Louis Lewandowski in America: A Case Study in Adaptation and Synagogue Music History

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While researching my book *Jewish Religious Music in Nineteenth Century America*, I discovered what in hindsight should have been obvious: that the compositions of Louis Lewandowski (Berlin, 1821–1894) came to the United States decades later than those of Salomon Sulzer (Vienna, 1804–1890) and Samuel Naumbourg (Paris, 1817–1880). The different American timeline of Lewandowski's music made intuitive sense. Even in Europe, as Geoffrey Goldberg shows, Sulzer's music predominated in Berlin before Lewandowski began building his own synagogue compositional career there; and Lewandowski's first round of publications appeared more than twenty years after the published debuts of Sulzer and Naumbourg.[1] Yet my scholarly training and my work with cantorial students at the turn of the twenty-first century had conditioned me to see these three composers as a collective shorthand for one chapter of nineteenth-century musical reform, coexisting in their efforts at Jewish liturgical modernization across Europe. This narrative held so strongly in the popular scholarly/lay imagination that one distinguished reviewer of my book criticized it for minimizing Lewandowski, "whose extensive influence on synagogue music in Western and central Europe in the latter half of the 19th century should have affected liturgical music in the US."[2]

1 Geoffrey Goldberg, "Neglected Sources for the Historical Study of Synagogue Music: The Prefaces to Louis Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah* and *Todah W'Simrah*—Annotated Translations," *Musica Judaica* 11, no. 1 (1989–1990): 28–57, esp. 33–36.

2 Lawrence Loeb, review of *Jewish Religious Music in Nineteenth Century America*. *Choice Reviews* 57 no. 4 (1 December 2019): 436.

In this essay I offer some reflections on how historians and Jewish communal professionals from around the start of the twentieth century began to treat the disparate careers of nineteenth-century Central European synagogue composers (such as Sulzer, Naumbourg, Lewandowski, Hirsch Weintraub, Moritz Deutsch, and others) as a gravitational center for a grand, unified project of European Jewish musical reform. The resulting European "progress" narrative they created brought a convenient order and hierarchy to a heterogeneous range of musical activities, establishing a prescriptive, unitary "Jewish" genre designation that American congregations, composers, scholars, and practitioners could use to promote the continuities of Jewish communal life. The points of connection that grounded this effort, however, diverted attention from both the diversity of musical infrastructures that each composer navigated in his time and the contrasting institutional views of Jewish tradition and practice that supported each composer's music.[3] Instead, the "Jewish music" field that emerged empowered Jewish communal institutions to promote "usable" topics relevant to twentieth-century debates over contemporary Jewish identity issues: including musical style, the centrality of synagogue life, and the duality of sacred and "secular" musical careers. Such worthy discourses over time have gained high polish in publications such as Benjamin Wolf's analysis of Lewandowski's varied compositional career and his complex negotiation between synagogue and concert hall.[4] But in the process, various other fundamental discussions have been lost: among them, the dynamic relationship between liturgy and musical usage, the varied ways people experience music in a synagogue, thorny questions of power and competition in determining musical practice, shifting views of what the Jewish collective even represents, and, most significantly, the central role that musical adaptation—including the assumption that "the notes" of a composition represent the core character of a composer's work regardless

3 Goldberg, 32. See, for example, Ross Hoffman, "Antecedents of Jewish Music," *The Sentinel* (Chicago) 10 no. 5 (2 May 1913): 7, 22.

4 Benjamin Wolf, "Music as Mirror: Reflections of Biography and Identity in the Music of Louis Lewandowski." In Luca Sala, ed. *Jewishness, Jewish Identity and Music Culture in 19th-Century Europe* (Bologna: Ut Orpheus, 2020), 251–294.

of how they are rendered—has quietly played in ensuring coherent narratives of Jewish musical history.

(Re)turning to contemporary synagogue records, manuscripts, and periodicals allows for a different, more nuanced story about Lewandowski's reception in the United States and, in turn, about the dissemination, use, and experience of synagogue music in the late nineteenth century. I offer through these sources a different perspective that aims to restore complexity to an overly "flattened" story: American congregations began to use Sulzer's and Naumbourg's music in the 1840s and 1850s but did not use Lewandowski's synagogue music until the mid- to late 1880s—and even then, they initially limited Lewandowski's music to large-scale public celebrations. The Sulzer/Naumbourg/Lewandowski paradigm common in Jewish musical education settings, meanwhile, came about as American institutional networks sought to standardize Jewish practice. By using and adapting European synagogue music over time, scholars and practitioners of "Jewish music" merged their differing European careers into a linear narrative of musical reform that addressed practical needs, connected with waves of theological-aesthetic change, and transformed through successive layers of intellectual debate into a communally acceptable historical origin story for American liberal synagogue music.[5]

Historical Background: Adapting Sulzer and Naumbourg to Moderate American Reform

Sulzer's and Naumbourg's compositions entered the sonic landscape of American synagogues through several connected pathways starting in the 1840s. Their works were available in print and thus transportable; they had champions in figures such as Isaac Mayer Wise, who viewed music as an important way to create a knowledgeable American Jewish populace and uniform American synagogue ritual; and they had musical acolytes and family members who worked in and toured around the United States. By working with scores, moreover, leaders in America had the additional advantage of abstracting "the music" from its European

5 For more on Lewandowski, see Jascha Nemtsov and Hermann Simon, *Louis Lewandowski: Love Makes the Melody Immortal!* Jewish Miniatures 114A (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich/Centrum Judaicum, 2011).

synagogue practices, allowing them the freedom to adapt compositions to the amateur choral settings that better fit American congregations' community-building efforts.[6]

Isaac Mayer Wise's championing of this music offers a meaningful illustration of this process. Wise had met Sulzer in Vienna; he brought the first (1838) volume of *Schir Zion* with him when he immigrated to the United States in 1846; and (it appears) Wise also had access to Naumbourg's scores. He promoted choral singing in his writings as a progressive part of American life that allowed different generations to participate in a mutually reinforcing liturgical experience. To prepare for the premiere of his *Minhag America* prayer book at Cincinnati's Lodge Street Synagogue on 4 August 1854, Wise used his violin to rehearse five selections by Sulzer and two by Naumbourg with a thirty-two-person choir of young people.[7] Such an intentional repurposing of the European composers' works allowed the music to become a symbol of moderate Reform that also connected with community choral singing movements representing middle-class achievement of the time.

