for professional or semi-professional musicians with little or no previous knowledge of klezmer repertoire.

36  The Kammen books were the most widely distributed of the sheet music publications with Jewish wedding music. None of the author's informants mentioned any of the other publications, with the exception of Max Epstein, who was in possession of a copy of Kostakowsky (1916).

37  "Books" refers here to arranged parts written out for different instruments. Levitt maintained books for piano, B♭ instruments and E♭ alto saxophone (M. Levitt 1996, interview). Similar books from Tarras are in the collection of the archive of the YIVO Institute (RG 1280) as well as in the private collection of Andy Statman (A. Statman 1997, interview).

Levitt to bring his book to a job for the other musicians to make use of, he would have to pay him extra for it (M. Levitt 1996, interview).

Finally, an unknown number of klezmorim seems to have abandoned music entirely after arriving in America, at least as a full-time occupation. Mario Maffi has pointed out:

> ... the great reality of the Jewish Quarter in its early period was a continuous process of proletarization. Talmud scholars, *melameds* [sic]... and students, *chazans* [sic] ... and rabbis, merchants of all sorts and artisans in various trades — almost all had to start anew and were reborn as peddlers or sweatshop workers... (Maffi 1995:118-119).

This process would have certainly affected immigrant klezmorim as well. Some worked in New York for a time as musicians but later switched professions. Shloimke Beckerman's brother, Harry, for example, who also played clarinet and saxophone and led his own dance orchestra, became an insurance agent (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview).[38]

The musicians who were most likely to have dropped out of the music profession would have been the violinists, especially those who did not have enough training to enter mainstream musical life.[39] The Canadian music critic and publisher Israel Rabinovitch (1894-1964) wrote of the plight of the "village fiddler" in his essay *Unzer heymisher klezmer in dzshez-land* (Our Downhome Klezmer in Jazz-Land; 1940:203-206).[40] In it, he contrasts the fiddler's experience in Europe, where "he was used to the entire town abandoning whatever it was doing in order to come and hear his *dobridzens* with his *volekhlekh* and the other *moralishe nigunim* which used to be played at

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38  As had been the case in Eastern Europe, a number of Jewish wedding musicians in New York had to take on supplementary work in order to survive financially. Supplementary musical employment included directing or singing in synagogue choirs, giving instrument lessons and running music stores. Supplementary non-musical employment was diverse, ranging from working in a sweatshop or factory to owning a small business, such as a barbershop, a chicken store or driving a taxi (D. Tarras 1975, interview:15; J. Barsh 1988, interview; M. Levitt 1990, interview; P. Sokolow 1990, interview; M. Goldberg 1991, interview; M. Epstein 1994, interview; M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview; H. Leess 1999, interview).

39  This process was accelerated by the advent of the cinematic soundtrack beginning with the release of the *Jazz Singer* in October 1927 (Hoberman 1991:151), which "sound[ed] the death knell for both silent film and vaudeville..." (Hoberman 1991:118). The theatres disbanded their orchestras, which affected violinists more than any other group of instrumentalists. A number of violinists switched to other instruments at that time: "When I saw that the silent pictures were going out, I quit my job. I bought myself a saxophone and a clarinet and ten days later I was workin' on a steady job" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

40  The English translation appeared as *A Village Fiddler in Jazzland* (Rabinovitch 1952:277-281).

Rabinovitch himself had been born into a family of *badkhonim* and had been active as a *meshoyrer*, drummer and violinist, and *badkhn* in Buten (Grodno district) prior to emigrating in 1911 (Zylberzweig 1969:5213-5214).

downhome weddings for listening and contemplation",[41] with his experiences in America, where "neither the bride and groom nor their parents want to listen to *klezmerish* 'philosophising'". Rabinovitch' downhome klezmer was relegated in America to performing "an entire hometown wedding, from the *dobridzen* to the *gezegnungs-marsh* [farewell-march]" within the confines of his own room. He remained "a poor klezmer, thrown into a land where no one had any need for him" (all quotes from Rabinovitch 1940:203).

The small group of professionals who provided the Yiddish-speaking communities of New York City with wedding and other entertainment music did not represent a monolithic community of musicians, but rather a group with diverse levels of training, skills and experience — more so than had been the case in Eastern Europe.[42] There were a number of paths for klezmorim emigrating to New York. Each of these represented one aspect of musical experience on a continuum which ranged from entering the musical mainstream and abandoning klezmer music entirely, to straddling both musical worlds,[43] to remaining within the confines of the Yiddish or, even, klezmer musical world, to abandoning the musical profession entirely. The path a musician chose was partly a question of aesthetic choice, partly based on his relative level of training and partly based on economic necessity. The careers of each of the three leading klezmer clarinettists of the immigrant generation, Naftule Brandwein, Dave Tarras and Shloimke Beckerman, represented a different aspect of that immigrant musical experience. They shared a training in established klezmer families and had been full-time music professionals in Europe, and all remained full-time music professionals in New York. In addition, all three musicians had come from orthodox Jewish households and had became non-orthodox. Where their careers differed was in the extent to which they had acculturated musically in New York and how this affected their relationship to klezmer music.

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41  *Volekhl* is likely used here in the hasidic sense as a melody "characterized by slow tempi, free rhythm, recitative elements generally appearing at the end of phrases, and rich ornemantation (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:124-125).

   *Moralishe nigunim* means literally moralistic melodies and, among Hasidim, refers to "*niggunim* that lead to spiritual arousal" (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:129).

42  Beregovski noted of the data he had compiled in the Ukraine and Belorussia: "I would say that if we took the biographies of ten klezmorim, seven of those biographies would be almost identical one to the other" (in Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:158).

43  The Levinskys "all played Jewish music. ... They were ... musicians first. Jewish music, it's like you're an expert. You can be like a general practicianer but still you're an expert in fixing someone's ears ... or whatever" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

### 4.3.5 The *landsmanshaftn* and the klezmorim: Klezmer as an expression strictly of the immigrant milieu

"The *real* klezmer jobs were for the *landsmanshaftn*" (M. Levitt 1994, personal communication). These immigrant organisations, which at their height claimed about one quarter of New York's Jewry,[44] formed the centre of klezmer activity in New York. Daniel Soyer has categorised four basic types of *landsmanshaft*: those which formed small religious congregations (*khevres* or *"ansheys"*);[45] those which formed ideological societies along the lines of the various revolutionary Russian political parties; those which followed the pattern of the American fraternal lodges; and those which were unaffiliated (1997:52 ff.). It was the members of such organisations who tended to be older, Yiddish-speaking, working class, orthodox or of an orthodox background, and acculturated less rapidly (Doroshkin 1969:74; Feingold 1992:98). They — and, in particular, the members of the *khevres* and unaffiliated *landsmanshaftn* — were the ones most likely to organise traditional weddings and other celebrations where the music of the klezmorim was likely to be heard:[46] "The immigrant generation necessarily lived in two worlds, the old and the new. Immigrant Jews remembered their ties to the towns of eastern Europe and with their landslayt strove to plant that culture in America" (Moore 1981:8). Soyer has stressed the essentially American nature of the *landsmanshaft*, in which:

> Immigrants typically patterned their organizations after those most prevalent in American society. In striking ways, the Jewish landsmanshaftn reflected the influences of the surrounding culture more clearly than they mirrored Jewish communal traditions (or innovations) in Eastern Europe (1997:30).

Yet, the musical tastes of the *landslayt* seem to have remained distinctly European — it was *those* tastes of the immigrant, parent generation that determined what type of music would be heard at their (often American-born) children's weddings and *bar mitzvahs*. "The kids wouldn't use me if their life depended upon it. It was the parents that wanted us" (M. Epstein 1994, interview). Amongst his *landslayt*, Brandwein was not considered to have been antiquated. The music the immigrants favoured comprised largely the old-time Yiddish and European dances they had known prior to emigration: "Mostly [Brandwein] played klezmer — that's what they wanted" (W. Epstein 1993a,

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44  The analysts of the Yiddish Writers' Group of the Federal Writers' Project estimated in 1938 a total of around 3,000 *landsmanshaftn* comprising approximately 400,000 members (Soyer 1997:1; see also Kliger 1992).

45  As Deborah Dash Moore has pointed out, the immigrants developed in the *khevre* an American variant of the small town *shul* (synagogue), which "catered to their social welfare and religious needs; it fostered 'friendly ties among former neighbors' and kept alive 'local customs and precious personal memories' of ancestral homes" (Moore 1981:124). In Brownsville, for example, the small synagogue congregation was the norm. They all followed traditional orthodox ritual and varied little from one another (Moore 1981:125).

46  The political groups and those modelled after the American fraternal orders would have been more likely to have had other types of music, either for ideological reasons or as a result of acculturation.

interview). "Waltz, polka, *hora, freylekhs*. [A] rhumba was already too fancy for [Mookie Brandwein]. … He didn't know anything else. … Everybody spoke Yiddish, [and] danced a *freylekhs, pa de span* [Pas D'Espagne], [a] *fottapoppa* (J. Epstein 1993, interview).[47] Speaking of his own experiences beginning in the late 1940s, Marty Levitt recalls that the music performed at the *landsmanshaftn* jobs was, even then, almost exclusively Yiddish and European:

> I remember once I booked a job and … I thought it would be much more effective if I started the job with American repertoire. So those days I started playing some American standards, and they came over to me and said "vos iz dos?" [what's that?]. … So then I went into the [Yiddish] repertoire. The piano player … said to me "If they wanted to hear that kind of music, they'd put on the radio, they don't need you for that. What are you wasting your time [for]?" And he was right. They wanted to hear a *pa de span*, a Krakowiak, you know, different types of dances (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

*Landsmanshaftn* regularly organised formal events, such as annual balls, banquets and concerts (Soyer 1997:47):

> In winter, the East Side witnessed hundreds, if not thousands, of balls and other entertainments given by all kinds of organizations. On one randomly selected Saturday in November 1908 a reader of the *Forward* could choose from among ten advertised balls, two literary evenings, a dinner/concert, and several lectures and meetings. If he or she cared to plan in advance, the paper also featured announcements for at least 19 upcoming balls. All of the dances were sponsored by landsmanshaftn (Soyer 1997:104).[48]

Fig. 4.3  15th Anniversary Banquet of the Progressive Samborer Young Men's Benevolent Association 1910-1925 (YIVO Archive)

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47  *Hora* is an alternate term for *zhok*. *Fottapoppa* is a Bessarabian dance in triple metre with steps similar to the *bulgar*, according to Max Epstein (M. Epstein 1993, interview). See metrical subcategories IIa and IIc in fig. 6.1.

48  "Such undertakings … reflected the substantial secularization of Jewish life. Unlike the banquets of traditional Jewish associations in Europe, many of these affairs had no other rationale besides sociability for its own sake" (Soyer 1997:103).

Music and, to a large extent, klezmer music played a central role at *landsmanshaft* balls and banquets:

> Nearly 4,000 "young men and women, boys and girls, but also old folks," attended the 1902 function of the Minsker Independent Benevolent Association, where "young and old amused themselves each in their own manner. Young couples danced the modern American and also a couple of Minsker dances, and old men and women danced *dreydlekh* and *hopkes* (Der yontef fun di minsker, in: *Tageblat*, 15 December, 1902, cited in Soyer 1997:105).[49]

Max Epstein recalls playing such a banquet in one of the large hotel ballrooms in Manhattan: "We had four clarinet players. It was me, Dave Tarras, Shloimke Beckerman, and Benny Margulies. Four of us playing at the same time [in] different parts of the room, playing at the tables. Everybody was playing something else" (M. Epstein 1991, interview). Such balls and banquets were not limited to the *landsmanshaftn*. Political parties and trade organisations also had similar events. For example, the Bund's Concert and Ball listed in the *Forward* on 31 December, 1904 mentions that dancing will be "accompanied by a double union orchestra under Prof. Shpilberg until 5 a.m" (Slobin 1982c:78).[50]

Through their work at the public events of the *landsmanshaftn*, musicians were able to make personal contacts with the membership. Instrumentalists such as Tarras and Epstein were thus able to secure engagements from year to year not only at the banquets and balls but, more importantly, at the myriad of weddings and other celebrations of the member families. Such personal relationships extended at times over decades. Max Epstein recalls:

> I played for an organization for forty years! Of course they're all gone now. They were friends. If they ran an affair, I had to play it. If I couldn't make it, they would change the date. That's how far it went. And then they used to tell their members, "if you don't take Maxele to play, we don't come to the affair" (M. Epstein 1991, interview). I knew exactly what they wanted and how to play for them. ... They could dance for hours. They danced on their toes, and you saw fifteen to twenty rings, everybody going in the same direction and at the same tempo (M. and W. Epstein 1994, interview).

The geographic origins of an immigrant "had more than just symbolic significance. Established immigrants often brought newly arrived friends and relatives into the shops where they worked, creating concentrations of compatriots in various factories, trades, and even entire industries" (Soyer

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49   See also Slobin (1982c:76-78).

50   Stutschewsky mentions a Shpilberg family of klezmers from Neshvizh near Minsk, which emigrated to the United States in 1900 (1959:138-139), strengthening the argument that klezmers were involved early on in *landsmanshaft* events.

Other events sponsored by the *landsmanshaftn* which involved music included fund-raising benefits for hospitals, war relief and striking workers, as well as dedications of new *torah* scrolls and of cornerstones for new synagogue buildings (Soyer 1997:57, 103, 135, 154, 157). In addition, the societies would hold monthly meetings in the middle of the week with coffee and cake, for which they also engaged musicians (M. Levitt 1996, interview).

1997:49-50). The musicians, too, organised to some extent along *landslayt* lines. Not only would they provide services for their own *landslayt*, they tended to favour *landslayt* for employment in their orchestras (M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview): "Every *shtetl*, they all had their own music, their own favourite tunes. So it used to be that the musicians that they employed were from their town, because they knew their music, the songs which were popular with them" (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview). Favouring one's own *landslayt* had to do with both kinship and friendship ties as well as to aesthetic preferences. The multi-instrumentalist Beresh Katz preferred to work for his *landsman* Brandwein than for Tarras because he was partial to the regional style of playing which Brandwein embodied (M. Epstein 1993, interview):

> Old World village attachments did not disappear upon the newcomers' arrival. Immigrants sought to hold on — in part through their music and entertainment — to a psychological sense either of their own particular provincial home in the Old World or of any European locality similar to or associated with their own. (Greene 1992:91).[51]

The celebrations of the *landsmanshaftn* also provided a forum for the exchange of regional musical and dancing styles:

> Everyone played a little different repertoire. It also depended what town they came from. ... When you played for a certain group, they'd want to hear certain numbers that were never recorded. ... You had to know who you were working for... You knew if you worked for this group, you had to play these tunes, the other group, the other tunes (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

As one immigrant remembered, "The town organizations invited each other to affairs. That is how we melted, mixed. I went to a Rumanian affair, a Russian affair. We met different young people" (cited in Soyer 1997:106).

### 4.3.6 Evolving musical tastes among the immigrants and other issues of acculturation

Even within the Yiddish-speaking milieu of the *khevres* and *landsmanshaftn*, musical tastes among the immigrants changed over the course of time, partly as a result of living in a much larger urban environment and partly as a result of acculturation or Americanisation. Their tastes became more "sophisticated" and they gradually demanded a different repertoire and style of music, including klezmer music.[52] This is clear from Israel Rabinovitch' tale of the downhome klezmer (1940), who either could not, or was unwilling to assimilate newer styles — Yiddish or American. Consequently, such a musician was left behind in a similar process to that experienced by Rakhmil-Leyb Maylis' character Artsi the Klezmer, because he could not read music notation

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51 Chapter 8 shall investigate stylistic similarities and differences between Brandwein and Tarras.

52 See, for example, the description in *The Rise of David Levinsky* regarding the changing musical tastes of a *khevre* (Cahan 1993:390-391).

at a time when klezmorim were becoming musically literate (Maylis 1894). As Rabinovitch writes, "before jazz came out" there was a time in America when:

> ... the downhome klezmer still had a little place in America, it's true, not such a respected one like back home — far from it — but still a little place. There were still hometown people who liked to do a dance at their weddings, a dowhhome *sher*, or a *kadril*, and when the wedding was for *landslayt* who knew what Yosl Klezmer was capable of playing, they would call him to the table and he would play his *volekhlekh* and *pastekhlekh* for them — from which some "licked their fingers" (1940:204).[53]

Gradually, though, "things began to get worse and worse. Not only was he no longer called to the table to perform his *volekhlekh*, but it gradually became simply difficult to even land a little wedding [job]" (1940:204). Clearly, this had to do not only with the encroachment of "jazz" (in other words, the American popular music of the day), but also with an orientation on the part of the listeners towards Western art music. The downhome klezmer was hurt most by a comment of one of the guests that, "since he had heard Mischa Elman play, he had decided that all downhome klezmers should take their fiddles and burn them" (1940:204).

Henry Feingold has written, "A culture of acculturation develops out of mediation between the values of the host society and of those trying to find a place in it" (Feingold 1992:62). This became increasingly an issue among the Yiddish-speaking communities as the first generation of American-born came of age and, especially, after the virtual stop in immigration in 1924.[54] Feingold states:

> As the number of Jews entering the immigration stream waned, the impact on American Jewish demography could be seen in the decline of readership of the Yiddish press and attendance at the Yiddish theater and in a further decline in religious observance. (...) After the restrictive immigration laws went into effect, the influence of the immigrant generation diminished. Their children, the second generation — used here more in the cultural than the chronological sense — now set the pace and determined the direction of change. The web of kinship and communal associations, part of immigrant life, fell into disuse even while interdependence of the generations remained (Feingold 1992:32, 35).[55]

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53  The *sher* is a type of Eastern European Jewish square dance for four or more couples. The *kadril* developed from the French Quadrille and is also a square dance for four or eight dancers.

   *Pastekhlekh* refers to pastoral, shepherd-like melodies.

54  Heinze points out: "the meeting of two different cultures left a deep impression on each, turning old world Jews into urban Americans and turning the American city into a more sophisticated place" (Heinze 1990:7).

55  Another factor which likely accelerated the rate of acculturation was the almost complete absence of hasidic Jews among the immigrants prior to World War Two (Mintz 1992:15). Although a few small hasidic communities had been established in New York prior to the war (Soyer 1997:58), "The most notable Rebbes, fearful of the openness and freedom in America, had remained in Europe..." (Mintz 1992:20), and any hasidic influence on the developing secular Yiddish culture was as an object of parody or, at most, indirectly transmitted by non-Hasidim or former Hasidim, such as Brandwein and Tarras

However, "the emergence of a second generation in the 1920s ... should not obscure the continuing existence of immigrant life" (Moore 1981:16-17); the importance of the *landsmanshaftn* continued on throughout the 1920s and 1930s (Soyer 1997:190).

In the midst of the accultural process — and perhaps as a reaction to it — a kind of non-acculturated Yiddish culture, including klezmer music, was able to reach its zenith of popularity during the 1920s. Feingold postulates,

> Unlike other immigrant groups, Jews were able to bring their full culture to America, including writers, poets, and sundry culture producers. It possessed a separate language, Yiddish... In a word, the requisites for the flowering of a distinct Jewish culture in America — the artists and writers, the language, and above all the mass audience eager to hear and see — were present. ... this brief historical flowering established the transition to a truly cosmopolitan Jewish culture (Feingold 1992:63).

The recordings under study here were made exactly during the period when these tensions were evident amongst the Eastern European Jewish immigrants in New York and the musicians involved, such as Dave Tarras, would surely have been affected by them. According to the mandolinist and clarinettist Andy Statman, who studied with Tarras in the late 1970s, Tarras "seemed to be very eager and very quick to Americanise. ... He was a person who was always looking to improve his music" (A. Statman 1997, interview). Even from the beginning of his American career in the early to mid-1920s, Tarras did not play any weddings where there was "only old fashioned music. ... I play fox-trots, you gotta play ... waltzes and you gotta play Jewish" (D. Tarras 1975, interview:25).

## 4.3.7 The transformation of the structures and function of the klezmer *kapelyes* in New York

Many of the characteristics of the klezmer ensembles in New York and the social interaction among the musicians were direct carryovers from Eastern Europe, albeit in changed, Americanised form. Other aspects had changed completely in New York, including a fundamental economic restructuring of the bands. Klezmorim in Europe had been owner-members of set *kapelyes* with guild-like structures. In contrast, in America they became free-lance musicians — whether band leaders or employees — functioning in the single engagement employment market. A relatively small number of specialised musicians served a very large Jewish community. It thus became possible for these specialists to make a full-time, middle class living, whereas the generations of their parents and grandparents had in many cases been only amateur or part-time musicians and even the full-time instrumentalists had barely earned a subsistence wage: "With all the playing we hardly had anything to eat" in Europe (D. Tarras 1975, interview:9).

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themselves.

## 4.3.7.1 Organisational and payment structures

In New York, the typical Jewish wedding musician in the decades prior to World War Two performed an exchangeable function, similar to that of the club date musicians in the post-war period (MacLeod 1993:5, 9, 31, 61). "In those days, the bands were interchangeable" (Marty Levitt in: M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview). This was in stark contrast to the aesthetic in Eastern Europe, which had promoted charisma and individualism (Fater 1985:60). In addition, in Eastern Europe even the larger Jewish communities, such as Berdichev, had at most three klezmer ensembles (Beregovski 1937:15, 1941:422). What competition there had been existed between ensembles and not between single musicians. In New York, the "sidemen" were competing against one another as individuals whose "livelihood depends in large part on maintaining good relations ... with leaders and contractors" (MacLeod 1993:20).[56]

Repertoire, which was usually not notated or arranged for weddings and other celebrations, "was sort of standard amongst the Jewish musicians" (Marty Levitt in: M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview).[57] What Bruce MacLeod has written in relation to generic, club date repertoire could be applied equally well to that of the Jewish klezmer bands of New York:

> ... each song came to be played in its "standard key"... Without a standard key for each song, leaders could never be sure that all band members would know a particular song in the same key signature. ... Each song in the repertoire also came to be phrased in a style that was more or less standard throughout the club date business. ... Conflicts in phrasing were bound to occur if musicians were unfamiliar with a leader's style, but musicians who worked for a number of different leaders soon learned which phrasings were peculiar to certain leaders and which were common to most (1993:47, 49).

Standard klezmer performance practice also included what the musicians refer to as "secret runs", passages which were not notated, but of which every knowledgeable specialist was in command:

> When I was taught to play the Russian *sher*, it wasn't the way it's written in the Kammen Book [1924:18-19]. I was taught all the runs, they were called "secret runs". They were secret because there weren't any recordings [sic]. Everybody played them (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

Such commonalities of repertoire, keys, and performance style enabled the

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56  In club date jargon, "sideman" refers to an employee who has no supervisory responsibilities; a "contractor" is an individual hired by the "leader" to engage the other musicians for a job (MacLeod 1993:19).

57  If pieces were arranged at all, they consisted of simple "head" or "faked" arrangements. In jazz terminology, the "head" is the melody, and a "head arrangement" is a "relatively spare aural score ... whose parts are transmitted through demonstration and memorized on the spot" (P. Berliner 1994:64; see also 63, 93 and, especially, 301 and 305).

Band leader Abe Schwartz' "arrangements" consisted of writing out the same melody for all of his musicians. "They used to say, 'no one gets lost when he writes music'" (Marty Levitt in M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview).

wedding groups to consist of an overlapping membership drawn from a limited pool of accomplished players — whether the nominal band leader was Abe Schwartz, Max Leibowitz or Naftule Brandwein.

In contrast to the Eastern European *kapelyes*, which had held regular rehearsals to perfect new repertoire,[58] New York bands did not rehearse. Because they generally did not have a set membership, it would have been impracticable to do so with newcomers before each engagement. Any new repertoire introduced into the canon had to be learnt by the musicians at the engagements themselves (S. Beckerman 1996, interview). As had been the case in Europe, most of the tunes did not have names. The band leader would start up a new tune and the band members would simply follow him: "By the time he played three notes, the whole band would be there " (S. Beckerman 1996, interview). Klezmer music, which appears to have had a relatively uniform repertoire and style over a large geographic area in Eastern Europe, therefore became even more homogeneous in New York, due to the close physical proximity of the musicians and the club date structures of the engagements. At the same time, however, at least some of the New York wedding musicians tended to operate as a clique or set of cliques and guarded their repertoire zealously:

> The real repertoire was not in the Kammen Book[s]. And that repertoire was guarded like a family secret. Like they have recipes for making wine handed down from one generation to another. ... To get into that clique, to get that repertoire, they wouldn't allow anyone else in, 'cause they would make competition for themselves. ... It was like a select group of people that could play those type of affairs... You know, it was like a guild, like a guild within a guild" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).[59]

There was a clear economic incentive to knowing how to play klezmer music: "If you knew the repertoire, you generally got paid more than playing at an American affair, 'cause there were less people that knew that repertoire" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).[60] In addition, as they had been in Europe, most members of klezmer families were not simply performers, but performer-composers:

> Everyone wrote something, I would say... I remember my uncle used to fool around on the piano, finally put together three parts, [it] was a *bulgar*. Harry Kutcher composed; if you look through the Kammen book [J. and J. Kammen 1934] you'll see Joe Kutcher's name there [listed as composer] ... As a matter of fact, even Sid's father [Shloimke Beckerman] wrote a *bulgar*." (M. Levitt 1990, interview).[61]

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58    Kozłowski 1991, interview; Sholom Aleichem, *Funem yarid* (1944, vol. 3, book 2:70).

59    It was said of Brandwein that he performed with his back to the audience so that other clarinettists could not copy his idiosyncratic fingerings (Feldman and Statman 1979b), although all photos of Brandwein known to the author picture him facing the audience and looking directly into the camera (see, for example, figs. 4.2 and 4.7; Ottens and Rubin 1999a:201, 265).

60    Here "American" probably refers to acculturated American-Jewish weddings of the non-immigrant, non-Yiddish speaking milieu.

61    The trumpeter Harry Kutcher, xylophonist and drummer Joe Kutcher and trombonist

Fig. 4.4 Bulgar dance at Rose Tarras' wedding celebration, ca. 1950. L. to r.: Irving Gratz, Dave Tarras, Mrs. Gratz, Sammy Musiker (Center for Traditional Music and Dance, New York)

One of the most noticeable changes from Europe to New York was the attitude the musicians held towards the band leader. In Europe, the *kapelyes* had centred around the first violinist, who was at once patriarch, band leader, virtuoso soloist, composer and paragon for the other musicians. In America, however, the band leader was generally viewed as a businessman who could not play well. (Virtuosi such as Brandwein and Tarras seem to have been exceptions in this regard.) When Marty Levitt became a band leader in the late 1940s, for example, his father said to him:

> "No, you'll disgrace the family if you become a businessman. But if you're a musician, you'll be looked upon highly". ... My dad never wanted to be a leader. He felt it was beneath his dignity, because if you were an entrepreneur, [it] means you couldn't play your instrument. See, in those days, the guys who booked jobs were generally the business people (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

In contrast to the musicians, the customer was shielded from the free-lance nature of the wedding business. They knew the band leader only, who was in some cases a popular soloist such as Brandwein or Tarras:

> These individual performers were like artists. ... Big fish in a small pond ... like Dave Tarras. Everybody knew he was a great artist. Even Abe Schwartz, people looked up to him. ... They were entertainers in a way. They had personalities, they were gifted. People liked them (Marty Levitt in: M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview).

The customers were under the illusion that "they're hiring this guy; they're

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Sammy Kutcher belonged to the most respected musicians in the New York klezmer scene from the mid-1920s onwards. Their father, Velvel Kutcher, was an immigrant clarinettist. It is not certain whether the Kutcher brothers were born in Europe or America (M. Goldberg 1991, interview; M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview; M. Levitt 1996, interview).

getting a band. They're not getting a band, they're hiring a *leader*. The leader in turn goes out and hires the musicians" (Marty Levitt in: M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview).

Since the New York wedding musicians were not owner-members of the bands, but rather bosses and employees, they were not paid in the same manner as they had been in Europe. Rather than receiving a share of the total fee and tips collected, the sidemen were paid in relation to "scale", a set amount determined by the musicians' union. In single engagement employment, the musician could negotiate his own fee with the band leader, especially if he was in demand. "Club date I demanded my price. Years ago if scale was $12, I got $20" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).[62] This was not counting any gratuities received. Some band leaders, such as Brandwein, always paid their musicians higher than union scale as a general rule:

> [Brandwein] was a sporty man... Instead of $10 he would pay $13 or $15. He used to take us out after the job [in the late 1930s] and we would go to places like Molly's, a steak house on the Lower East Side, [where] he would pay $60 for a meal [in other words, he would treat his musicians to the meal]. The money had no value for him (W. Epstein 1993a, interview).

On the other hand, a less scrupulous band leader often paid an amount lower than scale (M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview).

The custom of tipping the musicians, however, did carry over to New York to some extent. Musicians were tipped both to play particular dances, such as the Russian *sher*, as well as for "playing the tables":

> They knew that I could play the music that they wanted, so they would call me over to the table and play. I'd play it for them and then they'd give me the tip. They [the band] played over there [in other words, he went alone to the tables and the band accompanied him from the bandstand] (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

Playing the tables was also a carryover from Europe, where improvisations and other virtuosic and lyrical pieces had been played *tsum tish*. Tipping was, however, not a standard custom as it had been in Europe (S. Beckerman 1996, interview).

It was strictly for economic reasons that a number of musicians preferred single engagements to steady employment in theatres, radio or restaurants. "I wanted to make money. I didn't want to have a flat salary. That's why I never wanted to work steady" (M. Epstein 1994, interview). Max Epstein would only take on a steady job in the Yiddish theatre during the times of the year when no weddings took place (M. Epstein 1991, interview). As a free-lance musician, a

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62  To put the relation of the earnings of the sideman and the band leader in perspective, Marty Levitt relates:

> During the depression he [Ben Sherman, a popular clarinettist and band leader] once gave the wrong envelope to my uncle, who was working for him, and the envelope was with his profits. In those days a musician got let's say $25 or $30 or $20, whatever. His envelope had $700, that was an unheard of sum to make in one night (Marty Levitt in: M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview).

player could perform a two-hour session at the radio in the morning, play in the recording studios in the afternoon, and still be able to appear at weddings and other celebrations in the evenings (M. Epstein 1993, interview). Aesthetic considerations and an interest in acquiring new repertoire also played an important role in the decision to remain a free-lance musician:

> You see, when you get into those places [such as a cabaret-restaurant], you get stale. It's the same thing, the same routine day in and day out. ... I used to play at a job, I'd get tired of it. Say a month, six weeks, pack it in. ... Repertoire! ... I don't think there's anybody around that has my repertoire (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

### 4.3.7.2 Changes in the composition of the wedding bands in New York

Changes in the composition of klezmer bands in New York consisted of two elements. Firstly, new instruments were introduced to the ensemble, most notably the saxophone (which was usually played by the clarinettist) and the piano.[63] Several other instruments used in the New York groups had already been present in the Eastern European klezmer orchestras, but not in the same format. Whereas in Europe the Turkish-style bass drum-cymbal combination and the small drum had been played by two individuals, in New York, the drum set was introduced, which could be played by one musician. Max Goldberg described his earliest drum set as having consisted of "a bass drum and a snare drum, and a little cup cymbal. I played [the snare drum] on a chair, I didn't have a stand. I hung it over a chair with a rope to tie it up" (M. Goldberg 1991, interview).[64] In New York, the slide trombone replaced the valve trombone which had been more common in Europe, silver flutes replaced the European wooden ones and, in some cases, Boehm system clarinets replaced the Albert system clarinets played in Europe. The B♭ clarinet gradually replaced the C clarinet as well, so that by the late 1920s, Brandwein was the only of the three leading New York clarinettists still performing on the C clarinet (M. and W. Epstein 1994, interview).[65] Secondly, the tendency

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63  Parallel developments took place in interwar Poland, where the Jewish wedding bands had introduced saxophone, accordion and drums by the mid-1920s (L. Spellman 1999, interview; H. Baigelman 2000, interview).

   At various times, C-melody, alto and tenor saxophones were employed in Jewish wedding bands in New York (H. Leess 1988, interview:2). While the saxophone was featured as lead melody instrument on non-klezmer repertoire, such as waltzes and American dance music, it was played on the klezmer repertoire as well if there were both a clarinettist and a saxophonist present on the job (M. and W. Epstein 1994, interview).

64  He also had a cowbell and a woodblock. Goldberg did not play on a more sophisticated drum set until the 1940s (M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt 1994, interview). When Goldberg performed with Brandwein as a teenager in the mid-1920s, he did not always even bring a drum set. Brandwein said to him, "Goldberg, kim shpiln mit mir a khasene, nem dem shmul-drum [come play a wedding with me, bring the snare drum]" (M. Goldberg 1991, interview).

65  Several other instruments were used in bands but seem to have not became more than a novelty. These included the xylophone and the concert cimbalom. In the case of such instruments, there may have been only one or two performers who popularised them,

throughout the 1920s was towards smaller ensembles.[66] This, in combination with a stronger emphasis on dance music, led to the gradual disappearance of violins from the ensemble.[67] Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, the standard wedding band consisted of a quartet of clarinet doubling on saxophone, trumpet, piano and drums (D. Tarras 1975, interview:21; M. Epstein 1991, interview).[68] The music was "strictly for dancing. Violins you used when there were singers, things like that" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).[69] The main exception to this was when the violinist was the band leader: "A fiddle player was usually the leader. He couldn't get a job [otherwise], so he had to be the leader" (M. Epstein 1991, interview). During those decades, if a larger ensemble was required, it would generally consist of between five and seven musicians.

such as Joseph Moskowitz (1879-1953) on the *cimbalom*, and Joe Kutcher (in New York) and Jacob Hoffman (in Philadelphia) on the xylophone.

66    An examination of publicity photographs of New York klezmer bands of the early to mid-1920s shows much larger ensembles than were normally used at weddings. These orchestras contained mostly the same instrumentation as had been present in the large European *kapelyes* of the late nineteenth century, with the addition of piano, drum set and saxophones. Such photographs were likely of recording studio orchestras only, as the cost of hiring such a large orchestra would certainly have been out of the range of most immigrants. See, for example, Leibowitz (1921, fig. 4.1), Sapoznik et al. (1981:16, liner notes), Rubin and Ottens (1999a:215).

67    The secondary role of the violin in dance music in New York was a continuation of the process already set in motion in Eastern Europe by the early years of the twentieth century. Still, the Jewish wedding bands in Poland were led mostly by violinists until the outbreak of World War Two (L. Spellman 2000, interview; H. Baigelman 2000, interview).

68    The same instrumentation was still used by Tarras in the 1970s during his performances at the Gradus Hotel in Kiamisha Lake, the Catskills (D. Tarras 1975, interview:2).

69    Singers did not become regular performers with the Jewish wedding ensembles until the late 1930s, with the introduction of the public address system (M. Epstein 1991, interview). Mostly, they sang popular American tunes, but occasionally a singer, such as Max Goldberg, was hired for his abilities to sing the hits of the Yiddish theatre (M. Epstein 1991, interview; M. Goldberg 1991, interview).

Fig. 4.5 Dave Tarras band, ca. 1940. L. to r.: Sammy Kutcher, Irving Gratz, Harry Kutcher, Sammy Beckerman, Dave Tarras (Center for Traditional Music and Dance, New York)

The additional instruments would consist of a second saxophonist, string bass and trombone (D. Tarras 1975, interview:25; M. Epstein 1991, interview). When he became a band leader, Tarras' groups often had ten players, including clarinet, three saxophones, two trumpets, trombone, string bass, piano and drums. Only if the band was to comprise twelve musicians or more would he hire violins (D. Tarras 1975, interview:21).

### 4.3.7.3 Entertainment and show business attitudes enter the klezmer aesthetic

The instrumentalists at New York Jewish weddings and celebrations gradually transformed themselves into something more than just musicians: they perceived the need to be seen as popular entertainers and began to incorporate elements of showmanship into their performances.

Fig. 4.6 Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish American Jazz Band, mid-1920s. Shloimke Beckerman, second from right; Naftule Brandwein, third from right; Joseph Cherniavsky, standing in middle; Jack Levitt, second from left in second row (YIVO Archive)

During the 1920s, musicians in the vanguard of this process included Joseph Cherniavsky who, together with his Yiddish American Jazz Band, gave what were likely the first klezmer concerts in the United States dressed up alternately as Hasidim or Cossacks, and Naftule Brandwein, who was known for wearing an electric "Uncle Sam" suit on the bandstand or performing the clarinet wearing a pair of white gloves, among other show business effects: "He was quite a performer, he was like an actor, he was like in the circus" (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). "He used to wear a suit with lights on it. A one-piece jump suit with sockets for little bulbs — all different colors. One time he got a short circuit and the thing started to burn" (W. Epstein 1993a, interview). "He thought [the Uncle Sam suit] was modern, because what could you do modern with the music? He played the same music all the time!" (J. Epstein 1993, interview). As the clarinettist and saxophonist Ray Musiker (b. 1926), an American-born son of the trumpeter Zeydl Musiker, points out:

> ... [a] conflict always existed between artistry and putting on a show. Unfortunately, more people responded to the visual than to the actual playing. Dave Tarras and Naftule still had so much to offer, that they were looked upon with great reverence because of their artistic ability. Neither of them would have to put on a costume in order to gain people's attention (H. Leess, R. Musiker and P. Pincus 1994, interview).

The trend towards show business gimmickry was likely a reflection of the popularity of Yiddish and American theatre and vaudeville in the 1920s. A particularly influential performer was Aaron Lebedeff (1873-1960), whose celebrity "rested less on his characterizations than on his stage presence, which was marked by unbounded exuberance and dash" (Greene 1992:102). Brandwein and, to a lesser extent, Tarras, were both known to have socialised within the Yiddish theatre milieu (P. Sokolow 1990, interview; A. Rubinstein 1993, interview; H. Leess, R. Musiker and P. Pincus 1994, interview). In the case of Joseph Cherniavsky, the connection was even more direct: he had composed

scores for the Yiddish theatre since 1920 and his orchestra was a regular fixture on the vaudeville circuit during the early to mid-1920s (Zylberzweig 1934:904-906; *Yoysef Tshernyavski...* n.d.).

The kind of rapport a musician such as Brandwein established with his audience was, however, likely evidence of a much deeper layer of folklore than the mere influence of a show business aesthetic can explain. One of Brandwein's grandchildren related his earliest memory of a family wedding in mid-1940s, at which Brandwein performed:

> During the eating part of the wedding ... all of a sudden there was a drum roll and the lights went out and I sensed all around me that I was the only one that didn't know what was about to happen. ... All of a sudden a spotlight went on in the center of this hall and there was grandpa. It was just this glistening image. All around me I could hear, particularly the women, going ooooooooh and beating their breasts. It quieted down and he started to play, I guess it was a *doina*. Everything was silent and all that you got was the pianist played a [tremoloed] minor chord and he started right in the spotlight, and then it all of a sudden broke out into a *bulgar* or something and he started coming around to each table playing, and the band was playing. I watched these women in my family, and it was like they couldn't breathe. They were so overwhelmed. He would come near them and play and the clarinet would go almost down into their breasts. And they would just *kvel* [beam]. ... It was very theatrical, almost orgiastic. You just got the sense of a ritual that was so ancient, that's what it felt like, that I was in the midst of this really ancient kind of ritual that had been going on for a long time. That's my image and I'm sure it's fairly accurate (A. Rubinstein 1993, interview).

Fig. 4.7 Naftule Brandwein plays a solo at a famiy celebration
(courtesy Dorothea Goldys-Bass)

It would appear from such a vivid description that a musician such as Brandwein still performed an important ritual function within the context of the immigrant milieu. For the first generation born in America, the ritual role of the klezmer was no longer of relevance. For the immigrant generation, however, it likely represented the final stage in a gradual process of secularisation and acculturation since the mid-nineteenth century. Following the train of thought that the klezmer tradition developed from the medieval tradition of the *letsonim*, it becomes possible to discern remnants of this archaic mode of communication surviving into the twentieth century in the guise of the klezmorim, even in the United States. The *letsonim* tradition emerged during a period in which there was not a clear separation between song and instrumental music. Salmen has delineated the key qualities of the medieval minstrel's performance in general:

> Itinerant singers did not want to hold monologues without a reaction from the audience, but rather to enter whenever possible into an exchange with enthusiastic listeners and elicit their active participation. Making use of the "I"-form and direct address, they also attempted for the same reason to communicate everything as having been of their own experience, emphatically intensified, vivid, witty and swathed in catchy slogans (1983:134).

As chapter 3 has shown, comparisons to speech and storytelling run like a leitmotif through the folklore of klezmer musicians (Beregovski 1941:446).[70] In a similar fashion, Max Epstein relates that whatever Brandwein played, "he acted actually... I would say he became part of the song ... He was telling a story" (M. Epstein 1999a, interview). Within this framework, Brandwein's *doina*, a secular, Romanian-derived lament, may be viewed not only as a continuation of the kind of "moralising" and "philosophising" playing of the Eastern European klezmorim of prior generations (Rabinovitch 1940:203), but of medieval minstrelsy in general.

#### 4.3.7.4 Social structures and camaraderie among the Jewish wedding musicians

Jewish wedding musicians in New York remained a distinct and insular socio-economic group, in which intermarriage and socialising among members of klezmer families in New York was a common occurrence (M. Levitt 1990, interview). As Max Epstein relates, "Years ago, before Local 802, [the members of the Progressive] met and played cards" (M. Epstein 1994, interview):

> What I'm trying to bring out [is] we enjoyed our work. It wasn't a labour to go to work, it was a labour of love. We enjoyed every moment of it. And today? The camaraderie that you had on the jobs years ago you don't see that today. ... We used to go out together and go to [Silver's] Turkish baths [on Surf Avenue] in Coney Island. We'd bring food with us, we'd play cards there, sometimes we stayed overnight there. It was nice (M. Epstein 1991, interview; M. Epstein 1994, interview).[71]

Like the characters in Druker's *Klezmer*, Max Epstein and his American-born klezmer colleagues would socialise on Friday nights, when no weddings would take place.[72] "Then we'd have a couple of guys come together in my house one night and the next time in another guy's house. The women would play mah-jong and we would play poker" (M. Epstein 1994, interview). For many of the wedding musicians, drinking together — both on the bandstand and off — also played an important part in their socialising. As the clarinettist and band leader Rudy Tepel recalls of his friendships with Brandwein's nephews, trumpeter Eddie Brandwein and drummer Murray Brandwein, "We were like family. We went to each other's houses. We got drunk. We were all friends" (R. and L. Tepel 1990, interview).

The immigrant klezmorim in New York still remembered and used remnants of the old *klezmer-loshn* from Eastern Europe, but even the eldest of the author's informants could only remember a few terms which they had learnt from the immigrant musicians (M. Levitt 1990, interview; M. Epstein 1993, interview). The older musicians spoke mostly Yiddish in combination

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70    See also the description in Druker (1976:28).

71    Samuel Weissenberg has written of the Eastern European klezmers' "love of mockery[,] ... humour and cheekiness" (1913:128). Playing practical jokes on one another was a typical occurrence among New York's Jewish wedding musicians (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

72    See Druker (1976:10-21).

with some English. Brandwein, for example, still spoke almost "ninety-nine per cent" Yiddish, even after he had lived in America for more than forty years (S. Rubinstein 1993, interview). As Marty Levitt explains:

> They would use these expressions, they were very picturesque, you couldn't really translate them into English. Let's say you met an instrumentalist and you thought he had a terrible tone on his instrument. What would you say? They used to say, "*er hot a ton azey vi men pisht a blekh*" [He has a tone that sounds like piss landing on a sheet of tin] (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

## 4.3.8 Performance contexts of the New York klezmorim

The New York klezmorim performed within a number of contexts. These may be divided into three basic categories: (1) Jewish ritual events; (2) secular performance contexts for exclusively or predominantly Jewish audiences; and (3) secular performance contexts for a general or non-Jewish audience.

### 4.3.8.1 Jewish ritual events

### 4.3.8.1.1 Immigrant weddings

The traditional wedding in New York continued to occupy an important place in the Jewish life-cycle, and it was to remain the most important occasion for the performance of music by klezmorim.[73] The Eastern European Jewish wedding underwent a number of modifications in New York, including changes in the location and duration of the celebration as well as the rituals associated with it. While the typical Eastern European Jewish wedding had lasted for a week, the New York wedding was condensed into the course of one evening and, rather than the ceremony taking place out of doors next to the synagogue with at least some of the festivities being celebrated in private homes, the entire New York wedding took place in one location, most often the catering hall (Joselit 1994:24).[74] At the beginning of the twentieth century there

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73  In Philadelphia at the turn of the twentieth century, Jewish weddings outnumbered other events in social and catering halls by a ratio of ten to one, according to a study by Charlotte Patten (Loeffler 1997a:19).

74  In the larger Eastern European towns, wedding celebrations were also held in catering halls by the turn of the twentieth century. See, for example, the memoirs of the Russian opera singer Sergei Levik (b. Belaya Tserkov, 1883), who regularly witnessed performances by Pedotser and his *kapelye* in a catering hall in Berdichev during the 1890s (Levik 1995:3).

On the east side, some Jews still insisted on having wedding celebrations in private homes, but this seems to have been rather unusual (S. Beckerman 1996, interview). In Sidney Goldin and Maurice Schwartz' 1932 filmed adaptation of Sholem Asch's sweatshop novel *Uncle Moses* (1918), the wedding takes place in the apartment of the bride's parents, *landslayt* of Uncle Moses. Uncle Moses states that he purposely held the celebration in a home, rather than in a "*groyser hal*" (big hall), because he wanted a wedding like back home.

were around thirty halls within the small area between Houston and Grand Streets, east of the Bowery. Such halls were used not only for weddings, but "community celebrations, dances organized by *landsmanshaftn* and social clubs, and meetings sponsored by political parties and labor unions" as well (Maffi 1995:87):

> The halls were long and narrow, poorly heated and lighted, with sawdust on the floor to protect it for the dancing. Usually there was a canopy for Jewish weddings with faded velvet hangings and dusty flowers. On the walls there were charters of "landsmen" clubs and beautiful red banners of Socialist locals and unions, hung carefully under glass, taken out only for special occasions like May Day... (Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, cited in Maffi 1995:87).

Most halls ranged in size to accommodate from 500 to 1,000 guests and cost around $30 to rent for an evening at the turn of the twentieth century (Maffi 1995:87-88).[75] By the 1910s, the east side was no longer the only locus of klezmer music in New York City. As all of the Jewish immigrant neighbourhoods had their own catering halls, they, too, became the settings for klezmer activity.[76]

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75  The catered wedding seems to have been based on class, and the poorest families could not afford them (H. Leess, R. Musiker and P. Pincus 1994, interview). At the same time, "refined immigrants":

> ... began looking down their noses at weddings in halls, especially as these became more expensive and ostentatious. ... A Yiddish memoirist recalls that "the aristocrats and radicals preferred 'private weddings' without a big fuss," but ordinary people were not "satisfied with this. They wouldn't forgo the opportunity of dancing at their own children's wedding" (Howe 1976:221).

It seems to have been, then, the masses of working-class immigrant families who supported the weddings in the catering halls, those same families who would belong to a *khevre* or other *landsmanshaft* organisation.

76  The novelist Henry Roth mentioned, for example, the "sprawling Harlem Casino, used for Jewish marriages, fancy Bar Mitzvahs and other special occasions, that stood at the corner of Fifth Avenue and 110th Street" in the approximate period 1914-1919 (Roth 1994:21). According to Tarras, the catering halls in Brownsville were opened during the 1920s (Loeffler 1997a:19). Max Epstein pointed out that "the nicer catering halls were in Brooklyn, not in the Lower East Side". From Brooklyn, in particular Brownsville, they spread out to Queens and from Queens to Long Island (M. Epstein 1994, interview).

Fig. 4.8 Dave Tarras plays a solo at a catering hall, 1940s
(Center for Traditional Music and Dance, New York)

Besides catering halls, other popular venues for weddings and celebrations included so-called "wedding temples", dancing halls, the ballrooms of large hotels, restaurants and, later, the facilities of synagogue centres (Joselit 1994:27, 33).

As a result of the truncated form of the New York wedding, many of the festivities common in Europe, such as the *forshpil* and the *khosnmol*, went out of fashion. In their place other factors, besides religious ritual and tradition, came into play. As Joselit has shown, American Jewish marriages and other life-cycle rituals "called forth displays of Jewishness seemingly unrivaled and unprecedented in their mix of emotionality, consumerism, pragmatism, and pageantry" (1994:6). The influence of the non-Jewish, American wedding exerted itself even on traditional Jewish weddings:

> America's bridal culture was hard to resist. Quickly and wholeheartedly, immigrant Jews and their children embraced every one of its tangible manifestations: from the purchase of costly engagement rings and the distribution of expensive invitations ... to the mounting of elaborate June weddings,

which took place with "catered suppers and elegant attire" (Joselit 1994:22).[77]

Nevertheless, klezmorim clearly continued to play an important role in the affair, as a review of immigrant literature shows. In Cahan's *A Ghetto Wedding*, which is set on the east side during the depression of 1893 (Sanders 1987:228),

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77  During the interwar years the caterer became:

> ... [the] social choreographer, *chef de maison*, and cultural authority, especially when it came to kashruth[.] Jewish caterers such as Patrician, Kotimsky & Tuchman, Alexander Brothers, Kaplan's, Knapp Mansions, and Elsie Marvel ... acquired a new found prominence within the American Jewish community (Joselit 1994:99).

the bride describes her requirements for a "respectable wedding":

> Now, a slipshod wedding was anything short of a gown of white satin and slippers to match; two carriages to bring the bride and the bridegroom to the ceremony, and one to take them to their bridal apartments; a wedding bard and a band of at least five musicians; a spacious ballroom crowded with dancers, and a feast of a hundred and fifty covers (Cahan 1970:226).

From this, it can be seen that at least some early weddings still made use of the *badkhn*.[78] No more recent accounts of New York Jewish weddings mention this custom. Later on in *A Ghetto Wedding*, it is revealed that the bride and groom have hired a band with two fiddles, cornet, clarinet and string bass (1970:233-234), similar in instrumentation to the smaller late nineteenth century European *kapelyes*.

As has been shown with the example of Rabinovitch's downhome klezmer, the music performed at early Yiddish-American weddings does not appear to have differentiated significantly from that which had been played at weddings in Eastern Europe.[79] In fact, by Cahan's description, most of the elements of the traditional wedding seem to have been retained, albeit in a shortened format. There was preliminary dancing which extended beyond ten in the evening, followed by a *kale bazetsn*, which resonates to the last detail with the descriptions from Eastern Europe of Pauline Wengeroff, Weissenberg and others (Wengeroff 1908:178; Weissenberg 1905:65). Here, too,

> ... the bard — a tall, gaunt man, with a grizzly beard and a melancholy face — donned his skullcap, and, advancing toward the dancers, called out in a synagogue intonation, "Come, ladies, let us veil the bride!" ... Composed in verse and declaimed in a solemn, plaintive recitative, often broken by the band's mournful refrain, [the *kale bazetsn*] ... is sure to fulfill its mission of eliciting tears even when hearts are brimful of glee. ... The bard, half starved himself, sang the anguish of his own heart; the violins wept, the clarinet moaned, the cornet and the double-bass groaned, each reciting the sad tale of its poverty-stricken master (1970:234).

After the wedding ceremony itself, "As Nathan crushed the wineglass

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78  Cahan implies that traditional weddings at that time were a rare event (1970:233). It is possible, then, that not many musicians were able to make a full-time living only from playing weddings during the first decades of immigration.

Eliokum Zunser was one of the only *badkhonim* whose presence in New York has been documented. He had likely gone out of the *badkhn* profession before 1898, as Hapgood's description of him mentions that he was operating a printing shop by that time (1967:91-98; see also Loeffler 1998:32; Kipnis, n.d.). However, the filmed version of *Uncle Moses* shows the singing of a *badkhn* during the climactic wedding scene, and the film *Ikh vil zayn a mame* (Joseph Seiden, 1937), too, has Leo Fuchs playing a comical figure who sings a *kale bazetsn* prior to the wedding ceremony, accompanying himself on the fiddle. (About these films, see Hoberman 1991:161-166, 215-218.) Clearly, the role of the *badkhn* remained in the popular memory long after the *badkhonim* as a professional group had disappeared in America.

Among contemporary Jewry, some hasidic groups still make use of the *badkhn* at their weddings. See Hajdu and Mazor (1976, liner notes), Mazor and Taube (1993).

79  See also the tunes collected in Shapiro (1902).

underfoot",

> ... the band struck up a cheerful melody, and the gathering shouted, "Good luck! Good luck!" and clapped their hands, while the older women broke into a wild hop. ... the bard, although distressed by the meager collection in store for him, but stirred by an ardent desire to relieve the insupportable wretchedness of the evening, outdid himself in off hand acrostics and witticisms (1970:236-237).

It was not until after midnight that the "last strains of music were dying away" and "The guests, in their hats and bonnets, were taking leave" (1970:238).

Isaac Raboy's untitled story from 1914 relates the tale of a wealthy wedding on Ludlow Street on the east side.[80] In it, the family of the bride "went to Orchard Street and rented the same large hall in which Julius had thrown weddings for all of his children. ... the same musicians..." (1914:25). There was clearly no need for a *gas nign* to accompany the bride and groom and their guests to the wedding ceremony, as they rode in horse-drawn carriages:

> When the bride and groom entered the half darkened hall, the electric lights were turned on. They seated themselves at the head table and received the blessings of guests and in-laws with great joy and a lot of kissing. And at the other end of the hall, the musicians sat on a balcony with clarinets and trumpets and two fiddles. And a small Jew with a long, tall bass, and a bass drum with cymbals were also not to be missed.[81] And when it came time for the bride's father and mother, the sisters with their husbands and children, the aunts with the uncles and cousins and all other good friends to enter, the musicians played a *freylekhs*. The little Jew with a pale face started up, first giving a signal by knocking his bow on the back side of the fiddle, and he also ended each *freylekhs* with a few words. At the same time he rolled up his little eyes and shook his head hither and thither. The hall became full. Young people danced waltzes and quadrilles (1914:30).

As can be seen from Raboy's account, there was no *badkhn* present and the wedding repertoire seems to have been reduced to secular dance music only.

The film *Uncle Moses* shows a *landslayt* wedding with two or three generations present comprising immigrants and their American-born children. The scene clearly shows the religious and accultural differences between the generations: The elder males are all bearded and wearing hats or *yarmlkes*, whereas the younger males are mostly shown without head-covering. Uncle Moses calls out for a *"heymishn tants"* (a downhome dance) and a band of at least one violin, two clarinets, trumpet, cello and string bass is shown playing on screen.[82] The elder *landslayt* are shown dancing a *freylekhs* in circles,

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80 Essentially the same story was published as *Di Khasene* in 1920.

 Isaac Raboy (1882-1944) was born in Kamenetz-Podolsk, grew up in Rishkan, Bessarabia, and emigrated to New York in 1904. He was member of the literary group *Di Yunge* (The Young Ones) in New York and later lived in Los Angeles.

81 Although unclearly written, the ensemble seems to have comprised two clarinets, two trumpets, two violins, string bass and bass drum with attached cymbals.

82 The tune is a variant of 'Heiser Bulgar' (Spirited Bulgar), recorded in New York by Naftule Brandwein's Orchestra on 10 May, 1923 (Victor 73895-B/B 27889-2). See chapters

separated by gender, whereas the younger people — while still making use of the traditional dance steps — are shown dancing men and women together.[83]

The memories of the author's eldest informants show even more American influence on the repertoire at immigrant weddings than that revealed in the above-cited literature. As Max Goldberg remembers, in the early 1920s, "[things] started off, we'd come in and play music: a waltz, a tango, a two-step. There was no slow music, it always had a beat".[84] During the meal, the musicians would include overtures from both popular European operettas as well as from the Yiddish theatre, such as Goldfadn's *Akeydes Yitzkhok* (The Sacrifice of Isaac) and *Bar Kokhba* (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview):

> They used to fill up the dining room with people, all tables all over the dining room. No dancing, they couldn't dance, you played dinner music, overtures!
> ... 'Poet and Peasant', 'Light Cavalry' ['Leichte Kavallerie', Franz von Suppé 1866]. These trumpet players used to play, instead of a fiddle, from top to bottom the whole thing. Played from memory (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

After dinner, they played Jewish dance music, mostly *bulgars* and *freylekhs*. The guests danced in groups, mostly men. In addition, the musicians would play polkas, and Russian and Viennese waltzes (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). In the 1920s, the musicians played for only fifteen to twenty minutes at a time, then they would take a break (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). Within this context, a dance such as the *bulgar* would last a few minutes; the *sher* with its square dance figurations from eighteen to twenty minutes (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview).

The gradual secularisation of the wedding ritual itself was an expression of the general acculturation and secularisation which even the most observant Jews had undergone as part of the immigration process. As Joselit has observed (albeit likely about a later time period):

> Choreographed by the photographer and directed by impresarios like Professor Goldberg, weddings increasingly lost much of their sacrality, becoming more of a party and less of a religious occasion. Jewish caterers played a significant role in the festivities (1994:28).

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6-8 for a discussion of this tune (NB10 and DT18; see also Rubin forthcoming b).

83   See also Alpert (1999).

84   As Rabinovitch' downhome klezmer complains, America is:

> ... [a] strange land with strange weddings. Everything is rattled off and knocked off, without a *dobridzen*, without a *kale bazetsenish*; a *khupe-vetshere* without a *volekhl* or a *pastekhl* or any old-time Yiddish *shtikele* [little piece] which used to bore into the listener as far as the seventh rib. They know only from "jazz" and more "jazz" (Rabinovitch 1940:203).

## 4.3.8.1.2 Further Jewish playing contexts for New York klezmorim

Although the wedding and the events of the *landsmanshaftn* remained the core of klezmer activity in New York, the musicians also performed the same repertoire in a number of other Jewish settings, most notably the *bar mitzvah*, as well as in totally secular contexts, such as in cabaret-restaurants and vacation resorts.

Among Max Goldberg's earliest memories he recalls having accompanied his clarinettist father at the age of ten when he played in the homes of rabbis on the east side at gatherings for *melave malke* (Accompanying the Sabbath Queen) on Saturday nights following the end of the Sabbath. At the *melave malke* celebrations, herring, cake and whiskey were served, reminiscent of the celebrations with *leykekh un bronfn* (cakes and brandy) culminating the traditional week-long wedding festivities in Eastern Europe (Weissenberg 1905:73-74). The musicians received no salary for playing: the rabbis would put out a plate and take up a collection for them (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). Another type of Jewish celebration with music was the induction of a new rabbi. The *Yidishe gazetn* of 18 May, 1894 reported on a torchlight procession in which "The Rabbi was met by a parade of music and carriages" (Landesman 1969:74).[85] Besides the balls of the *landsmanshaftn* and other institutions, there were annual balls held on *purim*, such as the Purim Masquerade Ball organised by the Stone Avenue Talmud Torah in Brownsville (Landesman 1969:78).

In Europe, the *bar mitzvah* was strictly a religious ritual symbolised by the calling up of the boy to publicly read from the *torah* in the synagogue.[86] The reception following the *torah* reading was held within a family context in a private home (Joselit 1994:90). It was first in America that the *bar mitzvah* reception became a lavish event celebrated in similar fashion and surroundings to that of the wedding.[87] Although the first *bar mitzvah* receptions in hotels and catering establishments took place during the 1910s (Joselit 1994:96), the tendency towards more opulent celebrations appears to have been a gradual process, developing to its fullest extent in the 1930s and afterwards. When Max Goldberg began accompanying his father in the early 1920s, he does not recall there having been elaborate *bar mitzvah* celebrations at all (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). Because there had been no tradition of klezmer music at *bar mitzvahs*, the music performed tended to be the same as that for weddings, with the omission of wedding-specific dances such as the *broyges tants* (angry dance). The American *bar mitzvah* became a forum for made-up rituals such as

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85    See also Landesman (1969:78). No mention is made as to who the musicians were or what type of music was performed.

86    The *bar mitzvah* (lit. "son of the commandment") commemorates the thirteen year-old male child's becoming obligated to fulfil all religious commandments of an adult male.

87    Feingold has theorised that the rise in importance of the *bar mitzvah* arose out of the fact that in America, in most cases, religious education for boys ended with the *bar mitzvah*, as opposed to in Europe, where religious learning was a lifelong preoccupation for males (Feingold 1992:93).

the candle-lighting ceremony — sometimes invented by the caterers themselves — for which the musicians were expected to deliver the appropriate music. It seems, however, that these, too, developed in the 1930s and later (Joselit 1994:100).

### 4.3.8.2 Secular performance contexts for exclusively or predominantly Jewish audiences

The discussion of klezmer music becomes more problematic when some of the other activities of the musicians are scrutinised, such as those of the members of the early Jewish Musicians Union. These included performances at parades, picnics, benefit concerts and even strikes of the various unions and political parties (Loeffler 1998:32-35). From a report in the *Arbayter tsaytung* of 25 July 1890, however, it seems likely that, even at political events, some klezmer music was performed:

> As resourceful and varied as only the Jewish people was their music: every single person had the chance to hear the old, beloved songs of his former homeland and to dance his native-dances: after the Russian *kamarinskaya* followed the Hungarian *tsardas* [sic], the Polish *mazurka*, and the Romanian *bolgarka*; and the Jewish representatives from the different countries united as brothers in one international dance (cited in Loeffler 1998:34).

At the same event, the musicians might also play Socialist and labour hymns, the 'Marseillaise', marches by John Philip Sousa, as well as popular melodies from the Yiddish theatre.[88]

### 4.3.8.2.1 Cafés, cabaret restaurants and wine cellars

Parallel to the development of the *landsmanshaftn* themselves was the establishment of cafés, cabaret-restaurants and wine cellars catering to the tastes of regional Jewish audiences: "One final spur to the preservation and popularity of old and new Yiddish music was the neighborhood cafe so characteristic of the Lower East Side" (Greene 1992:61; see also Rischin 1977:141-142). By 1905 there were several hundred such cafés, some of which dated from the late 1880s. As Greene has shown, the cafés served the regional tastes of the Jewish immigrants,

> ... [who] frequented the cafes and entertainment halls as provincials, as ... Polish or Roumanian or Russian Jews,... — not simply as ... Jews ... While many immigrants experienced a transformation to a broader consciousness for many reasons, an examination of how their entertainment contributed to this process suggests that they retained some kind of local regional tie along with the larger ethnic one (Greene 1992:90-91).

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88 This, too, parallels developments in pre-war Poland. The Lustig family of klezmers in Opatów, Poland played at events as diverse as the *m'koydesh di zun* (to honour the sun; a ceremony taking place every twenty-eight years) in 1925, at which they performed a new composition by their leader, Arish Lustig, as well as the Polish national anthem and 'Hatikvah' in the presence of the local hasidic *rebbe*, and the May Day parade, where they performed both the 'Marseillaise' and the 'International' (*Apt [Opatow']: Yizker-bukh* 1966:138).

When he first arrived on the east side in 1922, Isaac Fishberg earned his living by playing "Brahms and bulgars" on the flute in the evenings in the orchestras of the Jewish cafés and restaurants around Delancey Street (Logan 1949:42-43).

The dozens of Romanian and Russian cabaret-restaurants and wine cellars on the east side, such as the one on Rivington Street run by the *cimbalom* player Joseph Moskowitz and his wife, catered especially for the Yiddish-speaking working class (Greene 1992:62). It was at the Romanian establishments in particular that a small ensemble, performing music from the klezmer and Romanian "Gypsy" repertoires, would be likely to be found.[89] As Michael Gold described in his tale of working-class immigrant life, *East Side Memories (1929)*,[90] "They were crowded with family parties after the day's work. People talked, laughed, drank wine, listened to music" (1929:98). Such establishments were clearly a New York variant of the types of wine restaurants frequented by Jews in cities such as Jassy (Romania) and Odessa in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

While some of the Jewish musicians involved in the Romanian cabaret-restaurants, such as Joseph Moskowitz and the trumpeter Alex Fiedel, had actually come from Romania (Zylberzweig 1931:231; M. Levitt 1996, interview), others stemmed from other parts of Eastern Europe. Both the pianist Beverly Musiker, whose family had emigrated from Luninitz in the Minsk district of Russia (now Belarus), and Max Epstein, whose family came from Pinsk and Libishey near Pinsk (now Belarus), found work as youths in the cabarets (W. Epstein 1993a, interview; H. Leess, R. Musiker and P. Pincus 1994, interview):

> [Around 1928] I got myself a job in a Romanian restaurant, and there I learned a lot of Romanian music, cabaret music. There was a violinist, I was the saxophone player, and [there were] piano and drums. ... They played some of that Romanian music, they played Yiddish music, and I picked up a repertoire there (M. Epstein interview, 1991).[91]

Popular musicians such as Brandwein would make spontaneous appearances at the Romanian clubs:

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89   Here the term "Gypsy" is used to relate to the music associated with the urban *lăutari* of Romania in their capacity as professional entertainment musicians for Romanians. As Bálint Sárosi has noted, the Rom musicians never play their own music when engaged to play for non-Rom groups, but rather "the music of those peoples whom they serve as professional musicians either for money or for some other recompense" (1978:37).

90   Gold was the *nom de plume* of Irwin Granich (1893-1967; Maffi 1995:204). The text to *East Side Memories* was published in almost identical form as part of Gold's novel *Jews Without Money* in 1930. Gold gives a detailed description of Moskowitz' wine cellar sometime after 1907 (see 1929:98-99).

The Yiddish-language film *Der lebediker yoysim* (The Living Orphan, 1939, dir. Joseph Seiden) contains two scenes set in Romanian cabaret-restaurants.

91   According to Epstein, the smaller establishments had two-piece ensembles and the larger ones employed groups of four or five musicians. In addition to instrumental music, the musicians would accompany singers (M. Epstein 1991, interview; M. Epstein 1994, interview).

We'd get through an engagement with him [in the late 1930s], we'd first go
down to the Lower East Side and go into the Jewish clubs, Molly's, the Old
Romanian. ... I would follow him with the accordion and we would play
down there. Not that they didn't have music, but it was an honour. "Naftule
Brandwein is here", you know... He would just come in. ... Bring out the
*bronfn* [brandy], the steaks, and then! He was a very sporty man. This was the
whole trend of the music (H. Silvers 1994, interview).

### 4.3.8.2.2 Dance Halls

Another performance opportunity for traditional klezmer music was
presented by the numerous dance halls on the east side. As Maffi has pointed
out, "Dancing was surely one of the neighborhood's beloved leisure-time
activities" (1995:88):

> There were, by 1907, thirty-one dance halls in a ninety-block district between
> Houston and Grand streets, East of Broadway. Here ... fraternal societies
> staged their 'balls', families celebrated weddings, and young people came in
> large numbers for an hour or two of dancing (Howe 1976:210).

Most attention has been placed on the dance halls as having provided
forums for young people to learn and dance American and European social
dances.[92] Max Goldberg's recollections from the mid-1920s, however, show
that klezmer music did play an integral role in at least some of the dance halls:

> We used to play, my father and myself, on East Broadway near the
> Educational Alliance. There was a little dance club opposite the Bialostocker
> Home, near the *Forward* [*Jewish Daily Forward* building]. We had a man [who]
> played the violin, and my father played the clarinet. That was a big thing, the
> Russian *sher*. That's where they made the money. And when they played
> Russian *shers*, they had four couples, each [person] paid 10¢. ... We collected
> 80¢, there was about five different sets [of dancers], that made $4. They loved
> Russian *shers* better than fox trots or tangos. A Russian *sher* would last about
> eight minutes. We didn't get any wages there, we just got the tips. At the end
> of the night, we split about $18. ... Then we played two steps, fox trots,
> American stuff. There was tangos, there was polkas, there was Russian
> waltzes, *mazurka, pa de span* ... The *freylekhs*, that was in the Russian *sher*, [we]
> threw that in; *freylekhs* and *bulgars*. ... There were about 100 people there [and]
> not everybody got up to dance. [But] they *all* danced the *freylekhs*" (M.
> Goldberg 1991, interview; Max Goldberg in: M. Goldberg, D. and M. Levitt
> 1994, interview).

