

REVERBERATIONS OF THE REFORM JEWISH SERVICE IN SYNAGOGUE MUSIC OF NORTHERN CROATIA FROM THE 1880s TO THE 1950s

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Abstract

The Jewish Reform Movement which developed under the influence of Haskalah and European Enlightenment thought brought about major changes in the synagogue service and the accompanying music performance. Instruments, choir and organ were reintroduced into the service. In the latter part of the 19th century in the territory of northern Croatia, then part of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, synagogues accommodating the reform Jewish service were built (neological direction). Each of them had an organ and a choir which participated in the service together with the cantor (hazzan). Croatian composer and violinist Antun Schwarz (1823-1891) studied cantorial singing at the school of Salomon Sulzer (1804-1890) in Vienna. Following his return to his native Zagreb he brought the spirit of reform Judaism

to the Zagreb Jewish community and to Croatian culture of the day. In Croatia, some collections of synagogue music have been preserved, such as the collections of cantors Joseph Weissman (1872-1941), Isak Hendel (1883-1944), Bernard Grüner (1888-1955) and David Meisel (1885-1941). Those collections testify to the existence of reformed service music in Croatian synagogues before the beginning of the World War II, which is when most of the cantors, synagogues and music sheets disappeared in the Holocaust.

Key words: Croatian Synagogue cantors, Reform Jewish Service, Synagogue Music

Ključne riječi: hrvatski sinagagalni kantori, židovsko reformirano bogoslužje, sinagagalna glazba.

This paper aims to raise awareness about the presence of synagogue music in northern Croatia before the outbreak of World War II, and to discuss music scores that have survived their authors. Additionally, by recalling the cantors-hazzans whose singing left a deep trace in both Jewish and non-Jewish audiences, due

respect is paid to the people and music that is not only built into the history of Jewish people in northern Croatia, but is a component of Croatian culture, as well.

Until 2007, when comprehensive research of musicians of Jewish origin in northern Croatia at the turn of the twentieth century began,¹ Croatian musicology and historiography held no traces of the systematic treatment of synagogue music in this territory. While searching for any musical artefacts by musicians of Jewish ancestry, such as music scores, research and professional articles, or notes in magazines, in 2010 the author of this text discovered the private collection of chief cantor Bernard Grüner,² which led to the recognition of the dynamic musical activity in synagogue services which flourished in northern Croatia before World War II, with ample artefacts testifying to it. This initiated additional research and collection of the remaining preserved material of the Croatian synagogal heritage in archives and libraries across Croatia, Serbia and Israel,³ which is where, according to information available to date, most of the material from the territory of the Second Yugoslavia is being held.

This paper gives an overview of the full range of material gathered from the collections of synagogue chants attributed to relevant cantors active in the towns of continental Croatia in the first half of the twentieth century.⁴

Historical records dating from the beginning of the twentieth century dealing with synagogue music in the orthodox community in Zagreb in the second half of the nineteenth century⁵ document only the name of Antun Schwarz (Zagreb, 1823-1891), singer and cantor. Records of synagogue singing and musical material from other towns of continental Croatia have not been found to date. Additionally, not a single music score from this period has been found which would testify to the type of melodies and the manner of singing in continental Croatia in the second half of the nineteenth century. The reason should, most likely, be looked for in the fact that prior to the construction and opening of the new Temple in Zagreb on 27 September 1867, synagogue service was held in a number of different locations.⁶

¹ See: Tamara JURKIĆ SVIBEN: *Musicians of Jewish origin in Northern Croatia 1815-1941*, doctoral dissertation, Hrvatski studiji Sveučilišta u Zagrebu [University of Zagreb, Centre for Croatian studies], 2016.

² The collection is kept in private possession of the family of the cantor's son Teodor Grüner (Nitra, 4 March 1913 – Zagreb, 12 January 2016) in Zagreb.

³ Croatian State Archives (Franjo Dugan Sr. Collection); Library of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, 16 Palmotićeva Street, Zagreb, Croatia; Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade, Serbia and Even-tov Collection at The Central Archives for the History of the Jewish People, Jerusalem, Israel.

⁴ The first composition in the collection of Bernard Grüner dates back to 1906, while cantor Isak Hendel's collection was composed in Zagreb in 1940.

⁵ See: Antonija KASSOWITZ-CVIJIC: Antun Švarc i glazbene prilike za njegova vijeka (Prigodom 100-godišnjice Švarcova rođenja), *Vijenac*, I, II (1923), 8–9 and Branko POLIĆ: Stare i nove istine o djelatnostima Antuna Švarca, *Novi Omanut*, 25 (1997), 1.

⁶ The first synagogue service was held in Lukačić's house in Petrinjska street number 12, Zagreb; the first place of worship was in Petrinjska as of 1809; then synagogue in Gajeva street since 1840, and orthodox synagogue in Ružička's street since 1841. See: Melita ŠVOB: *Jews in Croatia – Jewish communities I*, Zagreb: Izvori, 2004, 435-436.

The same is true of other towns of continental Croatia where architectural objects of reform service were mostly built in the second half of the nineteenth century.⁷ The majority of archival material of *Judaica*, if it did exist, was destroyed in the Holocaust.

The chants which were sung during the service were transmitted orally in orthodox communities,⁸ while the musical material of the reformed rite was recorded only in the first decades of the twentieth century.⁹ Therefore, in terms of our knowledge of synagogue music in northern Croatia there is a time period of almost half a century (1847-1906) wherein synagogue musical activity remains unidentified. The currently available material in the above mentioned libraries and archives has been consulted, and new knowledge and understanding shall only be possible if individual generosity produces music scores or cantor manuscripts from private collections to date unknown.

The cantors mentioned here are the ones whose works have survived the Holocaust. The entire list of the names of cantors in Croatia is much longer (around 45 persons).¹⁰ They had arrived to Croatia from different parts of Europe (Poland, Czechia, Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Galicia), where they came under the influence of Haskalah, reform Judaism highly developed there at the time, so that they transferred these religious and cultural achievements to Croatia.

As a result of this religious and cultural transfer, Croatian Judaism became a part of European Reform Judaism. Emancipation, industrial development and modernisation of Croatian society at the beginning of the twentieth century largely contributed to the process. Today, Jewish musical and cultural heritage forms part of Croatian musical and cultural heritage. Croatology, a new area of Croatian culture, has offered a basis for the study of influences in the history of Croatian culture. By this means, Jewish heritage, and specifically Jewish musical heritage became an important segment of Croatian religious and musical culture.

Thanks to the preserved music scores, song-books and collections of synagogue chants kept in Croatian and Serbian archives and collections, we can today reinvestigate and discuss synagogue activity in Croatia. This activity was inter-

⁷ See: Zlatko KARAC: *Arhitektura sinagoga u Hrvatskoj u doba historicizma*, Zagreb: Muzej za umjetnost i obrt, 2000 and Rudolf KLEIN, *Synagogues in Hungary 1782-1918*, Budapest: Terc, 2017.

