Echoes from the Diaspora: Galant Schemata and Style in the Sephardic Music of Enlightenment Amsterdam

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In recalling his 1704 visit to Amsterdam, Johann Mattheson reported with amazement the comportment and dress of the Portuguese (Sephardic) Jews he encountered: "[I] heard in Amsterdam various excellent concerts in the Dule [a concert hall], at which were present the magnificent Portuguese Jews who bore themselves like kings and queens."[1] Mattheson's remark is significant: as is widely known, for centuries throughout Europe, Jews were forced to wear special dress to distinguish themselves from their non-Jewish neighbors.[2] Mattheson's comment reflects the Sephardic Jews' unusual experience in the Netherlands, able to dress as they pleased—in this case, like members of society's upper classes.

How did this translate to the community's engagement with music beyond the secular concert hall—or, put in Mattheson's terms, how did the Sephardic community of Amsterdam bear itself musically? Indeed, that community partook in Dutch cultural life while retaining its own Jewish cultural and religious identities, producing a distinctive eighteenth-century liturgical repertoire in the process. In this article I examine some of that repertoire, held primarily in manuscripts from Amsterdam's Ets Ḥaim Library, and which notably features a synthesis between the galant style and traditional cantorial elements. This music's conscious engagement with, and contribution to, the galant style—the kind of music associated with those who might bear themselves like "king and queens"—demonstrates the Sephardic Jews' distinctive assimilation within Dutch culture through music.

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[1] Johann Mattheson, *Grundlage einer Ehrenpforte* (Hamburg, 1740), 192. Mattheson writes in German: "hielt zu Amsterdam verschiedene starcke Concerte auf der *Dule*, in Gegenwart der prächtigen, portugisischen Juden, die sich als Könige und Königinnen aufführten." Translated in David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 59.

[2] See, for example, Conway, *Jewry in Music*, 59.

In examining the nature of this music, it is essential to understand *how* it may have been perceived by the community. What harmonic and melodic elements give this music its shape? In what ways does the music represent a dialogue with the musical world beyond the synagogue? I seek to analyze this repertoire using Robert Gjerdingen's galant schemata framework, which is ideally suited to analyze eighteenth-century music and its harmonic and melodic structures. Using select pieces from the repertoire, I show how the galant schemata reveal the Sephardic repertoire's relationship to wider European music—including Italianate influences that are hallmarks of the galant style, and which the community encountered throughout Amsterdam's rich musical scene. Seeing how these schemata function demonstrates the ways in which composers in the Sephardic repertoire may adhere to—and deviate from—the galant style's conventions. To complement the analysis with schemata, I will also highlight some of the textural hallmarks of the galant style found in the Sephardic repertoire of Ets Ḥaim.

While previous scholarship has examined the fusion of the traditional cantorial and western European styles in this repertoire, less attention has been paid to the specifics of the galant style. For example, Israel Adler describes the composer Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti's music as being of a "simple and sober style."[3] Several articles by Edwin Seroussi and Anton Molenaar on this repertoire predate the advancement in stylistic analysis of eighteenth-century music. More recent research on the galant style and its musical processes by Robert Gjerdingen, Giorgio Sanguinetti, and Nicholas Baragwanath have shed light on how improvisation, composition, and pedagogy intertwined fluidly in the eighteenth-century repertoire.[4] Composers and genres are now better unified under a common framework of archetypal harmonic patterns and their gestures that enables analysts and performers to forge new connections. New analysis is needed to bring our understanding of this repertoire up to date with approaches that elucidate in greater detail the stylistic elements that make the music both a part of, and distinct from, other repertoire from the period.[5]

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[3] See Anton Molenaar, "The Music of the Amsterdam Sephardim: A Musicological Survey," *Shofar* 18, no. 4 (2000): 26–47, who adapts Adler's descriptions of Lidarti's style, as well as Israel Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1974), 88.

[4] In addition to Robert O. Gjerdingen's *Music in the Galant Style* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2007) and *Child Composers in the Old Conservatories: How Orphans Became Elite Musicians* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020), see Giorgio Sanguinetti, *The Art of Partimento: History, Theory, and Practice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012); Nicholas Baragwanath, *The Solfeggio Tradition: A Forgotten Art of Melody in the Long Eighteenth Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020); and Job IJzerman, *Harmony, Counterpoint, Partimento: A New Method Inspired by Old Masters* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018).

[5] Some of this repertoire is significant for its defiance of Jewish traditions against instrumental music in the synagogue, a controversial matter after the destruction of the Second Temple of

History of the Community

A brief history of Amsterdam's Sephardic community is essential to understand music's place in it. The story of this community in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries unites many worlds—ancient and modern, sacred and secular—all mediated by the community's Iberian past and integration into a Dutch identity. Iberian Jews who had been forced to convert to Catholicism (commonly known as *conversos*) began arriving in the Netherlands in the late 1500s. They established themselves in a place more profoundly tolerant of Judaism than anywhere in Europe at the time and sought to revive their long-suppressed Jewish faith. The Netherlands, and Amsterdam in particular, became significant beacons of Jewish culture; indeed, Amsterdam was renowned as a printing center of Hebrew texts in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Adler notes that Amsterdam was called "the Jerusalem of the North."[6] Yet, these Jews retained a yearning for the lost cultural "golden age" in Iberia. For example, even as they became integrated into Dutch society, they continued to speak and write in Portuguese.[7]

Of prime importance to the Portuguese Jewish community was the reestablishment of educational institutions. In 1616, they founded the school Ets Ḥaim to restore the study of Hebrew, Torah, and Talmud, and as a source of intellectual nourishment for the burgeoning community. The philosopher Baruch Spinoza, among many others, received his education at Ets Ḥaim. The three main Sephardic groups consolidated in 1639 into one institution, called the Talmud Torah. The community imported liturgical customs, including traditional melodies, from Sephardic communities in North Africa and the eastern Mediterranean. Ets Ḥaim is now a library with a collection that houses tens of thousands of printed works and hundreds of manuscripts, including the musical pieces under consideration. It is the oldest Jewish library of its kind in the world and is part of the complex that includes the magnificent synagogue, called the Esnoga, which was completed and inaugurated in 1675.

Music was a beloved part of the Dutch Sephardic community, inside and outside of the synagogue. Many rabbis were recognized for their musical

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Jerusalem in 70 CE. We know, for example, that the cantata by Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim*, was performed for Simchat Torah in 1738 with Caçeres himself at the harpsichord, as indicated on the surviving manuscript for *Le-El Elim.* With respect to transliterations, all the pieces' titles are derived from the Portuguese-inflected transliterations found in their manuscripts. The text transliterations in the musical examples featuring Caçeres's *Le-El Elim* and the anonymous *Col anesama* are borrowed from Israel Adler's editions, which use his system of modern Hebrew transliteration (see Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim,* ed. Israel Adler [Tel Aviv: Israeli Music Publications Limited, 1974] and Anonymous, *Kol HaNeshamah,* ed. Israel Adler [Tel Aviv: Israeli Music Publications Limited, 1968]). In all other musical examples, transliterations are transcribed from the manuscripts.

[6] Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam*, 9.

[7] Ibid., 10

abilities. Among them were Isaac Aboab da Fonseca, renowned as a virtuoso harpist, and Abraham Pereira, who was a celebrated singer and harpist as well as the leader of the Talmudical college from 1659.[8] In secular society, the Suasso, Teixeira, and Capadoce families were, among others, recognized for their abundant support of chamber music and opera.[9] Mozart's father, Leopold, remarked upon these notable families when he visited Amsterdam in 1766, revealing their prominence in Dutch society. One of the most prosperous men in The Hague, Francesco Lopes de Liz, hosted extravagant operatic productions and concerts in his home. For two years, de Liz hired renowned French violinist Jean-Marie Leclair, himself a composer well-versed in the galant style, to direct and perform in de Liz's concerts. The Sephardic Jews' identities are expressed deeply through the music created for their Esnoga.

The Galant Schemata

What distinguishes the galant style of music? Johann Mattheson returns to the fore. According to Daniel Heartz, Mattheson originated the term *style galant* to describe a light, contemporary, and Italianate style of music, including composers like Antonio Vivaldi and Georg Philipp Telemann.[10] The galant style is distinguished from the contrapuntal, "learned" style and was appreciated for its lightness and relative simplicity. In galant music, the melody and accompaniment are clearly articulated, with periodic phrasing accentuated by pauses, plus a harmonic rhythm that is slower than the Baroque's usual fast-paced motoric style. Above all, a graceful ease and accessibility to listeners is paramount. This accessibility is essential for the style's comprehensibility among listeners. In his book *Music in the Galant Style*, Robert Gjerdingen provides a framework for analyzing the stock voice leading patterns (schemata) that form the "building blocks" of eighteenth-century music, and which lend galant music its approachability. Drawing from a plethora of repertoire and genres, as well as the pedagogical tools called *partimenti* and *solfeggi* that trained musicians in the style, Gjerdingen gives names to these patterns and further expounds upon schemata already identified in the eighteenth century (e.g., Joseph Riepel's Monte, Fonte, and Ponte). To put this in context within Italian culture, Gjerdingen writes:

> The overriding theory behind my presentation of these schemata is that they formed one of the cores of a galant musician's *zibaldone*, his well-learned repertory of

[8] Ibid., 11.
[9] Ibid., 13.
[10] Daniel Heartz, *Music in European Capitals: The Galant Style, 1720–1780* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2003), 18.