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92  See, for example, Maffi (1995:88), as well as the description in Cahan's novella *Yekl* from
1896 (Cahan 1970:15, 20; *Yekl* was filmed by Joan Micklin Silver in 1975 as *Hester Street*).

Regarding public dancing by Jews, Friedland maintains that, as the new immigrant
communities had Jews from different regions living alongside each other, they did not
share their regional dance traditions with one another. The public gatherings that did
occur focused less on dancing and more on storytelling and discussions, whereas singing
and music — along with dancing — were reserved for more intimate groups, such as
family or close friends (1985-1986:78-79). This could account for the predominance of
dances such as waltz and lancers in the descriptions of Cahan and others.

## 4.3.8.2.3 Yiddish theatre, vaudeville, radio and film

Musicians such as Tarras and Epstein worked in the pit orchestras of the Yiddish theatre, in the studios of the Yiddish-language radio stations and in studios to record the cinematic soundtracks to Yiddish-language cinema (M. Epstein 1991, interview). Already in the 1920s, the composer-conductors from the Yiddish theatre, such as Joseph Rumshinsky (1879-1956), Alexander Olshanetsky (1892-1946), Sholom Secunda (1894-1974) and, later, Abraham Ellstein (1907-1963), began to have a large influence on the music of the klezmorim. Not only did their popular compositions become standard repertoire for the wedding instrumentalists but, based on their reputations as composers of popular operettas and their connections through the Yiddish theatre, they themselves began to lead orchestras at banquets, weddings and other celebrations (M. Levitt 1990, interview). Because of their knowledge of arranging and orchestrating,[93] such composers were popular among the wedding musicians who perceived their music to be of a higher level than the traditional klezmer repertoire (M. Epstein 1993, interview). The first Yiddish-language radio broadcasts were run by the newspaper *Forverts* on WEVD in 1926 (Sandrow 1986:289, Hoberman 1991:118).[94] Although Yiddish-language radio was primarily a phenomenon of the 1930s and 1940s, already by the late 1920s, musicians found regular work at several broadcasters: "I did every major Jewish program that you can think of. Every station. Dave Tarras would walk out, I would walk in. ... It kept going all day" (M. Epstein interview 1991). The musicians preferred radio work to the Yiddish theatre, as the pay was higher (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview). Epstein played two hours per day, five days per week on the station WMIL with the band leader and violinist Abe Gubenko from Ekaterinoslav (1880-1976). The band, which consisted of five men including violin and clarinet, would play Russian and klezmer music, accompany singers and play "fillers" (M. and W. Epstein 1994, interview). The advent of the cinematic soundtrack created another work opportunity for musically literate klezmorim or former klezmorim. The first Yiddish film with sound was produced in 1929 and in 1930 the first Yiddish feature was released (Hoberman 1991:151-166).[95] Some of the soundtracks featured klezmer or klezmer-like music, particularly in the wedding sequences.[96]

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93    Ellstein, for example, studied harmony and composition privately with Frederick Jacobi (1891-1952), received a scholarship to the New York College of Music, and was awarded a prize from the Juilliard Foundation in 1925 (Perlmutter 1952:378 ff.).

94    Max Epstein maintains there were even earlier Yiddish broadcasts on the radio than WEVD: "I played the first Jewish program on the air! WRNY. It was a radio station in Staten Island. I played the violin. I didn't even play saxophone yet" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

95    Tarras' clarinet playing is audible on soundtracks of several Yiddish films, including Henry Lynn's *The Yiddishe Mama* from 1939.

96    See, for example, *Uncle Moses* and *Motl der Opereytor* (Joseph Seiden, 1940).

#### 4.3.8.2.4 Entertainment music in Jewish vacation resorts

The mountainous region north of New York known as the Catskills became the most popular resort area for immigrant Jews and their children,[97] burgeoning especially between the years 1883 and 1906 (Heinze 1990:125-126):

> Secular Jews and religious Jews, businessmen as well as wage earners patronized the farmhouses, boarding houses, cottages, and hotels that had converted the loose network of towns like Tannersville and Hunter in the Catskill Mountains of New York into a bustling resort area (Heinze 1990:126).

Cahan's *David Levinsky* contains a lengthy description of a Catskill hotel, in which he recounts in detail a Saturday night dance in the dining room. Although Cahan mentions a band comprising piano and two violins as having played American popular songs, operatic selections, popular tunes from the Yiddish stage and, even, the 'Star-Spangled Banner', no mention of klezmer music *per se* is made (1993:423-424, 429-431).

In the summers beginning in 1920, Abraham and Max Goldberg would take a room in the town of Woodbridge, New York. They would travel around to the different bungalow colonies, the so-called *kokhaleyns* with cooking facilities, in towns such as Fallsburg, Monticello and Woodridge. Starting off at nine in the morning and on foot, they went from one *kokhaleyn* to another, playing doinas, *bulgars, volekhlekh* and Russian *shers* with clarinet and snare drum. Afterwards, Max would take up a collection with a hat. At noon they would go to Kutcher's Hotel in Fallsburg where they were allowed to play in the dining hall. After lunch the Goldbergs continued playing the bungalows until five or six in the evening. At night they played again in the dining hall (M. Goldberg 1991, interview). In the 1920s, the resort hotels began to bring in cabaret performers "to keep their guests happy after dinner" (Sandrow 1986:253). Musicians such as Brandwein and Tarras would also appear summers in the Catskills year upon year (D. Tarras 1975, interview:1-2; A. Rubinstein 1993, interview).

#### 4.3.8.2.5 Klezmer concerts

Klezmer music had rarely been offered in a concert setting prior to the revival movement of the 1970s. It did, however, have historical precedents. In the early to mid-1920s, Joseph Cherniavsky's Yiddish American Jazz Band toured the vaudeville circuit in the eastern United States and Canada.[98] A Yiddish newspaper article from that time lists a two-week schedule of an upcoming tour which would take the group to Albany, Syracuse, Rochester,

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97   There were similar Jewish resorts in other parts of New York and New Jersey as well.

98   In Europe, in addition to Guzikov, ensembles such as *Di brider Wolfsthal* (The Wolfsthal Brothers) in Tarnopol, Galicia and the *kapelye* of the Polish klezmer Yontef Spilman in Warsaw had already given concerts in synagogues and wedding halls during the late nineteenth century (Zylberzweig 1931, vol. 1:654-656; Perlmutter 1952:332-338; Kipnis n.d.).

Toronto, Detroit, Erie, Buffalo, Pittsburgh, Akron, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Duluth, Minneapolis and Saint Paul. At the time the article was written, the band had appeared before a combined audience of 50,000 within the space of the past few weeks (*Yoysef Tshernyavski... n.d.*). Cherniavsky's ensemble, which included many of New York's leading klezmer musicians, performed mostly repertoire from his score to Maurice Schwartz' 1922 Yiddish Art Theater production of An-ski's *Dybbuk*, which was based on Eastern European hasidic and klezmer melodies.[99] In contrast to the concerts offered by Guzikov in Central Europe ninety years earlier, Cherniavsky's audience seems to have been predominantly Yiddish-speaking.[100]

#### 4.3.8.2.6 Prohibition and Jewish gangsters

The members of New York's Jewish underworld, too, formed a part of the clientèle of at least some of the klezmer musicians. Brandwein "played for the Jewish gangsters — always private — with accordion and drums. He used to come back with a pocketful of money, all crumpled up, fives and tens and twenties" (W. Epstein 1993a, interview). During prohibition, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, he would take the young Max Epstein with him. As Epstein remembers, they played in clubs such as Joe the Greaser's in the basement at Second Avenue and 4th Street: "Most of the gangsters used to go there, cause he was one of [their] cronies. Most of the people that went there weren't the nicest people. It was Romanian" (M. Epstein 1999b, interview).[101] "On the east side, all of the gangsters used [Brandwein] for their weddings, and all the women from the houses of ill-repute used him (for their daughters, relatives, etc.)" (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview). According to Marty Levitt, during Prohibition, two enterprising Jewish hotel owners hired private train cars to travel between New York and the Catskills. They would have drinking

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99  One of the tunes under study here, NB10/DT18, was included in this repertoire and shall be discussed at length in chapters 7 and 8.

See also Cherniavsky (n.d.), *A collection of Jewish Melodies, as featured by Joseph Cherniavsky and his Yiddish American Jazz Band*.

100  The newspaper account does mention, however, that a number of Broadway managers and record company executives were in the audience, vying to bring Cherniavsky under contract (*Yoysef Tshernyavski... n.d.*).

Cherniavsky, who had studied in Russia under Alexander Glazunoff and Rimsky-Korsakoff, was appointed general musical director for the Universal Pictures Corporation in Hollywood in 1928 (Cherniavsky 1943:17).

101  Prohibition began in January 1920 and ended in December 1933.

On Joe "the Greaser" Rosenzweig, see Fried (1993:35). Among the clientèle at Joe the Greaser's were the three Shapiro Brothers, the leaders of a Brooklyn gang who were assassinated in 1931-1932 by members of the Amberg gang with the support of Louis Buchalter (Fried 1993:203). The Jewish gangsters (later known as Murder, Inc.), such as Buchalter and "Gurrah" Shapiro, were associated with the attributes of immigrant life such as the Yiddish language, summers in the Catskill Mountains and, even, orthodox religious ritual. One of Buchalter's brothers was a rabbi (Kanfer 1989:119; see also 114-123).

parties on board and hired musicians such as Naftule Brandwein and Harry Kutcher to entertain the guests (M. Levitt 1996, interview).

### 4.3.8.3 Secular performance contexts for a general or non-Jewish audience

When asked if the klezmorim ever performed Jewish music for non-Jews in New York, Marty Levitt responded: "Jewish music for non-Jewish events? Never!" (M. Levitt 1996, interview). Within the realm of non-klezmer or non-Jewish music, a competent klezmer or former klezmer was free to move between the various free-lance opportunities presented by the rich musical life in New York. This included work in hotel dance orchestras, silent film, vaudeville and burlesque theatres, the "legitimate" (Broadway) theatre, brass bands, symphony orchestras, radio and film, as well as in the recording studios. This work had, however, nothing to do with the musicians' social function as klezmorim or the performance of klezmer music and shall not be discussed further within this context.

### 4.3.8.3.1 Performances for non-Jewish European ethnicities in the New York immigrant milieu and interaction between Jewish and "ethnic" musicians

Continuing a pattern of musical activity in New York to which they had already been accustomed in Eastern Europe, klezmorim often performed for and, in some cases, with members of various European ethnic communities. As Slobin and Spottswood have shown in relation to the Eastern European Jewish and non-Jewish Ukrainian communities in New York, "Time and circumstance made them neighbors, as they had been in Europe, so it was completely natural for some sort of musical co-operation to spring up" (1985:261). Slobin and Spottswood have termed this ability to service more than one immigrant group a "fluency in two parallel yet complementary ethnic styles" (1985:263).[102] Within this context, musicians such as Beckerman, Brandwein, Tarras and Epstein performed at various times for the Ukrainian, Polish, Russian, Hungarian, Rom, Greek, Sephardic Jewish, Turkish, German and Italian communities. However, with the exception of the Rom community,[103] the music performed for the non-Jewish ethnic groups was mostly *their* music and did not correspond to the klezmer repertoire under investigation here. For Greeks, they played Greek music, which was an entirely different repertoire.

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102 Goldin has written: "It should be noted first of all that common features found in two musical cultures are not necessarily always the result of one culture influencing the other. Ukrainian and Jewish musicality, warmth and depth of feeling turned out to be *consonant* with each other" (Goldin 1989:13).

103 The only Rom musician with whom the Jewish klezmorim had contact was the accordionist Mishka Ziganoff. Max Epstein worked with him often in a trio with clarinet and drums. They played together only at Gypsy events, and the repertoire comprised the same *freylekhs, bulgars* and *kazatzskes* which Epstein performed for his Jewish audiences. The Rom danced the same steps as the Jewish Bessarabians (M. and W. Epstein 1994, interview).

"You can play a doina for Greeks, but it's a different feel of a doina with a different sound" There were only a few tunes which could be performed for both ethnic groups (S. Beckerman 1996, interview).[104] The Jewish musicians were hired not only because of their flexibility and virtuosity, but also because many of these ethnic groups, such as the Russians, Rom and Greeks, often did not have enough of their own music professionals to provide for the entertainment needs of their communities (J. Epstein 1993, interview).[105] Conversely, the Jewish bands rarely hired non-Jewish musicians. This was presumably because there were enough qualified Jewish musicians that it was not necessary (R. Musiker 1996, personal communication).

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James Loeffler sees the decline of the klezmorim as a professional group in New York as having begun already in the mid-1920s. He attributes this to both cultural assimilation, which "nearly completely erased many of the distinctive cultural and linguistic features of the traditional *klezmer* professional identity" (1997a:30), and negative inner-Jewish attitudes towards klezmorim, in combination with the possibilities of alternative musical employment outside of the Jewish wedding and *simkhe* milieu. At the root of Loeffler's argument is the fact of the musicians' "stripping off their most distinguishing socioprofessional label, the term '*klezmer*'... by eliminating the '*klezmer*' term ... the *klezmorim* implicitly told themselves and audiences that they did not exist as a distinct social group" (Loeffler 1997a:30-31).

It is true that within the New York klezmer milieu, the term "klezmer" took on a negative meaning and the ensembles were generally no longer called *kapelyes* or *kompanyes*, but rather "orchestras". However, as this chapter has shown, the New York wedding musicians clearly remained a distinct socio-professional group throughout the 1920s. As was the case with other Yiddish cultural institutions, they adapted to the New York environment, creating a new synthesis with both Eastern European and American attributes. In this sense, it may no longer be appropriate to speak of "klezmer music" and "klezmorim" within the New York environment. As there were increasingly other, more secular occasions where the same music was performed as that, which had previously been the exclusive provenance of the traditional wedding and other ritual events, the *klezmer* became gradually separated from his originally ritual-religious function and essentially became a *muzikant*, an entertainment musician, continuing on American soil the same process which had already been set in motion in Eastern Europe by the late nineteenth

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104  See in particular the discussion of the tune NB10/DT18 in chapters 7 and 8.

105  A publicity photo of the Perry Voultsos Orchestra from the early 1930s shows more Jews than Greeks in the ensemble (see Ottens and Rubin 1999a:249). The author thanks Ray Musiker for a copy of this photo and Max Epstein for identifying the musicians.

century.

The discussion shall now turn to the commercial recording of klezmer music as a subset of the ethnic recording industry during the first half of the twentieth century, as well as to issues involved in the use of such recordings as a basis for ethnomusicological study.

# CHAPTER 5. COMMERCIAL RECORDING OF KLEZMER MUSIC

## 5.1 The emergence of a recording industry for Jewish and klezmer music

In 1900, thirteen and a half per cent of the US population was foreign-born, and the percentages were higher in large urban areas (Gronow 1982:5). Soon after the transformation of the phonograph "from a curious toy into a serious musical mass medium" during the first decade of the twentieth century (Racy 1977:84), commercial record companies recognised the business value of catering to the members of various nationalities, and large quantities of ethnic recordings began to be made.[1] In America, as Victor Greene points out:

> Entrepreneurs understood that immigrants held tenaciously to their musical traditions, particularly for ritual events, such as religious ceremonies, holidays, and weddings and the like, and they profited handsomely by recording and broadcasting the beloved old tunes... (1992:12).

Grammophone record players provided the major medium of home entertainment prior to the ascendancy of radio in the mid-1920s, and sales to the foreign-born had become a big business by World War One. "Recorded music ... really supplied a kind of solace or mediating mechanism for many years, even beyond the 1920s, helping the immigrants to become comfortable in the new land" (Greene 1992:78). For the record companies, "The idea ... was to use ethnic music to open up a once-hesitant ethnic audience to the entire range of commercially recorded sound" (Greene 1992:12).

European-born immigrants were seen as more musically sophisticated than Americans and, therefore, a vital market to be captured (Gronow 1982:34). Chapters 3 and 4 have shown that the musical tastes of the Eastern European Jews in particular had already begun to shift in the nineteenth century not only towards a Western classical, but also an urban popular aesthetic. This trend was not lost on the commercial record companies, and Jewish immigrant buyers were singled out for marketing:

> Chief among the alien throngs which the tide of immigration brings annually to our shores is the European Hebrew [sic] ... It is a well-known fact that he is one of the chief patrons and devotees of the musical art. The Jew comes by inheritance into the place he holds in the field of music today; for centuries his music and religion have been interwoven. Small wonder, then, that the chief patrons of operas and concerts, as well as the most enthusiastic Victor record customers, belong to the Hebrew race (*Sure Way to Increase Foreign Record Business...* 1922).[2]

Marketing strategies, even for non-classical genres such as klezmer music, stressed the quality of the performances, drawing on the perceived high standards of the Jewish listener:

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1    For an overview of the development of the ethnic recording industry, see Racy (1977), Gronow (1982), Spottswood (1982), and the preface to Spottswood (1990).

2    This article was graciously provided by the discographer Paul Vernon and stems from the EMI Archives in Hayes, England, as do the undated Victor catalogues cited in footnote 3.

Here's speed for you! Observe the swiftness of this remarkable music, the clarity and ingeniousness of the melodies that come so rapidly from Naftule Brandwein's musicians, and you will be thrilled. The selections on this record are highly original and out of the ordinary, and will give you a new idea of the excellence of this musical organization. ... both feature wonderful clarinet playing, and both are remarkably fine dance records.[3]

Not surprising given its low status within the hierarchy of Jewish musical traditions, the commercial recording of klezmer music lagged behind that of other Eastern European Jewish music by at least a decade. In 1895 the Berliner Company had already announced discs of several "Hebrew songs" (Spottswood 1982:53), by 1899 the Gramophone Company had released its first recordings of cantorial music (M. Aylward 2000, personal communication), and Columbia's disc and cylinder catalogue of 1906 already included both "Hebrew" and "Yiddish" recordings, in addition to German, Russian, Polish and Hungarian ones as well as those of a number of other ethnicities (Spottswood 1990:xv). Klezmer music made up only a small portion of the total Jewish recording output in both Europe and America. The 1921 Columbia catalogue, for example, listed Jewish recordings in the following categories: patriotic songs (American and Zionist), Hebrew hymns (cantorial), folk songs, recitations, comic songs, duets, dance music and instrumental music. The predominant genre was liturgical, followed by Yiddish Theatre ("folk" songs, recitations, comic songs and duets) and, finally, klezmer instrumentals (Sapoznik et al. 1981:3, liner notes).[4]

The commercial recording of klezmer music may be divided into three main phases. The first phase took place in Central and Eastern Europe from approximately 1908 until the outbreak of World War One in August 1914, during which time upwards of 200 performances of Jewish instrumental (klezmer and theatrical) music were recorded.[5] The subsequent phases of recording took place in the New York area. In phase two, several hundred 78

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3    Advertisement for the recording 'Leben Zol Palestina/Sirba Romaniaska' by Naftule Brandwein's Orchestra from 1 April, 1925. Undated Victor catalogue.

     Additional marketing tactics included playing on the nostalgia of the Jewish immigrants and their distance from traditional Eastern European life, as well as emphasising the exoticism of the music. See, for example, Gronow 1982:3, 30, 34; Spottswood 1982:55; and the Victor catalogue advertisements for the recordings 'Der Yiddisher March/Kalle Bezetzens un a Freilachs' by Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band from 16 November, 1925 and 'Die Chasidim Forren Tsum Rebbin/A Yiddisha Chasina' by Kandel's Orchestra from 19 November, 1924.

4    Of the 5,754 accessioned items in the Weinstein Sound Archives at YIVO as of November 2000, only 495 pieces, representing less than nine per cent, are classified as "klezmer".

5    A complete discography of commercial European klezmer recordings will probably never be possible due to the lack of primary documents. Wollock (1997) contains a partial discography of pre-World War One European recordings. Michael Aylward is currently working on a comprehensive discographiy of all traditional Jewish music recorded in the 78 rpm format in Europe prior to World War Two. Aylward has graciously allowed the author continued access to the contents of his unpublished discography of European Jewish recordings.

rpm discs of Jewish instrumentals were released between the years 1913 and 1929, according to a survey of the titles listed in Spottswood's nearly complete discography from 1990.[6] It was in particular the outbreak of World War One that stimulated a need for domestically-produced recordings of Jewish music in the United States. It "forced Columbia and the other major record companies to make still closer contact with their new ethnic audience, relying on the immigrants not only as customers but as musical talent" (Greene 1992:74). Prior to that it had been more expedient for the large companies to licence masters from their European affiliates or from smaller European firms such as Favorite or Beka. The American recording industry was dominated during the approximate years 1905-1919 and again from 1925 to 1929 by Columbia Grafonolas and Victor Talking Machines. and the majority of the American klezmer recordings — including those by Brandwein and Tarras — were made in New York by those two firms. There were virtually no recordings of klezmer music made during the depression years, as the invention of radio in the early 1920s and the Great Depression beginning in September 1929 significantly reduced the scope of the recording industry for a period of approximately a decade.[7] Afterwards, the interest of the large recording companies in ethnic music was limited (Slobin and Spottswood 1985:264, Spottswood 1990:xv-xvi). Phase three consisted of a small number of klezmer recordings made on 78 rpm discs from 1939-1949, and in the 45 rpm format and on LP during the 1950s.[8]

Both European and American klezmer recordings were made using three basic types of ensembles: (1) solo instrument, such as violin, clarinet, flute or trumpet, with the accompaniment of *tsimbl*, piano or orchestra; (2) small klezmer *kapelyes*; and (3) large ensembles similar in instrumentation to the

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6    The New York firm United Hebrew Disc and Cylinder Record Company did release several accordion solos by A. Greenberg of Russian and klezmer music in 1906, but this appears to have been an isolated occurrence.

7    The only apparent exception was the several recordings made under the leadership of Abe Schwartz in 1930 and 1934-1935 (Spottswood 1990:1501-1502).

8    Many of the European Jewish discs were lost or destroyed during the period 1914-1953 as a result of pogroms, the Russian Civil War, the two World Wars and the Stalinist era. Of the documented European Jewish instrumental recordings, only around sixty performances have been located thus far.

     In addition to the American recordings, three discs of traditional klezmer music were recorded in Kiev in May 1937 by the State Ensemble for Jewish Folk Music and Song of the Ukrainian SSR under the direction of M. I. Rabinovitch (T. Shklover 1998, personal communication; see also Ottens and Rubin 1991/1995e, track 7, 1999a:15-18, 27-30 and 32-38, and 1999b, track 15).

     Almost all of the commercial klezmer discs recorded in the United States, as well as most of the surviving European discs, are contained in large institutional collections such as the Schreiber Music Library, the Jakob Michael Collection and the Weinstein Sound Archives.

     Many of the recordings made during phase three were under the leadership of Dave Tarras and the theatrical composer Abe Ellstein. Among the others to have recorded during this phase were the author's informants Max, Willie and Julie Epstein, Max Goldberg, Marty Levitt, Ray Musiker, Paul Pincus and Danny Rubinstein.

Yiddish theatre orchestras.[9] Recorded klezmer repertoire consisted of compositions of the klezmorim themselves — the primary repertoire under investigation in this study — as well as instrumental arrangements of popular Yiddish folk, hasidic and Yiddish Theatre melodies. In addition, a number of the instrumental recordings by Jewish bands were marketed to a mixed ethnicity of Jews and Russians, Jews and Greeks, Jews and Romanians and so forth. As Slobin and Spottswood point out, since much of the Russian and Ukrainian repertoire was also popular among the more numerous Jewish-American immigrant community, recordings it could be marketed to Jews and, at the same time, to the smaller communities of non-Jewish Russian-Americans and Ukrainian-Americans (1995:265-266).[10]

As an ensemble instrument the clarinet is present on all orchestral recordings of Jewish instrumental music made in Europe which the author has located to date. The clarinet is also present on most of the klezmer band recordings made in the United States beginning with those by Abe Elenkrig's Orchestra on 2 December, 1915. As a solo instrument the most significant body of recordings was those made in New York by Brandwein and Tarras.[11] Forty-

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9     Besides recordings by Jewish klezmer and theatre ensembles ("in-group" musicians), discs were also made by generic studio ensembles who were not familiar with the klezmer style ("out-group"; Sapoznik et al. 1981:4, liner notes), such as the Victor Military Band or Arthur Pryor's Band.

10   See also Greene (1992:12), Rubin (forthcoming b).

     It is not always possible to tell from Spottswood (1990) whether or not the recordings listed as "Jewish" (vol. 3, *Eastern Europe*:1293-1552) were actually marketed to a Jewish audience, as all of the known recordings by a particular artist have been combined — even if the titles are obviously in Polish, Russian or another foreign language, or indicate general American repertoire such as fox trots.

     In addition to those listed under "Jewish", a few klezmer recordings are also included in the Romanian section of vol. 3 (1595-1606).

11   The earliest available recording of a klezmer clarinet solo is 'Platch Yevreia' (Cry Jews) by the Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa (Romanian Orchestra under the direction of Kapellmeister V. Belf). Sirena Grand 13078, recorded March 1913 (Wollock 1997:42; reissued in Ottens and Rubin 1999b). This ensemble shall be referred to for the duration of this study as Belf's Romanian Orchestra.

     Wollock (1997:40-46) has documented the existence of three series of klezmer clarinet solos recorded in Eastern Europe between August 1912 and October 1913 by G. Tsypin, P. Gegner and an unnamed clarinettist. Additionally, Aylward has uncovered the existence of recordings having been made by the clarinettist Titinschneider or Titonschneider from Odessa, 1912 (M. Aylward 2001, personal communication). None of these recordings have been located to date, to the knowledge of the author.

     Besides Brandwein and Tarras, several other clarinettists in New York made solo klezmer recordings during the 1920s, including Shloimke Beckerman (eight solos in October and December 1923 with orchestras directed by Abe Schwartz), Philip Greenberg (three performances as soloist in April 1922 and June 1923), and Max Weissman (one recording from 18 August, 1920). Two further recordings featuring an unidentified clarinettist were made by the Abe Schwartz Orchestra in March 1924. In Philadelphia, the clarinettist Itzikl Kramtweiss led the recording session of the Broder Kapelle on 3 September, 1929.

three of the solos Brandwein recorded between September 1922 and 25 October, 1927 were released, thirty-five of which were listed under his own name as band leader. Tarras made fifteen solo recordings between September 1925 and 30 December, 1929.[12] In addition, a number of the Abe Schwartz Orchestra recordings from March 1927 to June 1930 feature Tarras.[13] Whereas Brandwein recorded only four more solos after 1927 (all on 25 April, 1941), Tarras had a varied recording career as soloist and ensemble member which continued into the late 1950s or early 1960s, and he came out of retirement to make one final LP in 1978 under the auspices of the Balkan Arts Center's (now Center for Traditional Music and Dance) Jewish Music Project (Feldman and Statman 1979a).

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12  See figs. 6.2a-c for a complete listing of Brandwein's and Tarras' solo klezmer recordings.

13  Brandwein's name has not been identified as a sideman on any of recordings listed in Spottswood (1990). He did probably make one recording with Joseph Cherniavsky (May 1924; see Ottens and Rubin 1999b, track 9), and he has been identified playing short klezmer tunes to accompany skits recorded by the comedian Gus Goldstein, such as 'Der mesader kedushin' from 1922 (reissued in Sapoznik and Schlesinger 1984). Tarras can be heard as an ensemble member on recordings by Joseph Cherniavsky (16-17 November, 1925) and, later, those of Al Glaser (21 June, 1939), Abe Ellstein (15 February and 20 June, 1940), Harry Lubin and others.

## 5.2 Issues involved in the ethnomusicological study of commercial recordings

The use of commercial recordings for musicological or ethnomusicological research has been a "rare occurrence", a "situation due at least partly to the lingering conviction in scholarly circles that the phonograph is still primarily a means of mass entertainment" (Flanagan 1979:3), and it raises a number of theoretical issues. Many of these have been discussed by Jeff Todd Titon (1971:31-33), Ali Jihad Racy (1977:1-12), Cathleen C. Flanagan (1979), Kay Kaufman Shelemay (1991), Michael Chanan (1995:6-18) and Erika Brady (1999).

The emergence of a commercial recording industry must have had an effect on the musicians and their music making, as well as upon the perception of their music by the audience. Titon's methodology for studying downhome blues of the late 1920s was to scrutinise the recordings "as things in themselves", rather than to use them as a tool to "visualize the performances beyond" (1971:31). Like Titon and Racy, the author has come to the conclusion that the commercial recordings of klezmer music be studied primarily with reference to themselves as a "closed" system, using other available materials such as published transcriptions and sheet music to put the findings into perspective. This is all the more relevant to a study of recorded klezmer music, as the continuity of the tradition after 1948 has been sporadic at best.[14]

### 5.2.1 Issues of measuring change in recorded klezmer music

At the time the early commercial ethnic recordings arose, European folk music forms in general were yielding to newer forms of popular entertainment, as a result of urbanisation, the emergence of sheet-music publishing, and the development of vaudeville and other forms of popuar entertainment. All of this gave rise to music which was "usually produced by professionals for a mass audience" (Gronow 1982:17). These new forms were easily accessible and often replaced the older, folk forms. "In most cases immigrants had several musical traditions to bring from their homelands, traditions that had to compete for survival in the new country" (Gronow 1982:17). Within this framework, klezmer music in New York during the early decades of the twentieth century likely consisted of an overlapping of earlier and more recent layers of repertoire and style. It was during the decade between 1929 and 1939 that it appears to have undergone its most radical period of change, as a comparison of the pre-1930 recordings with those of 1939 and afterwards would show. This change was a reflection of several factors which were already present before 1929, but had not yet been strongly reflected in the recordings up until that time. These factors included the composition of new

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14    See the conclusion for a discussion of the decline of New York klezmer music after the 1920s.

dance tunes,[15] the influence of popular songs from the Yiddish operettas on the klezmer repertoire, as well as stylistic changes brought about by the increased acculturation of immigrant musicians — in particular, Dave Tarras — and the entry into the Jewish wedding bands of American-born musicians.[16] The process of this change cannot, however, be traced with any accuracy: it was not likely to have been a linear change and, in any case, it occured exactly during the period when virtually no recordings of klezmer music were being made.

### 5.2.2 Differences between recorded and live performances

There are fundamental differences between recorded and live performances, particularly in traditions in which the musicians draw upon the involvement of the audience for inspiration. As Whitney Balliett points out in relation to jazz recordings:

> There were lots of hustling black jump bands then ... but none of their recordings capture what they sounded like in front of dancers. They were driving and free and exultant. They were showing off for the dancers, and the dancers, in return, showed off for them. It was a fervent, ritualistic relationship that made the music as close to visual as music can be (cited in Eisenberg 1988:78).[17]

Swindells notes a similiar phenomenon among Sundanese musicians:

> ... the *suling* player is much less restricted when performing live, instrumental music. This is especially true if, as is usual, the ensemble is merely performing background music at an event where the audience (or guests) are talking amongst themselves and not paying deliberate attention. Endang [an informant] remarked that his improvisation gets increasingly "free" after playing for a few hours, often incorporating wild modulations to prevent boredom and to raise a smile from the other players (Swindells 1996:9).

The advent of recording created a "distance, both physical and psychic, between performer and audience that simply never existed before..." (Chanan 1995:8). Physical gestures and other visual elements of performance, such as the ritualistic nature of Brandwein's live appearances as described in 4.3.7.3, were also irrelevant to the recording studio (see Racy 1977:150).

The fixed nature of the recording, which disembodied the performance from the performer and made repeated listenings possible, had a dual effect: robbing the performance of its sense of spontaneity and, at the same time, giving recordings in particular of improvised and orally-transmitted musics an authority their live performance never had (Chanan 1995:18). The knowledge

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15  Kammen (1934), for example, contains a number of newly composed *bulgar* dance tunes. See numbers 13-15, 18-19, 31 and 63.

16  Feldman (1994:21-26) addresses some of the syntactical differences between Tarras' 1920s and 1940s recorded repertoire.

17  See also Racy's concept of "ecstatic feedback" between performer and audience (1991:8; 1998).

that recordings were permanent documents fostered a kind of recording studio conservatism which led to the performers taking fewer risks:

> You can listen to Charlie Parker, who had one of the most inventive minds in the history of music, do three different takes on the Savoy recordings ... and he plays essentially the same solo. Yet in live performance, you heard virtually nothing of the same content in replays of the same piece (David Baker, quoted in Chanan 1995:49).

According to eye-witness accounts of Brandwein's live performances he was reputed to be a daring risk-taker, rarely playing the same phrase two times in the same way. This aspect is much less evident in his recorded output, as the paradigmatic comparisons of his performances in 8.5-8.6 shall show. The recording process also tended to favour the "virtuoso of the repeated take" (Chanan 1995:18), a new type of musician capable of repeating more or less the same performance in multiple takes, and it often necessitated a performer who was musically literate. It is not surprising, then, that the beginning of (the musically literate) Tarras' recording career in 1925 also marked the beginning of the end of (the musically non-literate) Brandwein's.

Further factors to be considered in a study of commercial recordings include how aspects, such as repertoire, compositional form and arrangements, playing style, dynamic and tonal range, changes in instrumentation and the physical arrangement of the instruments, as well as the mood of the performance, may have been influenced by the recording process.

As Racy notes, "a commercially recorded repertoire is a by-product of the musical culture to which it belongs" (1977:1). Recording sessions played a relatively small role in the overall musical activities of the Jewish musicians and were quickly forgotten by them. "I made hundreds of records, my name was never on 'em. ... We just come in ... and played 'em" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).[18] Nevertheless, popular band leaders did receive more work through their exposure as recording studio musicians and, later, through their appearances on radio: "What made klezmorim big in America was the phonograph. ... They heard the records and said, 'that's what I want at my daughter's wedding'" (J. Epstein 1993, interview).[19] Because the early klezmer recordings were made out of commercial and not scholarly considerations, however, many artists were not recorded.[20] The choice of the musicians

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18  The performers were paid a one-time fee for each recording session without any royalties. A session lasted for three hours and was expected to yield four complete performances, the equivalent of two double-sided 78 rpm discs.

19  See Racy (1977:128-129) regarding the popularity attained by Umm Kalthum through her recordings.

20  Besides Brandwein, Tarras and Beckerman, several immigrant clarinettists have been mentioned in interviews with the author's informants, but they do not appear to have recorded solos (and may not have recorded at all). These included Johnny(?) Lustig, Benny Margulies, Nathan Ritholz, Naftouly Schwartzer and Ben Sherman. With the possible exceptions of Schwartzer and Margulies, none were considered by the author's informants to have been significant players in the New York klezmer community (J. Barsh

recorded by both European and American phonograph companies was often seemingly arbitrary, and a number of the most oft-recorded band leaders and soloists have proven to have been insignificant figures in relation to the development of klezmer music in their respective countries. For example, none of the Eastern European klezmorim mentioned in the writings of Lipaev (1904), Beregovski (1937, 1941, 1987) or Stutschewsky (1959) as having been important or influential were recorded. In contrast, Belf's Romanian Orchestra was recorded extensively, although its leader, V. Belf, was apparently a completely unknown musician who was "discovered" by the director of the Sirena company (Wollock 1997:39). In a similar fashion, a number of the band leaders and soloists recorded in New York do not appear to have been leading figures among the New York klezmer community. Abraham Elenkrig and Israel J. Hochman, who recorded from 1913-1915 and 1918-1925 respectively, were not remembered or mentioned by any of the author's informants, although two of them, Max Goldberg and Max Epstein, had been familiar with virtually all of the New York klezmer musicians from the early to mid-1920s onwards.[21] The two most prolific "klezmer" band leaders for recording sessions during the immigrant era in the recording studio, Abe Schwartz in New York and Harry Kandel in Philadelphia, did not have klezmer backgrounds at all. Schwartz' (1881-1963) father had been a tinsmith, and Kandel's family was involved in the timber industry (H. Netsky 1997, personal communication; Sapoznik 1999a:90-91, liner notes). On the other hand, the clarinettists Brandwein, Beckerman and Tarras — considered unanimously by the author's informants to have been the three leading players in New York during the 1920s — recorded often, and all three stemmed from established European klezmer families.

The issue as to how representative the commercial klezmer recordings were of the repertoire performed at live events within the Jewish community can only be partially answered by comparison to sheet music publications such as Shapiro (1902), Fleischman and Bloom (1911), Kostakowsky (1916), Kammen (1924, 1928 and 1934) and Karlinsky (1926). As Victor Greene notes, "Most ethnic pieces, whatever their background, probably did not appear on record in strictly traditional form. Some were entirely new compositions in the traditional style; others were older pieces arranged for new instrumentation" (Greene 1992:77-78). In order to meet the needs of the recording industry, it may have been necessary for klezmorim, too, to partake in "'manufacturing' songs by assembling ready-made parts in new permutations" (Chanan1995:16).[22] Nevertheless, Brandwein's grandson remembered without being prompted the titles and melodies of several tunes from Brandwein's

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1988, interview; M. Epstein 1991, interview).

21   It is possible that such musicians left the klezmer field with the onset of the Great Depression, following one of the typical career paths laid out in 4.3.4.

22   Racy (1977:138-145) shows that the recording companies actively commissioned such new "traditional" compositions from Arabic musicians. See also Torp (1993) in relation to Greek *smyrndika* recordings.

recorded repertoire which he also played live at family celebrations (A. Rubinstein 1993, interview). As was discussed in 4.3.5, the centrality of the *landsmanshaft* to New York klezmer music required a diversity of regional repertoires and styles. Max Epstein stresses:

> You didn't play *bulgars* for everybody. *Bulgars* you played for Bessarabian people, Rumanian people, Odessa people. But you see, you gotta know who you're playing for. And if you played for Polish people, you played Polish music, a *freylekhs*, you played an *oberek*, a polka, a Russian waltz. ... When you play for Rumanian people, you play it a little faster. You play for Bessarabian people, play it a little slower, because that's the way they dance (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

The commercial recordings were, of necessity, aimed towards a general immigrant audience and thus may not be a true reflection of this diversity. In addition, the limited length of a recorded performance in 78 rpm format — taken together with the repertorial changes which came about in America — could have served to reinforce the tendency for klezmorim to favour single dance tunes over longer suite forms in the recording studio.[23]

Recording techniques, particularly during the era of acoustic recordings before the introduction of the microphone in April 1925, forced performers to play "loud, fast and in a word, one-dimensionally" (David Baker, cited in Chanan 1995:50). The fact that brass and wind instruments recorded more easily than quieter string instruments reinforced changes in the instrumentation in the klezmer *kapelyes* which were already underway in the live performance context, such as the ascendancy of the clarinet (see Racy 1977:152-154).[24]

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23  In the case of Egyptian music, longer forms were broken down into their component parts and recorded separately (Racy 1977:156). This may have been the case with klezmer music as well.

24  The necessity of placing loud instruments as far away as possible from, and soft instruments as near as possible to the recording horn also may have influenced the internal dynamic within the ensembles. In addition, having to record at a prescribed time and place, which likely did not coincide with the time or the context in which the repertoire would normally have been performed, could have also affected the mood of the performers and, consequently, of their music (Racy 1977:145): "Some performers had to record at times when they were utterly uninspired, unprepared, or physically indisposed" (Racy 1977:146).

## 5.3 The significance of commercial klezmer recordings for ethnomusicological research

The first field recordings of klezmer musicians were collected between 1912 and 1914 in the Ukraine by Joel Engel and Zusman Kiselgof (Sholochova 2001). Those and the later Soviet field recordings of Beregovski appear to have been of solo instruments only and not ensembles, and klezmorim were not recorded in performance situations.[25] In the United States no field recordings were made of klezmer musicians at all during the period when they were actively performing within the traditional ritual-celebratory context. The commercial recordings then, represent the only aural documentation of traditional klezmer music in an ensemble context,[26] making them of great significance for research purposes. By an "accident" of capitalism, in which the "commercial goals of record companies had meshed with the immigrants' goals of preserving both their traditional music and the new musical creations of their communities' ethnic musicians" (Greene 1992: 76), "a whole universe of cultural expression" was created and thus preserved (James H. Billington, Librarian of Congress, in Foreword to Spottswood 1990:xiii), creating a kind of "ethnomusicological archive" (Gronow 1981:252).

While Racy examined the commercial recording industry in Egypt as a whole, a vast operation which produced tens of thousands of recordings (1977:13), the present study looks at recordings of one Eastern European Jewish genre, klezmer music. Racy was primarily concerned with documenting measurable change in the musical practices over an almost thirty-year period. In the present study, the focus is on recordings of only two artists during a limited, seven-year period. This approach shall provide a cross-section of the musical syntax and performance style of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras as a subset of klezmer music in New York at that particular point in time. In this sense, it is closer to the approach adopted by Titon, who found a "remarkable stylistic coherence" between blues recordings during a similarly restricted time frame (1971:273).

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25  According to Sholochova 2001, Beregovski did record "an ensemble of performers - instrumentalists (clarinet/flute, violin, alto) ... in Kyiv in 1935", contradicting Beregovski's own statement that he did not (in Beregovskaya 1994:157).

   With the exception of the few short excerpts on the CD *Treasury of Jewish Culture in Ukraine* (1997), none of the field recordings from the former Beregovski archive in Kiev were available to the author at the time of this writing.

26  Here the author is not considering the field recordings of hasidic wedding musicians made in Israel since 1968 housed at the National Sound Archives in Jerusalem (see Hajdu 1971, Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer 1974, and Mazor 2000).

The following chapter shall provide a framework for the analyses to be carried out in chapters 7 and 8, looking to Harshav's concept of the polylinguality of the Yiddish language as a model for investigating klezmer music as well as to issues involved in classifying and transcribing the klezmer repertoire under study here.

# CHAPTER 6. POLYMUSICALITY AND LANGUAGE: CLASSIFICATION AND TRANSCRIPTION

## 6.1 Harshav's polylingualism as a model for the musical language of the klezmorim

In order to better understand the musical processes taking place in klezmer music, it is useful to draw comparisons to a model for the Yiddish language developed by the linguist Benjamin Harshav. Harshav points out that:

1. Yiddish was spoken by people in a bilingual (or multilingual) context.
2. The language is a fusion of elements from several source languages, which are still used as living components of an open language field.
3. Yiddish was the carrier of a second level of social "language," a peculiar semiotics of Jewish communication (1990:8).

A major characteristic of the language as it developed in Eastern Europe was that its "polylingualism" consisted of two kinds, "internal" and "external" (Harshav 1990:9). Internally, the Jewish communities utilised three languages: Yiddish, Hebrew and Aramaic, all written in the same alphabet.[1] The Hebrew text of the Bible was learnt in *kheyder* by translating it word-by-word into Yiddish.[2] In addition, Talmudic learning in Aramaic and Hebrew, as well as later writings,

> ... [were] reunderstood, rephrased, explained, juxtaposed, challenged, and argued in Yiddish dialogues, lectures and sermons. Yiddish provided the syntactical frame for each sentence and the dialogical framework for the discourse as a whole; it served as the conversational setting in which all those treasures ... were embedded (Harshav 1990:15).

Harshav's theory is that Yiddish and *loshn-koydesh* were "interlaced in one polysystem", in which "Yiddish served primarily as the oral vehicle of communication with Hebrew and Aramaic supplying and multiplying the library of texts" (1990:21-22):

> The same Yiddish language, with the same grammatical structure and basic vocabulary, served the mundane purposes of the same people in their family lives; there was a direct flow of expressions and discourse patterns and gestures between the two domains of life, study and home (Harshav 1990:21).

In a similar fashion, it could be said that the Yiddish-speaking Jews of Eastern Europe were "polymusical", exhibiting characteristics of internal and external polymusicality. The internal musical languages of the klezmorim,[3]

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1 Hebrew and Aramaic are commonly referred to together as comprising one "holy tongue", *loshn-koydesh*, a term encompassing several historical layers of the two languages.

2 As the memoirist and Zionist leader Shmarya Levin recalled: "I learned the few verses by heart easily enough, but not the Hebrew alone: the Hebrew and the Yiddish translation were organically bound together into a single text" (S. Levin 1975:105).

3 As Titon has pointed out, any comparisons drawn between speech and music can only be approximate, as the language of music is "verbally and emotionally symbolic in a much

secular folk song, *badkhones* and the music of the *purim-shpil* (representing Yiddish), and those of the various types of synagogue chant and religious folk song (representing Hebrew-Aramaic) were also interlaced in a kind of musical polysystem with which most Yiddish-speaking Jews were familiar (see also Bayer 1971-1972b:678). Max Wohlberg (1977-1978) has shown, for example, the influence of Eastern Ashkenazic liturgical music on Yiddish folk song. The relationship of klezmer music to the Jewish liturgical modes shall be discussed further in section 7.3.5.6.

Jews formed a minority culture in all areas of Eastern Europe in which they settled.[4] Their financial, legal, administrative and trade dealings all linked them to the Gentile world, necessitating at least an oral knowledge of a number of languages, a phenomenon which Harshav has termed "external polylingualism" (1990:24). In the Ukraine, for example, they came to know Ukrainian, the language of the peasantry, Polish, the language of the aristocracy, as well as the state language Russian (Harshav 1990:25). Since most Jews lived in a multi-ethnic society alongside other minorities, they came in contact with languages as diverse as Belorussian, Lithuanian, Latvian, German, Czech, Romanian and Hungarian as well (Harshav 1990:8).

The result of this external polylingualism was that "in the community as a whole, there was a sense of the sounds, intonations, vocabulary, and grammar of several languages" (Harshav 1990:26). Yiddish differentiated itself from a fusion language such as English in that it "was much more directly aware of its composing languages, since it lived among them — among Hebrew texts and German and Slavic neighbors..." (Harshav 1990:26). As Yiddish contained components from Middle High German and several Slavic languages,

> ... it could also serve as a bridge to and from the external, Christian world and as a channel for the absorption of concepts and images from the Gentile milieu.
> ... The structural unity of the Yiddish language thus served as a junction, a noisy marketplace where "internal" and "external" languages and cultures met and interacted. It was the coherent floor of a schizophrenic existence (Harshav 1990:22).

In addition, Harshav points out that, besides being a unified language within itself,

> Yiddish always was an *open language*, moving in and out of its component languages and absorbing more or less of their vocabularies, depending on the group of speakers, genre of discourse, and circumstances. ... It is precisely because the very problem of fusion was at the center of Yiddish language consciousness and the components did not really fully melt, that openness and overstepping the boundaries into another language were a viable option. It is the most typical habit of Yiddish conversation — by simple and learned people alike — to borrow expressions from beyond the language border and to shift for a while from Yiddish proper to pieces of discourse in other languages and

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more general sense than the language of words" (1971:65). For a discussion of the relationships between music and language, see Feld and Fox (1994).

4  Within the towns, however, the Jewish population could range from as low as twenty to as high as ninety per cent and a majority Jewish population was common.

One further key concept is the fusion aspect of Yiddish itself and, in particular, that of the "interinanimation ... of elements from different source languages in one word" (I. A. Richards [1936], 'The Interinanimation of Words', Lecture 3 in *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*, paraphrased in Harshav 1990:32).[5] Through this process, a noun with a European root, such as doctor, could be combined with the Hebrew plural suffix "-im" to form the plural *doktoyrim*, or the word *shlimazlnik* (an unlucky person) could be formed from the Middle High German *schlimm* (bad), the Hebrew *mazl* (luck), and the Slavic nominalising suffix "-nik" (see Harshav 1990:32-33). "Thus, the whole language, irrespective of origin, was treated as one field, in which patterns *could* cross boundaries of source languages" (1990:34).

Klezmorim, too, were fluent in both the music of the peasantry of various ethnicities (Ukrainian, Polish, Belorussian, Czech, Slovak, Romanian, Lithuanian, Latvian, German and Hungarian) and that of the predominantly Polish landowning aristocracy. While the major components of the Yiddish language stem from Middle High German, *loshn-koydesh* and several Slavic languages, the musical language of the klezmorim could be seen as fusing elements from internal (Jewish) folk and liturgical sources with those of various external (non-Jewish) sources, including those of East Central and Eastern European peasantries as well as of the aristocracy.

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5    The author thanks Ken Frieden for the source of Harshav's interinanimation concept.

## 6.2 Issues of classification

The classification of repertoire according to a variety of criteria has been a recurring theme in studies on klezmorim and their music, including the works of Beregovski (1935, 1937, 1941, 1973, 1987), Stutschewsky (1959), Rivkind (1960), Hajdu (1971), Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974), Slobin (1980), Fater (1985), Goldin (1989), Feldman (1994), Loeffler (1997b), Wollock (1997) and the present author (1997, forthcoming a and b).

Thus far, the basic approaches to categorising klezmer repertoire have included classification by the original ethnic or historical source of the melodic material, its ritual function within the traditional wedding, dance choreography, genre terminology as well as by various musical criteria.[6] Most approaches have included more than one parameter, with the effect that their focus has tended to become obscured and not to yield conclusive results. It is the author's thesis that the musical language of the klezmorim, too, be viewed as a single field, irrespective of origin, as Harshav asserts with Yiddish.

Max Goldin has used the original source method, dividing the totality of klezmer melodic material into three general source groups: "native", "non-native", and those pieces from the "creative fantasy of the klezmer composer" (1989:17). What Goldin means by native are those pieces originating from within the Jewish milieu, but not created by klezmorim themselves, such as Yiddish folk songs (secular, religious and, in particular, hasidic) as well as synagogue recitative. By non-native sources he means music of co-territorial non-Jewish cultures, in particular those of Moldavia and the Ukraine. Goldin's model fits to that of Harshav, in that native sources correspond to internal polymusicality and the non-native sources to external polymusicality. What Goldin's analysis does not do is go beyond the identification of the mere sources to look at how the musical language functions after the process of klezmerisation has taken place. He does note, however, that "Identifying the Ukrainian element among the melodic sources is often very difficult, if not impossible", after the transformation (or fusion) process has taken place (Goldin 1989:18).

Beregovski's approach mixed several parameters. In *Evreiskaia narodnaia instrumental'naia muzyka* (1987), he first attempted to divide all klezmer repertoire into two major functional groups: "music for listening" (nos. 1-85), and "dance music" (nos. 86-239). Included in the music-for-listening group, however, are a large number of duple metre pieces (nos. 22-61) which do not appear to differentiate themselves from the duple metre dances included in the

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6   Ellen Koskoff has proposed a classificatory system for Lubavitch hasidic music based on the relative spiritual elevation of the melodies (Koskoff 2000:79-84). Although both Brandwein and Tarras were raised in hasidic families, there is no evidence that they viewed their New York klezmer repertoire according to similar spiritual criteria, even though a part of their repertoire appears to have derived from hasidic sources.

dance-music section. Unfortunately, Beregovski did not indicate his criteria for the inclusion of pieces as being for listening or dancing. In addition, the distinction music for listening tends to obscure the functional nature of the klezmer repertoire. The music-for-listening pieces served in all cases a ritual and/or social function and, as such, were not listened to in the same way that concert music would be. In the performance of pieces for listening, the instrumental soloist served a similar moralising function to that of the *badkhn*: it is not by coincidence that one general term for the lyrical pieces in the klezmer repertoire was *moralishe nigunim*, the goal of which was to lead to spiritual arousal (Seroussi and Mazor 1990-1991:129; see also Rabinovitch 1940:203).

Within his two main groupings, Beregovski presented the pieces mostly by like category. These categories can be, however, based upon either the repertoire's function within the order of events of the traditional Jewish wedding, its choreographic type or its musical genre. In numbers 1-86 it can be seen, for example, that the individual pieces of a particular functional category did not necessarily correspond to a particular metrical category: the *dobrinotsh* tunes comprise five pieces in triple metre, one in duple metre and one non-metric piece; the *gas-nigunim* include eleven examples in triple metre and seven in duple metre. The unifying factor was apparently the ritual or social function itself and not necessarily according to specific musical criteria.

Because there seems not to have been a standardised terminology for the various pieces performed at Jewish weddings, grouping pieces by their nominal title presents additional problems. Within the non-dance category, the pieces entitled *dobridzen*, *dobrinotsh* and *mazltov* all appear to have served the same or a similar function, that of greeting or saluting honoured guests, as did the pieces entitled *a gute nakht* and *zay gezunt*, both of which were used as parting tunes. Within the dance category, the terms *freylekhs*, *redl*, *tants*, *skotshne*, *hopke*, *karahod*, *dreydl*, *kaylekhiks* and *rikudl* all referred, according to Beregovski, to the same general choreography (see Beregovski 1941:435).[7] An additional problem is that a single term may have more than one meaning. *Volekh/volekhl* refers to both the metric dance form of Bessarabian origins also known as *zhok* or slow Romanian *hora* (Beregovski 1941:417-718),[8] and to a non-metric improvisation "characterized by slow tempi, free rhythm, recitative elements generally appearing at the end of phrases, and rich ornamentation" (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:124-125). *Bulgar* could mean both a circle dance and a couple dance (M. Levitt 1996, interview). Whether the musical content of these two choreographies was the same is not clear.[9]

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7    To add to the terminological confusion, Beregovski reports that sometimes *skotshne* meant a piece played for listening *tsum tish* and having "the same schema as the *freylekhs*", but to which "certain technically virtuosic elements" had been added, while at other times it was identical to the *freylekhs* (1941:439).

8    The *zhok* corresponds to metrical subcategory IIa as depicted in fig. 6.1 below.

9    An examination of Loeffler's preliminary *Lexicon of Klezmer Terminology/Index of Klezmer Genres* (1997b) reveals a plethora of such contradictions between terms.

Issaschar Fater, too, takes a functional approach in categorising the klezmer repertoire, pointing out that a "particular group of traditional *nigunim* ... became a fixed part of the routine and ceremonial of every *khasene*. The *kapelyes* themselves shaped these *nigunim* to fit to the various situations and moods during the *khasene*". Fater does not differentiate between dancing and listening pieces, preferring only to list the pieces leading up to the actual wedding ceremony ("*bazetsn di kale, badekns, unterfirung* [accompanying the bride and groom to the *khupe*], *khupe-marsh* [march to the *khupe*], *troyer-nign* [mournful tune]") and those following the ceremony ("*sherele* [*sher*], *mitsve-tentsl* [*mitzvah* dance], *droshe-geshank-oyfshpiln* [playing for the ceremony of the *droshe-geshank*] and other entertainment songs which created an atmosphere of good cheer and joy amongst the guests"; all quotes from Fater 1985:60-61).

Feldman's (1994) categorisation, too, is based largely on the original source of the melodic material. He has grouped the repertoire of Eastern European klezmorim into four basic categories which can be summarised as follows:

> (1) "Core" repertoire, which consists of tunes of presumed Jewish provenance. Included in this category are duple metre dance tunes of the *freylekhs*-type as well as various other metric pieces including *dobridzen, dobrinotsh, mazltov* and *opfirn di mekhutonim* (accompanying or escorting the parents of the bride and groom). Non-metric pieces in this category include the *kale bazetsn* or *kale baveynen* (bringing the bride to tears) as well as those played "before the *khupe*", presumably in front of the wedding canopy prior to the actual wedding ceremony. Lastly, Feldman included metric and non-metric paraliturgical melodies for holidays including *chanukkah* and *purim*.

> (2) "Transitional" or "orientalised" repertoire consisting of tunes having their presumed origins in the repertoire of Bessarabian *musică lăutarească* (music of the professional Rom musicians), which were adopted by Jewish musicians and which spread in popularity among Jews far beyond their original geographical origins. This category consists of dance genres in duple metre (*bulgarish, sirba* and *ange*) and triple metre (*zhok, volekh* and *hora*). Non-dance genres include the non-metric *doyne* (doina) as well as the metered *mazltov far di mekhutonim* (congratulations to the parents of the bride and groom).

> 3) "Co-territorial" repertoire consisting of various local dances of presumed non-Jewish origins, which were performed by klezmorim for non-Jews as well as Jews but, according to Feldman, within a more limited geographical arena. These included the Polish *mazurka*, the Ruthenian *kolomeyka*, and the Ukrainian solo dance *kozachok*.

> 4) "Cosmopolitan" repertoire comprised couple dances of Western and Central European origins such as *pa de span, quadrille*, polka and waltz, which were also performed for non-Jews and Jews (see Feldman 1994:6-10).

The divisions between the four categories are, however, less obvious than Feldman has presumed:

Much of the "co-territorial" repertoire also enjoyed a popularity far beyond its own geographical boundaries. According to Feliks Starczewski (1901:681-714),

the indigenous Polish dances *krakowiak, mazurka, polonaise* and *oberek* enjoyed popularity among both the Polish peasantry and the aristocracy extending beyond their regional origins. In Franz Magnus Böhme's history of dance in Germany, it can be seen that dances such as *polka-mazurka*, Russian waltz, *krakowiak, mazurka, kolomjyka,* and *kozachok* were danced throughout Germany as early as the beginning of the nineteenth century (see Böhme 1886, vol. 2, nos. 260, 262-64, 267-69). The distinction Feldman seems to be bringing out is that the "transitional" repertoire is of Eastern Romanian (Bessarabian/Moldavian) origin, whereas the "co-territorial" repertoire is of Slavic origin.

The "core" repertoire, too, was performed by klezmorim in non-Jewish contexts and was even adopted by the local non-Jewish peasantries in some areas:

> Comrade Vl. Kharkov, administrator of the Cabinet for Musical Ethnography at the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences related to me that in 1927 he transcribed from Ukrainian peasants in the village of Bondashivke (Mogilev-Podolsk district) a whole series of *freylekhsn* (the peasants call it "freylik"). Such *freylekhsn* are very popular in that village, where they are sung for dancing. ... At weddings the [non-Jewish Ukrainian] musicians play *freylekhsn* (Beregovski 1935:98-99).

Beregovski also noted that in the 1890s the Ukrainian youth in Brusilov (Kiev district) danced the *sher* to the music of Jewish klezmorim (1935:98). In addition, the distinction between dance tunes to be included in the "core" and the "transitional" repertoire is not clear. In many cases the difference between the *bulgar* and *freylekhs*, for example, appears to have been terminological and/or choreographic and *not* musical. There were many pieces in the repertoire which were entitled *bulgar* by one performer or publisher and *freylekhs* by another. Variants of the tune 'Odessa Bulgar' by the Abe Schwartz Orchestra from April 1919 (Columbia E 4322; Spottswood 1990:1498) were also published by Beregovski and Fefer as 'Tsu der khupe' (Processional to the wedding canopy, 1938:497-98) ), by J. and J. Kammen as 'Frailach' (1924:10) and by Kostakowsky as 'Bulgar' (1916:43), among others.

### 6.2.1 Classification of klezmer music as a basis for musicological analysis

The above-listed classification systems do not sufficiently differentiate between non-musical criteria — such as terminology, function within the traditional wedding or other festive event, or ethnic, geographical or historical origin — and musical ones, including metre, tempo, scalar or modal type, phrase, sentence or tune structure. As a result none of them have proved satisfactory in providing a basis for meaningful musicological analysis of individual genres within the totality of the repertoire.

The author maintains that key aspects of klezmer music can be identified both in terms of musical syntax and, in particular, performance style. For the purposes of clarity in analysis, syntactical elements have been artificially

separated out from stylistic elements of performance practice: the former are examined in chapter 7 and the latter in the concluding chapter 8. In reality, this separation may not exist in traditional Eastern European instrumental music, as Timothy Rice has postulated in relation to Bulgarian *gaida* music:

> ... the myriad sounds I perceived as melody and ornamentation were, from a player's conceptual and physical point of view, unified into a single concept as ways of moving from tone to tone. Gaidari needed to think only of melody tones and, as they moved between them, their fingers produced ornamental tones. ... The ornaments were simply part of the physical motion of playing the melody... (Rice 1984:84).

Until the late 1920s, klezmer music in America was dominated by European-born musicians from klezmer families, who had been trained in Europe according to the apprenticeship system described in section 3.3.4. The author's hypothesis is that the immigrant musicians played a subset of their European repertoire and that they interpreted it in a similar style to that which had been currrent in Europe, despite changes in instrumentation and performance context. Even if immigrant klezmorim were composing new pieces in New York,[11] the musical language in which they were creating them was a continuation of that which they had known in Eastern Europe. Drawing upon a common palette of melodic figures, ornaments and performance practice techniques,[12] the musicians combined them in artful ways to form complete compositions and performances — a process known as centonisation.[13]

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11  Although authorship of most pre-1930 American melodies is not known, it is likely, based upon the history of klezmorim as performer-composers, that some of the pre-1930 repertoire was created in the United States.

12  In this study the term figure is being used for melodic units smaller than a phrase which consist of two or more tones.

Bruno Nettl and Ronald Riddle differentiate between "improvisation" as relating to "larger issues of modulation and the arrangement of sections" and "performance practice" as being "based on smaller melodic and structural devices" (Modirzadeh 2000:519). It is in this sense that the author is employing the term "performance practice techniques".

13  Centonisation is based on the Latin *cento*, patchwork.

In relation to Gregorian chant, Willi Apel defines centonisation as comprising the "use of standard phrases (migrating melismas), i.e., phrases recurring in numerous chants of a certain group ... sometimes to such an extent that the entire chant consists of a succession of such formulae" (Apel 1958:246). It is a "method of 'composition'" which "is the very opposite of 'original creation' and unquestionably represents a very archaic technique. It bears a striking resemblance to the ta'amim technique which plays an important role in Jewish chant ..." (Apel 1958:139). (The *ta'amei mikra* form a written system of biblical accents completed between 900 and 930 in Tiberias; Avenary 1971-1972a:584.)

Leo Treitler has pointed out that the term centonisation in its literal sense implies the composition of melodies from formulas within a written — as opposed to oral — musical tradition (Treitler 1991:89). The author is using the term in the broader sense to mean a patchwork or mosaic approach in general. See also Jeffery (1992, chapters 2 and 3) for a further discussion of Treitler's "New Historical View" of the oral transmission of medieval chant. The author wishes to thank Mark Kligman for these references.

The musical fusion language of the klezmorim crosses metrical and modal "boundaries" (Harshav 1990:34), as well as those of choreographic and ritual function, and the original historical or ethnic source of the melodic material. Thus, while the musical genres may exhibit some individual characteristics — in particular the differentiations between metrical subcategories as depicted in fig. 6.1 below — they share the same basic melodic figures, ornaments and performance practice techniques, timbral characteristics and expressive range. The results of the musical analysis shall form an interlocking grid of parameters — such as modal scale, stereotypical melodic figures and ornamentation patterns — each of which exhibits a limited number of typical tendencies. Taken together they shall define the melodic characteristics of the metrical klezmer repertoire.

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The process of centonisation bears similarities to the structuralist concept of "speech as a finite structuring of varied units" ("die Sprache als eine endliche Ordnung unterschiedlicher Einheiten"; G. Schiwy 1969:17, cited in Flender 1992:6).

## 6.3 Classification of the New York klezmer repertoire of the 1920s and the recordings of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras

As chapter 4 has shown, because of changes in the traditional wedding as well as in the prevailing tastes of the immigrant community many of the types of pieces accompanying the various non-dance functions and rituals of the Eastern European Jewish wedding — such as salutatory tunes, the *kale-bazetsn* and other pieces accompanying the *badkhn*, *tsum-tish* improvisations, *gas-nigunim* and farewell tunes — had largely fallen out of use in New York by the 1920s.[14] The klezmer music recorded in New York during the 1920s thus consisted of a limited number of (mostly) dance genres.

The analyses in chapters 7 and 8 are based on the solo clarinet recordings of Naftule Brandwein (1922-1927) and Dave Tarras (1925-1929). Use is made of supplemental recorded and notated musical sources as necessary to bring out certain points and for purposes of contrast. This study concentrates only on aspects relating to the realisation of the main melodic line, and not on aspects of performance practice related to other roles within the klezmer ensemble, such as inner voices, bass lines and percussion, each of which could form the basis for further studies.

For comparative purposes, the Yiddish repertoire recorded during the 1920s by Brandwein and Tarras can be divided into three metrical categories: duple metre tunes, triple metre tunes and non-metric pieces.[15] Within each of these categories, there are two or more subcategories:

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14  An additional factor leading to change was the broadening of musical context: the melodies specifically associated with the traditional wedding ritual were simply inappropriate or unnecessary for events such as *bar mitzvahs*, banquets or dances.

The changes described here were in contrast to the developments in the areas of Eastern Europe such as Poland where klezmer music was still being played between the two World Wars. In Lodz during the 1920s and 1930s, for example, the quality of a violinist was still judged by his ability to perform an instrumental rendition of the prayer 'Yehi Retzon' during the ceremony of the *kale bazetsn* — although the Polish-Jewish wedding repertoire also contained by that time not only the tangos and other popular dance melodies of composers such as Henryk Gold, Jerzy Petersburski and Henryk Wars, but also the latest American fox trots (H. Baigelman 2000, interview; Fater 1970:70-74, 295-296, 339-340). See Mazor (2000:17-28) for a discussion of the klezmer repertoire in the Land of Israel in the early decades of the twentieth century.

The Eastern European violin soloists in particular were appreciated much more for their sweet tone and lyricism in interpreting the music-for-listening repertoire than for their dance music. The Soviet-Jewish folklorist I. M. Dobrushin points out:

> ... it is important to appreciate that music for listening has overshadowed purely dance music. It was serious music, played not only at weddings, but played also for the "Tzadik", the righteous man, for people occupied with philosophical problems, that aroused their thoughts (cited in Beregovskaya and Eppel 1994:156).

15  Here "Yiddish repertoire" is to be taken as those pieces which were marketed to a Yiddish-speaking audience, regardless of whether the original source of the melody was "Jewish" or not.
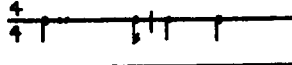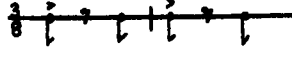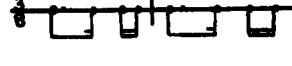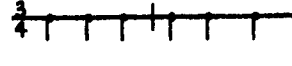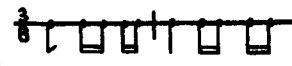
| Metrical category | Metrical subcategory | Basic rhythmic accomp. | Tempo range |
|---|---|---|---|
| (I) duple metre | (a) circle and figure dance (*freylekhs, bulgar, sher*, etc.) | [musical notation] and/or: [musical notation] | ♩ = 76-168 |
| | (b) so-called "terkish" (*gas nign, gute nakht, opshpil*, etc.) | [musical notation] | ♩ = 120-168 |
| (II) triple metre | (a) *zhok / volekhl /* slow Romanian *hora* [16] | [musical notation] and/or: [musical notation] | ♪ = 138-168 |
| | (b) "waltz" | [musical notation] | ♩ = 120-126 |
| | (c) *qaytarma* [17] | [musical notation] | ♪ = 168-176 |
| (III) non-metric | (a) doina | | |
| | (b) other non-metric | | |

Fig. 6.1  Metrical categories present in the 1920s recordings of Brandwein and Tarras

This recorded repertoire includes both genres assumed to have been Jewish as well as those originally non-Jewish, mostly Moldavian genres which had become closely associated with klezmorim. These were klezmerised by them — assimilated to their own playing concept.[18] In addition, a significant body of new compositions had been created by klezmorim in those genres. Although there might exist subtle musical differences between the duple metre dance genres, the author's hypothesis is that the main differences between them are choreographic. This has been borne out by Beregovski's research: "The *shern* from the Ukraine are in general very close to the style of the *freylekhsn*" (1937:9). Feldman, too, has grouped *freylekhs, sher, skotshne* and *khosid* as

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16    The metre of the *zhok* is properly categorised as *aksak* (after Brailoiu; Georgescu 1995:364), a term commonly used to designate "asymmetric" metres in Turkish and Balkan music comprising various combinations of long and short stresses (3+2+2, 2+1+2 etc.). The *zhok* is commonly notated in 3/8, but in actuality consists of a long-short stress (approximately 2 + 1).