⁸ About oral tradition see: Sholom KALIB: *The Musical Tradition of the Eastern European Synagogue*, vol. I, New York: Syracuse University Press, 2002.

⁹ See: Erih Eliša SAMLAIĆ: Hazan u jevrejskoj sinagogalnoj muzici, *Jevrejski almanah za godinu 5688. (1927-1928)*, Dr. Leopold Fischer (ed.), Oberrabi in Vršac, Vršac: Savez rabina Kraljevine S.H.S., 1927, 124-127; Eliša SAMLAIĆ: Reforma sinagogalne glazbe, *Židov*, 38 (18. 9. 1936); Eliša Erih SAMLAIĆ: Orgulje, organista, violine i klavir i drugo u sinagogi, *Omanut*, 3 (1939) I, 8-9; Marko ROTHMÜLLER: Propaganda židovske muzike u nas, *Omanut*, 3 (1936), 90; Marko ROTHMÜLLER: Biblijski akcenti, *Jevrejski kalendar 5696, 1935/1936*, 71-77; Aron Marko ROTHMÜLLER: *Psalm 15* [for voice and piano (organ)], Zagreb: Edition Omanut, 1933.

¹⁰ See Appendix.

rupted in northern Croatia sixty years ago, when the last Jewish cantor Bernard Grüner died. Prior to the rediscovery of Grüner's books eight years ago, courtesy of his son's family, synagogue music was entirely unknown and almost without any importance both to the Jewish community in Zagreb, which its surviving members had to restore, and to the wider Croatian public. Today, synagogue singing does not exist in Croatia, and neither do the synagogues practicing service accompanied by the organ. While religious services performed by rabbis within Jewish communities do exist, there are no cantors-hazzans who could sing in front of a larger Jewish audience.

Historical context

Records of traces of Judaism in the territory of present-day Croatia date back to Antiquity.¹¹ However, Jews began to settle permanently in Croatian lands at the end of the eighteenth century, following the Patent of Tolerance issued by Emperor Joseph II in 1782, which began – with a minor delay – to be applied in Croatian lands (from 1783), as they were a part of the Habsburg Monarchy.¹² The document allowed for the permanent settlement of Jews in the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. Jews arrived to northern Croatia mainly from Hungary, and later, towards the end of the nineteenth century, also from Galicia and eastern parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. The majority of them were Ashkenazi Jews, whilst the Sephardi communities inhabited mainly towns along the Adriatic coast (Rijeka, Split, Dubrovnik).¹³

In the nineteenth century, Jews in Croatia formed orthodox and reform neological communities that came under the influence of the *Haskalah*,¹⁴ which ex-

¹¹ See: dr Lavoslav ŠIK: Don Frane Bulić, lične uspomene, in: *Židov*, 31 (1934); Slavko GOLDSTEIN – Vidosava NEDOMAČKI: Arheološki nalazi, in: *Židovi na tlu Jugoslavije*, Ante Sorić (ed.), exhibition catalogue, Zagreb: Muzejski prostor, 1988; Ana LEBL: Židovstvo između prozelitizma i asimilacije, in: *Dva stoljeća povijesti i kulture Židova u Zagrebu i Hrvatskoj*, Ognjen Kraus (ed.), Zagreb: Židovska općina Zagreb, 1998, 193–197.

¹² Croatian lands, then called the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia were during the reign of Joseph II a component part of the Habsburg Empire and were on 31 March 1783 awarded a special annex to the Edict of Tolerance titled *Systematica Gentis Judaicae Regulatio*. For additional information see: Ljiljana DOBROVŠAK: *Židovi u Osijeku od doseljavanja do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*, Osijek: Čarobni tim d.o.o. and Židovska općina Osijek, 2013, 33, after: Paul B. BERNARD: Joseph II and Jews: The Origins of the Toleration patent of 1782, *Austrian History Yearbook*, IV-V (1968), 116–117.

¹³ See: Bernard STULLI: *Židovi u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb: Jevrejska općina Zagreb, Nakladni zavod Matice Hrvatske, Zagreb and Kulturno društvo »Dr Miroslav Šalom Freiburger«, 1989; Duško KEČKEMET: *Židovi u povijesti Splita*, Split: Jevrejska općina, 1971 and Melita ŠVOB: *Jews in Croatia – Jewish communities*, I, Zagreb: Izvori, 2004, 61-75.

¹⁴ »The Haskalah, or Jewish Enlightenment, was an intellectual movement in Europe that lasted from approximately the 1770s to the 1880s. The Haskalah was inspired by the European Enlightenment but had a Jewish character. Literally, Haskalah comes from the Hebrew word *sekhel*, meaning 'reason' or 'intellect' and the movement was based on rationality. It encouraged Jews to study secular subjects,

tended to a major part of the Jewish population across Europe. Following the settling of Jews in Croatia and Slavonia from other parts of the Habsburg Empire (Austria, Hungary, Slovakia, Czechia, Galicia, Poland), the reform, or rather the neological stream¹⁵ became stronger and richer in number; this, in time, reduced orthodox Jews to merely several percent within the Jewish community in Croatia.¹⁶

The musical content of orthodox services in Zagreb and northern Croatia remains as yet unknown. Archival research in the library of the Jewish Community in Zagreb (16 Palmotićeva Street; in the Lavoslav Šik Collection, music scores collection and in the periodicals section) did not uncover any music scores for synagogue melodies of the orthodox rite. It is nevertheless known that they did not use musical instruments during service, as their orientation prohibited it. They only performed ritual songs accompanying the prayers.¹⁷ The separation issue regarding orthodox and reform municipalities in northern Croatia was recorded in many writings; there are concrete mentions of the conflict regarding the introduction of the reform rite¹⁸ in the newly-built temple in Zagreb, which was open and dedicated in 1868.¹⁹ As with the majority of newly-built reform synagogues in larger towns of northern and north-eastern Croatia (Karlovac, Sisak, Koprivnica,

to learn both the European and Hebrew languages, and to enter fields such as agriculture, crafts, the arts and science. The maskilim (followers of the Haskalah) tried to assimilate into European society in dress, language, manners and loyalty to the ruling power. The Haskalah eventually influenced the creation of both the Reform and Zionist movements.« <http://www.jewishvirtuallibrary.org/jsource/Judaism/Haskalah.html>. (30 Nov. 2016) About Jewish Enlightenment see also Werner KELLER: *Povijest Židova: od biblijskih vremena do stvaranja Izraela*, Zagreb: Naprijed, 1992, 515 and Judah MATRAS: Post-‘Emancipation’ Migration of Central and Eastern European Jewish Musicians: Entree into Western Art Music, Transfers of Traditional Jewish Musics, and Innovations in Western Art and Popular Music, in: *Ivan Zajc (1832-1914) – Musical Migrations and Cultural Transfers*, Stanislav Tuksar (ed.), Zagreb: Croatian musicological society, 2016, 209-224.

