The Sacred Music of the Great Synagogue of Livorno in the Nineteenth Century

Margaret Jean Bruner

Thesis Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of Requirements for Master of Sacred Music Degree

Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion School of Sacred Music New York, New York

> May 2000 Advisor: Dr. Mark L. Kligman

> > Buon Viaggio
> > a tutte le due!
> > Good journers to
> > both of us.
> > Thank you for a
> > Valuable l'earning
> > exporience!
> > Magnit Sisserely;

In Memory of Lucille Riemer Cohn

TABLE OF CONTENTS

A	cknowledgments	iv
IN	TRODUCTION	1
	CHAPTER	
1.	HISTORICAL OVERVIEW: THE DECLINE OF FLORENCE AND THE RISE OF LIVORNO	4
	Later Developments in Tuscany	
	The Influence of the Catholic Church	
	The Rise of Livorno	
	Amsterdam and Livorno: Parallel Growth of Two Jewish Communities Napoleon and the Risorgiménto 1796-1815	
	Hebrew Typography: The Printing Industries of Amsterdam and Livorno	
2.	MUSIC IN LIVORNO	15
	The Great Synagogue of Livorno: Architecture and the Use of an Organ Secular Music and the Synagogue Society and Culture	
	Italian Secular Music and the Jews of Livorno	
	The Significance of Opera	
	Michele Bolaffi (1768-1842), and Other Composers	
	The Western Sephardic Rite and the Torah Service	
3.	LITURGICAL MUSIC FROM THE LIVORNO MANUSCRIPTS	32
	Descriptions of the Manuscripts	
	General Description of the Music	
	Rau Banim by David Garzia	
	Romemu by Giuseppe Pontecorboli	
	Esmach by Michele Bolaffi	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

APPENDICES

1.	Map of Italy	51
2.	Map of Livorno	52
3.	Photograph of Organ Pipes in the Great Synagogue	53
4.	Index of the MSDL Collection	54
5.	List of twenty most Frequent items in the collection	63
6.	List of Composers in the Collection	64
7.	Rau Banim by David Garzia	65
8.	Romemu by Giuseppe Pontecorboli	7 4
9.	Esmach by Michele Bolaffi	88
Glossary		101
References Cited		102

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my gratitude to the following people who have made unique contributions to my thesis:

Dr. Mark Kligman

Dr. Martin Cohen

Stanley Boorman

John Planer

Cantor Bruce Ruben, PhD.

Ruth Golden

Sara Reguer, PhD.

Dr. Carol Balin

Rabbi Larry Hoffman

Lou Massone

Dr. Philip Miller

Amy Helfman

David Bruner

Helen Bruner

Lucille Cohn

Lynn Higgins

Lauretta Higgins

Jonathan Higgins

Ann Higgins

Ricky Fried

Nathan Peterson

Patricia Peterson

Richard Peterson, PhD.

David Holcombe

Seth Warner

Shayna Lerner

Jonathan Comisar

Sergei Schwartz

Lena Schwartz

Jeff Stock

Jeff Macklis

Jonathan Dobin

Josh and Betsy Minkin

Richard A. Solomon

Paul D. Solomon

Rea Solomon

Sol A. Solomon

Introduction

Livorno was at the vanguard of the Jewish communities of Europe in the process of modernization of liturgical music. An organ was used in the synagogue at least since the late eighteenth-century. [As already noted] original choral music replaced much of the traditional repertoire during the nineteenth century. Thus, a complex picture emerges from the research of the Livorno tradition. A challenge for future studies is to illuminate these processes of musical change in a more detailed historical and social context.¹

Livorno's Jewish music of the nineteenth century, characterized by its rich and lively melodic content, was shaped by numerous geopolitical and religious factors. Social and political variables such as invasion and conquest (Napoleon Bonaparte for example), the location of deep water ports insuring access to markets and foreign cultures, and the strength of the Catholic Church which dominated all of Europe, especially Italy, all helped to shape the culture which then affected the evolution of this very expressive and innovative genre of music. Significant musical influences included Italian secular music such as opera, dominated in stylistic influence by the renowned Rossini, the sonata form, and Western harmony.

The most significant Jewish cultural influence upon Livorno's Sacred Music came from the Spanish and Portuguese Sephardic Jews who fled to Livorno to escape

¹ Edwin Seroussi, "Livorno: Juncture in the History of Sephardi Synagogal Music," unpublished article, Bar-Ilan University, Jerusalem, p. 21.

persecution. They arrived in Italy by way of the deep water ports and eventually flourished. When these Jews lived away from the yoke of tyranny and religious oppression the quality of Jewish life in Livorno blossomed. As a result, religious and secular music thrived.

The rise of Livorno Jewish culture parallels the ascent of the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam, who built an elegantly designed synagogue in 1639, a full thirty-six years after the creation of the Great Synagogue in Livorno. The Sephardic influence on Livorno's Jewish scholarship, trade, music, and lifestyle is well preserved in texts printed in Hebrew (a significant historical contribution) illustrating the impact of Sephardic Jewish intellectual and artistic pursuits. These texts, in the form of *Ketubot* (marriage contracts), *Haggadot* (Passover Service Books), religious commentaries, and prayer books, can be found in New York's Jewish Theological Seminary Library.

One scholar has observed that the Hebrew Press of Livorno was so pervasive and influential, that it served the Italian, Sephardic, and Eastern Jewish communities for almost three centuries.² The gem of this unique collection of Sephardic talent and knowledge is not the printed texts which number in the hundreds, but a rare collection of hand written music manuscripts from the from the Eduard Birnbaum collection of the Klau Library Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Cincinnati: a three volume set entitled *Musica Sacra di Livorno* [Sacred Music of Leghorn] [Mus. Add. 6] and the Crocolo manuscript (*Versetti posti in musica dal Professore Signor Michele Bolaffi, dedicati al Signor Crocolo*, 1826). [Mus. Add. 11] An analysis of some of the

² Brad Sabin Hill, "Hebrew Printing in Amsterdam and Leghorn" (London: The British Library, 1995), p.1.

pieces of this collection can be found in the third chapter of this thesis.

Few investigations of these manuscripts has been undertaken. One of the few scholars to do so is Edwin Seroussi of Bar-Ilan University³. In this thesis, I will show the interconnectedness of music and culture at the turn of the eighteenth century, and demonstrate the influences that impacted the music found in the Livorno manuscripts. I will shed light on the musical evolution that took place inside the synagogue in the realm of historical and societal influences that occurred both inside and outside the synagogue.

³ Edwin Seroussi of Bar Ilan University, Israel, has published a dissertation (1988), a book (1996) and several articles (1988, 1992 and 1994) all based on work he has done on Sephardi music in the Eduard Birnbaum collection.

Chapter 1

Historical Overview: The Decline of Florence and the Rise of Livorno

To understand why certain Jews left their homelands for Italy, and how they eventually prospered, it is necessary to set the stage and go back in time to the Renaissance before Italy existed as a nation. Life in the independent communes was not easy for the Jews, but unique economic and cultural opportunities were manifest. This was especially true in the beautiful and fertile region of Tuscany where small Jewish communities settled and made their living as moneylenders.

Florence Italy, the cradle of the Italian Renaissance, flourished under its major benefactors Cosimo il Vecchio and Lorenzo il Magnifico in the fifteenth century. It was the most culturally exciting of the Italian City-State republics. Florence was ruled by the de'Medici, who, as much as the Signori of all other republics of Italy took the lead in supporting not only business and commerce, but culture and art. Jewish banks played an important role in the success of the de'Medici, and the general prosperity of Tuscany. Families with Sephardic surnames such as the da Rieti and the da Pisa (formerly known as da Sinogoga) and the famous Abrabanel family became indispensable Jewish banking dynasties.

The Medici rule which began in 1430 enjoyed many decades of power, fortune, and expansion. These events were beneficial for the Jews even though they had to be constantly wary of the threat of expulsion. The cultural flowering the Jews experienced in Florence was in large part due to the intellectual and erudite Renaissance man,

Giovanni Pico della Mirandola. He was fond of sparking lively intellectual gatherings between Hebrew and Arab culture. The da Pisa and Lorenzo de'Medici families were present at these gatherings.

The republic of Florence, under Spanish domination in 1529 due to an agreement with the Medici Pope Clement VII, was able to survive with a certain degree of autonomy. This was also due in large part to the leadership of a Medici Duke whose benevolence to the Jewish people made it possible for them to thrive in Livorno. The height of this period of survival began in 1537 after a period of internal unrest, when Cosimo de' Medici occupied the Ducal throne of Florence and annexed the neighboring territories of the city of Siena (not far from Livorno). Cosimo tried desperately to revive the former glory of Florence by strengthening and modernizing the Duchy of Tuscany.

Florence's glory began to decline when Cosimo de'Medici became Grand Duke of Tuscany in 1569. He was originally protective of the Abrabanel family, but his loyalties to them and all the Jews changed when he sought to curry favor with Pope Pius V by taking up anti-Jewish policies already well established in the papal states. 1569 was also the year that the borders of Tuscany closed to non-resident Jews. From this time onward, Jewish prosperity was threatened. Jews residing in Tuscany had to dwell in the ghettos of Florence and Siena. Some Jews living outside the borders struggled to survive in tiny communities. Many of these communities were able to live relatively undisturbed throughout the following centuries when the winds of change from Western Europe and Spain swept through the region of Tuscany. (See Appendix 1.)

The glory of Florence, like other Italian City-States, was not destined to endure because it was too small to compete with growing western European states such as France

and Spain. Most important, City-States such as Florence could not protect themselves from the larger more powerful states engaged in expansionist endeavors. As a result, France acquired Milan only to be driven by a Spanish Hapsburg coalition under Holy Roman Emperor Charles V (also known as Charles I of Spain), who ruled from 1519 to 1556.

The Hapsburg's established their hegemony over Naples, Sicily, and Sardinia.

Large segments of Italy remained under Spanish Hapsburg control until 1700. By the eighteenth century, these areas fell prey to struggles between the French and the Austrian Hapsburgs. The result: Italy began to decline economically and culturally. Cosimo de'Medici sought to make Florence competitive with other areas of Italy, but this was a wistful pipe dream that was eventually enveloped years later by the rise of other Western powers. While Cosimo's efforts created an important permanent imprint on Florence's cultural essence, and assisted in some continued cultural evolution, this rise was never sustainable into the modern era.

Later Developments in Tuscany

In the mid-sixteenth century Cosimo turned his attention to another place in Tuscany —the squalid, malarial ravaged town of Leghorn (Livorno) on the Ligurian Sea. He recognized in its location the possibilities of important port activity and an entrepot of commerce especially because of its easy accessibility to such areas as southeastern France and the Iberian peninsula. Also, Livorno was particularly desirous because the neighboring port of Pisa was no longer viable due to a build-up of silt, rendering docking and access impossible. (See Appendix 2.)

The communities of the Iberian peninsula were not immune to the inquisition that was sweeping across Europe. Many "New Christians", *Marranos* or *Conversos*, sought desperately to leave the peninsula in order to avoid persecution. Whenever they felt the pressure and could leave, these new Christians sought to emigrate to other places, including areas over which the inquisition had control, but where they could live without fear. Livorno was such a place. To understand the religious climate that was pressuring non-Christian groups that spawned the inquisition in Europe, it is necessary to discuss the role of the Catholic Church.

The Influence of the Catholic Church

The Catholic Counter-Reformation swept across Europe in the mid-sixteenth century and attempted to thwart the rising success of Protestantism by establishing the Council of Trent (1545-1563) which succeeded in centralizing the power of the Catholic Church. In 1555, Pope Pius IV, the inquisitor general of Rome, issued a papal decree which stated unequivocally that the Jews killed Christ. Therefore Jews should be treated as slaves. The Jewish population was restricted in many ways: they were not permitted to own land, they were limited in their earning capacity, they were required to wear yellow caps to identify themselves, and they were forced to live in a specific sectioned-off area, called the 'ghetto', which literally translated means 'slum', or a 'dirty place'.

To weaken the Jews politically and to diminish their power, it was essential to separate them from the gentiles. This was achieved by their exclusion from mainstream society. By sharp contrast, in 1602 when all of Italy and a major part of Europe identified itself as Catholic, Sephardic Jews began work on the Great Synagogue of Livorno. Also

in 1602 as increasing disfavor mounted toward the Jews, a ghetto modeled after the popular Venetian ghetto was established in Padua. The key feature of both ghettos involved locking gates at both ends —a measure designed to humiliate the Jewish population.

The powerful Council of Trent left an indelible mark on Italy, attacking the heart of the weak interior structure of the Italian states. The oligarchies and noble class were, all in one way or another, closely tied to the ecclesiastical authorities.

However separate as an organization, the Church confirmed and reinforced the aristocratic ideology of society, from its affirmation of the sovereign as the earthly manifestation of divine majesty and its hierarchical structuring of religious ceremonies and processions to its homilies to the humble on the duties of respect, obedience and resignation.⁴

The Church amplified in the Italian City States formality, majesty, legacy, and privilege, all aspects of European royalty. Because the Sephardic Jews were accustomed to Spanish aristocracy, they implicitly knew the rules and codes of conduct in the Italian equivalent. This deep seated knowledge and familiarity made it possible for these Sephardic Jews to rapidly acclimate in a foreign land because these aristocratic ties were reminiscent of the lands of their origin.

⁴ Stuart Woolf, *A History of Italy 1700-1860 The Social Constraints of Political Change* (London and New York: Routledge, 1979) p. 22-23.

The Rise of Livorno

In this climate of political and religious upheaval, many new Christians fled the Iberian peninsula. Livorno (or Leghorn), was a unique port of arrival because the Jews that left Spain and Portugal not only could remain Jewish, but were also welcomed by Cosimo de Medici who was eager to bolster Tuscany's fledgling economy by building up the sea port of Leghorn. It was not until his successor Ferdinand I that Livorno came into its own as a major economic center for Tuscany in the seventeenth-century.

Livorno's geographic location insured its economic and cultural success. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, Livorno on the coast of the Ligurian sea in northwestern Italy, thrived and gained prominence as a cultural crossroads largely due to the commercial success it had attained.

Livorno was part of the grand Duchy of Tuscany, and on June 10, 1593,

Ferdinand I, Grand Duke of Tuscany, issued *La Livornina*, a charter declaring Livorno to be a "free port": any non-Christian would be welcome to sail into the harbor. This was a significant turning point for the Jewish people of this region. Cecil Roth points out that the Charter invited the Marranos of Spain and Portugal to relocate there. "Within a generation, it had become one of the entrepots of Mediterranean trade and one of the greatest Jewish communities of the world, second in the Marrano Diaspora only to that of Amsterdam." Again we observe Jewish communities flourishing when given the opportunities of religious and economic freedom.

⁵ Cecil Roth, *The History of the Jews of Italy* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), pp. 345-346.

The Sephardic Jews of Livorno comprised the second-largest Jewish community outside of Amsterdam by the nineteenth-century.

Amsterdam became known as 'new Jerusalem' not only because Jews were granted freedom of religion and residence, but through their own cultural enterprise they transformed themselves from a group of Marranos with little knowledge of Judaism, and a struggling, impoverished group into a flourishing community of economical and cultural importance.⁶

If Amsterdam was the "little Jerusalem" of the North, then Livorno was the "little Jerusalem" of the South. Both cities comprised excellence in Jewish renewal and survival and are an important link in the chain of Jewish continuity.

Amsterdam and Livorno: Parallel Growth of Two Jewish Communities

To understand this evolving community, it is valuable to compare Livorno with Amsterdam:

La storia dell'insediamento degli ebrei ad Amsterdam è molto simile a quella dei correligionari livornesi: entrambe le communità sono di origine sefardita, tutte e due provenienti in maggior parte dalla penisola iberica, quasi identico è il periodo della loro immigrazione, l'una approfittando dei provvedidimenti eccezionali dei granduchi di Toscana a l'altra della tolleranza del governo protestante olandese.

The history of the settling of the Jews in Amsterdam is very similar to that of the Livornese of the same religion: both communities are of Sephardic origin, the majority of both coming from the Iberian peninsula, the period of their immigration is almost identical, one taking advantage of the exceptional benevolence of the grand duchy of Tuscany and the other the tolerance of the Dutch Protestant government. 17

Ibid, p. 347.

⁷ Ewa Karwacka Codini and Milletta Sbrilli, La Sinagoga di Livorno Una Storia di Oltre Tre Secoli, from Le Tre Sinagoghe: Edifici di Culto e Vita Ebraica a Livorno dal Seicento al Novecento ed. Umberto Allemandi (Livorno: 1997), p. 51.