Just as Wise brought Sulzer's and Naumbourg's compositions in line with his own communal ambitions, students and relatives of the composers presented other means of spreading their music and reputations. Several of Sulzer's trainees immigrated to the United States, including Leon Sternberger (1849), Samuel Welsch (1865), Morris Goldstein (1866), and Alois Kaiser (1867); they took influential positions in prominent American synagogues, building on their teacher's work to create organ-based services, while adding their own stylistically related compositions. Samuel Naumbourg's cousin Louis Naumburg, meanwhile, instituted new choral and musical programs at synagogues

6 M. Philipson (possibly Ludwig Philippson), "The Consistorial Temple of Paris," *The Asmonean* (29 Sept 1854): 188–189. Philipson's article recounted spatial and sonic differences between choirs in Vienna and Paris: An unaccompanied choir of men and boys surrounded the cantor on the pulpit in the former, while in the latter a mixed-gender ensemble occupied a choir loft at the opposite end of the sanctuary and had organ accompaniment through the first part of the service.

7 Judah M. Cohen, *Jewish Religious Music*, Chapter 1; H.O.H., "The Choir," *The Israelite* (11 August 1854): 38.

in Philadelphia and Pittsburgh between 1850 and 1870; and at least two of Sulzer's daughters toured through the United States as prominent opera singers.[8] As a group, these figures reflected a Jewish liturgical music movement that channeled the aesthetic and philosophical aspects of their European models into the needs and resources of the American congregation. Often interacting with Wise in national religious organizations, the men especially forged connections with prominent rabbinic co-officiants and expanded the role, reputation, and power of the cantor in America as the Union of American Hebrew Congregations (UAHC) and the Central Conference of American Rabbis gained prominence.

Lewandowski and His Slowly Expanding Berlin Circles

Lewandowski, in contrast, gained fame for developing a city-wide Jewish choral program in Berlin, especially by the 1850s; but his ongoing poor health, lack of cantorial status, and differing publication timeline severely limited his reach. His European fame only appeared to extend significantly beyond Berlin in 1879, when a new initiative to professionalize the Prussian cantorate sought Lewandowski's imprimatur. Lewandowski added a letter of support to the first issue of Bromberg Cantor Abraham Blaustein's cantorial-interest newspaper *Der jüdische Kantor* in June 1879; and when Blaustein and other area cantors gathered for a meeting to create a professional organization, eventually called the *Israelitischen deutschen Cantorenverein*, they elected Lewandowski as the group's honorary president.[9]

This relationship, which acknowledged Lewandowski's compositional prowess, set up a complex parallel between Berlin's cantorial infrastructure and its counterpart in Vienna, represented by the *Osterreichisch-ungarisch Cantorenverein*, which engaged retired cantor Salomon Sulzer as its honorary figurehead. While adoring writers in the latter's journal *Osterreichisch-ungarisch Cantoren-Zeitung* (herein *OUCZ*) described Sulzer as their pope ("Papa") and an inspiration to the musical legacy that cantors hoped to build, Lewandowski's appeal to the Berlin-area

8 Cohen, *Jewish Religious Music*, 37–40.

9 *Der jüdische Kantor* I, no. 1 (15 June, 1879): 2; *Der jüdische Kantor* I, no. 23 (4 December 1879): 1.

cantors came largely as a pragmatic musical leader whose official position and administrative experience could give direction to a heterogeneous group of practitioners.[10] When the Berlin cantors met in Posen on 30 November 1879, for example, they fiercely debated whether to establish a widows' and orphans' fund. Lewandowski sent a letter to the gathering supporting their collective efforts, "although I am not a cantor" ("wenn Ich auch kein Kantor"); he pointed to his success in establishing "a health-support organization for Berlin musicians" in 1865; and he offered "to use my influence and relationships from here for the good cause, but only on the condition of unanimity, and indestructible unity."[11] While his music likely qualified him for recognition among cantors, it appeared to be less important than Lewandowski's political power to help them organize and elevate their status.

In large part because of these differences, and despite publishing a substantial portion of his synagogue work in the 1860s, Lewandowski had almost no presence in American Jewish life before the 1880s. His compositions are absent from major American collections of synagogue music, including those of G.M. Cohen (1864's *The Sacred Harp of Judah* and 1878's *The Orpheus*) and the four-volume musical compilation *Zimrath Yah* (1871–1886). G.S. Ensel, in his signal 1880 book *Ancient Liturgical Music*, mentions Sulzer, Naumbourg, Abraham Baer, and Salomone Rossi as major synagogue music composers—but not Lewandowski.[12] Only Cincinnati's German-language

10 Previous accounts have interpreted the term "Papa" through a lens of affection toward an elder, somewhat akin to references around Joseph "Papa" Haydn (1732–1809). Yet references to Sulzer as "Papa" appear also to balance affectionate and reverential (as in the Latin for "Pope"), especially in encomia that tie Sulzer's musical achievements to those of King David and the Greek hero Nestor. See, for example, L. Stern, "Wer is der Cantoren-Papa," *OUCZ* (8 August 1884): 3.

11 *Der jüdische Kantor* I, no. 23 (4 December 1879): 1. ("*Ich bin bereit, meinen Einfluss und meine Beziehungen von hier aus für die gute Sache einzusetzen, aber nur unter der Bedingung der Einigkeit und der unzerstörbaren Einheit*.")

12 G.M. Cohen, *The Sacred Harp of Judah* (Cleveland: Brainard, 1864); G.M. Cohen, *The Orpheus* (Cleveland: G.M. Cohen, 1878); Samuel Welsch, Alois Kaiser, et al., eds., *Zimrath Yah,* 4 vv. (Baltimore, 1871–1886); G.S. Ensel, *Ancient Liturgical Music* (Paducah, 1880), 182, 192–196.

periodical *Die Deborah* appeared to follow Lewandowski somewhat regularly.[13] References to Lewandowski in English-language American Jewish press, moreover, appeared only in brief notes lacking meaningful detail: his 1866 Berlin appointment as "a royal director of music," the positive German reception of his 1871 compendium *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah* (misspelling the work as "*Kol Zenah u'Tefilah*"), and his election as honorary president of the Berlin Society for Jewish Cantors in 1880.[14] Interestingly, Lewandowski's best-known work in America before the 1880s appears to have been a secular part song setting of Rudolf Löwenstein's poem "A Chafer's [June Bug's] Wedding/Ein Käfer-Hochzeit," which appeared occasionally in the repertoire of amateur singing societies (including men's choirs/*Männerchöre*) but had no connection with synagogue music.[15]

Even when Lewandowski's name began to appear in American discussions of significant synagogue composers in the 1880s, his fame remained overseas as a choral director.[16] While *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah*, republished in 1882, continued to inspire cantors throughout Europe, little evidence exists of a similar impact in the United States.[17] In December 1882, for example, New York's Henry Street Congregation Shaaray Zedeck touted the quality of its newly created, all-male, eight-voice choir by claiming that "[t]hese choristers have had experience abroad, two having been taught by the well-known Lewandowski of Berlin"; but the repertoire appeared to remain unchanged.[18] A May 1883 editorial in *Die Deborah* celebrated Lewandowski on his sixtieth birthday, calling him a genius and placing him alongside Sulzer, Naumbourg,

13 See, for example, *Die Deborah* articles mentioning Lewandowski on 19 February 1864, 135; 10 August 1866, 23; and 9 November 1866, 70.

