SONGS OF GRIEF AND HOPE
ANCIENT WESTERN SEPHARADI MELODIES OF *QINOT* FOR THE NINTH OF AV

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The repertoire of *qinot* melodies for the Ninth of Av (the date on the Jewish calendar that commemorates the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem) constitutes one of the most ancient musical repositories in the Sephardi liturgy. Of particular musical richness are the *qinot* of the Sephardi communities of the Western Hemisphere. Perhaps the intense attachment of the founding fathers of these communities, the *conversos* from Spain and Portugal, to this holiday of mourning, remembrance and hope for redemption can explain its solemn observance until the present.[1]

Qinot are dirges which were added after the Geonic period to the synagogue services of the Ninth of Av. In the Sephardi rite, they are sung after the *'amidah*. These are strophic poems treating the central topics of the Ninth of Av: the mourning over the destruction of the Temple, the recount of the tribulations of Israel in the exile and the expression of messianic hope for the restitution of the Temple. Most of the texts in this genre included in the Sephardi liturgy were written in medieval Spain and Italy. The Sephardi order of *qinot* for the Ninth of Av is printed in a special prayer book which includes the prayers for the four traditional fast days. The book is usually entitled *Seder arba' ta'aniyyot*, "the liturgical order of the four fasts."[2]

The *qinot* repertoire is sung to the present day during the Ninth of Av exclusively, i.e., during the specific occasion for which it is intended. The

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1   For example, the reading of the *haftarah* of *šaharit* of Ninth of Av in its Castillian translation, a tradition that can be traced back at least to the late-sixteenth century if not earlier, is still observed. When I attended the Ninth of Av services at the Spanish-Portuguese synagogue in Maida Vale, London in 1991, a reader, invited specially from Gibraltar, read the translated version of the *haftarah* even though most congregants could not understand it.

2   For the Ninth of Av prayers see Elbogen (1993: 183–184).

melodies of these dirges can neither be transferred to other services nor can extraneous melodies be added to the repertoire, as occasionally occurs in other liturgical music repertories of the Sephardi tradition. Moreover, these chants are closely associated with the texts and the religious themes of the Ninth of Av. We may therefore expect a high degree of stability in the transmission of the *qinot* melodies.

To what extent does the present oral tradition of *qinot* performance reflect older musical practices? A few surviving examples of *qinot* melodies from the western Sephardi repertoire from old notated sources allow us to tackle this question in relation to their style, manner of performance and reception in recent generations. One can clarify some of the mechanisms characteristic of the transmission of this musical repertoire by comparing these notated sources to contemporary performances of the same pieces. At the same time, one can follow the transformations that nevertheless occurred in this solemn and venerable musical repertoire throughout the ages.

This study encapsulates some basic issues in the historical research of the western Sephardi music tradition. It focuses in particular on the musical heritage of the Portuguese synagogue in Amsterdam and its sister congregations of London, Hamburg, Livorno, New York and southwestern France. It also probes into the relation of this heritage to synagogue music of the eastern Mediterranean and North African Sephardi diaspora.

The first part of this article treats the notation of two *qinot* melodies, *Eg miskene elyon* and *Ani ageber*. These are found in the precious eighteenth-century musical manuscripts of the Amsterdam Portuguese community, which were thoroughly documented by Israel Adler (1966; 1974: 191–236; 1984; 1989: nos. 013, 016–122) in his pioneer writings on this subject. The second part focuses on another *qinah* melody *Bore 'ad anah*. Its earliest notated version appears in the mid-nineteenth-century printed collection *The Ancient Melodies of the Spanish and Portuguese Liturgy* (1857) by Emanuel Aguilar and David Aaron de Sola from the Spanish-Portuguese congregation in London. The two parts of this article unveil the coexistence of diverse musical styles in the western Sephardi *qinot* repertoire. Yet, they both disclose an analogous process of transmission in which the precise realization of traditional melodic models by individual singers over several generations converges with folk creativity.

EG MISKENE ELYON AND ANI AGEBER

According to Adler, the Portuguese Jewish manuscripts of liturgical music from Amsterdam contain several layers of creativity. The first layer consists of original musical compositions for choir or for soloists with instrumental accompaniment. These were commissioned by the community for various occasions, e.g. for *šabbat nahamu* when the anniversary of the foundation of the Amsterdam synagogue is observed, or for Simhat Torah. The second is that of the "descendants," i.e. the adaptations of melodies from the original compositions to other texts from the liturgy by later *hazzanim*. Finally, the manuscripts include original, one-voice liturgical compositions, mostly *qaddišim* and *qeddušot*, composed by the cantors of the Amsterdam community during the eighteenth century.

Yet, the manuscripts contain other melodies that deserve our attention, namely traditional melodies which were transmitted orally probably since the time of the establishment of the community in Amsterdam in the early seventeenth century (Seroussi; 1992a; 1992b; 1996). The meager number of examples of this kind in the notated sources can be easily explained. Even after the Sephardi *hazzanim* in Amsterdam became proficient in music notation, they still relied on their memory for most of the liturgical melodies. Only new compositions that had to be kept for posterity were notated. The precious notated examples of traditional melodies, written down only sporadically, provide us with a rare opportunity of a glimpse of this ancient, orally transmitted musical tradition.

