Return to a New Place

The Relationship Between Music and Community in Havurah Style Davening

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According to academic protocol, the West Side Minyan is referred to as the Bloemendael Minyan and all personal names are disguised. (Bloemendael — "blooming dale" — is a 17th century Dutch name for the West Side.)

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LANGUAGE USE

Hebrew words are transliterated according to usage in the Encyclopedia Judaica. The exception is words that are titles from other sources, such as the songs published by Velvel Pasternak, which are given as in the original source. Hebrew words are underlined except those found in Webster's Ninth New Collegiate Dictionary.

A note about English language use is also in order. I do not like to use the third person singular male pronoun, his. However, it is awkward to keep saying his/her or s/he. I prefer to use the terms "them" and "their" for the third person singular on the grounds that if the word "you" can be used for both singular and plural, who not "they" and its derivatives. I am aware that this is not normal language use in formal documents. We are, however, living in transitory times, and this document is about an egalitarian community which justifies usage that calls attention to this issue.

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INTRODUCTION

In this study, I will analyze the symbolic form that characterizes the ritual and social structures of the Bloemendael Minyan, a contemporary Jewish prayer community in a large East Coast city. I will describe the form's basis in juxtaposing elements that recur with elements of spontaneity. Recurrence here is used as a replacement for the term repetition, which means to do something again exactly the same way as before. Recurrence contains two ideas that repetition does not. The first is an acknowledgement of time passing since the act was done previously with the implication that the time passing has significance for the result of the repetition. The second is the perception of repetition as a circular form; the event that recurs is <u>returning</u>, going around again as the seasons recur because the earth has orbited around the sun. I call the symbolic form based on a relationship between recurrent and spontaneous elements "return to a new place." The recurrent elements create a sense of return while the spontaneous elements contribute a sense of the new. In the Minyan "return to a new place" occurs in four separate structures which reinforce each other to create a unified whole:

1. cyclical turnover of active community members,
2. celebration of the cycle of sabbaths,
3. the performance structure of the sabbath morning service,
4. a particular song form prominent in the sabbath morning service.

While each of these structures exists in its own right in other contexts, together in the Minyan they establish a pattern that has symbolic significance. As Rappaport says in defining ritual generally:

> ...no single feature of ritual is peculiar to it. It is in the conjunction of its features that it is unique. (1979:175)

"Return to a new place" expresses a fundamental relationship between elements that recur and those that do not -- in Minyan language, between the familiar and comfortable and the new, fresh, spontaneous. "Return to a new place" orders change. Minyan members express this desire for orderly change through a demand that the davening (from the Yiddish word davenen, meaning to pray) change from week to week but only slightly and according to certain unwritten rules. "I don't like it when the davening leader changes too much," said many members in interviews. On the other hand, these interviewees complained about the "stifling" atmosphere of Jewish Orthodoxy against which they feel the need for change and spontaneity. The Minyan service provides the continuity of "familiarity" and "comfort" that members demand; performance of the ritual is fairly consistent from week to week. Yet at the same time the service is open to change and innovations still do occur. The two factors together create the experience that I call "return to a new place," the symbolic spiral. Familiarity generates the sense of return, the feeling of I've been here before, I know this experience. The new is that which I have not experienced; if it works, it brings surprise and a sense of specialness of the moment. The appropriate combination is enough familiarity to bring comfort and enough spontaneity to promote change -- the result is growth. Growth occurs through Torah study, through learning ritual skills, through social involvement, through participation.

In this paper I will establish a context for the discussion by briefly describing the history and structure of the Bloemendael Minyan and presenting a description of a sabbath morning experience. I will then present a detailed analysis of the "return to a new place" structures. I base this concept on analysis of a song form which members emphasize as important in their davening.

I will conclude by comparing the Bloemendael Minyan with another similar community, the Dutchville Minyan, about which Weissler has written a Ph.D. dissertation. Minyan, as a type of community, evolved out of havurah which, in an unpublished paper, Weissler describes as follows:

> Contemporary havurot originated in the late 1960's with young Jews who were unhappy with the Conservative and Reform congregations in which they had been raised. Influenced by the counter-culture, they were dissatisfied with contemporary Jewish institutions, both religious and communal, which they regarded as sterile, impersonal, hierarchical, and divorced from Jewish tradition.
>
> ...these young Jews sought warm personal ties in close-knit communities, and deepened religious experience in less formal more participatory styles of prayer. (1981:1)

Weissler focused on the constructedness of religion in the Dutchville Minyan, basing her discussion on Peter Berger's concepts of social construction. Although she discussed symbolic structure, she dealt mostly with verbal construction. She did not look at the role of performance. I will deal with the ritual structures, with text, music and social behavior. I will show how the ritualization process has integrated community values into a symbolic system at a level of which members are not aware.

Fieldwork

The concept of "return to a new place" and the elements of its structure are results of fieldwork observations and interviews I made in the Bloemendael Minyan between the spring of 1982 and the spring of 1983. I was not a member of the Minyan when I began to do fieldwork, but I became a member and officially ended research when I had a Bat Mitzvah on April 30, 1983. On that day I led davening with two friends, for the first time. I felt that once I was leading davening and consciously using techniques I had learned from

interviews that further research would be distorted. I did two rounds of interviews, the first in the summer of 1982 and the second in late winter of 1982-3. The interviewees were mostly davening leaders but also others who were centrally involved in the Minyan. I did not do in-depth interviews with peripheral participants though I did talk to many informally. I attended services every week. I also attended Steering Committee meetings and Community meetings, Friday night dinners, family lunches, new person lunches and other Minyan sponsored events. I joined the Hug Tefillah,[1] a prayer study group. At my Bat Mitzvah I led davening with two friends who had also been in the group. We all wanted to lead but were not ready to do a whole service alone. After my Bat Mitzvah the Hug did not meet again.

I had actually attended the Minyan in few times before I began the research. I attended sabbath services a few times in 1977 but did not feel comfortable in the community. At the time I was not interested in learning to daven. I joined a smaller community that met in homes rather than a synagogue, because this felt less like traditional religion to me. I was more able to express myself with a smaller group outside an institution.

There are two basic types of individuals in the Minyan: those from religiously observant backgrounds who questioned their upbringing and those from non-observant backgrounds who seek Jewish knowledge and experience. I was one of the latter, from a background partly Reform and partly a void of values or meaningful interpersonal contacts. I wanted these but didn't want the baggage of a tradition I could not believe and a commitment that I could not make. the role of fieldworker gave me the margin of distance I needed in order to become a participant in a Jewish ritual community. It also satisfied my need for intellectual understanding. The Minyan's value is

participation, doing and not thinking about or intellectualizing the act. But I need the process of understanding; participation, the doing is not enough for me.

One of the Minyan's most active members, one that some others even referred to as "the leader," took an active interest in recruiting me as a full member. This member often mentioned during my fieldwork looking forward to my complete change in roles. He used to ask me when I would lead davening as I said that would mark my change of role. This made my Bat Mitzvah a double rite of passage since it represented my change of roles in the community as well as my personal acceptance of ritual responsibility. Although I did no more official research after my Bat Mitzvah, I continued to be involved and the Minyan has continued to change. This document reflects the group at the time of the research. I have tried not to update statements in this document that would not be the same at this later time of writing.

I was not allowed to tape services or take notes in accordance with traditional sabbath prohibitions. Because during that period I was also experimenting with keeping the sabbath, I wrote my notes in the evening after the sabbath ended. I kept a fieldwork journal in which most of the quotes and notes are from memory. For this reason many of the quotes and descriptions used in the paper are those most repeated and for that reason considered to be most characteristic and significant.

I had access to a great deal of paper documentation from the Minyan. The group has kept a newsletter archive since the winter of 1977 (I have been unable to confirm whether this was the first issue or only the first one preserved.) There are also numerous guidelines on how to perform ritual

tasks, a general guide to the Minyan, and meeting notes. Discussions with members showed newsletter material to be incomplete or sometimes misleading. Some announced events did not happen; other events were never announced.

The music included in this paper (transcriptions in Appendix and accompanying tape) is a combination of my transcriptions and published materials. The transcriptions are from memory and are based on weekly attendance at services for two years. They are fairly accurate because my musical memory is better than my memory for statements as well as because I heard the tunes many times. Some variations of these tunes exist among members. A note here and there may go up instead of down or vice versa. The tune may be applied differently to syllables of text. The same leader may vary a tune from time to time. There may be minor changes in rhythm. Some leaders repeat the first section of a tune twice before going to the second section, while others do not.

My goal was to learn normative versions of the songs well enough to become a davening leader and use them myself. The versions presented here may be considered to represent my repertoire. The are not transcriptions of specific performances. (1965:27) Many of the transcriptions have no time signatures. These are generally cases of nusah (special Jewish modes used in prayer) freely applied to texts and not strophic songs. Minyan versions of composed tunes often differ from printed versions. Where this is the case, I have given transcriptions of Minyan versions. The repertoire cannot be complete in an environment where varied application of tunes is highly valued, but it does fairly represent the consistency of the "model" service, those tunes sung most often in the most common versions.

HISTORY OF THE BLOEMENDAEL MINYAN

The Bloemendael Minyan first met on Simhat Torah in the fall of 1974. Simhat Torah caps a full month of fall holidays that begins with the Jewish New Year. Specifically Simhat Torah celebrates completion of the yearly cycle of Torah readings. The Five Books of Moses is divided into fixed portions. One portion is read every week during sabbath services. On Simhat Torah the cycle is ended and renewed. Simhat Torah is also the eighth day of the fall harvest holiday of Sukkot. In 1974, there was a Sukkot retreat at Weiss's Farm, a tiny resort in New Jersey that hosted many "Interhavurah retreats" until it changed management in 1980. The retreats enabled members of groups from different locations to gather together and share ideas and experiences. At the Sukkot retreat, participants expressed a desire for a free-wheeling street processional dancing celebration for Simhat Torah. A havurah that was well established in the neighborhood had been the only group that would have sponsored such a celebration. Members of the havurah felt that this year more people would want such a celebration than they could accommodate. When participants returned from the Sukkot retreat, a group who wanted the Simhat Torah celebration asked a local rabbi who was a friend to help find a place.

Soon before the retreat a few people had moved to the Bloemendael area from another large city where they were active in a davening group. They had begun to organize regular davening. The havurah was not a davening community and was determined not to become one, though they had allowed the daveners to use their space. The controversy eventually resulted in forcible rejection as a member (members had to be voted in) a key individual who was committed to davening. A local synagogue gave its permission for the Simhat Torah celebration,

After Simhat Torah, a davening group began to meet regularly in the fifth floor room where the Bloemendael minyan still meets. The synagogue provided a Torah and prayerbooks. Two members made an ark. Immediately, about twenty-five people attended regularly. Some of them were members of the havurah who also wanted to daven.

The Bloemendael Minyan had a membership of 30-60 after about a year and a half and 60-100 after five years according to the note previously mentioned and currently has a membership of about 150. By the fall of 1978 members were complaining that the davening group was too large and instituting discussions about how to divide the Minyan into smaller groups. The community could not agree but gave those who wanted a smaller davening group its blessing to form one. The three-week minyan was born as a result with its members remaining members of the minyan but meeting with the smaller group every three weeks. The group still exists through few current minyan members are even aware of this.

Historically notable is the development of the two other groups that meet in the same building, both of which include among their membership a few who had left the Bloemendael Minyan dissatisfied. Minyan discussions often include comparisons with how things are done in the other groups. Few members of the Minyan attend services with the other groups. All three groups are official affiliates of the synagogue. They share a joint kiddush (blessing over wine. In the Minyan, as in synagogues, the term is extended to refer to the communal sharing of this blessing and eating cakes and fruit brought by a member, usually to celebrate a life cycle event) once a month. The meet together

on occasional holidays, notably Simhat Torah, which became a highlight of the year in the neighborhood. The activity of the three groups has revived the synagogue and created a vital religious community.

The Bloemendael Minyan has been engaged in controversy with the first of the other two groups since its inception in 1978. The Minyan insists that it is an open group and defines its openness in relation to the closedness seen as characterizing the Mini-Minyan. The Mini-Minyan emphasizes quality control of davening. They say this is missing from the Bloemendael Minyan. The Mini-Minyan limits davening leaders to those considered to be qualified, unlike the Bloemendael Minyan which encourages the unlearned to develop skills. Members of the Bloemendael Minyan define its openness in terms of encouraging members to learn new skills and, especially, in encouraging anyone to attend whether or not they wish to volunteer. The Mini-Minyan is reputed to require anyone who wants to attend to make specific volunteer commitments. Members of the Mini-Minyan deny that this group is affected by the Bloemendael Minyan. One member insisted, "The Mini-Minyan never even thinks of the Bloemendael Minyan." He then expounded for some time on the nature of the Bloemendael Minyan service though he had not attended a service there during the time of this study. He characterized the Bloemendael Minyan as "worship of community, not a religious experience." The Bloemendael Minyan is affected by the Mini-Minyan. More than once Minyan members have expressed a desire to "close" the group, that is to demand volunteer commitments from members. However, the group has been determined to remain "open" and the proximity of the Mini-Minyan has been cited as one motivation.