17    *Qaytarma* is a couple dance of the Crimean Tatars. At least one melody to this dance entered the klezmer repertoire (Feldman 1996:529; see also Wollock 1997:44).

18    The notion of the players' concept shall be developed further in 8.2.

belonging to one musical genre (1994:7). In this study all duple metre dance tunes recorded for a Yiddish-speaking audience, including the *bulgar*, shall be grouped together for analytical purposes.

Figs. 6.2a-c below list the recorded solo repertoire of Brandwein and Tarras in chronological order based on Spottswood (1990). Each recording has been given a sequential number (NB1, DT1, etc.). Of the fifty-three recordings, ten by each performer are in a suite-form comprising at least two sections. Each section of a suite has been given a lower-case letter for purposes of identification. For instance, the first section of NB1 has been labelled NB1a and the second section, NB1b.

In several instances Brandwein and Tarras each recorded a variant of the same tune. These include the pairings:

- NB6a and DT 13a;
- NB 6b and DT19;

  and

- NB10 and DT18.

Furthermore, two takes were issued of each of the four recordings from Brandwein's session for Emerson from ca. April 1923. Thus, the pairings:

- NB6a and NB6c;
- NB6b and NB6d;
- NB7a and NB7c;
- NB7b and NB7d;
- NB8a and NB8b;

  and

- NB9a and NB 9b.

each comprise variant performances of the same tune as well.[19]

Two levels of transcription have been employed in this study: descriptive transcriptions of complete tunes including all repeats (transcription type "d" in figs. 6.2a-c), and prescriptive transcriptions in which the significant details of a performance have been reduced to a single version of each sentence (transcription type "p" in figs. 6.2a-c).[20] Only those tunes marked "d" or "p" have been included in the sample:

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19  Additional recorded variants of the sampled performances are listed in appendix 1 and print variants of them are listed in appendix 2.

20  The transcription conventions followed by the author are discussed in greater detail in 6.4 below.

| | | Naftule Brandwein, recordings released under own name, 1922-1927[21] | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item no. | Trans. type | Title | Cat. no. | Date | Metrical subcategory |
| NB1a | d | Kallarash | Co E7780 | 9/22 | IIa |
| NB1b | d | | | | Ia |
| NB2a | | Roumeinishe Doina | Co E7780 | 9/22 | IIIa |
| NB2b | p | | | | Ia |
| NB3 | | Freit Aich, Yiddelach | Co E7874 | 12/22 | Ia |
| NB4 | d | Terkish-Bulgarish | Co E7874 | 12/22 | Ia |
| NB5 | d | Fihren Die Mechutonim Aheim-Tanz | Co E9012 | 2/23 | IIa |
| NB6a | d | Der Ziser Bulgar (Take 1) | Em 13236 | ca. 4/23 | Ib |
| NB6b | d | | | | Ia |
| NB6c | d | Der Ziser Bulgar (Take 2) | Em 13236 | ca. 4/23 | Ib |
| NB6d | d | | | | Ia |
| NB7a | | Vie Tsvie Is Naftule Der Driter (Take 1) | Em 13236 | ca. 4/23 | IIIb |
| NB7b | p | | | | Ia |
| NB7c | | Vie Tsvie Is Naftule Der Driter (Take 2) | Em 13236 | ca. 4/23 | IIIb |
| NB7d | p | | | | Ia |
| NB8a | d | Naftule Shpielt Far Dem Rebin (Take 1) | Em 13237 | ca. 4/23 | Ib |
| NB8b | d | Naftule Shpielt Far Dem Rebin (Take 2) | Em 13237 | ca. 4/23 | Ib |
| NB9a | d | Dem Rebin's Chusid (Take 1) | Em 13237 | ca. 4/23 | Ia |
| NB9b | d | Dem Rebin's Chusid (Take 2) | Em 13237 | ca. 4/23 | Ia |
| NB10 | d | Heiser Bulgar | Vi 73895 | 10/5/23 | Ia |
| NB11a | | Doina-Pt. 1 | Vi 73940 | 10/5/23 | IIIa |
| NB11b | | | | | IIa |
| NB11c | | Doina-Pt. 2: Nachspiel | Vi 73940 | 10/5/23 | Ia |
| NB12 | | Turkishe Yalle Vey Uve | Vi 73895 | 10/5/23 | Ib |

21  Brandwein's recordings Columbia E7791, E7838 and E7931 from 1922-1923 were released for a Russian-speaking audience under the name *Russkyj Narodnyj Orchester* (Russian Folk Orchestra). In addition, his Brunswick recording 60028 from 25 October, 1927 was released under the name *Te Piec Dziadow* (The Five Beggars) for ethnic Poles. In order not to obscure the results of this study, all eight performances — which consisted of performances of Polish, Ukrainian and Russian tunes — have been excluded from consideration for the sample and are not listed here. See Spottswood (1990:1302-1304).

| Item no. | Trans. type | Title | Cat. no. | Date | Metrical subcategory |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| NB13 | | Der Iyd In Jerusaleim | Vi 77599 | 31/3/24 | Ib |
| NB14 | d | Der Terkisher-Bulgar Tanz | Vi 77488 | 31/3/24 | Ia |
| NB15 | | Freid Sich Yiddalech | Vi 77488 | 31/3/24 | Ia |
| NB16 | | Der Terk In America | Vi 77599 | 31/3/24 | Ib |
| NB17 | | Der Heisser | Vi 77659 | 17/7/24 | IIc |
| NB18a NB18b NB18c | | Fufzehn Yahr Fon Der Heim Awek | Vi 77776 | 17/7/24 | IIb Ib Ia |
| NB19a NB19b | | Das Teureste In Bukowina | Vi 77776 | 17/7/24 | IIa Ia |
| NB20 | p | Wie Bist Die Gewesen Vor Prohibition? | Vi 77599 | 17/7/24 | Ia |
| NB21 | | Sirba Romaniaska | Vi 78123 | 1/4/25 | Ia |
| NB22 | p | Odesser Bulgar | Vi 78043 | 1/4/25 | Ia |
| NB23 | | Leben Zol Palestina | Vi 78123 | 1/4/25 | Ia |
| NB24 | p | Honga Ciganeska | Vi 78043 | 1/4/25 | Ia |
| NB25 | d | Bulgar Ala Naftule | Co 8073-F | 4/25 | Ia |
| NB26 | | Naftule, Shpiel Es Noch Amol | Co 8076-F | 4/25 | Ia |
| NB27 | d | Oi Tate, S'is Gut | Co 8076-F | 4/25 | Ia |
| NB28 | d | A Hora Mit Tzibeles | Co 8073-F | 4/25 | IIa |
| NB29a NB29b | d | Araber Tanz | Vi 78658 | 18/2/26 | Ib Ia |
| NB30 | | Fun Tashlach | Vi 78658 | 18/2/26 | Ia |
| NB31 | | Der Yiddisher Soldat In Die Trenches | Vi 78588 | 18/2/26 | Ib |
| NB32 | d | Zurick Fun Der Milchumo | Vi 78588 | 18/2/26 | Ia |
| NB33a NB33b | | Mazeltov Der Schweiger; Dos Yiddishe Chosedl | Br 67048 | 25/10/27 | IIIb Ia |
| NB34a NB34b | | Lebedig Naftuli | Br 67048 | 25/10/27 | IIIb Ia |

Fig. 6.2a  Naftule Brandwein: solo recordings 1922-1927

| | | Dave Tarras solo recordings, 1925-1929 | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item no. | Trans. type | Title | Cat. no. | Date | Metrical subcategory |
| DT1 | d | Dem Trisker Rebbin's Chosid | Co 8089-F | 9/25 | Ia |
| DT2 | d | Dem Monastrishtcher Rebin's Chosid'l | Co 8085-F | 9/25 | Ia |
| DT3 | | Sha, Sha, Die Schviger Kumt | Co 8089-F | 9/25 | Ia |
| DT4 | d | Bulgar | Co 8085-F | 9/25 | Ia |
| DT5a | | Dovid'l Bazetzt Die Kalleh | Co 8103-F | 1/26 | IIIb |
| DT5b | p | | | | Ia |
| DT6a | | Nisht Gezorgt | Co 8107-F | 1/26 | IIa |
| DT6b | | | | | Ia |
| DT7a | | Nor Gelebt, Nor Gelacht | Co 8107-F | 1/26 | IIa |
| DT7b | | | | | Ia |
| DT8a | | Mein Thaiere Odessa | Co 8103-F | 1/26 | IIa |
| DT8b | | | | | Ia |
| DT9a | d | A Rumenisher Nigun | Co 8135-F | 4/27 | IIa |
| DT9b | | | | | Ia |
| DT10a | | Rumenishe Doina | Co 8135-F | 4/27 | IIIa |
| DT10b | | | | | Ia |
| DT11 | | Dem Tzadik's Zemerl | Co 8162-F | 1/28 | Ia |
| DT12a | d | David, Shpiel Dus Noch Amul | Vo 67175 | 12/29 | IIa |
| DT12b | d | | | | Ia |
| DT13a | d | Sieben Yuhr Fin Odess | Vo 67175 | 12/29 | Ib |
| DT13b | d | | | | Ia |
| DT14a | | Noch A Glezel Wein | Vi V-9030 | 30/12/29 | IIIa |
| DT14b | p | | | | Ia |
| DT15a | d | In A Rumenishe Sheink | Vi V-9030 | 30/12/29 | IIa |
| DT15b | p | | | | Ia |

Fig. 6.2b  Dave Tarras: solo recordings 1925-1929

In addition to the above-listed solo recordings by Tarras, the following four recordings featured him on solo clarinet and have been included here although Abe Schwartz was the nominal band leader:

| Dave Tarras March 1929 recordings as member of Abe Schwartz Orch. | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Item no. | Trans. type | Title | Cat. no. | Date | Metrical subcategory |
| DT16 | | Chaikele | Co 8190-F | 3/29 | Ia |
| DT17 | | Bulgar Tantz | Co 8193-F | 3/29 | Ia |
| DT18 | d | Gelebt un Gelacht Frehlichs | Co 8193-F | 3/29 | Ia |
| DT19 | d | A Dreidele Far Alle — Frehlichs | Co 8190-F | 3/29 | Ia |

Fig. 6.2c  Dave Tarras: recordings as featured clarinettist with
Abe Schwartz Orchestra, March 1929

## 6.4 Explanation of the sample and transcription conventions

The inadequacy of the five-line stave system for the notation of music other than that of the Western art tradition and the search for alternative means of transcription and presentation have been ongoing topics of discussion among ethnomusicologists since the beginnings of the discipline.[22] Musically literate klezmorim do not appear to have devised alternative systems of notation for their music, but rather made use of the Western five-line stave system without any special symbols.[23] As the klezmer style had been passed on orally from generation to generation the musicians had no need to notate the grace tones, bent tones, *glissandi* and other minutiae of performance practice which shall form the subject of chapter 8.[24] For this purpose the author has made use of several additional symbols which represent particular tone bends and other ornaments not covered by Western notation.[25]

As a basis for analysis a cross-section of the recordings of Brandwein and Tarras from the metrical subcategories Ia, Ib and IIa (as listed in fig. 6.1 above) have been transcribed.[26] The complete transcriptions are to be found in appendix 3. As a supplement to the transcriptions themselves, the recordings upon which the transcriptions have been based are included in the accompanying compact discs to this thesis (see listing in appendix 4). All transcriptions were done by ear from audio cassettes of the original 78 rpm recordings using Beyer Dynamic DT 100 headphones and either a Marantz Professional Cassette Recorder PMD 200 with half-speed and pitch control or a Sony TCS-580V Stereo Casssette-Corder with pitch control. No additional filtering has been employed, except in the few instances where recordings were

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22  See, for example, the discussion in McIntosh (1993:129ff).

23  See, for example, the large number of transcriptions in Beregovski 1987, which were submitted to Beregovski by practicing klezmorim themselves, as well as the handwritten arrangements in the papers of Harry Kandel at the YIVO Archive in New York (RG 112, Supplement I).

24  Swindells has written with regarrd to Sundanese performance practice:

> "Traditional"... musicians, especially *suling* players, do not use any notation. Due to the intricate and improvisatory nature of the idiom, any precise notation would necessarily be highly complex and furthermore would suggest a standard model, when in reality no two melodic realisations are ever the same (Swindells 1996:39).

25  The specific symbols used shall be introduced during the course of that discussion.

26  There is not a large enough body of recordings by Brandwein and Tarras of non-metric pieces for an empirically based study of them. Furthermore, although the non-metric pieces make use of the same basic scales and ornaments as the metric tunes to be discussed in chapters 7 and 8, they appear to follow slightly different modulatory schemata and introduce some types of ornamentation not present in the metric tunes. For these reasons they have been excluded from the present study. Rubin (1997) examines fifty-seven Jewish doina or doina-like performances from commercial records, field recordings and recorded live performances made in Europe, the USA and Israel in the years between 1905 and 1993, as well as from six notated sources. That study includes the four doina recordings made by Brandwein and Tarras (NB2a, NB11a, DT10a and DT14a) during the period 1922-1929.

used which had been digitally re-mastered and re-issued on CD. The author has attempted to capture as many details of the performances as practicable, including the smallest clearly audible ornaments.[27] Rhythmic irregularities have been rounded to the nearest semiquaver and, in some cases, demisemiquaver.

For comparative purposes all transcriptions of performances and the musical examples derived from them have been transposed to a tonic of G,[28] chosen for ease of reading: since most of the Brandwein and Tarras tunes were performed at least a 4th higher, transcribing in the original keys would have necessitated the constant use of additional ledger lines. Notating them in G situates most tunes within the standard five-line stave.

The following conventions have been applied to the transcriptions and musical examples:

- accompanying triads are labelled with upper-case Roman numerals for major and lower-case for minor;

- all musical examples are written in treble clef and in a 2/4 metre, unless otherwise noted;

- key signatures (and metre, if applicable) are only noted on the first line of each transcription or musical example;

When pitches are referred to within the body of the text, the following conventions have been followed:

- pitches below the tonic are written in upper-case letters (D-E-F);

- pitches within the main octave are written in lower-case letters (g-a-b-c-d-e-f);

and

- pitches above the main octave are written in lower-case letters appended with an apostrophe (g'-a'-b').

The purpose of the descriptive transcriptions is to show the range of ornamentation and variation within a single performance. They are laid out paradigmatically (or "synoptically"; Gilbert Rouget in Brailoiu 1984:viii), so that all of the repeats of each musical sentence are aligned directly above one another for comparative purposes:

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27  A limiting factor in the transcriptions has been the poor audio quality of the original recordings. In the case where the presence of an ornament was not certain, it has been placed in parentheses. Because of the rapidity of a number of the ornaments, their actual pitch was not in all cases certain.

28  The applicability of the concept of tonic shall be discussed in 7.3.5.1.
    The original key of each performance is provided with the complete transcriptions in appendix 3.

Fig. 6.3 Example of descriptive transcription: NB1a

In the descriptive transcriptions only the first iteration of each sentence has been notated in its entirety. Only variants from the first iteration have been notated in the reiterations of each sentence. Blank bars (or portions of bars) on any repeat signify that that segment did not diverge from the first iteration of the sentence. In NB1a depicted in fig. 6.3 above, for example, bars 4-6 of sentence *a*, the first four bars of sentence *b*, the first five bars of sentence *c* and the first four bars of sentence *d* evidence moderate variation from iteration to iteration whereas the first three bars of sentence *a*, bars 5-7 of sentence *b* and the last seven bars of sentence *c* are performed virtually identically each time.

In the prescriptive transcriptions, passages with significant variants have been labelled with small circled numerals. The corrresponding variants have been notated on the last page of each transcription.

As dance tunes of metrical subcategory Ia (see fig. 6.1 above) form the largest portion of Brandwein's and Tarras' recorded repertoire, they reflect the majority of the transcriptions in the sample. These tunes have been notated in 2/4 metre in order to facilitate comparison with the majority of published collections.[29] Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974) and Mazor and Taube (1993) notated similar dance tunes in 4/4 metre by conscious decision in their transcriptions of hasidic dance *nigunim*:

> As a measuring unit for the length of the dances we have chosen the 4/4 bar which always corresponds to a double step unit of the group dances. The step pattern consists of a double step unit, i.e. two steps — one forwards and one backwards — which fall on the first and third beats, stressing the feeling of "alla breve" ... while on the second and fourth beats the dancers use other parts of their body... (Mazor and Taube 1993:202).

The evidence that the dance tunes in klezmer music follow a four-beat cycle is, however, not compelling. They encompass a variety of choreographies (*sher*, *bulgar*, *freylekhs*, etc.) which themselves have differing beat cycles: the basic rhythmic cycle of the *freylekhs* choreography lasts four beats; the *bulgar* as

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29   See, for example, Fleischman and Bloom (1911), Kostakowsky (1916), Kammen (1924, 1928 and 1934), Beregovski and Fefer (1938) and Beregovski (1962 and 1987).

described by Feldman, six; and the *sher* is a square dance with complex figuration which takes each of the four couples several minutes to complete. In a number of cases, the same tune may be used for all three dance types, so that a one-to-one correlation between the rhythmic cycle of the tune and a particular dance choreography does not appear to have been significant.

In addition to selecting a representative cross-section of the 1920s repertoire of Brandwein and Tarras for transcription, care has been taken to include both:

- variants of tunes as performed by the same musician — whether in the form of second takes made during the same recording session or recordings made on two different dates;

  and

- variants of the same tune as recorded by both performers.

These shall facilitate a study of both the range of variation and ornamentation by a single musician from performance to performance as well as the similarities and differences between the performance approaches and styles of the two musicians.

Throughout chapters 7 and 8 the following hierarchy of terms shall be used to refer to the melodic components of metric klezmer pieces:

- figure — a melodic unit smaller than a phrase which consists of two or more tones;

- phrase — the smallest melodic unit "possessing a certain completeness, and well adapted to combination with other similar units" (Schoenberg 1967:3);

- sentence: a combination of phrases with its own internal cadence;

- tune: a string of sentences comprising a discrete compositional unit within a particular metrical subcategory;

  and

- suite: a multi-section composition in which tunes of differing metrical subcategories are grouped together in a single performance.

In chapters 7 and 8 each performance shall be referred to according to its sequential alpha-numeric label as listed in figs. 6.2a-c above. The sentences in each tune have been labelled with italicised lower-case letters, so that a segment of a recorded performance may be referred to either according to sentence, such as NB1a:*a* (=the first sentence of the first section of Brandwein's two-section suite 'Kallarash'), or according to particular bars within the performance, as in DT1:17-19 (= bars 17-19 of Tarras' 'Dem Trisker Rebbin's Chosid').

\* \* \*

The discussion shall now shift in chapter 7 to an investigation of musical syntax in the recorded performances of Brandwein and Tarras, focusing in particular on aspects of modality such as scale, cadential formulae, variable tones and modulatory schemata.

# CHAPTER 7. MODALITY AND COMPOSITIONAL PROCESSES IN THE 1920s SOLO RECORDINGS OF NAFTULE BRANDWEIN AND DAVE TARRAS

## 7.1 Introduction

André Hajdu and Yaacov Mazor discuss several possible ways of defining hasidic music including "by its content, i.e. by those musical elements and forms which distinguish this from any other music". They point out that "So far, such distinctions have not been formulated according to the norms of musical scholarship" (1971-1972:1421). The same dilemma faces the study of klezmer music. The conclusions drawn in this and the following chapter are based solely upon the transcriptions (and actual recordings) of performances by Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras as listed in figs. 6.2a-c. They are not intended to represent a comprehensive treatment of all possibilities inherent in the composition and performance of klezmer music — not even of klezmer music in New York during the period 1922-1929 — but rather should be considered as case studies which enable a closer investigation of the kinds of processes involved, both at the syntactical and the performance levels.

This chapter shall look at several significant aspects of melodic syntax, in particular modality and the construction of phrases, sentences and tunes as a process of centonisation — the assembling of pre-existing musical units. Furthermore, parallels shall be drawn to generative models in linguistics.

## 7.2 Previous writings on modality in klezmer music

Modality is a key concept in understanding how klezmer music functions melodically. In writings on non-liturgical Eastern European Jewish musical traditions, such as folk songs, hasidic *nigunim* or klezmer music, modal scales have been described in terms of the Ashkenasic Jewish prayer modes (*shteyger*),[1] modes shared with non-Jewish Eastern European musical traditions, major and minor scales and ecclesiastical modes.[2] Writings

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1    The Yiddish term *shteyger* (manner, way) was first applied by Western Ashkenazic cantors during the latter part of the nineteenth century, the first being Josef Singer in Vienna in 1886 (see Wohlberg 1954, Avenary 1971:11). There is little evidence that cantors had names for the prayer modes at all prior to the early decades of the nineteenth century (M. Kligman 2001, personal communication).

     Each liturgical mode is referred to by the first words of one of the Hebrew prayers to which it is typically sung, although this terminology has not been applied consistently and has led to much confusion (see Wohlberg 1954).

2    Beginning with the writings of Idelsohn, Eastern European Jewish modal scales have also often been compared with modes from the Turkish *makam* or Arabic *maqam* systems, although a direct relationship between them has yet to be convincingly proven.

specifically on klezmer music have adopted a similar approach. Beregovski makes use of the term *gust*, a Latin-derived Yiddish word meaning literally "taste",[3] to denote modal scale. Beregovski uses the overall term *gust* to refer to modal scales using a mixture of Yiddish terminology (*freygish*), that of Western scales (natural minor, melodic minor, harmonic minor, major, relative major) and ecclesiastical modes (mixolydian), as well as to refer to those without a name at all ("the *gust* with the augmented 2nd between the 3rd and 4th scale degrees", 1941:440).[4]

Regardless of nomenclature, the common assumption in writings on klezmer music to date has been that klezmer music is based on four or five self-contained modes, for which theoretical scales in varying degrees of descriptiveness have been developed.[5]

According to Mantle Hood's definition of mode, klezmer music would more rightly be considered to retain "residual elements of mode" rather than to be modal *per se* (Hood 1971:325). This could explain the ambivalence in terminology as reflected in the literature on Eastern European Jewish music, in which insufficient differentiation has been made between scale (intervallic structure) and mode (of which scale is a component).[6] When writing about Jewish and non-Jewish Eastern European folk melodies containing an interval of an augmented 2nd, for example, Slobin states:

> ... they could be discussed as being scale types, modes, or tune-types depending on the material chosen and the analyst. For our purposes it will be sufficient to label them with the rather neutral term "melody-type" as referring to, literally, a type of melody frequently found in the region, which may or may not have the symbolic value and some of the musical characteristics associated with scales, modes, or tune-types, either in the culture itself or in the musicological literature (1980:315).

In any case, melodic usage in klezmer music does not meet one of the criteria for the strict definition of mode as put forth by Mantle Hood: "extra-musical associations with the seasons, hours of the day or night, and so forth" (1971:324). Beregovski does attempt to attribute a specific mood of lamentation

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3    Russian *khazonim* used the term *gust* instead of *shteyger* to describe the liturgical modes (Avenary 1960:190-191, 194). It is not known whether klezmorim made use of either of the two terms.

4    See Beregovski (1941:436 ff.); see also Stutschewsky (1959:204-209); Beregovski (1962 in Slobin 2000b:294-295); Feldman (1994:12-25).

5    In addition to the writings of Beregovski (1941, 1962, 1973) and Stutschewsky (1959), see Goldin (1987:255-263); Sokolow in Sapoznik and Sokolow (1987:20-22); Harrow (1993); Rubin (1997:137, 142 and 1998c:8-10) and Rubin and Ottens (1999a:197-200), among others.

6    Beregovski uses the term *lad* for *gust* in his Russian writings, a term referring to a scale other than Western major and minor (V. Stoupel 1999, personal communication). This is congruent with Cantor Baruch Joseph Cohon's interpretation of the Yiddish word *shteyger*, which he considers to mean modal scale (1950:20). For each of the *shteyger* scales, Cohon identifies several different prayer modes, each of which exhibits its own set of characteristic figures and modulatory schemata.

to what he terms the "altered Dorian scale" (*lad*; 1973 in Slobin 2000b:549-567).[7] However, his theory is weakened when he admits that there are "many songs in Jewish folk music of a lamenting type whose melodies do not use the altered Dorian" (562) and that songs based on this modal scale are also used to express other emotions, such as humour and parody (563-564).

Beregovski assumes that at least some of the modal scales used by klezmorim were the same as those employed in other forms of Eastern European Jewish folk music. For example, he found the altered Dorian scale to be common to "all the basic genres of Jewish folk music", including instrumental klezmer music, songs and textless songs (*nigunim*), although "the place the scale occupies in different genres is variable" (1973 in Slobin 2000b:551). In addition, Beregovski points out that the altered Dorian scale is "not specific to Jewish folk music", and could be found in Ukrainian, Moldavian and Romanian folk music as well (1973 in Slobin 2000b:551). There has, however, been no published analysis to date based on a direct comparison between modality in klezmer music and that of any other Jewish or non-Jewish tradition.[8]

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7    Beregovski appears to have based his term "altered Dorian" — as did Idelsohn his similar term "Ukrainian Dorian" for the same scale — on the work of the Ukrainian musicologist Filyaret M. Kolessa. Kolessa writes:

> The melodies of all the recitations in our collection [of *dumy*] are in the Dorian church mode. These scales are, however, usually modified by the *kobzari* in that the 4th degree is raised to create an augmented 2nd between the 3rd and 4th degrees: a-b-c-d♯-e-f♯-g. This lends the melody an Oriental character (Kolessa 1910:LXXV; see also Idelsohn 1992:185, 314, 400).

8    Karl Signell discusses a similar lack of scholarly analysis of the relationship between the Turkish classical *makams* and modality in Turkish folk music: Turkish scholars such as Sadettin Arel, Rauf Yekta Bey and Subhi Ezgi often assumed the equivalency of Turkish classical and folk traditions and their modes without having actually enumerated the similarities and differences between them (1977:150).

## 7.3 Defining modality in klezmer music

The designation of scale alone does not sufficiently describe the behaviour of a mode (Hood 1971:324-329, Signell 1977:48, Powers 1980:423). Melodies in klezmer music often extend over a range wider than an octave. The intervallic relationships both below and above the fundamental octave may differ from those within the fundamental octave. In addition, a number of tones below, within and above the fundamental octave are variable in pitch and may be raised or lowered by a semitone depending upon the direction (ascent or descent) and context of a particular figure, as well as by the personal taste of the performer-composer.

It is the intention of sections 7.3.1-7.3.5 to develop a model of modal behaviour and melodic conventions based upon the metric klezmer recordings of Brandwein and Tarras. In the ensuing discussion the following criteria shall be examined: (1) scale, (2) cadential formulae, (3) variable tones and (4) modulation.[9] In order to contextualise the discussion, sentence structure shall be addressed as well.

### 7.3.1 Scale

It has been decided, for the purposes of this discussion, to abandon modal and scalar terminology based on direct parallels to either *shteyger*, Western major and minor, the ecclesiastical modes or the Turkish *makam* system, and to simply label the various pitch groups with $A_1$-$A_4$ for lower tetrachords and $B_1$-$B_4$ for upper tetrachords (fig. 7.1).[10] This is intended for identification purposes and not meant to imply at this stage that the pitch groups used in klezmer music are made up of a combination of basic tetrachords as in the theory of Turkish art music (Signell 1977:31). Coincidentally, however, the lower tetrachords do tend to delineate the most characteristic part of the modal attributes to be found in klezmer music, and the scales based upon each of the lower tetrachords shall continue to be referred to in this and the following chapter by the same alpha-numeric label:

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9   This approach is adapted from that developed by Karl Signell (1977) in defining the *makams* of Turkish art music.

In recent years Signell has developed a more flexible view of *makam* which stresses "the dynamic nature of makam" (see Beken and Signell forthcoming).

10  This numbering system does not imply a hierarchy regarding the relative frequency or importance of the various tetrachords. In fact, it shall be seen that $A_1$ occurs less frequently than the other three lower tetrachords.

Fig. 7.1 Upper and lower tetrachords A₁-A₄ and B₁-B₄ [11]

Each of the lower tetrachords $A_1$-$A_4$ may be combined with more than one of the upper tetrachords $B_1$-$B_4$, depending upon the context of the melodic line. Also, it shall be seen that all phrases built upon scale degrees other than the tonic are based upon transpositions of combinations of $A_1$-$A_4$ and $B_1$-$B_4$ (and fragments thereof).

In their most frequently occurring combination within the repertoire being examined here, $A_1$ and $A_2$ have the upper tetrachord $B_1$ in common and $A_3$ and $A_4$ have $B_3$ in common:

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11   A fifth upper tetrachord containing the tones db-e-f-g forms a scale when used in conjunction with $A_3$ which is used only rarely in klezmer music. It is not included in any of the sampled performances and shall not be considered further here. See, for example, Brandwein's 'Fun Tashlach' (NB30) and Abe Schwartz' recording 'Roumanian Doina', Columbia E4825 (86285-2) from ca. May 1920.
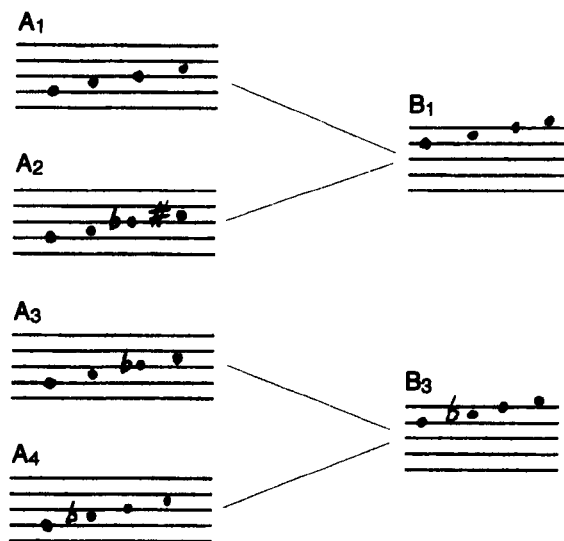
Fig. 7.2 The four most frequently occurring synthetic octave scales

These four synthetic octave scales — $A_1B_1$, $A_2B_1$, $A_3B_3$ and $A_4B_3$ — may be viewed as the basic building blocks for klezmer melodies based upon the tonic.[12] According to the author's informants, the American-Jewish wedding musicians did not have specific terminology for the modal scales, other than the scale based upon $A_4B_3$, which was still known among some players as *freygish*.[13] Andy Statman relates that Tarras thought that terminology for scales, modes or ornaments "was immaterial, not important ... What mattered [for him] is what's happening with the tune" (A. Statman 1997, interview).

## 7.3.2 Sentence structure

In order to understand how the metric tunes of Brandwein and Tarras are constructed, it is necessary to look briefly at sentence structure. The following observations apply to the metric subcategories in the sample (as depicted in fig. 6.1).

There is not a standardised number of sentences in the metric klezmer tunes examined. 49% of the thirty-one tunes transcribed consist of three sentences.[14]

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12　The key signatures used throughout the rest of this thesis, including the complete transcriptions in appendix 3, are based on the accidentals present in these four synthetic scales.

13　Writing about the Ukraine Beregovski mentions, too, that "the Yiddish folk musicians (klezmer, *badkhonim*, *khazonim*, etc) called this *gust* '*freygish*' (from the term 'phrygian' of the Middle Ages)" (1941:444).

　　The octave scale $A_2B_1$ corresponds to Beregovski's altered Dorian and Idelsohn's Ukrainian Dorian scale but the New York musicians do not appear to have had a standardised term for it. The literature on this scale type includes Kolessa (1910), Beregovski (1973 in Slobin 2000b:549-567), Slobin (1982c:183-184), Goldin (1989:38), Idelsohn (1992:184-185) and Rubin (1997:136-137).

14　In this and all subsequent calculations, variant performances and alternate takes of the

Tunes with four sentences also occur frequently (26%), tunes with two sentences less commonly (19%), and in the sample there is also one tune of a single sentence and one of five sentences.

In most cases, each sentence is repeated once, so that a typical three-sentence tune would be performed in the sequence *aabbcc*. It is possible, however, to have a sequence containing: (1) sentence variants; and (2) recapitulatory variants. An example of a tune containing sentence variants is NB22, which follows the format $aabb_1cc_1dd$. Recapitulatory variants may take three forms:

(1) an earlier sentence within the repeat sequence is restated later in the performance, for example in NB2b, which is performed in the sequence *aabbacc;*

(2) a sentence in the sequence is not repeated the first time the entire tune is performed, for example in DT14b, which has a repeat sequence of *aabccdd;* and

(3) the repeat of a sentence (or the entire sentence) is omitted during a full repetition of the tune, for example in NB1b, which is performed the first time (bars 1-56) in the sequence *aabbcc* but is played in the sequence *aac* in the reiteration of the tune from bars 57 to end.

Variant recordings of the same tune by the two performers do not necessarily share the same number of sentences, sentence sequence or repeat schema. It is likely that such discrepancies were influenced by the time constraint of the ten-inch 78 rpm recording format, which forced musicians to reduce the length of their performances, as well as of other factors such as the personal taste of the performer-composer. NB10, for example, contains four sentences, while Tarras' variant performance of the same tune, DT18, is made up of only the first three. In DT19 Tarras performs the tune in the sequence *aabbccaabbcca* whereas Brandwein plays a variant of the same tune, NB6b and NB6d, in the sequence *aabbccbbc*, omitting sentence *a* entirely on the repeat of the tune. The same is true for multiple performances of a tune by a single performer: Brandwein plays NB8a in the sequence *aabbcb* in Take 1 of the recording; NB8b, which is an alternate take from the same recording session, follows the sequence *aabcc*.

The ends of metric klezmer tunes are not prescribed. In most cases a tune can be ended at the completion of any sentence, whether the sentence has been repeated or not. For example, Brandwein ends NB8a at the end of the first statement of *b* whereas he concludes NB8b, the second take of the same tune, at

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same sentences have been excluded. For example, DT19 (three sentences) and NB10 (four sentences) share same the first three sentences. For the purposes of calculating the rate of occurrence of sentences, each of these sentences was only considered as occurring once and the total number of sentences included was four and not seven. However, since the two tunes contain a different number of sentences, they were both included in the present calculation when considering the number of sentences per tune.

the end of the repeat of *c*. As Beregovski points out, European klezmorim developed a formulaic signal for concluding metric tunes, "in order that the dancers would know that the klezmers were ending a piece ... In the chaos of the wedding such a standardised ending signal was necessary" (Beregovski 1941:436). A similar formulaic ending to that described by Beregovski is present on all but two of the recordings in the sample.[15] It begins with a rapidly ascending run to g' over a minimum range of a tritone (c♯-g') and a maximum range of a twelfth (D-g'). The tones comprising the run are not standardised and can consist of diatonic, chromatic or a mixture of diatonic and chromatic pitches. The ascending run typically begins in bar 14 of a sixteen-bar sentence or in bar 6 of an eight-bar sentence, using the following basic format:



Fig. 7.3 Ending signal in metric klezmer tunes

Sentence lengths in the sample are based in most cases upon multiples of four bars.[16] The most common sentence length in the sample is sixteen bars (52%) and the second most common is eight bars (36%). The shortest sentence is four bars and the longest thirty-two bars in length. All sentences in the sample may be broken down into several phrases, usually of equal length. These typically have a two-bar duration in sentences of up to twelve bars in length, and a four-bar duration in sentences of sixteen bars and longer.[17]

Sentences other than sentence *a* may begin with a characteristic four-bar pattern built on one to three tones (see fig. 7.4). When present, the length of a sixteen-bar sentence is extended to twenty bars and the length of an eight-bar sentence is extended to twelve bars. This device, termed "the signal" by Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974), is purely rhythmic in nature and has no independent melodic function.[18] The four-bar rhythmic patterns are structured according to variations on the following basic formula:

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15   A similar gesture to that of the ending signal is also used to lead into phrase beginnings in which the first tone is usually the high point of the phrase, such as those beginning at NB6b:37, NB7b:1 and 9, and DT4:17.

16   The exceptions are of two kinds: sentences which contain a melodically static section of flexible duration (those beginning at NB10:102, NB10:81, NB27:50 and DT12a:33), and those in which the cadential phrase is extended by the addition of a two-bar figure (the fourteen-bar sentence beginning at DT14b:81 and the eighteen-bar sentence beginning at DT15a:1).

17   Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer point out that this type of segmented sentence structure is "typical of several musical categories of the gentile folk environment in which the Hasidic movement arose and developed" (1974:143).

18   Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer assume that the signal "serves as a kind of bridge between sections [sentences] or repeats of sections" (1974:147), whereas Beregovski postulates that it serves as a signal to "encourage" (*oyfmuntern*) the dancers (1941:436).
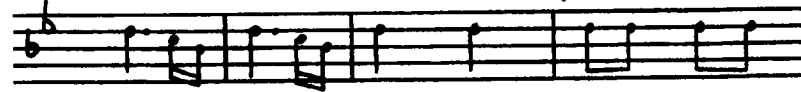
Fig. 7.4 Four-bar "signal" pattern

All of the sentences observed in the sample belong to two basic structural types. Type I (see fig. 7.5a), which accounts for 42% of the total number of sentences, is balanced: it can be divided into two related halves, in which at least the first two bars of each sentence half feature the same tones. In an eight-bar sentence, either bars 1-2 and 5-6 or bars 1-3 and 5-7 feature the same tones; in a sixteen-bar sentence, as few as bars 1-2 and 9-10 and as many as bars 1-7 and 9-15 are shared. Sentence type I is comparable to the antecedent-consequent phrase structure described in relation to Western art music (Schoenberg 1967:25, Piston 1989:94):

NB 9a:
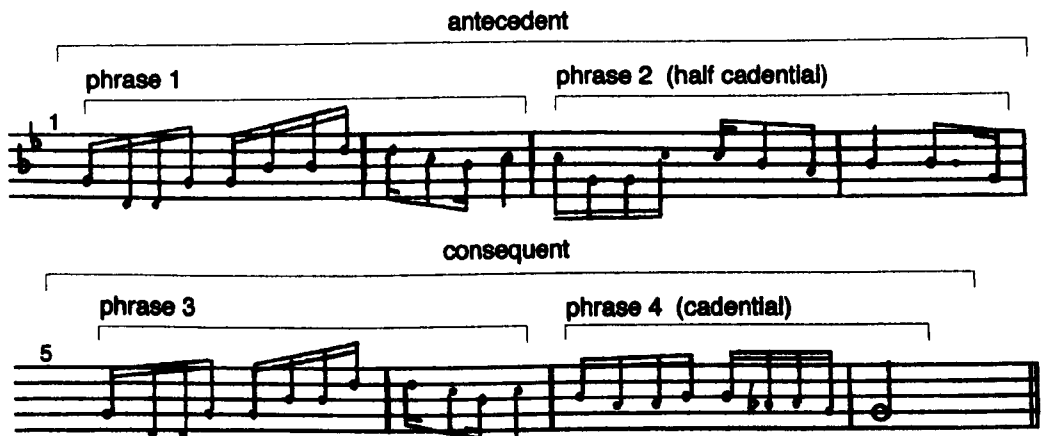


Fig. 7.5a Eight-bar sentence of type I [19]

Fig. 7.5a shows the eight-bar sentence NB9a:1-8, which follows the balanced format of type I: bars 1-2 and 5-6 feature the same tones, whereas bars 3-4 and 7-8 vary from one another.

Sentences of type II are not balanced, in that the opening bars of each half-sentence do not feature the same tones:

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19    In this and all following musical examples the tune is identified by its alpha-numeric label (here NB9a) as listed in figs. 6.2a-c. Bar numbers correspond to those in the complete transcriptions in appendix 3.

NB 9a:



Fig. 7.5b Eight-bar sentence of type II

Fig. 7.5b shows how Brandwein transforms the repeat of the eight-bar sentence NB9a:*a* shown in fig. 7.5a into a sentence of type II, NB9a:$a_1$ by substituting the arpeggiated figure in bar 5 with the scalar figure in bar 13. As a result, the sentence NB9a:$a_1$ can still be divided into four two-bar phrases, but it no longer contains balanced halves: bars 9-10 do not feature the same tones as bars 13-14.

Although virtually all sentences of type II consist of sequences of two- and four-bar phrases, they cannot in all cases be divided into two half-sentences of equal length. The twenty-four-bar sentence NB5:b, for example, comprises six four-bar phrases in the constellation [16 (4+4+4+4) + 8 (4+4)]:

NB 5:
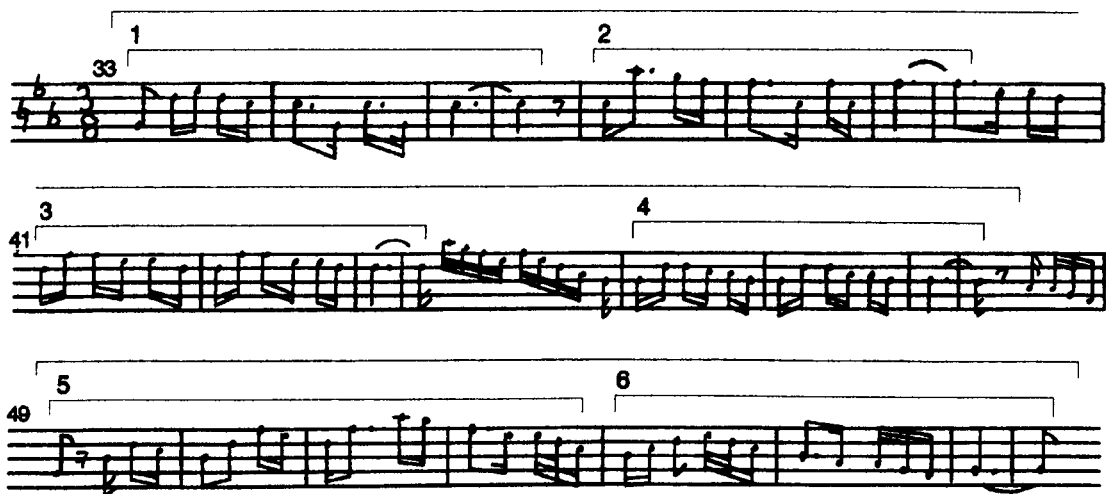


Fig. 7.5c Twenty-four bar sentence of type II

A more detailed examination of sentence structures in the sample would reveal a number of sub-categories of the two basic sentence types, based upon combinations of differing phrase lengths and differing numbers of phrases per sentence.[20]

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20   In examining the sentence structures of Israeli hasidic dance *nigunim*, which are similar to the klezmer tunes under study here, Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer note:

In principle, and by mathematical calculation, it would have been possible to obtain an enormous number of combinations which can occur within one section [= sentence], and organize them by groups, families and sub-families (Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer 1974:147).

## 7.3.3 Cadential formulae

The use of formulaic phrase types is a common practice in metric klezmer tunes and is evidence of a process of centonisation which is particularly apparent in the functioning of the cadential phrase. An examination of the sample shows that typical cadential figures in metric tunes are built upon all four modal scale types $A_1$-$A_4$. In addition, a fifth type of cadential phrase is used in conjunction with $A_3$ sentences which is characterised by the use of a lowered 2nd degree in the descending figure b♭-a♭-g. This shall be labelled an $A_5$ cadence.[21] All but two of the $A_5$ cadences in the sample include the tones a♮ and a♭ (fig. 7.6a).

Cadential figures of the $A_5$, $A_2$ and $A_4$ types account respectively for 19% (fifteen cadences), 34% (twenty-six cadences) and 39% (thirty cadences) of the seventy-seven cadences in the sample which resolve on the tonic g.[22] The following study is based on these three cadential types which, taken together, amount to a total of 92% of the sample (figs. 7.6a-c). The remaining 8% is distributed equally between cadential figures of the $A_1$ and $A_3$ types with three cadences each.[23]

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21    Although not present in the sample, some $A_5$ cadences are constructed according to the descending figure c-a♭-g as well.

22    In addition to these seventy-seven cadences, there are fifteen sentence-endings which have not been included in the analysis of cadences. Eleven of the sentences end on the tonic chord, but the melodic line concludes in ten of them on a scale degree other than the tonic. Of the eleven, six sentences end with the melodic line on the 5th degree of the scale, four sentences end with the melodic line on the 3rd degree of the scale, and one sentence ends on the tonic but has no sense of resolution (DT15b:24). It is rather a connecting figure leading back to sentence *a*. Although this group of sentence-ending phrases is not large enough to draw conclusive results, these eleven sentence endings appear to be of two general types. In the first case, they do not have the same sense of resolution of a full cadence, for example the sentences ending at NB1a:43-44, NB22:7-8, NB22:61-64, NB29a:3-4 and DT15b:24. In the second case, the sentence endings follow temporary movements to the 4th degree of the scale, for example those ending at NB1b:21-24, NB4:5-8, NB24:45-48, NB27:64-67, DT13b:5-8 and DT13b:21-24. Their modality is ambiguous and the sentence ending could be viewed as belonging to the dominant (V of iv or V of IV) as opposed to comprising a cadence on the tonic. These modulations shall be discussed further in 7.3.5.4 and 7.3.5.6 below. The remaining four sentences are of type C as described in 7.3.5.1 and 7.3.5.7 below and thus cadence on a chord other than the tonic. Of these, three are of the $A_1$ type cadencing on the 3rd degree of the scale ("relative major") and one is of the $A_3$ type cadencing on the 6th degree of the scale ("relative minor").

23    Unless otherwise noted, the following discussion of cadential phrases refers to figs. 7.6a-c.

Fig. 7.6a A$_5$ cadences in sample

Fig. 7.6b A₂ cadences in sample

Fig. 7.6c  A₄ cadences in sample

In all cases it was found that the cadential phrase consists of two parts, a prefix and a root. In four-bar cadential phrases, the prefix normally occupies the first bar (including the upbeat to the first bar, if any) and the root comprises the second bar and its resolution on the tonic on the downbeat of the third bar. In two-bar cadential phrases, the prefix is normally the duration of the first half of the first bar and the root consists of the second half of the first bar and the resolution to the tonic on the downbeat of the second bar.

The following exceptions to the typical prefix-root structure provide evidence of a certain amount of flexibility in the generation of cadences:

Eight of the cadential figures in the sample contain an extended prefix. All but one of them occur in $A_4$ cadences, five of which are from a single tune (NB10/DT18). In a four-bar cadential phrase (seven of the eight cases), the extended prefix has a duration of two bars, delaying the resolution to the tonic until the downbeat of the fourth bar. In a two-bar phrase (one of the eight cases), the extended prefix lasts for one bar, delaying the resolution to the tonic until the second beat of the second bar:



extended prefix NB 7b: 29-30 (four-bar phrase)

extended prefix DT 5b: 27 (two-bar phrase)

Fig. 7.7 Cadences with extended prefix

Nine of the cadential phrases shown in figs. 7.6a-c also include suffixes. All such cadences are of a four-bar duration. Such suffixes do not, however, play a significant role in cadential phrase structure because they serve either a purely rhythmic function in filling out the remaining two bars (fig. 7.6b, line 15; fig. 7.6c, line 5), or they function as a reiteration of the main cadential root (fig. 7.6b, lines 7 and 19; fig. 7.6c lines 6, 21 and 22).

The unifying characteristic of the cadential figures is the root. Virtually all of the roots observed are based on variants of the descending shapes depicted in fig. 7.8 below. These descending shapes can be viewed as being the result of a similar process to the linguistic concept of deep structures developed by Noam Chomsky. According to this theory,

> ... sentences are made up, not of immediate constituents combined by grammatical laws, but of transformations of underlying simple expressions according to certain laws of transformation. ... These rules are said to *generate* the sentences in question. ...

> For each language there is a small range of very simple constructions using the minimum of transformational laws; these are called *kernel sentences*. All other

sentences are derived from these by means of a limited range of transformational principles. Thus syntax ... derives a wide range of possible phenomena from a small number of basic rules (Monelle 1992:49-50; see also Chomsky 1966:31-51).
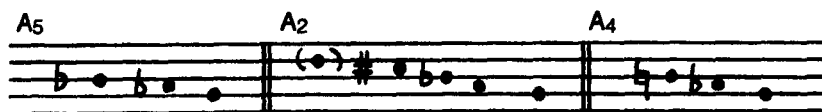


Fig. 7.8 Deep structures of A₅, A₂ and A₄ cadential roots

According to Chomsky's transformational-generative grammar, the immediate grammatical constituents of a sentence form its surface structure. Chomsky derived the deep structures of language by "beginning from well-formed surface structures and deducing the rules that generated them" (Monelle 1992:145).[24] In a similar way, the surface structures of the cadential root figures shown in figs. 7.9a-c can be seen in each case to be transformations of several simple variations (kernel sentences) of the deep structures shown in fig. 7.8 above.[25]
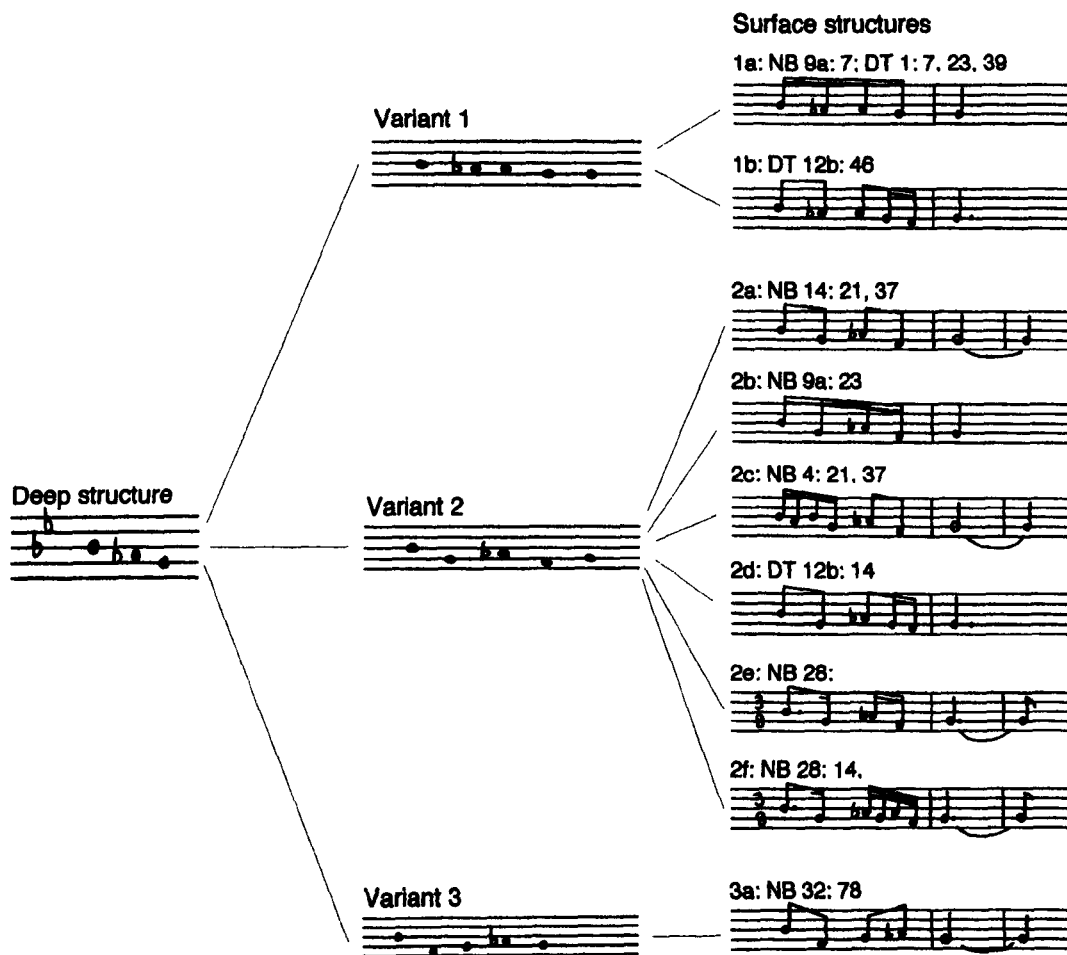


Fig. 7.9a Distribution of A₅ cadential roots in sample

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24  In relationship to music, Fred Lerdahl and Ray Jackendoff term this process reduction, "which is 'a step-by-step simplification ... of the piece, where at each step less important events are omitted, leaving the structurally more important events as a sort of skeleton of the piece'" (Lerdahl and Jackendoff 1983, cited in Monelle 1992:136).

25  Unless otherwise noted, the following discussion of cadential roots refers to figs. 7.9a-c.

**Deep structure**
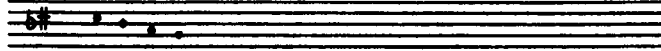
**Variant 1: Roots beginning on d**
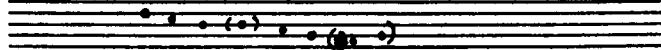
1a: NB 6b: 78;  NB 20: 14, 46, 82; NB 22: 30, 46; DT 2: 14;
DT 14b: 14, 46, 92
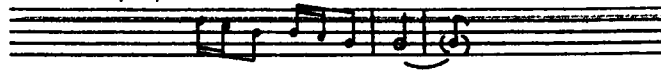
1b: NB 32: 14, 46

1c: DT 15a: 16
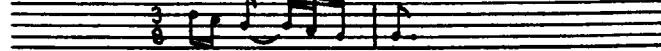
1d: DT 9a: 46
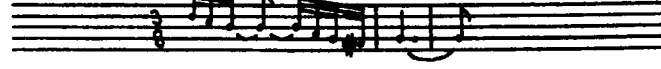
**Variant 2: Roots beginning on c♯**

2a: DT 4: 46

2b: NB 1a: 72

2c: NB 24: 31, 63
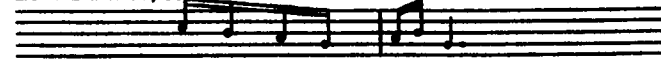
2d: NB 1a: 23
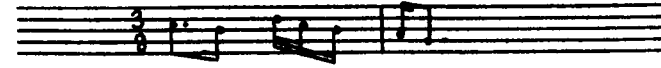
2e: NB 28: 46
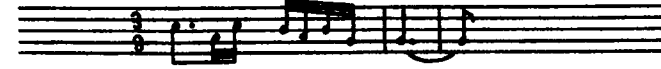
**Variant 3: Roots beginning on e**
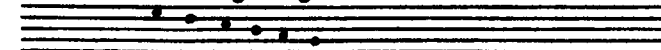
3a: NB 6b: 46; DT 4: 78

**Variant 4: Roots beginning on b♭**
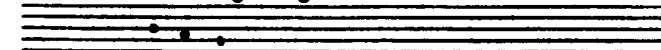
4a: DT 12a: 14, 46; DT 15a: 82
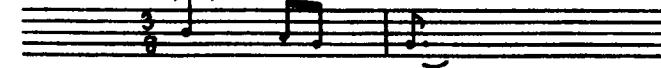
**Variant 5: Roots beginning on a**
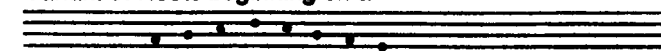
5a: NB 24: 22
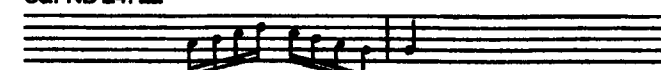
Fig. 7.9b  Distribution of $A_2$ cadential roots in sample

Deep structure

Variant 1: Roots beginning on b

1a: NB 1b: 15, 55

1b: DT 5b: 46

1c: NB 27: 39

1d: NB 5: 14, 66, 98

1e: NB 10: 63, 100

1f: NB 8a: 14, 90

Variant 2: Roots beginning on b

2a: NB 7b: 14

2b: DT 5b: 28

2c: DT 5b: 7

Variant 3: Roots beginning on b

3a: NB 7b: 31; NB 10: 21; NB 25: 78

3b: NB 10: 119, 159; DT 18: 23

Variant 4: Roots beginning on b

4a: NB 29a: 23, 35

4b: NB 6a: 14

Variant 5: Roots beginning on c

5a: DT 15b: 15

5b: NB 10: 135

5c: NB 29a: 11

Variant 6: Roots beginnin on d

6a: NB 27: 14

6b: NB 8a: 46

Variant 7

7a: NB 25: 14 , 46

Fig. 7.9c  Distribution of $A_4$ cadential roots in sample

All three cadential root forms show a pattern of distribution which indicates that particular transformations of each are used in the majority of cases and may be viewed as the most typical for these two performers during the period under study. Fig. 7.9a shows, for example, that root variants 1 and 2 account for fourteen of the fifteen $A_5$ cadential figures in the sample, constituting 93% of the total (33% and 60%, respectively). An examination of cadential roots of the $A_2$ and $A_4$ types gives evidence of the same process at work. $A_2$ cadential root variants 1 and 2 (fig. 7.9b) beginning on the tones d (fourteen occurrences) and c♯ (six occurrences) comprise 77% of the sample. $A_4$ cadential root variants 1-4 (fig. 7.9c), all of which begin on the tone b, also encompass 77% of the total (twenty-three occurrences).

The same or similar cadential roots are used by both Brandwein and Tarras in a number of separate sentences and tunes: $A_2$ root variant 1a, for example, is used in ten separate sentences in five different tunes (three by Brandwein and two by Tarras), making up 39% of the total; $A_4$ root 2a is used by Brandwein in three different tunes. The same basic cadential roots are employed across metrical subcategories in the sample. For example, $A_2$ root 1c is a variant in 3/8 metre of root 1a in 2/4 metre, $A_2$ root 1d is a variant in 3/8 metre of root 1b in 2/4 metre, and $A_4$ root 1f is a variant in 4/4 metre of root 1e in 2/4 metre. In addition, the same or similar figures are used as part of two- and four-bar cadential phrases. For example, $A_5$ root variant 2a uses the same figure as part of a four-bar cadential phrase as that of $A_5$ root variant 2b employed as part of a two-bar phrase; $A_4$ roots 1a-c use similar figures as part of two-bar cadential phrases to those of $A_4$ roots 1d-f, which constitute part of four-bar cadential phrases.

The distribution in the sample of cadential prefixes of the three types $A_5$, $A_2$ and $A_4$ is grouped in figs. 7.10a-c according to the opening tones of the figures, which determine the melodic shape of each particular prefix.[26]

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26  Unless otherwise noted, the following discussion of cadential prefixes refers to figs. 7.10a-c.

Variant 1: Prefixes beginning on b♭

1a: NB 9a: 7; DT 1: 7, 23, 39

1b: DT 12b: 13, 45

1c: NB 32: 77
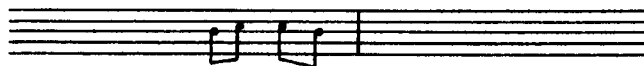
1d: NB 28: 77

1e: NB 9a: 23

Variant 2: Prefixes beginning on g
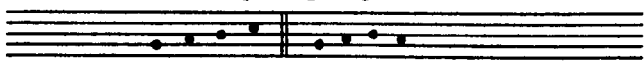
2a: NB 14: 21, 37

2b: NB 4: 21, 37

Variant 3: Prefixes with descending third pattern
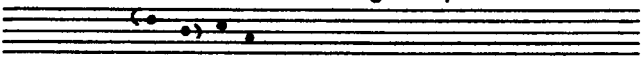
3a: NB 28: 13

3b: NB 28: 109

Fig. 7.10a  Distribution of $A_5$ cadential prefixes in sample

Variant 1: Prefixes beginning on a

1a: NB 20: 13, 45, 81; NB 32: 45; DT 14b: 45

1b: DT 9a: 45

Variant 2: Prefixes beginning on b♭ or c

2a: DT 2: 13

2b: DT 14b: 13

Variant 3: Prefixes beginning on c♯

3a: DT 14b: 91

3b: DT 4: 45

3c: NB 24: 63

3d: NB 1a: 21

3e: NB 6b: 77; NB 32: 13

3f: NB 22: 29, 45

Variant 4: Prefixes beginning on d

4a: DT 4: 77

4b: NB 24: 21

4c: DT 12a: 13; DT 15a: 81

4d: DT 12a: 47

4e: DT 15a: 15

Variant 5: Prefixes beginning on e

5a: NB 1a: 71

Variant 6: Prefixes beginning on g

6a: NB 24: 31

6b: NB 28: 45

6c: NB 6b: 45

Fig. 7.10b  Distribution of $A_2$ cadential prefixes in sample

Variant 1: Prefixes beginning on E

1a: NB 7b: 13

1b: DT 5b: 7

Variant 2: Prefixes beginning on F

2a: DT 5b: 46

2b: NB 8a: 13, 89

Variant 3: Prefixes beginning on g

3a: NB 27: 13

Variant 4: Prefixes beginning on b

4a: NB 29a: 11

4b: NB 10: 135

4c: NB 29a: 23, 35

4d: NB 25: 13

4e: NB 27: 39

f4: NB 8a: 45

4g NB 5: 13, 65, 97

4h: NB 10: 61

Variant 5: Prefixes beginning on c

5a: DT 15b: 15

5b: NB 25: 45

Variant 6: Prefixes beginning on d

6a: NB 1b: 15, 55

6b: NB 6a: 13

Variant 7: Prefixes beginning on f

7a: NB 10: 20; NB 25: 77

7b: DT 5b: 27

7c: NB 10: 98

7d: NB 10: 117, 157,; DT 18: 21

Variant 8: Prefixes beginning on a♭'

8a: NB 7b: 29

Fig. 7.10c  Distribution of $A_4$ cadential prefixes in sample

Cadential prefixes begin on a greater number of scale tones than cadential roots and thus exhibit a wider pattern of distribution than cadential roots. $A_4$ prefixes show the widest diversity, with figures beginning below, within and above the fundamental octave: on the submediant and subtonic as well as the tonic, 3rd, 4th, 5th, 7th and 9th degrees of the scale. The distribution patterns of all three cadential types do show, however, a tendency towards particular prefix types: $A_5$ prefix variant 1 (beginning on b♭, nine occurrences) accounts for 60% of the total, $A_2$ prefix variants 1 (beginning on a, six occurrences), 3 (beginning on c♯, eight occurrences) and 4 (beginning on d, six occurrences) make up 77% of the sample, and $A_4$ prefix variants 4 (beginning on b♮, eleven occurrences) and 7 (beginning on f, seven occurrences) constitute 60% of the total.

Because of their wider distribution pattern, cadential prefixes may be viewed as typical, rather than definitive, melodic patterns which are combined with the more restrictive root patterns to generate transformations of entire cadential figures. In theory, any prefix should be able to be combined with any root of the same cadential type. There are, however, several exceptions in the sample. For example, $A_4$ cadential root variant 7a, which does not include the tone b, appears to only function in combination with a prefix which ends on b, such as $A_4$ prefix 4d or 5b. This combination is used in the $A_4$ cadences on lines 12-13 of fig. 7.6c:
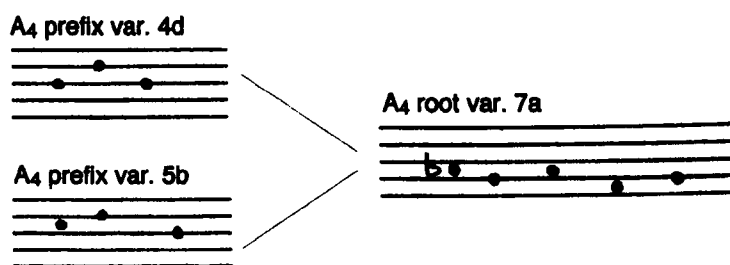


Fig. 7.11a $A_4$ prefix-root combination

In a similar fashion, $A_2$ cadential root variant 4a, which contains the descending sequence b♭-a-g, can only exist together with an $A_2$ prefix of variant 4, which includes the descending sequence d-c♯-b♭. This combination is used in the $A_4$ cadences on lines 15-16 of fig. 7.6b:
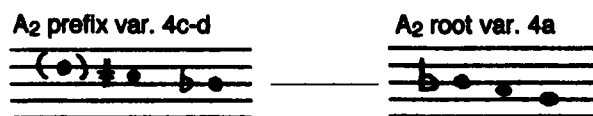


Fig. 7.11b $A_2$ prefix-root combination

In both cases, the root conforms to the characteristic descending shape as outlined in fig. 7.8 only in combination with those particular prefix types. As such, the prefix-root combinations in figs. 7.11a-b could be viewed as prefixless augmentations of $A_4$ root variant 4 and $A_2$ root variant 1, respectively.

An examination of cadential phrases in figs. 7.6a-c shows, too, that the same cadential phrases are used in their entirety in more than one sentence of the

same tune as well as in differing tunes. For example, the $A_5$ cadence in fig. 7.6a line 3 is used in four separate sentences of two tunes, and the $A_2$ cadence on fig. 7.7b line 5 is used in six separate sentences of three tunes. These present evidence of centonisation occurring at the next highest level, that of the complete phrase.

Based on the work of Alan J. Perlman and Daniel Greenblatt, Raymond Monelle has written:

> The improvizer is like a native speaker of a language; possessed of a competence in the language of jazz, he is able to make an infinite variety of sentences by the operation of a limited range of devices on an underlying structure (Monelle 1992:134).

A similar process is taking place in the creation of cadences in klezmer tunes, albeit on a more restricted scale than that of jazz improvisation. The formulaic nature of the cadences enables a performer to substitute one cadential form for another during the course of a performance. In the case of centonisation operating at the level of cadential variation, it thus becomes difficult to differentiate between the player as composer or co-composer and the player as performer, varying the melodic line as an integral part of the process of interpreting it.

## 7.3.4 Variable tones

Each of the modal scales under study has certain pitches which are fixed and certain pitches which are variable. In addition, when the melody extends above or below the fundamental octave, the same intervallic pattern present within the octave is not necessarily repeated.[27] As a result of the flexibility of melodic conventions and modal progressions in the recordings of Brandwein and Tarras, virtually all scale tones other than the tonic may be altered under specific circumstances. Without differentiating between several different types of variable tones, a composite of the possible alterations would resemble a chromatic scale. For example, in sentences in the sample based upon $A_3$, the tones g-ab-a-bb-b-c-c♯-db-d-eb-e-f-f♯-g'-ab' are present. In order to show how variable tones function in these performances, they have been separated for the purposes of this discussion into two main types: (1) those which may be viewed in relation to the tonic; and (2) those which could be considered to be either temporary juxtapositions of modal scales based on scale degrees other than the tonic or temporary interchanges with one of the other modal scales based on the same tonic.[28] Such juxtapositions and interchanges shall be treated within the context of modulation in section 7.3.5 below. Chromatic passing tones, such as the sequence eb-eᕁ-f, as well as ornamental lower

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27  This is similar to current modal theory in Turkish art music (Signell 1977:43).

28  The author has adapted the term interchange of modal scale from Walter Piston (1989:221-223).

neighbour tones, such as the sequence b-a♯-b, are not being considered to be variable tones in either of these two categories. They shall be treated as ornamental tones in chapter 8. In addition, for the purposes of clarity, variable tones within the fundamental octave shall be discussed separately from tone alterations below and above the octave.

