

# “There on the willows we hung our”...violins: On Old Macewas, Synagogues and Klezmerim\*

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The fragment of the popular *Psalm* 137 quoted in the title of this essay signals a new path of inquiry investigating musical instruments as symbols in Judaism, more specifically as decorations of tombstones and synagogues in historically Polish lands and as an iconographic resource for research into the history of musical instruments. During the last few centuries, musical instruments appeared very rarely on Jewish tombstones in Central Europe. Starting with the 18<sup>th</sup> century they were painted more often on walls inside synagogues as illustrations to Psalms 137 and 150. Most of those temples were made of wood and some of stone, but no wooden synagogue and only a dozen or so stone ones survived World War II. However, some archival photographs and paintings still bear witness to better days. Two important questions remain: how accurately do those iconographical sources reflect the instrumentarium used in biblical and later times and how closely do they reflect the instrumentarium used by Jewish (and other) musicians, especially *klezmerim* at the time the images were created?

In this essay I will consider mainly the period from the 18<sup>th</sup> century up to the present, focusing on all the central and eastern historically Polish territories, excluding Silesia and Pomerania where Jewish culture had a different, more assimilated character than in central lands. One must remember that until the 18<sup>th</sup> century the Polish Kingdom (since the 16<sup>th</sup> century the Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth) included the lands of Lithuania, Belarus and Ukraine. After the partitions of Poland, during the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, those lands - together with thousands of Jews who inhabited them for centuries - were incorporated into the Russian Empire. After Poland's restoration at the end of World War I, portions of these territories returned to Poland. During that period, in response to shifting political and ethnic boundaries as well as specific local circumstances, the culture and traditions of Jewish communities underwent diversification. As a result of these changes there are considerable variants in the culture (including music) of Jews from the central, eastern and southern Polish lands.

The primary sources for the subject under discussion are very limited because of extensive devastation of synagogues and Jewish cemeteries during the World War II. Secondary literature on the subject is also scarce. The principal study in this area is the monographic edition of the yearbook *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* from 1989, dedicated

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to the culture of Polish Jews and its connections with Polish culture in general.<sup>1</sup> It includes, among others, articles by Monika Krajewska on Jewish tombstones and their symbolism<sup>2</sup> and by Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka on wall paintings in Jewish wooden synagogues.<sup>3</sup> Furthermore, Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka are the editors of an earlier book entitled *Bóżnice drewniane* (*Wooden synagogues*, Wydawnictwo Budownictwo i Architektura: Warszawa, 1957), updated and expanded in 1996<sup>4</sup> with a separate book devoted to brick synagogues.<sup>5</sup> There are also several very helpful articles in related fields, pre-World-War-II and recent, for instance Andrzej Trzeciński's study of decorations in Polish synagogues.<sup>6</sup> The iconographic material is limited to a dozen or so photographs of decorations in no longer extant synagogues and photographs of a few tombstones from the Jewish Cemetery at the Okopowa St. (formerly at Gęsia St.) in Warsaw.<sup>7</sup> There are also a few pictures and drawings of Jewish musicians and klezmer bands from the past centuries which could be treated as reliable iconographical sources.

The commandment "Thou shalt not make unto thee any graven image, or any likeness of any thing that is in heaven above, or that is in the earth beneath, or that is in the water under the earth" (*Exodus* 20:4-6 KJV) is the reason why religious Jews are forbidden from making "an image and likeness" of God or any living thing, especially humans.<sup>8</sup> Therefore decorations of tombstones, so called macewas, are very particular, limited mostly to the "literary" (Biblical verses), embellished letterer's craft, ornamentation, polychromes, architectonic elements (pilasters, half columns) and very characteristic concave or convex bas-reliefs. Typical tombstones at the Warsaw cemetery have shape of a vertical stone slab, 75-150 cm. high, topped as a rectangle, triangle or semicircle. The whole can be divided in a few panels situated in tiers, filled with a developed epitaph and framed with sculpted decoration.<sup>9</sup> For our purpose, the most important part of the gravestone is the upper one, the so-called fronton. There, besides typical symbolic figural

<sup>1</sup> *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* [*Polish Popular Art*] (1989), no. 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Monika Krajewska, *Cmentarze żydowskie w Polsce: nagrobki i epitafia* [*Jewish cemeteries in Poland: tombstones and epitaphs*], pp. 27-44; - *Symbolika płaskorzeźb na cmentarzach żydowskich w Polsce* [*Symbols of bas-reliefs on Jewish cemeteries in Poland*], pp. 45-59. See also: - *Symbolika nagrobków żydowskich* [*Symbols of the Jewish tombstones*] (in:) *Kalendarz żydowski* [*Jewish Calendar*] 1984-1985, ed. E. Świderska (Związek Religijny Wyznania Mojżeszowego w PRL: Warszawa, 1984) pp. 90-98, as well as the same in: *Judaizm* [*Judaism*], ed. M. Dziwisz (Krakowskie Wydawnictwo Prasowe RSW: Kraków, 1989) pp. 155-164.

<sup>3</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie polskich bóżnic drewnianych* [*Wall-paintings of the Polish wooden synagogues*], pp. 65-87.

<sup>4</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba. Bóżnice drewniane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* (Krupski i Spółka: Warszawa 1996) – now in the new English edition: *Heaven's gates: wooden synagogues in the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth* (Krupski i Spółka: Warszawa, 2004).

<sup>5</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba. Bóżnice murowane na ziemiach dawnej Rzeczypospolitej* [*Heaven's gates: brick synagogues in the territories of the former Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth*] (Krupski i Spółka: Warszawa 1999). See also their: *Bóżnice polskie XIV-XVIII w.* [*Polish synagogues 14-18<sup>th</sup> centuries*] (in:) *Kalendarz żydowski*, op. cit. (1985-1986), pp. 63-83.

<sup>6</sup> Andrzej Trzeciński, „Zachowane wystroje malarskie bóżnic w Polsce” [Preserved painted decorations of the synagogues in Poland], *Studia Judaica* 4 (2001), no 1-2 (7-8), pp. 67-95. See also: - *Formy nagrobkowe na cmentarzach żydowskich w Polsce* [*Tomstones' forms in Jewish cemeteries in Poland*] (in:) *Kalendarz żydowski*, op. cit. (1984-1985), pp. 80-89; Tomasz Wiśniewski, *Bóżnice Białostocki. Żydzi w Europie Wschodniej do roku 1939* [*Synagogues of the Białystok region. Jews in the Eastern Europe until 1939*] (Dom Wyd. David: Białystok 1992); Eleonora Bergman, Jan Jagielski, *Zachowane synagogi i domy modlitwy w Polsce. Katalog* [*Synagogues and prayer houses preserved in Poland. A catalogue*] (Żydowski Instytut Historyczny: Warszawa 1996); *Po żydowsku... Tradycje judaistyczne w kulturze i literaturze* [*In Jewish... Judaists' traditions in culture and literature*], ed. D. Kalinowski (Pomorska Akademia Pedagogiczna: Słupsk 2005).

<sup>7</sup> Not much new information on this subject is found in last decade's studies of Jewish cemeteries in Polish territories, for instance *Kazimierz i Stradom. Judaica: Bóżnice, budowle publiczne i cmentarze* [*Kazimierz and Stradom quarters. Judaic: synagogues, public buildings and cemeteries*], ed. Izabella Rejdach-Samka & Jan Samka, *Katalog zabytków sztuki w Polsce* [*Catalogue of art monuments in Poland*], vol. IV (IS PAN Kraków: Warszawa 1995); Andrzej Trzeciński, Marcin Wodziński, *Cmentarz żydowski w Lesku* [*Jewish cemetery in Lesko*], Część I – wiek XVI i XVII [part I – 16 & 17<sup>th</sup> centuries], (Księgarnia Akademicka: Kraków 2002); Maciej Łagiewski, *Stary cmentarz żydowski we Wrocławiu* [*Old Jewish cemetery in Breslau*] (Via Nova: Wrocław 2004).

<sup>8</sup> The Ashkenazi Jews (Ashkenazim, populating among other the Polish lands) adhered closely to this law, while the Sephardim (Sefaradim, Jews originating from the Iberian Peninsula) were less rigorous. Monika Krajewska, *Symbolika nagrobków...* [1989], op. cit., p. 155.

<sup>9</sup> For more information about the tombstones' origin, function and decoration see Monika Krajewska, *Cmentarze żydowskie...*, op. cit., pp. 27-44.

compositions, often framed by Biblical verses, we sometimes find images referencing the name, profession or character of the deceased.

Since it was forbidden to portray a human figure, the face in particular, pictographic references to the deceased on the tombstones are always veiled. The deceased is often represented by a hand or hands holding tools he used in his work, for example a feather pen in the case of sofer (a copyist of holy texts), or a lancet in the case of mohel (a man who performs the ritual circumcision). Among others, hands in the gesture of blessing indicate the cohanim – the priests, descendants of the high-priest Aaron; a bowl and a jug (sometimes with a hand holding the jug or washed by water poured from the jug) denotes a Levite (from the line of Levi, a lower cast priest in the ancient Temple in Jerusalem); and books or Torah scrolls – devoutness and learning. Candelabra are typical for women's tombstones, symbolizing the lighting and blessing of the Sabbath candles - a woman's basic religious duty.<sup>10</sup>

Musical instruments are very seldom depicted in frontons, with the exception of the shofar – a ram's horn that is blown during the New Year holiday (Rosh Hoshana). Shofar could symbolize the function of a New-Year blower, held by deceased during his life, which in turn would attest to his high social status as well as to the respect he has earned in his community. One of the tombstones preserved at the Warsaw cemetery is decorated with bas-relief showing musical instruments, a jug and a bowl (see fig. 1). The symbols suggest that the grave belongs to a musician of Levitic descent.<sup>11</sup> The specific characteristics of the very clearly pictured instruments suggest that the tombstone dates from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. As a result of space limitations and compositional demands, instruments are out of proportion with each other. On the left side one can see a clarinet with six finger-holes and a mouthpiece. Given the tight space, the artist could not include all eight upper holes (there is another hole on the bottom of the instrument) or reproduce even one key. Reed placement underneath the mouthpiece (as it is practiced today) is suggested by the mouthpiece's position. This is significant since during the 18th century the clarinet was played with the reed placed on the upper side of the mouthpiece. The clarinet intersects with a metal natural horn of sorts, in a trumpet form, with one coil. It is possible that the image depicts a natural trumpet, shortened and represented with rounded coil of the tubing because of the limited space. On the right side of the bowl we can see a bowed string instrument with a bow. Despite some stylization (the neck with the strings transits directly into the ending volute, symbolizing a scroll at the top of the pegbox; the tailpiece is too long; the upper part of the resonance box is too flat, perhaps even concave) one can recognize it with great certainty as a violin (visible f-holes; tuning pegs at the pegbox and four strings; a bow typical for that period, with clearly marked frog and a screw to tighten the hair).

The musical instrument motifs on the tombstone of Dawid (David) Königsberger, son of Jeremiasz (Jeremiah), deceased on 13 Cheshvan 5587 according to Jewish calendar, i.e. on 13 November 1826, invoke his biblical namesake King David, who is said to have comforted King Saul with his harp playing (see fig. 2). In the center on the bas-relief<sup>12</sup> one can see a lyre with spiral arms, capped with eagle heads and crowned, symbolizing King David's royal status on one hand, and the Torah on the other (such crowns top the rollers around which the Torah scrolls are wrapped).<sup>13</sup> There are marks (holes) where at one time five strings - probably made of thick wire - were attached. On the lyre's left side one can see a natural, metal wind instrument with one coil. Judging from the very wide conical part with a bell, one can conclude that the instrument belongs to the horn family. It is some type of a bugle horn used for signaling in military

<sup>10</sup> More on that topic see Monika Krajewska, *Symbolika płaskorzeźb...*, op. cit., pp. 45-59.

<sup>11</sup> Despite repeated attempts I could not locate this particular tombstone at the cemetery. Both the illustration and the data are taken from Monika Krajewska, *ibidem*, p. 60, fig. 66.

<sup>12</sup> See also Monika Krajewska, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 35 fig. 17.

<sup>13</sup> Monika Krajewska, *Symbolika płaskorzeźb...*, op. cit., p. 47.

formations. An embellished, twisted cord, capped on one side with two tassels and on the other with a loop to hang the instrument, wraps the point where the main tubing touches the coil. A Panpipes made of seven pipes, fastened with two bands, is hanging on the lyre's right arm.

Neither the lyre nor the Panpipes were used in the Polish territories in the 18th and 19th centuries (Panpipes fell out of use here already during the Renaissance). The artist's models, therefore, most likely came from theatrical props, used while staging ancient Greek dramas and contemporary plays that invoked the antiquity, both very popular with audiences during that period. Such interpretation is also supported by the very sophisticated decoration of the lyre, which recalls the characteristics of the Empire style. The artist's choice to portray a five-stringed instrument is purely symbolic: while ancient lyres had between three and ten strings, they practically never had five. Similarly symbolic and theatrical is the depiction of Panpipes made of only of seven pipes (corresponding to representations in the art of the antique). The Panpipes used in contemporary folk music had (and still have today) at least fourteen pipes. It is possible that the original instrument copied by sculptor had double pipes (two rows seven pipes each), but it is hardly likely, as such a system is known mostly in musical traditions outside of Europe. The instruments in this tombstone serve as a visual commentary for verses that frame them. These consist of a modified biblical text, in which "the words newel we-kinor – 'cither and harp' (Psalm 150, 3) – were replaced by similarly sounding ewel kinoremu – 'our harps' mourning' – resulting in the text: 'Have our harps had been changed into mourning because the joy of our hearts – David – died?'"<sup>14</sup>

Only the fronton of Dawid Königsberger's macewa has been carved; the main part of the epitaph is modest and simple (it is also unusually high – ca.180 cm.). However, the tombstone of Miriam, daughter of Jehuda Lejb from Kutno, found at the same cemetery, represents advanced art of sculpting (see fig. 3). The whole has a shape of a rectangle topped with a decorative, eclectic cornice. At the bottom there is a deep panel filled with sculpted vase accompanied by a climbing lion on each side, and smaller side panels with floral embellishments. The main part, flanked by empire columns, is composed of an epitaph, and in the upper part of a fronton marked by a biblical verse engraved on a semicircular cornice-band. The quotation refers to the figure of the prophetess Miriam, sister of Aaron, who in *Exodus* (15, 20) led all the women and played a drum, praising with dance and song the successful crossing the Red Sea by Jews. Again, the biblical quotation has been paraphrased. In the verse "and Miriam took a drum in her hands," the word tof – a drum – was replaced by tow – the good – changing the meaning of the quote to: "Miriam took the good with her."<sup>15</sup>

The tombstone's fronton – decorated with a bas-relief, a type of a vignette composed of musical instruments – appears to refer to this particular event. Unfortunately, there are no dates for Jehuda Leib's daughter in the epitaph, though the macewa's clearly classicistic decoration suggests that the tombstone should be dated to the first half of the 19th century. In the foreground are two clarinets, crossing each other, with a bowed instrument hanging from them (at the crossing point). In the background we see two long military drums (known as "taraban" in old Polish) and two brass wind instruments: to the left a natural trumpet with one coil and a cord wound on the tubing, to the right a sort of a natural signal horn with one coil, in the trumpet form. The instruments are depicted very scrupulously, except for their proportions, distorted as a result of the rather limited space in the fronton. Both drums as well as the bowed instrument are too small in comparison with clarinets and the horn. The trumpet is also shortened because of the lack of space. The clarinets have rather schematically placed finger-holes (evenly spaced), and as a result there are too many of them –

<sup>14</sup> Monika Krajewska, *Cmentarze...*, op. cit., p. 39.

<sup>15</sup> Ibidem.

nine for each instrument. The drums have clearly marked counter-hoops to span the head (membrane) braced by a W-shaped rope.

The bowed string instrument raises the most questions, since except for the resonating body's shape and rather symbolic neck it is impossible to determine other details of its construction. The form undoubtedly indicates a viola. If we are to trust the depicted proportions in relation to the drums, it could be recognized as a viola da gamba. The models for the artist's representations of instruments again raise questions. While the construction of the portrayed wind instruments (clarinets without keys, and the trumpet and horn without keys or valves) is consistent with instruments used in first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the viols went completely out of use already by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, ousted by the violin family. Therefore, it is entirely possible that an engraving or a score illustration from the 18<sup>th</sup> century served as a model for the discussed vignette.

In addition to the above-mentioned tombstones, Monika Krajewska mentions one more damaged macewa with an instrument motif at the cemetery in Żelechów.<sup>16</sup> Musical instrument's motifs are also known from Jewish necropolises in other countries, for instance the old Jewish cemetery in Prague features many macewas of the local musicians with representations of a violin or harp, as symbols of the deceased's profession, and in some instances epitaphs indicate the graves of singers.<sup>17</sup>

The elaborate mausoleum (*ohel*) of Berek (Wow Ber) Szmulowicz *vel* Sonnenberg, the son of Szmul (Samuel) called Zbytkower, is quite atypical in its deployment of musical instruments as symbols (see fig. 4). Berek died on 18 November 1822 and was buried at the Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw. The deceased – a well-known merchant and entrepreneur, among the richest in the Polish Kingdom – was the founder of the synagogue and Beth Midrash<sup>18</sup> in the Praga district in Warsaw. His father, Szmul Zbytkower – whose memory was surrounded by legend since the time of the Kościuszko Uprising – was also a merchant and an owner of several villages, including Targówek (today another district of Warsaw), where he founded a settlement called Szmulowizna (he also founded a synagogue and a cemetery at the nearby Bródno district). The sculpted tomb of Berek Sonnenberg, erected in 1831, was a work of a well-known artist Dawid Friedlander (Fridlender, Frydlander).<sup>19</sup> Unfortunately, some of the artwork was damaged by vandals in the 1980s and restored in 2003. The bas-relief on one of its side-walls shows a town surrounded by walls with towers, a synagogue, a Beth Midrash and a windmill. There are barges carrying wares on the river, a cemetery with macewas near the town walls and a palace on the horizon. The latter is a clear reference to the palace in Szmulowizna, which Szmul Zbytkower's merits earned him as a gift from King Stanisław August Poniatowski.

