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MOTIVATORS AND MOTIVATION IN JEWISH MUSIC

MORTON SHANOK

Max Helfman, though slight in stature, was a musical personality, who as a motivator on the American Jewish scene, well earned the designation — giant. Max, who was a unique phenomenon in Jewish music, died in 1963. His multiple musical capabilities earned him a position well in the forefront among the American Jewish musical personalities of this century. His compositions, both in Synagogue literature and in concert repertory, are utilized by the foremost Cantors and singers, and bring fervor and pleasure to worshippers and concert-goers.

Brought to this country from Poland at the age of 8, Max, the son of Hazzan Nathan Helfman, sang in his father's choir and also in several other choirs. After attending Mannes College of Music, he went on to Curtis Institute diligently studying piano and composition with foremost teachers. In 1928, he became involved with liturgic music as organist and choir director at Temple Israel in Washington Heights, New York, an involvement in which he was immersed wherever he lived throughout his career. In 1932 as conductor of the Workmen's Circle chorus, he began a second phase of his remarkable career. In succession he conducted the "Freiheit Gezang Farein", for whom he arranged many Yiddish songs, then the "Peoples Philharmonic Choral Society". In 1938, he became conductor of the Handel Choir of Westfield, New York. Many were the concerts in which he joined four to five hundred singers, since as someone said, "For Max the sky was the limit." 1944 was a particularly busy year for him as he became a member of the faculty of the School of Sacred Music of Hebrew Union College.

Max next became involved with Israeli music. He was chosen as artistic director of the Jewish Arts committee in which he also conducted the "Hebrew Arts Singers". It was at this juncture that a significant turning point came into his life: the establishment of the Brandeis Camp, first in the east, then in 1947 near Los Angeles. An article in the B'nai Brith Messenger told in great detail of the welcome and cooperation the students gave Max. The article concludes "Helfman is helping to develop a reintegrated Jewish youth and, upon leaving, the Brandeis camper carries with him a sense of personal responsibility for his Jewish community and for the future of the Jewish people."

Morton Shanok is the Hazzan of Temple Beth El of Swampscott, Mass.

Helfman did not rest upon his laurels. Instead, in 1948, he helped create the Brandeis Arts Institute which was to function within Brandeis Camp “to train gifted Jewish youth for artistic leadership in the cultural life of the Jew in America”. For 18 years Max poured his ability, inspiration, and creative powers into the youth of Brandeis Camp. His last important activity was as dean of the School of Fine Arts of the University of Judaism which he was invited to establish and which he did establish with great success despite many problems.

In his book “Max Helfman, A Biographical Sketch”, Cantor Philip Modell of Temple Beth Emeth, Anaheim, California, very perceptively notes the potent instrument Max was as a motivative force in Jewish life. Cantor Modell, who studied under Max, concludes: “In all four spheres as conductor, composer, lecturer, and teacher his greatest achievement was the zeal and motivation which poured from him making its impact on multitudes of people”. The list of who’s who in today’s Cantors, leaders, teachers, and practitioners in Jewish music is filled with the names of those who were inspired by Max Helfman of blessed memory.

The attitude and apathy of the major portion of the Jewish-American community towards Jewish music in all its branches is one that can well cause a sense of alarm to swell in the hearts and minds of all who function within that realm. True, there are islands wherein a good deal of effort is being invested, sectors in which the song of our people is heard with vigor and gusto. Yet the overall picture of today’s average Jewish community would surely focus on a hazy situation at best when compared to other generations.

“It is quite possible that the coming generation will have a better Jewish mind than his parents, but a poorer Jewish heart. While the Hebrew language and Bible study may prosper today, Yiddishkeit, the Yiddish language, the song, the drama, the humor, the heartbeat of our people lies neglected.” (Cantor Samuel Rosenbaum, Proceedings Cantors Assembly Convention, May 1969).

In the present generation the home which serves as a participant motivative force for Jewish culture are not nearly as plentiful as was the case a generation or two ago. Practically every home today has a record player or a tape machine. However, for the most part, our beautiful liturgic and secular songs, which in glowing tones and inspiring words sing of the glories, of the hopes, of our people both in the past as well as in the present and the future, are being neglected.

It was the forces of neglect, of lassitude and erosion which Sholom Secunda sought to stem in his cry for “tradition” in Jewish music. Like “Tevye” it was his thesis that our generation would sing a song of significance, one that linked the generations, if this song were created in a traditionally recognizable Jewish image.

Sholom Secunda, who was one of the most widely known personalities in Jewish music, died a few months ago. With his death one of the all too few dynamic figures in American-Jewish music is gone. Sholom, as he was fondly known, was primarily a composer-conductor, but he was equally appreciated for his articles in the Jewish press and his fiery spirited lectures and discussions. As a member of a distinguished panel of composers at a session of the 1961 Cantors Assembly Convention he projected his concepts: “Where is the Kashrut for your spiritual satisfaction? We must watch that that Kashrut is not violated. We want that Kashrut in the nusach ha-tefilah.” Though best known for his folk songs such as “Bei Mir Bistu Schein” and “Dona Dona” Secunda composed liturgic music of distinction as well as cantatas and in many other musical forms. Whether one enjoyed or agreed with the music Sholom created or not, one cannot help but realize that with determination and steadfastness by means of his pen and his fiery personality, he spoke in emphatic, vigorous tones for Jewish music -tones which motivated many lay people as well as professionals so that they became a force for our musical heritage. Biographical data about this musical personality should prove interesting and of excellent motivative value.

A WELSH “GRACE” ?

CLAIRE POLIN

That popular secular songs are frequently discovered incorporated into the Sacred Service is hardly news. Such borrowings from familiar sources have tended to lighten the gravity of a particular hymn and to encourage greater audience participation. Contemporary styles of the Sacred Service composed to “pop” or rock music today tend to delight or startle us, just as familiar secular tunes in a religious context created the same reaction in our ancestors in the land of their current adoptions. However, when one has heard, while traveling in Wales, schoolchildren sing at 3 local Eisteddfod that which one always regarded as the ending section of the Sephardi Festival “Grace after the Meal” (starting with *Umah Sheachalnu*), and reversing the process of recognition, one is consumed with curiosity to track down the source.

Wherever Jews have lived, Synagogue music has reflected local borrowings. In the more enlightened Italy of the 17th century, as ghetto restrictions eased, friendships between local talents, Jewish and Christian, led to a rewarding reciprocity of ideas, which ultimately found their way into the music of each culture. Salomone Rossi showed the marked influences, in his Mantuan synagogal choir-books, “Shir HaShirim asher Lishlomo”, of the ideas of Monteverdi and Gastodi. On the other hand, Benedetto Marcello in Venice wrote a number of Psalm settings based upon actual chants of the Spanish and German Jews he heard.* In Spain, at virtually the very period of the Expulsion, folk songs were popularly traded across the Jewish-Christian border. 3

Within the northern Sephardi communities were recurrently heard modified versions of English folk and art songs. These were particularly popular if applicable to such congregational plums as *En Kelohenu* and *Adon Olam*. The Philadelphia congregation, Mikveh Israel, in which this author grew up, has rotated about a half-dozen or more tunes of each of these hymns throughout the

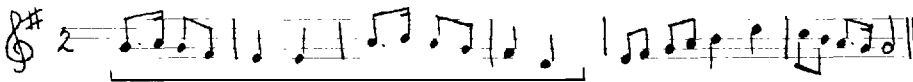
Claire Polin is a flutist, composer, lecturer, teacher and musicologist who has been a member of the music faculty of Rutgers University since 1958. She received her doctorate in music from the Philadelphia Conservatory in 1955. She is the recipient of a number of distinguished awards for her compositions and her articles on music and ethnomusicology have been widely published. She has been a Special Lecturer on American music in Wales, England, France and Israel and on early Welsh music in the United States.

religious year, while the London Bevis Marks Synagogue sings many of the same tunes, usually more elaborately ornamented in good operatic tradition while being lustily harmonized by the congregation and choir.

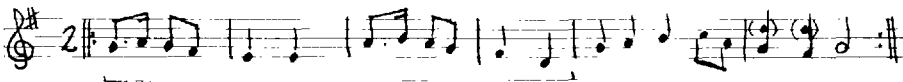
In Wales, where a strongly nationalistic flavour in music and general culture has been doggedly maintained over the centuries, the quality of interchange is perhaps less apparent. The Welsh Jewish communities are small and few, and appear to be isolated from local influences. Here, reciprocity takes the form of a profound love for the Bible. Secular tunes are rather infrequently discovered in Welsh church music, those rarely of recent vintage. While the Welsh regard the Bible and the “people of the Bible” with deep respect, they, together with other Europeans, have little idea of its musical nature. Conversely, Jewish scholars have had no reason to become even remotely aware of Welsh music.

So, from a Jewish view, it is startling and amusing to come upon an unmistakably familiar part of the “Grace” as a fragment of a widely-quoted spring song, “Breuddwyd y Frenhines” (“The Queen’s Dream”), which is virtually an anthology stuffer. In the Jewish version, only the ending is sung, over and over again, instead of the entire melody. The applicable section of the Welsh version (at the end) is shown below in FIGURE A.4 The comparable section, used for the “Grace”, is given in FIGURE B, with alternate endings.

from “Breuddwyd y Frenhines”



Tune to “Mah Sheachalnu”



MAH SHEH-AHALNU

מַה־שֶׁאֶכְּלֵנוּ יִהְיֶה לְשִׁבְעַ.
 וּמַה־שֶׁשִּׁתִּינוּ יִהְיֶה לְרַפּוּאָה.
 וּמַה־שֶׁהוֹתֵרְנוּ יִהְיֶה לְבִרְכָּה. כְּדַכְּתִיב.
 וַיִּתֵּן לְפָנֵיהֶם וַיֹּאכְלוּ וַיִּתִּירוּ כְּדָבָר יי׃
 הוֹדוּ לַיְיָ כִּי־טוֹב כִּי לְעוֹלָם חֶסֶדוֹ:
 כְּרוֹךְ הַגָּבֵר אֲשֶׁר יִבְטַח בַּיְיָ וְהָיָה יי׃ מְבֹטָחוֹ:
 יי׃ עוֹ לְעַמּוֹ יִתֵּן יי׃ יְכַרֵּךְ אֶת עַמּוֹ בְּשָׁלוֹם:

The dotted-note motif is commonly recognized as a dance or marchlike subject in British music⁵, constantly employed from at least Elizabethan times.⁶ The repetition of the first pair of measures, moving up or down, as the case may be, a diatonic step at a time, is also ubiquitous.

Although reputedly older than the 18th century, the earliest actual appearance in print of this song was found in "The Musical Relicks of the Welsh Bards", volume I, page 163, by Edward Jones, published in London in 1784. One wonders if the entire piece were ever used by the Jews, and what ever became of the first part.

- (1) Published Venice, 1623, reprinted Jewish Theological Seminary, New York, 1973.
- (2) The Jenkins-Kerry Papers, National Library of Wales MS. 1931 of the beginning of the 19th century, describe much of this contribution of Marcello. Burney and Hawkins confirmed these sources in their histories.
- (3) In Spanish Song of the Renaissance, Victoria de los Angeles sings some delightful "Sephardi" ballads. Angel, 35888.
- (4) For the complete song, refer to "National Songs of Wales", published by Boosey and Hawkes, London, 1959.
- (5) See W. S. Gwynn Williams' "Welsh National Music and Dance, London, 1933.
- (6) William Chappell, "Popular Music of the Olden Time", London, 1859 Dover American reprint, 1965.

MUSIC FOR THE SYNAGOGUE

MARIO CASTELNUOVO - TEDESCO

*An excerpt from the autobiography of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco
translated from the Italian by Burton H. Scalin*

Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (born Florence, April 3, 1895; died Beverly Hills, California, March 17, 1968) achieved recognition both in Europe and in the United States, where he resided from 1939 until his death. His works were performed at major European festivals and were included in the repertoires of Toscanini, Heifetz, Segovia, Gieseking, and other noted artists. With the exception of the symphony, Mr. Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote in all major genres. His stage work, Bacco in Toscana, was performed at La Scala. He won first prize in two opera competitions; and, on commission, he composed an orchestral work for the 100th anniversary of the New York Philharmonic. Together with Casella, Malipiero, and Respighi, he is acknowledged as a leading force in Italian music in the early twentieth century. Being a versatile and knowledgeable person, he wrote articles for the Enciclopedia Musicale Ricordi and various periodicals (musical and non-musical), and enjoyed a successful career as a teacher. The following text, translated from the Italian, is a chapter from Mr. Castelnuovo-Tedesco's unpublished autobiography, Una Vita di Musica (1955).

I annotated and laid the first flowers created in my new garden on an altar and offered them to God and "to all my dear departed ones". This is my music for the Synagogue.

I really have had a few contacts with the Synagogue. In Florence, I was a member of the Jewish community — and since childhood, I went to the Temple on the solemn holy days, not as much out of inner conviction, but rather to give pleasure to my parents.

"Temple" was the official name, but it is really not the appropriate word, since "Temple" for the Jew was only that one in Jerusalem destroyed centuries ago. Today, the places of prayer are only Synagogues—"Schools of the Law".

The Temple in Florence is not really beautiful, despite an external grandeur of lines. The interior is of a chocolate color and

Mr. Scalin, a Ph.D. candidate in Music History and Literature at Northwestern University, is preparing his dissertation entitled "Compositions for the Stage by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco". He is also Director of Music at Anshe Emet Synagogue, Chicago, Illinois.

decorated with arabesques that make it resemble a Mosque. But when I was a child, it appeared beautiful to me. As for the religious services—they seemed long to me, and I did not pay too much attention to the scholarly sermons of the Rabbi. About mid-day, when the sun filtered through the red, yellow and blue stained-glass windows and the gilded doors of the “Sancta Sanctorum” were opened, the ancient Bible written on scrolls of parchment, covered with old and precious brocades, and crowned by tinkling silver turrets, were taken out. Then my imagination flew in a dream of oriental splendor and I could almost see the ancient Temple—destroyed for centuries. Anyhow, for me, the Temple in Florence remained tied to “traditions”, to the memories of my family — my father and my mother.

Having arrived here in America, I found a completely different situation — no longer the small, contained “community”; no longer the single “Temple”. For instance, here in Los Angeles (where the population of the Jewish faith equals in number the whole population of Florence) there is an abundance of “congregations” spread over the vast area of the city—congregations of different rites (and often rivals among themselves) where the “Synagogues” serve not only as places of prayer, but are centers of various activities: schools of religious education for the children, sites of charitable enterprises (both functions useful and necessary) ; but also — and above all — “meeting places”, recreational circles where lectures, concerts, dances—and weddings can take place. I am not debating the usefulness of these last functions, but they seem completely extraneous to me. While I always felt a deep sense of fellowship with the Jewish people, frankly I wasn’t interested in these secondary activities of these neighborhood groups. The Synagogues themselves, as a place of prayer, seemed so little “inspiring” to me. They were either cold and austere as classrooms or they were as ostentatious and pretentious as the movie theaters in Hollywood. In order to pray, I preferred to go alone to the shore of the Pacific or to the top of a hill. For this reason, although invited many times, I never wanted to join any of these congregations, even though there was one just a few steps from home, at the corner of my street. Above all, the local Synagogues did not have the inner meaning, traditional and familiar of the “Temple” in my native Florence.

