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NUSAH BUCHAREST
The Music of the Sepharadi Community of Bucharest
1850 – 1950

MIRIAM MILLER

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

2002/5762

Advisor: Dr. Mark Kligman

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

On my journey of self-discovery begun four years ago, I have discovered not only myself but also many wonderful people along the way, teachers, classmates, congregants. What ties us all together is yet my greatest discovery, our great religion. I am enriched from knowing that the world is not such a bad place after all and that there is love, and that there is God. This project is a culmination of four years of growth in the nurturing and loving environment of Hebrew Union College, which strives to elevate its students to achieve their highest potential. Foremost, I thank Hebrew Union College for seeing in me that potential and for helping me reach it. My life will never be the same. I hope to continue to learn and to grow.

The topic of this thesis, of personal interest to me even though obscure, enabled me to dig into my roots and to reconnect with my country of birth and my family still living there. In the process of pursuing my interest, I discovered an entire world of beautiful music, dignified and majestic, which, to my knowledge, has not yet been sung in this country. The art of cantorial music is extremely rich and particularly abundant since the advent of printing. In our short time at Hebrew Union College we could not possibly learn it all, or hear it all. I would therefore like to offer the College community and beyond the opportunity to learn about and hear some of this great music, both for the sake of our learning as well as for the sake of keeping the memory of a once vibrant community alive.

There are many people who selflessly gave of their time in order to help me bring this project to light. I would like to express my gratitude to some of those wonderful people. First and foremost, from the college community I would like to thank my advisor, Dr. Mark Kligman for his inspiration, expertise and encouragement. He sent me in all the right directions and supported me to achieve my vision for this thesis. I would also like to

thank Dr. Phillip Miller for giving me of his time freely, both for advice and technical information. Without his aid, my research would have been scarce indeed. Dr. Geoffrey Goldberg was also extremely helpful to me during the initial stages of my research. I wish to thank Cantor Benjie Ellen Schiller for exploring some of this music with me and assisting me in making musical decisions. Finally, I wish to thank my classmates for their encouragements and friendship.

In October of 2001, I took a trip to Bucharest, Romania in search of more information and music. There were many people whom I wish to thank for all their assistance to me while on this trip. First and foremost, I wish to thank my family Rica, Mircea and Pista Ardeleanu. They tirelessly worked with me researching sources, photocopying and running errands in order to maximize results. I also met some wonderful professionals who assisted me. Ms. Ghisela Suliteanu, a musicologist in Bucharest, specializing in the music of the Sepharadim from Romania made available to me tapes, *machzorim* and other pertinent documents, essential for my research. Ms. Roxana Susanu, a musicologist working at the archives of the Romanian Academy, spent three tireless days with me assisting me in obtaining and choosing scores of the music of Maurice Cohen-Linaru. Mr. Viorel Cosma, a musicologist who published a Lexicon of Romanian musicians, gave me valuable additional information on composers I was researching. Mr. Dan Mizrahi, a noted pianist was able to name all the composers on a recent cassette of Sepharadic music, which I brought back with me. I wish to thank them and all the other wonderful people who assisted me in Romania. A final word of thanks must go to my two wonderful daughters, Carin and Erica for their encouragement and support these past four years.

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INTRODUCTION

When one thinks of Romania's Jewish community, one never considers the Sephardi culture. Romanian Jews have given us *Hatikvah* and *Klezmer* in all its glory. *Hassidut* and *Habad* took root and flourished in Romania. Romanian Jews were among the first to found cities such as *Rishon Letzion* and *Rosh Pinah* in *Eretz Israel*. Yiddish Theater was invented in Iasi, Romania. Molly Picon was one of its stars. They were in the forefront of Judaism and made tremendous contributions to Jewish culture. The praises of all these contributions have been sung many times over though, and are not the purpose of my study. Rather, I wish to concentrate on a small Sepharadi Jewish community in Bucharest, which in turn influenced other Sepharadi communities throughout Romania, and prospered between the 1850's until its demise in the 1940's.

The Sepharadi Jews in Bucharest, around that time numbering between 10,000 and 15,000, made contributions just as great as their Ashkenazi co-religionists. Among many of their famous members who are known to the West, was the painter Jules Pascin (1885-1930), the historian Mircea Eliade, the pianist Clara Haskil (1895- unknown) the composer Maurice Cohen-Linaru (1849-1928) and the musicologist and professor Leon Algazi (1890- 1971). But the importance of this community does not lie in the fame of its respected and admired members, but in their significant contributions. The schools of the Sephardi communities were famed among all Jews and were attended by all Jews. These schools provided a superior Hebrew and music program, as well as a secular education. The members of the community were wealthy and left large contributions for the advancement of Judaism, as well as many other, nationalistic and Zionist causes. The music conservatory founded by *chazzan* Alberto Della Pergola in 1926 was unique in

Romania and trained many famed musicians. Conductor Sergiu Comisiona was one of its last graduates before its demise in 1948.

The Sepharadi Community of Bucharest will be the focus of this paper, particularly during the hundred years between 1850 and 1940's, in which this community experienced a peak of its achievements both in the Jewish world and elsewhere. This study will concentrate on their achievement in relation to their liturgical music, which was quite unique. Very different from their Ashkenazi neighbors, the Sepharadi community had their faces turned not to the East, as is customary in most synagogues, but to the West, which provided them with musical inspiration. The Sepharadim had a very pragmatic philosophy of life throughout the ages. They were easily able to compartmentalize different portions of their lives, enabling them to assimilate to other cultures around them and allow influences from other cultures into their lives, without compromising their religion and beliefs. For instance, they were willing to adopt Western European musical forms, including the addition of choir, women's voices and organ, within the confines of their synagogues, while the ideology of their beliefs remained more or less intact. The music of the Sepharadim in Romania was influenced by such great reformers of the West as Louis Lewandowski (Wrechen 1821-Berlin 1894), Salomon Sulzer (Hohenems 1804-Vienna 1890), Samuel Naumbourg (Paris 1815-1880), and Emile Jonas (Paris 1827-St. Germain-en-Laye 1905), whose music they performed with great solemnity.

Several great Sepharadic Romanian composers had also functioned as music directors and music teachers at the Cahal Grande, the Great Sepharadic Synagogue in Bucharest (1730 – 1941). M. Cohen Linaru (Bucharest 1849-1928) and A. L. Ivela

(Bucharest 1878-1927) composed new liturgical selections alongside secular patriotic Romanian music. For M. Cohen-Linaru, these pieces had their base in the Sepharadic traditions of Turkey and other Balkan communities. For Ivela, who composed extensively for the Italian *chazzan*, Alberto Della Pergola (b. Firezne 1884-, d. Bucharest 1942) his compositions were more romantic in style, bel canto and very operatic. Services at the Cahal Grande were major weekly events attended by all, Jews and non-Jews, Ashkenazim and Sepharadim. They were more than the obligatory Kabbalat Shabbat, or Shabbat morning services, and in time they became more like concerts with choirs and sometimes were even accompanied by orchestra.

Jewish Romanian history during this period remains unknown to non-Romanian and non-Hebrew speakers. One of the reasons it is not well known is that most of the books and publications telling the story of the Sepharadi community in Romania, are written in French, Romanian or Hebrew. It is a fascinating history, which produced rich and creative music in keeping with the latest trends of synagogal reforms in Western Europe, while maintaining its roots in the Eastern European Sepharadi tradition.

This thesis will show how this adaptation to their surroundings helped create a new means of liturgical expression, *Nusah Bucharest*, now long forgotten, since the community is extinct. It will be divided into three main parts. The first part will focus on history. Beginning with a brief general history of Romania, it will move through the history of the Jewish people in this land and particularly, the Sepharadim in Romania. The second portion will concentrate on the music of the Sepharadi community, mainly in Bucharest, with an emphasis on the life and music of several composers and Cantors important in the Sepharadic community, such as M. Cohen-Linaru, A. L. Ivela and

Alberto Della Pergola. This part of the study will particularly focus on the changes these composers and cantors introduced in the Sepharadi community, as they were influenced by Western liturgical and non-liturgical music from France, Italy and Germany. These changes were made mostly to the form of the service, such as the addition of choirs and musical instruments, while the liturgy remained as it had been for centuries. As with most communities, whose expression of prayer changes over time, this community adapted to its surroundings while maintaining its own traditions. Romania, starting as a Roman province in the beginning of the common era, becoming a vassal state to the Ottoman Empire for hundreds of years, finally achieving independence in the late 1800's was the host of this community. The Sepharadic community itself was made up of these different cultural components, in addition to the Spanish culture, which came to Romania via the Sepharadim in the 16th century. Aside from Spain, they had a special connection to other Romance cultures, namely Italy and France, which they freely incorporated into their own culture. All of these factors are reflected in Sepharadic culture, particularly, Sepharadic liturgy, and the focus of this paper. The third part of this thesis will focus on the analysis of selected representative music of the Sepharadi community, demonstrating some of the social changes of an evolving community with the influences and transformation resulting from Western European musical standards.

CHAPTER ONE

HISTORY

In order to understand the development of Jewish culture in Romania, particularly, Sephardi culture and how this culture is reflected in its music, it is important for the reader to have a little background on the history of the Romanian people. This background can then help us understand how the Jews fit into that history, and particularly, the topic of this paper, the Sepharadim who settled the lands of Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania during the past 500 years. Jews have occupied the territory of Dacia since the first century AD or before. Whether they wandered there from other parts of the Roman Empire, or they were local tribes converted to Judaism (such as the Chazars), or they sought refuge there from the Spanish Inquisition, they have been a part of Romanian history. As in other parts of the world, Jews were intertwined in political life, contributed to scientific and literary life and influenced the creation of the Romanian people as it exists today.

A. A BRIEF HISTORY OF ROMANIA

Ancient Romania was inhabited by Thracian tribes, the Romans called Dacians. In the first century BC, King Burebista established a Dacian State uniting the Dacian tribes under one empire extending from Moravia (modern day Czech Republic) to the Bug River in the north and the Balkans in the south. He was so powerful that he posed a threat to Julius Caesar who was planning to invade Dacia before his assassination. Emperor Trajan finally accomplished the invasion in 106 A.D., after a 7-year siege. During 170 years of occupation, the Romans brought with them a superior civilization, mixing with the conquered tribes to form a Daco-Roman people speaking Latin, which

became the basis for the modern Romanian language. The Latin poet, Ovid, described the locals as

... barbarians who attacked Tomis (present day Constanza on the Black Sea) inhabitants with poisoned arrows, of wild tribes whose hairy faces were covered with icicles in winter, of regular sword fights between neighbors in the city forum, and of the horrific human sacrifices that the Tomisians practiced.¹

Goth attacks in 271 A.D. compelled Emperor Aurelian to withdraw with his armies. However, those veterans who had been given lands and intermarried, remained to cultivate their farms and vines and thus became the Romanian people.

Until the 10th century, Romania was invaded by various tribes, the Goths, Huns, Avars, Slavs, Bulgars and Magyars. Eventually, the Magyars expanded west into Transylvania and were incorporated into the Hungarian Empire. In the 14th century, Prince Basarab created the first Romanian principality, Wallachia, after a fierce battle with the Hungarians. A feudal system was in place with the majority of the population being peasants dominated by the *boyars*, (the aristocracy). In Transylvania, only Hungarians could be aristocrats and they dominated the large Romanian peasantry. As one can imagine, there were uprisings from the peasant population throughout Romanian history. For that reason, Hungarian aristocracy allied themselves with Saxon leaders and the Szekely. A strong Saxon faction remains to this day in Transylvania.²

By the 15th century Wallachia, Moldavia and Transylvania had become vassal states to the Ottoman Empire, maintaining autonomy, but paying tributes to the Sultan.

¹ Williams Nicola and Wildman Kim, *Romania and Moldova*, (Victoria, Australia: Lonely Planet Publications, 2001), 17.

² Jumping forward, during the time when Jews were struggling for citizenship rights in the beginning of the 20th century, the Government lumped them together with other minorities living in Romania, namely the Saxons, who were treated almost as badly

Of the many leaders who fought against Ottoman occupation, the most famous was Vlad Tepesh (Vlad the Impaler), 1448 – 1476, who later became known as "Dracula" and whose castle is one of the largest tourist attractions in Romania today.

Attempts throughout Romanian history were made to unify the three principalities. In 1600 Mihai Viteazu (Mihai the Brave, ruler of Wallachia 1593-1601) succeeded briefly in that quest. However, less than a year later, he was defeated and beheaded (a very popular sport in Romania) by the Habsburg-Transylvania noble army. The Habsburg rule, which controlled Transylvania by then, also defeated the Ottoman army and in 1683, Transylvania came under Habsburg rule. Turkish domination persisted in Wallachia and Moldavia well into the 19th century. Eventually the Orthodox religion became the main religion in Romania.

After great struggles in all three principalities, Wallachia and Moldavia finally became independent and united in 1862 as the National State of Romania, recognized in 1878 by the Berlin Congress and established as a monarchy in 1881 with King Carol I as king. After WWI, Romania became Greater Romania as its borders were reconfigured to include Transylvania following the defeat of the Austro-Hungarian empire, Basarabia which had previously been a part of Romania until 1812 and Bucovina and Banat, both previously part of the Austro-Hungarian empire. As a result of this annexation of lands, Romania's territory doubled and its population rose from 7.6 to 16 million. Invariably, this also meant that the Jewish population in Romania grew, particularly since there was a great concentration of Jews in Basarabia.

as the Jews.



Fig. 1. Map of Greater Romania

We now come to one of the most interesting periods of Romanian history, the rise of the Romanian Fascist party and its role in WW II. In the period between the two World Wars, there was great political exploration in Romania. Many political parties rose and fell. One party however, notorious for its anti-semitic policies, rose to power under the leadership of Corneliu Codreanu. Originally called the Legion of the Archangel Michael, this party, which dominated the political scene by 1935, was better known as the fascist Iron Guard. Initially, King Carol supported this party, as did most intellectuals in Romania. They strove to give Romania a sense of unity and identity. Very noble indeed. In fact many intellectual Jews, including noted historian Mircea Eliade among others, supported this party as well. However, invariably with the advancement of the war, and the Russians regaining control of Basarabia, the Iron Guard became united only in their hatred of Jews and other minorities. The Jews, they claimed

were at fault for everything. By this time, the King had done too little too late and his abolition of all political parties and assassination of Codreanu and 13 other Iron Guarders only made things worse. In 1940, he had to abdicate and run away. His son Michael assumed the kingship and immediately appointed General Antonescu to run the country. Antonescu allied Romania, until then neutral, with Nazi Germany in 1941, and entered the war. Whether he was hoping to regain lost Basarabia through this action, or was just playing along until a better deal would come along, is not clear.



Fig. 2. Map of Romania in 1940, without Bassarabia, part of Transylvania and S. Dobrogea

Antonescu was an ambivalent character whose career is currently undergoing reassessment. The kindest view is that he was an independent and strong leader who played along with Germany's demands as long as there was no better alternative. He professed anti-Semitism but, in defiance of Nazi ideology,

found ways of protecting many of the Jews who lived in Wallachia, southern Transylvania and Moldavia.³

To this day, Romanian Jews are divided in their view of Antonescu. Wilhelm Filderman who was the chief of the Joint Committee in Romania during Antonescu's regime defended him at his trial as a war criminal. He claimed that Antonescu tried, particularly after 1942, to save Jewish lives. On the other hand, the Comunitate (the Jewish Agency in Bucharest today) has converted an entire synagogue into a Museum describing the horrors that Antonescu committed against Jews. The fact is that more than half of the Romanian Jewish population was exterminated by Antonescu, some 150,000 sent to Nazi camps and some 300,000 killed and/or sent to Transnistria (185,000 Jews were taken to labor camps in Transnistria where more than 100,000 perished). After the war, Romania's fate was sealed at the Yalta Conference and Romania became a People's Republic.

Gheorghe Gheorghiu Dej, the country's first Communist leader maintained a pretty liberal approach to communism. Even the early reign of Ceausescu continued this policy. He allowed artistic freedom in Romania and encouraged people to visit abroad. Even Jews enjoyed many privileges. However, later on in his rule, he developed a personality cult. He tried to dictate to the people how they should live, how many children they should have, at least 3, and even how many calories they should eat daily. In his quest for independence from Russia, he tried to liquidate the national debt by exporting the country's rich resources, which impoverished the people. He built edifices

³ Caroline Juler, *Romania*, A and C Black (London: Publishers Limited, 2000), 50.

for his glorification, while at the same time destroying architectural gems which had gained Bucharest the reputation of being the Paris of the East. One can still see the results of his madness in Bucharest today. He was finally stopped in 1989's revolution when he was caught and shot. Today, Romania is a free country but it is still extremely poor and is still smarting from the devastation that Ceausecu inflicted.

B. HISTORY OF THE ROMANIAN JEWS

We have seen briefly how the Jews figured in the events of the Holocaust in Romania. We will now examine who these Jews were and from where did they come. There are documents attesting to the presence of Jews on Romanian soil since Roman times. After the Roman conquest, many Jews came to join other Jews already there. Jews were present in many Roman cities, Sarmisegetuza, the capital of Decebal among others. In the reign of Septimius Severus there was a Jew, Herrenius Gemelinus who was mentioned as being the procurator of equestrian rank at Dacia Apulensis. Others were mentioned as land owners, particularly Aurelius Secundinus who was the son of a Roman knight named Marcus Aurelius Secundus. In the reign of Septimius Severus and Caracalla, Jews were freed from the oath of allegiance when they were in public office, because of their religion. With that privilege in place until the end of the 5th century, we find many Jews in administrative and military positions.⁴

In the area of Hotin in Basarabia, coins bearing the effigy of Jehuda Maccabeus (2nd century A.D.) have been found. In 379 A.D., the prefects under the rule of

⁴ Carol Iancu, *Jews in Romania 1866-1919: From Exclusion to Emancipation*, trans. Carvel de Bussy (New York: Boulder, East European Monographs, distributed by Columbia University Press, 1996), 18-19.

Theodosius I, were ordered to calm the anti-Jewish movement and see that synagogues and homes of Jews were respected.⁵

From the time that the Romans left and until 10th century A.D. there are no records of Jewish life in Romania. This is not necessarily due to a lack of Jewish presence in Romania, but rather to general lawlessness, migrations and lack of documentation. These were truly the Dark Ages of Romania. Although not fully proven, there are speculations that Khazars, a people of Turkish origin which adopted Judaism, occupied parts of the Romanian territory around the 9th century, and that Romanian Jews are partly descended from the Khazars.

Waves of persecutions in other countries brought Jews to Romania, which granted them privileges and encouraged them to trade. In 1367 Hungarian Jews settled there after being expelled by Louis the Great, and in 1496 there are documents mentioning the appearance of Spanish Jews following the expulsion from Spain. They settled mainly in Wallachia, whereas the Ashkenazim settled mostly in Moldavia.

Vlad Tepes (aka Draculea), Prince of Wallachia (1456-1462, 1476) treated the Jewish merchants harshly. But in Moldavia at the same period, the Jews were treated better by their ruler, Stephen the Great (1457-1504). Here are some references to Jews in Romania:

- A Jew named Isaac Beg came as an emissary of King Uzun Hazan to Moldavia (during Stephen the Great's rule) to arrange for an alliance between Moldavia and Persia against the Turks;
- In Moldavia, Jewish merchants from Poland were expelled by Petre Schiopul (1578-1579 and 1582-91);

⁵ Ibid.

- ❑ Later in 1591, the throne of Moldavia seems to have been occupied for a few months by the Jew Emmanuel;
- ❑ In the 16th century, massacres of Jews occurred both in Wallachia and Moldavia;
- ❑ In 1593, Jewish merchants of Bucharest were massacred, a good way for the ruler to pay the government's debt to the Jews;
- ❑ In 1658, the ruler of Moldavia invited Polish merchants from Lvov to move to Moldavia.

The 17th century also marked the beginning of Anti-Semitism in Romania. Anti-Jewish laws were published in Church Codes. Mostly these codes were adopted from the West or from Greece. Embodied in these codes was the idea that anyone not Christian was a heretic. A great revolt of the Cossacks in the middle of the 17th century cost the Jews of Romania 100,000 lives. But by the end of the 17th century, the Jewish community again flourished and was self-governed.

As in many other Sepharadic communities, during the Phanariot period, the Jewish leader was called the *Hahambasa*. He had representatives in all major cities. In 1718 the first *Hahambasa* (Chief Rabbi) was established. His name was Betalel Cohen, the son of Rabbi Naftali Cohen, a protégé of the Sultan. The post of the Chief Rabbi remained in effect until 1834 when it was abolished. The Chief Rabbi kept the Jewish community together by being in charge of all the Jews of the country (Ashkenazim and Sepharadim), collecting taxes for the Sultan from the Jewish community and providing vital Jewish functions (such as kosher meat) for the community.

During the 18th century, large immigrations occurred in Moldavia at the request of the Princes whose principality was underpopulated. After agreements with the boyars, Jews would form a *targ* (a village). The first such town was founded in Bassarabia at the

close of the 17th century. Although the Phanariot period brought relative prosperity to the Jewish population, they still could not testify against Christians and were accused of ritual murder. These accusations continued well into the 20th century. Anti-Jewish Christian literature abounded throughout the 19th century, and anti-Semitism even became legal. The "Organic Law"⁶ came into effect in 1830:

...It is undeniable that the Jews who have spread into Moldavia and whose numbers are increasing every day are, for the most part, living at the expense of the natives and are exploiting nearly all the resources to the detriment of industrial progress and public prosperity. To prevent this difficulty as far as possible, the same commission will note in the census report the situation of every Jew, so that those who have no status and who are living without authorization, without engaging in any useful occupation, may be removed and that such persons may no longer enter Moldavia.⁷

The Organic Law associated the Christian religion with civil law. So Jews suddenly lost their civil and political rights. For instance, they were prohibited from farming land because they were not Christian subjects. Once anti-Semitism became sanctioned by the rulers, there were no limits to where it could go. The 19th century also saw an increase in the Jewish population in Romania, partly due to the annexation of Bassarabia but also due to the high birth rate of the Jews. They became a threat to the rich landowners and middle class Romanians. In 1848 a revolution against the Russians and the Turks brought some brief relief for the Jews who were granted rights by the new government and were emancipated. Alas, this government lasted but three months and when the Russians resumed control, the Organic Law was reinstated. Nevertheless the

⁶This law became in effect in both principalities in 1830 and 1831 after the Treaty of Andrianople, between the Russians and the Turks. Pursuant to this treaty, the Turks continued to collect taxes from both principalities, while the Russians dominated.

⁷ Iancu, *Jews in Romania*, 25.

idea of emancipation was firmly planted in Jewish minds, and they continued their efforts to obtain equal rights. When Romania became an independent country in 1866 and King Carol was established (he was from a noble German family) on the throne, the situation of the Jews became progressively worse. Emancipation seemed far off while anti-Semitism, pogroms and persecution were very much daily affairs. The Jews appealed to the Universal Jewish Alliance in Paris, and Adolphe Cremieux, the president of the Alliance came to speak to King Carol on their behalf in Bucharest. Although the Parliament added an article favorable to the Jews which read "Religion cannot be an obstacle to citizenship",⁸ they later made an exception regarding the Jews.

The fact is that the Jews in Romania were terribly persecuted for no good reason (as there is no good reason for persecution anywhere). They seem to have been a scapegoat for the government who blamed all their mismanagement and recessions on the Jews. However, the government developed expert tactics in mental torture and humiliation without actually pushing Jews to the "edge" (most of the time). For instance, in the early part of the 20th century, all Jewish children were expelled from public schools. The Jews responded by creating their own schools. When they did so, the government insisted on imposing their standards on the Jewish schools and insisted that the Jewish teachers had to be certified by the Government. One of the requirements for certification was a diploma from a public school – which the Jews were not allowed to attend. The government thus created impossible situations and new means of oppression, which forced the Jews to be very creative in their approach to survival.

