Negotiation of Musical Remembrance

within Jewish Ritual Performance in Prague's Old-New Synagogue

Veronika Seidlová[+] (Czech Republic)

Abstract

Prague's Jewish Town has become an important site of remembering for both Jewish and non-Jewish visitors. This ethnographic case study aims to show that global flows of people influence the sound of the ritual in the legendary, medieval Old-New Synagogue in Prague, where multiple Jewish cohorts negotiate their ways of remembering. Based on the understanding of remembrance as socially constructed in the present and of music as a reflection, as well as co-creator of social reality, the essay reveals certain aspects of the social process of negotiation of music remembrance within ritual performance (as observed, e.g., in the case of a strategic choice of the tune of the Lekhah dodi hymn in Friday evening service). As specific melodic motifs and tunes within the Ashkenazi ritual chant system and its local traditions are understood as symbols, 'melodic codes', bearing specific spatial and temporal connotations and other meanings recognizable by insiders, they become both the 'subject' and the 'means of remembering' - the performative means of establishing certain imagined culturally specific continuities from the past in the present.[1]

Keywords: *Ethnomusicology, Music, Memory, Jewish, Ritual, Performance, Prague, Negotiation*

+ Veronika Seidlová, Faculty of Humanities, Charles University, U Kříže 8, Praha 5 – Jinonice, 15800, Czech Republic. voice: 00420724199407 email: veronika.seidlova@fhs.cuni.cz website: www.fhs.cuni.cz/.

Introduction

"And worst of all, the biggest horror for me in the Old-New Synagogue was the moment when the Israeli tourist [who had the honor to chant] sang Hallel[2] to the melody of the [Russian] 'March of the Fallen Revolutionaries.'[3] That was drastic. It was back in the '90s," laughed Dr. Alexandr Putík, cantor of the synagogue on Jeruzalémská Street, Prague, during our telephone conversation in 2017.[4] One could imagine that a person who was oppressed for his Jewish religious activities during the totalitarian regime in Czechoslovakia and who was closely observed by the State Security[5] would be very surprised to hear this melody reviving for him what was a common part of his childhood and youth, a tune that was played during the funerals of Communist leaders and commemorations of their death, as performed to a Hebrew liturgical text in Jewish worship. Clearly, this melody choice of an outsider violated cultural boundaries of the local minyan[6] because Dr. Putík and some other men talked about it later with the chief rabbi. As Alexandr Putík recalls.[7] "It was a shock, but an amusing one. Unfortunately, there were only a few people from my generation, so I couldn't share this surreal moment with anybody." He wrote to me and explained that, even in those difficult years, they used to make fun of the melody of that march. Putík also guessed that the tune itself had travelled to the Israeli synagogues with migrating Soviet Jews: "I can imagine that they simply liked the music and didn't have any scruples about using it in a sacred context. […] Similarly, Mozart's arias had been recycled like this in 18th century [synagogue music] and maybe some other period hits."[8]

Surely, the practice of adopting popular melodies to the Jewish liturgy has been part of all Jewish liturgical traditions at least from the 10th century until the present. Therefore, Jewish ritual[9] music practice is a matter of a constant social negotiation.[10] On the basis of his research among diverse Jewish communities in Boston, ethnomusicologist Jeffrey Summit notes that: "One might assume that worship would be a bastion of tradition, an area where practice is firmly established, where all the choices have already been made. In fact, in every community that I examined, musical aspects of the service underwent constant, strategic negotiation, both by leaders and by worshippers." (Summit, 2000:19) Summit's field observations resonate with current theoretical approaches to ritual (such as Hüsken and Neubert, 2012) which emphasize that "[t]he performance, meaning, structure, and contents of rituals are matters of constant negotiation among participants, specialists, and outsiders" and that "negotiations of rituals and their 'proper performance' have often been reasons for tensions and even schisms within religious movements." (Hüsken and Neubert, 2012:8) I find these approaches productive in the Jewish context as well because they resonate with my own field experience.

I conducted ethnomusicological research of Jewish religious music in Prague mainly during the years 2002 to 2009 (Seidlová: 2006, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) and 2012 (Seidlová, 2012). In two of my texts (2008a, 2009) I leant closely on Summit's (2000) research results and his design, which I have partly transferred to my own research. I focused on the process of constructing and performing diverse Jewish identities through the process of negotiation of the tune of the Lekhah Dodi hymn in Friday evening services. Almost seven years later, after being involved in

another research project,[11] I became inspired by Zuzana Jurková (2015) to revise and rethink my data in relation to the social process of collective remembering and modalities of recollection through music. In her later text (2017), she calls this process 'musical remembrance' and offers a theoretical model for its ethnomusicological investigation. Its starting points are:

> "(a) Assmann's concept of the time dimension of connective structure (which is one of the building blocks of collective identity), (b) the understanding of remembrance as constructed and rooted in the present, (c) the basic ethnomusicological premise about music as a mirror, as well as a co-creator of social reality. Two research spheres are open to investigators interested in music remembrance: one in which music (as a sound phenomenon and performance practice) is the main subject of research, and the other in which music is understood (only) as a medium of remembrance and the main attention is focused on social reality." (Jurková, 2017:3)

I find her theoretical model as a hopeful premise for my following interpretation. Jurková's interest in memory and the social process of remembering has been triggered by works such as Kay Kaufman Shelemay's (1998) on song and remembrance among Syrian Jews. Shelemay (1998:213) provides understanding of how "[m]usic, particularly song, provides a medium that binds together disparate strands of experience, serving as a malleable form of cultural expression able to transcend the vagaries of time and place." I believe this approach to be very relevant in the Jewish religious context. Although "Jewish prayer is sacred text performed" (Summit 2000:25), Summit provides a perspective of his Boston informants on the importance of the tune in worship:

> "Many worshippers […] do not feel they have been to services unless they hear their favorite tunes for certain prayers. The tune, separate from the words, serves as a portal to the past, a connection with ancestors, real and imagined. The 'right' tune grounds one in history and becomes an assurance of authenticity. The tune is a vehicle for transcendence. For many Jews who do not understand much Hebrew, the tune is the prayer. Cantors, rabbis, and lay leaders who do not understand this point are forever at odds with their congregation." (Summit, 2000:33)

In the story from Prague narrated above, the actor himself *does* understand Hebrew as, apart from being a historian, he is a Hebrew language scholar and a professional Torah reader. And yet, the described melody choice which was imposed on him as a participant of the ritual did strongly matter to him. Seemingly an anecdotal episode reveals that a 'musical remembrance' (Jurková,2017:3) clashed in this case *inside* the Orthodox Jewish 'soundscape'[12] (Kaufman Shelemay, 2006) itself. As to some of its actors, it revived traumas from the past that they wanted to push out of their memory. Based on the understanding of remembrance as socially constructed in the present (Ibid.) and of "music as a mirror as well as co-creator of social reality" (Ibid.), my present essay aims to show certain aspects of the social process of negotiation of music remembrance within current ritual performance practices in a local-global context.