Two traditional melodies of *qinot* are preserved in the music manuscripts of the Portuguese community of Amsterdam. One is the "lament" (an inscription at the end of the *qinah* reads "Fin Lamentation") "Eg miskene elyon" *[Ek miškene 'elyon]* found in Ms. Amsterdam, Ets Hayyim 49 B 22, fol. 10a. This manuscript includes compositions dated between 1772 and 1791, but the compilation date might be slightly later. "Eg miskene elyon" appears in early prayer books for the four fasts as *rešut le-nišmat* on *šabbat ekah*, the Sabbath preceding Ninth of Av.[3]

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3 See: *Seder arba' ta'aniyot*, Venice, ca. 1613/4 (R 35 V 3378 at the Jewish National and University Library, fol. 59v). The poem was written by Yossef Ibn Suli ben David Hazzan (acrostic: *Ibn Albensuli ha-hazzan*) who lived in Toledo in the first half of the fourteenth century. On this *qinah* see David (1979) and Davidson (1924–30 א2824). According to

Facsimile 1. "Eg miskene elyon" *(Ms. Amsterdam, Ets Hayyim 49 B 22, fol. 10a)*

The second *qinah*, titled "Ani ageber *[Ani ha-gever aqonen]* de sahinte Sabath sendo Tisha Beab," is intended to be sung on *moza'ê šabbat* (Saturday night).[4] The refrain of this dirge explicitly refers to its liturgical function, for the poet grieves over the substitution of the *moza'ê šabbat* opening prayer *wihi no'am* with the reading from the Book of Lamentations (*ekah zahav yu'am*).[5] Its musical notation is included in a now lost manuscript titled *Livro das toadas dos kadisim & kedusot &ca quaes no discurso do anno se canta na Esnoga... Escritos & parte d'elles*

Davidson it was printed in a Sephardi *mahzor* published by Edelkind in 1544. I was unable to locate this *mahzor*. In Ms. London, British Museum, no. 639, p. 209 the poem is also titled "*Rešut le-nišmat le-šabbat ekah.*" On Ibn Suli see Schirmann (1972: 485). I am thankful to Dr. Tova Beeri for her clarifications concerning the literary structure and authors of the *qinot* discussed in this article.

4   When the Ninth of Av occurs on a Sabbath, the fast is postponed to Sunday.

5   For *Ani ha-gever aqonen* see, Davidson (1924–30: א6641). The acrostic partly reads Ani Shlomo. The explicit reference to the liturgical context of the poem appears in Ms. London, British Museum, no. 693 VIIe.

posto nas notas por Jeos^h se Sem^l Faro. En Amsterd^m 15 Sebath 5558
[1798]. The photograph of fol. 28b–29a of this lost manuscript contains
the musical notation of our *qinah*. It was made available to Israel Adler
from the archives of Hans M. Krieg, who possessed the manuscript in
the 1950s and who also published the melody of "Ani ageber."[6]

In the western Sephardi tradition, the *qinot* can be sung by the *hazzan*
alone, by various soloists each singing a stanza, or by a soloist singing
the stanza and the entire congregation answering with the refrain in a
responsorial manner. The *"Seder ta'aniyyot"* used in Amsterdam for the
Ninth of Av prescribes explicitly who performs each *qinah* and when (see
Seder ta'aniyyot 1858). Our two notated *qinot* are intended for cantor
solo. This explains their musical characteristics and why they were
preserved in the cantors' manuals.

Several features set these two melodies apart from the rest of the
notated Portuguese synagogue repertoire of the eighteenth century. Both
are notated metrically (4/4 in "Eg miskene elyon" and 3/4 in "Ani
ageber"). Yet, the rhythm and tempo indications of the melodies clearly
show that they were sung in a slow tempo and in flexible rhythm,
without a marked beat. "Eg miskene elyon" is indicated 'Lamentabile
grave' and is notated in relatively long values with florid cadential
passages in eighth notes. "Ani ageber" is marked 'Andante' and presents
similar rhythmic features. Both melodies are melismatic, employing
extended passages for single syllables. Their modality clearly departs
from the tonality and functional harmony that dominates the rest of the
notated repertoire from the Amsterdam synagogue. These *qinot* melodies

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6   The opening eight bars of "Ani ageber" also appear in Ms. Amsterdam, Ets Hayyim 48 E
    44 (formerly 48 E 49). See, Adler (1989: vol. 1, 85–86). The entire melody appears in the
    limited lithographic edition by Hans M. Krieg (1954). In the same publication Krieg
    included "Eg miskene elyon" from Ms. Amsterdam, Ets Hayyim 49 B 22. Both pieces are
    dated by Krieg as 1775. There is a rather fascinating resemblance between the melody of
    "Ani hageber" recorded in Amsterdam and "The Song of the Sibyl" that could still be
    heard sung in Catalan at Christmas eve in the Catedral of Palma de Mallorca at the
    beginning of the twentieth century (see: Trend 1926: 86–90 and 215–217, exs. 25a [from
    Manacor, after Noguera, *Memoria sobre los cantos de la Isla de Mallorca*, Barcelona 1893]
    and 25b [from Palma de Mallorca, after B. Torres]). The prescence of a large contingent of
    Jewish *conversos* in the Balearic Isles may be the source of this melodic resemblance. I
    found the reference to this curious musical connection in the manuscript notes left by the
    late Dr. Bathja Bayer and am indebted to her for this reference.

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also lack composition techniques, such as melodic sequences typical to the late baroque *style galante*, which can be found in many other pieces of the notated western Sephardi repertoire.

Facsimile 2. "Ani ageber" *(Krieg 1954: 1)*

Example 1. Transcription of "Ani ageber"

Table 1. Structure of "Ani ageber"

Text	Rhyme pattern	Musical phrase	Musical motif
Ani ha-gever		A	a
Aqonen	A		b
Be-lel zeh		A	a
Be-mar we-et'onen	A		b
We-taḥat wihi no'am	B	B	
Eḳah zahav yu'am	B	C	
We-taḥat wihi no'am	[Refrain]	B^1 (transposed down a fourth)	
Eḳah zahav yu'am		C^1 (transposed up a fifth)	

Example 2. Transcription of "Eg miskene"

Cont.Example 2.