The periods of immigration for both communities are the late sixteenth century into the early seventeenth century, and preceding the Enlightenment through the end of the eighteenth century. The Portuguese had found a place to worship openly, free from the oppression they suffered in their former homelands. Amsterdam and Livorno were the two places where Sephardic Jews could practice their religion freely and work and thrive without restriction.

Their skill as merchants played a significant role in Dutch and English commerce. By the seventeenth-century with the expansion of trade routes throughout the Mediterranean and the Dutch colonies, there were increased economic opportunities for the Sephardim of Livorno as well as Amsterdam. Livorno became an important port for trade with the North African Coast. Over time, these local Jews later became key figures in the Dutch East India and West India companies which were part of great territorial expansion and exploration, most significantly into New Amsterdam, present day New York.

It was impossible to operate in the trade industry of the Levant without the involvement of Jewish merchants whose omnipresence was a dominant force. In spite of the fact that Amsterdam was also the gathering place for Ashkenazic Jewry, the Spanish-Portuguese community there maintained economic and cultural influence into the nineteenth century. The situation was somewhat different in the eighteen hundreds in Livorno. The once bustling port activity had dwindled, but the Jews continued to dominate trade. However in matters of politics and culture, the Sephardic community thrived in the atmosphere of the mid to late nineteenth century.

Leading Rabbis, painters, and musicians made significant contributions to society throughout the nineteenth-century. These Jews were also very active in Italian politics, and demonstrated patriotic allegiance to local authorities during the first World War. Unfortunately, World War II had a devastating impact on the community and after the war, the Jewish population essentially disappeared.

Napoleon and the Risorgiménto 1796 - 1815

Tuscany's Jews regarded Napoleon's presence in Italy (starting in 1796) as a positive event, and unlike the non-Jewish Tuscan population, some Jewish families actually sheltered to French soldiers. Napoleon's conquest had the favorable but unintentional impact of nurturing the arts because of the strong influence of French culture. The period of Napoleon's occupation from 1796 to 1815 was referred to as "The Risorgiménto" [revival] in Italian political history because the economy, and especially the arts, experienced a dramatic revival.

French military personnel became connoisseurs and consumers of local Italian music especially opera. This increased demand for music in general, and opera in particular, invigorated open access to culture, a phenomenon not previously known. The French soldiers' hunger for this form of entertainment is best demonstrated by the fact that each city had to maintain a local opera house.

Napoleon occupied Livorno twice, first in 1796, and again in 1799. During this unstable time some members of the Sephardic community of Livorno left for Palestine seeking religious freedom because the Jews were a minority caught between opposing alliances.

In 1807, Tuscany was considered part of the French Empire. By 1808, a decree established a consistory to govern the life of the Jewish communities. This sounded a death knell for the Sephardim of Livorno because they lost their Jewish independence. By 1868, the harbor of Livorno was no longer a free port and it lost its standing as a port of commerce and trade.

Hebrew Typography: The Printing Industries of Amsterdam and Livorno

Undoubtedly, the most important sister enterprise to flourish in Amsterdam as well as Livorno was the printing industry. To explore the role of the printing trade in Livorno is to understand the influence of the Jews in Italian society. More importantly, this exploration grants unique access to remnants of the culture and religion.

When these *Marranos* first attempted to return to the religious practices of their ancestors, they had no education in reading or writing Hebrew. At first they used prayer books where the Hebrew was transcribed into Latin characters. With the wealth of yeshivas and other same institutions sprouting up in Amsterdam and Livorno they were able to recover Hebrew literacy, as demonstrated by the establishment of Hebrew printing presses modeled after the Venetian method. Amsterdam became the most important center of Hebrew typography in the seventeenth and eighteenth-centuries and Livorno quickly followed. Before that time, the city of Venice was the focal point in the art of Hebrew typography.

Venice enjoyed three centuries of Hebrew printing, and was the first to print many important editions of the Talmud, works by Maimonides, prayer books, and of

course music. By the mid-seventeenth-century, prayer books were published in greater volumes than texts because other printing centers, namely Amsterdam and Livorno, took over the publication of scholarly materials. Sephardic Venetian printers attracted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany's proclamation of freedom granted to the persecuted, left the presses of the ghetto and formed important business partnerships in Livorno. The Italian, Sephardic, and Oriental communities in proximity to the Mediterranean relied heavily on the Hebrew press of Livorno. Bragadini, a major printer from Venice in the first half of the seventeenth century, used three crowns as his printer's trademark. Later, the three crowns made their appearance in a printing shop in Livorno when one of Bragadini's employee's formed an important partnership there.

Finally, by the eighteenth-century, Livorno had become the primary center for the printing of Hebrew texts. A particularly active period was from 1762-1767. Attias ben Joseph successor of Israel de Paz, who had worked with a major printer in Amsterdam printed several prayer books, *Haggadot*, and documents such as *Ketubot*. Abraham Meldola and his nephew Raphael printed books on Jewish ceremonial practices. His family was well-known and produced a number of typographers. The printing press of Livorno experienced a revival in 1834 and is still active today. It is estimated that between 1649 and 1939 more than fifteen hundred volumes were issued.

⁸For example, page 200 of Abraham Z. Idelsohn's, *Jewish Music Its Historical Development*, (New York: Schoken Books, 1929; Dover Publications, Inc., 1992) contains a *Kaddish* of Salomone Rossi published in Venice in 1622. A copy of a printed edition can be found in the Hebrew Union College Library in Cincinnati.

Chapter 2

Music in Livorno

Society and Culture

Aside from the printing industry, the next most important link between the two Jewish communities in Amsterdam and Livorno was the role of religion and its influence on culture and society. Religion, the dominating force in all aspects of life, also had a hand in matters of an aesthetic nature, architecture, music, private and public parties to name a few. This chapter will trace developments in Western music and show how they impacted the musical life of the Jews of Livorno in the sacred and the secular realm.

The freedom, security, and social stature that the Jews enjoyed in Livorno was unparalleled. After the Grand Duke of Tuscany issued *La Livornina* in 1593, both Jews and Gentiles began to settle in Livorno at such an increasing pace that by 1645, a housing shortage developed. "In 1645 there were not more than five hundred houses for a population of nine thousand, of whom more than two thousand were Jews." Many *marranos* who came to Livorno were wealthy and cultured. The majority came from Spain and Portugal. Some came via relatives by way of Venice and Pisa; others, with the help of relatives, came via Venice and Pisa; yet others came from Turkey, Syria, North Africa, and Greece. The Sephardim from the Levant spoke Spanish but wrote in Hebrew characters.

⁹ Roth, The History of the Jews of Italy, p. 347.

The official language for Livorno was Spanish, although some Portuguese was spoken in business transactions and in the streets. *Ladino*, a Hebrew-Spanish dialect was spoken by Greek and Levantine Jews. It was the dialect of choice for merchants of Livorno who needed to communicate with business partners throughout the Mediterranean. By the end of the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth century *Bagitto* emerged as a new Livorno dialect. It was like *Yiddish* in that it combined Spanish and Hebrew terms. "It was characterized by a certain rhythm of speech and inflection, which have now disappeared almost completely, though some of the terms became so much a part of city life that they entered into the local dialect. Unlike Yiddish, *Bagitto* did not become a literary language."¹⁰

Sources disagree on the existence of a ghetto in Livorno. If the area in which the Jews resided could be called a "ghetto," it certainly was not locked at night¹¹ as were the ghettos in Venice and Padua. Jews and Gentiles intermingled socially, but rarely married one another. Modest, low profile behavior was recommended, but the Livornese Sephardim were hard pressed to dress simply and eat plainly. Their rabbis warned them repeatedly of the danger of attracting too much attention, but the wealthier families did as they pleased. They rode in luxurious carriages and put on lavish public and private parties.

Ample opportunity for creative expression in all the fine arts and sciences existed in this extremely wealthy and well-educated community. Many schools established

11 See "Italy" Encyclopaedia Judaica 9:1126

¹⁰ Dora Liscia Bemporad and Annamarcella Tedeschi Falco eds., *Tuscany Jewish Itineraries Places, History and Art* (New York: Marsilio Publishers, 1997), p. 81.

themselves as early as the seventeenth century, *yeshivot* thrived, and an orphanage for girls was established.

The most prominent academy, inspired and named after its sister academy in Amsterdam, was Los Sitibundos [The Thirsty ones]. The attendees of these academies not only discussed Torah and Talmud, but also philosophy, poetry, science, and drama. The Sephardic approach was particularly broad and encompassing in its educational goals. There is even a detailed account of a sermon delivered on the merits of family virtues, specifically, how to be a good father and husband. It included admonitions such as, "A father who is not a teacher to his children is not really a father, and a mother who does not breast feed is not really a mother. . . ."12

The centrality of family and education within the community were expressed in these maxims. The message was clear: despite the practice of sending newborns out of the house to be wet nursed, which was in vogue in seventeenth century upper-middle class Italian Catholic society, Sephardic mothers were encouraged to nurse their own babies. The older children were encouraged to be educated at home under the father's tutelage. In this way the males in the family would take up the father's trade, a natural course of action for a merchant-class society.

The skill of the merchants and artisans from the Iberian peninsula was high.

Livorno became well known for luxury industries introduced by Sephardim from Spain

¹² Julia R. Lieberman, "Between Tradition and Modernity: The Sephardim of Livorno at the End of the Seventeenth Century" Paper read at the Conference, "The Most Ancient of Minorities: History and Culture of the Jews of Italy" at Hofstra University, 15 April 1999.

and Catalonia. Some of the oldest and wealthiest Jewish artisans were stone-cutters, soap makers, coral-workers, coffee importers, spice merchants, and silk weavers.

Coral carving was a specialty of Livorno, and there exists today a *yad* (pointer for reading the Torah) carved out of pink coral.

The Great Synagogue of Livorno: Architecture and the Use of an Organ

The Great Synagogue of Livorno was erected in 1603, thirty-six years before the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue of Amsterdam was built. In fact the latter was modeled on the synagogue of Livorno. The Great Synagogue of Livorno was built over a long period of time because the construction project was riddled with fits and starts. When the Sephardim first were granted religious freedom under Cosimo de' Medici in 1591, they met in a private house for the ritual of daily prayers. In 1593, they met in the home of Maggino di Gabriele, the first mediator between the nascent Jewish community and the Medici grand dukes. He lived on via Ferdinanda, a main street in the town. (See Appendix 2.)

In 1607, the synagogue moved to its own building on a more spacious site. However, it was not long before the burgeoning Jewish population outgrew that space as well. In 1641, the Grand Duke's own architect Francesco Cantagallina oversaw expansion plans which included a *mikvah* [ritual bath], baking ovens, and a rabbinical college on the ground floor, with the main hall on the first floor.

In 1742, a large marble ark decorated with silver crowns was designed by the famous Carrara architect Isidoro Baratta. The podium (*tevah*) designed by the Vice-

Chancellor of Jewish community, David Nuñes, was built in 1745.¹³ In 1789, an additional expansion added space to the women's gallery, creating another floor and an attractive arcade. The architect Ignazio Fazzi was responsible for the new arcade as well as a new design for the ceiling. The names of all the benefactors who contributed to the building's alterations over the years were inscribed on scrolls set above the arches. There is no mention of the installation of an organ.

However, we know from the time of Salomone Rossi, (from the seventeenth century well into the eighteenth century) that polyphonic music was composed for the Italian synagogue. The impact of the Renaissance influence on synagogue music was far reaching. In Prague Friday evening services resembled concerts which included extended instrumental accompaniment to synagogue songs such as *Lecha Dodi*.

The same concerts were held in almost all the nine synagogues of Prague, including the "*Alt-Neu-Schul*" in which a new portable organ, built by a Jewish organ builder, Rabbi Maier Mahler, was installed in 1716. There is a report of instrumental music in the synagogues around the beginning of the eighteenth century in the communities of Nikolsburg, Offenbach, Fürth, etc.¹⁴

Livorno had no idea that by the early nineteenth-century she was to be a loud voice in the debate on synagogue reforms that was sweeping across Western Europe:

It is no coincidence that Reformers from both Berlin and Hamburg approached the distinguished Spanish-Portuguese congregation of Livorno. According to Benyahu, the Sephardi rabbis of Livorno did not truly grasp what was at stake in the controversy brewing in Germany, and thus came down on the side of leniency. It was not that they were siding with the theology of the Reformers, but that they were adhering to traditions of Italian Jewry, namely: using instrumental music and choirs in

¹³ Incidentally, the name Nuñes appears as a composer in volume I, p.241 of the *Musica Sacra di Livorno*, Mus. Add 6 of the Birnbaum collection. See Appendix 5.

¹⁴ Abraham Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music Its Historical Development*, (New York: Schoken Books, 1929; Dover Publications, Inc., 1992), p. 205.

the synagogue service, delivering sermons in the vernacular and, under special circumstances, translating the prayers into Italian.¹⁵

As early as 1815, the style of worship Italian Jews practiced was considered to be "cutting edge". *Responsa* was written approving the organ by two Rabbis, one of them was Rabbi Shem Tov Samun of Livorno who also occupied an occasional post on the rabbinical court in Livorno. The other was the chief Rabbi of Verona, Jacob Hai Recanati of Verona. Recanati when asked about the *halakhic* issue of the organ being played in synagogue, said that:

the organ could be used to enhance the worship service. He set only one condition: on Sabbaths and festivals it should not be played by a Jew, lest he violate them by playing it, but instead by a Gentile, if requested beforehand. He provided examples of the rich Italian tradition of vocal and instrumental music in the synagogue, citing concrete examples from Corfu, and Modena, and the supporting halakhic opinions of distinguished rabbis in Italy, Salonika, and Palestine, including Ashkenazim as well as Italian and Sephardim.¹⁶

Bolaffi and Garzia, composers of choral music, preferred three-part vocal writing. Was it because of the architecture of the Great Synagogue when in 1848 work was completed that enlarged the space for the choir in the *Tevah*? (Sephardic word for *bimah*.)

An intriguing photograph in Toaff's book, *Cenni Storici sulla comunità ebraica e sulla sinagoga di Livorno* shows that the choir sat adjacent to three arches with organ pipes clearly visible. (See Appendix 3.)

¹⁵ Edwin Seroussi, Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music in Nineteenth-Century Reform Sources from Hamburg (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1996) p. 34.

¹⁶ Lois C. Dubin, "The Rise and Fall of the Italian Jewish Model in Germany", from *Haskalah to Reform*, 1780-1820, from Jewish History and Jewish Memory Essays in Honor of Yosef Hayim Yerushalmi eds. Elisheva Carlebach, John M. Efron and David N. Myers (Hanover, NH: University Press of New England, Brandeis University Press 1998), p. 277.

There is no mention of an organ before the time this book was published (1955), nor is there mention of an organ in a more recently published book (1997) by Michele Luzzati, Le tre Sinagoghe: edifici di culto e vita ebraica a Livorno dal Seicento al Novecento [The three synagogues: buildings of worship and Jewish life in Livorno from the Seventeenth-century to the Twentieth-century]. But according to Edwin Seroussi an organ was used in the Great Synaogue quite frequently to accompany the choir for all public occasions that required music.

Besides the normative liturgy, choral music with instrumental accompaniment was performed at weddings, funerals, celebrations of anniversaries of the foundation of communal institutions, and events related to the Jewish schools. At weddings, the chief cantor presided dressed with a festive garment. He was accompanied by a choir of twelve youngsters and a harmonium.¹⁷

Seroussi goes on to cite specific examples such as a setting of Psalm 61, and a blessing on behalf of the King and the people of Italy sung by the Cantor Moisè Ventura. Aside from Seroussi's comments, the only information we have concerning organ music is for the World War I victory celebration on November 20, 1918 when it is noted that the organ played and the choir sang.

¹⁷ Seroussi, "Livorno: Juncture in the History of Sephardi Synagogal Music", p.11.

¹⁸ See Appendix 3, the index contains three works from the Livorno manuscripts composed for visiting dignitaries: "*Hanoten*" and "*Mi Sheberach*" by Luigi Niccolini both from Vol III pp. 180-193, and pp. 194-206, "*Lamnatsech*" by David Garzia, Vol. II pp. 414-427.

¹⁹ Michele Luzzati, La Sinagoga a Livorno Monumento Ebraico Munumento Pubblico, from Le Tre Sinagoghe, p. 20.