Ethnographic Setting

Captivated by the so-called Velvet Revolution in 1989 as well as by the city's physical charm, tourists from abroad have been flocking to Prague since the 1990s in unprecedented numbers. As, e.g., Gruber (2002), has already observed, all of Prague's glorious architecture and rich history have become an attraction, including its Jewish component. With the main symbols being Franz Kafka, Rabbi Löw (Maharal)[13] and the story of the Golem[14] and the preserved and suddenly widely accessible precious sites and material objects, Prague's Jewish Town[15] has become an important site of remembering for both Jewish and non-Jewish visitors.

For centuries considered one of the famous centres of Jewish culture in Europe, Prague became a remote "periphery" of the Jewish diaspora because of the tragedies of the Holocaust and the 'Iron Curtain.' When it opened to the Western world after 1989, American Jewish journalists who visited Prague during the '90s were shocked by the paradox of the newly emerged presence of Jewish culture as one of the city's main tourist attractions, a new and visible component of the public domain, strongly contrasting with the almost invisibility of the Jewish people themselves. They wrote about Prague as "judenrein" ("Jew-Free" Freedman, 1995), a "virtual Jewish world" (Gruber, 2002:144) or even "the Jurassic Park of Judaism" (Valley, 1999:53). They described a situation similar to other Central European cities, but Prague, a city of one million inhabitants with – at that time – only around one thousand local Jewish people seemed the most peculiar to them.

During my fieldwork, I observed that Prague Jewish material sites still have been an important field of Jewish diasporic heritage and tourism: specialized tourist agencies have been further emerging and growing, providing their Jewish clients with kosher accommodations, food, observant Jewish tour guides, and information on the possibilities of participating in regular Jewish rituals in the Prague synagogues and prayer rooms, and in specialized courses with religious contents. This "kosher tourism" has created economic niches not only for many Czech members of the rather very small but already growing local Jewish community, but also for Jewish newcomers: migrants from Israel, the USA and elsewhere. Jewish 'tourism' or cultural heritage practices are not limited to Prague, but part of global Jewish 'tourist' flows and networks with their local 'hubs.' Therefore, I hope that my case study from one of such important 'hubs' might provide a perspective on what is potentially a wider phenomenon.

From 2006 to 2009, while focusing on the process of negotiating Jewish identities through synagogue music choices, I mostly observed Friday evening services in seven different worship spaces in Prague across the Jewish denominational spectrum (three Orthodox, two Conservative, and two Liberal). As a female non-Jewish researcher without substantial knowledge of Hebrew, my participation observation was limited in the three Jewish Orthodox settings (which were the Old-New Synagogue, the Jubilee Synagogue on Jeruzalémská Street and the Chabad Centre).

Observing was the most complicated for me in the legendary, medieval Old-New Synagogue ['Staronová' in Czech, 'Alt Neu Schul' in Yiddish]. Built in the last third

of the thirteenth century, the Old-New Synagogue is the oldest site of Prague's Jewish Town and the oldest synagogue in Europe which is still in use. Not only has it been the main synagogue of the Prague Jewish community continuously for more than 700 years, it also retains the wooden seat of the famous Maharal. Together with his tomb in the Old Jewish Cemetery (containing tombs of other famous rabbis as well), it is Prague's central material site of remembering for Jewish visitors in general, but most importantly for the Hasidic pilgrims.[16] As observant Jews, they logically want to attend the rituals performed there (closed to non-Jewish tourists), not to visit it only as a part of a paid museum circuit during the day (when it is accessible to everybody with a ticket). However, the presence of large numbers of Jewish pilgrims from different parts of the diaspora substantially influences the dynamics of the local ritual practice itself. Obviously, it influences its sound – and its ethnomusicological research as well, as I will try to present in the following ethnographic 'snapshot' (in italics) based on my field notes from Friday, July 28, 2006.

Figure 1. 'Staronová synagoga' ('Old-New Synagogue') in Prague. Photo by author June 2017.

Negotiating Remembrance Through Chant

"It is a warm and bright Friday evening in Prague, almost eight o'clock. I am going for a Shabbat service. From the Old Town Square, it is just a few steps to the ancient Old-New Synagogue, sitting under the level of the pavement. I run down a little stone staircase, pass by the synagogue and enter Maiselova Street, which overlooks the pavement in front of the Jewish Town hall, as I search for Rabbi Dushinsky, one of my informants. Obsessively, I look at the clock at the tower and immediately realize the hands move counterclockwise. The magic of the genius loci which I still nostalgically crave for might be felt only in the

early mornings after a pub crawl when Apollinaire's verses learned in high school suddenly pop out from a memory: 'You are in the garden of an inn near Prague / You feel very happy a rose is on the table / And instead of writing your story you watch / The rosebug sleeping in the rose's heart / Horrified you discover your portrait on Saint-Vit's agate wall / You felt extremely sad the day you saw it / You resemble Lazarus disoriented by the light / The hands on the clock in the Jewish quarter move counterclockwise / And your life slowly moves backward too / Climbing up to the Hradchin and listening / To Czech songs at night in the taverns. …'[17]

Figure 2. 'Staronová synagoga' ('Old-New Synagogue') in Prague. Inside the men's section looking at the slits in the women's section. Photo by author, June 2017.

Now, I move backward because of the crowds of tourists with headphones of audio guides on their ears and one eye searching what to take a picture of, the other watching the raised umbrella. I can't see Rabbi Dushinsky among so many people, and his mobile phone would already be switched off, left at home, so I turn back and head for the entrance of the 'Old-New.' There is already a line of Jewish tourists trying to get inside for the service. The security strictly tests them to learn who they are and what they want to do inside, while talking to walkie-talkies checking some of their names. The usual non-Jewish tourists (immediately recognizable by their bags and cameras) are advised to come back during the day when the synagogue is open as a part of the Jewish museum circuit. Fortunately, the guards remember me and let me in without a question. I bend my head so as not to hit the low medieval stone door frame. As I descend, the cool and humid thirteenth century breathes on me. From the corridor, I can see that there are already a lot of men in the men's section but, so far, I can't see any familiar faces. I turn left to the women's section. There are just two women, standing and mumbling from their siddur (prayer book). I stand in front of one of the six little peepholes towards the men's section. The slits are approximately 50 cm wide, 30 cm high and 200 cm deep.[18] *They were made for the period's average height of the women, so I must bend to peep in. Not only can one hardly see anything, but one can't hear much either, which is even worse for me and my goal of participant observation… As I don't dare to step on the threshold of the men's section and have a quick look at who is inside, I move back and forth to the various peepholes.*