Table 2. Structure of "Eg miskene"

Text	Rhyme pattern	Musical Phrase
Eḵ miškene ʻelyon		A
le-šama nitenu	A	B
banim be-galut		A
mi-gevulam raḥaqu	A	B
naẕu we-naʻu		C
bein kefirim ša'agu	A	D
aḵen ẕeʻirehem		A
ʻalehem šaḥaqu	A	B

The form of the melodies is fixed: AABC [stanza] B^1C^1 [refrain] for "Ani ageber," and AB AB CD AB in "Eg miskene." The fixed melody is repeated cyclically with each stanza. However, on the basis of the intrinsic characteristics stemming from these old notations, we may assume that a degree of improvisation was allowed the cantor in the singing of these *qinot*. Recordings of the oral tradition of these melodies corroborate this assumption.

The fixed forms of these melodies, both of which occur frequently in renditions of strophic poetry in Sephardi synagogue services, facilitated the process of transmission from generation to generation until the present time. Two musical versions of "Ani ageber" sung by the Reverend Abraham Lopes Cardozo from Amsterdam, cantor emeritus of the Shearith Israel Synagogue in New York City, exemplify the transformations caused in the process of transmission. The versions of the *qinah* by this cantor, one published by Isaac Levy and one by Lopes Cardozo himself, show that its length was drastically reduced (Levy 1977: no. 140, Lopes Cardozo 1960: 45; 1991: 50).[7]

The melody must have undergone considerable condensation throughout the ages. Two other notated versions of "Ani ageber," one from the Portuguese tradition of Bayonne in southwest France and the other originating in Livorno (Benharoche-Baralia 1961: no. 113, Consolo 1892: no. 232), are succinct abbreviations of the florid melody notated in Amsterdam in the late eighteenth century.[8] These short, syllabic versions adhere to the basic melodic contour of the Amsterdam version. However, they show substantial transformations, especially in the Livornese version where the mode is altered.

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7 I am thankful to Reverend Abraham Lopes Cardozo for his unfailing cooperation with all my research projects on the Portuguese synagogue music tradition of Amsterdam.

8 *"Ani ha-gever aqonen"* is also sung by other Sephardi and Oriental Jews with different melodies. See Idelsohn (1922: no. 100, for a Morrocan version; 1929: no. 260, for a Persian version).

Table 3. Structure of "Ani ageber" *(oral version in Lopes Cardozo 1991: 50)*

Text	Rhyme pattern	Musical phrase	Musical motif
Ani ha-geber		A	a
aqonen	A		b
be-lel zeh		A	a
be-mar we-et'onen	A		b
we-taḥat wi-hi no'am	B	1/2 B	
we-taḥat wi-hi no'am		1/2 B	
eḳah zahav yu'am	B	C	

Example 3. Comparative table of versions of "Ani ageber": *1) Krieg 1954; 2) Lopes Cardozo 1991: 50; 3) Benharoche-Baralia 1961: no. 113; 4) Consolo 1892: no. 232.*

Cont. Example 3.

No musical version of "Eg miskene" has survived in the modern oral tradition of Amsterdam.[9] One finds sections of the melody in another *qinah* sung to this day, *"Qumi we-sifdi torah."* I have pointed out that in the repertoire of *qinot* of the western Sephardi tradition one finds close

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9   Reverend Lopes Cardozo provided me a recorded version of this *qinah* from the mid-1950s from his private collection. It is obvious that the singer is faithfully performing from the score published by Krieg and not from an oral tradition. Perhaps the singer is Mr. Hans Krieg himself.

relations between different melodies, particularly in their cadential formulas. One reason for this phenomenon is that the number of melodies of *qinot* is substantially smaller than the number of texts. The *Seder ta'aniyyot* contains, in the title of several dirges, *lahan* references, i.e. a clue to the singer, which guides him to the use of the melody taken from another *qinah* text. A comparison between the final cadence of "Eg miskene" and "*Qumi we-sifdi torah*" as notated by *hazzan* David Aharon de Sola from London in the nineteenth century shows this striking similarity between the motifs.[10]

Example 4. Comparison of the opening and ending phrases of "Eg miskene" (Ms. Amsterdam, Ets Hayyim 49 B 22, fol. 10a) and "Qumi we-sifdi torah" (Aguilar-de Sola 1857: no. 58)

Finally, a rare oral version of "Eg miskene" of Mr. David Hazan, who immigrated to Israel from Sefrou in Morocco, was recorded by Avigdor Herzog in 1975. Hazan's version is a short, syllabic and fast melody repeated as a litany with each line of the poem. Interestingly, the opening of this short melody from Morocco bears a certain resemblance to phrase A of the Amsterdam version. However, these scant data do not allow us to draw any tangible conclusions concerning the possible relations between the traditions of this melody from Amsterdam and the

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10 On the melodies of Portuguese *qinot* see Seroussi (1992: 124–126). The oral version of *Qumi we-sifdi torah* by Abraham Lopes Cardozo is a close variant of de Sola's notation. See Lopes Cardozo (1991: 59).

urban centers of Morocco, which otherwise have solid historical and musical links in reference to other liturgical melodies (see Ricardo 1972: 28).

BORE 'AD ANAH

Not all the traditional *qinot* melodies from Amsterdam exhibit the characteristics of the two tunes studied above. Other *qinot* are sung by the congregation in a strictly syllabic, metric and tonal style as opposed to the melismatic, flowing rhythm and modal characteristics of the former two.