The third group is a newer community only about two years old. Those who have attended its davening say that it is "more traditional" than the Minyan's.

They don't do Pesukei Dezimrah[2] (the introductory section of the prayer service) but they do a full Torah reading and Musaf[3] (the Additional Service in memory of Temple sacrifices). This group meets in a windowless basement space. The group seems to attract younger, as well as more traditional, daveners, including many of the seminary students who used to be attracted to the Bloemendael Minyan.

A SHABBAT MORNING EXPERIENCE

As I walk into the room on the fifth floor at about a quarter to ten Saturday morning, about half a dozen people are standing or wandering about. Rose and Dory are catching up with each other's news. A few people are putting chairs into place. I move toward the table where ritual objects are kept, but it is empty. The storage closet where they are kept is locked because the monthly coordinator has not yet arrived.

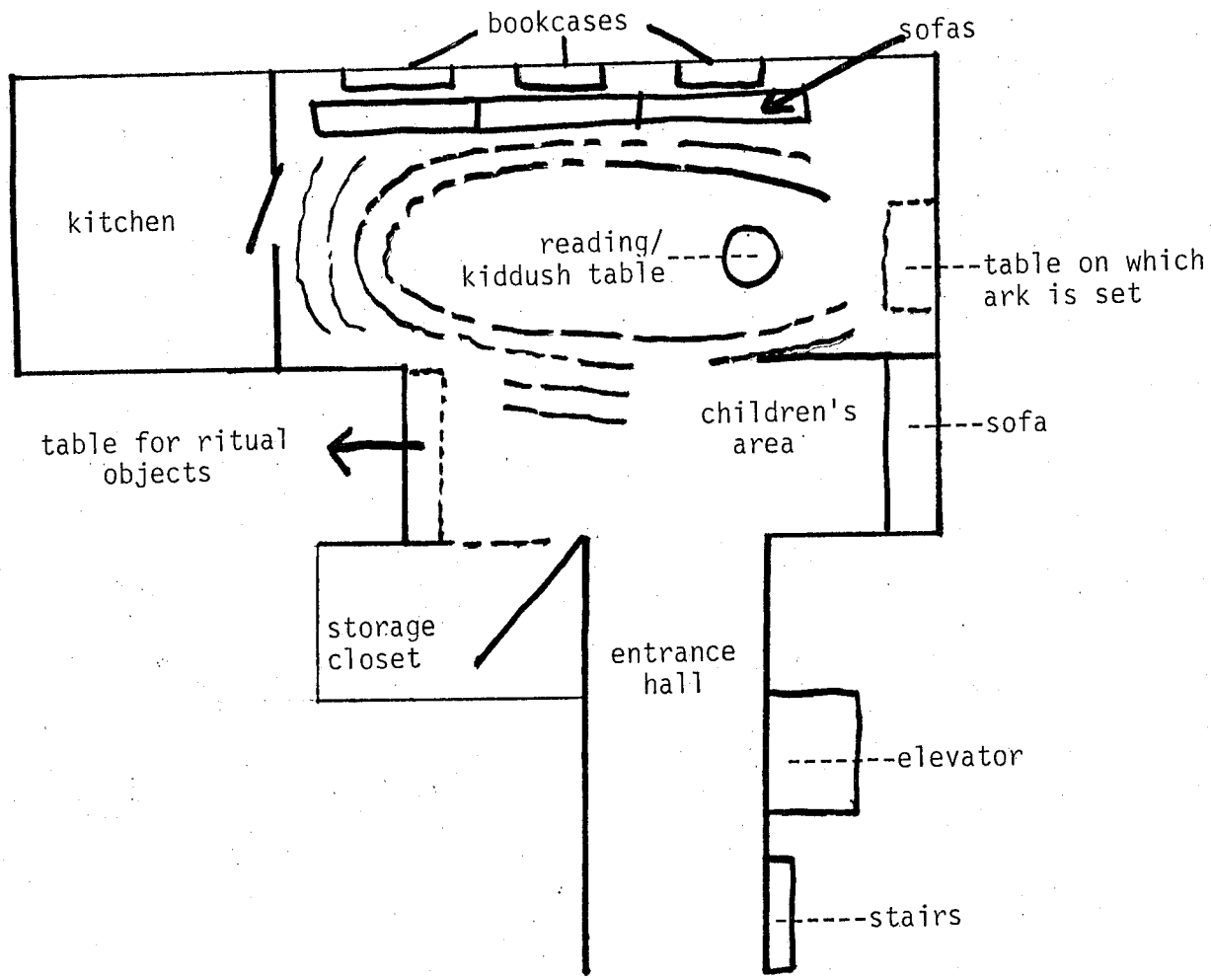
Two rows of chairs have been placed in a semi-circle around the table on the East wall where the ark containing the Torah scrolls will be set when June arrives with the keys to the closet (see diagram of Minyan space). The round table is in the center of the room, empty. Its white cloth with the blue fringe around the edges and blue star at the center is also still in the closet.

More people have arrived and are dispersed in clusters of conversations, still awaiting June. Services cannot begin without the ritual objects housed in the closet -- the ark, the head coverings, the prayer shawls, and the prayerbooks. When June arrives and the closet is unlocked, these objects will be brought out for use during services. The ark is a large plain wood box about 4 x 6 feet which was made when the Minyan started by two members no longer in the community. It holds the Torah scrolls. A plain white curtain supported by a regular curtain rod covers the ark. On the bottom of the curtain is embroidered in Hebrew:

hadesh yameinu ke-qedem

Renew our days as of old; this is a line from the morning prayer text which ends the Torah service, the part of the service in which a weekly portion of

MINYAN ROOM



1"=5'

the Torah is chanted. In most synagogues the ark usually has a permanent place in a prominent, usually raised position. In the Minyan the ark occupies a place on the circle of chairs in which participants sit. The ark contains parchment scrolls on which are written in Hebrew the Five Books of Moses, the first five books of the Bible. Jewish law mandates reading a portion from these scrolls each week. The portions are fixed so that the one portion is read every week over the course of a year. The Minyan system varies from this tradition by following an ancient custom, the triennial cycle. Portions are divided so that the complete reading takes three years instead of one. In the Minyan, one-third of each fixed portion is read. A different third is read each year so that the complete cycle is covered.

Other ritual objects will be brought out and placed on the table in front of the closet so that members may take what they need as they arrive. These include the siddur (prayerbook), humash (a book containing the Torah portions with comments; participants use these to follow the reading), a kippah (head covering), and tallit (prayer shawl). The closet also contains wine and other supplies for kiddush and community meals, miscellaneous Minyan property and the Minyan telephone (which has on occasion rung at awkward times during services) and answering machine.

Still waiting, members converse about the weather. Some are gathered in the hall, hanging their coats on a coatrack just outside the room and greeting each other. A double door, painted black, provides entrance into the room from the hall. Just inside the entrance to the right is the children's area marked by a rug and the furniture setup. Only one row of chairs is set up for davening, at the front edge of the area, on the davening circle. A sofa

lies against one wall, chairs along the other, where parents sit and watch their children.

The room is about the size and ambience of a large residential living room. It is somewhat bleak when full of empty chairs and uncovered tables. There are no curtains on the windows. The walls are white; the doors and woodwork, black. Most of the chairs are old, kitchen type, with no arms. Some are black with faded turquoise seats, others beige with red seats. A few turquoise blue vinyl sofas are lined up against the far wall under the windows.

On the other side of the table and set back is another double door, this one leading into the kitchen. Above the double door is a dark space along its length where there used to be a plaque, a reminder of the early days when the Minyan shared this room with a no-longer existing sisterhood. For some unknown reason, the synagogue hadn't decided until after the recent painting to remove this plaque. The ark is on the wall opposite the kitchen. Along the farm wall now are three bookcases that appeared mysteriously. Minyan members do not know who put them there. Above the table in front of the ark is a chandelier with several unmatching bulb coverings, some of them out of place. On the floor is a nondescript rug, a kind of grayish green which, according to rumor, was donated only a year or two ago by a Minyan member.

Today, Sheila, one of the long-time "star" members is present. The corner of the room where she sits fills up quickly. Almost immediately all its chairs are taken and people are moving extra chairs near her though the rest of the room is still nearly empty.

June has finally arrived and unlocked the closet. Ritual objects have been placed on the table in front of the closet where people can take them. The ark and its two Torahs have been moved to its table. Both Torahs will be used because it is Rosh Hodesh, the first day of the new month (new moon). There is a special reading in addition to the regular portion.

People continue to arrive one or two at a time. The population still feels sparse this early. Upon arrival, people turn immediately to the table on which the ritual objects lay, take a siddur and a humash. Some, but not all, take a tallit and/or a kippah. Some bring their own; many women have begun to make their own tallit, being uncomfortable wearing those styled for men but having no women's tradition. Men do tend to wear kippot (plural of kippah). A few women do. Most participants dress casually, some in slacks, a few in jeans (fewer as time passes and those usually old-timers), and some women in skirts. As they leave the table, people seem to take seats without hesitating, as if they had already decided where to sit. Some say they have special spots where they prefer to sit all the time and even feel uncomfortable if unable to sit there (similar to the situation Heilman describes in a modern Orthodox synagogue). (1976:36) Members also choose seats to be near someone else. They will shift seats during services to greet friends.

Except for the full corner, the few particpants present this early are scattered about, hardly aware of each other. The atmosphere is relaxed, rather laid back, though getting started as late as this morning is not appreciated. Even so, people are seated almost reclining in the straight-backed chairs, in fluid rather than stiff positions, some cross-legged. Some lean back against the chairs, others forward or to the side. I sit

on a sofa against the far wall in the corner toward the kitchen. This is the center of the room, the best vantage point for seeing everything that goes on in the room and even in the hall beyond. I am diagonally opposite the corner where the "star" sits.

Carl, leading davening today, opens with a nigun, a melody without words as popularized by the Hasidim,[4] (a sect of Judaism that is known for emotional expression in prayer, use of singing and movement). Here participants sing as if it's automatic and they're thinking about something else. Some read the text as they sing. Some look at the ceiling or around the room. Carl stands as he begins "Yishtabah,"[5] the transitional prayer that ends the introductory service. Some follow him; others remain seated. While Orthodox synagogues usually follow the custom of standing for this prayer, the Minyan does not. Everyone does stand for the next prayer, the half Kaddish[6] that follows and leads to the Barekhu,[7] the "call to worship" prayer that makes the service legal according to Jewish law. One advantage of starting late is that there is no question that ten individuals are present. In traditional Jewish prayer communities, ten men are required to say this prayer that legalizes the services. Here in the Minyan women as well as men count. In fact, as usual, there are more women than men in the room.

From the Barekhu on, davening becomes somewhat more intense though it remains relaxed. Minyan members use the term davening to refer to what they do at religious services. They do not use the English term praying. When discussing what they do here and why, most emphasize singing together and being with the people. There are now noticeably more people in the room, but they still appear sparsely distributed. The group stands again for Zur Yisrael, a sung text that precedes the Amidah prayer, considered by most to

e the climax of the davening. One member still seated seems to notice suddenly that he is the only one seated and stands hurriedly. There is an atmosphere of reverie on a gloomy day when snow can now be seen falling heavily outside. A melody meant to be participatory draws no singers until the most popular song in the Amidah - V'eineinu Tirena (two versions in the Appendix). Minyan practice is that everyone sings the Amidah aloud together from the beginning through the Kedusha, the sanctification section that, like the Barekhu, requires 10 participants to be done. Then participants complete the long prayer silently. V'eineinu Tirena is well known to regular participants and, because by this time the room is filling up, they can have a real sense of singing together. One important aspect of the Amidah is the addition of the names of the mothers Sarah, Rebecca, Leah and Rachel to the names of the fathers in the opening line of the prayer. This is the only egalitarian textual change and, in fact, the only change in text that is a consistent and expected part of the Minyan service.

At the end of the Amidah, while a few people are still finishing silently the day's serious socializing begins. This socializing is in contrast to traditions members recall of having strict silence during this praying. In the Minyan those who have finished seek out friends around the room or congregate in front of the entrance or in the kitchen. Someone may begin to hum a tune softly; a few others may join. The socializing continues. The leader is waiting for each individual to finish and will not continue until then.

Rosh Hodesh requires singing of the Hallel. Hallel is a group of psalms that has been sung on special days since the times of the first Temple in Jerusalem. The Minyan has a number of current popular tunes for Hallel and sings them. At one point it appears that the group rather than the leader

breaks into one of them. Perhaps he did not know this one, but the Minyan has been known to drown out a leader to sing a favorite tune.