¹⁵ Neologists are members of a more moderate form of the Reform Movement in the second half of the nineteenth century, characteristic for Hungarian parts of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

¹⁶ About orthodox and neological conflict see Melita ŠVOB: *Jews in Croatia – Jewish communities I*, Zagreb: Izvori, 2004, 107-108.

¹⁷ Only in the book by Melita ŠVOB: *Jews in Croatia – Jewish communities*, II, Zagreb: Izvori, 2004, 13 is there a mention of a cantor (chazzan) Mozes in the orthodox municipality in the year 1930.

¹⁸ According to Aron Marko ROTHMÜLLER, *The Music of the Jews*, 125, Jewish reform rite includes: »Four reforms which were bound to have very considerable effects on synagogue singing were the introduction of the organ; the refashioning of traditional synagogue song on the lines of church singing, where possible in four-part choral style; the composition of new songs in this ecclesiastical style; and singing in the language of the country...«. These reforms had started in Germany on the beginning of the nineteenth century and expanded all over the European countries. »As time passed, the reformation in the Jewish service, especially in regard to synagogue music, caused an increasing differentiation between the Jewish cultural sphere of Germany and Austro-Hungary and those of other lands. The Polish-Russian cultural group continued to practise the simple synagogue vocal music... in which the cantor’s improvisation and the traditional melodies played a great part; whereas in Germany and Austro-Hungary the trend was to make the Jewish service as musically like the Christian as possible, or, as they felt, shaping it in contemporary spirit and according to general musical standards.« *Ibid.*

¹⁹ See Gavro SCHWARZ: *Ortodoksi, Novi Omanut*, 78 (2006), 2-4, taken over from *Vjesnik radova*, XVI (1914), 102-116.

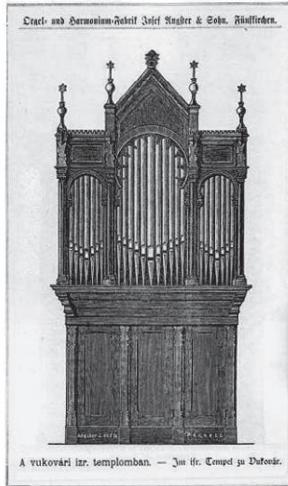


Fig. 1: Vukovar Temple organ
(Source: Zlatko Karač Archive)

Organo-Katalogus Angster Hntz (1896).

Križevci, Bjelovar, Požega, Osijek, Slavonski Brod, Vinkovci, Vukovar), an organ was built into this synagogue very soon after its opening.

While the Jewish Reform Movement arrived to continental Croatia concurrently with more intensive Jewish settlement (at the end of the nineteenth century following the reforms instituted by ban Ivan Mažuranić in 1873),²⁰ the European Jewish Reform Movement was then already reaching its peak. In Germany it has manifested itself in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The early Reformers Israel Jacobson (1728-1828) and David Friedländer (1750-1834) changed the traditional prayer-book (*siddur*) by substituting new prayers in German for the old ones in Hebrew. They introduced the organ into the synagogue and reduced the role of the traditional *hazzan*. »The main musical innovation was the congregational singing of chorales in Hebrew or German with organ accompaniment (...)«.²¹ There were also different attempts at reconciliation of the reformed and orthodox service. »The most influential of the so-called Moderate Reform synagogue was the Seitenstettengasse Temple in Vienna (dedicated 1826).«²² Salomon Sulzer²³ introduced liturgical music into long weekly prayers – he »cleansed« the

²⁰ See: Lj. DOBROVŠAK: *Židovi u Osijeku od doseljavanja do kraja Prvog svjetskog rata*; Ivo GOLDSTEIN: *Historiografija o Židovima u Hrvatskoj, Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 34-35-36 (2004); Ivo GOLDSTEIN: *Židovi u Zagrebu 1918–1941*, Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2004; S. GOLDSTEIN – V. NEDOMAČKI: *Arheološki nalazi*.

²¹ Eliyahu SCHLEIFER: Ashkenazi-(iv) Post-Emancipation, in: *Jewish music, Grove Music Online*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.4132267> (1 March 2018).

²² *Ibid.*, 68.

²³ Salomon Sulzer, original name Salomon Levi (Hohenems, 1804 – Vienna, 1890) was an Austrian *hazzan* (Jewish cantor) and composer, considered the most important composer of synagogue music in the nineteenth century. See: Tina FRÚHAUF: *Salomon Sulzer – Reformer, Cantor, Icon*, Berlin: Hentrich &

old chants and recitatives, composed new chants for *hazzan* and a *cappella* male four-part choir (classical style). He often ordered new compositions from other composers, both, Jewish and non-Jewish, such as Joseph Fischhoff (1804-1857), Ignaz von Seyfried (1776-1841) or Franz Schubert (Psalm XCII, D 942). The reform which occurred at the Viennese Temple became a template for numerous *hazzanim* in Central and Eastern Europe, especially following the publication of the first volume of *Schir Zion* in 1838-1840. »Synagogues following Sulzer's model sprang up first in the Austro-Hungarian Empire, and later in Germany.«²⁴

Since Croatian lands were part of Austria-Hungary and since cantors active in Croatia came from the above mentioned lands of the Empire and were educated in relevant cantorial schools of Central and Eastern Europe²⁵ (Nitra, Czestochowa, Vienna, Bratislava), by way of cultural transfer they communicated the achievements of the synagogue reform and conducted it in practice in Croatia until 1941. This can be considered a prolonged influence of Salomon Sulzer and other reform cantors such as Samuel Naumbourg (1815-1850) and Louis Lewandowski (1821-1894) in Croatia.

Synagogue heritage in Croatia

Concerning music, the first item of information on singing in the synagogue service in Croatian lands is linked to the musician Antun Naftali Schwarz.