One *qinah* of this type is "*Bore 'ad anah*", which is chanted until the present day in the western and eastern Sephardi communities. It is conspicuous in the *qinot* repertoire and attracts the attention of scholars. The historian H.P. Salomon (1991) has studied the Ladino translations of this text while musicologist Hanoch Avenary (1972) discussed aspects of the melodies to which it is sung in Sephardi communities.[11]

TEXT

The text of this *qinah*, written by a yet unidentified poet named Binyamin (his name appears in the acrostic), centers around the widespread metaphor of the dove which symbolizes the people of Israel.[12] The poem consists of six stanzas of four verses: the first three are mostly composed of eleven phonetic syllables each, while the fourth consists of five syllables only. The rhyme scheme of the poem is AAAY, BBBY, CCCY, etc, where Y is the fixed rhyme of the refrain. The three long verses are divided into two hemistiches of five and six syllables respectively, as follows:

1a	*Bore 'ad anah*	1b	*yonateka bimzudah*
2a	*tok pah ha-moqeš*	2b	*'aniyyah u-mrudah*
3a	*u-bli baneha*	3b	*yoševet galmudah*
4	*zo'eqet avi.*		

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11 Avenary (1972) included his remarks in an encyclopedia article curiously called "Avi avi" (after the refrain of "*Bore 'ad anah*"). The late Professor Avenary noted that: "The tune, though substantially the same from Aleppo to London, exhibits interesting local variations."

12 See Kahana (1988: 91–92). This *qinah* was printed in many Sephardi prayer books. See Davidson (1924/30). One of its earliest versions appears in a fifteenth-century manuscript of *qinot* from Spain that was recently rediscovered. See Yahalom (1988: 346).

Facsimile 3. "Bore ad anah" *(Aguilar-de Sola 1857: no. 59)*

A particular characteristic of all the versions of this *qinah* is the repetition of words in the refrain, which corresponds to half of the penultimate verse and the entire last verse of the first stanza: *"yosevet galmudah, zo'eqet avi."* The pattern of repetition of words in the refrain varies in the different traditions. The usual patterns are: *"Avi, avi, avi, yosevet galmudah, zo'eqet avi, zo'eqet avi"* (Bucharest, Larissa); *"Yosevet galmudah, zo'eqet avi, avi, avi, zo'eqet avi"* (Morocco); or *"Avi, avi, avi, avi, avi, avi, yosevet galmudah, zo'eqet avi"* (Amsterdam, London). These textual variants of the refrain are related to variants in the melody as will be shown below.

TRANSLATIONS INTO SPANISH

In relation to *"Bore 'ad anah"* Salomon noted that:

> "...the Sephardi community of Bayonne, France, is at present the only one among its sister congregations to pride itself upon actual and traditional inclusion into the service of a Spanish version of a Hebrew liturgical poem [*Bore 'ad anah*]."[13]

Moreover, Salomon has noted that this *qinah* contains in its fifth stanza a "forthright indictment of persecution by Christians: strangers, who worship three deities, father, son and spirit, for they are shameless." Although the text was censored in most editions of the *siddur*, it appears intact in many prayer books edited in Amsterdam.

Which is the origin of the Spanish translation sung in Bayonne and printed by Benharoche? Salomon has noted that the language of this translation, titled "La Paloma,"[14] does not correspond to the one

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13   Salomon (1991). The Spanish version from Bayonne appears in Benharoche-Baralia (1961: no. 131). There is yet another prayer in Spanish in the Bayonne tradition: the *piyyut* for Simhat Torah "Tsour chokhen a'le shamayim" (*Zur šoken 'ale šamayim*) with the refrain: "Fuerte que en los cielos more" (Benharoche-Baralia 1961: no. 227).

14   Cirot (1906: 172–173). Cirot remarks that *"Bore 'ad anah"* was the only song in Spanish actually performed in Bordeaux at the beginning of the twentieth century: "Personne, dans le communauté, ne les comprenait [the Spanish texts]. Un seul a été maintenu comme souvenir de cette coutume (ou le chante le 9 d'Ab...)." The entire Spanish text of *"Bore 'ad anah"* was published for the first time by Henry Leon (1907). According to testimony of Albert Levi from 1936, the "elders whom I interrogated told that its origins [of the Ladino version of *'Bore 'ad anah'*] are lost in the night of times" (quoted in Salomon 1991: 63).

appearing in the Spanish *siddur* printed at the *converso* press in Ferrara in 1552 (Roth 1943). He then concludes that

> "*La Paloma* is not a vestige from the Iberian past...but rather a modern 'remake' of an ancient, perhaps pre-expulsion Judeo-Spanish translation preserved in the liturgy of Constantinople and Smyrna. It can be found, under the title *Ladino de Bore 'ad ana*...in the fast-day ritual published for the *Minhag Costantina veIzmir* by Meshullam Ashkenazi Finzi in Venice 1780."

Salomon is essentially correct. The Ladino version of *"Bore 'ad anah"* (as opposed to the Spanish *calque* of Ferrara) conspicuously appears in the *Seder arba' ta'aniyyot* printed in Venice (1706, 1751, 1756 and 1780) Pisa (1781 and 1792) and Vienna (1843, 1856, 1878, 1880 and 1884) (Romero 1992:76). It may have originated in an ancient version transmitted orally and preserved among the eastern Sephardi Jews. It was printed, from the oral version, after the seventeenth century in those prayer books including "additions that are customary to recite in Constantinople and Izmir." Moreover the superscription to the *qinah* in the early Venetian editions reads *Ladino de bore 'ad anah le-tamrur heḵal adonay ha'al še'ono* ("Ladino [version] of '*Bore 'ad anah*' sung to the melody [of the lamentation] *Heḵal adonay ha'al še'ono*"). This means that at least the translation of *"Bore 'ad anah"* was sung among the eastern Sephardim (and perhaps in Italy too) to the preexisting melody of another *qinah* (*tamrur*). [15]