Secular Music and the Synagogue

One of the similarities that existed in both the Sephardic communities of Amsterdam and Livorno were the restrictions placed on performances of art music in the synagogue. Jewish musical scholar Israel Adler has done extensive research on the secular music of the Portuguese Jewish community of Amsterdam in the eighteenth century. Adler describes concerts of art music inside the homes of wealthy Jews for special occasions. "The notables of Holland, were an assiduous audience at recitals held in his [Jew Francis Lopez] magnificent house." The music played at these gatherings was quite varied, consisting of opera selections, excerpts of cantatas, and instrumental pieces. Adler goes on to describe several such gatherings and concludes with an account in which the names of four wealthy Jews of Amsterdam appear in the travel diary of Leopold Mozart. In Livorno as well, musical entertainment took place in the home. Edwin Seroussi describes the kind of high level of musical activity in Livorno in his remarks at the Birnbaum conference:

The musical life in Livorno was extremely rich. Just to give you an example from my research, the violinist Pietro Landini (he was one of the great violinists) played at weddings, we have testimonies of that. In the nineteenth-century many of the Jewish ladies start to study piano and some of them even make it to the *Accademia of Santa Cecilia* in Rome. ²¹

²⁰ Israel Adler, Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1974), p.12.

²¹ Edwin Seroussi, introductory remarks to a recital of music at the conference, "Music, Spirit and Scholarship: The Legacy of Eduard Birnbaum" at Hebrew Union College, 22 November 1998.

Italian Secular Music and the Jews of Livorno

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, music and dance were an important aspect of socialization. By the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, music and dance were integrated into the family life of the affluent.

Jewish children were encouraged to study the arts at an early age. In Livorno, as in Amsterdam, many evenings were filled with music-making and dance parties.

Musical events took place at the yearly banquet of fraternal organizations or in the homes of wealthy Jewish notables who would often underwrite recitals in their magnificent dwellings. These musical performances were of art music composed by members of the Jewish community as well as of popular cantatas or opera selections from the secular community.²²

As mentioned by Seroussi there is evidence that women were studying piano, violin, and singing. Although not from Livorno, the famed Jewish soprano Giuditta Pasta (born near Milan in 1797) received early musical training at home and continued her training at the Giuseppe Verdi Conservatory in Milan. She made her debut in 1815, and was the lead in operas by Rossini, Mozart, Donizetti, and Bellini. Few women of the day enjoyed such fame and fortune, but musical training clearly began at home.

The home was the center of social life for the *Sephardi*. Weddings performed in the synagogue were preceded and followed by festivities and rituals centered in the home. Of course that meant that music was a vital part of any home celebration. The home would also be the only suitable place for women to comfortably and appropriately display their musical prowess.

With this vivacious intimate interior life came certain freedoms and certain customs with their own peculiar restrictions: *Il ballo nelle case era divenuto così comune che si trovò necessario proibire alle donne di ballare con altri che con I loro parenti e cioè marito, padre fratelli e cognati.*²³ [Dance in private houses had become so common that one found it necessary to prohibit women from dancing with others than their own relations, that is to say husband, father, brothers, and brothers-in-law.] Thus, even though the Sephardim of Livorno were relaxed in many ways, they were strict in emphasizing an overall sensibility for their community.

Some important names associated with the Sephardic Jewish community are the composer Frederic Consolo (1841-1905), who published a volume of traditional melodies of the Scola Spagnola, and Guy Menasci (1867-1905), a professor, and a poet, who wrote the libretto for *Cavalleria rusticana* in 1890. The composer of that opera, Peter Mascagni, was also from Livorno and employed the Sephardic baritone, Marius Ancona, to sing the title role. Other distinguished names in music include Arnold Bonaventura (1862-1922) and Doctor Abraham Basevi (1818-1885).

The Significance of Opera

Portuguese Jews in Amsterdam not only put on performances of opera, but also established a Spanish theater, where operas in French were heard. On occasion, Italian singers were brought in for special performances. There was also a theatrical association founded by an Ashkenazic Jew of Amsterdam whose entire company was made up of

²² Adler, Musical Life and Traditions, p. 9.

Renzo Toaff, La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa (Roma: La Rassegna Mensile d'Israel,1990), p. 314.

Amsterdam Jews. This group was active between 1784 and 1838 and performed operas by Salieri, Martini, Grétry, Nicolo, Süssmeyer, and Mozart, among others.²⁴

The Sephardic community in Livorno, as in Amsterdam, came into contact with opera. The leading Italian cities in the world of opera in the late eighteenth century were also the cities with large Jewish populations: Naples, Milan, Venice, Rome, and Bologna. Every town, large or small boasted an opera season. Livorno was no exception. The Teatro Nuovo where the composer Gasparini debuted his first opera in 1686 was replaced by the Teatro Carlo Lodovico from 1806 to 1944. It was a very important theater in the nineteenth century followed by the Teatro Rossini from 1842 to 1944 and the Teatro Leopoldo or Goldoni from 1847 to 1984. (See Appendix 2.)

On entering an Italian town, a French general of the Napoleonic period would, as one of his first acts, commandeer for himself and his officers a number of free boxes at the opera house. Not that French generals were particularly music loving: they wanted boxes because opera, by the late eighteenth century, was Italy's best-known product. . .The presence of a ruler (or his representative) was crucial to Italian musical life.²⁶

In nineteenth century Italy, the opera was the most popular genre. No composer could escape the influence of Gioacchinno Rossini (1792-1868) whose catchy tunes, militaristic rhythms, and brilliant technique created an innovative new style of operatic writing that many composers sought to emulate. To win the attention of the public composers of the day had to at least try to write like Rossini. Just as Salomone Rossi in

²⁴ Adler, Musical Life and Traditions, p. 14.

²⁵ "Livorno", from *The New Grove's Dictionary of Opera* (Macmillan Publishers Limited: London, 1980), Volume 1, p. 1295.

²⁶ John Rosselli, *Italy: the Centrality of Opera*, from, *The Early Romantic Era Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848* ed. Alexander Ringer, (New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1990).

the seventeenth century invented the trio sonata, which had its indelible affect on the Baroque and Classical periods to come, so too Rossini forever changed the face of opera because he ushered in new witty operas with dazzling rhythms, charming plots, and sparkling melodies.

Comic (Italian) opera was also in vogue in late eighteenth century Italy. It was written in the *galant* style which was characterized by short phrases, graceful melodies, uncomplicated harmonies, and interesting rhythmic activity. The Italian *galant* style of the early nineteenth century influenced two distinctive composers of Livorno synagogue music: Michele Bolaffi (1768 - 1842) and David Garzia (who was musically active c.1850).

Michele Bolaffi (1768 - 1842) and Other Composers

Michele Bolaffi was active as a composer of synagogue music in Florence and Livorno. Before his appointment as music director of the Great Synagogue of Livorno, he was Musical Director to the Duke of Cambridge in England in 1816 and *Koeniglicher Kapellmeister* at Hanover. He traveled widely and enjoyed a career as a secular musician. During this period, he toured Germany with singer Angelica Catalani. He even had an appointment in France under Louis XVIII as "*Musicien de S. M. le Roi de France*."²⁷

Of the pieces he composed for the synagogue, only fourteen are "preserved in two related manuscripts dated 1820 and 1825 and copied by the tenor Aron Croccolo:

Jerusalem National Library, 80 Mus. 20 and Hebrew Union College (Cincinnati),

Birnbaum Coll., Mus. Add. 11. Both sources are titled *Versetti posti in musica dal Prof*

²⁷ Israel Adler, "Michele Bolaffi", from Encyclopaedia Judaica, 4: 1185.

[feso] re Sig [no] r A. Crocolo.²⁸ This volume from the Birnbaum Collection includes compositions for choir with basso continuo, set to liturgical texts. The first item is scored for orchestra. Most of the texts are from the Friday night service, but some are pieces clearly meant to be used for Festival services as well. An example is item number seventeen, Esmach, one of the works analyzed in this thesis. The text of this cantata is a liturgical poem, the work is scored for a three-voice choir and a solo trio with an extensive, very operatic sounding soprano solo including cadenzas; the other choir provides harmonic support.

The works of Bolaffi, Garzia, and many other composers are preserved in a collection titled *Musica Sacra di Livorno* (Sacred Music of Leghorn), but a significant number of pieces were collected from Paris and Venice. (See Appendices 4 and 6.)

These volumes date from about 1850 and contain 305 hand-copied pieces of music for use in the synagogue. They are now in the Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion Birnbaum Collection of Music, Mus. Add. 6 housed in the Klau Library in Cincinnati. The majority of the works contained in the collection are for Shabbat and festival services. (See Appendix 5.)

In this group, 237 compositions are for three-part choir: Soprano, Tenor, and Bass.

The larger number of works were composed by Bolaffi, Garzia, and Ventura, the hazzan of the Great Synagogue of Livorno. Many of the other composers found in this collection are Sephardic Jews from Livorno, (See Appendix 6.) Overall, the pieces are short; the more lengthy and complex works are liturgical settings of prayers taken from the Torah service. The overriding compositional style is diatonic with symmetrical

²⁸ Edwin Seroussi, Livorno, "Juncture in the History of Sephardi Synagogal Music".

phrase structures, and straight-forward harmonies. The manuscripts exhibit a wide range of compositional talent from excellent to poor.²⁹

The Western Sephardic Rite and the Torah Service

In general it is beneficial to look for comparisons between the rite of Livorno and the rite of the Sephardic Jews of Amsterdam, Hamburg, and London. The reasons for comparing these communities are: (1) Western Sephardic Jews comprised the majority of the Livorno community, (2) the Sephardim of Livorno and the Sephardim of Amsterdam were in constant communication, and (3) all three were Spanish and Portuguese communities, and as such, shared a common tradition.

The Amsterdam observance, and therefore the Livorno observance, had a similar tradition. Nevertheless, they developed special customs of their own and were in part influenced by traditions from the prayer book of the charismatic Kabbalist, Isaac Luria. There are major distinctions between the Western Sephardic rite, the Ashkenazic rite, the Eastern Sephardic rite, and the Italian rite to name a few. It is not surprising that the Livorno community shows the Western Sephardic distinctions. What in fact distinguishes these rites from one another?

In the case of the Jews of Livorno, the influence and customs of the Catholic Church are apparent. This does not mean that Church theology came into the synagogue, rather, in Western Sephardic and Livorno rite a high degree of "High Church Tradition"

²⁹ There are many copying mistakes throughout the manuscripts, which could be due to poor calligraphy. Also, some of the compositions are lacking in an understanding of basic voice-leading, and knowledge of counterpoint. Several examples exist in the piece "V'zot HaTorah No. 2" from Venice, found in Volume II, pp 14-18: in measures 11-12 there is a prepared dissonance, but the second voice resolves irregularly, in

was incorporated. This is seen throughout all of the aspects of the liturgy including the Torah service. For example, just as the Catholics re-enacted the Last Supper in the communion service, the Western Sephardim re-enacted Moses receiving the Torah at Sinai in the Torah service with the meticulously choreographed series of *hakkafot* (marching with the Torah around the synagogue).

Traditionally the *Shema* and the *Amidah* form the core of most worship services, yet for the Jews of Livorno the most poignant moment arrived when the Torah was taken from the ark and displayed before the congregation. This was a symbol of the original revelation at Sinai--their own personal revelation when they accepted the Torah. In this way the Torah service was an act of Jewish affirmation.

Composers in the nineteenth century have usually emphasized the Torah service as a musical highpoint, perhaps because of the *hakkafot*, and also because of the revelatory moment that it depicts. The musical highpoints of the Torah service are those times when the Torah itself is in motion: removal and return to the ark. The most dramatic moments are when the ark doors are about to be opened or closed. The lengthier pieces of music composed for these majestic liturgical moments are: *Atah haretah Lada'at, Rom'mu, V'zot HaTorah, and Mizmor leDavid.*³⁰

In the Torah service there is a large degree of formality, even to the point of grandiosity. There is also great pomp demonstrated in proceeding to the *Tevah* (podium, or *bimah*), and receding from the *Tevah*. These stately marches back and forth are

measures 14-15 there is a dissonance prepared in the second voice, but not in the third voice, measures 22-23 contain parallel octaves.

³⁰ The liturgical placement and importance of these prayers are discussed in detail at the conclusion of this section.

interrupted by bowing to the Rabbi, and the leaders of the congregation. It is logical to assume that many of the worshippers in the Great Synagogue of Livorno were of *Converso* origin and re-fashioned the pomp and circumstance of the Catholic Church processions deeply etched in their memories.

With regard to the substance of the Torah service, the basic structure is nearly identical to that of Ashkenazic Jews, except for the text. However, often similar textual ideas are restated. "With all the notable differences among the various rites, the principal is everywhere the same; hymnic verses and thanksgiving verses, mostly taken from the Bible are used to embellish the appearance of the Torah. It is no longer only the words read from the Torah that are honored, but the Torah itself." The order of the Torah service and a description of the liturgy is outlined below according to, *Seder T'fillah L'Sefardim M'turgim Italkit*, *Formulario delle Orazioni Quotidiane Secondo il Rito Spagnuolo* [Order of Daily Prayers According to the Sephardic Rite Translated into Italian], translated by Sanson Gentilomo of Venice, printed in Livorno by Salmoni Gentilomo and inc., 1837.

- 1) Prefatory prayers before the Torah is taken form the ark.
- 2) Prayers that accompany the Torah's removal from the ark.
- 3) Reading of the Torah and blessings surrounding the reading.
- 4) Reading of the Haftara (a reading from the Book of the Prophets) and accompanying blessings.
- 5) Intermediate inclusions: Psalms, prayers for the welfare of the King, and rulers.
- 6) Concluding section: Return of Torah to the ark, and prayers that conclude The Torah service.

The Torah service actually begins with the statement, Atah haretah Lada'at...

³¹ Ismar Elbogen, *Jewish Liturgy A Comprehensive History* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993), p. 159.

[You have been shown to know that *Adonai*, He is the G-d, there is none beside Him] which follows immediately after a *Chatzi Kaddish*. This segment contains many verses from the *Tanakh* and is a prefatory statement for the removal of the Torah from the ark. Then while the Torah is being held, the prayer, "*Baruch HaMakom*" [Blessed is the place] is recited paralleling the Ashkenazic rite by the Aramaic passage, "*Barich sh'maya*" ["Blessed is the name"].

Then there are special prayers for the Holy days, *Rosh Chodesh* [the new month] for the Sabbath preceding the fast days which are very important in Western Sephardic tradition. Then several verses follow beginning with *Rom'mu* [Exalt Adonai] and concluding with the verse, "*T'nu Oz Lelohim...*" (Ps. 99: 5, 9 and Massechet Sofrim, 14:5). The lifting of the Torah with the text, "*V'zot HaTorah*" is similar again to the Ashkenazic tradition, but then within the special prayers a striking difference with the prayer, "*Yih'yu LeRatzon*" [May it be Your will] is noted. After this prayer there are prayers for King and Rulers. The Torah is then returned to the ark with a series of verses, "*Baruch Adonai...*" [Blessed is Adonai] which concludes with "*Yimloch Adonai leolam*" [Adonai will reign for ever]. At this point the Torah is returned to the ark and one of the most popular texts in the liturgy is sung. *Mizmor LeDavid* [Song of David, Psalm 29]. In fact this text was the most frequently set in the entire collection, eighteen settings in all. (See Appendix 5.) After the ark doors are closed a paragraph is recited containing the text, "*Shuva limonach ushchon b'veit ma'avayach*." [Return to your resting place].

As the Jews of Livorno explored new musical styles, they incorporated their admiration for the music they appreciated into the synagogue service.

Chapter 3: Liturgical Music from the Livorno Manuscripts: In depth analysis of three choral works by Great Synagogue composers

Descriptions of the Manuscripts

The chief cantor of the Great Synagogue of Livorno in the second half of the nineteenth century was Moisè Ventura. He was responsible for promoting choral music of local composers. He presided over choirs at funerals, weddings, and many events associated with the Jewish schools. Moisè Ventura's greatest and most lasting achievement is his compilation of the *Musica Sacra di Livorno* collection. A detailed description of this vast collection follows.

All three volumes are leather bound, with gold leaf detail on the binding and a Fleur de Licas insignia on the spine. "M.V." is also printed in gold leaf on the bottom half of the spine. They stand 29 centimeters high, 22.5 centimeters in width, and 4.5 centimeters thick. (Volume I is .5 centimeters thinner than I and III). The inscription on the title page is the same in all three volumes. It reads: Musica Sacra di Livorno, Ridotta da Moisè Ventura. [Sacred Music of Livorno, compiled (edited) by Moisè Ventura].

Each item has a Hebrew title with the composer's name in Italian to the right of the title. The titles are also listed in Hebrew in the index at the back of each volume. A brief one or two word description of the function of each piece is included. Volume I contains more detail than subsequent volumes, such as: composers' full names, musical markings i.e. dynamics and tempo changes. Detailed lists of contents can be found in Appendix 3.

Volume I contains 144 items, 461 pages of music, one blank page of manuscript paper, at the end followed by an eight page index.