Bill and Nancy arrive with their infant son, Michael. Sally leaves her seat and moves toward the sofa near the entrance to greet them and hold their baby.

The Torah service and discussion follow. By now the room is full. It is getting noisy. A number of children are playing or wandering around. Many participants have changed seats in order to talk to their friends in various spots around the room. The leader has carried the Torah around the room and placed it on the table in preparation for the reading. Meanwhile, the monthly coordinator has been moving around the room talking to a number of people and now retires to her seat as the last person she spoke with moves toward the table. Someone has finally volunteered to be gabbai.[8] The gabbai coordinates the Torah reading, calling up people to say blessings before each section of the reading and correcting readers when they make errors. The gabbai also says a prayer for the sick when requested by members of the congregation. Because the task requires the knowledge to follow the Torah readers, very few Minyan members are potential volunteers. The first reader has already gotten volunteers for aliyot,[9] to come to the Torah and say the blessings before each reading. This task does not require a high level of skill and most members are potential volunteers. Minyan custom is to try to balance calling regular members, visitors and new people. Often someone takes an aliyah to celebrate a birthday or graduation or some other life cycle event.

Soon things settle down and the reading is completed. Now is the time for discussion. The gabbai covers the Torah and places it on the table. The

discussion coordinator pulls a chair to the front of the table. Today the discussion centers around Jewish conquest of Canaan and the command to wipe out all the original inhabitants. The discussant presents the issue and a member expresses his discomfort with this command. A non-member of the Minyan who hasn't been here before comments that the content of the member's statement is "un-Jewish." Another member immediately responds, "the Minyan is insulted by your comment." An undertone of commenting occurs around the room. Another member who has moved away but is visiting today comments, "We don't criticize anyone's feelings as not being Jewish around here. The Minyan is open to all ideas and works hard at being inclusive, open and egalitarian."

The service continues and ends with no further disruption. Once the discussion ends, Minyan participants like to bring davening to a quick close and the momentum in the room toward that goal can be strongly felt. After the end, June introduces herself as the Monthly Coordinator. She thanks all the participants - the davening leader, Torah discussion leaders and Torah readers and thanks Gerry for bringing Kiddush. She expresses a welcome to guests, visitors and people new to the Minyan. She then asks if there are any Minyan announcements. The davening, leyning, and Torah discussion coordinators all ask for volunteers for upcoming weeks. Sally announces the next Steering Committee meeting. Then June asks for "non-Minyan" and general "community" announcements. Someone announces a political meeting, another an upcoming lecture. June closes by asking people to return their ritual objects to the table next to the closet. She finishes by wishing everyone "Shabbat Shalom" (sabbath peace).

Everyone seems to rise from their seats at the same time. Some go to the table. Others head directly out the door. Still others head for friends they have not had a chance to greet. A few go toward the kitchen to bring out the wine, poured into three oz. paper cups, one for each participant. Someone removes the white tablecloth from the table where the Torah was read and others place the wine and food trays on this same table. Gerry, who brought the food, will say the kiddush blessing. She announces that she brought kiddush to celebrate going to a graduation because she never attended her own graduation. She leads the group in singing V'shamru to begin the kiddush blessing and finishes with recitation. Everyone drinks. Immediately a din of conversation drowns out any other sound. The children are first in front of the table where a number of plates hold a variety of cakes and a bowl of fruit. People go to the table, take a piece of cake then move away to converse with a friend. Some conversations are going on around the table. Gradually, the food disappears as nibblers make their way from one conversation to another via the table.

Conversations are about Israeli politics, health, jobs, friends a continuation of the Torah discussion, movies, a recent lecture, or the latest news about former members who have moved. Babies occupy a lot of attention.

By 1:30 the ritual objects are put away and the closet locked again. (Once a month when the Minyan has a communal lunch[10] after davening, this is closer to 3:00.) Most participants have left and the few remaining clean up and leave. Some have gone off to lunch with those special friends whose relationships continue beyond sabbath services. Others have gone home for their favorite sabbath afternoon ritual, the nap. Still others have gone

to work or to the movies. Some have left alone, others with groups of friends. Some will walk home, around the block or even thirty blocks away. Others face an hour's ride home by subway.

STRUCTURE OF THE BLOEMENDAEL MINYAN

Davening is the Minyan's central activity. Specific roles have emerged to ensure the success of this activity. With only a couple of exceptions, these roles are temporary and rotating. Each came into being under certain conditions in the group's development. Some Minyan positions are still in their original form. Others have evolved. Some are new.

Originally, there was one coordinator who organized sabbath services. He quit after six months. The monthly coordinator came into being then and still continues. In 1979, no one wanted to be monthly coordinator so the community divided the job by creating the hevrot. A hevra is a small group of people with close social relations. The Minyan recognizes the social aspect in its structuring and so called these groups hevrot rather than committees. Each group was responsible for one aspect of services. There was a hevra for davening, one for leyning and one for Torah discussions. They were to oversee quality and get volunteers. There was also a Hesed Hevra to arrange sabbath meals and overnight stays for guests with Minyan members.

The hevrot lasted about three years, or as long as the original members remained. The groups proved unsuccessful in recruiting new members. Thus, the ritual hevrot evolved into the current system of one coordinator for each ritual task. These positions are supposed to rotate monthly. In practice coordinators continue until they get tired. Then they announce at services that they seek a replacement.

Many members of the community say that there has always been one person who has taken ultimate responsibility for the Minyan. This may be a throwback to the original structure of the community with a single coordinator. All

those who mentioned this "leader" agreed on who held the position during the time of the study. Some named his former roommate as having held the position previously. The latter denied that either of them had ever held such a position. The position, if indeed it really exists, involves self-appointment to the responsibility for getting things done, welcoming new people, doing things nobody else wants to do and initiating responses to community problems as the "leader" mentioned initiated children's meetings. Following is a table showing ongoing Minyan positions and their terms of service.

	Current Term
Monthly Coordinator	one month
Ritual task Coordinators Davening Coordinator Leyning Coordinator Torah Discussion Coordinator[11]	one to six months until replaced
Friday Night Coordinator	current one has served three years
Special Event Coordinators, as needed (High Holidays, Sukkot, Purim, Shavuot)	duration of event preparation
Newsletter Editor(s)	until replaced
Treasurer	until replaced
Steering Committee members Steering Committee Contact person	one year two months
Subgroups initiated by members (See subsection and chart, following pages)	Varies

MEMBERS AND DUES

The Minyan has a membership of about 150, most of whom live in the local neighborhood, but many of whom live in outlying areas from which they travel to attend sabbath at the Minyan (more traditional Jews would not travel on the sabbath since it is not permitted by Jewish law). Members are from a diversity of Jewish backgrounds, from Orthodox to secular and from a diversity of geographic locations. Members tend to be students or young professionals in service positions such as social workers, librarians, teachers, and Jewish communal workers. Some are artists. Lawyers tend to be in public service positions rather than private firms. Members vary in the strictness of their Jewish observance; however, they do tend to share the values of the Minyan. Attracting new people who share these values is what has kept the Minyan alive even though members have tended to stay a few years and then move on. The transient characteristic has gradually been disappearing, however. About a fourth of Minyan members now are members of families who appear to be more settled than the student populations of the past.

Dues policy also reflects the value of openness in the Minyan. Until the synagogue began charging rent in 1977 there was no need for money, so there were no dues. Then the Minyan began charging $50 a year, payable in halves. Because collecting money was not in tune with its values, a minimum effort was made. Dues today are even less, $36, and are only a suggested contribution. Any amount is accepted. One collection drive is made - during the High Holidays when 300 to 400 people attend services. Because volunteers do all Minyan tasks and ritual tasks involve little expenditure of money, expenses are minimal. The Minyan has a treasurer. The is the only major role without

a given term of rotation but the office tends to change hands every two years. The Minyan does no other fund raising.

STEERING COMMITTEE

The Steering Committee meets once a month. It makes decisions such as purchasing, membership, setting and collecting dues, keeping Minyan possessions in good condition, recruiting volunteer coordinators, maintaining the space and handling matters of relationship with the synagogue community. The committee members feel their ideal size is 10 "permanent" members who serve for one year. All members of the Minyan are invited to attend Steering Committee meetings (few do) and anyone may vote after attending two consecutive meetings. The designation "permanent" differentiates between those who see themselves as members of the committee from those who attend and vote without taking on other committee tasks. The committee itself decides how it will function, decides whether it has the right and responsibility to make decisions, if and when to call community meetings and how to implement decisions.

SUBGROUPS

Subgroups are an important part of the Bloemendael Minyan, both those created to perform official tasks and those informally initiated by members. The Steering Committee sometimes creates subcommittees. At the same time members often initiate subgroups that may be considered part of the Minyan or become independent and may never be connected with the Steering Committee in any way. The Steering Committee itself is a subgroup whose members form a close-knit community within the community, spending most of their Minyan time and energy with each other. Besides the Steering Committee only one other subgroup, the Newsletter Committee, has survived over a long period of

time and been passed on to new generations of volunteers. This longevity is probably due to the practical value of these two functions. Generally, Minyan subgroups fall into the following catagories:

1. classes and study groups,
2. committees to perform communal tasks or deal with problems such as the Newsletter, aesthetics committee, children's committee, new person group, hevrot (to coordinate the ritual tasks),
3. independent or semi-independent groups such as Torah Study, Three-Week Minyan, Friday Night Havurah and Families Hevra.

Other than committees established by the Steering Committee, subgroups generally arise as the result of members initiating activity to satisfy needs, more often than not, social needs. One of the founders of the Torah Study activity stated that he had felt a strong need to continue and expand the social energy generated by services. He personally needed a network and he also felt this would develop the community. One of the founders of the Friday Night Havurah said this group developed out of the members' needs to have sabbath meals and study in a context of meeting other single people. Like other independent subgroups both of these activities appealed to people outside the Minyan as well as Minyan members.

MINYAN SUBGROUPS

Subgroup	Life Course	Activities	Membership	Structure	Relation to Minyan
Three-Week Minyan	Oct., 1978 -	Davening/lunch every three weeks	mostly Minyan, closed group	rotating coordinator	autonomous havurah appd. by Minyan vote
Hesed Hevra	Oct., 1978 - spr., 1983	arrange lunch or sleep hospitality	Minyan volunteers	rotating coordinator	subcommittee
Fri. Night Hevra	Jan., 1979 - spr., 1981	Fri. night dinner and study	Minyan and others	two men coordinated	independent
Torah Study	Feb., 1979 - spr., 1983	ran classes and coffee house	Minyan and others	Board of Directors	no direct; Board mostly Minyan people
New Person	Jan., 1980 - spr., 1983	lunches and meetings	Minyan members	informal	autonomous social group
Camping Trip	sum., 1980, 1, 2, 3, 4	camping weekend	mostly Minyan, invitation only	orgd. by member	autonomous social group
Families Hevra	1981 -	once-a-month lunches	families, Minyan and others	coordinator	autonomous social group
Hug Tefillah	Feb., 1983 - Apr., 1983	study group	Minyan members who wanted to daven	never established	Minyan but autonomous
Children's Comm.	Feb., 1983 - May, 1983	meetings and discussions	Minyan members	one-person initiated	reported to Steering Committee
Aesthetics Comm.	Sept., 1983 -	water plants	Minyan volunteers	informal	initiated by Steering Committee

VOLUNTEERING

VOLUNTEERING

All Minyan tasks are done by volunteers. Volunteering expresses being involved; it is both a social and ritual act at the same time. Volunteer is the term used for all tasks in the Minyan regardless of responsibilities (see chart next page), duration or qualifications required. The davening leader is a volunteer as is the cleanup staff for a community lunch. Thus, volunteering is a function of Minyan values of participation, egalitarianism and community.

Volunteering to work on an activity in the Minyan means being socially involved with other members because such work (for instance, the monthly coordinator or a holiday coordinator) often means getting other people to volunteer; it means making phone calls and making announcements and working with volunteers recruited. Phone calls and other conversations usually involve a certain amount of socializing as well as discussion of the work involved. Thus volunteering means both doing work and being social. Volunteers have mixed responses to the social consequences of volunteering. One woman said:

> I found that the first time I coordinated I really liked it because it got me out of my shell. It helped to me get to know people. It really opened up this whole world by doing it. And I liked it so I kept on doing it.

Some volunteers find it difficult to recruit help. Said one man:

> I don't like being monthly coordinator. I really don't. I get very nervous about it. I haven't asked too many people when I needed to conscript people. I wound up asking privately people I knew and they were apt to say I can't do this but I'll do that.

Another man said that when he was monthly coordinator he brought kiddush twice himself rather than ask someone else. One woman upon being told that getting volunteers commonly makes monthly coordinators nervous responses, "Good, I'm glad I'm not the only one."

