A New Source of Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music from Amsterdam

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The Reverend Abraham Lopes Cardozo, Hazzan Emeritus of the Shearith Israel Congregation of New York City, passed away at the age of 91 on 21 February 2006. Hazzan Lopes Cardozo was one of the last representatives of an almost four-hundred-year-old chain of Spanish-Portuguese synagogue cantors from Amsterdam. He was the bearer of a musical lore that I had the privilege of recording for posterity during almost two decades of acquaintance and friendship with the Reverend and his family.

In the fall of 2006, I visited the Reverend's widow, Mrs Irma Robles de Lopes Cardozo, at her residence, next to the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue on the corner of Central Park West and 70th Street in New York City. Irma's dedication to her late husband and her kindness toward me led her to offer me a selection of the music books and related documents belonging to the Reverend that could benefit my work, as well as future researchers. Searching through these treasured papers, I immediately recognized one music manuscript that stood out from the rest of the documents. This manuscript clearly belonged to the series of late 18th- and early 19th-century manuscripts of liturgical music from the Amsterdam synagogue that were so familiar to me from my long-standing work with the late Professor Israel Adler. Already during my first days in Israel (1971), when I joined the Jewish Music Research Centre (JMRC) then located in the same area as the Department of Music of the Jewish National & University Library (today, the National Library of Israel), I met Prof. Judith Cohen who worked at the Library. My period of friendship with her is therefore equal to my entire Israeli experience, and I remain grateful to Judith for her wisdom and advice in many stages of my own career. Judith was involved as a scholar with the emerging JMRC and its main project then, the gathering of written sources of Jewish music. This humble contribution celebrates the main ethos of those early days of modern musicology in Israel.

The manuscript contains twenty pieces, the majority of which appear in identical or similar versions in other Dutch manuscripts of Spanish-Portuguese synagogue music. These manuscripts were duly catalogued by Israel Adler in his monumental work, Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840: A Descriptive and Thematic Catalogue with a Checklist of Printed Sources (2 vols. International Inventory of Musical Sources B: IX,1 [Münich: Henle Verlag, 1989]; hereafter HNMS).

An analytical table follows below, describing the Lopes Cardozo Manuscript—as I called it—following its recovery. This includes: 1) the location of each piece in the manuscript; 2) its original title or incipit; 3) the location of parallel versions in the

¹ On Abraham Lopes Cardozo see Edwin Seroussi & Essica Mark, "Spanish-Portuguese Liturgical Music as Sung by Abraham Lopes Cardozo," *Anthology of Music Traditions in Israel* 16 (AMTI 0401) (Jerusalem, 2004).

Portuguese manuscripts, as described in Adler's catalogue (number of the manuscript in HNMS in bold, followed by the library call number² and the number of the item in the manuscript); and 4) comments regarding the attribution of piece to composers in other manuscripts and parallel versions of the piece in other publications.³

No.	Fol.	Title/Incipit/liturgical function	HNMS	Comments
1	1b-2a	Amesiag ilemim	022 , DHgm 23D24, 2-3	Attributed to Hazzan David ben Imanuel da Silva
2	2b-4a	Col anesama	022 , DHgm 23D24, 14 019 , Aeh 49A14, 16 013 , JNUL 80 Mus 2, 50	Cantata for one voice by Giussepe Cristiano Lidarti for Simhat Torah and Shabat Bereshit
				Added in Lopes Cardozo's handwriting: כל הנשמה (Lidarti)
				Erroneously attributed in DHgm 23D24 to "Horlebosch" and "Palma"
				Krieg, no. 12
3	4b	Kadis/Jtgadal veitkadas		Short piece, only to "veitzmah puqane"
4	5a-b	Boi besalom	013 JNUL 80 Mus 2, 6-7 019 , Aeh 49A14, 5 017 , Aeh 48E44, 5	Cantata for one voice by Giussepe Cristiano Lidarti For an elaborated version see
				below, no. 18
5	6a-b	Jtgadal veitkadas	022 , DHgm 23D24, 17 017 , Aeh 48E44, 1	Attributed to [Jacobus] Nozeman
6	7a-b	Cadis/Jitgdal veitkadas/Amen	022 , DHgm 23D24, 10	אבת חול המועד : אבת חול המועד : Followed by two settings of the word "Amen"
7	8a	Lebeteha nava codes/Jitgadal veitkadas	022 , DHgm 23D24, 5	Composed by Abraham Rathom of London
8	8b	Naakdisag	022 , DHgm 23D24, 7 013 , JNUL 80 Mus 2, 30	

² Aeh = Amsterdam, Ets Haim Library; DHgm = Den Haag Gemeente Museum.