Volume II contains 112 items. 459 pages plus the title page and a six page index.

The longer pieces are found in volume II.

Volume III contains 49 items, pages 284-465 are blank manuscript pages. The index is less than three pages long. The total number of pages is 465, plus the title page and index. The music in Volume III contains more mistakes (misprints) and note corrections made in pencil. The paper used in volumes II and III are the same weight and color, a greyish cast, whereas the paper in Volume I is heavier and has a more yellow tinge. The ink is lighter and more faded in Volume III.

The total number of musical items in all three volumes is 305. It is significant that there are only four High Holy Day items. They are in Volume II, and composed by Michele Bolaffi. As can be seen in Appendix 4, the majority of the material is for Shabbat (63 items), *Kabbalat Shabbat* (54 items), followed by the Torah service, (36 items), *Hallel* (27 items), Hymns (13 items), and Festival settings of *Rau Banim* (11). A list of the most frequent items in the collection is in Appendix 5. Also, a list of the composers of all three volumes is in Appendix 6.

General Description of the Music

All of the music in the three volume collection is written for *a capella* choir.

However, there are indications that the organ or other accompanying instruments were used in works found in the *Crocolo* manuscript. This small collection was written before

the *Musica Sacra di Livorno* collection.³² The majority of the pieces are for three-voice choir: Soprano, Tenor, and Bass. A small number of pieces are written for up to six voices with either the sopranos or the tenors doubled. For the most part the tenor line carries the melody in either a solo form or within the body of the music. There are a few pieces written for a Bass solo, and rarely is the soprano the featured soloist. It is quite possible that Moisè Ventura, the head cantor of the Great Synagogue of Livorno from 1845-1920, was a bass and therefore favored choral works with bass solos, and preferred commissioning and collecting music that was written for his vocal range. Of the seven or eight pieces that are scored for just sopranos, the question is raised, were these pieces sung exclusively by male treble voices?

Boys were used as sopranos in church choirs in Italy and Europe, and in the synagogue as well, it would be a common practice to use boys on the treble parts. Why were there little if any alto parts written? Generally in Italy good altos were a rarity, and it was not a voice part favored by composers. It would also be easier to find strong boy sopranos as opposed to boy altos. Since the alto line serves as harmonic support in general, it would be easily dispensable, and harmony could be provided by the tenor line.

The basic character of the music is diatonic with a simple harmonic texture. The phrases are symmetrically grouped, reminiscent of a classical style. This lends itself to a smooth harmonic texture and *legato* phrasing. The composers make use of various techniques found in opera choruses such as: finale writing, militaristic rhythms,

³² For example, "Esmach" which has an unrealized bass line, and other works from the Birnbaum collection [Mus.Add 11, vol. I] the Crocolo manuscript (Versetti posti in musica dal Professore Signor Michele

chromatic inflection, sudden dynamic shifts.³³ Examples of these elements can be found in the larger and more dramatic works in the collection, such as pieces written for the Torah service and special festival settings of the liturgy.

"Rau Banim" by David Garzia

The Birnbaum collection [Mus.Add 6, vol. I, pp. 346-54] contains a unique setting of "Rau Banim" by David Garzia. (See Appendix 8.)

The text comes from the evening service (weekday *Ma'ariv* and *Shabbat*) and recalls the Exodus. A translation is as follows:

He [Moses] led His children through the divided parts of the Sea of Reeds, and [G-d] drowned their pursuers and their enemies in its depth. And Children saw His mighty power --they praised and gave thanks to His Name --His sovereignty they willingly accepted. Moses and the children of Israel sang unto You with great joy, and they all said: Who is like You among the mighty, Adonai! Who is like You? [You are] adorned in holiness, awesome in your praise, performing wonders. Adonai, our God, Your children beheld your sovereignty at the sea. In unison, they all praised You, proclaiming Your royalty and declared: Adonai will reign forever and ever. And it is said, For Adonai has liberated Jacob and redeemed him from a hand, mightier than his. Blessed are You, Adonai, Who has redeemed Israel.³⁴

"Rau Banim" is a polyphonic setting for a trio of soloists and a choir, Soprano, tenor, and baritone soloists and a choir of soprano, tenor, and bass. The music is in Appendix 6. This work exhibits elements of the Italian galant style. For example, the general character of the music is diatonic with a simple harmonic texture. The phrases of this work are symmetrically grouped, which is reminiscent of a classical style. Most

Bolaffi, dedicati al Signor Crocolo, 1826). See Appendix 8.

These idioms were commonly used by opera composers in of the 19th century. See, Richard L. Crocker, *A History of Musical Style*, (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966), pp. 433-434.

interestingly, it sounds like a short Rossini opera chorus in places; yet in other places the florid passages recall Mozart. This brings up several questions, what occasion was it written for and when? Were boys used on the treble line? Why was the trio plus trio combination of voices chosen? How common was STB choir and STB soloists?

Generally, talented altos were a rarity, possibly because it was not a voice part favored by composers. Additionally, it was easier to recruit young male sopranos as opposed to altos either young or old. Since the alto line serves as harmonic support, it is easily dispensable and harmony could be provided by the soprano line since the melody was predominantly carried in the tenor.

As early as the seventeenth century Claudio Monteverdi, one of the first opera composers, redefined the definition of monody and introduced the popularity of the trio in his madrigals:

In addition to providing a more intricate top to the sound, the trio of two tenors (or sopranos) over a bass was a convenient—if partial—solution to the problem of producing a continuos stream of triads. If the two upper voices moved in parallel thirds, they tended to form with the bass something approaching a triadic texture, if only because the interval of a third was so often present.³⁵

The compositions of both David Garzia and Claudio Monteverdi satisfied the needs of their patrons because their works envisioned the quality and availability of singers who could perform locally. Since young males were already employed as sopranos in Italian church choirs, as was the practice in other parts of Europe, as well as

Translation taken from, Siddur Kol Yaakob According to the Minhag of Aleppo (New York: The Sephardic Heritage Foundation, Inc., 1995), p. 372.

Scrocker, A History of Musical Style, pp. 238-239.

in the synagogue, it became commonplace to utilize young males for the treble parts.

Also, it was much easier to train young, inexperienced boys to sing altogether on the soprano part.

In the early seventeenth-century Salomone Rossi, who was credited with inventing the trio sonata form, wrote many instrumental pieces for two treble voices over an often active bass line. Even though the majority of the works in the Livorno manuscripts are written well after Monteverdi and Rossi and scored for STB, rather than TTB or SSB the same quality of texture is achieved. In the eighteenth century, the trio form was adopted by operatic composers namely Rossini and Mozart, both contemporaries of Michele Bolaffi and David Garzia. Examples of STB vocal trios composed during the late eighteenth century, and early nineteenth century are: Il Barbiere di Siviglia, by Gioacchino Rossini composed in 1816, trio of Act One, Scene Eight "Freddo ed immobile", sung by Rosina (soprano), the Count (tenor), and Figaro (baritone), from Le Nozze di Figaro, by W.A. Mozart composed in 1786, Terzetto of Act One, "Cosa sento!", sung by Il Conte d'Almaviva (baritone), Don Basilio (tenor), and Susanna (soprano). This texture was emulated by composers of instrumental and symphonic music as well. For example, the Beethoven Triple Concerto in C major composed in 1804, for violin (soprano), cello (tenor), and piano, and Mozart's Divertimento (trio for strings) in E flat, K. 563 for violin, viola and cello.

In the synagogues of Germany the trio was commonly known as the *Zingerl-hazzan-bass*, or *meshorerim*, a three-voice texture that many of the traveling cantors adopted. A soprano sang descant (zinger part), the cantor sang the tenor or high baritone line, and the bass would provide the foundation. This was in the eighteenth and first half

of the nineteenth century when Maier Kohn published his work, *Vollstaendiger Jahrgang* von Terzett- und Chorgesaengen (c. 1840).

It was common for composers to write a special setting of a liturgical text for Festivals such as *Simchat Torah* (Celebration of the *Torah*), *Sukkot* (Festival of the Tabernacles), or Passover (Commemoration of the Exodus from Egypt). The composer specified that *Rau Banim* was composed for a 'Festival evening' (he does not say which one). This passage of liturgy that is set for solo trio and chorus. The work opens with an introduction of eight measures scored for soprano, tenor, and baritone. Measure 9 commences with, *il pezzo concertato, tra Soprano, Tenore, Barotono e cor a tre voci.* ([the] a concert between Soprano, tenor, baritone and a choir of three voices [also STB]). The solo trio has dotted rhythms, florid cadenza-like passages and ornamented phrases. Dynamic markings and accent marks, are reminiscent of the late eighteenth century, pre-romantic style. (See measures 45-50, and 70-74). David Garzia made use of a turn often used by Schubert (meas. 26, Bass part) and contrasting dynamic markings seen in Beethoven (meas. 28-30). These devices are indicative of a maturing style not found in composers of the Baroque era.

There is a notable section change after measure 32. Measure 32 closes out the first major section with a *fermata* over a rest. The next section begins (in meas. 34) with the text, "Mi hamoha", (Who is like You). The character differentiation in this section is reflected in the textual differences, from a factual narration to a rhetorical exchange in

³⁶ The Hebrew texts quoted here are taken from the manuscripts reproducing Italianate transliteration. Refer to the glossary for a list of Hebrew characters, and their Italian equivalents.

which the answers are self evident. That rhetorical exchange is played out in the compositional technique of call and response (meas. 34-40).

The middle section is 42 measures long. Garzia's skillful setting of the phrase, "Mi hamoha needar bacòdesh nora teillòt ñose fele", (Meas. 34-50) and "Malhuteha" (Meas. 51-58) highlight the prominence of both these passages. He does this through dynamics as well as building up to this point in the text so that the musical line climaxes on "Malhuteha eloenu" with the entrance of Coro alla maestoso in C major. The closing section is marked Coro. All. [egro] maestoso, and it is 32 measures long. The opening section (meas. 1-50) begins and ends in G major. Overall, the harmonic alternation from G to C major are a bit clumsy, not the work of a first-rate composer. Perhaps "Rau Banim" is two different pieces joined together, because the two sections are in fact, two distinct sections.

The harmonies are predominantly emphasizing tonic, subdominant, and dominant (meas. 9-23, 35-50, 51-64, 72-78). Garzia favors the cadential formula: I 6/4 - V7 - I, with an *appoggiatura* resolving on the down beat achieved at last after drawn out harmonic rhythm (meas. 22-23). Garzia wrote "Rau Banim" in duple meter. The rhythms alternate between march-like and dotted (after the fashion of Rossini) and steady when providing accompaniment for the upper trio of voices. An example of this is in measure 59 where Garzia has written over the bass part, *Molto staccato I Bassi*. The percussive rhythmic style is imitated in the other voices in measures 51-68. According to Erich Schwandt, it is not uncommon to find marches in seventeenth and eighteenth century art music. It was due to the influence of opera and ballet music that the march permeated art music. "In some cases, military marches that had originally been adapted from opera and

oratorio thus returned to the realm of art music. . . . "37 On the basis of the music alone, a festive piece like "Rau Banim" is liturgical art music.

Ironically, the only hint that the works found in this collection are Jewish are the texts and the context in which these pieces were performed. Without the Hebrew text it would be difficult for the listener to know if he was seated in an opera house, a salon, or a synagogue —an ongoing polemic in Jewish music.

"Romemu" by Giuseppe Pontecorboli of Pisa

Giuseppe Pontecorboli was the conductor of the choir in the Great Synagogue of Livorno in the late 1880's. After he left that post he was employed in the same capacity in Marseille.³⁸ From the third volume of the *Musica Sacra di Livorno* collection, page 111 we find a setting of a common liturgical text for the Saturday morning Torah service. (See Appendix 9.)

The translation is as follows:

Exalt Adonai, our G-d, and bow at His footstool; He is holy! Exalt Adonai, our G-d, and bow to His holy mountain; For holy is Adonai our G-d. (Ps. 99: 5, 9) There is no holy one like Adonai, truly there is none beside you: There is no rock like our G-d. (Sam. I 2: 2) Truly, who is a G-d except Adonai, Who is a rock but our G-d?— (Ps. 18:32) When Moses charged us with the Teaching As the heritage of the congregation of Jacob. (Deut. 33:4) It is a tree of life to those who grasp it, And whoever holds onto it is happy. (Prov. 3:18) Its ways are pleasant ways,

38 Seroussi, Livorno, "Juncture in the History of Sephardi Synagogal Music", p.10.

³⁷ Erich Schwandt, "The March in Art Music", from *The New Grove's Dictionary of Music and Musicians* (Macmillan Publishers Limited: London, 1980), vol. 11, p. 653.

And all her paths are peaceful.	(Prov. 3:17)
Those who love Your teaching enjoy well-being;	
they encounter no adversity.	(Ps. 119:165)
May Adonai grant strength to His people;	
May Adonai bestow on His people well-being.	(Ps. 29:11)
For the name of Adonai I proclaim;	
Give glory to our G-d!	(Deut. 32:3)
For all this ascribe greatness to our G-d	
And give honor to the Torah.	(Masechet
, , ,	Sofrim 14:5)

This rendition by Pontecorboli is noteworthy because of its well-constructed bass line, interesting harmonic shifts, and use of decorative chromaticism. The piece is scored for soprano, two tenors, and bass. The four-part writing allows for a thicker, fuller sound. "Romemu" can be divided into four sections.

In section I, (meas. 1-24) the melody is presented in the second tenor. This theme outlines an F major triad. Pontecorboli has written a simple melody that is echoed in the soprano. The first sixteen measures are the "A" section and reflect the structure of the first two lines of the text which exalt G-d. This section stays in F major with relatively diatonic harmonic movement. The "B" theme of section I begins on a C7 chord in measure 17 and moves by way of a I chord to a major V7/vi chord in measure 19. What is notable about this section is the staccato marks written over the notes of the tenor part in measure 17.

The soprano part is in divisi in measure 17-18, and the bass rests. The "B" portion of section I concludes in measure 24 on the tonic. The melody is carried by the second tenors. The bass re-enters on a V7/vi chord that moves to vi in measure 20. Measures 25 through 40 are for solo tenor. The piece is entirely homophonic except for

this solo in section II. The solo contains new text and is through-composed although some words are repeated in interest of musical style, and for purposes of textual importance like in the phrase, "chi èn bilteha" (truly there is none beside You, meas. 26-28). This solo contains a few colorful non-harmonic tones that shift the tonal character.

The third section of "Romemu" begins on the tonic of F major in measure 41. If there is a question as to key, the key signature of one flat is re-instated at the end of the solo section and at the beginning of section III. Section III begins with the same F major triad just as the opening of the piece. It is not an exact replication of the A theme, but it is definitely an A' with new text. Just four measures into A' the harmonies get quite interesting and there is a shift to B flat major by measure 49. It is particularly poignant because of the meaning of the text, "Tora ziva lanu mosce" [When Moses charged us with the Teaching]. The implication being revelatory, (at Mount Sinai where Moses first received the ten commandments) aptly reflected by a revelation of a perfect fourth (from F to B flat). The piece stays in the new key of B flat major for five measures and cadences on an F major chord.

Section IV begins in measure 57 on the tonic. The bass line contains *staccato* marks for three measures, reminiscent of operatic inflection. Measures 63 through 66 emphasize the word, *Shalom* [Peace]. The composer continues to emphasize the word, "*Torateha*" [Your[G-d's] teaching] by using triplet figures. The writing style from this point on makes use of operatic devices like frequent text repetition, *staccato* in the bass part, triplet figures in the upper voices, and chromaticisms. This leads up to a coda in measure 81 that continues until the end of the piece (meas. 106).

Pontecorboli also uses augmentation in measures seventy-nine through measure

eighty-seven. It is obvious that the technique of augmentation is employed at measure 79 because he marks the first beat of that measure, piu mosso. The coda or closing section is clearly marked by a double forte in all the voice parts. Measure 81 is also a whole note on a V/ii chord. Accent marks appear over all the voice parts in measure 83 when the text repeats on the word, "ba-scialom" [with peace]. The word is repeated a total of three time cadencing in measure 86, and the second beat of that measure contains the first fermata in the whole piece. The fermata is over a half rest. The chorus starts up again on the next measure marked andante sostenuto. A crescendo and decrescendo is written over measures 92 through 94. The harmonic motion is again interrupted by a fermata. The bass is the first voice to re-enter on the pick-up to measure 95 on the word, "acòl" [For all this]. The second tenors are the only voice to join on the phrase, "Tenu ñoz" [give strength] until another fermata over the basses in measure 99, on the last word of the phrase, "Leloim utnuhabod" [to our G-d, and give honor]. The fermata marking adds weight to the meaning of the text, and is given to the deepest of voices, the basses. Measure 100 is marked allegro and all the voices enter simultaneously on an ascending F major scale in eighth notes. The finale measures, measures 103 to 106 are whole notes on the much anticipated word "Latora".