In spite of this, my rapport with Synagogues have always been excellent. I often had friendly relations with Rabbis, Cantors, and organists; and being invited by them as “representative” —

among the more notable — of Jewish music, (and here in **America**, there are legions of Jewish musicians, composers and interpreters) I often wrote some pieces of music for one Congregation or another.

But before discussing these, I want to turn for a moment to the first of my Synagogue compositions — the Amsterdam 'Lecha Dodi', written several years before (in 1936). It is called the Amsterdam '*Lecha Dodi*' to distinguish it from another (which is in my *Sacred Service*) and because it was written at the request of the Synagogue of Amsterdam. I had various problems at the time — the Synagogue of Amsterdam was orthodox and they had given me strict instructions. Because the organ was not permitted, the choir had to be unaccompanied; it had to be only for male voices (since women were not permitted to sing); and finally, each part of the choir had to have all the words of the text, but without repeating any of them. The text, although from a distant age, is very beautiful. It describes, allegorically, the Sabbath (the day of rest dedicated to God) in nuptial terms — somewhat like the "mystical bride" of the *Song of Songs*. My mother transcribed the words with the proper accentuation for me. It was the first time that I set a Hebrew text to music, and I was slightly unsure of it. She also made a literal translation for me. (I still preserve these pages written with her clear and harmonious handwriting). The piece, naturally, is dedicated to her. But then the piece had a strange adventure which is worth telling.

At that time, I used to make very few manuscript copies of my music (which, in general, quickly appeared in print). I made only two manuscript copies of "*Lecha Dodi*"; one that I sent to Amsterdam (where it was performed) and the other that I sent to "Yibneh" in Vienna (an affiliate of Universal Edition for Jewish Music) that was supposed to publish it. I did not think of the piece in the following years (which were difficult and turbulent enough). When I arrived in America, I realized that I didn't have a copy of the '*Lecha Dodi*'. In the meantime, the Nazis had enslaved Austria, invaded Holland — burning and destroying everything that bespoke "Jewishness".

I thought, then, that the piece was irreparably lost and frankly, I was sorry, for I thought (as I still believe) this was the best of my Synagogue compositions. Then, at the beginning of 1942, I received an unexpected letter from New York. It was from a certain Mr. Dimitrovsky, who had been an employee of Universal Edition and who, after many adventures, had also arrived in America himself. This good and charitable soul had carried my manuscript with

him from Vienna in order to return it to me. Thus the *'Lecha Dodi'* was unexpectedly rediscovered. At the invitation of Cantor David Putterman, it was soon performed at the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York, but this time in a new version because the Park Avenue Synagogue wanted the piece for a mixed choir and organ accompaniment. It was then published in this form (which is not the best) by Schirmer. Finally, to end the story, some years later the University of Jerusalem requested a manuscript of mine for its collection of autographs. I sent them my original manuscript (the one which was lost, and found again) hoping that there in "Holy Land" it might find peace at last.

And now we come to the more recent pieces. Without a doubt, the most important of these is the *Sacred Service for the Sabbath Eve*. It was written in December, 1943 at the request of the Rabbi from the nearby Synagogue of Westwood. Rabbi Emanuel was tall, elegant and eloquent and had a rather worldly appearance. Unfortunately, he died a few years later in a highway accident. I don't know if his eloquence would have convinced me, if I had not had the desire, for a while, to dedicate a work to the memory of my mother (as if to write a "Requiem" for her). Therefore, it is dedicated "to the memory of my mother and all my dear, departed ones". I thought of Grandfather Senigaglia, my uncles ... Remember, this was in 1943 and I didn't have any more news from Italy. I didn't know how many of mine would be missing! Therefore I felt filled with inspiration.

However, this time, too, I had some difficulty, since it was intended for a Reform Synagogue, the work had to be written for a "Cantorial" soloist, (in this case a baritone, though afterwards, other synagogues wanted it for a tenor) mixed chorus and organ. I never liked the organ very much. Besides, in my mind, this instrument is associated more with the Catholic and Protestant rites than to the Jewish rite. Finally, in the "Reform" rite, the text is part in Hebrew and part in English (probably for practical reasons of intelligibility. This creates a hybrid element which I don't like). For example, in the two most important parts, the *Shema Israel* and the *Barechu*, the Cantor and the choir sing only the first verses in Hebrew, while the remainder of this most beautiful text is recited by the Rabbi in English, generally without musical accompaniment. I attempted to avoid the imbalance by accompanying the recitative with a soft exposition by the organ in which I developed the themes of the preceding choral parts — in the form of "melologue" — still realizing, from past experience, the difficulty of

“synchronizing” the recitation to the music. Another part, *May the Words*, is totally in English, while two other sections, the *Silent Devotion* (a sort of Intermezzo) and the *Kaddish* (the prayer for the dead) are for organ alone. I tried, at any rate, to do my best to remedy these dissimilarities with a unity of style. Still another problem that confronted me was precisely that of the “style”. It is difficult now to know, and even to imagine, what the early Jewish liturgy might be — if not for the few remaining traces perhaps in Gregorian Chant and by the source of so-called “cantillation”, which is more authentic but the interpretation of which is uncertain. The liturgy had successively adapted itself to the times and the customs of the countries where the Jews had successively taken residence. There was no organ, and the chorus was not polyphonic. The liturgy was probably sung monodically, or perhaps, almost spoken.

At any rate (seeing that I was born in Italy), I decided to follow the Italian polyphonic tradition. The choral education that I received from Pizzetti was more “Monteverdian” than “Palestrinian” and besides, I remembered a humorous thing that Pizzetti once said to me with reference to some choruses I wrote in school—“you pretend to be a Jewish Monteverdi”. Therefore, I decided precisely to be the “Jewish Monteverdi”, but intentionally this time. This was not an absurd plan, historically speaking, if one considers that the first examples of an Italian Jewish liturgy date back exactly to the Mantuan, Salomone Rossi (X87-1628) who was not only a contemporary of Monteverdi, but a friend and disciple. The few pieces of his that I know are most beautiful. With the problem of style solved, I completed the work rapidly — from December 1st to December 30th, 1943. In its original version, the work consists of thirteen sections. Yet, in a way-it was never finished. Because some of the pieces are mandatory and others are optional (according to the diversity of rites, the various times of the year, and the tastes of the officiants) I feel inclined to set other portions of the text for each individual performance. In 1950, I wrote an *Addenda to the Sacred Service* containing four new pieces. One of these is a new setting of “*Lecha Dodi*”. Unlike the Amsterdam “*Lecha Dodi*”, it only has three verses, as is the custom in Reform Synagogues.

The first performance of the *Sacred Service* did not take place at Westwood Synagogue. For financial reasons, they could not afford to use the large choir required by the work, and also, as I said earlier, Rabbi Emanuel had died. It was performed instead, like the “*Lecha Dodi*” in the hospitable Park Avenue Synagogue and afterwards in several other American cities. It has never been

performed in its entirety in Los Angeles. Despite some unevenness, I believe that it is one of the most purest inspired of my works. It is also, together with the *Birthday of the Znfanta* (even though in a different direction) one of the works in which I began to find myself again. When it was performed in New York, some critics reproached me for having been too sweet and idyllic. I think this may have been due to the feelings that had inspired the work. These feelings were neither dramatic nor mystical, but rather quiet and serene as my mother's smile. I wish I were able to hear it once in the Temple of Florence, where my dear ones attended services — for that, I would be willing to modify it further.

The other works written for the Synagogue are of lesser importance. One is a "*Kol Nidre*", the prayer that opens the expiatory service of the day of Yom Kippur. It is a little more than a broad paraphrase of the traditional theme of Ashkenazic origin. There have been several versions of this music, from Max Bruch in the 19th century to Arnold Schonberg in the 20th century. My adaptation, which I never published, is for Cantor, choir, organ, and 'cello soloist. It was written in 1944 for Rabbi Emanuel and the Westwood Synagogue, where there was an excellent 'cellist in the person of William Vandenburg.

A group of *Songs and Processionals for a Jewish Wedding* was commissioned by the Cantors Assembly of America. These excellent Cantors were disturbed by the fact that the wedding marches of Mendelssohn and Wagner were used in Jewish wedding ceremonies. In reality Mendelssohn was a Jew who was baptized and Wagner was absolutely an antisemite. At any rate, those two pieces are so well known and so lovely, I didn't delude myself into thinking that I could replace them. However, in order to please these good men, I agreed to write the four pieces on texts assigned to me from *Hosea* and the *Song of Songs*.

The work is comprised of two processionals, for the entrance and the recession of the nuptial court, and two songs, one each for the bride and the bridegroom. Actually I wrote six pieces. I had been asked to set the songs to double texts, Hebrew and English. After having first set them in Hebrew, I realized that the English translation wasn't readily adaptable to the vocal line, so I wrote another, totally different, version.

The last of my pieces written for the Synagogue was a *Naaritz'cha*, a *Kedushah*, requested in 1952 by Gershon Ephros for the 4th volume of his *Cantorial Anthology*. I was interested in the fact that the volume also included a setting of the same text

by Salomone Rossi, and I thought: “the first — and perhaps the last of the Jewish — Italian composers”.

Since then, I haven't written any other music for the Synagogue. I don't consider my two cantatas, *Naomi and Ruth* and the *Queen of Sheba* to be “liturgical music”. These compositions were performed for the first time in Hollywood's most elegant Synagogues: ‘*Naomi and Ruth*’ at Temple Israel, and the ‘*Queen of Sheba*’ in Beth-El Temple at the initiative of the University of Jerusalem, which also gave me an honorary degree on that occasion. They are the first of my Biblical choral-works, a genre to which I intensely dedicated myself, and are remote from the liturgy which creates many difficulties for me.

I don't believe, now, that I will write any more music for the Synagogue. 2 I wish, first of all, that my dear fellow-Jews would reach an agreement, once and for all, and unify their “rites” — this would make it easier for the composer! If I would write Synagogue music again (I have thought of writing a second Sacred Service ... for myself, this time) I would write **it in** a completely “non-traditional” style, or perhaps — more authentically traditional. It would have a choir that spoke and sang monodically and would be accompanied by all the instruments named in the Bible (or their modern equivalent) instead of the organ. Look at Psalm 150 — “Praise God with Trumpet, Flute, Harp, Drums, and ringing Cymbals!” It would be a kind of “Jazz-band”, as the Levites' orchestra probably was. Certainly no synagogue in America, perhaps in the whole world, would consent to perform it.

1. In addition to the published cantata. *The Fiery Furnace* (Op. 183), Mr. Castelnuovo-Tedesco subsequently wrote the following unpublished oratorios: *The Book of Ruth*, Op. 140; *The Book of Jonah*, Op. 151; *The Song of Songs*, Op. 172; *The Book of Esther*, Op. 200; and *Tobias and the Angel*, Op. 204.
2. A *Memorial Service for the Departed*, Op. 192, was written in 1960.

VARYING CONCEPTS OF NE'IMAH AND THEIR PLACE IN THE LITURGY

MAX WOHLBEBG

The word *ne'imah* appears in the Bible, Talmud and post-Tahnudic literature in diverse grammatical forms and with varying definitions. Among others, it is used in describing the qualities of God, the nature of His gifts and the emotional state associated with singing His praises.

As *noam*, an attribute of God, it is translated (Jewish Publ. Soc.) “*graciousness*” (Ps. 90: 17 and 27:4). As *na'im* it is “*pleasant to sing praises unto God*” (Ps. 147: 1) while as *ne-imot* it is “*bliss in His right hand*” (Ps. 16: 11).

Similarly are the words of God, wisdom and knowledge endowed with this quality. “Her (the Torah’s ways) ways are ways of (*noam*) pleasantness’ (Prov. 3:17). “Thy (*ne'imim*) sweet words” (Prov. 22:18; 23:8; Ps. 16:6) and “words of (*noam*) pleasantness are pure” (Prov. 15: 26 and 16:24). “They shall hear my words that (*na'emu*) they are sweet” (Ps. 141:6) and “Knowledge shall (*yinam*) be pleasant unto thy soul” (Prov. 2:10, 9:17; 24:25). Also, “Those who hearken and serve Him shall spend their years in (*ne'imim*) pleasures” (Job 36 : 11).

The same root is the source of a masculine and a feminine name: *Na'aman* (*II* Kings 5:1) and *Na'omi* (Ruth 1:2) and serves as a synonym (*na'im*) for precious riches (Prov. 24:4).

The word acquires a gentler hue when it refers to personal, physical and spiritual qualities. “How fair and how (*na'amt*) pleasant art thou” (Cant. 7: 7) and (*na'amta*) “whom dost thou pass in beauty?” (Ezekiel 32: 19).

David in his poignant lament over Saul and Jonathan refers to “the lovely and (*ne'imim*) the pleasant” (2 Sam. 1: 23) and, speaking of Jonathan, he fondly exclaims: (*nu'amta*) “*very pleasant hast thou been unto me*” (ibid 1: 26).

Perhaps the most familiar appearance of the word is when it describes the ideal social life. “Behold, how good and how (*na'im*) pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity!” (Ps. 133: 1).

Consideration of *ne'imah* in relation to music (vocal and instrumental) in general and to liturgy in particular reveals a decided

partiality for the “pleasant sound”. Thus the Psalmist speaks of “*kinor na'im*” the sweet harp (Psalm 81: 3). David was “*ne'im zemirot*” the sweet singer of Israel (2 Sam. 23: 1).

According to the Midrash¹, David was selected to sing hymns before God because his voice was pleasant. The Talmud² attributes the absence of a *hirdolim* (hydraulic organ?) in the Temple to the fact that its sound was harsh.

While the identification of musical instruments of antiquity is often hypothetical, even an abstruse reference as the above is sufficient to prove the predilection of our ancestors for the sweet sound. The information that children's voices were included in the Temple service in order to add mellowness to it³ should dispel all doubt on this point. Vocal music, incidentally, took precedence over the instrumental. The task of the latter was merely to serve as a sweetening agent⁴.

The mystics visualized the Patriarchs in their heavenly abode listening to the sweet singing of Jochebed, the mother of Moses, who is at times accompanied by an angelic chorus⁵.

Thus it was inevitable that as the liturgy developed and the role of the Hazzan as leader in worship grew ever greater emphasis was placed on the requirement that he have a pleasant voice. Only comprehension of the text took precedence over a pleasant voice⁶.

In his introductory prayer (*Hin'ni*) on the high holidays, the Hazzan pleads for the acceptance of his prayers as if they were chanted by one possessing a *Kol nu'im*, a pleasant voice. The latter is considered helpful in setting the proper mood of the worshippers and it is therefore proper for the congregation to seek one so gifted to lead it in prayer⁷.