I can see and hear that some of the men are audibly praying from the siddur in their hands, others are greeting each other, chatting and intermingling. There are the noise and bustle common for Orthodox services. The weekday Minchah (afternoon service) is still going on. The prayer leader ('shaliah tsibbur' or 'cantor' or 'hazzan'),[19] *a short young man, stands in the north-eastern corner. While swaying, he chants with his face towards the eastern wall, his back towards the men. His non-metrical recitative chant anchored in a specific system of Ashkenazi musical modes, the 'nusach,'*[20] *flows in a fast and quiet, rather shy manner, the noise of the room and the peephole absorb the sound of his chanting even more. The range of his chant is narrow, without much ornamentation, melisma or improvisation as would be in the case of a professional cantor. As it is common in the Orthodox setting, no musical instruments accompany him. However, the cantor (professional prayer leader) can be accompanied in certain parts by a choir of male voices in two- or three-part singing, which is not the case here.*

The cantor seems to me a bit lonely in his effort. Other men keep coming, looking for a place to sit on the ancient wooden seats, talking to their neighbors. Yet two other men are also standing alone, facing the wall, swaying and praying in a low voice in their own tempo. Slowly, I observe that in the men's section, there are a few groups of men, distinguishable by their outfits. The first group of around twenty men wear dark suits with white shirts and a 'yarmulke' (a skullcap) on their heads, others wear black hats. Tomorrow morning, they would also wear their 'tallit' (prayer shawl) with the 'tzitit' (knotted ritual fringes) hanging down. Today, only the cantor is arranging his on his shoulders. Some of the men have beards, some of them not. Most of them are Czech Jews. Then, there is another larger group of around twenty who look Hasidic. They look similar in many ways but their suits, beards and 'peyes' (sidelocks) are considerably longer, their hats bigger. One of them wears a 'shtreimel' (a round specifically Hasidic fur hat) and a 'bekishe' (a long satin kaftan). I suppose they come either from Israel or from Brooklyn. Another smaller group seem to be Americans with baseball hats, skillfully leafing through the prayer book. And then there are a few with blue paper yarmulkes they picked up at the entrance, keeping off to the side and rather observing the others.

In the meanwhile, the two women next to me also bend in front of the peephole, and with their ear towards it, they try to catch what is being chanted right now so they can find the appropriate passage in their siddur. However, the sound of the fast flow of Hebrew words blurs in the little tunnel. In a moment, one of them gives up and sits down with a resigned expression. It is really not quite easy to catch the appropriate passage even if somebody helps you and points to it in the siddur… In a while, I can hear the recitation of the Mourner's Kaddish which concludes the Minchah in the Ashkenazi communities. Now I hear that the men have begun singing a metrical tune together. They sing the piyyut (Jewish liturgical hymn) Yedid Nefesh (Beloved of the soul)…"[21]

At this point, some comments need to be interspersed. Apart from some knowledge of Hebrew, one has to know the way the service is conducted. For example, concerning the non-metrical chanting of the psalms, the prayer leader chants only the last few verses of one psalm and, without a break, he continues chanting the first few verses of the next one. The text of the middle of the psalm is mumbled by people in their own tempo and nusach and thus the characteristic non-organized

blurred sound of the voices of the Jewish 'shul' is produced. Again, the prayer leader chants just the end of the psalm and begins to chant another one. That is how he structures the temporal frame of the ritual till the moment when a liturgical piece comes that is chanted together in a metric tune (Cf. Summit, 2000:25-26), such as the tune of the hymn Yedid Nefesh, mentioned above.

Yedid Nefesh is commonly attributed to the sixteenth century kabbalist Elazar Azikri (1533–1600) from Safed. However, the authorship of this hymn is unknown. Yedid Nefesh introduces Kabbalat Shabbat, the mystical prelude to Shabbat services. Kabbalat Shabbat was developed as a liturgical innovation by the Jewish mystics during the mid-sixteenth century in the town of Safed in northern Israel (Summit, 2000:28), thus almost three hundred years after the Old-New Synagogue in Prague was built. The Hebrew term means "Receiving the Sabbath". "Enthralled with the mystical personification of the Sabbath as Israel's bride and inspired by the natural beauty of Safed, high in the mountains, these mystics dressed in fine clothing and, like bridegrooms going out to meet their brides, went out to the fields to receive the Sabbath" (Summit, 2000:28) at sunset. In time, the ceremony moved into the synagogue and was standardized to consist of six psalms, 29 and 95 to 99, representing the six weekdays, and the piyyut Lekhah Dodi – the central moment in the Kabbalat Shabbat service (Summit, 2000:34):

"Preceded by a clearly Hasidic dance tune sung by excited male voices, the loud singing of the opening lines of Lekhah Dodi can be heard…"[22]

Chorus:		
1 Come, my beloved, to meet the bride,	*Lekhah dodi liqrat kallah*	לכה דודי לקראת כלה
2 let us welcome the *Sabbath*.	*p'nei Shabbat neqabelah*	פני שבת נקבלה
Verse 1:		
3 "Observe" and "Remember" in a single command,	*Shamor v'zakhor b'dibur eḥad*	שמור וזכור בדבור אחד
4 The One God announced to us.	*hishmiʿanu El hameyuḥad*	השמיענו אל המיחד
5 The Lord is one and His Name is one,	*Adonai eḥad ushemo eḥad*	יי אחד ושמו אחד
6 For fame, for glory and for praise.	*L'Sheim ulitiferet v'lit'hilah*	לשם ולתפארת ולתהלה

Figure 3. Beginning of the Hebrew text of the piyyut Lekhah Dodi – the central moment in the Kabbalat Shabbat service. English translation by Lawrence Fine (1984a:38-40, quoted from Summit, 2000:35).

Composed by Rabbi Shlomo Alkabetz ha-Levi (c. 1505-1584) in the mid-16th century, the hymn is based on the words of the Talmudic sage Hanina: "Come, let us go forth to welcome the Queen Sabbath" quoted in the Babylonian Talmud, Shabbat 119a. The first letter of each of the hymn's eight verses forms an acrostic of the poet's Hebrew name, Shlomo ha-Levi, which was a common practice at that time. (Summit, 2000:37) As Kay Kaufman Shelemay notes in her book on song and remembrance among Syrian Jews (who still encode their names in song texts), the "incorporation of the names of individuals within the songs is also a primary mechanism for linking individual and collective memory." (Shelemay, 1998:45) Lekhah Dodi was eventually adopted by Jewish communities throughout

the world and if the text of the hymn contains the name of its author, its many tunes refer to different times and places. I will get to this point in detail later. Now it is enough to say that Lekhah Dodi is one of the "certain points in the service where the leader can – and is expected to – make musical choices. […] A congregation might know several different tunes that they accept and use for a particular prayer. It is the leader's prerogative to choose one of these tunes, within the bounds accepted by the congregation. The leader then controls the key, tempo, dynamics, and how long the congregation sing and repeat the tune." (Summit, 2000:27-28) However, as I have written down in my diary that day:

"…today, the cantor's voice is disappearing in the overall sound and particularly among much stronger and confident voices, so I can't say if it was he who began singing Lekhah Dodi. Mostly, I hear other strong voices singing:

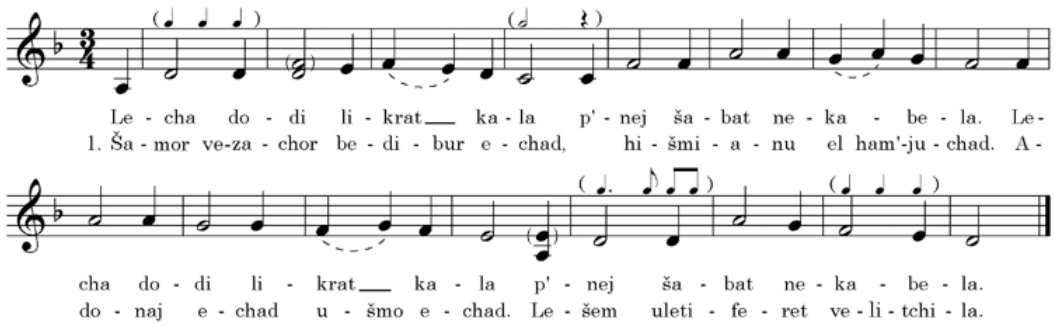

Figure 4. Lekhah Dodi sung on the 28th of July 2006 in the Old-New Synagogue, Prague. Transcription by the author.

Later, I sing this melody to Rabbi Dushinsky and ask about it. He explains that I had heard a special Lekhah Dodi that day. It is a tune of the lament ELI ZIYYON VE-AREHA (Heb. אֲלִי צִיּוֹן וְעָרֶיהָ "Wail, Zion and its cities"), traditionally sung on Tisha B'Av . However, this tune is used for Lekhah Dodi during the three-week communal mourning period preceding that holiday of remembrance. Idelsohn provides a transcription of this elegy (Idelsohn 1992 [1929]:168) and notes that the same tune is found in the German Catholic Church as one of the 'fast songs' printed in 1642, but he also finds the tune as a Spanish folksong as well as a Czech folksong ('Jestli te má milá hlava bolí…' (Idelsohn, 1992 [1929]:173). He claims that "its character indicates that it originated in Spain, whence it was in all likelihood carried to Central and Eastern Europe by pilgrims and was picked up by Jewish singers alike. We find many such 'travelling' melodies in the medieval period. (Idelsohn 1992 [1929]: 173) Summit also mentions this switch, provides an audio example of the same tune sung by a community in Boston (Summit 2000: CD, track nr. 37) attached to his book and says that it is used for Lekhah Dodi in many Conservative and Orthodox synagogues during the same period.[24] According to him, "Melody becomes a bridge, foreshadowing and cueing the approach of the upcoming holiday." (Summit, 2000:136)

This micro-process of commemorating (accomplished through a switch of tunes) that Tisha B'Av - a holiday of remembrance - is approaching is a particularly

nice example of how musical memory is put to work in the Jewish service.[25] Jeffrey Summit interprets this melodic switching as 'metaphorical code-switching' (Summit, 2000:132-133) which "functions as time-travel within the Jewish liturgical cycle" (p. 134). Summit applies these concepts from socio-linguistics. He uses the term "to imply that melodies are infused with particular associations, coded meaning, and symbolic significance" (p. 131). He stresses that linguistic code-switching works only in bilingual settings. "For this model to be productively applied to melody choice, participants must be familiar with both melodic codes used in the shift." (p. 131) Thus the system of nusach "functions as a complex system of melodic code in its own right" (p. 132). It provides a particular musical mode to the time of the day as well as to weekdays, Shabbat and holidays. However, to be able to realize the nuances of this system, one not only has to develop a knowledge of the melodic codes, but one needs some setting to enable it. As in the meantime:

"…Kabbalat Shabbat in the Old-New Synagogue turned into the evening service (Ma'ariv). The still almost empty women's section is suddenly filled with a group of around twenty young Jewish women and girls speaking English with an American accent. At first, they curiously observe the interior, obviously shocked by the medieval peepholes. Then they start looking for the siddurim and try to find the right passage. In a while, they give up as the woman before did and become bored, staying, though, and waiting for somebody to pick them up. They start talking, mumbling for a moment in a low voice, and so loudly afterwards that nothing can be heard through the peepholes any more. Their voices even reach the ears of the men, who soon lose their patience, hissing angrily… The local woman gives me a desperate look. It has been like this here almost every time I've visited…[26]

As I am a woman researcher, my aural and visual observation of the ritual in the Old-New Synagogue was complicated not only by the gender barriers, materialized in this unique medieval building as a thick wall with a few slits, but also by fluctuating and conversing Jewish female pilgrim groups from abroad.[27] Nevertheless, after a certain time, I could not avoid seeing and hearing how the ritual itself is being negotiated in the male section among the Czech Jews, Jewish migrants and the groups of short-term guests. The negotiation happened through the chanting itself as well.

In the case described above, the Jewish men from different places in the world have found a common voice in this particular ritual performance of Lekhah Dodi in Prague because of the special three-weeks' time frame within the liturgical cycle which determined that there was no possibility of choosing the tune. However, during regular Kabbalat Shabbat services, the tune of Lekhah Dodi was the most important place for a strategic musical choice. Let me present an example from one of my observations in the Old-New Synagogue two years later, in January 2008:

[…] And Lekhah Dodi is approaching. Due to the high number of pilgrims in silk kaftans and fur hats, I expect a Hasidic tune. I already hear a voice starting in an undertone the first line of a fast tune, yet, from another corner of the synagogue, I hear another melody! It

is not Hasidic at all. Where do I know that tune from? A small group led by the hosts – the Czech Jews - confidently chant a tune in a slow tempo. The guests gradually join in, with some hesitation, though. And finally I remember: it is the tune of Lekhah Dodi that I know from the recordings[28] (and manuscripts) of Cantor Blum in the 1980s in the Synagogue on Jeruzalémská Street in Prague! It is a tune by Vienna Reform Cantor Salomon Sulzer from the 19th century.[29] Simplified to the core, but it is it. Individual stanzas composed as solos for a professional virtuoso cantor to take turns with a choir and congregation chanting a chorus – this has all disappeared; only the main tune of the chorus, which they all sing together, has remained.