A comparison of the different versions of the first stanza of *"Bore 'ad 'anah"* demonstrates the three different approaches to the Spanish translation of the *qinah* (Spanish *calque*, Ottoman Ladino and Spanish from southern France):

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15   For the *qinah*, *Heḵal adonay ha'al še'ono rabbu zedonay* (acrostic *Yitzhak*) see David (1979) and Davidson (1924/30: vol. 2, ה 521). This *qinah* is printed in collections of *piyyuṭim* for mystical *tiqqunim* such as *Hadašim li-veqarim* and *Šomerim la-boqer*, both published in Mantova in 1622. Moreover, it appears in Ms. London, British Museum, 693 VIId next to *"Bore 'ad anah."* In most editions, the first two words of the poem, *Heḵal adonay*, are repeated three times, perhaps because the melody called for such a repetition. This may be the origin of the repetition of words in some melodies of *"Bore 'ad anah"* (see below). *Heiḵal adonay* continued to be sung in Amsterdam on the Ninth of Av until modern times. See the Amsterdam version as sung by Lopes Cardozo in Levy (1965/80: vol. 9, 323–324, no. 130).

Table 4: Comparison of literary versions of "Bore 'ad anah"

Ferrara 1552	Venice 1756	Bayonne 1963
Creador hasta quando	Creador fasta cuando	Criador[!] hasta cuando
tu paloma en red	tu paloma encarcelada	tu paloma quedará
entre lazo de caçador	y en lazo enlazada	en la red del lazador
pobre y amarga	Mesquina y desdichada	Pobre y abatida
y sin sus hijos	y sin sus fijos	y privada de sus hijos
estan sola	Está solitaria	Solitaria se queda
esclaman: mi padre	Esmando [!]: señor	Esclamando: señor

This comparison clearly shows that the Bayonne version is not related to the ancient Spanish translation from Ferrara neither does it appear to be related to the Eastern Ladino. Rather, it is a translation of a more modern Spanish extraction. The gallicisms 'abatido' (from 'abattre') and 'privada' ('privé') hint at the influence of the local environment and therefore suggest that the text originated in Bayonne, perhaps as late as the early nineteenth century.

The version in Ladino of *"Bore 'ad anah"* as printed in the eastern Mediterranean prayer books from the eighteenth century onwards was still sung in some eastern Sephardi communities as late as the twentieth century. Isaac Levy noted two Ladino versions, one by Joseph Almuli from the Sephardi community of Bucharest and one from Shlomo Arie Cohen from Jerusalem.[16]

MELODY
The widespread popularity of this *qinah* is confirmed by the rich musical documentation from Sephardi communities throughout the Mediterranean basin that comprises the corpus of the present study. It is sung in Italy, North Africa (Morocco, Djerba), Romania, Greece, Turkey, Jerusalem and Syria, and was known even in Baghdad.[17] Isaac Levy

16   Levy (1965/80: vol. 4, no. 128 and 126 respectively). Levy also prints the version from Amsterdam as sung by Abraham Lopes Cardozo (Levy 1965/80: vol. 9, no. 102).
17   For the Baghdadi tradition see: *Tefillot le-yom tiš'a be-av*, a prayer book printed in Livorno, 1896 on behalf of the Iraqi Jews.

transcribed versions from Tetuán and Meknes (Levy 1976: nos. 39 and 40 respectively) and Djerba (Levy 1974: no. 127), while Idelsohn brings versions from Aleppo and Jerusalem (Idelsohn 1923: nos. 177 and 135 respectively). The National Sound Archives in Jerusalem hold countless versions from Morocco (Tetuán, Tangier, Rabat, Marrakesh, Sefrou, Meknes) as well as historical recordings from Florence (NSA Y 132, sung by Fernando Procacia, recorded by Leo Levi in 1954) and Larissa (NSA Y 199, sung by Abraham Sasson, recorded in 1956 also by Leo Levy). A comparative analysis of all these versions shows that they are structurally related, comprising a complex family of melodies (see example 5; all versions were transposed to the tonic *e* in order to allow for an easier comparison).

One may now wonder about the genealogy of this melody. The earliest musical document of "*Bore 'ad anah*" is the western Sephardi version published in London in 1857 (see above Facsimile 3 and example 5, no. 1) by *ḥazzan* David Aaron de Sola, who was born and educated in Amsterdam. This affirms that this version of the melody was known in Amsterdam, at least by the beginning of the nineteenth century. De Sola testifies that all the melodies in his book correspond to those he learned from the elders in his hometown.[18] Further conclusions about the age of this melody may be extrapolated from the literary evidence. The characteristic pattern of repetition of words in the refrain, as found to the present day in oral versions from London, Amsterdam, Jerusalem and Bucharest, is actually printed in the early Venetian editions of the Ladino versions: "Señor, señor, señor, señor, señor, señor, está solitaria, esclamando: señor." It appears that the melody employed in the late seventeenth century, which we believe, is related to present-day versions, included the same pattern of repetition of the words in the refrain. This melody may even be related to the *laḥan* indication in the title of "*Bore 'ad anah*" in the old Venetian edition: *Hekal adonay ha'al še'ono*, a *qinah* which also repeats the first words of its refrain. This 'musical' repetition was committed to print as a cue to the singers of the *qinah*.[19]

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18 See Aguilar and de-Sola (1857: 53, no. 59). A partial notation of the refrain "Abi abi" was included in the second edition of this book (Aguilar, de-Sola and Jessurun 1931: 146, no. 130).
19 See above, n. 15.