WAYS TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MINYAN

Attendance

- sabbath services
- community meals
- holiday activities
- social events

Ritual tasks

- get an aliyah
- lead davening/be davening coordinator
- leyn/be leyning coordinator
- lead Torah discussion/be coordinator
- bring kiddush
- be gabbai
- join a hevra
- urge friends to do things they lack the confidence to do
- help decorate sukkah
- read megillah

Administrative tasks

- set up and clean up for activities
- pay dues
- attend meetings
- join Steering Committee
- contribute to newsletter
- be Monthly Coordinator

Learning

- teach a class
- attend a class

Other

- host a Minyan event
- initiate activities

Volunteering also presents the Minyan with its greatest challenge, getting enough volunteers to do all the needed tasks. At least twice a year some active Minyan member makes a speech that goes something like this:

> The Minyan cannot function without volunteers. If people don't volunteer there won't be any Minyan. So please call the appropriate coordinator and let us know what you would like to do. Help is available for those who need it to learn skills.

In the winter, usually some time in January and in the summer are the times when the greatest problem getting volunteers seems to occur. A number of interviewees said these cycles were typical and consistent, particularly the summer when regulars who can normally be counted on are on vacation. Unfortunately, the Minyan has not found a systematic way to overcome volunteer inertia. Nobody knows for sure what will work with whom. It is usually a hit or miss proposition. Said one member:

> It would be nice if we could consistently generate a way of making people participate more in the various functions. I guess we're doomed to have cyclical crises where things run down.

This individual said he would go so far as to demand some sort of commitment from members. As I pointed out in the history section, thus far the Minyan has rejected that route, members often expressing their distaste of the other community in the building that does make such demands of its members. The most successful method for the Minyan has been one-to-one encouragement. One woman told how she finally volunteered to lead davening:

> I didn't exactly feel like I was ready to do it but someone pushed me enough so I was going to do it.... Someone called me up and said, "Isn't it about time you did it?"

Volunteering to do ritual tasks is a complex factor in the Minyan. Such tasks require special skills, but because of the Minyan's values do not carry special status. The Minyan approach is in conflict with traditional Judaism which has a strongly established authority structure. In the synagogue the rabbi and the cantor are the leaders and they are paid to do ritual functions. "The Minyan," as one member said, "is meant to be participatory and democratic." Although not everyone in the Minyan wants to be a leader, the Minyan still expresses a need to take a stand against authoritarianism. Attitudes seem to follow Reisman's assessment that this is a reaction against the synagogue:

> As the chavurah members set out to define the leadership function in the chavurah, one senses a determination to avoid at all costs, a definition which includes any authoritative or bureaucratic aspects. It is as though, having been liberated from the authoritative heavily centralized, highly structured style of leadership characteristic of the synagogue, the members are fearful that any leadership definition will signal a reversion to the former pattern. (1975:78)

One member said, "At least we hide our leaders better than other groups." Commented another: "To me if they're paid functionaries that's all that will be left of Judaism are paid functionaries.

In the Minyan power is directly related to time spent in activity. One member said, "The Minyan runs on time. People don't get power by giving money. The people who have the power are the ones who are doing the work." Time is a central factor in volunteering. When asked what was required of the monthly coordinator, one member replied, "About fifteen minutes of phone calls a week," rather than in terms of responsibilities or some other criterion. An important factor is time limitations placed on volunteer positions, a concept of Zerubavel.

Time limiting roles has a two-sided effect: limitation of power on the one hand and responsibility on the other. Permanent leadership roles, such as rabbi, carry status and power. Temporary roles do not have such status. A member is a leader for a sabbath, a month or the duration of a holiday and then just a member again and every member has an equal opportunity to take a turn at being a leader. For the Minyan, however, the limitation of responsibility in time-limited roles has had a critical role in the group's historical development. Major upheavals in Minyan structure have occurred each time a major volunteer role has come to take so much time that nobody was willing to volunteer. At such times, the community has had to restructure so that the role would be manageable. The monthly coordinator position was created to cope with the unwillingness of the original coordinator to continue doing all the work. Five years later the hevrot were created to ease the burden of the monthly coordinator by dividing up the responsibilities for coordinating the ritual tasks. In numerous other instances the Minyan has formed committees to replace single coordinators because no individual felt that the job was manageable enough to volunteer. Thus, for the Minyan both sides of the time-limited approach have been important, the limitation of power as an expression of its values and the limitation of responsibility to promote volunteering.

Despite the difficulties involved, volunteering to do ritual tasks is important for feeling comfortable in the Minyan. As one member put it,

> People who are lacking in either the ability to lead a Torah discussion or in the ability to leyn or daven really have a hard time becoming a part of the community.

The conditions of volunteering have played a major role in the emphasis on learning ritual skills. The growth value emphasized by the "return to a

new place" spiral structure is not a conscious Minyan value. It is a result rather than a motivating factor. The Minyan's consistent need for volunteers and the extent to which demand has exceeded the supply of ritually skilled members have necessitated that the community accept unqualified learners and nurture their efforts to learn ritual skills. The Minyan has not sought this circumstance and, in fact, often confronts complaints about the lack of quality in davening and lack of competence in leaders. Through the years efforts have been made periodically to upgrade the quality of ritual skills. Ultimately, the Minyan's constant need for volunteers, however, has outstripped the complaints. The result has been that learning ritual skills as well as learning the positive nurturing skills that provide encouragement to learners have been an integral part of being an active member of the community.

Two illustrations will show how the effects of this conflict between need for volunteers and demand for quality result in ritual growth. One member talked about his fears of volunteering:

> I knew enough but I didn't have the confidence. Part of it was the confidence just getting up to daven and the other part was the confidence in the community that people weren't going to look at me too critically -- that it was O.K. to get up and make mistakes. You can't get up in front of a regular shul and make mistakes.

Like others, he said it was the "dire need" for volunteers that helped to overcome his fears:

> I felt needed. It was summer and there were not enough volunteers and they said we really need people to volunteer so I volunteered. And once I started volunteering I volunteered a lot because they really needed people.

This illustration shows that quality of davening would effectively stop new people from volunteering. A low standard of performance is required in an environment that nurtures learners. Yet the Minyan has always had members who have expressed a desire for a high standard and for raising standards of competence. The need for volunteers, or cyclical run-downs, has been in large part responsible for creating an environment in which members have become willing to take the risk of leading davening as a learner. Another member also stated that he was at first afraid to lead davening because the Minyan had a pool of talented daveners at the time he joined with whom he did not wish to be compared. When they had left and the Minyan needed help, he began to lead davening.

The second illustration is the question of feedback to davening leaders which members see as vital to development of competence. The davening hevra formed in May of 1979 saw feedback as the key to improving quality of davening, as stated in its first report to the Minyan. By the time of the research for this document, that hevra no longer existed. One interviewee commented:

> I get hardly any feedback when I daven, except a yasher koach[12] at the end of the service. Either people come up and say that they really liked it or I get very few comments in which case I assume it's not so hot this week. People don't give constructive criticism. I don't either.

Part of the problem here may be that members would not risk the consequences of criticism in sabbath conversations and that is the only time the community is together. One week a davening leader asked for feedback. A short time later in an interview a member commented on that davening. Asked if she had given those comments to the davening leader, she replied that she hadn't had time that day.

DAVENING LEADERS

Because this document is about Minyan davening, a more detailed focus on davening leaders, who they are and what they do, seems appropriate. Leading davening requires a knowledge of the text, the Hebrew language, the meaning of the prayers, traditional Jewish prayer modes and the songs sung and command of techniques of rhythm and pacing. The davening leader sets the mood, tries to think about things that are timely for that particular sabbath and tries to be aware of how the community is feeling that day. There is no regular pool of davening leaders in the Minyan. During the period of observation, less than a handful of individuals led davening more than twice. A number of those who had been fairly regular leaders stopped because they became mothers. People generally volunteered to lead once.

There are as many approaches are there are davening leaders; each is unique. One experienced davening leader, a woman who is also a rabbi, characterized the challenge as follows:

> You're trying to move everybody else someplace but you're trying to move yourself there too. If you don't get there at all, then you can't move them.

One member who had learned in the Minyan said:

> As leader you provide cues rather than doing it for them.

Another who was highly experienced and considered very good said:

> I think it's very important always to go back to what it is you're trying to accomplish when you're davening - which is to try to make it a meaningful experience for the people who are there so that you can get in touch with as many of the myriad of the goals that people have when they come to davening.

A woman who had learned in the Minyan but only davened a couple of times said:

> I'm leading davening but I'm leading davening for the Minyan. I'm leading them in their davening. They're not listening to my davening....

The result of having a myriad of leaders it that the leader becomes the main variant in the service; the leader chooses variations in text and music and provides personal charisma which is clearly different for each leader.

Often Minyan leaders are new daveners, especially the women because women don't participate in more traditional settings but also both the men and women from non-observant backgrounds. Said one such woman:

> I wanted to lead davening for two reasons. Growing up as a girl in shul[13] you just couldn't do it.... I wanted to do it. And I always thought it would be a fun experience.
>
> The first time I did it I was just terrified. I wasn't sure I'd remember all the tunes and all the nusah. I found I was concentrating so hard on just not goofing up that it was kind of hard to enjoy. It was not like davening. It was more like performing.

New leaders are apt to be cautious. Said the man mentioned above who had learned in the Minyan:

> I took the path of least resistance. I did the minimal amount especially since it was my first time. I didn't add anything except a meditation before from Zalman Schachter.[14]

Another more experienced man takes a somewhat more relaxed approach toward the experience:

> There are definitely days when people are more into it than others or less. Sometimes it has something to do with the person leading davening but more often it doesn't. It might be something going on in the community - or too many negative ions in the air.

The following chart lists each of the davening leaders interviewed. It tells their Jewish backgrounds, how often they have led davening in the Minyan and where they learned the tunes they use in davening.

LIST OF DAVENING LEADERS

	BACKGROUND	DAVENING FREQUENCY	SOURCES OF MUSIC
A	Orthodox Father Nonobservant Mother	Twice	Minyan Similar group
B	Reform	Regular	Religious school College
C	Conservadox	Twice	Minyan
D	Conservative	Regular	Ramah Education
E	Conservative	Regular	Ramah Education
F	Conservative	Special Occasions	Ramah Education
G	Conservative	Regular	Ramah Education
H	Conservative	Special Occasions	Ramah Education
I	Reform	Once in awhile	Other similar groups Youth activities Camp, not Ramah
J	Reform	Not yet	Minyan
K	Reform	Once in awhile	Minyan Youth activities Camp, not Ramah
L	Orthodox	Once in awhile	Minyan

This chart shows the range of Jewish backgrounds of the davening leaders and it shows where they learned their tunes. The majority grew up in the Conservative movement, all of them veterans of Camp Ramah.[15]

One member described her background as Conservadox, that is her family's synagogue mixed Orthodox and Conservative characteristics. Of the twelve interviewees, only four describes themselves as regular davening leaders. Five said they learned what they knew in the Minyan. Camp Ramah and the Minyan were the main sources of tunes for all the daveners. Only three of the interviewees were women; this is partly because a number of women who had been regular daveners had recently stopped when they had children. I did not include in the chart the geographic origins of the interviewees for identity reasons. They were, however, mostly from the northeast but ranged across the country. No one was able to pinpoint where or when they had learned specific tunes. No one remembered how any specific tune had been introduced into the Minyan.

"RETURN TO A NEW PLACE" STRUCTURES

This discussion of structures of the Minyan service is indebted to Mary Catherine Bateson's concept of ritualization. Bateson bases here model on the "principle that it is possible to describe language without describing content, meaning being invoked only contrastively." (1974-150) Bateson's working definition of ritual is "repeated, customary procedure, associated with religion and involving at least two human participants." (150) This is hardly an adequate definition of ritual but it will do for purposes of this discussion. Bateson refers to the work of Kenneth Pike applying two aspects of linguistics to other phenomena: units and levels. Her "model then suggests that every stretch of human behavior...is segmentable into emic units at a number of levels." (151) The levels are created either by combining units or by dividing up the largest unit, the entire event into smaller parts. Bateson states that she is trying to make a model to analyze all behavior, but her discussion analyzes the text of a ritual. Bateson admits the model does not accommodate motion - by which she means body motion (here this would mean musical motion in time). She says:

> A number of theorists have maintained that no segmentary/sequential model is adequate for describing human behavior..., a charge which will not be analyzed in detail here except by maintaining that all human behavior has a segmentary/sequential aspect which presents itself for description." (152)

Bateson then goes on to describe and analyze a prayer meeting according to her model.

Bateson creates a unit she calls a praxon, similar to the term idiom. She says that idiom applies specifically to verbal behavior and she expects the term praxon to apply to all behavior:

> Praxonic segmentation segments behavior into the minimal chunks, whose meaning is not deducible from their structure, even though this may be very extensive. (159)

Once she has a praxonic breakdown, Bateson proceeds to apply a concept she calls "fusion" to the ritual analysis.