Antun Naftali Schwarz (Zagreb, 1823–1891) was recorded as the first Croatian composer of Jewish origin, who was educated under the tutorship of Salomon Sulzer in Vienna. Upon his return to Zagreb, he – for a brief period until 1847 – served as cantor in the orthodox synagogue. As a child, he had an exceptionally fine voice, and his music teacher (who was a Christian) invited him to sing on Sundays in the cathedral choir; this did not at all please the strictly conservative Rabbi Aron Palotta.²⁶ Upon return, after having completed his education in Vienna, he soon left the position of teacher in the Jewish school in Zagreb and the function of cantor. It may be presumed that Schwarz, as a result of his education with Salomon Sulzer in Vienna, detached himself from the orthodox Jewish view. Until the

Hentrich Verlag, 2012 and Hanoch AVENARY (ed.): *Kantor Salomon Sulzer und seine Zeit: Eine Dokumentation*, Sigmaringen: J. Thorbecke Verlag, 1985. According to Alexander KNAPP: Sulzer, Salomon, *Grove Music Online*, (27 February 2018) from: <https://doi.org/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.article.27106>, Salomon Sulzer's compositions »became the models upon which almost every newly emancipated congregation based its synagogue ritual covering the entire year. *Schir Zion* (music for the synagogue service), published in two separate volumes (1838–40 and 1865–6), constitutes the earliest complete and thoroughly organized repertory in Hebrew to be set for cantor and four-part male choir.«

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ For the ancestry of each cantor see below and Appendix.

²⁶ See: A. KASSOWITZ-CVIJIĆ: Antun Švarc i glazbene prilike za njegova vijeka, 8–9.

Lo omusz.

J. Rendi

Moderato
Flöte

Lo o - muss ki - ech - jeh wa - soap per maai soch -
joh ma - a soch - joh. Ja soor
jiss na - ni - joh we - lam mo - wess lo ne
soo - no - ni we - lam mo - wess lo ne soo - no -

Fig. 2: Josip Rendi: *Lo omusz*

mid-nineteenth century, despite the conflicts among various municipalities and rabbis, the Sulzerian reform had not taken hold in the Zagreb Israeli religious service.²⁷ It was only after the new temple had been opened in 1868 that the reform synagogue service began to be conducted both in Zagreb and in other Croatian towns. At that time, Antun Schwarz had already reached the peak of his career as professional violinist, conductor and composer;²⁸ hence, there was no more mention of his cooperation in the musical part of the Jewish religious service.

Cantors who, seeking employment, came to Croatia from various parts of Central and Eastern Europe, mostly from the lands that belonged to the Austrian Empire, have been central to the synagogue musical legacy, which today forms a part of both Jewish and Croatian musical heritage.

The harmonisation of songs prepared by cantor Josip Rendi belongs among the earliest preserved written music (music sheets) for the reform service influenced by Salomon Sulzer, and includes the music for cantor, the choir and the organ.²⁹

Josip Rendi (Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Slovakia, 1861 – Zagreb, 28 August 1934) was born into a very religious family. He finished the Jewish Secondary Modern School in his native town, and continued his education to become a rabbi at the well-known yeshiva in Bratislava. Before having settled in Zagreb, he was active as cantor in Opava (then Tropava in eastern part of Czechia) and Graz. He arrived in Zagreb in 1894, mastered the Croatian language, and soon afterwards became secretary of the Jewish Religious Community in Zagreb and chief cantor (chief hazzan). He held the post until 1929. Cantor Rendi occasionally held concerts as solo singer and was been author of a number of synagogue songs, some of which have been preserved as part of the private legacy of chief cantor Bernard Grüner.

The next examples of preserved synagogue music in Croatia are songs from the collection of chief cantor Joseph (Josip) Weissmann.

Josip Weissmann (Tarnova, Poland, 1872 – Jasenovac?, Croatia, 1942?) was active as cantor in several Croatian towns with strong Jewish communities: Đakovo 1893–1904; Požega (chief cantor since 1922), and Zagreb (cantor and chief cantor from 1929 to his retirement, just before the outbreak of World War Two). After he had passed the exam for singing and music teaching at the Academy of

²⁷ B. POLIĆ: Stare i nove istine o djelatnostima Antuna Švarca, 1.

²⁸ See: Tamara JURKIĆ SVIBEN: Croatian Composers' of Jewish Origin Motives and Stimuli within the Croatian Culture and the Croatian Musical Heritage, in: *Kroatologija*, 1 (2010) 1, 116–130 and Tamara JURKIĆ SVIBEN: Musicians of Jewish Origin in Northern Croatia before 1941 as Examples of Cultural Migration and Cultural Transfers within the Central-European Cultural Circle, in: *Ivan Zajc (1832-1914) – Musical Migrations and Cultural Transfers*, Stanislav Tuksar (ed.), Zagreb: Croatian musicological society, 2016, 225-237.

²⁹ Manuscript version of Josip Rendi's music was found in the collection of chief cantor Bernard Grüner and is still kept by the family.

Music in Zagreb in 1923, he led the synagogue choir and taught singing in the Jewish school. He was a fine singer (bass-baritone), and composer of the collections of songs entitled *Zemirot shel Shabbat*³⁰ [Sabbath songs] and *Negimot Jozef*,³¹ which include songs for all services. The collection *Zemirot shel Shabbat*³² contains twenty songs for the Shabbat service: L'cho Dodi, R'zeh, Mi scheberach, Jehi rozon, Jecha shehu, etc. They were written for the cantor accompanied by the organ with occasional choir parts. Analysing the scores, it is evident that they were inspired by the chants written by Salomon Sulzer and Louis Lewandowski and that they stylistically respect the guidelines of the Sulzerian reform (cantor and organ or cantor, choir and organ). Cantor's melody lines are tonal (diatonic system) and the organ part is executed in simple harmonies with the use of secondary dominants and non-chord tones reminiscent of Christian church chants and classical harmonisation (J. Haydn and L. van Beethoven) as well as the early Romantic style (F. Schubert and F. Mendelssohn-Bartholdy). This analysis corresponds with the description of Sulzer's *Schir Zion I* which Eduard Hanslick, commemorating the fiftieth anniversary of Sulzer's cantorial service in 1866 described »as being composed in the 'German music style, partly Haydn-Mozartian, partly more modern, incomparably sublime'...«. ³³ Or as Abraham Idelsohn had, according to T. Frühauf (2012) »admonishing Sulzer for the synthesis of two cultures in *Schir Zion I*; while the work somehow avoided 'the specific German melodic lines and curves [...it] is rooted in classical Church music, especially the choral responses that have a typical Catholic character.' «³⁴

A further proof that the cantor sang accompanied by the organ is offered by the preserved composition written by chief cantor David Meisel, who held this position in Karlovac. **David Meisel** (Holešov, Czechia, 17 November 1885 – Jadovno, Croatia, July 1941) completed his musical education in Brno. As of 1906, he held the functions of chief cantor and secretary of the Jewish Community in

³⁰ Self-published in Vienna. Title page in German with the main title in Hebrew: *Zemirot shel Shabbat* (Hebr.) (*Sabbat-Gesänge*) 20 Gesänge für den Sabbatgottesdienst. Kantor-Rezitative mit Orgelbegleitung komponiert und Herausgegeben von Josef Weissmann, Oberkantor der israelitischen Kultusgemeinde Požega in Slavonien. Selbstverlag des Herausgebers. Wien: Druck v. Josef Eberle.