Example 5. Comparative table of selected musical versions of "Bore 'ad anah": *1) Aguilar-de Sola 1857: no. 59 and refrain in Aguilar-de Sola-Jessurun 1931:no. 130 (London); 2) Lopes Cardozo 1991: 57 (Amsterdam); 3) Benharoche-Baralia 1960: no. 131 (Bayonne); 4) Levy 1965/80: vol. 4, no. 128 (Bucharest); 5) Levy 1965/80: vol. 4, no. 126 (Jerusalem); 6) Idelsohn 1923: no. 135 (Jerusalem); 7) Rabbi Jacob Adi (Meknes, personal communication)*

C — I — I² — I

yo- she- bet gal- mu - da zo- e- ket a- bi zo- e - ket a- bi

yo- she- bet gal - mu - da tso- e - ket a- bi tso- e- - ket a- bi

yo-na-thé- é - kha bim- tsou- ou- dah tokh pa- ah ha- mo-qé- é- ech tokh pa- ah' ha- mo-qéch.
yo - che - beth gal- mou - dah tso- e'- qé- éth a - bi tso- e' - qeth a- bi.

y en la- ço en- la-ça - da mes-qui- na y - dez - di- cha - da y sin sus hi - jos
es - tá so - li-tar - ia es-cla- man - do- se- nor es-cla-man - do se- nor

IV²

yo - na - te- kha vim - zu - da tokh pah ha- mo- qesh
a - ni - ya um- ru - da uv- li va- ne- ha
yo- she - vet gal - mu - da zo e - qet a - vi

jo- na- te- kha bim- su- - da, to-khe pah ham - mo- qes
a - ni ya um- ru - da, I²

jo- se - vet ga-le-mu - da so- e- qet a- vi ,

yo- se - vet gal - mu - da so- e- qet a - vi

VII

yo- she - vet gal - mu - da tzo- e- qet a - vi ,

a- vi , a - vi , tzo- e- qet a- - vi.

The basic melody is in the minor mode (transcribed here with the tonic on *e*). It spans over a minor hexachord (*ef#gabc*) and in a few cases it ascends to the minor seventh *d'* or descends to the subtonic *d*. Deviations from this scale (*g#*, *c#*) are found in various traditions, particularly in the Moroccan one. Alternatively, the *f#* may be substituted by f natural (e.g. in the descending "Phrygian" cadence *a, g, f, e* in example 5, no. 3).
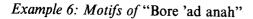
The form of the melody varies according to the different traditions. The version from London, which is our point of departure, consists of

three phrases: A, B, C (see example 5, no. 1). The first phrase, A, is repeated and covers the first two lines of the stanza (or four hemistiches: 1a, 1b, 2a, 2b). The second phrase, B, is similar to A and covers only one hemistich which is repeated (3a). The third and final phrase, C, is longer than the first two ones (6 bars instead of 4). It covers the remaining hemistiches of the stanza (3c, 4). The refrain (hemistiches 3c and 4 repeated) is sung to phrases B and C. The Amsterdam version (example 5, no. 2) follows exactly the pattern of the version from London while the one from Bayonnne (example 5, no. 3) differs only slightly in the pattern of relation between the text and the melody. There is then a remarkable formal affinity between all the western Sephardi melodies of *"Bore 'ad anah"*.
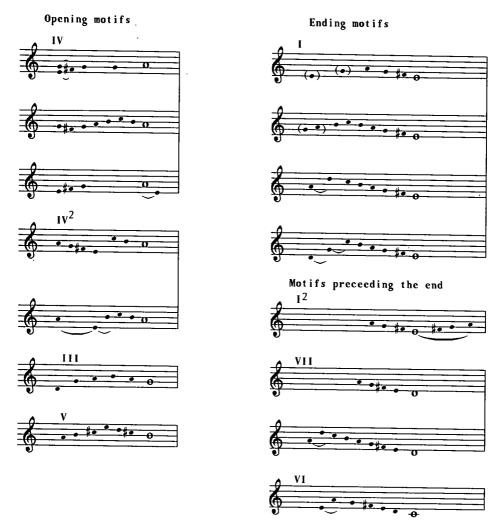
Close in melodic form to the western Sephardi versions but different from them in the relation between text and melody are the eastern Sephardi versions from Burcharest (in Ladino; example 5, no. 4) and Jerusalem (example 5, nos. 5 and 6). These versions are characterized by a form of two phrases only, corresponding to phrases B and C of the western Sephardi versions. Another unique feature of the Jerusalemite versions is their cyclical repetitions of the text in the following pattern: phrase B for hemistich 1a repeated; phrase C for hemistiches 1b and 2a; phrase B for hemistich 2a repeated again; phrase C for hemistiches 2b and 3a; phrase B for hemistich 3a repeated again; phrase C for hemistiches 3b and 4; finally phrases B and C repeated as refrain (hemistiches 3b and 4 again). Finally, the version from Morocco (example 5, no. 7) shares with the eastern Sephardi versions the two phrase form (B-C) but is simpler in the text-melody relation: phrase B is repeated three times for the entire stanza, except for the last hemistich which is sung to phrase C as a refrain.

