

Opera Seria Contrafacts at the Amsterdam Esnoga and Dutch-Jewish Cosmopolitanism¹

Paul G. Feller

A foundational narrative produced by the Amsterdam Sephardic community inscribes the “Portuguese” Jews as welcomed members of the Dutch Republic in the 1680s.² According to this account, an early group of *converso* refugees departed the Iberian Peninsula to arrive in the Netherlands in 1580. After settling in Amsterdam, they practiced their recently re-established Jewish worship in secret. During the special Yom Kippur service (*Ne’ilah*) of 1595, however, the governmental authorities are said to have interrupted their prayer only to discover that the Iberian worshippers were not the feared Catholics they anticipated. The sheriff unexpectedly reacted by requesting the Jews to pray on behalf of the government of Amsterdam, a request to which the congregants acquiesced. Soon after, the Dutch authorities are said to have declared Judaism as a lawful religion.³ Regardless of this legend’s complete veracity, the narrative shows that the Sephardim could portray themselves as members of a larger Dutch community that, unlike the Iberian regimes, accepted them. In this light, I would like to look beyond traditional scholarly approaches that underscore Jewish conservatism and otherness and briefly examine how an 18th-century collection of Synagogue chants hints at the com-

munity’s engagement with trans-European fashionable culture.⁴ Specifically, I propose that new sources of *opera seria* contrafacts in a *hazzan’s* (cantor) manuscript preserved at the Ets Haim Library of Amsterdam shed light on patterns related to cosmopolitan musical circulation and consumption by the local Jewish community.⁵

The manuscript in question consists of a collection of twenty-two Jewish liturgical pieces for various occasions. Based on its concordances with other sources, the manual appears to date from the mid to late 18th century. Israel Adler, in his seminal study on the musical life of the Amsterdam Sephardim, indeed proposed that this source corresponds to a manual compiled for the Amsterdam Grand Synagogue—the Esnoga—by Joshua ben Samuel Cohen Faro around 1799.⁶ This attribution is, as Adler himself later acknowledged, spurious. The compiler of the collection remains anonymous.⁷ The unknown copyist wrote the music using modern notation with texts in Hebrew and Aramaic transliterated into the Latin alphabet. The notational style is not the only modernizing feature of the Ets Haim manuscript, but, as



4. According to the traditional scholarly perspective, Synagogal music in the Netherlands remained rooted in practices of cantorial renovation reconstructed during the 17th century through the importation of Sephardim repertory from Northern African and

Near Eastern communities. See Israel Adler, *Musical Life and Traditions of the Portuguese Jewish Community of Amsterdam in the XVIIIth Century*, Yuval Monograph Series 1 (Jerusalem: The Magnes Press, The Hebrew University, 1974); Anton Molenaar, “The Music of the Amsterdam Sephardim: A Musicological Survey,” *Shofar* 18, no. 4 (2000): 26–47; Edwin Seroussi, “New Perspectives on the Music of the Spanish-Portuguese Synagogues in North-Western Europe,” *Studia Rosenthaliana* 35, no. 2 (2001): 297–309.

5. The manuscript is an anonymous Cantor’s Manual, (Amsterdam, ca. 1780), Ms. 48 E 44, Ets Haim/Livraria Montezinos, Sephardi Community of Amsterdam, <http://etshaimmanuscripts.nl/items/eh-48-e-44/>.

6. Adler, *Musical Life*, 65.

7. Israel Adler and Lea Shalem, *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources up to circa 1840: A Descriptive and Thematic Catalogue with a Checklist of Printed Sources*, 2 vols., Répertoire International Des Sources Musicales, B IX, 1 (München: G. Henle Verlag, 1989), 86.

continued on page 8

1. I would like to thank Drew E. Davies, Jesse Rosenberg, and Rebecca Cypess for their help and encouragement, without which this essay would have been impossible.

2. The story was printed as part of Daniel Levi de Barrios’s “Casa de Jacob” in *Triunfo del Gobierno Popular y de la Antigüedad Holandesa* (Amsterdam, 1683–1684).

3. Quoted in Miriam Bodian, “The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam and the Status of Christians,” in *New Perspectives on Jewish-Christian Relations. In Honor of David Berger*, ed. Elisheva Carlebach and Jacob J. Schacter, The Brill Reference Library of Judaism (Leiden & Boston: Brill, 2012), 329; according to Bodian, Rabbi Uri Halevi, who had helped the community establish Jewish worship, was actually arrested during the Yom Kippur service of 1603 and charged with circumcising adults.

From the Editor

Michael Vincent

The SECM Newsletter is published twice yearly, in October and April. Submissions in the following categories are encouraged:

- News of recent accomplishments from members of the society (publications, presentations, awards, performances, promotions, etc.);
- Reviews of performances of 18th-century music;
- Reviews of books, editions, or recordings of 18th-century music;
- Conference reports;
- Dissertations in progress on 18th-century music;
- Upcoming conferences and meetings;
- Calls for papers and manuscripts;
- Research reports and research resources;
- Grant opportunities.

Contributions should be submitted as an attachment to an e-mail message (preferably in Microsoft Word format) to the SECM Newsletter editor (michaelvincent@ufl.edu). Submissions must be received by August 1 for the October issue and by February 1 for the April issue. Claims for missing issues of the Newsletter must be requested within six months of publication. Annotated discographies (in the format given in the inaugural issue, October 2002) will also be accepted and will be posted on the SECM web site.

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President's Message

Drew Edward Davies

It is an honor for me to write this column as the newly elected President of SECM. Like many of you, my engagement with 18th-century music began with keyboard lessons at a very young age, and from there it developed into a lifelong passion that has blended together aesthetic enjoyment, discovery, re-orientation of ideas, and unending work. I am not sure whether my own 18th century has gotten longer or shorter, but in recent years it has become much more profound, thanks largely to the research of colleagues, many of them members of this Society. I like to think that my own research has shown how interconnected the Hispanic world was with music cultures in the geographies more traditional in musicological study, and I am especially eager to learn what future revelations our increasingly global perspectives will bring to 18th-century studies. Thus, the spirit of intellectual curiosity that drove me toward the 18th-century in the first place, together with a commitment to lifelong learning, will continue to inform my goals in this administrative role.

I wish to thank the Officers of the Board, Alison DeSimone, Evan Cortens, and Past President Guido Olivieri, for their insight and advice during the time of transition, and for their ongoing dedication to the Society. The Board will now be meeting quarterly in order to develop and realize ideas for projects expeditiously. Even though our conference schedule remains biennial, I envision a SECM as a specialized community in which members are involved in activities throughout the year, regardless of whether there is a formal conference. In that sense, the ongoing Encounters webinar series, which we co-sponsor with peer societies in 18th-century music, has provided fascinating, multi-faceted approaches to 18th-century music studies, as well as a sense of community that I look forward to with each presentation. I would expect more webinar based events in the future, including informative series geared toward graduate students being planned by the new Career Mentoring Committee. This series, which featured an inaugural panel on April 12, 2022, aims to help graduate students hone their career skills specifically within the academy and in the early music scene. In order to achieve a dynamic level of participation, please encourage your students to take advantage of these career mentoring events, and to consider becoming members of the Society themselves.