14 *The Israelite*, 18 May 1866, 365; *The Israelite*, 29 September 1871, 7; *The American Israelite*, 9 January 1880, 3; *The American Hebrew*, 5 November 1880, 140.

15 Louis Lewandowski, "Ein Käfer-Hochzeit" (Berlin, 1880). See Louis Lewandowski, "A Chafer's Wedding," *Novello's Part-Song Book, Second Series* 17, no. 482 (London: Novello, [1884?]).

16 "Jewish Music," *The American Israelite* (18 November 1881): 166 (reprinted from *The Jewish Herald*); *The American Israelite* (29 September 1882): 110.

17 Idelsohn, *Jewish Music*, 281–282.

18 *The Jewish Messenger* (8 December 1882): 2.

and Weintraub in stature, but then admitted his minimal presence in American synagogue music:

> Lewandowski's works are less well known in America, because most of our cantors come from the Sulzer school and because one [already] finds sufficient material for all synagogue purposes in general church music, and in the various oratorios and symphonies of the most recognized masters. These works, and *Simrath Jah* [Zimrath Yah] can be found in every bookshop. Lewandowski's music is only available for order, which is costly and time-consuming. This does not, incidentally, damage Mr. Lewandowski's fame.[19]

The obscurity of Lewandowski's music in America began to change in 1884, when New York importer Max Kobre began to sell "celebrated Jewish music director" Lewandowski's works from his Lower East Side store.[20] Yet aside from a few high-profile performances at large-scale communal events, Lewandowski's synagogue music made slow inroads. In 1887, a double quartet sang his Psalm 150 to inaugurate Boston Congregation Ohabai Sholom's new building, in a program that included works by Joseph Haydn, Richard Wagner, French composer/organist Édouard Batiste, New York composer/organist Dudley Buck, and San Francisco composer/organist Gustav Scott.[21] The following May, a service at the Jewish Ministers' Association annual meeting in Washington, DC, featured both Psalm 150 and Lewandowski's Psalm 122: 7–9 ("Y'hi Shalom"), in addition to works by composers Gustav Scott and Giuseppe Verdi.[22] These exceptional moments in the record reinforce a narrow view of Lewandowski's music rather than regular synagogue usage.

The key to Lewandowski's adoption, as with Sulzer decades earlier, lay in knowledgeable individuals' adaptation of his music to American synagogue liturgies and practices. On that front, the first major incursion

19 *Die Deborah* (4 May 1883): 348. (Author's translation.)

20 *Jewish Messenger* (10 October 1884): 6. The advertisement continued until 16 January 1885.

21 "The Presentation Poem," *The American Israelite* (16 September 1887): 9.

22 *The American Israelite* (1 June 1888): 8.

of Lewandowski's music into American synagogue repertoire appears to date to between 1888 and 1895 in Baltimore, when two Lewandowski advocates took positions as choral directors in that city's synagogues. One, Rev. David Salinger, led the musical program at the Eden Street Synagogue from at least June 1888. By 1890, a correspondent to the Philadelphia-based *Jewish Exponent* noted Salinger's reputation as Lewandowski's American champion, writing that Salinger "has made a specialty of adapting Lewandowski's music to the needs of conservative congregations, and his efforts seem to be appreciated and to find emulators."[23]

In May 1889, meanwhile, choral director David Melamet (1861–1932) arrived in Baltimore from Berlin (via New York) to lead the city's Germania Mannerchor. Melamet, who trained in Berlin's Royal Conservatory of Music from 1881–86, built his European career as a traveling choir director, eventually leading two of Berlin's premiere vocal ensembles.[24] Like Salinger, moreover, he brought experience with Lewandowski's synagogue music to Baltimore's Jewish population; a July 1890 *Jewish Exponent* article noted that he "was also the representative of the great composer of Jewish melodies, L. Levandowski [*sic*], in leading the choir at the great new Gemeinde Synagogue at Berlin," and he served a similar role as choir director at the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation.[25]

Lewandowski's music received frequent mention in newspaper accounts of both synagogues' events for the next several years, accompanying a period of rapid development and liberalization that included the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation's move to a new building on Madison Street in 1891.[26] His two champions, however, were relatively short-

23 Ibid.; "Baltimore City News," *The Jewish Exponent* (11 April 1890): 6; "Baltimore City News," *The Jewish Exponent* (22 April 1891): 6 (Passover services).

24 "Musical Director of Germania Maennerchor," *Baltimore Sun* (28 May 1889): 4; "Prof. David Melamet," *The Jewish Exponent* (4 July 1890): 8.

25 "Prof. David Melamet."

26 See, for example, *Baltimore Sun* (7 July 1888): 2 (advertisement for Rev. D. Salinger, dating to 21 June 1888); "Baltimore City News: Rosh HaShanah Services," *The Jewish Exponent* (27 September 1889); [Lewandowski in Eden Street Synagogue,] *The American Israelite* (10 October 1889): 7; "The Jewish New Year," *Baltimore Sun* (26 September 1889): 4; "Baltimore City News," *The Jewish Exponent* (12 June 1891): 6 (Confirmation services).

lived: Salinger resigned from the Eden Street congregation in 1894 to pursue medical training in Vienna, and Melamet, embroiled in a love triangle with the wife of one of his music colleagues, resigned from the Baltimore Hebrew Congregation in March 1895.[27] By that time, however, Lewandowski's compositions had become a part of both congregations' High Holiday services, with local newspapers routinely including him in its listings of synagogue musical service programs.