> musical business, and that in the social setting of a galant court, these schemata formed an aural medium of exchange between aristocratic patrons and their musical artisans.[11]

The courtly nature of these schemata helps us see (and hear) galant music as a shared, social currency, and enables the formation of new connections between once-disparate repertoires and pieces of music. This is essential in understanding the Amsterdam Sephardic repertoire in question. The transmission of Italian music and musicians across Europe helped cement the galant style as an international musical language. For example, one of the most important Italian instrumental composers of the first half of the eighteenth century, Pietro Locatelli, moved to Amsterdam in 1729 and flourished as a violinist and composer.[12] He was a leading proponent of the galant style, carrying on the legacy of Arcangelo Corelli in Rome. His musical stature in the Netherlands was significant.

Several schemata and stylistic hallmarks mark three pieces from the Ets Ḥaim manuscripts: Abraham de Caçeres's *Le-El Elim* (For God Almighty), composed for Simchat Torah (the festival of the completion of the annual reading of the Torah) in 1738, M. Mani's *Azamer sir* (I Will Sing a Song) composed for Shabbat Nachamu (Sabbath of Consolation) in 1773, and Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti's *Col anesama* (All Souls [Rejoice]), composed for liturgical purposes in the late eighteenth century. I offer context for each piece and present definitions of the relevant schemata prior to discussing the excerpts from the repertoire. Scale degrees for each schema follow Gjerdingen's manner of analysis, with black circles for the treble and white circles for the bass. The name of each schema is given above the example.

Le-El Elim, Abraham de Caçeres, 1738 (Simchat Torah)

Abraham de Caçeres was a member of the Amsterdam Sephardic community who lived in the first half of the eighteenth century. He composed the five-movement cantata *Le-El Elim* in 1738 for Simchat Torah, a celebratory occasion marking the end of the Torah reading cycle and honoring the so-called bridegroom of the Torah and the bridegroom of Genesis, each of whom was called to the Torah to mark the occasion and their special status. Famed Italian rabbi Moshe Chaim Luzzato penned the text for this piece. *Le-El Elim* alternates between solo and duet arias for two singers and basso continuo. Israel Adler thought that Caçeres may have used Pergolesi's *Stabat Mater* as inspiration for this piece, given the similarities between the scope and instrumentation; he writes that "knowledge of this work, composed in 1736, cannot be excluded in

[11] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 15.
[12] Ibid., 59.

the Amsterdam of the autumn of 1738. At all events, the Italian influence seems manifest."[13] In addition to this style, Adler argues that some of the lines may be evocative of Ashkenazi cantorial melodies. The balance between freer, melismatic sections and steady, harmonious galant sections gives the piece its joyful character, particularly in the first movement. The manuscript housed in Ets Ḥaim notes that the two *ḥazzanim* (cantors) who sang (in falsetto) at the celebration in 1738 were Aron Cohen de Lara and Semuel Rodrigues Mendes, and, as mentioned previously, that Caçeres himself played the harpsichord at the piece's premiere. It is noteworthy that this manuscript, compiled several decades after the occasion, would have the names of the performers inscribed: the performance must have made a significant impression on the community. Indeed, several contrafacts were made from melodies in *Le-El Elim.* The ḥazzan Iossef de Ishac Sarphati (ca. 1743–72) used the fourth movement of *Le-El Elim* as a contrafact; it serves as the melodic foundation for a setting of the Kaddish prayer.[14]

The Galant Romanesca and the Prinner

The Romanesca schema was one of the most typical opening gestures in the galant style. As Gjerdingen notes, it is most frequently followed by the Prinner schema (named after the seventeenth-century theorist Johann Jakob Prinner) as a riposte to the Romanesca.[15] In the galant Romanesca, the bass descends by step from ① to ⑥, passing through ⑦, followed by a leap of a fourth to ③. In the treble, there is a variety of melodic possibilities, often outlining triadic harmony (see Fig. 1).

[13] Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam*, 81. Consider how Pergolesi has long been a placeholder name for pieces of music in the galant style (e.g., the misattribution of Domenico Gallo's Trio Sonata No. 1 in G Major as part of Stravinsky's arrangement of Baroque pieces for *Pulcinella*).

[14] The Sarphati manuscript is housed at the National Library of Israel in Jerusalem (8o. Mus. 2). See also Edwin Seroussi, "A New Source of Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music from Amsterdam," *Min-Ad: Israel Studies in Musicology Online* 13 (2015–16), https://min-ad.org.il/min-ad/article/download/120/111/219 (accessed June 16, 2024).

[15] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 40. See also p. 14; Gjerdingen takes the bass lines from the openings of seven of Locatelli's Op. 2 flute sonatas (Amsterdam, 1732) and transposes them to C major, showing how ubiquitous the Romanesca and Prinner schemata are as pairs even within the same collection.

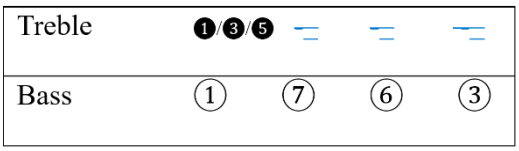


Figure 1 The Galant Romanesca, functioning as an opening gesture

In the Prinner schema, the treble descent of a tetrachord from ❻ to ❸ is accompanied by a descent in parallel tenths from ④ to ① in the bass. Sometimes the bass leaps from ② to ⑤ before reaching the end of the schema. In an alternative disposition, the bass remains on ④ and moves to ⑤ (see the alternative bass in Fig. 2). What distinguishes the Prinner, however, is the stepwise descent in the treble. At its conclusion, the Prinner creates an imperfect authentic cadence.

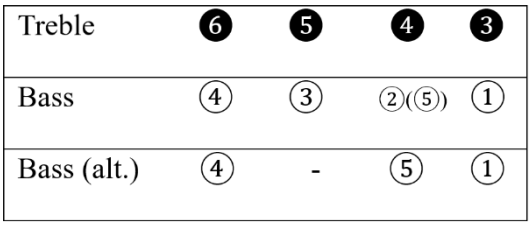
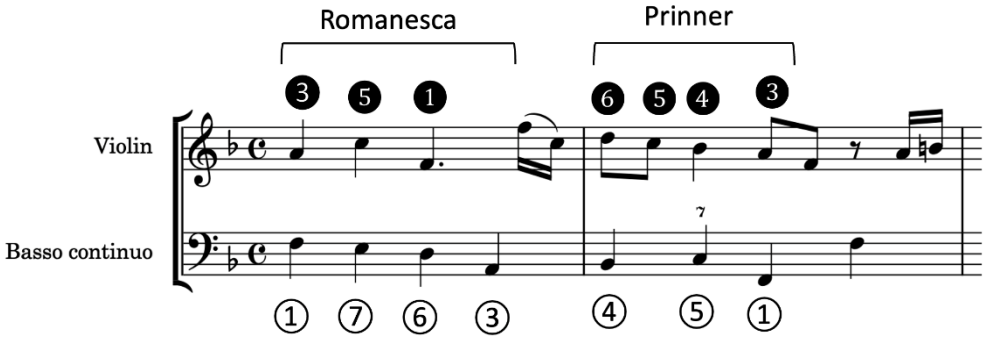


Figure 2 The Prinner, which functions as a riposte to the Romanesca, as a means of modulation, or continues a phrase

Example 1 shows the first movement from Corelli's violin sonata Op. 5, No. 10 with a typical Romanesca–Prinner pairing. Corelli's stature as a composer in the galant style is significant. Gjerdingen remarks that "though Corelli did not invent the galant style, he played an important role in its dissemination."[16] Indeed, Corelli's international stature was enormous, particularly through the Op. 5 violin sonatas, which influenced many composers including the Amsterdam-based Pietro Locatelli.

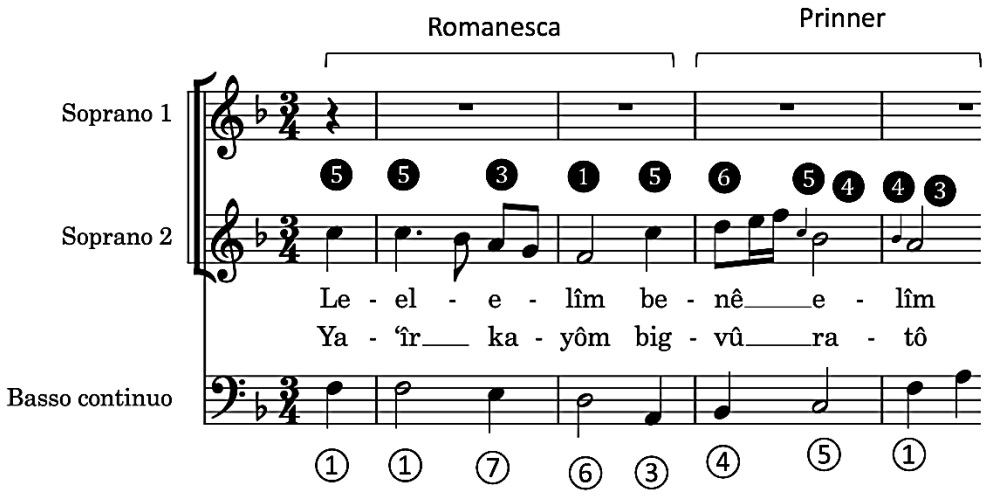
[16] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 50.