³ The two publications mentioned here are H.M. Krieg (Ed.), *Eighteen Spanish Liturgical Melodies of the Portuguese Israelitish Community [of] Amsterdam*, recorded by J.H Pimentel (Amsterdam, 1952; modern edition of the mid-nineteenth century manuscript Aeh 49E59, discussed by Adler in HWCM but not catalogued there); Emanuel Aguilar & David Aharon de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews* (London: Vallentine, 1857). For the identification of the composers, see below.

9	9a-10a	Leel nora becol toda	022 , DHgm 23D24, 25	"Do famoso Hazan David ben Imanuel da Silva"
11	10a-11b	Jitgadal veitkadas/Amen/Je [sic] seme raba	022 , DHgm 23D24, 24	By [Abraham] Casseres
12	11b	Baregu	022 , DHgm 23D24, 12 013 , JNUL 8° Mus 2, 46	"Do mesmo [i.e. Harlebusch] Krieg, no. 5, very different
				version
13	12a-b	Haskibenu	022 , DHgm 23D24, 4 016 , Aeh 48E41, 5 017 , Aeh 48E44, 13	
14	13a-14a	Azamer sir bemicdas el/Agale na pene ael	020 , Aeh 49B22, 34	Composed by Mani for Shabbat Nahamu 1773
				Krieg, no, 2a-b brings a different version in double time
15	14b-15a	Jitgadal veitkadas		
16	15b-16a	Jitgadal veitkadas		
17	16b-17a	Lebeteha nava codes/Jitgadal veitcadas	013 , JNUL 8° Mus 39, 40 and also 45	Lahan "Setumamy" i.e. to the melody of the canzonetta "Se tu m'ami" by Willem de Fesch
18	17b-18a	Boi bechalom	022 , DHgm 23D24, 1a-c 019 , Aeh 49A14, 5a-c 020 , Aeh 49B22, 29a-c	Cantata for one voice by Giussepe Cristiano Lidarti Published with variants in Krieg, no. 1
19	18b-19b	Mizmor ledavid מזמור לדוד ערבית שבת		Different hand, later addition. See: Aguilar-de Sola 1857, no. 13
20	19b-21a	לכה דודי ערבית שבת	018 , Aeh, 49A13, p. 15	Different hand, later addition

The majority of the music is this manuscript is for the Sabbath liturgy, and it was composed mostly during the second half of the eighteenth century. As the table reveals, three out of the twenty pieces in this manuscript—all set to the text of the Qaddish—are unknown in the Spanish-Portuguese manuscript and printed sources known thus far. The first of these pieces, no. 3, is an abridged version of the Qaddish. In fact, the entire piece consists of only two repetitions of one musical phrase. Unlike no. 3, the two other Qaddishim, nos. 15 and 16, are elaborate pieces that will be discussed below in more detail.

In addition, one notices that a later hand added the last two items (nos. 19 and 20), both reflecting a more modern transcription from oral tradition. These are two very well known, traditional Spanish-Portuguese pieces from the Sabbath eve liturgy.⁴ The first

⁴ For a historical recording of these two items of the Sabbath liturgy as performed by the choir of the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue in London, see the long-play edited by John Levy, *Music of the Spanish and Portuguese Synagogue* (Folkways FR 8961, 1960), items 1-2, performed by Hazzan Eliezer Abinun, Abraham Lopes Dias, and the Choir of the Lauderdale Synagogue in Maida Vale, London.