This is a very radical and exciting setting of a text that is the pinnacle of Jewish faith-- radical because the interruptions in the text occur in abrupt places. The composer is clearly leaning toward a romantic style with his use of dynamics, dramatic phrasing, and the harmonic richness of the four part texture. First of all, the piece is one of the lengthiest in the entire collection. This alone suggests that Pontecorboli was writing in a more Romantic style where pieces tended to be longer and more involved than similar

works from the Classical period. Secondly, the use of non-harmonic tones and chromaticism as exhibited in the tenor solo of meas. 25-40. Thirdly, the closing section beginning with the *piu mosso* marking in meas. 79, and continuing to the end of the work sounds as if it could be a finale to a nineteenth century opera chorus with its *fermata* over a rest (meas. 86 and 94), crescendo/decrescendo markings, (meas. 92-94, 100), double *forte* marking on measure 81, and the accent marks in measures 83-84. The double *forte* marking appeared in works of the late classical/early romantic period as well as extended use of dynamic and phrase markings, which clearly situate this piece in the period of the nineteenth century. This is a composer who had gone to the opera, heard Beethoven, and incorporated what was going on outside the synagogue into the synagogue. This resulted in creating a unique and artistic setting fittingly used in the Torah service.

The simple harmonic texture of the whole piece has a definite classical structure because of the symmetry of the phrases. The chromatic inflections and use of neighbor tones, contrary motion, echo, voice imitation, and augmentation remind the listener of the influence of opera and Romanticism. These elements of Western musical style are pervasive and left an indelible mark on not just this piece of choral writing, but on nearly every text setting for chorus in the three-volume Livorno collection.

Again, an example of Jewish musicians doing something that was not new: integrating the surrounding culture into art forms that eventually reformed the style of music and worship in the synagogue. As Schubert was to Sulzer, and Mendelssohn to Lewandowski, maybe it is possible to hear a bit of Beethoven in Pontecorboli, a hint of Rossini in Garzia, and in the next musical example the influence of Mozart on Bolaffi.

"Esmach" by Michele Bolaffi

From the Birnbaum collection [Mus.Add 11, vol. I, pp. 45-57] the Crocolo manuscript (Versetti posti in musica dal Professore Signor Michele Bolaffi, dedicati al Signor Crocolo, 1826) contains a piece in two movements, titled, "Esmach" by Michele Bolaffi. (See Appendix 10.)

The translation of the *piyyut*, or religious poem, is as follows:

I will be happy through the voice of the groom and the voice of the bride With the sound of resounding cymbals
And the voice of pipes,
I will sing with the voice of the lute
And shouts of joy for beauty and for glory and for praise.
They are happy in their canopies
Lifting up songs of joy.

Their descendants are increasing like the sands of the seashore.

North and East and West [towards] the sea

Until you shall become the chief cornerstone.³⁹

This work is unique stylistically in comparison to "Rau Banim" and "Romemu" because it is composed in a much more flagrantly operatic style complete with cadenzas at the end of the soprano solo. Bolaffi makes use of other operatic devices as well such as, frequent text repetition, augmentation, catchy melodic writing, and juxtaposition of chorus and soloist. "Esmach" is composed in two movements: Andante and Allegro in the style of

³⁹ Translation by Josh and Betsy Minkin. The text is based on the Seven Wedding blessings, (*ShevaBrachot*), and Ps. 150: 4-5, Ps. 118: 22, Is. 62: 5, Jer. 7:34, 25:10, 33: 10-11, Gen. 28: 14.

the cabaletta/cavatina, a favorite form of Rossini. It is described as, "Sordetto per Solo, Duo and Coro".

The term *sordetto* is puzzling. A literal translation would be "a little mute" or "a little soft tone". The term is in the diminutive, an apt characterization of the work. "Esmach" is like a mini-concert aria in that it contains two complete but brief movements. The text and scoring for soprano soloist suggest that it was most likely performed in a chamber setting with continuo accompaniment. It also could have been composed for a wedding [I will be happy though the voice of the groom and the bride] or another festive celebration.

The harmonies are diatonic, straight-forward and uncomplicated. The melody is simple, graceful and elegant, in the character of opera arias of the day. Bolaffi opens in C major with the entry of a soprano soloist stating the "A" theme. The measures are in four plus four groupings. A "B" theme is introduced on the words, "gnim

Zibzele Sciamahg vecol minim ascir becol gnugab." (meas. 5-10) There are two 6-5
suspensions in measures 8 and 12 in the solo line. The soprano and altos join the soloist and provide sweet harmony in measures 8 through 12. After they drop out in measure 12, there is a brief excursion to the key of D major for twelve majors, with a return to C major in measure 26 with the text repetition of "Esmak becol hatan vecol callá" [I will be happy though the voice of the groom and the voice of the bride]. The chorus does not enter until measure 16. Their role is crucial in providing harmonic and rhythmic support to the soloist who is sustaining a high "D" for five measures (meas. 16-20). This is not an easy trick for any voice part. It is highly operatic in character to ask a soloist to sustain a pitch for so long. The movement concludes with a re-statement of the "A" theme in C

major with interplay of call and response by the chorus on the verb, *velitila* [and praise] (meas. 31-39).

The second and final movement also begins and ends in C major. The soloist begins with a six measure solo and is joined again by only the altos and sopranos for the duration of the work until the coda when the basses join in for the final eight measures. After the first eight measures there is a brief excursion to the key of F, the subdominant. There are less than ten measures in the key of F before "Esmach" returns to the tonic ending on a deceptive cadence in measures 35-36. The soloist enjoys a free cadenza before returning to the opening theme on the same text, "Simchu behutpatchem Siu rina". The cadenza is particularly dramatic as it is set to the text, "Le rosh pina", [the chief cornerstone]. The soloist quickly recovers before breathlessly concluding with a final cadenza on the same text accompanied by the full chorus, in a coda of repeated text on V-I chords.

CONCLUSION

This master's thesis represents an accumulation of hours of research in Italian and Hebrew in the form of religious music, prayer books, texts, and rare documents. The Birnbaum collection [Mus.Add 11] the Crocolo manuscript (*Versetti posti in musica dal Professore Signor Michele Bolaffi, dedicati al Signor Crocolo*, 1826) are rare and virtually unknown. They hold an important key in the understanding of the evolution of a specific type of Western Sephardic music.

I am honored to work with this holy and exceptionally unique material and now understand the feelings that stirred the archaeologists who first viewed the rosetta stone.

The key to understanding the music of Livorno is to first place the music and its people in historical context and to weave in vast and strong influences from world history.

People, personalities, and a volatile world all were factors in shaping this music. The music of Livorno, like an Italian opera, was a metaphor of the vibrancy and tragedy of life. It was shaped by military leaders such as Napoleon, by the Church and its political agendas, and by the religious struggles of all people, especially the Sephardim. The drive for personal freedom of expression and community based democracy were also factors as were the times these great strives for progress were overpowered by dark forces.

The music, as demonstrated by this thesis, is best characterized as a compilation of varying styles. Aside from the historical, political, and religious factors already discussed, other cultural and societal influences played a role. Italian art music was a

strong influence. So too did the sonata form and Western harmony find their way into the synagogue creating melodies that became the Italian-Sephardic synagogue tradition.

Undeniable is the example of how the Sephardic Jews of Livorno, like many Jews throughout the ages in the Diaspora, have journeyed to a foreign land and adapted to the local language and customs. When given the opportunity, the Jews of Livorno, like their Jewish predecessors and successors in all other lands thrived when allowed personal freedom.

Just as the Passover *Haggadah* reminds us that there are those in every generation that will rise up against the Jewish people, Livorno's Jews did not escape this awful fate. What survived, however, was timeless music which lives on and inspires future generations including the present one.

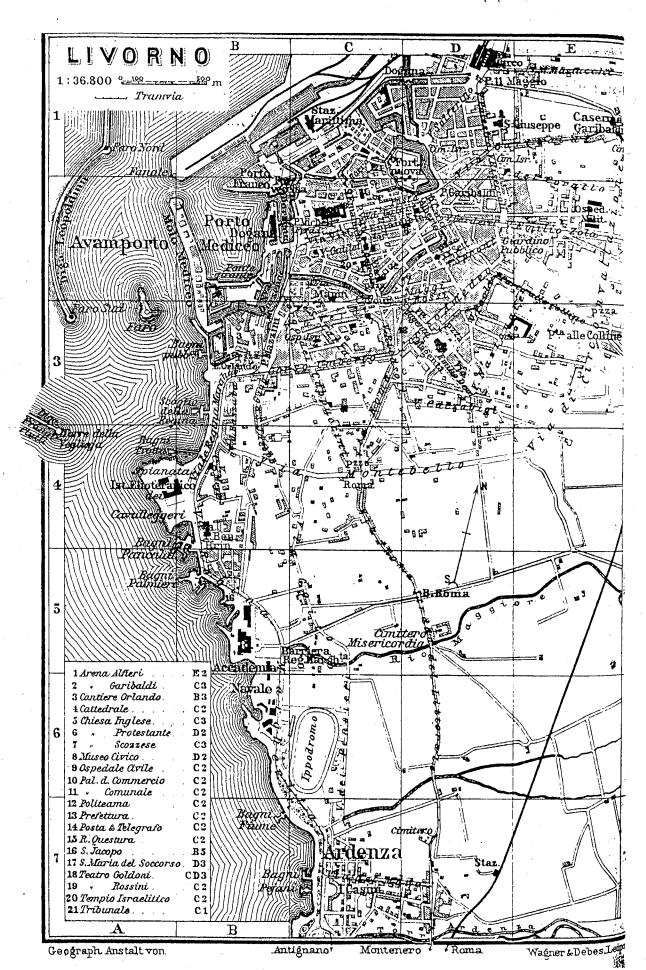
The reason why this music is timeless is because the Sephardim embraced majestic style and behavior. The Torah was displayed with the pomp and circumstance associated with G-d's word. The Jews of Livorno did not simply compartmentalize their music, they synthesized the music as they had done culturally with other aspects of their life.

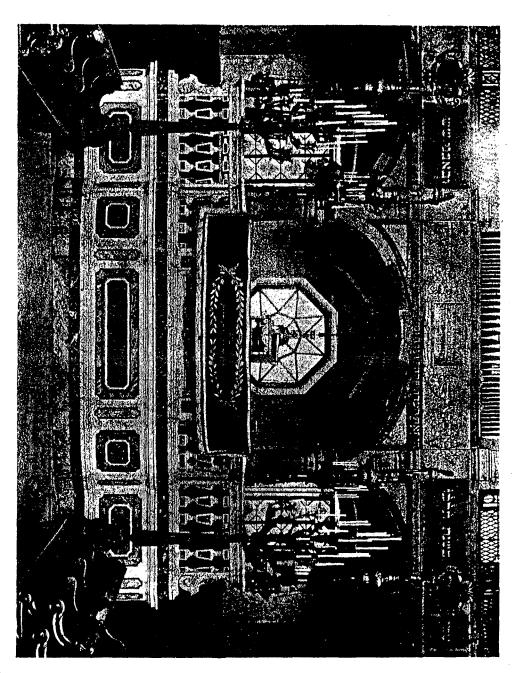
Much appreciation is felt for the vision of Eduard Birnbaum who collected this cherished legacy of Jewish history. Cantor Birnbaum had the wisdom to understand that music is an essential component of Jewish history. The music of Livorno shows quite clearly how the diaspora incorporates many traditions, both musically and culturally, into our ever evolving rich tradition.

Cantor Birnbaum appreciated the rarity and beauty of this music and had the foresight to preserve it for our enlightenment. If the past is prologue, our rich Jewish

heritage will continue to evolve incorporating many other traditions and art forms. We, as Cantors and Jewish musicians, have the responsibility, as Cantor Birnbaum desired, to keep this music alive in the hearts and minds of congregants, students, and colleagues throughout the world.







a Tevàh veduta di fronte.

Bimoch - viewed from the front]

For Simchat Torah and Shabbat B'reshit

Contains dynamic and phrase markings of notable detail

Shabbat Morning

Shabbat Moming

Shabbat Moming

Shabbat Morning

Shabbat Morning

Invocation to God

Pizmon for Shabbat Yitro

STB w/ recitative, & Chazzanic notation "adattabile a tutti I Salmi"

Adonai Malach	Castelnovo	46-49	MSDL	I	KS .	STB	
Adonai Malach	Bolaffi, M.	49-53	MSDL	Į.	KS	STB	
Adonai Malach	Di Venezia	68-71	MSDL	H	KS	SSTB	
Adonai Tsevaot Imanu	Bolaffi, M.	380-386	MSDL	H	Purim .	STB	
Adonai V'oz Yismach Melech	Niccolini, Luigi	172-179	MSDL	[11]		ТТВ	Psalm of David
Adonai Tsevaot Imanu	Bolaffi, M.	26-29	MSDL	I	Funeral	STB	
Al Naharot Bavel	Bolaffi, M.	61-63	MSDL	1.	Tisha B'Av evening	STB	(Psalm 137)
Aleinu No. 1	Di Venezia	176-177	MSDL	II .	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Festival
Aleinu No. 2	Di Venezia	177	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
Ana ·	Penso	82-83	MSDL	1	Halell	STB	Solo tenor indicated, for Rosh Chodesh and Festivals
Ana	Bolaffi, M.	226-227	MSDL	II	Halell	STB	Festival
Ana	Hallevy	249- 2 50	MSDL	H	Halell	STB	Festival
Ana Eli	Bolaffi, M.	182-185	MSDL	1	⁻ Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Shekalim
Ana Halach Dodi	Bolaffi, M.	157-159	MSDL	1	Sukkot	STB	Pizmon for the second evening of Sukkot
Ani El Elohim Ekra	Garzia, David	409-417	MSDL	1	Simchat Torah	STB	For Simchat Torah
Aromimcha El	Garzia, David	378-383	MSDL	1	Hannukah	STB	For the second Shabbat of Hannukah evening
Ashrei HaAm	Ventura, E.	138	MSDL	111	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Morning
Ashrei ish yirah et Adonai	Pontecorboli, G.	125-136	MSDL	Ш	General	STTB	Psalm of David
Atah Oretah	Castelnovo	277-280	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Morning
Atah Oretah	Penso	280-287	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Morning
Atah Oretah	Ventura, E.	1-5	MSDL	!!1	Shabbat	SS	Shabbat Morning
Atah Oretah	Pontecorboli, G.	96-106	MSDL	111	Shabbat	STTB	Shabbat Morning
Atah Oretah No. 1	Garzia, David	250-258	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	

11

11

П

11

11

Ш

1

1

Shabbat

Shabbat

Festival

Shabbat

Festival

Shabbat evening

Rosh Chodesh Fri.

Collection volume

Ш

Ш

111

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

Lit. Occas.

Purim

KS

Shabbat

Shabbat

Simchat Torah

Scoring

STB

STTB

Liturgical Item

Adon Olam

Adon Olam

Adonai Malach

Atah Oretah No. 1

Atah Oretah No. 1

Atah Oretah No. 2

Atah Oretah No. 2

Atah Oretah No. 2

Bamah Hakedem

Barechi Nafshi

Atanu

Ach Zeh Hayom k'viti

Adonai Eloheichem Emet

Composer

Garzia, David

Garzia, David

Parigi

Venezia

Bolaffi, M.

Bolaffi, M.

Di Venezia

Bolaffi, M.

Di Venezia

Bolaffi, M.