> Fusion comes about through (a) addition of meaning, (b) atrophy of components, (c) blurring of boundaries, or (d) hypperregular surface structure. (160)

She places repetition under blurring of boundaries and states that with regard to these four categories there are overlaps and that meaning consists in different degrees of fusion.

Bateson's work is applicable here because Minyan participants take their meaning from their behavior in the ritual setting rather than from the content of the text and this is largely due to "atophy of components." Like Bateson, I am looking for meaning contrastively. I am, however, seeing repetition differently, as recurrent elements which create a circular structure that is equal to, and must be viewed in direct relation to, segmental/sequential structure. Possibly what is needed is to combine the praxon with units of circularity (the action of which might constitute what Bateson refers to as fusion) in a single system. However, this analysis also differs from Bateson in another way. The Minyan ritual combines three different structures that begin and end simultaneously and last the duration of the ritual: text structure, music structure and performance structure. These structures operate simultaneously and not hierarchically and the relations between them at any given point during the ritual may be highly complex. Bateson says, "...one of the first things we notice about the structural analysis is that it can only be consistently made at all levels if we focus on only one participant. It does not even exists for the group as a whole."(160) Thus, Bateson is analyzing the behavior of one participant while I am presenting the ritual as a whole, as a context in which the participants' experiences occur.

I will now describe in detail each of the "return to a new place" structures:

CYCLICAL TURNOVER OF ACTIVE COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

Cyclical turnover refers to a pattern in which it appears that active Minyan members remain active for a certain period of time, approximately two years. They then move on, leaving Minyan activity to a new group of active members. There are two types of individuals in this pattern. The first, mainly students, came to the Minyan for the period of their residence in the community. When they graduate from school they also graduate from the Minyan. Often these have been young people preparing for professional positions in the Jewish community studying at nearby seminaries and consciously using the Minyan to learn Jewish communal skills. They usually leave with satisfaction and continue to have positive connections with the community. The second type is dissatisfied with the Minyan. While sometimes such individuals were incompatible with the community anyway, in many cases dissatisfaction with the community arises from having successfully passed through a particular stage of growth and having outgrown what the community has to offer. Thus, some of those who leave dissatisfied may actually be Minyan success stories who do not recognize that their readiness to go on is the result of their growth through participating in Minyan activities. Many members of the three-week minyan and some who have joined the other groups that meet in the synagogue are in this category.

Minyan crises have precipitated major changes in community functioning periodically. One of the founding members of the Minyan observed that the patterns are usually "old patterns with new people. The issues and problems they face are the same ones as before." A group forms and becomes a closed

social group, a kind of havurah within the Minyan. Even though the Minyan is nominally open, once an active core group forms, it becomes difficult to break in. But this closed circle is such that when members drop out or when the group opens up once a year to new members, a new group forms that incorporates new members. During the course of the year someone outside the active core may indicate interest by volunteering. The core will then try to recruit such an individual at the time of regrouping. Public announcements are rarely successful in recruiting volunteers for the Steering Committee or for positions with major responsibility such as a holiday coordinator. The successful approach is usually a personal one-to-one discussion initiated by one of the active core. Such an approach is necessary to overcome the closed social barrier. Each time the closed active core opens up to bring in new members, this is a "return to a new place." There is a return to coping with the same Minyan problems - quality of ritual, need for volunteers, holiday planning, integrating children into the community, etc. Each new active core confronts Minyan problems in its own way and seeks solutions satisfactory to its members. Their decisions often last only as long as their tenure. The same member mentioned above also pointed out, "often the same discussions and decisions are made over and over again. No one bothers to look at previous decisions that were made." Each generation of active core approaches Minyan problems in its own way and makes decisions according to a consensus of its members.

CELEBRATION OF THE SABBATH.

Sabbath services are the central Minyan activity. Torah study is the symbol of the growth and transformation experienced in sabbath study. In the Minyan sabbath study means participating in the Torah discussion. Minyan members do not, for the most part, keep the sabbath according to Jewish law. Many engage in activities after services that Jewish law prohibits, such as travel, attending movies, going to work or going out to eat. Many members said they attend the Minyan in order to be with each other, to be with their friends. They said that who is there has a deep impact on how they experience the davening. One said, "you can have a lot of friends in the Minyan and still feel uncomfortable if they're not there." Thus, the sabbath is a vehicle for Minyan members rather than a sacred experience in and of itself. Through the structure of "return to a new place" Minyan members construct out of the sabbath cycle the symbolic form through which they make their tradition meaningful. This process emphasizes the human role in creating religious institutions rather than the divine or sacred. If this sounds like Durkheim, one member even referred to the sociologist in describing her involvement in the Minyan and said, "I don't think about that which is transcendant in me, God or whatever." In this service "return to a new place" occurs in a pattern that fuses the familiar with the new each week so that each sabbath is identifiable as a sabbath but clearly as this sabbath and no other, not next sabbath or last sabbath. Thus, each sabbath, rather than being sacred time or time out of time is an intersection between cyclic and linear time.

THE PERFORMANCE STRUCTURE OF THE DAVENING

The performance structure of the davening is built on three structures of the service:

1. text structure
2. nusah
3. havurah-style davening innovations: singing of Pesukei Dezimrah
   Torah discussion

Three factors working through the interplay between these structures result in the performance structure:

1. the proportion of recurrent to changing elements
2. the interval density of recurrent elements
3. the continuum between speech and song

The proportion of recurrent to changing elements (see chart on following page) alters in an orderly fashion moving the service from a strong emphasis on circularity toward linearness and back to circularity. In the introductory section, the proportion is three recurrent elements (circular tunes, verses, and nusah at ends of paragraphs). The changing element is the content (no recurrent words). In the second section, the main body of the service, the proportion is two recurrent elements (nusah at ends of paragraphs and the paragraphs themselves as a text form reinforced by recurrent nusah) to two changing elements (non-recurrent tunes and content). In the third section the only recurrent element is a few tunes while text, content and tunes are all changing. Paragraphs in this section are interspersed with other forms and individual paragraphs are treated differently, for instance sung to linear tunes, and so that lose the sense of recurrence inspired by use of nusah in the second section. (For a detailed discussion of the Torah reading itself see the Music Structure section.)

PROPORTION OF RECURRENT TO CHANGING ELEMENTS IN THE DAVENING

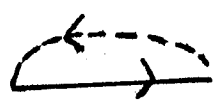
STRUCTURES text elements	introductory section Pesukei Dezimrah (Psalms)	main body Shema/Amidah	Torah service	Torah discussion	conclusion Aleinu Adon Olam
music elements					
nusah	Magein Avot	Ahava Rabbah	none	none	none
tunes	Hasidic and Conservative	mostly Conservative	mostly Conservative	none	Hasidic Conservative Secular
performance elements recurrent	circular tunes verse forms nusah at end of paragraphs	nusah at end of paragraphs text form (paragraphs)	a few tunes	none	circular tunes verse forms refrain (recurrent words)
changing elements	content	tunes content	text form content tunes	conversation	content (other than refrain)
proportion of recurrent elements to changing elements	3/1	2/2	1/3	0/1	3/1

PERFORMANCE STRUCTURE OF THE DAVENING

Factors	Introductory	Main body	Torah service	Torah discussion	Conclusion
proportion of recurrent to changing elements	3/1	2/2	1/3	0/1	3/1
interval density	songs, small regular blessings, small regular paragraphs, larger irregular	paragraphs - larger and irregular	few and irregular	none	songs, small regular paragraphs, larger irregular
speech and song	songs nusah singing quiet chant	nusah singing quiet chant	paragraph singing Torah chant	conversation	songs

The final section consists usually of the Aleinu which has a linear text and music and two closing humns that have recurrent text forms - verses - and are sung to recurrent tunes, often having refrains in which the first verse is repeated after each verse is sung. These are Ein Kelohenu and Adon Olam. Such refrains occur only in these humns. The effect is to strengthen the sense of circularity and to provide the service itself with a sense of closing.

The second factor in the relation between recurrent and linearness in the performance structure of the service is that of interval density which is discussed by Kolaja. Experience of circularity due to recurrence depends partly on how soon after it ends a unit of recurrent behavior begins again. Circularity requires that the unit begin even in the process of ending, Bateson's "blurring of boundaries." When the end becomes the beginning, eventually any sense that there is such a thing as an end or beginning is lost. A circle is that form with no beginning and no end, simply repeating itself continually. This experience begins with a linear unit such as a tune. When the tune ends, it starts over. This return to the beginning destroys the end, destroys the linear character of the original unit and then gestalt perception makes this imperfect form into a circle.



Recurrent, however, does not always occur immediately, nor does it always occur regularly. A refrain in a song recurs after each verse. Nusah at the ends of paragraphs occurs after an interval of quietly chanting through the rest of the paragraph in a linear fashion. Some tunes recur weekly while others are sung again perhaps a month or some months later. The more time elapsed between recurrences, the larger the interval density and the less sensation of circularity.

The third factor in this structure is the continuum of speech and song, inspired by the work of George List (1963). List's organizing principle was melody which he based on pitch, duration and stress. He defined speech as casual utterance, such as conversation, and song as having stable pitches, a scalar structure and lacking speech intonation. He then went on to classify examples on a continuum of speech, chant and song. In this system, song as defined by List, may be applied to the circular songs and to the nusah at the ends of paragraphs. Chanting through the middle of the paragraph quietly, while done to the same prayer modes is less like song. While there is scalar structure and the modes do have pitch content, performance has speech intonation. Musical motives used for the Torah reading (see music section) also have scalar structure and pitch content. Here again, performance has a quality of speech intonation. Thus, in general the song/speech continuum follows the same structure as recurrence/change. Songs are emphasizes in the beginning and ending sections of the service. Torah reading in the third section is chant. The Torah discussion is conversation, or speech. The two structures, therefore, reinforce each other to emphasize the effects.

An important aspect of the performance structure is the space in which service is held. Chairs form a circle with the ark included in the circle. The spiral is projected out of the circle through the ritual performance; the structure of the space is transformed through an experience in time. Two fixed points on the circle act as symbols and agents of transformation: the Torah itself in the ark and the davening leader.

The result of the "return to a new place" structure is to release social energy. Social energy is the factor that opens up and increases over the course of a sabbath service. One reason for this effect is simply that the number of people increases. The more people in the room, the more socializing

is going on. This effect is reciprocal. The larger proportion of Minyan members tend to arrive for the later events that include more socializing. Thus, while the Torah discussion is the climax of the ritual, the kiddush is the climax of the event. One member said he had originally created the Torah Study activity (see chart on Minyan subgroups) because he felt frustrated that the socializing energy he saw built up during kiddush could not be continued or fulfilled. He hoped the potential would carry into the event he started and was disappointed that this didn't happen. He said that he eventually gave up and created his own social network outside the Minyan.

The first socializing activity of the day occurs at the end of the Amidah. After the section everyone davens together aloud, each person finishes the Amidah silently. Orthodox custom is that everyone maintains total silence while others are finishing to help daveners concentrate on their prayer. In the Minyan, this is when socializing begins. This activity occurs at the end of the main body of the service. There is also an Orthodox custom not to interrupt the rhythm of davening through this section with any discussions or announcements, a custom the Minyan keeps. This emphasizes the significance of the socializing that occurs at the end of the Amidah. Once begun socializing continues through the Torah service and becomes the main activity during kiddush. The importance of socializing during the kiddush highlights the significance of complaints by a number of interviewees about the problems they had becoming a part of the community. These individuals specifically mentioned kiddush, the time when they would stand holding a wine cup in their hand feeling very alone and angry because one one would speak to them. It appears that the ritual itself releases this socializing energy and arouses the desire of participants to become involved.

Text Structure

The Minyan uses a prayerbook published by the Conservative Jewish movement which is a modified form of the service mandated by Jewish law. This prayerbook, called the Silverman siddur because of its editor Morris Silverman, is used mainly because the host synagogue donated copies at the time it gave the Minyan its space. In January of 1978 the newsletter reports a need to decide whether to rebind these siddurim or purchase others, mentioning two popular Orthodox versions as alternatives. The Minyan still has the Silverman siddurim. A few interviewees (both men and women) mentioned dissatisfaction with the male imagery of the text but were not prepared to work on making changes. The following pages contain charts. The first delineates the Conservative text structure (as found in the Silverman siddur); the second delineates those elements in that structure that Minyan guidelines require; and the third exhibits a model service of the consistent elements in Minyan davening based on field observations. A comparison chart shows the relation of these three davening structures to each other.

The "Diagram of Shaharit (Morning) Service" published by the Conservative movement, shows the structure in the siddur which the Minyan uses. This structure is based on the Orthodox liturgy required by law. This chart deviates from the Minyan Guidelines very little. The only real difference is the Minyan exclusion of the Additional Service (Musaf).