⁸ Ibid., 38.

In 1900, the situation was so terrible, that 40,000 desperate Jews simply marched out of the country in a somewhat organized fashion over a period of time. As they marched through Europe, Jews, subsidized by the Universal Jewish Alliance, would come to their aid with food and clothing. Those who could, marched to ports where they embarked on ships to other free countries.⁹

These struggles continued, with false promises made by the Romanian Government and interventions from the West. Others who tried to help included Moses Montefiore as well as the American Ambassador Benjamin Franklin Peixotto 1834-1890. It was not until 1923, that Jews in Romania were finally granted full citizenship rights, 104 years after the first Jews of Europe became emancipated. Continual struggle for survival left Romanian Jews impoverished and unassimilated, for the most part. They were an underdeveloped population, compared to the Western European Jews who became assimilated and integrated in secular life. However, there was a small group of Jews (mostly Sepharadim) who were wealthy merchants or professionals who were assimilated, and as we shall see, this modernization also carried through in their synagogue practices.

The Russian trend towards *Haskalah* also flourished in Romania, as it gave way to Zionism on one side and to socialism on the other. On the Zionist side, Romanian Jews formed newspapers, such as "*Ha-Zofe be-Eretz ha-hadasha*" and "*Ahavat Zion*" as well as many organizations among which we find "*Ishub Eretz Israel*" which organized labor camps to learn agriculture and populate Eretz Israel. "*Hoveve Zion*" was another

⁹ Zeev Shlomo Arnon, *Mered ha-tso'adim: Yehude Romania b-me'ah ha-19 uv'reishit ha-me'ah ha-20* (Yerushalayim: Reuven Mas, 1995).

such organization, founded in 1892, which became the largest Zionist organization in Romania. The Zionist revolution peaked after the Balfour declaration. "*Ahavat Zion*" reported at that time: "After 20 centuries of sleep and useless agitation, the Jewish people has begun to understand little by little that the only solution to the Jewish question is its recognition as a nation, as a people among others".¹⁰ The Zionist movement gave way to emigration and despite King Carol's opposition, who needed his Jews for economic reasons, more than 90,000 left the country by WW I.

In conclusion, the Jews had it bad in Romania whichever way they went. Iancu sums it up well:

Whereas prior to 1878, it was the lack of assimilation which seemed to justify hostility towards the Jews, after that date, it was rather the fear of such assimilation which explains the severe legislative measures taken against them . . . despite discrimination and ostracism, they formed an important element in the country's economy Aside from explosions of religious fanaticism, good neighborly relations were established between Jews and Christians. However, in spite of certain progress, integration of the Jews was constantly hindered by the attitude of the authorities and the maneuvers of the extremist nationalist organizations The more they (the Jews) aspired to integration, the less society accepted them.¹¹

In the great chess game of European politics, Romanian Jews were pawns used by the great powers to negotiate, gain or lose power. Whether they were the scapegoats, or the examples they were a necessary and important component in the game.

C. THE SEPHARADI COMMUNITY IN ROMANIA

Even though in Romania the Sepharadi community was more established and more assimilated than their Ashkenazi neighbors, they were not spared the horrors of

¹⁰ Iancu, *Jews in Romania*, 168.

¹¹ Ibid., 184-185.

anti-Semitism and the Shoah. Today, there no longer is a Sepharadi community in Romania, no Sepharadic synagogues have survived, and Ladino has ceased to be a spoken language. Chief Rabbi Rosen has designated *Sinagoga Mare* as the Sepharadi Synagogue after the destruction of Cahal Cicu by Ceausescu, but because of lack of members, it is used today as a Holocaust Museum.

The Spanish Jews in Romania number about 15,000 souls today, comprising here a small religious minority. They are not very well known here, buried under a generic denomination of "Jews", even though they have kept a distinct character of their own, living their own lives, in separate communities called *sefardes* or *francos*, as opposed to German communities called *tudescos*, from which they are fundamentally different. They are different physically and in appearance, in their language and customs, in their temperament, mentality and spirituality having neither commonality in their rite nor in their religious practice.¹²

This description, found in the Archives of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, dates back to 1938. That was a time when the Sepharadi community was at its peak.

Let us first examine the composition of this very different community, a community that persisted in remaining distinct and not allowing itself to be absorbed into the main stream.

Sefarad is a region referred to in Hebraic literature as the Iberian Peninsula. A Sepharadi¹³ is therefore an inhabitant of this region. There is proof that Jews inhabited this region since biblical times as documented by the great Spanish historians Salvador de

¹² Nicolae Cajal, Editor, trans. M. Miller, *Contributia Evreilor din Romania la Cultura si Civilizatie*. (Bucuresti: 1976). This document was written in 1938 found in the Archives of the History Center of the Federation of Jewish Communities in Romania, and reprinted in 1976 by the President of the Federation, N. Cajal.

¹³ There are two different spellings of ספרדי: "Sepharadi"; and "Sephardi". I will use the spelling "Sepharadi" throughout since it follows the Hebrew pronunciation more closely.

Madariaga and Amador de los Rios.¹⁴ Having lived in the Iberian Peninsula almost two thousand years, we are not sure of the numbers of Jews that were expelled in 1492. Some say millions, while others estimate the exodus at around 150,000. However many there were, we know that their displacement to other parts of the world was at a great cost of lives and great sacrifices to the Jewish communities of the Iberian Peninsula. These sacrifices were not only caused by their displacement but also endured by those who remained behind, estimated by some at about 150,000, who were forced to convert to Christianity. According to the research of F. Cantera Burgos,¹⁵ of the roughly 165,000 Jews forced to leave Spain and Portugal, 3,000 went to France, 9,000 to Italy, 21,000 to Holland, Germany and England, 1,000 to Greece, Hungary and the Balkans, 93,000 to Turkey, 20,000 to Morocco, 10,000 to Algeria, 2,000 to Egypt and 5,000 to America.¹⁶

Some of the 1,000 Jews who settled in the Balkan area also settled in Wallachia. There are records of Sepharadic Jews in the region of Muntenia dating back to 1496. Tombstones discovered in the region as well as mentions in a Latin chronicle of Bonifacius from 1586, "Rerum Hungariches", attest to the settlement of the Sepharadim in the area. Bonifacius specifies that Jews could not continue North, because of the impassible mountains (the Carpathian Mountains), so they were forced to settle there. Another reason for settlements in the region of Wallachia was the centrality of the location on trade routes, connecting the South and North of Eastern Europe.¹⁷

¹⁴ Cajal. *Contributia Evreilor din Romania la Cultura si Civilizatie. Evreii Sefarzi (Spanioli)*. 566-567.

¹⁵ Cantera Burgos, *Los Sefardies* (Madrid, 1958), 7.

¹⁶ Raoul Siniol, *Portrete si Schite Sefarde* (Jerusalem, 1981), 12-13.

¹⁷ Irina Heinic, "Cind s-au stabilit primii evrei sefarzi in Tarile Romane?" *RCM* -

Throughout the 15th and 16th centuries, the Ottoman Empire solidified its position, expanding in all directions, conquering and controlling the Balkan Peninsula from the Black Sea to Vienna. Many of the Sepharadim, who had been invited by Sultan Beyazid II to settle in the Ottoman Empire, were still searching for a more permanent home even a hundred years later. The expansion of the Turks gave the Jews more freedom to explore areas north of the Danube, which was now also part of the Ottoman Empire. Other Sepharadim moved north for business or political reasons:

Together with Greeks and Armenians, Jews were often mentioned as transiting the Romanian territory for business. Outstanding is the part they played as diplomatic mediators or pressure factors at decision making moments at the Ottoman court. And, in relation to this latter remark, mention should also be made of the fact that the activity of the Balkanic community as well as the development of its economic or political contacts North of the Danube preceded the settling of the immigrant Spanish-Portuguese community.¹⁸

While many Jews who migrated into Wallachia and Moldavia were tradesmen and emissaries of the Sultan, most often diplomats and tax collectors, other Sepharadim who migrated north were physicians of great repute. Those who settled there were added to and absorbed by the already existing Sepharadi communities. Some rulers were particularly wise and understood the advantages of a Jewish community in their midst, so many of them opened their doors to Jews from Turkey, from other Balkan countries, from Vienna, Italy, Amsterdam and Hamburg. One such wise ruler was Prince Gabor Bethlen of Transylvania who, in 1623 gave a charter to a group of Sepharadic Jews from Constantinople to settle in Gyulafehérvár, the capital of Transylvania at that time. The

Revista Cultului Mozaic, no. 15 (Bucuresti, 1970), 5.

¹⁸ Victor Eskenasy, "Jews, Romanians and Ottomans: Some Political Aspects of their Relations in Moldavia (XVth-XVIth Centuries)", trans. Ioana Dragomirescu,

charter was negotiated by Sasha Abraham, the physician of the Prince. Throughout the 17th and 18th centuries, the Sepharadi community was maintained in Transylvania. There was a small amount of immigration despite restrictions. Sepharadic communities flourished in Alba-Iulia, Dej and Timisoara. However, by 1735, the Sepharadi community of Timisoara became mixed with Jews coming from Eastern Europe.¹⁹ Eventually, Sepharadi communities, which had settled in Transylvania, were absorbed and merged with the much larger population of the Ashkenazi communities. In Timisoara for instance, a distinct Sepharadi community still existed until approximately 100 years ago. One of the major problems they had in maintaining their traditions was a lack of Sepharadi schools to ensure the future of a Sepharadic community. With time, Ladino was lost and customs were no longer followed while the Ashkenazi community grew. Eventually the few Sepharadi Jews remaining in the community were not even enough for a *mynian* and had to merge with the Ashkenazi community while still trying to maintain a distinct identity.

The situation was quite different in Wallachia. During the Middle Ages and later, they maintained much closer ties to Turkey, from whose protection they benefited. A Franciscan missionary remarked in 1640 that "in most of the Danube crossings, the custom-house officers are mostly Jews".²⁰ They engaged in money lending professions and trade and thus were able to exert a great influence on the political life in the two Romanian principalities. The power the Sepharadi community acquired continued well

Romanian Jewish Studies vol. 1, Spring, 1987 no. 1, 8.

¹⁹ Jozsef Schweitzer, "Exploring the Sephard's track in Hungary and Transylvania" *Studia Judaica II* (Cluz-Napoca: Editura Sincron, 1993), 65.

²⁰ Victor Eskenasy, *Izvoare si Marturii* (Bucuresti, 1986), 96.

into the 19th and 20th centuries. The Sepharadim were mostly well to do. They owned some of the biggest banks in Romania and continued to finance rulers and their wars throughout the 19th century. They lived in self-imposed ghettos and because of that, they were able to maintain the traditions and language brought with them from Spain. They spoke Ladino, the literary language of 15th century Spain, which they maintained within the confines of their ghettos. The economic and social prestige of the Sepharadim was such that during the Middle Ages, other Jewish groups living in Sepharadi communities adopted Ladino as their language as well. Across the centuries, this mixing of different Sepharadi groups produced a Ladino language quite different than the original as these various groups introduced words from their original language into their use of Ladino. (see appendix A for sample).²¹ The effect that this mixing of different ethnic groups had on Ladino, parallels the effect it had on Sepharadi liturgical music. Even though the linguistic contributions of the various communities united to form one language and one music merged into one new culture, individual surnames still betrayed their origins:

The various Sephardic-specific surnames of Romania demonstrated the multi-ethnic roots of the Sepharadim. This includes the names: Aftakion, Alcaly, Alfanderi, Behar, Graniani, Medina, Mitani, Nahmias, Papo, and Semo. These representing Spain, Italy, Greece, Turkey and the Arabic countries.²²

Raoul Siniol in his book *Momente Sefarde*²³ mentions many more Sepharadic names found in Romania in the 19th and 20th centuries. In addition to the countries

²¹ Marius Salas, *Phonetique et Phonologie du Judeo-Espagnol de Bucharest* (The Hague-Paris: Mouton, 1971), 13.

²² Sephardic House, *Sephardic Jewish Community of Romania* (www.sephardichouse.org/romania.html, 6/1/2001), 5.

²³ Raoul Siniol, *Momente Sefarde*, (Ierusalim 1980), 27.

mentioned above, there were also French names (Narbonne and Frances) and an entire paragraph of names originating in Andalusia (such as Almuly, Buton and Benvenisti).

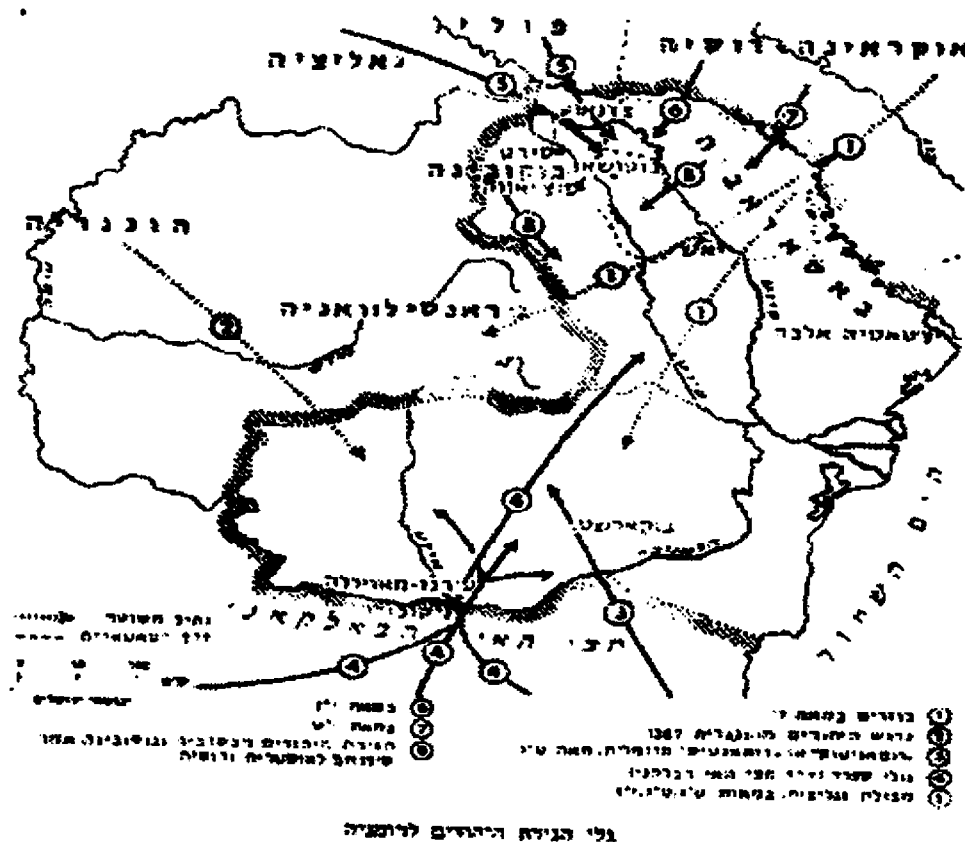


Fig. 3. Waves of immigration into Romania. No. 4 shows immigration from Spain via other Balkan countries.

By the 18th century, the Sepharadic community in Bucharest, even though small, was well established and self-sufficient. A grave dating back to 1719, as well as other records, indicate that the Sepharadim had a synagogue in Bucharest around which they lived. They already had in place institutions for *Shehita* and *Bedika* (*Kashrut*), *Chevrah Kedosha*, *Talmud Torah*, *Gemilut Chasadim*, *Bikur Cholim* and an Old Age home. They were a warm, dignified and serious people. They worked as doctors, weavers, watchmakers, bankers and other occupations. They kept up their love and longing of Spain and everything Spanish. They claimed that was because more than half of Spain's

population was really Jewish (*Marranos*). Along with Zionism, emigration to Spain became a viable option for those oppressed in Romania. By the early 19th century, the Sepharadi population of Bucharest was roughly 2,500 (out of some 58,000 Jews).

Their native costume was Turkish, but by the 19th century, they wore what other Wallachians wore. Young people dressed in the latest French fashions of the time. After marriage, the only difference for women was a small red bonnet, called a *tuchiju*, surrounded by a row of little gold coins. The *chacham* (the Rabbi) was the only Sepharadi to retain a Turkish costume.

The Sepharadim spoke Ladino both in the home and in the synagogue. Their siddur was in Hebrew with Ladino translations and the Torah had Ladino commentaries. *Chachamim* sermonized in Ladino and they even had a regular periodical *El Luzero de la Paciencia*, edited in Turnul Severin by a certain Rabbi Crespin. This was mainly a Zionist publication, which appeared from 1885 to 1887. Another publication from the same era and place was *Har Sinai*.²⁴ Children addressed their parents respectfully as "*sinior padre*" or "*siniora mana*" (Mr. Father or Mrs. Mother).

Another Sepharadi customs in the synagogue was for family members to stand up during the entire reading when a family member was called to the Torah. Liturgy was chanted according to the Turkish rite since most of the *chazzanim* were Turkish.

In the family the father, whose job was to provide for his family, was the patriarch praised by his wife and honored by his children. Harmony and morality were the mainstay of their conduct.

²⁴ Iancu, *Jews in Romania*, 80.

In their schools, children learned Tanah with Ladino commentaries and Sepharadic rituals, and at the age of 13 they would either continue in public schools if the family were rich and educated, or as more often was the case, they would learn a trade or go into the family business. Girls did not normally attend school unless private tutors were engaged for them at home.

During the early 19th century, women would get together once a week and visit the Chacham and then socialize for a few hours with oriental food and music. Other entertainment usually occurred in the family according to each person's means. There were those who danced modern dances while others kept up their Turkish dances. Romances sung in Ladino were transmitted from generation to generation. Other songs were *Pyiuttim*, which were sung both at home and in the synagogue.

In the beginning of the 19th century, there were not many Zionistic themes running through the Sepharadic community. Going to Israel was mostly common among the old, who wanted to go there for burial. The *Haskalah* movement was beginning to take root and occasionally some young persons would go to Jerusalem to live—not just to die. Most of the Sepharadim, though, opted for assimilation into the Romanian culture, which at that time did not force them to renounce their Jewish lives and customs (as the *Haskalah* would have). Eventually there were those, particularly those who were well versed in Tanach, who became Zionists, joined *Hoveve Zion* and went to fulfill Herzl's dream. For others it took longer. By 1903 The Sepharadim had their own section in the Zionist Movement called *Benei Israel Zion* which became more and more active, especially after 1927 when Chaim Waitzman came to speak at Cahal Grande.

Since many Sepharadim were Turkish subjects, they were in a better position than other Jews who did not have such protection and suffered less from anti-semitic laws. Many of them held positions of importance and were able to help the rest of their community. One such person was Hilel Manoach, a banker and lender to the State but also the Consul of the Sultan in Bucharest. He established many scholarship funds for poor students.²⁵

D. SYNAGOGUES AND SYNAGOGUE LIFE

1. Cahal Grande

On January 21, 1941, in the middle of the night, Jews living in the vicinity of the great temple, Cahal Grande, temple of the Spanish Jews of Bucharest, watched in horror and pain the destruction of this ancient and beautiful temple, set on fire by a band of "legionari" (Romanian Fascists)²⁶

Thus came to an end the existence of more than 200 years of this unique and special Temple. There are not many records prior to 1819, however, it is known²⁷ that there was a synagogue prior to 1819 because in the 17th century, during the rule of Stefan Cantacuzino, the Spanish community was ordered to demolish their building because it had been built out of stone, rather than the wood which was proscribed. By 1811 they had a synagogue with 132 seats owned by a Solomon Asher. This building became too small and in 1819 Cahal Kadosh Gadol, or Cahal Grande as it was known, was built.²⁸

²⁵ Siniol, *Momente Sefarde*, 14-38.

²⁶ Raoul Siniol, trans. M. Miller, *Cahal Grande*, (Jerusalem 1979), 11.

²⁷ Raoul Siniol was the Secretary of Cahal Grande from 1933 to 1948.

²⁸ Siniol, *Cahal Grande*, 14.

Many of its members had come from Turkey and its environs. In 1841-42, Dr. Iuliu Barasch, an Ashkenazi observer, described the appearance of the synagogue in his travel journals:

It was a square building, with gothic windows, with a cupola and windows all around. The floor was made of little stones. The walls were bare by comparison with Ashkenazi synagogues. No monstrous animals winged lions, tigers and four legged birds were present which were against any Jewish character anyway. The women had their own section upstairs and bars were on the balcony to prevent the men from seeing up. Around the wall there was a long bench and then simpler benches diagonally and the altar was in the middle of the room. The *Aron Hakodesh* was simple and dignified with a silk embroidered curtain.²⁹

Dr. Barasch describes the oriental clothing of the congregants and the singing of familiar melodies the *cahal* knew, particularly Sepharadi melodies unknown to the Polish or German communities, done ". . . in the Sepharadic rite of Maimonides. The Pyiuttim and Pismones are very different and the Hebrew pronunciation is very exact and classic, clear and sentimental. They express better and in a more dignified way the relation existing between man and his One and supreme God".³⁰

He notes that "the customs of 13th and 14th century Spain are still preserved here, customs unknown in the civilized circles of European Jewry". One of these customs was for boys to walk around the *Cahal* with bouquets of nice smelling flowers, which they would give to smell to the elders of the congregation. In exchange, the elders would give the young children a blessing.

In 1853, the synagogue was enlarged – the rabbi then was Moshe Itzchak Almuly aka Conorte who was still rabbi in 1877. The modifications were modest but necessary

²⁹ Ibid., 15.

³⁰ Ibid., 15.

to the growing community and they did not change the appearance and the feeling of the Temple. Leon Mizrahi, Esq. recollected in an article published in the Israeli-Romanian periodical "*Viata Noastra*" (Our Life) in 1963, the atmosphere of Cahal Grande before the turn of the 20th century:

The façade was simple, but the interior . . . was the creation of a great artist. . . . It is not surprising therefore, when you enter this House of Prayer, particularly in the semi-obscurity of the mid-day, you are surrounded by a feeling of humility and respect, regardless of your insensitivity to such an atmosphere, solemn and mysterious at the same time.³¹

By 1890, Cahal Grande was enlarged again by the Romanian architect Cerchez. It adopted the Arabic-Spanish style, borrowing details of design from the Del Transito Synagogue in Toledo, Spain as well as other famous Spanish synagogues. It had columns and beautiful silver lamps. The walls and ceiling were painted with Arabic patterns, in bright colors, particularly gold, red, purple and blue. There were rich fabrics woven with gold threads covering the *S'farim* and the *Parohet*, Persian carpets leading up to the altar and sanctuary and rich walnut wood furnishings. This great Spanish Temple became a monument of unique oriental art in Bucharest, and the pride of the Sepharadic community.³²

In 1891, a great organ was purchased from Rieger Jaegerndorff of Leipzig and installed, bringing the Spanish community face to face with modernization of their worship services. Those who wished to remain more traditional attended services at the Cahal Cicu, a synagogue built for the express purpose of serving the needs of those who did not wish to modernize. The installation of this organ was done with great pomp in a

³¹ Ibid., 17.

³² Ibid., 19-20.

great ceremony attended by the Mayor of Bucharest, a representative of the Queen and other royal assistants, the chief priest of the Orthodox Church, representatives of Theological institutions as well as all the leaders of the Jewish communities in Bucharest. The cantor for the occasion was Giuseppe (Iosef) Curiel. He was a newly engaged cantor from Trieste and was accompanied by Carlo Bianchi on the organ and a children's choir. Rabbi Haim Moshe Bejarano (1850-1931), who in 1910 became *Hahambasa* in Andrinopole, was the *darshan*. This tradition of giving elaborate liturgical concerts, begun by Curiel continued even beyond the destruction of the temple in 1941. Curiel specialized in the Italian repertoire, adding compositions of Emile Jonas, Louis Lewandowski, J. F. Halevy (Paris 1799-Nizza 1862) and even Jacob Meyerbeer (Berlin 1791-Paris 1864). Curiel's choir director was Benedetto Franchetti (1824-1894). Franchetti was an Italian Jew who had a successful career in Bucharest as a teacher and opera impresario. Indeed, we read in the "*Educatore Israelitica*", a magazine published by the Italian Jewish community of Casale Monferrato that in "January 1860, Bucharest: Prince Kusa appointed B. Franchetti Professor of Choral Music for all this city."³³ He was the first Jew to establish a public music school in Bucharest called "Philharmonic School", which lasted many years. Many of his compositions, written for the Sepharadic Community of Romania, were recently found in Padova, Italy by Dr. Iona, more than 1100 in fact, many of which are written expressly for the Great Synagogue of Bucharest.