(no. 19) is Psalm 29, the main psalm of the Sabbath eve liturgy. This transcription, with only partial text underlay, reveals the psalmodic formula associated with this text in the Spanish-Portuguese traditions and bears a similarity to certain urban Moroccan Jewish versions of the same psalm. It is very similar to another complete transcription of the Spanish-Portuguese rendition of Psalm 29 that is included in the historical collection of liturgical melodies published by Emanuel Aguilar and Hazan David Aaron de Sola (who was originally from Amsterdam) in 1857. It is rare to find musical notations of Hebrew psalmody prior to the modern research in the twentieth century. Usually, synagogue goers have an oral command of this psalmodic formula, and they deploy it without needing musical notation. It seems, however, that the precise rendition of this Psalm holds particular importance for the Spanish-Portuguese congregations, where the choir performs it in a very ceremonial, syllabic, and measured style.

The second piece is the traditional Spanish-Portuguese melody for the poem *Lekha dodi* (no. 20), the centerpiece of the *Qabbalat Shabbat* (Welcoming of the Sabbath) service. There is no text underlay through the transcription, though the transcriber clearly had in mind the variations found in the actual rendition of the poem as a whole. He therefore wrote down the music for all the stanzas, a quite unusual feature in the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue music manuscripts. This very unusual transcription may reveal, as in Psalm 29, a pedantic cantor who wished to ensure that each note throughout the piece would be rendered accurately.⁶

Beyond the three new pieces and the two modern transcriptions, the Lopes Cardozo manuscript also reveals the persistent presence in the repertoire of the Amsterdam cantors of new synagogue music written on behalf of the Spanish-Portuguese community during the eighteenth century by composers and cantors, or adapted by its cantors from other sources.⁷ Two gifted composers, Abraham Casseres (active 1718–38) and Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti (1730–94/5), stand out for their long-standing contributions to this repertoire.

Borrowings of melodies from pieces by composers who were active in Amsterdam during the eighteenth century reveal the familiarity of Amsterdam's Portuguese cantors with the contemporary and extremely cosmopolitan music scene of their city. Among the non-Jewish composers in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript we find Willem de Fesch (1687–1757),⁸ whose canzonetta *Se tu m'ami* was used for several Spanish-Portuguese liturgical texts, including no. 17 in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript. Another celebrated composer

⁵ Aguilar & de Sola, *The Ancient Melodies of the Liturgy of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews*, no. 13. For a paradigmatic transcription and analysis of this piece see Edwin Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies: On the Antiquity of Music in the Sephardic Liturgy," *Pe'amim* 50 (1992): 99-131 (Heb.), p. 123.

⁶ This piece, in its different Spanish-Portuguese reincarnations, is analyzed in detail in Seroussi, "The Ancient Melodies...."

⁷ See the pioneer monograph on this repertoire by Israel Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century* (Yuval Monograph Series 1, Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1974). For another critical assessment of the repertoire see Edwin Seroussi, "New Perspectives on the Music of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogues in North-Western Europe," *Studia Rosenthaliana* 35/2 (2001): 297-309 (Special Issue: *Uprooted Roots: Amsterdam and the Early Sephardic Diaspora*, ed. Irene E. Zwiep, Alisa Ginio Meyuhas & Marcelo Dascal). The following paragraphs are based on this study.

⁸ Robert L Tusler, Willem de Fesch: "An Excellent Musician and a Worthy Man" (Den Haag: Albersen, 2005).

represented in the manuscript is Conrad Friedrich Hurlebush (1696–1765), originally from Brunswick in Germany, organist of the Oude Kerk in Amsterdam from 1743 until his death, who was the composer of no. 12 (no. 2 is wrongly attributed to him in Dgm 23D24). The quite obscure German-born Dutch composer, organist and violinist Jacob Nozeman (1693–1745), who moved to Amsterdam in around 1710 to become organist of the Remonstrantse Kerk in 1719, was the author of no. 5. Several pieces are of unknown authorship, most probably by other local composers and cantors.

As the table above shows, the Lopes Cardozo manuscript shows a clear affinity to the manuscript of Portuguese liturgical music found in the library of the museum in Den Haag. Eleven out of the eighteen pieces (we do not count the two "modern" transcriptions) appear in both manuscripts in very similar versions and scales. One can therefore hypothesize that these two manuscripts emanate from the same source, and perhaps that one is a partial copy of the other.