The stubborn insistence on the tune by the minority of locals makes me think: if I had expected this tune somewhere in Prague, it would have been in the Synagogue on Jeruzalémská Street, the only other synagogue where the Orthodox rabbinate of the Prague Jewish Community organizes services. I can't prove it, though, as Friday services haven't taken place there for the last few years. Do the locals know that they chant a Reform tune? And does it matter to them? Maybe it is a kind of a symbolic resistance? And my interpretation is confirmed after the Shabbat service by Daniel Vanek, who was part of the minyan that day: "It was sort of a small rebellion," smiles Daniel, a young prayer leader. He quotes another member of the minyan who purportedly was mumbling to himself something like: "Those Israeli manners simply don't belong to the Old-New."[30]

I argue that this musical choice within a ritual performance both reflected and constructed the negotiation of social relationships among diverse groups of participants.

It is important to say that the very structure of the traditional Ashkenazi ritual practice enables such negotiation to a large extent. As Summit (2000:25) notes: "Scholars have compared a congregation involved in traditional Jewish prayer to a jazz band (Heilman, 1976:212; Hoffman, 1997:3)". Sometimes the leader chants solo, at times people sing along with him, other times all the participants are 'doing their own thing' - individuals proceed at different speeds, chanting in an undertone, each choosing a comfortable key. (Summit, 2000:26) Moreover, "each worshipper has a slightly different variation of nusach" (Summit, 2000:77), so, when people chant the non-metric parts, there is a "general discordant murmur of voices" (Ibid.). The leader is both soloist and conductor of this "jazz band", mostly on occasions of metrical hymns chanted together, such as Lekhah Dodi.

Marc Slobin characterizes such metrical collective singing as "music of participation" that allows the congregation to experience a sense of community on a deeper level (1989:195ff.). Judith Frigyesi (1993:69) sees metric tunes as "insertions" which are not necessary from a purely liturgical point of view: "These metric insertions can be omitted or replaced, new tunes can be composed or adopted from Jewish or non-Jewish folk repertoire". However some melodies have, according to her, come to be "almost codified in local custom. The congregation often insists on particular tunes which are seen as the token of loyalty to local tradition, as the mark of the identity of the community." (Ibid.) Therefore, Summit (2000:34) notes that "many cantors and lay leaders described the resistance or even hostility they

encountered when attempting to change favourite tunes or introduce new tunes into the service."

This seems to fit the above-described case from the Old-New Synagogue. As Daniel Vanek explained to me, this was the version sung by local iconic personality, Viktor Feuerlicht (1919-2003),[31] who had been a cantor of the Old-New for almost forty years.[32] Daniel told me that Jakub Schwab, who was a young gabbai (warden) of the Old-New during my fieldwork, had been prepared for his bar mitzvah by Feuerlicht, whom he revered highly. He struggled to have at least some elements of the worship still be chanted after Feurlicht's death in 'his' way, such as Lekhah Dodi - a simplified version of the tune by Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890)[33] in a regionally specific Ashkenazi pronunciation of Hebrew. The melodic (and phonological) choice which he, Daniel, and others asserted that day can be, from my point view, understood as a case of negotiation of musical remembrance trying to establish continuity with the recent local past and re-configure certain perceived constellations in the present through the ritual sound.

The adherents of late Cantor Feuerlicht haven't always succeeded in their sound negotiation. I have heard different tunes for Lekhah Dodi myself there, such as one well-known Hasidic tune which is recorded and transcribed by Summit (2000:83) as sung by an Orthodox community in Boston, where it was nostalgically seen as an "Israeli tune, often learned on a first trip abroad during the period following the Six Day War in 1967." (Ibid.) To cross-check, I sang the tune[34] to Rabbi Dushinsky. He told me it is currently the most popular tune for Lekhah Dodi worldwide and it has been done in the 'Old-New' quite often because of the tourists, who make up the majority during the Kabbalat Shabbat services there, so that everybody could join in - as participation is the purpose particularly of this "metric insertion". Dushinsky is an Israeli rabbi born in 1946. He is a knowledgeable[35] occasional prayer leader with a vivid musical memory and skills and was asked in 2007 by the Federation of Jewish Communities in the Czech Republic to establish an official course for prayer leaders;[36] moreover, involved with Jewish tourism as a tour guide at that time in Prague, Dushinsky knew well what would make worshippers from abroad participate. For himself, none of these tunes would be his personal choice as his most beloved tune is the one that he sang as a boy in the 1950s in Tel Aviv in the choir of the legendary hazzan, Shelomo Ravitz[37] (c. 1886-1980). "But nobody knows it here, so what's the point", says Rabbi Dushinsky, his words resonating that participation is an important value of today's conceptualization of Jewish ritual performance across the denominational spectrum (Summit, 2000).

Conclusion

Fast global flows of people and sounds influence the sound of the ritual in the legendary, medieval Old-New Synagogue in Prague, where multiple Jewish cohorts negotiate their ways of remembering what they imagine as Jewish tradition. During the rituals, they try to perform the imagined past with their chanting voices. However, the sound negotiation happening during the ritual itself is not always smooth. Voices of the leading men sometimes clash, (and some voices such as

those of the women are supposed to remain silent, but the reality is more complicated.) One of my Prague consultants, Cantor Vanek (b. 1980), expressed his sentiments imbued with nostalgia and the fear of a "loss of local Jewish culture", being forgotten in the waves of the globalized Jewish diasporic flows with the hegemony from its current centres and/or consumerism of things and experiences. (As he told me once: "you know, it's like doing Kiddush with plastic cups and plates. It is kosher but, for me, it is a shame.") However, as all remembering is a selective practice, even the way of music remembrance as practised by cantor Feuerlicht's admirers in Prague is necessarily selective. What is of interest is the process itself – which practices are remembered, revived in the present, and which not, and the actors' discourses constructing the reasons and justifications. That is how, I think, we can continue to "construct an ethnomusicology of memory," suggested by Shelemay (1998:212) already two decades ago.

As specific melodic motifs and tunes within the Ashkenazi ritual chant system and its local traditions are understood as symbols, 'melodic codes' in Summit's (2000) sense, bearing specific spatial and temporal connotations and other meanings recognizable by insiders, they become both the 'subject' and the 'means of remembering' (Jurková, 2017:3) – the performative means of establishing certain imagined culturally specific continuities from the past into the present.[38] During the observed ritual performances in the Old-New Synagogue, I argue, diverse actors negotiated through their chanting diverse remembering agencies. As nostalgia as an effect comes into the picture as well, different actors seemed nostalgic about different tunes, trying to "carve out" by their competing tunes their own frame for expressing their nostalgic feelings in the present during the ongoing ritual. Therefore, although the Friday evening liturgy prescribes its parts and texts, their sequence and even the specific musical prayer mode, thanks to improvisation and negotiation of different actors, the sound of the attended performances of Friday evening ritual in the Old-New Synagogue has been vivid, dynamic and complex, but never the same – thus both reflecting and constructing the social reality of that particular time and place.