From Baltimore to the rest of the country, the momentum toward recognizing Lewandowski in America had begun, helped rhetorically by an effort to consolidate the spectrum of American synagogue music practices into a linear historical tradition of "Jewish music." At the start of 1891, European celebrations marking Lewandowski's fiftieth "jubilee" year in Berlin received coverage in New York, Baltimore, Philadelphia, St. Louis, and other American cities.[28] In June of the same year, Philadelphia's *Jewish Exponent* published an article about Baltimore titled "Cantors Not of the Past," which celebrated cantor/composer/Sulzer acolyte Alois Kaiser's twenty-fifth year at Baltimore's Oheb Shalom, and compared him to Lewandowski, "the great Berlin composer of synagogue music."[29] Yet national institutions such as Hebrew Union College and the UAHC still looked to Sulzer's music as the dominant model, thanks in part to Isaac Mayer Wise's energetic advocacy; Wise recognized the same Kaiser anniversary by pointedly stating "it was Sulzer who made the modern reforms in the house of worship possible," and excluding Lewandowski from a list of liturgical music innovators in

27 "A Present to the Reverend David Salinger," *Baltimore Sun* (27 August 1894): 8; "Prof. Melamet's Resignation Accepted," *Baltimore Sun* (23 March 1895): 10. Melamet resigned as director of the Germania Männerchor at the same time; see Carl Laegeler, comp., Festschrift, *Goldenen Jubilaum, 10. Oktober 1906, Der Germania Männerchor von Baltimore, MD* (Baltimore: n.p., [1906]), 46. He nonetheless remained a prime figure in the city's musical life, leading major musical organizations, writing several celebrated musical works, improving the city's reputation in the nation's *Männerchor* scene, and conducting for the Baltimore Opera until his death in 1932.

28 *The Jewish Messenger* (7 November 1890): 4; *The Jewish Voice* (St. Louis) (9 January 1891): 5, 8; ibid (23 January 1891): 8; "Lewandowski's Fiftieth Anniversary," *The Jewish Exponent* (29 May 1891): 5.

29 "Cantors Not of the Past," *Jewish Exponent* (26 June 1891): 4.

the same article.[30] Lewandowski's inroads, by contrast, appeared to come through networks of musical leaders seeking to establish their own professional bona fides. When New York cantor William Sparger published an "attempt at a bibliography" on "Literature on the Music of the Jews" in *The American Hebrew* in late 1892, he included Lewandowski's music compendia, thus placing the Berlin composer more firmly in American Jewish music discussion.[31] In this way, Lewandowski became a symbol of the field of Jewish music itself as its creators sought to elevate concepts of tradition over heterogeneity.

Jewish musical authorities subsequently brought Lewandowski's compositions more frequently in American Jewish music publications, often in significantly modified forms. Kaiser and Sparger's landmark 1893 volume *A Collection of the Principal Melodies of the Synagogue from the Earliest Times to the Present*, sponsored by the National Council of Jewish Women for the Chicago World's Fair, presented Lewandowski as an art music composer. Although they devoted most of the book to arrangements of "Traditional Melodies" with no authorial attribution, Kaiser and Sparger added three adaptations of Lewandowski's work in a "Modern Compositions" section at the end of the book, all drawn from *Todah W'Simrah* and set to new English lyrics. The first two appeared in a subsection titled "On Traditional Themes," implying artistic engagement with Jewish musical tradition: "Protect and Shield Us," a short solo with organ accompaniment, adapted from Lewandowski's "V'hagen ba'adeinu" (Part II, #85); and a brief solo with choral response, titled "Here In Thy House," as a condensed and edited version of Lewandowski's "Yah Shimcha" (Part II, #229, preceding the Yom Kippur *Neilah* service). The compilers also featured an adaptation of Lewandowski's mainstay Psalm 150 in the "Original Compositions" subsection.[32] These choices prominently identified Lewandowski among

30 Isaac Mayer Wise Editorial, *The American Israelite* (4 June 1891): 4.

31 Cyrus Adler, "Important Literature on Jewish Music," *The American Hebrew* (2 September 1892): 571; William Sparger, "Literature on the Music of the Jews: An Attempt at a Bibliography," *The American Hebrew* (23 December 1892): 265–266.

32 Alois Kaiser and William Sparger, eds., *A Collection of the Principal Melodies of the Synagogue from the Earliest Times to the Present* (Chicago: Rubovitz, 1893), 132–133, 142,

a small group of composers who had successfully translated Jewish musical tradition into contemporary art music forms. The following year, Detroit's Louis Grossman and F.L. York included easy arrangements of Lewandowski's music (alongside Sulzer's) to promote congregational singing in their nationally recognized publication *Responses, Psalms and Hymns for Worship in Jewish Congregations and Schools*.[33] These two collections set up parallel American strategies for showcasing Lewandowski's synagogue music that would extend beyond the composer's final years: first as a symbol of Jewish musical refinement, and second as a vehicle for communal participation.

Lewandowski's death, on 3 February 1894, received significant coverage in the American press, enhancing the composer's reputation further as a vessel of Jewish musical authenticity. In late March 1894, Baltimore Rev. Jacob Marmor contributed a memorial article on the composer to Philadelphia's *The Jewish Exponent*. Marmor's dedication decisively elevated Lewandowski into the top echelon of synagogue musicians, describing his music as a "cosmopolitan" counterpart to Sulzer's Palestrina-like compositions and Naumbourg's "melodies of irresistible charm."[34] In Marmor's eyes, Lewandowski became an avid collector of liturgical melodies: transcribing them from renowned Cantor Moritz Deutsch and other *hazzanim* who came through town, and transforming them into grand but appropriately artistic works.

> In this manner he got together a considerable collection of old songs, which he balanced over in his mind, arranged, and rearranged them. These and his original compositions received a thorough trial in the

186–191. Lewandowski's publication notes that "Yah Shimcha" was "composed using an ancient Jewish melody/motif."

33 Louis Grossman and Francis L. York, *Responses, Psalms and Hymns for Worship in Jewish Congregations and Schools* (Detroit: John F. Eby, 1894), 23, 27, 30–32. Lewandowski's music appeared in the book's model services III and V, and in the "Additional Responses" section. The practice of including Lewandowski-derived congregational choral responses can also be seen in the second and third editions of the *Union Hymnal* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1914 and 1932).