Elements which the Minyan requires include the Berakhot a series of blessings in which the speaker expresses gratitude to God for what God has created them to be and not to be; Barukh Sheemár which celebrates God as creator; the Barekhu which, as mentioned previously, legalizes the service;

the Shema which is a central element in the service declaring God's oneness; the blessings before and after the Shema; the Amidah which is called "The Prayer" because of its historical and structural importance; a Torah service; the Aleinu which declares the uniqueness of the Jewish people, and the Mourners' Kaddish which must be said by those in mourning. Minyan Guidelines are generally for the text, not for performance and there are no musical requirements. They do not mention movement, such as bowing or facing the ark. They do not prescribe a beginning or ending for the service as a whole. They do not prescribe leadership techniques. The guidelines do not mention use of texts other than the siddur (the Minyan encourages additional readings). They do not mention large portions of the text in the siddur which leaves those portions open to whatever the davening leader wishes to do with them. They encourage innovation in the preliminary service and the Torah service by saying "A" service, implying not necessarily the one in the book.

The guidelines are not the only method by which the Minyan transmits its davening requirements. Many of the aspects mentioned above are transmitted orally and through experience, such as the songs, movements and the fact that the same Torah service is done every week even though that is not prescribed in the guidelines. One of the effects of intermittent outbreaks of complaint about the quality of davening is that peoples' feelings get expressed. While there may be little or no direct feedback to specific davening leaders, periodic crises in the quality of davening open discussions which avoid direct attack on individuals but do bring to light what members want from the davening. Davening leaders are also the recipient of transmission from other davening leaders as they usually ask for help along the way. Thus transmission occurs through the written guidelines, in ritual performance, in informal discussions and in the training process.

COMPARISON OF CONSERVATIVE SABBATH MORNING SERVICE TEXT WITH MINYAN GUIDELINES FOR BA'AL TEFILLAH AND SERVICE CONSISTENTLY PERFORMED

SHABBAT MORNING SERVICE

CONSERVATIVE TEXT	MINYAN GUIDELINES	MODEL SERVICE
Pesukei Dezimrah Berakhot	A Preliminary Service. The Ba'al Tefillah should feel free to experiment but should include the Berakhot and Barukh Sheemar or some equivalent	Pesukei Dezimrah
Barekhu	Barekhu	Barekhu
two blessings before Shema (Yozer and Ahava Rabbah	two blessings before Shema (Yozer and Ahava Rabbah)	two blessings before Shema (Yozer and Ahava Rabbah
Shema and blessings after	Shema and blessings after	Shema and blessings after
Amidah - full silent then full repeat aloud	Amidah (including Kedusha aloud)	Amidah - aloud from beginning through Kedusha including added names of four mothers in opening paragraph; completed silently
Half Kaddish		Full Kaddish
complete Torah reading including Haftarah	A Torah service (including Shema, Ehad Eloheinu and Gadlu	Conservative Torah service, Torah reading in triennial cycle
Sermon		Torah discussion
Musaf		
Full Kaddish		
Aleinu	Aleinu	Aleinu
Mourners' Kaddish	Mourners' Kaddish	Mourners' Kaddish
Concluding Prayers		Adon Olam

DIAGRAM OF SHAḤARIT (MORNING) SERVICE [4]

Early morning b'rachot -- בִּרְכוֹת הַשַּׁחַר

פְּסוּקֵי דִזִּמְרָה
HYMNS AND PSALMS TO PREPARE US FOR PRAYER

Baruch She'amar -- בָּרוּךְ שֶׁאָמַר

PSALMS, SONGS, MEDITATIONS

Yishtabaḥ Shimchah -- יִשְׁתַּבַּח שִׁמְךָ

Barechu בָּרְכוּ

שְׁמַע וּבִרְכוֹתֶיהָ
SHEMA AND ITS BLESSINGS

1st b'rachah before Shema -- יוֹצֵר הָאוֹר
(God creates the world anew every day; light)

2nd b'rachah before Shema -- אַהֲבָה רַבָּה
(God gives the Torah, and shows His special love for Israel)

SHEMA שְׁמַע

3 paragraphs of the Shema
- וְאָהַבְתָּ
- וְהָיָה אִם שָׁמוֹעַ
- וַיֹּאמֶר ה' אֶל מֹשֶׁה

B'rachah after Shema -- גָּאַל יִשְׂרָאֵל
(God has redeemed His people Israel)

AMIDAH -- עֲמִידָה
also known as
"18" Benedictions -- (שְׁמוֹנֶה עֶשְׂרֵה)

Hallel -- הַלֵּל (on Rosh Ḥodesh and Holidays)

Half Kaddish חֲצִי קַדִּישׁ

Torah Reading קְרִיאַת הַתּוֹרָה (on Monday and Thursday, Shabbat, Rosh Hodesh and Holidays)

(ADDITIONAL SERVICE) -- תְּפִלַּת מוּסָף (Shabbat, Rosh Ḥodesh and Holidays)

Full Kadish -- קַדִּישׁ שָׁלֵם

Alaynu -- עָלֵינוּ

Mourner's Kaddish -- קַדִּישׁ יָתוֹם

Concluding Prayers

Higher and Higher, study guide to prayer published by the Conservative Movement

GUIDELINES FOR BA'AL/AT TEFILLAH

The Minyan believes in experimentation and flexibility in tefillah. The ba'al/at tefillah should feel free to add explanations and alternative readings, bearing in mind the guidelines below.

1. There are core parts of the service to be included. These are:

   A. A preliminary service. The ba'al/at tefillah should feel free to experiment, but should include the b'rachot (p. 45) and baruch she'amar (p. 62) or some equivalent.

   B. Bor'chu.

   C. The two blessings before the sh'ma (yotser ha-m'orot and ohev yisrael).

   D. Sh'ma.

   E. The blessing after the sh'ma that includes mi chamocha (geulah).

   F. Amidah (including kedushah out loud).

   G. A service for taking out the Torah (including at least sh'ma, echad elokeinu, and gadlu).

   H. A service for returning the Torah.

   I. Aleinu.

   J. Mourners' kaddish.

2. When making major changes in any of these core parts of the service, the ba'al/at tefillah should allow time for silent dovening.

3. The ba'al/at tefillah should announce page numbers from time to time.

4. Instructions should not be given between bor'chu and the amidah. Instead, the ba'al/at tefillah should announce before bor'chu how the amidah will be said

5. Although the Minyan appreciates being introduced to new melodies, the ba'al/at tefillah should beware of introducing too many at once. New melodies should be interspersed among familiar ones.

6. If the ba'al/at tefillah is weak in singing, s/he should have someone in the congregation help lead melodies.

7. The mourners' kaddish should be said. The ba'al/at tefillah should announce the page number of the mourners' kaddish and lead it (or arrange to have it led) at a slow pace so that anyone who has to say kaddish can follow.

MODEL SERVICE*

Text	Music	Page in Silverman
Begin with nigun or Mah Tovu	sung	42
Berakhot	chanted	45
Barukh Sheemar	chanted or recited	62
A selection of Psalms (choice, usually one of the following)		
Torat Adonai Temimah	sung	66
Mi HaIsh	sung	67
Zaddik Katamar	sung	74
Ashrei	chanted responsively	76
Halleluyah Psalms	leader chants first and last lines	77-80
Psalm 150	sung	80**
Paragraph after Psalm 150	chanted	80
Shaharit		
Nishmat Kol Hai	chanted first line	84
Shokhein Ad	all chant first line; reader chants last line	86
Kaddish	leader and response	86-87
Barekhu	leader and response	87
Ein Keerkekha/El Adon	sung	88**
Et Shem Hamelekh	chant first line in nusah reader chants last line	90
Kadosh, Kadosh Kadosh	chant and response	90
Or Hadash	sung or chanted in nusah	91
Ahava Rabbah	sung or chanted in nusah	91
Vehaar Eineinu	optional-sung	91
Shema	sung	92
Following blessings	silent with last line chanted	93
Ezrat Avoteinu	chant first line in nusah	94
Mi Ha Mo Ha	last line before chanted in nusah, text sung	95
Zur Yisrael	sung	96
Amidah	sung from beginning through Kedusha	97
V'eineinu Tirena	sung	
Completed	silent	
Full Kaddish	leader and response	116

MODEL SERVICE (continued)

Text	Music	Page in Silverman
Torah service		
Ein Kamokha continue through Barukh Shenatan	sung	117
Beh Anah Rahez	sung	118
Shema, Ehad, Gadlu	sung responsively	123
Yehallu, Hodo	sung	133
Havu L'Adonai	sung responsively	134
Ets Hayyim	sung	136
Ein Keloheinu	sung	157
Aleinu Bayom Hahu (last line)	sung	158
Adon Olam	sung	162**

* Service as consistently performed based on field observations
** Texts most often sung and set to a wide variety of melodies

Text is not used in the Minyan for the literal meaning of the words. Many members do not know the Hebrew language fluently, and most, usually all, of the service is conducted in Hebrew. One member commented:

> There was a large consensus of people who said they don't care what it says. They don't read it for what it means. They read it for other purposes. As a performance, or as a drone, as a mantra.
>
> If you actually understand every word, well you just don't want to be there. You can still tune it out if it's not your mother tongue.

The Minyan ignores what Bateson terms "atrophy of components" (1974:160) - loss of meaning in the content of an ancient ritual. The Reform Movement has, since the nineteenth century, printed numerous modified versions of the liturgy in an attempt to create relevant text amenable to reading for sense rather than chanting rhythmically. This approach constitutes a criticism of chanting faster than a human being can read for sense. Bateson terms this fission and writes:

> This pressure toward fission can even be observed in the liturgical movements of the mainline churches, which tend to be predicated on the notion that ritual should be intelligible word for word, that repetition should be avoided, and that atrophied components are anathema. If the argument of this paper is correct, they have precisely misunderstood the nature of ritual.... (164)

The Minyan's attitude toward text, like its attitude toward authority, may be a criticism of the institution of the synagogue. Minyan chanting often does have the effect of ignoring text that for its members is suffering from "atrophy of components." In fact, Minyan members are more aware of what they are not doing, the negative aspect of not finding meaning in the liturgical text, than of what they are doing, creating a structure through which they express their values in a way they cannot through the text.

Music Structure

Minyan guidelines ignore musical rendition of the texts required, yet the music of the service is fairly consistent from week to week. There are three musical elements in the Minyan service: tunes, nusah and trop though Minyan members may make different distinctions. Some might place tunes and nusah in the same category since the Minyan generally uses specific nusah melodies while few members are skilled enough to improvise. Others might not place trop in the category of music at all.

Tunes

Tunes are very important in the Minyan since many members cite singing together as they reason they daven at all and singing together with their friends in the Minyan as the most important aspect of the experience. A list of the most often sung tunes according to categories follows and the appendix consists of transcriptions of these tunes and other musical elements in the service.

Nusah

Nusah is a collective name given to the musical modes traditionally applied to davening. Two modes are prescribed for the sabbath morning service: Magein Avot for the Introductory service and Ahava Rabbah for the main body of the service through the Amidah (except for the first paragraph of the Amidah which is sung to a tune in the major scale). While a few Minyan members may be heard chanting through entire paragraphs as is customary, most Minyan members are unfamiliar with nusah. They know a few set melodies the Minyan uses such as that for Shokhein Ad in the Magein Avot mode (in the Appendix). They generally are unable to improvise based on the modes, as would be expected of a professional cantor (paid musical leader of services

in synagogues). A few members make up their own nusah, using melodic motives they create in the way nusah is normally used. One interviewee was discussing how she had learned davening in a class given by a Minyan member and had used nusah melodies exactly as she had learned them. She had a difficult time conveying that she was discussing nusah since she did not know the term and was not sure how to describe it.

TROP

Trop is the collective term referring to symbols called te'amim which stand for musical motives. A leyner, the individual who chants sacred Jewish literature on public occasions, applies these te'amim to the text. A ta'am is a sign, above or below a word of text which tells the leyner to use a particular group of notes for that word. The rhythmical pattern is textual. The signs are only given in books for use to study and learn the chanting. There are no signs in an actual scroll from which the leyner reads, just as there are no vowel signs. A leyner must memorize the words and the trop. The musical motives are not linked into a formal musical form; they are textual accents. According to the Encyclopedia Judaica, they probably developed when the text was still an oral tradition as a memory aide. (1972:1099)

There is only one set of trop signs. There are, however, many different sets of musical motives set to the signs. There are different tropes for different occasions and for different texts. There are also different tropes that are simply a variety of traditions. There are two different Torah tropes, one for normal use and one for the high holidays. There are also different sets of notes for leyning the scrolls (megillot) that are publically chanted

on special occasions. With regard to differences in traditions, the only time two Minyan members use the same trop is when one learned from another. There are as many different set of notes for Torah chanting as there are members of the community. In fact, one interviewee suggested that recording all the tropes would, in itself, make an interesting project.