The possessor of this unique gift, maintains R. Judah, the Pious⁸, should devote his talents only to lofty purposes and while singing His praises must refrain from a display of vanity⁹.

Indicative of the importance of a pleasant voice is its inclusion in the oft-quoted criteria — particularly for special occasions — in the selection of a leader in prayer¹⁰.

However, at variance with the previous quotes, here *kol arev*, a pleasant voice is preceded by the phrase *yesh lo ne'imah*, one possessing *ne'imah*. Since being conversant with the liturgy is placed as the first requisite and a pleasant voice is explicitly indicated, *ne'imah* here, it seems to me, refers not to the quality of the voice (as Rashi suggests) but rather to a melodic element.

Hence the Soncino translation “skilled in chanting” is not altogether satisfactory. Nor is the Goldschmidt (German) version

anmutig quite on target. The contemporary meaning of *ne'imah*: melody, seems preferable. Accordingly, a leader in worship is required to be knowledgeable in the proper liturgical melodies, Tangentially, it is conceivable that the chanting of a melody may affect the vocal quality”.

As we shall see, it is evident that *ne'imah* appears in numerous places as a reference to melody and its quality. As a matter of fact, in the historically fascinating and liturgically informative account of the inauguration of the Exilarch¹² a clear distinction is made between 1) the voice, 2) its quality and 3) *ne'imah*.

Corroboration of the melodic concept of *ne'imah* may be found in Talmudic-and other- passages directed at laymen such as the ban against reading the Torah without *ne'imah*” (here translated as “melody” by Soncino and as “Biblical cantillation” by Rashi). While Biblical cantillation also has a grammatical-syntactical function such claim cannot be made in the case of the Mishna which, according to the above quote, also has to be studied with a tune.

The Rabbis noted that such study facilitates memorization and the study of the Talmud with special melodic motifs endures today. Maggidim, preachers of a former generation, used to adopt a *sprech-gesang* for their homiletical discourses.

The chanting of the liturgy in a pleasant manner may be traced back to the Talmudic period¹⁴ and the congregation participated in such chanting ¹⁵.

Since one must approach prayer in a joyful mood ¹⁶ appropriate melodies were employed to infuse joy in both singer and listener”. These melodies (and musical modes) which have become our *Nusah*, the “traditional” music of the synagogue, were scrupulously adhered to ¹⁸.

By the fourteenth century our ancestors achieved a musical sophistication sufficient to become aware of the melodic elements and cadential tendencies of the musical scale¹⁹ and were emboldened to speculate on the pitch-producing effects of certain letters (vowels) ²⁰. “Jewish” tunes frequently attracted the favorable attention of Christian — including clerical — neighbors ²¹.

These, far from exhaustive, observations are, I believe, sufficient to explain the following historical phenomena:

Our ancestors consistently sought, and expressed a preference for the sweet and pleasant sound.

In the liturgy an abiding desire was expressed to sing pleasantly unto the Lord: *La'el barukh ne'imot yitenu*.

The liturgical poets, likewise, wished to sweeten their songs:

Anim zemirot.

Jewish artists succeeded, far out of proportion, in the musical world.

Jewish musicians evidenced a clear preference for the mellower sounds of such instruments as the violin over the more robust quality of, say, the piano.

Congregations, as a rule, chose tenors to serve as their cantors.

Baritones and basses, serving as cantors, cultivated a "light" (tenoral) voice production and attempted to acquire a flexibility and coloratura generally associated with a tenor voice.

A lyric voice was usually given priority over the dramatic and cantors with a *zies moyl* (sweet mouth) and an effective *krechts* (sobs) were especially cherished.

Liturgical texts of petition outnumbered those of laudation in cantorial recitatives.

Popular congregational melodies were mostly in a minor mode and plaintive in nature.

Alas, this latter situation had a deleterious effect in that it excluded virile and majestic tunes for such glorious texts as *Adon Olam, Mi Chamocha, Halleluyah*. Some of the attempts at rectification of this situation proved weak and inadequate.

In envisaging the future of synagogue music we confront a dilemma of dichotomy. While, on the one hand, a tradition adhered to through generations gains an aura of sanctity, on the other hand it is indisputable that tastes change, standards shift and art grows. The fashions of the present are neither those of the past nor, most likely, those of the future.

Nevertheless, while a contemporary synagogue composer must be true to himself and express his ideas in contemporaneous musical terms he will, it seems to me, more likely succeed in gaining acceptance if he is cognizant of the traditions of the synagogue and empathizes with the worshipper who associates his prayers with a *ne'ima kedosha*.

- 1) בשעה שבקשו עשרה צדיקים לומר ספר ההלים אמר להם הקב"ה כלכם נעימים וחסידיים ומשובחים לומר הימנון לפניי . אלא דוד יאמר ע"י כלכם למה שקולו ערב (שהש"ר ד:ג).
 2) וכך היה רשב"ג אומר הרדולים לא היה במקדש... מפני שקולו ערב (עב ?) ומערבב אח הנעימה (ערכין י' ע"ב).
 תני רשב"ג לא היה ארדבלי' בירושלם מפני שהוא סורח אח הנעימה 'ירוש'. סוכה פרק ה' הלכה ו').
 ולא היה סנה באבוב של נחשח אלא באבוב של קנה מפני שקולו ערב ' משנה ערכין ב' ג').

- 3) אין קטן נכנס לעזרה לעבודה אלא בשעה שהלויים עומדים בשיר (ראה ברסנורה) ולא היו אומרים בנבל וכנור אלא בפה כדי ליחזן הכל בנעימה (שם ב' ו').
- 4) הכי קאמר החל שיר ה' בפה ע"י כלי דוד סלך ישראל לבסומי קלא (סוכה נ"א ע"א).
- אליבא דמ"ד עיקר שירה בכלי לא חיבעי לך דודאי אסור, כי חיבעי לך אליבא דמ"ד עיקר שירה בפה בסומי קלא בעלמא הוא ומייתנין או דלמא אפ"ה אסור תיקו (ע"ז מ"ז ע"א).
- 5) איהי (יוכבד) וכל אינין נשין די בהדה ושירתא דיומא מזמרין בכל יומא... וכל אינין צדיקיא די בגן עדן צייתין לקל נעימו דילה (זוהר – שמות).
- 6) ואם היה כאן ע"ה זקן וקולו נעים והעם חפצים בו ובן י"ג שנה המביין מה שאומר ואין קולו נעים הקטן הוא קודם (ש"ע א"ח נ"ג ה'. ראה הגה: מרדכי חולין סוף פרק א' י"ד: שערי חשובה כ"ה).
- 7) ומשתדלין למנות ש"ץ אדם שקולו ערב ורגיל לקרוח (משנה הורה הל' תפלה פר' ח' סימן י"א).
- ולכך היו הלויים מזמרים בכלי שיר ובפה להנעים זמירות ישראל שיהא הלב נכון מאד לה", ולכך היו מורדין לפני ההיבה מי שקולו נעים להכין לב השומעים בחפילה ולכך הלויים נפסלו בקול (ספר חסידים, ברלין, סי' תכ"ה).
- 8) ומי שקולו נעים שאין הקב"ה נהנה מקולו ראוי הוא שלא בא לעולם ואם הקב"ה נהנה עליו נאמר (תהלים ג' ה') קולי אל ה' אקרא וכהיב (ש"ב כ"ג א') ונעים זמירות ישראל (שם סי' תס"ז).
- ועתה שחוזרים למעלה עון הוא לפי שהן עושים להשמיע קולם הנעים... להשמיע נעימות קולן, יראי שמים לא יעשו כך (שם סי' תי"ח).
- 9) ש"ץ שמאריך בחפלתו כדי שישמעו קולו ערב אם הוא מחמת ששמח בלבו על שנותן הוראה להש"י בנעימה הבא עליו ברכה והוא שיתפלל בכבוד ראש ועומד באימה וביראה אבל אם מכיון להשמיע קולו ושמח בקולו ה"ו מגונה וגו' (ש"ע א"ח נ"ג י"א וראה באר היטב על "בנעימה").
- 10) ת"ר עמדו בחפלה אע"פי שיש שם זקן וחכם אין מורדין לפני החיבה אלא אדם הרגיל, איזהו רגיל ר' יהודה אומר מסופל ואין לו ויש לו יגיעה בשדה וביתו ריקס ופרקו נאה ושפל ברך ומרוצה לעם ויש לו נעימה וקולו ערב ובקי לקרות בתנ"ך ולשנוח במדרש בהלכות ובאגדות ובקי בכל הברכות כולן ויהבו ביה רבנן עינייהו ברבי יצחק בר אמי (הענין ס"ז ע"א).
- 11) הוגרס בן לוי על השיר, א"ר אחא נעימה יתירה היה יודע ואמרו עליו שהיה מנעים את קולו בזמר (ירוש, שקלים פר' ה' הלכה ב').
- 12) ונכנסין חתתיו בחורים שנבחרו מנשיאי הקהל ומגדוליהם בחורים ותיקים בעלי קול נעימה וקולם ערב ובקיאין בכל ענינם (ספר יוחסין, זיטאמיר 1861 צד קט"ו).

- 13) א"ר יוחנן כל הקורא בלא נעימה והשונה בלא זמרה עליו הכתוב אומר (יחזקאל כ" כ"ה) וגם אני נתתי להם חקים לא טובים וגו' (מגילה ל"ב " כגון טעמי המקרא " - רש"י).
- 14) וצריך לברך בתחלתן (הלל) ולקרותן בנעימה ולאומרן בנעימה (סופרים פר" כ" הל" ט').
- מדנכנס המפטיר ואוחז את התורה ואומר שמע ישראל פסוק הראשון בנעימה ואף העם עונין אותו אחריו (שם פר" י"ד הל' ט').
- 15) במקום רנה שם תהא תפלה , בביהכ"נ אומרים הציבור שירות וחשבחות בנעימה קול ערב (ברכות ו' ע"א רש"י).
- 16) ח"ר אין עומדין להתפלל לא מתוך עצבות ולא מתוך עצלות ... אלא מתוך שמחה של מצוה (ברכות ל"א ע"א).
- 17) מחמה ניגונים ישמח לב המנגן ושומעים (ספר חסידים תי"ט).
- 18) וכבר כתבתי לעיל בשם האר"י שאין לשנות בשום נוסח התפלה ממנהג המדינה ההיא , ובמהרי"ל נכתב שאפילו בניגונים אל ישנה וכל שכן בימים נוראים (יוסף אומץ סי' תתקנ"ט).
- 19) לא יענה אמן אחר " דבריו אמת וצדק " שאין שם סיוס ברכה , כן הוא בטור , ולכן המפטיר לא יגלגל שם את הניגון בנעימותו כאלו הוא סיוס שלא להכשיל את הרבים (יוסף אומץ סימן חרכ"ט).
- 20) ואין לך ניגון נועם כמו יו"ד וסימפך " וחכך כיון הטוב " (שה"ש ז' י') ואין לך שמרים קול כמו למ"ד שנאמר " לשון מדברת גדולות" (תהלים י"ב ד') (ספר חסידים חחה שי"ב).
- 21) אם יש גלח שרוצה לעשות פיוס לע"ז או גוי לעשות זמר לעבירה והוא אומר ליהודי אמור לי נגון נעים ... אל יאמר לו (שם תחת קמ"ח).

THE SONGS OF THE BEIS HAMEDRESH

SAMUEL ROSENBAUM

The shtetl's combined informal prayer hall, study room, community assembly hall, hostel, and just about the most useful and used public room was the Beis Hamedresh. Attached to the more formal synagogue structure was this special room which served many functions. Young and old studied there. Often it became a miniature Yeshiva, where Talmud was the corner-stone of the curriculum. Almost any time of the day groups of men could be found there pursuing their individual programs of some form of Jewish study. The daily morning and evening services were held there as were community meetings. It was the place where Jews of the forgotten and hidden hamlets of Eastern Europe settled the world's problems and where a weary traveler, without the few pennies necessary to rent a room in the local inn, could spend the night.

In 1948, Yechiel Stern wrote an exhaustive report on the nature and development of the Beis Hamedresh. It was published in Volume 31 of "YIVO BLETER", the journal of the Yiddish Scientific Institute, the organization dedicated to the preservation of all written and oral histories of European and American Jewish life.

A part of Mr. Stern's report dealt with the educational system of the Beis Hamedresh, its curriculum and techniques as he recalled it from the Beis Hamedresh in his own shtetl.

What was of particular interest in this report both to the writer and to all who are concerned with the development and enhancement of Jewish liturgical and folk music, was the proof it brought that, as in all Jewish life, music — here sacred music, is an integral part of that existence, a fact which he documents with a number of illustrations. Following is a synopsis of that section of Mr. Stern's report which relates directly to music.

Since music and study are completely homogenized and intertwined in traditional Jewish life, the report contains ample material as well on how students studied in the Beis Hamedresh.

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Young boys between the age of twelve and thirteen were eligible for study in the Beis Hamedresh providing they had previously completed instruction in some Heder which included primary Gemorrah studies. The Beis Hamedresh was open and free for everyone. One needed only a desire to study and to learn to become a welcome guest. No one examined or questioned those who came to study and neither status nor specialized knowledge gave any student special privileges there. It was a school without any specific faculty, having neither rabbi, nor teacher nor supervisor. Everyone who studied in the Beis Hamedresh was his own master and, therefore, studied with will and devotion. It was up to each pupil to motivate himself to study. The Torah-intoxicated atmosphere of the Beis Hamedresh was more than enough to instill the proper attitude towards study in each student.

Students could be found in the Beis Hamedresh at any time during the day from about nine in the morning until about ten in the evening with interruption for meals at home or for a swim in the little river that bordered the town on a hot summer day.

Advance students both young and old who had to occupy themselves during the day in making a living would get up before dawn and come to the Beis Hamedresh to spend some time in study. Young men of Bar Mitzvah age who began serious study in the Beis Hamedresh would continue all their lives even after marriage. Later on, when they became fathers and had to be concerned with raising a family, visits to the Beis Hamedresh were on a less rigid and less formal scale, each student snatching whatever time he could from his work to continue his studies.

Generally, the major subject in the Beis Hamedresh was Gemorrah. In the afternoons, one could sometimes find small groups studying the Prophets. On Fridays some time was usually spent reviewing the Sidrah of the week, along with several popular commentaries. Generally, Humash was studied together with the commentary of *Even Ezra* and the Or *Hachayim Hakodesh*. In addition, every regular student in the Beis Hamedresh would review each Friday afternoon the cantillation of the Sidrah, twice in the Hebrew and once in the Aramaic. A number of Beis Hamedresh boys became experts in cantillation not only of the *Humash* but in all the *Megillot* which are read in the Synagogue during the course of the year.

Among the older young men, some chose to study additional commentaries in order to prepare themselves to receive educational certificates. Such young men were not given special honors or spe-

cial places in the Beis Hamedresh. As a matter of fact, most of the students looked down somewhat on those who chose to make a livelihood out of the Torah.