Example 1 Arcangelo Corelli, Op. 5, No. 10 (1700), I. Adagio, mm. 1–5

The melody outlines a tonic triad in tandem with the bass descent, which falls to the characteristic ⑥ before leaping to ③. The treble line reacts to this leap, beginning the Prinner's descent in m. 2, lingering on ❹ before resolving to ❸. Note that the bass in Ex. 1 follows the alternative bass in Fig. 2, with a stalwart ④ that does not descend by step.

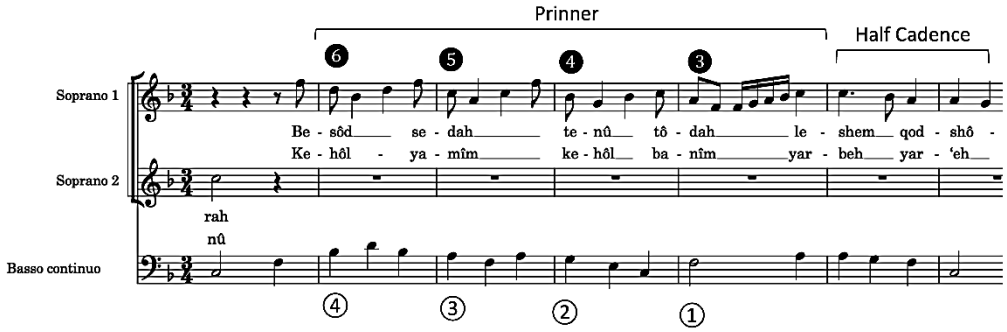
Le-El Elim is rife with galant schemata, but for the sake of concision, only a few examples will be discussed here.[17] The first movement begins with a Romanesca–Prinner pairing with a bass line identical to that in Corelli's Ex. 1 (see Ex. 2). The second soprano's melody descends gracefully by step from ❺ to ❶. The difference in meter, 3/4 in Ex. 2 versus common time in Corelli's Ex. 1, perhaps gives Caçeres's movement the feeling of a minuet. The strong downbeat in m. 1, on the word "El" (God), gives force to the text praising God and His might. As the bass leaps down to ③ to complete the Romanesca, the soprano leaps back up to ❺ and initiates the stepwise descent of the Prinner on the downbeat of m. 2. Unlike Corelli's Prinner, here Caçeres writes something more florid, with appoggiaturas representing ❺ on the second beat of m. 3 and ❹ on the first beat of m. 4. This gives the movement a subtle grandeur.



Example 2 Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim*, I. Adagio-Vivace, mm. 1–4. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22

The similarities between Corelli's and Caçeres's movements are not an issue of originality, but rather demonstrate the shared galant language employed in both their works. Though a musically informed congregant listening to Caçeres's new piece in 1738 might not have directly recalled Corelli's Op. 5, No. 10 sonata, they would have recognized a host of repertoire that contained such ubiquitous schemata.

Example 3 shows another use of the Prinner a few phrases later in the first movement of *Le-El Elim*. Here, the Prinner serves as a gesture of continuation, rather than as a riposte to a Romanesca. Whereas the Prinner occurs quickly within the span of a measure in Ex. 2, here it spans four measures: ❻ occurs on one downbeat, ❺ on the next downbeat, and so on, until the resolution in m. 19. The bass line matches this as well. This time, the Prinner's bass features the full stepwise bass descent in parallel tenths with the melody, from ④ to ①. This shows that Caçeres is actively modifying a schema that has been introduced previously in the piece; he also clearly understands how to use the Prinner schema at a different structural juncture. The light syncopation in the singer's line is also a hallmark of the galant style, offsetting the bass's leaping thirds and giving the phrase an airy buoyancy. The phrase ends with a half cadence in the tonic.



Example 3 Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim*, I. Adagio-Vivace, mm. 15–21. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B22

Fonte

The next pertinent schema is Joseph Riepel's Fonte (which Gjerdingen translates as "well," indicative of its downward motion). The Fonte is a short sequence that generally contains two events (dyads): one in the minor, then one in the major. As seen in Fig. 3, the treble falls from ❹ to ❸, while the bass ascends from ⑦ (and sometimes ⑤) to ①. The gesture is then repeated one step lower.

Treble	❹	❸ ↓	❹	❸
Bass	⑦ (⑤)	① ↓	⑦ (⑤)	①

Figure 3 The Fonte. This schema performs a sequential function, particularly as a modulation after the double bar

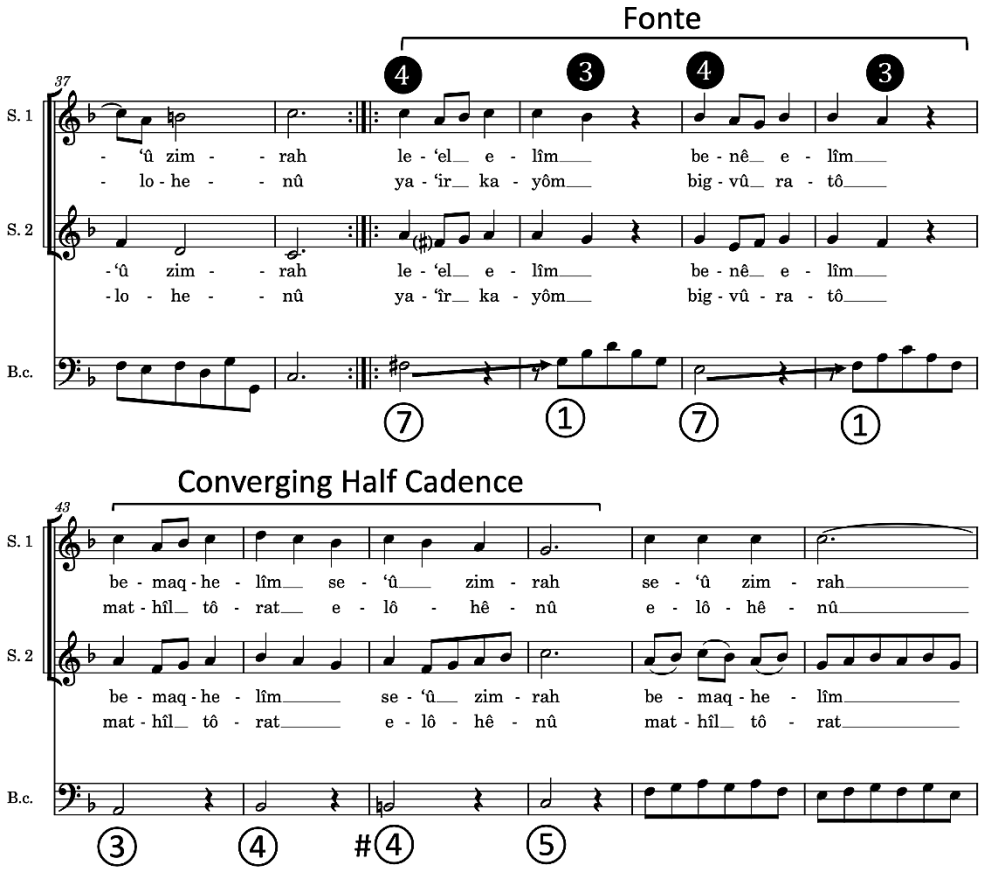
Converging Cadence

Several cadences were typical of the galant style, and one of the most significant was the Converging Cadence. This was a smooth way for a composer to lead to a half cadence, or to modulate to the dominant. In Fig. 4, the motion by step from ④ to ♯④ creates the pull of a leading tone towards ⑤.

Treble	❸	❷	❶	❼ (variable)
Bass	③	④	♯④	⑤

Figure 4 The Converging Cadence moves to the dominant

Example 4 shows Caçeres employing a Fonte schema followed by a Converging Half Cadence. As mentioned previously, the 3/4 meter of the first movement of *Le-El Elim* gives it a minuet-like character. Additionally, it is composed in binary form, another possible allusion to that dance. In Ex. 4, the use of a Fonte in m. 39 after the double bar further strengthens the possibility that Caçeres had in mind the courtly, galant minuet as the basis for this movement. Indeed, Gjerdingen notes, in describing the order of schemata in another minuet, that "a Fonte following the double bar could hardly be more traditional."[18]



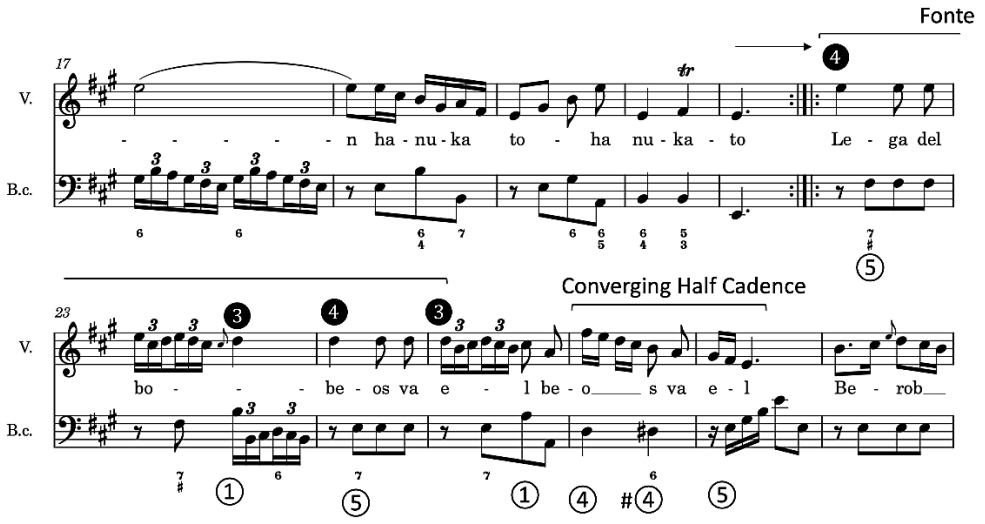
Example 4 Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim*, I. Adagio-Vivace, mm. 37–48. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B22

The Converging Half Cadence begins in m. 43, with a bass ascent from ③ to ⑤ with the intervening ♯④. Notice the false relation between the B-natural in the bass and the B-flat in the top-voice line m. 45. All parts become still in m. 46, a moment of rest before an increase of activity in the next phrase.