This year's SECM panel at ASECS, chaired by Kimary Fick and Matteo Magarotto, took place on Saturday, April 2, 2022, and is titled "Decolonizing the Pedagogy of Eighteenth-Century Music." These papers highlight the Society's commitment to DEI issues, not only by fostering a global perspective on the century, but by generating inclusive methodologies in our teaching. Later in the Spring, I hope to see many of you in person at the joint SECM-Mozart Society of America conference in Salzburg, May 26–29, 2022, which is especially rich in cultural programming.

Finally, in my own research, I have spent much time studying contrafacts of various types produced at New Spanish cathedrals, including works derived from Hasse, Galuppi, and other prominent galant composers. As such, I was thrilled to learn about the contrafacts, likewise from Italian opera, that PhD candidate Paul Feller has identified in musical sources from 18th-century Dutch synagogues. You can read the first findings from Paul's project in this issue's featured article.

In the coming months, I would enjoy hearing from members of the Society regarding your ideas for the present and the future, and I look forward to continue exploring all aspects of 18th-century music with you.



Spring 2022 Member News

Bruce Alan Brown's essay "Sedaine, le vaudeville et l'opéra-comique: La composition du *Diable à quatre* (1756–57)" was recently published in the eBook *Une œuvre en dialogue: Le théâtre de Michel-Jean Sedaine*, ed. Judith le Blanc, Raphaëlle Legrand, and Marie-Cécille Schang-Norbely (Paris: Sorbonne Université Presses, 2021), 163–91. The book can be downloaded for free here: <https://sup.sorbonne-universite.fr/catalogue/litteratures-francaises-comparee-et-langue/e-theatrum-mundi/une-oeuvre-en-dialogue>. At the end of the spring semester he will be retiring from his position as Professor of Musicology at the University of Southern California, after 37 years of teaching there. The Provost has awarded him the designation of Professor Emeritus, effective May 16, 2022.

Michael Burden and Jennifer Thorp's volume, *With a Grace Not be Captured; Representing the Georgian theatrical dancer, 1750–1830* has shared—with *Beethoven Visuell*—the Claire Brook Award for an outstanding volume on music iconography published in 2020. The award is made by the Barry S. Brook Center for Music Research and Documentation at CUNY. <https://brookcenter.gc.cuny.edu/2022/01/28/claire-brook-award-for-2021-bestowed-on-two-publications>. Michael and Jennifer organize the Oxford Dance Symposium which takes place every year at New College.

Robert (Rory) Creigh became a doctoral candidate on February 16 at Florida State University. He is now working on his dissertation "Georg Joseph Vogler's Samori: Representation and Difference in Early Nineteenth-Century Opera."

Drew Edward Davies published an edition of Ignacio Jerusalem's *Misa de los niños* with Dairea Ediciones in Madrid. The volume is the 6th in the series *Ignacio Jerusalem (1707–1769): Obras selectas/ Selected Works*, which is available at www.daireaediciones.es

Jane Schatkin Hettrick recently published these articles: "An Organist Contract of 1824 with the Lutheran Church in Vienna: Curiosity or Needed Correction?" together with "Translation of 'Instruction for the Herr Organist' of the Evangelical Congregation of the Augsburg Confession," in the CMAA journal *Sacred Music*, summer 2021, vol. 148, no. 2, pp. 7–45. Based on her research in the archive of the first Lutheran Church in Vienna, it presents the first publication (in any language) of this most unusual contract. Also, "Johann Michael Haydn's *Missa Sancti Hieronymi*: An Unusual Eighteenth-Century Tribute to Saint Jerome," in *Clotho*, the journal of the Ljubljana University Press, Faculty of the Arts, vol. 3:2, 2021, pp. 129–44. This article originated as a paper delivered at the international symposium *Hieronymus noster*, which took place in Ljubljana, Slovenia, Oct. 2019, marking the 1600th anniversary of Jerome's death.

Magnus Tessing Schneider published a monograph, *The Original Portrayal of Mozart's Don Giovanni* (London: Routledge, 2021), which is available via open access at: <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429281709>. He also edited Felicity Baker's essay collection *Don Giovanni's Reasons* (Berlin: Peter Lang, 2021).

Karen Patricia Smith has been elected to serve on the Board of Directors of Haymarket Opera Company (HOC) in Chicago.

Society For Eighteenth-Century Music Conference Series: *Encounters with Eighteenth Century Music*

Danielle Alexander with Michael Vincent

Fall 2021 was the inaugural season of the conference series *Encounters with Eighteenth-Century Music*, which featured a variety of subjects spanning from celebrating and critiquing the work of Charles Rosen, to the historic and (re)imagined soundscapes transported from Central Europe to the rolling fields of Pennsylvania, and ending with the reclaiming of silenced Black voices of early music in America. The series was presented digitally via Zoom, which enabled a wide variety of scholars, students, and 18th-century music enthusiasts alike to attend and interact with 18th-century music scholarship.

The *Encounters* series is sponsored by the American Bach Society (ABS), the American Handel Society (AHS), the Haydn Society of North America (HSNA), the Mozart Society of America (MSA), and the Society for Eighteenth-Century Music (SECM). The fall line-up of events in the *Encounters* series was well attended. The first event, "*The Classical Style* at 50," was attended by nearly 100 people, and the second event, "Moravian Soundscapes: Hearing New Histories of Early America," had an impressive showing as well, including an entire classroom of students joining from the University of Florida.

The first event of the season, "*The Classical Style* at 50," celebrated the 50th anniversary of the publication of Charles Rosen's book *The Classical Style*, which has been an essential text in the discipline since its publication in 1971. This event provided attendees with a familiar, if compressed, conference format. Three scholars each gave 10-minute presentations in succession, and the Q&A followed. The discussion afterward had an interesting tone as there were multiple musical and interdisciplinary perspectives present to both praise and give a 21st-century appraisal of the impact of the text.