In those days, being considered a serious student implied that one could move about freely in all the tractates of the Talmud. While it was not the primary subject, one who was a master of *Tanah* was looked upon with some respect by his colleagues. But every young man studying in the Beis Hamedresh was well acquainted with the *Shulhan Aruch Orach Chayim*, or at least with the *Kitzur Shulhan Aruch*.

When a young man came to the Beis Hamedresh from the Gemorrah-Heder he would usually seek out a partner with whom he would study. Generally, the study partner was a friend of long standing who had entered the Beis Hamedresh circle at the same time. Such study-friends became friends in life and would remain so all their years, so long as fate did not separate them.

The two study partners would question each other, prod each other for new insights into the wisdom of the Gemorrah and in that way became true partners in study. Those who could not find a suitable study partner studied by themselves. In general, the more experienced older young men, studied by themselves.

When a difficult question arose which neither of the study partners could answer it was customary to turn to someone who was already acknowledged as a superior student and who was looked upon with respect as a source of higher knowledge. If the older student could not answer the question of the younger student, he, in turn, would pose the problem to one of the sages of the Beis Hamedresh, the acknowledged senior expert. In this way, a Gemorrah question often became the subject of discussion of the entire Beis Hamedresh in which all the students, junior and senior, would become involved and the discussion would continue for as long as it took to clear up the issue.

It was expected that if an older student was questioned by a younger one and he felt that the younger man's question was due only to inadequate study and preparation, he, the older student would take whatever time necessary to review the passage with the young man so that the answer would become clear of itself.

In this way, a deep friendship, easy and informal, developed between the older and younger generations of students.

The Beis Hamedresh was not restricted to "full time" students but was open to anyone in the community who wanted to study. Every Jew who entered chose whatever tractate he wished, al-

though it was customary for the new students to begin with the shorter tractates such as *Z'roim* or *Moed*, or those tractates which contained a great deal of Aggadic material such as *B'rachot*, *Megillot*, *Chagigah*, or *Moed Katan*. Later on, they would move on to the tractates of *Gittin*, *Kiddushin*, and then to *Ketubot*. Only after having completed these relatively minor tractates, would they go on to study the longer more difficult ones such as the three *Bava's*, *Sanhedrin*, *Yevamot* and *Chulin*.

A beginner would study the Gemorrah with only the Rashi commentary. Little by little, he enlarged his scope of learning to include the Tosefists and the later commentaries.

There were several traditional Beis Hamedresh tunes for studying Gemorrah. Particularly interesting is the tune which was known as "The Question". This is the tune that a young student would hum to himself as he became more and more involved in a question in the Gemorrah. The melody concludes with a happy refrain which expresses the joy of study and the pleasure of which the young student experiences when he finally resolves a textual problem which he himself had raised for himself.

Example A:

Melody for "The Question"

Ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma mi ma ma
 ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma
 ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma
 Ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma ma am am am am am am am am am am am am

forte et ritmico. Bleibt doch der Mar-sha ta-ke ge-redit

The study of Tanah had its own series of special melodies which were used in the Beis Hamedresh. They were known as "Sinai Melodies" signifying that they had been passed on from generation to generation.

Example B1:

Tune for Tanah Study

Handwritten musical score for 'Tune for Tanah Study'. The score is written on five staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody is characterized by a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, often beamed together in groups. There are several triplet markings (indicated by a '3' over the notes) and a double bar line with repeat dots at the end of the piece.

Students would often lose themselves in solitary Gemorrah study. And when the point the rabbis were trying to make, or a resolution of a thorny question eluded them, they would unconsciously begin to hum to themselves one of several study chants, sad, introspective and probing.

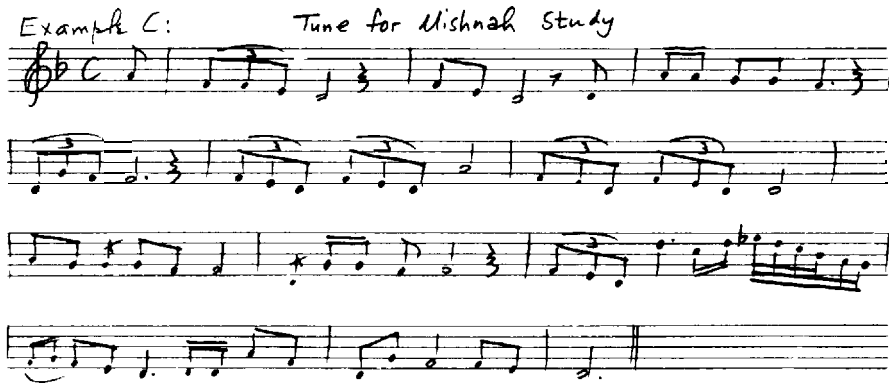
Example B2:

Tune for Gemorrah Study

Handwritten musical score for 'Tune for Gemorrah Study'. The score is written on four staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The melody features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplet markings. The piece concludes with a double bar line and the instruction 'D.S. Al Fine' written below the staff.

Every level of adult study found an outlet in the Beis Hamedresh. While the younger students pursued their Talmud study on a full-time regular basis, the older citizens of the community would never let a day pass without some regular study. Each man could find his own level there. Some, merely assembled to read the Psalms, others to study *Mishnah*, still others formed *hevrot* for the study of Talmud. Some, who were unable to join regular study gatherings came to sit with the group just to listen. While they probably could not follow every detail of the discussion, here and there they would pick up some nugget of learning which they could comprehend. You could always tell when this happened by a involuntary nod of the head or a sudden unexplained smile as the listener caught the point which a regular student had just made.

The study of Mishnah was reserved for the less knowledgeable older men but they pursued their study with the same zeal in the *Chevrah Mishnayes* as did the members of the more erudite *Chevrah Shass*, the elite older group who met each day to study the Talmud.



In the afternoons, when the casual students were out attending to their livelihood and only the “full time” students were in the Beis Hamedresh, they were in the habit of interrupting their studies with some melody set to a favorite quotation, such as “Im *Ein Ani Li, Mi Li*”.

To which another young man might respond by singing a tune to the text of *Akaviah Ben Mehalalel Omer*”.

Example D: Melody for Akaviah ben Mehatalel...

A - kav-iah ben Me-hal-al-el oi mer. His-ta-vel
 b' shlo-sho d'vo rim ven a-to bo li-dei a-vei-roh
 da may-a-jin boso o-li-on a-to ho-lech u-
 lif-nay mi a-to o-sid le-ten din vi-chesh-bon. Da may-a-jin
 bo-somi-ti-po sru-cho u-li-un a-to hai-lech
 li-mo-kom o-for volt nit Ko-she ge-ven, ri-mo,
 volt-nisht Ko-she ge-ven Siz doch o-ber ri-mo o-for,
 o-for ri-mo, ri-mo, o-for, un-der tzu-vi-so-lay-eh.

At that, a third Beis Hamedresh student would counter with another tune set to another sacred text, i.e., “*Hareini HaShem Chasdecha*”.

Example E: Hareini Hashem Chasdecho

Har-ei-ni A-do-nai chas-de-cho, chas-de-cho ve-yish-
 -e-cho ti-ten lo-nu ku-ma-ku-mo ez-ro-so lo-nu ut-
 -dei-nu li-ma-an chas-de-cho. Oi ge-vald, oi ge-vald, oi ge

slower

-vald oi-ge. vald oi-ge vald. Ri-bo-no shel o-lam du zehot dach g-kein ki
sho-cho lo-o-reltz naf-shei-nu, dov-ko le-o-for bit-nay-nu
Ku-mo, Ku-mo ez-ro-so lo-nu uf-dei-nu...-man chas-de-cho
oi-ge -dei-nu li-man chas-de-cho

This would evoke still more melody, perhaps the well-known “*Baruch Elohenu Sheb’ranu Lichvodo*” familiar as a happy refrain at weddings, Bar Mitzvah’s and at “Shalosh S’udos” on Sabbath afternoons. This might soon be followed by a general favorite in which all would join, “*Oivov Albish Bushot*”.

Example F: Oivov Albish Voshes

Oi-vov, oi-vov al-bish ro-shes, v-o-lov yo-tzitz
niz-ro vi-kar-nei r'-sho-im a-ga-deh-a t'ro-mam no
kar-nos tra-dik.

From time to time, there would appear in the Beis Hamedresh one or two *eidemlach oif kest*, young sons-in-law of *balebatim* of the shtetl, whose dotting fathers-in-law had undertaken to support daughter and son-in-law for a year or two after their marriage so that the young man could continue to study without the usual distractions of making a home or earning a living. Since these young men often came from outside the shtetl, they brought with them the indigenous tunes of their own communities. Many of these young men had been “found” by their fathers-in-law in the Musar-Yeshivot of Lithuania and their songs added not only a new musical element to the singing but a new philosophical one, as well. Popular with these young men were such tunes as, “*Oi, Lo L’Odom Shepogah Bo*”.

Example G: *Oi, Lo L'odom....*

Handwritten musical score for Example G, titled "Oi, Lo L'odom....". The score is written on five staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplets and slurs. The lyrics are: "Oi lo li-o-dom she-po-ga-vo she-po-ga vo o-rad, v-oi lo li-o-rad she-po-ga vo ra-bi cha-ni-na ban do-si mi-kan om-ru en he-o rad, en he-o rad me-miss, en he-o rad, he o-rad me-miss, e-to ha-chet me-miss."

Then another *musarnik* would counter with, "Mah Yisron L'Odom L'Chol Amolo". This would inspire still other responses such as "Odom Yesodo Meofor".

Example H: *Odom Yesodo Me-ofor*

Handwritten musical score for Example H, titled "Odom Yesodo Me-ofor". The score is written on five staves in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The lyrics are written below the notes. The music features a mix of eighth and sixteenth notes, with some triplets and slurs. The lyrics are: "O-dom ye-sa-do me-o-for, vi-so-to le-o-for oi-oi-oi-oi, a-ha a-ha a-ha a-ha vus iz den der gan-tar mentsh, Me o-nu u-me cha-yei nu oi-oi-oi-oi a-ha ha"

No great friendship ever developed between the local students and the outsiders, (the Litvaks). The whole concept of fire and brimstone and pessimism which were the keystone of the *Musar* philosophy, never impressed the hassidically-oriented local students and these sad, and basically unsatisfying concepts never made much headway there.

MUSICAL LIFE AND TRADITIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE
JEWISH COMMUNITY OF AMSTERDAM IN THE
18th CENTURY

DR. ISRAEL ADLER

Following is a reprint of a section of a monograph by Dr. Israel Adler, Director of The Jewish Music Research Centre in Jerusalem, on the "Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the 18th Century". The publication of the monograph, No. 1, of the Centre's "Yuval Monograph Series" was made possible, in part, by a grant from the Cantors Assembly.

We publish the Introduction and Chapters I, II and III which detail a wide variety of Jewish musical activity which was produced in that flourishing community.

ISRAEL ADLER

**MUSICAL LIFE AND TRADITIONS OF THE
PORTUGUESE JEWISH COMMUNITY
OF AMSTERDAM
IN THE XVIIIth CENTURY**

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PART @NE
THE LITERARY EVIDENCE

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INTRODUCTION

Amsterdam was one of the most flourishing centres of European Jewry of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries¹. The Low Countries, liberated from Spanish rule and constituting the United Provinces with Calvinism as the state religion, became from the end of the sixteenth century onwards a favourite refuge for the Marranos of the Iberian Peninsula, especially Portugal, who wished to return to overt Judaism. These immigrants, attracted by an earlier nucleus of Portuguese Marranos who had come to Amsterdam in the latter part of the sixteenth century', rapidly organized their communal life. After a formative period, the three congregations of *bêṭ yaqov* (founded in 1597), *newehšalôm* (founded in 1608) and *bêṭ yisra'el* (founded in 1618) merged in 1639 into one unified community, under the name of *talmûd tōrah*. Although Amsterdam also experienced an increasing influx of Ashkenazic Jews from Germany and Eastern Europe during the seventeenth century, the Sephardic community was to retain its economic and cultural, if not numerical, predominance.

Since they had no knowledge of Hebrew writing these Marranos, in returning to the religious practices of their ancestors, were at first obliged to have recourse to prayer books where the Hebrew prayers were transcribed in Latin characters. Consequently particular attention was given to education. Schools were set up - which Spinoza was to frequent in his youth - where the programme, graded with exemplary pedagogical method, included, apart from the topics normally encountered in Jewish schools of this period (the books of the Bible and exegetical talmudic and rabbinical works) also Hebrew grammar and modern Hebrew poetry³. Encouraged by the setting-up of a Hebrew printing works - Amsterdam became in the seventeenth and especially in the eighteenth century one of the most important centres of Hebrew typography - Jewish studies developed and expanded in this city which was soon called "the Jerusalem of the North". Its cultural life was distin-

guished by the greatly varied fields of interest of the authors who abounded in the community. Without neglecting rabbinical and kabbalistic studies, these scholars, writers and poets produced works on Jewish ethics Hebrew linguistics, history and poetry¹. Profoundly marked by several generations of complete assimilation to the civilization of their country of origin, where they had belonged to the upper social classes, these Marranos turned practising Jews maintained the cultural and artistic expressive forms of their prior mode of life. Even in the eighteenth century Portuguese and Spanish were still in common use. Portuguese served as an official language in the deliberations of the community and together with Hebrew, was employed in certain parts of the liturgy; Spanish was the literary language found in poetic and dramatic works, a field where Hebrew began to take hold only towards the middle of the seventeenth century with the kabbalist Moses Zacuto (1626-1697) and the bilingual poet and dramatic author Joseph Penso de la Vega (ca. 1650-1692), to become the dominant tongue at the end of the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth century, with a multitude of minor composers of poems and occasional plays, according to the model which we have observed in Italy; among them the most striking figure is that of the prolific and talented David Franco Mendes (1713-1792) 5.

Musical activity of an intense kind found a natural place in the social and religious life of the community. Numerous indications may be recognized in the descriptive historical sources, in the numerous occasional compositions, both printed and in manuscript, of which the literary texts have been preserved, in the notated manuscripts, and in the memories of the very few surviving authentic guardians of the musical tradition of this community, which permit the confirmation and interpretation of the old written sources - including those of art music practice - by still extant oral traditions. Even more than in our discussion of musical practice in Italy, we are aware that we have been able to assemble only a small part of the existing literary evidence relating to the art music practice of this community. In drawing up (in Chapter IV) the inventory (which we believe to be exhaustive) of the pre-nineteenth century notated musical sources preserved in the library of the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam, in preparing editions of some of these works, in throwing light on the background of these musical manifestations by various literary documents we restrict our ambition to preparing the way for the scholar who shall be better equipped than ourselves to devote a monograph to the life and the musical traditions of this community.