The bas-relief on the tomb's opposite side shows to the left a fortified city and trees on a river banks. To the right one can see a spiral building – the biblical tower of Babel. There are three sailing boats on the river and a few instruments hanging from the trees while two other lie under the trees. A band containing a biblical verse, placed above the image, confirms the central idea of the composition. The artist's inspiration comes from the first verses of the familiar *Psalms* 137 [136], cited in the title of this article:

*By the rivers of Babylon, there we sat down, yea, we wept, when we remembered Zion.*

<sup>16</sup> Monika Krajewska, *Symbolika płaskorzeźb...*, op. cit., p. 57.

<sup>17</sup> Alfred Sendrey, *The Music of the Jews in the Diaspora (up to 1800)*, (Thomas Yoseloff: New York; South Brunswick: London, 1970), p. 349.

<sup>18</sup> Beth Midrash – “a house of learning,” a place for Torah study.

<sup>19</sup> Compare to Monika Krajewska, *Czas kamieni [Time of stones]* (Interpress: Warszawa 1982), fig. 150-151; Henryk Kroszczor, Henryk Zimler, *Cmentarz żydowski w Warszawie [Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw]* (PWN: Warszawa 1983), p. 23, fig. 22-23; Izabella Rejdach Samek, Jan Samek, *Dawna sztuka żydowska w Polsce [Old Jewish art in Poland]* (Wydawnictwa Artystyczne i Filmowe, Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWM: Warszawa 2002), pp. 176-177 fig. 244, 246.



*We hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof.*

*For there they that carried us away captive required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth, saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion.*

*How shall we sing the LORD's song in a strange land?*

*If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.*

*If I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy.<sup>20</sup>*

The following instruments are hanging on the trees, starting with the upper row from the left: a natural trumpet with one coil, a natural hunting horn (French horn) with one coil and a clarinet; in the row beneath: a long drum (taraban), a bass bowed string instrument (double bass or a cello)<sup>21</sup> and a natural post horn with one coil in a French horn form. The “abandoned” violin and shofar rest on the river’s bank. Historically this instrumentarium matches the period during which the tomb had been erected (brass instruments without valve system, a clarinet without keys – six finger-holes visible, a drum with rope bracket in W shape, similar to one mentioned in connections with Miriam’s tombstone).

Such complex sculptural composition is extremely uncharacteristic of tombstones and even mausoleums. However, it is very typical of decoration found in synagogues built in Polish territories: it is such synagogue adornments that inspired or perhaps served as a direct model for Sonnenberg’s tomb. Musical instruments in decoration of the Jewish temples frequently illustrated the beloved *Psalms* 137 and 150. The earliest known reference to *Psalms* 137 found in the painted decoration of a Polish synagogue dates from the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>22</sup> Later such depictions became the most common image adorning Jewish houses of worship, especially in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The image was typically placed on the western wall of the building.<sup>23</sup> Characteristically it was a landscape with a town on a river, with trees – most often willows<sup>24</sup> – growing on the river’s banks and musical instrument hanging from the tree branches. Often the composition was accompanied by an inscription quoting from the psalm’s first verses.

Such embellishments are known to have existed in synagogues in Przedbórz,<sup>25</sup> Chęciny,<sup>26</sup> Peczenizyn,<sup>27</sup> Żydaczów,<sup>28</sup> Grójec,<sup>29</sup> Dąbrowa Tarnowska, Cracow (Kupa synagogue) and Włodawa (the old Beth Midrash).<sup>30</sup> The painted composition from Przedbórz (Świętokrzyskie region), attributed to Jehuda Lejb (see fig. 5), dates from the years 1755-60, when the synagogue itself was erected.<sup>31</sup> In the background we see a town surrounded by walls and a river; in the foreground, trees on the river’s banks, with musical instruments hanging from their branches. The preserved photograph, dating from 1936 is not very clear and the polychromy itself was also to some extent faded.

<sup>20</sup> King James Bible, 1611.

<sup>21</sup> The instrument depicted here corresponds to the one used by klezmer bands and by Gentile folk bands in the Polish lands until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was often smaller in size (between a double bass and a cello) and could be played while walking (hanged over the shoulder). It was called “basetla” or “basy” in Polish but here it will be referred to as double bass.

<sup>22</sup> Andrzej Trzciński, ‘Zachowane...’, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>23</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie...*, op. cit., p. 71.

<sup>24</sup> Izabella Rejdach-Samek, Jan Samek, op. cit., mention on p. 127 “palm trees” in synagogue illustrations to the *Psalms* 137, but no such trees have been identified in the iconographic sources known to the author.

<sup>25</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *ibidem*, p. 77 fig. 20; - - *Heaven's gates...*, op. cit., p. 147 fig. 224.

<sup>26</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba...*, op. cit., p. 148 fig. 160.

<sup>27</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's gates...*, op. cit., p. 306 fig. 501.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibidem*, pp. 381-382 fig. 641.

<sup>29</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie...*, op. cit., p. 84 fig. 29; - - *Heaven's gates...*, op. cit. p. 206 fig. 313.

<sup>30</sup> Andrzej Trzciński, ‘Zachowane...’, op. cit., p. 85.

<sup>31</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie...*, op. cit., pp. 70, 79; Andrzej Trzciński, Marcin Wodziński, ‘Wystrój malarski synagogi w Pińczowie’ [‘Painted decoration of the Pińczów synagogue’], *Studia Judaica* 3 (2000) no. 1(5), pp. 95-96.

Moreover, since it was painted on wooden planks, the visible transverse slits between them (and the two transverse mounted electric cables, half of the instruments' height) additionally confuse the whole picture.

Still, one can distinguish the following instruments (from the left): a natural horn with one coil in a French horn form, decorated with a cord with two tassels; a natural straight trumpet; a natural trumpet with one coil, decorated with a cord with a tassel; a trapezoidal dulcimer; a bass bowed string instrument; a wooden wind instrument; a violin and a bow. Many details of the depicted instruments are indistinguishable. Identification is further made difficult by misleading proportions of some of the instruments (the dulcimer, for instance, is gigantic in comparison with the other instruments). There are also other *licentia poetica* distortions: for instance, the horn (hunting?) has its bell placed in an unnatural manner, perpendicularly to the coil (perhaps in order to obtain symmetry); while in reality it is placed tangentially to the coil as one of its endings. The pegbox of the bass string instrument shows four pegs to tune just as many strings. The instrument's resonating body has a violin shape. Thus the instrument can be identified as a double bass (which at the time could have five or six strings, as in the previous centuries) or as a cello. The wooden wind instrument is probably an oboe, though the mouthpiece is barely visible. The last of the depicted instruments could be interpreted as a lira da gamba or perhaps a slightly overstylized violin.

Another photograph represents a fragment of a polychromy from the brick synagogue in Chęciny (Kielce region) restored in 1668 after the fire in 1657.<sup>32</sup> The image (see fig. 6) shows a fragment of a town with buildings to the right, a river to the left, and a willow tree (judging from the leaves' shape) with three violins hanging from its branches.<sup>33</sup> It is difficult to interpret the barely legible photograph representing a part of the western wall (under the gallery, to the left from door) from the synagogue in Peczeniżyn near Kołomyja (Kolomey, Ukraine). This late 18<sup>th</sup> century synagogue (decoration from 1795) burned down during World War I. The only instruments clearly visible in the photograph are a dulcimer and a natural horn in form of a French horn, hanging from a tree. In the opinion of Professor Kazimierz Piwowski, who might have had the opportunity to study a more legible photograph or photographs, the polychromy represents a natural trumpet, a post horn, a 10-course dulcimer, a psaltery, tenor and alt violas da gamba and a drum.<sup>34</sup> In the expansive polychromy at the synagogue in Żydaczów (near Stanisławów – Stanislavov, today Ivano-Frankovsk, Ukraine), built in 1742 and destroyed during World War II, several instruments are depicted hanging from trees branches: a violin, a double bass, a dulcimer, a clarinet, a natural hunting horn with few coils in a French horn form, an oboe and a harp, among them (see fig. 7). The decoration itself is dated to 1792-1809 and attributed to Jekiel Michael, the son of Perets and Samuel the son of Salomon.

A photograph is the only source for the already mentioned mid-19<sup>th</sup> century polychromy based on a *Psalms* 137, which was placed on the western wall of the synagogue in Grójec.<sup>35</sup> The synagogue itself, built at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in place of one that burned down in 1812, shared the fate of other wooden synagogues and did not survive World War II. The author of this polychromy is the previously-mentioned Dawid Friedlander. The image again represents a landscape with a river in the foreground. The town appears to the right and the biblical tower of Babel (similar to the one on the Berek Sonnenberg's tomb decoration described above) to the left. Between them, on the

<sup>32</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba...*, op. cit., p. 145; Izabella Rejdach-Samek, Jan Samek, op. cit., p. 123 fig. 151.

<sup>33</sup> Tadeusz Przykowski, the author of the 1946 photograph, preserved in Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, named it "a playing tree."

<sup>34</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's gates...*, op. cit., p. 305, footnote 2. The authors are citing Alois Breier, Max Eisler, Max Grunwald, *Holzsynagogen in Polen* (Baden bei Wien, 1934), pp. 18-19 fig. XXII-XXIV, but the illustration does not appear in the source they quote.

<sup>35</sup> *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, vol. VII (Berlin 1930), pp. 687, 690, 1214; quoted after: Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie...*, op. cit., p. 84 fig. 29.

river's bank are trees with musical instruments hanging from their branches. The instruments, starting from the left are: double bass or cello with a bow, violin with a bow, trumpet (it is difficult to distinguish on the surviving photograph whether it is natural, with keys or with valves) and a natural horn with one coil in a trumpet form, bent in semicircular (not semi-lunar) form. Under the trees, left of the trumpet, are piled up other abandoned instruments. Among them one can barely distinguish the shapes of a long drum and a snare drum, as well as projecting upward mouthpieces of two brass instruments, one with one coil, another with a replaceable tuning crook (coupler), characteristic of the French horn.<sup>36</sup>

More fundamentally, the text of Psalm 137 and its translations to various languages bring up numerous doubts as to what sorts of instruments are actually hanging on those trees "by the rivers of Babylon." Since we do not know any ancient sources that describe or depict any biblical instruments, the later translations of their names and the artistic representations that accompany them vary greatly. Over the last few centuries Polish versions of psalm 137 mention the lute.<sup>37</sup> In the Vulgate, the Medieval Latin version which served as the basis for translation to other languages the same instrument is called *cithara*,<sup>38</sup> which can be interpreted as *kithara* or *cittern* (in Polish *cytara*), while the Hebrew version<sup>39</sup> refers to the same instrument as *kinor* (*kinnor*), i.e. harp. Such terminology is used in the English versions of this psalm: "By the rivers of Babylon we sat and wept when we remembered Zion. There on the poplars we hung our harps";<sup>40</sup> and in Martin Luther Bible from 1534: "An den Wassern zu Babel saßen wir und weinten, wenn wir an Zion gedachten. Unsere Harfen hängten wir an die Weiden dort im Lande"; as well as in the French versions of the Holy Book. The authors of the new Polish translation of the Bible hang the harps back on the Babylon tree:

*Nad rzekami Babilonu –  
tam myśmy siedzieli i płakali,  
kiedyśmy wspominali Syjon.  
Na topolach zawiesiliśmy nasze harfy.*<sup>41</sup>

Grzegorz Kubies recently analyzed in detail the musical instrumentarium found in biblical texts and in its Polish translations.<sup>42</sup> In relation to *kinnor* he quotes numerous examples of varying medieval translations from the original Hebrew to Greek (*kithára*, *kinýra*, *psaltērion*, *órganon*) and Latin (*cithara*, *lyra*, *psalterium*, *organum*).<sup>43</sup> This accounts for the infinite variants and occasional "surprises" hanging from the willow branches, most notably the two portatives

<sup>36</sup> The 18<sup>th</sup> century French horns had usually six different size tuning crooks (couplers) incorporated to the instrument's tubing between the instrument and mouthpiece to change the instrument's pitch according to the needs.

<sup>37</sup> Among others, the 1579 translation by Jan Kochanowski, *Psalterz Dawidowy*, ed. Ludwik Rzepecki (Bażyński: Poznań 1867) p. 200; and the more recent translation by Czesław Miłosz, *Księga Psalmów* (Éditions du Dialogue: Paris 1979), p. 301.

<sup>38</sup> *Super flumina Babylonis ibi sedimus et flevimus cum recordaremur Sion super salices in medio eius suspendimus citharas nostras.*

<sup>39</sup> Also: *Modlitewnik żydowski* [Jewish pray book]. *Sidur Pardes Lauder*, transl. Ewa Gordon, ed. Rabbi Sacha Pecaric (Fundacja Ronald S. Laudera: Kraków 2005), p. 160.

<sup>40</sup> *Bible, New International Version* (NIV), 1973, 1978, 1984 by *International Bible Society*.

<sup>41</sup> *Biblia Tysiąclecia: Pismo Święte Starego i Nowego Testamentu*, ed. ks. Kazimierz Dynarski, wyd. 3 (Wydawnictwo Pallottinum: Poznań – Warszawa 1980), p. 699.

<sup>42</sup> Grzegorz Kubies, 'Instrumenty muzyczne w Starym Testamencie' [Musical instruments in the Old Testament], *Studia Bobolanum* 2 (2003); - 'Nazwy instrumentów muzycznych w polskich przekładach Starego Testamentu' [Musical instruments' names in Polish translations of the Old Testament], *Studia Bobolanum* 1 (2004); - 'Orkiestra króla Nabuchodonozora II czy zespół Antiocha IV Epifanesa? Kilka uwag muzykologa' [The orchestra of king Nebuchadnezzar II or ensemble of Antioch IV Epiphanes? Few comments by musicologist], *Ruch Biblijny i Liturgiczny* 2 (2005).

<sup>43</sup> G. Kubies, *Nazwy instrumentów...*, op. cit., p. 4. Also, see the list of Polish, English, Latin, Greek and Hebrew musical terms according to their appearance in the Bible – in: Jeremy Montagu, *Instrumenty muzyczne w Biblii* [Musical Instruments of the Bible], transl. G. Kubies (Homini: Kraków 2006), pp. 197-212; also: Jolanta Migdał, *Zapożyczenia wśród osobliwych szesnastowiecznych rzeczowników biblijnych* [Borrowings among peculiar 16-century biblical substantives], in: *Studia Językoznawcze* [Linguistic Studies], vol. 5 (Szczecin, 2006), p. 160.



hanging from a tree in the Stuttgart Psalter illustration!<sup>44</sup> In Polish Holy Books one can find “musical utensils” (“muzyczne naczynia,” Jakub Wujek’s translation, 1599), organs (Florian Psalter/Psalterz floriański, 14-15<sup>th</sup> c.; Puławy Psalter/Psalterz puławski, 15-16<sup>th</sup> c.; J. Leopolda’s Bible, 1561), a lute (J. Kochanowski, 1579), and a harp (Gdańsk Bible/Biblia Gdańska, 1632).<sup>45</sup> Jeremy Montagu, the leading authority in the field of biblical instrumentarium, argues that the biblical *kinnor* was a lyre of sorts.<sup>46</sup>

Numerous references to instruments in *Psalms* 150 (*Laudate Dominum/Praise the Lord*) made it also a favorite with illustrators. Here again translations from the Hebrew original to other languages produced numerous variants in terminology. The closest to the originals are the English translations:

<i>Praise Him with the blast of the shofar;</i>	– shofar (horn)
<i>Praise Him with harp and lyre.</i>	– harp and lyre
<i>Praise Him with timbrel and dance;</i>	– drum (tambourine)
<i>Praise Him with stringed instruments and the pipe.</i>	– strings and pipe
<i>Praise Him with clear-toned cymbals;</i>	– cymbals
<i>Praise Him with loud, clashing cymbals.</i>	– cymbals

In the English version is the only problem concerns the translation of *kinnor* and *nevel* – here interpreted as harp and lyre. Montagu believes that *nevel* was also a type of a lyre, maybe a little smaller and more modest than *kinnor*.<sup>47</sup>

In the poetic translations by Jan Kochanowski and Czesław Miłosz instruments in the respective verses are rendered in the following manner:

[J. Kochanowski]	[Cz. Miłosz]
<i>trumpets</i>	<i>horn</i>
<i>lutes</i>	<i>harp and lyre</i>
<i>drums and dance</i>	<i>drum and dance</i>
<i>harp and regals</i>	<i>strings and Panpipes</i>
<i>dulcimer</i>	<i>dulcimer</i>

Invoking poetic license Kochanowski introduced trumpets, lutes, regal and dulcimer to the text, while Miłosz only took liberty by bringing in the dulcimer. Dulcimer is also kept in the new Polish translation of the Bible (*Millenniums Bible*), where a zither also appears). The Polish version of the Jewish Prayer Book also keeps the dulcimer and adds trumpets.<sup>48</sup>

[Millenniums Bible]	[Jewish Prayer Book]
<i>róg</i> [horn]	<i>szofar</i> [shofar]
<i>harfa, cytra</i> [harp, zither]	<i>lira, harfa</i> [lyre, harp]
<i>bęben, taniec</i> [drum, dance]	<i>bęben, taniec</i> [drum, dance]
<i>struny, flet</i> [strings, flute]	<i>struny, flet</i> [strings, flute]
<i>cymbały</i> [dulcimer or cymbals]	<i>cymbały</i> [dulcimer or cymbals]
<i>cymbały</i> [dulcimer]	<i>trąbki</i> [trumpets].