Catherine Mayes's presentation focused on the text and its place within a music history pedagogical framework. She pointed out that the fact that the book has been appearing on syllabi for the past five decades is no small feat, and that while this impressive achievement allows forgiveness for its shortcomings, that there should still be room for addressing the weaknesses of the text. Mayes proposed that a way to remediate some of the issues is to read selective passages alongside newer scholarship. Following Mayes was Edward Klorman, who presented on *The Classical Style* from a music theory perspective. One aspect he found to be beneficial of the text is that Rosen leaned into stylistic analysis rather than conforming to other theoretical frameworks that music theorists were pushing for at the time. Klorman mentioned that this kind of approach Rosen used, along with other scholars such as Ratner and Webster, was bringing analysis back into the realm of humanism—in stark contrast to the methods of Westergaard. To close the presentation, Scott Burnham sought to remind us that there is more to the text than the factual information it provides. Burnham's carefully selected quotes from the book demonstrated that while the text is quite old in terms of current research and scholarship, there are still pieces that remain essential and relatively unmoved by the passage of time. These passages showed how Rosen's unique voice made this material accessible outside the more specialized fields within, affording a degree of accessibility into a field that is not always readily accessible to people outside of

the academy. The timelessness of these quotes also reinforced Mayes's point about the text being incorporated into syllabi for fifty years.

The second event in the series, "Moravian Soundscapes: Hearing New Histories of Early America," offered a more conventional conference style presentation in which Sarah Eyerly presented for a half hour and then opened the floor for discussion and questions for the remaining hour. Eyerly's work provided a story of connections that begin with her ancestral roots and follows a thread through shifting spatial and cultural spaces where connections were being forged between European missionary immigrants and Native American communities. Eyerly and her collaborators created sound maps of early Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The level of care and consideration of intricate details in these sound maps took more than two years of field work, making digital maps of surrounding areas, sampling sounds of extant sound-making items from daily life (tools, farm equipment, church bells, congregational singing), and partnering with Indigenous historians to create a more complete picture of the connections and encounters. Through her meticulously and thoughtfully crafted work, Eyerly reminded the audience that music is above all an art, and in terms of reconstructing a historical soundscape, should be treated as such—rather than being trapped within the confines of strictly empirical data.

The third event, "Hearing Outside the Lines: Black Music in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," was presented by Emily H. Green and Bonnie Gordon. The presenters spoke to an audience of about 30 attendees about a collaborative project that provides resources for teaching, performing, and researching the Black music of early America. The presenters are building a database titled "Musical Practices of Early Black Virginians." It will appeal to ensemble directors, educators, and students. It will include relevant primary sources, bibliography, and sound compilations. The project's intentions are educational and closely related to Virginia's history and its potential future. Green and Gordon shared some illustrative sources such as iconography documenting a large ensemble, Fredrick Law Olmsted's 1856 description of a group of seven musicians singing, and Alan Lomax's recording from a state penitentiary from the early twentieth century. Contemporary music artist Rhiannon Giddens was mentioned several times as an example of reckoning with the legacy of slavery. The presenters briefly discussed her 2017 song "At the Purchaser's Option" and her upcoming opera *Omar*, which is a biopic of Omar ibn Said, an Islamic scholar from West Africa who in 1807 was enslaved and taken to the United States. Green and Gordon discussed research protocols for students since they may encounter documents with offensive content or try to find relevant search terms. They also discussed the importance of re-orienting the way performances are heard, since vocal and instrumental delivery may differ from present-day conventions. By choosing powerful and illustrative examples, the presentation demonstrated the dictum that music amplifies the history of its own context. As part of their project's multi-year plan, Green and Gordon are planning live events at three historical plantations in 2024: Monticello, Mount Vernon, and Gunston Hall.

The *Encounters* virtual forum series has proven to be a popular format that supports a robust community of people interested in 18th-century music. The inaugural events sparked conversation, investigated key questions, and provided a platform for important projects to have a wider impact.

The website includes a calendar and descriptions for upcoming and past events. <https://encounters.secm.org/Herschel Activities>

Herschel Activities

2022 is the 200th anniversary of the death of William Herschel (1738–1822), the musician-turned-astronomer who discovered the planet Uranus. Several interdisciplinary events are marking Herschel's life and music this year:

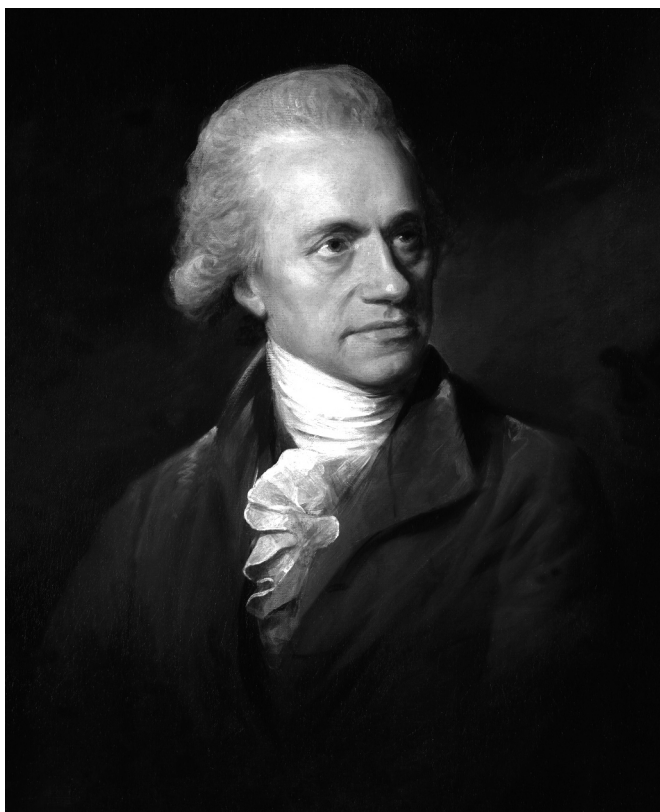
On March 5, SECM member Sarah Clemmens Waltz co-organized and hosted a zoom webinar "New Views of William Herschel" sponsored by the Historical Astronomy Division of the American Astronomical Society with her collaborator in astronomy, Woodruff T. Sullivan III. They presented on material from their in-progress book on Herschel in his years as a musician in Yorkshire and Bath. Also of interest was David Koerner's paper on North German Influence in the Viola Concertos of William Herschel, including a performance, Clifford Cunningham on the Poetic Legacy of William Herschel (particularly Charles Burney's epic poem on astronomy, lost), and papers on the contributions of the Herschel family by Stephen Case and John Mulligan. The session will be available on YouTube shortly.

Further plans include a one-day conference 'Cosmic Harmonies': A Symposium Celebrating the Life, Science, Music, and Legacy of William Herschel, associated with the York Festival of Ideas and planned for June 19, 2022, organized by Rachel Cowgill along with Waltz and Sullivan. Details are here:

<https://www.york.ac.uk/music/news-and-events/news/2021/cosmic-harmonies-papers>.