[18] Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style*, 417.

Another example of the Converging Cadence is found in *Azamer sir* by M. Mani (whose identity is not known), composed in 1773 for Shabbat Nachamu, a festival of consolation and comfort in remembering the destructions of the two Temples (586 BCE and 70 CE, respectively) in Jerusalem. Shabbat Nachamu was also an important festive occasion for the community, marking the inauguration of the Esnoga in 1675. Mani's piece, a set of three arias for solo voice and continuo, strongly evokes the light, elegant style of galant opera. Adler takes a negative view of Mani's style, writing that his music comes across as "often very flat, over-simple, and diffuse."[19] Seroussi claims that Mani's "composition technique is rudimentary, from where one can assume that he was a dilettante."[20] The "rudimentary" composition technique may bear out in Mani's deployment of several schemata, as we will see.

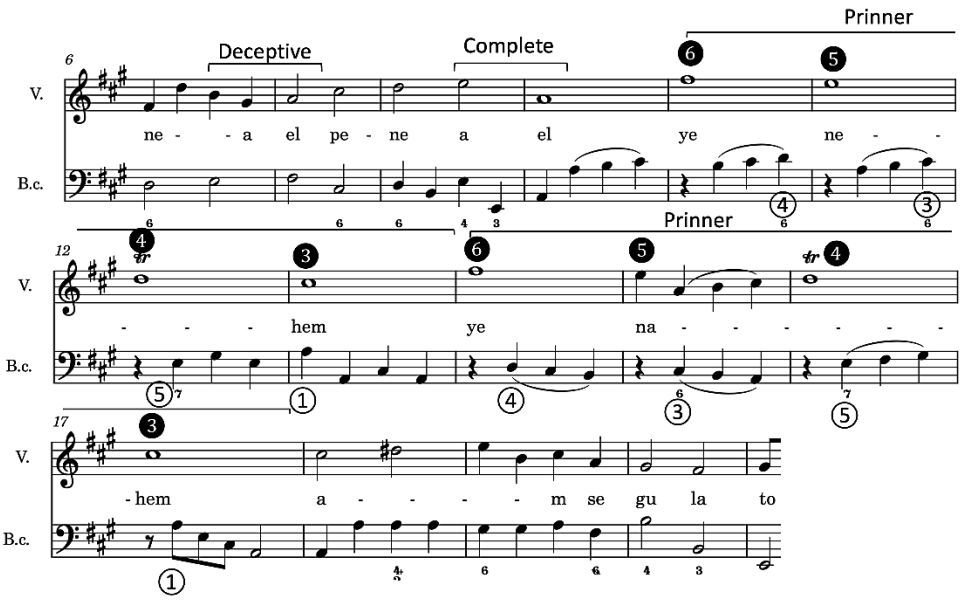
In Ex. 5, from the second half of the first movement of *Azamer sir*, we see the same use of a Fonte followed by a Converging Half Cadence. In this instance, Mani substitutes ⑤ for ⑦ in the bass. The falling of ❹ to ❸ remains consistent in each dyad. The use of triplet flourishes in m. 23 enlivens the texture. The bass imitates these triplets on the second beat while the treble's appoggiatura resolves; the gesture is then repeated. The Converging Half Cadence in mm. 26–27 occurs in the dominant, unlike in Ex. 4, where Caçeres remains in the tonic.



Example 5 M. Mani, *Azamer sir*, I. Allegrino, mm. 17–28. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22

[19] Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam*, 89.
[20] Seroussi, "A New Source of Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music from Amsterdam."

The concluding movement of *Azamer sir* projects a celebratory air to recall the synagogue's inauguration nearly a century earlier. As seen in Ex. 6, Mani deploys two Prinners in a row in the middle of the movement's first half. A deceptive cadence extends the phrase, followed by a completed perfect authentic cadence in mm. 7–8. What follows next is a Prinner that breaks a few contrapuntal rules and may reveal Mani as a "dilettante," rather than a professionally trained composer, as Seroussi has noted. The Prinner beginning on m. 10 has a clear trajectory in the voice line, descending from ❻ to ❸. A trill on the D in m. 12 keeps the scalar descent from sounding monotonous. However, the bass makes parallel fifths with the treble in mm. 10–11. Although the bass enters on the "weaker" second beat, it necessarily feels like an accented entry (especially in performance), and particularly with the slur over the three bass notes. The parallel-fifths issue is contrapuntally "resolved" on the third beat of each of those measures.



Example 6 M. Mani, *Azamer sir*, III. Ala cappella, mm. 6–21. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22

The subsequent Prinner, in mm. 14–17, becomes contrapuntally sound. Mani inverts the direction of the bass line from the previous Prinner, thus making the Prinner more audible. Some elements seem awkward, like the sudden downwards leap of eighth notes in the bass in m. 17. Would listeners at Shabbat Nachamu in 1773 have noticed these minute contrapuntal issues within the schema? Does the repetition of the Prinner, thus corrected, send a message about a community finally finding its footing—or is it simply a composer looking to vary material in a manner typical of the style? Regardless, these are

a few passages that show a direct engagement with the operatic, galant style familiar beyond the Esnoga.

Opening Gambit: Triadic Ascent

The next schema that I will address, the Triadic Ascent (see Fig. 5), is straightforward to define and quite ubiquitous. The bass contains various possible harmonies, usually in the tonic, that support a treble line that outlines a rising triad.

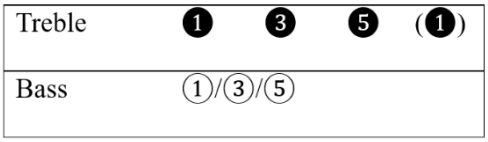
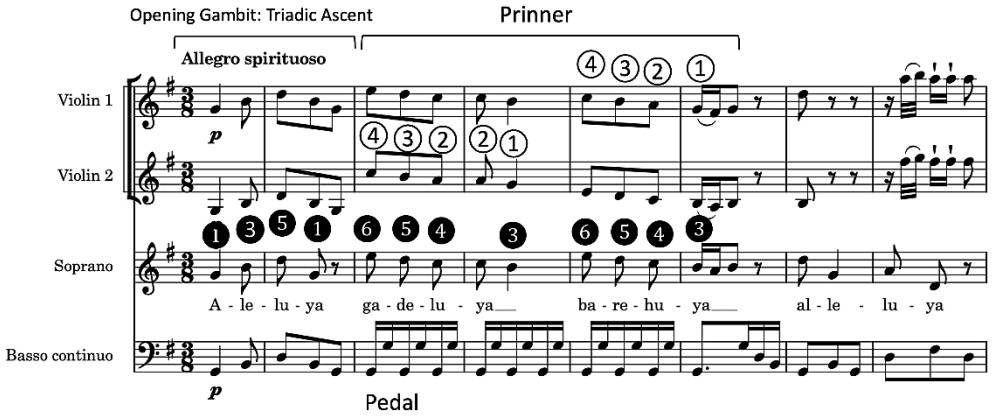


Figure 5 The Triadic Ascent as an opening gambit

Col anesama (All Souls [Rejoice]), by Cristiano Giuseppe Lidarti (1730–95), an established Christian composer born in Vienna, was commissioned from afar to write an abundance of works for the Sephardic community of Amsterdam, including the grand oratorio *Esther* in 1774. Several of his works remain in manuscript form, including the pieces *Amesiah* and *Boij besalom. Col anesama*, for solo voice, two violins, and continuo, is based on Psalm 150:6 with a simple message of praise for the Lord: "Hallelujah!" Psalm 150 is the last psalm of the Book of Psalms and, fittingly, speaks of praising the Lord by musical means, harkening back to the musical practices in the ancient Temple of Jerusalem, which involved the harp, lyre, horns, and cymbals. As a Christian composer, Lidarti surely knew how significant Psalm 150 was for both Jews and Christians. It is also clear from his music that he composed for an audience that recognized and appreciated its galant elements.

The second movement of Lidarti's *Col anesama* (see Ex. 7) opens with a heraldic triadic ascent—up to ❺, then back down to ❶. It is immediately followed by a Prinner riposte in mm. 2–3 that is repeated in mm. 5–6. The triadic ascent is an ideal opening to accompany a "hallelujah." Lidarti's Prinner utilizes a tonic pedal; the scalar "bass" descent takes place in the second violin line in mm. 3-4.