It is clear that the needs of poetic translation prevailed here. Still, one needs to explain why only in Polish translations of the Bible the dulcimer suddenly appears in place of the cymbals. We can leave more detailed research to linguists and simply recall that in English the term cymbals denotes round metal plates struck together, or a single metal plate

<sup>44</sup> G. Kubies, *Nazwy instrumentów...*, op. cit., p. 13.

<sup>45</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>46</sup> J. Montagu, op. cit., p. 28-32.

<sup>47</sup> Ibidem pp. 56-62, 102.

<sup>48</sup> *Modlitewnik żydowski*. op. cit., p. 298.

struck with a stick. During the biblical times these were much smaller than today – from a few to dozen-or-so centimeters in diameter. The smaller ones were fastened to the fingers and struck against each other in the manner of castanets. The bigger ones were held in hands and struck one against the other like today's percussion cymbals. *Cymbalis* appears also in the Latin version, next to the *cithara* (therefore zither, in Polish *cytra*) and the organ (*organo* – therefore regal, in Polish *regal*):

*Laudate eum in clangore bucinæ*  
*laudate eum in psalterio et cithara*  
*laudate eum in tympano et choro*  
*laudate eum in cordis et organo*  
*laudate eum in cymbalis sonantibus*  
*laudate eum in cymbalis tinnientibus.*

In Polish the term cymbals (*talerze* – plates) does not correlate well when used in reference to musical instruments. Furthermore, after antiquity the instrument fell out of use in Europe, and it was reintroduced only through Turkish Janissary music in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Grzegorz Kubies points out that in the Middle Ages the Latin term *cymbalum* was also used to denote another percussion instrument – the bells. Perhaps in the Polonized, medieval usage it denoted this instrument (or small plates).<sup>49</sup> To confuse matters, in Polish the name for dulcimer is *cymbał* which sounds very close to *cymbalum* (the dulcimer player is called *cymbalista*). Moreover the *clavicymbalum* (in Polish - *klawicymbał*), i.e. harpsichord, a stringed instrument, appeared in Poland in the late Middle Ages. The existence of these instruments provides the reason for Polish translators of the Old Testament to associate *cymbalum* (a struck percussion instrument) with the Polish dulcimer, a stringed instrument struck with light wooden hammers. Adjectives such as “głośne” [loud], “dźwięczne” [sonorous], “gromkie” [resonant], “krzykliwe” [noisy], used in many Polish translations, are perfectly suitable in describing cymbals – plates,<sup>50</sup> while stringed dulcimer does not harmonize well with such descriptors.<sup>51</sup> The most amazing aspect of this usage is that already in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, or perhaps even earlier, Jewish bands employed the stringed dulcimer and that the instrument was frequently used in synagogue decorations.

Despite limited iconographical documentation we can gather some data relating to polychromies that illustrate *Psalm* 150. Among these is the decoration of the synagogue in Mogielnica (see fig. 8).<sup>52</sup> Erected in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the synagogue was partly damaged during World War I, restored in 1920s and burned to the ground during World War II. The barely legible photograph shows instruments painted to the right of Aron HaKodesh,<sup>53</sup> between the window and the corner. The instruments are tied together with a decorative cord finished off with tassels. One can distinguish a harp, below it a clarinet, a hunting horn, a natural trumpet with one coil, as well as mouthpieces of hunting horns with tuning crooks. Usually the instruments

are grouped in decorative, distinct compositions, in groups of two to four, and provided with inscriptions from *Psalm* 150.3-5. The represented instruments are contemporary to the painting, but a shofar is always to be found among them.

They are placed on the eastern wall (Łańcut, second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> c.?, Piotrków Trybunalski, 19<sup>th</sup> c.) or also on the

<sup>49</sup> G. Kubies, *Nazwy instrumentów...*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>50</sup> J. Montagu, op. cit., p. 102.

<sup>51</sup> Compare also G. Kubies, *Instrumenty muzyczne...*, op. cit., p. 7.

<sup>52</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie...*, op. cit., p. 81; - - *Heaven's gates...*, op. cit., pp. 272-273 fig. 435 (a photo from the collection of the Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw, after 1921).

<sup>53</sup> Aron HaKodesh – the ark, a built-in niche in the eastern wall of a synagogue or a special cabinet in which the Torah's scrolls are stored at the same location.

southern and northern ones, but in the proximity of the eastern one (Dąbrowa Tarnowska, the interwar time of the 20<sup>th</sup> c.), or only on the ceiling (Bychawa, 19<sup>th</sup> c.; Cracow – Kupa synagogue, the interwar time).<sup>54</sup>

The shofar alone also was used as a motif, in the manner similar to that of the macewas. In the two surviving 20<sup>th</sup>-century examples: “In Bychawa, over Aaron HaKodesz two shofars [are placed] next to a solar disk. In Kraśnik (Beth Hamidrash), on the eastern portion of the ceiling, in front of Aron HaKodesh, two shofars [are placed] next to the damaged tondo.”<sup>55</sup>

In the extant but devastated synagogue in Kazimierz Dolny on the Vistula river (dating to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, damaged during the World War II and later used as a cinema), a polychromy painted on the wooden ceiling included, among others, two clarinets (?), Panpipes, and a long drum with drum-sticks.<sup>56</sup> In the synagogue in Dereczyn near Grodno (Belarus) (dating to the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, probably rebuilt in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, repaired after World War I, and destroyed during World War II), there are images of three valved wind instruments from the saxhorn family – a soprano, alt or tenor and a helicon - placed to the left of Aron HaKodesh (and perhaps also other instruments were painted on the right side of the Aron HaKodesh, but cannot be seen in this picture).<sup>57</sup> The details of their construction make it possible to date them to as early as the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. A synagogue in Nowe Miasto on the Pilica river (Grójec region) (built 1779-80; rebuilt at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and destroyed during World War II) had numerous musical instruments painted on the wall to the right of Aron HaKodesh, placed freely on both sides of the window (see fig. 9). Among them were a violin with a bow, two natural bent horns (oliphants), a natural straight horn, a triangle with a metal beater, a post horn in a French horn form (?) with one (?) coil, a piston trumpet (barely readable transverse lines on the coil suggest such interpretation), and two natural trumpets with one coil crossed with trombones, a clarinet, a lyre (or a music stand in the form of a lyre).<sup>58</sup> The synagogue Ose Tow at 6 Szajnochy St. (now Bankovska St.) in Lvov (Ukraine), built at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, thoroughly rebuilt in 1857 according to the project by architect W. Schmidt, was also totally destroyed during World War II. Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft in Lvov holds a watercolor from the 1920s by brothers Flek (cat. no. 17), showing decorations of the synagogue’s eastern wall. Here a classicistic window niche to the right of Aron HaKodesh is adorned with a group of musical instruments, consisting of a violin, a double bass, 5-pipe Panpipes, a triangle, a kettle-drum and a natural trumpet.<sup>59</sup> The whole, in a manner similar to the Nowe Miasto synagogue, gives the impression of a symbolic composition modeled on a particular earlier illustration. Such view is supported by the fact that with the exception of the bowed instruments, the instrumentarium is rather archaic. The triangle, trumpet, French horn, trombone and kettle-drum invoke military, theater or symphonic orchestras and musical genres. Oliphants<sup>60</sup> (which cannot be viewed as overstylized shofars) suggest the hunting instruments of royalty and aristocracy during the Renaissance. Panpipes

<sup>54</sup> Andrzej Trzcíński, *Zachowane...*, op. cit., p. 83.

<sup>55</sup> Ibidem, p. 84. Tondo – a circular painting, bas-relief, or medallion.

<sup>56</sup> Wacław Husarski, *Kazimierz Dolny* [Kazimierz on Vistula river] (PWN: Warszawa 1957), p. 130, fig. 73; Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba...*, op. cit., p. 387 fig. 556.

<sup>57</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *ibidem*, p. 393 fig. 566.

<sup>58</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven Gates...*, op. cit., p. 284 fig. 454, Izabella Rejduch-Samek, Jan Samek, op. cit., p. 118 fig. 146.

<sup>59</sup> *Kultura Żydów galicyjskich. Ze zbiorów Muzeum Etnografii i Rzemiosła Artystycznego we Lwowie* [The Culture of the Galician Jews. From Collection of the Museum of Ethnography and Artistic Craft in Lvov], ed. Elżbieta Skromak, Anna Garbacz, Marek Wiatrowicz (Muzem Regionalne w Stalowej Woli, 2006), p. 114 item 8; see also: Elżbieta Skromak, ‘Kultura Żydów galicyjskich’ [The Galician Jews’ culture], *Podkarpacki Informator Kulturalny* (2006) no. 42 p. 20.

<sup>60</sup> Semicircular bent, richly sculptured, made from the elephant’s tusk.

also have a symbolic meaning, referencing the classical Greek rather than biblical milieu, since no evidence exists for the use of Panpipes in ancient Israel.<sup>61</sup>

The instruments sculptured on the wooden Aron HaKodesh in the so-called Great (brick) Synagogue in Włodawa (Lublin region) from 1764-77 are a rather atypical example. The wooden furnishing of the temple burned down during World War I. The building was restored after 1920 and again burned down in 1934.<sup>62</sup> Before the last fire the Aron HaKodesh had two levels with a high retabulum (altarpiece) set against the background of the window, adorned by pilasters and opulent decoration (see fig. 10). The lower level contained a cabinet for the Torah scrolls. The upper level had tablets with the Ten Commandments, flanked by numerous musical instruments in bass-relief. The whole recalled decorations typical of Baroque organ galleries and organ prospects in churches. It is possible that as in such church decorations, some real instruments (for instance wind instruments or triangles) were mounted into the sculpture.<sup>63</sup> The photograph taken before 1928 shows, from the left top: a valve tuba, a transverse flute crossed with a clarinet, a natural signal horn in a trumpet form with one coil, a mandolin (cittern?), a (snare?) drum with drum-sticks, cymbals, a violin, a valved helicon, a viola, a trumpet with rotary valves, a triangle, a tambourine, crossed flutes (?), a cello, and a harp. Technical advancements reflected in the depictions of the brass wind instruments (the valve system and other details) date the decoration (collage?), and probably of the whole Aron HaKodesh to the first decades of the 20th century.

Soon after the last fire, the interior of the Włodawa's synagogue was rebuilt. The new Aron HaKodesh from 1936, also built in two levels, was made from plaster casts covered with polychromy. Like its predecessor it was embellished with musical instruments illustrating *Psalms 150* and its incipit, though this time less numerous and placed in the lower level.<sup>64</sup> In the left panel, flanking the Torah cabinet, were a snare drum, a triangle, cymbals, a clarinet (oboe?) and a transverse flute, while in the right panel a violin, a shofar, and a bandmaster's baton were placed. What more, the construction details of the fairly precisely depicted clarinet and flute correspond to features typical of the first half of the 19th century. Specifically, this is evidenced by the scarcity of keys (only a few on the clarinet, one on the flute), the use of rings made of horn at the tubing joints, and the shape of the flute's mouthpiece made from ivory. This proves that the artist relied on an obsolete instrumentarium as a model. Moreover, the artist's imagination resulted in disproportionate sizes of particular sections of the instruments – too long a bell of the clarinet and, too short middle joints for the flute.

Włodawa's another brick synagogue, the so-called Small Synagogue built before 1786, survived into the present. It had been once used as a Bet Hamidrash, i.e. to study Talmud, before a new Bet Hamidrash was built in 1928.<sup>65</sup> This synagogue, like the Great Synagogue, was severely damaged during World War I and restored

<sup>61</sup> J. Montagu, op. cit. s. 54. Izabella Rejdach-Samek, Jan Samek, op. cit., p. 127: states that the instruments hanging from the trees on synagogues' decorations are similar to those used by Jewish kapelyes in the 18th century. It is surely an overstatement if we take in consideration the depicted there Panpipes, harps or kettledrums. What more, the Authors wrote: „such set of instruments is known from the famous picture *Dance of Death* from 1665 in the Bernardine church in Kraków”. But on that picture (about a century older than those synagogue's decorations!) only two instruments can be seen, played by some yeomen, a violin and a regal or a chest positive, the last one hardly a klezmer instrument. Comp.: Jerzy Banach, *Tematy muzyczne w plastyce polskiej* [Musical themes in the Polish fine arts], vol. I (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne: Kraków, 1956), fig. 40-41.

<sup>62</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba...*, op. cit., p. 370 fig. 515.

<sup>63</sup> Ibidem; Małgorzata Podlewska-Bem, *Zespół synagogalny we Włodawie* [Synagogue complex in Włodawa], (Włodawa, no date), p. 34.

<sup>64</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Bramy nieba...*, op. cit., p. 371, fig. 516, 518.

<sup>65</sup> Now all three buildings house the Muzeum Pojezierza Łęczyńsko-Włodawskiego [Museum of Łęczna-Włodawa Lakeland], which includes an exposition of Judaica in the Great Synagogue. I am much obligated to the Museum's curator, Marek Bem, for sharing with me helpful materials, studies and photographs.

in 1915-16. During World War II it was used by the Germans, and after the war it had careless owners, who allowed it to fall into disrepair. In 1983 (already without any roof) the building was taken over by the local Museum of Łęczna-Włodawa Lakeland and restored.<sup>66</sup> Fortunately, the old polychromies survived, including depictions of musical instruments in the corners of the wall that holds the Aron HaKodesh. These images again illustrate *Psalm* 137.<sup>67</sup> The construction of the very accurately pictured instruments – a French horn, a trumpet, a clarinet, a shofar in the southern corner, a bowed string instrument, a harp, and a snare drum in the northern corner – dates them to the second half of the 19th century. However, they actually support other scholars' theses that the decoration (a new one?) in the Small Synagogue was executed during the interwar years.<sup>68</sup>

Both, the trumpet (or perhaps a flugelhorn, because of considerable conical last part of the tubing, ended with a bell) and the French horn feature the so-called rotary valves. The clarinet is furnished with dozen-or-so keys hanged on pillars, which also indicates advanced design. The second painting has a rather symbolic character, with a harp evoking legend of King David. The snare drum has a modern construction with screws to span the membrane. However, the bowed instrument symbolizes both, the violin and a bass instrument (a cello or a double bass). Although former researchers called the instrument a cello because of its size, one cannot argue on the basis of proportional relationships between the depicted instruments because of a very clear use of *licentia poetica*. The bass string instrument is as big as the harp (in other words it could be a double bass) and almost three times higher than the snare drum, which suggests a violin. Hence, the conclusion must be that only the harp is shown out of proportion to the other instruments. Further, the bow to the "violin" has an apparent cello or double bass shape. With the exception of the harp and the drum, the instruments are symbolically hanged from the willow branches that extend out of the windows' frames, suggesting that the inspiration came from *Psalm* 137 rather than from *Psalm* 150.

In the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century Jewish emigrants from Poland built a few small indistinguishable synagogues in the Southern Germany (...) The so-called Polish synagogues in Bechhofen, Horb, Kirchheim and Unterlimpurg rendered famous polychromes created between 1733 and 1740 by Eleazar Zusman (Sussman) son of Salomon, cantor from Brody. (...) The polychromy of the little synagogue in Kirchheim was the last one to have had been produced. It contains tables with inscriptions, the holy city, musical instruments, and bouquets of flowers, though the composition and proportional relations of its elements seem to be rather accidental.<sup>69</sup>

From among those "Polish" synagogues, only a dome of the Horb synagogue by a miracle survived into the present, and is now housed in the Israel Museum collection in Jerusalem. On the western side of its ceiling is a colorful polychromy, with a medallion supported by two heraldic lions, playing on natural trumpets with one coil. Over them two shofars hang from embellished gilded chains.<sup>70</sup> The decoration of the Horb synagogue, as well as of the other "Polish" synagogues in the German lands, was a work of the above-mentioned Eleazar Zusman and his wife Bela. Though the painted trumpets are not very realistic - the coil of the tubing is shaped as a closed ellipse, not connected with the rest of the instrument - they are embellished with lavish detail that recalls the expensive instruments crafted in and

<sup>66</sup> Małgorzata Podlewska-Bem, op. cit., p. 28-29.

<sup>67</sup> Andrzej Trzciński, *Zachowane...*, op. cit., p. 85; Jakub Nastaj, 'Stary bet ha-midrash we Włodawie. Próba monografii' [The old Bet HaMidrash in Włodawa. An monographic attempt], *Zeszyty Muzealne Muzeum Pojezierza Łęczyńsko-Włodawskiego we Włodawie* vol. 8 (1998), pp. 20-21, 24.

<sup>68</sup> Małgorzata Podlewska-Bem, op. cit., p. 28; Jakub Nastaj, op. cit., p. 17.