### 7.3.4.1 Variable tones within the fundamental octave

According to Signell's categorisation for Turkish art music, some of the variable tones shown in fig. 7.12 below, such as those on lines 6, 12 and 13, would be considered to be a kind of modulation: "single note borrowing" from outside the mode, the role of which "is merely to add a fleeting bit of color or to support the tonal centers" (1977:68). For the purposes of this discussion, the criterion employed has been whether or not the variable tone necessitates a change in the underlying chordal accompaniment. If no change is triggered, it has been included in fig. 7.12 as a variable tone in relation to the tonic. In addition, the cadential (and cadence-like) figures on lines 5 and 9 could technically be considered to be interchanges of the $A_2$ modal scale in sentences based on $A_3$. Because of their frequency of occurrence, the alterations of c to c♯ (lines 5 and 9) and e♭ to e♮ (line 9) are included here as variable tones.
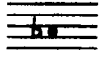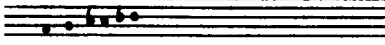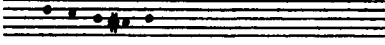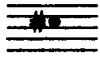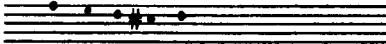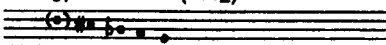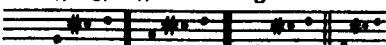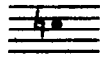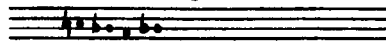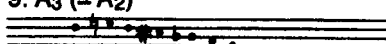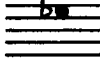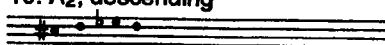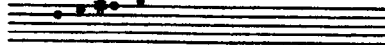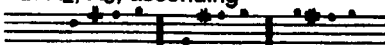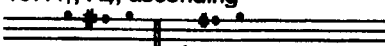
Fig. 7.12 Variable tones within the fundamental octave

Variable tones within the octave may be categorised as serving one of three basic functions: (1) cadential (or cadence-like; fig. 7.12, lines 1-2, 5 and 9); (2) creating a localised leading tone to important scale degrees (fig. 7.12, lines 6, 11, 12 and 13); or (3) belonging to stereotypical figures or typical melodic conventions which are characterised by their location within the octave, direction (ascending, descending or circular) and final tone (fig. 7.12, lines 3, 4, 7, 8, 10 and 14). Cadential variable tones are those alterations associated with

one of the cadential forms discussed in section 7.3.3 above, in particular the lowering of a to a♭ in the A₅ form and the raising of c to c♯ in the A₂ form within the context of sentences built upon A₃.

In most cases, the variable tones shown in fig. 7.12 can only resolve in one direction. For example, the a♯ on line 3 always resolves up to b ("ascending") and the a♭ on line 1 always resolves down to g ("descending"). Exceptions are the cadential (and cadence-like) phrases on lines 5 and 9,[29] as well as the scalar segment on line 11, in which the ♯ functions in the general sense as a leading tone and is not tied to a specific stereotypical figure.

The figures depicted in fig. 7.12, lines 6, 12, 13 and 14 are common to more than one modal scale type. All other figures represented in fig. 7.12 are specific to one modal scale only. In some cases, the use of variable tones in conjunction with the typical figures shown in fig. 7.12 is optional, a function of the personal taste of the performer-composer. For example, in the half-cadential and cadential phrases beginning at NB22:85 and NB22:93, respectively, Brandwein raises the 7th degree to f♯, whereas in the almost identical phrases beginning at NB10:53 and NB10:61, he plays f♮:

NB22:



NB10:



Fig. 7.13  Variable 7th degree (A₄)

In most cases, however, the varied tones shown in fig. 7.12 appear to be mandatory — or, at least, very typical — within their specific melodic contexts. These serve either a localised leading tone function or the tones are altered to conform to stereotypical melodic figures which can only include certain intervallic combinations. For example, the raising of c to c♯ in fig. 7.12, line 4 appears to be obligatory. The following scalar segment
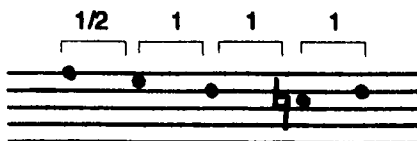


Fig. 7.14a  Hypothetical descending 4th figure

does not appear to be a possible intervallic combination of A₁ and is not present in the sample. Within this context, the lowest pitch in the figure is always raised a semitone and the resultant range is that of a diminished 4th:

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29   See, for example, fig. 7.6b above, lines 5, 11 and 17.

Fig. 7.14b  Descending diminished 4th figure

The descending diminished 4th figure is endemic to the tunes under study here and is found in the following transpositions:
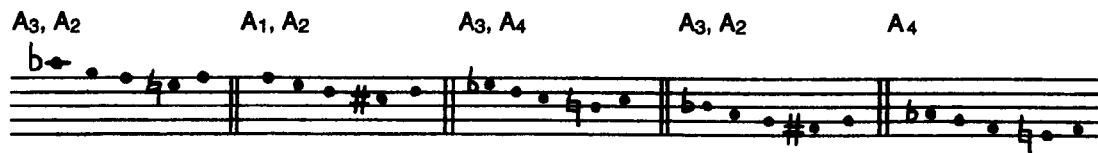


Fig. 7.14c  Transpositions of descending diminished 4th pattern

## 7.3.4.2 Melodic behaviour below the fundamental octave

The tunes in the sample exhibit several specific melodic characteristics below the fundamental octave:[30]

In virtually all tunes in the sample the lowest tone is D a 4th below the tonic.[31] The D is employed in phrases of all modal scalar types as an adjunct tone in the figure D-g. This interval always functions as either the lowest tone of an arpeggiated melodic figure on the tonic triad, or as the upbeat to or the first tone of a new phrase:



Fig. 7.15  Low D as adjunct tone [32]

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30   Although typical of the klezmer tunes collected by Beregovski (1987) and others, none of the tunes in the sample show any special melodic characteristics above the octave, other than those tones altered as part of modulations discussed in 7.3.5.4 and 7.3.5.6 below.

31   This is not taking into consideration arpeggiations of the tonic triad, which can extend on the clarinet as far as two octaves below the fundamental octave, depending on the original key of the tune.

In addition, the possibility always exists of transposing an entire sentence or phrase an octave or two octaves higher or lower. Transposition does not, however, change the fundamental relationships for the purposes of this discussion.

The only sentence in the sample which extends melodically below the low D is NB24:a. According to the Hungarian *cimbalist* Kálmán Balogh, this sentence was likely borrowed by Brandwein from a Transylvanian Rom source and thus may not represent a typical melodic shape for the klezmer tunes under study here (K. Balogh 1996, personal communication).

32   The D-g interval may be filled out by a diatonic scale, a chromatic scale, or by some combination of diatonic and chromatic intervals. The beginning tone can also be the C♯ a semitone lower:

Stereotypical cadential figures of the $A_1$, $A_2$ and $A_3$ type may make use of a raised 7th degree (leading tone) beneath the tonic:



Fig. 7.16 Raised 7th degree below tonic

In all phrases of the $A_4$ type, the submediant is raised when used below the tonic:



Fig. 7.17 Raised submediant below tonic in $A_4$ phrases

The tone sequence (g)-F-E♮-F-g, is an octave transposition of the variable tone figure shown in fig. 7.12, line 8 (g'-f-e♮-f). The figure g'-f-e♭-f-g' is not present in the sample in either octave; it does not appear to have been a possible intervallic combination for these musicians.

## 7.3.5 Modulation

In his analysis of Turkish *makam*, Signell defines modulation as taking place when, "during the course of a composition or improvisation in a given makam, a note, a phrase, or an entire passage is introduced from another makam" (1977:66). Modulation in the sense of Western art music is a temporary transition to another key. The 1920s recordings of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras contain a spectrum of modal activity which encompasses both types of modulation. For the purposes of this study, modulation shall be used as a general term to describe the variety of modal activity found in these recordings.

Accordionist and keyboard player Hal Silvers (born Harold Silverman, New York ca. 1919-1920), who began playing for Naftule Brandwein in the late 1930s, described Brandwein's harmonic and modulatory sense as follows:

> When I first played with him, sure, I played Jewish music, I played the oompah and all that stuff that they wanted. Brandwein looked back at me, he says "you a piano player? You a shit! *Du vilst oyslernen* (do you want to learn)?" I says "sure", and he taught me things, he would play in different keys, he would go into D minor into C major into F sharp, so your ear, I mean, you had to follow him with these things. He'd go from one into another, and

you developed a certain trend, a certain taste, a certain feeling for it (H. Silvers 1994, interview).

An examination of the modulatory patterns on the 1920s recordings of both Brandwein and Tarras show that this "certain taste" consists of a limited number of modulatory units and other modal progressions which are combined in specific ways to form sentences and tunes. That these formulaic patterns were expected to be common knowledge among insider musicians, is echoed by Sid Beckerman: the clarinettist "never spoke to the piano player ... and told him what you'd play. You would just stand up [and start to play]" (S. Beckerman 1996, interview).

### 7.3.5.1 The role of the tonic

There is a strong sense of tonic in all the metric tunes in the sample. Tonic is used here in the sense of key note. Of the total of ninety-four sentences surveyed, sixty-two begin and cadence on the tonic chord (type A),[33] and twenty-eight begin on a chord other than tonic yet cadence on the tonic chord (type B). The final chord of each sentence is thus the strongest determinant of tonic in these tunes. Only four sentences in the sample begin and cadence on a chord other than the tonic (type C). All four type C sentences show a relative major or minor relationship to the tonic chord. Type C sentences are essentially transpositions of type A sentences, containing identical cadential forms, variable tones and modulatory patterns, transposed up or down a minor 3rd , as shall be shown in section 7.3.5.7 below.

Of the thirty tunes in the sample, twenty-six contain opening sentences which are of type A. Of the four first sentences beginning on a chord other than the tonic, three are of type B. Only one opening sentence is of type C, cadencing on a chord other than the tonic: Sentence $a$ of NB6b (and its variants NB6d and DT19) begins and cadences in $A_1$ on the 3rd degree (notated in B♭ major). Within the context of the the overall tune, the opening sentence of NB6b functions as a kind of relative major to $A_2$ on the tonic (G minor), which forms the basis of sentences $b$ and $c$. In the two versions by Brandwein, the schema *aabbccbbc* is followed, in which sentence $a$ and its repeat are only performed in the first iteration of the tune. The resultant emphasis on sentences $b$ and $c$ places still more emphasis on $A_2$ as the tonic. In addition, the first tune of Brandwein's two-part suite (NB6a and its variant NB6c) consists of a single $A_3$ sentence in G, cadencing in $A_4$. Within this context, it is clear that Brandwein perceived G to be the main tonality, with sentence $a$ of NB6b representing a modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree for the duration of one sentence.[34]

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33   For the duration of this thesis "cadence" shall be treated as both noun and verb.

34   In addition to the relative major and minor relationship, the up a minor 3rd-down a minor 3rd relationship shows other modulatory possibilities. For example, in Joseph Moskowitz' recording 'Doina — Roumanian Shepherd Song' from 19 July, 1916 (Victor 67911/B 17997-1) , the tune modulates down a minor 3rd at the beginning of sentence $b$ from $A_1$ on the tonic to $A_4$ on the 6th degree, both sentences being then harmonised with major triads.

### 7.3.5.2 Juxtaposition and interchange

Two basic modulatory techniques can be identified in the recordings in the sample:

(1) Juxtaposition of modal scale: the melodic centre shifts temporarily from the tonic to another scale degree. The modulation necessitates a change in the chordal accompaniment and can be analysed as comprising a transposed segment of one of the four modal scales built upon the new scale degree, for example "A2 on the 4th degree". The accompanying triad is based upon the root, 3rd and 5th of the transposed scalar segment. In the case of "A2 on the 4th degree", this would be C minor. The modulation may or may not require the introduction of accidentals in relation to the key signature of the basic modal scale of the tonic. Figs. 7.19 and 7.20 below summarise juxtaposition of modal scale in sentences of type A and B, respectively.

(2) Interchange of modal scale: the tonic remains the same, but one of the other three modal scales is substituted in place of the present modal scale.

Both techniques may be employed within the course of a single sentence, between the sentences of a tune or between the tunes of a suite.

### 7.3.5.3 Harmonisation

Robert Garfias postulates in relation to the music of urban *lăutari* in Romania:

> The harmonic system that provides the substructure for these melodies is a unique adaptation of the Western European harmonic system which accomodates the very special requirements of a melodic system heavily influenced by Turkish melodic types (Garfias 1984:86).

Chordal accompaniments in the recordings of Brandwein and Tarras, too, are a unique adaptation which accommodates the specific requirements of the modal scale types and their associated modulatory schemata. The chordal accompaniments are almost exclusively triadic in nature. The only exceptions to this are occasional dominant 7th chords used in conjunction with cadential phrases or as secondary dominants, such as $V^7$ of III, within the course of modal progressions. Because of the flexible nature of the variable tones and the modulatory schemata of the modal scales, the underlying chord tones do not always agree with the melodic line they are accompanying.[35] This is

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Similar modulations occur in the 1940s recordings of Dave Tarras, so that it is perhaps more accurate to speak of an up a minor 3rd or down a minor 3rd modulation, rather than to automatically assume a relative major and minor relationship.

35 The tunes in the sample often contain variant harmonisations both during the repeats of sentences as well as simultaneously among the accompanimental instruments. It appears that variations in harmonisation were not necessarily a criterion for "correct" performance practice. Some performances show a lot of variation, whereas others contain uniform harmonies on all repeats. For example, the harmonisation of NB10 varies from repeat to repeat, while Tarras' version of the same tune, DT18, is harmonised in the same way on every repeat. This seems to have been rather a function of whether the musicians in the

particularly noticeable at cadential phrases, where some aspects of tonic-dominant harmony appear to have been superimposed onto traditional cadential figures. For example, the cadential phrase at NB9a:43-44 is harmonised according to the apparent "logic" of the figure, with the A♭ of the F minor triad in the second beat of the accompaniment matching the a♭ in the melodic line of the A5 cadence:

NB 9a: 43-44



Fig. 7.18a  Harmonisation of A₅ cadential phrase accommodating lowered 2nd degree

In contrast, the accompaniment at DT1:7-8 places a dominant triad against the identical A5 cadential form, creating apparent dissonances between the tones b♭, a♭ and f in the melodic line and the A of the D major triad in the accompaniment:

DT 1: 7-8



Fig. 7.18b  Superimposed dominant harmony at A₅ cadence

In a similar fashion, A2 cadential figures could be performed with or without the superimposition of a dominant harmony. For example, the cadential phrase beginning at NB22:29 is accompanied strictly by a minor triad on the tonic:

NB 22: 29-31



Fig. 7.18c  Harmonisation of A₂ cadence

The first two bars of the almost identical figure beginning at NB6b:77 are accompanied by a dominant triad, creating apparent dissonances between the b♭ and c♯ in the melodic line and the D and A of the D major triad:

NB 6b: 77-80



Fig. 7.18d  Superimposed dominant harmony at A₂ cadence

studio were reading from written arrangements or not, and whether they had had adequate rehearsal beforehand.

For the purposes of this discussion, all melodic movements which trigger a change in the chordal accompaniment are being considered modulations with the exception of superimpositions of dominant harmonies in phrases which could otherwise be accompanied by the tonic (as in figs. 18b and 18d above). In addition, the use of dominant harmonies in $A_1$ sentences which function in a similar fashion to the major mode, shall be considered to be a harmonic device and not modulation in the sense under discussion in 7.3.5.4 and 7.3.5.6 below:

DT 4: 1-7



Fig. 7.18e $A_1$ sentence with tonic-dominant harmonies

## 7.3.5.4 Modulations in type A sentences

The following figs. 7.19 and 7.20 summarise the modulations which shall be discussed in detail in this section and in 7.3.5.6 below:
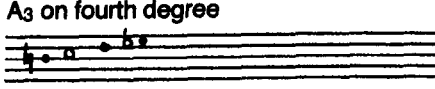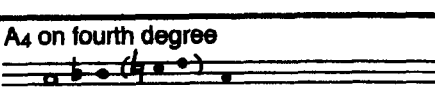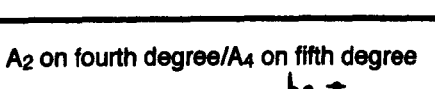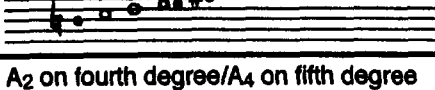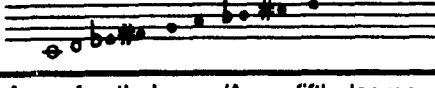
| (1) No. | (2) Mod. to | (3) Scalar segment associated with modulation | (4) Sent. type | (5) Cad. type | (6) Mod. unit |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | III | $A_1$ on third degree | $A_3$ | | 1-4 |
| 2 | iv | $A_3$ on fourth degree | $A_2$ | | 1 |
| 3 | iv | $A_3$ on fourth degree | $A_3$ <br> $A_4$ <br> $A_1$ | $A_2, A_3, A_5$ <br> $A_4$ <br> $A_2$ only | 3-5 <br> 2-3 <br> 1 |
| 4 | iv | $A_4$ on fourth degree | $A_3$ | $A_5$ only | 2, 6 |
| 5 | iv/V | $A_2$ on fourth degree/$A_4$ on fifth degree | $A_3$ | $A_2$ only | 7 |
| 6 | iv/V | $A_2$ on fourth degree/$A_4$ on fifth degree | $A_2$ | | 3 |
| 7 | iv/V | $A_2$ on fourth degree/$A_4$ on fifth degree | $A_1$ | | 2 |
| 8 | v | $A_3$ on fifth degree | $A_2, A_1$ | $A_2$ only | 2 |
| 9 | vii | $A_2$ on subtonic | $A_4$ | | 1, 3 |

Fig. 7.19 Summary of scalar segments associated with modulations in type A sentences
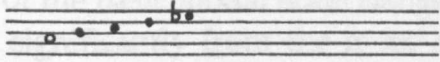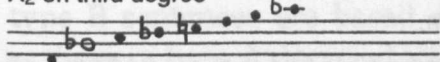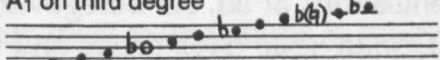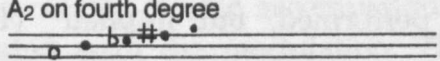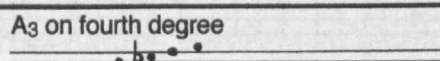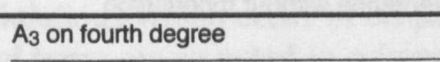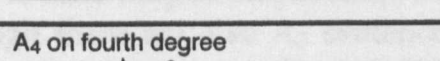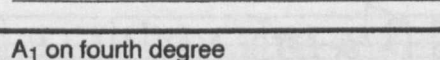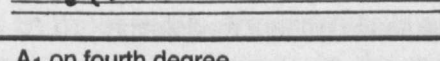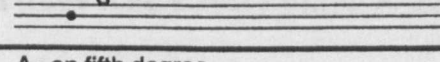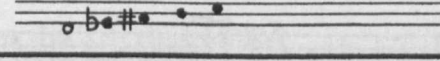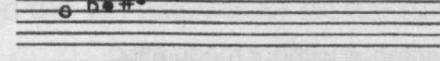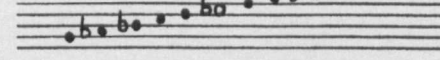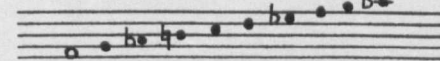
| (1) No. | (2) Mod. to | (3) Scalar segment associated with modulation | (4) Sent. type | (5) Cad. type | (6) Mod. group (unit) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | ii | $A_3$ on second degree | $A_4$ | | iii-i hybrid |
| 2 | iii | $A_2$ on third degree | $A_3$ | $A_5$ | iii |
| 3 | III | $A_1$ on third degree | $A_3$ | $A_2$, $A_5$ | i (2, 3, 3', 4'), ii |
| 4 | iv | $A_2$ on fourth degree | $A_4$ $A_3$ | | iii |
| 5 | iv | $A_2$ on fourth degree | $A_4$ | | ii |
| 6 | iv | $A_3$ on fourth degree | $A_4$ | | i (2, 3, 4) |
| 7 | iv | $A_3$ on fourth degree | $A_3$ | | i (5) |
| 8 | iv | $A_4$ on fourth degree | $A_3$ | $A_5$ | i (2) |
| 9 | IV | $A_1$ on fourth degree | $A_4$, $A_3$ | | iii |
| 10 | IV | $A_1$ on fourth degree | $A_4$ | | iii-i hybrid |
| 11 | V | $A_4$ on fifth degree | $A_3$ | | i (7b) |
| 12 | V | $A_4$ on fifth degree | $A_4$ | | iii-i hybrid |
| 13 | VI | $A_1$ on sixth degree | $A_4$ | | iv |
| 14 | vii | $A_2$ on subtonic | $A_4$ | | i (2.3, 4), ii, iv |
| 15 | VII | $A_1$ on subtonic | $A_4$ | | iii |

Fig. 7.20 Summary of modulations in type B sentences

Type A sentences make up 87% of all first sentences and 56% of all other sentences in the sample. Of the sixty-two type A sentences in the sample, eighteen are $A_4$ sentences, sixteen are $A_3$ sentences and seventeen are $A_2$ sentences, representing together 82% of the total. The remaining eleven sentences are based on $A_1$.

Type A sentences in the sample vary in the amount and complexity of modulation contained within them.

In their simplest form, it is possible for sentences of all four modal scales to contain no modulations or harmonisations at all. As Beregovski points out in his study of the so-called altered Dorian scale ($A_2$), songs and tunes based on this scale "are often accompanied by a drone or an ostinato bass, consisting of tonic and dominant; it is not performed, but implied" (1973 in Slobin 2000b:552):

NB 1a: 17-24



Fig. 7.21a $A_2$ sentence without modulation

DT 2: 65-72



Fig. 7.21b $A_3$ sentence without modulation

NB 1b: 9-16



Fig. 7.21c $A_4$ sentence without modulation

DT 13b: 57-64:



Fig. 7.21d $A_1$ sentence without modulation

Most usually, however, type A sentences of each of the four modal scales exhibit not only stereotypical cadential phrases (figs. 7.6a-c) and variable tones with their attendant figures (fig. 7.12), but also follow stereotypical modulatory patterns in the form of modal progressions. These could be viewed simply as harmonisations of the basic modal scale rather than modulations. They do not, however, differ significantly from the more extended modulations in type B sentences: an examination of fig. 7.20 above shows that a number of the modulations in type B sentences are based on the same or nearly the same scalar segments as those of type A depicted in fig. 7.19.

Fig. 7.19 summarises modulations in type A sentences. Column 2 shows the scale degree(s) to which the sentence modulates and the quality (major or minor) of the associated triadic accompaniment. Column 3 shows the scalar segment associated with the modulation. The majority of the modulations (rows 2-7) comprise several colourations of a basic movement to the 4th scale degree, the only modal movement common to sentences of all four modal scales. The modulations in rows 1, 5, 6, 7 and 9 are of a more general nature and encompass an ambitus of an octave or more. Those in rows 2, 3, 4 and 8 are of a more restricted nature, covering an ambitus from a 2nd to a 6th. Column 4 shows the modal scale type(s) of the sentences with which the modulation is associated. Modulations which occur in conjunction with sentences containing specific cadential types are so noted in column 5. For example, the modulation shown in row 4 is used only in conjunction with $A_3$ sentences which take an $A_5$ cadence, although there are also $A_3$ sentences in the sample which conclude with $A_2$, $A_3$ and $A_4$ cadences as well, as shall be discussed in 7.3.5.5 below.

Type A sentences in each of the of the modal scales may be viewed as consisting of progressions constructed from a few basic modulatory units (fig. 7.19, column 6). In most cases, these units are the duration of a half-sentence or an entire sentence. All $A_4$ sentences in the sample, for example, are built from combinations of three modulatory units, as illustrated in figs. 7.22a-c:

(1) $A_4$»$A_2$ on the subtonic»$A_4$

(2) $A_4$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_4$

(3) $A_4$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$ on the subtonic»$A_4$

**A₂ on subtonic**

cadential phrase

vii

I

I

**A₂ on subtonic**

cadential phrase

DT 5a: 5-8

vii

I

I

Fig. 7.22a  Modulatory unit 1 in A₄ sentence of type A

NB 29a: 1-4

A₄   A₃ on fourth degree   A₄

I   iv   I

Fig. 7.22b  Modulatory unit 2 in A₄ sentence of type A

NB 5: 1-9

A₄   A₃ on fourth degree   A₂ on subtonic   A₄

I   iv   vii   I

Fig. 7.22c  Modulatory unit 3 in A₄ sentence of type A

The modulation to A₂ on the subtonic is the most characteristic quality of type A sentences built on A₄. This modulation is unique to A₄ sentences, whereas similar movements to A₃ on the 4th degree (as are found in units 2 and 3) may occur in sentences of all modal scale types. Always accompanied by a minor triad (vii), the modulation to the subtonic forms a basic part of the preparation of cadential and half-cadential phrases in particular. The designation "A₂ on the subtonic" here refers strictly to the intervallic relationships of the pitches of this scalar segment and does not imply modal characteristics beyond that. The basic scales of both A₄ on the tonic and A₂ on the subtonic share the same tones, and the modulation represents a temporary shift in emphasis down one step:

A₄ on tonic:
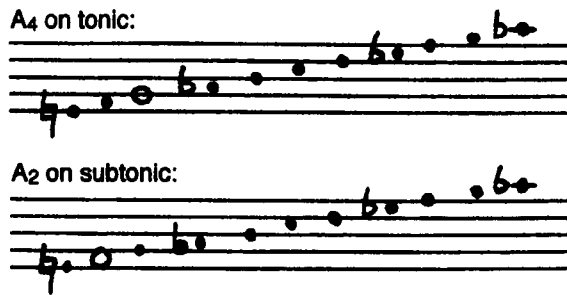
A₂ on subtonic:

Fig. 7.23 Intervallic relationship between A₄ on tonic and A₂ on subtonic

The shift in emphasis to $A_2$ on the subtonic in $A_4$ sentences is dependent, always requiring a resolution to the tonic in the cadential phrase.

$A_4$ sentences of type A which contain modal movement beyond that of the simple I-vii-I progressions shown in fig. 7.22a above include a modulation to $A_3$ on the 4th degree (figs. 7.22b-c).

The scalar segment b-c-d-e♭-f in $A_4$ sentences is modally ambiguous: it could be interpreted as belonging to $A_4$ on the tonic, $A_3$ on the 4th degree or $A_2$ built on the subtonic:



A₄ (I)          A₃ (iv)          A₂ (vii)
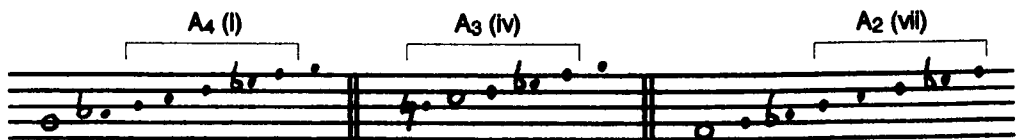
Fig. 7.24 Modally ambiguous scalar segment (A₄)

As a result, the triads chosen by the performers to accompany the melodic line do not necessarily coincide with the apparent logic of the modal progression. For example, in fig. 7.22b above the accompaniment returns to the tonic at the beginning of bar 3, although the scalar segment associated with the modulation to "$A_3$ on the 4th degree" does not appear to return to "$A_4$ on the tonic" until the resolution c-b in bar 4.

By the grouping of phrases according to their modulatory units, it is now possible to identify virtually every sentence in the sample in terms of the sequence of its (overlapping) modulatory units plus its cadential type. For example, the sentence beginning at NB22:65 may be identified as [$A_4$ modulatory unit 2 + $A_4$ modulatory unit 1 + $A_4$ cadence] (fig. 7.25):

Fig. 7.25 Identification of sentence according to sequence of modulatory units and cadential type

As can be seen in fig. 7.26, the same triads present in the above modulatory units are employed in type A sentences in shorter units of one to four beats in length. Here no sense of modulation is apparent; rather, these triads comprise the basic ingredients of harmonising typical melodic figures in this particular modal scale:



Fig. 7.26  I, iv and vii as the basic harmonisations of $A_4$ sentences

$A_3$ sentences of type A evidence the widest set of modulatory possibilities of the four scalar types. The modulatory units in the sample are illustrated in figs. 7.27a-h and may be summarised as follows:

Units involving a modulation to the 3rd degree:

(1)    $A_3$»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$

Units involving modulations to the 3rd and 4th degrees:

(2)    $A_3$»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_4$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

(3)    $A_3$»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

(4)    $A_3$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$

Units involving a modulation to the 4th (or 5th) degree:

(5)    $A_3$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

(6)    $A_3$»$A_4$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

(7a)   $A_3$»$A_2$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

(7b)   $A_3$»$A_4$ on the 5th degree»$A_3$

NB 7b:

Fig. 7.27a  Modulatory unit 1 in A₃ sentence of type A

DT 1:

Fig. 7.27b  Modulatory unit 2 in A₃ sentence of type A

DT 1:

Fig. 7.27c  Modulatory unit 3 in A₃ sentence of type A

**NB 32:**

Fig. 7.27d  Modulatory unit 4 in A₃ sentence of type A

**DT 2: 1-7**

Fig. 7.27e  Modulatory unit 5 in A₃ sentence of type A

**DT 12b: 1-7**

Fig. 7.27f  Modulatory unit 6 in A₃ sentence of type A

**DT 14b: 9-15**

Fig. 7.27g  Modulatory unit 7a in A₃ sentence of type A — movement to A₂ on the 4th degree

DT 14b:



Fig. 7.27h Modulatory unit 7b in $A_3$ sentence of type A — movement to $A_4$ on the 5th degree

Comments on figs. 7.27a-h:

Among sentences of type A, the modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree (as illustrated in figs. 7.27a-d) is unique to those based on $A_3$. This movement can be considered to be a "relative major" relationship, in which phrases built on $A_1$ on the 3rd degree are always subordinate to the minor tonic.[36] As can be seen in fig. 7.27a, the movement to the relative major $A_1$ on the 3rd degree may be reinforced by the use of the secondary dominant V of III or $V^7$ of III in the accompaniment.

Certain modulatory units determine not only the sequence of modulation but also the temporal position of the individual movements within the sentence structure. In figs. 7.27b and 7.27c, for example, it can be seen that in $A_3$ modulatory units 2 and 3 the position of the movement to the 4th degree is pre-cadential, occupying the position immediately preceding the cadential phrase.

Modulatory units 2 and 3 (figs. 7.27b-c) may be viewed as representing two variants of the same basic i–III–iv–i progression, the only difference being the lowered 5th degree (d♭) in unit 2. The basic figure associated with this modulation is c-d♭-c. In this sense, the d♭ may be regarded as a variable tone of $A_3$ associated with certain movements to the 4th degree. It has been labelled here "$A_4$ on the 4th degree" because the figure may be expanded upwards to include the tones c-d♭-e♮-f, thus implying $A_4$,[37] as is the case at DT1:54.

Modulatory unit 2 is associated only with $A_3$ sentences in the sample taking an $A_5$ cadence. This same movement to $A_4$ on the 4th degree takes place as part of modulatory unit 6 (fig. 7.27f, in this case without the movement to the 3rd degree) and, as shall be shown in fig. 7.29 below, can be found in type B modulations of $A_3$ sentences as well.

As can be seen in figs. 7.27c and 7.27d, the modulation to "$A_3$ on the 4th degree" may consist simply of the tone c itself.

In bar 71 of fig. 7.27d and in bar 4 of fig. 7.27e the 3rd is raised from b♭ to b♮.

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36  A complementary modulation in $A_1$ sentences of type A from major to relative minor and back ($A_1$»$A_3$ on the 6th degree»$A_1$) is not to be found in the sample.

37  Although the scalar segment implies $A_4$, the accompanying triad is minor, causing a perceived dissonance between the e♮ in the melodic line and B♭ in the accompaniment.

This variable tone functions as a kind of localised leading tone signalising a modulation to $A_3$ on the 4th degree in $A_3$ sentences of type A. The same figure is used to signalise a modulation to $A_3$ on the 4th degree in $A_2$ sentences of type A as well, as can be seen in figs. 7.28a and c below.

In figs. 7.27e-h, the tone c♯ is introduced as part of half-cadential and cadential phrases, implying an interchange of modal scale from $A_3$ to $A_2$. The use of interchange of modal scale as a typical melodic device within single musical sentences with both type A and type B modulations shall be discussed in greater detail in section 7.3.5.5 below.

Modulatory unit 7 only takes place within $A_3$ sentences in the sample taking an $A_2$ cadence. It takes two variants: (a) a movement to $A_2$ on the 4th degree (fig. 7.27g) and (b) a movement to $A_4$ on the 5th degree (fig. 7.27h). Both of these modulations make use of the scalar segment (c)-d-e♭-f♯-g$^1$-a$^1$-b♭$^1$-c$^1$ and may occur within the same sentence, as is the case in fig. 7.27h. In this sense, they may be viewed as two possible harmonisations of the same basic movement, depending upon the emphasis and ambitus of the melodic line. The same modulatory unit may be found in $A_2$ sentences of type A, as in the example in fig. 7.28c ($A_2$ modulatory unit 3) below.

In $A_2$ sentences of type A in the sample, three basic modulatory units are found, which may be summarised as follows:

(1) $A_2$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$

(2) $A_2$»$A_3$ on the 5th degree»$A_2$

(3) $A_2$»$A_4$ on the 5th degree/$A_2$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$



Fig. 7.28a  Modulatory unit 1 in $A_2$ sentence of type A



Fig. 7.28b  Modulatory unit 2 in $A_2$ sentence of type A

NB 20:



Fig. 7.28c  Type A sentence comprising modulatory sequence of A₂ units [3 + 1]

In section 7.3.3 above, centonisation was shown at the level of the phrase-segment and that of the single phrase, specifically in relation to cadences. A modulatory unit (or a segment thereof) may imply not only a particular progression but also the range of tones which are attached to it — thus representing centonisation at the next larger syntactical level beyond the single phrase. A comparison of passages from Tarras' DT1 and Brandwein's NB9, for example, shows the progression [A₁ on the 3rd degree»A₄ on the 4th degree»A₅ cadence], which occupies a duration of two phrases, with the almost identical tones in each performance:[38]

DT 1: 5-8



NB 9a: 41-44



Fig. 7.29  Centonisation at the level of two phrase-lengths

A₂ modulatory units 1 and 2 occupy the duration of an entire sentence and are almost completely formulaic in their structure. For example, the four sentences in the sample based on unit 1 (fig. 7.28a above) all follow the same basic format: the movement to the 4th degree takes place in the eleventh or twelfth bar of the sentence and is followed immediately by a four-bar A₂

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38  The fragment shown, NB9a:41-44, is part of an A₃ sentence with type B modulation. Similarities between type A and type B modulation patterns shall be addressed in 7.3.5.6 below.

cadential phrase; the one- to two-bar segment on the 4th degree encompasses either the tone c or the scalar segment c-d-e♭, and is introduced by the melodic figure g-b♮-d or b♭-b♮-c. Thus, the unit 1 sentence beginning at NB2b:49 is virtually identical in structure to that shown in fig. 7.28a above, with the last five bars of fig. 7.28a and the last four bars of 7.30 containing identical tones:



Fig. 7.30 Formulaic nature of sentences based on A₂ modulatory unit 1

$A_2$ modulatory unit 3 appears twice in the sample and is used only in conjunction with unit 1, following the pattern [$A_2$»$A_4$ on the 5th degree ($A_2$ on the 4th degree)»$A_2$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$] (fig. 7.28c above). This combined structure also occupies the duration of an entire sentence. In this sense, all $A_2$ sentences of type A in the sample follow a pattern of structural centonisation at the sentence level.

The specific characteristics of $A_1$ sentences in the sample are delineated more by their variable tones and the stereotypical figures associated with them, as shown in fig. 7.12 above, rather than their modal progressions. When harmonised, $A_1$ sentences in the sample follow standard tonic-dominant (or tonic-subdominant-dominant) harmonies which show the influence of Western major (fig. 7.18e above). $A_1$ sentences in the sample do, however, evidence two modulatory units of the kind associated with the other three modal scales:

(1) $A_2$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$

(2) $A_2$»$A_2$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$

NB 22:



7.31a  Modulatory unit 1 in A₁ sentence of type A

NB 24:



7.31b  Modulatory unit 2 in A₁ sentence of type A

## 7.3.5.5 Interchange of modal scale within type A and B sentences

Three different types of interchange of modal scale have been identified in sentences with type A modulations.

The most common form of interchange takes place as part of the cadential and, in some cases, half-cadential phrases ("cadential interchange"). Through this device, A₃ sentences of type A in the sample take not only A₃ cadences (21%, three of fourteen), but A₂ (36%, five of fourteen), A₅ (36%, five of fourteen) and A₄ (7%, one of fourteen) cadences as well. This technique has the effect of a temporary change of colour and is not necessarily evidence of an actual change or modulation of modal scale, however. In the case of the lowering of a to a♭ within the context of the A₅ cadence, for example, what is taking place appears to be a localised melodic convention and not an actual interchange of modal scale. This is in line with theory regarding Ashkenasic liturgical music, which exhibits a similar phenomenon:

> A notable feature of the "old" cantorial style was the flattening of the *supertonic* ... as it fell to the tonic at the end of a recitative. This did not, in fact, represent a sudden modulation into an obscure Jewish mode ... but rather a cadential convention of no structural significance (Knapp 1981-1982 [27]:9).[39]

The pitch group labelled A5 does not serve an independent melodic function in the sample other than its use in cadences (and cadence-like) figures. From the cadential phrases beginning at NB1a:13 (A3 type) and NB28:13 (A5 type) it can be seen, for example, that the melodic contours of the two phrases are identical, except for the replacement of the tones a and f♯ with a♭ and f♮ at NB28:14:
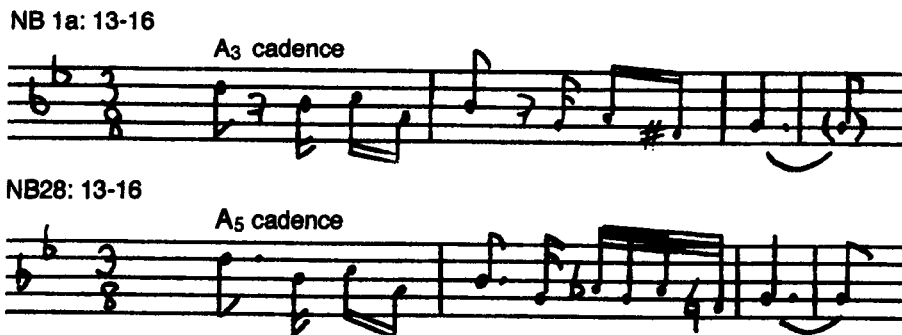


Fig. 7.31 A5 cadence as localised colour change

Figs. 7.27e, g and h above all evidence an interchange of modal scale from A3 to A2 at the half-cadential or cadential phrase. Here, too, the introduction of A2 cadential types with their characteristic raised 4th degree could be viewed as a typical melodic convention within the context of A3 sentences and not necessarily as evidence of modulation. However, the alternating between these two modal scales is also typical of interchanges occurring between the sentences of a tune and between sections of a suite, as shall be seen in 7.3.6 and 7.3.8 below.

In balanced sentences (type I), a typical pattern emerges in which the sentence consists of an equal number of phrases alternating in the sequence [A3»A2 (half cadence)»A3»A2 (cadence)]:
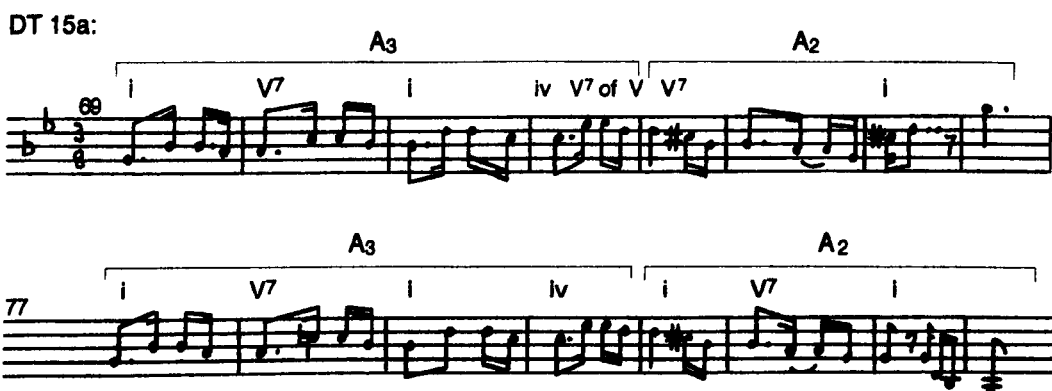


Fig. 7.32a Sentence with alternating A3 and A2 phrases

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39    Knapp (1981-1982) is an elaboration on Cohon (1950).

Such sentences are being interpreted here as $A_3$ sentences with an interchange of modal scale to $A_2$ at the half cadence and cadence. The introduction of $A_2$ phrases has the effect of a localised colour change and may represent the taste of the performer-composer as performer. For example, a comparison of a print variant of DT15a:*c* depicted in fig. 7.32a above shows the same *c* sentence without $A_2$ colouration, although sentence *a* is clearly based on $A_2$ in both versions:



Fig. 7.32b  Variant of DT15a with sentences *b* and *c* in $A_3$ (after Kostakowsky 1916:12)

There are no sentences in the sample which contain both $A_2$ and $A_5$ colourations. Within the context of the 1920s recordings of Brandwein and Tarras the two forms could be viewed as mutually exclusive within the construction of $A_3$ sentences. To draw a parallel to linguistic theory the difference between $A_2$ and $A_5$ phrases could be seen as "pertinent" (Monelle 1992:35), representing two different musical "phonemes" within the klezmer "language". There is evidence, however, that $A_2$ and $A_5$ phrases were not entirely mutually exclusive. For example, sentence *d* of 'Mazltov (Dobranoč)' (Beregovski 1987:50-51), transcribed in 1928 from the violinist Avrom-Yeshiye Makonovetski in Khabno, Ukraine, juxtaposes an $A_5$ half-cadential phrase with an $A_2$ cadence (fig. 7.32c):

'Mazltov (Dobranoc)' sentence *d*:

A2 on third degree   A4 on fourth degree

A5 half cadence   A1 on third degree

A3 on fourth degree   A2 cadence

Fig. 7.32c  Type B sentence with A5 and A2 phrases (excerpt from 'Mazltov [Dobrano č]' after Beregovski 1987:51)

Brandwein, too, juxtaposes very similar A2 and A5 cadences in the recording 'Nifty's Eigene' (Victor V-9097/BS 065054-1; Spottswood 1990:1304) from his last solo recording session on 25 April, 1941. The last two phrases of both sentence *b* and sentence *d* are almost identical, the only difference being that in sentence *d* he transforms the A2 cadence into an A5 cadence by moving to A4 on the 4th degree in bar 6 and substituting c♮ and a♭ for c♯ and a♮ in the cadential phrase. It is likely from this recording that Brandwein considered these two cadential forms to be different colourations of the same basic gesture, at least at the time the later recording was made:

'Nifty's Eigene'

sentence *b*:

A1 on third degree   A4 on fourth degree   A3   A2 cadence
III   iv   i   (V)   i

sentence *d*:

A1 on third degree   A3   A4 on fourth degree   A5 cadence
III   (i)   iv   i   vii   i

Fig. 7.32d  Juxtaposition of A2 and A5 cadence with same phrase shapes

The only other form of cadential interchange present in the sample is the interjection of an A4 cadence to conclude an A3 sentence. This technique is employed by both Brandwein and Tarras in just one instance, the three variant performances of the single tune, NB6a/NB6c/DT13a (fig. 7.33):
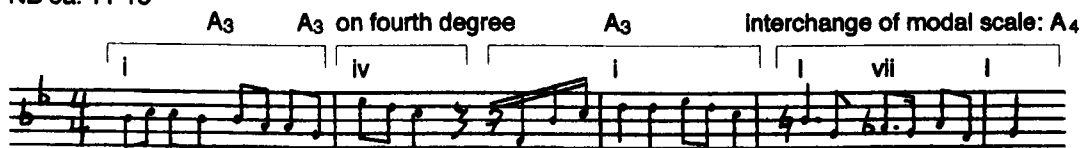
Fig. 7.33 Interchange of modal scale at cadential phrase (A₃»A₄)

The compatibility of interchanging an $A_4$ cadential phrase with an $A_3$ sentence seems to be made possible by the presence of a♭ variable tones in the $A_3$ section, as is the case with bar 3 of NB6a, which contains an $A_5$-cadence-like figure (not shown here).

In the second type of interchange of modal scale, "interchange progression", the sentence begins and ends in two different modal scales with a shared tonic and the process of interchange begins earlier than the cadential phrase. Such an interchange may be interpreted in a similar fashion to modulation in Western music in which a pivot chord — in this case a pivotal scalar segment — is analysed in terms of two different modal scales. In DT4, for example, sentence $c$ begins in $A_1$. The second phrase modulates to $A_3$ on the 4th degree and, subsequently to $A_4$ on the 5th degree. Here the movement to $A_3$ on the 4th degree serves as the pivotal scalar segment common to both $A_1$ and $A_2$ sentences. The modulation to $A_4$ on the 4th degree is normally associated not with $A_1$, but rather with $A_2$ sentences ($A_2$ modulatory unit 3 in 7.3.5.4 above). The conclusion of the sentence in $A_2$ confirms the process of interchange which begins with the upbeat to bar 165:
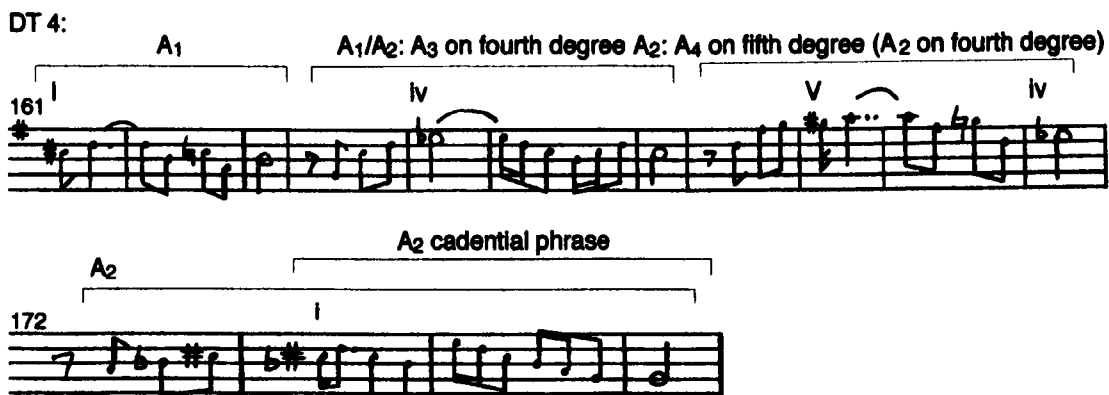


Fig. 7.34a Interchange progression A₁»A₂

The third form of interchange of modal scale in sentences with type A modulations involves the introduction of an $A_2$ figure in the first ending of an $A_3$ sentence, which serves to lead back to the repeat of the sentence. Here, too, the feeling is not one of modulation, but rather of a temporary colour change (fig. 7.35a):

NB 1a: 6-10
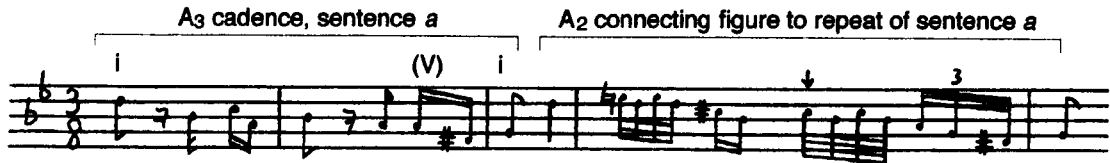


Fig. 7.35a Interchange of modal scale as connecting figure between repeats

A similar technique may be applied in the second ending of a sentence of type C modulation as a kind of secondary cadential figure to return the melodic line to the tonic a minor 3rd below at the beginning of the following sentence:

NB 6b:
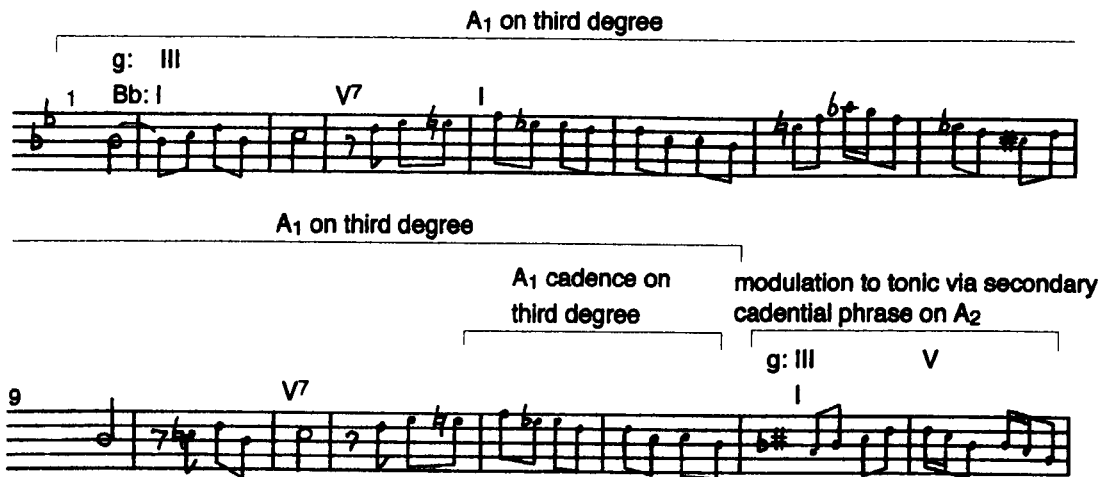


Fig. 7.35b Introduction of secondary $A_2$ cadential phrase as modulatory connecting figure between sentences

Cadential interchange in sentences with type B modulations takes place in the exactly same sense as in sentences of type A, in that type B modulations associated with $A_3$ sentences take $A_2$ or $A_5$ cadences.[40] Interchange progressions are also employed in sentences of type B, such as sentence *b* of NB20 shown in fig. 7.37b below. The sentence begins with a move to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree, a modulation normally associated with $A_3$ sentences. In bar 41 a movement to $A_3$ on the 4th degree is introduced, a modulation common to both $A_3$ and $A_2$ sentences. The sentence then concludes in $A_2$ beginning with bar 43.

The introduction of $A_2$ cadences and half-cadences into $A_3$ and $A_1$ sentences seems to parallel the use of the so-called "Ukrainian Dorian" scale in synagogue song: "Motifs based on the Ukrainian-Dorian scale ... may appear in any or all of the main [prayer] modal groups" (Knapp 1981-1982 [27]:10).

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40    In theory, such sentences could also take $A_3$ cadences, but none are present in the sample.

### 7.3.5.6 Modulations in type B sentences

Four different groups (i, ii, iii and iv) of modulatory structures are found in type B sentences in the sample. All have in common a stronger sense of movement away from the tonic than the modulations in type A sentences. This is due to the initial movement away from the tonic coinciding with the structurally stressed opening phrase(s) of the sentence. All type B sentences in the sample resolve to the tonic at the cadential phrase in both the first and second endings. Although twenty-five type B sentences, representing 89% of those in the sample, are not the first sentence of a tune, three sentences in the sample begin with type B sentences, one each of group i, ii and iii.

Sentences of group i combine sequences of the same basic modulatory units as in type A sentences. The only difference to type A sentences is that the first unit of the sentence begins on a scale degree other than the tonic. The tonic shown at the beginning of the modulatory units in figs. 7.22a-c, 7.27a-h and 7.28a-c above may be inferred in the initial modulatory unit of the type B sentence by referring to the conclusion of the previous sentence. The following additional permutations of modulatory units appear in type B sentences which are not present in the sample of type A sentences:

$A_4$ modulatory unit 4 (fig. 7.40 below):

- $(A_4)$»$A_2$ on the subtonic»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$ on the subtonic»$A_4$

$A_3$ modulatory unit $3_1$ (fig. 7.37c below):

- $(A_3)$»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

$A_3$ modulatory unit $4_1$ (fig. 7.37d below):

- $(A_3)$»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$

Group i sentences in the sample are preceded and followed by both type A and type B sentences.

$A_4$ sentences of group i make use of the same three modulatory units as in type A sentences (fig. 7.22a-c), always beginning with a move to $A_3$ on the 4th degree. The opening unit thus comprises either the sequence [$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_4$] (type A modulatory unit 2) or [$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_2$ on the subtonic»$A_4$] (type A modulatory unit 3). The successive units of the sentence, if present, are based on combinations of all three modulatory units:

**modulatory unit 3**

| A3 on fourth degree | A2 on supertonic | A4 |
| iv | vii | i |

Fig. 7.36a Excerpt from A₄ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory unit 3 + A₄ cadence] [41]

NB 25:

**A4 half-cadential phrase**

**modulatory unit 3**

| A3 on fourth degree | A2 onsubtonic | A4 | A2 on subtonic | A4 |
| iv | vii | i | iv | i |

*33*

**A4 cadence**

**modulatory unit 3**

| A3 on fourth degree | A2 onsubtonic | | | |
| iv | vii | i | vii | i |

*40*

Fig. 7.36b A₄ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory unit 3 + A₄ half cadence + modulatory unit 3 + A₄ cadence] [42]

---

41  The entire sentence is depicted in fig. 7.5c above.

42  Although the accompanists play a C minor triad in bar 38, the scalar segment of the melodic line is clearly based on A₂ on the subtonic, for which the "right" accompaniment would be F minor. According to Peter Sokolow, musicians whose chordal accompaniments did not reflect the logic of the modal scales were known among American-born wedding musicians as "wrong chord players". Referring to one accordionist, for example, Sokolow remarks, "he played all the wrong chords" (P. Sokolow 1990, interview).

NB 25:

modulatory unit 2 | modulatory unit 3

A3 on fourth degree | A4 | A3 on fourth degree

65   iv         I                  iv

modulatory unit 3

A2 on subtonic | A4 cadence

72           vii           I

Fig. 7.36c  A₄ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory units 2 + 3 + A₄ cadence]

Because a certain class of sentences in the sample alternate $A_3$ and $A_2$ phrases (fig. 7.32a above) and because tunes beginning in $A_3$ frequently include sentences based on $A_2$ and vice versa (as shall be elaborated upon in section 7.3.6 below), $A_3$ and $A_2$ sentences in the sample share the same group i and ii modulations. Group i modulations associated with $A_3$ and $A_2$ sentences begin with a movement to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree or to $A_3$ on the 4th degree and make use of the same basic modulatory units as in $A_3$ sentences of type A (fig. 7.27a-h).[43] In sentences beginning in $A_1$ on the 3rd degree, the opening unit consists of either the sequence [$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$](type A modulatory unit 1), [$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_4$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$](type A modulatory unit 2), or [$A_1$ on the 3rd degree»$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$](type A modulatory unit 3). In sentences beginning with a move to $A_3$ on the 4th degree, the opening sequence is [$A_3$ on the 4th degree»$A_3$](type A modulatory unit 5):

NB 9a:

modulatory unit 2

A1 on third degree

33  III

modulatory unit 2

A4 on fourth degree | A5 cadence

40                       iv        I     (vii)     I

Fig. 7.37a  A₃ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory unit 2 + A₅ cadence]

---

43   A₂ modulatory units 1 and 3 are essentially the same as A₃ units 5 and 7 and are not listed again here; A₂ modulatory unit 2 is not found in the sample in conjunction with type B modulations.

NB 20:



Fig. 7.37b A₃/A₂ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory unit 3 (with interchange progression A₃»A₂) + A₂ cadence]

NB 9a:



Fig. 7.37c A₃ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory unit 3₁ + A₅ cadence]

**Fig. 7.37d** A₃ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory unit 1 + 4₁ + A₅ cadence]

DT 15a:

**Fig. 7.37e** Balanced A₃ sentence of group i modulation following the form
[modulatory units 5 + 7b + 5 + 7b] with interchange of modal scale A₃»A₂ at half cadence [44]

Group i modulations to $A_4$ on the 5th degree in $A_3/A_2$ sentences, such as the one shown in fig. 7.37e, are characterised by a melodic extension below the fundamental octave to include the scalar segment D-E♭-F♯-g (bars 42 and 50). The $A_3$ cadence shown in this figure is the only example in the sample of a cadence resolving in ascending motion, contrary to the descending character of the cadences shown in figs. 7.6a-c above.

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[44] Since the first sentence of DT15a is built on $A_2$, the *b* sentence could also be analysed as comprising $A_2$ modulatory units [1 + 3 + 1 + 3].

In group ii modulations, the sentence remains on one scalar segment of one scale degree, returning to the tonic at the cadential phrase. If the phrase is of a balanced structure (type I), the sentence alternates phrases between the new scale degree and the tonic in the sequence [new scale degree»tonic (half cadence)»new scale degree»tonic (cadence)] (fig. 7.38a).

A₄ modulations of group ii in the sample involve movements to A₂ on the 4th degree, signalised by the introduction of f♯ and centred around the scalar segment b-c-d-e♭-f♯-g′, and to A₂ on the subtonic. A₃/A₂ modulations of type ii involve movements to A₁ on the 3rd degree:

NB 10:



Fig. 7.38a A₄ sentence of group ii modulation with movement to A₂ on the 4th degree

NB 10:



Fig. 7.38b A₄ sentence of group ii modulation with movement to A₂ on the subtonic

Fig. 7.38c A₃/A₂ sentence of group ii modulation with movement to A₁ on the 3rd degree

Figs. 7.38a and b above, both of which are drawn from NB10, show that it is possible to have sentences in the same tune based on group ii modulations that move to two different modal scale degrees. As can be seen from fig. 7.38c, the same variable tones and the characteristic figures associated with them are employed in phrases built on $A_1$ on the 3rd degree as in $A_1$ phrases on the tonic: the figure $ab^1$-$g^1$-f-e$\natural$-f in bars 37-39 is a transposition of the descending diminished 4th pattern f-e$\natural$-d-c$\sharp$-d shown in figs. 7.12, 7.14b and 7.14c above.

In group iii modulations, the sentence remains on one scale degree until the cadential or pre-cadential phrase, but an interchange of modal scalar segment from $A_1$ to $A_2$ takes place in preparation of the resolution one tone higher to the cadential or pre-cadential phrase. For example, the movement to $A_1$ on the 4th degree in conjunction with both $A_4$ and $A_3$ sentences (figs. 7.39a and b) follows the basic melodic movement c-e-g-f$\sharp$-e$\flat$-d. The other two group iii modulations in the sample — to $A_1$ on the subtonic in conjunction with $A_4$ sentences and to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree in conjunction with $A_3$ sentences — are transpositions of the same basic melodic movement: b$\flat$-d-f-e-d$\flat$-c and F-a-c-b-a$\flat$-g:

NB 1b:



Fig. 7.39a $A_4$ sentence of group iii modulation with movement to $A_1$ on the 4th degree and return to tonic via interchange of modal scalar segment to $A_2$ on the 4th degree

NB 14:



Fig. 7.39b $A_3$ sentence of group iii modulation with movement to $A_1$ on the 4th degree and return to tonic via interchange of modal scalar segment to $A_2$ on the 4th degree

NB 27:



Fig. 7.39c $A_4$ sentence of group iii modulation with movement to $A_1$ on the subtonic and return to tonic via (implied) interchange of modal scalar segment to $A_2$ on the subtonic

DT 12b:



Fig. 7.39d $A_3$ sentence of group iii modulation with movement to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree and transition to cadential phrase via interchange of modal scalar segment to $A_2$ on the 3rd degree/$A_4$ on the 4th degree [45]

---

45    A more typical chordal accompaniment for the sentence segment from bar 17 onwards

In the case of the tune NB14 shown in fig. 7.39b, the group iii modulation is used to begin the tune. Because sentence *b* of the tune begins with a group ii modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree, the tonic (a 4th lower than the beginning of the tune and a minor 3rd lower the beginning of sentence *b*) only becomes clear at the cadence of sentence *b*. Sentence *c*, too, begins with a group ii modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree, cadencing on the tonic. It is thus possible for a tune to contain not a single sentence beginning on the tonic chord, yet with all three sentences cadencing on the same tonic.

The group iii modulations to $A_1$ on the 4th degree shown in figs. 7.39a and b show a clear connection between a characteristic modulation in the klezmer tunes under study here and the modulatory patterns of Eastern Ashkenasic prayer modes. These modulations are virtually identical with specific characteristic phrases of both the *Magen Avot* and the *Ahavah Rabbah* prayer modes as described by Uri Sharvit (1997:XIII). Here, not only are the scale tones closely related — the basic octave scale of *Magen Avot* is the same as $A_3B_3$ and the basic octave scale of *Ahavah Rabbah* is the same as $A_4B_3$ — but the modulatory conventions and stereotypical figures associated with them are as well:[46]

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would be:
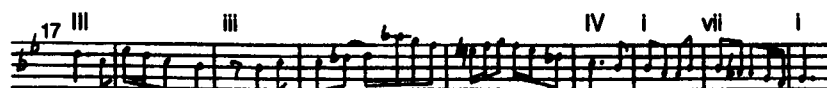


Such a harmonisation is used by the Yiddisher Orchestra under the direction of Abe Schwartz in its recording 'Tate Siser' from ca. August 1917 (Co E3563 [58544-2]; Spottswood 1990:1497).

It is possible that the arranger of DT12, Alexander Olshanetsky, was not familiar with the typical klezmer modal progressions, having come from a background in opera and musical theatre (Perlmutter 1952:369ff.).

In a similar fashion, the implied changes of harmony from IV to iv in bars 21-23 of fig. 7.39a and from VII to vii in bars 35-36 and 39 of fig. 7.39c as a result of the interchange of modal scalar segment from $A_1$ to $A_2$ are not reflected in the accompaniments.

46   The same group iii modulation may also be found in Yiddish folk songs such as 'In Ades, in Ades' (Beregovski 1962 in Slobin 2000b:406) as well as in hasidic *nigunim* such as 'A dudule' (Idelsohn 1973c:35).

The familiarity of the group iii modulation to $A_1$ on the 4th degree among immigrant Jews from Eastern Europe may have allowed for Naftule Brandwein to begin NB4 and NB14 with this modulation. To the author's knowledge, this is the only tune in the recorded or printed klezmer literature which begins in this manner.

characteristic phrase in *Magen Avot*:

group iii modulation to A₁ on fourth degree



characteristic phrase in *Ahavah Rabbah*:



group iii modulation to A₁ on fourth degree



Fig. 7.39e "Group iii" modulation to $A_1$ on the 4th degree as part of characteristic phrases in the prayer modes *Magen Avot* and *Ahavah Rabbah* (after Sharvit 1997:XIII)

In theory, any of the typical modulatory units found in the sample could be used in conjunction with more than one modal scale type, so long as a familiar modal relationship could be established between the beginning of the modulatory unit and the preceding and succeeding phrases. As such, the progressions commonly used by Brandwein and Tarras represent only a portion of the theoretical possibilities based on the logic of the modal relationships. One sentence in the sample, NB8a:*c*, points to the expanded modal possibilities of at least type B sentences based upon $A_4$ (fig 7.40):

NB 8a:

A₁ on fourth degree                               A₂ on fourth degree

65  IV              V⁷ of IV    IV                                    V

A₄ on fifth degree        A₃ on second degree      A₃ on fourth degree

73                                    ii                      IV

A₃ on fourth degree                        A₄ modulatory unit 4

79   iv                                      I              A₄

A₄ modulatory unit 4

A₂ on supertonic  A₃ on fourth degree  A₂ on supertonic              A₄

83 vii              iv               vii                I

A₄ cadence with suffix

89 vii                                       I

Fig. 7.40  A₄ sentence with type B modulation making use of extended possibilities of the modal relationships (hybrid modulation of group iii and i)

Here the modulatory sequence is formed from a hybrid of group iii and group i patterns. The first eight bars of the sentence follow the pattern of a group iii modulation to A₁ on the 4th degree. The resolution to d in bar 72 is not, however, the 5th of the A₄ scale on the tonic, but rather the root of a scalar segment based on A₄ on the 5th degree. From there, the sentence moves in bars 75-77 to an area not seen in any of the other sentences of the sample, which may be analysed as a scalar segment based on A₃ on the natural 2nd degree with a lowered 5th (a-b-c-d-eb). From bar 78 onwards, the sentence returns to the familiar territory of sentence A-type modulatory units based on combinations of phrases and phrase-segments in A₄, A₃ on the 4th degree and A₂ on the subtonic. So may the pattern [A₄»A₂ on the subtonic»A₃ on the 4th degree»A₂ on the subtonic»A₄] exhibited in bars 81-89 be analysed as A₄ modulatory unit 4, an additional permutation of the basic format discussed in 7.3.5.4 above.

Group iv modulations in the sample are found among type B sentences based upon A₄ only. This type of sentence involves the harmonisation of patterns of descending scale tones and simple melodic sequences in the initial

phrase(s) of the sentence, concluding using the same modulatory units as in sentences comprising type A and type B, group i modulations. An example of the harmonisation of descending scale tones is the passage at NB5:81-92. It appears to be a purely harmonic device using triadic substitutions to create variety, rather than comprising a modulation in the sense discussed above:[47]

NB 5: 81-92



Fig. 7.41a  Harmonisation of descending scalar sequence in $A_4$ with substitute harmonies

Without the substitutions, the same passage could be harmonised according to the pattern of modulatory unit 3:



Fig. 7.41b  Alternate harmonisation of descending scalar sequence in $A_4$ as modulatory unit 3

A similar technique to that in harmonising descending scale tones is employed in the harmonisation of simple melodic sequences such as the one in descending 3rds at DT15b:17-23:

DT 15b:



Fig. 7.41c  Harmonisation of melodic sequence in descending 3rds

Simple triadic substitutions are also employed around the upper scale-segment f-g$^1$-a♭$^1$-g$^1$-f, such as in the following passage from NB8a:

NB 8a:33-37



Fig. 7.41d  Substitute harmonisations in the $A_4$ upper scalar segment f-g$^1$-a♭$^1$-g$^1$-f

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47  Similar descending sequences are to be found in 'Rusiche Shaer — Pt. II (Russian Dance)' by Kandel's Orchestra, Victor 72102 (B21667-5) from 25 June, 1918 and 'Fon der Choope' by A. Elenkrig's Yidishe Orchestra (Hebrew Bulgarian Orchestra), Columbia E1393 (38756-1) from 4 April, 1913, among others.

A chordal accompaniment of a similar passage as that in fig. 7.41d is to be found in NB25, following the pattern of modulatory unit 3:

**NB 25: 33-36**



Fig. 7.41e  Harmonisation following the pattern of modulatory unit 3

### 7.3.5.7 Modulations in type C sentences

Two varieties of type C sentence are present in the sample. In three cases the modulation involves a movement up a minor 3rd from an $A_3$ or $A_2$ sentence to the relative major, $A_1$ on the 3rd degree. In one case the modulation involves a movement down a minor 3rd from an $A_1$ sentence to $A_3$, the relative minor. Three of the four sentences are both preceded and succeeded by type A sentences. In the case of the fourth sentence, the tune variant NB6b/NB6d/DT19, the type C sentence begins the tune and is followed by a *b* sentence of type A.

Both the $A_1$ sentences on the 3rd degree and the $A_3$ sentence on the 6th degree involved in type C sentences are transpositions of $A_1$ and $A_3$ sentences on the tonic and exhibit no special characteristics. The same variable tones and the characteristic figures associated with them and the same modal progressions are employed.