The many plans made by the Herschel Society in Bath for marking the anniversary include a concert and conference in Bath September 30–October 1, 2022; the concert will be directed by Matthew Spring, and they are encouraging concerts of Herschel's music and of Handel's *Messiah*, which Herschel memorably directed. Details are here:

<http://herschelsociety.org.uk/wp-content/uploads/2022/01/Herschel-200-New-Year-Update-.pdf>.



“For those who want to sing”

Alan Mauritz Swanson

In 1754, an oblong song-book appeared in Stockholm. *24 Oder af Våra Bästa Poeters Arbete i Musik bragte af Hinrich Philip Johnsen* [24 Songs from Our Best Poets' Work put into Music by Hinrich Philip Johnsen] is certainly what it says it is, and perhaps a bit more. And not so odd, perhaps. After all, there had been many such published in Germany, France, and England before then. And yet, before then, there had been little of that ilk published in Sweden, apart from music editions of the church hymnal. Indeed, Johnsen claims it to have been the “first work of this kind in our dear fatherland.”¹

About Johnsen (1716/17–79) himself, we know only that he was born in Germany, was attached to the court of Holstein-Gottorp in Eutin in 1735, wrote a comic opera, *Die verkaufte Braut*, in 1742, and followed with the court to Stockholm in 1743, when his employer was called to be Sweden's crown prince. There, he was appointed organist in one of the city churches and led the court's French theatre orchestra.²

Perhaps the first thing one notices about these songs is that they are not all easy to sing, especially given the modern understanding of mid 18th century tempi. While not florid or clearly virtuosic, from the very first one, they are filled with small, decorative, passing phrases and ornaments that suggest a certain delicacy and vocal facility. The top notes are, with two brief exceptions, never higher than g", and even those are passing-notes; most low notes are around e' and f', though two go to b below c' [middle-C]. With those exceptions, then, these songs generally fit well for a medium voice, though often for one probably more comfortable in the higher part of the range.

Indeed, as they all sit comfortably on the treble clef, most of them were probably intended for what we would come to call a soprano. This noted, the first version of the second line in No. 24, a duet, is written in the tenor clef. Equally interesting is that the very first *ode*, requires two poems and two songs, the second of which is set consistently lower than the first, while an anniversary song, No. 13, is for a soloist and chorus. Thus, we have a compact and varied collection of songs “for those who want to sing,” as Johnsen puts it in his Preface. Johnsen is practical, as well, and he also points out, that if one does not wish to sing, one can simply play these songs as keyboard pieces, or play them with a flute or violin on the song-line, then not an unusual suggestion.

Johnsen is principally concerned with singing in his book. His Preface consists, in fact, of useful advice for singers. Those already skilled in this art will recognize it at once as standard practice. Amongst this advice, however, are a few words that we might like to keep in mind with respect to our current view of how to perform music of this period. For instance, he says that “A little vibrato makes the song yet more pleasant.” He also makes a point that words must be clearly articulated, something, alas, not always the case. A real concern for Johnsen, however, is what we may call

“line.” He tells us, “One ought also to try to connect one tone with the next so that one does not emphasize one note unless a special effect is necessary; light, flowing, clear, and in tune, without the least force.”

The very presence of this advice, however, also tells us something about the intended audience for this collection, that it is for those who are literally *amateurs*, that is, lovers of music not necessarily instructed in its performance.

The songs have just two lines of music and, taken as keyboard pieces, are fairly easy to play, but all of them have also been given a figured bass. His few words about realizing figured bass come later in the collection, where he also tells us that his figured bass remarks are “for those already able to play the keyboard.” What he says there is correct, but perhaps not pedagogically useful to someone who has not already studied harmony.

One of the interesting observations Johnsen makes in passing is that “One must get used to a proper tuning, so that every interval is purely sounded.” Unfortunately, he does not tell us which of the many competing tuning systems he has in mind, though by 1754, some variant of well-tempering was common, allowing playing in all twenty-four keys. Though Johnsen actually proposed publishing a collection of such pieces, *24 Oder* does not exploit this. It is also useful to note that, as could be expected, he says nothing about pitch, though the North German *Kammerton* he would have known put a' at today's 422 Herz.

The words Johnsen took for his twenty-four songs make an interesting choice. Seventeen of them come from the first two volumes of *Våra försök* (Our attempts, 1753, 1754), a collection of poetry by a new literary club of younger writers who wanted to break away from the then-dominant neo-classical strains perceived in literature. Though we may not be enthusiastic today about poems entitled “Bliss in Love,” or “Question about Chastity,” we might still respond well to one titled “Bacchus' Fame.” These last two, by the way, are among the six lower settings in the collection, and may thereby suggest male voices. The texts speak to the often Rousseau-esque ideal of *sentiment*, of personal sensitivity. These are not words about high ideals and noble thoughts wrapped in soaring rhetoric. Indeed, they often undermine such expectations with humor.

This noted, then, there is a quiet surprise in No. 9. Its title is “Quietness,” and it is about a rooster courting a hen, who thinks he is too noisy. The humor in that situation is complemented by the surprise in the music, for its key (F-major), its time signature (2/4), and its opening musical gesture are identical with those of Bach's “Italian Concerto” (BWV 971), with one minor difference: where Bach begins on the high tonic, f", Johnsen chooses the more modest dominant, c", certainly an easier beginning to a vocal line for a less-experienced singer. He also develops the line quite differently. Bach's concerto was published in 1735, the year Johnsen, already a skilled keyboard player, arrived in Eutin. It is certainly possible he could have come to know Bach's piece, but there is no suggestion to that effect other than the song.

Johnsen's choice to publish a song-book and not, say, excerpts from his opera or cantata music, is itself interesting, in that it represented something new in what was available for Swedish musical consumption, as he clearly understood. It was a further signal of its modernity that he chose to set words by modern poets, poets themselves only just becoming known and bringing a new voice to Swedish poetry. Among the poems taken from *Våra försök*, eight were by Hedvig Charlotta Nordenflycht (1718–63), a central

1. Hinrich Philip Johnsen, *24 Oder af Våra Bästa Poeters Arbete* (Stockholm: Pehr Floding, grav., 1754: facsimile Autographus Musicus, 1978 [All translations by AMS].

2. Eva Nordenfelt-Åberg, *Hinrich Philip Johnsen. Biografi och verk-förteckning*, KMA skriftserie nr 36 (Stockholm: Kungl. Mus. Akademien, 1982), 5–13, 14–70. This is accompanied by a discussion of the works by Hans Eppstein, 71–113.

member of the club, well-known as a poet and feminist, and the only Swedish woman of her day to make her living as a writer. Indeed, her poetry is part of the main body of Swedish poetry even today.³

The publication of *24 Oder* came at an interesting moment in Swedish musical history. Not only had Adolf Fredrik brought his musicians with him to Stockholm, his marriage in 1744 to Lovisa Ulrika, the intensely music-loving sister of Fredrick the Great, raised the whole temperature of music-making at the court and seems to have stimulated more public music-making, as well. Johnsen, in fact, taught her—successfully, by all accounts—how to play figured bass. It is, therefore, of interest that this book seems not to have been aimed at the court, though there were certainly amateurs to be found there, but probably at what we might today call the upper middle class, or, perhaps one might say, the class of those comfortable but not attached to the court.