<sup>69</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Polichromie...*, op. cit., pp. 70, 76, 78.

<sup>70</sup> Maria & Kazimierz Piechotka, *Heaven's gates...*, op. cit., pp. 141, fig. 210, 211; Izabella-Rejduch-Samek, Jan Samek, op. cit., p. 127 fig. 154.



around Nürnberg. These embellishments consist of gilded ropes finished off with tassels, and buckled and punched ornaments on the bell rims and connectors of individual joints of the tubing. The shofars also have very showy silver mountings on the tubing and the bell.

In many instances, representations of instruments found in synagogue decorations reflect both, the contemporary klezmer and general professional instrumentarium. Again we are faced with the question of what served as the artist's model: instruments belonging to the court orchestra or a klezmer band? The dulcimer, typical of the latter ensemble, points to the klezmer instrumentarium as a model. Jewish bands (klezmerim), some of which included women musicians, were noted as early as the 15th century.<sup>71</sup> A woman lute player can be seen at a drawing of a Purim ball in a North Italian Jewish Book of Customs (*Sefer Minhagin*) from c. 1503.<sup>72</sup> The lute must have been popular with the Jews at that time, as demonstrated by another image in the same book showing two pairs dancing to the accompaniment of a lute player (see fig. 11),<sup>73</sup> as well as a lute player seen in a representation of the wedding of Moshe and Ziporah from a medieval Haggadah manuscript, preserved in the German National Museum in Nürnberg.<sup>74</sup> A century later, an engraving from Italy shows men in Purim costumes, a lute player and a violinist among them.<sup>75</sup> (A contemporary Italian engraving with men in Purim costumes depicted cymbal and shawm players.)<sup>76</sup> Female lutenists can be observed in an engraving of a Jewish wedding from Amsterdam (see fig. 12), from about 1700 (on the left side, one sitting and one standing).<sup>77</sup>

During the same period, the presence of Jewish musicians was recorded in Poland, for example, as members of King Władysław Jagiełło's court orchestra in Cracow, in the first quarter of the 15th century.<sup>78</sup> Jewish bands were recorded here as well in 1556 (in 1595 they were forbidden from playing on the streets of Cracow after sunset).<sup>79</sup> They also appear in documents in Lublin (1654), in Lvov, Rzeszów, Leszno and Kępno.<sup>80</sup> Jewish musicians received royal privileges in Leszno (1691 and 1702) and in Lublin (1654), among others. The members of the Christian musician's guild in Lvov have been engaged mostly to perform during the church ceremonies and were forbidden from playing not only at Jewish weddings but at weddings in general. In 1629 the guild and local Jewish musicians came to an arrangement that allowed for Jews to play at Christian weddings and festivities, while Christian musicians would be hired to play at Jewish weddings on Shabbat, when Jews are forbidden from any work.<sup>81</sup> For that all Jews were obligated to contribute 10 Polish zlotys<sup>82</sup> yearly to the Christian musicians' guild's cash box and 2 zlotys to Town Council's one.

<sup>71</sup> Alfred Sendrey, op. cit., p. 353.

<sup>72</sup> Anonymous, *Purim party*, Book of Customs (*Sefer Minhagin*), Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Héb. 586, fol. 121v. Quoted after: Diane Wolfhtal, *Picturing Yiddish. Gender, Identity and Memory in the Illustrated Yiddish Books of Renaissance Italy* (Brill Academic Publishers: Leiden; Boston 2004, fig. 67.

<sup>73</sup> Anonymous, *Dancing on Shabbat Nahamu*, ibidem, fol. 36v. Quoted after: Diane Wolfhtal, ibidem, fig. 24a.

<sup>74</sup> *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music. The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovski*, transl. and ed. by Mark Slobin, Robert A. Rothstein and Michael Alpert (Syracuse University Press, Syracuse: New York, 2001), p. 24 fig. 13.

<sup>75</sup> Anonymous, *Men in costume for Purim*, Book of Customs (*Sefer Minhagin*) (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1600). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 4° 1004, fol. 87r. Quoted after: Diane Wolfhtal, ibidem, fig. 92b.

<sup>76</sup> Anonymous, *Men in costume for Purim*, Book of Customs (*Sefer Minhagin*) (Venice: Giovanni di Gara, 1593). Oxford, Bodleian Library, Opp. 4° 1006, fol. 73v. Quoted after: Diane Wolfhtal, ibidem, fig. 84b.

<sup>77</sup> Engraving by Jan Luyken (1649-1712), from *Kerk-zeeden ende Gewoonten* (Amsterdam, 1700). Compare: *Jüdisches Leben - Religion und Alltag*, vol. 2 (Kultursekretariat Nordrhein-Westfalen: Gütersloh 1988), p. 167 fig. 74.

<sup>78</sup> *Muzyka i narzędzia muzyczne [Music and musical instrument]* (in:) Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana [Old-Polish illustrated encyclopedia]*, vol. 3 (Wiedza Powszechna: Warszawa 1958), p. 242.

<sup>79</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>80</sup> Ibidem, p. 358.

<sup>81</sup> Majer Bałaban, *Żydzi lwowscy na przełomie XVIgo i XVIIgo wieku [Lvov Jews at the turn of the 17th century]* (H. Altenberg: Lwów 1906), pp. 533-534; Zbigniew Chaniecki, *Organizacje zawodowe muzyków na ziemiach polskich do końca XVIII w. [Professional musicians' organizations in the Polish lands until the end of the 18th century]* (PWM: Kraków 1980), pp. 133, 154.

<sup>82</sup> The Polski złoty (Polish gold money, until 1663 only virtual ones) was equal to 30 silver grosz.

Moreover, the council alone made decisions concerning that admission of new members into the Jewish musicians' brotherhood. For this purpose a full list of Jewish musicians was compiled. It contained thirteen names: Abraham Karpowicz, Jakub Szmuklerz, Lewko Markowicz, Judka Perczyk, Mechel Moszkowicz, Zelman Czapnik, Jeruchim Pasamannik (Pasamonnik?), Moszko Abramowicz, Eizyk Bass, Hajzyk Markowicz, Abuś Cymbalista, Baruch Dawidowicz, and Chasz Ślepy.<sup>83</sup> They played violins, dulcimers, double basses and drums. Other contemporary Lvov sources mention a cittern player named Izak (Isaac) and a lute player named Józef (Joseph).<sup>84</sup> In Lublin in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century Zelig and Manes Moszkowicz were the elders of the musicians' brotherhood.<sup>85</sup> During the period of January 11-25, 1796, before the court in Vilnius, a trial against the local Jewish musicians had place. The charges were brought about by local Christian musicians (both sides come from a group so called "uzualiści"<sup>86</sup>).<sup>87</sup> According to the judgment, Lejzer Mejerowicz, Szmujło Lejerowicz, Josel Szawelowicz, Lejba Notkowicz, Abraham Markowicz and Mojżesz Lejerowicz,<sup>88</sup> Jewish musicians from Vilnius, were obligated to pay 50 zloty every year to the Vilnius musicians' confraternity at St. Trinity church, instead of depositing a grosz for each time they earn money.<sup>89</sup>

These cases, collected from primary sources make it clear that for the local Christian musicians, klezmers presented serious competition. This frequently led to conflicts and attempts to use legal means to rein in the competitors. Such must have been the motivation behind the inclusion of the paragraph referring to local, and most of all wandering klezmers, which was included in the statutes given by the Town Council of Lublin to the cappella of the collegiate church and the congregation of local musicians and confirmed by King Stanisław August Poniatowski (10 Feb. 1781):

XIII. Wandering musicians and Jews are forbidden from playing during weddings, feasts, caroling, name-day fetes and being an obstacle in any other manner, without the permission from Kapellmeister, under penalty of having their instruments taken away and sequestration of persons, especially non-residents, unless the residing president of the Council has been notified.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>83</sup> The surnames or nicknames of the particular musicians often indicate what was their profession when the earnings made by playing music were not sufficient (Jakub Szmuklerz – Jakub the Haberdasher, Zelman Czapnik – Zelman the Capmaker, Jeruchim Pasamannik - Jeruchim the Haberdasher), the instrument they played (Eizyk Bass – Eizyk the Double bass, Abuś Cymbalista – Abuś the Dulcimer Player) or their physical features (Chasz Ślepy - Chasz the Blind). Majer Bałaban, op. cit., p. 36, also quotes other musicians' names referring to the instrument they played: Mojsze Bass, Chaim Fidel.

<sup>84</sup> Ibidem, p. 533.

<sup>85</sup> Zbigniew Chaniecki, ibidem, p. 154.

<sup>86</sup> *Uzualiści* – a term used in the Polish lands to denote musicians that did not belong to a guild and lacked the education required by the guild. Starting in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century they received guild privileges in some towns.

<sup>87</sup> Michał Brensztejn, *Artyści i rzemieślnicy wileńscy [Vilnius artist and craftsmen]*, vol.1-2, msp., Biblioteka Narodowa w Warszawie, sign. BN II 10648, p. 358.

<sup>88</sup> Among the last names quoted here, there are at least two musicians by the name Lejerowicz (and maybe a third one, erroneously noted as Mejerowicz). This suggests a professional family typical of musicians and other professions.

<sup>89</sup> Henryk Łowmiański, *Akty cechów wileńskich 1495-1759 [Documents of Vilnius guilds 1495-1795]* (Wydawnictwo Poznańskie: Poznań 2006) p. 190: Wilno 24 listopada 1755 [Reg. Księga magistratu wil. nr 5209 (w Archiwum Państw. w Wilnie), k. 55-7. Wzmianki w dekrete burmistrzowskim ... z 29 grudnia 1795 r. The meaning of this excerpt is not clear, as there are two dates – 24 Nov. 1755 and 29 Dec. 1795. What more, M. Brensztejn gives one more date: 11-25 January, 1796. Maybe all of the dates are correct and the whole quarrel between Jewish and Christian musicians continued from 1755 to 1796.

<sup>90</sup> Michał Brensztejn, op. cit., p. 141: *XIII. Zakazuje się, ażeby serbacy tudzież Żydzi na weselach, ochotach, kolędach, imieninach i innym jakimkolwiek sposobem przeszkodę czynić mogący, ażeby bez odpowiedzi imć pana kapelmajstra grać nie ważyli się pod wolnym zabraniem instrumentów i sekwestracją osób, a osobliwiej przychodnich i w mieście Lublinie nie osiadłych; za oznajmieniem jednak szlachetnemu prezydentowi natenczas rezydencję trzymającemu.*

Similarly, Christian musicians were forbidden from playing during Jewish festivities, for instance, in the 1549 and 1582 statutes of the Cracow guild.<sup>91</sup> It is not clear whether this prohibition had religious motivation or resulted from the actions by Jewish musicians who were defending their territory. More than once those restrictions were circumvented by an appropriate payment to the brotherhood cashbox – Christians wanting to play for Jewish festivities paid to their own chest, and klezmers paid to the same one! Payments to the Christian musical organizations were forced on klezmers in Przemyśl and in the Cracow Jewish quarter of Kazimierz, among others.<sup>92</sup>

Klezmers often found recognition and support from the royals and aristocracy. For example, during a banquet held in Lvov in 1638 to honor King Władysław IV, a band of synagogue musicians in dressed in Turkish attire performed. The king was very pleased and happy with the music until the late night.<sup>93</sup> Also in Lvov in 1694 klezmers played for King Jan III Sobieski on his name-day: (...) “the queen’s French music played for them. Later Jews came with their own music for the king, who rewarded them with 20 thalers... In the evening there were dances to Jewish music which continued until midnight.”<sup>94</sup> A few days later as the king journeyed from Lvov and stopped in Wysocko (...) “Jewish music, brought here especially from Rzeszów, played the dulcimer to accompany the queen’s supper.”<sup>95</sup> Of the Warsaw klezmers it is known that they accompanied their compatriots while they, following patriotic urges, set off to dig trenches around the town during the Kościuszko Uprising (1794).<sup>96</sup> During this period numerous such bands – called “kapelye” and recognized by their characteristic instruments, violin and dulcimer – were active in small towns and villages everywhere in Poland.<sup>97</sup>

The most famous Jewish dulcimer player in Polish culture is the fictitious Jankiel, immortalized by Adam Mickiewicz in his epic poem *Pan Tadeusz* [Master Thaddeus]. Mickiewicz’s narrative clearly implies that Jankiel, an innkeeper and a rabbi’s deputy in the nearby Nowogródek, used to be a wandering musician, i.e. a klezmer.<sup>98</sup> The description also attests to the klezmers’ versatile skills and their role in the transmission of cultural currents among different regions.<sup>99</sup> In this paradigmatic fictitious character, created while writing his monumental epic poem (1832-33), Mickiewicz incorporated attributes of several famous klezmers – dulcimer virtuosos – of the era. During his stay in St. Petersburg in 1830, Mickiewicz became acquainted with the wandering Lithuanian musician Jankiel Lieberman called *Cymbalista*, who later became an innkeeper. In Warsaw, the most famous dulcimer player was the incomparable Mordko Fajerman (born 1810 in Kałuszyn, died 1895 Warsaw), known as “the last Jewish dulcimer player in Warsaw” and praised for his execution of mazurkas and polonaises (see fig. 13). Fajerman sometimes referred to himself as Jankiel, invoking the character in Mickiewicz’s epic poem.<sup>100</sup> But the most renowned of the Jewish virtuosi was Józef

<sup>91</sup> Ibidem s. 93.

<sup>92</sup> Ibidem s. 97.

<sup>93</sup> That description of the witness critical to the festivities, interspersed by macaronicisms, is reported here together with explanations by Z. Chaniecki, ibidem, p. 95: *żydowska musicorum synagoga symphoniaci de tribu Juda [muzyków synagogi z żydowskiej części miast] kapela hierozolimitańska. Chciano było Judaisorum istum okraścić, ubrano ich po turecku, po staremu po pogańsku (...) ale król Imć Judaismo wielce additus [przychylny], ucieszył się niesłychanie his delicis [z tych rozkoszy], był wesół ad multam noctem...*

<sup>94</sup> Ibidem: (...) *muzyka francuska królowej jm grała. Potem Żydzi przyszlį pana z swoją wiązać, którym kazał dać 20 tal. bitych za to... W wieczór tańce były przy muzyce żydowskiej aż do dwunastej w noc zakończone.*

<sup>95</sup> Ibidem: (...) *przy wieczerzy królowej jm muzyka żydowska z Rzeszowa grała na cymbalach, która umyślnie tu comparuit.*

<sup>96</sup> Ibidem, p. 97.

<sup>97</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>98</sup> Adam Mickiewicz, *Pan Tadeusz* [Mister Thaddeus], book IV *Dyplomatyka i łowy* [Diplomacy and hunting] (Czytelnik: Warszawa 1974), p. 107.

<sup>99</sup> See also Jerzy Chaciński, *Ludowa pieśń żydowska – pomiędzy religią a apoteozą życia w ‘Sztetl’* [Folk Jewish song – between religion and apotheoses of life in ‘Stetl’], (in:) *Po żydowsku...*, op. cit., p. 140.

<sup>100</sup> “Cymbalki,” in Zygmunt Gloger, op. cit., vol. 1, p. 255-256, including Fajerman’s portrait after a photograph by Karol Bejer; Aleksander Śnieżko, *Mordko Fajerman* (in:) *Polski Słownik Biograficzny* [Polish Biographical Lexicon], vol. VI (Polska Akademia Umiejętności: Kraków, 1948), p. 345. Joachim Stutschewski (*Haklezmorim: toledoteihem, orah hayeiheim veyetsiroteihem*, Jerusalem

Michał Guzików, known in all of Europe for his performances on the straw harmonica (xylophone). Guzików was born in Szklów in 1809 (died of tuberculosis in 1837 in Aachen [Akvizgran]) into a family of musicians and started his career as a klezmer. From 1834 on he performed in Odessa, Lvov, Kiev, Cracow, and in 1836 in the salons and at the court in Vienna. He was admired, among others, by K. Lipiński, F. Chopin, F. Mendelssohn and F. Liszt. He was so popular with the ladies that the Parisian fashion for ladies' version of side locks originated under the name *coiffure à la Gusikov*).<sup>101</sup>

The Israeli Museum in Jerusalem owns a watercolor from 1830 depicting a klezmer band from the Polish territories, its members dressed in traditional long gabardines (kapote). It consists of four musicians playing a double bass, cymbals, dulcimer and a violin.<sup>102</sup> Among the holdings of the Jewish Museum in Prague is a clay jug from 1836, produced in Mikulov in Moravia. The jug is decorated with a picture of Jewish musicians playing the cymbals, double bass and a dulcimer; the picture is nearly identical to the one from the Israeli Museum. The fourth musician, the violin player is most likely pictured on the other, invisible side of the jug.<sup>103</sup> The repeated use of the same imagery supports the thesis that at the time, klezmer bands in the Central and Eastern Europe used similar instrumentarium. An anonymous drawing of Guzików from c. 1835 shows his kapelye (see fig. 14) as made up also of two violinists and a cellist.<sup>104</sup> Wincenty Smokowski's well-known oil painting entitled *Żydowskie wesele* [*A Jewish wedding*] (after 1858, presently in the holdings of the National Gallery in Warsaw; a pen sketch to the painting was made already about 1840 – see fig. 15) represents a klezmer band, probably from Lithuania, which consists again of a double bass, a dulcimer and a violin.<sup>105</sup> A similar set of instruments enriched by a clarinet is featured on a lithograph of a Jewish band from the same period and geographic area by A. Barthels.<sup>106</sup> On the basis of these sources, one can conclude that until the third quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century a typical small-town klezmer band had the following standard instrumentarium: a violin as a leading instrument, accompanied by a dulcimer and a double bass, and sometimes expanded through the use of cymbals or a clarinet. Perhaps it is such a band that was mentioned in the following press notice from 4 January 1855, concerning a ball at the estate of “family W. P. G.” in Kielczew near Koło: “The master of the house brought from Łeczyca two bands: one of E. Kordelas was playing polkas, mazurkas, gallopades; the second – by Nusbaum – played szumkas.”<sup>107</sup> Nusbaum's ensemble, probably a klezmer band, performed “szumkas”<sup>108</sup> better than the other group.