Parigi

Basevi

Garzia, David

page #

386-393

236-238

239-245

238-240

332-335

259-262

275-279

262-267

268-274

279-285

215-216

174-178

53-56

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

MSDL

Liturgical Item	Composer	page #	Collection	<u>volume</u>	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	Notes
Barechi Nafshi	Bolaffi, M.	57-61	MSDL	1	Rosh Chodesh Fri.	STB	D.C. tutto con altre parole and recitative between verses indicated
Barechu	Di Venezia	136-137	MSDL	II	KS	STB	•
Baruch Haba	Penso	83-85	MSDL	l	Halell	STB `	For Rosh Chodesh and Festivals
Baruch Haba No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	227-229	MSDL	II _	Festival	STB	
Baruch Haba No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	230-231	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
Baruch HaMakom	Ventura, E.	107-111	MSDL	III	Shabbat	Solo+SATTB	Shabbat Morning
Baruch HaMakom	Ventura, E.	137	MSDL	111	Shabbat	STTB	Shabbat Morning
B'fi Yisharim	Di Venezia	210-211	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
Bi El Diber	Bolaffi, M.	150-151	MSDL	ĺ	Shavuot	STB	Pizmon for mincha the first day of Shavuot
Bi El Diber	Garzia, David	425-432	MSDL	1	Shavuot	STB	Shavuot mincha, first day
Birkat Kohanim	Di Venezia	12-13	MSDL	III	Festival	SSTB	
Birkat Kohanim	di Padova	283-	MSDL	111		00.0	Unfinished
Bitchu	Bolaffi, M.	197-199	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Parah
B'tset Yisrael	Bolaffi, M.	67-69	MSDL	i	Pesach	STB	Pesach evening
Edrosh ech eli	Bolaffi, M.	185-188	MSDL	1	Shabbat evening	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Zachor
Eft'cha na sefatai	Bolaffi, M.	156	MSDL	ı	Sukkot	STB	Pizmon for the first day of Sukkot before taking out the Torah
		383-386	MSDL	1 1	Shabbat	SS	For the Shabbat of Omer
Ein Keloheinu No. 1	Garzia, David	387-390	MSDL	1	Shabbat	SS	
Ein Keloheinu No. 2	Garzia, David	390-393	MSDL	I I	Shabbat	SSS	For the Shabbat of Ores
Ein Keloheinu No. 3	Garzia, David]]			For the Shabbat of Omer
Ein Keloheinu No. 4	Garzia, David	393-396	MSDL	1,	Shabbat	SS	For the Shabbat of Omer
Ein Keloheinu No. 5	Garzia, David	396-398	MSDL	1	Shabbat	SS	For the Shabbat of Omer
Ein Keloheinu No. 6	Garzia, David	398-400	MSDL	l 	Shabbat	SS	For the Shabbat of Omer
El Erech Apayim	Bolaffi, M.	346-347	MSDL	11	YK	STB	Yom Kippur Mincha
El Shochen Shamayim	Bolaffi, M.	11 8-119	MSDL	l	Pesach morning	STB	Pizmon for Pesach
El Tsurenu	Bolaffi, M.	178-180	MSDL	l	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for the Shabbat remembering the anniversaries of the earthquak
Ele Moadeh	Garzia, David	173	MSDL	II .	Festival	STB	
Eloheinu	Parigi	233-235	MSDL	III		STB	Benediction for the People
Eloheinu No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	273-274	MSDL	ľ	Festival	STB	For Festivals
Eloheinu No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	275-276	MSDL	-	Festival	STB	For Festivals
Emet V'Emunah	Garzia, David	138-145	MSDL	11	Simchat Torah	STB	
Esmach	Bolaffi, M.	44-55	VPIM			Solo+SAB	For Weddings
Ezracha El MiKodesh	Cologna	222-227	MSDL	III		STTB	Hymn of Praise to God
Gad'lu	Ventura, E.	139	MSDL	111	Shabbat	Chazzan	Shabbat Morning
Halell, No. 31	Garzia, David	44-55	MSDL	111	Festival	STB .	
Halell HaGadol	Bolaffi, M.	1-21	VPIM	1 -		Instruments	•
Halell, No. 32	Garzia, David	57-76	MSDL	Ш	Festival	STB	
	,	- · · · ·	_	•		•	
· ·				* .			
							· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

				. "			
		.11	0 II II		121.0	0	
Liturgical Item	Composer	page #	Collection	<u>volume</u>	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	Notes
Halell: Hal'lu et Adonai	Penso	76-78	MSDL	ł	Haleli	STB	Solo w/ repeats for Rosh Chodesh and Festival
Halell-Hal'lu	Franco, N.	28-43	MSDL	iii	Festival	SSTB	
Hallel - Hal'lu No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	218 -219	MSDL	11 '	Festival	STB	
lallel - Hal'lu No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	232-233	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Rosh Chodesh
lallel - Hodu	Hallevy	237-239	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	For Shabbat Rosh Chodesh
lallel Hagadol	Garzia, David	400-402	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	For the Shabbat of Earthquakes
lallelujah	Garzia, David	440-451	MSDL	11		STB	Festa dello Statuto
lallelujah	Soffredini	162	MSDL	111		SS	For sopranos
łallelujah Hal'lu El B'kodsho	Bolaffi, M.	365-368	MSDL	11	Simchat Torah STB	STB	Simchat Torah
łallelujah Odeah	Garzia, David	374-378	MSDL	1 -	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Mincha
lallelujah Odeah	Bolaffi, M.	88-90	MSDL	1 .	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Mincha
lallelujah Odeah	Penso	91-93	MSDL	1 .	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Mincha
lal'lu Et Adonai Kol Goyim	Parigi	210-211	MSDL	111	Festival	SAB	•
lam'shiach	Bolaffi, M.	203	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
lanotan lanu t'shua	Bolaffi, M.	166-167	MSDL	ŀ	Hannukah STB		Pizmon for the first Shabbat evening of Hannul
lanoten T'shua	Bolaffi, M.	298-304	MSDL	.1	Festival	STB	For the Festival of the Statue
lanoten	Garzia, David	427-439	MSDL	II .	•	STB+Cantor	Festa dello Statuto (Constitution Day)
lanoten	Niccolini, Luigi	180-193	MSDL	Ш		ТТВ	Benediction of the Princes
lanoten	Franco, N.	19-27	MSDL	111		STB	For the "Solemnity"
łashkivenu	Basevi	260-262	MSDL	1	KS	STB	•
lashkivenu	Ventura	460-461	MSDL	i	KS	SS	For Friday night
lashkivenu, No. 1	Garzia, David	163-168	MSDL	H	Festival	STB	
lashkivenu, No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	257-259	MSDL	1	KS	STB	
lashkivenu, No. 1	Penso	161-163	MSDL	il	Festival	STB	_
łashkivenu, No. 2	Garzia, David	360-364	MSDL	i.	Festival	STB	Festival Evening
łashkivenu, No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	156-158	MSDL	11	KS	STB	router Evening
lashkivenu, No. 2	Garzia, David	168-172	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
łashkivenu, No. 2	Ventura, E.	77-79	MSDL	 III	Festival	S	
łashkivenu, No. 3	Bolaffi, M.	263-264	MSDL	;;; 	KS	STB	
łashkivenu, No. 3	Ventura, E.	273-274	MSDL	, !!!		SS	For Sopranos
lashkivenu, No. 4	Bolaffi, M.	264-266	MSDL	1	KS	STB	i or dopianos
lashkivenu, No. 5	Bolaffi, M.	159-161	MSDL	, Ii	Festival	STB	
łodu	Bolaffi, M.	219-220	MSDL .	11	Festival	STB	
10du Hallel-Hodu		233-234	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	For Chabbat Deab Chy
lallei-riodu Iodu L'Adonai Ki Tov	Bolaffi, M.	233-234 93-97	MSDL	11	Pesach	STB	For Shabbat Rosh Chodesh
TOKULI ACICIALINI LOV	Bolaffi, M.	93-97 97-111	MSDL	11	Pesach Pesach	STB	

ر ای<u>ن س</u>ر

U	1
_	1

·							
•							•
•							
							•
Liturgical Item	Composer	page#	Collection	<u>volume</u>	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	<u>Notes</u>
Hodu L'Adonai Kiru B'Shmo	Dorigi	217-218	MSDL	111		STB	Psalm of David
	Parigi		MSDL	111		Solo	
Jomeru Koddish	Garzia,David	365 227-229	MSDL	1	KS and Sat morning	Solo &SS	Recitative for Cantor, adaptable for all the psal
Kaddish	Castelnovo			1	•		For Friday night and Saturday morning (solo w
Kaddişh	Felice Coen	229-231	MSDL	1	Festival evening	Solo	(solo w/choral responses)
Kaddish	Ventura, Moise	231-233	MSDL	i	Festival	Solo	(solo w/choral responses)
Kaddish No. 1	Garzia, David	233-235	MSDL		Festival evening	Solo	(solo w/choral responses)
Kaddish No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	221-222	MSDL	1	KS and Sat morning	Solo+STB	For Friday night and Saturday moming (solo w
Kaddish No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	222-224	MSDL	1	Festival	Solo	For Festivals (solo w/choral responses)
Kaddish No. 2	Garzia, David	235-237	MSDL	1	Festival	Solo	(solo w/choral responses)
Kaddish No. 3	Bolaffi, M.	224-225	MSDL	1	KS and Sat morning	Solo	For Friday night and Saturday moming (solo w
Keter	Di Venezia	328-330	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
Keter No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	312-313	MSDL	1	Festival	Solo	
Keter No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	313	MSDL	I	Festival	Solo	
Kumi B'nei Ami	Ventura, E.	260-265	MSDL	ÌΙΙ	Innauguration	STB	Hymn by Rabbi Cammeo
Lamnatsech al Hashminit	Bolaffi, M.	85-91	MSDL	11	Shim. Atz.	STB	Sh'imini Atzeret
Lamnatsech al higati l'asaf	Bolaffi, M.	72-75	MSDL	H	Rosh Hashanah	STB	
Lamnatsech al llat Hashachar	Bolaffi, M.	375-380	MSDL	11	Purim	STB	
Lamnatsech al n'ginat	Garzia	414-427	MSDL	H		STTBB	Festa dello Statuto, for a visit by a King or othe
Lamnatsech al n'ginat	Coen, Felice	147-158	MSDL	Ш	Per lo Statuto	STTB	Psalm 61
Lamnatsech al n'ginat	Soffredini	159-161	MSDL	Ш	Per lo Statuto	SS	Government Holiday
Lamnatsech L'David Mizmor shir	Garzia, David	112-122	MSDL	11	Shavuot	STB	•
Lamnatsech L'David Mizmor shir	Di Venezia	123-132	MSDL	11	Shavuot	STB	
Lamnatsech maskil livnei korach	Bolaffi, M.	81-84	MSDL	II	Sukkot	STB	
L'cha Dodi	Ventura	457-460	MSDL	1	KS .	SS	For Friday night
L'cha Dodi	Di Venezia	132-133	MSDL	11	KS	STB	
L'cha Dodi	Di Venezia	53-65	MSDL	11	Festival	SATB	For four voices
L'cha Dodi No. 1.	Garzia	44-53	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	·
L'cha Dodi No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	42-43	MSDL	11	KS	STB	
L'cha L'shalom	Garzia, David	403-409	MSDL	1	Simchat Torah	STB	For Simchat Torah and Shabbat B'reshit
Lech i'shalom	Bolaffi, M.	373-374	MSDL	11	Simchat Torah	STB	
Lecha Dodi	Penso	102-104	MSDL	1	KS	STB	
Lecha Dodi	Franco, Nunes	105-111	MSDL	1	KS .	STB	
Lecha Dodi, No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	93-96	MSDL	1	KS	STB	
Lecha Dodi, No. 3	Bolaffi, M.	97-101	MSDL	Ī	KS.	STB	
Lecha Dodi	Garzia	455-459	MSDL	il	KS	STB	
Lecha Dodi	Toledano, T.	252-255	MSDL	Ш	KS	SS	
== =·· · = = =·				***			•
			•				
·					<u>, </u>		

١,	,	1
•	Y	2
•	•	•

<u>Liturgical Item</u>	Composer	page #	Collection	<u>volume</u>	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	<u>Notes</u>
Lecha Dodi, No. 15	Bolaffi, M.	34-37	VPIM		KS	Solo+SAB	Versetto a Solo e a due con Coro
Lecha Dodi, No. 16	Bolaffi, M.	38-42	VPIM		KS	Solo+SAB	Versetto a Solo, e Coro
Lo Amut	Bolaffi, M.	452	MSDL	1	Festival	SS	For Rosh Chodesh and Festivals
Lo Amut	Penso	81-82	MSDL	1 .	Halell	`STB	For Rosh Chodesh and Festivals
Lo Amut	Bolaffi, M.	223-224	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	
Lo Amut	Bolaffi, M.	236-237	MSDL	II	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Rosh Chodesh
Lo Amut	Ventura, E.	278	MSDL	111		В	For Bass
L'od Chatan	Bolaffi, M.	161-165	MSDL	1	Simchat Torah		Pizmon for the evening of Simchat Torah and Shabbat B'reshit
Maher Ami	Garzia, David	418-425	MSDL	i	Pesach	STB	Pesach Mincha
Mearbah Kanfot	Bolaffi, M.	294-297	MSDL	l	Purim	Solo &STB	For Rosh Chodesh of Purim
Mearbah Kanfot Ha'aretz	Franco, N.	407-413	MSDL	11	Purim	STB	
Mi Chamocha	Bolaffi, M.	192-196	MSDL	I	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Zachor morning
Mi Sheberach	Bolaffi, M.	305-312	MSDL	1	Festival	STB .	Per la Festa dello Statuto (For the Festival of the Statute)
Mi Sheberach	Niccolini, Luigi	194-206	MSDL	Ш		TTB	Benediction for the People
Min Hametsar	Franco, N.	217-220	MSDL	I	Simchat Torah STB		For Simchat Torah and Shabbat B'reshit
Min Hametsar	Penso	79-80	MSDL	l	Halell-Fest.,R.Ch.	STB	can repeat w/other words until "Lo amut". "Marziale" see bar 1.
Min Hametsar	Bolaffi, M.	220-223	MSDL	H.	· Festival	STB	
Min Hametsar	Bolaffi, M.	234-235	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Rosh Chodesh
Min Hametsar	Hallevy	239-249	MSDL	11	Halell-Festival	STB	From Pans
Min Hametsar	Bolaffi, M.	372	MSDL	H	Simchat Torah STB	STB	
Min Hametsar	Parigi	213-214	MSDL	Ш	Festival	SAB	
Min Hametsar No. 2	Garzia, David	55-56	MSDL	III	Festival	S	
Mipi El, Mipi El	Venezia	246-251	MSDL	Ш		STTB	Hymn in Praise of Moses
Mizmor ashrei kol y'reh	Garzia, David	440-448	MSDL	l	Mila	STB	For Mila
Mizmor le David Havu	Garzia, David	339-342	MSDL	i	Shabbat -	STB	Contains dynamic and phrase markings of notable detail
Mizmor le David Havu	Di Venezia	36-41	MSDL	II	KS '	STB	,
Mizmor le David	Pontecorboli, G.	79-95	MSDL	III	KS	STTB	
Mizmor le David	Bolaffi, M.	23-33	VPIM	1 -			
Mizmor le David Havu	Pontecorboli	12-15	MSDL	H	KS	STB	written by Giusseppe Pontecorboli of Pisa
Mizmor le David Havu	Naumbourg	15-24	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	written by Naumbourg of Pans
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	1-3	MSDL	H	KS	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	3-7	MSDL	II	Shabbat	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 2	Parigi	163-171	MSDL	III	Festival	STB	-
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 3	Garzia, David	29-31	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 4	Garzia, David	7-12	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 5	Bolaffi, M.	25-29	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	Motivi obbligato

	ļ		,	ì
1	L		•	١
	7	۰	٠	•

Liturgical Item	Composer	page#	Collection	volume	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	Notes
Mizmor le David, No. 5	Garzia, David	32-35	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	Corifei
Mizmor le David Havu,	Penso	11-15	MSDL	I	KS	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 3	Maracce	1-5	MSDL	i	KS	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 2	Basevi	15-21	MSDL	1.	KS	STB	
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 3	Basevi	22-25	MSDL	1.	KS	STB	•
Mizmor le David Havu, No. 3	Bolaffi, M.	5-8	MSDL	1 .	KS	STB	
Mizmor shir Chanukat	Bolaffi, M.	356-364	MSDL	II	Hannukah	STB	Friday evening of Hannukah
Mizmor Shir LeYom Hashabbat No1	Bolaffi, M.	30-32	MSDL	1.	KS	STB	,
Mizmor Shir LeYom Hashabbat	Garzia, David	322-331	MSDL	1	KS	STB	Contains dynamic and phrase markings of notable detail
Mizmor Shir LeYom Hashabbat No2	Bolaffi, M.	33-35	MSDL ,	1	KS	Solo & STB	
Mizmor Shir LeYom Hashabbat	Di Venezia	36-38	MSDL	1 .	KS	STB	
Mizmor Shir LeYom Hashabbat	Penso	39-40	MSDL	I	KS	STB	
Mizmor Shir LeYom Hashabbat	Basevi	41-45	MSDL	1.7	KS	STB	D.C. tutto con altre parole fino Zaddig Catamar
Nachamu, nachamu ami	Bolaffi, M.	151-155	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Nachamu
Nakdish'cha, No. 1	Di Venezia	213-215	MSDL	H	Festival	SSTTB	
Nakdish'cha, No. 2	Di Venezia	216-217	MSDL	11 1 1	Festival	STB	
Nekadishecha	Bolaffi, M.	271	MSDL	I	, Festival	Solo	For Festivals
Nekadishecha	Ventura, M.	272	MSDL	1 -	Festival	Solo	For Festivals
Ode Shimcha Hashem	Bolaffi, M.	191	MSDL	I	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Zachor before Mi Chamocha
Odeah Iti	Bolaffi, M.	114-118	MSDL	I	KS ·	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Hagadol
Odecha	Bolaffi, M.	225-226	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	Halell
Odeh El Shadai	Bolaffi, M.	168-174	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Shira (Evening)
Purim Purim Lanu	Garzia, David	394-405	MSDL	11	Purim	STB	
Rau Banim	Nunes Franco	241-243	MSDL	1:	Festival	TTB	For Festivals
Rau Banim	Di Parigi	145-151	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	
Rau Banim	Garzia, David	151-153	MSDL	II .	Festival	STB	
Rau Banim	Di Venezia	153-156	MSDL	11	Festival	STB	
Rau Banim	Ventura, E.	256-259	MSDL	III .	Festival	STB	Pesach
Rau Banim	Ventura, E.	279-282	MSDL	III		STB	
Rau Banim No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	249-250	MSDL	l	Festival	STB	For Festivals
Rau Banim No. 1	Garzia, David	346-354	MSDL	1	Festival	STB+trio	Festival Evening
Rau Banim No. 2	Garzia, David	354-360	MSDL	1	Festival	STB '	Festival Evening
Rau Banim No. 3	Bolaffi, M.	250-255	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	For Festivals
Rau Banim No. 4	Bolaffi, M.	255-257	MSDL	ı	Festival	STB	For Festivals
Rom'mu	Franco, N.	287-293	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	For Festivals
Rom'mu	Pontecorboli	111-124	MSDL	Ш.,	Shabbat	STTB	Shabbat Moming
							•