Because type C sentences are built on a modal scale which begins and cadences on a scale degree other than the tonic, they may be analysed in terms of a secondary tonic:

**DT 2:**



Fig. 7.42a  Type C sentence with modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree

**Fig. 7.42b** Type C sentence with modulation to $A_3$ on the 6th degree

It is possible that modulations to the relative major and minor, such as the ones shown in figs. 7.42a and b, represented a comparatively recent development in klezmer music at the time the Brandwein and Tarras recordings were made, and that such shifts from minor to major and vice versa had previously been accomplished by an interchange of modal scale on the same tonic. For example, a comparison of the New York recording 'Russishe Shehr' (Russian Sher) by Abe Schwartz' Orchestra, Columbia 8155-F (W 108468-2) from January 1928 to an earlier European recording of the same tune, 'Lomir Beten Got' (Let Us Pray to God) by Belf's Romanian Orchestra, Sirena Grand 11095 from April 1912 (Wollock 1997:42) shows that, whereas the Schwartz recording makes use of the same type C modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree at bar 35 as in fig. 7.42a, the Belf Orchestra's performance of the identical passage remains on the same tonic at bar 65 with an interchange of modal scale from $A_3$ to $A_1$ (fig. 7.43):

**Fig. 7.43** Comparison of 'Russian Sher' sentences with modulation and interchange of modal scale

In any case, at the time of these recordings, both modulation options were current among American immigrant klezmer musicians. A variant recording of the same tune, 'Freyleche Mechitonim (Lively Relatives)' by the Philadelphia group Kandel's Orchestra (Victor 73198/B25258-2, 6 May, 1921), for example, employs the same interchange of modal scale as in Belf's earlier European recording. All other American recordings of this tune known to the author, however, followed the modulatory pattern shown in the Schwartz recording.

## 7.3.6 Modal relationships between the sentences of tunes

As has been shown in sections 7.3.5.4 and 7.3.5.6 above, one technique of modulation between sentences is the introduction of type B and C sentences, both of which begin on a scale degree other than the main tonic of the tune. A second technique of modulation between sentences is through an interchange of modal scale. The combination of these two techniques creates the following seven modulatory schemata among the tunes in the sample:

A: Tunes without an interchange of modal scale between sentences (seventeen tunes, 57% of the sample):

   (1) Tune consists of type A sentences only (four tunes, 13% of the sample)

   (2) Tune combines type A and type B sentences of groups i-iv (ten tunes, 33% of the sample)

   (3) Tune combines type A and type C sentences (two tunes, 7% of the sample)

   (4) Tune comprises type B sentences only (one tune, 3% of the sample)

B: Tunes including an interchange of modal scale between sentences (thirteen tunes, 43% of the sample):

   (5) Tune consists of type A sentences only and includes the interchange of at least one and as many as two additional modal scales between sentences (five tunes, 17% of the sample):

     (a) Tune begins in $A_3$ and makes an interchange to $A_2$

     (b) Tune begins in $A_2$ and makes an interchange to $A_1$

     (c) Tune begins in $A_1$ and makes an interchange to $A_2$

     (d) Tune begins in $A_4$ and makes an interchange to $A_3$

   (6) Tune combines type A and type B sentences and includes at least one interchange of modal scale (six tunes, 20% of the sample):

     (a) Tune begins in $A_2$, sentence $b$ is of type B group i or ii cadencing in $A_2$, and sentence $c$ is in $A_3$ (three tunes)

     (b) Tune begins in $A_1$ and includes an interchange of modal scale from $A_1$ to $A_2$, $A_2$ to $A_1$ and $A_1$ to $A_4$

     (c) Tune comprises three type B sentences normally associated with $A_3$; the one type A sentence is based on $A_2$

     (d) Tune begins in $A_4$ and includes an interchange of modal scale to $A_1$

   (7) Tune combines type A and type C sentences and includes an interchange of modal scale in the final sentence (two tunes, 7% of the sample)

     (a) Tune begins in $A_3$ and makes an interchange to $A_2$ after the type C sentence

     (b) Tune begins in $A_1$ and makes an interhcange to $A_2$ after the type C sentence

While any of the four modal scales could theoretically be interchanged with any of the other three from one sentence to the next, the sample shows typical patterns which are followed.

The most typical are the couplings:

- $A_1$»$A_2$ (six of the thirteen tunes including an interchange of mode between sentences)

- $A_2$»$A_1$ (four of thirteen tunes)

- $A_2$»$A_3$ (three of thirteen tunes)

  and

- $A_3$»$A_2$ (four of thirteen tunes).

The other interchanges taking place in the sample are:

- $A_1$»$A_4$ (one tune of thirteen)

- $A_4$»$A_1$ (one tune of thirteen)

  and

- $A_4$»$A_3$ (one tune of thirteen).

Combinations which do not appear at all in the sample include:

- $A_1$»$A_3$

- $A_3$»$A_1$ [48]

- $A_2$»$A_4$

- $A_4$»$A_2$

  and

- $A_3$»$A_4$.

The frequent occurrence of certain of these couplings may be traced to their sharing of particular variable tones, stereotypical figures and modulations. For example, the descending diminished 4th figure f-e-d-c♯-d appears frequently in both $A_1$ and $A_2$ phrases, allowing for an interchange between the two modal scales both within the course of a single sentence, between sentences as well as between the sections of a suite. In NB22, the beginning of sentence $b_1$ at bar 33 is changed from an $A_2$ sentence to one based on $A_1$ by transforming the first two bars of the phrase. The second phrase-half shares the common descending figure (fig. 7.44a):

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48  This coupling is to be found in DT9b, which is not a part of the sample.

NB 22:

Opening phrase, sentence *b* A2



Opening phrase, sentence *b₁*: A₁



Fig. 7.44a Compatibility between A₂ and A₁ through common descending diminished 4th figure

The frequent introduction of the variable tone c♯ and of A₂ half-cadential and cadential phrases into A₃ sentences, as well as shared modulatory patterns in type B and C sentences, makes these two modal scales compatible for an alternation between them between sentences and between the sections of a suite. In addition, c♮ may be introduced as a variable tone into a sentence otherwise based on A₂, such as at DT14b:82, so that the flexibility between the two scales goes in both directions:

DT 14b:

sentence *a*: A₃:



sentence *d*: A₂:



Fig. 7.44b Compatibility between A₃ and A₂ through c♯ and c♮ variable tones

Certain A₁ and A₄ sentences share a common modulation to A₃ on the 4th degree around the scalar segment b-c-d-e♭-f-g′, thus allowing an interchange between the two scalar types. In NB22, sentences *c* and *c₁* begin in identical fashion. Because there is no 2nd scale degree in the opening phrase, which is based on the common tones b-c-d-g′, the sentences could be interpreted as being either A₁ or A₄. Both sentences modulate to A₃ on the 4th degree in the second phrase. It is first in the ninth bar of each sentence that they diverge from one another. Sentence *c* concludes in A₁, whereas sentence *c₁* concludes in A₄ (fig. 7.44c):

NB 22:

sentence $c$: $A_1$:



sentence $c_1$: $A_4$:



Fig. 7.44c  Compatibility between $A_1$ and $A_4$ through common modulation to $A_3$ on the 4th degree

Based upon the above-listed seven modulatory schemata at the tune level, it can be seen that only tunes conforming to the first four patterns may be regarded as being based on one modal scale and its associated modulations. Through the interchange of modal scale, tunes of the other three patterns exhibit smaller units of modality.[49] In the case of NB7d (and its variant performance NB7b), for example, the basic unit of modality is the sentence:[50]

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49  Slobin mentions that this type of modal flexibility is also typical of Ukrainian and Romanian folk songs and instrumentals (1980:317-318; see also 1976:30 and 1982b:184-86).

50  The use of sentences and tunes in contrasting modal scales may have originated in the repetitive nature of performing music for dancing. This has been theorised by Garfias regarding the development of Romanian dance music:

The spontaneous nature of Romanian village dances required that village folk musicians be prepared to extend a particular dance should the villagers desire it. This led to an informal practice of stringing together melodies of a common dance type when needed. Because of the method of oral transmission of the repertoire, some of these temporal combinations of dance melodies have, in some instances, come to be indistinguishable from those which were originaly [sic] discrete melodies. This combination of different melodies in varying tonalities may have paved the way for the common practice of dance melodies to include contrasts in tonality, mode, and *makam* from one section to another within the single

NB7d comprises only two sentences. Sentence $a$ is based on $A_4$, whereas sentence $b$ maintains the same tonic, but is based upon and also cadences in $A_3$ without returning to $A_4$. Here it cannot be said whether $A_4$ or $A_3$ is the dominant modal scale:

NB 7d:



Fig. 7.45 Sentence as basic unit of modality in metric tunes

NB22 follows the sequence:

$aa$: $A_1$

$b$: $A_2$

$b_1$: $A_1$ with interchange progression to $A_2$

$c$: $A_1$

$c_1$: $A_4$

$dd$: type B group ii modulation to $A_2$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_4$

Here, too, it cannot be said that either $A_1$, $A_2$ or $A_4$ forms the dominant modality. In sentences $a$, $b$, $c$, $c_1$ and $d$, the sentence is again the basic unit of modality. In certain sentences with an interchange progression, such as NB22:$b_1$, smaller melodic units than a sentence, consisting of one or two phrases, may be seen as the basic unit of modality. In addition, it is possible to perform entire sentences with essentially the same melodic contours in more than one modal scale. For example, a variant of NB7b:$a$, which Brandwein performed in $A_4$, is to be found in $A_1$ in sentence $b$ of 'Šer' no. 196 (Beregovski 1987:180; fig. 7.46):

**NB 7b: 1 (A₄)**



**Beregovski 'Sher' no. 196: 1 (A₁ with lowered sixth)**



**NB 7b: 9**



**'Sher': 9**



Fig. 7.46  A₄ and A₁ variants of same basic sentence

The only significant melodic divergence between the two versions occurs at the cadential phrase. In NBa7b:*a*, Brandwein makes use of a typical cadential phrase for A₄ sentences (prefix variant 1a + root variant 2a, figs. 7.9c and 7.10c), whereas 'Šer' no. 196 uses a typical A₁ cadence, similar to the ones employed (in A₁ on the 3rd degree) at NB6b:13 and DT4:45. In preparation for the A₄ cadence, NB7b:*a* follows the typical modulation to the subtonic, whereas the *sher* remains on the tonic in preparation of the A₁ cadence. This example provides evidence that larger compositional units than a phrase may in some cases be driven by melodic shape, rather than modality.

## 7.3.7 Compositional processes and tune groups

A comparison with the existing recorded and print variants (appendices 1 and 2) shows that the tunes NB1a, NB6a (DT13a), NB8, NB27, NB29a, NB32, DT1, DT5b, DT12a and b, and DT15a appear to have been self-contained compositions.[51] Nevertheless, from a modal-theoretical standpoint, the individual sentences of tunes may be seen to be functioning as discrete units which could be — or could have been — combined in other, equally satisfactory ways according to the implied logic of the the musical language. In fact, an analysis of the print and recorded variants of the sampled tunes has shown that Brandwein's and Tarras' renditions often share only one or two sentences with other versions. As Beregovski has written:

> As soon as such *freylekhs*, *skotshnes*, etc. were learnt and the musicians had made them their own, they became overgrown with idiosyncracies, with favorite gestures and ornaments. So we can explain why it is that variants of the same melody seldom agree. In general, it can be said that we would receive as many variants of a particular work as there would be klezmorim documented performing it (1941:415).

The author has theorised the existence of tune groups in the article *"Heyser Bulgar* (The Spirited Bulgar): Compositional Process in Jewish-American Dance Music of the 1910s and 1920s" (forthcoming b), which looks at fourteen performances and notated versions of tunes which contain at least one of the four sentences of NB10. The tune group is a class of associated sentences which tend to be used together in varying combinations and which fit the prevailing musical aesthetic of the performer-composers in terms of adhering to the modal relationships between sentences as described above. The sentences may have previously belonged to two or more discrete tunes, the distinctions between which have gradually collapsed to form one extended group of

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51    Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer write "The musically sensitive Hasid is aware of the concept of organic unity in a niggûn..." (1974:139). They point out that Hasidim divide the *nign* into "sections differing in character and function" called *falen* or *bavot*, which correspond in most cases to the musical sentence. They continue:

> the division of a niggûn into several *falen* has, for the Hasid, a meaning far beyond the purely technical-formal one. Each section expresses a certain mood, and sometimes represents the stages of the approach of the Hasid towards his Creator (1974:140; see also Koskoff 2000:40-41 and 90).

Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer theorise that this mood may be analysed in terms of "musical phenomena such as changes of register, modulations and transpositions, motivic changes, and other such differentiations" (1974:140). Koskoff, who has similar findings, notes that one of the key aspects of the musical expertise of the father of one of her main informants was:

> ... [his] ability to sing nigunim correctly, which meant ... singing each nigun's sections in the proper order (i.e., the order in which they were originally composed and passed down to the next generation). If, along the way, a person were to rearrange the sections or forget one, then the musical lineage would be broken, and the singer's knowledge could be questioned... (2000:147).

While it is possible that such spiritual-metaphysical criteria were present among New York klezmorim such as Brandwein and Tarras, both of whom had been raised in hasidic families, there is no empirical evidence to support this assumption.

sentences. In the variant versions, thirteen discrete sentences ($a$-$m$) have been indentified, seven of which ($a$-$g$) are present in at least two variants and are considered to be belonging to the tune group. In each variant the sentences are combined in slightly differing combinations, whereby sentence $a$ begins the tune in eleven cases.[52] The only other sentence from the tune group which begins a variant is $g$. The sentences $b$-$f$, as well as $a_1$ appear at differing positions within the variants:

| Item no. | Title | Artist/Source | Sentence sequence |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | Heiser Bulgar (NB10) | Naftule Brandwein's Orch | *aabbccd* |
| 2 | Gelebt und Gelacht (DT18) | Abe Schwartz's Orch. with Dave Tarras | *aabbcc* |
| 3 | Frailache Yidden | Kammen 1928, no. 2 | *aabbcc* |
| 4 | Chassene Niginim | Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band | *aabbcc* |
| 5 | Der Nicolaiver Bulgar | Kandel's Orch. | *aaee* |
| 6 | Nikolayever Bulgar | Mishka Ziganoff | *aaee* |
| 7 | Der Arbaytsman | Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa | $a_1a_1a_2a_2ff$ |
| 8 | Bulgar No. 6 | Kostakowsky 1916:28 | $a_1a_1a_2a_2ff$ |
| 9 | Molivar Bulgar | I. J. Hochman and His Orch. | *aaeeff* |
| 10 | Der Simcheh Tanz | Abe Schwartz's Orch. | $ggcf_1hhf$ |
| 11 | Bulgarish | Melnikoff and Dimitri | *aaffd* |
| 12 | Politiko Hasapiko | N. Stefanopoulos | $aaf_2f_2iijjg_1g_1f_2f_2$ |
| 13 | Skočne | Beregovski 1987:68 | *kkaakk* |
| 14 | Mechatunim Tanz | Cherniavsky's Yiddishe Jazz Band | *llmmaa* |

Fig. 7.47 Sentence sequences of tune group built around sentences from NB10

A similar centonisational logic at the level of sentence combination is to be found in a number of the sampled performances by Brandwein and Tarras. For example, the three sentences of NB6b (and DT19) appear to have been combined from two different sources. Sentences $b$ and $c$ derive from a piece or, perhaps, folksong with the title 'Die Mame Geit' (Mama Is Coming; Kostakowsky 1916:65, no. 69), and sentence $a$ likely stems from another source, as a later publication (Kammen and Kammen 1928, no. 3) contains sentences $a$ and $b$ only. In a similar fashion, sentences $a$ and $b$ of NB7b appear to derive

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52   See analysis of sentence a in 8.6.3; CD2 tracks 15-25 (appendix 4).

from different sources, based on the evidence that sentence *a* appears without sentence *b* in three separate sources (Kostakowsky 1916:105, no. 30; Beregovski 1987:58, no. 15; and Beregovski 1987:180, no. 196); sentence *c* of NB20, the first two sentences of which are based on the Yiddish folksong 'Vu bistu geven?' (Where Were You?; Vinkovetzky, Kovner and Leichter 1983, vol. 1:47), appears to have been added from the folk or theatre song 'Oi Oi Die Koihlen' (Oy, Oy the Coals; recorded by Gus Goldstein, Emerson 13121); in NB22, Brandwein apparently has taken a pre-existing bulgar tune (Kostakowsky 1916:50, no. 38 and Kostakowsky 1916:57, no. 50) and added sentences *a* and *d* to it from other sources; and Tarras seems to have combined two sentences from Kostakowsky 1916:70, no. 4 with a third sentence from Kostakowsky 1916:59, no. 53 in order to create DT4.

### 7.3.8 Modal relationships between the sections of suites

Eleven of the thirty tunes in the sample consist of multiple-section suites. In examining the modal relationships between the sections of a suite, four patterns emerge, the first two of which account for 81% of the tunes:

(1) The tonic and modal scale remain the same as that ending the previous section of the suite (three tunes of eleven)

(2) The tonic remains the same as the previous section of the suite, but an interchange of modal scale between the sections takes place (six tunes of eleven)

(3) The first sentence of the new section modulates up a minor 3rd to the relative major, returning to the main tonic in sentence *b* of the new section (one tune of eleven)

(4) The new section modulates to a new tonic and remains in the new tonic area (one tune of eleven)

Whereas the first three patterns follow the same principles as described in 7.3.6 above, the fourth shows that the sections of a suite may have differing tonics: DT15b begins and remains in $A_4$ a 5th above the tonic of DT15a.

This discussion relates, of course, to planned suites for a recording session. Sid Beckerman relates his own method of putting together medleys in the course of performing for dancing: "[When I'm playing] my head is one or two pieces past that already" (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview). Such a method can give rise to more unusual modal contrasts, as the author has witnessed many times observing Beckerman in performance from 1985-1991.

## 7.4 Conclusion

This chapter has attempted to develop a model of modality and other melodic conventions present in the metric klezmer recordings of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras from the 1920s. It has shown that four basic modal scales may be identified according to the criteria of scalar structure, cadential formulae, variable tones and modulatory schemata. At the same time, the modal scales interact in various ways through shared cadential phrases, stereotypical figures, modulatory patterns and the interchange of modal scale. In this manner, klezmer music, like the Yiddish language, can be seen to function "as one field, in which patterns *could* cross boundaries of source languages ... irrespective of origin" (Harshav 1990:34).

\* \* \*

In chapter 8 the discussion shall turn from structural elements to the performance practices evidenced in the recordings. It shall be shown that, not only may klezmer music be viewed as a product of centonisation at the structural level — a piecing together of pre-existing figures, phrases, sentence-segments and entire sentence structures based upon the four basic modal scales — but that similar processes are taking place at the ornamental level as well. Each of the stereotypical figures tends to be ornamented and varied based on specific combinations drawn from a limited palette of basic gestures. Thus the modal practices described here play a role not only at the structural level but influence performance practice as well.

# CHAPTER 8. ORNAMENTS AND PERFORMANCE PRACTICE TECHNIQUES IN THE 1920s RECORDINGS OF NAFTULE BRANDWEIN AND DAVE TARRAS

## 8.1 Ornamentation as a key stylistic characteristic in the 1920s recordings of Brandwein and Tarras

Ornamentation constitutes an essential attribute of the traditional instrumental styles of Eastern and Southeastern Europe in general. For example, Rice writes of the Bulgarian *gaida* tradition:

> ... ornamental style seemed ... crucial to defining the music as Bulgarian or Thracian. If I was going to understand Bulgarian music in general, and gaida playing in particular, I would have to learn more about how these ornaments were produced and what they represented in terms of musical experience (1984:72).

Sotirios Chianis has commented similarly, "Ornamentation is *not* an added musical ingredient, it is the very 'soul' of all Greek folk music" (1981:16).

In a similar manner, it is the *way* in which the tunes are ornamented in various and subtle ways by Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras — in conjunction with the structural characteristics investigated in chapter 7 — which forms the most characteristic aspect of the performances in the sample.[1]

Improvisation is defined in the *New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* as "The creation of a musical work, or the final form of a musical work, as it is being performed". Improvisation in Western art music, which may include "the ornamentation of a given part or parts", rests to some extent "upon a series of conventions or implicit rules" (Horsley 1980:31-32). Within this context, ornament has been defined as "Those more or less brief and conventional formulae of embellishment which have always been liable to occur within traditions of free ornamentation, and which proliferated in European music of the Baroque period" (Donington 1980:827). From these definitions individual ornaments may be viewed hierarchically as forming a subcategory of embellishment which is a subcategory of ornamentation (as a general phenomenon) which, in turn, is a subcategory of improvisation.[2]

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1    Friedland writes similarly of the ritual and social dances of Eastern European Jewry:

> The dance forms found in the East European Jewish dance tradition, whether they were considered to be Jewish or non-Jewish, are structurally pan-European forms. The elements that enabled the performance of these ... to be recognized and defined as Jewish dancing were exactly these extra movements that analytically constitute stylistic variation, rather than formal structure" (Friedland 1985-1986:78).

Performance style, it appears, is the definitive criterion not only of klezmer music, but of the dances associated with it as well.

2    Beyond embellishment and ornamentation, more elaborate forms of improvisation in the recordings of Brandwein and Tarras are restricted to non-metric structures such as the *doina*, which do not form a part of this study. Because of the small number of such non-metric pieces recorded by Brandwein and Tarras during the period 1922-1929, it is

The ornaments present in the sampled recordings of Brandwein and Tarras comprise both those which may be seen to be analogous to certain types of Baroque ornaments, as well as others which employ such techniques as pitch bending and sliding between tones. For the purposes of this study, the term ornament shall be understood broadly, as in the Indian term *gamaka*, to include "all types of pitch variation, tonal nuances, varying voice [tone] productions, dynamic and agogic subtleties" (McIntosh 1993:75).

To date, no empirical ethnomusicological analysis of ornamentation in the klezmer music of any period, geographic area or instrument has been carried out. Beregovski stresses the unique quality and importance of the ornaments and other elements which make up the performance style of klezmorim. He does not, however, analyse or categorise these elements in any more than the most general terms. Under the chapter heading 'Typical features of klezmer performance', he writes:

> In the klezmer interpretation of the second half, and partially at the beginning, of the nineteenth century ... one can distinguish certain features which were cultivated by the Yiddish klezmer. First and foremost, the deep emotionality of the klezmer interpretation (especially in works of a lyrical and dramatic character) should be noted (1941:446).

Concerning the various ornaments and performance practice techniques employed by the musicians to evoke such "deep emotionality", he only comments: "Among the particular details of the klezmer's playing it is worthwhile to note the frequent melismatic *Vorschläge* [*melizmen-forshlogn*], mordents, trills and the like" (1941:446).[3]

Neither the Eastern European klezmorim nor the American-Jewish wedding musicians themselves appear to have possessed a specialised musical terminology, with the exception of a few words. As Landau points out in his linguistic study of Russian *klezmer-loshn*:

> The lack of actual profession-specific expressions, such as names of dances, parts of instruments, musical pieces, melodies, scales and other technical terms — which one would of course most likely expect from a musicians' language — is striking. As Dr. W. [S. Weissenberg] communicated to me, he tried in vain to learn of this (1913:143).

According to Sid Beckerman, the New York musicians — whether immigrant or American-born — did not have standardised names for the specific

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difficult to judge how much of them is improvised and how much composed. See Rubin (1997).

3     In a similar fashion, Lipaev writes of a violinist in Vitebsk who performed a simple melody from a music manuscript, on the basis of which he "built such spirals as I have never heard, from which I have not even dreamt" (1904 [4]:103); Fater speaks of "constantly added idiosyncratic melismata, trills and dynamic colourings of the performed work ... which gave the playing the character of an impromptu creation" (1985:60); and Stutschewsky stresses that it is the little nuances which give klezmer music its characteristic sound, that it was not *what* the klezmer played, but *how*, which is important (1959:194).

ornaments (S. Beckerman 1996, interview). As Rice points out, "in aurally transmitted traditions without ... terminology and theory, music knowledge and categories are acquired in a different way" (1994:66). Max Epstein insists that this knowledge, especially that of knowing where to "fit" the ornaments into the melodic line, cannot be taught (M. Epstein 1991, interview):

> I said "if you don't know how to do the thing, how to add to it, to embellish it, *don't do it!*, play it the way it's written, note for note, and I assure you it'll be just as pretty as adding to it". ... If I do it, I do it differently. I go: [sings 'Hava Nagila' with klezmer-style ornamentation]. Did you see where that grace note came in? It *fit* it. See, see. Well, that's something you can't [teach] (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

This is in accordance with the experience of Andy Statman, who comments that Dave Tarras never taught him how to produce the ornaments in the technical sense, expecting him to simply watch and imitate (A. Statman 1997, interview).[4] Yet it is generally recognised that it is the complex of ornamentation and phrasing known among most of the American-born New York wedding musicians as *dreydlekh*, which distinguishes a good performance:[5] "The embellishments we used to play ... That's the difference

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4   See also the description in the memoirs of G. Bogrow (1880), cited in Beregovski (1941:427-428).

5   An approximate translation of *dreydlekh* is turns. A *dreydl* is literally a top — specifically a teetotum with a Hebrew letter on each of its four sides which is used for a children's game at *chanukkah* — and the verb *dreydlen* means to twirl (Weinreich 1968:648). Hal Silvers defines *dreydlekh* in musical terms as "the little things that they [klezmorim] do, the crying, the *krekhtsn*" (H. Silvers 1994, interview).

In addition to *krekhts* (groan; Weinreich 1968:413), contemporary Hasidim use the terms *kneytsh* (fold, wrinkle, crease, nuance; Weinreich 1968:418) and *kvetsh* (press, squeeze, pinch; Weinreich 1968:426) to describe the vocal ornamentation of *nigunim*, and make use of the proverb "a *niggun* without *kneitch* is like a body without a soul" (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:137-138; see also Mazor and Taube 1993:180-184). Adjectives used to describe the emotional quality of klezmer music in general have included *umetik* (Druker 1976:28), which means gloomy, sad, cheerless or lonesome (Weinreich 1968:769), and *troyerik* (sad, mournful, sorrowful; Weinreich 1968:593; see Druker 1976:28).

It would appear, then, that virtually *all* of the terms associated with emotional aspects of the music and, in particular, with ornamentation, are expressions of a sad or lamenting quality. Therefore, while a number of the basic ornaments described in section 8.3 below may not necessarily be different from a technical standpoint from those present in other cultures, the way they are perceived from within Yiddish culture appears to be different. The pained, lamenting quality conveyed in words such as *krekhts* and *umetik* may be viewed in religious terms as expressions of mourning for the destruction of the Second Temple in Jerusalem and a longing for Zion, as well as reflecting the seriousness of the life transition represented by the wedding, especially for the bride. (These aspects, as well as their possible roots in pre-Judaic times, have been amplified upon in Ottens and Rubin 1999a:33, 131-132, 150-151.) They may also be seen as expressions of the suffering of the Eastern European Jews in their daily life, as Beregovski has written:

> The opinion has been prevalent that Yiddish wedding music and also Yiddish dances (*freylekhs, sher*, etc.) were all sad [*troyerik*] or even weeping [*veynendik*], complaining [*klogndik*]. A lot of non-Jewish listeners, who happened in the past to be at Jewish weddings, have related such impressions. It is correct that at bygone weddings ... there were enough sorrowful moments and enough tears shed. That must have had an effect on the character of klezmer music, which tended to have a large number of sorrowful and

between a good pro and just average: what you put to the music, what you make it sound like, that the others can't do" (M. Epstein 1993, interview).

In his study of baroque ornamentation, Frederick Neumann points out that the main purpose of an ornament is "to set off the structural elements to greater aesthetic advantage, most typically by imparting to them more grace, elegance, smoothness, or variety" (1978:3). He notes, however, that in practice, ornamental and structural elements "will often combine into mixtures that defy clear separation" (1978:3). The same phenomenon may be observed in oral traditions. Rachel Swindells has written in relation to ornamentation on the Sundanese *suling* (flute) of West Java, "While these ornaments are perceived as 'decorative', rather than 'structural', they are obligatory and, in practice, difficult to separate from the material which they embellish" (1996:28).

The general difficulty of separating ornamental from structural elements in klezmer music is compounded in this study by the lack of terminology on the part of the author's informants. Because neither Brandwein nor Tarras, nor any of their European-born peers are still living, it has not been possible to gain reliable information about either their attitudes towards ornamentation and improvisation or the actual physical techniques of creating the ornaments on the instrument, such as fingerings, methods of tonguing, or changes to the embouchure or throat muscles.[6] It has also not been possible to find out specifics such as the physical format of the instruments used on these recordings in terms of manufacturer, number of rings and keys, type and strength of reeds or type and lay of mouthpiece used. In addition, there is no compelling evidence that the physical technique of executing the ornaments or, in fact, technique on the clarinet in general, was standardised among klezmorim. As Swindells points out in relation to the *suling*:

> ... in practice, despite divergent verbal definitions and terminology, different players employ a basic stock of common ornaments. Although these ornaments may not be physically executed in exactly the same way, they share a similar aural result and musical function (1996:78).

Therefore, the author has chosen to concentrate in this chapter on a detailed study of the ornaments themselves as gestures, rather than to speculate on possible fingerings or other techniques employed in creating them.

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even deeply moving works. ... It is enough to remind oneself of the earlier lifestyle of a Jewish small town, the bitter, dejected situation of the Jewish masses, the need and pain of the Jewish toiler and the hardships that he had to bear until he was able to marry off a daughter, pulling together that little bit of dowry, etc. One must also remember the doubly difficult situation of the woman in feudal and capitalist society (1941:441-442).

6   The Center for Traditional Music and Dance in New York has videos in its collection of Tarras playing in the late 1970s, which might be able to clarify some of these questions. The Center had not made back-up copies of the videos at the time this research was carried out and they were not available for viewing.

## 8.2 The player's "concept"

Rice reveals that the ornamentation of Bulgarian instrumental music is a conscious act: those "barely audible sounds, which might be interpreted by a listener as accidental, haphazard, or meaningless", are actually controlled by the performers in terms of parameters such as pitch, duration and metric stress (1984:78). Jewish clarinettists, too, differentiate consciously between structural and ornamental elements: Max Epstein "taught me in one sentence what klezmer music was all about. ... 'The *dreydlekh* are there to decorate the melody, not vice versa'" (P. Sokolow 1990, interview).

Performance style in Jewish-American klezmer music operates on three levels. Firstly, each musician has his own general "concept" — as it is known among some members of the eldest generation of American-born Jewish wedding musicians — a way of conceptualising the interpretation of the melodic line. This concept appears to be separate from the idiosyncrasies of a particular instrument, enabling the same musician to translate the conception onto a variety of instruments. For example, Dave Tarras began his professional career on the flute and was able to translate his musical concept onto the clarinet; according to the drummer Irving Gratz, Naftule Brandwein's first instrument was the trumpet (P. Sokolow 1990, interview). Secondly, there appears to be a more specific concept which exploits the idiosyncrasies of each particular instrument. As sections 8.3-8.6 shall show, Brandwein and Tarras make use of the same basic palette of clarinet ornaments and the same performance practice techniques in interpreting their repertoire. This indicates that there was a tacit consensus on their part as to what constituted the parameters of a "correct" performance style, and each of them knew how execute it on his instrument. Finally, on the individual level, each player has his own personal concept, characterised by idiosyncratic figures and other phrasing devices, as well as an individual tone quality known among the American-born musicians as his "sound". Max Epstein credits much of his concept to several trumpeters with whom he worked, in particular to the American-born Lou Levinn: "I play his phrases today ... he used to put in such phrases, and I used to say to myself: 'God, where did he get that from?'" (in M. Epstein and W. Epstein 1994, interview). Sid Beckerman remarks, too, that Brandwein "made his own ways, his own passages that no one [else] did" (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview). It is the second level, the common parameters of performance style on the clarinet, which shall be the main focus of this chapter.

Many of the author's informants characterise the concept as comprising not only the knowledge of how to play the ornaments properly, but also a "feel" or "taste" for finding the proper placement of the ornaments and the right balance between playing too many and too few ornaments:

> The feel was always more important than the technical aspect of playing. You could always work on [improving] a technical level. However, if you didn't have the feel and you didn't understand the feel, then it fell flat. Now I hear

some of the newer players and they put it [sings ornament] in (to me) where it doesn't belong. They put it in because it "sounds Jewish", but there are [only] certain places where it fits. It's like salt and pepper. You put too much salt and pepper on a steak, you've destroyed the steak. So it just has to be done with very good taste (Danny Rubinstein 1994, interview).

The player's "concept" appears to be an expression for "particular musical competence" as defined by John Blacking: "the innate or learned capacity to hear and create the patterns of sound which are recognized as music in the context of a particular musical tradition..." (1971:21, cited in Monelle 1992:157).

## 8.3 Clarinet ornaments and articulation patterns

This section examines the basic clarinet ornaments present in the sample: those which are attached to a single tone or bind two successive tones together. Additionally, the basic articulatory units present in the sample shall be examined in this section. Ornamental units with a duration of more than two tones shall be treated in sections 8.4-8.5 below.

The clarinet ornaments present in the sample may be divided into two main groups according to the technique of production: (I) those produced by changes to fingerings, with or without the involvement of the tongue; and (II) those produced by changes to the embouchure and throat muscles, with or without the involvement of fingerings and tonguing. Within groups I and II the ornaments have been subdivided according to family.[7]

Group I ornaments have been subdivided into:

(1) three-tone groupings;

(2) single- and two-tone graces;

(3) trills;

and

(4) other ornaments (mordents, turns and arpeggios).

Group II ornaments have been subdivided into:

(1) single-tone bends;

and

(2) slides between two tones.

Ornaments of both groups are often used in combinations to form chains, as shall be discussed in 8.3.3 below.

The above-listed ornament categories were likely not perceived as such by the performers themselves. These etic concepts have been extrapolated in order to gain an analytical perspective on the various techniques involved in creating the klezmer performance style. As Swindells writes in relation to Sundanese music:

> ... ornaments are never presented as optional additions to be tacked on to a pre-learnt melodic outline, but are taught holisticallly within the musical and "gestural" context... Players thus often find it difficult to define the exact perimeters of individual ornaments... (1996:31).

With regard to Baroque ornaments Neumann refers to the "countless concrete embodiments that differ from one another through innumerable variations of nonessential elements" (1978:10), going on to say that, "descriptions of an ornament ... are only rough outlines ... there simply is no 'definitive' solution to any given ornament in any given situation" (1978:12). He advocates "an approximate solution, one that circumscribes an area within which a basic

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7  This is consonant with the approaches to ornamentation presented in Neumann (1978), Donington (1980) and McIntosh (1993).

design could be varied" (1978:12). It appears, then, that each ornament consists of essential and non-essential components whereby the essential ones are invariable and make up the "basic design" and the non-essential ones the "innumerable variations" of the basic pattern. The ornaments used by Brandwein and Tarras exhibit a similar phenomenon. This essential quality of each ornament appears to be similar to the concept of pertinence in structural linguistics (Monelle 1992:37-38) although, as Monelle points out, "it has proved very difficult to define a concept of musical pertinence" with any degree of finality (1992:38).

As Leonard Meyer has commented, ornaments are "inseparable from and meaningless without the basic substantive tones ... which they ornament" (Meyer 1956:205, cited in McIntosh 1993:73). An analysis of the sampled tunes has shown that each of the stereotypical figures in the sample is embellished in specific ways by Brandwein and Tarras using the above-listed ornaments. Such stereotypical figures include those described in chapter 7 associated with cadential and half-cadential phrases, variable tones and modulatory schemata, as well as certain recurring melodic figures of a more general nature.

### 8.3.1 Group I ornaments

### 8.3.1.1 Three-tone groupings

### 8.3.1.1.1 Essential components

Three-tone groupings all have the same basic pattern in which a "grace" tone connects two principal tones of a figure. The beginning of the grace tone is always non-articulated and it always takes its value from the preceding principal tone. The two essential components of each of the three-tone groupings are: (1) the relative pitch position of the first two tones to the third (the basic intervallic configuration); and (2) the metric stress of the first tone.

Four basic intervallic configurations of three-tone groupings have been identified in the sample (see fig. 8.1 below).

The first three intervallic configurations of three-tone groupings consist of three distinct pitches:

(a) Lower-upper neighbour grouping (LUN) — the first principal tone is a lower neighbour to the second principal tone; the grace tone is at least a minor 2nd higher than the second principal tone.[8]

(b) Upper-upper neighbour grouping (UUN) — the first principal tone is an

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8      "Upper neighbour" and "lower neighbour" are being used here as relative terms. In the LUN groupings, for example, the interval between the grace tone and the second principal tone may be larger than a major 2nd. The tones are thus not necessarily neighbours in the literal sense.

upper neighbour to the second principal tone; the grace tone is at least a minor 2nd higher than the first principal tone.

(c) Lower-lower neighbour grouping (LLN) — the first principal tone is a lower neighbour to the second principal tone; the grace tone is at least a minor 2nd lower than the first principal tone.

The fourth intervallic configuration of three-tone groupings consists of two distinct pitches:

(d) Same-pitch grouping with upper neighbour grace (SPU) — the first and second principal tones are of the same pitch; the grace tone is at least a minor 2nd higher than both principal tones:
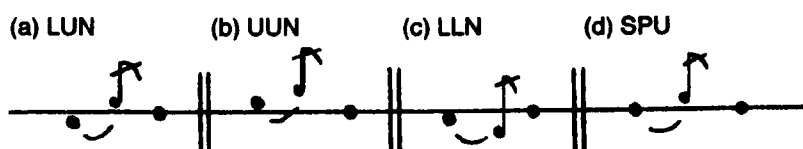


Fig. 8.1 Three-tone groupings, basic intervallic configurations

The three-tone groupings may be categorised as being either metrically "stressed" or "non-stressed". In "stressed" three-tone groupings, the first of the three tones falls on a stressed beat. In tunes notated in 2/4 (metric sub-category Ia), for example, the first principal tone coincides with the downbeat or the second beat. In "non-stressed" three-tone groupings, the second principal tone falls on a stressed beat:[9]
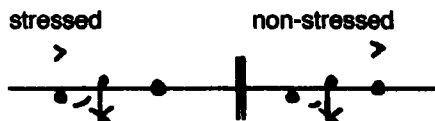


Fig. 8.2 Stressed and non-stressed three-tone groupings

All other components of three-tone groupings in the sample appear to be non-essential and "guided by common conventions..." (Donington 1980:827), as well as by the personal taste of the performer-composer (see 8.3.1.1.2.4 below).

Of the eight possible combinations of intervallic configuration (LUN, UUN, LLN, SPU; see fig. 8.1 above) and metric stress (stressed, non-stressed; see fig. 8.2 above), seven are present in the sample.[10] Of these, only the following three occur frequently:

- Lower-upper neighbour, stressed (LUN-S)
- Lower-upper neighbour, non-stressed (LUN-N)
- Same-pitch with upper neighbour grace, non-stressed (SPU-N)

9   In a similar fashion, the first principal tone of a three-tone grouping in tunes notated in 3/8 (metric sub-category IIa) coincides with the first or the third beat; in tunes notated in 4/4 (metric sub-category Ib), it can occur on any of the four beats; and in those 2/4 tunes in a more moderate tempo — such as DT1, which has a tempo marking of $\downarrow$ = 92 — the first tone can coincide with any of the four half-beats.

10   Only the configuration LLN-N is not present at all.

These three forms of three-note groupings are employed differently from one another in decorating distinct kinds of melodic figures.

The following discussion shall focus as a case study on the application of the LUN-S, LUN-N and SPU-N groupings within the context of the stereotypical figures they embellish. Due to the repetitive nature of the ornaments employed by Brandwein and Tarras, the primary sample for 8.3-8.4 could be reduced to ten performances of dance tunes in 2/4 metre (metrical subcategory Ia), five each by Brandwein and Tarras:

- NB 6b, NB10, NB25, NB27, NB32
- DT 1, DT2, DT4, DT12b, DT13b

The other twenty tunes from the sample used thus far shall be brought into the discussion as necessary to illustrate those less frequently-occurring ornaments as well as those from the other metrical subcategories.

## 8.3.1.1.2 Lower-upper neighbour, stressed (LUN-S)

The LUN-S, as used by Brandwein and Tarras, is the most frequently occurring and flexible of the three-tone groupings. The tones encompassing the LUN-S may be summarised as follows for sentences (and sentence-segments) based on the four basic modal scales and their associated modulations:[11]

| *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $A_5$ cad | $A_3$<br>$A_5$ cad<br>$A_2$ cad | $A_3$<br>$A_3$ on iv<br>$A_1$ on III<br>(V of III) | $A_3$<br>$A_3$ on iv<br>$A_1$ on III<br>(V of III) | $A_3$<br>$A_1$ on III | $A_3$<br>$A_2$ (interchange)<br>$A_1$ on III | $A_3$<br>$A_3$ on iv | $A_3$<br>$A_1$ on III<br>$A_2$ on iv | $A_3$ |

| *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| $A_4$ on V<br>($A_2$ interchange) | $A_4$ on iv<br>$A_2$ on iii | $A_4$ on iv<br>$A_1$ on IV<br>$A_1$ on III | $A_1$ on III<br>(V of IV) |

**Fig. 8.3a** $A_3$: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-S

| *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $A_2$ | $A_2$ | $A_2$<br>$A_3$ on v | $A_2$ | $A_2$ on iv<br>$A_4$ on V | $A_4$ on V | $A_3$ on iv | $A_3$ on iv |

**Fig. 8.3b** $A_2$: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-S

| *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* | *(notation)* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| $A_4$<br>$A_2$ on vii | $A_4$ | $A_4$<br>$A_2$ on vii<br>$A_2$ on iv<br>$A_3$ on iv | $A_4$ | $A_4$ | $A_4$<br>$A_2$ on iv<br>$A_3$ on iv | $A_2$ on vii | $A_2$ on iv |

**Fig. 8.3c** $A_4$: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-S

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11 In order to give a more complete picture of the tones encompassing the LUN-S, the original sample of thirty performances has been used to create figs. 8.3a-d.

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A₁ A₂ on iv | A₁ A₂ on iv | A₁ | A₁ | A₃ on iv (A₂ interchange) | A₄ on V (A₂ interchange) |

Fig. 8.3d A₁: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-S

The LUN-S acts as a form of "punctuation" to mark or intensify crucial events in the melodic line,[12] including:

- principal scale degrees in the main modal scale of a sentence (or sentence-segment);

- phrase beginnings and endings;

- half-cadential, cadential and cadence-like phrases;

- stereotypical figures associated with variable tones and modulations; and

- principal scale degrees of a modal scale (or scalar segment) associated with one of the stereotypical modulatory schemata.

Based on an analysis of the sample of ten performances it has been found that the same basic figure and its associated LUN-S grouping may be found in more than one modal scale, may begin on more than one scale degree, and may serve more than one particular melodic function.

Nine LUN-S figures have been identified in the sample of ten performances. These nine figures have been grouped into three broad categories according to their melodic direction as being either: (α) "ascending"; (β) "descending"; or (γ) "circular". An ascending figure contains ascending intervals only; a descending figure ends at a lower pitch than it began; and a circular figure begins and ends

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12  An important criterion of musical expertise among Lubavitcher Hasidim cited by one of Koskoff's informants is the ability to sing "the sections of a nigun with appropriate ornaments ..." (Koskoff 2000:147). The author has written regarding performance practice among hasidic klezmorim in Israel that "a special weight seems to be placed on playing the 'original' version, without too many variations or deviations, almost as if the melodies were text-bound" (Rubin 1998:18).

If the melodic structures of klezmer tunes were to be viewed as "text", the ornaments and, in particular, the LUN-S ornament, could be seen as a kind of oral codification for interpretation. Certain parallels may be drawn to the ta'amei mikra, which form a written system of biblical accents completed between 900 and 930 in Tiberias (Avenary 1971-1972a:584). These accents "take on the function of an interpretation" of the biblical text (Flender 1988:17). Slobin, too, raises the question of viewing ornaments in klezmer as "diacritical marks", pointing to a conceptual similarity to the ta'amei mikra:

Those marks ... supply a musical — or at least prosodic — counterpart to the line of text. ... we are dealing with a society that is centered on the performance and commentary of texts. In this way of thinking, a tune is a type of text: it too needs to stay familiar and accurate (Slobin 2000a:106).

on the same pitch. By definition, the two principal tones of the LUN-S itself are always ascending, so that descending and circular figures, too, contain at least one ascending interval.

The figures encompassing the LUN-S groupings have been labelled in figs. 8.4a-i according to their melodic function as being cadential or half-cadential, modulatory, or general, as well as being associated with specific variable tones or interchanges of modal scale. At the same time, the LUN-S grouping tends to, but does not always, occur as part of either the beginning or ending figure in a phrase.

### 8.3.1.1.2.1 Ascending LUN-S figures

Among the sampled performances, four basic ascending LUN-S figures have been identified:

*a*    Three-tone figure comprising an ascending interval of an augmented 2nd or greater, followed by a minor 2nd; the LUN-S always encompasses the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4a below);

*b*    Four-tone scalar segment consisting of a minor 2nd, followed by an augmented 2nd and a minor 2nd; the LUN-S encompasses in certain cases the first two principal tones, and in other cases the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4b);

*c*    Three-tone scalar segment comprising a major 2nd followed by a minor 2nd; the LUN-S always encompasses the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4c);

and

*d*    Four-tone chromatic figure; the LUN-S always encompasses the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4d).

Fig. 8.4a  LUN-S: ascending figure *a*

In figure *a* (fig. 8.4a above), the resolution of the LUN-S is always to the root or 5th of the tonic or respective temporary modal centre:

(1)  c♯ resolves to d, the 5th of $A_2$, $A_3$ and $A_1$ (fig. 8.4a above, lines 1-4);

(2)  f♯ resolves to g, the 5th of the scalar segment in modulations to $A_2$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_4$ sentences (lines 5-6);

(3)  b♮ resolves to c♮, the tonic of the scalar segment in modulations to $A_3$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_2$ sentences (line 7), and the 5th of the scalar segment in modulations to $A_2$ on the subtonic associated with $A_4$ sentences (line 8);

and

(4)  e♮ resolves to f, the 5th of the scalar segment in modulations to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree associated with $A_2$ and $A_3$ sentences (line 9); this is essentially a transposition up a minor 3rd to the relative major of the $A_1$ resolution from c♯ to d shown on line 4.

The only exception to this pattern is the LUN-S figure on line 10, in which the c♯ to d resolution represents the raised 2nd ($A_1$ variable tone) to 3rd degree of the scalar segment in conjunction with modulations to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree associated with $A_3$ sentences.

Fig. 8.4b LUN-S: ascending figure *b*

All of the figures used in conjunction with LUN-S groupings may be used to serve more than one melodic function. In this sense, the LUN-S may be viewed as a way of embellishing a specific melodic figure in its various guises, irrespective of function. Figure *b* (fig. 8.4b above), for example, has been used in three differing ways within the context of three of the modal scales, $A_4$, $A_2$, and $A_3$:

(1) as part of $A_4$ cadential prefix 3a (fig. 8.4b above, line 1;[13] see also fig. 7.10c) and $A_2$ cadential prefix 1a (line 2; see also fig. 7.10b);

(2) as an $A_2$ modulatory figure connecting a type C sentence in $A_1$ on the 3rd degree to a type A sentence in $A_2$ (NB6b:31-33, line 2);

and

(3) as part of one of the stereotypical figures in conjunction with temporary movements to $A_4$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_3$ sentences (line 3).

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13   As the sentence beginning at NB27:1 is a balanced one, the same figure incorporating the LUN-S ornament is employed as part of the half-cadential phrase as well as at the cadence. The LUN-S is repeated in the upper tetrachord of the ascending half-cadential scalar passage, which in this case contains the same intervallic relationships as the lower tetrachord.

A₃: NB 32: 78 (A₅ cad.root)

A₄: NB 10: 121 (modulatory, phrase-beg.: A₂ on vii)

A₃: DT 1: 35 (general, phrase-beg.)

A₂: NB 6b: 85 (general, phrase-end.)          DT 4: 35 (general, phrase-end.)

A₃: DT 12b: 41 (modulatory, phrase-beg.: A₂ on iii)

A₁/A₂: DT 4: 68 (modulatory interchange prog., phrase-beg.: A₃ on iv)

A₂: DT 4: 41 (general, quasi-modulatory: implies A₃ on v)

A₁ on III: DT 2 :  38 (general, phrase-beg.; part of melodic sequence)

Fig. 8.4c  LUN-S: ascending figure *c*

Figure *c* (fig. 8.4c above) is always built upon the first three degrees of $A_2$ and $A_3$ scalar segments associated with the tonic (or respective temporary modal centre). In the sampled performances it is to be found on:

(1) the first three degrees of $A_2$ on the subtonic in conjunction with $A_5$ cadences associated with $A_3$ sentences (fig. 8.4c above, line 1) as well as modulations to $A_2$ on the subtonic associated with $A_4$ sentences (line 2);

(2) general figures encompassing the first three degrees of $A_3$ and $A_2$ (lines 3-4);

(3) the first three degrees of the scalar segment in conjunction with modulations to $A_2$ on the 3rd degree associated with $A_3$ sentences (line 5);

(4) the first three degrees of the scalar segment in conjunction with modulations to $A_3$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_1$ and $A_2$ sentences (line 6);

and

(5) the first three degrees of the scalar segment in conjunction with (implied) modulations to $A_3$ on the 5th degree associated with $A_2$ sentences (line 7).[14]

The only exception to this pattern is the LUN-S figure depicted on line 8, where the ascending three-tone figure emphasises the 7th degree of $A_1$ on the 3rd degree (in its function as V of VI). In this case, the LUN-S figure is the third in a melodic sequence of ascending three-tone figures encompassing the 1st, 2nd and 3rd; 3rd, 4th and 5th; and 5th, 6th and 7th degrees of the scalar segment in conjunction with modulations to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree. Each of the three-tone figures in the sequence could theoretically be embellished according to the same LUN-S pattern.

One further characteristic common to the variants of figure *c* is that the ascending melodic motion resolves down a minor 2nd. For example, on lines 1 and 2, the a♭ resolves to g, and on lines 3 and 4, the b♭ resolves to a. There may be intervening tones between figure *c* and its subsequent resolution. Such is the case with the figure from DT12b depicted on line 5. Here, the resolution from d♭ to c is delayed for two beats until bar 45. Only one variant of figure *c* deviates from this pattern: the LUN-S contained in the phrase at NB6b:85-87 (line 4) comprises the last three tones of the phrase. Since the sentence beginning at NB6b:85 is based on a melodic sequence of three similar four-bar phrases, the first tone of the subsequent phrase beginning at bar 88 returns to g′ rather than resolving to a.

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14  A similar LUN-S figure associated with a modulation to $A_3$ on the 5th degree is to be found at NB22:26-27 and 43-44.

Fig. 8.4d LUN-S: ascending figure *d*

The four tones of figure *d* (fig. 8.4d above) always span the 3rd to 5th degrees chromatically of $A_1$ and $A_4$ scalar segments associated with the tonic (or respective temporary modal centre), so that the last two tones encompassed by the LUN-S grouping comprise a chromatic passing tone on the raised 4th degree and its subsequent resolution to the 5th degree. In the sampled performances it is to be found in:

(1) general figures in $A_4$ (fig. 8.4d, lines 1-2) and $A_1$ (line 3);

(2) modulations to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree associated with $A_3$ and $A_2$ sentences (line 4); this is essentially a transposition up a minor 3rd to the relative major of the $A_1$ figure shown on line 3;

and

(3) modulations to $A_4$ on the 5th degree in conjunction with an interchange progression from $A_1$ to $A_2$ (line 5).

### 8.3.1.1.2.2 Descending LUN-S figures

Three basic descending LUN-S figures have been identified in the sample:

*e*   Five-tone figure following the general pattern of four descending conjunct tones spanning the interval of a diminished 4th, followed by an ascending minor 2nd (see fig. 7.14c, "descending diminished 4th figure"); the LUN-S always encompasses the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4e below);

*f*   Four-tone figure following the pattern of a descending minor 2nd, followed by a descending major 2nd and an ascending major 2nd; the LUN-S always encompasses the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4f);

and

*g*   Three-tone figure according to the intervallic pattern of an ascending minor 2nd followed by a descending 5th; the LUN-S encompasses the first two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4g).
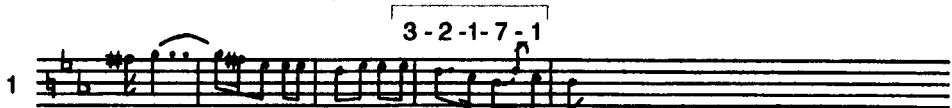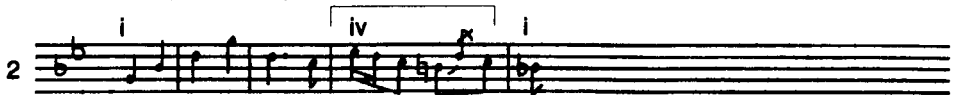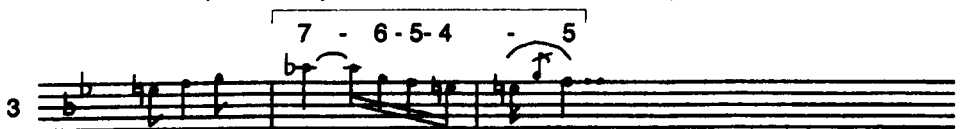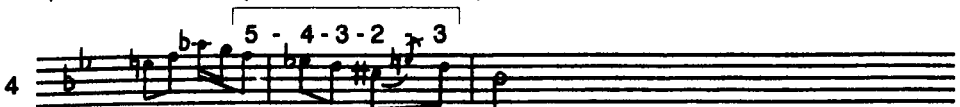


Fig. 8.4e  LUN-S: descending figure *e*

The descending portion of figure $e$ (fig. 8.4e above) is present in the sample in two intervallic patterns: (1) minor 2nd + major 2nd + minor 2nd; and (2) major 2nd + minor 2nd + minor 2nd:

(1) Pattern 1 is used in the sample in three contexts:

   (i)   in conjunction with modulations to $A_2$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_4$ sentences (fig. 8.4e, line 1);

   (ii)  in conjunction with modulations to $A_3$ on the 4th degree associated with $A_3$ sentences (line 2);

       and

   (iii) in conjunction with modulations to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree associated with $A_3$ and $A_2$ sentences (line 3).

In the case of the movements to the 4th degree depicted on lines 1-2, the descending pattern spans the first three scale degrees and the temporary leading tone of the scalar segment built on the 4th degree; in the case of the modulation to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree depicted on line 3, the descending diminished 4th figure spans the 7th to the raised 4th degrees.

(2) Pattern 2 occurs once only in the sample, in conjunction with a type C sentence in $A_1$ on the 3rd degree (line 4). It represents a similar $A_1$ figure to that of pattern 1, line 3, transposed down a minor 3rd and adjusted according to the stereotypical variable tones of $A_1$ figures. Pattern 2 spans the 5th to the raised 2nd degrees.



Fig. 8.4f  LUN-S: descending figure $f$

Figure *f* (fig. 8.4f above) is used in the sample only in conjunction with A$_4$ sentences and always spans the 6th to the 4th scale degrees (or the first three degrees of the scalar segment in conjunction with modulations to A$_3$ or A$_2$ on the 4th degree). The six-tone figure in fig. 8.4f, line 4 follows the same basic pattern with the addition of the lower neighbour b.



Fig. 8.4g   LUN-S: descending figure *g*

Figure *g* (fig. 8.4g above) is used in two contexts in the sampled performances: (1) in conjunction with modulations to the subtonic associated with A$_4$ sentences (fig. 8.4g, lines 1-2); and (2) in conjunction with A$_5$ cadences (or cadence-like figures) associated with A$_3$ sentences (line 3).

### 8.3.1.1.2.3 Circular LUN-S figures

Two basic circular LUN-S figures have been identified in the sample:

*h*   Four-tone figure following the intervallic pattern of a descending minor 2nd which returns to the beginning pitch after a repeat of the second tone; the LUN-S encompasses the last two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4h below);

and

*i*   Three-tone figure following the intervallic pattern of an ascending minor or major 2nd which returns to the beginning pitch; the LUN-S encompasses the first two principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.4i).

Fig. 8.4h  LUN-S: circular figure *h*

Figure *h* (fig. 8.4h above) is used in two contexts in the sample:

(1) in conjunction with A₅ cadential prefix 1a-b (fig. 8.4h, line 1; see fig. 7.10a);

and

(2) in conjunction with modulations to $A_1$ on the 3rd degree associated with $A_3$ sentences (line 2).

In the former case, the LUN-S encompasses the 3rd and 2nd scale degrees of the tonic; in the latter case, the LUN-S encompasses the 5th and 4th degrees of the temporary modal centre.

**pattern 1:**

A₃: DT 1:1 (general, phrase-end. )

A₃: DT 2:5 (interchange A₂ half-cad.)     DT 2:13 (interchange A₂ cad. prefix)

**pattern 2:**

A₃: DT 12b:1 (mod., pre-cad.: A₄ on iv)     DT 1:5 (mod., pre-cad.: A₄ on iv)

A₃: NB 32:65 (general)     DT 12b:1 general, phrase-beg.)

A₄: DT 13b:1 (general, quasi-modulatory: implies A₃ on iv )
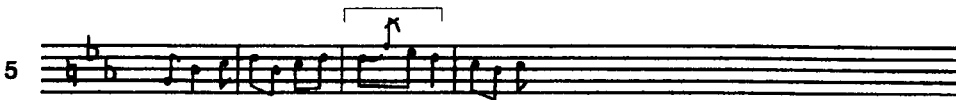
A₄: NB 10:49 (modulatory:A₂ on iv )     DT 13b:17 (mod., phrase-beg.:A₂ on iv )
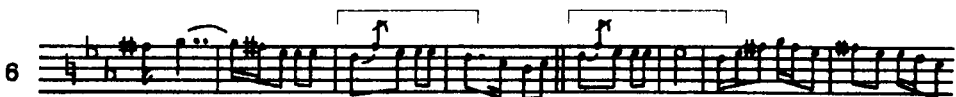
Fig. 8.4i  LUN-S: circular figure *i*

In a similar fashion to LUN-S figure *e*, figure *i* (fig. 8.4i above) is present in the sample in two intervallic patterns. Figure *i* is used in three contexts in the sampled tunes:

(1) between the 3rd and 4th degrees of figures in A₃ (fig. 8.4i, line 1, general) and A₂ (line 2, cadential);

(2) between the 1st and 2nd degrees of temporary modulations to A₄ on the 4th degree associated with A₃ sentences (line 3);

and

(3) between the 5th and 6th degrees of figures in $A_3$ (line 4) and $A_4$ (lines 5-6). In the case of the figures on lines 5 and 6, they are used in conjunction with modulations (or implied modulations) to $A_3$ (line 5) or $A_2$ (line 6) on the 4th degree. In this case, the LUN-S figure may be viewed as encompassing the 2nd and 3rd degrees of the scalar segment in the temporary modal centre.

The use of the LUN-S ranges from the general to the more specific. In some cases it may be incorporated into the same or similar figures across several, or even all of the modal scales, as well as being built upon differing degrees of those modal scales. Examples of a more general pattern of usage for the LUN-S grouping are figures *a, c* and *i* above. On the other hand, the LUN-S may be embedded in a figure associated with only one or two modal scales and beginning on only one degree of those scales. Examples of this more specific pattern of usage of the LUN-S grouping may be found in figures *f* and *g* above.

Although the metric stress of the LUN-S is on the first principal tone, the tone which is emphasised modally is in most cases the second principal tone. In this sense, the LUN-S may be viewed as a kind of appoggiatura with attached grace tone, in which the first principal tone acts as a "leaning" tone ("*Vorschlag*"; Neumann 1978:47-48), and the second principal tone is the "essential" tone. As demonstrated in figs. 8.3a-d, LUN-S groupings encompassing the principal tones resolving from the 4th to the 5th degree and the 7th degree to the octave are present in all four of the modal scales. In a similar manner, the LUN-S groupings encompassing the principal tones resolving from the 3rd to the 4th degree underscore the one modulation common to sentences (and sentence-segments) of all four modal scales. The LUN-S appears thus to represent more than merely different "ways of moving from tone to tone" (Rice 1994:84), but to serve a modal function as well, similar to that of the harmonic function of the appoggiatura in Baroque and Classical ornamentation.

### 8.3.1.1.2.4 Non-essential characteristics of LUN-S and other three-tone groupings

The primary non-essential components are: (1) articulatory types; (2) the relative durations of the three tones; (3) the intervallic relationship between the two principal tones; and (4) the pitch of the grace tone. These non-essential components may be compared to spices which alter the "flavour" of the ornament, but do not change its basic essence.

## 8.3.1.1.2.4.1 Articulatory types

There are two basic articulatory types of the three-tone groupings in the sample, which may be viewed as conceptually similar to the *Nachschlag* and *Zwischenschlag* in Baroque ornamentation: as *"Nachschlag"* (articulatory type i), the grace tone is slurred from its preceding principal or "parent" tone; as *"Zwischenschlag"* (articulatory type ii), it connects two equal principal tones, which are slurred together (Neumann 1978:47-48):
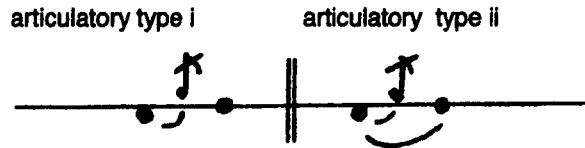


Fig. 8.5a  Three-tone groupings, basic articulatory types

The grace tone in articulatory type i is stopped, creating a crisp effect similar to a yodel and the illusion of a slight pause before the attack of the second principal tone:
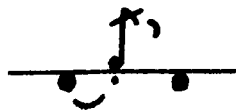


Fig. 8.5b  Three-tone groupings, phrasing of articulatory type i

In fact, the grace tone is often stopped so abruptly that it functions as a kind of "ghost tone", which is barely audible in relation to the adjacent principal tones, but nevertheless occupies musical space.

## 8.3.1.1.2.4.2 Relative durations of the three tones

The effect of leaning and resolution associated with the LUN-S groupings can be manipulated by the performer-composer by altering the duration of the first principal tone in relation to the second. The longer the first tone is held the more of a leaning or appoggiatura-like quality it possesses. The LUN-S grouping has a palette of finely-graded differences in duration. The three basic variants of the duration of the first principal tone of the LUN-S present in the sample of 2/4 tunes are:
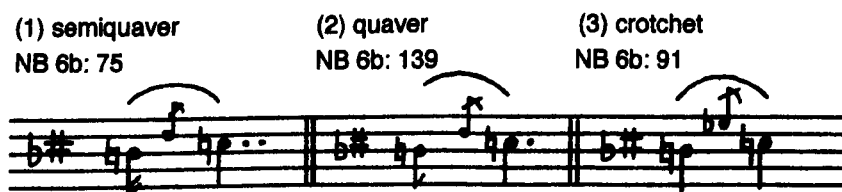


Fig. 8.6a  LUN-S: variants of duration of first principal tone in 2/4 tunes

In addition, the following two variants are present in tunes of other metrical subcategories:



(4) demisemiquaver
DT 9a: 20

(5) minim
NB 8a: 2
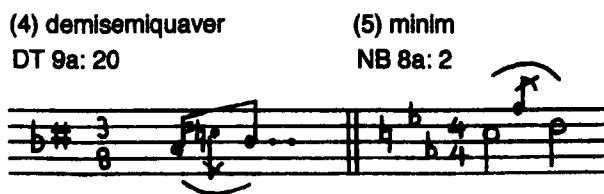
Fig. 8.6b  LUN-S: additional variants of duration of first principal tone in tunes of other metrical subcatetgories

The above five variants have been "quantised" to the nearest semiquaver (and, in the case of 3/8 tunes, to the nearest demisemiquaver). In this sense, they may be more rightly viewed on an "analog" continuum from short (demisemiquaver in 3/8 tunes or semiquaver in 2/4 tunes) to long (crotchet in 2/4 tunes or minim in 4/4 tunes). The one constant is that the first principal tone is always as long or longer in duration than the grace tone.

### 8.3.1.1.2.4.3 Intervallic relationship between the two principal tones

The distance between the first and second principal tones is almost always a minor 2nd. Only in the cases of LUN-S figures *f* and *i*, pattern 1 is the interval that of a major 2nd.

Within this framework there is a slight component of variability of the interval between the two principal tones. This takes place in the sample in two cases:

(1) the bottom tone of figure *f* (natural 4th degree) is repeated in the melodic line and, instead of repeating the same pitch, the second tone is raised a minor 2nd as a chromatic passing tone:



modified figure *f* with passing tone

DT 18: 2

figure *f*

NB 10: 2
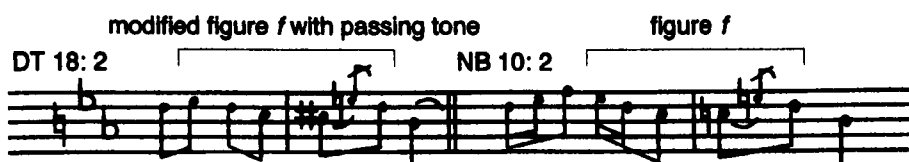
Fig. 8.7a  LUN-S: variation of distance between two principal tones by insertion of chromatic passing tone

and

(2) the first principal tone is more than a major 2nd below the second principal tone; in this case, the first principal tone of the LUN-S substitutes the preceding tone of the melodic line for the pitch which would follow one of the standard figures *a-i* as illustrated above (fig. 8.7b):

modified figure *a*
with repeated preceding tone

figure *a*
( hypothetical phrase-seg.)

NB 27 1:37

Fig. 8.7b  LUN-S: variation of distance between two principal tones by repeating preceding tone of melodic line

## 8.3.1.1.2.4.4 Pitch of the grace tone

The grace tone is in almost all cases either a major 2nd, an augmented 2nd or a minor 3rd above the second principal tone. The pitch of the grace tone in particular seems to be a function of taste as well as the convenience of clarinet fingerings. Because of the speed of the grace tone, the pitch is at least partially dependent on the fingering which allows for the greatest ease of execution for a particular LUN-S figure in a particular key.[15] This gives rise to a range of possible pitches. Some of these appear to be created using "non-legitimate" fingerings — i.e. those which are not to be found on published fingering charts such as Ambrosio (1918) — which generate tones which may lie not only outside of the modal scale, but outside of the tempered tuning system as well.[16]

It is possible for the interval between the grace tone and the second principal tone to both be smaller than a major 2nd and larger than a minor 3rd:

(1) In the configuration a♭-b-g, a variant of the basic contour of figure *g* above, the grace tone is a minor 2nd above the second principal tone:[17]

DT 5b: 1                        NB8a 1: 1

Fig. 8.8a  LUN-S: interval of minor 2nd between grace tone and second principal tone

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15  Even at half-speed it has not always been possible to determine the pitch of the grace tone for the purpose of transcription.

16  There has to date been no study undertaken of intonation in klezmer music. Since all of the recordings under study here have piano accompaniment, and since there are no tones which appear to be consistently non-tempered so as to indicate an alternative tuning system to the standard tempered system, it is likely that Brandwein and Tarras are performing within tempered tuning as they understand it. Seymour Rubinstein, Brandwein's eldest grandson, relates that his grandfather consistently corrected his intonation when he would practise classical violin etudes as a youth (S. Rubinstein 1993, interview).

17  None of the performances in the reduced sample of ten performances contain this figure.

(2) In certain cases, the grace tone is greater than a minor 3rd above the second principal tone:



Fig. 8.8b  LUN-S: interval greater than a minor 3rd between grace tone and second principal tone

This, too, appears to be a function of personal taste and ease of fingering.

## 8.3.1.1.3 Lower-upper neighbour, non-stressed (LUN-N)

The tones encompassing the LUN-N may be summarised as follows for sentences (and sentence-segments) based on the four basic modal scales and their associated modulations:[18]
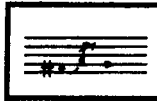
| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A₃ | A₅ cad | A₃<br>A₁ on III | A₃<br>A₁ on III | A₃<br>A₁ on III | A₁ on III |

Fig. 8.9a A₃: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-N
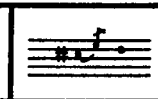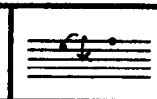
| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A₂ | A₂ | A₂ | A₂ | A₃ on iv | A₃ on iv |

Fig. 8.9b A₂: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-N

| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A₄<br>A₂ on vii | A₄<br>A₁ on IV | A₄<br>A₃ on iv | A₂ on vii | A₃ on iv<br>A₁ on IV | A₁ on IV | A₁ on IV |

Fig. 8.9c A₄: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-N

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A₁ | A₁ | A₁<br>A₃ on iv |

Fig. 8.9d A₁: summary of tones encompassed by LUN-N

The smaller number of scale tones involved in the LUN-N groupings, as compared to those encompassed by the LUN-S groupings depicted in figs. 8.3a-d, corresponds to the more limited number of the stereotypical figures involved.