1959, quoted here after Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...*, op. cit., p. 33) suggests “Mordkhe Foyerman's” connection with the Foyerman's kapelye in Kołomyja (Kolomey); Ritta Ottens, Joel Rubin, *Klezmer-Musik*, 2nd ed. (Bärenreiter/Deutscher Taschenbuch Verlag: München 2003), p. 104 fig. 11, include the same photograph as Gloger, but with erroneous surname attribution as “Pejorman”.

<sup>101</sup> Henry Sapoznik, *Klezmer! Jewish Music from Old World to our World* (Schrimer Books: New York 1999), pp. 1-5.

<sup>102</sup> *The Jewish World. Revelation, Prophecy and History*, ed. Elie Kedourie (Thames and Hudson: London 1979), p. 83 fig. 39.

<sup>103</sup> Dana Veselská, *Svátební obřady aškenázských Židů – historie a současnost* [*Wedding customs of the Ashkenazi Jews – historic and contemporary*], (in:) *Folia Ethnographica* 40, *Supplementum ad Acta Musei Moraviae* (2006), p. 112.

<sup>104</sup> Archiwum Państwowe w Krakowie, Teki A. Grabowskiego [Kraków State Archive, A. Grabowski's files]; comp.: Jerzy Banach, *Tematy muzyczne w plastyce polskiej* [*Musical themes in the Polish fine arts*], vol. II (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne: Kraków, 1960), fig. 94.

<sup>105</sup> Compare: Izabella Rejduch-Samek, Jan Samek, op. cit., p. 158 fig. 213. In this picture, the musicians – Hassidim as are the other members of the wedding – are dressed more elegantly than the bands represented in the watercolor and on the clay jug. All the member of the wedding procession appear to be rather wealthy. The Muzeum Narodowe in Cracow, Gabinet Rycin [National Gallery in Kraków, Graphic Art Room] has another work by W. Smokowski: a pen drawing of a Jewish kapelye from about 1840, which served as a sketch to the oil painting. Comp.: Jerzy Banach, op. cit., vol. II, fig. 96.

<sup>106</sup> A part of lithography by Artur Barthels [Bartels], from his *Łapigrosz. Szkice obyczajowe* [*Penny catcher. Sketches on customs*] (Album de Wilna, 6a Serie) (J. K. Wilczyński: Paris, 1858). Comp.: Jerzy Banach, op. cit., vol. II, fig. 98.

<sup>107</sup> Władysław Tomaszewski, *Kronika życia muzycznego na prowincji Królestwa Polskiego w latach 1815-1862* [*Chronicle of the Polish Kingdom's province's musical life 1815-1862*], (Biblioteka Narodowa: Warszawa, 2007) p. 249; *Kurier Warszawski* (1855), no. 4 p. 14.

<sup>108</sup> According to Łukasz Gołębiowski, *Gry i zabawy różnych stanów w kraju całym, lub niektórych tylko prowincjach...* [*Games and amusements of different classes in the whole country, or in some provinces only...*] (K. Glücksberg: Warszawa, 1831) p. 324:

The klezmer tradition had a long history in other parts of Europe as well. Jewish musicians in Prague were active since the 14<sup>th</sup> century. In the Bible of Vaclav IV (c. 1400) there is a miniature depicting Jews celebrating Sukkoth, with a musician playing the fiddle (3-stringed, with C-holes).<sup>109</sup> Jews played, among others, at the wedding of Peter Vok of Rožemberg in 1580, but they managed to build own guild only in the 17<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>110</sup> In June of 1641, the archbishop in Prague validated a 1640 privilege, according to which Jews were allowed to play for Christian baptism ceremonies and weddings. After continued objections by Christian musicians, the archbishop finally revoked that privilege in 1644, and further forbade the klezmers from playing in Christian homes on Saturdays and Sundays. This prohibition must not have been very effective since the Christian musicians' guild complained again in 1648, 1650 and 1651, the last time having gained support of the guild of church organists (more on this in the discussion of the organs in synagogues in the later part of this text). The details and circumstance of support for the klezmers' claims are not known, but in October 1651 the archbishop of Prague again granted them the authority to play for Christian family festivities, including those taking place on Saturday and Sundays.<sup>111</sup>

In Germany a dulcimer player from Poland named Chaim, served in Wallenstein's army, and was killed in 1637 during the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648).<sup>112</sup> The oldest extant record concerning the use of the dulcimer by wandering Jewish musicians dates from 1694.<sup>113</sup> But the violin, the double bass, and later the clarinet also constituted the basic equipment of many such bands for centuries. For example, an engraving from about 1716<sup>114</sup> shows a bride under a canopy lead through the streets of Frankfurt am Main (see fig. 16), followed by the wedding procession headed by four musicians: a dulcimer player, two violinists and a double bassist.<sup>115</sup> Most often bands were limited to two violins and a double bass, as in the engraving showing another wedding procession in the German city of Furth in 1717 (in the upper portion of the drawing are the men with the groom; in the lower one, the bride, her face concealed, is accompanied by one girl on each side, with married women following her – see fig. 16).<sup>116</sup> A 1721 engraving representing a German Jewish wedding in Amsterdam again has musicians playing the violin, the dulcimer (here it is resting on a chair while the musician is sited on another chair) and a double bass or more likely a cello.<sup>117</sup>

In the case of decorations in synagogues, some doubts arise in connection with the representations of wind instruments. These definitely belonged chiefly in courtly and military milieus at the time. But were these the only options? In the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries Jewish musicians and singers were noted as accompanying various occasions in all of Europe. In Prague they welcomed King Ludwig II entering the town in 1512 with psalms accompanied

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„Szumka – is our joyful dance similar to the mazurka.”

<sup>109</sup> State Library, Prague. Comp.: *Where Cultures Meet. The Story of the Jews in Czechoslovakia*, ed. Natalia Berger (Beth Hatefutsoth, The Nahum Goldman Museum of the Jewish Diaspora, Ministry of Defence Publishing House: Tel Aviv, 1990), p. 14 fig. 5.

<sup>110</sup> Aron Marko Rothmüller, *The Music of the Jews* (Valentine, Mitchell & Co.: London 1953), p. 98.

<sup>111</sup> Alfred Sendrey, op. cit., pp. 352-353.

<sup>112</sup> Ibidem, p. 455.

<sup>113</sup> Abraham Zevi Idelsohn, *Jewish Music in its Historical Development*, 3 ed. (Schocken Books: New York 1975), pp. 457-458.

<sup>114</sup> Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdisches Frankfurter und Prager Freuden-Fest...* (Frankfurt am Mayn 1716), reprint in: - - *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten vorstellende was sich curieuses und denckwürdiges in den neuen Zeiten bey einigen Jahrhunderten mit denen in alle IV. Teile der Welt sonderlich durch Teutschland zerstreuten Juden zugetragen. Samt einer vollständigen Franckfurter Juden-Chronick/Darinnen der zu Franckfurt am Mayn wohnenden Juden...*, vol. 4 (Frankfurt und Leipzig 1717), reprint: (Louis Lamm: Berlin 1922), p. 2709.

<sup>115</sup> In many German towns the size of Jewish bands was limited to three persons (four permitted in weddings); in Frankfurt four persons were allowed, but here in turn klezmers were forbidden from playing after midnight. Abraham Zevi Idelsohn, op. cit., p. 457.

<sup>116</sup> Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniell. Beschreibung jüdischer Feste und Gebräuche* (Erfurt 1717), pp. 178-179, fig. 21.

<sup>117</sup> Engraving by Bernard Picart, 1721. Compare: Ritta Ottens, op. cit., p. 61 fig. 6.



by instruments.<sup>118</sup> In 1678, on the occasion of the coronation of the Austrian Emperor Leopold I in the same city, the procession included, among others, the following Jewish musicians: a female dulcimer player accompanied by two violinists, a harpsichord player with two violinists, musicians accompanied by a portative player, three choirs accompanied by two other portative players, and three trumpeters. Furthermore, along the route three groups were dispersed, each consisting of five trumpeters with kettle-drummers.<sup>119</sup> In the 1741 procession a bassoon was recorded,<sup>120</sup> and a different procession had nineteen trumpets, eight violins, four French horns and kettle-drums, next to other instruments that included a portative.<sup>121</sup>

Organs were noted in many of Prague's synagogues, almost from the beginning of the Jewish community's existence here. The Pinkas Synagogue, built at the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> century, was the first to use a portative in ceremonies. Such instrument can be seen in Count Lobkowitz's breviary from 1494, which includes a miniature depicting the Jews praying in synagogue.<sup>122</sup> On the left side of the image are three musicians: one playing a portative organ placed on a table, another one with a shawm of sorts, and the third one seated and striking with drum sticks two small drums (with N rope bracing) or kettle-drums placed on his lap (see fig. 18). After the fire of the Jewish quarter in 1689, the destroyed organ of the Pinkas Synagogue was replaced by a new one which survived into mid-18<sup>th</sup> century. It was used for joyful occasions, among others, in processions. The Meisel Synagogue also had an organ, built by the rabbi and organ maker Majer Mahler and costing over 400 gulden. The so-called Old New Synagogue had an organ early on. After the 1689 blaze destroyed this instrument, a new one was founded in 1716. Between 1594 and 1716 there were other performances on the organ accompanied by string instruments and singers preceding the Friday (Sabbath) Service.<sup>123</sup> The musicians had to stop playing before the sunset, prior to the recitation of *Psalm* 92 which begins the Sabbath.<sup>124</sup> Similar instrumental preludes to Sabbath service were customary in German lands; we know that such performances took place in the Ratisbon (Regensburg) synagogue in 1689.<sup>125</sup> The information that comes down to us concerning organ music in synagogues makes us reconsider the belief that the organ was an exclusively Christian instrument associated with church services only. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the organ returned to synagogues, not only in reformed Jewish communities in Germany,<sup>126</sup> but also in Poland (Warsaw).

Johann Jacob Schudt, rector of the gymnasium in Frankfurt am Main, was a Christian who in his work on Jewish traditions with admiration described the level of synagogue music in Prague. In addition to the above-mentioned engraving depicting a Jewish wedding procession in his home town, he also incorporated a description and illustration of processions of Jewish communities of Prague and Frankfurt am Main, celebrating the birth of prince Leopold, son of Charles, the Emperor of the Hapsburg Empire, which took place on 18 May 1716.<sup>127</sup> The procession in Frankfurt, depicted on one of the copper engravings (see fig. 19), was rather modest, even though the number of musicians

<sup>118</sup> Alfred Sendrey, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>119</sup> Ibidem.

<sup>120</sup> Ibidem, p. 351.

<sup>121</sup> Alfred Sendrey, op. cit., p. 353.

<sup>122</sup> National Library of the Czech Republic, XXIII F 202/fol. 110v; compare: *Where Cultures Meet*, op.cit., the cover.

<sup>123</sup> Alfred Sendrey, op. cit., pp. 349-350.

<sup>124</sup> Mordechai Staiman, *Niggun. Stories behind the Chasidic Songs that Inspire Jews* (Jason Aronson Inc.: Amsterdam 1994); <http://www.moshiach.net/blind/niggun/index.htm>, Dec. 2008.

<sup>125</sup> Mordechai Staiman, op. cit., p. 350.

<sup>126</sup> See also: Tina Frühauf, *Orgel und Orgelmusik in deutsch-jüdischer Kultur* (Georg Olms Verlag: Hildesheim-Zürich-New York, 2005).

<sup>127</sup> Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten...*, op. cit., p. 2749.

exceeded the typical ensemble sizes.<sup>128</sup> Besides a quartet consisting of a dulcimer, two violins and a double bass, four additional musicians can be seen in the first row. Three play clarinets; the fourth one, barely visible, probably plays the drums. The restrictions, discussed earlier in this article, affected a drop in the number of klezmers active in Frankfurt, and in order to remedy this problem, Jewish musicians from the nearby Offenbach were hired for the procession.<sup>129</sup>

The parade in Prague had a carnival character, patterned after joyful feasts in Italy.<sup>130</sup> There were triumphal arches and in the procession itself were, among others, a clown in postilion's costume riding a horse, decked with Prague-style crescent rolls and blowing one of them instead of a post horn; three satyrs drawing a cart with Bacchus sitting on a barrel; two "yellow" Negroes leading ostriches; a Hindu prince on a horse accompanied by six nude pages armed with bows and arrows; two men on stilts disguised as the high priest Aaron holding the Old Testament and his assistant; barbers with their paraphernalia; apothecaries with pharmaceutical books; butchers; notaries with pens projecting from underneath their overcoats; a prayers-caller ("szul-klaper" – synagogue beadle who calls for the early service) with a golden hammer; teachers with their students and many others. In addition to Schudt's, there is another, more complete engraving of this procession (see fig. 20) by J. G. Harttman and J. Hiller.<sup>131</sup>

Based on the second engraving and Schudt's detailed description (numbered from 1 to 38) one can list the musical parts of the procession as follows: on top of the first triumphal arch were four trumpeters, two kettle-drummers and one unidentifiable musician; a dwarf playing a violin (while on the Harttman & Hiller's drawing a dwarf with clappers!); a group of musicians with four French horns and four shawms (oboes?); a band consisting of a dulcimer player (with the dulcimer suspended on back of an assistant standing in front of him), a violinist, a young violinist carried pick-a-back and one more musician with an indiscernible instrument; and synagogue singers performing psalms, accompanied by a positive hanging on a person's back. The next triumphal arch was topped with a globe and a trumpeter standing on it. On the arch's balcony was a chorus of trumpets and kettle-drums; a singing cantor was depicted passing through the arch. There was also a group of butchers accompanied by a band (consisting perhaps of a clarinet, two violinists and a drummer); a band made of two (?) violins and a double bass, preceding a group of students; a prince playing a large positive, assisted by maid of honor playing the violin and two other maids playing harps; a dance teacher, a sergeant major with two trumpeters; and hussars on horses preceded by two trumpeters. On the third arch were two groups of trumpeters and kettle-drummers; and a cart carrying a peasant wedding accompanied by a band with violins, pipes (shawms, clarinets?), lyres(?) and bag-pipes – the wedding continued until the late night to the accompaniment of pleasant music. (It is impossible to establish whether Jewish klezmers were disguised as peasants or a real peasant band, with typical for them instrumentarium, was performing.) On the roof of the house belonging to a medic named Salomon Gumpert, in a gazebo, an ensemble of trumpeters and kettle-drummers, as well as an ordinary band were playing the next two days.

These ensembles again are consistent with the core klezmer band which was made up of a violin, double bass, dulcimer, and often had a second violin, a clarinet or maybe a percussion instrument. On April 24, 1741 a different procession involving the Prague Jewish community took place, in celebration of the birth of the Archduke of Austria (Joseph Benedikt Anton Michael Adam, born on March 13), later the Holy Roman Emperor Joseph II. The

<sup>128</sup> See also footnote 115.

<sup>129</sup> Alfred Sendrey, op. cit., p. 357.

<sup>130</sup> Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdische Merckwürdigkeiten...*, op. cit., pp. 2749, 2802-2809. I am very grateful to Mr. Jerzy M. Michalak for his assistance in translating and interpreting this description.

<sup>131</sup> Milada Vilímková, *Le Ghetto de Prague* (Aurore Éditions d'Art: Paris 1990), p. 47. According to the book (p. 222) the engraving is in possession of the Jewish Museum in Prague, while the Museum claim it does not own such item (according to a private communication).

procession was almost identical with the one from 1716, and again it was immortalized in even more detailed engraving, the printing of which was privately sponsored by Simon Frenkel (Simon Wolf Frankel), the Head of the local Jewish community.<sup>132</sup> Each section of the procession was marked with a number and described underneath the drawing. The artist and the engraver were very accurate in picturing people, animals, garments, and so on, but less accurate in picturing instruments (too large trumpets' bells, bassoons looking more like a bass flutes or a shawms – see fig. 21). Comparing this representation to the two others depicting the 1716 procession, we notice a few new instruments and some new trends in grouping them. First, there are two bassoonists, one in the wind band (together with French horns, clarinets and possibly an oboe), the other one, wearing women's clothing<sup>133</sup> in the expanded core klezmer band (the klezmers are described as musicians with their guild's tankard). The klezmer band consists of three violins, a dulcimer, a bassoon, a clarinet and a double bass. Second, there are no shawms, only oboes and clarinets. And most importantly, the guild musicians use expanded instrumentarium: in addition to the basic klezmer instruments (violin, dulcimer, and double bass), the clarinet and the bassoon are employed. Other instrumentalists belonging to the guild (oboists, trumpeters, horn players, kettle-drummers) are also engaged elsewhere in the procession. This description indicates that Jewish musicians in large cities used a rather versatile instrumentarium, but was this typical of other klezmer bands as well?