Five pieces in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript also appear in the most comprehensive manuscript of the Dutch Portuguese Jewish collection, the manual of cantor Joseph b. Isaac Sarphati of Amsterdam located in the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem (8o. Mus. 2). Sarphati compiled it during his tenure as cantor in Amsterdam from 1743–72. I examined this source in detail in a previous study. 11

The new manuscript serves to reinforce my suggestions regarding the functions and styles of the original liturgical music created in the Portuguese community of Amsterdam during its heyday in the eighteenth century. The vast majority of the pieces are *qaddishim* and other pieces related to liturgical texts that precede or follow, constituting sets of melodies framed as small-scale cantatas. The central piece of these sets, the first section of the half *qaddish* before *barekhu*, is connected usually to three other musical pieces. First, the *qaddish* is introduced by the last verse of the preceding psalm, *le-beitkha na'avah qoddesh* (Psalm 93) in the Sabbath eve liturgy. Secondly, a new melody is provided for the congregation's response to the *qaddish*: *yehe shemeh rabbah mevorakh*. Finally, the *barekhu* following the *qaddish* is set to another melody (see nos. 6, 7, 11-12 and 17 as examples of these *qaddish* compositions).

Most of the *qaddishim* in the Portuguese manuscripts are for the Sabbath liturgy. However, the Lopes Cardozo manuscript includes a *qaddish* setting for a special occasion, *hol hamo'ed*, i.e. the intermediary days of Passover and Succoth (no. 6). It is likely that this festive *qaddish* was performed at the opening of the morning services on the Sabbath that falls in between these seasonal holidays. Interestingly, two melismatic variants on the word "Amen" follow this *qaddish*.

The recurrence of this set of melodies around the *qaddish* before *barekhu*, suggests that the recitation of the openings of the passages for the congregation was one of the cantor's main tasks in Amsterdam. These *qaddish* sets comprise eleven out of the eighteen pieces

⁹ R. Kahleyss, *Conrad Friedrich Hurlebusch (1691--1765): Sein Leben und Wirken* (Frankfurt am Main: Haag and Herschen, 1984); Arend Koole, "Hurlebusch, Conrad Friedrich." *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Web, 1 February 2016.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/13588

¹⁰ Rudolf A. Rasch, "Nozeman, Jacob," *Grove Music Online. Oxford Music Online*. Oxford University Press. Web, 31 January 2016.

http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/subscriber/article/grove/music/42270

¹¹ Seroussi, "New Perspectives on the Music of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogues..."

in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript, a proportion that reflects the importance of this section of the liturgy as a location for musical innovation.

Several of the *qaddish* melodies are based on extant compositions, such as those of pieces commissioned by the community from the aforementioned "house" composers Casseres and Lidarti. One should stress that the singing of the *qaddish* before *barekhu* with festive melodies is a well-established liturgical practice in most Sephardic communities. While the liturgical context of the "musicalized" text remained faithful to an old Sephardic tradition, its musical content changed dramatically. Among Eastern Mediterranean and North African Sephardim, the same melody—usually that of a seasonal *piyyut*—is employed for singing the entire *qaddish* set (i.e. the preceding psalm verse, the *qaddish*, and *barekhu*). By setting a new melody for each text, the Portuguese tradition in Amsterdam developed a unique and contemporary musical form within an otherwise traditional liturgy. At the same time, such musical insertions reveal the permeation of music from the surrounding gentile sphere into the liturgy of the Portuguese Jews.