³³ Samuel Kurinsky, *The Jews of Casale Monferrato, The History of a Vital Community Rediscovered*, (Hebrew History Federation Ltd., www.hebrewhistory.org/factpapers/casale24.html, 10/28/2001), 10.

Discovering and reviving Franchetti's music, is still an ongoing project by musicologists.³⁴

Later on, the Sepharadi community was able to produce their own music directors and composers, particularly Maurice Cohen-Linaru and Abraham Levi Ivela which will be discussed more fully in the next section.

The rabbis who served this community came from various European communities. They were learned and dedicated people who served this community with devotion. Many of them took positions of greater leadership after their service at Cahal Grande.

- ◆ Rabbi Eliezer Pappo (1770-1828) came from Sarajevo. He was beloved by all and was nicknamed Sinior Cumplido (the Accomplished One). His gravesite became a pilgrimage for his followers, Jews and Christians alike.
- ◆ Rabbi, Avraham Ventura who served the Sepharadic community in Bucharest between 1828 and 1837 came from an Italian family, although he himself was born in Romania.
- ◆ Another beloved rabbi of the community was Rabbi Haim Moshe Bejarano (1850-1931). He was Turkish and after serving for 32 years in Bucharest, became Hahambasa of Turkey. He was a renowned Talmudist and scholar, speaking 10 languages fluently. He contributed to many journals and publications and became one of the founding members of Hoveve Tzion, the Zionist organization in Romania.

³⁴ E-mail correspondence with Dr. Eric Karsenty, Hebrew University, Jerusalem, 1/10/02.

- ◆ For lack of a Sepharadi rabbi, the community even employed an Ashkenazi rabbi in 1911, Rabbi Isaac Niemirower (1872-1939). His non-Sepharadic origin caused a revolution within the community but once appointed, he became one of the beloved leaders of the community, instituting many reforms and activities for the young. In 1921 he is appointed as the Chief Rabbi of Romania.

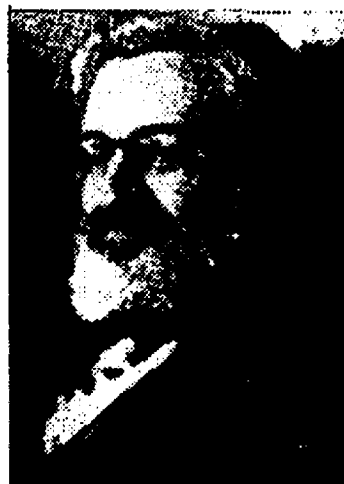


Fig. 4. Rabbi Isaac Niemirower

- ◆ The great Rabbi, Sabetay Djaen (1883-1947) who began preaching at Cahal Grande in 1931, came from Yugoslavia. He created a Sepharadi Bet Din and also because of his connections with Spain and many countries in South America was able to save many Jews during the Antonescu regime. Finally, in 1944, he became the Chief Rabbi of Argentina.
- ◆ The last rabbi of the Sepharadi community was Jacob Almuly. His lineage could be traced back to Rav Natanel Almuly in XIVth century Spain. Cahal Grande was no longer in existence during his tenure. The community he served was ravaged by war, pogroms and immigration to Israel.³⁵

Many famed *chazzanim* who were also rabbis served this community but little is known about them today. Avraham Iahia was one of the first known *chazzanim* at *Cahal Grande*. He died in Varna in 1878. He was a virtuoso singer, possessing a phenomenal

baritone voice. Rabbi Iosef ben Sinior was another such cantor/rabbi (no dates) possessing a beautiful "oriental tenor" voice. David Isac (1882-1943) was a virtuoso *chazzan*, expert of *Maqamat*.³⁵ These *chazzanim* for the most part were not primary Cantors of the synagogue. They functioned as Talmud Torah teachers and probably chanted Torah and the beautiful traditional melodies. In addition, there was a "*Chazzan Rashi*" (primary Cantors) whose main job seems to have been to inspire and move congregants to tears. His main requirement had to be a great voice and *kavanah* in his prayer.

Iosef Curiel, mentioned above, was one of the early famed Cantors. He is credited with modernizing religious services at Cahal Grande by introducing Sulzer and Lewandowski's reforms, using the newly installed organ and a children's choir. He officiated until 1908 and was succeeded by Alberto Della Pergola (1884-1942) who was beloved by all. Aside from his wonderful, warm tenor voice, he enchanted the entire congregation with his charm, wit and Florentine accent. As a trained opera singer, he sang in the bel canto style liturgical selections, composed expressly for his virtuoso tenor voice, by composer A. L. Ivela. The name of Della Pergola will forever be tied to the fame of the great Sepharadi Temple. Upon his death in 1942, he was followed by Avram Hoffman (born in 1901-date of death unknown), the last Cantor of Cahal Grande. Although he was a trained musician with a beautiful tenor voice, it was not easy to follow in Della Pergola's footsteps. In 1946 he left and eventually established himself in Natania, Israel. Other Cantors who followed him at Cahal Cicu were Della Pergola's son, Luciano

³⁵ Ibid., 22-28.

³⁶ Ibid., 29.

Della Pergola who was a reputed Wagnerian tenor at Romanian Opera and La Scala di Milano, immigrating to Canada in the 50's where he taught at McGill University's Conservatory. Finally, Isaac Behar officiated in the 40's at Cahal Cicu. Born in Bulgaria, he attended Conservatory in Romania and studied voice with Alberto Della Pergola, and remained to officiate as Cantor for a few years. In 1950 he immigrated to Israel, where he taught until 1962 when he was invited to be the *chazzan* in Mexico City's Congregation Yehuda Halevy. Currently, he is the Cantor Emeritus at Temple Tifereth Israel in Westwood, California and he is in the process of publishing a collection of High Holiday melodies he sang in his youth and throughout his life.³⁷

On January 21st, 1941, Cahal Grande became a pile of smoking bricks. It lost its crowning glory, and its wonderful songs, raised to praise the God of Israel, disappeared in the smoke and flames rising towards the sky, on that night of horror and defeat for the Jewish population of Bucharest.³⁸

This tragic event marked the beginning of the decline of this community, thus ending an era of glory in the history of the Sepharadim of Romania. Although at that time, they still had the Cahal Cicu which they continued to use both for traditional and reform services, pogroms, deportations to Transnistria, extensive immigrations to Israel and all corners of the world had left the Sepharadi community with forever dwindling numbers until it has ceased to be a community. There is not even a plaque in place to commemorate the existence of Cahal Grande. A conversation held with Dan Mizrahi, a prominent pianist in Romania today and a Sepharadi Jew, in October 2001, revealed that attempts made by Chief Rabbi Rosen to revive the Sepharadi rite (by assigning one of

³⁷ Telephone interview with Cantor Behar July, 2001. See also Cantor Isaac Behar, *Sephardic Sabbath Chants* (Tara Publications, 1992), 5.

³⁸ Siniol, *Cahal Grande*, 34.

Bucharest surviving temples as the Sepharadic Temple), have failed because no one knows the Sepharadic traditions anymore. Services there were social gatherings officiated primarily in the Ashkenazi rite, with poor pronunciation and so, he told me in perfect Hebrew, he just stopped attending services as did many old-time Sepharadim. The synagogue, Templul Mare, is now being used as a museum devoted to martyrs who perished in the Romanian holocaust.

2. Cahal Cicu

Erected in 1846 as a response to a growing population with increasingly varied styles of prayer, Cahal Cicu was a small intimate and unpretentious place of prayer for those who were serious about praying in the traditional style. It was comprised of a sanctuary of about 200 seats and a balcony for the women's section without the customary grilles. As Cahal Grande became more and more reform in its prayer style, and engaged a Cantor as was the custom in Western Europe, Cahal Cicu held more and more tenaciously onto its traditions.

The *chazzan* had to be an expert in Torah chanting in the Oriental tradition (Turkish) as well as knowledgeable in *maqamat*. Out of the 119 *maqamat* known to them, 30 were in use at the Sepharadi community in Romania and at least 12 of them were essential. A good *chazzan* knew how to improvise on these *maqamat* and captivate his listeners. Improvisations were not completely free. Based on ancient modes, each *maqam* would start with a melodic formula, an introduction called a *Tahrir* and have an ending, called a *Tashlim*. Between these two poles, the *Tahrir* and the *Tashlim*, the Chazzan was free to improvise, traveling to other *maqamat*, each according to his own ability and talent. The basic principle however was that he had to return to the original

maqam for the *Tashlim*. A couple of cantors stood out as unparalleled at improvising on these *maqamat*, Iahia and David B. Isac.³⁹

At Cahal Grande the *chazzan*'s responsibility was to move the *cahal* with his beautiful singing and so these two factions grew apart.

In 1883 the temple was renovated and aggrandized in response to the growing Sepharadic population and immigrations from other Sepharadic centers. At the dedication ceremony, peace was made with Cahal Grande, the temple was renamed, *Cahal Cadosh Shalom*, to symbolize this peace, and the leadership and administration of the entire Sepharadic community in Bucharest was centralized. From that point on, rabbis preached in both synagogues and Chazzanim from Cahal Cicu sang at Cahal Grande (it is unclear whether the opposite also happened) as well. Cahal Cicu held the daily services, while Kabbalat Shabbat, Shabbat and holiday services were held at Cahal Grande. Still, Cahal Cicu always offered traditional services for the holidays, without organ or choir.⁴⁰

During the pogroms of January 1941, Cahal Cicu also suffered damage but it was not destroyed. After quick repairs, all services were transferred to Cahal Cicu, including those with choirs, soloists and organ, and were officiated in parallel with the traditional services. By the late 1940's, the Sepharadic *community* officially became the Sepharadic *section* of the Jewish community as they remained without a rabbi or cantor and their numbers were greatly reduced. Iacov Almuly, from an old established family, even

³⁹ Siniol, *Momente Sefarde*, 100.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 101.

though not trained as a rabbi, stepped in as the rabbi in 1948 and served the dwindling community until 1966.⁴¹

In 1980, at the time Siniol published his short book, *Momente Sefarde*, Cahal Cicu was still standing and being used as a museum and archive of the Sepharadic community. During a recent trip to Romania, I learned that Ceausescu demolished the last of the remnants of this once vibrant community because it was in the way of one of his grandiose construction plans. It made way for some monstrous, non-descript building, which no one needed or wanted, and there was no one there to stop him.

We have traced the development of the Jewish community in Romania from its roots to its demise, in the 1940's, spanning some two thousand years. As with histories of other Jewish communities, there were times Romanian Jews were well received and respected by wise Romanian and Ottoman rulers, and other times they were persecuted and killed for political gains of other rulers. Regardless of outside events, the community survived and even had periods of great prosperity. One of the reasons they were able to survive was the occasional infusion into the community of Jews from other communities, where persecution was greater, or living conditions were not as good. The strategic location of Romania also contributed to Jewish settlement of the area. When Jews settled in Romania, they brought with them portions of their culture, which they fused with the existing culture. In the next chapter, we shall see how this mixing of cultures influenced prevailing customs and worked to create a new means of expression, by examining the music of the Sepharadic community of Bucharest.

⁴¹ Ibid., 105.

BEFORE



AFFTER



Cahal Grande

Fig. 5. In 1905

Fig. 6. After it's destruction, in 1941

CHAPTER TWO

MUSIC

A. MUSIC REFORMS

The Sepharadi communities in Europe have always been more prone to change because of their own philosophy of life, which was to be more adaptable and pragmatic than that of their Ashkenazi counterparts. Throughout medieval times, the Sepharadim opted for survival and seemed better able to compartmentalize their religion. This view, this philosophy, enabled them to even convert to Christianity on the outside but remain Jews on the inside, an extreme example being the Crypto Jews. Other Jewish groups, who lived mostly by the rules of Rabbinic Judaism, were less adaptable to their environment and more often than not were, throughout medieval times, willing to sacrifice their lives for their religion (*kiddush Hashem*).

It was this pragmatic view of life that left the Sepharadim more open to assimilate into the their *galut* environment. Throughout Europe, they were more eager to adapt to the culture in which they lived. They were unafraid of changing their dress, studying in secular institutions, learning the customs, culture and language of their adopted country and finally, bringing those elements of their adopted country into their religion, worship service and way of life. Their religious identity was less affected by these changes. Romania's Sepharadi community was no exception to this. Edwin Seroussi goes even as far as to propose in his book on the Hamburg Spanish-Portuguese community,⁴² that the

⁴² Edwin Seroussi, *Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music in 19th Century Reform Sources from Hamburg* (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, 1996).

Reform Movement begun in Germany was influenced not only by the Christian religion around it, but also by the Sepharadic communities in Amsterdam, Hamburg and other cities throughout Western Europe. For proof he cites the many Sepharadic melodies which found their way into Ashkenazi liturgy and quotes several famous Chazzanim (Naumbourg among them) who admired the dignified services held at the Spanish Portuguese synagogues. Because the form and aesthetics of the Sepharadic service appealed and fit into the Reform ideology, the definitions of what was an Ashkenazi service or a Sepharadic service, became confused and intertwined. Each group adopted some of the liturgy and musical form of the other creating a new individual and independent idiom of expression.

Attempts at reforming services on the Sepharadic model in Vienna and Hamburg, utilizing Sepharadic elements, were also instituted in Romania. It was not as easy for Ashkenazi communities in Romania to institute change as it was for Sepharadi communities. Moshe Gaster's grandfather, Azriel Gaster, who probably came from Poland, had a synagogue built in Bucharest in the 1800's, which was

"the first modern synagogue, of course strictly orthodox, where the prayers were recited partially according to the Sephardi and partly to the Ashkenazi rites. . . . Other synagogues existed, of course, but they were more or less of a primitive character and the example set by my grandfather was soon followed by the other synagogues being remodeled and rearranged, with proper seats and decent services"⁴³

Whereas a Jew eating *tref* could get a public flogging in other cities, in Bucharest Jews were more free to explore their own Judaism any way they pleased. So it was easier

⁴³ A quotation from Moshe Gaster's autobiographical memoirs as published in an article by Victor Eskenasy, "Moses Gaster and His Memoirs – The Path to Zionism",

to introduce reforms into the services there. In Ashkenazi synagogues, particularly the Great Synagogue where Rabbi Meir Lebish Malbim was the spiritual leader of the community in 1864, the community, which wanted reforms, came to blows with their leader who wanted strict adherence to traditions.

The change took place, as he explains (Moshe Gaster in his autobiography) when a part of the community's leaders decided to build a modern synagogue, which they called Temple. They also wanted to introduce a regular choir service, following the example and making use of the work of Sulzer.⁴⁴

This created a rift within the Ashkenazi community, which enlisted the help of the government to settle the matter. Since they were not even Romanian citizens, enlisting the help of a Government, which supposedly had no jurisdiction over them, was totally inappropriate. Ultimately, Rabbi Malbim was expelled and, being an Austrian subject, he was

Taken out of Bucharest by a military escort and he was driven across the frontier I remember the immense number of Jews gathering in the street and following, as if it were a funeral. We were all deeply affected by what happened. It made a tremendous impression on me.⁴⁵

In the Sepharadi community, these reforms also happened, but since the community was much smaller, more affluent, more adaptable to change, and with a different history, they were able to resolve their differences more amicably and remained a tight knit self-contained community. Their solution, of course, was to build another synagogue (Cahal Cicu) and to offer their constituents the variety of both types of services, reform and traditional, and the choice of either.

Romanian Jewish Studies vol. 1, no. 2 Winter 1987, 164-165.

⁴⁴ Ibid., 168.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 169.

Seroussi also discussed the preoccupation of Reform synagogues with "form", particularly "art form", giving services a solemnity, an order, and beauty. He describes early German Reform synagogues, which had choirs of 60 people (SATB), and even orchestras at some of their services. Once again, I find a parallel with Cahal Grande, which employed opera singers in their choir and used orchestra for some of their services as well. There is a definite similarity here, both to other Sephardi synagogues, as well as to Ashkenazi Reform synagogues in Western and Eastern Europe, where the idea of men and boys' choir and later SATB choir, took hold.

Just as Rossi in the 17th century, known as the first composer to introduce instruments in to the synagogue, and Lewandowski and Sulzer in the 19th century, brought to their synagogues secular musical elements and adapted them for liturgical use, so did Cohen-Linaru and Ivela introduce Western musical language in the Sepharadic synagogue in Bucharest in the 19th and 20th century. Cohen-Linaru and Ivela's music was not sung exclusively in Cahal Grande. Rather it was performed together with the more traditional Sepharadic melodies intoned by the *Shaliach Tzibur*. The new melodies were not meant to replace the existing tradition, but rather to beautify the service, to ennoble it. So Israel Adler concludes in his study of Rossi's music: "there can be no doubt that Rossi's compositions were not intended to replace, but to exist side by side with the traditional chant of his synagogue".⁴⁶ In addition to traditionally chanted melodies, the great Chazzan, Alberto Della Pergola would beautify the service with his great tenor voice, singing the liturgical compositions of Cohen-Linaru, A. L. Ivela as well

⁴⁶ Israel Adler 1989: XXXVII. See Seroussi, p. 15.

as the music of Maurice Ravel, Emile Jonas, Salomon Sulzer, Louis Lewandowski, Gioacchino Rossini and even Georges Bizet.

We can conclude here that reforms brought into the Sepharadic community in Bucharest were similar to reforms made to other Sepharadic synagogues throughout Europe. They were mostly changes to the *forms* of prayer, in which music played a big part, while their *religious ideology* remained, in essence, traditional. This explains the amity and connectivity of Cahal Grande to Cahal Cicu, being two facets of one coin, where some congregants were more willing to adapt to the culture around them, while others preferred the old.

In order to understand how the Sepharadi community of Bucharest and other communities throughout Romania⁴⁷ instituted liturgical change, we need to examine the lives of those musicians and officiants who instituted these reforms and the influences they brought into their music. Three composers, who also served as music directors, and three cantors at Cahal Grande were instrumental in bringing about changes to the worship patterns of the community. They were Maurice Cohen-Linaru (Bucharest 1849- 1928), A. I. Ivela (Bucharest 1878-1927), Josef Rosensteck (1884-1952), Cantor Josef Curiel (b. & d. unknown), Cantor Alberto Della Pergola (Firenze 1884-Bucharest 1942), and his successor Avram Hoffman (b. Salaj 1901 – d. unknown).

⁴⁷ Since Bucharest was the Mecca of the Jewish community throughout Romania, other communities, such as Craiova, or Turnul Severin, modeled their services according to the tradition established in Bucharest.

1. Maurice Cohen-Linaru (1849-1928)



Fig. 7.

Maurice Cohen Linaru was born in Bucharest in 1849. He came from an old established family of merchants. He took an interest in music from a very early age and renounced a career in his family's business affairs. He studied violin and composition in Bucharest and began his extensive travels in 1870. His first stop was in Milan, Italy where he studied composition with Lauro Rossi (1870-1871). He

then traveled to Paris where he studied at the Conservatoire Imperial de Musique (1871-1878). Some of his more famous teachers were Cesar Franck (organ) and Georges Bizet (composition). After his studying was complete, he continued to live in Paris for several years earning a living from composing and playing the violin. In addition to the violin, he was equally comfortable conducting, singing and playing piano. By 1880 he was back in Romania where he assumed the post of music director at Cahal Grande while simultaneously serving as music teacher at various conservatories and private schools. He was a prolific composer embracing a variety of musical styles. The paper "*Conservatorul*" published an article about him in 1913 talking about his compositions: "His vigorous style, clear phrasing and attention to form is what characterized this composer".⁴⁸ Since he grew up in the period shortly after the unification of Greater

⁴⁸ Siniol, *Portrete si Schite Sefarde*, 69.

Romania, he composed much music on patriotic themes, which were an inspiration to young composers of his time. Together they created a whole movement of nationalistic music. His most famous composition was an opera, "*Insula Florilor*" (The Island of Flowers) (1893) a comic opera, which premiered in 1905 in Bucharest. In addition to several other operas, he composed chamber music, piano music and many song cycles based on the poetry of Vasile Alecsandri, a Romanian poet and others. He was a music critic for numerous Romanian newspapers as well as *Le Figaro* in Paris. But most importantly, throughout his life, he remained connected to his Judaism, involved in his community. In 1910 he published in Paris two volumes of liturgical compositions "*Tehilot Israel*", one with 6 compositions for Shabbat and the other with 20 compositions for the High Holidays. In publishing the second volume, it was his intent, to preserve the traditional music he heard in his childhood:

J'ai entendu dans mon enfance cette musique tres bien chantée par un fameux chazan d'Andrianople, Abraham Jahia, qui a professé longtemps a Bucharest. Elle se chante encore en Turquie et ailleurs par les chazanims, mais il me semble que les vraies melodies vont en degenerant.

C'es pour empecher qu'elles ne se perdent completement, que j'ai taché d'en noter ici quelques-unes.⁴⁹

[I heard in my childhood this music very well chanted by a famous *chazzan* from Andrianapolis, Abraham Yahia, who sang for a very long time in Bucharest. This music is still sung in Turkey and elsewhere by *chazzanim*, but it seems to me that the true melodies are degenerating. It is in order to prevent their complete loss, that I have tried to notate some of them here.]

Although his aim was to preserve traditional Sephardic music, he also aimed to improve it. He harmonized the traditional melodies, added organ accompaniment, and "here and there added new phrases, more or less of the same character, in order to avoid

⁴⁹ M. Cohen-Linaru, *T'hilot Israel* (Paris: Librairie Durlacher, 1910).

the monotony of the long verses sung on the same 8, 12 or 16 original measures".⁵⁰

Cohen-Linaru feels that this work is very useful in preserving tradition. Indeed, his arrangements of traditional melodies became part of the repertoire of Cahal Grande and are even included in Ivela's collection *Yuval*. But not everyone agreed with this idea of preservation.

Napoleon Arie, the Vice President of the Sepharadic community of Bucharest, commissioned Constantin Brailoiu, a famous musicologist and professor, and his student, Isaac Cauly, to publish a collection of traditional Sepharadic melodies for Rosh Hashanah in their original form. This collection was indeed published in 1936. Arie's reasons for preserving the traditional tunes stem from his philosophy of the Jewish existence. He bases his ideology on the Romanian thinker Lucian Blaga whose fundamental ideology he attempts to explain:

(a) Song is the art which best explains or translates abyssal resonance of the human soul.

(b) Spatial horizon or distance, crystallized in the subconscious, is a psychic reality, of a statutory resistance, identical with itself and indifferent to external intrusions, variable by time and place.⁵¹

Arie attempts to apply this ideology to the Jews:

Music has always been for Jews a superior art form because of their particular spiritual makeup. From the two views of the world, Jews have always chosen the view, which is reflected in man, according external space a minor interest. A paradoxical law claims though that music, differentiated from all other plastic arts which are tied technically to spatiality in nature, even though it is not

⁵⁰ Ibid., Preface, trans. M. Miller.

⁵¹ Isaac Cauly, trans. M. Miller, *Culegere de Melodii Religioase Traditionale* (Bucharest, 1936), 4.

spatial, can give (music that is) through its maximal ability of expression, a more evident voice to the vast horizons dwelling in the world which is closed within us.