³¹ *Negimot Jozef* Collection is mentioned in the biography of Josip Weissman in the *Židovski biografski leksikon*, Ivo Goldstein (ed.), Zagreb: Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža (currently being compiled). Not a single artefact from the collection has been found to date.

³² The author found an example of the collection *Zemirot shel Shabbat* in the Jewish History Museum in Belgrade where other examples of synagogue literature formerly belonging to Croatian synagogues are kept. The Museum thus houses synagogue literature from the Zagreb Temple in Praška Street (for example the printed example of Salmon Sulzer's *Schir Zion* collection). It is recorded under call number 5504, catalogue number 9/10, box »Muzika-Zagreb«, Jewish History Museum, Belgrade.

³³ Tina FRÜHAUF: *Salomon Sulzer – Reformer, Cantor, Icon*, 33 according to Eduard HANSLICK: Salomon Sulzer, *Die neue freie Presse*, 551 (13 March 1866), 1-2.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 33, according to Abraham Zvi IDELSOHN: *Jewish Music in Its Historical Development*, 1929, (repr. New York: Dover, 1992), 255.

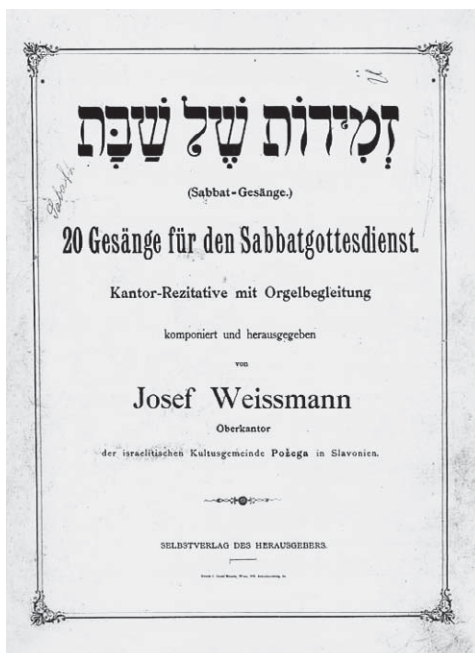


Fig. 3: Josip (Josef) Weissmann:
Zemiroth shel Shabbat



Fig. 4: Josip (Josef) Weissmann: *L'cho dodai*

Karlovac, where he organised a mixed choir at the synagogue. He succeeded Josip Rendi as president of the Cantors' Union of Yugoslavia, and was further member of the Chief Board of the Union of Jewish Communities (1936–1939) and publisher of the magazine *Mjesečnik jevrejskih kantora* [Jewish Cantors' Monthly] (1928–1930). He was furthermore conductor and leader of two singing choirs in Karlovac – *Nada* and *Zora*. Under Meisel's leadership, the *Zora* choir had reached the highest artistic level in Croatia and abroad until 1941. The only written testimony, for the moment, of David Meisel's composing is the composition *Keduschah*, written for solo cantor accompanied by the organ, and published in 1907 in Karlovac, Croatia.³⁵ It was printed at the Anton Scholz printing house in Zagreb. The composition has three parts: *Mimkomo*, *Naarizoch* and *Kevodo*. The movements are of festive character, harmonised in the style of Sulzer's Romanticism, with harmonic progressions in major and minor keys without using oriental elements. The cantor's part includes a large pitch range and moves within tonality with measured melismata. The language is Hebrew, transliterated into the Latin script of Ashkenazi pronunciation.

³⁵ The only printed copy is kept in the archives of the Jewish community in Zagreb, 16 Palmotićeva Street, Zagreb.

Fig. 5: David Meisl: *Keduschah*

Isak Hendel (Lipno, Poland, 1883 – Roveredo, Switzerland, 1944), cantor of the Israeli Religious Community in Zagreb 1926–1943, left a further trace of the synagogue music in Croatia. Before his arrival to Croatia, he was cantor in Barcs, Hungary. After having settled in Slavonski Brod in 1911, he served as cantor until 1926, when he moved to Zagreb for the sake of his children’s schooling. In Zagreb, he held the post of cantor alongside chief cantor Bernard Grüner and cantor Josip Weissman. He led the synagogue choir at the temple, and was one of the founders and first conductors of the singing choir *Ahdut*.

Isak Hendel composed a collection of synagogue songs titled *T’filat arvit* (Hebr. *Evening prayers*), which was the first collection of synagogue pieces of music written in Hebrew with explanations in Croatian and English. He published it in 1940 in a private edition and for the purposes of the synagogue service in Croatian lands. Only two copies have been preserved.³⁶

T’filat arvit includes evening prayers for Sabbath, working days and pilgrim holidays (Shalosh r’galim). All prayers are written for the cantor accompanied by the organ, except for no. 33 *Ahavas olom* (Hebr. *Ahavat olam*), which was written for the cantor, mixed choir and the organ.

³⁶ The original is in the family legacy, and one copy at the Library of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, 16 Palmotićeva Street, Zagreb.

This work was originally written for the purposes of the synagogue service. It has absorbed regional influences, as well as those of the conventional singing in Croatian lands developed under the influence of the Sulzerian reform. However, his principal idea was to restore the original elements of pure cantorial music (*hazzanut*). Educated on the basis of the works by S. Sulzer and L. Lewandowski, Mendel – in addition to the influences of western European music – introduced improvisatory elements characteristic of Yiddish songs into the songs and recitatives. He brought it from his homeland Poland, where Jewish folk music was duly nurtured. The simply harmonised accompaniment offers a harmonious frame and emphasises the delightfully formed melody, which has kept the Biblical accents – tropes, the original basis for the vocal performance of psalms and prayers. In addition to the original Jewish songs accompanying the prayers, which he was very familiar with, the author consistently transcribed the Hebrew text of Ashkenazi pronunciation, thereby taking care of the concordance of the accents in Hebrew words and the musical melodic accent. Wishing for the collection to become as widely used as possible, the author added an end note and instruction for young beginner cantors, who were less familiar with the text of prayers for three pilgrim holidays – he wrote both: the Hebrew text of the prayers and the accompanying song from the right-hand side to the left. The work was published in 1940.³⁷ The reviews of the first edition of this collection have retained their historical importance up to the present date. The reviewers were David Meisel, chief cantor from Karlovac; Josip Weissman, cantor; Erich Eliša Samlaić³⁸ music critic and composer and Franjo Lučić,³⁹ organist. Looking back, they have left a substantial trace not only in Jewish music, but more generally, in Croatian musical history. *T'filat arvit* represents – even in present-day Croatia – a work particularly worthy of mention, both in the historical and in the musical sense. It is the first collection of synagogue songs published with explanations in the Croatian language. Considering the parallel English translation of the author's explanations, the work may be of use even outside the borders of the territory for which it was created. The publication year (1940) speaks clearly of the level of awareness of the author, and of the community for which the work had been written, predominantly in terms of the education of young cantors. Inspired by his experience as a cantor, Mendel obviously felt the

³⁷ According to the preserved printed music sheet kept at the Library of the Jewish Community in Zagreb, 16 Palmotićeva Street, Zagreb.