All the phrases of the melody (A, B and C) in all its geographical variants consist of two basic motifs, each one found in several variants (see example 6).[20] Motif I, the main ending motif, is characterized by a descending movement from *a* (sometimes from *c* or *d*) towards a cadence on the tonic *e*. A variant of motif I is I^2 which includes an ascending "tail" to *g* or *a* after the tonic *e*. As a rule, I^2 appears between repetitions of motif I to form the patterns $I-I^2-I$ (western Sephardi versions) or $I-I^2-I-I$ (Jerusalem and Moroccan versions). The second motif, IV, is

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20   Motifs are hereby named after their cadential degree in Roman numbers. Thus, motif I ends on the first degree, motif IV on the fourth and so on.

characterized by an ascending movement from *e* towards a cadence on the fourth degree of the mode (*a*). It functions as both the opening of the melody or as its ending in the case of the cyclical forms (Jerusalem). Similar to motif I, motif IV has a variant, IV^2, found in the Bayonne and the Jerusalem versions and characterized by an ascending leap of a fifth (*e-b*) or sixth (*e-c*) that then gravitates to the cadence on *a*.

Example 6: Motifs of "Bore 'ad anah"

Opening motifs

IV

IV^2

III

V

Ending motifs

I

Motifs preceeding the end

I^2

VII

VI

Apart from the two basic motifs, I and IV, some versions present alternative motifs. The Bucharest version, for example, includes a different opening motif, III, which substitutes motif IV. Motif III is characterized by a cadence on the third degree *g*, thus providing the opening of the melody with a major flavor. This motif is a local deviation from the normative motif IV found in all other versions.

The Moroccan versions (example 7), though thoroughly related to the other Sephardi versions include some alternative motifs. The most characteristic one is the opening motif, V, ending on the fifth degree (*b*). Structurally this motif replaces motif IV. Another unique feature of the Moroccan versions is motif VII, which descends to the subtonic *d*. This motif substitutes I^2 to form the pattern I-VII-I-I in the refrain.

Example 7. Moroccan versions of "Bore 'ad anah": 1) Levy 1965/80: vol. 8, no. 40 (Meknes); 2) Levy 1965/80: vol. 8, no. 39 (Tetuán); 3) Personal communication by Rabbi Jacob Adi (Meknes).

Bo- re ad a - na yo-nat- kha bim - zu - da
Tokh pah ha- mo- quesh a -ni - ya um - ru - da

Bo- re ad a - na yo-nat- kha bim - zu - da
Tokh pah ha- mo - quesh a -ni - ya um - ru - da

Bo- re ʿad a - na yo-na-te-kha bim - tzu - da
Tokh pah ha- mo - quesh a -ni - ya um - ru - da

* First time F-natural

Uv- li va - ne- a yo - she - vet gal - mu - da zo - e- qet a - vi

Uv- li va - ne- a yo - she - vet gal - mu - da zo - e- qet a - vi,

Uv- li va - ne- a yo - she - vet gal - mu - da tzo - e- qet a - vi,

a - vi , a - vi , zo - e- qet a - vi.

a - vi , a - vi , zo - e- qet a - vi.

a - vi , a - vi , tzo - e-qet a - vi.

The complex relations between all the recorded melodies of *"Bore 'ad anah"* point to three 'traditions' (groups of melodies with a high degree of resemblance in form, melodic direction, rhythm and text/melody relation): the eastern Sephardi (Jerusalem, Greece, Bucharest, Aleppo), the western Sephardi (London, Amsterdam, Bayonne, Italy) and the Moroccan. To clarify the relations between these three traditions, it is necessary to consider the different types of relations between the structural components of the music and the text. Table 5 summarizes the relation between melody and text in the first stanza and in the refrain. In this table, motifs are designated according to the description above (see example 6); verses and hemistiches are designated by Arabic numerals and letters (1a, 1b, etc; see above). The textual unit "4" corresponds to the repetitions of the word "Avi" from verse 4. In this analytical table we have added alternative versions from Aleppo (Idelsohn 1923: no. 177), Florence (NSA Y 132 sung by Fernando Procaccia) and Larissa (NSA Y 199 sung by Abraham Sasson) to those included in example 5 (London/ Amsterdam, Bayonne, Bucharest, Jerusalem [2 versions] and Meknes). The table shows many of the multiple combinations of traditional motifs of *"Bore 'ad anah"* found in the diverse Sephardi oral traditions.

Table 5: Melodic and Literary Structure of "Bore 'ad anah"

Tradition	Musical Phrases	Musical motifs and textual units				
Amsterdam/London (music)	A	IV	I	IV	I	
	B/C	IV	IV	I	I2	I
	B/C Refrain	IV	IV	I	I2	I
Amsterdam/London (text)		1a	1b	2a	2b	
		3a	3a	3b	4	4
Bayonne (music)	B/C	IV	IV2	I	I2	I
	B/C	IV	IV2	I	I2	I
	B/C Refrain	IV	IV2	I	I2	I
Bayonne (text)		1a	1a	1b	2a	2a
		2b	3a	3b	4	4
		4–	4–	3b	4	4

Tradition	Musical Phrases	Musical motifs and textual units					
Bucharest (music)	B/C	III	III	I	I2	I	
	C				I2	I	
	B/C Refrain	III	III	I	I2	I	
Bucharest (text)		1a	1b	2a	2b	3a	
					3b	4	
		4-	4-	3b	4	4	
Jerusalem (music)	B/C	IV	IV	I	IV2		
	B/C	IV	IV	I	IV2		
	B/C	IV	IV	I	IV2		
	B/C Refrain	IV	IV	I	IV2		
Jerusalem (text)		1a	1a	1b	2a		
		2a	2a	2b	3a		
		3a	3a	3b	4		
		4-	4-	3b	4		
Jerusalem (music)	B/C	IV	IV	I	IV2		
	B/C	IV		I			
	B/C	IV	IV	I	I2		
	C Refrain			I			I
Jerusalem (text)		1a	1a	1b	2a		
		2a		2b			
		3a	3a	3b	4		
				3b			4
Morocco (music)	B	V	I				
	B	V	I				
	B/C	V		I	VII(or VI)		
	C Refrain			I			I
Morocco (text)		1a	1b				
		2a	2b				
		3a		3b	4		
				4-			4
Aleppo (music)	B/C	IV		VII			VII
	B/C	IV		VII			VII
	B/C	IV		VII			VII
	C Refrain						IV