This explains the Jew's organic inclination towards the charms of sound. It is natural therefore that Jewish musicality should correspond also to an internal spatial horizon.⁵²

This musicality, coupled with Jewish history of human suffering, as well as ancestral desert dwelling, brings uniqueness to Jewish music, which must be preserved. Synagogal music does not follow this ideology exactly, because sole officiants (the *chazzanim*), in their desire to imitate local customs, have allowed infiltration of local music in their prayer. In their desire to find peace in a place not their own, they find pleasure in assimilating local musical styles in their chants.

For this reason, religious melodies sung in the synagogue, have acquired Nordic coloration for those Ashkenazi Jews established in Germany, Ukraine and Poland, while the Spanish Jews, established around the Mediterranean basin acquired southern coloration; Greek, Iberian, Italian, Arabic, Persian, Moroccan and Turkish.⁵³

So far, Arie had the same reasons for publishing this collection as Cohen-Linaru had for publishing his collection some years earlier. They aimed at preserving the old melodies from extinction. The only difference was that Cohen-Linaru did not consider it a breach to modify the melodies to suit current tastes and trends while Arie and Cauly aimed at preserving the melodies in their purer form as transmitted by the *chazzanim*.

We shall consider the merits of both in the next chapter where some of the melodies they both attempted to preserve will be discussed and analyzed.

⁵² Ibid., 5.

⁵³ Ibid., 8.

2. A. L. Ivela (1878-1927)

Avraham Levi Ivela succeeded Cohen-Linaru as the Music Director at the Cahal Grande. In fact for a period of time they worked together. He was born in 1878, literally in the synagogue, where his father was a teacher. His father, Rabbi Yehoshua Halevi, died in 1880 leaving Ivela and two elder brothers orphaned at a young age. He grew up supported by the Sepharadic community, attending their schools (for free) and learning Torah, Hebrew (four hours per day) and Ladino translation of the *Chumash*. Since his childhood he participated in all musical events he could, but being too poor, he was unable to get a formal musical education. In 1896 he graduated and continued his studies at Medical College. Unfortunately, his eyesight deteriorated and he was forced to stop his studies. At the same time, a music conservatory opened and he immediately enrolled. Thus began Ivela's love affair with his career, which lasted until his death at the age of 49. He devoted his life to music, teaching and composing. Despite his infirmity (blindness), Ivela was very productive during his 30-year career. He wrote and composed four pedagogical books on solfege for high school students, four choral collections for high school choirs, three notebooks of musical compositions, a music theory book several books in Braille as well as a pictorial musical dictionary still utilized today. As a musicologist, he wrote many articles on Sepharadic music attempting to get to the origins of various liturgical chants.

He utilized different styles for his compositions. Some of his compositions catered to the taste of his public, such as waltzes and romances. Others were solo and choral works, and instrumental ensembles. He, as Cohen-Linaru, also composed many patriotic compositions, using the poetry of Romanian poets.

One of his most famous compositions "*Hava Ahim*", which he intended for youth meetings, became a most popular Zionist hymn and was sung at every Zionist meeting in Romania. He collected all the melodies he composed for Alberto Della Pergola, together with other liturgical compositions by others such as Cohen-Linaru, Jonas, Curiel and Bianchi and put together a three-volume work entitled "*Yuval*" containing almost 200 compositions. The whereabouts of this collection is unknown today. The style of his liturgical works was specifically suited to the voice of Alberto Della Pergola for whom he wrote exclusively. It was operatic, bel canto, lyrical yet very demanding vocally, in order to show off Pergola's talents.⁵⁴ His assistant who notated all of his music was Willy Cilibiu who assumed the post of music director in 1942 after Rosensteck's departure from Cahal Grande.

In addition to his achievements during his short life, he also found time to travel to other Sepharadic communities in other cities, such as Craiova where there was a large Sepharadic community, and help them "modernize" their service by bringing them his own compositions and organizing a choir for them.⁵⁵

He loved to organize big affairs, such as concerts put together for choirs of 800 people with soloists and instruments. At Cahal Grande he organized secular and liturgical concerts three to four times per year, featuring his many children's choruses, his favorite Chazzan, Alberto Della Pergola and many singers for the Romanian Opera. He was a beloved music teacher at the school of the Sepharadi Community and several other

⁵⁴ Segal, Paltiel (Filip), Ed., *Yahadut Romania Bit'kumat Israel* (Rumanian Jewry and the Revival of Israel), *Roots- Shorashim*, vol. I; S.I.R., *Shevet Yehudei Romania, Center for Research of Rumanian Jewry in Israel* (Tel Aviv, 1992), 301-302.

⁵⁵ Leon Eskenasi, *Istoricul Comunitatii Israelite Spaniole din Craiova* (Craiova:

schools. Nothing escaped him even though he could not see. The death of his daughter Carine, two years before his own death, combined with the fact that he did not take care of himself, hastened his poor health and ultimately, his death in 1927.⁵⁶

The musical contribution of A. L. Ivela to the Sepharadic community throughout Romania was immeasurable. Aside from influencing an entire generation through his teaching, he was extremely successful in developing a music style which was steeped in the Sepharadic tradition and at the same time, innovative employing the latest Western European methods of composition. The subtlety of integrating all these elements was very accomplished and seamless in his music. His music was undeniably Western, yet it was recognizably Sepharadic as well. It appealed to all!



Fig. 8. A. L. Ivela

3. Iosef Rosensteck (1884-1952)

Iosef Rosensteck was the music director at Cahal Grande and later on music director only at Cahal Cicu, following Ivela's death. He was the rehearsal pianist and conductor of the Romanian Opera. He was a known music teacher, organist and composer. Between 1927 and 1942 he enriched the repertoire of Cahal Grande by adding many inspired melodies. He is the last of the composers to add to the liturgical repertoire of the Sepharadi community. Of his many compositions, the three pieces I am familiar with, "*Shuva Limonach*", a piece sung while the Torah is put back into the arc,

Scrisul Rominesc, 1946), 31-32.

"Hashkivenu" and "Kiddush", show a marked departure from the traditional Sepharadic style, incorporating many more Ashkenazi elements mixed with more modern harmonies.⁵⁷ This fact is not at all surprising since Rosensteck was of Ashkenazi descent himself.

4. Giuseppe Curiel

Giuseppe Curiel (dates unknown) came from Trieste and was engaged as the first Cantor (*Chazzan Rashi*) at Cahal Grande in 1890 to officiate together with Cantor Ben Sinior who was the "traditional" cantor. His choir director was Carlo Bianchi. He is credited with introducing choir to Cahal Grande (he performed extensively the music of Emile Jonas, the music director of the Spanish Portuguese Synagogue in Paris) as well as his own compositions. A member of the Sepharadic community remembered Curiel in 1938 as a "man of valor, a good musician, an admirable composer and a great *Baal Tefila* (Torah reader)."⁵⁸ Unfortunately, 10 years after his engagement, he left his post and returned to Italy with all of his music scores, leaving the congregation without a Cantor and without music.⁵⁹ Reasons for his departure are not given, but one can only imagine the uproar he must have caused for he was engaged to sing Western music, modernizing traditional customs. While he himself probably could no longer be in the firing line of

⁵⁶ Siniol, *Momente Sefarde*, 126-129.

⁵⁷ Siniol, *Cahal Grande*, 33.

⁵⁸ Ghisela Suliteanu, "Situation de la Musique Populaire et de la Liturgie Synagogale Chez Les Juifs Sepharades de Bucarest", Issachar Ben-Ami Ed., *The Sepharadi and Oriental Jewish Heritage* (Jerusalem: 1982), 423.

⁵⁹ Edwin Seroussi, "Zimrat Kodesh Beidan shel T'murot Reformiot Musikaliot B'batei-Kneset S'faradyim B'Austria uv'Aratzot Habakan b'Meot ha 19 voha 20", *Peamim* #34 (1988), 97.

this controversy, nevertheless his reforms took root and his departure left the synagogue in a bind. A. L. Ivela was engaged to replace him. Ivela was able to transcribe from memory some of the melodies Curiel introduced to Cahal Grande and composed others as were needed. Thus Curiel's reforms were able to flourish long after his departure.

5. Alberto Della Pergola (1884-1942)

Born in 1878 in Florence, to a family steeped in Jewish tradition, Alberto Della Pergola studied Jewish studies with Rabbi Margulies and voice with Branca. His brother, Rafaelo was the Chief Rabbi of Egypt and his brother-in-law was Angelo Sacerdoti, at one time the Chief Rabbi of Italy.

At the age of 24, he left his native country, in the dead of winter, arriving for his audition at Cahal Grande, in Bucharest dressed only in a light jacket. This was not the only adjustment he had to make to his new environment. After a brilliant audition for the president of the community, Solomon Halfon, Cohen-Linaru and Ivela, who all fell in love with his voice, Della Pergola now had to relearn liturgy and cantillation according to the "Oriental Rite" (I believe meaning Turkish rite) instead of his native Italian Rite. Because of his intelligence and good nature, he masters the new *minhag* in no time at all. One of his teachers was A. L. Ivela and this first encounter was marked by the camaraderie and mutual respect that continued to exist between them throughout their lives. In the preface to his major work "*Yuval*", Ivela has this to say about Della Pergola:

Pergola is endowed from nature with a warm and extremely beautiful lyric tenor voice: he has acquired a beautiful technique, especially producing brilliant high notes with ease . . . Pergola marked a brilliant period in the history of services at our temples.⁶⁰

⁶⁰ Mauriciu Rothenberg, "Alberto Della Pergola", *Revista Cultului Mozaic* no.

Collaborating with a very progressive rabbi, Rabbi Niemirower (1872-1939)⁶¹ and a most creative music director, Ivela, Della Pergola was able to flourish and be creative in a positive nurturing environment. Niemirower was a tireless innovator, particularly creating children and teen services and keeping an open mind to reforms. He was also a Zionist and had many supporters from the community. Ivela, on the other hand, was completely charmed by Pergola and composed during their long collaboration over 200 liturgical compositions suited specifically to Della Pergola's voice and vocal prowess.⁶² Now Della Pergola was an operatically trained tenor, so in no time at all services at Cahal Grande became religious concerts with soloists, choir, organ, as well as other instruments on occasion. Pergola's fame spread throughout the country and he concertized extensively, utilizing a vast repertoire of liturgical music as well as opera and other secular music such as lied and chansons. He was loved and well sought after in all the great salons of the wealthy Jews where his art was appreciated.

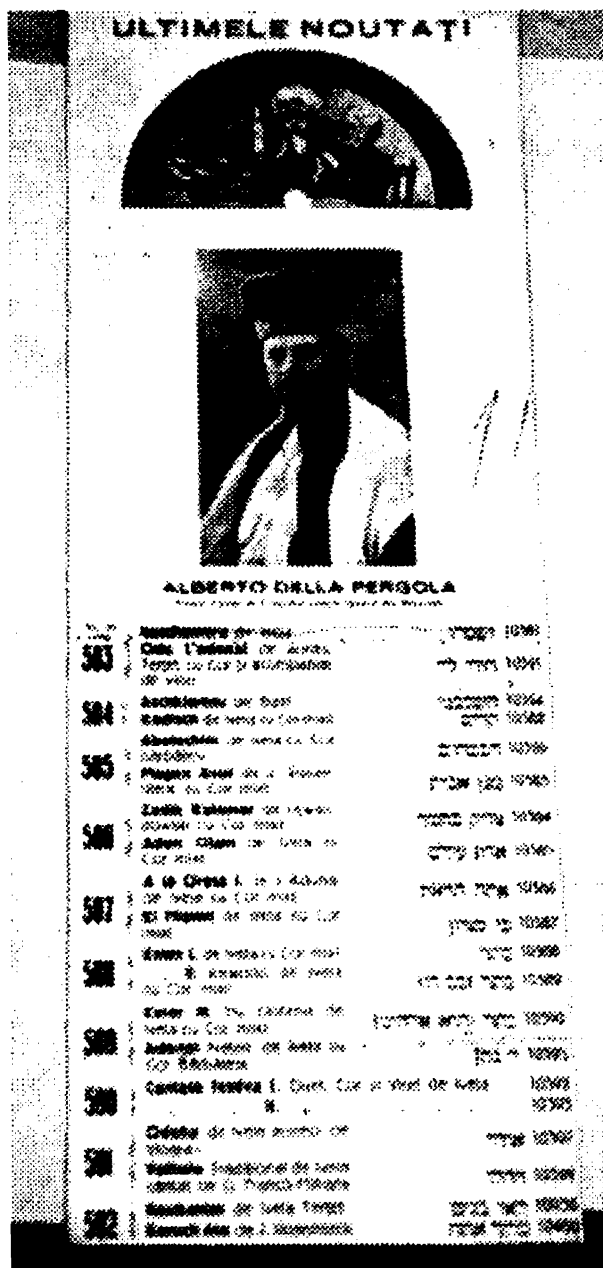
301 (Bucharest, 1972).

⁶¹ See page 28 above.

⁶² This collection which I understand is not published, still exists somewhere in Bucharest. It was stored at Cahal Cicu until its destruction. The purpose of my recent trip to Bucharest was to uncover this collection, but I was unsuccessful. It could have been taken by some individuals, or a more likely explanation, it could be in the archives of the Sephardic community. These archives, together with archives from all lost synagogues in Romania have been centralized at the "Comunitate", the Jewish Organization. Unfortunately, I was not given a chance to look through any archives – I was in fact told that there are none. On the day of my departure, I found out about the archives, and also found out that they are inaccessible due to the fact that they have no funds to hire a librarian to sift through and organize the vast material collected from various Jewish communities in Romania.

Della Pergola was a widely recorded artist recording for such recording companies as Victoria Records, His Master's voice, Odeon, Calumbia, Polydor, Licrofon and Perfection.⁶³

teacher for
 alike. In 1911 he
 society of the
 directed by
 became a famed
 both Jews and
 He always had a
 was generous with
 and was very
 his students got
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 time, Della
 relations and
 many Italian
 Romanian singers
 were often his
 Grande concerts



He was a great
 children and adults
 instituted a Choral
 Spanish Jews,
 Cohen-Linaru. He
 voice teacher for
 Christian singers.
 positive attitude,
 his time and money
 conscientious. All
 the same teaching
 means. At the same
 Pergola maintained
 collaborated with
 artists as well as
 from the Opera, who
 partners at Cahal
 and services.

Fig. 9. Alberto Della Pergola on an advertisement of one of his latest recordings.

⁶³ I have a sample of his recording for Columbia and even with the poor quality of a 30's recording one can discern the incredible warmth, range and dramatic interpretation

In 1926 Alberto Della Pergola founded a public conservatory with the Sepharadic community's support, as a solution to the ever-increasing number of voice students he had. The conservatory, housed within the property of Cahal Grande, was very successful until 1941 when it was affected by the loss of their building. After Della Pergola's death in 1942, his sons continued to operate the conservatory from different locations. But it had ceased to exist as it was originally conceived, and by 1948, the communist regime took over all private schools in Romania, including the *Conservatorul Alberto Della Pergola*.

6. Avram Hoffman

Avram Hoffman was born in Salaj in 1901. Although not a Sepharadi, he was hired as the Chazzan at Cahal Grande a few years before Alberto Della Pergola's death to share the pulpit with him. He served that community from 1936 until 1946. He had a very nice tenor voice and a solid musical education. Although it was difficult to follow in the footsteps of a giant, he held his position with honor officiating as Chazzan Rishon after Pergola's death. He immigrated to Israel, settling in Natania. Avram Hoffman was the last Cantor of the Sepharadi community of Romania.

of liturgical music.

B. DEVELOPMENT OF NUSAH BUCHAREST: Influences of other communities on Sepharadic liturgical music in Romania

1. Ottoman Empire, Perso-Arabic, Spanish Turkish-Greek influences

Due to the lack of documentation before the advent of printing and often for Sepharadic communities, long after, it is very difficult, almost impossible, to determine origins of Sepharadic liturgical music. Some Romanian musicologists such as A. L. Ivela have attempted to connect Romanian Sepharadic liturgy to Spain of 14-16th centuries. Siniol, the Secretary of the Sepharadic Temple in the 30's and 40's writes:

The dean of the scholars in this field, Prof. A. L. Ivela, himself a composer of note, maintained that some of the Sepharadic melodies chanted in the Sepharadic synagogues of Romania were based on certain Spanish and Arab-Persian songs of the 14th-16th centuries, most notably, *Adonai beKol Shofar* and *Ahot Ketana*.⁶⁴

Other musicologists in Romania, such as Mauriciu Rothenberg writes:

... that the melodic line and form of Sepharadic liturgical melodies, as they have been preserved (in Romania ed.) appear as expressive melodies with rich ornamentation, melodic embellishment and a recitative style particular to Oriental music. They absorbed Spanish, Greek, Turkish, Arab-Persian, Italian and even Bulgarian influences which were assimilated and altered over the years by the Sephardic Jews of the Mediterranean basin.⁶⁵

Ivela himself wrote in a 1921 article:

After a most rigorous analysis of the synagogal chants of the Oriental Spanish Jews, I dare to maintain that: 1. The reading of the Torah scroll, 2. The chanting of Psalms during prayer and 3. The normal recitation of the whole text of the prayer are all written on one of the Greek-Oriental voices.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ Raoul Siniol, "Sepharadic Synagogal Music", *Romanian Jewish Studies* vol. 1 no. 2, (Winter 1987), 32.

⁶⁵ Ibid., 32 (Siniol quotes an article here published by Rothenberg in *Revista Cultuhui Mozaic*, yr. 17, no. 269 Feb. 1972).

⁶⁶ Ibid., 32 (A. L. Ivela, *Hashmonea*, yr. 9, no. 9, Jan 1921) Note: Although it is

Ghisela Suliteanu, in her paper given at the First International Congress for the Study of Spanish and Oriental Jewry in Jerusalem in 1979⁶⁷, concurs. Stylistic elements of Arabic-Persian character in Sepharadic liturgical music are poetical elements⁶⁸ dating back a thousand years. Metric organization, even in newly created prayer, connotes this ancient system. She also mentions a rich, melismatic development of the melody, the usage of non-restrained vocal intonations, quartertones tied to maqamat systems as well as the usage of chromatic modes. Even though these influences can be traced back to the 6th – 11th centuries, they were perpetuated through the Turkish influence.⁶⁹

Spanish influence can be seen mostly in home liturgy, in songs chanted in Ladino to popular airs.

In his book *Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music in Nineteenth-Century Reform Sources from Hamburg*, Edwin Seroussi compares some of the Sepharadic melodies he found in the Hamburg reform Temple to other Sepharadic sources in order to determine their veracity and authenticity. He frequently names two sources for his research; a Portuguese source (usually Aguilar De Sola) which is a Western Sepharadi source, and an

certain that there was a distinct style of music, because of the interaction of the musical styles, musicologists could not agree on one term for this particular style. Siniol called it Spanish and Arab Persian. Rothenberg called it Sepharadic liturgy with Oriental elements. Ivela called it Greek-Oriental, while Ms. Suliteanu refers to the style as Arabic-Persian. I called it Perso-Arabic, Spanish Turkish-Greek. I believe they are all talking about the same style.

⁶⁷ Suliteanu, *Situation de la Musique Populaire*, 421-488

⁶⁸ Also discussed by Amnon Shiloah in his book *Jewish Musical Traditions*, (Detroit, 1999). Hebrew poetry in Arab Spain was very rhythmic and strophic lending itself to song.

⁶⁹ Ibid., 438.

Eastern Sepharadi source, which he considers an Oriental source. The Eastern Sepharadi source is usually none other than M. Cohen-Linaru, who, as mentioned above, had published the Turkish melodies of his childhood in a revamped and modernized style. Seroussi also acknowledges the Arabic-Persian influences in Romanian Sepharadic liturgy as defined by Eastern Sepharadi.

Finally, the introduction by N. Arie in Cauli's collection of Sepharadic melodies for *Rosh Hashanah* and *Selihot* corroborates the origin of these melodies. He claims Iberian influences from the XIVth century in the song *Adonai Bekol Shofar, while Ahot Ketana*, composed by Abraham Hasan in Saloniki in the XVIth century, has Perso-Arabic and Turkish-Greek influences. Cauly himself discusses briefly what the perso-arab system is:

The songs in the present collection, are based in their majority on a perso-arabic tonal system built upon tones and semi-tones including thirds and quarter-tones. . . . The association of accidentals does not happen according to the Western rules. Rather sharps and flats are associated to an oriental tonal scheme called a maqam. The rhythmic system is immeasurable for some songs, those surviving from Turkish epic and lyric poems. These are left to the interpreter's freedom. Generally, their character is homophonic. Other melodies have rhythms that correspond to modern music with regular, irregular and mixed rhythms.⁷⁰

Turkish-Greek influence on Romanian Sepharadic liturgical music is nothing but a continuation of the Perso-Arabic influence. With the expulsion from Spain, Jews traveled mostly to the Ottoman Empire, but some also traveled to Romania. They brought with them their liturgy, their music. Both groups had the same common base. Turkish-Greek influence is the continuation of this influence on the Sepharadic communities. From the 15th to the 20th centuries *chazzanim* were brought to Sepharadic

⁷⁰ Cauly, *Culegere de Melodii Religioase Traditionale*, 14.

communities in Romania from Adrianopolis, where there were training centers for *chazzanim*. Eventually, *chazzanim* trained in Bucharest, were trained in the same system because their teachers came from Turkey. Thus, the Perso-Arabic influence was perpetuated and embellished by Turkish elements.

A recapitulation of the Perso-Arabic elements described in quotations above includes the following:

- Antiquity (from the 14th century with influences from earlier periods)
- Expressivity (of text)
- Rich ornamentation
- Melodic embellishments
- Recitative style
- Particularly evident in Torah reading, Psalms and regular prayer chants
- Poetic elements/metric organization: rhythmic freedom in some places compensated by strophic meter in others
- melismatic development of the melody
- non-restrained vocal intonations
- organization of sharps and flats together with third and quarter-tones indicate maqamat systems
- usage of chromatic modes

These elements were able to continue and flourish for many hundreds of years, since the musical tradition was an oral one, and was passed down from generation to generation. The Sepharadim were very strict about correctness, about passing down tradition. They had an obligation, a responsibility to do so. This caused them to be very strict with their *chazzanim*, demanding correctness and exactitude of pronunciation and transmission of songs and tradition to the next generation. For the most part, Sepharadic cantors took this responsibility very seriously, allowing folk local elements to infiltrate liturgy only rarely.⁷¹

⁷¹ Seroussi, *Spanish-Portuguese Synagogue Music in 19th Century Reform Sources from Hamburg*.

With the emancipation of Jews in Western Europe, the situation and position of Jews changed in the 19th century. Instead of living in a self-contained ghetto, with their own Government and laws, Jews were now free to explore Western cultures, to institute reforms in their religion, to become integrated into the community around them, to be more free. Some communities were freer and more open to reforms than others. The Sepharadic community in Bucharest was, for instance, much stronger and had greater freedom to carry out reforms than other Sepharadic communities in Vienna, Sofia and Sarajevo. The main reason for this was that the Orthodox component was weak by comparison with the "Reform" component of the community. The members of the community who wanted change, had the money and the power, and therefore they were able to carry out liturgical changes within the community that other communities could not.⁷²

Let us now examine some of the changes this community was able to carry out and where they came from.

2. Italian Influence

With the introduction of Italian Cantors to Cahal Grande in 1890, we begin to see a shift in the music style of the synagogue. While maintaining Cahal Grande's Turkish tradition, of *maqamat* and responsorial singing, Italian cantors and music directors such as Curiel and Franchetti, were able to introduce elements from their own culture and other cultures around them, such as choral singing, solo singing, listening music for the congregation with organ and instruments, performed in Western tonality. This was a

⁷² Seroussi, *Zimrat Kodesh Beidan shel T'murot Reformiot Musikaliot*, 101.

shift as traditional services had been much more participatory. A congregant wrote in 1938 "Aujourd'hui, on ne va plus a la synagogue que pour ecouter de la belle musique. . . . Il y a trente-cinq ans environ, un groupe de jeunes gens lassés de nos vieux rites orientaux, avaient deja reclame l'introduction d'un chantre et de l'orgue a la synagogue."⁷³ [Today one only goes to the synagogue to listen to beautiful music. . . . Approximately thirty-five years ago, a group of young people, tired of our old oriental rite, has introduced a singer and an organ in the synagogue.]