As with community music-making, the notion of domestic music-making was not unknown in Sweden or anywhere else in the eighteenth century. Fiddles and flutes were often to be found, and perhaps some kind of plucked instrument, as well. Then, too, some level of music education was a requirement in the schools from 1724. But what seems to have opened more possibilities was the increasing availability of keyboard instruments. These were mostly imported. Up to the time of *24 Oder*, the most-common home keyboard instrument probably would have been a clavichord on the less expensive end or a harpsichord for the more well-to-do. By 1727, fortepianos were being built in Sweden, but there were not many and they were expensive. By the time of Johnsen's book, there were four or five keyboard builders in Sweden, apart from organ builders.⁴ All this does not tell us, however, how extensive home music-making was.

This problem lies before us because we know nothing about who bought this book. Johnsen published it himself, and offered it on subscription, and distributed it himself and through the shopkeeper, Pierre Crees. The whole work, on ordinary paper, cost *14 daler km*, which would buy a woman a sunhat and a pair of stockings. It would almost buy you a sheep. Alas, the subscription list that would have been expected to accompany the book, and told us who bought it, was never printed.⁵ In fact, before Olof Åhlström began his music press, in 1783, there was no commercial music publisher at all, partly because there were no engravers who could do the job.⁶

3. Three of the others were written by Johan Israel Topadius (1722–60), a member of the city council, two by Gustaf Fredrik Gyllenborg (1731–1808), and one by Carl Fredrik Eckleff (1723–86), both bureaucrats, and at least three others by hitherto unidentified members of the club. The remaining seven remain anonymous.

4. Eva Helenius-Öberg, "Svenskt instrumentalmakeri 1720–1800. En preliminär översikt," *Svensk tidskrift för musikkforskning*, 59(1977):5–43, esp. 25–29.

5. Albert Wiberg, "När utkommo H. Ph. Johnsens '24 Oder'," *Nordisk boktryckarkonst* (1947): 384–86.

6. Indeed, we can see that in October of 1754, Johnsen's musical rival, Ferdinand Zellbell (1719–80), advertised his own publication of his keyboard sonatas. *Stockholms Weckoblad*, October 20, 1754: 4. It never appeared, possibly because the engraver of *24 Oder* had left the country. Albert Wiberg, *Den Svenska musikhandelns historia* (Stockholm: Svenska musikhandlare förening, 1955): 95.

It is useful, then, to remind ourselves of Johnsen's stated purpose "One sees...that this work is published as much to entertain lovers of Music, as well as for various other purposes and uses." Though the collection has, as we have seen, a pedagogical direction, Johnsen is also aware of its newness. Part of that newness is that it is Swedish, as he emphasizes in his opening remark, cited above. In this, he makes it clear that his book reaches out beyond the court and, to be sure, such a remark was also a good sales pitch. Its newness is clear, too, in the choice of poems, all of which are secular, all of which are modern in their attitudes and language: it is a collection which goes from hyperbolic praise for a silver wedding anniversary, through various levels of human affection and feelings, including humor.

We are so drenched with music today, that it is hard to see this newness. It is Johnsen's sense of commitment to making Swedish music, of giving it a larger place, outside the court, that gives us good reason to look at *24 Oder*. That they are also charming songs does not hurt.

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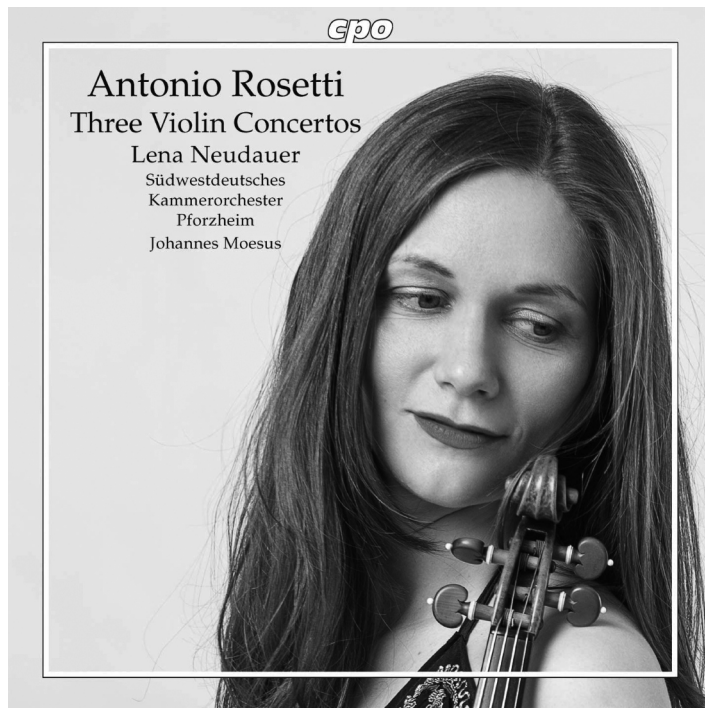
Recording Review

Antonio Rosetti, *Three Violin Concertos in C Major (Murray C5), D Major (Murray C7), and F Major, (Murray C11)*

Lena Neudauer (violin)

Südwestdeutsches Kammerorchester Pforzheim
conducted by Johannes Moesus. cpo 555 381-2

Sterling E. Murray



The 18th-century landscape of the Holy Roman Empire was dotted with small courts, many of which fostered active and noteworthy musical ensembles. One of the more prominent was the *Hofkapelle* of Prince Kraft Ernst von Oettingen-Wallerstein, lo-

cated north of Augsburg in the rich farmland of what is today the Donau-Ries *Landkreis*. Kraft Ernst was a passionate devotee of music, and he recruited for his *Hofkapelle* some of the most talented musicians of the day. At its peak in the 1780s, the Wallerstein *Hofkapelle* numbered approximately thirty musicians, including six composers. The shining light among this group was Antonio Rosetti (ca. 1750–1792). Born in Litoměřice (Leitmeritz), Bohemia, Rosetti joined the Wallerstein orchestra in 1773 at the age of twenty-three and served the prince for the next sixteen years, the last five of which as *Kapellmeister*.