Tradition	Musical Phrases	Musical motifs and textual units				
Aleppo (text)		1a	1b	1a		
		2a	2b	3a		
		3a	3b	4		
				4		
Larissa (music)	B	V	V	I		
	B	V	V	I		
	B/C Refrain	V	V	I	I2	I
Larissa (text)		1a	1a	1b		
		2a	2a	2b		
		3a	3a	3b	4	4
Florence (music)	B/C	IV	IV2	I	I2	I
	B/C	IV	IV2	I	I2	I
	B/C Refrain	IV	IV2	I	I2	I
Florence (text)		1a	1a	1b	2a	2a
		2b	3a	3b	4	4
		4-	4-	3b	4	4

Table 5 reveals the three distinctive models:

1)   The western Sephardi/Italian versions. These are characterized by the refrain sequence: 4-, 4-, 3b, 4, 4 (*"Avi, avi, avi, avi, yoševet galmudah, ẓoʿeqet avi, ẓoʿeqet avi"*) sung to IV, IV (or IV^2), I, I^2, I. Vestiges of this pattern can be found in Jerusalem: 4-, 4-,3b, 4 sung to IV, IV, I, IV^2.

2)   The Moroccan versions. These include a unique pattern in the last two verses and refrain: 3a, 3b, 4, 4-, 4 (*"Yoševet galmudah, ẓoʿeqet avi, avi, avi, ẓoʿeqet avi"*) sung to V, I, VII (or VI), I^2, I, which recalls the musical (but not the textual) pattern of the refrain in the western Sephardi model.

3)   The eastern Sephardi versions. These are characterized by the chain-like relation text/music, a feature found especially in the version from Aleppo, as follows: 1a, 1b, 2a // 2a, 2b,

3a // 3a, 3b, 4, etc.. The Jerusalem versions contain elements from this chain-like pattern combined, as noticed above, with elements from the refrain of the western Sephardi versions (*"Avi, avi, avi, avi, yoševet galmudah, zo'eqet avi, zo'eqet avi"*).

On the basis of these findings I argue that the melody of *"Bore 'ad anah,"* as other traditional Sephardi melodies, was probably transmitted from the eastern Mediterranean or North Africa to western Europe in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries. The communities of Venice and Livorno may have served, as in the case of other traditional Sephardi melodies, as a bridge between eastern and western Sephardi Jews. This assumption might explain why the version sung in Florence retains a structure which combines traces of both the eastern and the western Sephardi versions. Secondly, the eastern versions, and particularly the one from Aleppo, appear to be deteriorated versions of the more complex melody, which paradoxically was kept more intact in the Western Hemisphere. These hypotheses, however, remain open for further verification, when a larger corpus is investigated.

CONCLUSION

The present study corroborates once more the complexity of the historical study and the unique aesthetics of the western Sephardi liturgical music tradition. The first two *qinot* studied here ("Eg miskene" and "Ani ageber") based on the late eighteenth-century notations, exemplify an elaborated, solemn style uniquely characteristic of the Amsterdam synagogue and its sister congregations, such as London and Bayonne. It is quite unlike any other eastern or North African Sephardi traditions. This style appears to have been even more florid and slower in the past than in the surviving oral traditions found in recordings from twentieth-century cantors such as the Reverends Salomon Rodrigues Pereira and Abraham Lopes Cardozo. The melodies of these *qinot* are, according to the extant documentation, unique to the western Sephardi tradition.

On the contrary, the case of the metric melody of *"Bore 'ad anah"* points towards clear musical connections between the western, the eastern and the North African Sephardi liturgical traditions. There are other *qinot* melodies of the type of *"Bore 'ad anah"* which have been apparently transmitted to the Portuguese repertoire of western Europe

via North Africa.[21] For example, the melody of *"Ha-la-nofelim tequmah"* by Yehuda Halevy sung in London clearly originated in Morocco. It appears for the first time in print in the Portuguese repertoire from London in 1931.[22] A similar version was published recently by Lopes Cardozo (1991: 55). This melody was recorded in Israel from Moroccan immigrants and even serves, as a contrafact, for the singing of a Judeo-Spanish *endecha* (dirge) from Tetuán.[23]

The different musical styles in the western Sephardi *qinot* repertoire reveal two approaches to their performance. "Eg miskene" and "Ani ageber" are solemn, grave melodies reflecting the western Sephardi aesthetics of synagogue music for the Ninth of Av which perhaps retains old traditions lost in the eastern Mediterranean and in North Africa. *"Bore 'ad anah,"* is a more spirited melody. This type of melody, in which the participation of the congregation is very lively, conveys a more optimistic message of hope and redemption. These two contrasting musical styles in the western Sephardi *qinot* repertory effectively reflect the dialectics of the Ninth of Av, the grief and the hope.

21 See the opinion of Ricardo (1972: 2732; 1975).
22 Compare the version published at the Spanish-Portuguese community of London (Aguilar, de Sola and Jessurun 1931: 144, no. 127), with Levy (1965/80: vol. 8 nos. 76–77) from Tetuán and Meknes respectively.
23 For the *endecha*, see Weich-Shahak (1991: 15–16). Another melody of a *qinah* from Morocco found in Amsterdam is *Arim 'al šefayim qoli*. See the version by Lopes Cardozo in Levy (1965/80: vol. 9, no. 117) and compare with Levy (1965/80: vol. 8, no. 68 from Tetuán) and Levy (1965/80: vol. 4, no. 198 from Djerba).

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