³⁸ Erich Eliša Samlaić (Karlovčići, Srijem, 13 July 1913 – Jasenovac, 1944) was music critic, composer and a conductor of the »Ahdut« singing society in Zagreb and »Srpsko pevačko društvo« (Serbian Singing Society) in Belgrade. He was the secretary of the »Omanut« cultural Society in Zagreb and he invested a lot of effort into revitalisation of Jewish culture and heritage before 1941.

³⁹ Franjo Lučić (Kuće near Velika Gorica, 31 March 1889 – Zagreb, 16 March 1972) was Croatian organist, composer, professor, pedagogue and dean of the Academy of Music in Zagreb. He was the author of the first modern symphony and the first concerto for organ and orchestra in Croatian music history.



Fig. 8: B. Grüner collection, Book No. 5, Sabath Gesänge

ish circles. The Budapest Opera House granted him a scholarship for the study of singing; unfortunately, he did not complete the studies due to World War I. In 1913, he was engaged as chief cantor in Nitra (Slovakia) and from 1918 he held the post of chief cantor of the Central Jewish Community in Budapest (Dohány synagogue). Between 1923 and 1929, he was active as chief cantor in Székesfehérvár (Hungary). In 1929, he applied for the position of cantor in Zagreb; consequently, he moved with his whole family to Zagreb, where he became chief cantor of the Zagreb synagogue, and retained this position until his death in 1955.

Since his first employment in Nitra, he had begun recording the songs he used in the synagogue service. He wrote the songs in five manuscript books (numbering more than 1,500 pages), which he, during his service as cantor, had collected and brought to Zagreb in 1929. Today, they form a part of the family Grüner legacy, still in private possession.



Fig. 9: B. Grüner: Weshomru

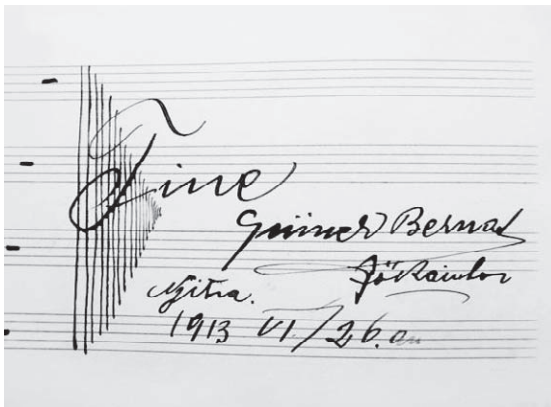


Fig. 10: B. Grüner's signature

The songs are dated to the period between 1906 (Gyulafehérvár, Hungary) and 1938 (Zagreb). Chief cantor Grüner used the songs written for the reform Jewish religious service. The songs were mostly composed for the cantor, the choir and the organ. Inspired by the collection *Schir Zion*, Grüner's collection includes synagogue songs by various authors of the nineteenth century who had composed musical pieces for the reform synagogue service. In addition to the songs by S. Sulzer, L. Lewandowski and S. Naumburg, Bernard Grüner's collection contains songs signed either as »Bernard Grüner« or by his pseudonym »Sienavaj«, chosen after the name of the native district of the Grüner family. These songs were either composed based on a melody of their own, or – in some cases – on partly modified melodies by the above-mentioned authors, with added new harmonisation.

The second original confirmation of the fact that *Schir Zion* had indeed been in use in Croatia is a copy of the book by Salomon Sulzer, found at the Jewish Historical Museum in Belgrade in archival boxes containing materials from the Zagreb Jewish Community, entitled *Muzika-Zagreb*. From 1918 to 1941, Croatia had formed a part of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, so the Zagreb Jewish Community belonged to the Union of the Jewish Religious Communities of Yugoslavia. Jewish communities later functioned in the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (1945-1991) according to the same pattern. After 1945, most of the preserved archival material from Zagreb ended up in Belgrade, where it is still today in safe-keeping at the Jewish Historical Museum, in three boxes marked »Muzika-Zagreb«. In these boxes, apart from the already mentioned collection by Josip Weissmann, there is copy of Sulzer's *Schir Zion*, with separate music sheets for every choral voice handwritten individually as separate choir voices.⁴⁰ The identical handwritten songbooks for separate choir voices (Tenor, Alt, Soprano, Bassi) also exist in Grüner collection in Zagreb. These are the parts that had been in use at the Zagreb temple in Praška Street.

Grüner's private collection also holds a few examples of the hand written song-books with transcripts of the most commonly used synagogue chants by Louis Lewandowski, Samuel Naumbourg, Joseph Drechsler and Franz Volkert. The song-book was used by the choir until the service was interrupted and the Zagreb Temple destroyed in 1941/42.⁴¹

All of the above-mentioned indicates that Sulzer's songs and songs of other European Jewish reform composers had been in active use in Croatia until 1941, when the temples in Zagreb, as well as those in other Croatian towns were destroyed. Following World War II, such service has never been restored. According to the available sources, there are no more copies of *Schir Zion* preserved in Zagreb.

⁴⁰ Manuscripts (transcripts) of parts for each voice type are kept in the archives of the Jewish History Museum in Belgrade in boxes titled »Muzika-Zagreb«.

⁴¹ Examples of the song-book which belonged to the Zagreb Temple in Praška Street are kept in the archives of the Jewish History Museum in Belgrade in boxes titled »Muzika-Zagreb«.



Fig. 11: Salomon Sulzer: *Schir Zion*
(Source: Jewish historical museum,
Belgrade, Serbia)



Fig. 12: Salomon Sulzer: *Schir Zion*, inside
view

Inseparable from the activity of chief cantor Grüner is the activity of the organist and Grüner's friend **Franjo Lučić**, who was a Christian. Franjo Lučić succeeded his colleague Franjo Dugan Sr. (in whose legacy, there are two boxes of harmonised songs for the synagogue service)⁴² as organist of the Zagreb synagogue.⁴³ He held this post in 1928–1941, when the temple in Zagreb was destroyed. B. Grüner and F. Lučić wrote and harmonised the songs for the synagogue service together.⁴⁴ Lučić led the synagogue choir, for which he chose singers among the students of the Academy of Music and opera singers from the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb. Hence, choir members were mainly Christians, and synagogue

⁴² The legacy of Franjo Dugan Sr. is in safekeeping at the Croatian State Archives in Zagreb (HR-HDA-795-Dugan Franjo st. fond). According to the inventory list, there are two boxes containing songs for the celebration of Rosh Hashanah, Yom Kippur, and other holidays.