Coda

As (ethnomusicological) research may influence the observed community and its negotiation process, I would like to reflect on this issue in a short extra section. Just at the end of my fieldwork in the summer of 2009, the Prague rabbinate employed a professional, experienced cantor for the Old-New Synagogue, Bryan Wood (1980) from the United Kingdom, who received his cantorial education at the former Jews' College in London. I had already met Cantor Wood in 2008 at the European Cantors' Convention in London where I was invited by Rabbi Dushinsky. At the convention, I presented a forthcoming publication of historical recordings of the late Chief Cantor Ladislav Blum (1911-1994), who had been an active prayer leader in the Jeruzalémská Synagogue for thirty years. Cantor Wood, Rabbi Dushinsky, Cantor Vanek and some others like Cantor Michal Foršt began to work with these musical recordings and learned some of the recorded melodies (or refreshed their memory, like Cantor Putík, a disciple of Cantor Blum), which they tried to use in their ritual practice to different extents as well, with various reactions of the

public.[39] Thus, a new chapter of negotiating musical remembrance opened, using newly published sources from local ethnomusicological research with which they greatly helped.

Endnotes

1 Research for this article was supported by the Faculty of Humanities, Charles University Prague, Grant SVV 260470 "Prague Soundscapes 2." I would also like to thank also all of my (field) consultants mentioned in this article, Essica Marks for reading the draft, Valerie Levy for language editing and the two anonymous reviewers.

2 Hallel ("Praise") is a Jewish prayer, a verbatim recitation from Psalms 113-118, which is recited by observant Jews on Jewish holidays as an act of praise and thanksgiving.

3 The Russian original of the composition is Вы жертвою пали ('You fell victims' — revolutionary funeral march), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pr7XU_x1Vy8 (accessed 3rd of July 2017).

4 Putík, Alexandr. Informal conversation on telephone with Veronika Seidlová, 3rd of July 2017.

5 See Šmok 2017. For more general view on the life of Jewish people during the Socialism and Post-Socialism in Czechoslovakia see Heitlingerová 2006.

6 Minyan is a quorum of ten adult Jewish men needed for public Orthodox worship.

7 Putík, Alexandr. Informal conversation on telephone with Veronika Seidlová, 3rd of July 2017.

8 Putík, Alexandr. E-mail conversation with Veronika Seidlová, 11th of July 2017.

9 Ritual is seen here "as repetitive, formally stylized behavior based on scripts or models that is perceived as different from everyday behavior, separated through a (cognitive) frame; invested with meaning that is not necessarily immediately connected to the action performed; referring to and making use of symbols; consisting of building blocks; being traditionally sanctioned; taking place at specific places and/or times; rehearsed, structured, patterned, ordered, sequenced, and rule-governed". (Hüsken and Neubert, 2012: 2-3)

10 According to Hüsken and Neubert (2012), negotiation has become a key concept in the cultural and social disciplines in the past several decades. Contestation, change, and conflict are central areas of social theorizing as the question how social is negotiated has gained urgency in a rapidly globalizing world. The issues of increasing fluidity of boundaries and contestation of values and meanings in the context of growing mobility of social actors and their networks are important issues even in relation to rituals. They consider this concept a fruitful tool for analysis, "especially when applied to the study of ritual, because 'ritual' can be seen as a mode of participation in social activity, which is itself fluid and therefore always contested, challenged and negotiated". (Hüsken and Neubert, 2012: 2) In the eyes of many participants, rituals negotiate their relationship with a) what is perceived as transcendent (gods, ghosts, ancestors, etc.; b) outsiders and among each other. (Hüsken and Neubert, 2012: 8)

11 A multi-sited ethnographic research of global cultural flow of world music practices appropriating Hindu mantras (Jurková and Seidlová 2011, Seidlová 2016) which was partly attached to the research project 'Prague Soundscapes' led by my supervisor and current colleague Zuzana Jurková (et. al. 2014, drawing on Kay Kaufman Shelemay's Soundscapes, 2006).

12 Kay Kaufman Shelemay (2006: xvii) explains in the preface of her book Soundscapes: Exploring Music in a Changing World that she began to use the term soundscape after she read a 1991 article by the anthropologist Arjun Appadurai, who coined ethnoscapes to capture the shifting and nonlocalized quality of group identities in the late twentieth century. She transposed Appadurai's important term (Cf. Appadurai 2005) to a musical context. Although she did not invent the term soundscape, this reimagined "soundscape accommodates the musical dynamism of the twenty-first century: music may be anchored for periods of time in single places, but even when situated locally, it is always

changing, subtly or dramatically. Many soundscapes incorporate global connections and influences. […] music-making is a creative practice as well as the ongoing process of selected sounds, shifting settings, and changing significances interacting." (Kaufman Shelemay 2006: xviii)

13 Judah Loew ben Bezalel, alt. Löw, Loewe, Löwe, or Levai, (between 1512 and 1526? – 17 September 1609) widely known to scholars of Judaism as the Maharal of Prague, or simply The MaHaRaL, the Hebrew acronym of "Moreinu Ha-Rav Loew," ("Our Teacher, Rabbi Loew") was an important Talmudic scholar, Jewish mystic, and philosopher who, for most of his life, served as a leading rabbi in the cities of Mikulov in Moravia and Prague in Bohemia. Within the world of Torah and Talmudic scholarship, Loew is known for his works on Jewish philosophy and Jewish mysticism and his work Gur Aryeh al HaTorah, a supercommentary on Rashi's Torah commentary. Rabbi Loew is buried at the Old Jewish Cemetery, Prague in Josefov, where his grave and intact tombstone can still be visited. For more, see Putík 2009.

14 The abovementioned Maharal is also the subject of a 19th-century legend that he created The Golem of Prague, an animate being fashioned from clay to defend the Jews of the Prague Ghetto from antisemitic attacks, particularly the blood libel. He is said to have used mystical powers based on the esoteric knowledge of how God created Adam. (The earliest known source for the story thus far is the 1834 book Der Jüdische Gil Blas by Friedrich Korn. It has been repeated and adapted many times since.) Gruber (2002) mentions the wave of revival and commodification of the Golem figure at the turn of the millennium in Prague. Also Cf. Bilefsky (2009): "The Golem […] is once again experiencing a revival and, in this commercial age, has spawned a one-monster industry."