Maurice Cohen Linaru was a great supporter of the Italian Cantors. It was he who agitated for them to be brought, for the organ to be installed and for the choir to be formed. He was determined to model Cahal Grande after Sepharadic synagogues he saw in the West. He was, after all, a very well respected member of the community at that time, and from a very well to do powerful family. After all that was done, he published his first volume of 6 *Shabbat* pieces for *chazzan*, choir and organ. Most of the melodies were new compositions, especially his *Ma Tovv*, sung by "Mlle. (Miss) Zissou au Temple Israelite de Bucharest".⁷⁴ This is a piece of bel canto singing at it best, replete with cadenzas and coloratura, written in the style of Bellini, or Verdi. This style of composition was heavily influenced by Italian opera and was utilized in the synagogue throughout the period of this study (1850-1940).

Leo Levi, in his article on Italian Musical Tradition in the *Encyclopedia Judaica*, corroborates some of the above mentioned elements as originating in the Italian synagogue. In the mid 19th century, the design of Italian synagogues was modified so

⁷³ Suliteanu, *Situation de la Musique Populaire*, 430.

⁷⁴ Mauriciu Cohen-Linaru, *T'hilot Israel, Iere partie, 6 Morceaux Religieux, Soli*,

that the *chazzan* no longer faced the *kahal*. Heretofore, the *chazzan* not only led the *kahal* in responsorial singing, but he more or less conducted them. However "with the construction of modern synagogues where the *bimah* is closer to the *aron*, participation by the public was reduced."⁷⁵ Apparently, this was not the only reason for reduced participation by the congregation. The advent of choirs in the synagogue, a Western innovation, made participation difficult. Combine that fact with the fact that every little synagogue in Italy was composing new music (which was less singable by congregations), the effect was more operatic music, which became less and less accessible to congregants.

... but following the example of the Reform synagogues in Vienna and Paris, an organized choir (male, sometimes mixed or female) was introduced for which new collections of liturgical chants were composed, even in such small Jewish communities as those in Vercelli, Asti, Trieste, Saluzzo, and Mantua. Those chants were composed mainly in 19th-century idiom, reminiscent of the operatic style of Verdi or Rossini or based on patriotic songs of the Risorgimento in which the Jews had enthusiastically taken part.⁷⁶

So far, the phenomenon of reform happened exactly the same way in Romania as it had in Italy. Let us not forget however that Italian synagogues had been benefiting from art music composed for the synagogue and musical instruments in the synagogue since the 17th century.

The most significant influence from the Italian Rite (or perhaps just a very close similarity, given the proximity of the Romanian and Italian languages) is musical change that occurred as a result of a changed pronunciation of certain Hebrew letters and words.

Choeur et Orgue, pour les Temples Israelites (Paris: Librairie Durlacher, 1910).

⁷⁵ Leo Levi, "Italy: Musical Tradition", *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1142.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 1142.

The tapes of the last Sepharadic traditional *chazzanim*, which were collected by noted Romanian musicologist, Ghisela Suliteanu, do not give an indication as to pronunciation of Hebrew. The pronunciation of Max and Peretz Almuly, sons of the last Rabbi of the Sepharadi community was, by the time of the recording in the 70's, fully Italianate. It cannot be determined if it ever had been more guttural, but the assumption has to be made that it was. Hebrew pronunciation had to be preserved in order for the melodies to be preserved. Here we have melodies preserved with Italianate (or Romanian) Hebrew.

The most important element common to these different traditions is the Italian pronunciation of Hebrew. Because of the nasalization of the *ayin*, the loss of the *he*, the pronunciation of the *tav* without *dagesh* as d, and especially since all the vowels (including the *sheva na* at the beginning and frequently at the end of a word) are fully pronounced, a peculiar sonorousness of musical expression emerged which completely Italianized the tunes, including those of German and Spanish origin. Concomitantly, the chants of Germanic origin underwent a leveling of their pentatonic and characteristically wide intervals, and those of oriental origin lost such exotic elements as the interval of the augmented second, the plaintive and excessively melismatic turns, and the coloratura passages. The majority of the chants and their style of performance are characterized in all Italian rites by an ecclesiastical solemnity or, at times, by operatic idioms. In the 18th–19th centuries, the singing was also influenced by the "learned" styles of Italian music or by popular songs.⁷⁷

As in the Italian tradition brought to Romania by Curiel, Romanian Sepharadic composers began creating new compositions for the synagogue. Even though Cohen-Linaru and Ivela were considered Romanian National composers,⁷⁸ when it came to the Sepharadic synagogue, their compositions drew heavily upon the Italian tradition of Art music and opera. Ivela, for instance, was able to take a little Turkish *Yigdal* melody and

⁷⁷ Ibid., 1142.

⁷⁸ See Cohen Linaru's secular compositions "*Chere Enfant (Mendrelita)*" and "*Chanson (Doina)*" replete with Romanian folk themes (3 Melodies Roumaines, Paris)

turn it into a fifteen-minute mini opera-style composition with organ, children's chorus and solo trio.

To summarize Italian influences brought into the Sephardic Synagogues of Romania we find:

- choral singing (not exclusively Italian, however Italians brought it to Romania)
- Solo singing
- A shift from participatory responsorial music to listening music
(solo/choir/instruments)
- Introduction of new compositions written in 19th century Western European idiom, Art music and opera
- A shift in Hebrew pronunciation to an Italianate pronunciation (no gutturals, *ayin*, *chaf*, etc.), bringing with it a shift in compositional style to accommodate pronunciation

Italian influence was so great that it endangered the pre-existing Perso-Arabic tradition to the point of extinction. As our 1938 congregant observes:

Nombreuses parmi nos belles traditions sont en voie de disparition Pour ce qui est de nos melodies traditionnelles, elles tendent a disparaitre également, d'une part dans l'immense répertoire moderne du chant choral, et d'autre part, a cause de la tendance actuelle des officiants étrangers a notre rite, a envelopper, peut-etre involontairement, certains de nos airs d'inflexions purement ashkenazes.⁷⁹

[Many of our beautiful traditions are disappearing . . . As for our traditional melodies, they tend to also disappear partly because of the great amount of modern choral repertoire and partly because of the tendency of officiants who are foreign to our customs and envelop, without meaning to, our melodies with Ashkenazi inflections.]

⁷⁹ Suliteanu, *Situation de la Musique Populaire*, 431.

For this reason, both Cauly and Cohen-Linaru (see Cohen Linaru above) attempted to notate the old traditions, one exact and the other with modifications, in their collections *Culegere de Melodii Religioase Traditionale* and *Tehilot Israel* (respectively). Seroussi calls this process "*Museonization*". The setting down of these melodies is proof of their demise, the need to archive and document them from an intellectual approach.⁸⁰

3. Ashkenazi influences: Germany, France, and Eastern Europe

We have already hinted above at infiltration from the West, brought over by the Italian Cantors and music directors. Curiel, the first professional singer to be employed by Cahal Grande, introduced the congregation to works by Emile Jonas, Salomon Sulzer and Samuel Naumbourg. All composers draw heavily on tradition. Jonas an Ashkenazi Jew of Polish descent, was hired by the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue to notate their traditional melodies and adapt them to organ and choir. In his 1854 collection he does exactly that, but also introduces some of his own compositions. Sulzer and Naumbourg utilize more or less the same ideas, adapting Ashkenazi *nusah* and tradition and fitting it into the Western system of music notation and harmony. They draw upon the Ashkenazi tradition as well as some Sepharadi creating new compositions as well as adapting old ones for choir, Cantor and organ.

The Romanian culture always was, and still is, heavily influenced by French culture. The most widely foreign language spoken in Romania is French. The most fashionable fashion is French. The best literature is French, and of course, the best music is French. As a testimony to this orientation, this love of French culture, we find a large

⁸⁰ Seroussi, *Zimrat Kodesh Beidan shel T'murot Reformiot Musikaliot*, 101.

number of Romanians in Paris during the 19th and 20th centuries (Jews and non-Jews alike). Some of the well known Romanians living in France were the painter Pascin (mentioned above), composer and musicologist Leon Algazi (born and raised in the Sepharadi Community of Bucharest), musicologist Constantin Brailoiu (Bucharest 1893-Geneva 1958), composer Cohen-Linaru (who spent eight years there), Romanian national composer Georges Enescu (Botosani 1881-Paris 1955), and playwright Eugene Ionescu (or Ionesco as he became known in Paris) (Slatina 1912-unknown). When Romanian Jews had troubles at home and were not emancipated at the same time as other European communities, they turned to the French Minister, Cremieux for assistance. I even remember being held in very high regard by my Marseillaise house-mother in the French House at Ohio State University where I was a student and resident. She always thought very highly of Romanians, because a Romanian doctor had saved her father's life during the war. This love between these two cultures manifests itself in the music of the Sepharadi community as well. Yes, they performed some of Sulzer and Lewandowski's compositions, but they performed Jonas and Naumbourg's compositions more!

Emile Jonas was a French Jew of Polish descent who was the music director at the Spanish Portuguese Synagogue in Paris. His life had many parallels to Cohen-Linaru's life. He studied composition, taught at the *Conservatoire national superieur de musique*, and composed many operas and cantatas for which he received *the Prix-de-Rome* twice. While he was the music director of the Spanish Portuguese Synagogue, he was also the music director of the Imperial Guard, a military group. He published two collections for the Sepharadi synagogue. The first appeared in Paris in 1854 and consists of some traditional melodies rearranged as well as his own compositions. Leon Algazi, a

successor of Jonas at the Sepharadic synagogue and noted musicologist, reproached Jonas' style of composing claiming that Jonas succumbed to the "deplorable gout du jour" [deplorable style of the day] mixing styles and genres, and associating liturgical texts (even sacrificing proper Hebrew pronunciation and a sense of the prose) to common melodies and military airs, waltzes and even mazurkas.⁸¹ Yet, his music was extremely popular and was adopted by many Sepharadic communities around the Mediterranean. Many of his choral arrangements remained in the repertoire of Cahal Grande long after their introduction by Curiel. Jonas' *Rau Banim* for instance, which was a frequently performed piece there, can also be found in the Levi Anthology (#114) from Meknes, and can still be heard at the Moroccan synagogue in Jerusalem today.⁸²

In addition to Jonas, the music of Samuel Naumbourg, Sulzer and Lewandowski was performed there along with Cohen-Linaru and Ivela's transcriptions of Sepharadic melodies. These were notated in Ivela's collection *Yuval*, which documented the entire repertoire at Cahal Grande. In this collection, there are also pieces by Haydn (*Hallel* prayer "Adonai ze'haranu) and Rossini (*Ye Aleluia*- from his opera *Moshe*). The introduction of these melodies served to deepen the breach between traditional and modern chant.

An Ashkenazi concept exemplified in Cohen-Linaru's *Ma Tov* published in his first collection, was the composition of a piece of music as an independent unit which can

⁸¹ Denis Havard De La Montagne, *Emille Jonas (1827-1905)* (<http://musicaetmemoria.ovh.org/prix-rome-1840-1849.htm>), 11/17/2001.

⁸² Conversation with Dr. Geoffrey Goldberg of Hebrew Union College.

also be performed outside its liturgical function.⁸³ *Ma Tov* is composed as an operatic aria, which, in my opinion, is actually more suitable to a concert stage than a synagogue.

Finally, after the death of Alberto Della Pergola and A. L. Ivela, two Ashkenazim assumed the roles of Cantor and music director at Cahal Grande. They were Avram Hoffman and Josef Rosensteck. Rosensteck continued to compose new melodies as needed for the prayer services at Cahal Grande. Although he continued the composition style of Ivela, utilizing operatic motifs and Italian pronunciation, his underlying harmonies were no longer based in the Sephardic tradition. The two pieces I heard on a 1998 recording, *Hashkivenu* and *Kiddush* have more Ashkenazi and *Ahava Rabbah* motifs than Sephardi.

To summarize, Ashkenazi and Western European influences on Romanian Sephardic music, we can see:

- The introduction of solo compositions which were performed in and outside the synagogue setting
- Introduction of Ashkenazi elements (modal) through new compositions and those of Sulzer, Lewandowski and Naumbourg
- Infiltration of Western European secular music motifs incorporated into compositions of Jonas

4. Romanian Influences

Since Romania, was part of the Ottoman Empire for so long, it is clearly difficult to define a Romanian style because there was a good deal of Turkish influence. In an

⁸³ Seroussi, *Zimrat Kodesh Beidan shel T'murot Reformiot Musikaliot*, 98.

article published in *Etudes de Musique Ancienne Roumaine*, folkloric musicologist Gheorghe Ciobanu concludes that chromatic modes in Romanian folk music derive mostly from Byzantine modes. However, he finds some parallels to Turkish *maqamat* particularly during the 18th and 19th centuries. One of these modes (1d), found in dances, city melodies in Wallachia and Moldavia and ballads can also be found in Persian and Arabic melodies. This mode is commonly known as "*gamme tzigane*" (gypsy scale), despite its non-gypsy origins. This mode is characterized by an augmented interval between the 3rd and the 4th degrees as well as the 6th and 7th degrees.⁸⁴

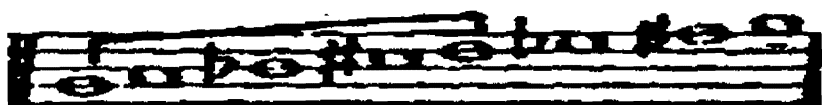


Fig. 10. Example 1d

Another mode, which has its parallels in *maqamat*, is 2a. Ciobanu claims this mode is the equivalent of the *maqam hidjaz*, which as we know is also common in Sepharadic melodies.



Fig. 11. Example 2a

⁸⁴ Gheorghe Ciobanu, "Les Modes Chromatiques dans la Musique Populaire Roumaine", *Etudes de Musique Ancienne Roumaine* (Bucuresti: Editura Muzicala, 1984),

Finally his sixth chromatic scale is equivalent to the Turkish makam *huzam*. It usually ends on "sol", the fifth degree, or sometimes "mi", the third degree, and can be found in *doinas* (a type of Romanian folk song, a song of longing and love).⁸⁵

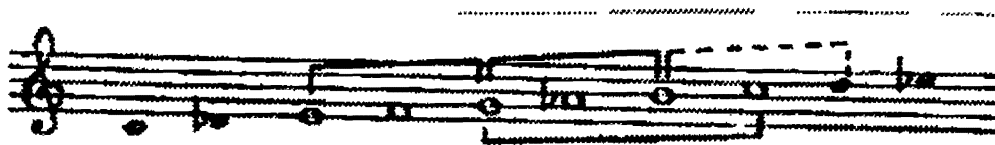


Fig. 12. Example 6

Ciobanu explores many chromatic modes found in Romanian folk melodies. Despite the fact that only a few of these modes are of Turkish and Persian origin, they are nevertheless found in many popular types of melodies. In the 20th century, particularly after the unification of Romania in 1918, folk compositions were encouraged.

Whether Western harmonizations and arrangements of traditional tunes or new melodies in folk style, both techniques resulted in original art music characterized by the modal structures, free rhythm, melismatic melodic lines, and polyrhythmic formulas of folk music.⁸⁶

We find that Romanian folk music has many similarities with Turkish music which in turn, was also a heavy influence on Sephardic music in the entire Balkan region. Unfortunately, whereas Sephardic music is no longer composed in Romania, in the late 20th century non-Jewish folk music continued to flourish in Romania.

In the case of modal similarities, and ornamentation, we cannot say with certainty, nor is it the object of this study, that Sephardic music composed in Romania was

84-89.

⁸⁵ Ibid.

⁸⁶ The Garland Encyclopaedia of World Music; *Europe; The Balkans; Romania* (New York, London: Garland Publishing, Inc., 2000), 868-889.

influenced by Romanian music or vice versa. Rather, suffice to say that both cultures, co-existing side by side, were influenced by a third, powerful culture, the Turkish culture.

Another element of Romanian music though, did make its way into the Sepharadic liturgy found in Romania. Particularly, it can often be found in the home liturgy of the Sepharadic family. That is the rhythmic element, accents, which are specific to Romanian music. Examples of such accents finding their way into the Sepharadic liturgy can be found in "*Tzur mishelo Ahalnu*" and "*Eli Eliahu*" (see Appendix C).⁸⁷ Singing in the home, is one of the oldest and traditional manifestations of Jewish life. According to Suliteanu, this custom might be at origin of the development of popular songs, expressing the toils of daily life. Because of this, home liturgy is more informal, more easily influenceable by local culture and flavor.

To summarize, influences from the local Romanian culture on Sepharadic music might be:

- ◆ Common elements in both cultures drawing on Turkish and Arabic maqamat, rich ornamentation and chromatic melodies
- ◆ Rhythmic patterns of certain home liturgy melodies

Analyzing Romanian folk music and determining it's influence upon Jewish music in the same area (more on Ashkenazi than Sepharadic music probably) and vice versa, would be a fascinating topic for a paper. Suffice here to say that although connections do not seem evident, there are common elements found in both cultures, Sepharadic and Romanian, which co-existed for hundreds of years. It is probably safe to say that some similarities can be found in all folk music of the Balkan region. However,

in terms of the development of a specific style of liturgical Sepharadic music, suffice to mention that such influences were also present during the time of the formation of *Nusah Bucharest*.

In the next chapter we shall look at some of the actual music of the Sepharadi community in an effort to understand how all the above influences fit in and how they affect the style of the liturgy.

⁸⁷ Suliteanu, *Situation de la Musique Populaire*, 429.

CHAPTER THREE

This chapter will take a close look at some of the music collected, in an effort to show some of the foreign influences discussed in the preceding chapter. In the course of a year's research, over 230 pieces of music have been collected from the area.⁸⁸ Major sources have been the two volumes published by M. Cohen Linaru in 1910, *Tehilot Israel*. In addition to his published liturgical works, more of his music has been located in the archives of the *Academia Romina* (Romanian Academy). Several other of his liturgical unpublished works have been collected there such as *Etz Chaiim*, and *Mismor Ledavid* as well as orchestrations for *Ma Tovu*, (to be analyzed below) and *Hatikvah*. Adding to the collection a sampling of Cohen-Linaru's secular works, such as a piano composition dedicated to his brother Iosif Cohen-Linaru as well as several art songs of various styles, completes the collection of Cohen-Linaru. Most of these compositions were written during the first decade of the twentieth century.

Another source of melodies in the Turkish style was the Cauly collection, comprised of 17 melodies for Selihot and Rosh Hashanah. This collection served as a backdrop for other music found. It enabled the comparison of old and new styles of composition as well as comparisons with variants of the same melodies collected by Itzhak Levi, much later, in Israel. The Levi Anthology also provided a good deal of melodies collected from Bucharest and Craiova. Levi's informants were a Cantor from Craiova by the name of Leon Albert Rafael (b. Bucharest 1900- d. unknown), a student of Ivela and Alberto Della Pergola who was the primary Cantor at the Sepharadic

⁸⁸ See Appendix B and B1 for catalogues of music collected.

Synagogue in Craiova from 1941 until 1964 when he came to Israel. His other informant for Romanian Sephardic melodies, was Iosif Almuly (B. Giurgiu 1881 – d. Israel, date unknown) who had been a Gabai at the Sephardic Synagogues in Bucharest. In 1955 he came to Israel. Levi recorded the melodies of both informants in 1966 – 67, in the case of Almuly, long after he sang those melodies. Other members of the Almuly family, Peretz and Max Almuly, the sons of the last Sephardic Rabbi in Romania, have recorded many traditional melodies, both sung in the synagogue and at home, for folklorist Ghisela Suliteanu who notated them all in her article on the Popular music of Sephardic Jews. Some of these melodies are the same as Levi's melodies, while others have parallels in Cauly's collection.

Even though Ivela's music is most important for this research, only a few pieces were located. Two pieces on manuscript were collected, *Teromem* and *Mipi El*⁸⁹ as well as a collection of choral compositions on nationalistic themes Ivela composed for his students. A few of his other pieces were collected and transcribed from a tape made by the Jewish Community in 1998, in an effort to revive and immortalize some of this great music. A secular piece of Ivela's was located in the National Library in Bucharest, *Barcarole*, which is a charming Italian boat song with words by a Romanian poet.

Leon Algazi's *Chants Religieux* was also examined for this research, however since he had left Romania in his youth and he referred to this collection as being from the entire Balkan Region, I did not study his collection in depth.

The texts are comprised of many *Pyinttim* used for *Selihat*, *Rosh Hashanah*, *Yom Kippur*, in the form of *Bakashot* for the above holidays, or *Bakashot* for every day. The

Sepharadim were great *Payetanim* and poets, and used these poems as a means of expressing their love for God, their pain and their joys. The most famous of the *bakashot* are *Adon Olam*, *Elohai Al Tedineni* and others. Other very popular texts are *Lecha Dodi* (6 versions), *Mizmor Ledavid* (9 versions) and *Ygdal* (9 versions).

In an effort to understand the different styles of Sepharadic music in Romania we will look at one very Italianate, operatic piece, *Ma Tovv*, written by M. Cohen-Linaru for coloratura soprano, and compare two arrangements of one traditional melody written for the *Piyut* "*Ben adam, ma lecha nirdam*". One version was notated by Cauly from traditional sources and the other, reinterpreted by M. Cohen-Linaru.

MUSIC ANALYSIS

A. MA TOVU⁹⁰ by Maurice Cohen Linaru (1849-1928)

This piece was composed circa 1910, by Maurice Cohen-Linaru, for the Sepharadic Synagogue in Bucharest, *Cahal Grande*. It is an original composition for *chazzan* and organ. It was performed, apparently by a Mlle [Miss] Zissou at the Sepharadic Temple in Bucharest, and since it does not include the entire liturgical text, the composition may have served a dual purpose; both performed in the synagogue and as a concert piece. This style of composition was common of the period particularly in Italy. We do know that women sang at Cahal Grande since the end of the 19th century. The entire piece has a very esthetic form, with musical themes, and cadenzas replete with western harmonies.

⁸⁹ Supplied by Ghisela Suliteanu.

⁹⁰ Appendix D.

The portion of the text of this prayer used in this composition is:

*Ma Tovv ohalecha Yaakov, mishk'notecha Israel.
Va'ani b'rov chasdecha avo veitecha
Eshtachave el heichal kod'shecha b'iratecha.*

How goodly are your tents, O Jacob, your habitations, O Israel! (Numbers 24:5)
By thy abundant grace I enter thy house;
I worship before thy holy shrine with reverence. (Psalms 5:8) ⁹¹

The second line of this text appears in the Sepharadic *Siddur* and *Machzor* and it is said upon entering the synagogue. As there are extensive *Piyuttim* sung in the morning, before the service proper begins, it leads me to believe that a composition of this sort is modeled after a Sulzer or a Lewandowski. In Ashkenazi synagogues, this text was and still is a prominent opening of the service.⁹²

The predominant text, which runs through the entire piece, and repeats 24 times, is "*Ma Tovv*". It is possible in thinking of the meaning, and the fact that an orchestrated version of this piece exists in Cohen-Linaru's handwriting, that this piece may have been composed for one for the renovations of the Temple or some such non-liturgical event.

The style of the piece is Western European, with every section ending in a cadenza, making it heavily romantic similar to the style of operatic composer Vincenzo Bellini (1801-1835). The entire piece exudes "goodness" and peacefulness, which serves the purpose of this prayer or poem, and text perfectly. The running eighth notes in the

⁹¹ Philip Birnbaum, *Ha siddur Hashalem* (New York: Hebrew Publishing Company, 1995), 4.