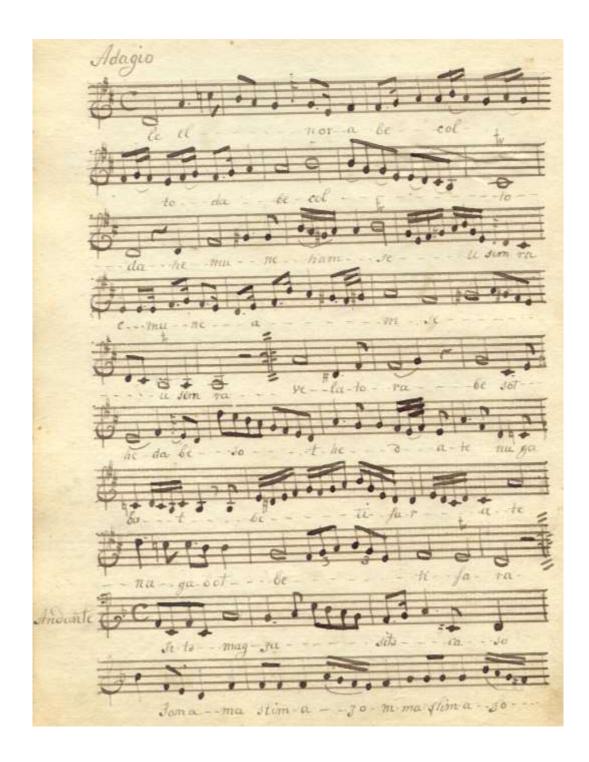
Other liturgical texts in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript are Bo'i be-shalom, the last stanza of the poem Lekha dodi for Qabbalat Shabbat (nos. 4 and 18), Hashkivenu for the Sabbath eve service (no. 13), *Ha-mesiah illemim* from the prayer *Nishmat kol hay* (no. 1) and the Qeddushah (no. 8, Nagdishakh ve-na'aritzah), both for the Sabbath morning service (shaharit), and Kol ha-neshamah tehallel yah (Psalm 150:6; no. 2), a verse from the *hallel* psalms. The melodies of several of these pieces originate in popular cantatas from the Portuguese repertoire composed for special occasions, whose melodies eventually became an integral part of the liturgical tradition. ¹² However, other melodies show a particular compositional style that hints at a more autochthonous musical language among the Portuguese cantors. The *Qeddushah* (no. 8; example no. 1), for example, consists of a slow melody (Adagio), recalling a Sarabande with a shift in meter, that is repeated three times to cover the text chanted by the traditional Sephardic cantor (up to "ve-qara zeh el zeh ve'amar"). This melody suggests a "Sephardic" approach to composition that, while still informed by the musical language of the Baroque, points to the unaccompanied pieces without clear beat that characterize the traditional performance of the Qeddushah by the cantor.

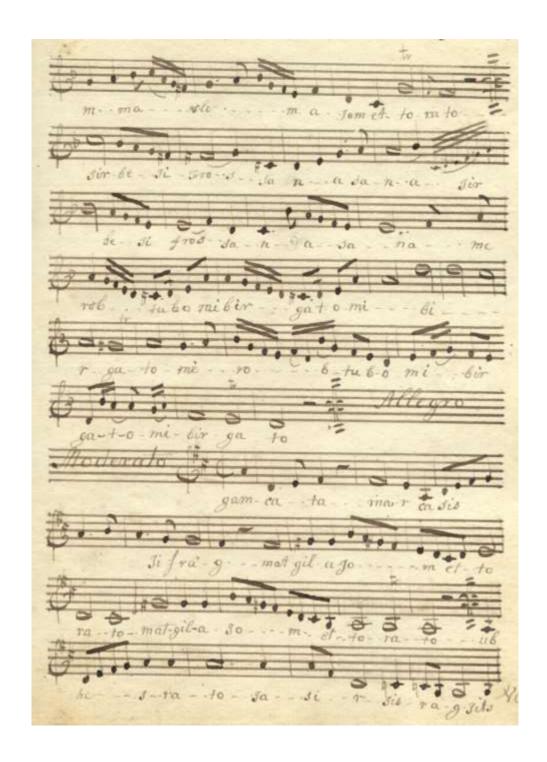
¹² On this phenomenon see Israel Adler, "Creation and Tradition in the Portuguese Synagogue in Amsterdam," *Pe'amim* 19 (1984): 14–28 (Heb.).