When Kraft Ernst was first forming his orchestra, his intendant, Ignaz von Beecke, advised him to seek a violinist who could perform solo concertos. Following Beecke's advice, the prince hired two young and gifted violinists: Joseph Anton Hutti (1751–1785) and Anton Janitsch (1752–1812). Hutti was recruited from the Ludwigsburg *Hofkapelle* in Baden-Württemberg. He served the Wallerstein court for twelve years until his death in January 1785 at the age of thirty-four. With Hutti the prince gained not only a superb performer but also a capable composer, whose violin concertos were included in the inventories of Breitkopf in Leipzig and Traeg in Vienna.

Janitsch was a virtuoso violinist of the highest order. Leopold Mozart—who was not quick to acknowledge the talent of other musicians—praised Janitsch's extraordinary skill and meticulous intonation, tone, and expression. Kraft Ernst hired him as concertmaster and awarded Janitsch the special title of "Camera Musicus." Although among the most generously paid court musicians, Janitsch was continually in debt. In 1779, at the age of twenty-eight, he fled the prince's service to escape his creditors, leaving behind his wife and children. Janitsch found employment in Vienna in the service of Count Johann Leopold Pálffy (1728–1791), but was not satisfied there, and three years later he petitioned for a return to Wallerstein. The prince reinstated him, but the second appointment proved no more stable than the first, and in June 1785 Janitsch was again dismissed, this time for good.

During his years at Wallerstein, Rosetti produced a continuous flow of music: symphonies, wind partitas, chamber pieces, and a substantial number of concertos intended specifically to spotlight the accomplishments of his colleagues. Numbered among Rosetti's contribution to the concerto repertory are seven Violin Concertos, several of which were for Hutti or Janitsch. The authorship of C8 in D Major is questionable, and C13 in A Major exists only as a Breitkopf Catalog incipit. Two concertos (C6 in D Major and C9 in D Minor) were recorded in 2005 by cpo (777 028-2) under the baton of Johannes Moesus with Anton Steck as soloist accompanied by the Kurpfälzisches Kammerorchester. The remaining three concertos (Murray C5 in C Major, C7 in D Major, and C11 in F Major) are included on the present disc. Moesus is no stranger to Rosetti's music. His many performances and recordings of Rosetti's music continually achieve an extremely high level of quality recognized for their careful attention to detail and contextual "purity." The present group of violin concertos by Rosetti is no exception.

Rosetti's bright and cheerful Violin Concerto in D Major (C7) is an early work, dating from before 1778, when it appeared in Breitkopf Catalog. Like the other concertos on this recording, C7 is cast in three movements that follow a regular pattern of an opening Allegro and concluding Rondo framing a lyric and expressive Adagio movement. The Allegro molto of C7 follows a conventional

five-part ritornello format, strongly colored by sonata-form gestures. Those familiar with Rosetti's music, will recognize in this work several features common to his concertos, perhaps most obvious being the considerable length of the opening orchestral ritornello—a pattern from which he seldom deviates. Also familiar—although less obvious—is his fondness for economic treatment of thematic material and his penchant for exploring the dominant before returning to the tonic to bring the first ritornello to a conclusion. Against these anticipated patterns, Rosetti occasionally inserts an unexpected and striking shift in musical materials. A splendid example appears in the Allegro molto of this D Major concerto. Approaching the end of the first ritornello, Rosetti drives the full ensemble toward a vigorous forte cadence which unquestionably signals a point of structural articulation. But there is a problem: the music is still in the dominant when the cadence should be taken in the tonic. Pausing only briefly, Rosetti reduces the full ensemble to the second violins which then initiate a quiet fugato passage for strings that gradually works its way back to the tonic and is quickly enveloped into a repeat of the cadential material, albeit now in the tonic. This sort of surprise coupled with humor begins to appear in Rosetti's works in the late 1770s and thereafter continues to be a distinctive distinguishing feature of his music.

The lovely Adagio molto that follows sets a very different mood, with melodic expression replacing virtuoso display and architectural logic. Rosetti is at his best in this cantabile style. This lush lyricism gives way in the final movement to a rollicking rondo alternating the orchestral refrain with two contrasting episodes given over to the dazzling display and bravura of the soloist.

The Concerto in C Major (C5) is both later—appearing in the Breitkopf Catalog of 1779–80—and more advanced than C7. This dissimilarity is evident in the technical challenges required of the soloist, but also in its richer harmonic vocabulary, wider range of themes, and greater involvement of the oboes and horns. The expressivity of the Adagio rests primarily with its colorful chromaticism and meticulous employment of dynamic and expression markings. As anticipated, the work concludes with a spirited and exciting rondo with minor-mood episodes that pose striking contrasts to the agitated drive of the refrains.

The F Major Concerto (C11) raises some issues of authorship. This work exists in two sources both preserved in the Wallerstein music collection—one attributed to Rosetti and the other to Hutti. The parts for both were prepared by Wallerstein copyists; those attributed to Rosetti are in the hand of the composer's primary copyist, Franz Xaver Link (1759–1825), while those that bear Hutti's name were copied by Aloys Ernst (1759–1814), the court flutist. The "Hutti version," whose first and second movements differ slightly from Link's copy, was chosen for the current performance. In his program notes, Günther Grünstedel characterizes the Ernst copy as "more elegant and more suited to the violin." He further proposes that C11 is "probably Rosetti's earliest (surviving) violin concerto," who in creating this work may have sought "advice and help" from Hutti.

The three movements of this concerto do not form a convincing whole. The Allegro moderato follows a structure similar to Rosetti's other concertos, but square and repetitive themes, limited dynamic color, and bland harmonic vocabulary point to a degree of simplicity that suggests a composer still uncomfortable in this medium. This supports Grünstedel's theory that this is an early

work. The Rondo Andante molto in D Minor, on the other hand, is a work of some considerable merit. The lush and expressive themes unfolded by the solo violin are supported by a colorful deployment of the orchestra. Although both movements appear to be the work of Rosetti, they date from different periods.

The final rondo movement of C11 possesses yet a different situation. This movement opens quietly with an Andante la chasse-like theme which after only seven measures reaches a fermata answered by a resounding Allegro. This clever type of surprise is not foreign to Rosetti, but, unfortunately, the composer of this movement opted to employ this pattern repeatedly with each refrain, which quickly diminishes its surprise effect. It is unlikely that Rosetti would have made this mistake—even in his early years as a composer—suggesting that this movement is likely to be the work of Hutti.

Lena Neudauer's masterful rendering of Rosetti's often demanding music brings vigor and excitement to display passages while also giving emotional sway to the warmth and expressive sensitivity of the slow movements. Her silky touch and control of her instrument are a delight to the ear. The spectacular cadenzas in all three concertos are by Neudauer. Under Moesus's expert direction, the Southwest German Chamber Orchestra in Pforzheim offers a precise and stimulating performance marked especially by crisp articulation, nuanced shading, tempos appropriate to the literature, and meticulous attention to detail. Offering a special treat are Günther Grünsteudel's excellent program notes, including a biography of the composer and commentaries on the music that are certain to enhance one's listening enjoyment.