Circular, or immediate, recurrence, such as the use of two of the same trop signs in a row, does not occur. Rather, the opposite is true. While word recurrence is quite common in many sections of Torah, each recurrence of a word or phrase uses different trop signs. Thus, the musical motives are used to disrupt any sense of recurrence during a public reading although a discussion may well focus on the recurrence of certain words. The closest element in the public reading to recurrence is the trop sign that ends sentences. Two factors mitigate against recurrence in sentence endings. First, the length of sentences is highly irregular so that no musical expectation may be set up and gestalt perception has nothing to work on. Secondly, trop signs tend to come in pairs so that while the final sound of each sentence may be the same, it will likely be paired with a different trop sign than the sentence before or after. Thus, while there is a limited number of trop signs and they recur constantly, that they are text governed and provide textual accents mitigates against recurrence. Further analysis might prove interesting. Unfortunately, Kolaja does not discuss the difference between regular and irregular interval density. Meyer discusses musical expectation in detail; he would require rhythmical musical form to prepare the listener for recurrence, but rhythm is text-governed in leyning. Encyclopedia Judaica says that while it may be possible for the

reader to "blend" the motives melodically, repetition is not valued: "The style itself remains constant, but each reader may interpret it with a certain individuality and will never repeat his previous performance precisely when he reads the same passage upon another occasion." (1103)

Tunes used in the Minyan

The tunes regularly sung in the Minyan fall into three categories. First, there are tunes known as "traditional," passed on by oral transmission. These tunes are not attributed to any particular composers. The second category is formal synagogue compositions, a form that originated in 19th century Europe. The third category are tunes associated with havurah-style davening. The list following is generally representative, though incomplete. The concept of musical innovation requires continuing creating application of new tunes. Some transcriptions are included in the Appendix.

1. traditional tunes

   Ashrei (responsive chant tune)

   Psalm 150 (a) Israeli folk tune)

   Ets Hayyim

   First paragraph of Amidah

   Shokhein Ad (traditional nusah melody)

   Vezot HaTorah (sung as Torah is raised before being put away)

   Kaddish

   Zur Yisrael

   Aleinu

2. formal synagogue compositions

Lewandowski, Louis	Zaddik Katamar
Wohlberg, Max	Mekhalkeil Hayyim
Hirsch, N.	Oseh Shalom
Sulzer, Solomon	Vayehi Binsoa Ein Kamokha Ki Mizion Hodo Al Eretz Vaanahnu Koreem
Dunayevsky, A.	Av Harahamim
Rovener, Z. (attributed)	Beh Anah
Goldfarb, S.E.	Mizmor L'David

3. Havurah-style tunes

   a. tunes published in Velvel Pasternak's Songs of the Chassidim

      1. Ashrenu, p. 13
      4. Hoshio es Amecho, p. 14
      6. Elecho, p. 15
      7. Ki Hem Chayenu, p. 16
      18. V'enenu Sireno, p. 21
      22. Mi Ho-Ish, p. 24
      27. Rom'mu, p. 26
      30. Mimizrayim, p. 28
      33. Emes, p. 31
      43. Yism'chu Hashomayim, p. 39
      56. Ele Chomdo Libi, p. 47
      100. Y'vorech, p. 81
      123. V'Korev P'Zurenu (No. 1), p. 96

b. tunes composed by Rabbo Shlomo Carlebach

Vehaer Eineinu (sometimes sung to his words, sometimes to the text)

Ki Mizion (when wrapping Torah after reading, not where it occurs in the text)

tune from Essa Einai used for El Adon

Ein Kelohenu

other tunes applied to various texts, original text not known

c. secular songs

Gershwin, George and Heyward, Du Bose	Summertime	to Adon Olam
Simon, Paul and Garfunkle, Arthur	Scarborough Fair	to Adon Olam
Dylan, Bob	Blowin' in the Wind	to Bayom Hahu

d.. original tunes composed by members of the Havurah movement

Siegel, Richie	Psalm 150 (b)
source unconfirmed	Ahava Rabbah (paragraph before Shema)

I was unable to trace a number of tunes and, therefore, unable to place them in the proper category. Tunes whose sources are unknown include the round Mah Tovu, Ein Keerkekha/El Adon, the round Or Hadash, Mi Kha Mo Kha, Zur Yisrael, and the two-part Adon Olam (taped but not transcribed).

Musical Performance

No musical instruments are used in the Minyan, as is Jewish musical custom on the sabbath, though Minyan Guidelines permit such use. The Guidelines also suggest musically insecure leaders ask someone to lead music for them. No one ever does. Some Minyan members know harmony to regular tunes. A few are able to improvise harmony and do so. Sometimes a leader may sing a few notes, and

recognition will cause others to chime in loudly and strongly. So, a leader can use a tune even if they don't know it well, if it's a popular community tune. On the other hand, the community has been known to drown out a leader who tries to use a different tune where another tune is popular and usually sung. One leader waited until the community sang through the first verse of a tune; when they stopped for him to sing the solo part, he started singing the different tune he wanted to sing. One member said he tries subtly to raise the pitch over the course of singing, a sneaky technique for creating a sense of lifting. Some leaders say they prepare more than one tune for texts usually sung, so they can choose according to the mood of the community. Using old tunes for new texts is the most popular technique for doing something spontaneous. Leaders say it is difficult to teach new tunes; it disrupts the flow of the service. Everyone knows regular tunes, so they can join in easily. Davening leaders in the Minyan do not "perform". That is, according to Minyan values, leaders do not sing solos, do not use the flowery style associated with European cantors and do not think of the congregation as an audience for them. The value of participation is carried out strongly in the area of music. The leader is to use music that everyone can sing and encourage them to do so.

RECURRENT SONG FORM

Singing together is the aspect of davening for which most Minyan members say they come. It is not within the scope of this paper to do a thorough musical analysis of the songs. I will focus this discussion on looking at the song form. This form spplies recurrent tunes to texts with recurrent forms (verses) but non-recurrent content (words). The regular western meters of the tunes differ from the Hebraic rhythms of the psalms to which they are sung; this tells us that the song is not original to the content. In fact, the song form is hardly unique to the Minyan. It is rather the most common form of Western folk song, known as strophic structure. The tune has an A part, a contrasting B part and then returns to A. In western music this form is known as simple ternary form, defined by Berry as having the following festures:

1. Three parts or sections;
2. a clear relationship between the first and third parts, so that the third is eflt to be a return of the first; and
3. contrast - tonal, thematic, textural, developmental, or any combination of these - in the second part (1966:53)

Note the significance of return in the form. There is a melody; a contrastive B part and then a recurrence of A, a return to the beginning. Tonal contrast mostly commonly characterizes the B part of Minyan songs. The texts, of course are very ancient, and they were not written in this form. There is, in fact, little relation between music and textual content in this regard. Berry says that return sets "the whole into a perceptible and logical unity" which is called "rounding" of the form. Thus, "ternary form conveys the logic and unity of a circular form." (53) Berry then goes on to discuss strophic structure as an example of ternary form. All of the Pasternak songs, tunes

to texts such as El Adon, Mi Kha Mo Kha, Beh Anah, Mizmor L'David, Ein Keloheinu and Adon Olam generally follow this form. That is this is the form of the songs in the Introductory and Concluding sections with two each in the Main Body and Torah Service sections, a very small portion of these two sections. Thus, circularity characterizes the beginning and end of the service while the middle sections are linear in character reinforced by a custom prohibiting repetition of words for musical purposes. The circular structure of the melody combined with the linear structure of the content to which the melodies are applied becomes the paradigm "return to a new place" structure.

CONCLUSION

Davening in the Bloemendael Minyan is a complex event. The individuals who attend are from a diversity of places and backgrounds and are there for different and individual reasons. They do, however, share certain values on which the community is based, that they want to be involved Jewishly, that men and women are ritually equal, that each person finds their own way to be Jewish, that all members of the community are potential leaders, that members of the community should participate in davening and volunteer to do tasks, and that they want to spend their Saturday mornings together.

The structure of the davening is also complex, combining traditional text and music with Hasidic, modern and individual elements so as to create a unified whole. Interestingly, however, the experience of the individual davener may be totally different. Given the context of the ritual with its complex interacting structures, individuals have a great deal of control over their experiences. First, they decide when to arrive, whether to attend the whole service or only part and which part. Interviewees said they usually decided when to arrive in terms of section of the service not according to clock time. Most seek to arrive in time for the Torah discussion. Some arrive only in time for kiddush, skipping the ritual altogether. Even when present, however, each individual's experience is unique, as pointed out by Bateson. Individuals will focus their attention and therefore, not take in everything going on in the simultaneous structures. One factor in the singing might be that during singing more collective attention is focused on one aspect of the event. This is partly because participants want to sing. During the Torah reading, in contrast, when only the reader is working alone,

activity tends to spread out and diversify. Many members cannot follow the Hebrew. Some are more interested in competing stimuli such as children or friends. To some extent the ritual itself shifts attention between its structures. Songs attract attention to singing; the Barekhu focuses attention on its structural role in the service; during the Torah reading those who will be called up to say blessings must pay attention in order to know when it's their turn. Participants have a range of options competing for their attention, contributing to the changing nature of their experience since attention is probably the least structurally consistent factor in the ritual.

The key to what Minyan davening is lies in the activities of singing and socializing. These are the two activities Minyan members say that come to the Minyan for. They don't call it religion and some state that it is not religion. I believe there are two reasons for the general criticism and insistence that the Minyan is not religious. One is a feeling on the part of critics or participants that singing and socializing are trivial activities not worthy to be called religious or sacred. The other is that Minyan members need to differentiate between what they are doing and those traditional activities thought of as religious that Minyan members reject.

The two focal activities of Minyan davening are singing and socializing. Many members say that singing together is the significant act for them. Thus, in order to understand Minyan experience, it is necessary to establish what singing together means. Havurah movement veterans said that Arthur Green, founder of Havurat Shalom, the first of these kinds of communities, consciously sought inspiration from the Hasidim. Gendler in his article on Havurat Shalom discussed Green's interest in the Hasidim and also mentioned the use of the Hasidic nigun, the wordless tune, in their davening. (1972:16) What is

important about this connection with Hasidic music is the Hasidic view of music as a tool for reaching a spiritual state. The Hasidim believe that music can aid the worshipper's concentration on prayer. Contrast this view with that expressed by Petuchowski:

> The music is there for the entertainment of the worshipper, rather than as a requirement of the Deity. True, the pious singer may hope that God will receive his songs with favor.... But the God who has been known to prefer justice to the sacrificial cult has also intimated his occasional distaste for musical performances. (1972:27-29)

It is quite likely that those who criticize the Minyan for its emphasis on singing together maintain the latter opinion on music in prayer. For instance one man who is himself more traditional but attends the Minyan with his wife said, "Singing together is social, not religious. For religion, there has to be a real belief in God."

The second activity Minyan members emphasize is socializing. By this term, however, Minyan members do not mean spending recreational time in conversation. Socializing in the Minyan means getting involved with people, getting to know them, providing emotional support for each other, caring about peoples' lives, becoming connected with each other. Although Minyan members do not use the term sacred, Weissler's concept of "lodging of the sacred in social relations" (1982:9) fairly well describes their attitude. Highly applicable is this Weissler discussion:

> Perhaps the most profound way that Minyan members strive to overcome the difficulty of worship, one which transforms the meaning of the religious experience, is the connection they establish between the interpersonal and the sacred. Worship always takes place within a particular social cultural setting. We need not take Durkheim's position (Durkheim 1971:225) that society itself is what is worshipped to agree that the particular form of society intimately affects what worship can be, and how it is understood. (1982:182)

Weissler speaks of a "theology of imminance." Minyan members use the term presence. Here again, a comparison with the Hasidim may shed light. The Hasidim view presence which they feel during davening as divine, outside of themselves and feminine. This divine presence is the Shekhinah, the female aspect of God, and many Hasidim think of davening as "'copulation with the Shekhinah." (Jacobs: 1972:60) In the Minyan presence is also an important factor, but participants view it as personal, as located in themselves. It is because of presence that "who's there" is so important to davening.

In Orthodox synagogues, men and women are seated separately and are not supposed to see each other. There were reputedly numerous sexual relationships in the early Havurah movement, with its egalitarian policies. This might have been partly attributable to the effects of davening, but probably more due to the sexual liberation movement occurring at the time. One member says this problem does not happen much in the Minyan but emphasized that there is a "transference" relationship between the participants and the davening leader.

What is fascinating is that the all-male Hasidic congregation views presence as divine, outside of themselves and feminine while the mixed-sex congregation views presence as human, located within, and having a sexual component. It seems that the same phenomenon has been relocated from outside the self to within, but has that changed the nature of the phenomenon or has it only changed the language requirements?

One Minyan member was rather insistent that what she was doing there was not religion but community, as per Durkheim. She also said that her entree into the community had been leyning, one of the central ritual acts of the community. Does a person study Torah, memorize vowel and trop signs for whole sections and volunteer to be leyning coordinator but ignore the nature

of the activity? Another member of the Minyan in answer to a question about the Minyan and religion replied,

> I don't think people would participate in that sort of a charade and not be relating to what's really going on (prayer is talking to God). If you're there, that is part of God.