The Jewish Museum in Prague owns four miniatures evidently copied from the engraving depicting the 1741 procession and colored. They were most likely made by the same artist as the engraving.<sup>134</sup> The miniatures show: 1. a synagogue cantor<sup>135</sup> playing a positive (that resembles a spinet) carried by two men; 2. a bassoonist; 3. two trumpeters; 4. a trio made of a violinist, a clarinetist and a double bass player. The last group refers clearly to the core klezmer band, known in Polish and Hapsburg lands. The material discussed thus far clearly shows that the basic instrumentarium of Jewish klezmers in Central and Eastern Europe was the violin, the dulcimer, the double bass, and later also the clarinet and cymbals. The Prague example is rather atypical because of the size of the Jewish community there and its many connections with the town's Christian population. Musicians played in the Jewish quarter, but from the 16<sup>th</sup> century on they also played outside of it, particularly for the upper aristocracy – despite being forbidden from doing so by the church.<sup>136</sup> Therefore, Prague's klezmers needed versatile and universal musicians, and instrumentarium.

Even though we do not have detailed, direct information about instruments used by klezmers in Polish lands, we can conclude that their representations on macewas and in synagogue decorations largely reflect similar principles to those found in documents relating to Hapsburg lands. The basic instruments were the dulcimer, the clarinet and principally (as the most representative and universal) the violin and the double bass. This is why in most of figural representations there are violins hanging from branches of trees “on the rivers of Babylon” rather than the harps mentioned in the original text. (While the dulcimer was equally popular with klezmers, and had an important accompanying function,<sup>137</sup> it was not so easy to “hang” it on the willow's withes.) Returning to the 1741 engraving of the procession in Prague, one can recall the segment representing the musicians' guild (numbered on the picture as

<sup>132</sup> Jewish Museum in Prague. Comp.: Ibidem, p. 48; Wilma Abeles Iggers, *The Jews of Bohemia and Moravia. A Historical Reader* (Wayne State University Press, 1992), pp. 29-31; *Where Cultures Meet*, op. cit., pp. 20-21.

<sup>133</sup> *Where Cultures Meet*, op. cit., p. 66 fig. 55.

<sup>134</sup> <http://www.klezmer.nu/historik.htm>; Nov. 2005.

<sup>135</sup> According to the engraving's German description and *Where Cultures Meet*, op.cit. (p. 204) this is the cantor of the Synklaber Synagogue, but according to Wilma Abeles Iggers, op. cit. (p. 30) the miniature represents cantor Syna Klaber.

<sup>136</sup> *Where Cultures Meet*, op.cit., p. 67.

<sup>137</sup> Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance of Things Past: Klezmer Musicians in Galicia, 1870-1940* (in:) *Polin. Studies in Polish Jewery*, vol. 16, *Focusing on Jewish Popular Culture in Poland and its Afterlife* (2003), p. 51.

15) marching with their guild's tankard – it is embellished with a figure of violinist standing on the lid. Recent literature on this topic demonstrates the leading role violins and violinists had during the last few centuries in the structure of klezmer music as well as social structures in Polish lands (that includes Lithuanian, Ukrainian and White Russian lands incorporated directly into the Russian Empire).<sup>138</sup> The violinist was the most educated member of the band and usually the band's leader. This interpretation of the violinist's role is further supported by fact that the violinist held the same role in Polish Christian village bands, before the saxophone and electronic instruments took over that position in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. In Christian weddings, very often the violinist arrived alone bringing, in addition to his violin, his own double bass and drum. Volunteers from among the guests later took turns playing these instruments.<sup>139</sup> Only for wealthier weddings the expense of engaging several paid musicians could be spared.

Other instruments represented in segments of the synagogue and macewas embellishments, with the exception of the typically figurative and "obsolete" ones (the lyre, the Panpipes, and the viol), might reflect instrumentarium of the larger klezmer bands, which could play a variety of possible repertoires. During the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, many former soldiers returned to villages and towns, bringing with them used brass instruments and the knowledge of how to play them. As a result, bands began to expand, especially in towns, where they also often played for the ever more popular Yiddish theater. On the other hand, it became increasingly more common for Jewish musicians, especially band leaders, to take private lessons and study in music schools (since it was now possible to be admitted).<sup>140</sup> The instrumentarium became more varied, for instance the string section was often expanded to include violas and a cello. The previously-discussed Aron HaKodesh from the Włodawa synagogue is a good example of such an extended klezmer instrumentarium, with about seventeen various musical instruments typical of both, classical and military orchestras from the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. According to Moshe Beregovski, who researched Jewish musical culture in Ukraine, the instrumentarium of larger and medium bands during the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century consisted usually of: violin I, violin II, viola (rarely, more frequently two violins II were used), cello or double bass, clarinet (always in C), flute, cornet, trombone (or sometimes tuba), bass drum with cymbals. The snare drum came into use by the end of that century. For a bigger band the number of violins was increased, two clarinets were used and as well as both, cello and a double bass.<sup>141</sup>

The only surviving proofs of the existence of such bands are the archival photographs of Jewish ensembles from eastern Polish territories and the neighboring Lithuania, White Russia and Ukraine (at the time all of these lands belonged to Russia), and archival recordings of their performances made in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The YIVO Institute for Jewish Research<sup>142</sup> in New York owns a photograph from c. 1900-1905 of the 11-member klezmer band of Alter Goizman from Chudnow in Wolhynia (now Chudniv, Ukraine).<sup>143</sup> Its instrumentarium consist of four violins, a double bass, a transverse flute, a clarinet, two trumpets, a trombone and a drum. Another picture from 1912 shows the 8-member band of the Faust family from Rohatyn in Galicia (see fig. 22), playing two violins, a viola,

<sup>138</sup> Ibidem, p. 48; Rita Ottens, op. cit., pp. 103-107: a section entitled "*Jewish heart is a violin*": the most important instrument.

<sup>139</sup> Andrzej Bieńkowski, *Ostatni wiejscy muzykanci – ludzie, obyczaje, muzyka* [*The last village musicians – people, traditions, music*] (Prószyński i S-ka: Warszawa 2001), passim.

<sup>140</sup> Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...* op. cit., p. 49-51.

<sup>141</sup> *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music*, op. cit, p. 29-30.

<sup>142</sup> The Jewish Research Institute (known also as Institute for Studies on Culture and Language of Jews), founded in 1925 in Berlin (among others by Albert Einstein and Sigmund Freud), with home in Vilnius, after 1940 in New York.

<sup>143</sup> Henry Sapoznik, *The Complete Klezmer* (Tara Publications: New York, 1988), p. 63; see also the picture in the booklet (p. 3) to the record *Klezmer Music 1910-1942*, Recordings from the YIVO Archives Compiled and Annotated by Henry Sapoznik, Folkway Records, FSS 34021; Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...*, op. cit., p. 34.

a double bass, a transverse flute, a trumpet and a clarinet.<sup>144</sup> There is also a badkhn<sup>145</sup> without an instrument.<sup>146</sup> A 1905 (1887?) photograph of the Spielman (Szpilman) family band from Ostrowiec (now Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski) at the time belonging to the Radom province,<sup>147</sup> shows fourteen musicians playing four violins (or violins and violas), a cello, a double bass, a drum, two flutes, two trumpets and a trombone (see fig. 23). Thirteen people can be seen on the 1888 photograph of the Arn-Mosze Kolodenko (nicknamed “Pedotser,” 1828-1902) band of Berditchew (Berdyczew).<sup>148</sup> They played, among others, four violins (or two violins and two violas), cello, double bass, drum, trombone, trumpet, clarinet and a flute. Two members appear not to hold instruments, one of them probably a badkhn. Another photograph shows a 10-member klezmer band (including two boys) from Pereiaslav (Poltava province) in 1880.<sup>149</sup> They play three violins (or two violins and a viola), trumpet, clarinet, tuba, flute, cello, double bass and a snare drum. In the 1890s the klezmer band from the above-mentioned Makarov, led by the violinist P. Lantsman, consisted of thirteen musicians (including two boys on the percussion), playing four violins (or violins and violas), cello, two clarinets, two trumpets, trombone, flute, snare drum and a bass drum with cymbals.<sup>150</sup> Another photograph from the same time shows a 10-member klezmer band from Radomyśl (Radomyshl, Kiev province) featuring three violins (or two violins and a viola), a double bass, a clarinet, a trumpet, a valve trombone, a flute, a snare drum, a bass drum with cymbals, and lead by the violinist named Berman.<sup>151</sup>

YIVO archives also have a photograph of an unknown klezmer band in Russia, probably made before the World War I, possibly from the territories of the former eastern Poland.<sup>152</sup> The band consists of nine musicians playing a drum, three violins (or two violins and one viola), a clarinet, a trumpet, a cornet, a baritone saxhorn and a tuba. Yet another photograph from the interwar period pictures a Hasidic band from Nowy Dwór near Warsaw (see fig. 24), under direction of one Spielfidel [sic!]. The picture shows ten musicians: five with violins and violas; three more playing cello, trumpet (cornet?) and a trombone, while two other have no instruments (one of them was probably badken).<sup>153</sup> The State Ethnographic Museum in St. Petersburg has a photograph of a klezmer kapelye from Ukraine from about 1911-14.<sup>154</sup> They hold two violins, flute, clarinet and a trombone. Four of the five musicians presented here, the trombone player is the exception, look like men from the Wild West, with instruments instead of guns. Jewish kapelyes often played at Christian weddings, for example in a Polish wedding in Łachwa (Lakhva, now Southern Belarus) which took place on January 9, 1927.<sup>155</sup> This photo shows five musicians: two with violins, one with a trumpet

<sup>144</sup> Lucjan Dobroszycki, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett, *Image Before My Eyes. A Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland, 1864-1939* (Schocken Books: New York, 1977), p. 99.

<sup>145</sup> Marshalik, a wedding bard, an entertainer who leads the wedding ceremony, sings, tells stories, rhymes and so on.

<sup>146</sup> David Faust (violin), Itsik Hersch Faust (flute), unknown (the badken), Yankel Faust (trumpet), Mendel Bass (bass), and Mautra Schmiel Faust (clarinet). Sitting from right is Wolf Zimbler (viola), Moses Faust (violin). The photograph on the cover of the record *Klezmer Music 1910-1942*, ibidem; [www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/rohatyn/RohatynBusiness.htm#MUSICIANS](http://www.shtetlinks.jewishgen.org/rohatyn/RohatynBusiness.htm#MUSICIANS), Jan. 2009; Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...*, op. cit., p. 34.

<sup>147</sup> Henry Sapoznik, *The Complet Klezmer*, op. cit. s. 51; see also the picture on the cover of the record *Klezmer! Jewish Music From Old World To Our New World*, Yazoo 7017; Joel Rubin, *Im Zentrum eines alten Rituals: Die Klarinette in der Klezmer-Musik*, (in:) *Faszination Klarinette*, ed. Conny Restle, Heike Fricke (Prestel Verlag: Berlin 2004), p. 219. Sapoznik dates this picture for 1905, while Rubin gives it a date of 1887; in another publication (Rita Ottens, op. cit., p. 34 fig. 3) it is dated to circa 1900!

<sup>148</sup> *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music...*, op. cit., p. 7 fig. 5.

<sup>149</sup> Ibidem, p. 14 fig. 8.

<sup>150</sup> Ibidem, p. 17 fig. 9.

<sup>151</sup> Ibidem, p. 18 fig. 10.

<sup>152</sup> Compare to p. 25 of the booklet accompanying the record *Oytsres-Treasures, Klezmer Music 1908-1996*, Wergo LC 06356; and the booklet to the record *Klezmer Pioneers. European and American Recordings, 1905-1952*, Rounder CD 1089.

<sup>153</sup> Isachar Fater, *Muzyka żydowska w okresie międzywojennym* [Jewish music in the interwar period] (Rytm: Warszawa, 1997), p. 204.

<sup>154</sup> Rita Ottens, op. cit., p. 102 fig. 10.

<sup>155</sup> Lucjan Dobroszycki, op. cit. p. 99.



and one with a clarinet. The fifth musician, probably a percussionist, is pictured without an instrument. In USA among the most popular bands at the time, was the orchestra of Abe Schwartz (a violinist and composer born in Rumania), consisting of emigrants from Eastern and Central Europe. The photograph of this band, found in the Columbia recording company's catalogue from 1921 shows twelve instruments: two violins, flute, clarinet, two trumpets, tuba, percussion and a piano.<sup>156</sup> Here, wind instruments clearly prevailed.

There are no dulcimers in any of the above-mentioned photographs. The only dulcimer can be seen in an undated photograph, also from the YIVO's archives,<sup>157</sup> probably still from the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century (see fig. 25). This photograph shows a traditional kapelye of Jankew (Jankiew, Jakub) Cymbalista (dulcimer player) from Przemyśl, playing four violins (or violins and violas), double bass and a dulcimer. The dulcimer began to disappear from the klezmer instrumentarium by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, at the same time as the number of musicians began to increase to between twelve and fifteen, mainly playing strings and wind instruments.<sup>158</sup> According to Moshe Beregovski, in Ukraine, in the last quarter of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the dulcimer was mentioned ever more seldom. Of the dozens of klezmers interviewed by him, only one - a sixty-years-old clarinetist named Dulicki from Makarov (Kiev district) - remembered that his grandfather was a dulcimer player, whose kapelye consisted of a violin, a dulcimer and a clarinet. Some other musicians continued to mention similar bands, but with a double bass instead of a dulcimer, until the 1870s.<sup>159</sup>

The great skill and potential of klezmer violinists is confirmed by the substantial increase in the number the Jewish virtuosos of that instrument at the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, when Jews were commonly admitted into music schools and conservatories. An example of how sophisticated klezmer violin music could be is found in Josef Solinski's recordings (violin and dulcimer) of *Orientalische Motive II*, made in Warsaw in 1908 by Favorit-Records, and his *Rumanian Fantasy IV* recorded also in Warsaw in 1911.<sup>160</sup> Though at the beginning the klezmer sound was dominated by string instruments, the technical development of the clarinet, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, and of the brass instruments, by the end of that century, was of great importance to this tradition.<sup>161</sup> On the other hand, ensembles with more differentiated sound range were created for the needs of the numerous Yiddish theaters, founded in the last decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and continuing to grow in importance. The most common genre in their repertory was the vaudeville, requiring musical accompaniment, overtures and all sorts of interludes.<sup>162</sup> For instance, the overture to the play *Die drei matunes (Three gifts)* by Icchak Lejb Perec, performed by an orchestra of the local Yiddish Theater, was recorded in the Lvov studio of Favorit-Record (recording no. 1-23236 and 1-23237) on April 26, 1910. The music was composed and conducted by Chone Wolfstal, a klezmer in the former Brothers Wolfstal band and an opera conductor in Vienna during World War I.<sup>163</sup>

Similarly, an expanded orchestra (including even a piccolo flute) under the name of The Jewish Wedding Band, conducted by one Back, was recorded in Warsaw (?) about 1911-12, in the studio of Kalliope/Stella Concert

<sup>156</sup> Booklet to the record *Klezmer Music 1910-1942*, op. cit., p. 16.

<sup>157</sup> Booklet to the record *Klezmer Pioneers*, op. cit.

<sup>158</sup> Walter Zev Feldman, booklet to the record *Klezmer Music 1910-1942*, op. cit., p. 5.

<sup>159</sup> *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music...*, op. cit., p. 29.

<sup>160</sup> Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...*, op. cit., pp. 36-37. Comp. K. Bjorling, *Jewish Violinists*, rev. edn. 1997= vol. 1; *Yiddish, Hebrew & Klezmer. Anthology of Jewish Music*, Recording Arts SA 2x613; *Klezmer Pioneers*, op. cit.

<sup>161</sup> Miles Krassen, *Klezmer Music* (in:) *American Folklore*, ed. J. H. Brunvand (Garland Publishing, Inc.: New York & London, 1996), p. 422.

<sup>162</sup> In the interwar period, 1918-1939, such bands were also engaged to record music for numerous movies produced in Poland (including some in Yiddish).

<sup>163</sup> Record *Oytsres-Treasures*, op. cit., track 1, booklet pp. 5-6; see also: Isachar Fater, op. cit., p. 317.

Record (recording no. 13039).<sup>164</sup> The Rumanian Orchestra of W. Belf was much smaller (a clarinet, two violins, and a piano), but it was known in Warsaw through its many recordings<sup>165</sup> registered by Stella Concert Record in 1912 (recording no. 13928),<sup>166</sup> and at very least sixteen times on discs by Syrena Record: among others in April 1912,<sup>167</sup> in May-August 1912,<sup>168</sup> early on in 1913<sup>169</sup> and in 1914.<sup>170</sup> The same studio recorded other “Rumanian” ensembles with a similar repertory, for example the anonymous Rumanian Orchestra on recording no. 3078-89 in March of 1913,<sup>171</sup> The Rumanian Orchestra of Mihai Vitesco at the start of the 1914,<sup>172</sup> as well as The Orchestra of P. Grancow in June of 1910 (the ensemble was probably not Rumanian, but it played a similar repertoire).<sup>173</sup> During the interwar period many Jewish singers, singing actors, cantors and synagogue choirs were recorded at the same company.<sup>174</sup> In the 1930s the “Syrena Record” Orchestra recorded the *Hora - Potpourri* in two parts,<sup>175</sup> but no other typically klezmer bands’ recordings seem to have appeared before World War II.<sup>176</sup>

The surviving traces of Jewish musicians’ activity in Polish lands are very limited and inadequately studied. After all, the instruments pictured on macewas and decorations in synagogues reflect the instrumentarium used in this region in the given time, as much as providing evidence for specific instruments used by klezmers.<sup>177</sup> Certainly, there must be unexamined documents pertaining to this matter in Polish archives related to Jewish community (mostly in Hebrew and Yiddish), Yiddish and Hebrew press from the last couple of centuries, or epistolary sources in different languages that refer to Polish lands. It is worth to examine photographic archives with the same purpose in mind. Material gathered by ethnographers, ethnologists and ethnomusicologists during the last two centuries similarly has not been studied from this perspective, with the single exception of the invaluable oeuvre of Moshe Beregovsky (which refers mostly to Ukraine).<sup>178</sup> In the new and important research published by Ritta Ottens and Joel Rubin in *Klezmer-Musik*,<sup>179</sup> and in Walter Zev Feldman’s article on Galicia’s Klezmers,<sup>180</sup> organological inquiry plays a limited and marginal role. It is possible that more information on klezmer instrumentarium could be found in thitherto unpublished documents of the Polish ethnographer Oskar Kolberg.<sup>181</sup> The same point can be made about the massive archives

<sup>164</sup> Booklet to the record *Oytsres-Treasures*, op. cit., p. 8.