CHAPTER I'

SURVEY OF THE MUSICAL TRAINING AND THE SECULAR
MUSICAL LIFE OF THE JEWS OF THE LOW COUNTRIES

Some knowledge of the art of music, the ability to play an instrument, formed part of the qualifications of a man of a certain class of society. The rabbis themselves were praised for their accomplishments in this field. Isaac Uziel (died in 1622), *hakam* (Sephardic rabbinical title) of the community *neweh šalôm*⁶, is said to have been also "famosa poeta, versado muzico e destro tangedor da harpa"⁷. Abraham Pereira, who, according to France Mendes, WAS elected head of the talmudical college ("ros da Jesiba") *tôrahôr* in 1659, is described as a "celebre harpista e melodioso cantor"⁸. The famous rabbi of Amsterdam, Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (1605-1693)⁹, is likewise declared to have been a skilled harpist¹⁰.

The celebrated poet and dramatic author Daniel Levi (Miguel) de Barrios (ca. 1625-1701)¹¹, whose work constitutes one of the most important historical sources for the "Portuguese" community of Amsterdam, was very probably himself a practising musician¹² and it is likely that some of the dramatic pieces which he created for the Jewish "academies" of Amsterdam "were executed... with musical accompaniment"¹³. His comments on Jewish poets of the Low Countries who wrote in Spanish contain many references to their musical gifts. Thus we learn that a certain Manuel Pimentel was gifted as dancer and harpist; Antonio de Castillo (also called Jacob de Castillo or Castelo) and Isaac Mendez are praised for their playing of the vihuela; Manuel (or Jacob) de Pina, who is as well known for his literary talents as for his sweet singing, is called by Barrios "poeta y musico excelente"; Lorenzo Escudero (who became Abraham Israel or Abraham Peregrino) excelled in fencing as in music, where he

* The numbering of the chapters, in one sequence, does not take into account the division of the text into two parts. The notes, however, are numbered in a separate sequence for each of the two parts. References to the notes are indicated by the Roman number designating the part (I or II) followed by the abbreviation n. (=note) and the appropriate Arabic number, thus: II, n.4 (=note 4 of part two). References to the text are indicated by the abbreviation ch. (=chapter), followed by the Roman number designating the chapter and the Arabic number designating the section, thus: ch. II,4 (=section 4 of ch. II).

was an established master of several instruments¹⁴. Barrios also speaks of the spellbinding powers of the voice of Imanuel Abenatar Mello, hazzan in Amsterdam from 1652¹⁵. Let us recall that one of the rare seventeenth century notations of biblical cantillation effected by a Jew was done by the Amsterdam doctor and administrator of his community, David de Pinna (see Adler, *PM*, p. 36 and notes 149, 150). But the extent of the musical training of the members of this community and especially its *hazzanim* will emerge clearly from the numerous testimonies that start at the end of the seventeenth century and continue throughout the eighteenth, recording the manifestations of art *music in* the synagogue, the festivities of "academies" and the family rejoicings that we shall discuss in the next chapter. Besides this type of musical activity, which was restricted to a Jewish public either because of its religious character or because of the use of the Hebrew language, various eighteenth century testimonies exist that offer evidence of a secular musical life of a sometimes extraordinary richness. These latter events, of which our knowledge is second-hand, are marginal to our subject, and we shall discuss them only briefly.

J.S. da Silva Rosa, after having mentioned the wealthy and art-loving families Pereira, Capadoce, Suasso, Teixeira and de Liz, who cultivated *music in* their houses, goes on: 'Towards 1750 a number of Portuguese Jews established a Spanish theatre where operas in the French language were also given; these representations however took place in private... The feminine roles were played by men 'since in a Jewish theatre women should not appear'¹⁶. L. Hirschel mentions "the extraordinary music-lover Francesco Lopes de Liz, who, in about 1740 gave concerts and operas in his distinguished home of the Korte Voorhout in the Hague to which notable guests were invited". He also mentions a visit to the country house of the Pereira family by Prince William V (born in 1748), in whose honour a concert was held where "the celebrated Musicus Magalli"¹⁷ appeared, an Italian singer who came to Amsterdam in 1760¹⁸. But it is Scheurleer's *account* of musical life in Holland during the second half of the eighteenth century that gives us the best insight into the extent of the participation of certain Jews. First, let us cite some facts concerning Mozart's relations with the Jews. Leopold Mozart's travel notes refer to contacts during his visit to The Hague in 1765 with "Isaac Pinto and Andre [Aaron's son] Pinto and his family". Isaac and his elder brother Andre wealthy Jews who were held in high esteem by the Dutch authorities, including the Stadhouder, were known as patrons of the arts (*Het muziekleven*, p. 146 and 156).

Similarly, in Leopold's notes relating to the Mozarts' sojourn in Amsterdam in January and February 1766 we find the names of four rich Jews of that city, already mentioned above for their interest in music: Pereira, Capadocci [Capadoce], Suasso, Texiera [Teixeira] (*ibid.*, p. 321-324). Scheurleer also mentions Leopold's relations with the Jewish cellist Siprutini, whom he met during his visit to London with Wolfgang and Marianne in 1764. Siprutini, son of a Dutch Jew, converted to Catholicism under Leopold's influence. His concerts were announced in The Hague, in 1765, and in Amsterdam, in 1766 (*ibid.*, p. 82 and 326). The extraordinary position occupied by the enormously wealthy Portuguese Jew Jacob (also called Franciscus or Francesco) Lopez de Liz¹⁹ in the musical life of The Hague has been emphasized, among others, by Scheurleer, who devoted extended passages to him in his study of opera in that city, as well as an entire section on his concerts in the chapter "Het muziekleven te s-Gravenhage" (*ibid.*, p. 27-29, 69-78). The worldly life of "the opulent and magnificent Jew Francis Lopez" was reputed beyond the frontiers of Holland, as well as "his inclination for the theatre, and still more for the actresses..." (*ibid.*, p. 27). The notables of Holland, nobles and important visiting foreigners, were an assiduous audience at recitals held in his magnificent house of no. 7 Korte Voorhout, from 1734 until 1742, at which date, having dissipated his fortune, he was forced to liquidate his properties. The description by an English traveller, published in 1743, gives some details of the period of his splendour: "... a Hall, or large room, magnificently adorned and illuminated. The musick was judiciously disposed in an adjoining Apartment, scarce inferior to the other in beauty. Refreshments of all kinds were served about by footmen in splendid liveries. Whole operas were not sung; but only select parts, and French cantatas" (*ibid.*, p. 71). A French aristocrat reports in his account of a voyage made in 1736 that he had to cut short his visit to the Jew Texeira "à cause du concert qui se donnoit ce jour là chez Mons. Vlisse", and he continues: "Il a fait deux chambres, un salon qu'il a élevé en dôme, parce que les étages étoient trop bas, du reste il est d'une belle architecture, et doré superbement. Ce concert est composé d'environ 20 personnes; il y a des actrices à qui Mrs. Vlisse donne jusqu'à 3 mille florins, le moindre des pensionnaires en a mille" (*ibid.*, p. 70-71). That these concerts were of a high musical standard is demonstrated by the fact that for two years de Liz had been able to obtain the services of a first-class composer and violinist like Jean Marie

Leclair the Elder (1697-1764) to direct his musicians. In the contract dated 1st July 1740 he stipulates that Leclair must "direct my concerts in the capacity of the first of all the musicians whom I have at present in my pay or whom I may have in the future, and also play the violin twice a week, that is the Thursday and the Saturday, or on other days, according to my will and good pleasure, leaving him entire liberty to employ the rest of his time as he wishes" (*ibid.*, p. 72). The liquidation in 1742 of de Liz's assets, of which we have the inventory, shows the richness of his musical library and of the repertoire of his concerts (*ibid.*, p. 76-78). Besides these sumptuous events we may mention a more modest but quite significant testimony to the admission of fashionable musical practices into Jewish families: ms. 49 B 4 of the Ets-Haim library is a French songbook copied out for the benefit of a Jewish girl of The Hague, Ester Campos, in 1756. All these songs, most of them carrying melody indications, and one containing the notation of the melody - are of gallant inspiration, sometimes rather daring²⁰.

In concluding this section we must refer to the sizeable theatrical and musical enterprise founded by an Ashkenazic Jew of Amsterdam, J.H. Dessauer, in 1784²¹. This theatrical association bore the titles of *Industrie et Récréation* or *Amusement et Culture*. Scheurleer, who remarks that the whole company, singers, actors and the 23 orchestral players were Jews of Amsterdam, points out that Dessauer's undertaking preceded by three years that of the non-Jewish German theatrical society, founded in 1787 and directed by J.A. Dietrich. The repertoire of Dessauer's troupe, which remained active until 1838, included "operas by Salieri, Martini, Grétry, Dalayrac, Nicolo, Méhul, Kreutzer, Kauer, Siissmayer and always, always... Mozart" (*ibid.*, p. 273). From 1795 onwards two weekly performances were held in the theatre of the Amstelstraat. Outside Amsterdam the company of Dessauer, who was himself a singer, appeared in Utrecht and Rotterdam. The announcement in the "Rotterdamsche Courant" of a performance of Mozart's *Don Giovanni*, is followed by a note stating that the starting-time took the end of the Sabbath into account. *Don Giovanni* had already figured on 17 May 1796 on the programme of this "Hochdeutsche jüdische Gesellschaft"²². Description by foreign travellers, sometimes critical, sometimes sympathetic, may be found on p. 316 of the article that we have already cited by Silva Rosa, who further remarks that Dessauer also established a school assuring the lyric and dramatic training of his pupils.

CHAPTER II

MUSICAL MANIFESTATIONS IN THE SYNAGOGUE

1. The "Dialogo dos Montes"

Up to the present we know of no notated document of art music earlier than the eighteenth century. Nevertheless, several echos of musical events of this type that took place in the seventeenth century have reached us. The famous *Dialogo dos Montes* by Paulo de Pina, who after his return to Judaism in 1604 became Rohiel (Re^cû'el) Jessurun, performed at the synagogue *bêṭ ya^caqov* in 1624, the year of its creation, on the occasion of the festival of Pentecost, included musical interludes, vocal or instrumental, which are indicated in the text by the instruction "os muzicos"²³. But this kind of performance was forbidden in the synagogue by article XVI of the regulations drawn up with the unification of the communities in 1639. It seems that after this date such performances, and specially the Spanish pieces of religious character by Daniel Levi de Barrios, which according to Kayserling contained a musical accompaniment (see note 13), occurred outside the synagogue, in the meeting places of the confraternities or "academies" for whom they were created.

2. The inauguration of 1675 and the festival of the "šabbat nahamû"

The most remarkable and sumptuous manifestation of the Jewish Portuguese community of Amsterdam in the seventeenth century was the construction of the "great synagogue", inaugurated on 2 August 1675²⁴. Few visitors of any note passed through the city without pausing to visit this edifice, a source of legitimate pride for the "Portuguese" Jews of Amsterdam and the entire world, which still presents the same majestic aspect in its original site on the Rapenburgerstraat.

The date of the inauguration, which began on the eve of the Sabbath "nahamû" (the Saturday following the mourning of the 9th of av), became the principal local feast and is still commemorated today. Traces of the event can be found in collections of occasional poetry and also in musical manuscripts. Contemporary historians agree in recording that the inauguration took place in the presence of the burgermaster, the magistrates (aldermen) and notables of the city, to the sounds of a choir and an

Ch. II: Music in the synagogue

orchestra 25. In the texts of poems composed for this occasion by the Amsterdam rabbis Isaac Aboab da Fonseca (see note 9) and Solomon d'Oliveyra²⁶ we find allusions to instrumental performance. We may mention the poem by Aboab, printed as a broadsheet on Friday 10 av 5435, on the eve of the inauguration: *hōdû la-'el... Calê Casôr Calê nevel...* (see App. B, 6, fol. 15) as well as the fourth verse of no. 6 (*ḥišqî ḥizqî...*) of Aboab's poems for the inauguration, published by M. Kayserling²⁷: *Āūrî Āūrî nevel Casor*, etc. Kayserling's no. 7 (*le-vêteka na'wah qôdes...*) is in fact by Solomon d'Oliveyra, who included it in his manuscript *šaršot* gavlut (Aeh, Ms. 47 D 15), which contains supplements to the work printed in Amsterdam, 1664-65. A note in the margin of this poem indicates that it "was sung in four parts in the synagogue in the year 4[4]? = 168-1?" (see App. B, 1, fol. 86a). David France Mendes, in the introductory note to the inauguration chants that appear in his manuscript collection of religious poems particular to the Portuguese community of Amsterdam, *qôl tefillah we-qôl zimrah* (Aeh, Ms. 47 E 5), fol. 14a-16b, states that the inauguration took place with instrumental accompaniment "*Calê higgayôn be-kinnôr û-ve-kol kelê šîr*" (see App. B, 6). The poems written for the inauguration and those composed later to celebrate this day of the Sabbath "*nahamû*" also appear in the extensive printed collection of various prayers and occasional compositions, *šîr emûnîm* [2nd part: *šîr ne'eman*], Amsterdam, 1792-93, fol. 9a and 15a. The musical setting of the poem on fol. 9a (azammer *šîr...*)²⁸ by the composer Mani (dated 1773) has reached us in Aeh, Ms. 49 B 22, fol. 30b-32a (see Chapter IV, 2). The poem by Isaac Aboab mentioned above, *ḥišqî ḥizqî...*, which was later set to music by Abraham Caceres, also appears in this important musical manuscript, on fol. 15b-16a, and on fol. 2a we find a melodic version of the poem by Solomon d'Oliveyra mentioned above, *le-vêteka...* (see description of this manuscript in Chapter IV, 2). The special liturgy for the *šabbat nahamû* is described in the *seder hazzanut*, the manual of the cantor of the "Portuguese" synagogue, of which several eighteenth and nineteenth century manuscripts in Portuguese, Dutch and Hebrew are preserved in the Ets-Haim Library and the community archives 29. We thus know that the music for *bô'î be-šalôm* and *kol han-nešamah* that can be found in several manuscripts (see Chapter IV) was intended for the *šabbat nahamû* as well as for the feast of simhat *tôrah* and for *šabbat be-rēsît*³⁰. It was on these occasions that the musical part of this community's service reached its highest degree of elaboration.