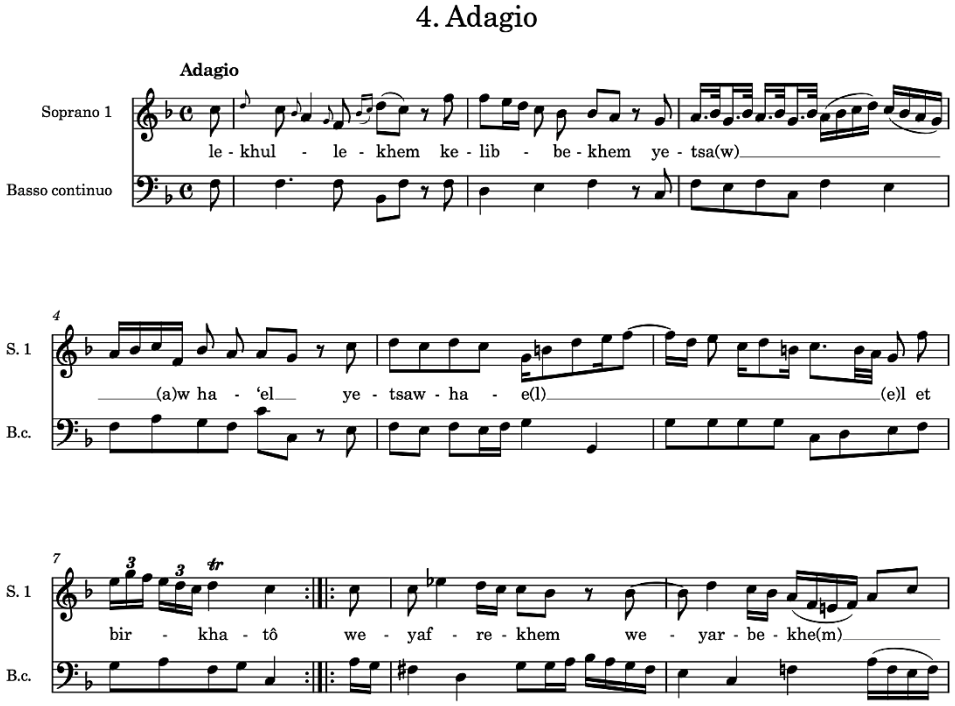


Example 7 C. G. Lidarti, *Col anesama*, II. Allegro spirituoso, mm. 1–8. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22

Contrafacts

The Sephardic liturgical practice of repurposing an existing melody to fit another text is well-documented.[21] We have already established that Caçeres's *Le-El Elim* was much beloved by the community. One example of a contrafact from this time is found in the ḥazzan book of Iossef de Ishac Sarphati. Sarphati transcribed the fourth movement of *Le-El Elim*, for one voice and continuo, and adapted it to fit the text of Kaddish, the ancient Aramaic prayer of praise or mourning that is used throughout the liturgy.

[21] See Israel Adler and Lea Shalem, *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840: A Descriptive and Thematic Catalogue with a Checklist of Printed Sources*, Répertoire International des Sources Musicales, B, IX, 1 (Munich: G. Henle Verlag, 1989).



Example 8 Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim*, IV. Adagio, mm. 1¬–9. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22

The text of the fourth movement addresses the congregation directly, conveying that God will bless them, and "return you to His land."[22] The affect is one of sweetness and hope. In Ex. 8, appoggiaturas in the syncopated vocal line in m. 1 give the melody a characteristically light and lilting quality, typical of the operatic galant style.[23] The hexachordal descent in m. 2 is reminiscent of the Prinner from the first movement. Frequent punctuations of a quarter rest (in mm. 1, 2, and 4) are also typical of the galant style and contribute to the movement's gentle character. The dotted sixteenth and thirty-second notes in m. 3 form a melisma that extends to the half cadence on beat three of m. 4. Caçeres employs syncopation in an upward arpeggio on the next melisma in mm. 5–6. In m. 6, the repeated eighth notes function as a pedal point before a cadence in the dominant. The harmony is simple, mostly moving back and forth from tonic to dominant. Although the melody contains a degree of rhythmic complexity, it is highly singable. In sum, this movement speaks to the refined, simple, and accessible qualities of the galant style that the likes of Johann Mattheson would have admired. It seems likely that the Amsterdam

[22] Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam*, 118.

congregation so enjoyed Caçeres's cantata because it excelled in the musical conventions that were in widespread use across Europe at the time.

Now, compare the opening few lines of the original movement in Ex. 8 to Fig. 6, Sarphati's transcription for the Kaddish. Sarphati's Kaddish features several notable differences. The transcription is in A major, a third higher than *Le-El Elim*. It is important to remember that the manuscript containing *Le-El Elim* is not some kind of Urtext, but, like much music from the period, a snapshot in time featuring some performative elements. This includes matters of ornamentation. For example, Sarphati removes the ornamentation included in the copy of Caçeres's setting. In m. 3, Caçeres's dotted sixteenth and thirty-second notes are "normalized" into running sixteenth notes. After the half cadence in m. 4, the melody continues with additional ornaments—appoggiaturas that lean into ❻. The contrafact process continued beyond the eighteenth century, though it did not leave its melodies entirely behind.

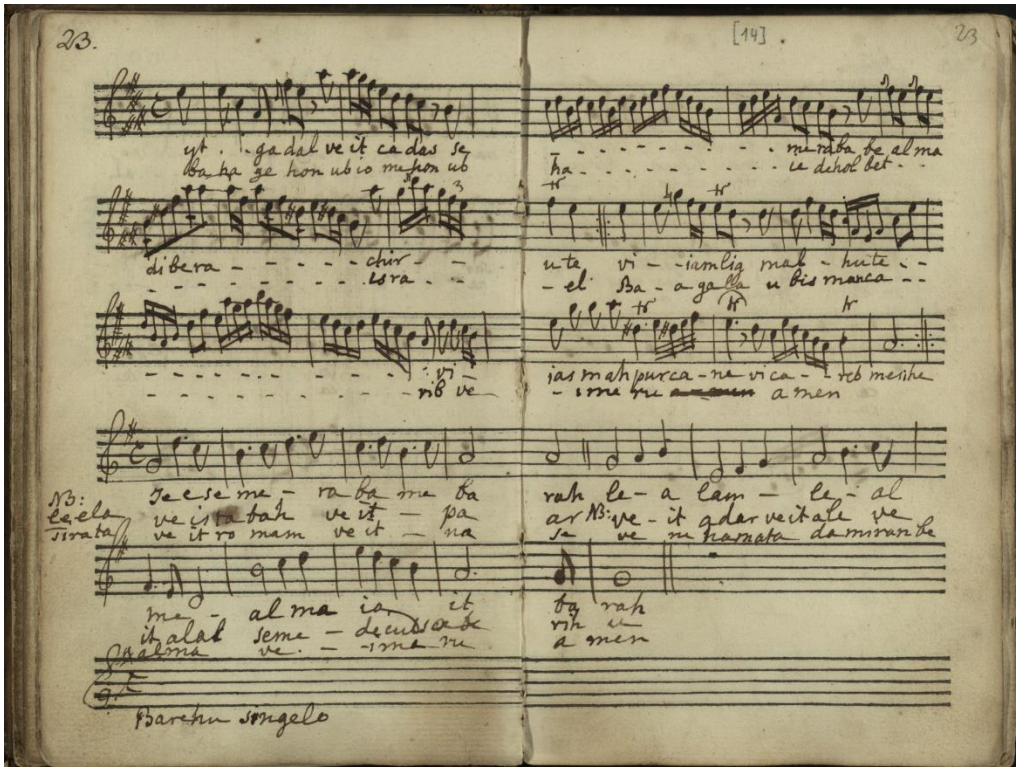


Figure 6 Abraham de Caçeres, *Le-El Elim*, IV. Adagio, trans. Iossef de Ishac Sarphati as a Kaddish. From the Sarphati Manuscript, p. 23, from the collection of the National Library of Israel

From Amsterdam to New Amsterdam

Musical connections between the Portuguese Jews of the Netherlands and the United States persist into the modern era. The shared history of seeking refuge and reestablishing religious traditions binds the communities together across the

Atlantic. For example, Sephardim found themselves in the Dutch colony of New Amsterdam by way of Recife, Brazil.[24] Once Brazil was reclaimed by the Portuguese, these Jews were again no longer welcome. One group of twenty-three Jews sailed to New Amsterdam and founded the congregation Shearith Israel in the 1650s. Shearith Israel has since flourished while occupying different synagogues in Manhattan over the centuries. The congregation's latest synagogue, located at the corner of 70th Street and Central Park West, was built in 1897 in the Beaux-Arts style, complete with Tiffany glass. It stands distinguished among residential buildings facing Central Park, an architectural gem akin to Amsterdam's Esnoga of 1675.

One figure in the history of Shearith Israel stands out in bringing the musical traditions of Amsterdam's Portuguese synagogue to America. Reverend Abraham Lopes Cardozo was born in Amsterdam in 1914 and educated at Ets Ḥaim. Trained as a ḥazzan, he came from a prominent family with a long history of leadership in the community; for example, his father led the synagogue's boys' choir.[25] In 1939, he moved to Suriname to work as a cantor, thus avoiding the Holocaust. After World War II, Cardozo came to New York and led the congregation Shearith Israel as a cantor from 1946 to 1984, thus bringing some of the music-liturgical traditions of Amsterdam to its sister community. His recordings survive on the album *The Western Sephardi Liturgical Tradition as Sung by Abraham Lopes Cardozo*, which was released in 2004 and is a valuable resource for the history of oral music.