⁹² According to Dr. Eric Karsenty, a member of Dr. Edwin Seroussi's research team at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, the tradition of singing Ma Tobu in Sepharadic synagogues particularly in Italy, began with the introduction of the organ. In order to avoid the rabbinical dispute of playing an instrument on Shabbat, the problem was solved by the singing and playing of Ma Tobu, before Shabbat began. Thus, once the organist (usually not Jewish in Italy) began playing the organ before Shabbat, he could continue to

piano's right hand, in steps, every time "Ma Tov" is sung (except at the very end) helps to give the piece a fluidity leading to a wonderful calmness, contrasting with the syncopated rhythms of the "*Ishtachave*" section and the diminished chords of the "*b'iratecha*".

1. Divisions

I see the piece divided into three major divisions A, A1, B. The three parts are almost symmetrical in form and in length with each part being approximately 40 measures in length.

Parts A and A1 are further subdivided before "*Vaani*" at m. 26 and 64. Each subdivision of the section expresses a different musical and textual idea, providing separation, as mentioned above. Part B, although it starts out on m. 85 with the same theme as in the beginning, it ends very differently and unexpectedly with three chromatic sequences culminating with a final cadenza.

2. Musical Development

The piece starts and ends in E flat Major, which is firmly established in the organ introduction. We then have the main theme of the piece: a three-note descending motive on the three syllables MA-TO-VU. This pattern is a sequence repeated four times, each repetition, a step higher.

In between the second and the third sequence, mm. 11-12, as well as after the fourth, mm. 17-18, we have an interruption of the sequence with a variant melody rhythm and text. The pattern ends with three sequences of MA-TO-VU in a downward motion mm. 19-24, (begins on E^b, then C" – with a cadenza, then G"). This in itself constitutes

play during Shabbat as well.

a complete unit following the same pattern as the bigger unit: "a"; (mm 7-12) "a1"; (mm 13-18 and "b" (mm 19-24). At the end of the entire piece, m. 84, we also get the feeling that we are restarting the motive, but it then becomes a coda. In the second section of the first part, at m. 19, this pattern of the entire piece is reproduced as if in miniature. In other words, at measure 19, it looks like the Ma Tovv motive is restarting as at the beginning but then we have a coda and the little section ends. Aesthetics and form were very important elements in the music of the Romantic Period and this example of it is classic: the entire piece is very symmetrical, with the smaller section mirroring the form of the entire piece, the sections being equally divided.

The second section of the Part "a" (mm 26-44) is very different from the first section. First of all we see a modulation to the V (B^b) with many accidentals and diminished chords. The piano rhythmic pattern repeats in mm 25-30 and 31 – 36 even though the vocal line does not. The melody changes direction to an upward direction, while the rhythm changes from half notes to quarter notes and dotted eighth notes.

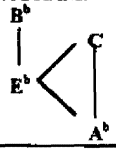
This section could also be further subdivided into four little sections:

- mm. 25-30 – establishing the key transition
- mm. 31-36 – harmonic reinforcement of the new key
- mm. 37-40 – sequence moving from one diminished chord to another
- mm. 41-44 – the codetta with a cadenza, followed by a transition back to the original key of E flat. Ending on B^b which becomes V of E^b .

The "a1" part mm. 45-84 is basically a repetition of "a" with bigger cadenzas and slight variations.

3. Detailed Analysis

The chart below summarizes in detail some of the main points discussed above:

	PART A - The MA TOVU exposition measures 1-44		PART A-1 - The MA TOVU reprise and development Measures 45-84		PART B - The end or Coda Measures 85-end	
	Ma Tovv Mm 1-25	Va'ani Mm 26-44	Ma Tovv - I Mm 45-63	Va'ani - I Mm 64-81	Ma Tovv Mm 82-96	Ma Tovv Coda Mm 97-117
MOTIVE	The musical motive of the entire piece rests on three descending half notes (by steps) fitting the syllables MA TO-VU. This motive is repeated in each section's opening. It is an ascending sequence repeated 4 times. So that even though the three notes descend, it is interesting to note that each Ma Tovv in the sequence begins on a higher pitch than its predecessor. The codetta in each first half of each section, brings the Ma Tovv back to the tonic.					
TEXT TREATMENT	Very symmetrical: Ma Tovv (x2) Ohalecha... Ma Tovv (x2) Mishkenotecha... Ma Tovv (x3) Evokes peacefulness, bliss and gratitude	More agitated faster syncopated notes. The word "ishtachave" - the "ve" is down in an octave leap almost as if the notes are bowing as well. "Be-iratecha" is repeated twice in a diminished down-up sequence accentuating the meaning of "fear".	The text is treated the same as the opening phrase.	Aside from more elaborate cadenzas, the text is treated in the same fashion as the previous Va'ani section	No special treatment of text in this section.	
KEY DIAGRAM: 	Starts out in Eb major	Modulates to the 5th - Bb	We return to Eb using measure 44 to modulate back	Move to the relative minor, c, and to the Ab key from 69-81 before returning to the original Eb	Transition to the original key of Eb in measures 82-84	After a chromatic Ma Tovv sequence, he ends the piece in the original key of Eb
CHORD SUCCESSION	Opens on the tonic, moving to an authentic cadence V-I mm 6-7. End of the first sequence, mm. 18-19 another authentic cadence. In mm. 19-22, we have a brief interlude into the second, giving us an authentic cadence before returning to Eb in m. 23 for the final authentic cadence.	Starting on the V of V (Bb), we move to I (of V) at m. 30. After a diminished 6th for dramatic effect, he ends section A and this phrase with another authentic cadence mm 42-44 in the modulated key of I-V-I.	This section is a repeat of the first section of Part A with the same harmonies and melodies.	Mm 63-64 transition to the relative minor of Eb, C minor. This section mm 64-68 forms a complete phrase of I-IV-V-VII-I. Mm 70 to 81 are a repeat of mm 32-42 with a progression of diminished chords expressing the text. This section begins and ends on I (of Ab) ending with an extended authentic cadence.	Mm 85 through 96, return to Eb (with original words and harmonies). Mm 97 through 105 go through a chromatic sequence of Ma Tovv's finally returning to complete a very major and extended Authentic Cadence lasting for 12 measures, marking a very definite ending of the piece.	
DYNAMIC CONTRAST	The piece begins piano. As the sequence rises in pitch, so does the volume and as it winds down at m. 24 the voice diminishes as well. I hear the high Ab in the first cadenza soft and sweet.	By contrast, this section is mostly Forte, punctuated by two "fp" markings at the diminished chords for emphasis of the text and harmonic structure.	This section is a repeat of the first section including its dynamic set-up.	Section starts and ends forte but the middle section marked by a sequence of emphasized diminished chords, is marked "piano" in the organ part without any indication for the vocal line.	Similar dynamics as in the beginning of the piece are appropriate for this section.	Final cadence starts piano and the organ part ends the entire piece forte, including the voice.
DIRECTION OF MELODY LINE	The melody line follows the swell of the dynamics. It starts on Eb (piano intro) moves up, descending at m. 24.	Moving away from horizontal development, the melody is more choppy, more vertical in its development. The climax of this section is at mm 37-40 with the sequence of "beiratecha" in an up-down-up motion	Exact repetition once again of opening section	This section is similar to its counterpart in section A except that the "beiratecha" (mm. 75-78) are only UP-DOWN motion. This section is an elaboration of its counterpart in A. It has more, and bigger, cadenzas and although the rhythmic pattern is similar, the melody is in a higher key and register.	After the repeat of the main theme (mm.. 85-96) here, the melody does not seem to go anywhere except for the trills at the very end which delineate the very extended I chord by trilling first on Eb then on G and finally climaxing on the Bb before ending on Eb	

4. Function of Melodic Phrase Repetition

The repetition of the "*Ma Tovu*" (see above chart) section provides the grounding for the entire piece, giving us a feeling of safety and well being. It is the anchor that enables one to explore. This portion of a section begins each of the three major divisions. The contrasting "*Va'ani*" section mm 26-44, is introduced, rather simply. Within this phrase, we have the word "*biratecha*" repeated twice, thus emphasizing "fear" and "awe", particularly when combined with the diminished chords in the organ. The second repeat of "*biratecha*" could also belong to the next phrase, which is a repetition of "*Javo betecha*", which might mean, "Your reverence will bring me home". Indeed, this also signals the end of the phrase. By repeating text of the biblical quotation in a different combination, new meaning could be created, giving the form of the piece an opportunity for a cadenza, completing the symmetry of the phrase.

The "*Va'Ani 1*" section, mm. 64-81, which is an embellished and extended repetition of the "*Va'Ani*" section, mm. 26-44, serves as the climax of the entire piece, providing us with a musical dramatic and climactic point.

5. Rhythmic Contrast

The "*Ma Tovu*" sections abound in half notes for the voice (except for the cadenzas) contrasting with the 8th notes of the organ. This contrast achieves a sense of peacefulness, which might set the tone for the peacefulness of Shabbat, or as is the custom in Sephardic synagogues, on entering the synagogue.

The "*Va'Ani*" sections mm 26-44 and mm 64-81, contrast rhythmically against the "*Ma Tovu*" sections which preceded them. The dotted 8th notes and syncopated rhythms, combined with the diminished chords and the text, give one a sense of awe in the

presence of God. Once again, the rhythmic contrast serves the mood and the text of the piece.

In mm 98 – 105 we see a rhythmic contrast between the right and left hands in the organ. They alternate between the half notes and the 8th notes, thus bringing together the voice and the organ of the opening phrase for the grand finale.

In conclusion, this *Ma Tovv*, provides us with a fine example of Western music introduced successfully into the Sepharadic milieu of Bucharest. The orchestrated version of this piece found at the Romanian Academy, also suggests that this piece was performed both in and out of the synagogue and that it was popular. Other than the Hebrew text, there is nothing particularly Jewish about the piece. We can discern here Ashkenazi liturgical considerations (the text), Italianate influences (as expressed by the many cadenzas in the style of Bellini and Verdi), and other influences from the French Operas of Offenbach and Thomas (also replete with cadenzas and coloratura). This style of composition places Cohen-Linaru on a footing with other Jewish composers of his time, such as Salomon Sulzer and Louis Lewandowski.

B. BEN ADAM, MA LECHA NIRDAM – Comparison of two versions

1. Cauty Version ⁹³

Ben Adam Ma Lecha Nirdam is a *Piyut* in the form of a *Bakashah* recited during *Selihot* in many Sepharadic communities around the Mediterranean, such as Corfu, Livorno, etc. It is also found in the Yemenite Rite, which attests to this poem's

⁹³ Appendix E.

antiquity.⁹⁴ The text is presented in Cauly's book in Hebrew, transliterated in Romanian.

A Ladino translation is provided at the end of the book:

Ben adam Maleha (or ma leha) nirdam
Cum chera betahanunim
Shefoh siha derosh seliha meadon adonim

Rehatz utar veal teahar
Beterem iamim ponim
Umeera rutz leezra lifne shohen meonim

Umipesha vegam resha
Berah ufhad measonim
Ana shee shimha iode Israel neemanim

Leha Adonai atzedaca velanu boshet apanim } x2

Amod chegever veitgaber leitvadot al hataim
Iael derosh behoved rosh Lehaper al peshaim.
Chi leolam lo neelam mimenu niflaim
Vehol maamar asher icamar Lefanav em nicraim
Amerahem u ierahem alenu cherachem av al banim.

Leha Adonai atzedaca velanu boshet apanim. } x2

Ma nitonen uma nomar
Ma nedaber uma nitztadac.
Nahpesa derahenu venahcora venashuva eleha

Chi iemineha peshuta lecabel shavim
Shavim eleha behol lev
Shavatam tecabel berahameha.

Adonai shemaa
Adonai selaha
Adonai acshiva vaase
Al teahar lemaanha eloai
Chi shimha nicra al ireha veal ameha

Ashivenu Adonai eleha venashuva
Hadesh iamenu chechedem.

⁹⁴ Israel Davidson, *Otzar HaPiyut*, Vol. 2, 38.

The last 7 lines also appear in the evening service of Yom Kippur in Ashkenazi *machzorim*, in the form of congregational *Tachanunim*. It is a quotation from the book of Daniel (9:19).

The song has no harmonies. It is one continuous melody with 34 lines. There are some metric suggestions, however, measures are not marked clearly. The modality of the song is not easily identifiable by Western musical standards. On a first examination it might have components of *maqam Ajam* in C for ascending sequences, and its minor variant, *Nuhawan* for descending sequences.

There are four major divisions to the song. Three of them are marked by a double bar. The first division can be found on line 10. This division continues until line 23, where another division occurs. Although there is no double bar line indicating another division, I consider the *Recit.* section, beginning line 28, to be a different section.

Division #1, lines 1-10: The melody is strophic. Each strophe is further divided into two parts ("a" and "b"). While the rhythm remains constant, the strophic phrase, divisible into four measures, with minor variations to accommodate words is repeated seven times. The melody ascends and descends mostly in steps, with an occasional skip of a third, such as the first interval of the piece. The tonality remains around C minor for this entire section. The E^b is always natural ascending and always flat descending. Therefore it does not appear in the key signature. This is the introduction of the song. Emotions are at a minimum. The phrases are a series of commands given to someone (who apparently had fallen asleep), a reminder, if you will, to go and say his "*tachanunim*", *kum* (get up), *kera* (read), *shefoch sicha* (spill your anger), *rechatz ut'har* (wash and purify), *ve'al teachar* (and don't be late), *rutz l'ezra* (run towards help), *berach*

(run from sin), *ufchad* (be afraid). The phrases are delivered simply, in a matter of fact way. The section ends with a refrain which is also begins and ends the next section (line 10/11 and 21-23), *Lecha Adonai hatzedaka, velanu boshet hapanim*. This brings us into the next section, Section 2.

Section 2, lines 10-23, becomes more intense. The C minor key is more firmly established, with the key signature changing to 3 flats. Although the E^b is in the key signature, in the first phrase, the third degree is higher than flat, yet it is not natural. The section also has a tendency to end its phrases with a flatted second degree leading to the tonic. It establishes that tonality in the first phrase and hints at it on line 17, where the penultimate note an almost D^b, ending on the tonic, C. Once again, there are seven phrases, as in Section 1. The section begins and ends with the refrain. Each phrase begins and ends with C, while sometimes it begins with a pick-up on the seventh of the scale, such as on line 21. The ends of most phrases are embellished by a melisma. Again there are melodic and rhythmic variants to accommodate the text. This section is characterized by many grace notes, giving the melody the allusion of crying or begging. Although sequences still ascend and descend mostly in steps, we now have greater intervals as well, such as fifths (line 14) or fourths (line 10). The text also shifts from simple preparatory instructions, to more intense commands. *Amod chegever* (stand as a man), in other words, be brave and confess your sins, with a heavy head, to expiate your sins. We are now coming to a portion of the text which expresses the main idea of the poem and the music reflects the intensity of the *bakasha* as well.

On line 23 we begin another section with the repetition of the refrain. The familiar text is used to establish the new melodic pattern, as it did in the previous section.

While the phrase division is constant, the structure the same as in previous sections, the melodic content is slightly different. We now have a higher tessitura, larger intervals than the previous section, where the upper tetrachord of the *maqam* is explored. The interval characterizing this section is a minor sixth. Phrases still begin on C and end on C for the most part. This section has only three repeating phrases, and does not end with the customary refrain. There are still grace notes throughout the phrase, emphasizing the strong beat and giving one the sense of crying. Both the higher pitches and the text indicate the musical climax of the song, with MAN questioning the way back to God. Also, we no longer have the command language to another person (*tzivui*). Rather there is a joining of people and it seems that the speaker and the person spoken to have joined together in prayer. The tense changes to future, first person plural, "what shall we say and how shall we justify ourselves. We shall find our way, and we shall return to You". It is an affirmation of one's faith.

Finally the last section (lines 28-34) of the Piyut shifts style completely. We begin at line 28 with the instruction "Recit." [*recitative* or free style, spoken], the exact opposite of the previous 27 lines which had a very strong beat to them, with only a couple of retards indicated. This section is free. No measures are suggested or indicated until line 30. The tonality changes as well, moving towards the E^b minor. It is a series of pleas hauntingly beautiful in their free form, simple chant-like melody, staying mostly on the E^b or G^b with melismatic phrase endings, and minor modality. The complete transformation which takes place in man, from sleep (meaning ignorance, or not caring) to achieving a sense of holiness through a series of promises (to return) and pleas (renew our days) is truly beautifully expressed in the music as well. This song has many of the

elements mentioned above (see Chapter 2; Part B:1) which are typical of this type of Turkish melody: expressivity of text, melodic embellishments, recitative style, poetic elements/metric organization, organization of sharps and flats including third and quarter tones and usage of chromatic modes (in Section 3 in particular). It is a great example of Perso-Arabic, Spanish, Turkish-Greek music.

2. Cohen-Linaru Version ⁹⁵

The adaptation of *Ben Adam Ma Lecha Nirdam* as analyzed above, by Cohen-Linaru provides a typical example of the best and worst of his musical adaptations. It is the best because by preserving a portion of the melody, he was able to retain the original flavor of the song. Adding Western harmonies created a new and exciting composition, in keeping with his times. At the same time, it is the worst because, as he was faulted by many of his contemporaries,⁹⁶ in the process of new creation, he destroyed a tradition of hundreds of years. He, as he himself said in the preface to his work, meant to preserve the melodies. But he also considered his traditional childhood melodies as repetitive and boring, needing improvement. *Ben Adam Ma Lecha Nirdam* is a perfect example of his philosophy.

Cohen-Linaru utilizes Section three of the Cauly version (lines 28-34 above) for his departure point (see Appendix E1). Beginning in E minor with a brief organ

⁹⁵ Appendix F.

⁹⁶ The entire purpose for the writing of the Cauly book was to restore these traditional melodies to their original beauty and to preserve them in their original state. This happened precisely because of Cohen-Linaru's adaptations, which the community felt, were not faithful to the original.

introduction (mm. 1-5), he establishes the beginning and ending of the melodic motive of the song. All the grace notes are now incorporated into the rhythmic pattern of the song, which he creates in 4/4. The original melody is introduced pretty faithfully in mm. 5 through 13. He has retained the strophic phrasing and rhythm and the minor sixth intervals, ending the section on m. 13 with an authentic cadence of I-V-I. The "traditional" portion of the melody throughout the piece (mm. 5-13 and mm. 43-50), are given to the *chazzan*. The newly composed portion (mm. 14-30), which I will now discuss, are given to a soprano solo and the choir. The soprano solo begins this section. While the tonality remains in E minor, he shifts the focus to the third degree, G giving the section a major flavor reminiscent of the beginning of the traditional piece, which alternated between major (ascending) and minor (descending) modality. Retaining the strong strophic, rhythmic character of the piece, Cohen-Linaru, through a series of diminished chords, and sequences ends this section at m. 21 on a half cadence, ending on a B major chord (the raised 7th indicates a harmonic minor). The choir now repeats the motive of this last section (mm. 14-21), in four-part harmony mm. 22-30.

Measures 31 through 35 are a reprise of the "traditional" motive, sung on the refrain of the poem, *Lecha Adonai hatzedaka, velanu boschet hapanim*. The choir begins *Forte*, in unison at m.31-34, re-establishing the motive, and breaks into simple four-part harmonies, *diminuendo*, ending once again with an authentic cadence, mm. 34-35.

Although it might be true that Cohen-Linaru did not reproduce the original, traditional melody faithfully, nevertheless, he created an inspirational new piece of music, faithfully re-creating the mood of the old, and successfully eliminating boring strophic repetitions by inserting a varied melody in the spirit of the piece (mm. 14-21). As this entire section

is repeated to accommodate the many verses of the *piyut* (mm. 6 through 41), alternating thus, between these two different melodies does successfully create a variety of the melody while retaining it's oriental flavor.

The *Andante con moto* section at m. 43 begins a new section. It begins with a reprieve of the refrain text, sung with the "traditional" melody of the beginning. However, the melody is greatly embellished by melismas and grace notes. The tempo also differs from that of the beginning which was Andantino. This section (mm. 43-50) is marked by an Andante, slower tempo, more expressive singing. Mm. 50 through 54 provide a rhythmic contrast to the previous section as Cohen-Linaru introduces a series of triplets. The choir begins with the "traditional" motive (E-F-G-A-B) m. 50, but shifts gear going into triplets ending on the tonic. This shift is also based on the original melody. The last section of the Cauly beginning on line 28, was marked *Recit.*, and had similar note progressions as Cohen Linaru's section at mm 50. Once again, his interpretation of "free rhythm, by using the triplets, provided a variety in the melodic line while remaining within the spirit of the traditional melody. The rhythmic shift, also indicates the urgency of the text (the *bakasha* – *Adonai shemaa*, etc.) as well as announce an ending to the piece. Cohen-Linaru ends the piece with an extended organ interlude (mm. 58-64), an elaborate authentic cadence.

Even though Cohen-Linaru did not adhere in this piece to the original melody exactly, I find him to be a very sensitive thoughtful, creative composer. His intent of evoking the "old" while creating the "new" was brilliantly achieved, utilizing the same concepts of updating traditional melodies that were used by many 19th century Jewish

composers, chiefly Salomon Sulzer, Louis Lewandowski, Samuel Naumbourg, and Emile Jonas, to name a few.

CONCLUSION

Can we claim that liturgical Sephardic music in Romania was unique? That in the period of this study, 1850-1950 it developed it's own *nusah*, which we can easily call *Nusah Bucharest*? I believe that the answer would be a resounding YES. We can also claim that this *Nusah* arose out of the history of the Jews who settled in Romania over a long period, created out of the needs of the community, which it served.

Nusah Bucharest began developing in the mid 1850's with the introduction of foreign elements into the Sephardic liturgy. With European emancipation, Jews became worldly, better educated and eager to adapt to the culture that surrounded them. These cultural changes affected synagogue practices as well, with the introduction of new compositions, composed expressly to enhance prayer, and to show the eagerness of Jews to assimilate even in their synagogues. By the 1920's, these cultural changes were well established and *Nusah Bucharest* reached it's climax during the years Ivela and Della Pergola were in charge of the music of Cahal Grande, and indirectly, other Sephardic communities throughout Romania. *Nusah Bucharest* was embodied in the music of Ivela. Ivela was a product of three worlds. He was born in Romania, he grew up in the traditional world of Perso-Arabic, Turkish liturgy in his Sephardic milieu, and being exposed in his youth to the reforms of Cohen Linaru, Curiel and Bianchi, he became enamoured of Italian and Western music. The collaboration he created with Alberto Della Pergola sparked his creative genius to create a new idiom for prayer. This idiom had two facets. On the one hand it was steeped in the rich tradition of the Turkish rite as it had been practiced in Romania for centuries, and on the other hand, in his new passion, the discovery of Western music and it's compositional possibilities.

Whereas his compatriot, Cohen-Linaru and his predecessors were too obvious in their use of Western motives, often ignoring all traditional elements, Ivela was able to create a very fine balance between these two worlds, bridging generations of tradition with new idioms of expression. Thrown into this formula were also elements of Romanian folk music and some Ashkenazi aspects thus creating a unique liturgy combining elements from cultures to which the Sephardic community was exposed. Because of this uniqueness, we can prove that the Sephardic community of Romania, although fairly small, was able to create their own *Nusah*, *Nusah* Bucharest.

Unfortunately, the development and evolution of this *Nusah* began to slow down with increasing anti-Semitism in Romania particularly after Jews were finally granted their rights in 1923 and Ivela's death in 1927. As Jews became increasingly preoccupied with survival the development of this new style of prayer reached a plateau. They were going through the motions, using the *Nusah* as it had been established, but did not create and develop new expressions of prayer. Zionism, as a response to the problems of survival and the *Haskalah* movement in Romania, further depleted the members of the community. Jews began leaving the Sephardic community from the early 1900s and climaxed after the Holocaust. This massive exodus left the community without able leaders. Indeed, the last *chazzan* and music directors at Cahal Grande/Cicu were Ashkenazim (1948). The holocaust also played a great part in the destruction of the great Temple, which fostered and nurtured the development of this *Nusah* and killing many members of the community through pogroms and deportation. The remaining community tried to remain independent for a period doing what it had to in order to survive:

- Having both reform and traditional services in one location, at Cahal Cicu, with the traditional faction adapting to the use of a small organ, after the destruction of Cahal Grande in 1941
- engaging an Ashkenazi music director, trained in the operatic tradition (Rosensteck) to continue in the development of *Nusah Bucharest*, in 1946
- engaging an Ashkenazi Cantor, Hoffman, who had been trained by Della Pergola, in 1936.

