‘THE SONGS OF SOLOMON’: SALAMONE ROSSI AS COMPOSER, MUSICIAN AND CULTURAL FIGURE IN THE ITALIAN BAROQUE ERA

by

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Salamone Rossi, an Italian performer, composer, and Jew in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century lives on, for the most part, in brief mentions in textbooks for undergraduates in music history classes. Only a single published biography exists on the musician, and beyond this, scholarship on his life is limited and largely outdated. At first glance, the man appears to be a poor choice for a project such as a thesis – more is not known about him than is. Yet upon further inspection, Rossi's legacy in both Baroque and Jewish music history is worth sharing, both here and in the classroom.

In this thesis, I examine the life and works of Salamone Rossi, and demonstrate that our knowledge of these things is an invaluable teaching resource in music history pedagogy for undergraduate music students. Additionally, I provide resources for instructors to take into their own classrooms to push past common barriers when introducing new, under-researched material into the classroom. In doing so, it is my goal to help usher in a new model of music history pedagogy that gradually shifts how music history is taught toward a more diverse model, while still including information that is essential for undergraduates pursuing a conservatory-style degree.

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Finally, I wish to acknowledge my grandparents, who were proudly Jewish despite the hatred they faced. To my grandfather, David Epstein, a musician and composer, who passed on his love of music to me, and to my grandmother Elissa Burian, who escaped the Holocaust at a young age yet devoted her life to sharing her story with pride, I dedicate this work to you with all my love.

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Introduction

This thesis is a culmination of two years of research that ironically, did not make it into this draft. I began with a research-based project, shifted to a pedagogical project, and finished with a synthesis of the two. While my topics have changed, my motivation has always stayed the same. My own undergraduate experience with music history left me feeling frustrated and overlooked. As is typical in survey courses on the history of Western music, class content focused almost exclusively on the influence of the Church. I spent many days sitting in class wondering why no Jewish music was discussed, and why even though I could plainly hear connections to Jewish music, it was not brought up. There are real barriers to this inclusion; most distinctly, I have found in my own research that these tend to be a lack of surviving sources and a lack of archival work.

Before I arrived at the current topic, I looked at Fromental Halévy, a twentieth-century Jewish composer working in France. It was my hope to codify a form of auto-exoticism in Halévy's music and inspect whether this form of exoticism had traveled into the works of his students, Camille Saint-Saëns, and Georges Bizet. I was prevented from proving much of anything by the fact that much of Halévy's music, mostly in the form of manuscripts, has not been preserved or is sitting in an archive still waiting to be discovered. Similarly, I attempted to look at the music of Sephardic Jews in twelfth-century Spain. Once again, I was prevented in determining anything by a lack of surviving materials. What does exist, in both cases, is a lot of speculation and factual inaccuracies. In short, this trial-and-error process made me realize that research has not yet caught up to demands of reforming curricula. To this end, my thesis attempts to

work within the scope of present research while still pushing for revisions in music history pedagogy.

While some scholars working in decolonization argue for the radical and swift change of our curriculum and university programs,[1] my research has shown that in practice it is quite difficult to provide actionable steps to do so. This may be due in part to the fact that musicology field is inherently tied to the conservatory system; thus, music history is taught by what is "relevant" or "useful" for graduates in the performing field. So, change may be slow in this discipline because change is slow in the performing field as well. Another barrier we face is that the onus for change often falls on overburdened professors in the university system who realistically do not have the time to force a paradigm shift into pedagogy.

In the field of biology, there exists two theories of evolution: gradualism and punctuated equilibrium. Gradualism suggests that change happens slowly and consistently over time, while punctuated equilibrium theory suggests that change happens in big-bang type moments and that the time in between these events produces little to no change. Typical decolonizing efforts subscribe to the punctuated equilibrium model, which while good in theory is hard to execute. It is also difficult to act upon calls in decolonization discourse because no one has provided concrete answers to the problems addressed. We cannot create swift change if we do not know where we are going. While I do not know where the field of music history is going any more than the next person, I do believe that employing a more collaborative model of interaction

[1] Eve Tuck and K. Wayne Yang, "Decolonization Is Not a Metaphor," *Decolonization: Indigeneity, Education & Society* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1–40.

between students and professors will push us in a direction. This model, which relies on documents like this thesis – a combination of research and pedagogy conducive to students' own learning – is, in many ways, an attempt to push the concept of gradualism into the field of music history. This is beneficial, above all else, because gradualism relies on movement rather than staying stagnant.

Salamone Rossi, a Jewish composer and musician in seventeenth-century Italy, is a good example for pursuing this model. Rossi's music is not "revolutionary" as we might consider his contemporaries like Monteverdi or Caccini to be. Yet his music holds pedagogical significance, and his life experiences as a Jewish musician and composer in a Christian world are important. They show us, above all else, that we can teach music history without reducing it to a series of isolated events led by individuals. I did not discover anything extraordinary in writing this thesis. Quite the opposite, this project focuses on the micro of music history to teach the macro. It focuses on gradual change, mirroring the small but vital change I hope this thesis will make in the musicology field.

Chapter I: Salamone Rossi – The Man

There are many gaps in our accounts of the life of Jewish composer and musician Salamone Rossi, and less is known about him than is not known.[2] This is not necessarily because he was Jewish in an antisemitic late-Renaissance/early Baroque Italy. It is more likely that the cracks in his biography are due to the habitual lack of documentation on early composers, which explains why we are also missing biographical information on Rossi's more famous contemporaries such as Giaches de Wert, Benedetto Pallavicino, and even the highly acclaimed Claudio Monteverdi.

It is unclear when Rossi was born. Don Harrán speculates he was born in or around 1570, because in his first publication of *Canzonette* (1589), the first seven items in the contents spell out *VIVAT S R* (long live S.R). Additionally, Rossi published 19 songs in this collection, and thus the acrostic combined with the number of songs may have been a reference to how old he was at the time of publication.[3] However, Harrán did not consider that the slogan *VIVAT S* R would have been in reference to Rossi attaining majority, or 25 years of age. Therefore, it is more likely that Rossi was born on August 19, 1564. It also remains unclear when Rossi died. There are several possibilities that could explain Rossi's death soon after his last publication in 1628, including the sack of Mantua two years later in 1630, or the plague that occurred there from 1630-1631. However, Rossi is mentioned in a publication in 1645 without the typical epithet for a Jewish person who was died ("Zikrono l'vrakha" or as it is sometimes abbreviated, *z"l*).

[2] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 11.
[3] Ibid., 12.

Rossi was likely from Mantua, though there is no documentation of his family before him here.[4] There is some evidence of his family members in texts published during his life. One of his siblings was known to be the singer Madama Europa, also denoted in several places as Europa de Rossi. Additionally, in a letter to Duke Vincenzo of Mantua, Rossi mentions a brother named Emanuele Rossi. Finally, Salamone is named in a document as the son of a Mr. Bonaiuto Rossi. While there are certainly mentions of other Mantuan musicians with the last name Rossi, they were all employed by the church, a privilege Salamone could not as enjoy as a Jew. Therefore, it is assumed the other Rossis were either Christians by birth or converts.[5]

Rossi was employed by the Mantuan court as a composer and musician, but he was not a permanent member of the ensembles there, nor was he employed as a *maestro di cappella*. We know this because of Rossi's status as *Ebreo* (or Jew), and by the fact that he is only listed on three payrolls in a roughly thirty-year span.[6] He needed other work to survive, and we know that Rossi had close ties with Jewish theatre troupes that played in the ghetto and in Christian communities of Mantua. It is also likely that Rossi performed as an ensemble member for his own, and perhaps others' pieces. While in certain documents Rossi is mentioned as a singer, it is unclear whether this was a translation issue, and simply meant that he was a musician. We have concrete evidence that he was an instrumentalist, specifically a viol player. Interestingly, Jews in Italy in the sixteenth century have been linked to the viol's origins. Many scholars hypothesize

[4] Iain Fenlon, "Rossi, Salamone," Grove Music Online, accessed May 11, 2022, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000023896.
[5] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 26.
[6] Iain Fenlon, "Rossi, Salamone," Grove Music Online, accessed May 11, 2022.

that Sephardic Jews fleeing Spain after the 1492 inquisition brought bowed instruments to Italy where they made, played, and popularized the same instrument Rossi appears to have played.[7]

Rossi's known publications were fairly well documented and preserved, although it is possible he had more that did not survive. We know of eight secular vocal collections, four instrumental collections, and his single collection of Hebrew songs.[8] These publications span around thirty years, from 1589 to 1622/23. Rossi is known in popular reference mostly for his instrumental works. He is acknowledged by specialists as contributing significantly to the establishment of the trio sonata and chamber duet.[9] As for his vocal music, though, he is not typically recognized. He evades mention in most contemporary textbooks published within the last thirty years, and when he is mentioned, it is only for a sentence or two.