⁴³ For the employment and the reasons for the employment of Christian organists in synagogues see: Tina FRÜHAUF: *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2009.

⁴⁴ See: Tamara JURKIĆ SVIBEN: Croatian Composers' of Jewish Origin Motives and Stimuli within the Croatian Culture and the Croatian Musical Heritage, 123-125.

services became a kind of concert festivities, which were visited by numerous citizens and cultural workers.⁴⁵ Thanks to Franjo Lučić, the temple organ was saved, preserved, and offered to the Jewish Community after the War; however, as the temple was not restored, the Jewish Community sold them. Consequently, parts of the organ were built into the famous centre of pilgrimage – the Catholic church on Trsat above Rijeka (Croatia).⁴⁶

Another proof of Lučić's synagogue activity is an article on the Synagogue Concert in Zagreb published in the magazine *Sv. Cecilija* (the oldest magazine for sacred music in Croatia).⁴⁷ In addition to having written a concert review, Lučić explained in detail the proper manner in which to sing the Torah on Sabbath and the holidays. He further mentions four principal scales used in synagogue recitatives and melodies. These are: Ishtabah, Iekunpurkon, Misheberah and Ahavorabo.⁴⁸ In this paper, Jewish scales are compared in detail with old-Greek modes, as well as with the melodic text accentuation in the Catholic religious service. All of this testifies to Lučić's knowledge of both the Jewish and the Catholic religious service, since he simultaneously held the post of organist at the Jewish temple and was chief organist of the Zagreb cathedral.

This overview of the history of Ashkenazi liturgy and reform synagogue service in northern Croatia acknowledges the existence of synagogue music in northern Croatia prior to World War II and contributes to the analysis of the influence of synagogue musicians on its music culture. The analysis is based on available data on the activities of cantors and great cantors, as well as the artefacts registered to date (printed and manuscript collections of synagogue chants).

Preserved music scores testify to the active musical practice in synagogue service and to the cantors' composing this music. The music scores are part of the Croatian music and cultural heritage and testify to the cultural and musical collaboration between Christians and Jews in northern Croatia. Therefore the activities of the cantors cannot be analysed separately from the general context of Croatian musical heritage and culture in northern Croatia at the end of the nineteenth and in the first half of the twentieth century.

Since the cantors worked in Croatia, and considering the nature of their work, found their more or less permanent residence here, their activities within the

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*

⁴⁶ Source of all information and all original documents about the existing organ in Jewish temple in Praška Street, Zagreb is the workshop organ builders »M. Heferer, widow and son«, Zagreb.

⁴⁷ Franjo LUČIĆ: Sinagogalni koncert u Zagrebu, *Sv. Cecilija*, 25 (1931) 6, 206–208.

⁴⁸ About musical scales (*Shteyger*) used in synagogue music see: Joseph SINGER: *Die Tonarten des traditionellen Synagogengesänge (Steiger): ihr Verhältnis zu den Kirchentonarten und den Tonarten der vorchristlichen Musikperiode: erläutert und durch Notenbeispiele erklärt*, Vienna, 1886; Hanoah AVENARY: The Concept of Mode in European Synagogue Chant, *Yuval*, 2 (1971), 11–21; Hanoah AVENARY: *Shtayger*, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, C. Roth (ed.), Jerusalem, 1971–2/R, 2/1982 and T. FRÜHAUF: *The Organ and Its Music in German-Jewish Culture*, 85, 118, 142, 167, 182.

reform Jewish European movement made continental Croatia a part of the central European Jewish cultural and religious space in the first decades of the twentieth century. By registering cantors who sang the chants of Sulzer, Naumbourg and Lewandowski in Croatia prior to 1941, and composed and performed their own chants for the purpose of the service, we can establish the prolonged influence of European synagogue reform which in Croatia lasted until the beginning of World War II, which is when most of the cantors were killed and the synagogue music activity in northern Croatia ceased. Relying on the reform by Sulzer, Naumbourg and Lewandowski, synagogue music in northern Croatia in the first half of the twentieth century functioned in the religious and cultural atmosphere of European (Jewish) romanticism,⁴⁹ even though some composers of Jewish origin (A. M. Rothmüller with his compositions *Psalm 15* and *Adonaj Moloch*) searched for new directions in Jewish and synagogue music in 1930s which would either be based on traditional Biblical tropes harmonised in the new manner (manner of the Second Viennese School and the style of A. Berg), or would be influenced by the Jewish »new wave composers« from Eastern Europe (A. Krejn, A. Veprík, J. Achron, L. Saminski, J. Stutschevski, and others).⁵⁰

⁴⁹ See: Philip BOHLMAN: *Jewish Music and Modernity*, New York: Oxford University Press, 2008, 99-103.

⁵⁰ See: T. JURKIĆ SVIBEN: *Musicians of Jewish origin in Northern Croatia 1815-1941*.

APPENDIX: Cantors in northern Croatia until 1941

| No | Last Name | First Name | Year, Place of Birth and Death | Place of Service | Period of Service |
|----|-----------------|--------------------|---|--|---|
| 1 | BASCH/BAŠ | Arnold | 1913, Sarajevo - 1945, Jasenovac | Zagreb | ca. 1935-1941 |
| 2 | BUCHSBAUM | Leopold (Lavoslav) | ?, ? - ?, ? Jasenovac | Križevci | ca. 1920-1941 |
| 3 | DORF | Isidor | ?, ? - ?, ? Jasenovac | Bjelovar, Đakovo | ca. 1920-1941 |
| 4 | FERDINAND | Jura | ?, ? - ?, ? Jasenovac | Zagreb | ca. 1920-1941 |
| 5 | FINGERHUT | Abraham | ?, ? - ?, ? Jasenovac | Đakovo | do 1941 |
| 6 | FREILICH | Paul | 1905? ? - ?, ? | Varaždin, Osijek | 1935-1937, 1937-?1941 |
| 7 | FREUDES | Isak | ?, ? - ?, ? | Pakrac | 1930 |
| 8 | GILLMAN | Josip | ?, ? - ?, ? Jasenovac | Daruvar | ? |
| 9 | GOLDBERGER | Eugene / Jenő | 1903, Hlohovec, Slovakia - 1989 ? Israel | Vukovar | 1928-1932 |
| 10 | GROSS | Isidor | 1866, Kislőd, Hungary - 1942, Jasenovac | Karlovac | 1891-? |
| 11 | GRÜN | Isidor | ?, ? - ?, ? | Osijek | ? |
| 12 | GRÜNER | Bernard | 1888, Steniawa, Poland - 1955, Zagreb | Nitra, Budapest, Székesfehérvár, Zagreb | 1913, 1918, 1923-1929, 1929-1955 |
| 13 | HENDEL / HÄNDEL | Isak | 1883, Lipno, Poland - 1944, Roveredo, Switzerland | Barcs (Hungary), Slavonski Brod, Zagreb | ?, 1911-1926, 1926-1943 |
| 14 | HERŠKOVIĆ | Isidor | 1897, Petrová, Slovakia - 1942, Jasenovac | Vinkovci | 1927-1941? |
| 15 | INDIK | David | ?, ? - ?, ? | Osijek | ? |
| 16 | JOZEFOVIĆ | Julije | 1857, Užgorod, Ukraine - 1924, Bohum, Germany | Karlovac | 19/20 c. |
| 17 | KAMENAR | Abraham | ?, ? - ?, ? | Orahovica | ? |
| 18 | KATZ | Leopold | 1893, ? - 1944, Auschwitz | Čakovec | 1930 |
| 19 | KIEMER | Alper | ?, ? - ?, ? | Osijek | ? |
| 20 | KIŠICKY | Aron | 1872, Slonim, Belarus - 1938, Osijek | Mstibov (Belarus), Vukovar, Osijek | 1896, ?, 1898-1938 |
| 21 | KLINKOVSTEIN | Isaak | 1872, Plock, Poland - 1940, Sisak | Sisak | 1913-1940 |
| 22 | LINDENFELD | D. | ?, ? - ?, ? | Đakovo | ? |