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18   As in figs. 8.3a-d above, the complete sample of thirty performances has been used to create figs. 8.9a-d in order to give a more complete picture of the tones encompassing the LUN-N. The complete sample has also been used for figs. 8.10a-h in order to give a broader picture of the LUN-N groupings.

In an analysis of the sampled tunes, two basic types of LUN-N figures emerge:

(1) those featuring different tones from the LUN-S figures illustrated in figs. 8.4a-i above (LUN-N figures *j* and *k* below):

and

(2) those which feature the same (or similar) tones to the LUN-S figures depicted in 8.4a-d and h-i above, with the exception of the shift in metric stress (LUN-N figures *l-p* below).

In all but one case (figure *o*), the LUN-N grouping encompasses the last two principal tones of each figure.

## 8.3.1.1.3.1 Descending LUN-N figures

Among the sampled performances, three descending LUN-N figures have been identified:

*j*   Three-tone figure consisting of a descending minor 3rd followed by an ascending minor 2nd, or a descending major 3rd followed by a descending major 2nd (fig. 8.10a below);

*k*   Three-tone figure consisting of a descending perfect 4th followed by an ascending minor 2nd (fig. 8.10d);

and

*l*   Four-tone figure following the basic pattern of two descending steps followed by one ascending step in conjunct motion (fig. 8.10e).

Fig. 8.10a LUN-N: descending figure *j*

Figure *j* (fig. 8.10a above) may be found in sentence-segments in A₃ (lines 1-2), A₁ (line 3) and, most commonly, in A₁ on the 3rd degree (lines 4-6). Because of its non-stressed metric characteristic, the LUN-N grouping does not have the leaning, appoggiatura-like quality of the LUN-S. As a result, the LUN-N groupings tend to play a more general role in ornamenting the figures with which they are associated, thus approaching Rice's "ways of moving from tone to tone" (1994:84).

This is applicable in particular to the ornamentation of figure *j* within the context of melodic sequences. In such cases (lines 1-2 and 5-6 in fig. 8.10a above), the LUN-N grouping associated with figure *j* is often repeated several times following the general pattern:

A₁ on III

A₁

A₃

A₃ with A₅ cadence

Fig. 8.10b  Descending figure *j* as part of melodic sequence

In such sequences, however, not every possible permutation of the LUN-N ornament is employed. For example, in the phrase beginning at NB32:73, Brandwein uses the LUN-N grouping in only three of the four possible cases. The figure eb-c-d in bars 74-75 remains unornamented:

A₃: NB 32: 73 (mod.: A₁ on III)

Fig. 8.10c  Ornamentation of descending figure *j* in melodic sequence: NB32

Using the same ornament four times in a row would appear to violate the unwritten rule articulated in Danny Rubinstein's spice metaphor: "You put too much salt and pepper on a steak, you've destroyed the steak. So it just has to be done with very good taste" (D. Rubinstein 1994, interview).

A₁/A₂: DT 4: 88 (mod. interchange prog., phrase-end: A₃ on iv)

1

A₂: NB 22 : 25 (mod., pre-cad.: A₃ on V)          A₁/A₂: NB 22 : 40
                                                  (mod. interchange prog. A₃ on V)

2

Fig. 8.10d  LUN-N: descending figure *k*

The third tone of LUN-N figure *k* is the 3rd degree of the respective temporary modal centre: the e♭ at DT4:91 (line 1) is the 3rd degree of A₃ on the 4th degree; the f at NB22:28 and 43 (line 2) is the 3rd degree of A₃ on the 5th degree.

1/2  1  1        1  1  1        1  1/2  1/2

A₃: DT 13a: 3 (A₅ cadence-like figure)

1

A₃: DT 13a: 5 (general)

2

A₂: NB 22: 17 (general)            NB 22: 21 (general)

3

Fig. 8.10e  LUN-N: descending figure *l*

LUN-N figure *l* has the same basic contour as LUN-S descending figure *f* illustrated in fig. 8.4f above, although the specific intervallic make-up of the three variants is different in each case. It is the common shape of the figures which allow for them to be ornamented in the same manner.

## 8.3.1.1.3.2 Ascending LUN-N figures

Two ascending LUN-N figures have been identified in the sample:

*m* Three-tone scalar segment consisting of an ascending augmented 2nd followed by an ascending minor 2nd (fig. 8.10f below);

and

*n* Three-tone scalar segment comprising an ascending major 2nd followed by an ascending minor 2nd (fig. 8.10g).



A₃: DT 15a: 41 ( (Interchange A₂ half-cad.)

Fig. 8.10f  LUN-N: ascending figure *m*

Figure *m* follows the same ascending pattern as LUN-S figure *a*, line 1 depicted in fig. 8.4a above.

A4: NB 10: 153 (mod., phrase-end.: A2 on vii)



1

A2: NB 6b : 49 (general, phrase-beg.)



2

A4: NB 25: 64 (mod., phrase-beg.: A3 on iv)



3

A4: NB 10: 85 (gen.)                    NB 5: 13, 53, 121 (cad.)

4-5 - 6                    4-5 - 6



4

Fig. 8.10g  LUN-N: ascending figure *n*

LUN-N figure *n* has the same intervallic relationships as LUN-S figure *c* depicted on lines 1, 2, 4 and 6 of fig. 8.4c above. As opposed to LUN-S figure *c*, LUN-N figure *n* encompasses scalar segments other than the first three degrees of the tonic (or respective temporary modal centre). On line 4, for example, the tones c-d-e♭ represent the 4th, 5th and 6th degrees of A4.

### 8.3.1.1.3.3 Circular LUN-N figures

Among the sampled performances, two circular LUN-N figures have been identified:

*o*  Three-tone figure comprising a descending minor 2nd followed by a return to the beginning pitch (fig. 8.10h below);

and

*p*  Three-tone figure comprising an ascending minor 2nd followed by a return to the beginning pitch (fig. 8.10i).

Fig. 8.10h  LUN-N: circular figure *o*

The three-tone LUN-N figure *o* contains the same intervallic structure as the four-tone LUN-S figure *h* depicted on line 1 of fig. 8.4h above, but without the repeat of the second principal tone.



Fig. 8.10i  LUN-N: circular figure *p*

LUN-N figure *p* has the same contour as LUN-S figure *i* illustrated in fig. 8.4i above.

## 8.3.1.1.4 Same-pitch with upper neighbour grace, non-stressed (SPU-N)
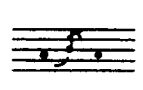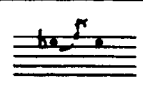
| | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| A₃ | A₅ cad | A₃ | A₃ | A₅ cad<br>A₁ on III | A₁ on III | A₁ on III |

Fig. 8.11a  A₃: summary of tones encompassed by SPU-N
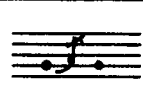
| | | |
|---|---|---|
| A₂ cad | A₂ cad | A₂ |

Fig. 8.11b  A₂: summary of tones encompassed by SPU-N
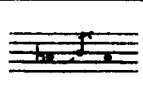
| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| A₄ | A₄<br>A₃ on iv | A₄ | A₄ | A₂ on iv |

Fig. 8.11c  A₄: summary of tones encompassed by SPU-N

| | |
|---|---|
| A₁ | A₁<br>A₃ on iv |

Fig. 8.11d  A₁: summary of tones encompassed by SPU-N

### 8.3.1.1.4.1 Descending SPU-N figures

Four descending SPU-N figures have been identified in the sample:

*q*  Four-tone figure consisting of the basic shape of a descending 2nd followed by a repeated tone and another descending 2nd; the SPU-N always encompasses the second and third principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.12a below);

*r*  Five-tone figure — a variant of figure *q* — following the pattern of a descending 2nd followed by a repeated tone, another descending 2nd and a second repeated tone; the SPU-N appears twice, encompassing both the second and third and fourth and fifth principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.12c);

*s*  Five-tone figure consisting of the basic shape of a descending 2nd followed by a repeated tone, a descending minor 2nd and a descending major 2nd; the SPU-N always encompasses the second and third principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.12d);

and

*t*  Four-tone figure consisting of the basic shape of a descending minor 2nd followed by a descending major or augmented 2nd and a repeated tone; the SPU-N always encompasses the third and fourth principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.12e).

These four figures descend in conjunct motion following one of two basic patterns:

(1)  four- and five-tone figures in which at least the second and third principal tones are of the same pitch, separated by a grace tone (figures *q,r* and *s*);

and

(2)  four-tone figure in which the third and fourth principal tones are of the same pitch, separated by a grace tone (figure *t*).

A₂: NB 20: 1 (general)

A₃: NB 6a: 11 (general)

A₃: DT 12b: 5 (A₅ half-cad.)

A₄: NB 1b: 33 (general)

A₄: NB 22: 69 (mod., phrase-end.: A₃ on iv)

Aᵢ on III: NB 6b: 5 (half-cad.)          NB 6b: 13 (cad.)

A₃: DT 12b: 37 (general)

Fig. 8.12a  SPU-N: descending figure q

Figure q has four possible intervallic combinations, as shown in fig. 8.12a above. The unifying factor is the shape of the figure and not its specific intervallic content. In a similar fashion to the LUN-N groupings associated with figure j (fig. 8.10a above), the SPU-N groupings associated with figures q and r tend to be repeated in melodic sequences (fig. 8.12a, lines 4 and 6 and fig. 8.12c, line 1) following the general pattern:

A₁ on III

A₄

Fig. 8.12b  Descending figure q as part of melodic sequence

$A_i$ on III: NB 6b: 13 (cad.)

$A_4$: NB 5: 41 (general)

Fig. 8.12c  SPU-N: descending figure *r*



$A_3$: DT 1: 7, 23, 47 ($A_5$ cad. root)     DT 12b: 29 ($A_5$ cad. root)

$A_2$: DT 4: 61 (cad. root)

$A_1$: DT 4: 13 (cad. root)

$A_4$: NB 5: 9 (general)

$A_4$: NB 22: 9 (mod.: $A_2$ on iv)
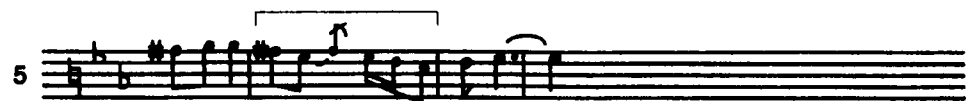
$A_2$: NB 1a: 17 (general)

Fig. 8.12d  SPU-N: descending figure *s*

Fig. 8.12e  SPU-N: descending figure *t*

## 8.3.1.1.4.2 Circular SPU-N figures

Among the sampled performances, one circular SPU-N figure has been identified:

*u*  Five-tone figure consisting of an ascending major 2nd followed by repeated tone, a descending major 2nd and another repeated tone; the SPU-N encompasses either the second and third or the fourth and fifth principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.12f below):

Fig. 8.12f  SPU-N: circular figure *u*

### 8.3.1.1.4.3 Ascending SPU-N figures

One ascending SPU-N figure has been identified in the sample:

*v*  Five-tone figure consisting of an ascending minor or major 3rd followed by a repeated tone, a descending minor or major 2nd and another repeated tone; the SPU-N encompasses the fourth and fifth principal tones of the figure (fig. 8.12g below):



Fig. 8.12g  SPU-N: ascending figure *v*

In a similar fashion to that of LUN-N figure *j* and SPU-N figures *q* and *r*, the SPU-N grouping used in conjunction with ascending figure *v* is used in ornamenting a melodic sequence.

The non-essential components of the non-stressed three-tone groupings such as the LUN-N and SPU-N are limited to two basic parameters: (1) articulatory type (as depicted in relation to the LUN-S groupings in fig. 8.5a) and (2) the pitch of the grace tone in relation to the second principal tone (as illustrated in relation to the LUN-S groupings in figs. 8.8a-b). These variables do not differ from from those illustrated for the LUN-S groupings in figs. 8.3a and 8.8a-b.

## 8.3.1.1.5 Other three-tone groupings

Four further three-tone groupings are to be found in the sampled tunes. These do not occur with enough frequency to provide conclusive evidence regarding the stereotypical figures with which they are associated:

**(1) upper-upper neighbour, non-stressed (UUN-N)**

$A_3$: DT 1: 81 ($A_5$ cad.)　　　　　　$A_1/A_2$: DT 4: 68 (mod. interchange prog.: $A_3$ on iv)
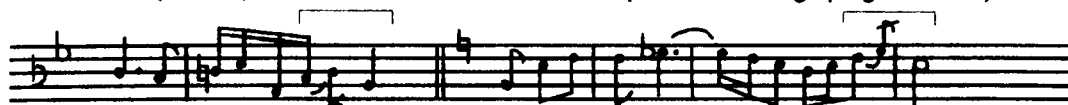
**(2) upper-upper neighbour, stressed (UUN-S)**　　**(3) lower-lower neighbour, stressed (LLN-S)**

$A_4$: NB 8a: 62 ($A_4$ cad.)　　　　　　$A_4$: NB 27: 104 (half-cad.)

**(4) same-pitch grouping with upper neighbour grace, stressed (SPU-S)**

$A_3$: NB 7b: 33 (general)　　　　　　$A_1$ on III: DT 2: 33 (general)

Fig. 8.13  Other three-tone groupings

## 8.3.1.2 Pre-beat grace tones

### 8.3.1.2.1 Single-tone graces

Single-tone graces in the sample are played before the beat ("prebeat *Vorschlag*"; Neumann 1978:48) and are of indeterminate duration. In all but case 4 below (fig. 8.14d), the grace tone is articulated and slurred to the succeeding principal tone, which may be approached from above or below. In most cases, the single-tone grace embellishes a stressed beat, such as the one or two of a 2/4 bar. As in the case of the grace tones associated with the three-tone groupings, the actual pitch of the grace is somewhat variable, dependent on fingerings and the personal taste of the performer-composer.

Five specific uses of the single-tone grace as a stand-alone ornament have been identified in the sample:

(1) to ornament the root, 3rd, 5th or octave of the tonic or temporary modal centre:

A3: DT 2: 1 (mod.: A3 on iv)

A3: DT 1: 1

A4: NB 10: 110 (mod.: A2 on vii)

Fig. 8.14a  Single-tone graces: ornamentation of principal tones of tonic (or temporary modal centre)

(2) to repeat the preceding tone as a grace to the succeeding tone:

A4: NB 27: 1

A4: NB 25: 213

Fig. 8.14b  Single-tone graces: repeat of preceding tone as grace

- 295 -

(3) to ornament the same stereotypical figures associated with the LUN-N groupings, the only difference being that here the beginning of the grace tone is articulated:



Fig. 8.14c Single-tone graces: ornamentation of figures associated with LUN-N groupings

(4) to ornament an ascending chromatic or mixed chromatic and diatonic connecting figure comprising tones of the duration of semi-quavers or faster, which immediately precedes the first tone of the next bar; the associated figure is a metrically non-stressed variant of LUN-S figure *d*:



Fig. 8.14d Single-tone graces: grace at end of chromatic connecting figure

and, most commonly,

(5) to begin a trill on the upper neighbour, as shall be illustrated in 8.3.1.3 below (fig. 8.17c).

### 8.3.1.2.2 Two-tone graces

Two-tone graces in the sample, too, are played before the beat, are of indeterminate length and, in most cases, ornament a stressed beat. Similar to the LUN-S groupings, the two-tone graces may be divided into two basic articulatory types. These may be seen as conceptually similar to the *Vorschlag* and *Zwischenschlag* in Baroque ornamentation: as "*Zwischenschlag*" (articulatory type ii; see also fig. 8.5a above), the two grace tones connect two equal principal tones, all of which are slurred together (Neumann 1978:47-48); as "*Vorschlag*" (articulatory type iii), the first grace tone is articulated and the two grace tones are slurred together to the succeeding principal tone:
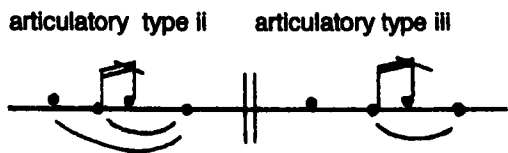


Fig. 8.15a  Two-tone graces, basic articulatory types

In a similar fashion to that of the upper neighbour grace tones used as part of the three-tone groupings, the pitch of the second of the two grace tones is somewhat variable, dependent on fingerings and the personal taste of the performer-composer.

Three uses of the two-tone grace have been identified in the sample:

(1) the first grace tone has the same pitch as the principal tone to which it is attached, and the second grace tone is an upper neighbour (similar to the three-tone SPU grouping; fig. 8.15c below); it appears in three basic intervallic configurations, whereby the majority of those present in the sample fit configuration a:
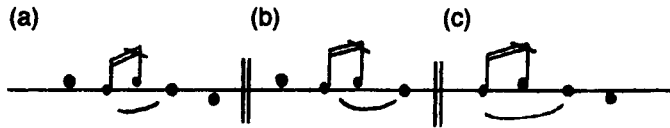


Fig. 8.15b Same pitch with upper neighbour two-tone graces, basic intervallic configurations

Intervallic configuration a:

A₃: DT 1: 97          DT 1: 131



A₄: NB 10: 21, NB 25: 77 (cad. root)



A₂: NB 32: 13 (cad. prefix)       DT 4: 77 (cad. prefix)



Intervallic configuration b:

A₂: DT 4: 37



Intervallic configuration c:

A₄: DT 13b: 91 (mod.: A₂ on iv)



A₃: DT 2: 9



Fig. 8.15c Two-tone graces as SPU

(2) a two-tone grace variant of the LUN-S grouping in which the first grace tone of the two-tone grace takes the place of the first principal tone of the LUN-S grouping:

A₁ on III: DT 2: 32

variant of LUN-S figure *d*
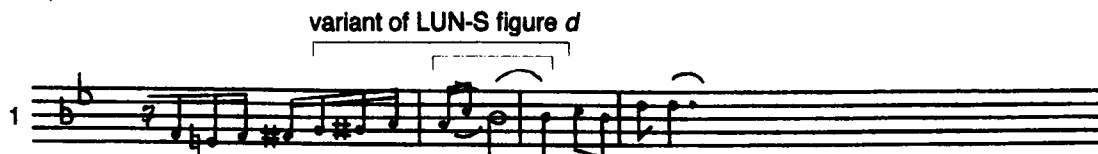
A₄: NB 25: 161
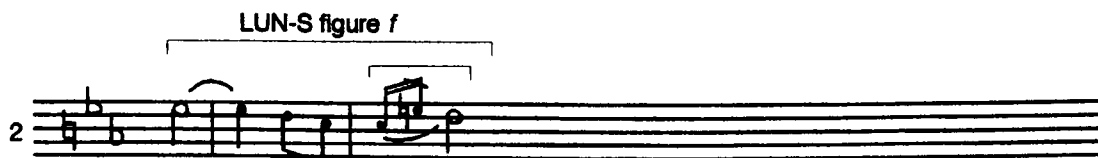
LUN-S figure *f*

Fig. 8.15d  Two-tone graces: LUN-S figures


and


(3) to anticipate the beginning of a trill, as shall be illustrated in 8.3.3 (fig. 8.31g) below.


### 8.3.1.2.3 Pedal graces

In two performances only, Brandwein employs a sequence of graces as a high pedal to ornament ascending and descending scalar passages, creating an effect similar to cutting on a bagpipe:

A₃: NB 28: 121 (mod.: A₁ on III)

A₄: NB 8a: 37

Fig. 8.16a  Pedal graces

Tarras' recording DT14b creates a similar effect using semi-quavers in lieu of graces:

A₁ on III: DT 14b: 49

Fig. 8.16b  Semi-quaver pedal passage

## 8.3.1.3 Trills

Neumann defines the trill as encompassing "a whole family of graces in which the basic pattern is the rapid alternation of a tone with its upper neighbor" (1978:241). In the sampled recordings, the number of trills used in a particular performance covers a spectrum which may range from none at all (NB28, NB32) to extremely frequent (DT18). Most tunes in the sample, however, exhibit a moderate use of trills, the density of which may vary from sentence to sentence depending upon the types of stereotypical figures present. Virtually all the trills in the sampled performances consist of only two pitches ("simple trills"; Neumann 1978:241), a principal tone and its upper auxiliary. Within this framework the trills display a wide variety of characteristics which may be separated into four basic parameters which have been taken into account in the transcriptions:

(1) number of tones in trill:

The number of tones in a trill is governed by the duration of the principal tone ornamented by the trill as well as the the speed of execution. For each metrical subcategory there is a range of durations of the tones typically ornamented with trills, within which tones of certain note values are trilled more frequently than others. For example, in 2/4 tunes, the vast majority of trills take place on quavers and dotted quavers. The smallest number of tones in a trill is three, analagous to a *Schneller* or inverted mordent in Baroque ornamentation (Neumann 1978:203). Three-tone trills have been notated in the transcriptions as follows:



Fig. 8.17a  Notation of three-tone trills

Trills with more than three tones typically contain five, but can contain as many as fifteen tones. All trills of five or more tones have been notated in the transcriptions using the same trill symbol:
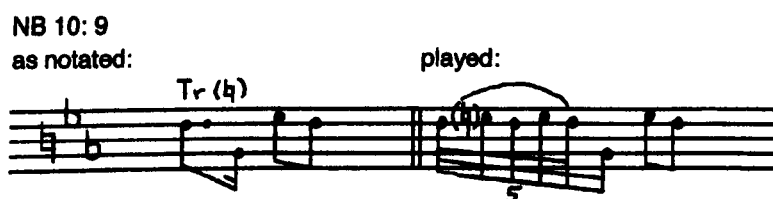


Fig. 8.17b  Notation of trills of five tones or more

(2) tone on which trill is started:

Trills begin on either the principal tone ("main note trill"; Neumann 1978:241) or on its upper auxiliary. In most cases, the latter is in the form of what Neumann terms a "grace note trill" (1978:242), in which the first upper auxiliary comes before the beat and the rest of the trill begins with the beat. Grace-tone trills have been notated as follows:

grace-tone trill
with six or more tones

grace-tone trill
with four tones
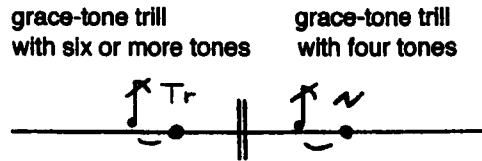
Fig. 8.17c Notation of grace-tone trills

(3) interval between principal tone and its upper auxiliary

The interval between the principal tone and its upper auxiliary is normally either a minor or major 2nd. The only exception to this is the case of certain three-tone trills in which, apparently because of ease of fingering, the interval may also be that of a minor 3rd. These have been written out in the transcriptions:

NB 10: 10          NB 10: 169
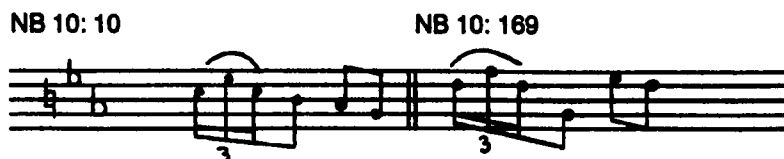
Fig. 8.17d Written out three-tone trill with interval of minor 3rd

(4) when trill begins in relation to beat:

There are six different basic variants in the sample with regard to the metric stress of the trill. The two most common forms are: (a) onbeat main-tone trill and (b) pre-beat grace-tone trill in which the grace tone is played before the beat and the rest of the trill begins on the beat (fig. 8.17c). The other four variants occur with far less frequency: (c) upper-tone trill beginning on the beat ("appoggiatura trill": Neumann 1978:241); (d) syncopated main-tone trill beginning on the second semiquaver of the beat for the duration of a quaver; (e) trill which begins before a stressed beat and concludes after it ("straddling trill"; Neumann 1978: 242); and (f) non-stressed trill which begins before a stressed beat and concludes on it. The six variants have been notated as follows in the transcriptions. In the case of variant c, the trills have been written out in order to differentiate them from pre-beat grace-tone trills. Variants e and f appear to only be used in 3/8 tunes, which evidence more flexible phrasing:



Fig. 8.17e  Metrical stress of trill beginnings

In addition, two trill parameters are present in the performances which have not been captured by the transcriptions:

(5)  tone on which trill is ended:

Most of the trills in the sample end on the principal tone. Some, however, end with a grace tone on the upper auxiliary. Because of the great speed of the grace as well as the many variables involved in the execution of trills, it was not practicable to differentiate in the transcriptions between those trills which end on the principal tone and those which end on the upper auxiliary:

DT 2: 3

DT 2: 126

Fig. 8.17f  Trills ending with upper auxiliary grace

and

(6)  when trill ends in relation to principal tone:

The trills in the sample are metrical in the sense that the alternations do not obviously speed up or slow down. Most of the trills in the sample end at or very near the end of the note value of the principal tone which they ornament. Some trills, however, may end before the end of the note value of the principal tone which they ornament, so that the final trill tone is of a noticeably longer duration than the other trill tones. This is analagous to the "trill with rest point" in Baroque ornamentation (Neumann 1978:243).

NB 8b: 30

Fig. 8.17g  Trill with rest point

In addition to beginning or ending with a grace tone, trills in the sampled performances are typically approached in conjunction with or succeeded by other ornaments, as shall be discussed in 8.3.3 below.

Which tones tend to be trilled appears to be influenced by a variety of factors, including melodic direction, the scale degree and duration of the tone ornamented, as well as the stereotypical figures of which the tone is a part. Four basic patterns for the use of trills have been identified in the sample. In many cases, the tone trilled may fulfil more than one of the four criteria at the same time; the one commonality being that the tone succeeding the trill is *always* a descending interval of a 2nd, 3rd or 5th:

(1) trill occurs on (a) third- or fourth-to-last or (b) penultimate tone of a descending conjunct figure of at least three tones:



Fig. 8.18a Trills: basic pattern 1

(2) tone ornamented by trill is part of a descending melodic sequence built of figures identical to those associated with LUN-N figure *j* (descending minor 3rd followed by an ascending minor 2nd or a descending major 3rd and a descending major 2nd; fig. 8.10a). In a similar fashion to LUN-N figure *j*, trills based on this pattern are often repeated in sequence (fig. 8.10b):

A₁ on III: DT 2: 45          A₃: DT 2: 65



A₁: DT 13b: 37



Fig. 8.18b  Trills: basic pattern 2

In this sense, the sequence of trills is nothing more than an alternate form of ornamenting the same melodic figure. The two possibilities of LUN-N sequence and trill sequence could be viewed as akin to Kenneth Pike's linguistic concept of "contrastive" phonemes: those which are "significantly different, and thus able to occur in the same environment" (Monelle 1992:64). As shall be illustrated in 8.4.2 (fig. 8.34a), there exist a number of such contrastive ornaments within the sampled performances, indicating a palette of ornaments from which the performers are drawing, which can be readily substituted for one another during the course of a performance or from performance to performance.

(3) tone ornamented by trill is part of one of the stereotypical cadential, half-cadential or pre-cadential figures identified in chapter 7:

A₄: NB 10: 98 (cad.)



A₂: DT 4: 61 (cad.)          A₁: DT 4: 13 (cad.)



A₃: DT 12b: 30, 45 (A₅ cad.)



Fig. 8.18c  Trills: basic pattern 3

(4) trill adds intensity and gives rhythmic emphasis to (a) important, metrically-stressed scale degrees, in particular the root, 3rd, 4th, 5th and octave; and (b) "intense", metrically-stressed scale tones, such as the f♯ in modulations to A₂ on the 4th degree associated with A₄ sentences, and the major 6th, e♮, and augmented 4th, c♯, in A₂:

**trill ornamenting important scale degrees:**

A₃: DT 2: 1   (fifth degree)

A₃: DT 1: 5
(mod: third of A₁ on III and root of A₄ on iv)



A₁: DT 4: 17   (octave)          A₄: DT 5b: 17 (fifth degree)



**trill ornamenting intense scale degrees:**

A₄: NB 27: 72   (mod: augmented fourth of A₂ on iv)



A₂: DT 14b: 83 (major sixth)          NB 1a: 21 (major sixth)



Fig. 8.18d  Trills: basic pattern 4

The use of trills within a particular performance can be very specific, limited to one or two tones and often in association with one figure. For example, in NB6b only the tone e♮ is trilled and only in conjunction with a single figure. In similar fashion, in NB5 only the tone b is trilled and only in conjunction with a singular cadential (or cadence-like) figure:

NB 6b: 37, 65, 69, 73          NB 5: 8, 14, 54, 95, 98



Fig. 8.19  Trill ornamenting a single tone or figure within a performance

Besides the trills discussed here, other trill-like ornaments appear in the sample. At NB5:59-60, 84 and 86, Brandwein appears to trill on a sustained tone using a resonance fingering, so that the timbre of the tone changes, but its basic

pitch remains essentially the same. This ornament does not appear in any of his other recorded performances or in any of Tarras' recordings, either. In a similar fashion, both Tarras and Brandwein make occasional use of what appears to be an extremely intense vibrato — for example at NB25:42 and DT13b:8 — which approximates the effect of a trill.

### 8.3.1.4 Other group I ornaments

Two other fingered ornaments appear rarely in the sampled recordings: mordents and turns. Because of their infrequency, these have been written out in full in the transcriptions:

single mordent:

A₃: DT 2: 11 (third and fourth degrees)



A₁: DT 9a: 7



standard turn:

A₄: DT 5b: 45 (root of A₂ on vii)



A₁: DT 9a: 1 (fifth)



Fig. 8.20  Other fingered ornaments

Whereas mordents are used by both Brandwein and Tarras, the turns appear only in the recordings of Tarras. The mordent ("an oscillation of the principal tone with its lower neighbor"; Neumann 1978:415) as used by Tarras corresponds to Neumann's "simple" or "single" mordent, is played on the beat and may be proceeded by a single-tone grace (fig. 8.20, line 2). The turns employed by Tarras agree with Neumann's "standard turn" (1978:465) and are also played before the beat. Both of these ornaments are used to embellish important scale degrees of the tonic — such as the root, 3rd, 4th, 5th and octave — and of the temporary modal centres.

## 8.3.2 Group II ornaments

As opposed to group I ornaments which tend to contain a modal-structural aspect, group II ornaments are articulatory and rhythmic in nature. They do not themselves consist of separate tones, but rather embellish the beginnings, middle or endings of already existing tones through microtonal variations in pitch as well as changes in attack and timbre — thus changing their inflection. Because of their function as inflectional ornaments, group II ornaments are used mostly in combination with other ornaments of both groups I and II. In this capacity, they serve to embellish larger groups of tones, such as stereotypical figures and phrases, as shall be illustrated in 8.3.3.

### 8.3.2.1 Single-tone bends

### 8.3.2.1.1 Tone bent at end of note duration (TBE)

The TBE is perhaps the ornament most obviously characteristic of klezmer clarinet style. Known among some musicians as a *krekhts* (groan; Weinreich 1968:413),[19] the TBE is a yodel-like ornament which appears to imitate the sound of the break in the voice between regular voice and falsetto common in Eastern European synagogue chant, hasidic and Yiddish folk song. It comprises a rapid downward *glissando* at the end of a tone, the sound of which is immediately stopped by some combination of changes to the position of the throat muscles, embouchure and tongue. The resultant ornament consists more of a change in timbre than pitch. It has been notated in the transcriptions as follows:

Fig. 8.21  Notation of TBE ornament

Three specific uses of the TBE have been identified in the sampled performances:
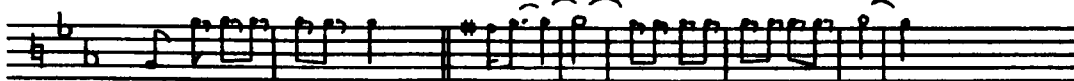
(1) to create rhythmic activity during a static section of a sentence by making repeated TBEs on the same pitch (fig. 8.22 below, line 1);

(2) as an alternate method of articulation to standard tonguing, especially in articulating conjunct motion or sequences according to the pattern of a descending 3rd followed by an ascending 2nd (LUN-N figure *j*; lines 2-3);

and

---

19  Slobin (2000a:105) terms the three-tone LUN groupings "*krekhts*".

(3) to begin a descending cadential (or cadence-like) pattern of quavers and semiquavers (line 4):

A4: NB 25: 33 (mod.: A2 on iv)    NB 27: 50 (mod.: A2 on iv)

A1 on III: DT 2: 41    A2: DT 4: 41

A3: NB 32: 73 (mod.: A1 on III)    A4: NB 27: 5

A4: NB 10: 173 (cad.)
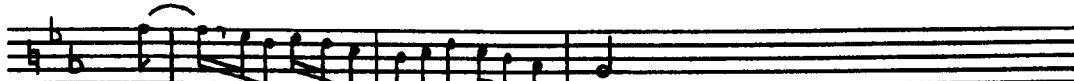
Fig. 8.22  TBE ornaments

In addition, the TBE is commonly used in combination with other ornaments of groups II and I. In particular, it is employed frequently to conclude LUN-S groupings and to set off the beginnings of trills (fig. 8.31e, lines 1-3; fig. 8.31a, line 6).

## 8.3.2.1.2 Tone bent at beginning of note duration (TBB)

The TBB ornament represents practically the reverse of the TBE: the tone begins below pitch through some combination of changes to the position of the throat muscles, embouchure, tongue and fingering, and is bent up to pitch. The speed of ascent is in most cases rapid in a similar fashion to that of the single-tone grace, but may extend across an entire beat, for example at NB10:126. The TBB ornament has been notated in the transcriptions as follows:

Fig. 8.23  Notation of TBB ornament

The TBB ornament is employed to mark important events in a sentence, such as phrase and sentence beginnings, phrase endings as well as the highest point in a phrase. Four specific uses of the TBB have been identified in the sampled performances:

(1) to set off the metrically-stressed higher tone of a disjunct interval; this often coincides with the beginning of a new sentence (fig. 8.24 below, lines 1-2);

(2) to set off a syncopated phrase beginning (lines 3-4);

(3) to set off the beginning of a descending figure of semiquavers (line 5);

and

(4) to set off the end of an ascending figure of semiquavers or mixed quavers and semiquavers (line 6):



Fig. 8.24  TBB ornaments

In addition, the TBB ornament is used frequently in varying combinations with other group II and I ornaments, as shall be illustrated in 8.3.3.

### 8.3.2.1.3 Tone bent in mid-duration (TBM)

The TBM ornament consists of a sustained tone of a minimum duration of a crotchet, which is slurred over the beat to a tone of the same pitch. Before the second tone begins, the tone is bent downwards an interval as large as a minor 2nd and bent back up to the original pitch by a combination of changes to the position of the throat muscles, embouchure and tongue. The TBM ornament has been notated in the transcriptions as follows (fig. 8.25a):

Fig. 8.25a  Notation of TBM ornament

The bend usually takes place in the last quarter of the tone's duration, so that it has a similar effect to a dotted rhythm:
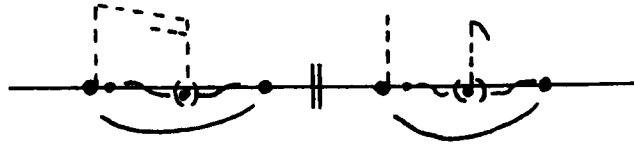


Fig. 8.25b  Typical timing of TBM ornament

Two specific uses of the TBM have been identified in the sampled performances:

(1)  as a liaison to connect two phrases together (lines 1-2);

and

(2)  as a liaison to connect any two tones of the same pitch which would otherwise be separated by another form of articulation such as tonguing (lines 3-4):

A₃: DT12b: 33  (mod.: A₁ on III)



A₂: NB 6d: 41



A₃: DT 12b: 25 (mod.: A₄ on iv)



A₄: NB 10: 49 (mod.: A₂ on iv)



Fig. 8.26  TBM ornaments

In addition, the TBM ornament is used frequently in varying combinations with other group II and I ornaments, as shall be illustrated in 8.3.3.

### 8.3.2.1.4 Tone bent twice in mid-duration (TBT)

In several performances, Tarras plays a variant of the TBM ornament in which the tone is bent down and up *twice* within the scope of a single slur:

A3: DT 1: 49, 97

A3: DT 15a: 55

Fig. 8.27 TBT ornament

### 8.3.2.2 Slide between two tones (SBT)

The SBT ornament is a slide between two tones of differing pitch in ascent or descent, which involves some combination of changes to the position of the throat muscles, embouchure and tongue, as well as fingering. It is similar to a *glissando* or *portamento* and has been notated in the transcriptions as follows:[20]

Fig. 8.28a Notation of SBT ornament

Some ascending SBT ornaments, such as the one used at DT1:33, contain a TBM-like downwards bend before ascending to the higher tone, in which case they have been notated as follows:

Fig. 8.28b Notation of ascending SBT ornament with downwards bend before ascent [21]

---

20 "Portamento", as defined by J. A. Fuller-Maitland in *Grove I* (1879-1889), is "A gradual *carrying* of the sound or voice with extreme smoothness from one note to another..." (cited in Philip 1992:143).

21 In a similar fashion, a descending SBT ornament may dip below and return to the destination pitch in certain cases, following the shape:

See, for example, DT2:40-41.

In a similar fashion to the TBM ornament, the SBT is essentially an alternate way of inflecting a slur between two tones. The most common slides are 2nds and 3rds in ascent, and 2nds in descent, although larger intervals are present in both directions in the sampled performances. The slides range in intensity from barely perceptible to obvious. Most frequently, they occur towards the end of the note value of the tone ornamented, comprising a subtle inflection rather than a true glissando.

Four specific uses of the SBT have been identified in the sampled performances:

(1) to connect two tones which are slurred together from one bar to the next (ascending or descending motion; fig. 8.29 below, lines 1-2);

(2) to connect an ascending chromatic passing tone to the succeeding tone (line 3);

(3) to connect the last two tones of syncopated figures following the shape of LUN-S figure *i* (line 4);[22]

and, more generally,

(4) as an alternate way of inflecting two tones slurred together (ascending or descending motion; lines 5-8):

---

22   Examples of LUN-S figure *i* are depicted in fig. 8.4i above.

Fig. 8.29 SBT ornaments

In addition, the SBT ornament is employed commonly in varying combinations with other group II and I ornaments. Occurring with particular frequency is the use of the SBT to slide into the beginnings of trilled tones, as shall be illustrated in the following section, 8.3.3.

### 8.3.3 Ornament combinations

The ornaments described in 8.3.1-8.3.2 above are frequently used in specific combinations to form chains of from two to as many as five ornaments. Most, but not all, such chains are formed by combinations of ornaments of group II only or of ornaments of groups II and I together. Figs. 8.31a-g below summarise the ornament combinations found in the reduced sample of ten performances. For this purpose, an ornament combination is considered to occur in the following four cases:

(1) two or more ornaments embellish the same tone (fig. 8.30, line 1);

(2) discrete tones of the same pitch in a static melodic passage are embellished by more than one ornament (fig. 8.30, line 2);

(3) one ornament ends the previous tone, and the succeeding tone begins with another ornament (fig. 8.30, line 3);

or

(4) the stressed tone immediately preceding a non-stressed three-tone ornament such as LUN-N or SPU-N is ornamented (fig. 8.30, line 4):



Fig. 8.30 The four types of ornament combinations

However, because of the overlapping nature of the ornaments in practice, exactly *where* an ornament compound begins or ends is partly a matter of interpretation. The basic principles of ornament combination are not affected by this issue, as shall be discussed below.

Figs. 8.31a-g below present ornament combinations within the framework of larger melodic units — in most cases that of a single phrase — in order to show the contexts in which they occur.[23] These figures are organised for clarity in the following manner:

Figs. 8.31a-d indicate combinations beginning with ornaments of group II:

(a) ornament combinations beginning with TBE;

(b) ornament combinations beginning with TBB;

(c) ornament combinations beginning with TBM and TBT;

and

(d) ornament combinations beginning with SBT.

Figs. 8.31e-g indicate combinations beginning with ornaments of group I:

(e) ornament combinations beginning with LUN-S;

(f) ornament combinations beginning with LUN-N and SPU-N;

and

(g) ornament combinations beginning with other group I ornaments.

Combinations beginning with group II ornaments have been presented first, as they occur with greater frequency in the sampled performances than those beginning with group I ornaments. Otherwise, the ornaments are presented in the same order as in sections 8.3.1-8.3.2 above and are not based on statistical frequency of occurence. Within figs. 8.31a-d, combinations consisting only of group II ornaments are shown first for each basic combination, then combinations including both group II and group I ornaments are shown. For example, the first two lines of fig. 8.31a show variants of the basic combination [TBE + TBB + x]. They are presented in the sequence [TBE + TBB] (the basic ornament combination), then [TBE + TBB + TBM] (a variant of the basic combination comprising only group II ornaments) and, finally, [TBE + TBB + SBT + TR] (a variant of the basic combination comprising both group II and group I ornaments). In a similar fashion, within figs. 8.31e-g, combinations beginning with a group I ornament and continuing with a group II ornament are shown first, then combinations beginning with and continuing on with group I ornaments are depicted. For example, in fig. 8.31e, the first eight lines present combinations of LUN-S (a group I ornament) followed by group II ornaments. Line 9 then shows the combination [LUN-S + TR] (both group I ornaments):

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23  For the remainder of this study, the abbreviation "STG" shall stand for single-tone grace, "TTG" for two-tone grace and "TR" for any trill of three tones or more.

Fig. 8.31a  Ornament combinations beginning with TBE



Fig. 8.31b  Ornament combinations beginning with TBB

Fig. 8.31c  Ornament combinations beginning with TBM and TBT



Fig. 8.31d  Ornament combinations beginning with SBT

Fig. 8.31e Ornament combinations beginning with LUN-S

**LUN-N+TBM: A$_4$: NB 25: 73**



**LUN-N+SBT+TR: A$_4$: NB 25: 161**        **LUN-N+TR A$_3$: DT 12b: 13  (A$_5$ cad.)**



**SPU-N+TR A$_3$: DT 12b: 30**



Fig. 8.31f  Ornament combinations beginning with LUN-N and SPU-N

Fig. 8.31g Ornament combinations beginning with other group I ornaments [24]

Despite the apparent complexity of the ornament combinations shown in figs. 8.31a-g, a closer analysis has shown them to comprise chains of basic two-ornament units which are combined using an overlapping additive principle to form the larger patterns. For example, the units [TBE + TBB] + [TBB + TBM] = the chain [TBE + TBB + TBM], the units [TBE + TBB] + [TBB + SBT] + [SBT + TR] = the chain [TBE + TBB + SBT + TR] (both examples in fig. 8.31a, line 2), and so forth.[25] Only a small number of such units are actually used by Brandwein and Tarras to form the vast majority of the combinations present.

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24  The combinatory unit STG + TR is not presented in fig. 8.31g. This combination occurs so frequently in the sample that it is being treated for analytical purposes as a grace-tone trill, as discussed in 8.3.1.3 above, rather than as a discrete ornament combination.

25  This is conceptually similar to a union of two sets in set theory: {tbe, tbb} ∪ {tbb, tbm} =

The basic combinatory units may be summarised as follows:

Units used frequently by both performers:

- TBE + TR
- TBB + TBM
- SBT + TR
- LUN-S + TBE
- LUN-S + TBM

These combinations occur with such frequency that they may be considered to be a basic element of the clarinet style of both performers. The component ornament sounds in the combinatory units appear to complement each other in a way that they could be considered to be compound ornamental "phonemes",[26] which form part of the basis of the ornamental language employed by Brandwein and Tarras in the interpretation of their tunes.

In addition to the combinatory units used frequently by both Brandwein and Tarras, there are a number present which appear to have been favoured by the one performer and not the other:

Units used frequently by Brandwein only:

- TBE + TBB
- TBB + SBT
- TBM + TBE

Units used frequently by Tarras only:

- SBT + TBE
- LUN-S + SBT
- STG + TBE
- TTG + SBT
- TTG + TR

The preference for particular basic combinatory units may be seen, then, as one element in determining the personal style of an individual performer. In expressing this individuality, each player appears to be following the same basic principles of ornament combination as discussed above.

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{tbe, tbb, tbm}.

26  Bruno Nettl has theorised that it is the goal of ethnomusicologists to ascertain the phonemic units present in traditional musics, following distributional principles:

"The problem of meaning is not essential in that branch of descriptive linguistics with which we are concerned. The identification and distribution of elements, rather, is its task (Nettl 1958, 37)". This leads to the discerning of "pitch phonemes", "rhythmic phonemes", "harmony phonemes", "structure phonemes" and so on (Monelle 1992:28).

The sample also shows evidence of a larger number of combinatory units which are used rarely.[27] Here the preference for particular combinatory units on the part of Brandwein and Tarras is also clear:

Units used rarely by both performers:

- TBE + STG
- TBE + TTG
- TBM + TR

Units used rarely by one performer:

Brandwein only:

- TBE + LUN-N
- TBB + TBE
- TBB + SPU-N
- TBM + TR
- SBT + TBM
- SBT + SPU-N
- LUN-S + SBT
- LUN-N + TBM
- LUN-N + SBT
- STG + TBE
- STG + LUN-S

Tarras only:

- TBE + TBB
- TBM + TBE
- SBT + LUN-S
- LUN-S + TR
- LUN-N + TR
- SPU-N + TR
- STG + TBM
- STG + SBT
- TTG + TBM
- TTG + TBT

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27   The term "rarely" refers here to only one or two occurrences in the sample of five performances by each performer, whereas "frequent" refers to any combination with three or more occurrences. Because of the large number of possible ornament combinations, a much larger sample would be necessary for a statistical analysis.

### 8.3.4 Basic articulatory units

In addition to the ornaments thus far described, the sample evidences articulatory units of one beat in length, which are used to create variety in the execution of passages of semiquavers. Eight basic articulatory units have been identified in the sample of ten performances (fig. 8.32, 1-8). Through the use of slurs from the preceding beat and to the succeeding beat, a number of variants of the basic units are created (fig. 8.32, 1.1-8.2):
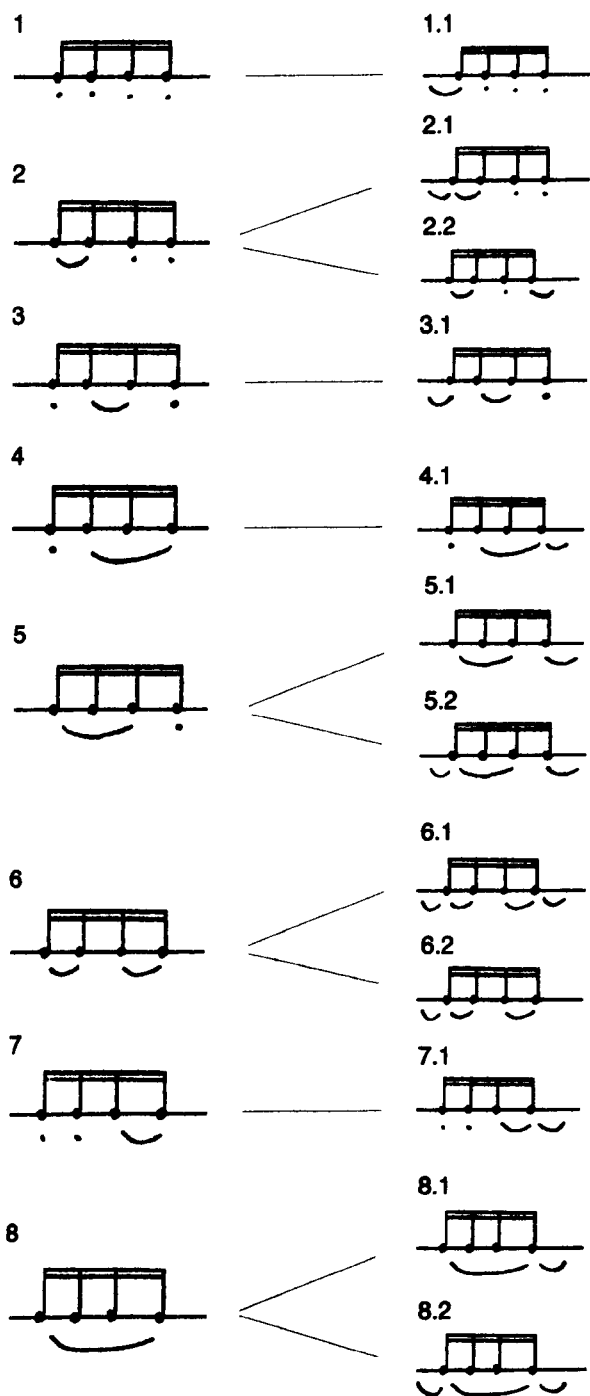


Fig. 8.32  Basic articulatory units for semiquavers and their variants

Although less prevalent, similar patterns may be observed in the sampled performances in the articulation of passages of mixed quavers and semiquavers. For the purposes of this study, it is not necessary to list them in detail.

## 8.4 Performance practice techniques

Section 8.3 examined the basic ornaments and ornament combinations, demonstrating that both Brandwein and Tarras use not only the same ornamental palette, but that they employ those ornaments and ornament combinations at comparable points in the melodic line in conjunction with a variety of stereotypical figures. Sections 8.4-8.6 shall analyse the various techniques employed by Brandwein and Tarras during the course of a performance.

As discussed in 8.1 above it is the complex of ornamentation and phrasing which is the key distinguishing factor of a good klezmer performance. Max Epstein characterises own his process of performance as follows:

> I don't play it twice the same way. I make a little change here, a little grace note here, I take it away from here, I put it into another place. A little run here, a little glissando here. I do something with it, I don't want it to be the same, a stereotype. I want it to be a little different everytime I do it. I'll play it ten times, I'll play it ten times differently (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

In a similar fashion Sid Beckerman describes the interpretative process as comprising "a little ornament here or there that you felt or he felt, and that's the way we would play" (S. Beckerman 1996, interview). According to Beckerman, colleagues admired his father Shloimke's *"lebedike finger"* (lively fingers) — in other words, his ability to continually vary the melodic line (S. Beckerman 1985, personal communication).[28]

An analysis of the sampled recordings has shown that Brandwein and Tarras make use of a common palette of techniques affecting ornamentation, articulation and other aspects of performance practice in order to create the kind of melodic and rhythmic variety about which Epstein and Beckerman are speaking — from repeat to repeat and from performance to performance.

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28  According to Marty Levitt, there was no varying of the melody in the sense of improvisation, but rather changes were made mostly to the *dreydlekh* (ornaments) from repeat to repeat (M. Levitt 1996, interview).

Six basic performance practice techniques have been identified in the sample:

(1) "variation" entails altering the components of an ornament, ornament combination, rhythmic or articulatory pattern, as well as changes made to the melodic contour of passages shorter than a phrase in length (fig. 8.33 below);

(2) "substitution" refers to the technique of replacing an ornament, figure or phrase with a melodic unit of equivalent length (fig. 8.34);

(3) "subdivision" is the "division of long notes into short ones" (Badura-Skoda 1980:45), referring to the filling out of a more skeletal version of the melodic line, but without altering its general contour or direction (fig. 8.35);

(4) "insertion" or "deletion" involves the introduction of an ornament, ornament combination or idiosyncratic figure to an unornamented passage, or the deletion of an ornament (or ornament combination) from an ornamented passage (fig. 8.36);

(5) "expansion" or "contraction" entails lengthening or shortening a sentence by adding bars to or deleting bars from a sentence-segment (fig. 8.37);

and

(6) "*tempo rubato*" and "agogic accents" (or "*tenuto*") refer to "the rhythmical independence of a melody from its accompaniment" (Philip 1992:38), and "the use of small modifications of rhythm and tempo ... for expressive performance" (Philip 1992:41, after H. Riemann, *Musikalische Dynamik und Agogic*, 1884), respectively (fig. 8.38).

The range of effect of these six techniques may be placed on a continuum from the most infinitesimal alteration made to a single tone to the substitution, subdivision, expansion or contraction of an entire passage of up to four bars in length.[29]

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29   Variation at the most micro level, such as changes in the number of alternations in a trill or slight variations in tone lengths, is not captured by the present transcriptions.

## 8.4.1 Variation

This technique takes the form of ornamental, melodic, rhythmic or articulatory variation. The levels of variation identified in the sampled performances may be summarised as follows:[30]

### (1) Ornamental variation

(a) variation of one or more of the non-essential components of a particular ornament:

NB 6b: 1 (first two tones slurred)    DT 1: 1 (trill begins on main tone)
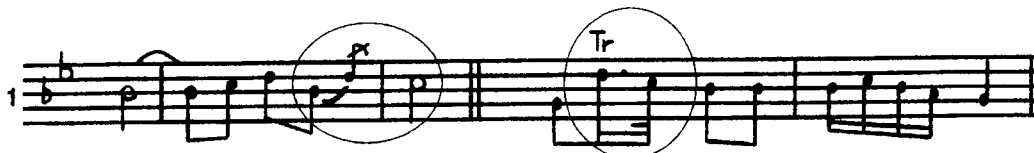
NB 6b: 17 (all three tones slurred)    DT 1: 65 (trill begins on upper tone)
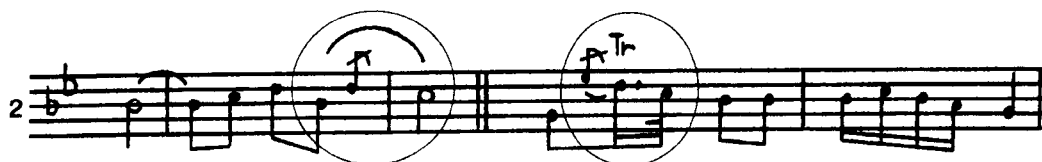
Fig. 8.33a Ornamental variation a

(b) variation of an ornament combination:

NB 10: 1 (LUN-S + TBE)    NB 10: 57 (LUN-S + SBT + TR)

NB 10: 137 (LUN-S + TBM)    NB 10: 209 (LUN-S + TBE + TR)

Fig. 8.33b Ornamental variation b

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30  In figs. 8.33-8.38, the reduced sample of ten performances has been augmented as necessary from the larger sample for illustrative purposes.

(2) Melodic variation — variation of the tones within the scope of a melodic unit smaller than a phrase (as opposed to variation by subdivision as discussed in 8.4.3 below):



Fig. 8.33c Melodic variation

In the examples in fig. 8.33c, lines 1-4, it may be seen that melodic variation takes place at a minute level. This typically involves the changing of one or two tones only, using simple transformations such as extending the melodic line up a 3rd or 4th (NB10:59-60, line 2; DT1:9, line 4; DT12b:9 and 11, line 4), or adding a lower neighbour (NB10:194, line 2). The amount of variation present on line 5 is rare, practically amounting to a re-composing of the first three beats of the phrase beginning at DT1:57.

## (3) Rhythmic variation

### (a) variation of the rhythm by dotting non-dotted tones or vice versa:[31]



Fig. 8.33d  Rhythmic variation a

### (b) variation of the rhythmic stress from the beat to the off-beat by adding or deleting syncopation or anticipation:



Fig. 8.33e  Rhythmic variation b

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31  See also the discussion of agogic accents in 8.4.6 below.

## (4) Articulatory variation

### (a) variation of one of the basic articulatory patterns or its variant:[32]



Fig. 8.33f  Articulatory variation a

As can be seen, articulatory variation may be perceived both with reference to a single sentence — as the variation of the articulatory units from beat to beat — as well as with reference to the different repeats, as the variation in the combination of articulatory units from sentence to sentence.

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32  The same principle of articulatory variation is, of course, applied to other rhythmic patterns as well, besides those consisting of semiquavers only.

(b)  variation of tone lengths by making staccato tones *tenuto* or vice versa:[33]



Fig. 8.33g  Articulatory variation b

The lengthening of the last five tones at NB1a:61-62 (fig. 8.33g, line 1) changes the rhythmic emphasis and is therefore a hybrid of rhythmic and articulatory variation.

There are no examples in the sampled recordings of articulatory variation b being employed by Tarras, and NB28 is the only performance in the sample which makes obvious use of this technique. It is thus atypical, at least with regard to the recordings at hand.

## 8.4.2 Substitution

Section 8.3.3 has shown that Brandwein and Tarras each have a preference for specific ornament combinations which appear to complement each other. The compatibility or equivalence of ornaments leads to the facility of substituting one for another. As has been discussed in 7.3.3, the stereotypical cadential figures appear to follow a similar process to that of Chomsky's generative grammar, resulting in a large number of variants which conform to the same basic shapes. This generative process allows for the substitution of entire phrases with others of the same length.

The levels of substitution present in the sampled performances may be summarised as follows:

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33    Articulatory variation technique b could also be interpreted as agogic accentuation or *tenuto* as discussed in 8.4.6 below.

## (1) Ornamental substitution

### (a) substitution of one equivalent ("contrastive") ornament (or ornament combination) for another:



Fig. 8.34a Ornamental substitution a

The substitution may simply represent a subtle rhythmic shift in the ornamentation of a figure. For example, the two-tone grace at DT1:198 (line 2) essentially shifts the stress of the three-tone trill from on the beat (DT1:2, line 1) to before the beat.

### (b) substitution of one traditional ornamentation schema for another in the ornamentation of stereotypical figures:



Fig. 8.34b Ornamental substitution b

Substitution technique b is atypical for the sampled performances. The more typical ornamental substitution is that depicted in fig. 8.34a above.

(2) Phrasal substitution — substitution of one stereotypical phrase, such as the cadences identified in 7.3.3, for another:

NB 10: 149 (A₄ extended prefix 7d + root 3b)
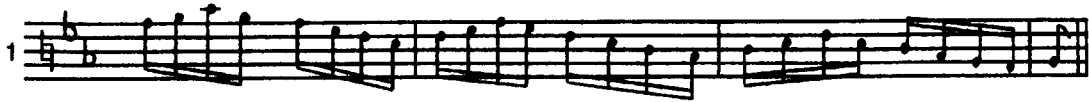


NB 10: 98 (A₄ extended prefix 7c + root 1e)



NB 10: 173 (A₄ prefix 7a + root 3a)
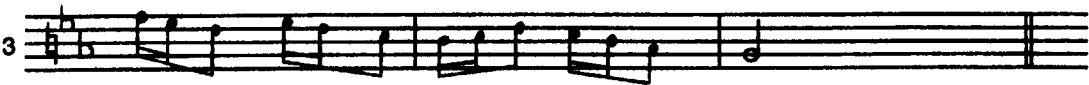


DT 19: 45 (A₂ prefix 5c + root 3a)



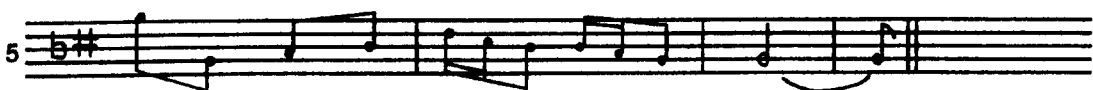DT 19: 61 (A₂ root 1a, prefix not present in reduced sample)



Fig. 8.34c  Phrasal substitution

This type of phrasal substitution typically also involves the substitution of one rhythmic schema for another, for example replacing semiquavers (8.34c, line 1) with quavers or dotted quavers (line 2), or mixed semiquavers and quavers (line 3).

## 8.4.3 Subdivision

Melodic subdivision most often comprises the subdivision of quaver passages into semiquavers or mixed quavers and semiquavers. Subdivision is applied sparingly to melodic units ranging from one beat to two bars in duration. It often involves the introduction of chromatic passing tones. Rhythmic subdivision is used to create variety during melodically static passages.

**(1) Melodic subdivision:**



Fig. 8.35a  Melodic subdivision

**(2) Rhythmic subdivision:**



Fig. 8.35b  Rhythmic subdivision [34]

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34    See also figs. 8.37b-c below.

## 8.4.4 Insertion and deletion

The use of insertion and deletion in the sampled recordings may be summarised as follows:

(1) Ornamental insertion and deletion — addition of an ornament (or ornament combination) to a tone or figure not previously ornamented, or deletion of an ornament (or ornament combination) from a tone or figure previously ornamented:

Insertion:

NB6d: 33 (not ornamented)    DT 19: 33 (not ornamented)

NB6d: 113 (ornamented with TBE + TBB)    DT 19: 49 (ornamented with STG)

Deletion:

DT 1: 7 (ornamented with LUN-S)    NB 10: 15 (ornamented with TTG)
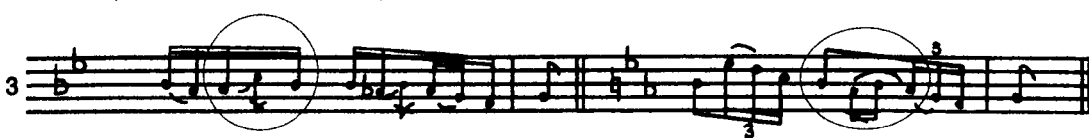
DT 1: 55 (not ornamented)    NB 10: 151 (not ornamented)

Fig. 8.36a Ornamental insertion and deletion

(2) Figural insertion — insertion of an idiosyncratic figure at a resting point in the melodic line:

NB8b: 64

NB5: 41

Fig. 8.36b Figural insertion

In the sampled recordings only Brandwein makes use of this technique, which involves the insertion of idiosyncratic figures such as those notated in fig. 8.36b as a kind of musical "signature" at points of melodic rest.[35]

## 8.4.5 Expansion and contraction

The technique of expansion and contraction takes the following two forms in the sampled performances:

(1) Cadential or pre-cadential expansion — expansion of the sentence length through the insertion of a cadential or pre-cadential phrase (or phrase-segment)(fig. 8.37a below):[36]

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35 Besides the two recordings cited here, Brandwein uses the same or similar figures on at least three additional recordings not in the sample, including both metric and non-metric genres.

36 Whereas Brandwein performs sentence *c* with the four-bar pre-cadential phrase only once during the course of NB5 (fig. 8.37a, lines 6 and 8), Tarras performs sentence *a* of DT15a both times in its expanded form (lines 2 and 4), so that his expansion approaches re-composition, rather than variation during the course of a performance. In comparison to known variants of the tune, such as the version recorded as 'Bessarabskiya Hora' by Belf's Romanian Orchestra (Sirena 11094, recorded in Europe [possibly Warsaw] April 1912 and reissued as 'Bessarabian Hora' in Sapoznik and Spottswood 1993; fig. 8.37a), it can it be seen that the "original" sentence structure was balanced. Wollock's discography lists the title as 'Bessarabskii Zhok' (1997:42).

Max Epstein's version of the same tune from 1993 is also sixteen bars in length ('Hora & Sirba' in Ottens and Rubin 1995c); the version printed in Kostakowsky 1916:12 (no. 4, 'Rumanian Horra And Serba'; see fig. 7.32b above) is eight bars in length, leaving out the repeat of the first eight bars which would form a balanced sixteen-bar sentence; the version in Fleischman and Bloom 1911 (no. 12, 'Roumanian Dance [Hora]') is also the equivalent of an eight-bar sentence, written out as four 6/8 bars.

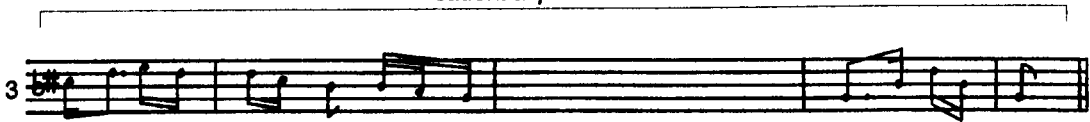**Belf's Romanian Orch., 'Bessarabskiya Hora': 9 (eight-bar sentence-segment)**
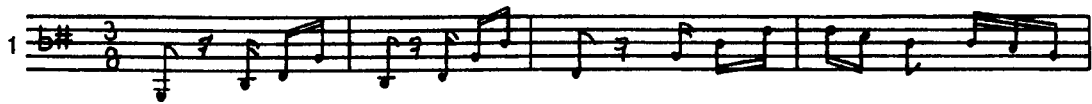
**DT 15a: 9 (expanded ten-bar sentence-segment)**
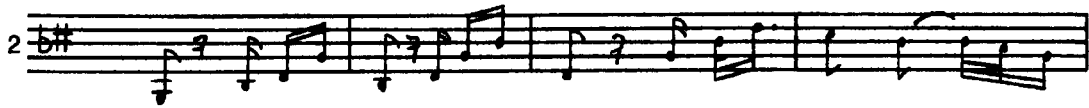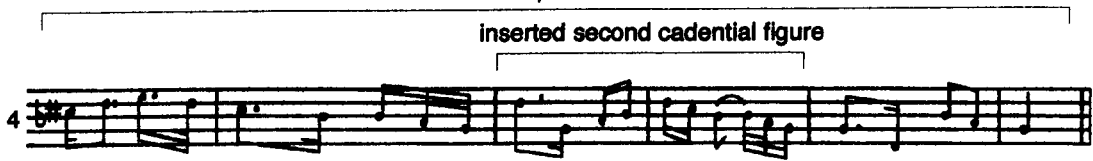
**Belf's Romanian Orch.: 13**
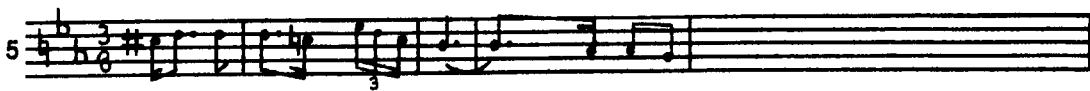
cadential phrase

**DT 15a: 13**

cadential phrases

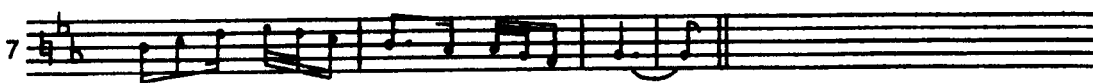inserted second cadential figure

**NB 5: 93 (eight-bar sentence-segment)**

**NB 5: 113 (expanded twelve-bar sentence-segment)**

inserted pre-cadential phrase
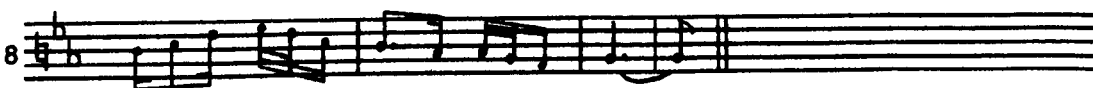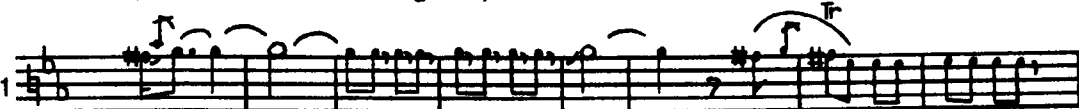from sentence *b*

**NB 5: 97**

**NB 5: 121**

Fig. 8.37a  Cadential and pre-cadential expansion

(2) Static expansion or contraction — expansion or contraction of the sentence through the addition or deletion of bars in a melodically static passage.
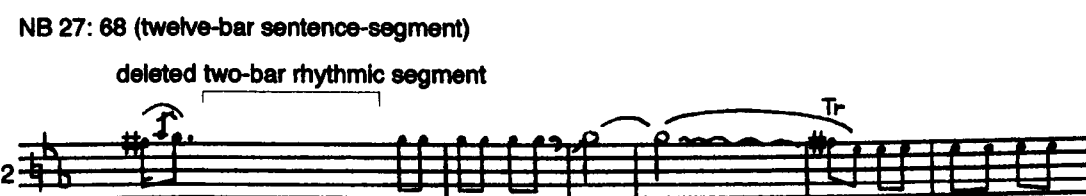
(a) passage is at beginning of sentence:

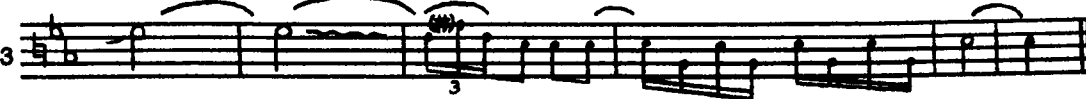**NB 27: 50 (fourteen-bar sentence-segment)**

**NB 27: 68 (twelve-bar sentence-segment)**

deleted two-bar rhythmic segment

**NB 27: 58**

**NB 27: 74**

melodic variation of
static melodic passage

Fig. 8.37b  Static expansion or contraction at beginning of sentence

(b) passage is in mid-sentence:

NB 10: 89



NB 10: 110

NB 10: 94

inserted two-bar rhythmic segment

NB 10: 115

Fig. 8.37c Static expansion or contraction in mid-sentence

## 8.4.6 *Tempo rubato* and agogic accents

*Tempo rubato* and agogic accents both refer to minute rhythmical variations in relation to the beat, independent of the accompaniment. Here, *tempo rubato* shall be considered to be rhythmic fluctuations which cross from one beat or bar to another whereas agogic accents shall be considered to be fluctuations within a single beat.