15 Preserved partly by the Jewish museum and partly by the Federation of the Jewish Communities of the Czech Republic.

16 On the importance of Maharal for Hasidic pilgrims and on the possible convergence with the Golem story see Kieval 2000: 103. See also the website of the Chabad Maharal Institute in Prague: http://www.chabadprague.cz/templates/articlecco_cdo/aid/1080590/jewish/The-Maharal.htm (accessed 1/7/17)

17 Bohn, Williard. Reading Apollinaire's Alcools, 2017: 203.

18 For the ground plan of the synagogue, see http://www.synagogue.cz/the-old-new-synagogue-page/ground-plan/ (accessed 1/7/17)

19 The prayer-leader – traditionally a man – plays the most active role in the ritual. As Summit notes, "One can position the musical/liturgical leadership in the synagogue on a continuum of professionalism. At one end is the skilled, but unpaid, congregational member who will accept the honor of serving as shaliach tsibbur and leading the congregation in prayer, either occasionally or regularly. At the other, there is a full-time professional hazzan (cantor)" (Summit 2000: 27). The Cantor does not enjoy as high a professional and economic status as the rabbi, who remains in the background as the spiritual teacher and who might give a sermon during the worship.

20 Nusach is a complex term and can't be covered here in detail. According to Avenary (1972:1238, cited by Summit 2000:164), it is „a specific musical mode to which a certain part of the liturgy is sung", however, Summit (2000:164) uses it to refer to „traditional Ashkenazi recitative chant that composed of a stock of characteristic motifs specific to a particular service."

21 Seidlová, Veronika. Fieldnotes, July 28, 2006, Prague.

22 Ibid.

23 Annual fast day in Judaism which commemorates the anniversary of a number of disasters in Jewish history, primarily the destruction of both the First Temple by the Babylonians and the Second Temple by the Romans in Jerusalem. Tisha B'Av is regarded as the saddest day in the Jewish calendar and it is thus believed to be a day which is destined for tragedy. Tisha B'Av falls in July or August in the Western calendar.

24 Summit (2000: 136) attributes the tune to Salomon Sulzer, though.

25 Such a metaphorical code switch is not limited to sad holidays, however. For example, before the Hanukkah holiday, in many congregations, the fifteenth century hymn Adon Olam concluding the Sabbath service would be sung to the signature melody of Hanukkah – the Maoz tsur. (Summit 2000: 135)

26 Seidlová, Veronika. Fieldnotes, July 28, 2006, Prague.

27 As the observed American teenage women didn't feel much nostalgia for the medieval social setting materialized in stone, the constructed gender barriers thus importantly influenced the sound of the ritual itself even in a less expected way – the suppressed voices hit back at those suppressing them.

28 See Seidlová 2008b.

29 See Sulzer 1922:15

30 Seidlová, Veronika. Fieldnotes, January 2008, Prague, revised 2017.

31 Viktor Feuerlicht, Czech cantor, dies at 84: Prague (JTA) - One of the most prominent spiritual figures in Prague's Jewish community has passed away. At least 300 mourners attended the funeral Sunday of Viktor Feuerlicht, cantor of Prague's world-famous Old-New Synagogue, […]". 18.3.2003. http://www.jta.org/2003/03/18/archive/obituary-a-symbol-of-czech-jewry-prague-cantor-passes-away (accessed 7/6/2017)

32 "Tomas Jelinek, chairman of Prague's Jewish community, said Feuerlicht's death was the end of an era. "He was the main figure of religious life here for many years and was recognized by different religious authorities around the world," Jelinek said. "He was the Prague Jewish community's connection in the former Czechoslovakia to religious communities worldwide." Jelinek said Feuerlicht, who was head of the Prague rabbinate in the 1970s and 1980s, originally took on the role of cantor on a temporary basis. "He was asked to be cantor for four weeks, and ended up doing it for 40 years. (…)Feuerlicht, who was born in Transcarpathian Ukraine, studied Judaism under Joel Teitelbaum, the late grand rabbi of Satmar in Romania, before the World War II. (…) In 1945 he settled in Prague, and later was prevented from emigrating to Israel by the Communist regime." JTA (The Global News Service of the Jewish People), 17.3. 2003. http://www.jta.org/2003/03/17/life-religion/features/revered-czech-cantor-dies (accessed 7/6/2017)

33 On Sulzer, see e.g. Bohlman 2000.

34 This tune can be (in a slightly different variation) found in Slobin 1989:200. He describes it as a "Hasidic tune with a lively, syncopated rhythm far from the rather stately sound of [Sulzer] and [Lewandowski]". (Ibid.) and rated fourth most popular tune in his research. Slobin interviewed 93 cantors about their favourite tunes of Lekhah Dodi and collected 184 variants of this hymn. The most commonly sung tune was Salomon Sulzer's (Slobin 1989:199), but a different one than the one I heard in the Old-New. According to him, Sulzer together with Louis Lewandowski (another 19th century Central European Reform cantor), and 'Hasidic' are "two of the basic repertoire pools hazzanim informally define when discussing the range of available musics."(1989:200)

35 See Dushinsky 2002.

36 Thus, in 2008, after almost seventy years, an official course of Jewish chant was established in the Czech Republic. According to Rabbi Dushinsky, it is open to all interested individuals, across Jewish denominational spectrum. He estimates that till 2017, there were 40 to 50 long-term students, including women.

37 Jewish Virtual Library. "Ravitz, Shelomo." N.d. http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ravitz-shelomo (accessed July 1, 2017).

38 The same applies to different ways of pronunciation of Hebrew language and even to the style of voice production.

39 E.g., Cantor Bryan Wood wrote to me about performing the Lekhah Dodi by Sulzer according to

Cantor Blum in the Old-New Synagogue during the Kabbalat Shabbat in November 2009: "The reaction of the tourists is good, but they find it difficult to sing with this tune because they don't know it. Many tourists comment on how they love the service. It reminds them of their parents or childhood. One lady who grew up in New York said it reminded her of her shul in the States where they use my nusach, traditional Western Ashkenaz like Blum. Also my pronunciation is similar to his. Another Israeli composer Yossi Green was very excited to hear the nusach, as he could tell it was very ancient, and it is. The Czech reaction is different, rabbi Sidon is very happy which is the main thing. I learnt the Lecho dodi piece, because I believe that it should be sung as it is at least from the tradition of Feurlicht. I'm not sure if it was sung pre holocaust in Staronova. The problem is, and this is a problem not of just the community here. Many people who go to shul have only been going there for the last 15 years or even much less. These days they are used to Carlebach, or other modern tunes, they don't know traditional songs, and if they do they have not heard them sang properly, so they think it sounds different. The tune has of course been sung before by various people, but not maybe how Blum sang it. I took time and really learnt it well and then did it, expecting a good reaction. Unfortunately, this did not happen from the Czech people. Maybe […] Because they may think I embellish the song too much and they cannot join in because the verses change each time. But I am really just singing it how I have heard it sang by Blum, and don't consider myself to show off. […] I met chazzan Blum's neice and sang the Lecho dodi [to her], she liked it very much, also pan Svátek. Sometimes I sing it to him and it reminds him of times before." Wood, Bryan, e-mail conversation with the author on 16th of November 2009.

References

Appadurai, Arjun. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis and London: University of Minnesota Press, 2005.