3. Simhat *tôrah*: the "bridegroom of the Torah" and the "bridegroom of Genesis"

The rejoicings in honour of the "bridegroom of the Torah" and the "bridegroom of Genesis" who, following an ancient custom, are summoned by chants on the day of *simhat tôrah*³¹, the first to conclude the annual cycle of the public reading of the Torah, the second to open the new cycle, took on a particular brilliance in this community³². Covered with honours in the synagogue, where they were placed at the foot of the Holy Ark, on splendidly tapestried sofas³³, escorted after the services with great ceremony through the streets of Amsterdam³⁴, they were fêted in poems specially composed in their honour and set to musical scores, of which several have reached us. The unusual pomp and circumstance that surrounded the "bridegrooms" was closely linked to the financial and administrative organization of the community. Its affairs were directed by a committee (*ma'amad*) of sever. administrators (*parnasim*) elected for a year, of whom one, the *gabbay*, assumed the essential charge of the financial and administrative conduct of the community. Since these functions not only made heavy demands on the time and effort of their holders, but often called for personal financial sacrifices in order to supply the urgent needs of the community, candidates for these posts tended to become reluctant and rare, especially during periods of economic crisis. The most "expensive" post was that of the *gabbay*, since, according to the regulations, to be elected to this function one had first to be chosen "bridegroom of the Torah" or "bridegroom of Genesis", an elevation depending on the presentation of a large gift of money to the community. Thus the especially splendid ceremonial consecrated to these "bridegrooms" should be understood as a sort of means of seduction, indemnifying the sacrifices demanded. Besides, the regulation provided an alternative weapon, that of heavy fines, to be paid by those who refused election³⁵.

Although one finds certain seventeenth century poems written in honour of certain "bridegrooms" - see d'Oliveyra's manuscript, *šaršot gavlut* (Aeh, Ms. 47 D 15), no. 73 (for the "bridegrooms" of 1675), fol. [87]b; no. 83 (for the year **1679**), fol. 90a; no. 90 (for the year **1680**), fol. 92b- it seems that it was only in the eighteenth century that this custom attained extensive dimensions, to go as far as a "spiritual concert" in the synagogue. The first manifestation of this type was that of the year 1738. Moses *Ḥayyim* Luzzatto (see Adler, *PM*, n. 424) who lived in Amsterdam from 1736 to 1743³⁶, composed the poem, and Abraham Caceres the music, and the

בשמחת תורה אע"ת צטט חט' הק'
 השלם אחד המעולה שבפיטאטם סמחודר
 משה חיים לוטמון זל"ה השדים האלה לבזוז
 תחרטם היקרים הנכבד העלה יחוק כי אכדוס
 נושם אעביקים חתך רחם והנכבד העלה
 אהרן כי יוסף כי פטמון חתך בראשית: ארנו
 באר על ידי האדע במפלא ומלך כתר הטמון
 החפיד והעטן כהור אברהם ד' האמידים
 ואהרן אוקס טעמיות קולף יחד שלוחי
 הכבוד המפוארים והקדוים כהור שמעון
 רודרציט מינגים: וכור אהרן הכהן ד'
 לארא: חלקת כולם בחיים העלמים עד עולם
 וכפרתם שיצו כל העם קהל צדוק ער
 מאד בשבתה: ובהי שיתח צדלה טב
 נלב כל שופעם: וישא להם הקדשם משחה
 חרבעים דוקא' דוס מלבד התלבוקס כמענדן
 : הקדשם

work, well known to historians³⁷, made a vivid impression on the members of the community. One finds traces of repeat performances, and imitations, throughout the eighteenth century. David France Mendes gives a description, in Hebrew, in the manuscript collection *qôl tefillah we-qôl zimrah*, fol. 63a (see App. B, 6) and in Portuguese in his *Memorias do estabelecimento...*, p. 142: "1739 (sic for 1738)³⁸. Em... [*Simhat tôrah*] do A^O5499 sendo Hatán tora Is[hac] Nun[ez] Hen[riques] e Hatán Beresit Aron de Jos[séph] de Pinto compos o HH^m R. Mosseh Lusato o Pison... [*le-el elîm*], e a solfa delle R. Ab[raha]m de Casseres que *cantarão* com agradável melodia ja a solo e ja a duo, os famosos Hazanim R. Sem[ue]l Ro[dr]i[gue]s Mend[es] e R. Aron aCohen de Lara, acompanhados p[elo] do compositor q[ue] os asisistir na teba e com esta novid[ad]e foi o concurso de gente innumeravel, O silencio a sumo."³⁹ In conclusion the text again dwells on the extreme satisfaction of the "bridegrooms", expressed by a generous gift of forty ducats to the *hazzanim* apart from - as the Hebrew text makes clear - the usual donation to the community. Apart from the description of the multitude present and the information that Caceres himself provided the accompaniment [harpsichord], which appear only in the Portuguese text, the two texts are parallel. In the Hebrew manuscript the description is followed by the text of five verses (six, counting the repetition, at the end, of the first verse) of the poem, with indications, for each verse, concerning the musical performance: "for two [voices]", or, for the solo parts, the name of the singer (see App. B, 6)⁴⁰. The five verses of this poem appear again in 1770-71, in the manuscript collection of the confraternity of the *šomerîm lab-tiger* of Amsterdam, the sefer *ôlat šabbat*, by Isaac Belinfante, Aeh, Ms. 47 D 2(b), fol. 2b-3a. But here the text is divided into two independent units: the first (no. 5 of the manuscript) contains verses 1, 2, and 4 of the original poem; the second (no. 6 of the manuscript) contains verses 3 and 5, preceded by another verse, by an unknown author (in imitation of Luzzatto's first verse) beginning: *le-el ôlam segûlê am*. In 1792-93, in the printed collection already mentioned, *šir emûnîm*, we find on fol. 17a-b the original text, in its entirety, preceded by the title *šîr bêt hak-keneset miq-q"q Amsterdam* ("The hymn of the synagogue of the holy community of Amsterdam"). This collection also contains other versions in imitation of Luzzatto's text. On fol. 9a-b: *le-el ôlam segûlê ram...*, composed, like its model, of five verses, of which four are preceded by a melody indication ("lahan") Two of these melody indications (for verses 2 and 3) give the incipits of Luzzatto's text and probably refer to the music of Caceres. This text

is by Yehî'el Foa and is dated **1745** as we are informed by David Franco Mendes in Aeh, Ms. 47 E 5 (*qôl tefillah...*), fol. 68a. On fol. 8b: *le-el nôra be-qôl tôdah...* containing three verses, whose origin is likewise given by Franco Mendes; the author is Abraham ben ^CImmanû'el da Silva, who wrote it for his brother, the hazzan David, in 1772 (*qôl tefillah...*, fol. 118a). Two musical settings of this last text have survived in Aeh, Ms. 49 B 22 (see Chapter IV, 2): one on fol. 19b-22a, for one voice and basso continuo with a sketch of a third part, probably instrumental, by M. M[ani?], the other, on fol. 26b and 23a-24a, for one voice, by M. Mani. The same manuscript contains, on fol. 27b-30a, a second cantata, dated 1772, by the same composer, to another text in imitation of the same model beginning thus: *le-el Celyôn benê siyyôn*. Further traces either of Caceres' original music or of Luzzatto's text can be found elsewhere. Thus one of the candidates in the competition for the election of a new hazzan in 1743, himself composed two quatrains to which he adapted the music of Caceres (*qôl tefillah we-qôl zimrah*, fol. 65b). In 1782, another cantor, to inaugurate his term of office, also used Caceres' setting of one of Luzzatto's verses (*ibid.*, 121b-122a). Finally, in a little comedy, half-sung, half-spoken, written in 1794 by Moses ben Jehudah Piza, one of the editors of the *šîr emûnîm*, for a *siyyûm* of the *limmûd hat-talmîdîm*, one of the melody indications still refers to the cantata by Caceres (*šîr emûnîm*, fol. 36b-38a).

4. Competition for the office of hazzan

The descriptions that we owe to David Franco Mendes of the competitions held on the occasion of the election of a new hazzan clearly demonstrate the considerable enthusiasm for music that prevailed in this community. They confirm the existence of an art music practice and at the same time constitute valuable sources complementing the notational manuscripts of which we have knowledge.

When the post of hazzan became vacant, the candidates presented themselves to the communal authorities (the *ma^Camad*), who established the order of the competition. Each Saturday during the competition period a different postulant thus offered himself to the judgement of the community. The rivals, seeking to impress their audience, looked for unpublished poems which their friends, the local poets, were only too happy to provide. In Appendix B, 6 we give extracts from David Franco Mendes' description of the competitions of 1743 (*qôl tefillah...*, fol. 64-66b) and 1772 (*ibid.*, fol. 114a-117). The first is especially interesting because of several

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texts sung by various candidates, of which the music has survived. The second permits us to confirm the valuable information given elsewhere by Franco Mendes about this event during which works of art music were performed in an atmosphere of extraordinary joyfulness.

The competition of 1743 was held following the death of the hazzan Samuel Rodrigues Mendes, one of the two singers of Caceres' cantata in 1738. One of the competitors, Daniel Pimentel, presented the chant *sôlû la-rdkev ba-Caravôt e1...* Franco Mendes reveals the author of the text: Aaron da Costa Abendana (see *ESN*, I, p. 175); a musical version has survived in two late eighteenth century manuscripts, Aeh, Ms. 48 E 41 and Ms. 48 E 49 (see Chapter IV, 4). The work of another, better known, local poet, Joseph Siprut de Gabay⁴¹, which was performed on this occasion, *šema šadday tefillatî*, also appears in these two manuscripts for 1 voice with a setting that is again encountered in Aeh, Ms. 49 A 14 (see Chapter IV, 3) under the name of Abraham Caceres, in another tonality (sol instead of la), for two voices and basso *continuo*, and with other words (*hammesîah illemîm...*). The use of another composition by Caceres on this occasion, taken from his 1738 cantata, has already been mentioned in the preceding section.

The description of the competition for the post of the deceased hazzan Joseph ben Isaac Sarfatim⁴², in 1772, occupies five large closely written pages in Franco Mendes' manuscript *Memorias do estabelecimento...* . We shall cite the information revealing an art music practice⁴³. Franco Mendes after having given details of the procedure, names the seven competitors and notes the works sung by each of them. In some cases he adds, a most important detail as far as we are concerned, the names of the composers. Thus, the third postulant, Hayyim ben Joseph Piza, sang "os versos *segt*^{es} com muzica nova composta assim de Lidarti como de Creitzer..."; the fourth competitor, Aaron ben Abraham Touro, sang a part of the *hallel* (*pithû lî ša-arê sedeq*) also to music by Lidarti, and a new *qaddîš* composed by M. Mani. The fifth candidate, David ben Immanuel da Silva, sung "with a regular grace" and also "to a new music". The names of the composers Lidarti and Mani often figure in the music manuscripts of this community and Lidarti especially seems to have been at that time its favourite composer (see Chapter V, 2). Creitzer, whose name we have not found anywhere else in the Amsterdam Jewish sources, is perhaps one of the two brothers Kreutzer (Kreusser, Kreuser), more probably George Anton,

known as a prolific composer, than his elder brother Adam, horn and violin virtuoso, then well known in Amsterdam⁴⁴.

Franco Mendes recounts that on the first evening of the fifth candidate's tests - which certainly took place partly after the close of the Sabbath to allow instrumental accompaniment - "there was an innumerable gathering of people; as many individuals of our nation [Portuguese Jews] as German [Jews] and also Christians. Six guards barred the doors... On leaving the synagogue he was accompanied to his house, many people and children, both Portuguese and German, holding hands, forming cordons [or corteges]... with acclamations and cheers..." It was in fact this candidate who gained the victory but only after a passionate struggle between the partisans of the various competitors. Franco Mendes writes at length about the canvassing for votes, a passion that gripped the whole community during the weeks of the trials. The triumphal procession of the victor, who was accompanied by "flaming torches and an innumerable crowd, to the sound of trumpets, with rejoicing never yet seen" was surpassed by the installation ceremony of da Silva in his new office: "... In the afternoon he was accompanied to the synagogue by... an innumerable multitude both of our nation and of Germans, preceded by two trumpeters, two horns, two oboes. The great doors of the synagogue were opened, and it was invaded by Germans who knocked down the guards... sang their own airs, various Psalms and Pizmonim..." But this did not prevent the ceremony proceeding in an atmosphere of "inexpressible joyfulness".

5. Various occasions

Although it is certain that, these occasions apart, art music was also practised at other times in the synagogue, it is not easy to precisely define such moments. Music manuscript collections prior to the nineteenth century (see Chapter IV) give us - in addition to those mentioned in previous sections of this chapter - certain titles of prayers (*adôn Cōlam*, *be-f? yešarîm*, extracts from the *hallel*, etc, etc.) and certain Psalms which may have served for any Sabbath or holiday. In the case of verse 36 of Psalm LXVIII (*norā elohîm...*), we know that it was performed at Pentecost. An extensive repertoire of liturgical pieces is given in these manuscripts, notated for one voice. Besides prayers such as *barekû*, *haškivenû*, *le-vêteka na'wah qodeš*, the *qedûššah*, the *qaddîš*, parts of the *hallel*, we also find versions for one voice, unaccompanied, of cantatas like *kol han-nešamah* and *bo'î be-šalôm*, of which we know the elab-

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orated art music versions from other sources. This leads us to ask whether we are here confronted with a phenomenon similar to that which we have observed in the Comtat Venaissin, where we were able to observe the transformation of a work of art music as it gradually cast off its ensemble portions to end up as a kind of popular song. The example of *be-f? ye.%r?m* by Lidarti seems to indicate a similar process: in Aeh, Ms. 49 A 14 (second half of the eighteenth century, see Chapter IV, 3) this piece appears in its original form for four-voice choir and orchestra. In Aeh, Ms. 49 A 13 (see Chapter IV, 6), which seems to date from the end of the eighteenth century or the beginning of the nineteenth century, it is stripped of its orchestral accompaniment. We see it again, in an unnumbered collection of fragments belonging to Ets-Haim, dating to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, where the choir is reduced to three parts. It is quite likely that the liturgical pieces for one voice that we have just mentioned likewise represent simplified versions of a more elaborate original.

However this may be, it does not seem that the musical organization of the service, with its regular choral parts for Saturdays and holidays, as we find it in manuscripts of the second half of the nineteenth century, was already in use in the eighteenth.

We should also mention a particular genre of musical manifestations in the synagogue which were presented on the occasion of receptions given to visitors of note. We have already remarked that the great synagogue had become a centre of attraction since its inauguration in 1675, but even before this we hear of the welcome of an ambassador to Amsterdam, in about 1651, "with jubilation, music and hymns"⁴⁵. David Franco Mendes, who gave the list of royal, princely, etc. visits to the synagogue at the end of his manuscript *qôl tefillah...*⁴⁶ also recounts similar celebrations held at the synagogue to celebrate, for example, the proclamation of the advent of a new stadhouder or the marriage of a prince. These were opportune moments for occasional poems, whose texts he gives, and of festivities that he declares resembled those of *simhat torah*⁴⁷.

CHAPTER III

CONFRATERNITY FÊTES, FAMILY REJOICINGS
AND WORKS FOR UNSPECIFIED OCCASIONS1. *Confraternity fêtes*

The fashion of forming associations or confraternities ("*hevrot*") of all kinds - religious or philanthropic, to promote study, etc. - was hardly less strong in Amsterdam than in Italy⁴⁸. The *fêtes* of these confraternities, and especially the annual celebrations commemorating their foundation, were so many opportunities for setting to music the occasional poems which played an essential part in this kind of manifestation.