<sup>165</sup> His recordings are still very popular today among klezmer music fans.

<sup>166</sup> [www.muziker.org/resrec/details.html#belf](http://www.muziker.org/resrec/details.html#belf), July 2007.

<sup>167</sup> Tomasz Lerski, *Syrena Record, pierwsza polska wytwórnia fonograficzna 1904-1939* [Syrena Record, the first Polish record company] (Editions “Karin”: New York – Warsaw, 2004), p. 211; see also the record *Oytsres-Treasures*, op. cit., recording no. 11090 (*Na rasv’et’e*), track 5.

<sup>168</sup> Tomasz Lerski, op. cit., p. 218.

<sup>169</sup> Ibidem, p. 229; see also record *Oytsres-Treasures*, op. cit., recording no. 13078 (*Platch Yevreia*), track 5.

<sup>170</sup> Tomasz Lerski, op. cit., p. 182. Belf’s Orchestra was also recorded in Bucharest in 1908-10 and 1911 – see *Yiddish, Hebrew & Klezmer*, op. cit.

<sup>171</sup> Tomasz Lerski, op. cit., p. 181.

<sup>172</sup> Ibidem, p. 182.

<sup>173</sup> Ibidem, p. 192. Orchestra Romaneasca, recorded in 1916 in New York, is another example of such “Rumanian” ensemble. Comp. *Yiddish, Hebrew & Klezmer*, op. cit.

<sup>174</sup> Tomasz Lerski, op. cit., Dodatek [Supplement] pp. VI-X, XIV.

<sup>175</sup> Ibidem, p. IX, recording no. 5486.

<sup>176</sup> On recordings of klezmer music see also Jeffrey Wollock, “European Recordings of Jewish Instrumental Folk Music, 1911-1914.” *Association for Recorded Sound Collections Journal* 28 (1997), pp. 36-55; - - “Soviet Recordings of Jewish Instrumental Folk Music, 1937-1939.” *ARSC Journal* 34 (2003 Spring), pp. 14-32; Michael Aylward, “Early Recordings of Jewish Music in Poland” in *Polin*, op. cit. pp. 59-69; Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...*, op. cit. pp. 35-38.

<sup>177</sup> Jarosław Chaciński, op. cit.

<sup>178</sup> *Jewish Instrumental Folk Music...*, op. cit.; *Old Jewish Folk Music. The Collections and Writings of Moshe Beregovsky*, ed. and translated by Mark Slobin (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1982).

<sup>179</sup> Rita Ottens, op. cit.

<sup>180</sup> Walter Zev Feldman, *Remembrance...*, op. cit.

<sup>181</sup> Compare: Tomasz Nowak, ‘Wątki żydowskie w XIX-wiecznej polskiej literaturze muzycznej w świetle zbioru Oskara Kolberga’ [Jewish threads in 19<sup>th</sup> century Polish musical literature in the light of the Oskar Kolberg’s collection’], *Polski Rocznik*

gathered by YIVO in New York, Israel Museum in Jerusalem, as well as the Jewish History Institute in Warsaw. The present essay is only a sketch signaling a new angle of research into a fascinating and rich cultural heritage that bears significance for both, Jewish and Polish histories of musical culture, waiting to be discovered.

Pierwotna wersja powyższego tekstu ukazała się pt. *Na wierzbach zawiesiliśmy nasze skrzypce.... Rzecz o dawnych instrumentach, macewach, synagogach i klezmerach*, w "Muzyce" 2007 nr 2 (205), s. 75-113.

Benjamin Vogel

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*Muzykologiczny* [Polish Musicological Yearly] (2006), pp. 221-240.



Fig. 1. Tombstone of a musician from the line of Levi. Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw. After: Monika Krajewski, 'Symbolika płaskorzeźb na cmentarzach żydowskich w Polsce', [Symbols of bas-reliefs on Jewish cemeteries in Poland], *Polska Sztuka Ludowa* [Polish Popular Art] (1989), no. 1-2, p. 60, fig. 66.



Fig. 2. Tombstone of Dawid Königsberger, deceased 13 November 1826. Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw. Photo B. Vogel.





Fig. 3. Tombstone of Miriam, daughter of Lejba from Kutno. Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw. Photo B. Vogel.





Fig. 4. Side-wall of the tomb of Berek Szmulowicz vel Sonnenberg, son of Szmul Zbytkower, deceased 18 November 1822, and its fragment with musical instruments. Jewish Cemetery in Warsaw. Photo B. Vogel.



Fig. 5. Przedbórz: Synagogue. Photo S. Zajczyk, interwar years. Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. Negative no. 18456.





Fig. 6. Chęciny: Synagogue. Photo Tadeusz Przykowski, 1946. Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. Negative no. 22846.

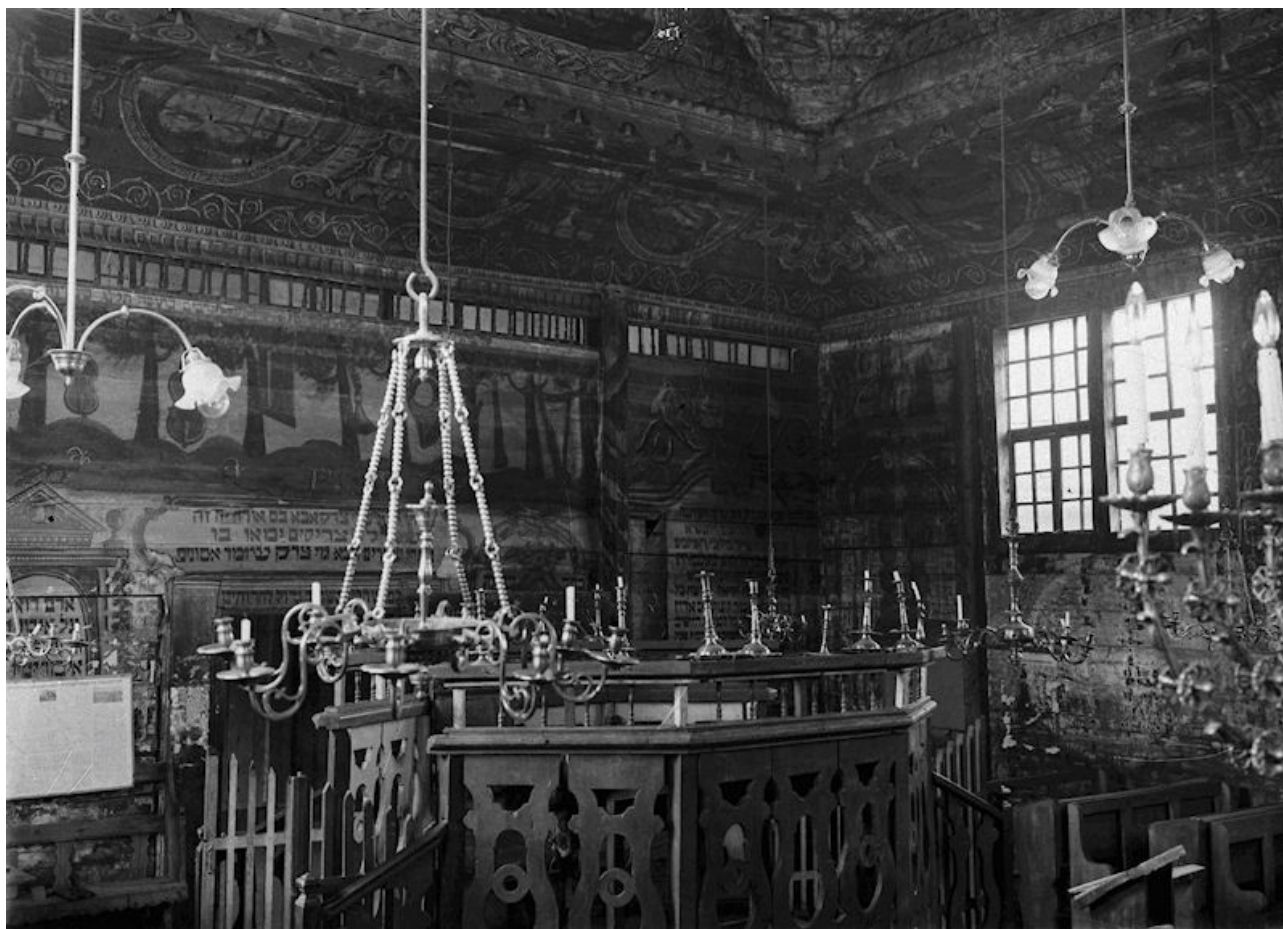


Fig. 7. Żydaczów: Synagogue from 1742. Photo S. Zajczyk, before 1939. Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. Negative no. 1604046.



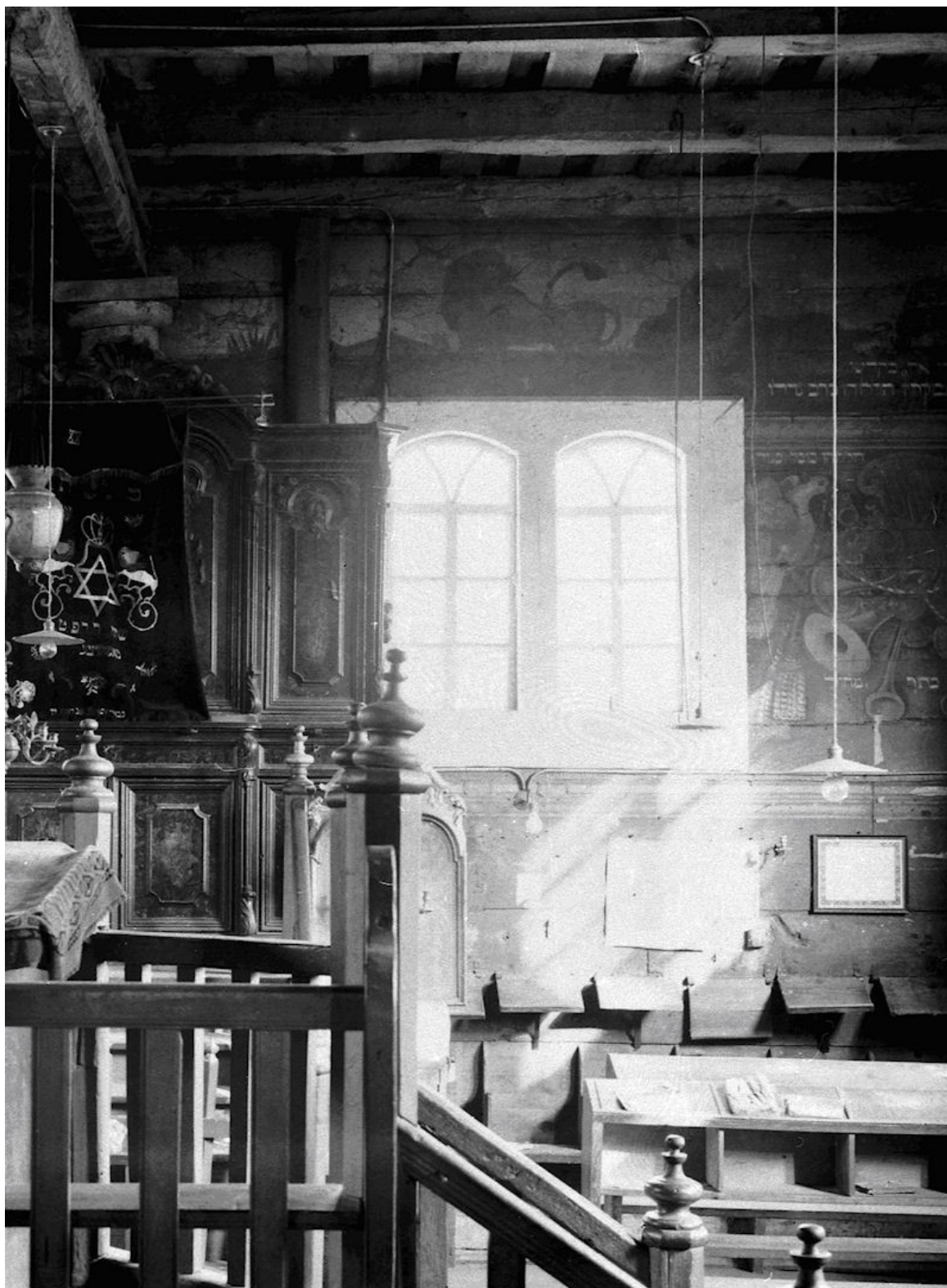


Fig. 8. Mogielnica: Synagogue from the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> c., restored in 1920s. Photo S. Zajczyk, interwar years. Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw. Negative no. 141877.





Fig. 9. Nowe Miasto on the Pilica river: Synagogue rebuilt at the turn of the 20th c. Photo M. Moraczewska, 1938. Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.



Fig. 10. Włodawa: Synagogue, wooden Aron HaKodesh from ca. 1920-34. Archives of Institute of Art of the Polish Academy of Sciences in Warsaw.





Fig. 11. Anonymous, *Dancing on Shabbat Nahamu*, Book of Customs (*Sefer Minhagim*) [ca. 1503], Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Héb. 586, fol. 36v.



Fig. 12. *Jewish wedding in Amsterdam*. Two lute-player women can be seen to the left. Jan Luyken (1649-1712), engraving from *Kerk-zeeden ende Gewoonten*, Amsterdam, 1700.





Fig. 13. Mordko Fajerman, portrait after photo by Karol Bejer. After: Zygmunt Gloger, *Encyklopedia staropolska ilustrowana* [Old-Polish illustrated encyclopedia], vol. 1 (Wiedza Powszechna: Warszawa 1958), pp. 255-256.



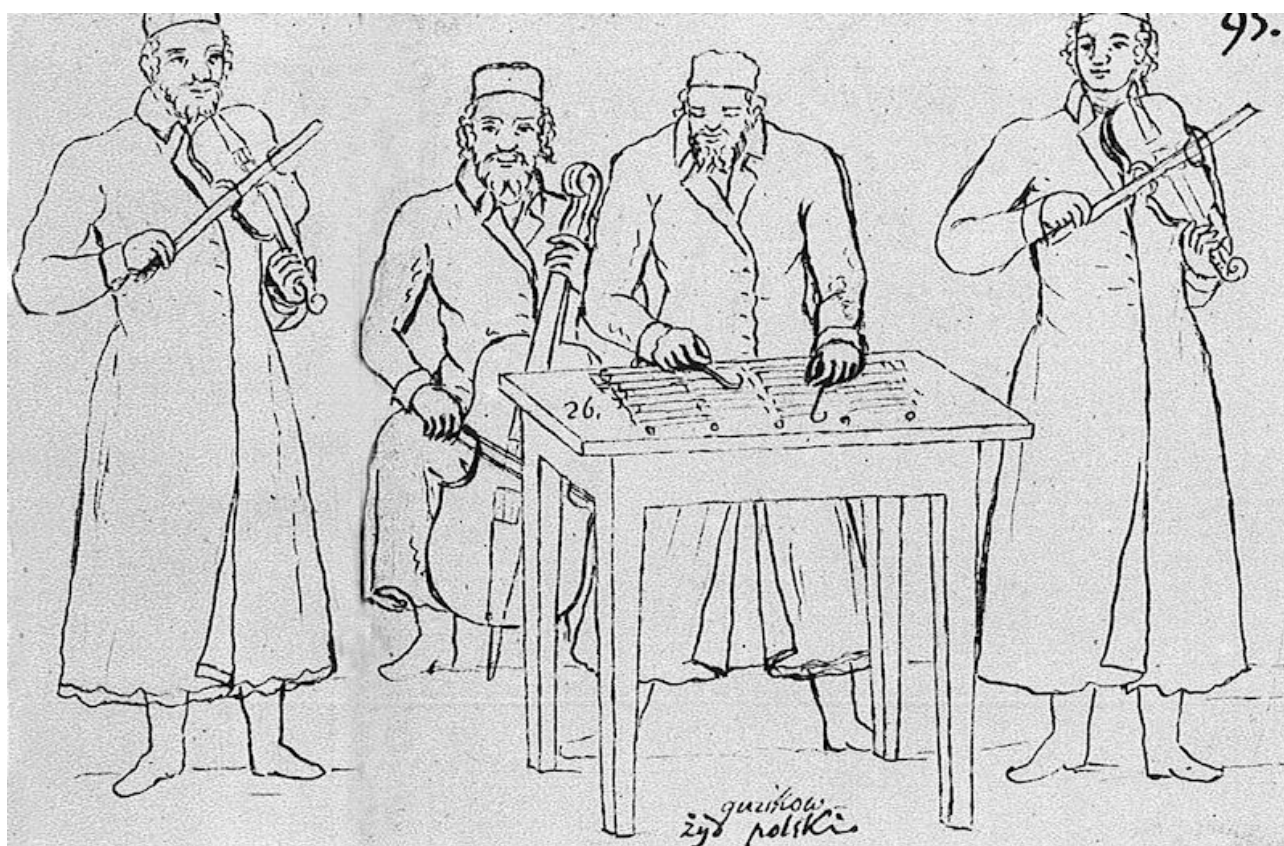


Fig. 14. Józef Michał Guzików with his kapelye, ca. 1835. After: Jerzy Banach, *Tematy muzyczne w plastyce polskiej* [Musical themes in the Polish fine arts], vol. II (Polskie Wydawnictwo Muzyczne: Kraków, 1960), fig. 94.