Avenary, Hanoch. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, Vol. 12:1283-84. "Nusach." Jerusalem: Keter, 1972.

Bohlman Philip V. *"Composing the Cantorate: Westernizing Europe's Other Within." In Western Music and Its Others: Difference, Representation, and Appropriation in Music*. Edited by Georgina Born, David Hesmondhalgh. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000. 187-212.

Bohn, Williard. *Reading Apollinaire's Alcools*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2017.

Dushinsky, Michael. "Ta'amei Hammikra – Biblická akcentace a kantilace [Biblical Accentuation and Cantillation]" In *Kontexte, Musica Iudaica 2000*. Praha: Ústav hudební vedy Filozofické fakulty Univerzity Karlovy, 2002. 11-19.

Frigyesi, Judith. "Preliminary Thoughts Toward the Study of Music Without Clear Beat: The Example of 'Flowing Rhythm' in Jewish Nusah." *Asian Music* 24/2 (1993): 59-87.

Gruber, Ruth Ellen. *Virtually Jewish: Reinventing Jewish Culture in Europe*. Berkeley – Los Angeles – London: University of California Press, 2002.

Heitlingerová, Alena. *In the Shadows of the Holocaust & Communism. Czech and Slovak Jews Since 1945*. New Brunswick & London: Transaction Publishers, 2006.

Hüsken, Ute and Neubert, Frank. *Negotiating Rites*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.

Idelsohn, Abraham Z. *Jewish Music, Its Historical Development*. New York: Dover Publications, 1992 (1st edition from 1929).

Jurková, Zuzana - Seidlová, Veronika - Skorepová, Zita - Jonssonová, Pavla - Balog, Peter. *Prague Soundscapes*. Praha: Karolinum, 2014.

Jurkova, Zuzana. "Samson, Wake Up! Musical Prague and our Recollections". *Musicologica Olomucensia* 21/2015: 37 – 52.

Jurková, Zuzana. "Hledání modalit hudebního vzpomínání [The Quest for Modalities of Musical Remembrance]." *Lidé Mesta | Urban People*. 19/1 (2017): 3-18.

Kaufman Shelemay, Kay. *Let Jasmine Rain Down: Song and Remembrance Among Syrian Jews*. Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1998.

Kaufman Shelemay, Kay. Soundscapes: *Exploring Music in a Changing World*. New York and London: W. W. Norton, 2006.

Kieval, Henry. *Languages of Community: The Jewish Experience in the Czech Lands*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2000.

Putík, Alexandr (ed.) *Path of Life. Rabbi Judah Loew ben Bezalel ca. 1525–1609*. Prague: Academia, Jewish Museum in Prague, 2009.

Seidlová, Veronika and Alexander Knapp. *The Forgotten Voice of the Jeruzalémská Synagogue in Prague: Cantor Ladislav Moshe Blum, Personal Recordings 1978-1983*. Edited by Veronika Seidlová. Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague and Phonogrammarchiv of Austrian Academy of Sciences, 2008b. [Audio CD with a brochure]

Seidlová, Veronika. "K pusobení Františka Škroupa v synagoze v Dušní ulici aneb Vyjednávání pražských Židu s modernitou a jinakostí [On the Activites of František Škroup in the Synagogoue in Dušní Street: Prague Jews Negotiating Modernity and Otherness]." In *Víra, kultura a spolecnost: náboženské kultury v ceských zemích v 19. a 20. století. [Faith, Culture, Society: Religious Cultures in the Czech lands in 19th and 20th Century]*. Edited by Miloš Havelka et al. Prague: FHS UK and Pavel Mervart, 2012.

Seidlová, Veronika. "Music – Religiosity – Community: Jewish Community in Prague (Case Study)" In *Proceedings the ICTM Study group Music and Minorities,* Edited by Rosemary Statelova. Sofia: Bulgarian Academy of Sciences, 2008a. 64-75.

Seidlová, Veronika. "Still Waters Run Deep? How Music of the Czech Jews Has (Not) Been Studied" In *Minority: Construct or Reality?*. Edited by Zuzana Jurková and Blanka Soukupová. Bratislava: Zing Print, 2006. 116-135.

Seidlová, Veronika. *Hlas jako prostredek performance židovských identit v pražských synagogách a modlitebnách [Who sings Jewish? Voice as a Vehicle of Performing Jewish Identities in Prague Synagogues and Prayer Rooms]*. M.A. Thesis. Prague: Charles University in Prague, 2009.

Slobin, Mark. *Chosen Voices: The Story of the American Cantorate*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989.

Šmok, Martin. *Through the Labyrinth of Normalization: The Jewish Community as Mirror for the Majority Society.* Prague: Jewish Museum in Prague, 2017.

Sulzer, Salomon. *Schir Zion: Gesänge für den israelitischen Gottesdienst*. Frankfurt am Main: J. Kaufmann Verlag. 1922 (1st edition from 1865).

Summit, Jeffrey, A. The Lord's Song in a Strange Land: Music and Identity in Contemporary Jewish Worship. Oxford University Press, 2000.

Electronic Sources

YouTube Channel "Вы жертвою пали (You fell victims—revolutionary funeral march) with lyrics" Published October 26, 2011. www.youtube.com/watch?v=Pr7XU_x1Vy8 (accessed July 3, 2017).

Bilefsky, Dan. "NY Times – Hard Times Give New Life to Prague's Golem" Posted to Jewish News on May 11, 2009 https://crownheights.info/jewish-news/18162/ny-times-hard-times-give-new-life-to-pragues-golem/ (accessed July 3, 2017).

Jewish Telegraphic Agency. "Obituary a Symbol of Czech Jewry, Prague Cantor Passes Away." March 18, 2003. www.jta.org/2003/03/18/archive/obituary-a-symbol-of-czech-jewry-prague-cantor-passes-away (accessed July 3, 2017).

Jewish Telegraphic Agency. "Revered Czech cantor dies" March 17, 2003. www.jta.org/2003/03/17/life-religion/features/revered-czech-cantor-dies (accessed June 7, 2017).

Jewish Virtual Library. "Ravitz, Shelomo." N.d. www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/ravitz-shelomo (accessed July 1, 2017).

Chabad Prague. "The Maharal." N.d. www.chabadprague.cz/templates/articlecco_cdo/aid/1080590/jewish/The-Maharal.htm (accessed July 1, 2017).

Jewish Community in Prague. "The Old-New Synagogue" N.d. www.synagogue.cz/jewish-monumets/synagogues/the-old-new-synagogue-2/ (accessed June 7, 2017).

Jewish Community in Prague. "The Old-New Synagogue. Ground Plan." N.d. www.synagogue.cz/the-old-new-synagogue-page/ground-plan/ (accessed June 7, 2017)

Unpublished Sources

Manuscripts from the heritage of Ladislav Blum, Veronika Seidlová's personal archive.