Edwin Seroussi has written about a manuscript found in the possession of Rev. Lopes Cardozo that contains new material, as well as alterations and copies of the eighteenth-century liturgical pieces, like the aforementioned cantata by M. Mani, *Azamer sir*. He writes: "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."[26] This strain of orality could also account for differences in ornamentation between the fourth movement of *Le-El Elim* and Sarphati's Kaddish.

Hashkiveinu, the peaceful blessing included in the weekday evening prayer service, is featured as the second track on the album. It notably contains a galant contrafact from the second movement of Lidarti's *Col anesama* (see Ex. 7 above). Molenaar notes that "Lidarti's music must have made a great impression

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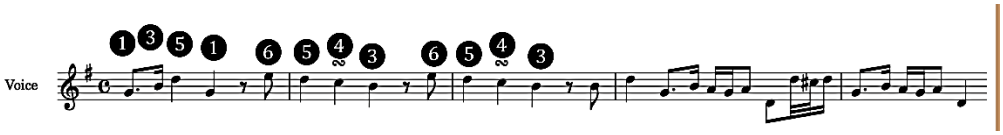
[24] "Congregational History | Congregation Shearith Israel – Manhattan Orthodox Synagogue Congregation Shearith Israel," May 19, 2022, https://www.shearithisrael.org/about/our-history/congregational-history/.

[25] Ari L. Goldman, "Abraham Cardozo, Sephardic Cantor, Dies at 91," *The New York Times*, February 23, 2006, https://www.nytimes.com/2006/02/23/arts/music/abraham-cardozo-sephardic-cantor-dies-at-91.html.

[26] Edwin Seroussi, "A New Source of Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music from Amsterdam."

on the Amsterdam Sephardic community, because it is incorporated in their written as well as oral tradition and used, if only in parts, to the present day."[27] Cardozo carries that tradition forward. His rendering showcases the monophonic blend of Lidarti's galant melody with the sweeping melismas of the ḥazzan. Compare the beginning of Lidarti's piece in Ex. 7, firmly in the galant style of the late eighteenth century, to the beginning of Cardozo's prayer in Ex. 9.



Example 9 Rev. Abraham Lopes Cardozo, *Hashkiveinu*. Transcription from oral recording (*The Western Sephardi Liturgical Tradition as Sung by Abraham Lopes Cardozo*), mm. 1–8

While Lidarti's movement is in 3/8, Cardozo performs the *Hashkiveinu* in a free 4/4 meter. Both pieces begin with a Triadic Ascent followed by a Prinner. Cardozo, in the ḥazzan's manner, ornaments the resolution with melismas from ❹ to ❸. This corresponds closely to how a galant musician might have ornamented the same moment with a *trillo* or a turn. Another resemblance is taken from mm. 7–8 of Lidarti's example, with an oscillation from tonic to dominant and back again. The melody departs from there in Cardozo's rendering, with ornamentations of whole steps and half steps that draw the melody further from the galant style. However, the Sephardic process of turning a notated melody into an oral contrafact is on full display: Lidarti's simple melody echoes throughout the centuries, across oceans, nations, and traditions.

Reconstructing an Accompaniment

There is much music without attribution in the Ets Ḥaim collection, and some of it survives only as unaccompanied vocal lines. In assessing the anonymous repertoire, Adler underscores that further work is crucial to "determine to what extent these compositions for one voice are simplified versions ('descendants') of works originally more elaborately conceived."[28] He notes that a work from the manuscript EH 49 B 22, a *Col anesama* for solo ḥazzan, bears harmonic and structural similarities to that of Lidarti's own *Col anesama* in manuscript EH 49 A 14, which is scored for solo voice, two violins, and basso continuo.[29] Adler writes that "the spirit and even certain melodic formulas of the original, which

[27] Molenaar, "The Music of the Amsterdam Sephardim."
[28] Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam*, 90.
[29] Ibid.

was most probably conceived with instrumental accompaniment, or at least a basso continuo, have on the whole been preserved." Therefore, he considers it likely that many of the solo melodies would have had some form of instrumental accompaniment.[30] Indeed, Adler composed his own keyboard accompaniment to this piece that was published in 1968.[31]

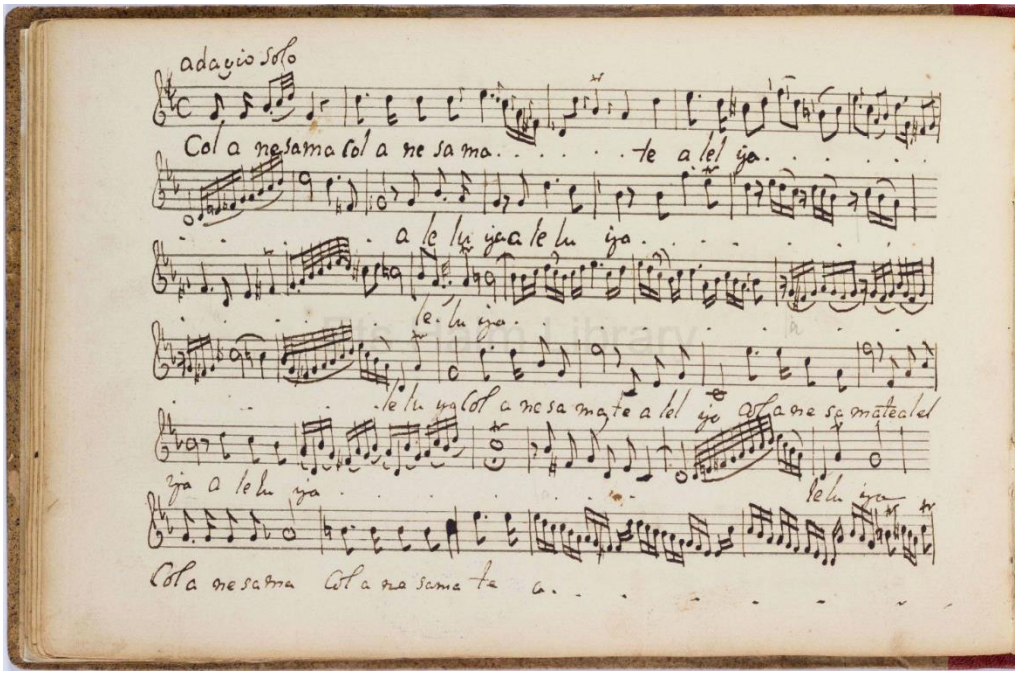


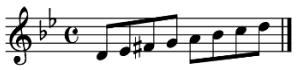
Figure 7 Anonymous, *Col anesama*, I. Adagio, mm. 1–33. From the Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22, p. 18. Reproduced with permission from Ets Ḥaim – Livraria Montezinos, Amsterdam

In the spirit of Adler's assertion, and as an homage to his published interpretation, I composed my own bass line with basso continuo figures to the first movement of this anonymous *Col anesama*, taking stylistic cues from other repertoire in the manuscript.[32] Rather than writing out a part for keyboard, as Adler did, I conceived of the bass as something a continuo player in the community—like Abraham de Caçeres—might have realized at the harpsichord or on another continuo instrument. An added bass part allows us to imagine how musicians in the community may have used one of their solo melodies in performance. I intend to show how I arrived at certain decisions based on the architecture of the vocal part and how these decisions respond to certain schemata and other hallmarks of the galant style. As Adler notes, this movement

[30] Ibid., 91.
[31] See Anonymous, *Kol HaNeshamah,* ed. Israel Adler (Tel Aviv: Israeli Music Publications Limited, 1968).