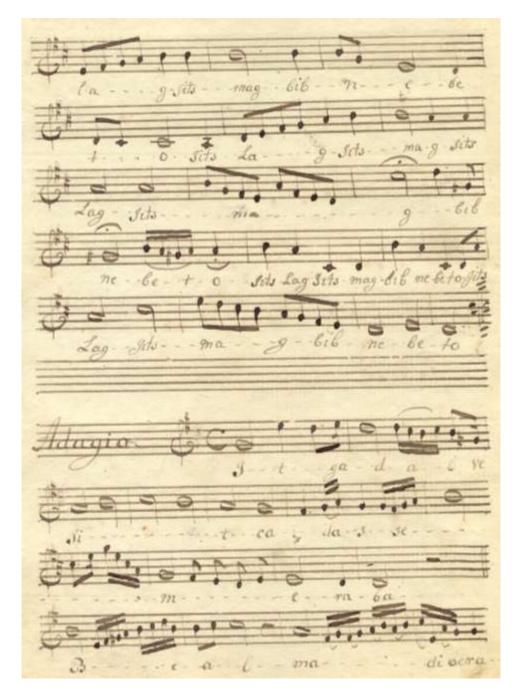


Example 1 Qeddushah for the morning and afternoon services (fol. 8b)

Le-el nora beqol todah (no. 9, musical example 2) is a cantata for Simhat Torah in three movements that appears only in the manuscript at the Den Haag museum. Therefore, its appearance in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript is important. It is a very peculiar composition, whose very irregular and angular phrases appear more as a transcription from oral memory than an original composition.







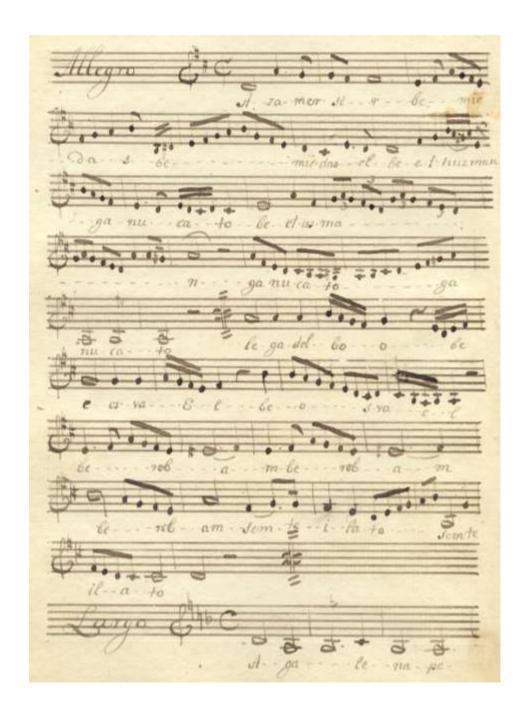
Example 2 Le-el nora begol todah for Simhat Torah (fols. 9a-10a)

The text is dedicated to the <u>Hatan Torah</u> (Bridegroom of the Torah), the reader who is honored with the chanting of the closing chapter of the annual biblical reading. The cantor performed the cantata when the honoree was called to the *bimah* (cantor's podium) for the reading of the Torah scroll. It was written by an anonymous author and it appears (with slight variants) in the printed collection of Hebrew poetry *Shir emunim* (Amsterdam 1793, fol. 8b), and also at the very end of *Seder Ha-mo'adim* (1843), a prayer book for

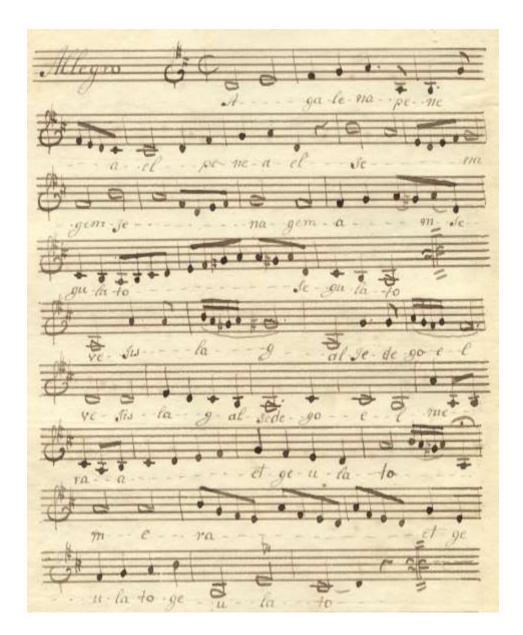
the Three Festivals that also contains Hebrew poems for diverse liturgical occasions in the Portuguese community's year cycle.¹³