34 Rev. Jacob Marmor, "Lewandowski—His Influence on Jewish Music," *The Jewish Exponent* (30 March 1894): 1.

> five congregations of which he was the musical leader. Then, after a final readjustment, he published his work, "Todah Vesimroh," in two volumes.… But his merit consists mainly in his greater work in which he displayed a fine taste and rare abilities in handling his subject. Some traditional melodies he left as he found them, to be rendered by the cantor or the organ; by the choir in unison, or with harmony; with the accompaniment of the organ or without. Some were modified by lengthening the time of each sound, others were so interspersed with secular strains that the former cannot be detected without diligent research. Most of his compositions are therefore tainted in a more or less degree with the rich colors of the Jewish music, which he so earnestly studied and in so masterly a manner assimilated in his works. One, hearing his Friday evening services well rendered, feels himself transported to that marvelous land lying toward the dawn of day, where the brilliancy of precious gems vies with the exquisite perfumes of mysterious plants for supremacy, and which spell does not pass ere the last chord dies away.[35]

Lewandowski's methods of musical adaptation thus became a paradigm for Jewish musical sophistication during a gilded age of urban growth and religious grandeur, simultaneously presenting ambivalence with contemporary practices and an aspiration to European sophistication. Advocates of his work saw him posthumously as an inspiration for high-level choral singing, whose work could unite large ensembles through artistic skill and intrinsic Jewishness, while replacing local practices with a deeper and more satisfying "traditional" sound. Emil Hirsh, editor of the progressive New York paper *The Reform Advocate*, credited Lewandowski with fostering an approach to synagogue music reform that emphasized a sense of Jewish authenticity; that relied on Jewish choir directors and trained, all-male choirs; and that exhibited a "genius" for traditional sound that could supersede the operatic (read: inauthentic) stylings of America's (implied: non-Jewish) mixed quartets. Quoted here at length, it situated Lewandowski at the center of a "state of the field" for Jewish liturgical music:

35 Ibid.

Prof. L. Lewandowski's field lay in another plane. In the Talmudic tract, Berakhoth, we are told that David's couch was guarded by a harp, waking under God's touch to inspired song. Such instrument was also Lewandowski's divine possession. It was he who reformed the liturgical appointments of the German synagogue. Jewish music and melody are forever indebted to his genius. He succeeded in emancipating the Synagogue from the monotony of the Protestant choral and the insipid imitation of Opera and Oratorio. May be that there is no originality in even the oldest traditional airs, familiar to the old worshipers. "Kol Nidre," perhaps, is a Venetian "*Gassenhauer*" [street tune]. But withal there runs through the traditional Jewish song, naturalized or autochthonous, a certain something which we do not find in the travesties of [the opera La] Traviata, adapted to Hebrew words, or in the wearisome appeals "to be saved," set to music by our Methodist organists and transformed into an "'Adhon 'Olam." The seventy and more years of Lewandowski's life have, indeed, not been barren of golden grain. He takes his place in the niches of our grateful memory by the side of Sulzer. Our Jewish American congregations might, indeed, learn from him how to organize their choirs and what the music of the service shall be. A visit to the large Synagogue at Berlin will at once reveal the vast difference between his method and ours. There the autocracy of a non-Jewish choirmaster is not tolerated. A choir of over ninety male voices (boys largely) gives forth *Jewish* responses in *Jewish* strains, equally far removed from the nasal dreariness and drawl of Protestant hymns and the frivolity of opera bouffe, metamorphosed into a "Yigdal" or a K'dushah. In his compositions, Lewandowski will live. His master hand will touch to life the keys, though he doth slumber with the dust!

Is it impossible to profit by the lesson and the example of the Berlin Synagogue? Can we not have *Jewish* music in our services? As long as the prevailing plan be fetichized [*sic*], the outlook for a change in this direction will continue most inauspicious. Four hired singers, and an organist, out of all sympathy with Jewish thought and feeling, will naturally persist in deluging us with appeals to save us poor sinners, even though the words be altered and Jehovah be sung where the original presupposes Saviour. We shall have *ad nauseam Sh'ma's* without the expression

> of the Jewish fervor, and *Yimlokh's* shorn of every element of gladness. The insipid sweetness of American Protestantism will color the tone and movement. At best we shall succeed in making a "joyful noise" before the "Lord." The way to change this is to introduce Lewandowski and Sulzer. But these presuppose a trained chorus and not an undisciplined Solo Quartet. With just a little greater interest in this part of our services, manifested by our Boards and members, we might have such a chorus at no greater expense than the Soloists now entail. Prof. Tomlins in this city has demonstrated what may be accomplished with children's voices. Why not imitate this, instead of foolishly emulating concert halls, and always failing? Here is a promising field for a much needed reform. Who will be the leader?[36]

Such tributes gave Lewandowski's music a distinct character in contemporary debates over the nature of synagogue sound. Yet Sulzer's status as the establishment's model for Jewish congregational singing remained. Kaiser, tasked with assembling the UAHC's first hymnal, reinforced this perspective in an 1896 letter to his European colleagues, partly published in the *Österreichisch-ungarisch Cantoren-Zeitung:*

> Creating the appropriate music [for the prospective hymnal] was no less difficult [than finding the right texts]. The boring Protestant hymn will never find a home in the synagogue, Catholic songs will never touch the heart of the Jewish worshiper. Hymn music for Jewish worship must be fresh, free, and joyful. According to old master Sulzer of blessed memory, the religious song, sung with enthusiasm, must find its way into the synagogue. A lively, easy to grasp, simply concentrated melody, kept within a narrow range of the vocal range, is absolutely necessary if congregational singing is to be secured a permanent place in our worship service.[37]

The *Union Hymnal* reflected this philosophy: when it saw publication in 1897, only two Lewandowski compositions appeared in the

36 "H.," *The Reform Advocate* 7, no. 2 (3 March 1894): 1–2.

37 Alois Kaiser, "Ein Gesangbuch für den Gemeinde-Gesang," *OUCZ* 16, no. 7 (1 March 1896): 3. Author's translation via Google Translate.

main (congregational) part—the Hebrew-language hymns "Yigdal" and "Ein Keloheinu"; yet Kaiser provided eleven additional selections—ten from the composer's 1879 publication *18 Liturgical Psalms* plus Psalm 150—in a final "Anthems" section featuring more elaborate, theme-based works intended for more experienced singers.[38] A British article published after Lewandowski's death reflected a similar taxonomy of musical usage, noting that "a very few [of the composer's works] only are known in England as our choirs have not reached the high standard of those for which the eminent composer wrote." Through the 1890s, that view of Lewandowski's works as desirable but often unattainably sophisticated appeared to apply to much of the United States as well.[39]

The decades-long phase-shift for Lewandowski toward American compatibility, only partially achieved by the late 1890s, highlights the regional differences between choral infrastructures, cantorial identities, and musical practices, while emphasizing the significant role that individuals played in making Lewandowski's music a part of congregational worship. Sulzer's and Naumbourg's music served as building blocks for American synagogue life—compatible with ensembles small and large, amateur and professional, and usually mixed gender. Lewandowski's music initially seemed to invoke the large-scale, trained ensembles of men and boys that echoed urban European practices. Some American congregations admired Berlin-trained choristers and the choral school model and occasionally benefitted from emigres with such experience. However, America's musical infrastructure dictated a fundamentally different approach to choral singing that emphasized the amateur and/or small-scale ensembles. European Jewish authorities tended to credit Lewandowski with awakening the voice of the congregation—and to some extent taming the cantor's ego; but for American Jewish congregations, Lewandowski's reputation for complexity and grandeur limited his music's usage, and often required adaptation or simplification. Synagogues and singing societies could feature his works in large-scale

38 Louis L. Lewandowski, *18 liturgische Psalmen* (Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel, [1879]); the "Yigdal" and "Ein Keloheinu" tunes appear to have been adopted from Isaac S. Moses's 1894 *Sabbath School Hymnal* (Chicago: Bloch, 1894).