This may be due, in part, to the fact that research on the composer is also quite limited in comparison to his contemporaries. Don Harrán, professor of musicology at Hebrew University in Jerusalem, remains the foremost scholar on Salamone Rossi and he authored the only published biography of Rossi. Harrán also published many articles about Rossi and related topics, such as the Rabbi Leon Modena who was the composer's close friend and colleague. While several dissertations on Rossi's music exist, nothing has been published in approximately twenty years, save a single article from 2015 in the *Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, edited by Joshua Walden.

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[7] Elana Estrin, "Did Jews Invent the Violin?," The Jerusalem Post | JPost.com, accessed May 11, 2022, https://www.jpost.com/magazine/features/did-jews-invent-the-violin.
[8] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 263-264.
[9] Iain Fenlon, "Rossi, Salamone," Grove Music Online, accessed May 11, 2022.

However, this article, written by Joshua Jacobson, contains factual inaccuracies. As it stands, any extensive research on Rossi has been done by scholars who identify as Jewish. This is interesting as it seems their motivations for writing about Rossi are similar to my own.

In the past, Salamone Rossi's music has been dismissed as bland or behind the times when compared to his contemporaries. Additionally, the significant lack of information on his life does not make him the most accessible person to teach. However, my research shows that his music has pedagogical relevance in musicology, and that his life as a cultural figure for Jews in late-Renaissance and early Baroque Italy is a topic worth pursuing in the musicology and music history pedagogy fields.

Chapter II: Salamone Rossi's Madrigals – Bookends for a New Century of Vocal Music

Salamone Rossi was not particularly well known for his vocal music, save maybe his collection of sacred Hebrew songs. He pales in comparison to his contemporaries such as Claudio Monteverdi in Mantua and Venice, or Giulio Caccini in Florence and Rome, who worked on the cutting edge of vocal music in Italy at the start of the seventeenth century. Rossi's vocal music was not bad per se, but it was not vocally complex, nor did it utilize the expressive techniques of the *stile moderno*. Yet there is something in Rossi's vocal music that does not exist elsewhere in contemporary repertoire. The five madrigals arranged for solo voice with *chitarrone* accompaniment in Salamone Rossi's *Primo Libro de Madrigali*, in its first and fifth edition publications (1600 and 1618, respectively) create a valuable case study which may be used to represent the swift and fluid change from the century-old *intavolatura* accompaniment style to the newly developed *basso continuo* style in the beginning of the seventeenth century.

Intavolatura & Basso Continuo

Before discussing Rossi's madrigals, we'll look at two terms that will be used frequently throughout this chapter. These two terms denote accompaniment practices in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries that are vital to understanding Rossi's publications, and the musical context surrounding them.

Intavolatura, also known as *intabolatura* or in English, "intabulation" or "in tablature" is a term taken from the fact that the early scores often contained

compositions that had originally been written for voices but had been 'intabulated' (i.e., put into a type of notation for a single instrumental part that reflects the position of the hands and fingers on that instrument).[10] The earliest surviving works of this nature found in Italy were published in 1517 by Roman printer Andrea Antico for keyboard.[11] However, Italians were not the first to use this type of notation for accompaniments. German sources of tablature date back to the fourteenth century, and while published resources for German keyboard tablature are available much earlier than their Italian counterpart, a new, more relevant system for the lute was not developed until the early sixteenth century, at which point Italy had developed its own form of lute tablature. Generally, Italy's system was considered "more logical" than its German counterpart.[12]

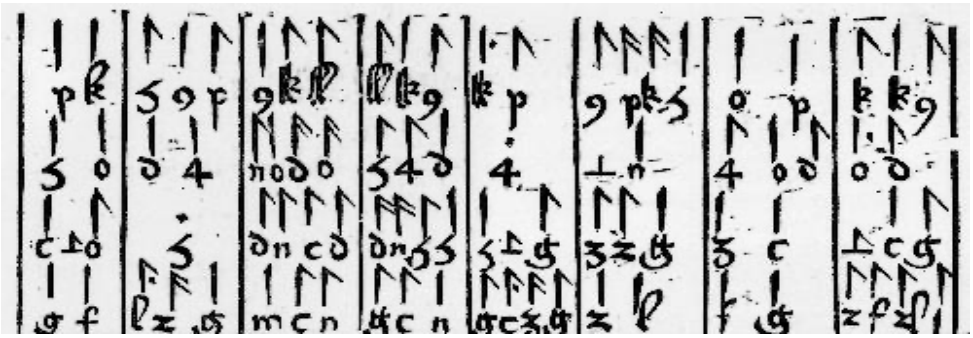

Fig. 1: from *the New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, The earliest known printed example of German lute tablature: Sebastian Virdung, *Musica getutscht* (1511).

In the figure above, we can see that German tablature utilized numbers for open strings and symbols to refer to position on the fingerboard. In contrast, the Italian tablature, as exemplified in the figure below, appears as a visualization of the

[10] John Morehen, "Intavolatura," Grove Music Online, accessed May 7, 2022, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000013824.
[11] Thurston Dart, "Tablature," Grove Music Online, accessed May 7, 2022, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000027338.
[12] Ibid.

fingerboard which was much less complex to understand. Other plucked instruments such as the *chitarrone* used mainly Italian tablature, although some publications used the other main style developed by the French. Utilization of both French and Italian tablature formats were common up through the seventeenth century.[13] The *chitarrone*, the suggested instrument in Rossi's accompaniment, was developed in the latter half of the sixteenth century to accompany singers in the theater because it has a more powerful projection than most Renaissance lutes were capable of because of its single strings, its re-entering tuning and its bass strings.

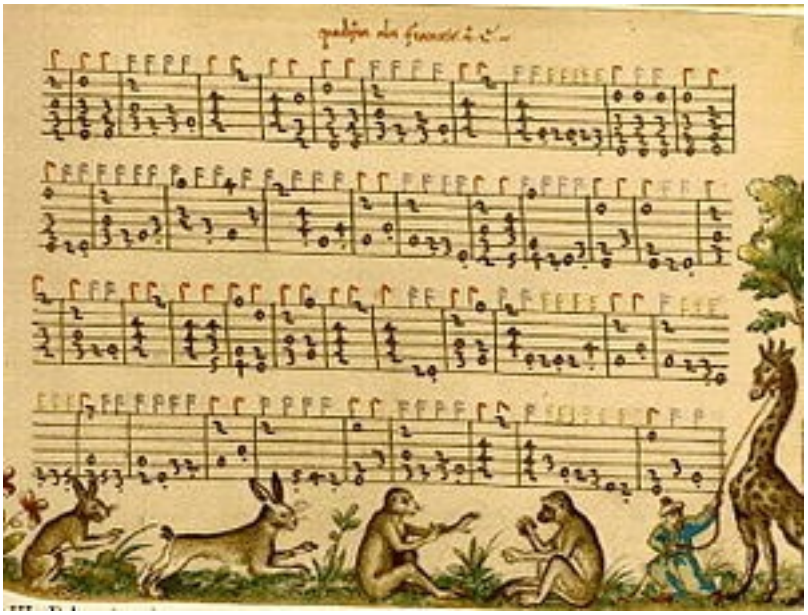

Fig. 2: Folio 47r from the Capirola Lutebook: Padoana alla Francese (compiled 1520).