Another special piece in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript is the cantata based on the *pizmon* (Hebrew strophic poem) *Azamer shir be-miqdash el* (no. 14, musical example 3). This is a cantata for Shabbat Nahamu ("Sabbath of Comforting," named after the corresponding *haftarah*, Isaiah 40:1), the first Sabbath after the Ninth of Av and of the seven Sabbaths of Consolation preceding the High Holyday season. This day commemorates on a yearly basis the inauguration of the great Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam.

¹³ Samuel Israel Mulder, *Orde Voor De Feestdagen: Naar Den Ritus Der Nederlandsch-Portugeesche Israëliten = Seder Ha-Moʻadim* (Amsterdam: bij Belinfante & De Vita, 1843), 235.





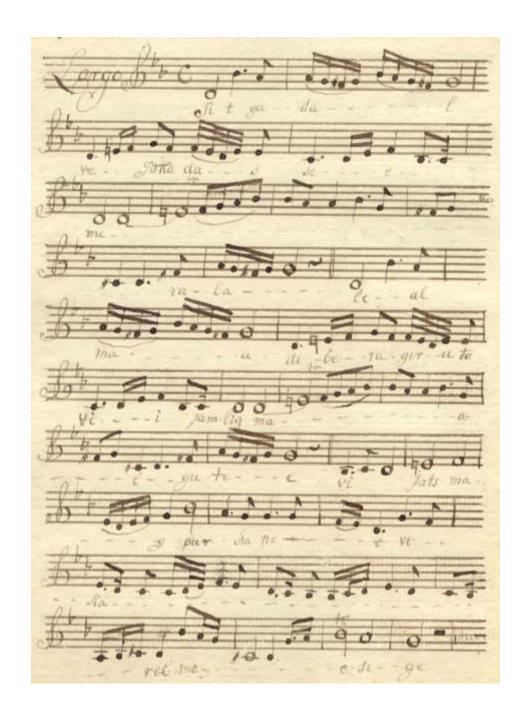


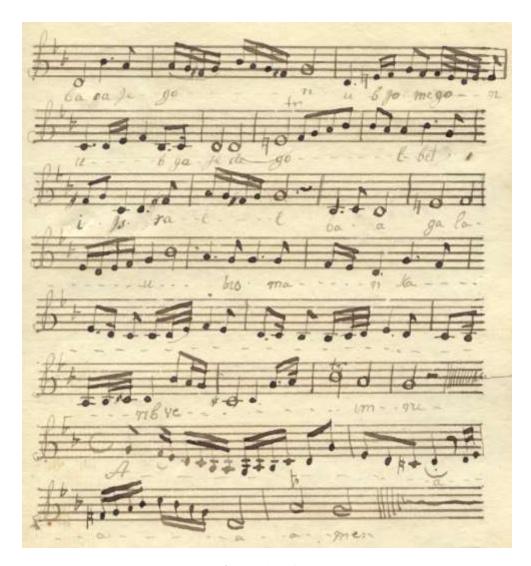
Example 3 Azamer shir be-miqdash el, cantata for Shabbat Nahamu

The original piece appears in the manuscript Aeh 49B22, the most authoritative source for the more complex cantatas of the Portuguese repertoire. This provides the exact attribution and date for the manuscript: "Dil Mani, 30 Junio 1773, fato per Sabbath Nahamu para H[aza]n [David ben Imanuel da] Silva." The text was printed, as in the case of the cantata *Le-el nora*, in *Shir emunim* (Amsterdam, 1793, fol. 9a). Little to nothing is known about Mani, the composer, except that he wrote several pieces for the Portuguese synagogue in the second quarter of the eighteenth century. His composition technique is rudimentary, from where one can assume that he was a dilettante. The fact that the attribution of the piece to Mani is in a mixture of Italian and Spanish-Portuguese may hint at his ties to Italy.