39 "Prof. Louis L. Lewandowski," *The Reform Advocate* (3 March 1894): 12.

celebrations such as building dedications and commemorative dinners, and they continued to do so well into the twentieth century; but regularly reproducing pieces such as his Psalm 150 likely seemed unworkable for less august occasions or less-prepared amateur groups.

To the Twentieth Century and Beyond: Lewandowski's Parallel Choral and Congregational Lives

In the years after the composer's death, questions of how to treat Lewandowski's legacy in America continued to tip between grandeur and populism, depending on the context: whether through showcase performances for large choirs or adaptations for congregational singing. Both, however, hinged on perceptions that the composer's work lent a sense of authenticity to synagogue ritual and legitimacy to the idea of a linear, heritable Jewish music tradition. Some saw Berlin's practices as an antidote to church-style music, while others viewed Lewandowski's work as supplemental to synagogue music practices already in place.[40]

One of the first significant changes in Lewandowski's legacy came at the hands of prominent liberal Rabbi Isaac S. Moses, then serving Chicago's Kehilat An'shei Ma'arav (KAM) congregation. Moses, who helped edit the 1895 *Union Prayer Book*, also recognized music's significance for congregations wishing to adopt the new text. Consequently, and in parallel with Kaiser's editing of the *Union Hymnal*, he produced an 1893 Hanukkah service and an 1897 adaptation of Mobile, Alabama, composer Sigmund Schlesinger's music, both connecting to the *Union Prayer Book*'s texts; and in 1900, he extended this practice to Lewandowski's *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah*, adapting selections into "a Song Service … for the evening and morning of the Sabbath … for one and

40 In 1895, Berlin Rabbi Gustav Karpeles's 1891 sermon celebrating Lewandowski's fiftieth year in the pulpit was published in English as part of a widely circulated volume of essays (Karpeles, "Music of the Synagogue," in *Jewish Literature and Other Essays* [Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1895], 370–379). By that point, however, Karpeles's romantic history of Jewish music as a spiritual tradition, and his general view of Lewandowski as a force in reviving its authenticity and power, had been superseded by more elaborate musicological studies and activities.

two voices, and congregational choir."[41] This latter publication represents one of the first full American treatments of Lewandowski's music for congregational engagement.[42]

Lewandowski's place in history changed as well, as synagogue music authorities shifted from a competitive Sulzer/Lewandowski narrative to a sequential/complementary one. This change allowed adapters to bring his work both into emerging congregational singing movements—including children's services—*and* into large-scale choral synagogues. British (and later Australian) Rabbi Francis L. Cohen's entry on music for the *Jewish Encyclopedia* published in 1906 addressed both of these layers: It described Lewandowski as the greatest of "the workers who have carried on in German lands the labor inaugurated by Sulzer," adding, "This master did perhaps more than any other of the past generation to bring the modern renascence of synagogal music home to the ordinary congregant."[43] At the same time, Cohen ended his article by recognizing Lewandowski as an inspiration for American synagogue choral practice, even when it took a form drastically different from European practice:

> In many of the synagogues of the United States there is no choir in the European sense, its place being taken by a single or a double mixed quartet of selected singers, in which, strangely enough, Gentiles are permitted to be the majority of those appointed to lead Jewish worship. Yet even here the tendency is now evident to combine the fullest modern artistic resources with the essentially traditional material consecrated by ancient custom of which Lewandowski was the foremost exponent.[44]

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41 Isaac S. Moses, ed., *Temple Music, Book III: a song service in accordance with the Union prayer book, for the evening and morning of the Sabbath, arranged from Lewandowski's "Kol rinnah ut'fillah," for one and two voices, and congregational choir* (Chicago: Isaac S. Moses, 1900). See also Isaac S. Moses, *Hanukah Festival: A Song Service for the Feast of Lights* (Chicago: American Hebrew Publishing House, 1893), and Isaac S. Moses, ed., *Temple Music Book II: One complete evening and morning service for the Sabbath-day in accordance with the ritual of the Union Prayer Book* (Chicago: Isaac S. Moses, 1897) (setting Sigmund Schlesinger).

42 See Goldberg, "Neglected Sources," 36, 42.

43 Francis L. Cohen, "Music," in *The Jewish Encyclopedia,* vol. 9 (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), 133.

44 Ibid., 135.

Such views became a foundation upon which Jewish "tradition" could combine liturgical instruction with a sense of musical conservatism in the United States. Henry Gideon's 1909 compilation *Jewish Hymnal for Religious Schools* provided a meaningful instance of this process, offering the work of nineteenth-century composers as paradigms of synagogue liturgy. Writing with the voices of children in mind, Gideon penned in his foreword: "The Hebrew hymns of this collection are the work of master-composers of Jewish music, no fewer than five of whom are here represented."[45] Those five composers—Lewandowski, Sulzer, Naumbourg, Kaiser, and Edward Stark—held an even greater presence in an expanded 1917 edition that reinforced the nineteenth century as the basis of a collective, now largely undifferentiated, canon.[46] The 1914 edition of the *Union Hymnal* included only two Lewandowski-attributed tunes (in three selections) plus settings of "Yigdal" and "Ein Keloheinu" in its main body, and it omitted him entirely from the sermon anthems section; but two of the children's services toward the back of the volume featured his own (adapted) tunes.[47] In 1915, Max Halpern, cantor of Adath Jeshurun synagogue in Roxbury, Massachusetts, extracted about a dozen Lewandowski melodies and adapted them into singable selections (both melodic and choral) along with a similar number of Sulzer tunes and over a hundred of his own melodies in an effort to attract young people to the sanctuary and encourage congregational singing. He placed the two composers on the same plane with the nonchalant comment: "Many of the melodies are adopted from the works of Sulzer

45 Henry L. Gideon, "Editorial Foreword," *Jewish Hymnal for Religious Schools* (New York: Bloch, 1909), vi.

46 Henry L. Gideon and Louis Weinstein, eds., *The New Jewish Hymnal for Religious Schools and Junior Congregations* (New York: Bloch, 1917). While Lewandowski had only two attributed pieces in 1909 (#78, "Sh'ma Yisroel" and #79 "Mi Chomocho"), he had five arranged/adapted pieces in the 1917 edition ("Tov L'hodos II," 93–95; "Kodosh III," 109; "Vay'hi Binsoa," 113; "Sh'ma Yisroel," 114; and "Kohanecho," 117).