Following much later and formally codified in the beginning of the seventeenth century, *basso continuo* (or simply continuo), also known as through bass, or thoroughbass in English, was developed as a continuation out of earlier notation styles like *intavolatura* as a short-hand score for players of chordal instruments throughout

[13] Ibid.

Europe. Continuo would become the primary mode of accompaniment for vocal and instrumental music for the following two centuries.[14] Continuo can be formally defined as "an instrumental bass line which runs through a piece, over while the player improvises ('realizes') a chordal accompaniment."[15] We know this because "the part is not fully written out, as an obbligato part would be, [which] indicates… the function of the continuo is to accompany."[16] Lodovico Viadana first utilized this term and is credited with the invention of continuo when he published is *Cento concerti ecclesiastici… con il basso continuo* in 1602. He declared that this style was "less troublesome to write out than a full *intavolatura*," because the bassline was a newly created, independent line with figured notation indicating chords, chord inversions, and *incipits* (compared to four choral parts condensed into one part).[17] Others later added that it was better suited for the new recitative style pioneered by Giulio Caccini in his *Le Nuove Musiche* and Claudio Monteverdi's *L'Orfeo*, which ultimately led to the decline of the *intavolatura* style.[18] Now situated in the context of accompaniment styles contemporary to Rossi's music, these terms will become essential for redefining changes in accompaniment style at the start of the seventeenth century.

[14] Peter Williams and David Ledbetter, "Continuo," Grove Music Online, accessed May 7, 2022, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000006353.
[15] John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750*, 1st ed., Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005).
[16] Peter Williams and David Ledbetter, "Continuo," Grove Music Online, accessed May 7, 2022.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid.

Analyzing Rossi's Madrigals

Salamone Rossi's publications of seven books of Italian secular vocal compositions spanned the entirety of his career. His first book in this collection was his *Canzonette* for three voices published in 1589, and his final book was his *Madrigaletti* for two to three voices, published in 1628. However, the collection of books that lie between these became his most popular. Rossi published four books of *Madrigali* for five voices, containing a total of 71 madrigals. The first book in this collection, his *Primo Libro de Madrigali*, was published in 1600 and subsequently reprinted in 1603, 1607, 1612 and 1618 totaling five editions. His second book of *Madrigali* for five voices was published in 1602 and reprinted in 1605 and 1610, totaling three editions. The third book in the collection was published in 1610, the last of the four to be reprinted, in 1620. After this, Rossi's final book (published 1622 with no reprints) was the least popular, which is possibly because in the same year he switched paths to publish his sacred Hebrew collection, *Hashirim asher lishlomo* ('The Songs of Solomon') for three to eight voices, which included a total of 33 songs. By comparison, the typical 19 in each book of madrigals paled in comparison to this vast, one-of-a-kind publication.[19] It is also possible that Rossi experienced a decline in popularity among Gentile audiences, as in 1612 the seat of ducal power changed and were decidedly less sympathetic to their Jewish subjects.[20]

[19] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 263.
[20] S. Simonsohn, "The Development of Jewish Self-Government in Mantua 1511—1630 / השלטון התארגנות במאנטובה היהודי האוטונומי 1511—1630," *Zion / ציון* כא, no. ג/ד (1956): 143–82, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23561151.

In any case, it is clear to see that his older publications were his most popular compositions of secular Italian music. In particular, his first book of madrigals was reprinted four times and remained well-distributed after his later publications. Additionally, madrigals in this book made their way into several widely circulated anthologies across Europe.[21] The striking popularity of his first book may be due in part to the poetry used. Almost all madrigals in this book employed texts by Giovanni Battista Guarini,[22] who was credited, along with Torquato Tasso, with developing the new literary genre of pastoral drama.[23] However, also of note is that six madrigals from this book were printed both for five voices and an arrangement for solo voice and *chitarrone* (using the top vocal part from the five-voice version).[24] These are the composer's only arrangements of this kind.

The six madrigals, both their polyphonic and solo-voice formats are preserved in the first and fifth edition publications (1600 and 1618, respectively) of *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali*. The first publication in 1600 utilizes the *intavolatura* accompaniment style, indicated for *chitarrone* by the inscription on the top of the *canto* part.[25] This accompaniment contains the typical *intavolatura* visualization of the fingerboard, with each string denoted from lowest to highest starting with the top line moving downward, and rhythmic markings above the tablature.[26] This is consistent with Italian tablature

[21] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 45.
[22] Ibid.
[23] "Battista Guarini | Italian Poet | Britannica," accessed May 7, 2022, https://www.britannica.com/biography/Battista-Guarini.
[24] Salamone Rossi, *Complete works*, ed. Don Harrán, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 100] : Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology ; Hänssler, 1995).
[25] Salamone Rossi, *Il Primo Libro de Madrigali a Cinque Voci*, 1600.
[26] Ibid.

developed in the sixteenth century, as discussed in the previous section. Also consistent with the *intavolatura* notation, Rossi creates the *chitarrone* part simply by condensing the four voices below the *canto* (*tenore, alto, basso* and *quinto*) into a chordal chart.[27]

In contrast, the fifth edition chart for accompaniment, published in 1618, contains a single staff (as opposed to a fingerboard) with a continuous bassline that is marked with figured bass numerals. At the top of the page for accompaniment, Rossi also indicated that the part was written specifically for *basso continuo*.[28] None of this is surprising, because by 1618 continuo style accompaniment was commonplace in publications of madrigals. However, it is important to distinguish that only Rossi's later publication contained an accompaniment part for continuo, as one article claimed that in his 1600 publication Rossi was the first composer to publish madrigals with continuo accompaniment. It was in fact, a 1602 publication by Rossi that was technically the first with continuo accompaniment.[29]

There is nothing particularly extraordinary about Rossi's arrangements for solo voice in this book (although it is unique that he made these arrangements, because as we know, he never did this again in any of his other publications for voice). The point of this chapter is to emphasize that Rossi's first and fifth edition publications of his *Primo Libro de Madrigali*, specifically his six madrigals arranged for solo voice, exemplify the changes occurring in Italian secular vocal music at this time. What *is* unusual is that the

[27] Salamone Rossi, *Complete works*, ed. Don Harrán, Corpus mensurabilis musicae 100] : Neuhausen: American Institute of Musicology ; Hänssler, 1995).
[28] Salamone Rossi, *Il Primo Libro Di Madrigali a Cinque Voci*, 1618.
[29] Joshua R. Jacobson, "Art Music and Jewish Culture before the Jewish Enlightenment: Negotiating Identities in Late Renaissance Italy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 145.

1618 reprint allows us to examine the shift from the *intavolatura* notation to the more modern *basso continuo* style within the context of a single piece of music.

Pedagogical Implications of Rossi's 1600 and 1618 Publications

Rossi's publications in 1600 and 1618 offer the opportunity to teach students of music history, in one piece, how the transition from *intavolatura* to continuo accompaniment occurred. Additionally, this allows instructors to explain why this change occurred at this time – namely, that music publication shifted toward a professional clientele who were able to play the continuo parts, as opposed to amateur musicians. Yet this method also clarifies that the shift from old to new was not some revolutionary moment in 1602. Instead, it plainly shows how this shift took place over a longer period. In this section I will examine three widely used textbooks for Baroque music that prove the typical approach to reviewing the shift from the older tablature notation to the newer continuo style is by examining different works by different composers. This is likely because those like Caccini and Monteverdi were not interested in rehashing old works but instead published new compositions that allowed for the new style of accompanied monody with continuo. That is not to say, though, that the other way is not possible. All this shows is that we need to update our instructional materials.