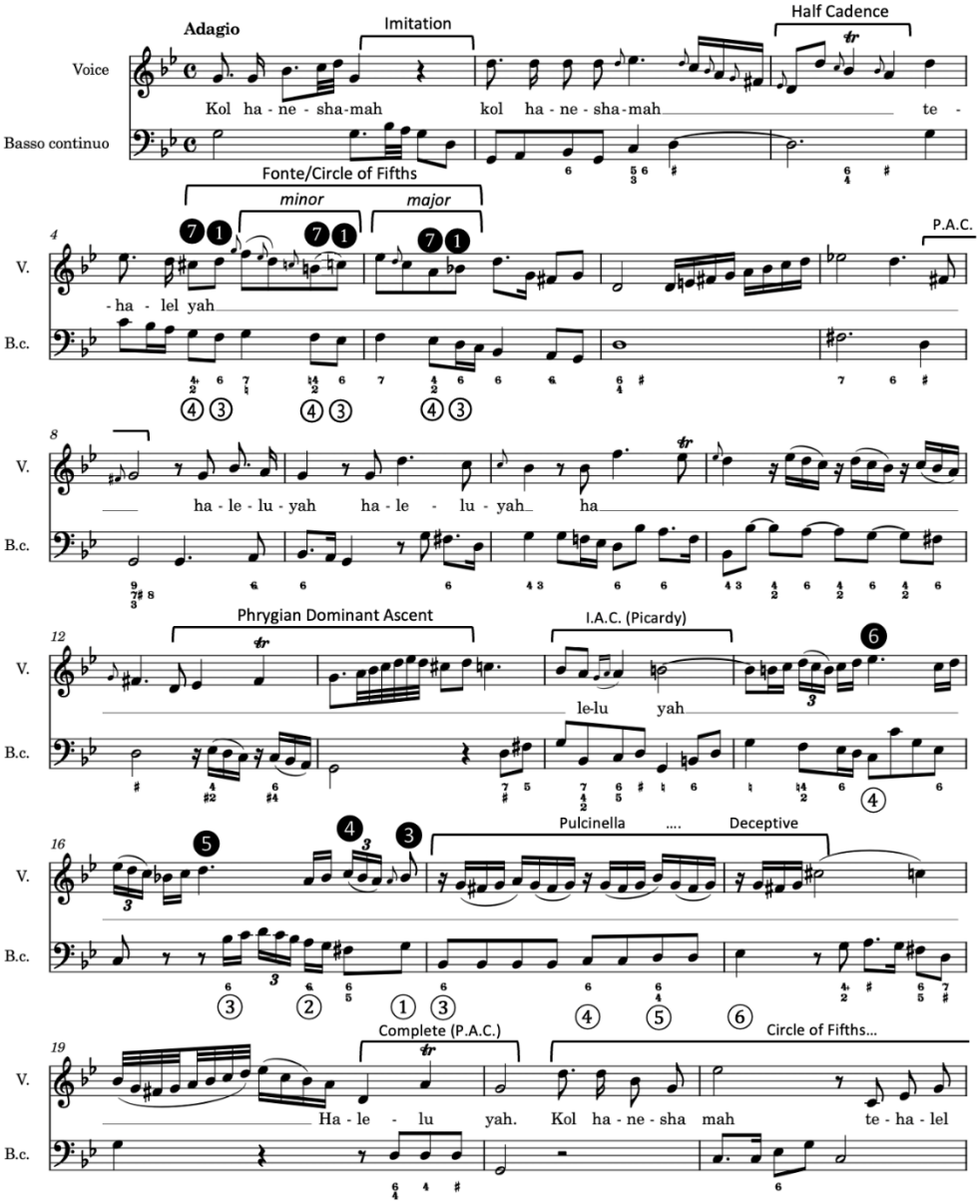
stands out for its incorporation of elements from the Ashkenazi cantillation tradition. Indeed, an added bass line complements and enhances the solo line's chromaticism, sweeping melismas, and frequent cadenzas (see Fig. 7 for a sample of the manuscript).[33] I have sought to heighten the tension of the Phrygian dominant scale (Ex. 10), a sonic hallmark of the Ashkenazi cantorial tradition, and incorporate it fluently with a bass that serves the melody's dramatic and affective purposes. For ease of analysis, I have included the full score in two pages as Ex. 11 with analytic markings above the treble staff for ease of reference.

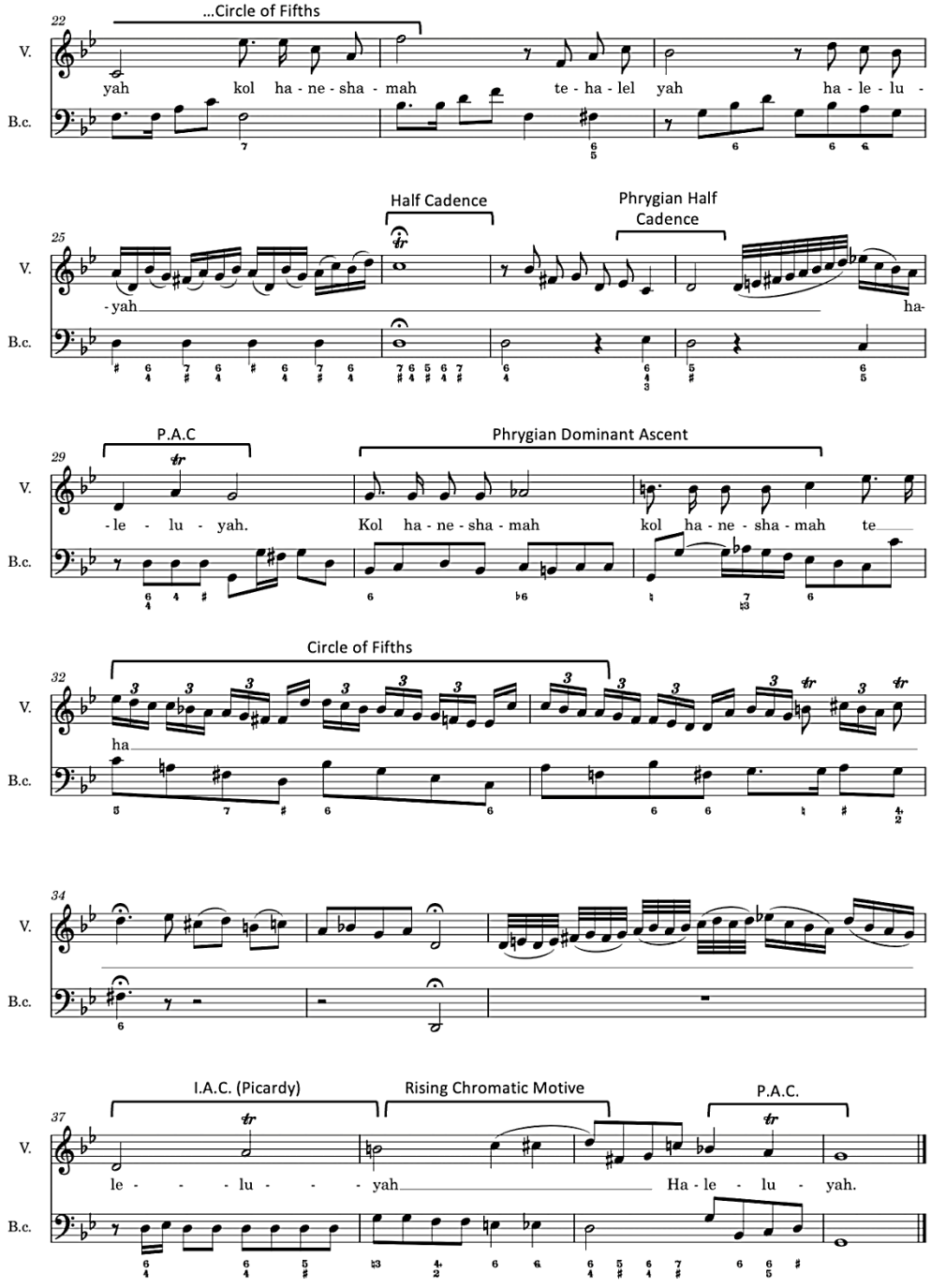
The opening measure outlines a G-minor chord in the vocal line. I respond to the flourish on the second beat of the treble line with an imitative figure on the third beat of the bass line; this imitative push-and-pull is frequently employed in Caçeres's *Le-El Elim* and is emblematic of the galant style. The vocal line continues on the fifth degree of the G-minor scale in m. 2; an appoggiatura creates an expressive clash as it leans into ❻. A melisma follows, sliding down the Phrygian dominant scale to a half cadence in m. 3. These melismatic moments may imply flexible timing. A pedal point in the bass from mm. 3–4, with implied harmony switching between the tonic and dominant, gives the singer (and continuo player) expressive space.



Example 10 Phrygian dominant scale in G minor

[33] Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam*, 91.


Adagio
Imitation
Half Cadence
Voice
Basso continuo
Kol ha - ne - sha-mah kol ha - ne - sha-mah te -
Fonte/Circle of Fifths
minor
major
P.A.C.
V.
B.c.
- ha - lel yah
ha - le - lu - yah ha - le - lu - yah ha
Phrygian Dominant Ascent
I.A.C. (Picardy)
le-lu yah
Pulcinella .... Deceptive
Complete (P.A.C.)
Circle of Fifths...
Ha - le - lu yah. Kol ha - ne - sha mah te - ha - lel



Example 11 Anonymous, *Col anesama,* I. Adagio. Transcribed from the Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B 22. Bass line and figured bass by Jonathan Salamon

In the next phrase, I harmonized mm. 4–5 as an inverted Fonte (with the typical scale degrees of the treble and bass parts swapped).[34] A melisma begins

[34] See Gjerdingen's Fonte example from Pasquali's Op. 1 No 2 in *Music in the Galant Style*, 66.

on the second beat of m. 4 and continues until m. 8. The composer introduces a primary motive in mm. 4–5 that returns throughout the piece: pairs of chromatic semitones as part of a scalar descent, marked on the score as ❼ and ❶ as part of the Fonte schema in this instance. This motive appears in freer passages later in the piece (see mm. 27–28 and 34–35). I have also classified this moment as inclusive of a circle of fifths progression, as the bass moves from a first inversion triad to a root position dominant seventh chord every other beat. Stepwise voice leading in the bass, with 4/2–6 resolutions, complements the treble line's own stepwise motion and masks the cycling through fifths that a leaping bass might intimate.

A dramatic scale in m. 6 in the treble leads to a diminished seventh chord on the downbeat of m. 7, preparing for the first perfect authentic cadence from mm. 7–8. The manuscript shows an appoggiatura from ♯❼ to ❶; I included a ninth in my figured bass to increase the tension of the resolution at this first significant cadence.