In recent years, Rosetti's music has become familiar to those who enjoy 18th-century instrumental music. Early on, this new awareness was focused primarily on his magnificent symphonies and wind concertos. Thanks to Johannes Moesus and cpo (Classic Produktion Osnabrück) we now can add his violin concertos to this growing repertory of exceptional music by a composer once unknown.

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**Mozart Society of America
and Society for Eighteenth-Century Music
Joint Conference in Salzburg
May 26–29, 2022
“Mozart and Salzburg”**

In a letter to Abbé Joseph Bullinger, written on August 7, 1778 from Paris, Mozart states bluntly, “Salzburg is no place for my talent!” He then goes on to enumerate all the ways that he felt Salzburg was inadequate: the court musicians don't have a good reputation; there is no theater or opera; there are no singers; the orchestra is “rich in what is useless and unnecessary—and very poor in what is essential”; there is not even a decent *Kapellmeister*. Nevertheless, Mozart spent most of his first twenty-five years composing and playing in the Salzburg court orchestra and at the Cathedral. Of course Mozart was supposed to resume his duties in Salzburg after visiting Vienna in the spring of 1781, but he only returned to his home town for a few months in 1783.

This international conference will explore all aspects of Mozart and Salzburg, including Wolfgang's early education and travel, especially to the nearby court at Munich; the music of Leopold Mozart, Michael Haydn, Giacomo Rust, as well as the other

singers and instrumentalists at the Salzburg court; traveling opera troupes, especially Emanuel Schikaneder's residence in Salzburg in 1780; and finally the works that Mozart wrote for Salzburg: his chamber music and serenades, symphonies and concertos, masses and other church music, and operas. More info at www.secm.org.



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continued from page 1

will be seen, a large portion of the pieces are contrafacts of galant style compositions.

In the 1989 RISM catalog prepared by Adler and Lea Shalem, the authors indicate that most works in the cantor's manual are descendants of “compositions for ensemble.”⁸ This assertion chiefly refers to reworkings of cantatas by Abraham Casseres (fl. ca. 1738), a musician who regularly worked for the Amsterdam Synagogue, and Christian Joseph Lidarti (1730–1793), a Gentile Austrian composer. A few further concordances derive from the works of Gentile musicians active in Amsterdam, including Jacobus Nozeman (1693–1745) and Pietro Antonio Locatelli (1695–1654). The RISM catalog provides additional internal matches relative to other collections of cantorial music produced within the Dutch Jewish community, now conserved in archives in Amsterdam, The Hague, Jerusalem, and Cincinnati.⁹ While the interconnectedness of the Amsterdam repertory fits the conservative narrative about the community's musical life, features such as the overabundance of Lidarti's compositions have prompted scholars to hypothesize undocumented events to make sense of “Gentile” music in the synagogue.¹⁰ My recent identification of two more contrafacts of pieces by composers related to the Viennese court, however, suggests that there was a regular practice of Dutch-Jewish musicians reworking secular pieces for use in the Synagogue.

8. Adler and Shalem, *Hebrew Notated Manuscript Sources*, 86.

9. *Ibid.*, 87–88.

10. Adler, for example, proposes that Lidarti could have visited London and Amsterdam before 1780, although there is no evidence for this assertion; see *Musical Life*, 85–88.

Items three and eight of Ets Haim Ms. 48 E 44 are sacred contrafacts of arias by Johann Adolph Hasse (1699–1783) and Giuseppe Bonno (1711–1788), both of whom had connections to the imperial court in Vienna.¹¹ In the third piece included in the manuscript the melody closely matches the aria “Ah, che nel dirti addio” from Hasse’s drama *Issipile*, with a libretto by Metastasio. Hasse’s only setting was presented at the Teatro di S. Bartolomeo, Naples in 1732. By then, “il Sassone” was technically chapel master in Dresden although he frequently traveled to the court in Vienna.¹² The text of the aria has Princess Eurinome begging Issipile to spare her son’s life. The Ets Haim manuscript sets the Princess’s melody to the Hebrew text for the Kedushah “Nakdishak we-na’arizak,” the Sephardic version of a prayer of praise for the morning Synagogue ritual (*Shacharit*).

The copyist drew the melody of the eighth item from Giuseppe Bonno’s aria “Ah, che invan per me pietoso” from *L’isola disabitata* (see figure 1). General similarities to the previous contrafact help establish a stronger pattern: here too the libretto was the work of Metastasio and the aria is also sung by a female character in the opera.¹³ The text presents a lamenting Costanza complaining about the slow passing of time on the island that has become her prison. The Synagogal manuscript transforms Costanza’s melody into the Aramaic Mourner’s Kaddish—“Yitgadal v’yitkadash”—a glorification and exaltation of God’s name, retaining the initial melody in its integrity (see figure 2). As in the case of Hasse, this “azione per musica” was produced neither in Amsterdam nor Vienna. This particular setting was rather prepared for the Spanish town of Aranjuez in 1753 to celebrate “il giorno del glorioso nome” of Ferdinand VI. Claudio Sartori mentions at least four editions of the libretto that indicate Bonno as the composer, all of which were printed in Italy.¹⁴ A fifth libretto, however, indicates that there was a 1763 production presented in Vienna for the “giorno natalizio dell’augustissima imperadrice regina.”¹⁵

The Ets Haim manual contains a type of contrafact that Drew Davies calls a “text substitution contrafact,” in which new words, often in a different language, replace an original text attached to a piece oftentimes not revealed as the source.¹⁶ In the present case,

the new text also happens to have a sacred character. Towards the mid-18th century, sacred contrafacts abound in areas as remote as Santiago (Chile) and Durango (New Spain), where Italianate musical aesthetics became a fashionable vehicle for dramatic and effective rhetorical expression.¹⁷ Primarily emanating from Neapolitan circles, galant conventions served to foster devotional expression throughout the Christian world. Their utilization within Jewish religious practice has remained unexplored.