For the purposes of this pedagogical review, I have picked three (fairly) contemporary and well circulated books on Baroque music: Claude V. Palisca's *Baroque Music* (1991), John Walter Hill's *Anthology of Baroque Music* (2005) and Volumes I and II of Richard Taruskin's *Oxford History of Western Music*. In all three of these books, I looked for three categories of pedagogical approach, which are listed below in order of increasing specificity:

1. Examples of *intavolatura* or tablature leading to the basso continuo accompaniment
2. Examples of the lineage of separate pieces by one composer from tablature to continuo
3. Examples of the lineage of one piece by one composer from tablature to continuo

Among examples in the first category, I was able to find a few mentions of *intavolatura*. In Palisca, there is one mention of tablature in reference to the transfer of a "lute idiom to the keyboard."[30] Palisca begins his book with the creation of *basso continuo* and *seconda pratica*, focusing more on the chordal relations and dissonances in relation to sixteenth century rules championed by those including Palestrina, but barely mentions the shift from an older accompaniment style to continuo.[31] Because his focus is more on the shift in compositional styles at the time, this is not shocking. Hill also discusses *intavolatura* under "intabulation." However, he only addresses this type of notation in the context of the French *air de cour* and English *ayres*.[32] Finally, unlike his counterparts, Taruskin actually hints at the fact that the "revolution" of madrigals and accompanied monody was in fact that "emergence into print of musical practices that had been in the process of formation over the whole preceding century."[33] While this is the most comprehensive statement of all three textbooks, Taruskin does not mention the previous *intavolatura* notation by name. Overall, there is a larger focus on

[30] Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 3rd ed., Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), 184.
[31] Ibid., 9-10.
[32] John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750*, 1st ed., Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 120-121, 175.
[33] Richard Taruskin, *The Oxford History of Western Music* (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 809.

the vocal composition than accompaniment in the newer *seconda pratica*, while Taruskin does discuss continuo practices briefly.

In looking for examples under the second category, there is not much. The most we can glean is in Palisca's text. He mentions "a keyboard part containing all the parts of what is essentially a four-part madrigal" in reference to the settings of Guarini's *Il Pastor fido*, and Emilio de' Cavalieri's *Godi, turba mortal*, which includes a soloist part accompanied by *chitarrone*, that "played the four parts of this madrigal," noting that this part was "cumbersome, if not superfluous" and needed revising (enter *basso continuo*).[34] From here, though, Palisca departs from any discussion of pre-continuo accompaniment.

In the third category, where Rossi's publications would belong, there is simply nothing. Even in searching for any mention of Rossi at all in these three books, I came up with very little. Palisca only names Rossi in reference to his instrumental works.[35] Hill also only discusses Rossi in the context of his instrumental music, specifically *Il primo libro delle sinfonia e gagliarde* (1607), though he does note that Rossi contributed as a "leading musician in Mantua's artistically prominent Jewish community in the early seventeenth century."[36] Rather disappointingly, there is no mention of Salamone Rossi anywhere in Taruskin's complete set of volumes, even though this collection was published in 2005, fourteen years after Palisca and in the same year as Hill.

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[34] Claude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 3rd ed., Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), 18.
[35] Ibid., 147-148, 150.
[36] John Walter Hill, *Baroque Music: Music in Western Europe, 1580-1750*, 1st ed., Norton Introduction to Music History (New York: W.W. Norton, 2005), 81.

Why does this matter? Ignoring, for a moment, that these books barely mention, if at all, Salamone Rossi as a composer (something I will address in later chapters), these works are new (in comparison with older textbooks and companions published in the 1950s-1980s) and are still in circulation as some of the most used accompanying textbooks for courses on Baroque music. Chapters from Taruskin and Hill were required reading in my own Baroque survey classes, at both the undergraduate and graduate level. I am not arguing against the use of these books. However, there is a fundamental lack of bridging the continuo notation with its earlier predecessor of *intavolatura* in each of these texts. As Taruskin suggests, the basso continuo "revolution" was not some extraordinary single event as it is sometimes described in surveys, but rather a slower change from one style to the next. What we gain from this gradualist perspective is the understanding that change in music does not occur at the hands of two or three individuals all at once, but rather because of many musicians' contributions over time. Additionally, though, this shift of notation favors teaching themes such as amateur and professional musicking, advancements in music technology, and more. Teaching within themes instead of chronologically is advantageous because it allows instructors cater to student interests and broader topics that do not fit succinctly into a certain era (as survey classes are often organized).

Other Rossi Madrigals Containing Basso Continuo

If we were to only look at Rossi's 1600 and 1618 publications, it would appear that he was slightly behind the times when it came to accompaniment for vocal music, as other composers such as Caccini, Monteverdi and Viadana were already publishing continuo accompaniments in the first decade of the seventeenth century. Upon further

inspection, though, there is evidence of continuo parts much earlier in Rossi's oeuvre. A soprano part book of Rossi's second book of madrigals – published in 1602 (just after Viadana's codification of continuo) for five voices – contains a basso continuo part on the adjoining page.

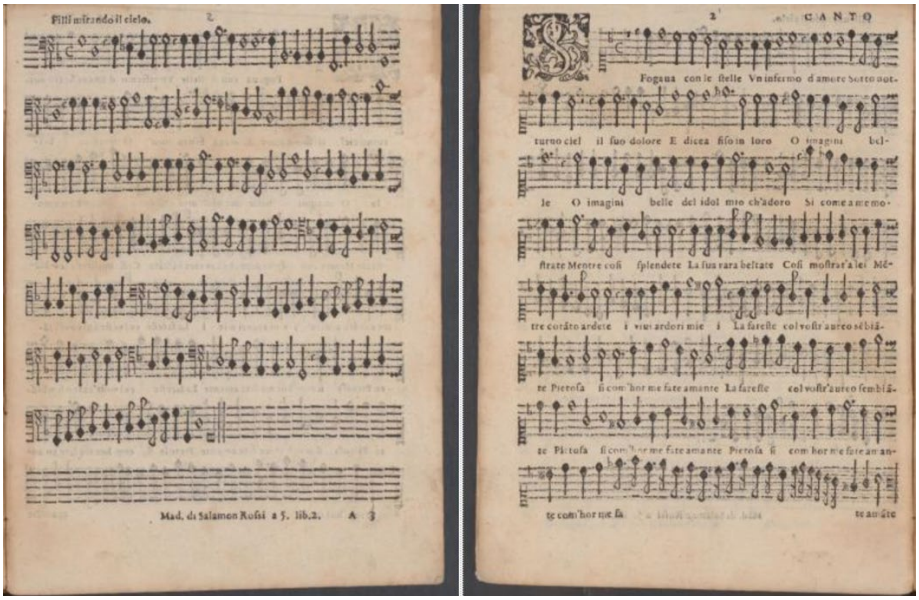

Fig. 3: A page from Rossi's second book of madrigals with adjoining *basso continuo* and *canto* parts (1602).

While the continuo part was simply a replication of the lowest voice part with no figured bass, this was technically the first official published book of secular madrigals with a distinctly labeled *basso continuo* line. The RISM database also indicates that Rossi's publication the following year in 1603 of his third book of madrigals contains parts for five voices and continuo.[37] Again in Rossi's fourth book of madrigals for five voices (published 1610), a similar template containing a soprano part on one page and continuo part on the adjoining page can be found.

[37] Original Italian title, published 1603: *Il terzo libro de madrigali a cinque voci ... con una canzon de baci nel fine, con il suo basso continuo per sonar istromenti da corpo*.
Salamone Rossi, *Madrigals*, 1603, https://opac.rism.info/search?id.

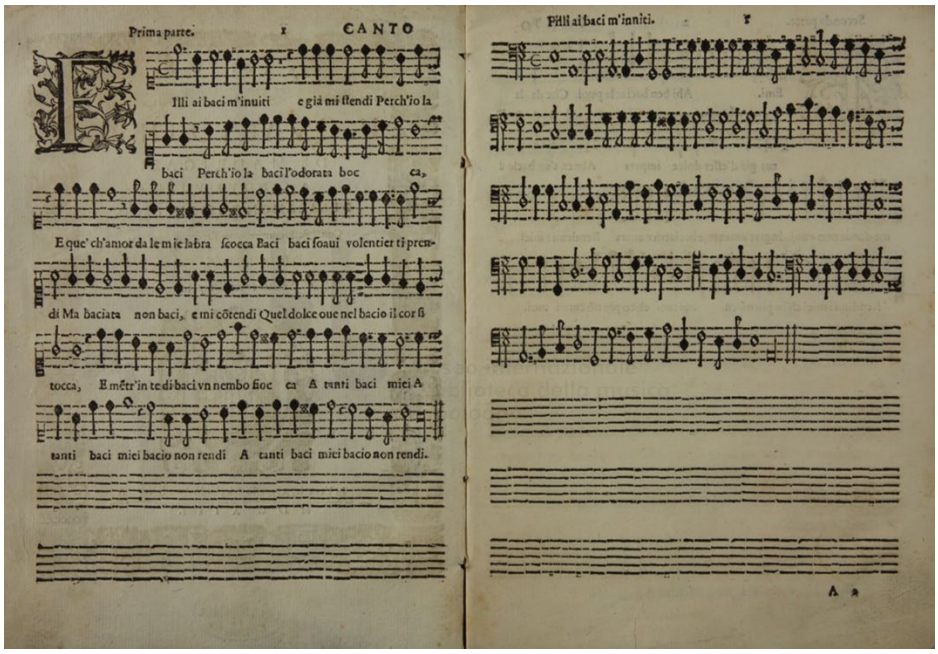

Fig. 4: A page from Rossi's fourth book of madrigals with *canto* and *basso continuo* parts on adjoining pages (1610).