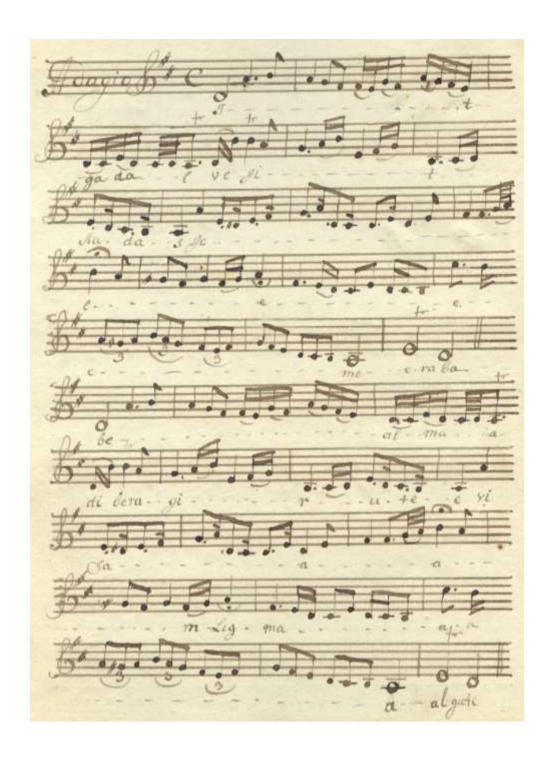
What is interesting in the notation of the cantata *Azamer shir* in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript is its notable metric and rhythmic discrepancies with the version in Aeh 49B22—which Adler assumed to be the original notation of this piece. These divergences may imply that this piece, as I suspect happened with others in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript, was transcribed orally and was not copied from a written source. If such a hypothesis is accepted, then we are again in the presence of a musical tradition that still maintained a high degree of oral lore, in spite of the availability of manuscript sources. The same hypothesis can be applied to the two versions of the cantata by Lidarti *Bo'i beshalom* (nos. 4 and 18). Even the spelling of the word *shalom* is different in both cases, *salom* and *chalom*, hinting at the diverse lines of transmission of each version.

To conclude this presentation of the Lopes Cardozo manuscript, one can say that this new source, which we can date to the early nineteenth century, expands the written repertoire of Portuguese liturgical music from Amsterdam with three new *qaddishim*. Two of these pieces (nos. 15 and 16, musical examples 4 and 5 respectively) are very expressive melodies of an elaborated character, as are other settings of the *qaddish* in this repertoire.





Example 4 *Qaddish* (fols. 14b-15a)





Example 5 *Qaddish* (fols. 15b-16a)

The tempi are very slow (Lento and Adagio respectively) and in binary form (AABBAB), whereas B includes a fleeting modulation to the parallel major (in the first piece in G minor), or minor (in the second piece in D major). Considering that the melodies of many *qaddishim* in the Portuguese synagogue repertoire are borrowings from other pieces (or "descendants" as Adler described them in cases where the source is a cantata), it is

reasonable to assume that these two tunes also originate in other pieces. Further research may locate their sources.

Beyond the particular analysis of the pieces found in the Lopes Cardozo manuscript, the entire document is worth of attention. This is an artefact of musical transmission, reaffirming the vital role that musical notation had in this Jewish community at a time when most synagogue repertoires in Europe (and elsewhere) still depended on oral memory. Proficiency in writing down music and ability to read a score were givens for any individual applying for the position of <u>hazzan</u> in the Portuguese synagogue of Amsterdam throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The standard narrative of Jewish music history usually interprets the use of musical notation as a signifier of modernity. One wonders if such a line of thought has historical justification. In spite of the assiduous use of music notation by Portuguese cantors, it is clear that orality remained the main vehicle for transmitting the music tradition of this synagogue—as the internal evidence of this new manuscript also shows. Music notation served thus only to inscribe the new compositions in the contemporary styles of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. To what extent cantors performed these compositions in actual services is unknown. What is clear from twentieth-century ethnography is that most of the liturgical lore, including "descendants" of the composed melodies found in manuscripts, remained within the traditional Sephardic repertoire and in the realm of oral memory. In short, as I have described previously, the Portuguese synagogue repertoire as we know it today exhibits an ancient modernity.