## (1) *Tempo rubato*

Three main forms of *tempo rubato* have been identified in the sampled performances:

(a) a slight rushing of the melodic line, so that the melodic line precedes the accompaniment at the next downbeat or strong beat:

NB 32: 33

DT 13a: 13

Fig. 8.38a  Melodic rubato a

(b) a slight rushing of the melodic line towards the next bar, followed by a slight pause, so that the downbeat of both melody and accompaniment coincide:

DT 1: 21

NB 5: 113

Fig. 8.38b  Melodic rubato b

(c) a slight delaying of the melodic line, so that the accompanimental downbeat precedes that of the melody:

DT 2: 5
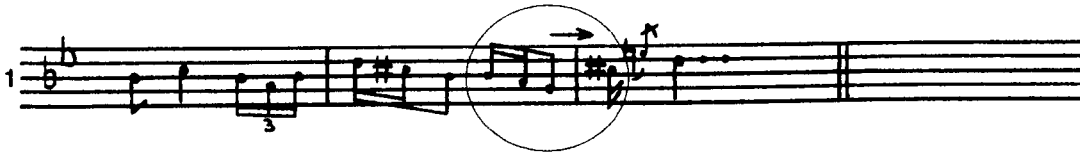


NB 5: 1



Fig. 8.38c Melodic rubato c

## (2) Agogic accents

Two main types of agogic accent have been identified in the sampled performances:

(a) a slight *tenuto* on the semiquavers of each rhythmic unit comprising two semiquavers and one quaver:



Fig. 8.38d *Tenuto* phrasing on figures of two semiquavers and one quaver

This is a constant characteristic in the phrasing of this rhythmic pattern, so that the duration of the tones actually lies somewhere in-between two semiquavers and a quaver (as notated) and triplets. Willie Epstein remembers the Galician-born multi-instrumentalist Beresh Katz, who often performed with Brandwein in New York, as citing the phrasing of such "triplet" patterns as *the* main characteristic of "authentic" klezmer music as he perceived it (W. Epstein 1993, personal commmunication). Within the general framework of this phrasing schema, the performance of actual triplets is used as an occasional device, for example by Brandwein at NB22:95:

NB 22: 93
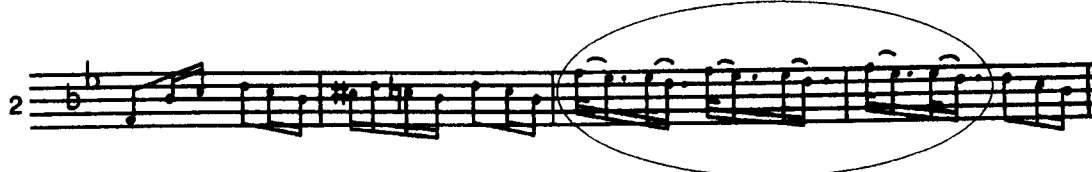


Fig. 8.38e Triplet phrasing as an occasional device

(b   a slight *tenuto* on the second, fourth or second and fourth semiquavers
of certain groupings of four semiquavers:

DT 1: 3

DT 1: 17

Fig. 8.38f   *Tenuto* in phrasing of groups of four semiquavers

The use of agogic accentuation of type b is not constant and appears to vary
with the tempo and character of a tune. The slower the tempo is, the more
obvious the agogic accentuation is, such as in DT1 and DT5b, the two slowest
duple metre tunes in the sample.

## 8.5 Aspects of performance practice in relation to single performances

Sections 8.3-8.4 have isolated the basic ornaments, articulatory units and performance practice techniques from one another for illustrative purposes. This and the following section are concerned with aspects of style within the framework of complete performances. In practice, the various layers of ornamentation and performance practice techniques are integrally woven together during the course of performance. In addition, the modal-structural elements discussed in chapter 7, such as cadential formulae, variable tones and modulatory schemata, interact with the ornamental elements discussed in this chapter, triggering decisions affecting stylistic aspects of the performance. The remainder of the discussion shall therefore bring together all of the aspects examined thus far.

At this level of complexity it begins to become increasingly difficult to develop a coherent model of melodic-stylistic behaviour, even though only certain aspects involved in performance have been considered in this study.[37] After a certain point, the musical decisions made during the course of a performance become largely a question of taste within the framework of the structural and stylistic parameters detailed in this and the previous chapter, as theoretical issues progress through practice to arrive at questions of the personal aesthetic of the individual performer-composer. Racy has written:

> Improvising is thought to transcend the realm of explicit rationalization and to occur on a mental or psychological plateau that is dificult to fathom or explain in plain musicological terms. Like other creative musical pursuits, it appears to entail spontaneity rather than purely conscious calculation (Ghiselin, ed. 1952:15). As one researcher puts it, improvisation is "essentially nonacademic" (Bailey 1992:ix) (Racy 2000:304).

This difficulty to "fathom or explain" is reflected in Max Epstein's perplexed admiration for the inventiveness of his trumpeter colleague, Lou Levinn, as he wonders "where did he get that from?" (in M. Epstein and W. Epstein 1994, interview).

Nevertheless, there are a number of issues of performance which can be examined using analytic means, including the density of ornamentation within individual sentences, the extent of variance between the repeats of sentences, the employment of global variational techniques, and the relationship between particular types of melodic figures and the application of performance practice techniques to them.

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37 See Brinner (1995:40-42) for a survey of the numerous domains of musical competence involved in making up a performance.

### 8.5.1 Density, consistency and placement of ornamentation and articulation within the context of single sentences

In the music of Brandwein and Tarras, slurs of more than a few consecutive tones are found only under certain circumstances, such as turns and arpeggios, the ending signal shown in fig. 7.3 and similar, rapidly ascending chromatic scalar figures, or Brandwein's idiosyncratic figural insertion depicted in fig. 8.36b. In most other cases, the transition from one melodic tone to the next is accomplished by some combination of group I and group II ornaments, and articulation. Within this framework, there is no uniformity in the sample regarding the number or placement of ornaments per sentence, but rather a continuum ranging from sparsely to densely ornamented sentences. Among fifty sixteen-bar sentences examined,[38] for example, the most sparsely ornamented sentences contain three ornaments (NB2b:*a*, NB6b:*b*) and the most densely ornamented sentence contains thirty-one ornaments (NB8a:*b*). 72% of the sentences fall into an intermediate range of eight to twenty ornaments, 16% contain fewer than eight ornaments, and 12% have more than twenty ornaments.

The density of ornamentation of a particular sentence appears to be affected by a number of factors. The slower the basic tempo, the greater the potential is for dense ornamentation, and metrical subcategories Ib (4/4) and IIa (3/8) also tend to exhibit higher ornamental density. In contrast, sentences with more semiquaver and mixed semiquaver and quaver passages tend to have fewer ornaments than those with predominantly crotchet and quaver passages. Beyond these general tendencies, the performances of Tarras tend to be more densely ornamented than those of Brandwein. For example, DT19:33-48 contains ten ornaments, whereas the comparable sentence NB6b:33-48 has three; DT13a:1-24 has fifty-seven ornaments, while the variant sentence Nb6a:1-24 contains twenty-four.[39]

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38 Here only the first iteration of each sentence has been considered. The number of sixteen-bar sentences has been adjusted to include DT18 and DT19, which are variant performances of NB10 and NB6b.

39 Since NB6a, NB6b and NB10 were recorded acoustically, and DT 19, DT13a and DT18 were recorded electronically, it is possible that the differential in ornamental density between the variant performances of the three tunes was not as great as reflected in these figures, and that the more subtle ornaments of Brandwein were either not registered in the acoustic recording process or are no longer audible due to the poor quality of the source recordings.

The variant performances of these three tunes shall be discussed further in section 8.6.3 below.

### 8.5.2 Performance practice techniques within the context of complete performances

This section shall examine variance in the repeats of sentences (and sentence-segments) within a single performance accomplished through the application of the various performance practice techniques. These techniques are relative in the sense that most of them, including variation, substitution, subdivision, insertion and deletion, and expansion and contraction, can only be perceived in relation to other versions of the same melodic unit.[40]

In a similar fashion to the density of ornamentation within single sentences, a range is exhibited between the repeat performances of sentences spanning from no variance to extensive variance. In most cases, the unit of comparison is not the complete sentence, but rather smaller melodic units. While there are examples of entire sentences exhibiting little or no variance between repeats, such as NB1b:*a*, NB4:*b*, NB5*a*, NB6b:*a*, NB27:*b*, and DT12b:*b*, the more typical case involves sentences in which some melodic units show moderate to extensive variance, and others little or none. Consistency of variance, therefore, does not appear to be a stylistic criterion, and it is possible for levels of variance covering the entire spectrum to be present within a single performance. Sentence *a* of NB4, for example, exhibits entensive variance, whereas the *b* sentence shows limited variance, and the first phrase of sentence *c* displays moderate variance. It appears that certain melodic units are perceived by the performer to be more skeletal in nature or consist of stereotypical patterns which allow more easily for performance practice techniques such as substitution and variation to be applied, whereas other melodic units are perceived to be more fixed or composed in nature — in which case the tendency would be to reproduce them in the same manner on each repeat. This may be a reflection of the two extremes defined by Leo Treitler in his study of medieval improvisation: (1) playing "by ear", which implies the performer is following "some concatenation of principles of selection and order and actual melodic bits or formulas — call it an improvisatory system — that allows him to make it up as he sings [plays]"; and (2) playing "by heart", in which the performer recalls the entire composition or, in this case, fragments of a composition, "more or less exactly" each time (Treitler 1991:78). Additional factors could include the mood of the player at the time of the performance as well as his personal stylistic aesthetic.

The range of variance in the recorded performances of Brandwein and Tarras is, therefore, wider than that described by Max Epstein in his statement "I don't play it twice the same way" (M. Epstein 1991, interview). Only rarely do they play it exactly the same way twice or completely differently each time.

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40 There is no evidence that the first version of a sentence during the course of a performance should necessarily be considered the "ur"-version, against which all other versions should be judged. They have been depicted as such in the complete transcriptions in volume II strictly to provide a basis for comparison.

In the final analysis, there is no rational explanation as to why Tarras, for example, chooses to vary bars 3-4 of the sentence DT4:*a* from repeat to repeat, but not the comparable passage at bars 9-10, or why Brandwein subdivides the ascending scalar passage at NB6b:57-58 and its subsequent repeats, but not the comparable passage at bars 33-34. These apparent discrepancies may perhaps be attributed to the "unquantifiables that distinguish one performance from another qualitatively" (Brinner 1995:34).

### 8.5.2.1 Alternation and combination

In addition to the performance practice techniques described in section 8.4 above, two global techniques used by both performers to create variety between the repeats of sentences have been identified in the sample: "alternation" and "combination".

In applying alternation, the player creates two basic variants of the same melodic unit using a technique or combination of techniques such as melodic variation, subdivision or phrasal substitution. He then creates variety during the course of the performance by alternating the two variants at the repeats ("vertical alternation"; fig. 8.39a below):

Fig. 8.39a Creation of variety through vertical alternation

Such alternation does not, however, necessarily follow an *abab* form. For example, the alternation beginning at NB25:43 (fig. 8.39a above, lines 1-2) follows the form *abba*, whereas the alternation beginning at DT4:3 (lines 5-6) follows the schema *aaabbb*. Alternation may be viewed not only as taking place "vertically" between melodic units occurring at the same place in a variant of a particular sentence (fig. 8.39a), but also "horizontally" between comparable melodic units occurring at different points within the same sentence. For example, Tarras varies the basic melodic figure of b♭-c-a♭-g at DT1:33 (variant a, fig. 8.39b below) by subdividing it in the subsequent bar (variant b). In the repeat at bar 137, he transforms the passage by performing variant b in the first position:



Fig. 8.39b Creation of variety through horizontal alternation

The application of the technique of combination creates patterns of variety which are more complex and subtle than the either/or scenario of alternation as depicted in figs. 8.39a-b. In order to more clearly show how combination works, it shall be broken down conceptually into several layers which, during the course of performance, occur simultaneously. The first layer comprises the building of "melodic-ornamental" units, which are melodic units with specific ornamentation schemata attached to them.

This process follows the same generative logic as the construction of the stereotypical cadential figures depicted in figs. 7.9-7.10. Here, the process may be seen as taking place in two sub-stages:

(1) the formation of melodic unit variants from a basic melodic unit (deep structure);

and then

(2) the application of performance practice techniques to the melodic unit variants to create melodic-ornamental unit variants (surface structures).

This process is shown in detail for the creation of the melodic-ornamental units $a_1$-$c_2$ in the first bar of NB4:$a$:
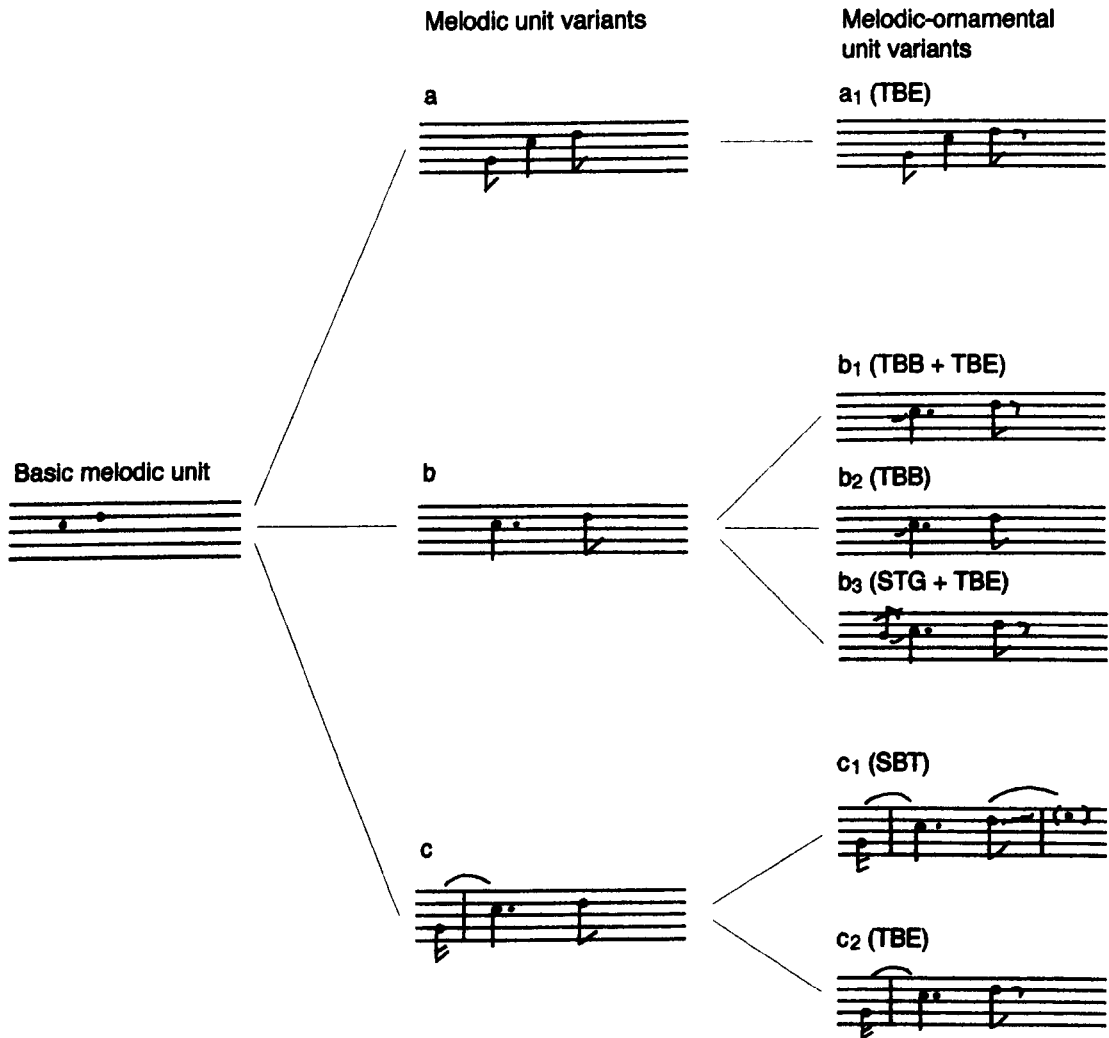


Fig. 8.40a  Generation of melodic-ornamental unit variants

In the generative process illustrated in fig. 8.40a, Brandwein is confronted with a number of performance decisions both at the melodic and ornamentational levels: is the figure to be played with or without an auxiliary tone on the 4th below?; if so, should the auxiliary tone be played before or on the beat?; if the resultant figure consists of two tones, should the first tone, the second tone, or both be ornamented?; if the first tone is ornamented, shall it be with a single-tone grace or a TBB ornament?; and so on.

The melodic-ornamental unit variants are combined horizontally with melodic-ornamental unit variants of other basic melodic units to form larger structures. In the case of NB4, the entirety of sentence $a$ is constructed in this manner. Fig. 8.40b below depicts all ten versions of the sentence as performed by Brandwein:

Fig. 8.40b  Extensive variance through combination (NB4:*a*)

For the purposes of analysis, the sentence has been divided into eight melodic units. The melodic-ornamental units have been labelled vertically, so that the first unit consists of variants $a_1$-$c_2$ (bar 1), the second of variants $d_1$-$e_1$ (bar 2), and so on. In all, the sentence is constructed from the thirty-seven such melodic-ornamental unit variants $a_1$-$t_1$.[41] Variety between the melodic-ornamental units is created by a combination of performance practice techniques, including ornamental, melodic, rhythmic and articulatory variation, melodic and rhythmic subdivision, and ornamental substitution, insertion and deletion. Each of the melodic units exhibits as few as one and as many as four melodic variants, and as many as eight melodic-ornamental variants. Several of the variants, such as $e_1$ and $f_2$, are used frequently, whereas others appear only once during the course of the performance. Through differing horizontal combinations of the unit variants, Brandwein fashions ten interpretations of the entire sentence, each of which is unique. Here he is literally consistent with Max Epstein's approach to performance: "I'll play it ten times, I'll play it ten times differently" (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

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41   At the same time, there appears to be a preference to combine certain melodic units together to create larger units. For example, the combination of a melodic-ornamental variant of unit e with a melodic-ornamental variant of unit f appears in nine of the ten sentence variants depicted in fig. 8.40b, so that the melodic line in in bars 2-3 of the sentence could also be viewed as one larger melodic unit comprising two sub-units.

Tarras' interpretation of the first two bars of DT1 follows the same generative process:



Fig. 8.40c  Extensive variance through combination (first phrase of DT1:*a)*

The two examples just discussed are at the extensively varied extreme of the ornamental-variational continuum. The majority of melodic units in the sample are situated in the mid-range: they contain micro-ornamental variety, but without extensive construction of melodic unit variants, thus constricting the range of variability somewhat. In carrying out the interpretation of these melodic units, a combination of all of the approaches described thus far, including alternation and combination, is used, only in a more limited fashion than that shown in figs. 8.40b-c. For example, in the first half-sentence of DT2, some of the units are varied often (fig. 8.41a below, units a and d), some exhibit limited variance (b and g), and some are not varied at all (c and f):



Fig. 8.41a  Mid-range variance (DT2:a, first half-sentence)

Brandwein varies the first half-sentence of NB25:*b* in a similar fashion to Tarras, but with even more limited changes (fig. 8.41b below). Here, only units b, c and d are varied:



Fig. 8.41b Mid-range variance (NB25:*b*, first half-sentence)

The techniques of alternation and combination described above are similar to Bruno Nettl's concept of "improvised variation" found in certain sub-Saharan musical traditions, in which "a vocal or instrumental soloist repeats a short phrase many times, varying it slightly each time but maintaining a consistent length and rhythmic framework" (B. Nettl 2001:96).

Before moving on to a discussion of multiple performances of the same tunes, it may be noted that certain types of melodic configurations tend to trigger specific performance responses. These tendencies, some of which have already been touched upon in section 8.4 above, may be summarised as follows:

(1) Semiquaver passages tend to leave little space for ornaments or melodic variation. Variety in such passages is generally created through articulatory variation. For example, Brandwein varies the sentence NB27:*d* in all four versions exclusively through articulatory variation; the melodic line is identical in every case. He employs no other performance practice techniques, such as melodic variation, and, at a tempo of $\downarrow$ = 132, it would be difficult to incorporate group I or II ornaments into the passage (fig. 8.42a below: [42]

NB 27:



Fig. 8.42a Articulatory variation of semiquaver passage (NB 27:*d*, first half-sentence)

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[42] A similar pattern of variation may be found in the cadential phrases at NB10:13, 37 and 149, and DT18:21, 45, 141 and 165.

For the same reasons, fewer group I and II ornaments are present in passages which are governed by melodic subdivision, especially when semiquavers predominate in the resultant passage. In the contrasting variant passages illustrated in fig. 8.42b below, both Tarras and Brandwein choose either to ornament with group I and II ornaments (variants a), or to subdivide and embellish by articulatory variation (variants b):

DT 19:

variant a (group I and II ornaments)

variant b (subdivision + articulatory variation)

NB 10:

variant a (group I and II ornaments + articulatory units)

variant b (subdivision via phrasal substitution + articulatory variation)

Fig. 8.42b Articulatory variation in conjunction with subdivision and phrasal substitution

(2) Extensive variance between the repeats of melodic units tends to occur during melodically static passages. In addition to the performance practice techniques involved in the variation of other melodic units, here the techniques of expansion and contraction are employed as well. As a result of contraction, melodic unit a in the following example is four bars, whereas the variant units b and c are only two bars in length:



Fig. 8.43a Extensive variance in static melodic passage (NB27:c)

In such passages the basic units are not "melodic" in the sense used up until now, but are rather rhythmic in nature, centering in most cases around a single tone.[43] In the passage from NB27:c illustrated here, the entire sentence (excluding the cadential phrase) is made up of three rhythmic "phrases" which, when taken together, outline a descending scale based on $A_2$ on the 4th degree:



Fig. 8.43b Basic melodic shape of passage depicted in fig. 8.43a

43 Similar passages are to be found in NB9:c, NB10:c and DT18:c, and DT5b:b.

A number of the rhythmic-ornamental units generated in such passages may be viewed as simple transformations of each other. For example, unit f is an inversion of unit b, and unit h is a diminution combining aspects of both b and f in a single rhythmic-ornamental unit:



Fig. 8.43c  Transformations of rhythmic-ornamental units depicted in fig. 8.43a

(3) Patterns in crotchets and quavers comprising ascending or descending scalar figures, motion in descending 3rds, or arpeggios tend to invite variation by subdivision. The technique may be applied to melodic units as small as one or two beats, such as the examples shown here from NB1b and NB14, or to larger melodic units, such as the phrase beginning at DT2:9:



Fig. 8.44 Subdivision applied to scalar figures, motion in descending 3rds and arpeggios

### 8.5.3 Summary of performance practice techniques in relation to single performances

The performance practice techniques described in 8.4 and 8.5.2 provide a repertoire of different ways to interpret the same basic melodic material. Certain stereotypical figures tend to allow for a particularly wide range of ornamental variety. For example, figure *j* — first introduced in relation to the LUN-N ornament (fig. 8.10a) — is performed in seven different ways in the sampled recordings:
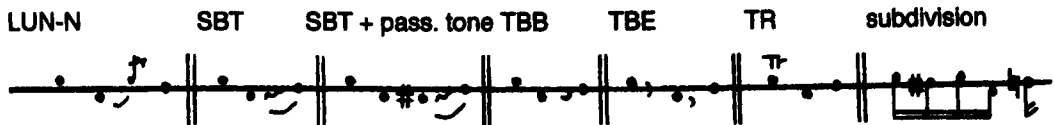


Fig. 8.45a  Range of possible ornamentation of figure *j*

In some cases, more than one of the performance practice techniques is applied to a figure concurrently. A performer would not, however, use all seven ways of ornamenting figure *j* during the course of a single performance. This would "destroy the steak" — to continue Danny Rubinstein's spice metaphor — for the same reason that using the same ornament too many times in a row would do. These seven ways appear rather to present different aesthetic possibilities within the acceptable stylistic parameters, from which the performer chooses in arriving at the interpretation of a particular figure (fig. 8.45b below):

Fig. 8.45b Variant performances of figure *j*

Based on the performance techniques described thus far, a concept of the development of musical ideas from one version of a melodic unit to the next — for example, by playing a simple or simpler version of the melodic unit the first time and a more embellished version on its repeat — does not appear to be a criterion of performance for either of the two performers. Across the ornamental-variational continuum, the focus of attention is on the tiny and subtle details of micro-variation. The effect of these micro-variational improvisational techniques is that even the change of only one parameter of a single ornament within a given melodic figure — which may not have even even been conscious on the part of the performer — can be enough to give the listener the illusion that more extensive improvisation is being carried out, thus generating a sense of freedom in the music.

It is likely that the tendency towards subtle micro-variation was influenced by the Jewish educational system in Eastern Europe of *kheyder* and *yeshivah*, of which Brandwein, Tarras and most of their immigrant colleagues had been products. The Talmud scholar Adin Steinsaltz points out that the student of Talmud (the text which formed "a kind of backbone to the entire complex of Jewish knowledge") "applied the thought processes which he had learnt from the Talmud to all aspects of life" (Steinsaltz 1995:348, 351). Shmarya Levin writes of his own religious education as a child in Russia:

> In particular the scholars of Swislowitz were delighted with the inverted phrase: "Give us all that thou hast, but thy soul thou mayest keep" — the very opposite of what the King of Sodom said to Abraham. It showed that I was not only capable of inserting a biblical verse, but I could also turn it upside down as need dictated. This was regarded as evidence of intelligence and talent" (S. Levin 1975:232).

The ability of Brandwein and Tarras to insert and manipulate melodic units at will seems to echo the thought processes described by Levin.

## 8.6 Aspects of performance practice in relation to multiple performances of the same tune

This section shall consider aspects of performance practice within the framework of three types of multiple performances of the same tune:

(1) second takes recorded by a single performer during the course of a single session;

(2) recordings of the same tune by a single performer on different dates;

and

(3) variant recordings of the same tunes by both performers.

### 8.6.1 Second takes of tunes made during the same recording session

The recordings available for comparison are the pairings NB6a and c, NB6b and d, NB7b and d,[44] NB8a-b and NB9a-b. All were recorded by Brandwein during a single session for Emerson around April 1923. No additional multiple takes recorded during the time frame covered by this study have been located by the author,[45] so that the conclusions drawn here are, of necessity, limited.

Besides the performance practice techniques discussed in reference to single performances in section 8.5 above, the following observations may be made regarding second takes from the same recording session:

(1) Variance between the repeats of melodic units (or melodic-ornamental unit variants) from the first to the second take of the same tune may take one of the following forms:

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44  The pairing NB7a and c is of a non-metric piece which has not been included in this study.

45  Spottswood (1990) lists no multiple takes by Tarras from this period as having been issued.

(a) The same melodic unit variants are used in both takes and the alternation schema is the same in both takes as well:

NB 9a & b: 33,45, 89, 145 (variant a)
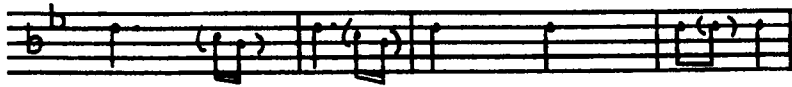


NB 9a & b: 101, 157 (variant b)



**Fig. 8.46a** Use of same alternation sequence in two takes from same recording session

For instance, in both NB9a and NB9b, melodic unit variant *a* shown in fig. 8.46a begins at bars 33, 45, 89 and 145, whereas variant *b* is inserted at bars 101 and 157, thus creating an alternation sequence of *aaabab*.

(b) The same melodic unit variants are used in both takes but the alternation sequence differs from take 1 to take 2:

NB 9a: 17, 81; NB 9b: 25 (variant a)
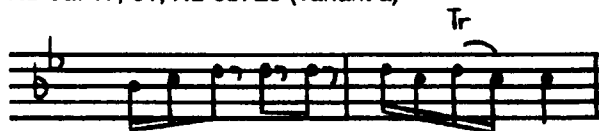


NB 9a: 25, 73, 129, 137; NB 9b: 17, 73, 81, 129, 137 (variant b)



**Fig. 8.46b** Differing alternation sequences between two takes from same recording session

For example, melodic-ornamental unit variant *a* shown in fig. 8.46b commences in NB9a at bars 17 and 81, in alternation with variant *b* at bars 25, 73, 129 and 137, following the sequence *abbabb*. In take 2 (NB9b), variant *a* begins at bar 25 only whereas variant b is used at bars 17, 73, 81, 129 and 137, creating an alternation sequence of *babbbb*.

(c) Some of the melodic unit variants are common to both takes but at least
    one of the takes contains melodic unit variants which differ from those
    used at the comparable position in the tune during the other take:

NB 6b: 41, 121 (variant a)



NB 6b: 57, 105; NB 6d: all repeats (variant b)



**Fig. 8.46c** Performance of two takes from same recording session with dissimilar melodic unit
variants

Fig. 8.46c shows, by way of illustration, the two melodic unit variants
appearing in NB6b at the beginning of the phrase first appearing at bar
41. While NB6b alternates variants *a* and *b* according to the sequnce
*abba*, only variant *b* appears in NB6d at the comparable position in the
tune. Variant *a* does, however, appear as part of the phrase beginning at
NB6d:33, so that there is a close correlation between the two
performances here as well, even though the melodic unit variants do
not directly correspond with one another.

In a similar combinatory process to that shown in passages from NB4 and DT1 in figs. 8.40b-c above, the two takes may contain a broader palette of melodic-ornamental variant units, some of which are common to both performances and some not:



Fig. 8.46d Combination of melodic-ornamental units in multiple takes from same recording session

In the pre-cadential bar to sentences *a* and *c* from NB8a and NB8b depicted in fig. 8.46d above, for example, units *a, c, f, g* and *l* are common to both takes, while units *b, d, e, h, i, j, k, m* and *n* are not.

(d) The passage uses dissimilar melodic unit variants in each take:

**NB 6b: 70, 86, 134 (variant a)**



**NB 6d: 70, 86, 134 (variant b)**
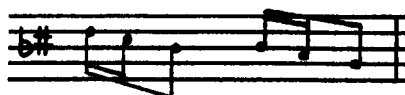


**Fig. 8.46e  Use of dissimilar melodic units in multiple takes from same recording session**

In the passages beginning at bars 70, 86 and 134 (the sixth bar of sentence *c*) depicted in fig. 8.46e, for instance, only variant *a* appears in NB6b, whereas NB6d contains only variant *b*. Here, however, variant *a* may be found in NB6d at the passage beginning at bar 66 (the second bar of sentence *c*), and a slightly altered version of variant *b* may be found in NB6b:90 (the tenth bar of sentence *c*). These may be viewed as further examples of horizontal alternation as depicted in fig. 8.39b above, so that even a passage in two takes comprising "dissimilar" units may be seen to exhibit stylistic unity.

In all cases, each of the paired recordings, when viewed individually, exhibits an internal consistency in accordance with the performance practice tendencies discussed in section 8.5. In most cases, all of the melodic unit variants — whether common to both takes or not — appear to follow the same generative logic and exhibit an aesthetic and stylistic unity, so that the two takes could practically be viewed as extensions of a single, organic performance.

(2) Further differences observed between the paired performances relate to larger-scale formal aspects, which include:

(a) Reversing the ordering of cadential phrases through the use of phrasal substitution (which may be also viewed as a larger-scale use of the technique of alternation). For example, in the balanced type I sentence *a* of both NB7b and NB7d, Brandwein alternates the use of two differing cadential phrases (1 and 2) on the repeats. The form of NB7b:1-16 is [phrase 1 + phrase 2 + phrase $1_1$ + cadential phrase 1], whereas on the repeat at bars 17-32, cadence 2 is substituted for 1 and the form becomes [phrase 1 + phrase 2 + phrase $1_1$ + cadential phrase 2]. In NB7d, Brandwein reverses the substitution process, so that the form of bars 1-16 is [phrase 1 + phrase 2 + phrase $1_1$ + cadential phrase 2], and the form of bars 17-32 is [phrase 1 + phrase 2 + phrase $1_1$ + cadential phrase 1]. Of course, the technique of phrasal substitution could have just as easily been employed by Brandwein during the course of a single performance as between two discrete performances. An examination of many more such duplicate recordings by him would be necessary to determine whether this represents a conscious formal decision on his part.

(b) The ordering of repeats is changed thus altering the formal structure of the tune. For example, in NB8a, the repeat structure is *aabbcb*, whereas in the second take, NB8b, Brandwein rearranges the repeat structure to *aabcc*.

(c) The basic tempo is changed, for example, NB8a has a tempo of ♩ = 132, while NB8b is considerably faster at ♩ = 168.

## 8.6.2 Recordings of the same tune by a single performer on differing dates

In the sample for the present study, only one tune was recorded on more than one occasion by the same performer: Brandwein recorded NB4 in December 1922 and the variant performance NB14 in March 1924. On the same two dates, he also recorded the variant pairing NB3 and NB15 which, although not a part of the original sample, shall be considered for comparative purposes in the following discussion.

An analysis of these four recordings has shown that the differences between Brandwein's variant performances on two separate recording dates follow a similar pattern to those differences between two performances recorded on the same date discussed in 8.6.1 above, exhibiting only a slightly broader pattern of variance. In all sentences of the two variant pairings, the second performance contains most of the same melodic unit variants (and some of the same melodic-ornamental unit variants) as in the first performance and introduces some new variants as well. The greatest level of divergence between the paired recordings occurs at the cadential phrases, which tend to operate independently of tune, sentence or modal scale, as has been shown in chapter 7. The cadential phrases to sentences *b* and *c* of NB4 and NB14, for example, share the melodic unit variants a, h and j only. In NB14, units c and f are not present, and the new units d, e, g and i are introduced:

NB 4: all repeats of cadential phrases to sentences *b* and *c*

NB 14: 21, 37, 117, 133, 165, 181

NB 14: 29, 77, 85, 93, 125, 173

NB 14:45, 69, 141, 189



Fig. 8.47 Variation in the cadential phrases to sentences *b* and *c* of NB4 and NB14

The differences between the four cadential phrases depicted in fig. 8.47 may be accounted for by melodic variation on the last quaver of the first bar and by the limited application of melodic subdivision in the first bar to create units b and e, to the first beat of the second bar to create unit f, and to the second beat of the second bar to create unit i. In addition, the cadential phrase to NB4:*b-c* contains no variance from repeat to repeat, whereas in NB14, three differing versions (fig. 8.47, lines 2-4) are used in alternation.

In sentence *a*, the variance between NB4 and NB14 is more subtle. In NB14, Brandwein once again crafts ten unique interpretations of the sentence based upon the technique of combination, none of which are the same as any of the ten versions created in the earlier recording. The second performance has in common the melodic unit variants a-c, e-h, j, n and p-r. In addition, the melodic unit variants u and v are added (fig. 8.48 below):[46]

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46  The lettering and numbering of the units is relative to those identified in NB4:*a*, as depicted in fig. 8.40b.

Fig. 8.48 Combination in NB14:*a*

The newly introduced melodic variant v may be viewed as a slight variation of unit j, with the elongation of the first tone causing a shift from its being classified as a single-tone grace to a semiquaver. Unit variant u, on the other hand, is the length of the entire first phrase and serves as a phrasal substitution to replace what has otherwise been a combination of units [a, b or c] + [d or e] + [f].[47] Unit u, which is performed in the sentence variants beginning at bars 145 and 153, represents an entirely new musical idea as compared to the other eighteen variants of that phrase performed in the two recordings. Its appearance raises a number of questions: does unit u represent a case of improvisational spontaneity in which Brandwein has created an entirely new phrase during the course of performance?; does it evidence a change in his approach to interpreting this particular sentence over the course of time?; or does it simply belong to Brandwein's standard repertoire of melodic unit variants for this sentence which he does not happen to have used in the earlier performance? The fact that Brandwein repeats the exact same phrase without alteration in two sentence variants in a row tends to suggest rather the latter case, that unit u is a fully formed phrase which he already had in his repertoire of melodic unit variants.

Sentence *a* of NB3 and NB15 is based on a similar combinatory process to that of sentence *a* of NB4 and NB14. In NB3:*a*, Brandwein constructs the entire sentence with melodic-ornamental unit variants stemming from the fourteen melodic unit variants a-n (fig. 8.49a below):

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47 Since unit u is performed twice without variation, it was not necessary to further subdivide it for the purposes of this analysis.

Fig. 8.49a Combination in NB3:*a*

Melodic-ornamental unit variants of all of the same melodic units present in NB3:*a* appear at least once in NB15:*a* as well, with the exception of the cadential phrase unit m which is replaced by unit n. Whereas unit n appears only once in the earlier performance, Brandwein employs it seven times in NB15:a and it also forms the basis for the melodic unit variant o which he inserts in the second phrase of the sentence at bar 91. In addition, Brandwein introduces melodic units p at bar 123 and q at bar 37 which are slight variants of units h and a respectively (fig. 8.49b below):

Fig. 8.49b  Combination in NB15:a

The example of the pairing NB3:*a* and NB15:*a* shows, in addition, that the choice of melodic-ornamental unit variants at a particular point in a performance is partially influenced by the ending tone of the preceding melodic unit and the beginning tone of the succeeding melodic unit. An examination of the opening of sentence *a* illustrates how complex the process of generation and combination of melodic-ornamental unit variant units may become:
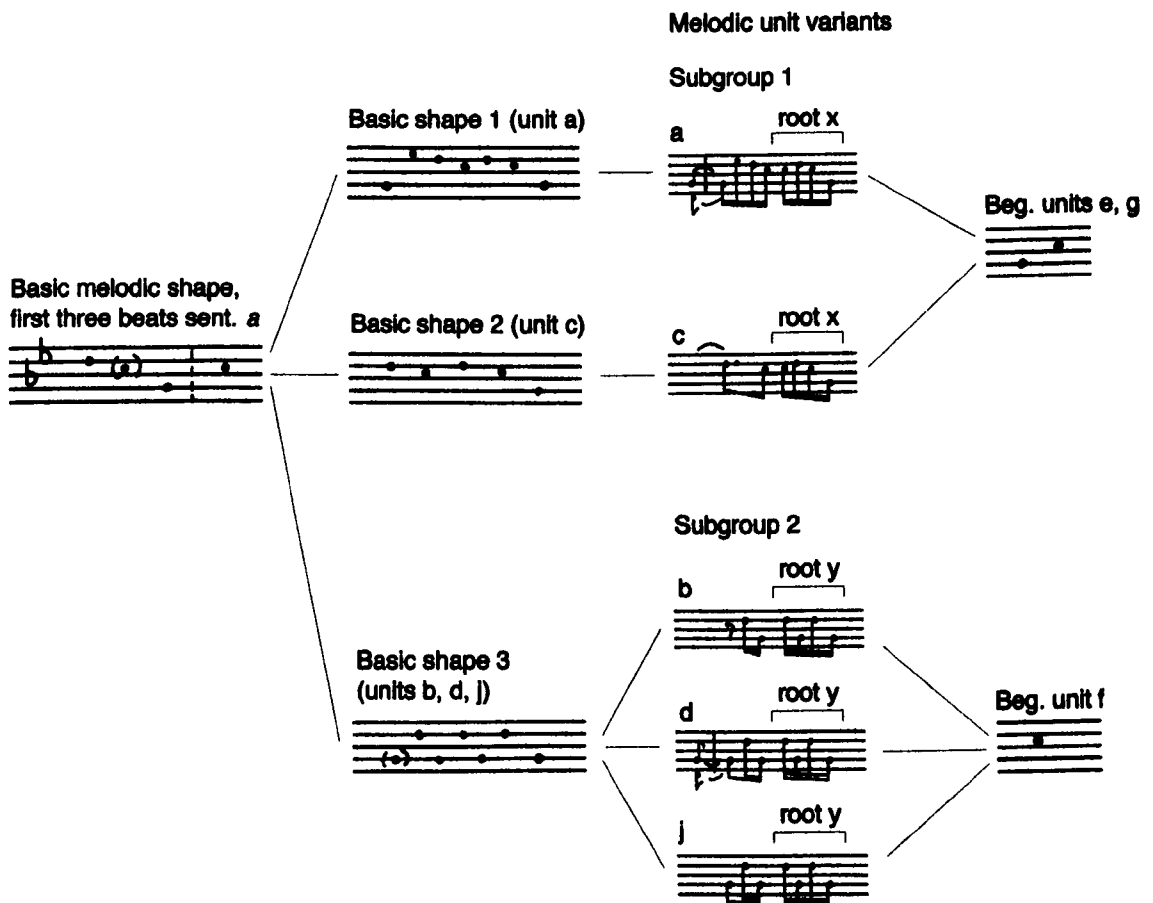


Fig. 8.49c  Combination in NB15:*a*

Fig. 8.49c depicts the generation of melodic unit variants in the first bar of sentence *a* as they are combined with the beginning of the melodic unit variants in the first beat of the second bar. The basic melodic movement from the first to the second bar comprises a figure around the tones d and g moving to c (column 1), which may be divided into three distinct melodic shapes (column 2). Within this framework Brandwein alternates five melodic unit variants — a, b, c, d and j (column 3) — of which b, d and j are variants of the same alternating d-g figure (basic shape 3). Units a and c contain the same root x, whereas b, d and j share the common root y. The generation of these melodic unit variants may be seen to follow a similar pattern to that of the cadential figures which comprise prefixes and roots, as delineated in section 7.3.3. Additionally, melodic-ornamental variants based on units a and c are always followed by melodic-ornamental variants based on unit e or g, which begins with the interval g-c, whereas melodic-ornamental variants based on b, d or j

are always succeeded by melodic-ornamental variants based on unit f which begins immediately on c (column 4).[48] It may be seen, then, that the combination of the first two melodic units of sentence *a* may be divided into two subgroups: subgroup 1, comprising unit [a or c] + [e or g], and subgroup 2, consisting of [b, d or j] + [f]. The choice of melodic unit variant in the first bar of sentence *a* therefore determines the outcome regarding which melodic unit variant may be used in the second bar.[49] At the same time, the repeat structure of the tune — *aabbaaccdd* — influences the choice of the melodic unit variant in the opening bar of sentence *a*. Melodic unit variant c, for example, is used in both performances only at bars 33, 113 and 193, which correspond to the transition from the repeat of sentence *b* — which *ends* on a d — to the reiteration of sentence *a*. Here, Brandwein begins the reiteration of sentence *a* with melodic unit variant c — which *begins* on a d — connecting the end of sentence *b* to the beginning of sentence *a* with a TBM ornament. A similar process may be seen in NB14:a (fig. 8.48), where melodic-ornamental unit variant $q_2$ is used only in conjunction with a slide up to the f at the beginning of sentence *b*.

Considering the amount of time which had elapsed between the two recording sessions and the fact that Brandwein did not use written music, it is unlikely that he would have remembered exactly what he had played fifteen months earlier. The evidence provided by the pairings NB4/NB14 and NB3/NB15 seems to indicate that Brandwein had a repertoire of one to five melodic unit variants for each melodic unit of each sentence of each tune, which he combined and varied to create unique interpretations not only during the course of a single performance or recording session, but across time in performances of the same tune on different dates. In this sense, the repertoire of melodic unit variants and melodic-ornamental unit variants could be viewed — within the framework of the tune structure itself —as Brandwein's "recipe" for the tune, with which he mixes the "ingredients" slightly differently each time — one time using a bit more of certain melodic unit variants and melodic-ornamental unit variants and another time, a bit more of others. This suggests an approach which represents a melding together of certain aspects of Treitler's playing "by heart" and "by ear" (1991:78): the tune structures provide a compositional framework which may be recalled in its entirety each time, by heart; and the details of generation, alternation and combination are carried out differently each time, by ear.

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48     A further level, the generation of melodic-ornamental unit variants for each of the melodic unit variants, is not shown here.

49     The dependency of the second melodic unit to the first appears also to be influenced by the placement of the combination within the sentence as a whole. For example, melodic unit variant q, which is closely related to unit a, is used only once at bar 37, the fifth bar in the sentence structure. It is succeeded by a melodic unit variant (k) which begins on c, rather than on g, as depicted here in fig. 8.49c.

## 8.6.3 Perfomances of the same tune by the two performers

Between 1922 and 1929, Brandwein and Tarras recorded three metric tunes in common: the pairings NB10 and DT18 (sentences *a-c*), NB6a and DT13a, and NB6b and DT19. The range of agreement of ornamentation between the two musicians covers a spectrum from almost exactly the same (NB10 and DT18) to similar (NB6a and DT13a) to somewhat divergent (NB6b and DT19). All three cases exhibit a striking correspondence between the basic melodic units, as shall be shown in the following analyses.

Sentence *a* of NB10 and DT18 comprises six phrases according to the pattern: [phrase 1 (bars 1-3) + phrase 2 (a variant of phrase 1; bars 4-7) + phrase 3 (bars 8-11) + phrase 4 (first cadential phrase; bars 12-15) + phrase 5 (reiteration of phrase 3; bars 16-19) + phrase 6 (second cadential phrase; may or may not be a reiteration of phrase 4; bars 20-23)]. The comparison of the two interpretations of sentence *a* (phrases 1-3 and 5) in fig. 8.50a below shows clearly that Brandwein and Tarras were using the same basic ornaments to embellish identical passages in the melodic line in almost every bar, with the exception of the two cadential phrases, which shall be analysed separately in fig. 8.50b:

Fig. 8.50a Comparison of phrases 1-3 and 5 of NB10 and DT18, sentence *a*

The most noticeable variances between the two performances in phrases 1-3 and 5 are Tarras' use of the c♯ variable tone at the downbeats to bars 3 and 7, and the difference between the interpretations of bar 2: here Brandwein plays the mixed semiquaver and quaver pattern d-e♭-f-e♭-d-c, whereas Tarras plays the quaver pattern d-e♭-d-c.[50]

At the ornamental level, the use of the LUN-S ornaments in bars 1, 3, 5, 7, 11 and 19, the LUN-N ornaments in bar 6, as well as the trills in bars 9, 10, 17 and 18 is identical. The regularity of the placement of the LUN-S in particular, and the trills as well, to mark the downbeats of odd-numbered bars 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 17 and 19 suggests that their use could correspond to a schema similar in function to metre in poetry.[51]

A likely explanation for the extreme closeness of the two performances is that they are expressions of an orally-transmitted syle which follows a similar logic to that postulated by Treitler in relation to medieval chant:

> ... [one] so closely determined by ... rules and constraints in various categories ... affecting virtually every moment of the performance, that repeated performances under the same network of constraints are bound to be very much alike; we might be tempted to say the [tune] has been repeated from memory (Treitler 1991:77).

Treitler postulates that it is easier to understand how "so many factors in so many different parameters" could be adhered to by performers when such idioms are viewed as "being internalized non-verbally by singers [here, instrumentalists] who practice them daily and have been doing so since childhood" (Treitler 1991:77). An additional factor leading to the similarities could be found in the interchangeability of the free-lance structures of klezmer bands in New York, which appears to have led to commonalities of repertoire, keys and performance style, including "secret runs" (as discussed in 4.3.7.1). Of course, the possibility that Tarras had learnt the tune from Brandwein — either live, from his earlier recording, or from a transcription of his playing — cannot be discounted.[52] Yet, the performances agree even at the level of micro-ornamentation, which would not likely have been captured by a written transcription. In addition, according to Andy Statman, Tarras' personal record

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50  As the comparison of nine klezmer and four non-klezmer performances of this same sentence (depicted in figs. 8.51a-e below) shall show, these two variants appear to have represented the only two possibilities of interpreting that bar current among contemporary klezmer performers. At NB10:138, Brandwein performs a variant of the quaver pattern, showing that he possessed both versions in his repertoire of melodic unit variants for this sentence.

51  In a similar fashion, the placement of the trills in sentence *b* by both performers stresses the even-numbered bars 4, 6, 12 and 14, implying a different metric schema than sentence *a*.

52  Tarras replaced Brandwein as the solo clarinettist of Joseph Cherniavsky's Yiddish American Jazz Band in 1925, and Cherniavsky apparently transcribed some of Brandwein's solos with the ensemble for Tarras (Sapoznik 1991, liner notes). Since the tune to NB10 (sentences *a-c*) figured centrally in Cherniavsky's repertoire based on an arrangement from his incidental score to An-ski's *Dybbuk*, it is possible that this was Tarras' initial point of contact with the tune.

collection was small and he did not learn from other players by directly copying their recordings (A. Statman 1997, interview). Since Brandwein and Tarras were both band leaders and in demand as sidemen, it may be assumed that they rarely had the opportunity to hear each other perform live — the notable exception being the annual banquet of the Progressive Musical Benevolent Society (I. Gratz 1988, interview; M. Epstein 1991, interview) which would not alone have been enough to cause such a great similarity of style on these tunes. Tarras was, however, familiar enough with Brandwein's repertoire that he could still notate his tunes from memory in the late 1970s (A. Statman 1997, interview). Even if Tarras *did* copy Brandwein's style in the case of this one particular tune — the performances of sentences *b* and *c* by the two performers follow a similar pattern of syntactical and ornamental correspondence — it reflects a remarkable sensitivity to and prior knowledge of the minutiae of the klezmer performance style on Tarras' part. In addition, the evidence from the other two variant pairings recorded during the period 1922-1929 points to a similar stylistic affinity between the two players.

Not surprisingly based on the formulaic-generative nature of cadential figures in metric klezmer tunes, as discussed in section 7.3.3, the point of greatest discrepancy between the two performances occurs at the two cadential phrases:

DT 18: 21, 45, 141, 165 (phrase 6 only)
NB10: 13, 37, 117, 149, 157 (phrases 4 and 6)



DT 18: 13, 37, 133, 157 (phrase 4 only)



NB 10: 21, 45, 173, 181 ( phrases 4 and 6)



Fig. 8.50b Comparison of cadential phrases (4 and 6) of NB10 and DT18, sentence *a*

Here, one of the key differences between the performance approaches of Brandwein and Tarras begins to become evident. In sentence *a*, Tarras makes use in each case of the cadence depicted on line 2 of fig. 8.50b for phrase 4 and

the cadence shown on line 1 for phrase 6. In contrast, Brandwein alternates the cadential figures depicted on lines 1 and 3 for both phrases 4 and 6. In a similar fashion, he interchanges the two cadential phrases shown in fig. 8.50b on lines 1 and 2 in interpreting sentence *c*, whereas Tarras makes use only of the figure illustrated on line 1 for sentence *c*.

In the realm of articulatory variation, too, Brandwein's approach is freer and less symmetrical than Tarras', appearing at times to be almost random in nature. While Tarras tends to use the same combinations of articulatory units again and again — in particular unit 2 — and not to slur over the beat, Brandwein uses a wider variety of articulatory units, changes the pattern more frequently (sometimes between each beat), and often slurs over the beat. A comparison of the nine iterations of the following cadential figure present in the two performances shows this tendency clearly:

Fig. 8.50c Comparison of articulatory variation in cadential phrase (fig. 8.50b, line 1)
to NB10 and DT18

In a similar manner, Tarras performs sentence *c*, which contains a melodically static passage beginning in the twelfth bar, three times as a twenty-bar sentence. Brandwein, on the other hand, makes use of the technique of expansion and contraction playing sentence *c* the first time as a twenty-one-bar sentence and on the repeat as a nineteen-bar sentence. Again, the effect created by Brandwein is one of freedom and asymmetry as opposed to regularity and discipline on the part of Tarras.

The author's informants, who performed with and were familiar with the playing of both Brandwein and Tarras, characterise today the styles of the two musicians as having been radically different. Max Epstein states, for example:

> My idol was Dave Tarras, but he played like a cold fish. Technique, fine. Played beautifully, but the fellow who played with fire was Naftule Brandwein. He would take the heart out of you (Epstein 1991, interview).

These words were echoed independently on numerous occasions by other former colleagues of Brandwein and Tarras. Sid Beckerman relates: "Tarras was technical, you know, he played very accurate, but when you listened to Naftule, your feet would move ... there was a difference between the two. ... Tarras was wonderful, beautiful playing, but when Naftule played, it was more hot, more fire." (S. Beckerman 1996, interview).[53] Danny Rubinstein, who knew Tarras well and had heard Brandwein perforrm on several occasions, attributes the differences between the two performers to their having been based on a discrepancy in technical ability, stating that Brandwein "wasn't a great technician, but he had a feel. Dave [Tarras] took that feel with an expertise in technicality that raised the level of klezmer playing" (Danny Rubinstein 1994, interview). The differences described in the three cases above — that of more freedom on the part of Brandwein in varying cadential phrases, articulatory units and sentence lengths — could be interpreted as physical manifestations of the subjective differences perceived between them on the part of their colleagues.

Before moving on to a discussion of the other variant pairings recorded by Brandwein and Tarras, sentence *a* of the pairing NB10/DT18 offers a rare opportunity to compare the very similar renditions of the two performers to a relatively large number of recorded and print variants. Figs. 8.51a-d depict nine versions of the sentence from klezmer sources (including NB10 and DT18) and four from non-klezmer sources:[54]

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53  Such interpretations of the emotional qualities of the playing of the two players may well have been influenced by their respective personalities and lifestyles. The authors' musician informants who had known them personally all characterised Brandwein as a hard drinker, womaniser and *bon vivant*, whereas Tarras was regarded as disciplined, hard-working and serious. In this sense they could be viewed as the latter day representatives of the two extremes of the klezmer world which had already existed in Europe: Brandwein as the modern Stempenyu, demonic, sexual, Dionysian; and Tarras as the modern-day Shepsl, pious, refined, disciplined, Apollonian (see Ottens and Rubin 1999a:138-139, 191-193, 210-212).

54  The thirteen versions stem from the following sources (see also CD1, track 17 and CD2,

tracks 13 and 15-25):

Naftule Brandwein, 'Heiser Bulgar' (NB10), New York, 10 May, 1923, Victor 73895-B (B 27889-2), ♩ = 138, original key D.

Abe Schwartz Orchestra (featuring Dave Tarras), 'Gelebt und Gelacht Frehlichs' (DT18), New York, March 1929, Co 8193-F (W 110457-1), ♩ = 138, original key D

Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band (featuring Dave Tarras), 'Chasene Niginim from Ansky's drama "The Dibbuk"', New York, 16 November, 1925, Victor 78423 (BVE 33873-2), ♩ = 160+, original key D

Kandel's Orchestra, 'Der Nicolaiver Bulgar', New York (group active in Philadelphia), 25 June, 1918, Victor 72281 (B 22105-2), ♩ = 126+, original key D

I. J. Hochman and His Orchestra, 'Molivar Bolgar', New York, ca. November 1922, Banner 2069/Regal 9405 (1207-1), ♩ = 126+, original key C

Unidentified Yiddish Orchestra, from the feature film *Uncle Moses* (S. Goldin and M. Schwartz 1932; orchestra possibly led by Joseph Cherniavsky; wedding sequence begins at 1:03), ♩ = 144+, original key D

Kammen and Kammen 1928, no. 2, 'Frailache Yidden (Palestine Tantz)(Jolly Jews)(Frailach)', original key D

Beregovski 1987:68, no. 22/Slobin 2000b:429, no. 76, 'Skocne' (transcription of the clarinettist B. Cherniavski [born ca. 1890] in Belaya Tserkov, Ukrainian S.S.R., 1935), ♩ = 92-100, original key G

Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer 1974:212, no. 130 (transcription from Jerusalem National Sound Archives recording of clarinettist Shlomo Zhalovsky on Lag ba-'ômer in Jerusalem, 13 May, 1971), original key E?

Mishka Ziganoff, 'Nikolayever Bulgar', New York, October 1919, Columbia E 4865 (85580-1), ♩ = 138, original key E

Wassili Melnikoff and Michael Dimitri, 'Bulgarish (Bulgarian Dance)', New York, 30 April, 1915, Victor 67262-A (B 15975-1), ♩ = 120-138, original key E

Unidentified Greek Orchestra, from the feature film *Rembetiko* (C. Ferris 1983; opening sequence), ♩ = 112, original key F

N. Stefanopoulos, 'Politiko Hasapiko', Athens, 1960s (no further discographical information; from the private archive of Martin Schwartz), ♩ = 116, original key D

The transcription in Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (line 9) was notated in 4/4 metre.

The versions from Beregovski/Slobin, Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer and Stefanopoulos are sixteen bars in length and contain no reiterations of phrases 3 and 4.

According to Musa Berlin (2001, personal communication), the version notated in Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer of the clarinettist Zhalovsky was learnt by him from Berlin. Berlin had learnt it by ear from a Romanian Jew, Mates (Matityahu) Zilbershlag (b. ca. 1935, possibly in Vizhnitz), who was not a klezmer and had emigrated to Israel as a youth in the early 1950s. Zilbershlag knew the tune as "Romanian", and it is this version which was taken over by Zhalovsky via Berlin. Berlin first heard Kandel's and some of the other versions transcribed here years later. This would account for some of the slight differences to the American versions of sentence *a*, such as the held tone in bar 1, the variant melodic unit f-e♭-d-c in bar 4, and the absence of a b at the beginning of bar 6.

Fig. 8.51a Comparison of multiple performances of phrase 1 of NB10/DT18, sentence *a*

Fig. 8.51b Comparison of multiple performances of phrase 2 of NB10/DT18, sentence *a*
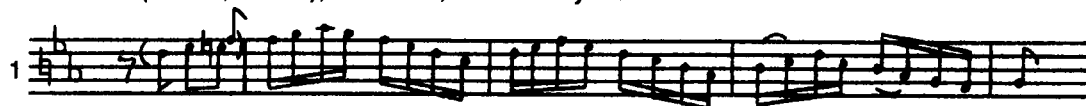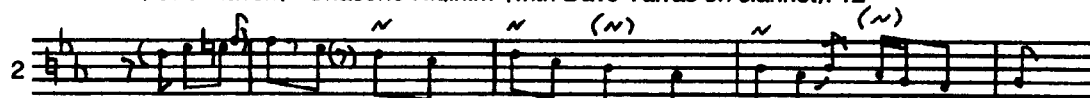
Fig. 8.51c Comparison of multiple performances of phrases 3 and 5 of NB10/DT18, sentence *a*
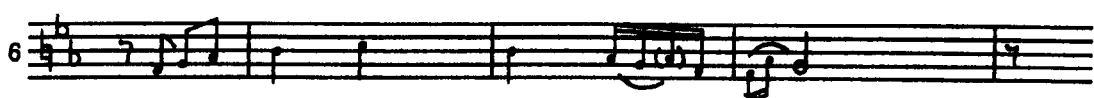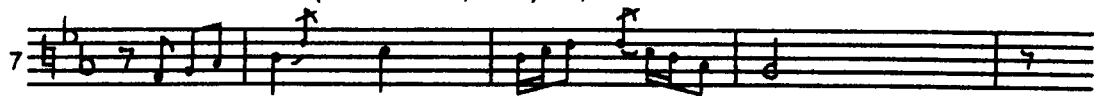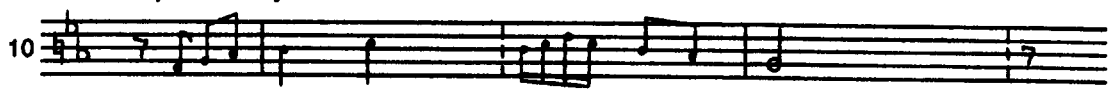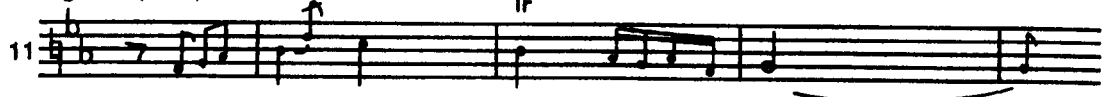
Fig. 8.51d Comparison of multiple performances of cadential phrases 4 and 6 of NB10/DT18, sentence *a*

From an analysis of the nine klezmer variants of sentence *a* (figs. 8.51a-c, lines 1-9; fig. 8.51d, lines 1-10) several sets of relationships become clear. Firstly, the overall similarities between the nine variants are striking, despite their stemming from three geographical regions — USA (lines 1-7), USSR (line 8) and Israel (line 9) — over a time period spanning fifty-three years from 1918 (Kandel's Orchestra in Philadelphia) to 1971 (Shlomo Zhalovsky in Jerusalem, as transcribed in Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer 1974, no. 130). Figs. 8.52a-b depict a model of sentence *a* based on the nine variants:
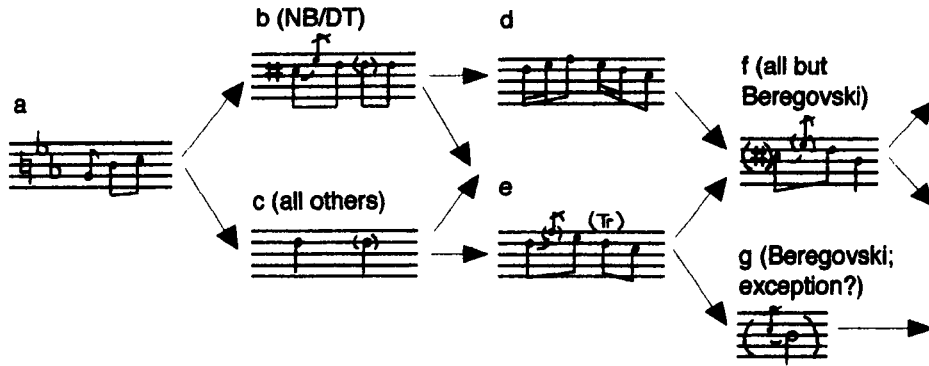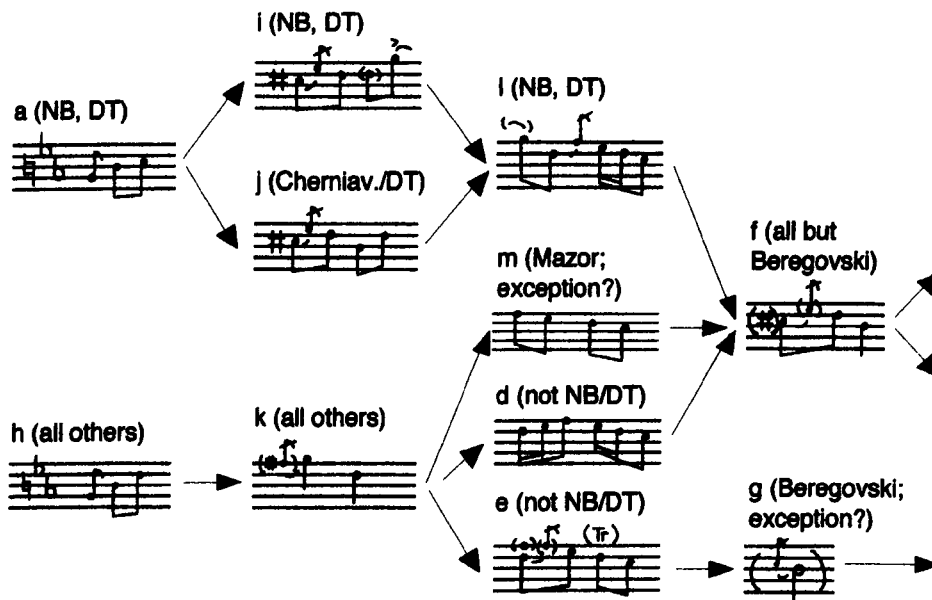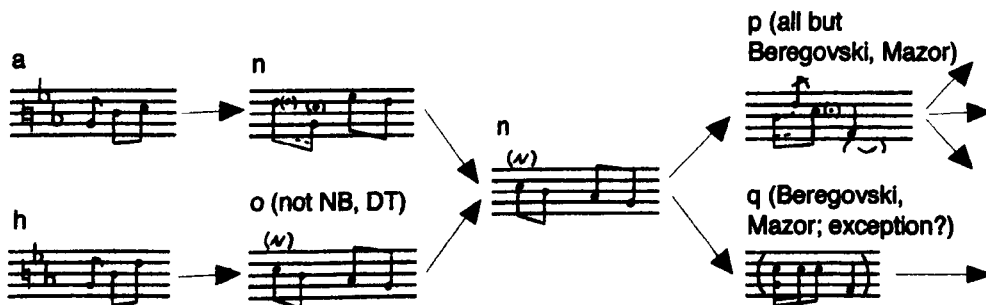
Fig. 8.52a  Model based on comparison of nine klezmer variants of NB10/DT18, sentence *a* —
phrases 1-3 and 5

In all cases, the individual melodic units comprising phrases 1-3 and 5 exhibit at most four melodic unit variants (bar 6). Also, the ornamentation of the melodic unit variants is the same or similar in all cases.[55] It is first at the cadential phrases 4 and 6 that a wider pattern of variance may be found. Here, six differing cadential prefix and root variants are exhibited in varying combinations. Yet, even the cadential variants cover a narrow range of possibilities: the prefixes begin only on f or b, and all of the roots begin on b and conform to variants 1, 2 or 3 as depicted in fig. 7.9c:

Cadential phrases 4 and 6 (bars 12-15 and 20-23):
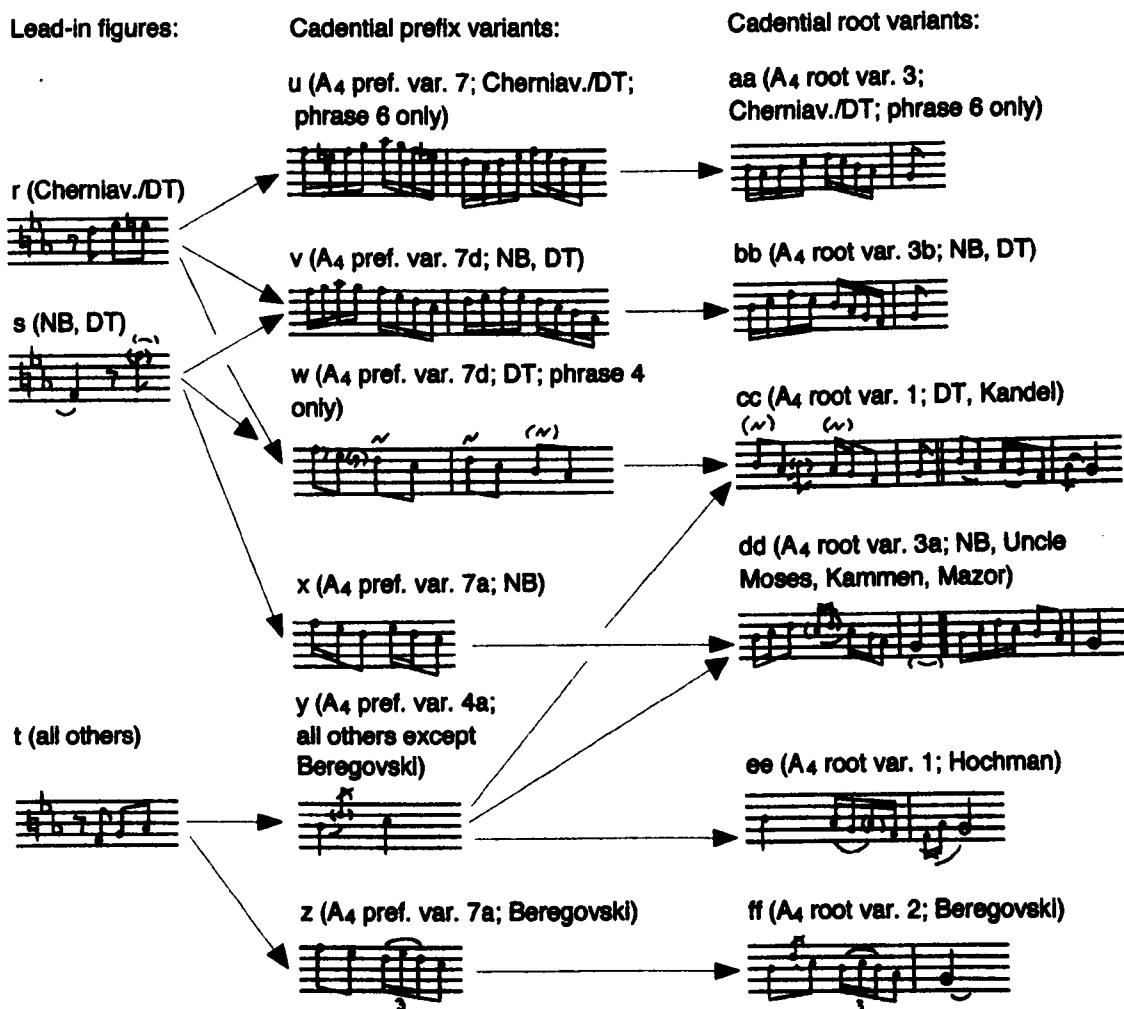


Fig. 8.52b  Model based on comparison of nine klezmer variants of NB10/DT18, sentence a — cadential phrases

The analyses in 8.52a-b show that tendencies — such as the performance practice technique of combining sentences from a limited repertoire of available melodic unit variants (or melodic-ornamental unit variants), and the wider range of variational-generational possibilities at the cadential phrases — appear to apply not only to the performers Brandwein and Tarras as individuals but on a group level to American-Jewish wedding musicians as a

55    In the print variants from Kammen and Kammen (1928) and Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974) the ornamentation is not notated.

whole during the approximate period 1918-1929. As Treitler writes:

> These variants are not random corruptions of an original; they show each of
> the local ... musical communities using the generative system of this idiom as
> they know it with consistency and deliberateness, and thereby they show us
> the system as such (Treitler 1991: 76).