Although the 1618 publication of Rossi's *Primo Libro* of madrigals for solo voice and continuo allows students to see the fluid shift from intavolatura to continuo notation, it also shows that Rossi was knowledgeable about contemporary accompaniment styles along with other composers like Caccini or Monteverdi.

Chapter III: Salamone Rossi as an Emblematic Figure for Jewish Identity and Assimilation

Just as Rossi's music may serve as a valuable tool in music history pedagogy, his role as a cultural figure and figurehead for the Jewish musician's experience deserves equal attention. Through analysis of Rossi's instrumental publications and Hebrew songs from his *Hashirim asher lishlomo* (The Songs of Solomon), the contexts in which they were performed, and publications by Venetian Rabbi Leon Modena, Rossi's conflict of identity emerges as indicative of a pattern to follow Jewish musicians to the present. This chapter aims to address not only Rossi's experiences, but those of the composers that followed him all the way into the twentieth century.

Despite the many differences in historical context while investigating Rossi and the three later composers (Fromental Halévy, Gustav Mahler and Gideon Klein), Rossi's experiences in seventeenth-century Mantua do share a commonality with these Jewish composers in later centuries, and the connections between these four men is essential for understanding how Jewish identity and antisemitism has contributed to the course of Western music history.

A History of Jews in Italy

During the first few hundred years of the Renaissance (1300-1500), Jews flocked to Italy from Germany first, and then from Spain and Portugal as the Iberian expulsion of Jews culminated in 1492.[38] This is not to say, however, that the stream of incoming Jews was not countered by those leaving Italy. Antisemitism was still very

[38] Moses A. Shulvass, "The Jewish Population in Renaissance Italy," *Jewish Social Studies* 13, no. 1 (1951): 3–24, https://www.jstor.org/stable/4464939, 3.

much present in the country as much as it was (if not more so than) in other countries in Europe.[39]

Despite the mass exoduses and conversions that occurred in Italy, from the fourteenth century on, Mantua, a fairly small Duchy, contained one of the most celebrated Jewish communities. By the end of the Renaissance, there were almost 2,000 Jews in the Duchy, which was roughly 20% of the city's entire population.[40] This community consisted of loan-bankers who arrived at the end of the fourteenth century, as well as artisans and merchants who came later in the fifteenth century.[41] The community, while segregated by physical markers on clothing denoting their Jewishness, was not strictly ordered into a ghetto until 1610. By 1620, the first set of ordinances was printed in the ghetto to regulate the Jews' new life, effectively shut out from the rest of Mantua.[42]

Ghettoization of Jews in Italy was not uncommon. In fact, Venice first created a ghetto for its Jewish population a little over 100 years earlier in 1516. The ghetto in Venice was built on the site of a foundry for cannons, whose name formally codified the term "ghetto" from the Italian "*gietto*," relating to the process of forging metal.[43] Ghettos soon appeared in Rome and other parts of Northern Italy, spreading throughout metropolitan areas in Europe throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.[44]

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[39] Ibid., 9
[40] Ibid., 18
[41] S. Simonsohn, "The Development of Jewish Self-Government in Mantua 1511—1630 / התארגנות השלטון האוטונומי היהודי במאנטובה 1511—1630," *Zion* / ציון כא, no. ג/ד (1956): 82–143, https://www.jstor.org/stable/23561151.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Moses A. Shulvass, "The Jewish Population in Renaissance Italy," *Jewish Social Studies*.
[44] Camila Domonoske, "Segregated From Its History, How 'Ghetto' Lost Its Meaning," *NPR*, April 27, 2014, sec. Code Switch: Word Watch, https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2014/04/27/306829915/segregated-from-its-history-how-ghetto-lost-its-meaning.

Rossi as a Jew in Vincenzo's Court

Vincenzo Gonzaga succeeded the ducal throne in Mantua in 1587 after the death of his predecessor, Guglielmo Gonzaga, Duke of Mantua and Monferrato. This change of power "heralded a sudden shift in political, economic, and artistic policies of the Duchy."[45] Vincenzo believed that Mantua could play a much larger role in Italy's patronage of the arts, disproportionate to its actual landmass and population. To do this, he established a "permanent ensemble of virtuoso singers" modeled after the one in Ferrara, and revived theater and other performances like opera and ballet at his court. One early example of this was the performance of Battista Guarini's *Il pastor fido* during the 1590s, which marked the beginning of the pastoral genre in performance. [46] Guarini's poems would serve as the basis for many madrigal settings, including a number of those by Rossi. Also of interest, Vincenzo moved away from his predecessor's model for theater of relying on "traveling companies and … activities of the Mantuan ghetto" in favor of establishing theater directed and run by the court.[47] This could have been one reason for Rossi's employment at the court; while still wanting the talents of a Jew from the ghetto, Vincenzo seemed to care more about a centralized performing force than drawing on outsiders. Instead of waiting for performances in the ghetto, he brought Rossi to work for him at his court. This is substantiated by Rossi's first appearance on the court's payroll in 1589, the year he published his first book of *Canzonette*. While having centralized performing arts at

[45] Iain Fenlon, "Music and Spectacle at the Gonzaga Court, c. 1580-1600," *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association* 103 (1976): 90–105, https://www.jstor.org/stable/765888, 90.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid., 91.

court was not uncommon in other duchies at this time, Vincenzo shifted away from his predecessors by adapting this model.

Vincenzo's reign lasted until his death in 1612, by which time he had made serious headway as a patron of the arts. Now, the Mantuan court was known for its musicians such as Ottavio Rinuccini and importantly Giovanni Giacomo Gastoldi Claudio Monteverdi, and the court's spectacles incorporated music, rhetoric and drama, culminating only in the compositions of the *seconda pratica*, championed by these same figures.[48] Anne MacNeil states that "Vincenzo's bold tactics [of patronage] forged indissoluble bonds of fealty that extended far beyond the usual artist-patron relationship to encompass concepts of home, family and landowning. Very simply, Vincenzo Gonzaga made citizens of his prized actors and musicians."[49] But how well does this hold up with a court musician who was also a Jew? Was he also provided the same status as his fellow artists, such as home, land ownership, and first-class citizenship?