47 Central Conference of American Rabbis, *Union Hymnal for Jewish Worship* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1914), hymns #15, 99, 137, 244, 246; and Children's Service II (277–281, for Sabbath). Lewandowski also featured prominently in Children's Service VII (298–308), for the three festivals.

and Lewandowski, etc."[48] Such a shifting use of Lewandowski's work to youth-focused settings exemplified a broader American effort to frame the nineteenth century as an artistic and spiritual high point, promoting its historical significance to young people as an inducement to Jewish liturgical participation.

Abraham Idelsohn, meanwhile, affirmed Lewandowski's status as the third major figure of "moderate reform"—after Sulzer and Naumbourg—in his foundational 1929 book *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development*. Fashioning a narrative that also highlighted Meier Cohn and Hirsch Weintraub, Idelsohn crafted a "developmental" view of Jewish music that emphasized each figure's inheritance and enhancement of "tradition."[49] As with the previously mentioned materials, though in much greater detail, Idelsohn's pedagogically centered chronicle minimized the varied musical and infrastructural practices between the three figureheads' synagogue roles, adapting them into a chain-like chronology that both specialized and lay audiences—Jewish and non-Jewish alike—could follow.[50]

The succeeding decades further canonized Lewandowski's legacy as a symbol of Jewish music. In the 1930s and 1940s, a series of Lewandowski adaptations for amateur liturgical and concert presentation appeared. On the synagogue side, the third edition of the *Union Hymnal*, edited by A.W. Binder, concentrated both Lewandowski and Sulzer pieces into a "Musical Services" section published in a separate,

48 Max Halpern, "Foreword," in Halpern, ed., *Z'miroth Ut'filoth Yisroel: A Synagogue Hymnal* (Boston: The Boston Music Company, 1915), v.

49 Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music: Its Historical Development* (New York: Dover, 1992), 246–295 (Lewandowski section 269–284). Quote from 284. More recently, see Eliyahu Schleifer's claim that "Among the musicians who revolutionized and modernized synagogue music during the nineteenth century, three stand out as the most influential ones: Salomon Sulzer (1804–1891) in Vienna, Samuel Naumbourg (1817–1880) in Paris, and Louis Lewandowski (1821–1894) in Berlin." In *Samuel Naumbourg: The Cantor of the French Jewish Emancipation*. Jewish Miniatures, vol. 136A (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich, 2012), 7.

50 Goldberg, "Neglected Sources," 28–57; Nemtsov and Simon, *Louis Lewandowski,* Jewish Miniatures, vol. 114A (Berlin: Hentrich & Hentrich/Centrum Judaicum, 2011).

later volume.[51] Binder also created simplified arrangements of Psalm 150 and Kol Nidre, likely for congregations that lacked the resources for professional singers and musicians.[52] Berlin's choral legacy, meanwhile, developed another strong connection to the United States with the 1937 forced migration of composer/conductor Janot S. Roskin (1884–1946). A major force for Jewish folk and synagogue music in Berlin, Roskin brought his Hatikvah Music Publishing Company to Boston and then to Indianapolis while cultivating an American career in synagogue and community choral music; his considerable output included at least six Lewandowski arrangements, which became part of the choral literature in both synagogue and interfaith settings.[53]

On another level, Lewandowski's music became a core part of cantorial training. Gershon Ephros incorporated fifty of Lewandowski's compositions into his six-volume, pedagogically focused *Cantorial Anthology* (1929–1969).[54] In the early 1950s, shortly after he helped found the Hebrew Union College School of Sacred Music, musicologist/composer Eric Werner included Lewandowski's major collections *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah* and *Todah W'Simrah* as volumes nine through twelve of his thirty-five-volume *Out of Print Classics* series. At the same

51 Abraham Wolf Binder, ed., *Union Hymnal: Songs and Prayers for Jewish Worship* (New York: Central Conference of American Rabbis, 1932). It appears that the "Musical Services" section was not published until circa 1942. Sulzer's music predominated in the children's services at the end of the hymnal.

52 Louis Lewandowski, "Kol Nidre," arr. Abraham Wolf Binder (New York: Bloch, 1930); Louis Lewandowski, "Hallelujah, Psalm 150," arr. Abraham Wolf Binder (New York: Bloch, 1941). See also Louis Lewandowski, "According to Thy Name [Ki K'Shimcha]," ed. Max T. Krone (Chicago: Neil A. Kjos, 1937).

53 See, for example, "Patriotism Stirring Theme of Big Inter-Faith Service," *Indianapolis Times* (20 November 1943): 5; "Plan Special Music Sunday," *Indianapolis Times* (22 May 1943): 7; "Composer Dies," *Indianapolis Times* (6 August 1946): 10. See also Sophie Fetthauer's biography and mediography of Roskin: https://www.lexm.uni-hamburg.de/object/lexm_lexmperson_00001085.

54 Gershon Ephros, *The Cantorial Anthology of Traditional and Modern Synagogue Music*, 6 vv. (New York: Bloch, 1929–1969). See Marsha Bryan Edelman, "An Index to Gershon Ephros' Cantorial Anthology," *Musica Judaica* 2, no. 2 (1978–1979), 16–17. Only four other composers had more entries: Ephros himself, Abraham Baer, Moses Fromberg, and Salomon Sulzer (in addition to "Traditional").

time, Werner excluded the American works that had supported the arrival of Lewandowski's music into the United States. Both Ephros's and Werner's efforts recast Jewish liturgical music history as a predominantly European endeavor that flourished in the nineteenth-century and emphasized large-scale works, elaborate choirs, and high-level vocal skill. For cantorial students, Lewandowski's oeuvre could fulfill both a Eurocentric Jewish music history and a contemporary American reality, with the composer fully integrated into a canon largely undifferentiated from his not-quite contemporaries Sulzer and Naumbourg.