Perhaps the answer lies in the statement of another member that

> ...the music of the service is really transforming, uplifting. It's the music and how people get into it.

There may be those who view music as trivial entertainment and socializing as having a drink at a local bar with a friend, but if the Hasidic view of music, and sacrilizing view of social relations are applied, it is possible to disagree even with those participants who deny their own involvement as religious. The key is Bateson's concept of fusion. As Minyan davening is characterized by "atrophy of components" in the neglect of textual problems, so it is equally characterized by the "addition of meaning" through the fusion of davening with singing and socializing. In this light, singing and socializing become answers to the "struggle for sense of meaning which religion once provided," which Minyan members seek according to Weissler. (1982:1)

Here it becomes even clearer that fusion in ritual is tied up with the rhythmic and motion components of the performance mode which create a channel in which fusion can occur. This channel is a separate place in space and time (perhaps what is meant by the term sacred). Bateson's segmentary/sequential structure displays the elements involved and how they might relate structurally but the character of performance is required for any effect to occur. Being in this channel may be an altered state in the body, but that is an area of study not within the scope of this work.

In order to see fusion in "return to a new place", visualize an automobile driving over a road. Focus on one tire. As the tire turns, it makes a

circle, but it makes a straight line over the road. Both the circle and the line are created by the same motion; they are one entity, not two. However, different viewers will have different experiences. A viewer at the side will see the tire making the circle as it goes around but will not see any line. If someone were under the road and could see the tire, it would appear as a point tracing a line but this viewer would not see the circle behind making the line. If one could take a position on the perimeter of the tire, they would experience the motion of circling. Each time their position, a fixed point on the circle, touched the road they would experience the intersection between circle and line. Each time that fixed point touched the road, it would have "returned to a new place." It would have returned to the same point on the circle of the tire but would have reached a point further ahead on the road. This is the fusion experience of a structure consisting of recurrent and new elements set into ritual motion, in this case, musical motion. The music provides the circular motion; the words are the fixed points and the result is a channel, like the road.

Members of the Minyan do not talk about davening in these terms. The symbolic form of the spiral is not theirs. They speak of what they look for in terms of the "familiar" an "comfortable." They want some spontaneity but very little change from week to week. They want to be at Minyan davening and not somewhere else and usually say that it's because they want to be with their friends there. Yet many have complained of having a difficult time getting into the community. A number of interviewees said it took a year or more before they felt comfortable, yet during that year they had continued to attend. Many said that when they first came to the Minyan no one there spoke to them. They would drink their wine, take a bite of food and leave because

otherwise they would be standing around alone watching others being friendly. A large number said they broke through because of one person, perhaps someone they knew from somewhere else or someone in the Minyan who invited them for lunch or asked them to volunteer and became a friend. The new person group was started by people who were unable to find a way in. Thus, coming to be with the people is true once you're in but it can't be a reason for coming in the first place and going through the struggle to reach the point of feeling comfortable with the people there.

The importance of participation, among other effects, minimizes intellectualizing about Minyan involvement. Doing it is viewed as important in contrast to analyzing the doing. It is the difference between being inside an experience (the point on the tire) and standing back and looking at it (the viewer seeing the circle or the line). Participation demands being inside, involved and this automatically takes away from the value of standing back and analyzing what is happening in the experience. Minyan members are there for doing it, not for talking about what they are doing.

Lack of Minyan consciousness of its symbolic structure also stands in contrast to old timers' memory of when the community was more of a havurah. They recall havurah concepts of sitting in a circle, looking into each others' faces and creating a strong sense of personal intimacy. The Minyan style grew out of the symbolic havurah circle, but it is definitely something different. The circle opened up; the Minyan calls itself an open group in a most determined way. One member was very insistent that the Minyan is not a havurah because it is an open group. The acceptance of diversity, most especially in degree of Jewish observance and degree of participation in the community is a central value of the Minyan. Not that Minyan members do not

complain that people aren't involved enough, that a few people are doing all the work for the many, and that their relationships are not as close as they would like. However, as one said when contrasting her involvement with the Minyan with her earlier involvement with a havurah, "Those kinds of groups couldn't last. The demands were just too much. People thought they were going to get all of their needs - social, spiritual, physical, personal, communal, intellectual - all satisfied by the same group of people. That just couldn't be. This way (in the Minyan) you have more space and so you will get more involved because the demands aren't there."

A comparison with Weissler's analysis of the Dutchville Minyan can be illuminating with regard to the difference between the circle and the spiral as symbolic forms. To begin with, a comparison of the two groups reveals some surprising and interesting similarities. The two groups were founded by people who attended the same Sukkot retreat in the fall of 1974 (we have not traced whether there is a direct connection) and then returned to their respective cities. Both communities rekindled large, dying synagogues in their respective neighborhoods. The Dutchville Minyan split into three groups after difficult discussions about davening conflicts. In the synagogue where the Bloemendael Minyan meets two other groups formed independently with the differences between the three groups falling along similar lines to those in Dutchville: one closed core of old-timers, one group of traditionalists and one experimental Minyan. Dutchville and Bloemendael both grew rapidly from their start in the fall of 1974, outgrowing the intimacy of the havurah.

There are differences between the two communities as well. According to Weissler's description, Dutchville members arrive for davening pretty much on time in contrast to the chronic lateness of Bloemendael members. While Dutchville's original group (before the split) organized the space as a closed

circle with the Torah in the center, the Bloemendael Minyan has always had an ark. It is unclear whether Dutchville has had as transient a membership historically as Bloemendael, although both groups do seem to have experienced similar transitions from mostly singles to families. Weissler makes constant references to religious terms such as sacred and worship; Minyan members never use such terms.

Weissler describes Dutchille's original spatial arrangement as a closed circle emphasizing intimacy. She mentions incidents where davening leaders or Torah discussion leaders spoke to the Minyan and their content required very personal knowledge about them in order to be fully understood. The closed circle symbolism among a community of aware members creates an expectation and expresses the value of intimacy among participants. The open circle of the Bloemendael Minyan symbolizes the greater openness of the partipcants in a large group less able to promote intimacy. Indeed, the very rapid growth of both groups in their early years may have caused the shift from a closed to an open circle, perhaps even literally. However, the proliferation of subgroups in the Bloemendael Minyan reflects the struggle of Minyan members to find the lost intimacy by participating in smaller, more intimate groups. These groups often have their own conflicts over whether to be open or closed. One group dissolved because the two founders could not agree on whether to be open or closed. Another has had problems with growing rapidly to a larger size than can fit in any one house and has compromised by setting up a system of rotating groups.

Weissler felt it was important that members of the Dutchville Minyan had consciously constructed their community. It is probably, therefore, equally important the Bloemendael Minyan members are not consciously aware of the

symbolic structure they have innovated. They express structural factors in metaphorical terms that reflect their feelings = "familiar" (recurrent). This kind of structural expression of inner feelings is a transformed personalizing that comes out of havurah. For Weissler, personalizing in the Dutchville Minyan becomes a sacred act by being fused with Torah study, while construction of the symbolic form is a Durkheimian/Bergerian sociological act. Sacredness does not enter into the motivation or the style of Bloemendael Minyan members. They sing and daven together their myth, the cosmos they have created and in which they struggle to become the kind of human beings they wish to be, using Jewish and modern values of their choice as tools. They do not, in fact, worship community, certainly not in the sense of believing that the community can demand loyalty or sacrifice from its members. Said one, "If the Minyan starts getting too demanding and my needs aren't satisfied, I don't want to do anything for it. It's got to be a two-way street." The Minyan community exists as a vehicle, "an enabler", as one member termed it, providing a context in which each participant can confront Jewish tradition in their own way, whether or not they think of it as religious. In the Bloemendael Minyan, personalizing becomes the symbolic act of weaving on the communal loom a personal myth with a warp of Jewish tradition and a woof of personal values, energy and needs.

NOTES

1. Hug Tefillah. A Hug is a small group of people who study together. Hug Tefillah is a small group whose purpose is to study Tefillah, prayer.

2. Pesukei Dezimrah is the opening section of the prayer service. More traditional Jewish davening does not begin as a communal prayer service until after this section. Daveners say it either at home or in the synagogue quietly alone before the service begins. Singing through Pesukei Dezimrah is a havurah-style davening innovation. Weissler's discussion of "traditional" vs. havurah-style davening with regard to Pesukei Dezimrah vs. Musaf is interesting (1982:302-362).

3. Musaf is the Additional Service symbolizing the additional sacrifice on sabbath in Temple times; it is essentially a repetition of the Amidah. Havurah-style davening groups commonly do not do Musaf. Recently in the Minyan, davening leaders have been setting aside a time for those who wish to say it to themselves while others congregate in the hall and kitchen to socialize.

4. Hasidim refers to a sect of Jews who formed a religious movement focused on mysticism. They innovated the importance of singing songs in the service as part of the preparation section, for getting to an ecstatic state of praying. (Encyclopedia Judaica: 1972-vi)

5. Yishtabah. Jewish prayers are generally referred to by the first word of the prayer or the first word after the formula beginning, Blessed are you, Lord our God....

6. Half Kaddish. Kaddish is a prayer sanctifying God; it is used as a demarcation factor separating each section of the service in Orthodox liturgy. It is also said by mourners and one Kaddish in the Minyan service, at the end, is for mourners. The Minyan also does versions of the Kaddish before the Barekhu, before the beginning of the Torah service and after the Torah reading. These are demarcations.

7. Barekhu. The Barekhu legalizes the service meaning it can only be said in the presence of 10 men according to tradition. The Minyan includes women in the group of ten, called a Minyan, from which the community takes its name.

8. A gabbai in the Minyan is very different from a gabbai in a modern Orthodox synagogue as described by Samuel Heilman (1976:33-34). In the Minyan the gabbai coordinates the Torah service, reading introductory prayers and calling people to the Torah for aliyot (see below).

9. In the context of davening, an aliyah involves going up the table where the Torah is being read and chanting the blessings for Torah reading. This is done before each section of the Torah reading (the section is also called an aliyah). In a traditional synagogue setting, there is a special order by which participants are called to the Torah, a

hierarchical order. The egalitarian community has abandoned this order. Aliyot is the plural of aliyah.

10. Communal lunch. The Minyan has a communal lunch once a month on the last day of the Hebrew month, the last sabbath before the New Moon. Communal meals have been an important part of havurah-type communities. The Minyan also has communal davening and meals on Friday night once a month.

11. Torah discussion coordinator. Minyan members refer to torah discussions as DT's, a DT being a Devar Torah, elaboration of a specific aspect of the Torah portion. Giver of the Devar Torah choose a point from the weekly portion, prepares a ten of fifteen minute speech and then opens the floor for discussion in which all members are encouraged to participate. The Torah discussion coordinator is called the DT Coordinator.

12. Yasher koah. May your strength increase. A greeting members use with anyone who has done anything in the service, taken from the tradition as congratulations for a job well done. Liberally disbursed as positive reinforcement to encourage participants.

13. Shul. Yiddish word for synagogue.

14. Zalman Schachter. Actually Zalman Schachter-Shalomi, a popular rabbi whose followers created a community of their own, B'nai Or. He also teaches at Temple University. Schachter has done much experimenting with the use of movement in davening, among other innovations.

15. Camp Ramah is a Conservative movement summer camp that one Minyan member termed "the most successful attempt at Jewish education in history." The havurah movement has been very strongly tied to Camp Ramah. A number of Minyan davening leaders said they had attended Camp Ramah and learned many of the melodies they use at the camp.

16. Megillah. Megillah means scroll. Five books of the Torah called the Megillot (plural of Megillah) are read at special times during the year: the Scroll of Esther on Purim, the Song of Songs on Passover, the Scroll of Ruth on Shavuot, Lamentations on the Ninth of Av and Eccliastes on Sukkot.

17. Rabbi Shlomo Carlebach is spiritual leader of his own synagogue and is also a singer and guitar player with a large following. He composes most of the music he sings in concerts. One Minyan member said it is very common to use his tunes creatively with different texts. Another said it was three years before he became aware that Carlebach's tunes had been composed, recorded and published.

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421	Ki Mizion	Shlomo Carlebach
431	Ki Hem Hayeinu	Pasternak
442	VeKarev Pezureinu	Pasternak
451	Siman Tov	Pasternak
475	Service Mueller led using melodies from Yiddish tunes - Mizmor Shir Leyom Hashabbat	Oifn Pripetchik
485	Oseh Shalom	Yankele
498	Adon Olam	Tumbalalaika

TAPE, MUELLER, continued

505	Ki Ha Malkhut (Bayom Hahu)	Oifn Pripetchik
521	Psalm 150	Barbara Deutsch's tune

At the end of the thesis, there is a section of songs, nusach and cantillation. Because some of it may be under copyright, it is not reproduced here.