While musicians like Monteverdi and Benedetto Pallavicino enjoyed posts as the Mantuan court's chapel master and worked for other local churches, Rossi's employment was limited to only the court and the private entertainment of the Duchy in their residences. He also worked under these chapel masters, where he fulfilled his duty as a court musician without the possibility of rising to their level of leadership.[50] Not only this, but Rossi was a Jew among Christians, placing him at a substantial disadvantage. As Don Harrán puts it, Rossi was "competing for favors with the favored:

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[48] Anne MacNeil, "The Nature of Commitment: Vincenzo Gonzaga's Patronage Strategies in the Wake of the Fall of Ferrara," *Renaissance Studies* 16, no. 3 (2002): 392–403, https://www.jstor.org/stable/24413138, 392.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 14-15.

his chances of earning recognition as a composer, through commissions or monetary reward, were inevitably limited."[51]

One may argue that Rossi did gain some benefits by working for the court. In 1606, a ducal decree exempted Rossi from wearing the badge customary for identifying Jews and mentions his relationship with Vincenzo.[52] The decree states, "As we wish to express our gratitude for the services in composing and performing provided for many years by Salamone Rossi Ebreo, we grant him unrestricted freedom to move about town without the customary orange mark on his hat."[53] Yet still here in this decree, and on all of Rossi's musical publications, he is denoted Salamone Rossi, *ebreo* – Jew. While out in public he may not have been immediately recognized as a Jew with a physical marker (which labeled Jews in Europe as "socially and religiously inferior"),[54] Rossi was still marked in his compositions, and thus memorialized in publication, as a Jew – as a second-class citizen. Furthermore, the decree excusing him came at a price. Either Rossi or one of his Jewish patrons had to pay the Duchy for the privilege.[55] Though Rossi's privilege to remove his Jewish markings in the town may have benefited him in his immediate interactions with Christian colleagues at the court, it surely put him at odds with his own Jewish community. It placed him in the extremely difficult position of making the choice to effectively erase part of his identity to favor his chances of

[51] Ibid., 15
[52] Ibid., 16
[53] Joshua R. Jacobson, "Art Music and Jewish Culture before the Jewish Enlightenment: Negotiating Identities in Late Renaissance Italy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 145.
[54] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 25.
[55] Ibid., 26

surviving and earning a living in an overwhelmingly Christian world (more on this later).

Rossi's Exclusion from the Church and Subsequent Instrumental Works

Setting aside the internal and external conflicts that came with excusing Rossi from physically identifying himself as a Jew, there were certainly still limits to how "excused" he actually was. Rossi was never eligible to be employed by the Church in any manner because, as exemplified by his epithet, *ebreo*, he was still very much a Jew. Rossi's exclusion from the Church proved to be a significant factor in his compositional path. In looking at two contemporary composers in the court, Pallavicino (1551-1601) and Monteverdi (1567-1643), both employed as chapel masters in Mantua, we can see that what they lacked in their compositional arsenals, Rossi had in full.

Pallavicino was a "prolific composer of madrigals," producing ten books full for four to six voices. Additionally, his masses were posthumously published in 1603, and a collection of fourteen polychoral psalms followed in 1605. These were likely composed for the Mantuan churches San Andrea and San Marco. Missing, however, is any record of instrumental music.[56] Similarly, Monteverdi published an astounding amount of vocal music across the span of his career. Of note, he published nine books of madrigals, multiple operas composed during his time in Mantua and Venice (*L'Orfeo, L'incoronazione di Poppea,* and *L'Arianna*, among others), and three major collections of liturgical and devotional music. Yet again, there is little to no independent

[56] K. Bosi Monteath, "Pallavicino, Benedetto," Grove Music Online, accessed May 8, 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000020761.

instrumental music. Though he did write instrumental music, it is generally found in the context of his vocal works (as *prologo* and *sinfonia* in his operas, for example).[57]

In contrast, Rossi's publications – which included a book of *Canzonette*, four books of madrigals for five voices, one for four voices, and one book of *madrigaletti* for two to three voices, and his collection of sacred Hebrew works for three to eight voices – also include four books of *sinfonie, gargliade, sonate* and more instrumental genres, totaling 116 works. This total almost equals all his secular Italian vocal works combined.[58] So why is this?

While all three composers were instrumentalists (Rossi is mentioned as a *viola* player, which could be any string instrument during that time, Monteverdi was also a string player, and Pallavicino was employed as an organist for some time)[59] Monteverdi and Pallavicino spent most of their time composing for court entertainment as well as for their posts in various churches where vocal music that told a story (or helped move the worship service along). This type of music was sought after in these contexts and had more functional value than independent instrumental music.

Rossi, on the other hand, could not be employed by the church, so he sought commissions elsewhere. For this reason, while Rossi's secular vocal music is lacking in cutting-edge compositional techniques, his secular instrumental music was quite

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[57] Tim Carter and Geoffrey Chew, "Monteverdi [Monteverde], Claudio," Grove Music Online, accessed May 8, 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000044352.

[58] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 256-257.

[59] K. Bosi Monteath, "Pallavicino, Benedetto," Grove Music Online.
Tim Carter and Geoffrey Chew, "Monteverdi [Monteverde], Claudio," Grove Music Online.
Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 20.

advanced. Rossi's first two books of instrumental music contain "some of the earliest works to be published as instrumental chamber music." Though Rossi's earlier compositions in this genre seem to maintain the *stile antico* and are more homophonic, his later compositions in books three and four employ the *stile moderno* in more than one sense. They used this newly created style, but also showcase the modern style of the sonata.

Rossi's identity as a Jew excluded him from working in the Church as his contemporaries did, but it also pushed him to work in another genre where these other composers were critically lacking. Ironically, the antisemitism present in the Church allowed Rossi to become a pioneer in the secular genre of instrumental music. Curiously, a converse phenomenon exists between Rossi's sacred Hebrew works and his relationship with the Jewish community.

Rossi's Works for Synagogue and Controversy Surrounding Them

At the beginning of the seventeenth century a reformation, albeit a brief one, took place in the synagogues of Mantua. One prominent figure to emerge during this movement was the Rabbi Leon Modena. Born in Venice in 1571, Modena was a rabbi, cantor and scholar.[60] As a contemporary of Rossi's, Modena worked in the same musical spheres and the two were friends. He wrote a series of over forty works containing discussions on topics ranging from the Hebrew languages to his own autobiography to comments on alchemy.[61] Of these forty publications, two of these works contain commentary on

[60] Don Harrán, "Modena, Leon | Grove Music," accessed May 8, 2022, https://www-oxfordmusiconline-com.libproxy.uoregon.edu/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000016417?rskey=a2o1V3.

[61] Don Harrán, "'Dum Recordaremur Sion': Music in the Life and Thought of the Venetian Rabbi Leon Modena (1571-1648)," *AJS Review* 23, no. 1 (1998): 17–61, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1486733, 17.

Jewish musical practices. Don Harrán writes that "Modena was faced with the dilemma that the Jews of his day had no music to speak of, or so he opined, and hence they were forced to create a new music after concepts, yet without precedents."[62] Essentially, Modena believed the current state of Jewish sacred music was lacking.

Jewish custom calls for a cantor, rabbi and sometimes congregants, to chant prayers, readings and post-biblical verses called *piyyutim*. However, this practice was more akin to reading scripture. The Hebrew script used to write these materials contained cantillation notation which instructed the reader (or chanter) to intone the text. This practice was not dissimilar to the non-diastematic notation of early Christian music.[63] While some considered this to be singing, Modena certainly did not. Instead, he believed that in the times of the ancient Temple there was a "glorious practice" of musicmaking, but that in the ensuing centuries after, during which the Jews endured various exoduses, this tradition had been lost.[64]

Modena's solution to this lost art form was to create a new tradition that would bring back the spirit of music in ancient times. The model he used for this music was what was available to him – Italian art music. To support this, Modena posited that because Christians had adapted Jewish customs, utilizing art music was actually a return to ancient Jewish musical practices through a long and winding (and questionable) lineage.[65] It is here that Rossi's settings of sacred Hebrew texts fit in.

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[62] Ibid., 18.
[63] Reba Wissner, "Teaching Christian Chant in a Jewish Music Context," *Journal of Music History Pedagogy* vol. 8, no. 2 (May 11, 2018): 66.
[64] Harrán dum recordaremur sion, 20
[65] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 205.