In addition to showing great similarities on a group level, the models developed in figs. 8.52a-b illustrate some clear differences between the performances of Brandwein (as band leader and soloist) and Tarras (as soloist with ensembles under the direction of both Abe Schwartz and Joseph Cherniavsky), and all other versions of the sentence. Brandwein and Tarras make use of different melodic unit variants in bars 1, 4-6, 12-13, 20-21 and, in certain cases, bars 14-15 and 22-23 as well. A number of their melodic(-ornamental) unit variants exhibit a higher note density and more dense ornamentation. This is particularly noticeable at the cadences where three of the four cadential figures employed by Brandwein and Tarras contain an extended prefix and, two of them, florid semiquaver passages. None of the other performances contain cadential figures with extended prefixes and all but the prefix variant published in Beregovski (1987/Slobin 2000b) begin on b as opposed to the ones favoured by Brandwein and Tarras beginning on f. Thus, it seems that there were two basic versions of sentence *a* current at that time: a more elaborate version for the solo clarinettists such as Brandwein and Tarras and a less elaborate version for ensemble play. This would make sense given the changes which had taken place in the klezmer ensemble and repertoire beginning in the second half of the nineteenth century resulting in a gradual transition in focus from violin to clarinet, and from music-for-listening to music-for-dancing. The elaborate dance versions by the soloists Brandwein and Tarras could be viewed as the secularised, American equivalents of the "philosophising" and "moralising" of the violinists Pedotser, Stempenyu and Goyzman.[56] At the same time, it suggests the emergence of a solo klezmer clarinet tradition in New York for the immigrant generation born in the last two decades of the nineteenth century which also included Shloimke Beckerman, Naftouly Schwartzer (1880-1969) and Benny Margulies, among others. According to Joe Barsh (b. Ostrovtse, Poland 1915), an accordionist and pianist who worked in the 1940s with both Brandwein and Schwartzer, Schwartzer played a style almost indiscernible from that of Brandwein (J. Barsh 1988, interview).

The comparative format of figs. 8.51a-d also allows for some preliminary observations regarding possible identifying factors of in-group (klezmer) as opposed to out-group (non-klezmer) interpretations of the same sentence. The differences between the nine klezmer versions and the two versions by the ([possibly] Russian) Rom accordionist Mishka Ziganoff and the (likely) Russian

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56    Unfortunately, there are no known solo clarinet recordings of Schwartzer or Margulies,
      and the solo recordings by Beckerman share no common tunes with either those of
      Brandwein and Tarras, or with those of any of the other contemporary klezmer ensembles
      — rendering a direct stylistic comparison not possible.

accordionists Wassili Melnikoff and Michael Dimitri, are fairly subtle.[57] In general, they appear to follow the klezmer model and, indeed, both versions were marketed to a Yiddish-speaking audience.[58] Nevertheless, the two performances contain some indicators which point to their having been performed by non-klezmer. In the performance by Melnikoff and Dimitri, for example, the repeated figure in bars 1 and 5 extends the total sentence-length to twenty-six bars, the inserted e♮ at bars 11 and 19 is uncharacteristic of melodic motion in the pre-cadential bars of klezmer tunes based on $A_4$ (but is present in the Greek version by Stefanopoulos), and the four repeated trills in bars 9-10 and 17-18 are also atypical of the style as discussed in 8.3.1.3 above. Ziganoff, too, plays the same repeated trill figures at bars 9-10 and 17-18. In addition, his accenting of the b's on the second beats of bars 3 and 7, and the f's on the second beats of bars 11 and 19 are stylistically uncharacteristic. The differences between the two Greek performances and the nine klezmer versions are more global.[59] The version from the film *Rembetiko* is sung and contains melismatic ornamentation which is of quite a different nature compared with the klezmer and Russian versions, such as at bars 3, 7, 15 and 23. The instrumental rendition by Stefanopoulos makes use of instruments in Turkish *makam* tuning, such as *oúti* and *kanonáki*. Both versions are notably slower than the Jewish versions (♩ = 112 and 116, respectively, as opposed to tempi ranging from ♩ = 126+ to 160+).[60] Perhaps most notable is the complete absence in both Greek performances of the LUN-S ornaments which are so characteristic of klezmer performance style.

Returning to Brandwein and Tarras, a comparison of the first sixteen bars of the variant pairing NB6a/DT13a reveals an almost exact correspondence in melodic units between the two performances. The few divergences are minute, such as Tarras' insertion of the lower-neighbour f on the last quaver of bar 3, his filling out the interval b♭-f with a d in the third beat of bar 7, and Brandwein's anticipation of the b♮ leading into bar 9:

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57  According to Owen Davidson, Steve (Patalay) and Millie Tsigonoff, the son and daughter of Ziganoff, play themselves in the feature film *Angelo My Love* (Robert Duvall, 1983) about the New York Rom community, in which they were referred to as "Russians" (O. Davidson 2001, personal communication).

58  The 1915 disc by Melnikoff and Dimitri, the earliest available recorded version, was marketed by Victor to a Russian-speaking audience as well, according to Spottswood (1990:894) but made its way into the collection of the YIVO Archive for Jewish Research, where it is catalogued as 'Bulgarish'. According to YIVO sound archivist Lorin Sklamberg, the original disc contains text in Hebrew characters and is listed as "Accordion Duet (Hebrew)[sic]" (L. Sklamberg 2001, personal communication).

59  The author was unable to locate a contemporary Greek version of this tune. There are no variants on five ninety-minute cassettes of historical recordings of Greek *hasápika* from the first three decades of the twentieth century provided by the collector Dino Pappas.

60  The only exception to this is Beregovski's transcription of the clarinettist B. Cherniavski, who was recorded in the field without accompaniment, which was measured at ♩ = 92-100.

8.53 Comparison of NB6a and DT13a, first sixteen bars

Where the performances differ is in the specific ornaments chosen by the two performers and by the relative density of their ornamentation. While the performers are in general agreement as to which tones are to be ornamented, such as the first melodic unit of bar 2 (d-eb-d) and both melodic units of bar 3 (bb-c-c-bb and bb-ab-ab-g), their solutions do not always agree. These differences have mostly to do with subtle shiftings of grace tones and articulations. For example, in bar 2, both Brandwein and Tarras make use of a LUN-S ornament (figure *i*). At the beginning of bar 3, Brandwein places the first grace tone between the two c's, creating a SPU-N ornament (figure *u*), whereas Tarras inserts a grace tone between the first bb and the c, making instead a LUN-S ornament (figure *i*). More noticeable than such subtle shifts in ornament construction, is Tarras' much higher ornamental density. This may be attributed to his frequent use of slurred tones which are connected by SBT ornaments (bars 1, 2, 5, 7, 10, 12 and 13) — which Brandwein does not use in his performance at all — an increased use of TBE ornaments (ten as opposed to the two used by Brandwein), as well as a slightly more frequent use of trilled tones and grace tones (including three-tone groupings). It appears that tone lengths and attacks — slurred and bent by Tarras, as opposed to clipped and articulated by Brandwein — are a further differentiating factor between the two players.

A comparison of bars 17-24 of NB6b and DT19 (first half of sentence *a*), yields similar results:



8.54 Comparison of NB6b and DT19, bars 17-24

Again, the melodic units between the two performances are virtually identical. The same tendency of greater ornamental density on the part of Tarras is evident, in this case being the result of his more frequent usage of TBE ornaments and trills. For example, Tarras' performance of the four-bar passage beginning at bar 21 contains identical ornaments to Brandwein's — with the addition of TBE ornaments in bars 21 and 24, and trills in bars 22 and 24. The

greatest divergence between the two versions is produced by Tarras' greater reliance on the technique of melodic subdivision, such as the semiquaver passages in bars 18 and 20, which creates a performance with a greater tone density than Brandwein's.[61] Tarras' approach could be seen as a reflection of his more technical approach to the clarinet as related above by Epstein, Beckerman and Rubinstein. At the same time, Tarras' frequent usage of the TBE and other group II ornaments contrasts with impressions by colleagues of his playing in later years. For example, Joe Barsh states: "Naftule used to slide over some of the notes and also used a lot of chirping [Barsh is likely referring to TBE ornaments as "chirping"] in his playing. Dave did not believe in that chirping" (J. Barsh 1988, interview). Barsh's comment may point to one of the key elements in Tarras' stylistic development, which appears to have taken place during the approximate period 1929-1939. Marty Levitt claims:

> People who mastered their instruments didn't use any ornaments. What they [the ones who had not "mastered" their instruments] couldn't do with their fingers they did with their throat and their lip. If you were a good clarinet player, you used your fingers (M. Levitt 1996, interview).

Levitt's statement clearly marks the use of group II ornaments as "old-fashioned", belonging to the previous, less technically accomplished European-born generation, as opposed to the more "modern" approach associated with the American-born generation, in which clean technique and articulations had acquired more status. According to Levitt, his father Jack often corrected him: "Don't 'lip it down' [i.e. use the embouchure and throat muscles to alter the tones, rather than fingerings]. You sound like a klezmer" (M. Levitt 2001, personal communication).

The recordings by Tarras under study here evidence both frequent usage of group II ornaments and a greater technical orientation, which may provide evidence of the transition from an Eastern European to an American style of klezmer clarinet playing.

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61    The same tendency towards more frequent melodic subdivision by Tarras is also evident in sentences *b* and *c*.

# CONCLUSION

The New York klezmer tradition began to decline in the 1930s. This decline paralleled that of the *landsmanshaftn* and may be attributed to a combination of factors which included acculturation among the American-born generations, restrictive immigration legislation which had been enacted in the 1920s and the Great Depression. The immigration laws drastically limited the number of new Jewish immigrants from Eastern Europe, those who might have provided a continued audience for klezmer music. As Soyer has written regarding the relationship of the American-born generations to the *landsmanshaftn*:

> The Jewish landsmanshaftn of New York were a one-generation phenomenon. They had little attraction for most of their members' American children, who had developed their own sense of Jewish-American identity and to whom their parents' parochial loyalties seemed irrelevant at best. The fact that the aging societies continued to utilize Yiddish and Yiddish-accented English as their official language made them seem all the more old-worldly (1997:204).

The same could be said of their relationship to the continued utilisation of klezmer music at their banquets and other public and private gatherings.

The paths taken by the American-born children of the New York klezmer families themselves are a reflection of the acculturative processes within the Jewish communities as a whole. While most of the male — and some of the female — children of the European-born players became musicians and carried on their family traditions to a certain extent, almost all were bimusical, equally versed in klezmer music and various American vernacular styles. Examples of such musicians were Naftule Brandwein's nephews, the pianists Nat Brandwyne (1910-1978) and Chester Brandwynne, both of whom accompanied Brandwein at weddings as youths. Nat Brandwynne later became a popular American "society" dance band leader and recording artist (M. Epstein 1999a, interview).[1] The members of the second American-born generation either left the realm of klezmer music or did not become musicians at all. Three of Brandwein's grandchildren became professional musicians, for example, but all are working within the field of commercial music in the Hollywood studios and have no personal competence in klezmer music (David Rubinstein 1993, interview).

When Marty Levitt entered the klezmer profession in New York in 1949 he was the last member of that first American-born generation among the New York klezmer families to do so:

> What was unique about me is that I was the only one in my age group that knew that repertoire, because my father was somehow under the idea that if you learned that repertoire, you'll always make a living. But he didn't realise the migration had stopped and when I was set to go there was no one around to play it for (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

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1    "Society" music refers to the division of the club date business devoted to "a largely wealthy, upper-class clientele" (MacLeod 1993:4).

Yet even in the 1950s Levitt performed year upon year for several *landsmanshaftn*:

> In 1949 you had some people that were in their sixties that still enjoyed this music. They didn't last too long. I remember playing about 1950 for the Ushatner Ladies Auxillary [from Uszod, Hungary]. ... I had about six people, my dad was playing trombone, one of my uncles was playing trumpet, so it was like a real good klezmer band, and I would say I was probably the weakest link in the band. ... They liked me and the following year they called me again. I had that account for many years. And then as the people started passing away, they started cutting down on the band. Then it went to four pieces, three pieces. ... And then one year the president ... calls me up and says "Please, send us one man, an accordion player. Only I and the secretary are alive", and I felt like crying. I remember at one point they told me, "we're too old to dance, but play anyway. We just want to hear the music" (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

The founding of the State of Israel in 1948 in the aftermath of the destruction of Eastern European Jewry during World War II brought about a general shift in orientation among the American Jewish community from its Eastern European past and Yiddish culture to the nascent Hebrew-Israeli culture. The creation of a new Hebrew folk music as a "unifying cultural symbol" played an important role in the establishment of the new state, as Jehoash Hirshberg has documented (1995:146 ff.), and the new orientation brought about a dramatic shift in repertoire at American Jewish weddings as well:

> I played some Israeli music before the State of Israel. ... but when the State of Israel came in, the new generation heard nothing else but that. They didn't hear the old klezmer music, they heard Israeli music (M. Epstein 1991, interview).

Despite this shift in orientation, however, klezmer music continued to be performed after 1948 to an ageing and rapidly dwindling audience. Naftule Brandwein continued to maintain a busy performing schedule until shortly before his death in 1963 (A. Brandwein 1993, interview), and Dave Tarras performed regularly into the 1970s (D. Tarras 1975, interview:1-2).

Concurrently with the general decline in Yiddish culture, a new type of American klezmer music flowered briefly in the 1930s and 1940s, fostered in part by the popularity of Yiddish-language radio and a revival in ethnic music recording in New York.[2] The new style may have been present before 1930, but it had not yet been reflected in the recordings analysed in this study. It was fuelled by the composition of new Romanian-influenced dance tunes by

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2   Greene notes that ethnic radio had replaced recordings by the beginning of the Depression as the main way of disseminating commercial music (1992:12). Recordings, however, continued to supply "a kind of solace or mediating mechanism for many years, even beyond the 1920s, helping the immigrants to become comfortable in the new land" (Greene 1992:78).

After the recording strike of 1942-1944, the recording of Yiddish music was dominated by small ethnic companies, which filled the void left by the three major companies: RCA-Victor, Columbia (CBS) and Decca (Spottswood 1990:xviii).

musicians such as Tarras, the trumpeter Alex Fiedel and the multi-instrumentalist Beresh Katz (M. Epstein 1993, interview; W. Epstein 1993, interview).[3] The new style was most visibly represented by Dave Tarras,[4] as documented in particular on his and Abe Ellstein's RCA-Victor recordings from 1939-1941 as well as Tarras' recordings for the Standard label from 1945, the latter of which were marketed to both a Jewish and Greek audience.[5] In addition, the influence of popular songs from the Yiddish operettas of Rumshinsky, Olshanetsky, Secunda and Ellstein, new klezmer-style compositions by Abe Ellstein and his brother Harry as well as the entry into the Jewish wedding bands of American-born musicians — some of whom were not members of klezmer families — were contributing factors to the changes in klezmer repertoire and style after 1929.

It was also during the 1930s that the percentage of "American" (in other words, non-klezmer) music performed at Jewish weddings drastically increased. Sid Beckerman estimated that such music comprised approximately eighty per cent of the repertoire by the time he entered music as a professional in the late 1930s, and included: tangos, rhumbas, American waltzes, Viennese waltzes, *csárdások*, polkas, polka mazurkas and *obereks*, in addition to the *doinas*, *horas*, *bulgars*, *freylekhs* and *shers* (S. and M. Beckerman 1991, interview). By the late 1930s, Brandwein and Tarras were competing with a younger generation of American-born clarinet soloists who were equally competent in the American repertoire (J. Epstein 1993, interview), especially Max Epstein and Sam Musiker (1916-1964):[6]

> When [Max Epstein] started out as a Jewish clarinet player ... he was eighteen-nineteen years old. All of these old-time guys wanted to hear what the kid does. ... They were amazed that a young guy, American-born, could play with the enthusiasm and the inflections that they grew up with, and he learned from them. And then he played American dance music at his age, and he played popular music that was very, very contemporary at that time. ... And they couldn't do that. So it was amazing to them a guy could play American music and so-called Jewish music at the same time and be so good at it (J. Epstein 1994, interview).

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3   The beginnings of this new klezmer style may be seen, for example, in Kammen (1934), which contains a number of newly composed *bulgar* tunes. See numbers 13-15, 18-19, 31 and 63.

4   Feldman (1994:21-26) looks at Tarras' contribution to the development of this more recent style.

5   The discography of the 1939-1941 recordings is listed in Spottswood (1990:1324-1325 and 1535-1536). A number of the 1945 recordings were reissued on the LP *Music of the Jewish People Featuring Dave Tarras Orchestra and the Allen Street Gypsies* (Colonial Records LP-120).

6   Musiker, who became Tarras' son-in-law, was a soloist with the Gene Krupa big band (H. Leess, R. Musiker and P. Pincus 1994, interview).

In order to remain competitive, Brandwein would hire American-born musicians competent in the American dance repertoire, such as his nephew, the trumpeter Eddie Brandwein, or Max Epstein on saxophone (M. Epstein 1994a, interview).

Furthermore, the late 1930s saw the introduction of the piano accordion into the wedding ensembles.

Whereas Naftule Brandwein's style does not appear to have developed after the 1920s, it was Tarras' new compositions and style of interpretation which dominated American klezmer music from the 1930s onwards. Sid Beckerman remembers the effect of the release of Tarras' 1945 recording 'Ich bin deiner - Sher' (Standard F-8001-B):

> The big hit that had just come out was by Dave Tarras [sings 'Ich bin deiner'].
> We played from 9 pm to 5 am. I couldn't blow anymore, and Max [Shulman,
> the trumpeter and bandleader] was still standing there, still blowing ['Ich bin
> deiner']. ... We played it a few times [that night], that was like the newest
> bulgar out that everyone played (S. Beckerman 1996, interview).

Apparently even Brandwein felt compelled to learn the new Tarras tunes. Marty Levitt relates that in the early 1940s, when Tarras had released a new recording of a *bulgar*,

> ... [my father] wrote it out [from] the record. And he worked that night with
> Naftule Brandwein. And Naftule didn't know it, he was trying to pick it up
> and he couldn't read. So my father was teaching it to him, you know, on the
> job, by ear (M. Levitt 1990, interview).

Both Brandwein and Tarras, like most of their colleagues from klezmer families, had come from orthodox Jewish households and had became non-orthodox in New York (if not prior to emigration). As such, they represented the first generation of klezmorim who were not orthodox. It is likely that musicians such as Brandwein and Tarras could only have created the music that they did with reference to traditional Judaism, for it was this milieu — and, in the case of Brandwein and Tarras, the hasidic milieu — and the music associated with it which had shaped them for the first decades of their lives. Benjamin Harshav has written in a similar fashion about the Yiddish writers, most of whom "still grew up with some Hebrew education in a religious environment and their children were already steeped in the culture of another language" (Harshav 1990:87). While Tarras was admired by his younger colleagues for his perfectionism, professionalism and his forward-looking musicianship,[7] Brandwein was perceived by them to be down-home and old-fashioned, but appreciated by them for his command of the old-time repertoire and style (Danny Rubinstein 1994, interview). For a brief period, they overlapped as the two leading exponents of the common style of New York klezmer clarinet music of the 1920s. As Pedotser had represented through his compositions and playing both the zenith and the beginning of the decline of klezmer music in Eastern Europe, so did Brandwein and Tarras represent the same for American klezmer music.

This study began with the hypothesis that there is a unique style and repertoire created (or transformed) and interpreted by klezmorim, of which key stylistic aspects could be identified. By taking a three-prong approach — historical, ethnographic and musicological — it has been possible to approach a stylistic definition of the New York klezmer clarinet music of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras during the 1920s as well as to place it within a larger socio-cultural context as the continuation of a musical culture which developed over the course of several centuries.

Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras have shown themselves to be the ideal conduits for both a tracing of this history and performing a musical analysis based upon their recorded legacy. They were both the products of established klezmer families of two to three generations in Eastern Europe, both had enjoyed training and years of professional experience as klezmorim in Europe, they were arguably the two leading figures in New York klezmer music of the 1920s, and they each left behind a large enough body of solo recordings to enable an empirical study of their musical syntax and performance style to be carried out.

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7    According to Andy Statman, Tarras viewed himself as a modern musician, who strove until the end of his career to improve his artistry through practise, the composition of new tunes and experimentation with new modal combinations (A. Statman 1997, interview).

In tracing the history of the klezmer tradition in Eastern Europe and New York, it was found that a continuity with most of the aspects of the tradition as it had developed in Europe could be established in relation to the commmunity of Jewish wedding musicians within the urban environment of New York City in the 1920s. Their functioning as a socio-economic subgroup within the larger Jewish communities — distinguished by guild-like structures, intermarriage and camaraderie, and a characteristic lifestyle and secret language — as well as their role as mediators between social groups, had all taken on Americanised forms in an analogous process to that described by Soyer in relation to the *landsmanshaftn* and other similar immigrant associations (1997:30). In this sense, it may no longer be appropriate to speak of "klezmer music" and "klezmorim" within the New York environment. As the music had been largely loosened from its original ritual context and there were now other, more secular occasions where the same repertoire was performed, the klezmer essentially became a *muzikant* — an entertainment musician — continuing on American soil a process which had already been set in motion in Eastern Europe by the late nineteenth century.

Previous studies, such as Beregovski (1987), Goldin (1989) or Feldman (1994), have attempted to classify klezmer tunes as discrete compositions according to some combination of factors, including the chronological and original ethnic origins of the melodic material, its ritual function, dance choreography, genre terminology as well as various musical criteria. The present study looked at klezmer music in a different way, regarding it rather as a musical language comprising parameters at both the levels of syntax and performance practice which cross all of the above-listed typological categories.

The analyses of the recordings by Brandwein and Tarras in chapters 7 and 8 showed a "remarkable stylistic coherence", similar to that noted by Jeff Todd Titon in his examination of downhome blues recordings from 1926-1930 (1971:273). It was found that the classificatory units for a klezmer typology are much smaller than previously thought. The investigation of the technique of combination in sections 8.6.2-8.6.3, in particular, has shown that the melodic line is thought of in melodic-ornamental units of a duration of one to four beats in length. This study has evidenced such centonisational units at every level of melodic playing, from the ornamentation of a single tone or group of tones, to the piecing together of sentences based on stereotypical figures, modulatory units, variable tones and cadential formulae, to the combining of sentences to make tunes and tunes to make suites based on sterotypical modal patterns. Klezmer syntax and performance style may be seen to be inseparably linked on a continuum, on which the boundary between compositional and performance elements is blurred.[8] The klezmer syntax and performance style of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras may then be seen to lie at the confluence of the various layers of tendencies and techniques which have, for the convenience of

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8    In this sense, it is similar to medieval music-making, in which "composing, performing, and improvising could all be thought of as a single act" (Treitler 1991:68).

analysis, been separated into modal scales, variable tones, cadential formulae and other stereotypical figures, modulatory patterns, ornamentation and performance practice techniques — all of which function within the framework of repeating sentence structures which maintain "a consistent length and rhythmic framework" (B. Nettl 2001:96). Taken together, this confluence of factors may be viewed as a kind of matrix of elements forming "a hypothetical improvisational system" for the generation of klezmer "in one genre and one tradition", to paraphrase Treitler (1991:78). To return to the storyteller metaphor, Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras may have each told different stories with their clarinets, but they were in command of almost identical means of expression.

The Ukrainian ethnomusicologist Klement Kvitka has written: "One and the same melody can have a quite different character in the performance of different peoples thanks to differences in timbre and expression..." (cited in Slobin 2000b: 7-8). Max Epstein, who was equally at home performing klezmer music and various American vernacular styles from the mid-1920s onwards, stated:

> Somehow, I can express myself better in Jewish [i.e. Yiddish] music than I can
> in any other music. Even writing a letter, I can write a Jewish letter much better
> and express myself very well, than in an English letter (interviewed in the film
> *A Tickle in the Heart*, 1996).

It is the author's thesis that the ability to "express oneself" to which Epstein is referring, is — more than any other single factor — the result of the musician's command of the specific and limited palette of ornaments as described in section 8.3, which are pieced together in various ways using the range of performance practice techniques discussed in sections 8.4-8.5. The ornaments, in particular, help to create the minute differences in the ethnic styles of neighbouring or co-territorial peoples to which Kvitka was referring, functioning as cultural markers. For example, the comparison of sentence *a* of NB10/DT18 in figs. 8.51a-d has shown that two ornaments which serve as cultural markers to differentiate the klezmer from the Greek performance style of the same basic melodic material are the LUN-S and TBE.[9] Their global use results in performances which present themselves as belonging to a unique and recognisable style — a specific expression within the overall subcultural milieu of Yiddish-speaking Jewry.

The results of this study raise a number of general ethnomusicological issues. The dynamic approach to modality presented in chapter 7 as constituting a palette of basic modal scales and scalar fragments with an overlapping group of associated variable tones, cadential formulae and other

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9    While these or similar ornaments may be present in other musical cultures as well, it is the
     way they are used and the meaning which is attached to them which differentiates them
     as "klezmer" ornaments.

stereotypical figures, and modulatory schemata, presents a new way of looking at oral musical traditions which contain elements of both modal systems and Western tonality.[10]

Timothy Rice has recognised the importance of ornamentation as being "crucial to defining" ethnic styles (1984:72), as well as perceiving melody and ornamentation together as being "unified into a single concept as ways of moving from tone to tone" (1994:84). The present study has corroborated Rice and suggests that, beyond that, certain categories of ornaments serve a structural punctuational-metrical function as well.

Bruno Nettl has written that improvising musicians generally have a "point of departure" or "model", upon which they base their improvisations (1998:13). The present study suggests that Brandwein and Tarras did not necessarily have a singular point of departure or model as a framework for improvisation, but rather their musical universe consisted of a number of tiny points of departure or models at every level of detail which, when taken together, made up the performance. This is similar to Nettl's concept of "units of musical content" or "building blocks" which form "the vocabulary on which the improvisor may draw" (1998:13-15). By examining the interface in this unified single concept between syntactical and ornamental elements — as evidenced, for example, in the discovery of the figures associated with the three-tone ornamental groupings LUN-S, LUN-N and SPU-N and the technique of combination of melodic-ornamental units — a new way of looking at improvisation is suggested, one which blurs the boundary between the compositional and the performative.

Within the field of klezmer music research itself, much remains to be done. The results of this study raise a number of issues, each of which could lead to further studies of their own. It is hoped that the results presented here will establish a comparative basis in order to enable such research.

The present analyses do not explain the great differences perceived between the personal styles of Naftule Brandwein and Dave Tarras by their former colleagues. The principal aim of this study has been to find the commonalities between the playing of the two musicians, rather than to specifically identify the individual characteristics of the one performer as opposed to the other. Aural differences between the two performers which were beyond the scope of this study, but which are — at least theoretically — quantifiable, include timbre, speed and width of vibrato, width and timing of bent tones, beginnings and endings of tones, and fingerings, as well as factors related to the specific instruments they used (such as manufacturer, bore, number of keys and rings, mouthpiece lay, reed strength, and so forth). In the final analysis, the audio

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10   This applies to, for example, modality in Romanian musicǎ lǎutareascǎ as discussed by Robert Garfias (1981, 1984).

sources themselves have to be consulted in order to compare these qualities.[11] At the same time, it is clear that a number of factors, such as the personality of the individual player, interaction and communication amongst the musicians on the bandstand and interaction between artist and audience present challenges which lie beyond conventional musical analysis.[12] In studying a historical style in which the performers are no longer living, coming to terms with such factors may no longer be possible.

The stylistic coherence of the recordings studied here raise the question as to *when* the fundamental stylistic characteristics became so firmly established. Since Brandwein's hometown Przemyslany became part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire in 1772 as a result of the first partitioning of Poland, and Tarras' hometown Ternovka became part of the Russian province of Podolia in 1793 in the aftermath of the second partitioning of Poland, there are three possible explanations: (1) the basic klezmer style was established in Poland prior to 1772; (2) despite restricted borders, there was enough contact between the Jews of Podolia and Galicia during the nineteenth century to enable a trans-national klezmer style to develop during that period; or (3) the style represented by Brandwein and Tarras was acquired or developed by them in New York by the early 1920s. Any conclusive answer would require a lot more research and might reveal that aspects of all three explanations were involved.

The results of the detailed comparison of sentence *a* of NB10/DT18 in figs. 8.51-8.52 suggest that the performance styles of Brandwein and Tarras may have represented those of a New York klezmer "elite" — or at least a soloist aesthetic — as opposed to that of the "typical" klezmer. A much larger comparative study, which would include both the recordings of other soloists and of klezmer ensembles, would be necessary to investigate this issue further.

In addition, the following research areas could be investigated using the results and analytical method of the present work as a basis:

- identifying regional syntactical and stylistic differences;

- studying klezmer performance style on other instruments;

- studying the performance styles of other individual musicians;

- measuring change in klezmer syntax and style by comparing earlier and more recent performances and other documentary evidence;

- identifying the syntax and performance style of the non-metric genres of the klezmer repertoire;

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11  See the accompanying CDs to this thesis.

12  Ingrid Monson (1996) has addressed many of these issues in her work on interaction in jazz ensembles.

- examining common stylistic elements between the performance of the central repertoire of the New York klezmorim studied in the present work and other repertoire performed by them, such as the music of other ethnic groups or American vernacular styles;

- comparing the styles of klezmorim and musicians of other ethnic groups performing the same or similar melodic material such as Greeks (*hasposérviko, syrtó, mirolói, skáros*) and Romanians (*sîrbă, hora lăutarească, doina*);

- comparing the syntax and style of klezmorim with those of other categories of Eastern European Jewish music, such as hasidic *nigunim, zmires, badkhones, khazones,* secular folksong and the music of the Yiddish operetta;

and, perhaps most importantly for contemporary ethnomusicology,

- studying the music of the current klezmer revival in all of its various forms.

Peter Sokolow and Max Goldberg, New York 1990 (photo: Rita Ottens)

# APPENDIX 1
## Recorded variants of the sampled performances

NB1a:

Gus Goldstein-Clara Gold And Co., 'Der mesader kedushen', New York, May 1922, Columbia E7656, sentence *b* [with Naftule Brandwein] [1]

NB10/DT18:

Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa, 'Der Arbaytsman', Europe [possibly Warsaw], July 1912, Sirena Grand 12422, sentence *a*

Wassili Melnikoff and Michael Dimitri, 'Bulgarish (Bulgarian Dance)', New York, 30 April, 1915, Victor 67262-A (B 15975-1), sentences *a* and *d* [released for Russian audience]

Kandel's Orchestra, 'Der Nicolaiver Bulgar', New York, 25 June, 1918, Victor 72281 (B 22105-2), sentence *a*

Mishka Ziganoff, 'Nikolayever Bulgar', New York, Oct.ober 1919, Columbia E 4865 (85580-1), sentence *a*

Abe Schwartz's Orchestra, 'Der Simcheh Tanz', New York, April 1920, Columbia E4746 (86190-2), sentence *c*

I. J. Hochman and His Orchestra, 'Molivar Bolgar', New York, ca. November 1922, Banner 2069/Regal 9405 (1207-1), sentence *a*

Cherniavsky's Yiddishe Jazz Band, 'Mechatunim Tanz' (Joseph Cherniavsky), New York, ca. May 1924, Pathé 03685 (N 105363-), sentence *a* [with Naftule Brandwein]

Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band, 'Chasene Niginim from Ansky's drama "The Dibbuk"', New York, 16 November, 1925, Victor 78423 (BVE 33873-2), sentences *a-c* [with Dave Tarras]

Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band, 'Der Yiddisher March (The Jewish March)', NY Nov. 16, 1925, Vi-78422-A, sentence *a* [with Dave Tarras]

Unidentified Yiddish Orchestra, from the feature film *Uncle Moses* (S. Goldin and M. Schwartz 1932), sentences *a-b* [orchestra possibly led by Joseph Cherniavsky; wedding sequence begins at 61:03]

N. Stefanopoulos, 'Politiko Hasapiko', Athens, 1960s, sentence *a* [recorded for Greek audience; from private archive of Martin Schwartz; no further discographical information]

Unidentified Greek Orchestra, from the feature film *Rembetiko* (C. Ferris 1983), sentence *a* [opening sequence]

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[1] Goldstein recorded 'Der Mesader Kedushen' three additional times between 1921 and 1924. Brandwein was present on at least one of the other recordings, Cardinal 1112 (C 685), made in New York in August 1921. The author did not have access to these three recordings at the time of this writing.

**NB20:**

Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa, 'Odesskaja', Europe [possibly Warsaw], April 1914, Sirena Grand 3317, sentences *a-b*

N. Hollander, 'Vo Bist Do Geven', New York, 7 January, 1915, Columbia E-2292 (39743), sentences *a-b*

Hochman Orchestra, 'Koihlen', New York, 1918?, Victor 1312 (3567-1), sentence *c* [2]

Jewish Orchestra [Abe Schwartz], 'Koilen', New York, ca. April 1919, Columbia E4260 (85032), sentence *c*

Mishka Tsiganoff, 'Koilen Dance', New York, October 1919, Columbia E4636 (85579-1), sentence *c*

Gus Goldstein, 'Oi Oi Die Koihlen', New York, November 1920, Emerson 13121 (41402-1), sentence *c* [vocal]

Kandel's Orchestra, 'Bolter Bulgar (The Bulgar of Balta)', New Jersey, 22 February 1923, sentences *a-b*

Mishka Ziganoff, title not known, New York 1919-1929, sentences *a-b* [from private collection of Abby Rubinowitz; no further discographical information]

Abe Ellstein Orchestra, 'Odessa Mama' (Harry Ellstein), New York, 20 June 1940, RCA Victor 25-5040-A (BS 051459-1), sentences *a-b* [with Dave Tarras]

**NB22:**

Elenkrig's Orchestra, 'Nit Ba Motion', New York, 2 December, 1915, Victor V-67569-B, sentences *b-c*

Yiddisher Orchester [Abe Schwartz], 'Nit by Motin,' New York, ca. August 1917, Columbia E3563 (58544-2), sentences *b-c*

**NB25:**

Kandel's Orchestra, 'Far dem Rebbins Koovid' (arr. Kandel), New York, 17 September, 1924, Brunswick 40089 (13806), sentences *a-b*

**NB27:**

Dave Tarras and Orchestra (arrangements Sammy Musica, direction H. Lubinsky), 'Freilachs', New York, ca. 1946, Savoy 8003-A (Sav 59025)

Murray Lehrer and His Ensemble, Dave Tarras, Clarinet, Lou Levin, Trumpet, 'Richard's Bar Mitzvah', New York, ca. 1959, on the LP *Freilach in Hi Fi. Jewish Wedding Dances* volume 3, Period Records RL 1916)/ *Freilach for Weddings, Bar Mitzvahs and other Celebrations no. 3*, Request Records SR LP 10182

**NB28:**

Israel J. Hochman's Jewish Orchestra, 'Galicianer Wolich'l' (I.J. Hochman), New York, 1923, Vocalion A14742, sentence *d*

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2    YIVO number 1978. The recording is not listed in Spottswoood (1990).

NB29a:

Yangos Psamantianos, 'Tis Pliyes', Constantinople, ca. 1907, Xonophone X-102810 (145121)

Columbia Greek Orchestra, 'Maghia Mou Kanes — Syrto', New York, March 1929, Columbia 56174-F (W 206206-2) [possibly also released for Jewish audience]

Yiannis Kakourghos, 'Kathistiko tis Pareas', Ayiasos, Island of Lesvos, ca. 1984 [self-published casette obtained directly from performer in Aghiasos]

DT1:

Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band, 'Dem Zaden's Tanz (Grandfather's Dance)' (J. Cherniavsky), New York, 17 November, 1925, Victor 78529 (BVE 33879-2), sentences *a-b* [with Dave Tarras]

Murray Lehrer and His Ensemble, Dave Tarras, Clarinet, Lou Levin, Trumpet, 'Dem Zeiden's Tanz', New York, ca. 1959, on the LP *Freilach in Hi Fi. Jewish Wedding Dances* volume 2, Period Records RL 1915)/ *Freilach for Weddings, Bar Mitzvahs and other Celebrations no. 2*, Request Records SR LP 10103, sentences *a-b*

Dave Tarras, 'Ba dem Zeiden's Tish', New York, 1979, on the cassette *Master of the Jewish Clarinet: Music for the Traditional Jewish Wedding*, Ethnic Folk Arts Center (Center for Traditional Music and Dance) A8902, sentences *a-b*

DT4:

Dave Tarras, Clarinet with A. Ellstein Orchestra, 'Nikolaever Bulgar' (D. Tarras), New York, 19 December, 1940, RCA Victor 25-5045 A

Marty Lahr and His Orchestra, 'Der Bobe's Bulgar', Philadelphia, 1950s, 20th Century Records (Ballen Record Co.) 1619 (23-21b)

DT5b:

Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa, 'Skvirskaja', Europe [possibly Warsaw], July 1912, Sirena Grand 12424

Kandel's Orchestra, 'Der Ferginegen Fin Tatta Mama (The Parent's Joy)' (arr. Kandel), New York, 6 June, 1924, Brunswick 40080-B (13237)

Al Glaser's Bucovina Kapelle, 'Kale Besetzen — Wedding Dance', New York, 21 June, 1939, Decca 18026 (65861-A), sentences *a-b* [with Dave Tarras]

Leon Schwartz, 'Yismekhu V'Malkuskho', New York, June 1985, from the CD *"Like in a Different World": A Traditional Jewish Klezmer Violinist From Ukraine*, Global Village Music GVM 109

DT12a:

Josef Solinski, 'Orientalishe Motive, 2. Teil', Warsaw, June 1908, Favorite Record 1-24057 (5101-0)

Oscar Zehngut, 'Orientalische Motive, 2. Teil', Vienna [possibly Berlin], 6 February, 1909, Gramophone Co. 17955 (536ab) [reissued by Zonophone under catalogue no. X-107926 and by Victor as catalogue. no. 63828-B ] [3]

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3    M. Aylward 2001, personal communication.

A. Elenkrig's Yidishe Orchestra, 'Machatonim zum tisch', New York, 4 April, 1913, Columbia E1394 (38758-1)

Max Leibowitz and Silver's Symbal Accompaniment, 'Orientalishe Melodien, Part 2', New York, ca. September 1919, Emerson 1343-X (4474-1)

Abe Schwartz and Daughter, 'Oriental Hora', New York, ca. May 1920, Columbia E4825 (86286-1)

H. Bloom (Dnu H. Blum Co Musica Romianasca), 'Foiu Verdi (Grine Bletter)' New York, ca. September 1920, Emerson 13158 (41442-2) [whistling solo]

Abe Schwartz and Daughter, 'Orientalishe Hora', New York, ca. May 1921, Emerson 13172 (41776-2)

Al Glaser's Bucovina Kapelle, 'Bessarabian Hora', New York, 21 June, 1939, Decca 18024 (65857-A) [with Dave Tarras]

Fanica Luca, 'La ciolpan, la crucea nelta', Romania, ca. 1930s, EPE 01625

Moshe Berlin, Binyamin Barzevsky and Avraham Segal, 'Meron Tune', Meron, Israel, 16 May 1968, from the CD *The Klezmer Tradition in the Land of Israel*, Jewish Music Research Centre/Hebrew University of Jerusalem [field recording; originally issued as 'Walenstein's Niggun' on the LP *Hassidic Tunes of Dancing & Rejoicing*, Smithsonian Folkways Records FE 4209]

DT12b:

Dukes of Freilachland [Epstein Brothers], 'Freilich No. 1', New York, ca. 1956, from the LP *Mazeltov. Wedding Songs of our People — for my Beloved featuring the Dukes of Freilachland*, AAMCO (alp—316) [Reissued by Tikva Rcords as *Freilachs. Designed for Dancing. Freilach Fast, Medium & Slow. Produced by Allen B. Jacobs*, T—33/House of Menorah 5—33]

Klezmer Plus!, 'Freylekhs in D Minor', New York, 1988, from the CD *Klezmer Plus! Featuring Sid Beckerman and Howie Leess*, Flying Fish Records FF70488

DT13b:

Elenkrigs Orchestra, 'Ich benk aheim (I Am Lonesome for Home)', New York, 2 December 1915, Victor 67596-B, sentences *a-c*

Murray Lehrer and His Ensemble, Dave Tarras, Clarinet, Lou Levin, Trumpet, 'Bessarabian Dance', New York, ca. 1959, on the LP *Freilach in Hi Fi. Jewish Wedding Dances* volume 1, Period Records RL 1906)/ *Freilach for Weddings, Bar Mitzvahs and other Celebrations no. 1*, Request Records SR LP 10102, sentence *d*

DT15a

Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa, 'Bessarabskiya Hora', Europe [possibly Warsaw], April 1912, Sirena Grand 11094

Epstein Brothers Orchestra, 'Hora & Sirba', Sunrise, Florida, January 1993, from the CD *Kings of Freylekh Land: A Century of Yiddish-American Music*, Wergo SM 1611-2/281 611-2

# Print variants of the sampled performances

NB1a:

Kostakowsky (1916:22): 'Kolorash', sentences *b-d*

Kammen and Kammen (1934:16, no. 32): 'Roumanian Potpourri Selected Roumanian Melodies, Moderato'

NB6a/DT13a:

Kostakowsky (1916:66, no. 72): 'Acht Yur Seit Die Bist fin meim Eim Awek'

NB6b/DT19:

Kostakowsky (1916:65, no. 69): 'Die Mame Geit', sentences *b-c*

Kammen and Kammen (1928, no. 3): 'A Dreidele Far Alle (A Merry-Go-'Round For All)(Bulgar)', sentences *a-b*

NB7b:

Kostakowsky (1916:105, no. 30): 'Freilachs', sentence *a*

Beregovski (1987:58, no. 15): 'Frejlexs (cu der xupe)', sentence *a*

Beregovski (1987:180, no. 196): 'Šer', sentence *a*

NB8:

Kandel Papers (no. 9): 'Gas Nign'/'Gayzik'[?]/'Far dem rebns koved'

NB10/DT18:

Kostakowsky (1916:28, no. 6,): 'Bulgar', sentence *a*

Kammen and Kammen (1928, no. 2): 'Frailache Yidden (Palestine Tantz)(Jolly Jews)(Frailach)', sentences *a-c*

Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974:212, no. 130): untitled, sentence *a* [transcription from Jerusalem National Sound Archives recording of clarinettist Shlomo Zhalovsky on Lag ba-'Ômer in Jerusalem, 13 May, 1971]

Beregovski (1987:68, no. 22/Slobin 2000b:429, no. 76): 'Skočne', sentence *a* [transcription of the clarinettist B. Cherniavski, b. ca. 1890, in Belaya Tserkov, Ukrainian S.S.R., 1935]

NB20:

Kostakowsky (1916:37, no. 19): 'Bulgar', sentences *a-b*

Kandel Papers (no. 2): 'Bolter Bulgar', sentences *a-b*

Mazor (2000:95-97, no. 9): 'Medley of *Freylekhs* (version 1)', sentence *c*

NB22:

Kostakowsky (1916:50, no. 38): 'Bulgar', sentences *b-c*

Kostakowsky (1916:57, no. 50): 'Bulgar', sentences *b-c*

NB27:

Kostakowsky (1916:111, no. 42): 'Freilachs'

Tarras (1976:16): 'Richard's Bar Mitzva'

NB32:

Kostakowsky (1916:36, no. 18,): 'Bulgar', sentence *b*

Kammen and Kammen (1928, no. 1): 'Mazeltov Machetunem (Good Luck To All)(Bulgar)'

DT1:

Kostakowsky (1916:99, no. 19): 'Freilachs'

Galper (1999, no. 19): 'Oy! a polheh velt/Oh! A perfect world' [transcribed by Tzvi Tzipine from recording by Belf's Romanian Orchestra]

DT4:

Kostakowsky (1916:59, no. 53): 'Bulgar', sentence *c*

Kostakowsky (1916:70, no. 4): 'Rumanian Serba', sentences *a-b*

Tarras (1976:25): 'Ruchele's Bulgar'

Kandel Papers (no. 1): 'Bulgar', sentence *c*

Schwartz Papers (box 4, manuscript book "Wedding Jewish Musick" [sic]): untitled, sentences *a-b*

DT5b:

Galper (1999, no. 23): 'Svirskaya' [transcribed by Tzvi Tzipine from recording by Belf's Romanian Orchestra]

DT12a

Kammen and Kammen (1934:14, no. 29): 'Roumanian-Horra and Bulgar'

Mazor, Hajdu and Bayer (1974:180-181, no. 37): untitled

Beregovski (1987:98, no. 59): 'Frejlexs (fun der xupe)'

Mazor (2000:124, no. 16): 'Badekens Medley' [reprinted from Beregovski 1987]

Mazor (2000:242-243, no. 69): 'Vizhnitz *Niggun*'

DT12b:

Kostakowsky (1916:33, no. 12): 'Bulgar', sentence *a*

Sokolow (n.d.): 'SB1'

DT15a:

Fleischman and Bloom (1911, no. 12): 'Roumanian Dance (Hora)'

Kostakowsky (1916:12, no. 4): 'Rumanian Horra And Serba'

Tarras (1976:21): 'Roumanian Hora (Szhock)'

# Recorded examples on accompanying CDs

**CD1:**

**Naftule Brandwein recordings:**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (1) | NB1a: | 'Kallarash' (9/22) | 2:05 |
| (2) | NB1b: | 'Kallarash' (9/22) | 1:06 |
| (3) | NB2b: | 'Roumeinishe Doina' (9/22) | 1:00 |
| (4) | NB3: | 'Freit Aich, Yiddelach' (12/22) | 3:15 |
| (5) | NB4: | 'Terkish-Bulgarish' (12/22) | 3:30 |
| (6) | NB5: | 'Fihren Die Mechutonim Aheim-Tanz' (2/23) | 3:34 |
| (7) | NB6a: | 'Der Ziser Bulgar', take 1 (ca. 4/23) | 1:15 |
| (8) | NB6b: | 'Der Ziser Bulgar', take 1 (ca. 4/23) | 1:49 |
| (9) | NB6c: | 'Der Ziser Bulgar', take 2 (ca. 4/23) | 1:17 |
| (10) | NB6d: | 'Der Ziser Bulgar', take 2 (ca. 4/23) | 1:50 |
| (11) | NB7b: | 'Vie Tsvie Is Naftule Der Driter', take 1 (ca. 4/23) | 2:22 |
| (12) | NB7d: | 'Vie Tsvie Is Naftule Der Driter', take 2 (ca. 4/23) | 2:16 |
| (13) | NB8a: | 'Naftule Shpielt Far Dem Rebin', take 1 (ca. 4/23) | 3:22 |
| (14) | NB8b: | 'Naftule Shpielt Far Dem Rebin', take 2 (ca. 4/23) | 2:47 |
| (15) | NB9a: | 'Dem Rebin's Chusid', take 1 (ca. 4/23) | 3:00 |
| (16) | NB9b: | 'Dem Rebin's Chusid', take 2 (ca. 4/23) | 3:13 |
| (17) | NB10: | 'Heiser Bulgar' (10/5/23) | 3:05 |
| (18) | NB14: | 'Der Terkisher-Bulgar Tanz' (31/3/24) | 3:08 |
| (19) | NB15: | 'Freid Sich Yiddalech' (31/3/24) | 3:01 |
| (20) | NB20: | 'Wie Bist Die Gewesen Vor Prohibition?' (17/7/24) | 2:59 |
| (21) | NB22: | 'Odesser Bulgar' (1/4/25) | 2:59 |
| (22) | NB24: | 'Honga Ciganeska' (1/4/25) | 3:05 |
| (23) | NB25: | 'Bulgar Ala Naftule' (4/25) | 3:03 |
| (24) | NB27: | 'Oi Tate, S'is Gut' (4/25) | 3:10 |
| (25) | NB28: | 'A Hora Mit Tzibeles' (4/25) | 3:12 |
| (26) | NB29a: | 'Araber Tanz' (18/2/26) | 2:04 |
| (27) | NB32: | 'Zurick Fun Der Milchumo' (18/2/26) | 3:11 |

**Total time:**                                                                      74:29

**CD2:**

**Dave Tarras recordings:**

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---:|
| (1) | DT1: | 'Dem Trisker Rebbin's Chosid' (9/25) | 3:12 |
| (2) | DT2: | 'Dem Monastrishtcher Rebin's Chosid'l' (9/25) | 2:58 |
| (3) | DT4: | 'Bulgar' (9/25) | 3:04 |
| (4) | DT5b | 'Dovid'l Bazetzt Die Kalleh' (1/26) | 2:21 |
| (5) | DT9a: | 'A Rumenisher Nigun' (4/27) | 1:41 |
| (6) | DT12a: | 'David, Shpiel Dus Noch Amul' (12/29) | 1:33 |
| (7) | DT12b | 'David, Shpiel Dus Noch Amul' (12/29) | 1:30 |
| (8) | DT13a: | 'Sieben Yuhr Fin Odess' (12/29) | 1:41 |
| (9) | DT13b: | 'Sieben Yuhr Fin Odess' (12/29) | 1:27 |
| (10) | DT14b: | 'Noch A Glezel Wein' (30/12/29) | 1:47 |
| (11) | DT15a: | 'In A Rumenishe Sheink' (30/12/29) | 1:59 |
| (12) | DT15b: | 'In A Rumenishe Sheink' (30/12/29) | 1:18 |
| (13) | DT18: | 'Gelebt un Gelacht Frehlichs' (3/29) | 3:08 |
| (14) | DT19: | 'A Dreidele Far Alle — Frehlichs' (3/29) | 3:04 |

**Supplemental recordings for sections 7.3.7 and 8.6.3:**

| | |
|---|---:|
| (15) Joseph Cherniavsky and His Yiddish-American Jazz Band (featuring Dave Tarras), 'Chasene Niginim from Ansky's drama "The Dibbuk"' (16/11/25) — excerpt | 1:48 |
| (16) Kandel's Orchestra, 'Der Nicolaiver Bulgar' (25/6/18) | 3:15 |
| (17) I. J. Hochman and His Orchestra, 'Molivar Bolgar' (ca. 11/22) — excerpt | 2:50 |
| (18) Unidentified Yiddish Orchestra, from the feature film *Uncle Moses* (1932) | 1:18 |
| (19) Mishka Ziganoff, 'Nikolayever Bulgar' (10/19) | 3:40 |
| (20) Wassili Melnikoff and Michael Dimitri, 'Bulgarish (Bulgarian Dance)' (30/4/15) — excerpt | 1:12 |
| (21) Unidentified Greek Orchestra, from the feature film *Rembetiko* (1983) | 1:24 |
| (22) N. Stefanopoulos, 'Politiko Hasapiko'(1960s) | 2:14 |
| (23) Rumynski Ork'estr pod Upr. Kap. V. Bel'fa, 'Der Arbaytsman' (7/12) | 2:48 |
| (24) Abe Schwartz's Orch., 'Der Simcheh Tanz' (4/20) | 3:17 |
| (25) Cherniavsky's Yiddishe Jazz Band, 'Mechatunim Tanz'(ca. 5/24) — excerpt | 2:18 |

| | |
|---|---:|
| **Total time:** | 60:33 |

# Sources of recorded materials on accompanying CDs:

Published sources:

*Dave Tarras: Father of Yiddish-American Klezmer Music* (Sapoznik 1991): CD2, track 2

*Dave Tarras. Freilach Yidelach: Master of Klezmer Music Volume Two* (1997): CD2, track 4

*Dave Tarras: Master of Klezmer Music Volume One, Original Recordings 1929-1949* (Alpert, Rubin and Schlesinger 1990): CD2, tracks 10-12

*Harry Kandel. Master of Klezmer Music: Russian Sher* (Schlesinger 1991): CD2, track 16

*Klezmer Music: Early Yiddish Instrumental Music, The First Recordings: 1908-1927 from the collection of Dr. Martin Schwartz* (Schwartz 1997): CD1, tracks 1-2, 6 and 24

*Klezmer Pioneers: European and American Recordings 1905-1952* (Sapoznik and Spottswood 1993): CD 2, tracks 1 and 14

*Naftule Brandwein: King of the Klezmer Clarinet* (Sapoznik 1997): CD1, tracks 4, 15, 18, 23 and 25-26

*Oytsres (Treasures): Klezmer Music 1908-1996* (Ottens and Rubin 1999b): CD1, tracks 21-22; CD2, tracks 6, 7 and 13

*Rembetiko* (Ferris 1983): CD2, track 21

*Uncle Moses* (Goldin and Schwartz 1932): CD2, track 18

*Yikhes: Early Klezmer Recordings 1911-1939 from the Collection of Prof. Martin Schwartz* (Ottens and Rubin 1995e): CD1, tracks 3, 9-11, 14, 17; CD2, track 5

Archival and private sources:

Lev Liberman: CD1, track 4, CD2, track 15

Jakob Michael Collection (National Sound Archives, Jerusalem): CD2, tracks 8-9

Hankus Netsky: CD1, tracks 7-8

Joel Rubin: CD1, track 27

Martin Schwartz: CD2, track 22

Richard Spottswood, CD1, tracks 12, 16

Schreiber Music Library (Gratz College), CD1, track 13; CD2, tracks 20 and 23-24

Weinstein Sound Archives (YIVO Institute): CD1, tracks 5 (YIVO 0052) and 19 (YIVO 1019); CD2, tracks 17 (YIVO 1426), 19 (YIVO 1446) and 25 (YIVO 1243)

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CHERNIAVSKY PAPERS. *Papers of Joseph and Lara Cherniavsky*. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, Record Group 1330 (two archive boxes).

JAKOB MICHAEL COLLECTION. *Jakob Michael Collection* at the Phonothèque of the National Sound Archives, a subdivision of the Music Department of the Jewish National and University Library at the Hebrew University in Jerusalem.

KANDEL PAPERS. *Papers of Harry Kandel*. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, Record Group 112, supplement I (one archive box).

SCHREIBER MUSIC LIBRARY. *Abner and Mary Schreiber Jewish Music Library* of the Bertha and Monte H. Tyson Music Department of the Gratz College in Melrose Park, Pennsylvania.

SCHWARTZ PAPERS. *Papers of Leon Schwartz*. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, Record Group 1273 (five archive boxes).

TARRAS PAPERS. *Papers of Dave Tarras*. YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York, Record Group 1280 (two archive boxes).

WEINSTEIN SOUND ARCHIVES. *Max and Frieda Weinstein Sound Archives* at the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, New York.

## Dictionaries, bibliographies, lexika and encylopaedia entries:

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*a gute nakht* — farewell tune at traditional Jewish wedding (also known as *zay gezunt, zayt gezunt, es togt shoyn, es iz shoyn likhtik*)

*Alter* — "Old Man" (nickname)

*ashkenaz* — Hebrew term for the geographical area encompassing the first concentrated Jewish communities along the banks of the Rhine and its tributaries as well as the Danube

*ashkenazi* (Hebr; pl. *ashkenazim*) — Jew(s) associated with the culture and ritual of *ashkenaz*; refers today more generally to the Jews of Central and Eastern Europe and their descendents

*badekns* — the ceremony of veiling the bride (also known as *badekenish, badekn di kale*)

*badkhn* (pl. *badkhonim*) — the traditional jester, master of ceremonies and moraliser at a Jewish wedding (also known as *marshelik*)

*badkhones* — the art of the *badkhn*

*bal-melokhe* — skilled craftsman

*bal-tfile* — master of prayer; lay cantor

*bazetsn di kale* — the ritual act of "seating" the bride (also known as *baveynen di kale, bazetsenish, bazetsns, di kale baveynen, kale-bazetsn*)

*broder-zinger* (pl. *broder-zingers, broder-zinger*) — lit. "singer from Brody"; 19th century cabaret performer prior to the emergence of the professional Yiddish theatre

*broyges tants* — angry dance

*bulgar* (pl. *bulgars/bulgarn*) — a type of circle dance of Bessarabian derivation; also known as *bulgarish*

*bulgărească* (Romanian) — see bulgar

*čalgija* — urban Ottoman professional music ensemble and associated style and repertoire

*chanukkah* (Hebr.) — eight days celebrating the purification of the Second Temple after the victory of the Maccabees in 164 BCE

*cimbalom* — a large, concert-size hammered dulcimer with damper system manufactured in Hungary and preferred by Rom musicians

*dobrinotsh* (pl. *dobrinotshs*) — "good night"; refers to the greeting melodies played at the so-called *dobrinotsh* or *forshpil* held at the home of the bride's parents on the *shabbat* before the wedding

*dobrinotsh* (*a gute nakht*) — see *a gute nakht*

*dobridzen* (pl. *dobridzens*) — "good day"; refers to a type of melody to salute or greet particular guests (also known as *dobrinotsh, dobri-vetsher, mazltov, vivat*)

*dobri-vetsher* — "good evening"; refers to a type of melody to salute or greet particular guests (see *dobridzen*)

*dorf* — village

*dreydl* (pl. *dreydlekh*) — turns; ornaments

*Evsektsiia* (Russ.) — the Jewish sections of the Communist Party in the Soviet Union

*fal* (pl. *faln* or *falen*) — (gramm.) case; section of a tune (*nign*) (also known as *bavot*)

*fayfiol* — flute; sometimes clarinet

*fidl* — fiddle, violin

*fidlen* — to play the fiddle

*fidler* (pl. *fidlers*) — fiddler, violinist

*fleyt* — flute

*floyera* (Greek) — end-blown Greek folk flute

*freylekhs* (pl. *freylekhsn*) — generic term for popular Yiddish circle dance

*freylekhs fun der khupe* — *freylekhs* from the wedding canopy or after the wedding ceremony

*freylekhs tsu der khupe* — processional to the wedding canopy

*gaida* (Bulgarian) — bagpipe

*gas nign* (pl. *gas nigunim*) — street melody, street processional (also known as *gasn nign*)

*getsolts* — tips paid for dances and other musical pieces

*Gezelshaft far yidisher folks-muzik* — Society for Jewish Folk Music in St. Petersburg

*goy* — non-Jew

*gram* (pl. *gramen*) — rhyme

*gust* (pl. *gustn*) — a Latin-derived Yiddish word meaning literally 'taste'; mode; "a term once used by the *hazanim* in Russia, having the same meaning as *shteyger* ... in Western Ashkenazic communities" (Avenary 1960:190-191)

*haskalah* (Hebr.) — Jewish Enlightenment; refers in particular to the Jewish enlightement in Eastern Europe

*kadril* — a type of square dance for four or eight dancers based on the French Quadrille

*kale* (pl. *kales*) — bride; bride to be

*kale-bazetsn* — see *bazetsn di kale*

*kapelye* (pl. *kapelyes*) — band

*kashrut* (Hebr.) — pure; virtuous; the system of Jewish dietary laws

*khasene* (pl. *khasenes*) — wedding

*khazn* (pl. *khazonim*) — cantor

*khazones* — the cantorial art

*kheylek* (pl. *khalokim*) — share (of earnings)

*khevre* (pl. *khevres*) — society

*kheyder* — religious primary school

*khosn* — groom; groom to be

*khosn-kale* — groom and bride

*khupe* — wedding canopy

*khupe-marsh* — march to or from the wedding canopy (see *freylekhs tsu der khupe, freylekhs fun der khupe*)

*khupe-vetshere* — the wedding banquet

*klezmer* (pl. *klezmorim, klezmer, klezmers*) — musician

*klezmeray* — the profession of klezmer

*kokhaleyn* — lit. cook by yourself; an inexpensive bungalow in the Catskill Mountains

*kneytsh* — wrinkle, crease, nuance

*krekhts* — groan or moan

*kvetsh* — pressure, pinch, squeeze; also stress, accent

*lag ba-'ômer* (Hebr.) — the thirty-third day of *'ômer*, the only day during *'ômer* when weddings and other celebrations are permitted

*landsmanshaft* (pl. *landsmanshaftn*) — benevolent societies formed by immigrants from the same town, city or region of Eastern Europe.

*lăutari* (Romanian) — urban Romanian (mostly Gypsy) musicians

*leyts* (pl *leytsim* or *letsonim*) — buffoon, clown, wag, prankster, scoffer; referred also to Jewish instrumentalist in the German-speaking lands.

*loshn* — language

*loshn-koydesh* — lit. "holy tongue"; a term encompassing several historical layers of Hebrew and Aramaic

*maskil* (Hebr.; pl. *maskilim*) — adherent of the *haskalah* movement

*marsh* (pl. *marshlekh*) — march

*marshelik* (pl. *marshelkes*) — see *badkhn*

*mazltov* — congratulations; salutory piece (see *dobridzen*)

*mekhutonim* (pl.) — in-laws; parents of the bride

*melave malke* (accompanying the Sabbath queen); celebration which takes place at the end of *shabbat*.

*meshoyrer* (pl. *meshoyrerim*) — professional boy singer in synagogue choir accompanying *khazn*; apprentice to *khazn*

*mikvah* (Hebr.) — ritual bath

*mi-sheberakh* (pl. *mi-sheberakhn, mi-sheberakhs*) — "he that blessed", a special blessing prayer

*mitzvah* (Hebr.; pl. *mitzvot*; Yidd. = *mitsve*, pl. *mitsves*) — explicit religious duty

*mitsve tants* — obligatory dance by the bride with the important male guests at the wedding celebration

*moralishe nigunim* — "moralistic melodies"; among Hasidim refers to *"niggunim* that lead to spiritual arousal" (Seroussi and Mazor 1990-1991:129).

*motzei shabbat* (Hebr.) — the close of the Sabbath

*muzik* — music

*muzikant* (pl. *muzikantn*) — functional musician

*nign* (pl. *nigunim*) — (Hasidic) "Monophonic folk music composition, vocal or instrumental, with or without text, consisting of one or more sections..." (Mazor and Seroussi 1990-1991:131)

*nusekh* — style, formula

*opfirn di makhetonim* — escorting the in-laws through the streets with music

*oysshtayer* — bride's outfit, dowry

*pastekhl* (pl. *pastekhlekh*) — shepherd's tune

*pesach* (Hebr.) — Passover, commemorates the Exodus from Egypt

*porets* (pl. *pritsim*) — aristocratic landowner

*poyk* — large bass drum, usually with cymbal mounted on top Turkish-style (*poyk mit tatsn*)

*purim* — celebrates the survival of the Jews in exile in Persia against the genocidal plot of Haman ca. 400 BCE

*purim-shpil* (pl. *purim-shpiln*) — Yiddish folk play for the holy day *purim*

*purim-shpiler* (pl. *purim-shpilers*) — participant in a *purimshpil*

*rebbe* (pl. *rebbes; rabeim*) — spiritual leader of a hasidic dynasty

*rosh hashanah* — the Jewish New Year

*shabbat* (Hebr.) — Sabbath

*shadkhn* (pl. *shadkhonim*) — matchmaker

*shavuot* (Hebr.) — Pentecost

*sher* (pl. *shern*) — a type of Eastern European Jewish square dance for four or more couples

*shtetl* (pl. *shtetlekh*) — small Eastern European town with large or majority Jewish population

*shteyger/shtayger* — manner, way; referred to the Jewish prayer modes among cantors, esp. in the German-speaking countries

*shtibl* — small hasidic prayer house

*shul* (pl. *shuln*) — synagogue

*shund* — literary trash

*simchat torah* (Hebr.) — holy day commemorating the beginning of a new yearly cycle of readings from the *torah*.

*simkhe* — celebration; celebratory event

*skheme* (pl. *skhemes*) — schema

*Spielmann* (Germ., pl. *Spielleute*) — minstrel

*sukkot* (Hebr.) — Tabernacles

*taksim* — a type of free improvised form which has a great deal of scale and other passage-work which embellished the main theme of the piece.

*talmud* — a set of books written by a series of rabbinic scholars over the course of several centuries, incorporating both *mishna* (Hebr.), the codification of the Oral Law completed in the second century, and *gemara* (Hebr.), the discussions and commentaries to the *mishna* (also known as the Oral Law)

*tants* — dance

*tnoim* — engagement contract

*torah* (Hebr.) — generally refers to the Five Books of Moses but is also used to refer to the entire Bible or even to the entire body of traditional Jewish laws (also known as the Written Law)

*tsimbl* (pl. *tsimblen*) — an eastern European Jewish hammered dulcimer

*vivat* (pl. *vivatn*) — salutory piece, fanfare (*see dobridzen*)

*volekhl* (pl. *volekhlekh*) — lit. "Wallachian" tune; used to refer to two distinct musical forms: doina-like improvisations as well as to the Bessarabian *zhok*

*yeshivah* (Hebr.) — religious secondary school

*yidish* — Jewish; Yiddish

*yizker-bukh* (pl. *yizker-bikher*) — memorial books of the destroyed communities of Eastern Europe

*yom kippur* (Hebr.) — Day of Atonement

*zay gezunt* — farewell tune (see *a gute nakht*)

*zemer/zemerl* (pl. *zmires/zemerlekh*) — tune; one of the *zemirot shel shabbat*, religious folk melodies for the Sabbath set to sacred texts

*zhok* (pl. *zhokn*) — klezmer adaptation of an originally Bessarabian dance form in an approximate 3/8 metre

*Zeydl* — "Gramps" (nickname)