When the Ashkenazi cantor and music director also left, in the late 1940's, the remaining community, in a sense, gave up trying to develop the new idiom of expression in the synagogue, and drew their resources from within the more traditional faction of the community. The last *chazzanim*, the Almuly brothers and Marcel Moise, themselves not operatically trained, inadvertently brought *Nusah Bucharest* to a new level of development.

They took the operatic western melodies, the Italianate pronunciation, and incorporated them into their traditional chants, recreating them into congregational responsorial melodies. One such example was Emile Jonas' *Hodu l'Adonai* (composed between 1855 and 1886) melody as sung by Max Almuly. It was conceived as a Solo/Choir/Organ piece, as sung by Alberto Della Pergola on a Columbia recording. Mr. Almuly and his brother reduced this melody, as they sang it at Cahal Cicu much later, to its typical Sepharadic form with the *chazzan* singing *Hodu l'Adonai ki tob* and the *kahal* responding with *Ki leolam hasdo*.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ as heard at Ms. Suliteanu's home, on tapes she collected throughout her long career at the National Folkloric Institute in Bucharest.

This was the last step in the development of a Sepharadic liturgical singing style unique in Europe, and indeed unique in the world.

No other Sepharadic community in the Balkans and maybe in Europe (pending more research) was as successful at implementing reforms as the Bucharest community was.⁹⁸ Some of the reasons they were successful were that they had within the community their own Sepharadic composers who were educated in the West and were able to combine the old style with the new. In Vienna's Sepharadic community for instance, heavily influenced by Salomon Sulzer, the younger generation of the community understanding the importance of reforms to keep future generations interested in Judaism, hired outside professional musicians to transcribe and arrange their Sepharadic melodies in the latter part of the 19th century. They were not Sepharadim. The influence was heavily German, heavily Ashkenazi. They sought to imitate the style of Sulzer. Still, out of deference to the old generation they did not carry out many reforms.

In the Sarajevo Sepharadic community for instance, although ideology was radical, the rabbi introducing mixed seating and a women's *minyan*, musical reforms were slow to come and only in 1902 a mixed choir was founded but outside the synagogue.⁹⁹

To some degree, all Sepharadic communities were influenced by Ashkenazi reforms around them, and many attempted to modernize their services. But in my opinion, only the Sepharadic community of Bucharest was so successful in their reforms

⁹⁸ Seroussi, *Zimrat Kodesh Beidan shel T'murot Reformiot Musikaliot*, 101

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, 94.

that a new expression of prayer took hold. To summarize some of the factors contributing to this success, as mentioned above:

- Sepharadi mentality was more prone to the acceptance of change, able to compartmentalize their religion
- As Turkish subjects, many of the Sepharadim in Bucharest were independent of the Romanian Government (meaning they had more freedom and privileges)
- Community became very wealthy over time, particularly in the 19th century, when they became financiers to kings and governments
- Members of the community became better educated over time, particularly in the West, France and Italy
- Members had a strong stake in the success of the community, and as a part of their upbringing, a sense of duty toward community

Once reforms were instituted, they were able to succeed in developing them because:

- The reform faction of the community was more powerful than the traditional one.
- They had the means to appease both sides and create a variety in the style of prayer to incorporate both reform and maintain traditional styles of prayer
- In their glorious period, they did not have to rely on Ashkenazi sources to create reforms. They were able to create them from within the Sepharadic community, thus preserving the old *nusah*, while adding new elements.

- For inspiration, they looked to other Sepharadic communities in Italy, importing Cantors and music directors from Trieste and Firezne, and France, heavily drawing on their repertoire. Although this repertoire had Western elements, many of the melodies were of the same perso-arabic origin as the melodies sung at Cahal Grande prior to reforms. The new style therefore was seen as an embellishment of the old and not necessarily a replacement, a change much easier to accept.
- The rabbis of the Sepharadic community were very supportive and encouraging of change.

In the process of research, I have discovered an entire different meaning of the word *reform*. The reforms of the Sepharadic community in Bucharest were as successful as the reforms of Sulzer and Lewandowski. Cohen-Linaru and Ivela took Sulzer's ideas and applied them to their own music, modeling the ideas after the forms of music they were drawn to, Italian and French secular music, reflecting the taste, education, and particular make-up of the Sepharadic community in Romania.

It is only because of the demise of this community that its music has not survived and evolved. It was a spark of creativity too quickly extinguished. It deserves a place of honor in the history of the music of the Jewish people!

APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A

Here is a poem written in Ladino by the great Rabbi Haim Moshe Bejarano, Efendi, Chief Rabbi of Turkey (b. Stara Zagora 1850 – 1931) who served the Sepharadi community of Bucharest for 32 years (1877-1910):

A CORONA DE LA LENGUA SEFARADITA/

[THE CROWN OF THE SEPHARADI LANGUAGE]

<i>A ti lengua santa</i>	[You Holy language
<i>A ti te adoro</i>	You I adore
<i>Mas que toda la plata</i>	More than all the silver
<i>Mas que todo oro.</i>	More than all the gold
<i>Tu sos la mas linda</i>	You are the prettiest
<i>De todos los lenguajes,</i>	Of all the languages.
<i>A ti dan los sensios</i>	You give meaning (or understanding)
<i>Todo el ventajaje.</i>	All the advantage.
<i>Con ti nos rogamos</i>	With you we pray
<i>Al Dio de la altura</i>	To God on high
<i>Patron del Universo</i>	Ruler of the Universe
<i>Y de la natura.</i>	And of Nature
<i>Si mi Pueblo Santo</i>	And if the Holy People
<i>El fue captivado</i>	Was conquered
<i>Con ti, mi querida,</i>	Only through you, my love
<i>El fue consolado.</i>	It found consolation.]

Another example is a saying against *Ayin Hara*, which Jews brought to Romania from Sarajevo. For instance, a child's mother says the following while touching the bridge of the child's nose:

Como la vaca alimpia ala vitelica, ansi te alimpio de ojo malo y de toda el mal.

[As a cow cleans its young, so I cleanse you of *Ayin Hara* and all bad things.]¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Siniol, *Portrete si Schite Sefarde*, 79, 104.

APPENDIX B
SEPHARADIC MUSIC FROM ROMANIA
(sorted by Name)

NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
ACHAR NOG'NIM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		great text
ACHOT KTANAH	Almuly Jacob	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book p. 23
ACHOT KTANAH	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ACHOT KTANAH	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
ACHOT KTANAH	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ADIR HU	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		I HAVE A CHORAL ARRANGEMENT OF THIS PIECE
ADIR V'NAOR	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ADIR V'NAOR	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
ADIR V'NAOR	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ADIR V'NAOR	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ADON HASELICHOT	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ADON OLAM		Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	organ/orch	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
ADON OLAM	Ivela A. L.	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	duet	organ/viollin	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
ADON OLAM	Ivela A. L.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ADONAI B'KOL SHOFAR	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ADONAI B'KOL SHOFAR	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
ADONAI MELECH	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ADONAI MELECH	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ADONAI SHAMAATI	Almuly Iosef	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book p. 25
ADONAI SHAMAATI	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
ADONAI SHAMAATI	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ADONAI SHAMAATI SHIM'CHA	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ALEYNU L'SHABEACH	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation

NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
AMEN SHEM NORA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
ANA ADONAI	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ANA B'KORENU	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ANA B'KORENU	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	Almuly Josef	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book on p 21
ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ATANU LECHALOT	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ATANU LECHALOT PANECHA	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
AVINU MAKLENU	Almuly Josef	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		from Cauly's book p. 26-diff key
AVINU MAKLENU	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
AVINU MALKENU	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
AVINU MALKENU	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H/L	SOLO		
AZAMER BISHVACHIN	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		second melody
AZAMER BISHVACHIN	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		third melody
AZAMER BISHVACHIN	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		not sure of the language
AZHAROT	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
AZHAROT-PRIMER DIA	Almuly Josef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
BMOTSAE YOM M'NUCHA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
BMOTSAE YOM M'NUCHA	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
BRUCHIM ATEM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
BZOCHRI	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
BARCAROLA	Ivela A. L.		O	SOLO (TENOR)	PIANO	Romatz pentru voce si pian - op. 6 Magasinul Conservatorului N. Mischnozniky, Bucuresti
BEN ADAM MA L'CHA NIRDAM	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
BEN ADAM MA L'CHA NIRDAM	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	BAKASHA

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
BIMTE MEAT	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
CHAD GADYIAH	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	O	SOLO		ARAMAIC
CHAD GADYIAH	Almuly Max	tape - Sulteanu	L	SOLO		on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
CHANSON - DOINA	Cohen-Linaru M.	MELODIES ROUMAINES	O	SOLO	PIANO	
Chanson de Shabbat	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
CHERE ENFANT- MENDRULITA	Cohen-Linaru M.	MELODIES ROUMAINES	O	SOLO	PIANO	
CINTEC SPANIOL	Cohen-Linaru M.	MELODII ROMINE	O	SOLO	PIANO	lyrics V. Alessandri with French and German translations
CINTECULU MARGARITEI- CHANSON DE MIGNON	Cohen-Linaru M.	OCTAVO	O	SOLO	PIANO	lyrics V. Alessandri
DOR DE SAT	Ivela A. L.	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		lyrics by P. Dulfu
EL DIO ALTO	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
EL DIO DISO	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
EL MISTATER	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
EL NORAH ALILAH	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
EL NORAH ALILAH	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
EL NORAH ALILAH	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
EL R'BAA- cintec arabesc	Cohen-Linaru M.	OCTAVO	O	SOLO	PIANO	lyrics V. Alessandri
ELAV MI IKSHAV VAISHILAM	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II/I.	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ELEH D'VARIM	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ELI ELIAHU	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ELOHAI AL TEDINENI	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ELOHAI AL TEDINENI	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
ELOHAI AL TEDINENI	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ELOHAI AL TEDINENI KMAALI	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ERETZ VARUM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
ES RAZON D'ALAVAR AL DIO	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	L	SOLO		

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
ES RAZON DE ALAVAR	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	I.	SOLO		KETUBAH DE SHAVUOT
ESHYET CHAIL	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		
ESTE EL PAN	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
ET SHAARE RATSON	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
ET SHAARE RATZON	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ET SHAARE RATZON LEHIPATEACH	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
ETZ CHAIM	Cohen-Linaru M.	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
EYN K'ELOHENU	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H/L	SOLO		
EYN K'ELOHENU	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H/L	SOLO		another melody
EYN K'ELOHENU	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H/L	SOLO		variant on Flory Jagoda's version
GAD'LU	Franchetti B.		H	STTB		di rito tedesco. Written in 1865, when Franchetti was Music Dir. in Bucharest
GHIOCEI SI VIORELE	Ivela A. L.	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		
HA LAHMA ANYA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		
HALLEL	Jonas E.	Shirot Yisrael	H	SOLO	ORGAN	air ancien
HALLEL	Jonas E.	SHIROT YISRAEL	H	OFFICIANT/CHO		air ancien - 1886?
HASHKIVENU	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	with chatimah for Shabbat
HASHKIVENU	Rosensteck I.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASETTE	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
HATIKVA	Cohen-Linaru M.	MANUSCRIPT		ORCHESTRA		traditional melody orchestrated by Cohen-Linaru
HAYOM HARAT OLAM	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
HAYOM HARAT OLAM	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
HODU L'ADONAI	Almuly Peretz Filip -Max Almuly	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
HODU L'ADONAI	Jonas E.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	duet and choir
HODU L'ADONAI	Jonas?	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	organ/orch	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
HORA INFRATIRI	Ivela A. L.	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		
IM AFES	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
IMN DE ZECE MAIU	Ivela A. L.	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		lyrics by V. Alexandri

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
KTUVA DE SHAVUOT	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		text looks like Shir Hashirim- but it is very long
KADDISH	Cohen-Linaru	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
KADDISH	Cohen-Linaru M.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	II	CHIAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
KAMTI B'ASHMORET	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
KIDDUSH	Rosensteck I.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
KOHANECHA	Rosensteck I.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	(Ki mitzyion)
KOL BERUE MAALA UMATA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
KOL NIDRE	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	A	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
KOL NIDRE	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	A	CHIAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
L'ADONAI ELOHENU	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	II	CHIAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
L'CHA DODI	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
L'CHA DODI	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
L'CHA DODI	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
L'CHA DODI	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
L'CHA DODI	Ivela A. L.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
L'CHA DODI	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
L'CHA ELI T'SHUKATI	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
L'CHA ELI T'SHUKATI	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
L'CHA ELI T'SHUKATI	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
L'MANCHA V'LO LANU	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
L'MI EVKEH	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
LA JEUNE FILLE DE CANDILY	Cohen-Linaru M.	LES FLEURES DU BOSPHORE	O	SOLO	PIANO	in French - lyrics by D. Bolintineano
LA KETUBA	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
LECHA DODI	Franchetti B.		H	TTB		
LECHA DODI	Jonas E.	SHIROT YISRAEL	H	SOLO/STB	ORGAN	1854
LES ETOILES - STELELE	Cohen-Linaru M.	MELODIES ROUMAINES	O	SOLO	PIANO	

NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
MA NOMAR LEFANECHA	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOTT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
MA TOVU	Cohen-Linaru M.	MANUSCRIPT	H	SOLO/ORCHEST	HARP	orchestrated version
MA TOVU	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOTT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN	ORGAN	chante par Mlle Zissou au Temple Israelite de Bucarest
MAJBIAH SHEON IAMIM	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
MARCHE ORIENTALE	Cohen-Linaru M.	OCTAVO		FOR PIANO		
MAROR ZE SHANU OCHLIM	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
MATZA ZY SHE'ANU OCHLIM	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
MEGILAT RUTH	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
MI CHAMOCHA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another version
MI CHAMOCHA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another version
MI CHAMOCHA	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
MI EL KAMOCHA	Almuly Iosef	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauty's book p29
MI EL KAMOCHA (TASHLICH)	Cauty I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
MIN HAMEZAR	Jonas E.	SHIROTT YISRAEL	H	ST	ORGAN	1886
MINCHA SHIR HASHIRIM ARVIT	Marcel Moise, Cantor	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-AS DOVENED AT Cahal Cicu in 1977 - no words provided except Adonai wherever it appears
MIPI EL	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another melody
MIPI EL	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H/L	SOLO		
MIPI EL	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOTT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN, SAT	ORGAN	
MIPI EL	Ivela A. L.	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	from G. Suliteanu - handwritten by Cirbu (Ivela was blind)
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Almuly Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Bianchi C.-A. I. Ivela	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-Yuval #4
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Cohen-Linaru M.	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-Yuval #8

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR	NOTES
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Cohen-Linaru M.	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Franchetti B.		H	SOLO/TB		
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Ivela A. L.	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-from Yuval
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Jonas E.	Shirot Yisrael	H	SOLO/SAB	ORGAN	
MIZMOR L'DAVID	Naumbourg-Ivela	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-Yuval #5
NOCHES, NOCHES	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
ODECHA	Almuly Max	tape - Suliteanu	H	SOLO		on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
ODECHA	Almuly Max	tape-Suliteanu-Turkish melody	H	SOLO		on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
ODECHA	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
ODECHA	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
ODECHA	Curiel G.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
ODECHA KI ANITANI	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		. Pp 10 & 12
PARTOS TROCADOS	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
PASTORII SI PLUGARII	Ivela A. L.	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		lyrics by V. Alexandri
PESACH SHEHAYU	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
AVOTEINU OCHLIM						
QUANDO EL REY NIMROD	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		lots of different verses
QUIEN SUPIESE	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
QUIEN SUPIESE Y ENTENDIESE	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
RTZE NA		Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	SATB	ORGAN	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
R'UU BANIM		LEVI ANTHOLOGY	H	SOLO		similar to Jonas
R'UU BANIM	Jonas E.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	have music for this
R'UU BANIM	Jonas E.	Shirot Yisrael	H	DUET-TB	ORGAN	
RACHUM V'CHANUN	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
RACHUM V'CHANUN	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
RIBONO SHEL OLAM	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
RODICA	Cohen-Linaru M.		ROM	TB		secular piece for TTBB
STU SHEARIM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
SCALERICA DE ORO	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
SEDER LEIL SHABBAT	Almuly Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
SHALOM ALECHEM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		
SHALOM ALECHEM	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
SHAVAT ANYIIM	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		This melody is also used on Pesach for Ygdal
SHEFAL RUACH	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
SHEFOCH HAMATCHIA	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		
SHEMA KOLI	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
SHEMA KOLI	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
SHMONE ESRE-HAYOM HARAT OLAM	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
SHOFET KOL HAARETZ	Almuly Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
SHOMER ISRAEL	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
SHULAMIT SHUVI	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
SHUVA LI MONACH	Behar Isaac	SHABBAT CHANTS	H	SOLO		
TROMEM	Ivela A. L.	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN	ORGAN	from G. Suliteanu - handwritten by Cirbu (Ivela was blind)
TROMEM BAT RAMAH	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
TROMEM BAT RAMAH	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another melody
TROMEM BAT RAMAH	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another version
TENE TEVA		Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
TRAJSCA ROMINIA MARE	Ivela A. L.	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		
TZE ULMAD	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
TZUR MISHELO	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
TZUR MISHELO	Peretz Filip Almuly-Max Almuly	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
TZUR MISHELO ACHALNU	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		
TZUR SHOCHEN	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		
UN CAVRITICO	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
UN CAVRITICO	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		third melody

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
UN CAVRITICO	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		second melody
UN CAVRITICO	Almuly Peretz Filip	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
V'HU RACHUM	Cohen-Linaru M.	MANUSCRIPT	H	SATB	ORGAN	chant funebre
V'SHAM'RU	Cohen-Linaru M.	MANUSCRIPT	H	SATB	ORGAN	
V'SHAM'RU	Ivela A. L.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	woman soloist
VAYA'AVOR	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
VAY'HI BINSOAH HAARON	Franchetti B.		H	STTB		di rito Italiano, written in 1865, when Franchetti was Music Dir. In Bucharest
VAY'ICHULU	Sulzer Iosef	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Y'HI SHALOM B'HEYLEYNU	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
YA SIMCHA	Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
YAH RIBON OLAM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		another version
YAH RIBON OLAM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		another version
YAH RIBON OLAM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
YAH RIBON OLAM	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		
YAH SH'MA EVIONECHA	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
YAH SH'MA EVIONECHA	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
YARUM VNISA	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		usually sung on the 7th day of Pesach
YASHEN AL TERADEM	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
YASHEN AL TERADEM	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	BAKASHA
YEDE RASHIM	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
YEDE RASHIM	Cohen-Linaru M.	T'HILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	SOP/SATB	ORGAN	
YEDE RASHIM NECHELASHIM	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
YEDID NEFESH	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
YIGDAL	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
YIGDAL	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
YIGDAL	Almuly Iosef	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
YIGDAL	Almuly Iosef	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book on p.24-same song diff key

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NAME	COMPOSER-EDITO	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
YIGDAL	Cauly I.	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
YIGDAL	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN;SATB	ORGAN	
YIGDAL	Cohen-Linaru M.	THILOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN, SAT	ORGAN	
YIGDAL	Franchetti B.		H	STTB		All' onorevole direzione del Coro della Scuola Tedesca de Padova, 1862
YIGDAL	Ivela A. L.	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	like opera
YIGDAL	Rafael Leon Albert	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
YODUCHA RAAYONAI	Algazi Leon	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		

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APPENDIX B 1
SEPHARADIC MUSIC FROM ROMANIA
(sorted by Composer)

COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
	ADON OLAM	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	organ/orch	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
	RTZE NA	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	SATB	ORGAN	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
	R'UU BANIM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY	H	SOLO		similar to Jonas
	TENE TEVA	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Algazi Leon	ACHAR NOG'NIM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		great text
Algazi Leon	AMEN SHEM NORA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	AZAMER BISHVACHIN	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		third melody
Algazi Leon	AZAMER BISHVACHIN	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		second melody
Algazi Leon	AZAMER BISHVACHIN	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		not sure of the language
Algazi Leon	B'MOTSAE YOM M'NUCHA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	B'RUCHIM ATEM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	EL DIO ALTO	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	EL DIO DISO	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	EL MISTATER	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
Algazi Leon	ERETZ VARUM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	ES RAZON DE ALAVAR	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		KETUBAH DE SHAVUOT
Algazi Leon	ESHYET CHAIL	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	ESTE EL PAN	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	EYN K'ELOHENU	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H/L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	EYN K'ELOHENU	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H/L	SOLO		another melody
Algazi Leon	HA LAHMA ANYA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	KOL BERUE MAALA UMATA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
Algazi Leon	L'MAANCHIA V'LO LANU	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
Algazi Leon	MI CHAMOCHA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another version

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COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Algazi Leon	MI CHAMOCHA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	MI CHAMOCHA	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		another version
Algazi Leon	MIPI EL	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		another melody
Algazi Leon	MIPI EL	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H/L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	NOCHES, NOCHES	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	PARTOS TROCADOS	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	QUANDO EL REY NIMROD	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		lots of different verses
Algazi Leon	QUIEN SUPIESE Y ENTENDIESE	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	SUU SHEARIM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	SCALERICA DE ORO	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	I.	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	SHALOM ALECHEM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	II	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	SHULAMIT SHUVI	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	TROMEM BAT RAMAH	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another melody
Algazi Leon	TROMEM BAT RAMAH	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		another version
Algazi Leon	TROMEM BAT RAMAH	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	TZUR MISHILO ACHALNU	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	TZUR SHOCHEN	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	UN CAVRITICO	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		third melody
Algazi Leon	UN CAVRITICO	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	UN CAVRITICO	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		second melody
Algazi Leon	Y'HI SHALOM B'HEYLEYNU	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	YAH RIBON OLAM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	YAH RIBON OLAM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	L	SOLO		another version
Algazi Leon	YAH RIBON OLAM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		another version
Algazi Leon	YAH RIBON OLAM	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	A	SOLO		
Algazi Leon	YEDID NEFESH	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		BAKASHOT L'KOL YOM
Algazi Leon	YIGDAL	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		

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COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Algazi Leon	YODUCHA RAAYONAI	CHANTS RELIGIEUX	H	SOLO		
Almuly Filip	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Filip	SEDER LEIL SHABBAT	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Iosef	ADIR HU	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		I HAVE A CHORAL ARRANGEMENT OF THIS PIECE
Almuly Iosef	ADONAI SHAMAATI	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book p. 25
Almuly Iosef	ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book on p 21
Almuly Iosef	AVINU MAKLENU	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book p. 26-diff key
Almuly Iosef	AZHAROT-PRIMER DIA	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	BIMTE MEAT	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	CHAD GADYIAH	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	O	SOLO		ARAMAIC
Almuly Iosef	ES RAZON D'ALAVAR AL DIO	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	L	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	KTUVA DE SHAVUOT	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		text looks like Shir Hashirim- but it is very long
Almuly Iosef	L'CHA DODI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	L'CHA DODI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	MAROR ZE SHANU OCHLIM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	MATZA ZY SHE'ANU OCHLIM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	MI EL KAMOCHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book p29
Almuly Iosef	MIZMOR L'DAVID	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	II	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	ODECHA KI ANITANI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		. Pp 10 & 12
Almuly Iosef	PESACH SHEHAYU AVOTEINU OCHLIM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	SHAV'AT ANYIIM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		This melody is also used on Pesach for Ygdal
Almuly Iosef	SHEFOCH HAMAT'CHA	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	TZE U'LMAD	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	YARUM V'NISA	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	H	SOLO		usually sung on the 7th day of Pesach
Almuly Iosef	YIGDAL	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
Almuly Iosef	YIGDAL	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book on p.24-same song diff key