Rossi published 33 songs in this collection in 1622/23, titled *Hashirim asher lishlomo*, or in English, 'The Songs of Solomon.' This collection was the first known polyphonic setting of Hebrew texts (it is Rossi's most performed repertoire today) another of which would not surface for several hundred years. It also contained a lengthy foreword, written in part by Rabbi Modena.[66] While the content of these songs is sacred, there is little to nothing from the biblical songs of Solomon by the same name, leading some scholars to believe that Rossi was indeed referencing himself (Salamone was the Italian version of the English Solomon). Yet Rossi's clever title may have also been an attempt by the composer to tie himself to the ancient musical traditions of Jews like Kings David, and his son Solomon, which Rabbi Modena was attempting to revive.[67] Of course, not everyone was thrilled with Modena and Rossi's efforts, as is evident in the controversy that ensued. Traditionalists in the rabbinate of Italy believed that what Modena and Rossi were doing was akin to heresy. To them, using madrigal-like forms associated with Italian (read: Christian) secular and sacred was truly blasphemous.[68]

Once again, Rossi found himself on the outskirts of a community that felt he held too much of the "other" in his identity. He was too much a Jew to find work within the church, and too much a Jew to escape the label *ebreo* on all his publications. Even so, he proved himself favorable enough to skirt regulations requiring that he physically identify himself as such. Contrastingly, Rossi's attempts to bring Italian compositional styles, as he had learned at the court, to the synagogue left him at odds with his own

[66] Ibid, 201.
[67] Ibid., 202.
[68] Ibid., 204.

Jewish community. From their point of view, he was too much like his Gentile patrons in the Mantuan court. What is particularly dismaying, as has become evident in my readings about Rossi's life, is that he was only trying to seek protection against antisemitism, through patronage in the court, and in his own community.

Is Salamone Rossi Jewish musicians' Abraham?

Salamone Rossi was, as Don Harrán states, "probably the first musician to confront the problem [of being a Jewish artist in a predominantly non-Jewish society] in all its complexity."[69] Thus, his experiences became somewhat emblematic of those who succeeded him as Jewish musicians in Christian Europe. To understand this pattern, this section focuses on the analysis of three Jewish composers from the late eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century who exemplify the three main paths Jewish musicians took following Rossi:

1. Denounce their Jewish identity
2. Convert to the relevant sect of Christianity
3. Face expulsion and/or death

Although I wished to start my analysis in the century following Rossi's career, there is a lack of accessible resources discussing Jewish composers of this century. While there are accessible resources on Jewish musicians in the eighteenth century, such as Sara Levy,[70] the resources available on Jewish composers in this century are largely untranslated and/or unavailable for online access. This is ironic, because the

[69] Ibid., 3.
[70] Rebecca Cypess and Nancy Sinkoff, *Sara Levy's World: Gender, Judaism, and the Bach Tradition in Enlightenment Berlin*, Eastman Studies in Music ; v. 145 (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2018).

eighteenth century brought emancipation and assimilation for many European Jews. In France, the Edict of Tolerance (1787) – meant mainly for Protestants – allowed all non-Catholics, Jews included, to attain rights previously denied to them.[71] In central and eastern Europe, the Jewish enlightenment movement known as Haskalah pushed for an end to cultural and social isolation of Jewish communities. Emerging at the end of the eighteenth century in Berlin and Königsberg, the figurehead of this movement was Moses Mendelssohn (the composer Felix Mendelssohn's grandfather).[72]

Despite the social advances made during this century, the language and geographical barriers surrounding resources on Jewish composers in the eighteenth century make it difficult for students like me to access this material. Therefore, my analysis begins in the early nineteenth century with French composer Fromental Halévy, and continues into the twentieth century with Austrian composer, Gustav Mahler, and Moravian (now Czech) composer, Gideon Klein.

Fromental Halévy was born into a family of Jewish immigrants. His father, who moved to France from Bavaria around the time of the 1789 revolution dedicated his life to bridging the divide between Jewish and French culture.[73] Although Halévy himself was not observant, he maintained his relationships within the Jewish community in Paris, and was certainly exposed to Jewish musical tradition as a child, due to his father's active role in the community as a *chazzan* (cantor).[74]

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[71] "The Edict of Toleration (November 29th, 1787)," *Musée Protestant* (blog), accessed June 7, 2022, https://museeprotestant.org/en/notice/the-edict-of-toleration-november-29th-1787/.
[72] "Haskalah/Enlightenment," Jewish Museum Berlin, accessed June 7, 2022, https://www.jmberlin.de/en/topic-haskalah-enlightenment.
[73] Scott L. Lerner, "Jewish Identity and French Opera, Stage and Politics, 1831-60," *Historical Reflections / Réflexions Historiques* 30, no. 2 (2004): 264.
[74] Ibid., 264.

Despite this, Halévy's opera entitled *La Juive* ('The Jewess'), which first premiered in 1835, is a far cry from an authentic representation of Halévy's Jewish origins. David Conway argues that the libretto, written by Eugene Scribe, actually "conforms closely, in its portrayal of Eleazar [the main Jewish character], to the crudest prejudices about Jewish love of money, hatred of Christians and general implacability."[75] Additionally, in the single scene with some claim to Jewish tradition – that of a *seder* or Passover meal – Eleazar's prayer stands in direct opposition to Jewish sentiments of humility and thanks during *pesach*. Instead, he asks for the wrath of God to fall on the "perjurer or the impious."[76] While Scribe pushed Halévy to write the music for the opera after being turned down for the show by Meyerbeer, Halévy still did not seize the opportunity to musically portray Eleazar's character authentically. When the prayer is sung in the aforementioned scene, Eleazar's audience at the *seder* table calls back to him in an antiphonal response, something not done in the home but in the synagogue, which Halévy would have surely known.[77]

La Juive was Halévy's most successful work, which allowed him to live off the acclaim he received for the work, undoubtedly his masterpiece, and which remained in all major repertoires through the twentieth century, and certainly for the rest of Halévy's life.[78] Furthermore, the fact that Halévy was Jewish, to whatever degree, was not mentioned in any reviews of the opera which, even if superficially, was inherently

[75] David Conway, *Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 265.
76 Halévy from La Juive, Act II.
[77] David Conway, Jewry in Music: Entry to the Profession from the Enlightenment to Richard Wagner (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 215.
[78] Ibid., 215.

connected to Judaism.[79] In writing *La Juive*, Halévy effectively removed himself from his Jewish ancestry and connections, at least in the operatic world. Lest we are quick to judge, we must recognize, though, that not unlike Rossi's attempts to gain patronage in the ducal court, this may have been a survival tactic. Halévy's Jewish contemporary Giacomo Meyerbeer (born Jakob Beer) suffered harsh criticisms at the height of his fame in relation to his Jewishness, especially at the hands of Robert Schumann and Richard Wagner. While he prevailed in the opera world, these remarks left a permanent stain on his otherwise esteemed reputation and shut him out of the modern classical canon.[80] Perhaps Halévy wished to enjoy his fame without the price Meyerbeer paid for his, and his departure from any chance of accurate Jewish representation in *La Juive* secured this for him.

In the nearby Habsburg Empire, a multi-ethnic region with the German-speaking Vienna as its seat of power, just 25 years after *La Juive*'s premiere, composer Gustav Mahler was born to two Jewish parents in 1860. Mahler grew up as part of a German-speaking community in Iglau, now located in the Czech Republic, and continued his musical education in Vienna.[81] When Mahler moved to Vienna in 1875, though, he was plunged into a society that "was quickly and forcefully turning against [Jews].[82]

In order to be employed as the director of the Vienna State Opera and conductor of the Vienna Philharmonic, Mahler had to "renounce his Jewish heritage" and convert

[79] Ibid., 215.
[80] Ibid., 255
[81] Francesca Draughon and Raymond Knapp, "Gustav Mahler and the Crisis of Jewish Identity," ECHO, accessed May 8, 2022, https://echo.humspace.ucla.edu/issues/gustav-mahler-and-the-crisis-of-jewish-identity/.
[82] Ibid.

to Catholicism.[83] While his choice to do so may have appeared voluntary, Viennese politics at this time had shifted dramatically towards of antisemitic views. At the same time, a blood libel trial known as the Hilsner Affair ensued, attempting to convict Bohemian Jew Leopold Hilsner of the "ritual murder" of a Christian girl, sparking antisemitic riots throughout Austria. These sentiments unsurprisingly reached Mahler personally, who was attacked in the press and hissed at on the podium.[84] Once again, like those before him, Mahler faced denouncing his Jewish identity and religious affiliations in order to succeed. But even before this, Mahler's music expressed as "process of religious assimilation," and the composer was an ardent fan of Wagner, a well-known antisemite. So, Mahler was ambivalent about his Jewish heritage even before he was persuaded to convert for coveted positions in the state music complex.[85]

But just as Mahler was too Christian for some Jews, he was certainly too Jewish for antisemites when it became convenient. This is clear from Hitler's enjoyment of Mahler's performances conducting Wagner's music before the Nazi rise to power, only for Mahler's own music to be banned and labeled as "degenerate" during the Nazi reign in Europe. Even Mahler himself described his identity as homeless in three senses: as a Bohemian in Austria, an Austrian in Germany, and a Jew everywhere – "always an intruder, never welcomed."[86] In the same vein as Rossi, Mahler was too much or too little for competing Christian and Jewish cultures, ultimately leading to his ostracization from both for at least some share of time.