In a similar way to areas traditionally considered to be defined by their peripherality in the Spanish world, the interactions of the Dutch Jewish community with the galant style, together with their role within European trade, point to a cosmopolitan culture that participated in a phenomenon of proto-globalization. There was a pervasive perception of refinement attached to Italianized music. While this notion afforded 18th-century European monarchs and ticket buying audiences with a means of self legitimation and heightened status through the display of sophistication, the presence of sacred contrafacts in the Amsterdam Synagogue suggests the transversal utilization of *opera seria* as a signifier of cosmopolitanism.¹⁸ That is to say, and as Davies has advanced, Italian opera functioned as a form of cultural capital that homogenized high culture in the 18th century.¹⁹

In view of the galant style’s semiotic weight for the Amsterdam Sephardic community as well as the narrative quoted at the beginning of this essay, the incorporation of these arias into a cantor’s manual begins to make sense, yet the problem of how they found their way to the Synagogue remains unresolved. At the very least, the sacred contrafacts of works by Hasse and Bonno renders Lidarti’s presence as less of an oddity, although it must be acknowledged that his works are ubiquitous among the Jewish sources. It is important to keep in mind that Lidarti was Bonno’s nephew, and that the latter appears to have encouraged the former to go to study in Italy with Niccolò Jommelli. Given these musicians’ and Hasse’s connections to the Viennese court, it is possible that we are missing some direct musical link between that court and Amsterdam. Other possible transmission patterns that I hope to investigate in the future include the dissemination of these arias by itinerant opera troupes and the underexplored role of the German trade fairs as centers for musical exchange. The latter case invites an exploration of Leipzig as a locus for the circulation of music especially due to the influence of the Dresden court, where Hasse was working.²⁰

11. I have found a third contrafact related to Vienna in a manual preserved at the Hebrew Union College of Cincinnati. This is a Hebrew setting of Vincenzo Righini’s Lied “Gesang verschönt das Leben.” The manuscript is ascribed to Yekl Singer and is part of the Birnbaum collection: Mus.7, <https://music.huc.edu/mus-7/>.

12. See Daniel Hertz, “Hasse at the Crossroads. Artaserse (Venice, 1730), Dresden, and Vienna,” *The Opera Quarterly* 16, no. 1 (2000): 24–33.

13. It might be worth mentioning that the Ets Haim Library also preserves a version of Metastasio’s *Betulia liberata* translated to Hebrew by David Franco Mendes and dated 1791 (“Pietro Metastasio’s *Betulia Liberata* by David Franco Mendes” (Amsterdam, 1791), EH 47 C 38, Ets Haim/Livraria Montezinos, Sephardi Community of Amsterdam, <http://etshaimmanuscripts.nl/items/eh-47-c-38/>).

14. Claudio Sartori, *I Libretti Italiani a Stampa Dalle Origine al 1800: Catalogo Analitico Con 16 Indici* (Cuneo: Bertola e Locatelli, 1990), 504–505.

15. Sartori, *I Libretti*, 506.

16. Drew Edward Davies, “Arranging Music for the Liturgy: Contrafacts and Opera Sources from New Spain,” *Early Music* 47, no. 2 (2019): 147–160.

17. See, for instance, Drew Edward Davies, “Contrafactos y géneros discursivos,” in *De música y cultura en la Nueva España y el México Independiente: Testimonios de innovación y pervivencia*, ed. Lucero Enríquez Rubio, 2 vols. (Mexico: Instituto de Investigaciones Estéticas, UNAM, 2014), 1:69–98.

18. See especially Martha Feldman, “Magic Mirrors and the Seria Stage: Thoughts toward a Ritual View,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 48, no. 3 (1995): 423–484; Martha Feldman, *Opera and Sovereignty: Transforming Myths in Eighteenth-Century Italy* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2007).

19. Drew Edward Davies, “The Italianized Frontier: Music at Durango Cathedral, Español Culture, and the Aesthetics of Devotion in Eighteenth-Century New Spain” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 2006), 46–48.

20. The Viennese libretto of Bonno’s *L’isola disabitata* mentions Regina Mingotti as a singer, who was also connected to the Dresden stage.



Figure 1. Beginning of aria "Ah, che invan per me pietoso" from Giuseppe Bonno's *L'isola disabitata*

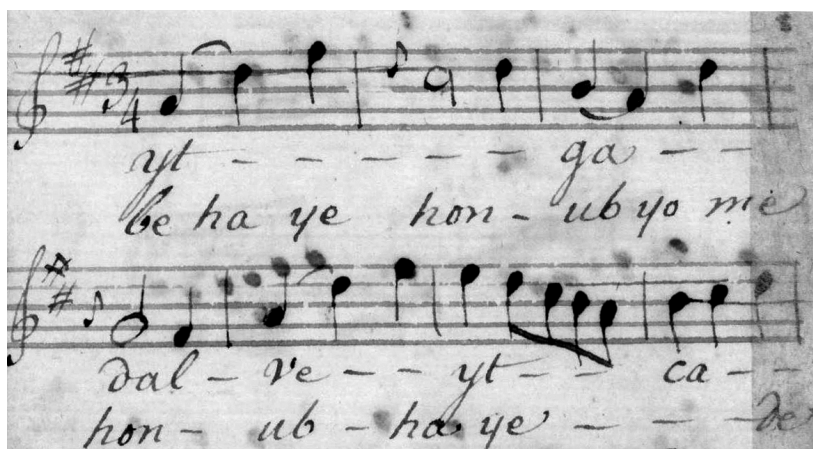


Figure 2. Beginning of Kaddish "Yitgadal v'yitkash"

Besides reporting on the finding of the two contrafacts, my purpose has been to place the musical practices of the Amsterdam Jewish community in dialogue with the broader European culture of their time. Engagement with the international Italianate style would have primarily functioned as signaling refinement and cosmopolitanism. The practice of producing Judaic adaptations of these arias would have effectively linked Synagogal liturgy to "traits, attitudes, and manners associated with the cultured nobility," in the words of Robert Gjerdingen.²¹ Not only does the music in this collection of cantorial pieces blur the boundaries between what has been often framed as separate Jewish and Gentile cultures but also positions the Amsterdam Synagogue in the context of early modern patterns of enhanced interreligious contact that increasingly demarcated the Jewish experience.²²

In this essay, I have avoided referring to terms such as "assimilation" to describe the situation of the Dutch Sephardim. This decision not only intends to avoid employing anachronistic conceptions but also underscores the self-narrative of the community. It is, however, also fundamental to notice that, together with accelerated mobility and increased Jewish-Gentile contact, there was a concomitant crisis of rabbinic authority and an upsurge in reactionary Jewish conservatism. The "Portuguese"-Jewish intellectual elite of Amsterdam had been pushing against contemporary favorable assessments of Christianity in such a way that those views appear to be overrepresented among official contemporary sources.²³ Ets Haim Ms. 48 E 44 may in fact point precisely to what the Sephardic leaders found troubling: an ambiguous intimacy with Gentile culture that could drive the ex-*conversos* away from their Jewish faith. In this respect, the cantor's manual reveals that Synagogal musicians in 18th-century Amsterdam might have used sonic artifacts such as the contrafacts to negotiate their Jewish and Dutch identities.

21. Robert O. Gjerdingen, *Music in the Galant Style* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2007), 5.

22. See David B. Ruderman, *Early Modern Jewry: A New Cultural History* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2010), 14–16.

23. See Bodian, "The Portuguese Jews of Amsterdam."