The melody continues from mm. 8–10 in G minor, outlining the tonic chord. I continue to include light imitation in the bass to balance the motion of the treble. A shift to the relative major (B-flat) occurs at the end of m. 10, with a resolution from ❹ to ❸ (as described in the figured bass). From beats 2–4 in m. 11, the treble line descends gently with slurred notes that I harmonize as a chain of 4/2–6 suspensions. The bass interjects upon the treble's sixteenth-note rest, which propels the phrase forward. This passage moves the key away from B-flat major and back towards G minor. One might have parsed the melody as a Prinner schema; however, the gesture does not arrive on ❸ in G minor, instead descending to ❺ in m. 12. The bass rests on a dominant chord.

On the upbeat to the third beat of m. 12, the treble line begins to ascend the Phrygian dominant minor scale in G minor. The change to quarter notes in the treble invites shorter notes in the bass. In the bass, I imitate the melodic figure (sixteenth-note rest plus three sixteenth notes) from m. 11, in contrary motion, arriving on ❶ on the downbeat to m. 13. The treble line's flourish of thirty-second notes in m. 13 arrives on the second beat's C♯, resolving to D, and recalling the first two beats of m. 4 in diminution. A cadence proceeds in m. 14, resolving to a surprising Picardy third that elides with a phrase continuation, briefly tonicizing C minor. The syllable "yah" begins a new extended melisma.

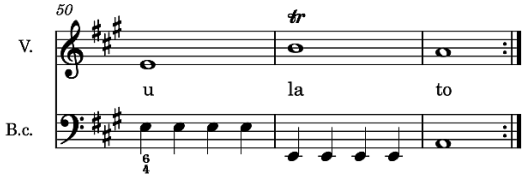
On the third beat of m. 15, the treble begins a Prinner schema (from ❻-❺-❹-❸). The sequential material in sixteenth-note triplets is ideal material for imitation in the bass during the treble's held notes. I accompanied the characteristic descending tetrachord in the treble with the Prinner's sequence of scale degrees in the bass (④-③-②-①), employing imitation to fill out the texture, and to keep the playfully imitative impulse coherent throughout.

The next few measures respond to the Prinner's descent with an ascending gesture. This was initially puzzling to harmonize. The melody's contour, with sixteenth notes turning around G, recalled the Pulcinella schema (see Fig. 8). In the Pulcinella schema, the treble rises energetically in parallel with the bass. This is not a perfect melodic match to the schema's archetype; however, the contour of the melody is close enough. The movement to ⑥ leaves the listener secure on the downbeat to m. 18 with an E-flat major triad. But the melody escapes from E-flat, leaping to a C♯ (♯❹). Like the motive in mm. 4 and 13, the C♯ slides down a half step to C-natural, shying away from a strong resolution to D. Indeed, a perfect authentic cadence proceeds from mm. 19–20.

Treble	❶/❸/❺	-	-	-
Bass	③	④	⑤	⑥

Figure 8 The Pulcinella schema, which delays the arrival of a closure, and first leads to a deceptive cadence (on ⑥) before completion as a perfect authentic cadence

An important note on cadences is required. Certain cadence formulas in the treble invite a complementary bass line. This formula, characteristic of the galant style, involves a leap in the treble from ❺ to ❷. A trill generates energy on ❷ before completing the cadence on ❶. These cadences occur in mm. 19–20, 29–30, and 37–38. Each cadence bears a resemblance to the cadence that concludes the third movement of Mani's *Azamer sir* (Ex. 12). In my composed bass line, I decided the typical galant bass trope of an eighth note rest plus three eighth notes would propel the cadence as the vocal line trills towards the close.



Example 12 M. Mani, *Azamer sir*, III. Ala cappella, mm. 50–52. Transcribed from Ets Ḥaim manuscript EH 49 B22

After the cadence in mm. 19–20, the piece proceeds with a circle-of-fifths sequence. I added bass imitation during the treble's long notes to accentuate the pattern. A resolution in the relative major (B-flat) from m. 22 is achieved on the downbeat of m. 23. One might continue to harmonize the melody in B-flat for another measure. However, seeing that in m. 25 the melody returns to G minor,

I move smoothly back to G minor by raising the F on beat 3 of m. 23 to an F♯ (♯⑦ in G minor). This prepares the listener for the build-up towards a half cadence in G minor from mm. 25–26.

The fermata over the C in the treble enables the continuo player to add a decorative line in imitation of m. 25 as the treble executes its trill. The bass resolves to a 6/4 on the downbeat of m. 27. The treble line continues with sighing figures that accentuate the semitone resolutions (F♯ to G, D to E♭), before arriving at a Phrygian half cadence on the fourth beat of m. 27 into the downbeat of m. 28. I left a rest in the bass on the third beat of m. 28 to allow the singer adequate space for their thirty-second note flourish up to the E♭ on the fourth beat of m. 28. Another galant perfect authentic cadence concludes that passage in m. 29.

The next phrase, beginning in m. 30, reintroduces the Phrygian dominant scale, but in the key of C minor (the subdominant). This was an interesting moment to harmonize: one might have resolved to a Picardy third on the third beat of m. 29, in parallel to the resolution on the third beat in m. 14 (the elided cadence where the raised third serves as the dominant to C minor). However, I felt that this trope might sound overused at this point (and as we will see, another Picardy cadence occurs in mm. 37–38). Cadencing in G minor, and then modulating to C minor in the subsequent measures, leaves an air of intrigue. By having a B♭ in the bass in m. 30, the subsequent B♮s in the melody become more piquant on the downbeat of m. 31. In m. 30, a neighbor tone B♮ disrupts the monotony of the Cs in the bass on beats 3 and 4 while hinting at the shift to C minor. The melody's movement to A♭ is particularly striking when contrasted with the cadential trill on A♮ in the preceding measure.

An extended melisma on "ha" begins in m. 32, with a cascade of triplet sixteenth notes in a circle-of-fifths sequence. Like the sequence in mm. 20–23, careful attention must be paid to exiting the sequence so that G minor can be quickly reestablished. I employed a similar strategy to that of m. 23, sliding the F to F♯ to serve as a leading tone back to G. However, the melody does not remain in G minor when resolving on the third beat of m. 33. Moving up chromatically from B♭ to B♮, and then to C♯, creates a climactic moment. Whereas all the arrivals on C♯ previously either slide immediately down a half step to C♮ (m. 18) or resolve to D before stepping down a whole step (m. 13), this C♯ resolves to a D on the downbeat of m. 34 with a fermata.

The motive from mm. 4–5 returns, left here as a solo melody, in mm. 34–35. The harmonic rhythm is quicker, so the Fonte sequence is not as apparent. An arrival on D on the third beat of m. 35 allows the singer to breathe before a whirlwind of thirty-second notes climb to E♭ on the third beat of m. 36,

mirroring the treble line's ascent in mm. 6–7. Measures 37–38 contain the longest cadence yet, with a resolution to a Picardy third on "yah." The cadence elides with the rising chromatic motive, which I harmonized with contrary motion in the bass. A perfect authentic cadence in G minor concludes the piece.

This process enabled me to think through matters of voice leading that accentuated the dramatic mood of the piece. A contrast between sections that move with regularity and those that are more rhythmically free invites careful consideration of harmonic rhythm, the use of cadential gestures, and how to mediate between, and combine, the Ashkenazi and galant elements. The other repertoire from the eighteenth-century manuscripts at Ets Ḥaim, including Caçeres's *Le-El Elim* and Mani's *Azamer sir*, is an excellent reference for how this piece might have been performed with a basso continuo part. My setting is but one solution; I encourage others to experiment with the possibilities implied in these solo melodies.

Concluding Thoughts

The cache of eighteenth-century repertoire at Ets Ḥaim has long been neglected, though it is more accessible than ever, especially since Ets Ḥaim's digitization effort.[35] Only a handful of scholars have taken up Israel Adler's mantle in further researching the works, and it remains to be seen what future scholars, performers, and those interested in the cultural history of the Sephardic community of Amsterdam will do with this music.

There are many, many more schemata within these works to analyze for a complete picture of the style and to make a full comparative analysis between the pieces. An article on *Le-El Elim* alone would be a substantial contribution, as it is the most significant work written by a composer inside the community. There is also more work to be done examining the relationship between the texts and the music. For example, is the second movement of Mani's *Azamer sir* intentionally in the *stile antico*, recalling the form of a ricercare as the text indicates a seeking out of God? Can we reconstruct more solo lines as full pieces as they may have been previously, as Adler supposes? For those reconstructive purposes, the galant schemata, and similar pieces from the time, are essential aids. Critical editions have not yet been made of this repertoire. This is an essential task to preserve this music and to enable new generations of researchers and performers to have access to it.

[35] See http://etshaimmanuscripts.nl/collection/manuscripts/ to view digitized manuscripts. And a special thanks to Dr. Heide Warncke, curator of Ets Ḥaim, for making the physical manuscripts accessible to researchers.

What is clear, however, is that the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam used music to represent themselves as not just fashionably well-dressed, like "kings and queens," but as participants of and contributors to the sonic landscape of a country that welcomed them after centuries of oppression. Their eighteenth-century musical liturgy underscores the success of the Enlightenment, where tolerance enabled a flourishing of cultures and an exchange of ideas, including the galant style.