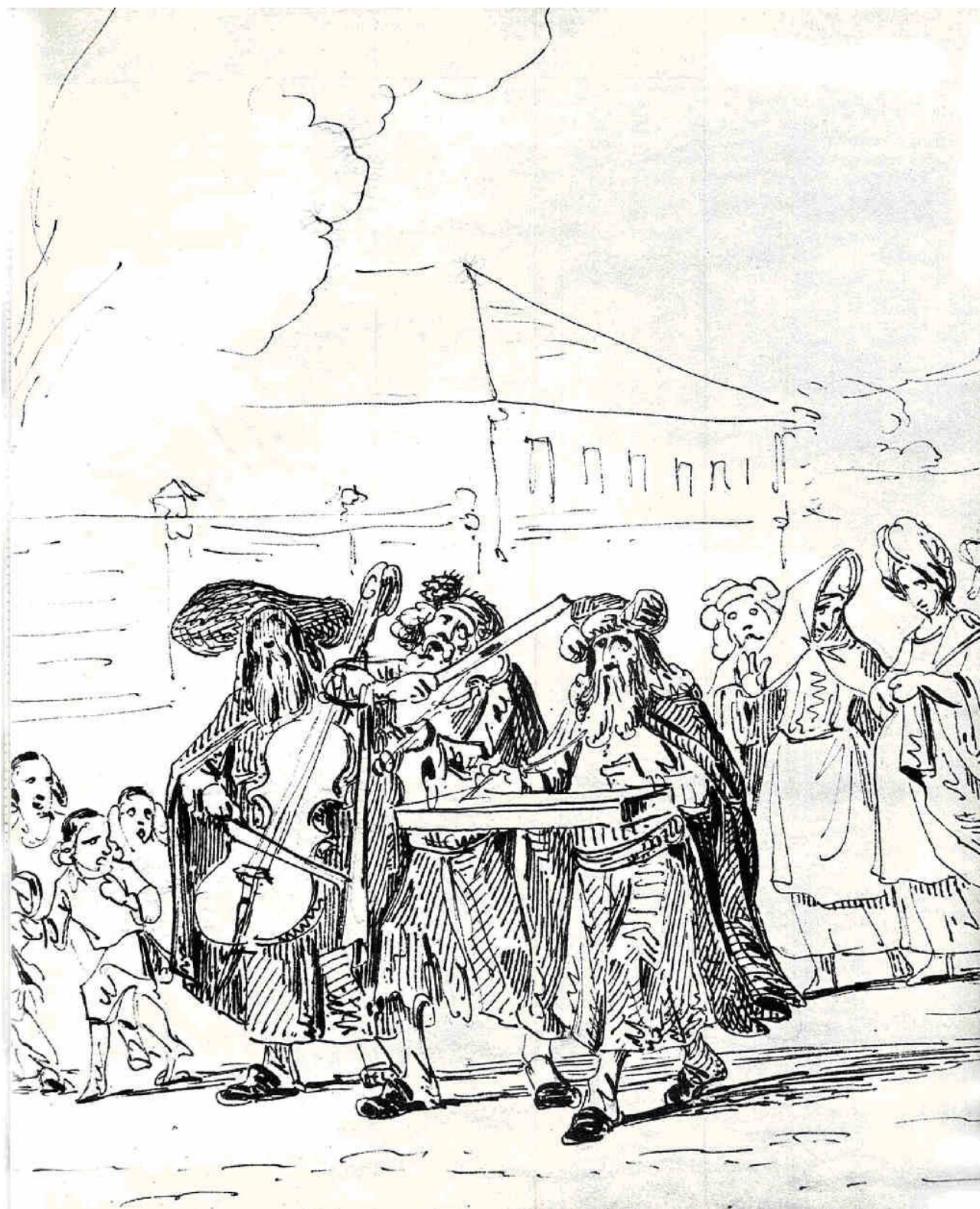


Fig. 15. *Jewish kapeyle*, Wincenty Smokowski, pen drawing, ca. 1840, Muzeum Narodowe in Kraków, Gabinet Rycin [National Gallery in Kraków, Graphic Art Room].





Fig. 16. Ceremonial wedding procession of the bride, Frankfurt am Main, ca. 1716 r. After: Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdisches Frankfurter und Prager Freuden-Fest...*, Frankfurt am Mayn 1716.



Fig. 17. Ceremonial wedding procession of the groom (upper drawing) and the bride (lower drawing). Furth near Nürnberg, ca. 1717 r. After: Paul Christian Kirchner, *Jüdisches Ceremoniell. Beschreibung jüdischer Feste und Gebräuche*, Erfurt 1717, fig. 21.



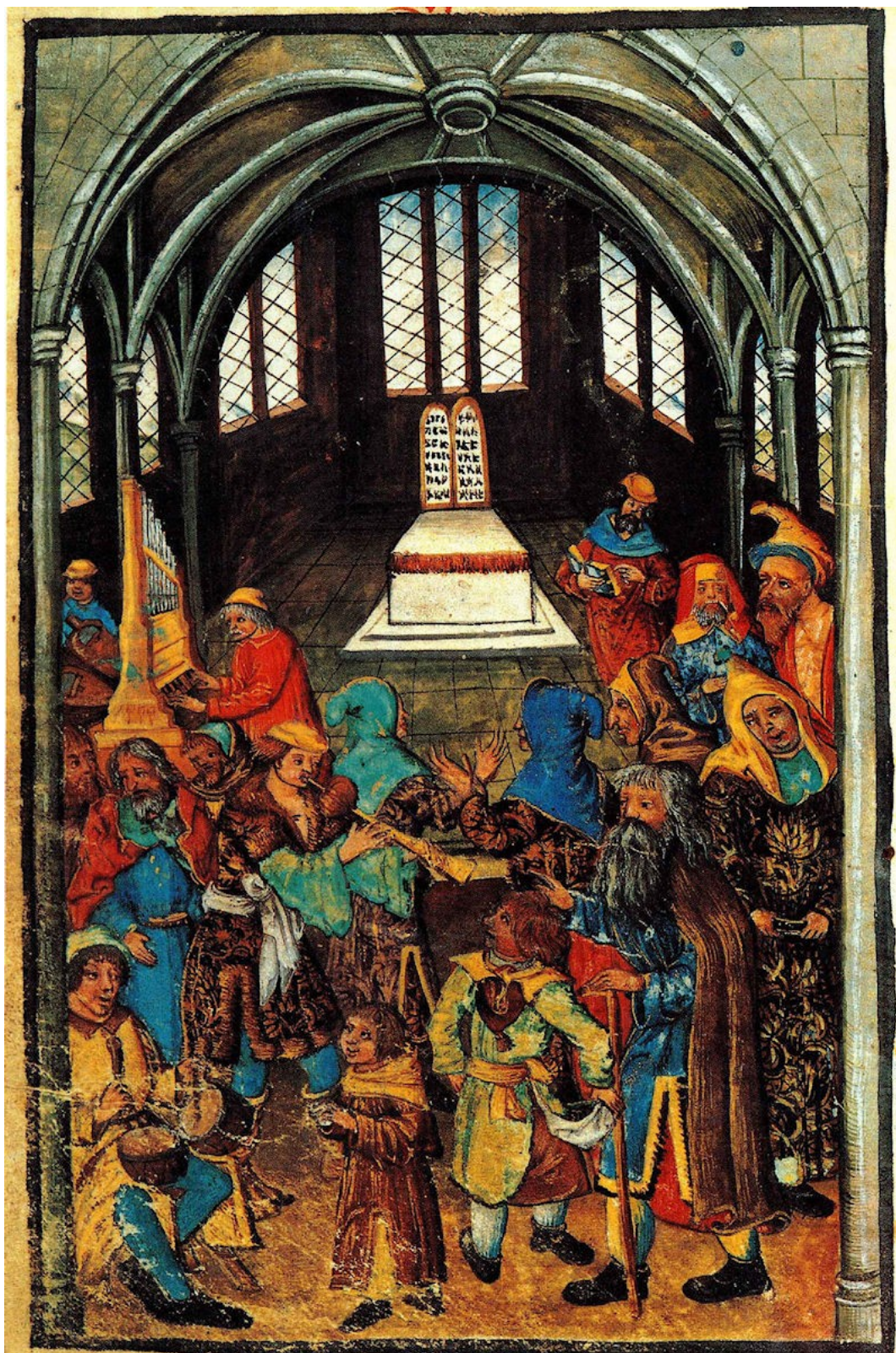


Fig. 18. Portative, shawm and drums (or kettledrums) used during the Jewish worship in synagogue by the turn of the 14<sup>th</sup> c. Miniature from the breviary of Count Lobkowitz, Prague, 1494. XXIII F 202/fol. 110v. National Library of the Czech Republic.



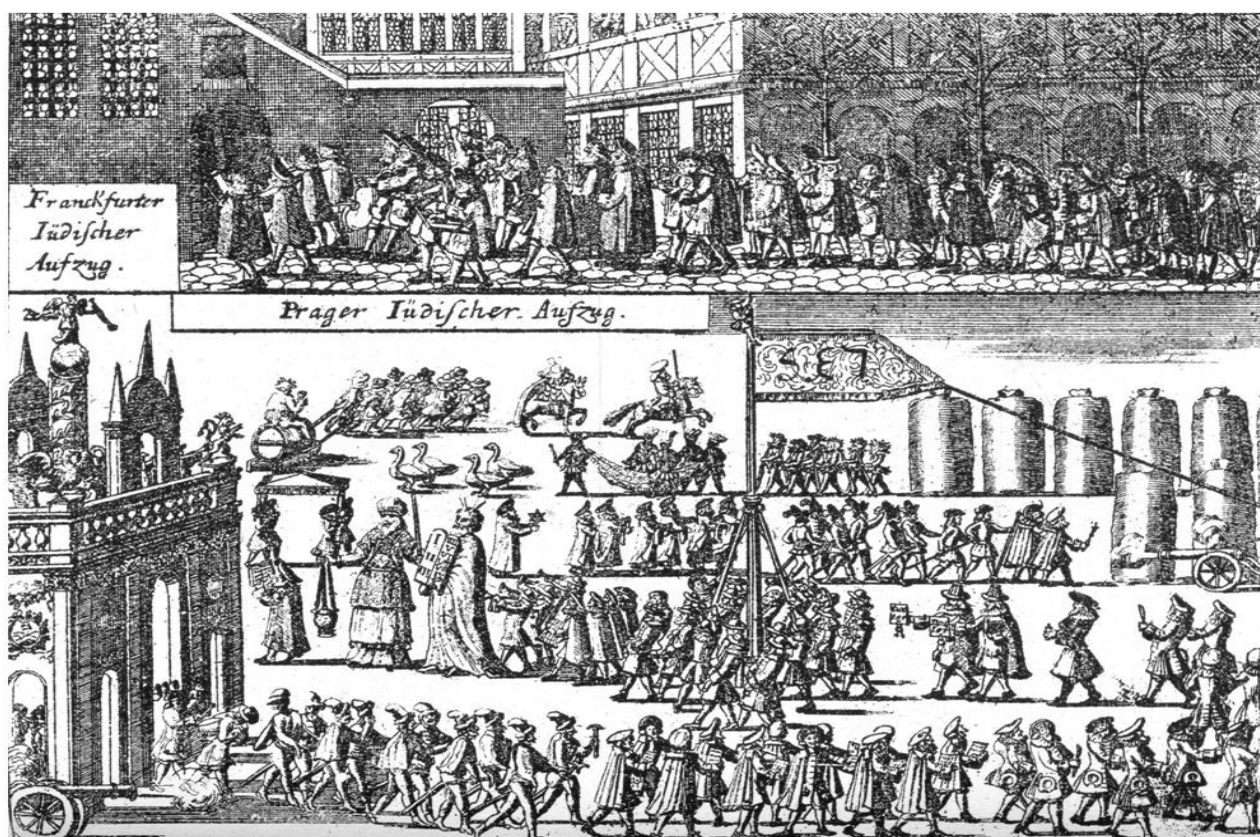


Fig. 19. Processions of Jewish communities in Frankfurt am Main (top) and Prague (bottom) to celebrate the birth of prince Leopold, son of Charles, Emperor of the Hapsburg Empire in 1716. Engraving from: Johann Jacob Schudt, *Jüdisches Frankfurter und Prager Freuden-Fest...*, Frankfurt am Mayn 1716.

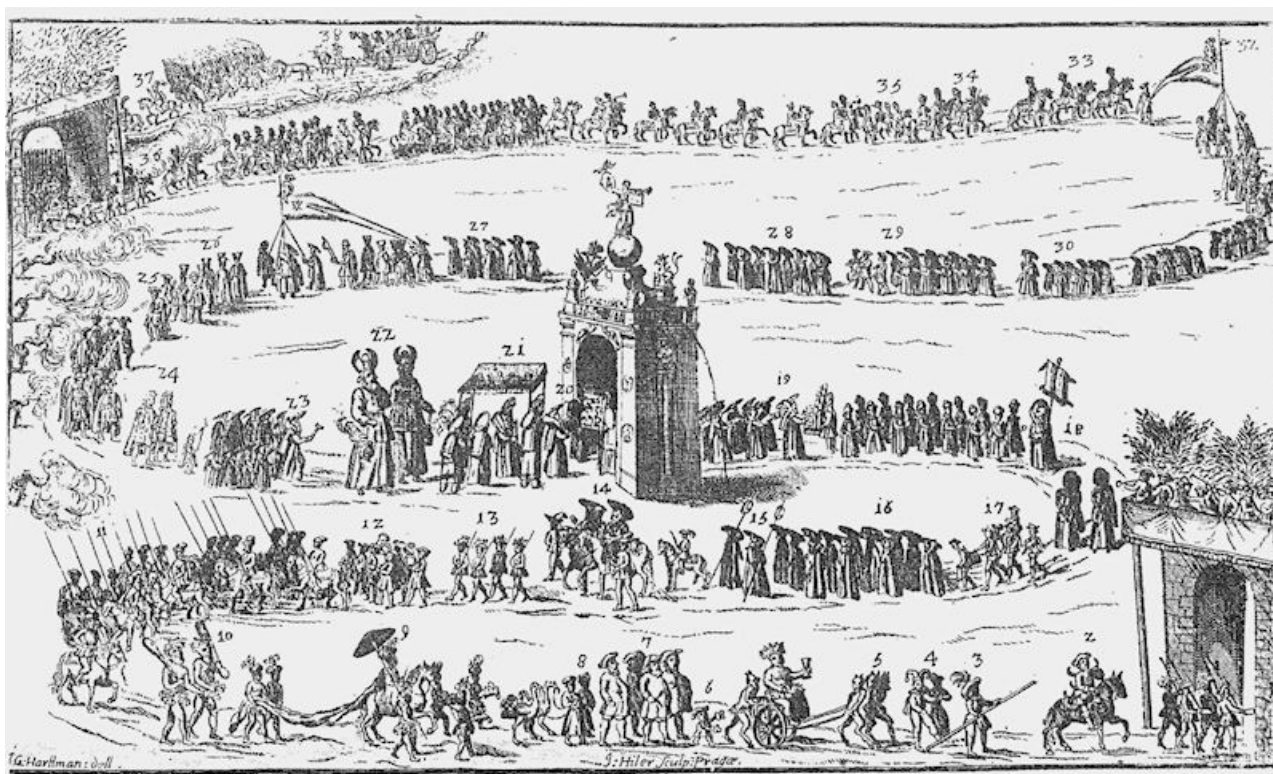


Fig. 20. Jewish community of Prague celebrated the birth of prince Leopold, son of Charles, Emperor of the Hapsburg Empire that took place on 18 May 1716. Engraving by J. G. Harttman and J. Hiler.





Fig. 21. Bassoon (flute? shawm?) player (in women's clothing) and cello (bass) player from an engraving depicting procession of Prague Jewish community in celebration of the birth of the Archduke of Austria in 1741.



Fig. 22. Family Faust kapelye from Rohatyn in Galicia, in 1912.



Fig. 23. Spielman (Szpilman) family's band from Ostrowiec (now Ostrowiec Świętokrzyski) at the time belonging to the Radom province in Poland, in 1905 (1887?).





Fig. 24. Hasidic band from Nowy Dwór near Warsaw under leading of one Spielfidel. Interwar years.



Fig. 25. Kapelye of Jankew (Jankiew, Jakub) Cymbalista (dulcimer player) from Przemyśl, probably end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.