David Franco Mendes reports the foundation, in 1718, of the "esguer" (= *hesger* = confraternity) *leqah tov*, for the purpose of studying the Talmud, the rabbinical codes, etc. The director of studies was Aaron Antunes, probably the same as the printer of the same name⁴⁹. Each year - but the confraternity only existed for two years - festivities were held where chants were performed, with a text by Antunes "e a musica della Ab^m de Casseres ...". The source (*Memorias do estabelecimento...* p. 126) thus at the same time gives us the earliest mention we have yet encountered of a work by this composer. The next reference to his musical activity - earlier than the two already quoted, as author of the notation of two melodies for I. H. Ricchi in 1730-31 (see Adler, PM, p. 38) and as composer of the cantata for the "bridegrooms" on the occasion of the feast of simhat *tôrah* in 1738 - dates to 1726, when he was called upon to collaborate in the inauguration of the synagogue "Honen Dal" in The Hague. The inauguration of this synagogue took place on the eve of the *šabbat nahamû* (9 August 1726) following the precedent of its elder sister of Amsterdam. Caceres composed the music for a poem by the *hazzan* Daniel Cohen Rodriguez: *ôhîlah leka el nâ heyeh ezer...*^[?]

This same D. Franco Mendes, who notes in his collection *Cemeq haš-šîrîm* (Aeh, Ms. 47 B 26) occasional poems composed by various authors, notably the rabbis already mentioned, Isaac Aboab and Solomon d'Oliveyra, for some ten different confraternities or study associations⁵¹, himself composed numerous pieces of this kind to be found chiefly in his *kinnôr dawid* (Aeh, Ms. 47 B 3). A member of the *hevrah* "*miqrâ qodeš*" - a Jewish study circle drawing its membership from upper class "Portuguese" society, whose meetings

took place in the house of Joseph Suasso de Lima⁵² - he was called upon to write a certain number of pieces for the celebrations of this association. J. Melkman's work on D. Franco Mendes mentions these pieces and analyses some of them⁵³, but this author has, here as elsewhere⁵⁴, neglected the musical aspect which certainly played a role in all these compositions. Some are provided with a melody indication, in Spanish, as in Franco Mendes' first contribution of 1795 (*kinnôr dawid*, p. 52) and that of 1760 (*id.*, p. 57), or in Hebrew, as in that of 1761 (*ib.*, p. 60). The introductory note to the poem with refrain *hûšû haš-šôqâim...* (p. 53), also dated 1759, which states that there was an instrumental accompaniment, seems to imply an art music performance: "...*carûkah be-qôl zimrah û-negînah.*.." (see App. B, 4). This is likewise extremely probable in the case of the poem of 1762, also with refrain, a work dedicated to the praise of singing. The fourth verse contains several allusions to art music, which the poet, according to his custom, explains in marginal notes (see App. B, 4, p. 70-72). Among other compositions for *miqrâ qodeš*, let us note the second, a musical comedy, of two little pieces for three personages, dated 1766, where we find, apart from the portions where the three personages (poet, doctor and pharmacist) alternate, also airs for solo performance, and, at the end, a three-part song (see App. B, 4, p. 87-88).

Pieces of the same genre, serving in the festivities of the confraternity, are of course to be found in the printed collection of the "Portuguese" confraternity of the *šômerîm lab-boqer* of Amsterdam, the *sefer mismeret laylah* (Amsterdam 1767-68) of which one of the editors was the well-known local poet Isaac Cohen Belinfante (died 1780)⁵⁵. The intention of musical execution can be recognized either in the indication of the melody (see e.g. fol. 28b, 30a, 31b), or in the occasional dialogue form (fol. 19b ff.). We may particularly note the presence of an echo-poem, *mah aharît lahût be-tevel, hevel...* (fol. 32a) whose music is preserved in Aeh, Ms. 49 B 22, fol. 16b-17a (see Chapter IV, 2).

This piece did not belong to the special repertoire of the *šômerîm lab-boqer*. It is again encountered in the *emeq haš-šîrîm* of D. Franco Mendes, Aeh, Ms. 47 B 26, p. 2, preceded (at the foot of p. 1) by an indication of the musical execution: *yefeh qôl û-metîv naggen*. It was still part of the common repertoire of the confraternities and associations of the Portuguese community in 1792-93, which constitutes the second part of the *šîr emûnîm*, entitled *šîr* ne'eman, where it figures on fol. 21a-b. The

popularity of the music used for this echo poem is again demonstrated in its use as a melody indication for another piece in the collection (fol. 38b). The many other pieces composed for confraternity celebrations that we find in this part of *šîr emûnîm*⁵⁶, are all intended for musical execution, usually intimated by the use of the melody indication. Besides the little pieces for two personages by Moses ben Jehudah Piza⁵⁷, one of the editors of the collection, let us especially note the musical comedy for four personages that this author w-rote for a siyyum of the association *linmûd hat-talmîdîm* in 1774 (fol. 36b-39a). The use of art music in the execution of this piece is quite probable: among the melody indications there appear, besides the incipit of the echo-poem above (mah *aḥarîṭ*...) also the melody indication of ya'ir *kay-yôm*, whose music, by Caceres, is known to us. Apart from the portions that were to be sung according to music from the old repertoire, new music was also composed for this occasion, and the parts of the libretto to be sung according to the new music are preceded by the indication: *laḥan hadaš* ("new melody indication").

2. Family rejoicings

The sources mentioned in previous sections, and especially the *kinnôr dawid* by David Franco Mendes and his collection of poems by various authors called *emeq haš-šîrîm*, as well as the *šîr emûnîm*, also contain compositions for family rejoicings, such as marriages and circumcisions. For weddings especially the presence of musicians was *de rigueur*, as we may see in the engraving by Bernard Picart (about 1720)⁵⁸. It would be too monotonous to enumerate all the little poems composed for these occasions - sometimes printed on broadsheets or on silk⁵⁹ - where one often finds allusion to a musical execution. Let us cite, at hasard, from among the poems of the *kinnôr dawid*, that for the marriage of Jacob Athias, in 1732, *be-qôlôt nešîmôt akônen renanôt*, preceded by an introductory note alluding to the musical execution: "*qôl be-ramat haz-zemer û-ve-hêkal han-negînah...*" (p. 3), or that for the marriage of Joshua Hayyîm Sarfati, in 1734: "*qôl şel selîm qôl šôrerîm şamaṭî...*", where the text itself implies singing.

For grand weddings, in the houses of the Jewish financial aristocracy, these little poems might be replaced by works of some magnitude, demanding large performing ensembles. The famous allegorical piece by M. H. Luzzatto, composed during his stay in Amsterdam for the wedding of his pupil, son of the fabulously wealthy Moses de Chaves⁶⁰, uses seventeen personages apart from the choir (*hevrat mešôrerîm*). In the final scene (*dibbûr*)⁶¹, besides *Yôšer*, *Tehillah*, *Hamôn*, *Sekel* and "the other guests in the house of *Hamôn*

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after the marriage ceremony", a choir also appears, whose verse kol **tōfesē kinnor** **ḥōgav** wa-nevel, **qûmû... naggēn hētivû...** which serves as a refrain, implies the presence of instrumentalists. Musical performance, which is certain for this final scene, is equally probable in other parts of the same piece, as can be seen for instance in the use of the echo-form for **tehillah in** the fourth scene.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, the mode of life of rich Dutch Jews of German origin was hardly different from that of their "Portuguese" co-religionists. We have seen in the first chapter how firmly musical practice was established in their milieu. David Franco Mendes was asked to write a piece for the marriage of the daughter of the wealthy Benjamin Cohen of Amersfoort, which took place in about 1788-89⁶². Franco Mendes acquitted himself of the task by writing the piece **ahavat ḥōlam**. A detailed literary analysis of this work is given by J. Melkman⁶³ who nevertheless does not pay enough attention to the fact that the roles of all the personages contain an important musical part, which could only have been assumed by musicians. In Appendix B we quote these sung portions where the occurrence of instrumental interludes is also indicated. The fact that Franco Mendes wrote a libretto of this type, where the usual personages appear - Venus (**Nogah**) Apollo (Yuval) the Muses (**benôt haš-šîr**) including Calliope - without forgetting to situate the second act at the foot of Mount Parnassus, is not at all surprising. The vast documentation assembled by Scheurleer on the musical life of Amsterdam in the second half of the eighteenth century shows that Franco Mendes could easily have found his model in the Amsterdam theatre, whose repertoire included, apart from operas proper, also half-sung and half spoken pieces, as can be inferred from the division of the personnel into "speaking" and "singing" actors, and by the important place occupied by these latter and by the instrumentalists⁶⁴. The fact that Franco Mendes had in mind musicians, both singers and instrumentalists and professional dancers, in writing **ahavat ḥōlam** becomes evident if we remember that since 1784 there had existed in Amsterdam the troupe of J.H. Dessauer, whose singers, actors, and the twenty-three orchestral instrumentalists were all Jews (see above, end of Chapter I) who should therefore not have found any particular difficulty in playing and singing the Hebrew text of **ahavat ḥōlam**.

3. Works for unspecified occasions

It remains for us to examine briefly the few testimonies that we have found in the literary sources to art music performances without specified intention.

Some seventeenth century poems by the Amsterdam rabbi whom we have already mentioned, Solomon d'Oliveyra, have survived, manifestly conceived for musical performance⁶⁵. The introductory note to poem no. 41 of his *šaršot gavlut: simhat g'ilī ahavtī*... indicates that it was composed to be sung, by people who knew the *solfège*, in four voices, according to the science of music (see App. A, 1, fol. 68b). A similar indication, but without stating the number of voices, precedes poem no. 45 of the same collection: *šīvat amka šūvah*... (ibid., fol. 69b). These two poems date to 1666 and the Shabbateanism of d'Oliveyra is freely expressed in the second. Another poem by d'Oliveyra, written "according to the music, in three voices", is included by Franco Mendes in *emeq haš-šīrīm*. The use of three voices is explained by d'Oliveyra as symbolizing the subject of his poem: Torah, Prayer, Charity. The seven verses of the poem are intended to be sung alternately: the first, in three voices; the second, voice a; the third, in three voices; the fourth, voice b; etc. (see App. B, 2, p.3). In the same manuscript can be found three further poetical works where the intended musical execution is attested either by the introductory notes or by the text of the poem itself (ibid., p. 4, 19, 36).

In conclusion we should mention the most important dramatic works of David Franco Mendes, which were designed partly or entirely for musical execution. The detailed study of these works by J. Melkman, completed by the review of Melkman's work by J. H. Schirmann, already cited, permits us to give only a brief *resumé*. The libretto-like character for a musical work of *bī'at ham-mašīah* ("The coming of the Messiah") has been clearly demonstrated by J. H. Schirmann who adds a note on the musical structure of the work as an appendix to his review⁶⁶. We have only one point to add: the musical form for which Franco Mendes destined his work was the oratorio. In his biblical drama *gemul Atalyah*, which is partly based on Racine's *Athalie* and on Gioas, re di Giuda by Metastasio, there are also musical sections. Racine's choruses are replaced, following contemporary custom, by canzonette. Finally, Schirmann thinks that *tešūat yisra'el*, Hebrew version of *Betulia liberata* by Metastasio, could also have been taken as a libretto for a musical work, even offering the supposition that Franco Mendes had in mind the preparation of a Hebrew version of the oratorio by

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Mozart. On the face of it this hypothesis is acceptable: Mozart's work dates to 1771, Franco Mendes' Hebrew version is of 1790-91. Besides, we know from Scheurleer of Dessauer's troupe's predilection for the work of Mozart. Nevertheless, in contrast to other works intended for musical execution by the same author, such as *ahavat Colam*, or the copies in his handwriting of works by other writers such as J. Saraval's translation of Handel's *Esther*, or the cantata *ge'ullah* by Ephraim Luzzatto⁶⁷, where Franco Mendes carefully notes all the musical indications, in his autograph manuscript of *tešūat yisra'el* (Aeh, Ms. 47 C 38) we find no indication of this kind, except the annotations *lahagat mešōrerîm* - Coro.

NOTES TO PART ONE

1. We have drawn on the following works for information of a general character: H. Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden...*, vol. IX (4th ed.) Leipzig, 1906 and vol. X (3rd ed.) Leipzig, 1896; J.S. da Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis der portugeesche Joden te Amsterdam...*, Amsterdam, 1925; I. Prins, *De Vestiging der Marannen...*, Amsterdam, 1927; J. Zwarts, *Hoofdstukken uit de Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland*, Zutphen, 1929; J. Meyer, *Encyclopaedia sefardica neerlandica* [I-III, Amsterdam, 1938-40; H. Brugmans and A. Frank, eds., *Geschiedenis der Joden in Nederland...*, Amsterdam, 1940; J. Melkman, *David Franco Mendes, a Hebrew poet*, Jerusalem and Amsterdam, 1951 (especially chapter II); I.R. Molho, *Haq-qehîllôt has-sefardiyyôt...* in *Ôşar yehûdê sefarad*, 6(1963): 160-182.
2. The first arrival of Marranos took place before the generally accepted date of 1593, cf. I.S. Emmanuel, *op.cit.*, p. 160, I.R. Molho, *op.cit.*, p. 59.
3. See especially L. Hirschel, in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 461-467, and the reprint of M.C. Paraira and J.S. da Silva Rosa, *Gedenkschrift uitgegeven ter gelegenheid van het 300-jarig bestaan der Onderwijsinrichtingen Talmud Tora en Ets Haim...*, Amsterdam, 1916, in *ESN*, I, p. 67-97.
4. See especially I. Maarsen in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 500-537.
5. See I. Maarsen in *ibid.*, p. 500-508; L. Hirschel, *ibid.*, p. 454-461; J. Melkman, *D. F. Mendes*, especially p. 24-29.
6. See d'Ancona (Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 223 ff., and 240), who gives dates differing from those found in the encyclopedias and in Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 14.
7. See D. Franco Mendes, *Memorias de estabelecimento e progresso dos judeos Portuquezes e Espanhoes... de Amsterdam...*, Aeh, Ms. 49 A 8, p. 23. This unpublished source is especially important for Franco Mendes' own period; for the preceding period he uses earlier authors, especially Daniel Levi de Barrios, but in an uncritical spirit. Franco Mendes gives the date of the election of Isaac Uziel as *hakam of neweh salôm* as 1610. But according to J. d'Ancona, *op.cit.*, p. 223 (see preceding note) Uziel, who was originally from Fez and lived in Constantinople before being called to Amsterdam, did not arrive in that city before the end of 1615.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 32.
9. See *ESN*, I, p. 11-14.
10. Cf. L. Hirschel in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 491
11. Cf. *ESN*, I, p. 48-50; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 257-288.
12. See the late eighteenth century engraving reproduced in *ESN*, I, p. 49, where he is represented playing the lute. This engraving allowed J. Zwarts to identify Barrios in a painting by Rembrandt, cf. *ESN*, I, p. 48-49.