| | | | | | |
|----|-----------------------|-------------------------|--|--|----------------------|
| 23 | MANDEL | Eugen | 1908, Csepe, Ukraine - 1942, Jasenovac | Đakovo, Zagreb | ? ?-1940 |
| 24 | MAUTNER | Žiga | 1895, Ladimirevci - 1942, Goleschau (Auschwitz) | Osijek, Tenja | until 1928, 1941 |
| 25 | MEISEL/MEISL | David | 1885, Holešov, Czechia - 1941, Jadovno | Karlovac | 1906-1941 |
| 26 | MOZES | | ?, ? - 1941/5? ? | Zagreb (orthodox community) | 1930 |
| 27 | NEUMANN | Žiga | 1854/55 ? - 1922, Zagreb | Zagreb | 1895-1922 |
| 28 | PROPPER / PROPER | Mijo / Mihael / Mihajlo | 1871, Hajdusámson, Hungary - 1942, Jasenovac | Vinkovci | 1900-1940 |
| 29 | RENDI | Josip | 1861, Nové Mesto nad Váhom, Slovakia - 1934, Zagreb | Tropava (Opava, Czechia), Graz (Austria), Zagreb | ? ? 1895-1929 |
| 30 | REŠETAROVIĆ (ROTTMAN) | ? | ?, ? - ?, ? | Vinkovci | ? |
| 31 | SCHECHTER | Jakob | 1874, Mogilev, Belarus - 1934, Osijek | Osijek | 1906-1934 |
| 32 | SCHWARZ | Antun Naftali | 1823, Zagreb - 1891, Zagreb | Zagreb | ?-1847 |
| 33 | SEIFE | Boris | ?, ? - ?, ? | Slavonski Brod, Osijek | ca. 1930-1940 |
| 34 | SILBERBERG | Mayer | ?, ? - 1941/1942, Jasenovac | Donji Miholjac | ? |
| 35 | SINGALOVSKI | ? | ?, ? - ?, ? | Vinkovci | ? |
| 36 | SINGER | Samojlo | 1874 ? Hungary - 1942, Jasenovac | Zagreb | ca.1920-1940 |
| 37 | SPIEGLER | Josip | ?, ? - ? 1942, Jasenovac | Koprivnica | ca. 1930-1940 |
| 38 | SPRINGER | Adolf | 1885 or 1902? - 1942, ?Jasenovac | Virovitica | ca.1930- 1938 |
| 39 | STEINER | Jakob | ?, ? - ?, ? | Osijek | ? |
| 40 | VILKOVIĆ | Sigismund / Žiga | 1861, Kolodij, Russia - 1934, Ostrava (Czechia) Varaždin | Varaždin | 1883-1885, 1885-1934 |
| 41 | WEINTRAUB | Žiga | 1856? ? - 1927, Zagreb | Zagreb | 1887-1927 |
| 42 | WEISS | Emanuel | ?, ? - ?1942, Jasenovac | Ilok | ? |
| 43 | WEISSMANN | Josip | 1872, Tarnova, Poland - 1941/5?, Jasenovac | Đakovo, Zagreb | 1893-1904, 1922-1940 |
| 44 | WOLFENSOHN | Leon | 1879, Sokyryany, Ukraine - 1941, Jasenovac | Koprivnica | 1915-1941 |
| 45 | WOLFNER | Marko | ?, ? - 1941/1942, Jasenovac | Čakovec | ?-1941 |

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Sažetak

ODJECI ŽIDOVSKOG REFORMIRANOG BOGOSLUŽJA U SINAGOGALNOJ GLAZBI SJEVERNE HRVATSKE KRAJEM 19. STOLJEĆA I U PRVOJ POLOVINI 20. STOLJEĆA

Židovski reformistički pokret u 19. stoljeću, koji se razvio pod utjecajem prosvjetiteljske misli u Europi i haskale, donio je velike promjene u izvođenju sinagogalne službe i glazbe kao njezina sastavnog dijela. U sinagogalnu se službu ponovno uvode glazbeni instrumenti, zbor i orgulje. U drugoj polovini i pred kraj 19. stoljeća, na području sjeverne Hrvatske, koja je tada bila dijelom Austro-Ugarskog Carstva, grade se sinagoge prilagođene reformiranom židovskom bogoslužju (neološkom smjeru). Svaka od tih sinagoga imala je orgulje i zbor koji je uz kantora (hazana) sudjelovao u samom obredu. Hrvatski skladatelj i violinist Antun Schwarz (1823-1891) školovao se kao dijete u kantoralnoj školi Salomona Sulzera (1804-1890) u Beču i po povratku u rodni Zagreb donio je dah židovskoga reformizma u zagrebačku židovsku sredinu, ali i hrvatsku kulturu. Iz pojedinih hrvatskih sinagoga postoje sačuvani zapisi reformiranih sinagogalnih napjeva, posebice zbirke kantora Josepha Weissmana (1872-1941), Isaka Hendela (1883-1944), Bernarda Grünera (1888-1955) i Davida Meisela (1885-1941), koje svjedoče o glazbi reformiranoga bogoslužja u hrvatskim sinagogama sve do Drugoga svjetskoga rata, kada je većina kantora, sinagoga i notnoga materijala stradala u Holokaustu.

Sinagogalni kantori koji su djelovali na hrvatskom prostoru i skladali za sinagogalnu službu po uzoru na europske kantore 19. stoljeća pozicionirali su hrvatsku židovsku glazbenu baštinu u kontekst europske kulturne baštine s kraja 19. te iz prve polovice 20. stoljeća.