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COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Almuly Iosef	YIGDAL	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/III	II	SOLO		
Almuly Jacob	ACHOT K'TANAH	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		from Cauly's book p. 23
Almuly Max	ACHOT K'TANAH	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ADIR V'NAOR	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ADIR V'NAOR	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ADONAI SHAMAATI SHIM'CHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ATANU LECHALOT PANECHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	AVINU MAKLENU	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	AZHAROT	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	B'MOTSAE YOM M'NUCHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	CHAD GADYIAH	tape - Suliteanu	L	SOLO		on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Almuly Max	Chanson de Shabbat	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ELOHAI AL TEDINENI	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	KOL NIDRE	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	A	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	L'CHA ELI T'SHUKATI	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	L'MI EVKEH	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	ODECHA	tape - Suliteanu	H	SOLO		on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Almuly Max	ODECHA	tape-Suliteanu-Turkish melody	H	SOLO		on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Almuly Max	SHEFAL RUACH	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	SHEMA KOLI	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	SHIMONE ESRE-HAYOM HARAT OLAM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Max	SHOFET KOL HAARETZ	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	EL NORAH ALILAH	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	ELAV MI IKSHAV VAISHLAM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H/L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	ELEH D'VARIM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article

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COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Almuly Peretz Filip	ELI ELIAHU	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	L'CHIA DODI	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	MAJBIAH SHEON IAMIM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	MEGILAT RUTH	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	QUIEN SUPIESE	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	TZUR MISHELO	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip	UN CAVRITICO	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	ADONAI B'KOL SHOFAR	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	ET SHAARE RATSON	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	LA KETUBA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	L	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	ODECHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	ODECHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	SHALOM ALECHEM	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip & Max	YA SIMCHA	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Almuly Peretz Filip -Max Almuly	HODU L'ADONAI	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO	KAHAL	Ghisela Suliteanu article
Behar Isaac	SHUVA LI MONACH	SHABBAT CHANTS	H	SOLO		
Bianchi C.-A. I. Ivela	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-Yuval #4
Cauly I.	ACHOT K'TANAH	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	ADONAI B'KOL SHOFAR	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	ADONAI SHAMAATI	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	ALEYNU L'SHABEACH	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	ANENU ELOHE AVRAHAM	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	AVINU MALKENU	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	B'ZOCHRI	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	BEN ADAM MA L'CHA NIRDAM	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	ELOHAI AL TEDINENI	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation

COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Cauly I.	KAM'TI B'ASHMORET	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	MI EL KAMOTHA (TASHLICH)	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	RACHUM V'CHANUN	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	RIBONO SHE'OLAM	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	VAYAAVOR	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	YASHEN AL TERADEM	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	YEDE RASHIM	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cauly I.	YIGDAL	CULEGERE DE MELODII RELIGIOASE	H	SOLO		with Ladino translation
Cohen-Linaru	KADDISH	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Cohen-Linaru M.	ACHOT K'TANAH	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ADIR V'NAOR	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ADONAI SHAMAATI	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ANA ADONAI	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ANA B'KORENU	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ATANU LECHALOT	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	BEN ADAM MA L'CHA NIRDAM	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	BAKASHA
Cohen-Linaru M.	CHANSON - DOINA	MELODIES ROUMAINES	O	SOLO	PIANO	
Cohen-Linaru M.	CIERE ENFANT- MENDRULITA	MELODIES ROUMAINES	O	SOLO	PIANO	
Cohen-Linaru M.	CINTEC SPANOL	MELODII ROMINE	O	SOLO	PIANO	lyrics V. Alecsandri with French and German translations
Cohen-Linaru M.	CINTECULU MARGARITEI- CHANSON DE MIGNON	OCTAVO	O	SOLO	PIANO	lyrics V. Allesandri
Cohen-Linaru M.	EL NORAH ALILAH	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	EL R'BAA- cintec arabesc	OCTAVO	O	SOLO	PIANO	lyrics V. Alessandri
Cohen-Linaru M.	ELOHAI AL TEDINENI	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ET SHAARE RATZON	THILOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	ETZ CHAIM	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	

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COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Cohen-Linaru M.	HASHKIVENU	THILOOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	with chatimah for Shabbat
Cohen-Linaru M.	HATIKVA	MANUSCRIPT		ORCHESTRA		trraditional melody orchestrated by Cohen-Linaru
Cohen-Linaru M.	HAYOM HARAT OLAM	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	IM AFES	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	KADDISH	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	KOL NIDRE	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	A	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	L'ADONAI ELOHIENU	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	L'CHA DODI	THILOOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	L'CHA ELI TSHUKATI	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	LA JEUNE FILLE DE CANDILY	LES FLEURES DU BOSPHORE	O	SOLO	PIANO	in French - lyrics by D. Bolintineanu
Cohen-Linaru M.	LES ETOILES - STELELE	MELODIES ROUMAINES	O	SOLO	PIANO	
Cohen-Linaru M.	MA NOMAR LEFANECHA	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	MA TOVU	MANUSCRIPT	H	SOLO/ORCHEST	HARP	orchestrated version
Cohen-Linaru M.	MA TOVU	THILOOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN	ORGAN	chante par Mlle Zissou au Temple Israelite de Bucarest
Cohen-Linaru M.	MARCHE ORIENTALE	OCTAVO		FOR PIANO		
Cohen-Linaru M.	MIPI EL	THILOOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	H	CHAZZAN, SAT	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	II	SOLO		Ghisela Sulitenu article-Yuval #8
Cohen-Linaru M.	RACHUM VCHANUN	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	RODICA		ROM	TB		secular piece for TTBB
Cohen-Linaru M.	VHU RACHUM	MANUSCRIPT	H	SATB	ORGAN	chant funebre
Cohen-Linaru M.	VSHAM'RU	MANUSCRIPT	H	SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	YAH SH'MA EVIONECHIA	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	YASHEN AL TERADEM	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	BAKASHIA
Cohen-Linaru M.	YEDE RASHIM	THILOOT ISRAEL - 20 MORCEAUX TRAD.	H	SOP/SATB	ORGAN	

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COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Cohen-Linaru M.	YIGDAL	THILOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	II	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Cohen-Linaru M.	YIGDAL	THILOT ISRAEL - 6 MORCEAUX RELIGIEUX	II	CHAZZAN, SAT	ORGAN	
Curiel G.	ODECHA	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Franchetti B.	GADLU		H	STTB		di rito tedesco. Written in 1865, when Franchetti was Music Dir. In Bucharest
Franchetti B.	LECHA DODI		H	TTB		
Franchetti B.	MIZMOR L'DAVID		H	SOLO/TB		
Franchetti B.	VAYHI BINSOAH HAARON		H	STTB		di rito Italiano, written in 1865, when Franchetti was Music Dir. In Bucharest
Franchetti B.	YIGDAL		II	STTB		All' onorevole direzione del Coro della Scuola Tedesca de Padova, 1862
Ivela A. L.	ADON OLAM	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Ivela A. L.	ADON OLAM	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	duet	organ/violin	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Ivela A. L.	BARCAROLA		O	SOLO (TENOR)	PIANO	Romatz pentru voce si pian -- op. 6 Magasinul Conservatorului N. Mischonozniaky, Bucuresti
Ivela A. L.	DOR DE SAT	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		lyrics by P. Dulfu
Ivela A. L.	GHIUCEI SI VIORELE	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		
Ivela A. L.	HORA INFRATIRI	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		
Ivela A. L.	IMN DE ZECE MAIU	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		lyrics by V. Alexandri
Ivela A. L.	L'CHA DODI	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Ivela A. L.	MIPI EL	MANUSCRIPT	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	from G. Suliteanu - handwritten by Cirbu (Ivela was blind)
Ivela A. L.	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-from Yuval
Ivela A. L.	PASTORII SI PLUGARII	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		lyrics by V. Alexandri
Ivela A. L.	TROMEM	MANUSCRIPT	II	CHAZZAN	ORGAN	from G. Suliteanu - handwritten by Cirbu (Ivela was blind)
Ivela A. L.	TRAISSA ROMINIA MARE	COLECTIE DE CORURI	O	SATB		
Ivela A. L.	V'SHAM'RU	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	woman soloist
Ivela A. L.	YIGDAL	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	like opera
Jonas E.	HALLEL	SHIROT YISRAEL	H	OFFICIANT/CHO		air ancien - 1886?

COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Jonas E.	HALLEL	Shirot Yisrael	H	SOLO	ORGAN	air ancien
Jonas E.	HODU L'ADONAI	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	duet and choir
Jonas E.	LECHA DODI	SHIROT YISRAEL	H	SOLO/STB	ORGAN	1854
Jonas E.	MIN HAMEZAR	SHIROT YISRAEL	H	ST	ORGAN	1886
Jonas E.	MIZMOR L'DAVID	Shirot Yisrael	H	SOLO/SAB	ORGAN	
Jonas E.	RUU BANIM	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	have music for this
Jonas E.	RUU BANIM	Shirot Yisrael	H	DUET-TB	ORGAN	
Jonas?	HODU L'ADONAI	Columbia -ALBERTO DELLA PERGOLA	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	organ/orch	on tape from Ghisela Suliteanu
Marcel Moise, Cantor	MINCHA SHIR HASHIRIM ARVIT	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-AS DOVENED AT Cahal Cicu in 1977 - no words provided except Adonai wherever it appears
Naumbourg-Ivela	MIZMOR L'DAVID	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article-Yuval #5
Peretz Filip Almuly-Max Almuly	TZUR MISHELO	MUSIQUE POPULAIRE	H	SOLO		Ghisela Suliteanu article
Rafael Leon Albert	ADIR V'NAOR	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ADON HASELICHOT	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ADONAI MELECH	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ADONAI MELECH	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ANA B'KORENU	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ANENU ELOHIE AVRAHAM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	EL NORAH ALILAH	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ELOHAI AL TEDINENI K'MAALI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	ET SHAARE RATZON LEHIPATEACH	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	EYN K'LOHENU	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H/L	SOLO		variant on Flory Jagoda's version
Rafael Leon Albert	HAYOM HARAT OLAM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	L'CHA DODI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	L'CHA ELI TSHUKATI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	SHEMA KOLI	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	SHOMER ISRAEL	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		

COMPOSER-EDITO	NAME	COLLECTION	LAN	VOCAL SCOR	INSTR.	NOTES
Rafael Leon Albert	YAH SHMA EVIONECHA	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	YEDE RASHIM NECHELASHIM	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	YIGDAL	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/II	H	SOLO		
Rafael Leon Albert	AVINU MALKENU	LEVI ANTHOLOGY/IV?	H/L	SOLO		
Rosensteck I.	HASHKIVENU	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Rosensteck I.	KIDDUSH	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	
Rosensteck I.	KOHANECHA	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	(Ki mitzyion)
Sulzer Josef	VAYICHULU	CINTECE SEFARDE-CASSETTE	H	CHAZZAN/SATB	ORGAN	

Appendix C

[illegible]

Aug. 21 \overline{Ic} "Turf was 100% carbon
(100%)
Mr. R. G. T. Almy, M.A.

For me, it is to be with you, because of you, for you are the one

1. *ten* —, *M*, *her* *A* *des* — — — — — *Ja* *wa* — — — — — *yo* *des*

Hand me, Kid, but
do not.

Handwritten musical notation for the first system of 'The Rose Tree'. The melody is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The notes are: G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), A4-G4 (beamed eighth notes), F4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), D4 (half). The lyrics 'The rose tree' are written below the staff, aligned with the notes: 'The' under G, 'rose' under A, 'tree' under B, 'the' under F, 'rose' under E, 'tree' under D.

hallo - - - - - hallo - - - - - we - - - - - we - - - - -
 hallo - - - - - hallo - - - - - we - - - - - we - - - - -

A musical score for the song "The Rose Tree". The score is written on a single staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat (B-flat). The tempo is marked "Allegretto" and the time signature is 3/4. The lyrics are written below the staff, with some words in parentheses. The melody is simple and catchy, with a repeating phrase "The rose tree, the rose tree, the rose tree, the rose tree". The score ends with a double bar line and a repeat sign.

•

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to understand what customers want and what problems they are facing.

2. Once a market need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept. This involves brainstorming ideas and creating a rough sketch of the product.

3. The third step is to create a prototype. This is a physical model of the product that can be used to test the design and make improvements.

4. After the prototype is created, the next step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves evaluating the technical, financial, and market viability of the product.

5. Once the feasibility study is complete, the next step is to develop a business plan. This document outlines the company's goals, strategies, and financial projections.

6. The final step in the process is to launch the product. This involves marketing the product to the target market and distributing it to customers.

Aug 21 '13. Provenance Lemaholic Sabot
Buenos Aires 1913
we found they belong to the
ind. of Mrs. G. and Mrs. H.

[illegible]

ed sang: "Ist mein Herr Jesu. So ist from selb' der, was sagt er: Hi ho

10. *perdon li-o bo, grande na a pa-na. E-ll E-ll: o-o, a-*

The first system of the musical score for 'The Bird Song' is written on a single staff. It begins with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The melody starts on a whole note G4, followed by a half note A4, and then a quarter note B4. The next measure contains a quarter note C5, a quarter note D5, and a quarter note E5. The final measure of the system contains a quarter note F#5, a quarter note G5, and a quarter note A5. The system concludes with a double bar line.

Aug. 21 1881. - *Aspidotus sen. var. n.*

1. *Allegretto* — *gato* in *una*, *me* *te* *as* *le* *me* *yo* *la* — *me*,

4: 1780s had ———— taking 1000 years —, and 4: 1200s had 2: 1200s. more. 2c.

in them. Be thou to me, vessel to all good works, thou,

Ma o - ta rim — Ke - so le - ra, i's na! Ker - dan fas ma - ni, Ye -

246

1. The first step in the process of creating a new product is to identify a market need. This involves conducting market research to understand the preferences and behaviors of potential customers. Once a need is identified, the next step is to develop a concept that addresses this need. This concept should be innovative and differentiated from existing products in the market.

2. The second step is to create a prototype of the product. This allows the development team to visualize the product and test its functionality. Prototyping can be done using various methods, such as 3D printing, CAD, or even hand-drawn models. The prototype is used to gather feedback from potential users and make necessary adjustments to the design.

3. The third step is to conduct a feasibility study. This involves assessing the technical, financial, and operational aspects of the product. The team should evaluate the resources required for production, the potential costs, and the timeline for development. This study helps in determining whether the product is viable and worth pursuing.

4. The fourth step is to develop a business plan. This plan outlines the marketing strategy, distribution channels, and financial projections for the product. It also includes a competitive analysis to understand the market landscape and identify potential challenges. The business plan is essential for securing funding and guiding the overall direction of the product development.

5. The fifth step is to launch the product. This involves manufacturing the product, setting up distribution channels, and implementing the marketing strategy. The team should monitor the product's performance in the market and gather feedback from customers to make improvements. Continuous innovation and adaptation are key to the success of a new product in a competitive market.

No. 4. Ma tovou.

Chanté par Mlle Marie Zissou au Temple israélite de Bucarest.

Maurice Cohen-Linaru

CHAZAN. *Moderato. ♩ = 64.*

ORGUE. *p*

E. Mayn

(A)

(6) Ma to - vou, Ma to - vou

dim.

(11) o - a le - cha Ja - a - cov. Ma to - vou, Ma

cresc.

(16) to - vou misch ke-no te - cha, Is - ra - el. Ma to - vou,

cresc.

M.C.L. 28

Diff. I
harmonies

moderates briefly to the 2nd

Handwritten musical score with lyrics and performance instructions.

Measures 21-26:

Ma to - - - - - you, Ma to - you. *rit a tempo*

Measures 27-32:

Va a - ni be - ro - chas - de - cha, Ja - vo - - - - - be - to - cha. *rit a tempo*

Measures 33-38:

Isch - ta - cha - ve el e - - - - - chal - - - - - kod -

Measures 39-44:

sche - cha Be - - i - ra - te - - cha, Be - - i - ra - te - - cha

Handwritten notes and markings:

- more to Bb (5)
- Diminished chords
- 40

99 *seg*

Ma to - - vou, Ma to - - vou

103

o - a - lo - cha Ja - - a - - cov. Ma

107 *Più mosso.*

to - - - vou, Ma to - - - vou, Ma to - - -

112 *f*

- vou.

117

82

Ma to - you,

B

87

Ma to - - you o - a - lo - cha Ja - a - cov.

91

Ma to - - you, Ma to - - you

cresc.

95

misch ke-no to - cha Is - - ra - - el Ma to - - you,

sequence 1

165
ni be-rovchas - do - cha, Ja - vo be - to - cha.

170
Isch ta - cha vo el e chal kod - scho - cha,

75
Be - i - ra - to - cha, Be - i - ra - to - cha. Ja -

80
vo be - to - cha.

vo be - to - cha.

24

41

Ja - - - vo be-te - cha.

E♭.

A1

45

Ma to - vou, Ma to - vou o - a - lo - cha

50

Ja - a - cov. Ma to - vou, Ma to - vou

55

misch kerfo to - cha Is - ra - - el. Ma to - - vou, Ma

60

to - - - vou, Ma to - vou. Va a -

M.M. J=88

(on - mar i - te - ha,
As - re io - s - ve - ve -
te - ha, Od ie a - le - lu
ha - se - la.

APPENDIX E

M.M. J=80 BEN ADAM MA LEHA NIRDAM

Ben a - dam Ma - le - ha nirdam Cum - che - ra be
ta - ha - nu - nim Se - foh si - ha De - ros - se - li - ha
Me - a - don a - a - do - nim Re - hat ut ar Ve
al - te - a - har Be - te - rem is - mim po - mim
U - me - e - ra Rut le - ez - ra Lif - ne so -
hen me - o - nim mi - pe - sa - Ve gam re - sa

slow
emphatic

a ba' babab

2 time

(11)

Be-rah uf-had — me - a - so-nim — A - na se - e Sim.

ha - lo-de-e — Is - ra-el — ne - e-ma-nim — Le.

ha — A-do-nai — a - te-da-ca — ve - la-nu bo — set

a — pa-nim. — Le — ha A - do-nai —

a - te-da-ca — ve - la - nu — bo — set

a — pa - nim A - mod che-ghe - ver. — Ve -

it - ga - ber — Le-it - va - dot — al ha-ta — im.

la-el de-roş — Be-ho - ved. roş — Le - ha - per —

al — pe - şa - im. — Chi le - o-lam —

Lo — ne - c-lam — Mi — me — nu —

nif - la - im — Ve-hol ma - a - mar — A -

18
șer — ie — a — mar — Le — fa — nav —

19
em — ni — cra — im — A — me — ra — hem —

20
U — ie — ra — hem — A — le — nu — che — ra — chem —

21
av — al — ba — nim. — Le — ha — A — do — nai —

22
a — te — da — ca — ve — la — nu — bo — șet

23
a — pa — nim. — Le — ha — A — do — nai —

24
a — te — da — ca — ve — la — nu — bo — șet a — pa — nim.

25
Ma — ni — o — nen — U — ma — no — mar — Ma — ne — da — ber — U —

26
ma — ni — ta — dac. — Nah — pe — sa — de — ra — he — nu

27
Ve — nah — co — ra — Ve — na — su — va — e — le — ha.

28
Chi — le — mi — ne — ha — pe — su — ta — le — ca — bel —

Fin

ew

29 sa - vim — Sa-vim e - le-ha be-hol lev — *sub-a*

30 tam te-ca-bel be-ra-ha-me-ha. A-do-na - i se-ma — *sub-a*

31 A-do-nai-se-la-ha A-do-nai ac-și-va va-se-al te-a-har *sub-a*

32 le-ma-an-ha e-lo-ai chi sim-ha-ni-er — *sub-a*

33 al ir-e-ha — ve-al a-me-ha. A-și-ve-nu A-do-nai — *sub-a*

34 e - le - ha ve-na-șu — va ha-deș ia-me-nu che-che-dem. *sub-a*

MM.J=

Ri-l

Et-

le

Ve

ze

Ad Bb

A

ne

A

VAIAAVOR

Va — ia — a vor — A-do-nai — al — pa —

nav — va-ic-ra —

APPENDIX E1

CAULY - TRANSPOSED TO
E MINOR

BEN ADAM MA LEHA NIRDAM

(A)

BEN A - DAM HA - LE - HA - NIRDAM - M CUM CRE - RA SE TA - HANU - NI - M
SE FOR - SI - HA DE ROS - SE - LI HA - HE - A - DON - A - A - DO NIM - ETC

(B)

LE - HA A - DO - NAI - A - TE - DA - CA - VE - LA NU BO - SET
A - PA A MOD CRE - CHE - VER VE IT - CA - BER - LE -
IT VA - DOT - AL HA - TA - IM ETC

(B1)

LE HA A - DO - NAI - A - TE - DA - CA VE - LA - NU BO - SET
A - PA - NIM MA NIT - U - NEN - U - MA - NO - MAR MA - NE - DA - BER
U - MA NIT - TA - DAC ETC

APPENDIX F

No. 2. Ben adam, ma lecha nirdam.

Bacascha.

Andantino.

CHAZAN.

ORGUE.

p Ben a -

cresc.

dam, ma le - cha nir - dam, Kum ko - ra be - ta - cha - nu - nim. Scho - foch si -

mf cha - do rosch se - li - cha, Me - a - don ha a - do - nim. *DAVID'S* *SOPRANO SOLO.*

rit. *a tempo* *Re-*

cresc. chatz ut - ar vo - al te - a - char Be - te - rem ja - mim po - - nim

mf *cresc.*

18 *mf* U - me e - ra Rutz le - es - ra Lif - ne scho - chen me - o - nim. *dim.* *raised in (Acce)* *Back*

Um - po - scha ve - gam re - scha Bo - rach uf - chad ma - a - so - nim.

Um - po - scha ve - gam re - scha Bo - rach uf - chad ma - a - so - nim.

Um po - scha ve - gam re - scha Bo - rach uf - chad ma - a - so - nim.

Um po - scha ve - gam re - scha

26

A - na scho - e Schim - cha io - do Is - ra - el ne - e - ma - nim.

A - na scho - e Schim - cha io - do Is - ra - el ne - e - ma - nim.

A - na scho - e Schim - cha io - do Is - ra - el ne - e - ma - nim.

A - na scho - e Schim - cha io - do Is - ra - el ne - e - ma - nim.

30

Le - cha a - do - nai ha - tze - da - ka, Ve - la - nu

ne - e - ma - nim. Le - cha a - do - nai ha - tze - da - ka, Ve - la - nu

ne - e - ma - nim. Le - cha a - do - nai ha - tze - da - ka, Ve - la - nu

Le - cha a - do - nai ha - tze - da - ka, Ve - la - nu

34

bo - schet ha - pa - nim.

bo - schet ha - pa - nim.

bo - schet ha - pa - nim.

bo - schet ha - pa - nim.

mf *cresc.*

39 CHAZAN.

1. 2.

A mod ke Le -

rit. *f*

Suivent les autres strophes.

43 Andante con moto.

cha a - do - nai ha - tze - da - ka, Vo - la - nu bo - schet -

dim.

46

ha - pa - nim. Ma ni - to - nen, U - ma no - mar, U -

49 *dim.*

ma ne-da-ber U - ma nilz-tadak.

OPR. I. II.

TÉNOR.

Nach-po-scha de-ra-che-nu ve nachgo-ra, ve-na

BASS.

Nach-po-scha de-ra-che-nu ve nachgo-ra, ve-na

dim.

50

scha-va o lo-cha ki lo-min-cha po-schu-ta lo-ka-bol scha-vim.

scha-va o lo-cha ki lo-min-cha po-schu-ta lo-ka-bol scha-vim.

f

55

1. De même pour les autres strophes. 2.

Scha

mf

dim.

dim.

59

mf

ralte dim.

W

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