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13. Cf. Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 284-285.
14. See *ibid.*, p. 252-256.
15. Cf. *ESN*, I, p. 8; Zwarts, p. 109-110.
16. *De joden in de schouwbusg...*, p. 314 and *Geschiedenis*, p. 104.
17. In Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 104; Hirschel, p. 491-492, also mentions the public concerts which were held in the Jewish quarter of Amsterdam in 1756, twice a week during the summer, but he does not say that this was a Jewish enterprise.
18. On his activities in Holland and on his relations with Mozart who visited Amsterdam in 1766, see D.F. Scheurleer, *Het muziekleven in Nederland...*(*'s Gravenhage*, 1909), p. 322.
19. One also finds the forms Du Liz, du Lys, Dulis, Vlisse and de Liesse, cf. Scheurleer, *op.cit.*, p. 71. In addition to citations from J.S. da Silva Rosa (note 16) and L. Hirschel (note 17), see J. Zwarts in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 400 and 416; J. Meyer, *The stay of... Luzzatto...*, p. 18, note 15c, and especially J. Fransen, *Les comédiens français en Hollande au XVIIe et au XVIIIe siècles...* (Paris, 1925), p. 221ff. (see s.v. Du Liz in index), who gives a detailed analysis of the eighteenth century pamphlets directed against Du Liz: *Mémoires anecdotes pour servir à l'histoire de M. Duliz...*, London, 1739, and *Des reichen holländischen Juden Franz Düliz... Geschichte...*, Bastia, 1739.
20. 1 fol. (title) followed by 88 p., numbered (236 x 180 mm.); p. 1-44: text of the songs; p. 45-74: blank; p. 75-77: table. Title on fol. 1a: "Livres pour l'intelligence de toutes sortes des chansons indifferente à l'usage de Mademoiselle Ester Campos écrit par Jacob Del Sotto commencé le premier mars 1756 à La Haye". Fol. 1b: "Livre des chansons pour l'usage de Mademoiselle Campos". The notated melody is on p. 18: "Que le rendez-vous est charmant".
21. See Silva Rosa, *De joden in de schouburg*, p. 315-316; Scheurleer, *Het muziekleven*, p. 272-73; J. Shatzky, *The theatre of the Ashkenazim in Holland (in Yiddish)* in Yivo *Bleter*, 21(1943): 302-322, on Dessauer, p. 308-322.
22. Silva Rosa, *l.c.*
23. See D. Franco Mendes, *Memorias do estabelecimento*, p. 40; Kayserling, *Sephardim*, p. 175 ff.; Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 26, 34-35 and *De joden in de schouburg*, p. 314; L. Hirschel in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 491; I. Maarsen in *ibid.*, p. 501, referring to the detailed study by J.A. Van Praag in *Feestbundel... Salverda de Grave (Groningen, 1933)*, p. 242-255. In Aeh, Ms. 48 E 30 - we have not seen the volume printed in 1767- the note "Os muzicos" is written on f. 26a, 41a, 45a, 48b, 51b, 55b and 59b.
24. Cf. D. Henriques de Castro, *De synayoge der Portugeesch-Israëlietische gemeente te Amsterdam*, La Haye, 1875; J. Zwarts, *Hoofdstukken*, p. 118-129; J. d'Ancona in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 286-289; Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 95-98.
25. See e.g. Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 95, Zwarts, *Hoofdstukken*, p. 125.

26. See *JEB*, IX, p. 394-395 and the reference to the study by M.B. Amzalak in *Revista de estudos hebraicos de Portugal*, 1(1928): 96-118, quoted after H. Schirmann, in *Behînot be-vîqqoret has-sifrût*, no. 6 p. 50.
27. M. Kayserling, *R' Yisshaq Abôhav...* in *Hag-gaen*, 3(1901-1902): 155-174; the inauguration poems are published on pp. 170-173.
28. Poem by Abraham Immanuel da Silva, brother of the hazzan David, cf. *šîr emûnîm* fol. 8b and the ms. *qôl tefillah...* fol. 119a (see App. B, 6).
29. We have the Aeh manuscripts 48 E 38 and 48 E 1 (in Portuguese), and 48 B 22 and 48 D 11 (in Dutch), the last of these, by the cantor I. Ošb Brandon, having served for the edition included in *ESN*, II, p. 161-204.
30. Cf. *ESN*, II, p. 184, 194, 200.
31. Cf. Abraham ben Nathan hay-Yarhî, sefer *ham-manhîg* (Constantinople, 1519), fol 77b (section 55 of the *hilkôt sukkah*).
32. For a description of the customs concerning the "bridegrooms" see *ESN*, I, p. 83 and especially, for the liturgical customs, the [*sedes hazzanut*], *ESN*, II, p. 193-200; see also d'Ancona in Brugmans and Frank, p. 300-301; L. Hirschel in *ibid.*, p. 490.
33. See illustration no.9 in Adler, *PM*, facing p. 166.
34. See illustration no.10 in Adler, *PM*, facing p. 167.
35. See J. d'Ancona in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 300-301, and especially I.S. Emmanuel, *op.cit.* (see above, I, n.1), p. 166-168.
36. See J. Meyer, *The stay of... Luzzatto at Amsterdam...*, 1947; J. Melkman, *D. Franco Mendes*, p. 30ff.
37. E. Birnbaum, *Unsere erste Musikbeilage in Israelitischer Lehrer und cantor...* (suppl. to *Die jiidische Presse*), no. 3 (Berlin, 15.3.1899), p. 17-18, mentions this work, of which he possessed a manuscript. This manuscript was eventually acquired, with the entire Birnbaum collection, by the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. Idelson mentions this manuscript in 1925, in *Song and singers*, p. 418-419, listing it as Ms. 92 of the Birnbaum collection. It is most probably this same manuscript which served E. Werner in recording a fragment of this cantata in about 1945 (see Adler, *PM*, n. 169). The librarian of the Hebrew Union College was unable to satisfy our request for a microfilm of this manuscript (see Adler, *PM*, n. 142). The Jakob Michael Collection of Jewish music, at the J.N.U.L., includes among its photocopies of the Birnbaum collection, the photocopy of a ms. of this cantata. The existence of another manuscript containing this work was noted in 1940 by J. d'Ancona in Brugmans and Frank, p. 299-300, and the facsim. facing p. 305. In 1947 J. Meyer (Luzzatto at Amsterdam, p. 27, note 19) is very probably referring to the same manuscript which he claims to have "found recently" (in the library of Ets-Haim]. The same manuscript was "rediscovered" by H. Krieg, who extracted from it the cantata by Caceres published under the title *L'Keel Keelim*, Amsterdam, 1951. After that date the manuscript disappeared, the librarian of Ets-Haim having been unable to find any trace of it. In the course of research in Amsterdam in 1962, made possible by the C.N.R.S. we were able to recover this manuscript, thanks to the kindness of Mr. Vega, secretary of the "Portuguese" community, at the secretariat of this community. The manuscript was handed over to the

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- library and listed as Ms. 49 B 22 (see description in ch. IV, 2).
38. *Simhat torah* of the year 5499 was in the autumn of 1738 and not 1739. The date according to the Christian era is usually added by the author in the margin of the text, and is calculated according to the Jewish date; it is thus the latter which is reliable.
 39. Our thanks are due to Miss Mansfeld for kindly copying out this text for us.
 40. These indications repeat, *grosso modo*, those found in the score, Aeh, Ms. 49 B 22, fol. 10b-15a. The most notable variant: according to the score, the last verse, ya'ir *kay-yôm*... should be sung to the music of the first verse, le-el *elîm*, and the words of le-el *elîm* are not repeated a second time.
 41. See Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 126.
 42. He is the compiler of Jnul, Ms. 8^o Mus. 2, cf. ch. IV, 1 below.
 43. P. 175-180 of Aeh, Ms. 49 A 8. Our thanks are due to Mme. Chailley for her aid in the reading of the text.
 44. See Scheurleer, *Het Muziekleven*, p. 204, 273, 309 and especially p. 323.
 45. Cf. Graetz, *Geschichte*, X, p. 104.
 46. Fol. 132a-133b but beginning from the left, on fol. 133b.
 47. See e.g., *qôl tefillah*, fol. 76a-77a, 94a, 95a-97b, 99a-101a.
 48. See Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 464, 492-493; an extensive list of these associations, with historical annotations, was drawn up by J.M. Hillesum in the first volume of the Yearbook of the community, *Jaarboek*, Amsterdam, 1902.
 49. Active in Amsterdam from 1717 to about 1725, according to Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 31 or from 1716-1720, according to ESN, I, p. 26.
 50. See M.H. Pimentel, *Geschiedkundige aantekeningen...* ('s Gravenhage, 1876), p. 29-32.
 51. We have noticed poems for the following *hevrôt*: p. 36, *ma^casîm tôvîm*; p. 42, *mašmîa^c yešû^cah*; p. 89, *tôrah ôr* and *me'irat cênayim*; p. 90, *avî yetômîm*, *temîmê derek* and *hônên dallîm*; p. 91, *sa^carê sedeq* and *keter šem tôv*.
 52. See the account, revised in relation to previous studies, concerning the constitution and character of this association, in J. Meyer, *The stay of... Luzzatto at Amsterdam*, p. 16 and facsim., p. 21, repeated and amplified by J. Melkman, *D. Franco Mendes*, p. 11-12.
 53. *Op.cit.* (preceding note), p. 34-48. Melkman also noted Franco Mendes' poem in honour of the departure of one of the four members of the short-lived literary society "Amadores das Musas" (*kinnôr dawid*, p. 99) in *id.*, p. 38.
 54. See H. Schirmann's review in *Behînôt...*, no. 6, Jerusalem, 1954.
 55. See Silva Rosa, *Geschiedenis*, p. 126; I. Maarsen in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 506 and ESN, I, p. 55, which also refers to H.G. Enelow's paper in *Studies... in memory of A.S. Freidus...*, New York, 1929.

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56. See ff. **18b19a**; 19b-20a; **26b-27a**; 27b; 28a-29b; 29b-30a; 32b-34a; 35a-b; 35b-36a; 36b-39a; **39b-41a**.
57. See I. Maarsen in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, p. 507-508.
58. See the reproduction in Brugmans and Frank, *Geschiedenis*, facing p. 480, and the section concerning marriage among the "Portuguese" Jews, p. 484-486.
59. See J. Melkman, *D. Franco Mendes*, the reproduction of the poem, in Dutch, facing p. 48, and in French, facing p. 80.
60. See J. Meyer, *The stay of... Luzzatto at Amsterdam*, p. 11-20 and *ESN*, I, p. 91-92, 148.
61. Ed. Tel-Aviv, *maḥbarôt le-sifrût*, 1948-49, p. 91-93.
62. This is the equivalent of the Hebrew date given on the title-page of *ahavat ʿôlam*, Aeh, Ms. 47C 40; the date of the civil marriage as given by J. Melkman, *D. Franco Mendes*, p. 145, note 28, is the 4th July 1790.
63. O.c., p. 77-95.
64. *Het muziekleven* the part devoted to Amsterdam, p. 193-316, see e.g. the lists, p. 213, p. 217, the repertoire, p. 244-246.
65. Our thanks are due to Professor I. Tishby who attracted our attention to these sources.
66. In *beḥînot*, no. 6, p. 51-52; see also p. 48.
67. Cf. H. Schirmann, *op.cit.*, p. 47.

REVIEW OF NEW MUSIC

JACOB DRUCKMAN: SABBATH EVE SERVICE

MICHAEL ISAACSON

Commissioned by Hazzan David Putterman for the Park Avenue Synagogue in New York, Jacob Druckman's *Sabbath Eve Service* is more vital for what it implies than what it actually states. Mr. Druckman has received the Pulitzer prize for his orchestral work "*Windows*" and may well be considered in the recognized establishment of contemporary American composers. In light of the sound vocabulary used in *Windows*, it is particularly interesting to note the relatively traditional, consonant vocabulary employed in the service. This may be due to Hazzan Putterman's tight reins upon composers' adherence to "traditional" sounds. The real worth of the service is in its melodic and rhythmic material. The less realized concepts are word painting, thematic expansion and overall point of view.

An anecdotal listing of each section follows below:

Mah Tovv: Built upon a sixteenth note motive, this lovely quiet setting has an open modal sound. The Cantor's line spans an octave from small d to d'. The choral writing is mostly homophonic in a conservative range.

L'Choh Dodi: The expected cantorial verse-choir refrain structure is upheld. Rhythmically complex organ interludes separate the verses and the refrains. While the tune is wonderful the structure is not.

Psalms 93: (Adonoy Moloch). Jazz-like rhythms and mixed meter fight against a Nowakowsky-like concept of a cantorial solo with block-like choral interjections. There is no attempt at word painting and the score makes the music look harder than it really is.

Bor'chu: An interesting free cantorial statement is devastated by a trite choral response that ends with "0-meyn". The melodic idea begs to be developed.

Sh'ma: Rhythmically — the liveliest section, it again looks harder than it is because of the composer's exclusion of meter markings. It is basically set in combinations of 3 +2 + 3, 3 +2+2, 2 +3 +3 etc. to be conducted in triple time. The energy created by

the antiphonal statement and response scheme could well use more than the three pages of score allotted to its personality. Its brevity is frustrating.

Mi Chomocho: The dotted figure of the Mah Tovv is recalled, as is the jazz of the Psalm. The chorus scats a bit on “mi mi mi,” but no other attempt is made to break down the text to its’ consonant or vowel components.

V’shomru: A naive setting, dramatically disappointing after the *Mi Chomocho*. A cantorial solo would have worked better than the pallid choral writing.

May the Words: Although much too brief, this a Capella choral polyphony shows the composer’s skill in coloration. The text is set in its entirety once without any dwelling or repetition. Why must all lovely moments be so brief?

Vay’chulu: The choir homophonically trudges on with the text while the cantor descants above. In spite of the dense organ hand-fulls and the mixed meter, I don’t believe the composer’s heart was in this at all.

Kiddush: Charming, warm, old world, little intrusion upon the rich melody, an island of remembrance.

Vaanachnu: Back to rhythmic organ writing and ridiculously short choral responses.

Adon Olom: A traditional ending to an all too frustrating experience. While not a bad tune, there is no time to phrase or make meanings. The organ accompanies with an abortive Bossa Nova pattern and once more things end before they are given a chance to begin.

Knowing the composer’s concert music, I find this score to be a tease. It is obvious that Mr. Druckman has all the technique and ideas for a much larger thoughtful service but whether it was the conditions under which this work was conceived, it seems clear that the composition hurries to be finished and summarily dismissed.

A point of view, that is a distinct, personal impression of a worship service that an effective composer for the Synagogue must have, is missing. The service feels as if another's impressions have been forced on the composer who does his best to oblige while revealing his discomfort or lack of belief in that second-hand attitude.

I hope that Mr. Druckman will be given another opportunity to write for the Synagogue with all the freedom he employs in his secular music. His basic sense of melody and rhythmic excitement are too good to be overlooked.

The text of the service is, unfortunately, set in Ashkenazit. The score can be obtained for perusal or rented from Boosey and Hawkes.