Lewandowski's music also integrated into liberal Jewish pedagogical materials for amateur singing. Werner's 1960 youth-oriented *Union Songster*, for example, included nine of Lewandowski's melodies (compared to eleven for Sulzer and two for Naumbourg), mostly with new English lyrics, and with special emphasis on Lewandowski's tunes for "Se'u Shearim," the Sabbath blessings, and Lecha Dodi.[55]

The range of pathways Lewandowski's music has followed into American Jewish life comes into particular focus when exploring one setting of Psalm 92:12–15, now known familiarly as "Tzadik Katamar," through its various arrangements and usages. Lewandowski started this journey by publishing a two-voice arrangement of the full Psalm 92 in *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah*[56] and a full organ/choral version in *Todah W'Simrah*.[57] The choir of New York's Park Avenue Synagogue performed it in the middle of the twentieth century, perhaps reviving it to a postwar American audience. By the 1970s the melody on its own had become a familiar congregational tune, popularized through *Zamru Lo,* the 1974 publication by the Cantors Assembly; congregants could personalize the tune in services by harmonizing the cadences.[58] Broad usage opened the opportunity for Jewish professionals

55 Eric Werner, ed., *Union Songster: Songs and Prayers for Jewish Youth* (New York: Central Conference for American Rabbis, 1960), nos. 12, 13, 112, 121, 166, 305, 313A, 314A, 325.

56 Louis Lewandowski, *Kol Rinnah u'Tefillah*, C-major (no. 13, 1871): 13.

57 Louis Lewandowski, *Todah W'Simrah*, G-major (no. 21, 1876): 21.

58 See Putterman Music Archives, SHF 714:5–6, Jewish Theological Seminary; "Tzadik Katomor," in Moshe Nathanson, comp. and ed., *Zamru Lo*, vol. 1 (New York: Cantors Assembly, 1974), 52.

to educate lay populations in Lewandowski's music, leading high-level Jewish community choirs such as the Zamir Chorale of Boston to include versions of the tune in their repertoires, in arrangements that hewed close to the four-part "original."[59] These two formats of "Tzadik Katamar"—the former promoting community through a "common" melody, and the latter offering authenticity and a connection to European "tradition"—addressed complementary qualities of Jewish musical practice. And the intertwined path of this tune continued: in fall 1993, a member of Yale University's recently formed Jewish a cappella singing group Magevet created an original arrangement of "Tzadik Katamar" for soprano, alto, tenor and bass based solely on knowledge of the melody.[60] By 2000, singer/songwriter/liturgist Debbie Friedman had brought the melody into the songleading repertoire, presenting it with a flexible tempo and guitar accompaniment at the Hava Nashira songleading conclave and encouraging others to augment that melody with dynamic and spontaneous harmonies in a communal prayer setting.[61] Added in lead sheet format with a unique chord progression to the Reform movement's *Complete Shireinu* (2001)[62] and *Complete Jewish Songbook* (2002),[63] the piece also appeared in the Union for Reform Judaism's Saturday morning worship services during its 2007 Biennial Conference, the only selection by a nineteenth-century composer.[64] And the work

59 "Tzadik Katomor," in Nathanson, *Zamru Lo*; Joshua Jacobson, arr. from Lewandowski, "Tov Lehodos: For SATB and Organ" (New York: Braude, 2000).

60 Eric Halpern, "Tzaddik KaTamar," arrangement for SATB a cappella (from Lewandowski) (New Haven: Soaking Towel Productions, 1995); see also the recording of the arrangement on Magevet's album *Mem's the Word* (New Haven: Disc Makers, 1995), audio cassette.

61 Personal observation, Hava Nashira Conference, Olin-Sang-Ruby Union Institute, Oconomowoc, WI, June 2000.

62 Joel Eglash, ed., *The Complete Shireinu: The Definitive Collections of Jewish Songs* (New York: Transcontinental Music Publications, 2001), 371, song #246B.

63 Joel Eglash, ed., *The Complete Jewish Songbook* (New York: Transcontinental Music Publications, 2002), 337, song #246B.

64 Louis Lewandowski, "Tzadik KaTamar," *Music for Shabbat Worship from the 69th URJ Biennial* (New York: Union for Reform Judaism/Transcontinental Music Publications, 2007), 21.

continued to feature in programs associated with Jewish choral music, especially around Lewandowski's two hundredth birthday, on 14 March 2021.[65] These numerous intersecting uses of Lewandowski's music (actually a fragment of the original composition) show its selectively deep integration into both the act of public prayer and the reinforcement of Jewish musical heritage.

Through this short excursus, I have sought to reintroduce complexity to the dissemination and reception of Lewandowski's music in the United States, including more than a century of dynamic and intersecting adaptation in sheet music, performance modes, social connections, and historiography. Putting this kind of spotlight on Lewandowski reinscribes a distantly perceived historical figure known mainly through his music with his own aesthetic views, philosophy, leadership approach, and personal musical networks. His varied inclusion and adaptation in America—temporally, geographically, demographically, and practically—reveals not only the complex pathways and preconditions that affected musical movement at the time, but also the variety of ways that people experience and mediate synagogue music as it crosses oceans, ideologies, and congregational boundaries. Indeed, further research could offer increasingly nuanced understandings of Sulzer and Naumbourg, or any of the synagogue composers whose work we now consolidate into a composite, usable narrative of nineteenth-century synagogue music reform.

This account also helps us to recognize that scholars'/practitioners' efforts to establish an accepted (and idealized) historical narrative of "Jewish music" from the late nineteenth century complemented a wide array of creative musical adaptation around Judaism and synagogue

65 See celebrations by New York's Stephen S. Wise Free Synagogue (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=OcyUdC8XIUo), which featured cantor Daniel Singer and cantorial intern Joel Flaxman; and the Zamir Chorale of Boston, which interspersed its live-streamed celebration with pre-recorded video performances (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=qTCAiQfgEro). Both highlighted "Tzaddik Katamar": the former as a congregational melody and the latter as part of the larger Psalm 92 setting. It is also important to note Berlin's Lewandowski Festival (see https://louis-lewandowski-festival.de/?lang=en), which has featured explorations of Jewish/synagogue–themed music since at least 2011.

practice. We can acknowledge that linear narratives of Jewish music history sought to reinforce communal efforts at heritage education and canon formation. Yet it is just as important to recognize that these narratives comprise only part of the vibrant Jewish musical scene that Americans experienced. Indeed, a closer look at the actual ways that Jewish populations used Lewandowski's music reveals unexpected dimensions and new insights on how people negotiate sound and Jewish identity in a wider variety of religious settings—dimensions and insights that continue to resonate in the twenty-first century.

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