9	
Ò	

Liturgical Item	Composer	page #	Collection	volume	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	Notes
Rom'mu, No. 2	Ventura, E.	270-272	MSDL	Ш		S	For Sopranos
Rom'mu	Ventura, E.	5-9	MSDL	111	Shabbat	SS	Shabbat Morning
Rom'mu No. 1	Garzia, David	286-292	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Morning
Rom'mu No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	305-311	MSDL	II	Shabbat	STB	
Rom'mu No. 1	Di Venezia	318-322	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Morning
Rom'mu No. 2	Garzia, David	292-297	MSDL	li .	Festival	STB	
Rom'mu No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	311-317	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	
Rom'mu No. 2	Di Venezia	323-328	MSDL	Iİ	Festival	STB	
Rom'mu No. 3	Garzia, David	298-305	MSDL	H	Festival	STB	
Seu Zimra	Bolaffi, M.	200-203	MSDL	i	Shabbat	STB	Pizmon for Shabbat Hachodesh
Shicharti et Diberech	Bolaffi, M.	120-125	MSDL	I	Festivals	STB	Pizmon for Mincha of Pesach, Sukkot, and Shimini Atzeret
Shimu Zot	Bolaffi, M.	64-66	MSDL	1	Funeral	STB	Psalm, solo tenor line indicated, written w/repeats for five verses.
Shir HaMalot (l'David) Samachti	Bolaffi, M.	91-92	MSDL	11	Simchat Torah	STB	Simchat Torah
Shir HaMalot Mimamkim	Coen, Felice	139-147	MSDL	Ш	General	STBB	Psalm of David
Shir HaMalot Samachti	Bolaffi, M.	70-75	MSDL	1	Simchat Torah	STB	
Shira Chadasha	Parigi	227-228	MSDL	Ш	Festival	STB	
Shiru L'Adonai	Bolaffi, M.	111	MSDL	l	KS & R.Ch	STB	
Shiru L'Adonai	Franco,N.	112-113	MSDL	1 .	KS & R.Ch	STB	
Shiru L'Adonai	Bolaffi, M.	76-80	MSDL	11	YK	STB	Evening of Yom Kippur
Shivat Ani'im	Bolaffi, M.	204-207	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	
Sh'ma Yisrael	Di Venezia	137-138	MSDL	II	Festival	STB	
S'machim	Bolaffi, M.	207-208	MSDL	-	Festival	STB	
Tenu Kavod	Bolaffi, M.	142-143	MSDL	l	Shavuot	STB	Pizmon for the first day of Shavuot before taking out the Torah
Tenu Kavod	Garzia, David	319-322	MSDL	I	Shavuot	STB	Shavuot morning, first day
T'hilat Adonai Y'daber Pi	Parigi	207-209	MSDL	}	Festival	SAB	
Tizku l'shnayim rabot	Bolaffi, M.	405-407	MSDL	H	Purim	STB	
Tizku	Franco, Nunes	137-139	MSDL	1	Shavuot	STB	Pizmon after Kaddish of Mincha the day after sh'losh regalim
Tov L'hodot	Di Venezia	66-68	MSDL	!!	KS	SB	
Tsidkat'cha	Bolaffi, M.	87	MSDL	[Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Mincha
Tsuri Halo Bakata	Bolaffi, M.	129-133	MSDL	1	Pesach	STB	Pizmon for the seventh night of Pesach
Ulcha L'vadecha	Di Venezia	210	MSDL	H	Festival	STB	
Umavdil	Bolaffi, M.	369	MSDL .	II	Festival	STB	For Passover
Umavdil	Bolaffi, M.	370	MSDL	П	KS	STB	
Umavdil	Bolaffi, M.	371	MSDL	Ц	RH & YK	STB	$\mathcal{L}_{\mathcal{L}}$
Umavdil, Uvahem	Ventura, E.	451	MSDL	1 '	KS	SS	Friday night
Uv'chen Yishtabach	Di Venezia	211-213	MSDL	H ·	Festival	STB	

σ	١
-	-

							,	
				!	4 · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·			
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·							•	
Liturgical Item	Composer	page #	Collection	<u>volume</u>	Lit. Occas.	Scoring	Notes	
Va'ani	Pratesi	343-345	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Mincha	
Va'ani	Ventura, E.	275-277	MSDL	III		S	For Sopranos	
Va'ani Tefilati	Ventura, E.	314-315	MSDL	ı	Shabbat	Solo &SS	For Shabbat Mincha. Scored for soloist and Soprano 1 & 2	
Va'ani Tefilati	Pontecorboli	448-450	MSDL	1	Shabbat	SS	For Shabbat Mincha written by G. Pontecorboli di Marsilia	
Va'ani Tefilati	Garzia, David	335-337	MSDL	Ì	Festival	STB		
Va'ani Tefilati	Bolaffi, M.	337-340	MSDL	II	Festival	STB		
Va'ani Tefilati	Jonas, E.	340-343	MSDL	11 -	Festival	STB	From Paris	
Va'ani Tefilati	Castelnovo	344-346	MSDL	H	Festival	STB		
Va'ani Tefilati L'cha Adonai No. 2	Ventura, E.	266-267	MSDL	III		STB		
Vaiy'chulu	Di Venezia	174-175	MSDL	H	KS	STB	Festival Evening	
V'al Kulam	Parigi	229-232	MSDL	· III	Festival	STB		
V'arbah	Franco, N.	330-333	MSDL	11	Festival	STB		
V 'arbah	Bolaffi, M.	333-334	MSDL	11	Festival	STB		
Vealu Mosh'im	Bolaffi, M.	200-203	MSDL	11	Festival	STB		
Vet Rodefehem	Bolaffi, M.	240-241	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	For Festivals	
V'et Rodefehem V'rau Banim	Castelnovo	243-248	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	For Festivals	o
Vshamru	Penso	267-268	MSDL	1 .	KS	STB	For a Friday night Festival	
Vshamru	Bolaffi, M.	269-271	MSDL	1.	KS	STB	For a Friday night Festival	
Vshamru	Garzia, David	364-365	MSDL	1	KS	STB	For a Friday night Festival	
V'yom Hashivi	Bolaffi, M.	209	MSDL	H	Festival	STB		
V'zot HaTorah	Ventura, E.	136	MSDL	Ш	Shabbat	SBB	Shabbat Morning	
V'zot HaTorah No. 1	Di Venezia	10-12	MSDL	Ш	Shabbat	SSTB	Shabbat Morning	
V'zot HaTorah No. 2	Di Venezia	14-18	MSDL	III	Shabbat	STTB	Shabbat Morning	
Yaeli	Bolaffi, M.	143-149	MSDL	1		STB	For the second evening of Shavuot	
Yarad El Chai	Garzia, David	433-440	MSDL	1	Shavuot	STB	Shavuot mincha, second day	
Yarum v'italah	Bolaffi, M.	159-160	MSDL	1	Simchat Torah	STB	Pizmon for the morning of Simchat Torah and Shemini Atzeret	
Yarum v'nisah	Bolaffi, M.	133-137	MSDL	ı	Pesach	STB	Pizmon for the eighth night of Pesach	ı
Y'hal'lu	Bolaffi, son of	316-318	MSDL	I	Shabbat	TSB	For Shabbat Mincha	
Y'hal'lu	Ventura	453-455	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Mincha	
Y'hal'lu	Bolaffi, M.	348-350	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Mincha	
Y'hal'lu	Di Venezia	350-356	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Mincha	
Y'hal'lu	Garzia, David	452-455	MSDL	II	Shabbat	STB	Shabbat Mincha	,
Y'hal'lu No. 2	Ventura, E.	268-269	MSDL	iii		STB	For Boys	•
Y'he sh'may & Barechu	Bolaffi, M.	226	MSDL	i	KS & AM Solo		For Friday night and Saturday morning (solo w/choral responses)	
Y'he sh'may rabah	Ventura	456	MSDL	1	KS	SS	For Friday night	
Y'he sh'may rabah	Ventura, E.	274	MSDL	m .		s ·	For Soprarios	
- ,	•				•			
						•		
		9						
					,			

						•	
Liturgical Item	Composer	page #	Collection	<u>volume</u>	Lit. Occas.	<u>Scoring</u>	Notes
Y'he sh'may rabah No. 1	Di Venezia	134	MSDL	[[KS	STB	
Y'he sh'may rabah No. 2	Di Venezia	135-136	MSDL	11	Shabbat	STB	
Yhi Hashem	Bolaffi, M.	267	MSDL	11 .	Festival	STB	
Y'hi shalom	Bolaffi, M.	203-206	MSDL	i	KS	STB	
Y'hi shalom	Castelnovo	207-209	MSDL	I	KS	STB	
Y'hi shalom	Garzia, David	336-338	MSDL	Ī	KS	STB	Contains dynamic and phrase markings of notable detail
Yigdal	Garzia, David	366-373	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	Festival Evening
Yigdal	Bolaffi, M.	178-183	MSDL	H .	Festival	STB	
Yigdal Adonai	Bolaffi, M.	180-181	MSDL	1	Shabbat	STB	for taking the Torah out for Shabbat remembering the earthquakes
Yigdal No. 1	Bolaffi, M.	209-210	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	
Yigdal No. 1	Di Venezia	183-188	MSDL	Ħ	Festival	STB	
Yigdal No. 2	Bolaffi, M.	211-212	MSDL	ı	Festival	STB	
Yigdal No. 2	Di Venezia	189-200	MSDL	H .	Festival	SSTTB	
Yigdal No. 3	Bolaffi, M.	212-213	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	
Yigdal No. 4	Bolaffi, M.	214-216	MSDL	1	Festival	STB	
Yikboz m'fuzar	Bolaffi, M.	188-190	MSDL	I	Shabbat	STB	For Shabbat Zachor before Mi Chamocha on the first day of Purim
Yimaleh Az	Bolaffi, M.	125-129	MSDL	1.	Pesach	STB	Pizmon for the second night of Pesach
Yimloch	Bolaffi, M.	86	MSDL	1	Halell	STB	For Shabbat Morning and Festivals
Yimloch	Parigi	219-220	MSDL	111	Festival	STB	
Yom n'gilah	Bolaffi, M.	139-142	MSDL	1	Shavuot	STB	Pizmon for the first night of Shavuot
-	•						

20 most Frequent items of MSDL collection, Vol. 1-3

No.	Item	KS	Fest.	S	Unspec.	S. R. CH.	<u>S. S</u>
				٠			
18	Mizmor le David (Ps. 29)	9	4	3	3		
13	Hashkivenu	6	6		1		
13	L'cha Dodi	9	2		2		
11	Rau Banim		5 .	5	1		
- 11	Rom'mu		5	5	1		
10	Atah Oretah		3	7			~
9	Va'ani Tefilati		4	3	2		
9 .	Yigdal		. 8	-			1 Earthquakes*
8	Hallel		5			2	1 Earthquakes*
8	Kaddish		5	3			
8	Min Hamestar (Ps. 118)		. 7 _.			1	
6	Ein Keloheinu				•		6 S. Omer
6	Miz. Shir LeYom HaShab.	6					
5	Y'hal'lu					1	5 S.Mincha
5	Ana		-	4			1 S. Shekalim
5	Hanoten	•	1				1 S. Chanukah 3 spec. occasions
5	Hodu			3	1	1	
4	HaShem Malach	4					•
4	Nakedishecha		.4				
4	Y'hayshmayraba	2		1	1		·
KS= S= S R.CH=	Kabbalat Shabbat Shabbat Shabbat Rosh Chodesh Special Shabbatat						

SS=

Special Shabbatot

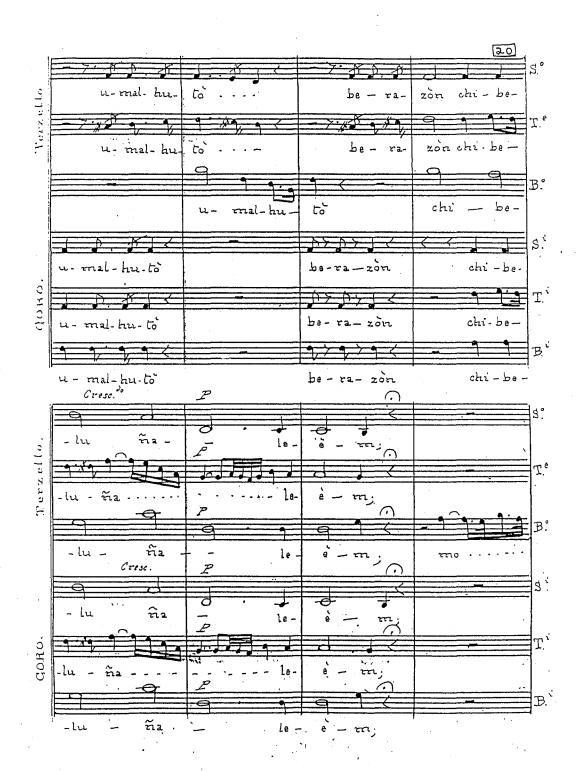
composed for a Shabbat which commemorated the earthquake of 18-- in Livorno.

Composers of MSDL collection, Vol. 1-3

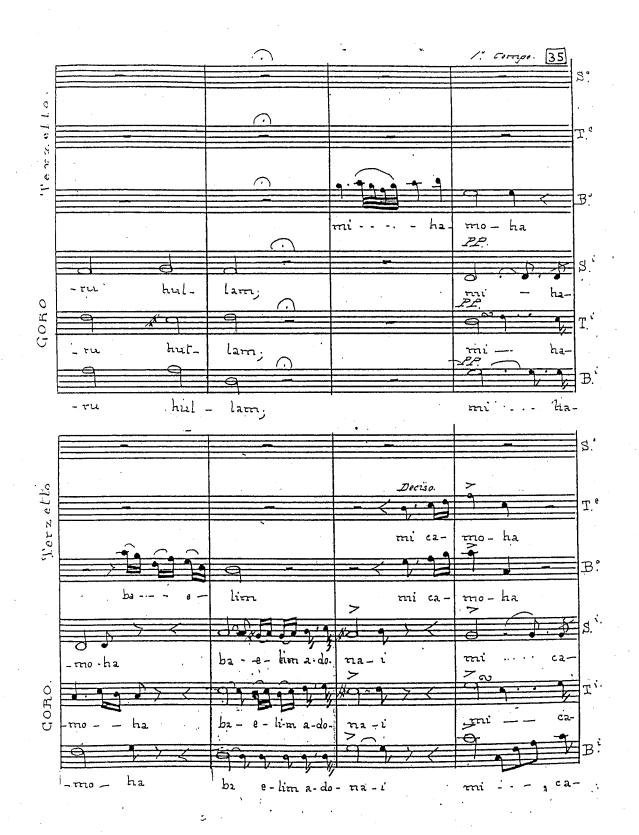
Composer/Place	No. of Works
Michele Bolaffi	125
David Garzia	55
Di Venezia (From Venice)	33
Ernesto Ventura	20 -
Parigi (From Paris)	12
Penso	12
Nuñes Franco	9
Moisè Ventura	6
Giuseppe Pontecorboli	6
Castelnovo	6
Basevi	5
Hallevy	3
Luigi Niccolini	3
Felice Coen	2
Soffredini	2
son of Bolaffi	1
Cologna	1
E. Jonas	1
Maracce	1
di Padova (from Padua)	1
Naumbourg	1
Pratesi	1
Toledano	1







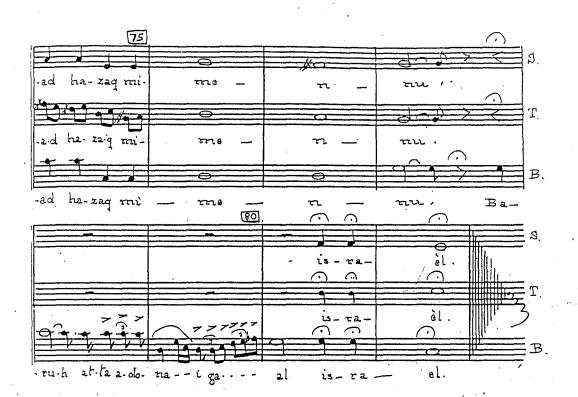


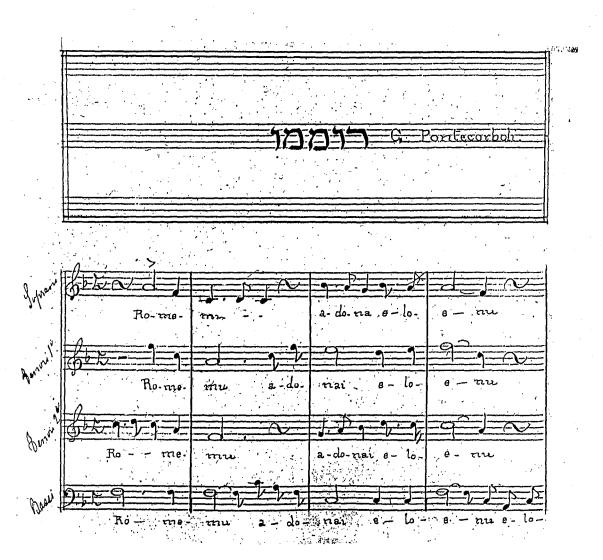


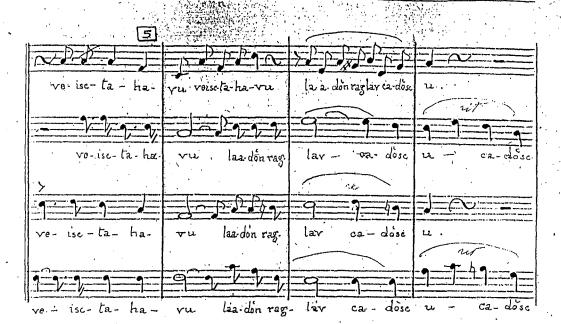






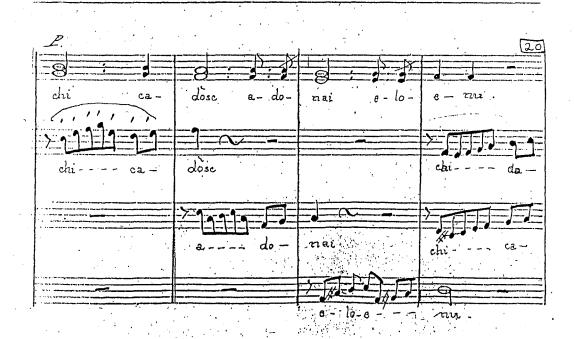






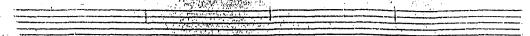


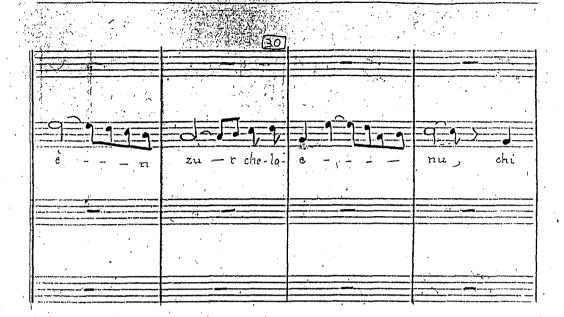






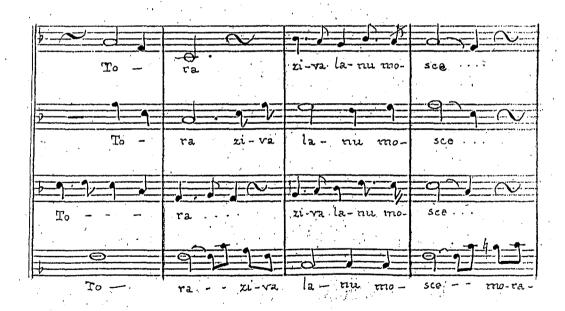




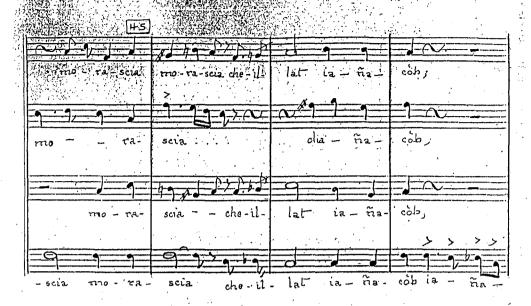


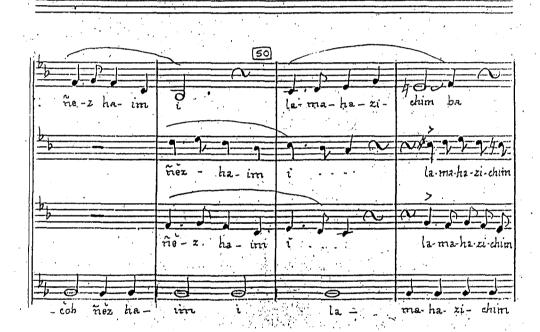


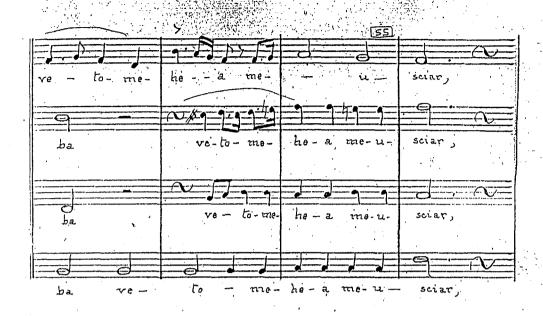














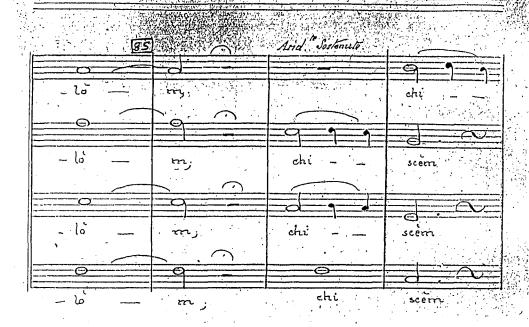


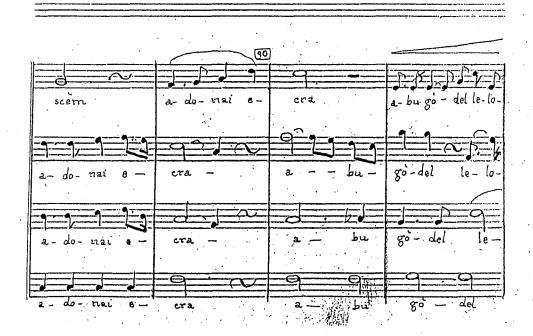


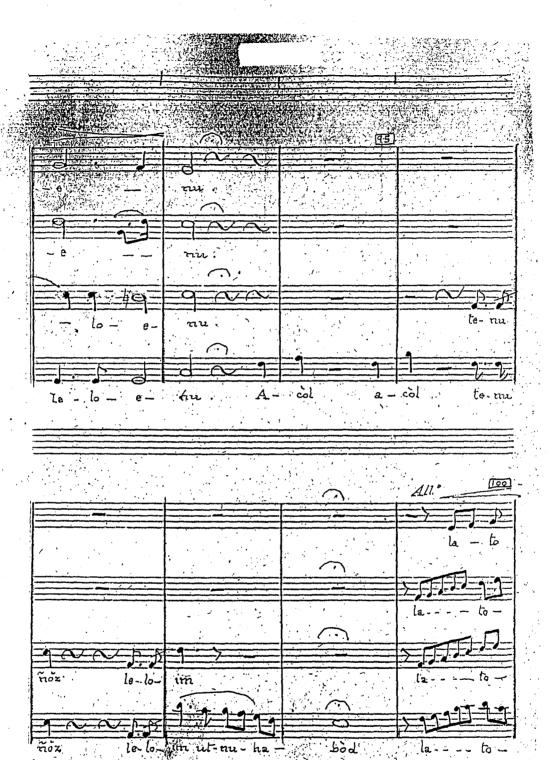


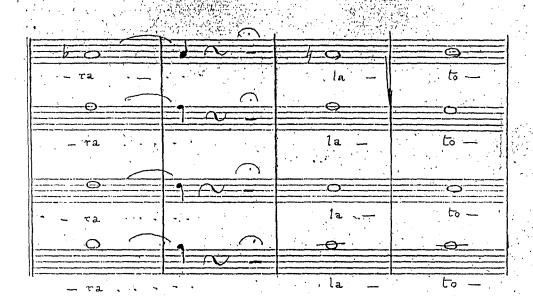


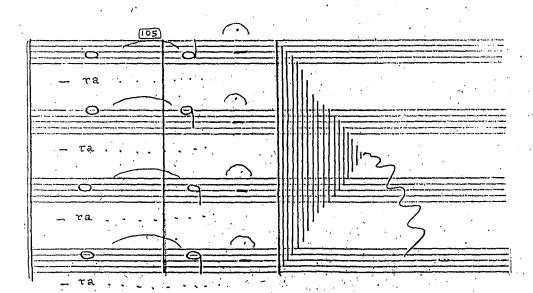












Menster a solo; e a Duccon Ford



























GLOSSARY

The transliteration of the Hebrew liturgical texts found in the *Musica Sacra di Livorno* [Sacred Music of Leghorn] [Mus. Add. 6] and the Crocolo manuscript (*Versetti posti in musica dal Professore Signor Michele Bolaffi, dedicati al Signor Crocolo*, 1826). [Mus. Add. 11] are based on Italian inflection. Below are the Hebrew characters and their Italian equivalents.

$$B = \beth$$

 $g = \lambda$ or at the beginning of a word $GH = \lambda$

$$A = \Pi$$

$$Z = 7$$

$$HA = \Pi$$

at the beginning of a word IA = '

in the middle of a word j =

$$H = \supset$$

$$gn = y$$
 or $gh = y$ or $\tilde{n} = y$

$$Z = Z$$

at the beginning of a word C = 7

in the middle of a word ch = 7

at the end of a word gg = P

$$sc = v$$

REFERENCES CITED

Adler, Israel. The Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1974. . The Study of Jewish Music, A Bibliographical Guide. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University of Jerusalem, 1995. "Bolaffi, Michele". Encyclopedia Judaica, 4: 1185, 1994 ed. Aghib Levi D'Ancona, Flora. "The Sephardi Community of Leghorn (Livorno)" in The Western Sephardim, edited by R. D. Barnett and W. M. Schwab, 1989. Appel, ed. The Harvard Concise Dictionary of Music, Second edition. Cambridge: 1944. Baedeker, Karl. Northern Italy Including Ravenna, Florence, and Pisa, Handbook for Travelers, Liepzig: Karl Baedeker Publisher, 1930. Bedarida, Guido. Ebrei D'Italia. Livorno: Stabilimento Poligrafico Belforte, 1950. . Ebrei di Livorno: Tradizioni e gergo in 180 sonetti Giudaico-Livornesi di Guido Bedarida. Firenze: Felice de Monnier, 1956. Ben-Sasson, H.H., ed. A History of the Jewish People. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976. Bohlman, Philip V. "Fieldwork in the Ethnomusicological Past," Shadows in the Field: New Perspectives for Fieldwork in Ethnomusicology, Gregory F. Barz and Timothy J. Cooley eds. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997. Bonfil, Roberto. "The History of the Spanish and Portuguese Jews in Italy." Vol. 2, pp. 217-239 in *The Sephardi Heritage*, edited by H. Beinart. Jerusalem: Magnes Press, 1992. . Jewish Life in Renaissance Italy. Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1994. Carlebach, Efron and Myers, eds. Jewish History and Jewish Memory Essays in Honor of

Yosef Havim Yerushalmi. Hanover, NH: Brandeis University Press, Published by

University Press of New England: 1998.

- Cassandro, Michele. Aspetti della Storia economica e sociale degli Ebrei di Livorno. Milano: Giuffrè, 1983.
- Crocker, Richard L. A History of Musical Style. New York: MacGraw-Hill Book Company, 1966.
- DiMauro, Graziella. "Italian Musicians in the Western Musical Tradition." *Journal of Jewish Music and Liturgy* 12 (1989-1990), 13 (1990-1991).
- Elbogen, Ismar. Jewish Liturgy A Comprehensive History. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society, 1993.
- Idelsohn, Abraham Z. Jewish Music Its Historical Development. New York: Schoken Books, 1929; reprint, Dover Publications, Inc., 1992.
- Lazzarino, Graziana. *Prego! An Invitation to Italian*. New York: Random House, 1984; second edition, 1984.
- Lévy, Lionel. La Communauté Juive de Livourne, Le dernier des Livournais Essai. Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1996.
- Lieberman Julia R. "Between Tradition and Modernity: The Sephradim of Livorno at the End of the Seventeenth Century." Paper read at the Conference, "The Most Ancient of Minorites: History and Culture of the Jews of Italy" at Hofstra University. 1999.
- Luzzatti, Michele. Le tre sinagoghe: edific di culto e vita ebraica a Livorno dal Seicento al Novecento...Livorno: L'Autore, 1997.
- Luzzatto, S.D. Lettere Dirette A S.D. Luzzatto Da Elli Benamozegh...Livorno: L'Autore, 1890.
- Milano, Attilio. Storia degli ebrei in Italia. Torino: Giulio Einaudi editore, 1963.
- Nulman, Macy. Concise Encyclopedia of Jewish Music. New York: McGraw Hill Book Company, 1975.
- Raiteri, Franco. L'Italia Oggi: Brevi monografie di tutte le regioni italiane. Torino: S.T.I.G. 1975.
- Rosselli, John. *Music and Musicians in Nineteenth-Century Italy*. New Jersey: Amadeus Press, 1990.

- . "Italy: the Centrality of Opera". PP. 160-200 from: The Early Romantic Era Between Revolutions: 1789 and 1848 ed. Alexander Ringer, (New Jersey: 1990) Roth, Cecil. The History of the Jews of Italy. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946. . A History of the Marranos. New York: Shoken Books, 1974. . The Jews in the Renaissance. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959. . The Jews of Venice. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959. Sacerdoti, Annie and Fiorentino, Luca. Guida All'Italia Ebraica. Genova: Casa Editrice Marietti S.p.A., 1986. Sadie, Stanley, ed. The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians, vol. 9, 11: London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 1980. Seplowin, Judith A. "Synagogue Art Music of the Eighteenth-Century" Master's Thesis Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion, 1995. Seroussi, Edwin. Livorno: "Livorno: Juncture in the History of Sephardi Synagogal Music". 1998. ."New Directions in the Music of the Sephardi Jews." PP. 61-77 in: Modern Jews and their Musical Agendas (Studies in Contemporary Jewry 9), edited by Ezra Mendelsohn. Jerusalem: The Hebrew University, Institute of Contemporary Jewry, 1993. . Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music in Nineteenth-Century Reform Sources from Hamburg Ancient Tradition in the Dawn of Moderity. Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University 1996. Simonsohn, Shlomo. History of the Jews in the Duchy of Mantua. Jerusalem: Kiryath Sepher Ltd., 1977. Toaff, Alfredo S. Cenni Storici sulla Communità Ebraica e sulla Sinagoga di Livorno. Roma: La Rassegna Mensile d'Israel, 1955.
- Toaff, Alfredo S. La Nazione Ebrea a Livorno e a Pisa. Roma: 1990.
- Woolf, Stuart. A History of Italy 1700-1860. London: Routledge, 1979.