[83] Ibid.
[84] Ibid.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.

While Rossi, Halévy and Mahler all suffered as they were "othered" by Christians and Jews alike, Gideon Klein, who held steadfast to his Jewish identity and refused to erase this part of his heritage, paid a price much higher than the rest. Klein was a composer and pianist born in 1919. He enrolled as a student at the Prague Conservatory in 1938 and was even granted a scholarship to the Royal Academy of Music in London. However, because of his Jewish origins and a Nazi decree revoking Jews' travel privileges, he was expelled from the conservatory in 1940 and was denied permission to attend the RAM in England. Klein, unlike some other more well-known Jewish composers at this time, did not have the fortune of escaping to a more hospitable environment. His one saving grace – the scholarship to the RAM – was taken away from him. His music, also unlike some of his contemporaries, included overt Jewish themes.[87]

Klein was ultimately deported to Theresienstadt in December of 1941, one year after he was expelled from the Prague Conservatory. Nevertheless, Klein did not stop composing or partaking in music-making. At Theresienstadt, Klein "arranged many concerts for which he composed, conducted and performed." He also encouraged fellow musicians in the camp to continue their studies and compositional efforts.[88] Theresienstadt, however, was just a waystation for Jews before certain death. The camp served as a holding center, but also played a large role in deceiving the public. Nazis commonly characterized the camp as simply a "resettlement" area where elderly Jews

[87] David Bloch, "Gideon Klein," Music and the Holocaust, accessed May 8, 2022, https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/theresienstadt/klein-gideon/.
[88] Beate Schröder-Nauenburg, "Klein, Gideon," Grove Music Online, accessed May 8, 2022, https://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000049925.

could retire, among other things.[89] In 1944, Klein was moved to Auschwitz, one of the Nazi extermination camps, and less than two months after his twenty-fifth birthday in January of 1945, he was killed by the Nazis.[90] Where Rossi, Halévy, and Mahler had succeeded in finding safety, either through patronage, assimilation or conversion, Klein could not. He suffered the fate each of these composers feared, whether they consciously discerned this or not.

The problem that Rossi – a Jewish musician in a predominantly non-Jewish society – first grappled with in the Italian Baroque was endured by Jewish musicians for three and a half centuries to come. Although it may be easy for us to say that those like Rossi, Halévy, and Mahler were provided a lighter sentence because their lives were spared at the cost of their Jewish identity, those like Gideon Klein (and there were many before and after him still) serve as a constant reminder of what was on the line for these "luckier" ones.

[89] "Theresienstadt," United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, accessed May 20, 2022, https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/theresienstadt.
[90] David Bloch, "Gideon Klein," Music and the Holocaust, accessed May 8, 2022, https://holocaustmusic.ort.org/places/theresienstadt/klein-gideon/.

Chapter IV: Pedagogical Resources for Teaching Salamone Rossi in the Classroom

One goal for my thesis has always been to provide usable resources on Jewish music in the music history classroom. I recognize that oftentimes it is easier to teach the canon because there are more resources available for these lessons, and individuals may feel more comfortable or more familiar with these topics. The purpose of this chapter is to provide resources for teaching Salamone Rossi in survey courses. I will provide an annotated lesson plan for each subject in the chapter, as well as a link to an online folder containing all materials needed for educators interested in using the lesson plan. Each lesson plan will consist of listening examples, score study materials (if applicable), an assigned reading, and an interactive component to be done in student discussion sections.

This chapter addresses the lack of resources available for teaching lesser-known composers like Salamone Rossi and aims to fill a gap by creating some. However, another barrier to teaching diverse subjects is that they do not fall within the parameters of a chronology-based course. For this reason, below are several themes for classes under which these lesson plans may be included, should instructors choose to structure their courses around themes instead.

1. Music Technology from the Renaissance to Modern Day
2. Amateur and Professional Performance Practice in Modern Music History
3. The “Others” of Modern Music History
4. Improvisational Techniques Across Musical Genres

Salamone Rossi's Madrigals as a Case Study in Early Baroque Accompaniment Styles

The overarching goals of this lesson plan are:

1. To redefine the shift in musical accompaniment practices between the sixteenth and seventeenth century using the gradualist model
2. To broaden student knowledge of composers in the Baroque period beyond the Grout-Palisca approach

Listening Examples

"Godi, turba mortal," Emilio de' Cavalieri (1589)

This piece of music, which comes from one of Cavalieri's *intermedi* for the wedding of Ferdinando de' Medici to Christine of Lorraine, exemplifies the *intavolatura* style accompaniment and was written at the end of the sixteenth century. It is also one of the earliest representations of accompanied monody.[91] As mentioned in chapter two, the *chitarrone* accompaniment plays the four lower parts found in the madrigal. However, Palisca notes in his book that the accompaniment is "cumbersome" and in need of revision.[92]

"Cor mio, deh non languire," Salamone Rossi (1600, for five voices)

This arrangement of Rossi's madrigal is for five voices and is accompanied by *chitarrone*. Originally, Rossi wrote the madrigal for five voices and did not provide an

[91] Claude V. Palisca, "Cavalieri, Emilio de'," Grove Music Online, accessed May 10, 2022, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/view/10.1093/gmo/9781561592630.001.0001/omo-9781561592630-e-0000005202.
[92] laude V. Palisca, *Baroque Music*, 3rd ed., Prentice-Hall History of Music Series (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1991), 18.

accompaniment part, however there are no recorded versions without instrumental accompaniment. The important aspect of this rendition is the five vocal parts.

"Cor mio, deh non languire," Salamone Rossi (1600, for solo voice and chitarrone)

After listening to the recording for five voices, this recording is meant to show how the four lower voices are translated in the *chitarrone* accompaniment. This was common practice for the *intavolatura* style, because it is a defining feature separating *intavolatura* from the newer *basso continuo*, which is its own independent line underneath the voice(s).

"T'amo mia vita, la mia cara vita" Claudio Monteverdi (1605)

This madrigal by Monteverdi was published in his fifth book of madrigals and is considered one of the first madrigals published with basso continuo (see chapter two for a discussion on this). The important aspect of this madrigal is that while it is for five voices, the accompaniment underneath has its own, unique and separate line. This is the defining feature of *basso continuo* students should be able to recognize.

Score Study Materials

The two score study materials included in this lesson plan are unmarked scans of Salamone Rossi's 1600 and 1618 publications of "Cor mio, deh non languire" for solo voice and *chitarrone* or *basso continuo* accompaniment. These scores are to be used in the interactive component to help students distinguish between *intavolatura* and *basso continuo*.

Reading Assignment

Chapter 3: "Italian Vocal Music," from Don Harrán's *Salamone Rossi*

This chapter gives an overview of Rossi's secular vocal music, and specifically mentions the piece used for a listening example and score study, "Cor mio, deh non languire." Harrán discusses Rossi's text setting choices, the music itself (with transcription figures included) – meters, modes, compositional techniques including counterpoint and textures, structuring of phrases, and connections between the text and music. Not only does this text give students a feel for Rossi's music, it also provides them with context of well-known poets, as well as compositional and musical styles at the turn of the century in Mantua, and more broadly Italy. This reading fulfills the overall goal of broadening student perspectives while still providing them with foundational knowledge of late Renaissance/early Baroque vocal music.

Interactive Component

The lesson plan indicates the following directions:

> "Place students in equal groups and have them create their own definitions of *intavolatura* and basso continuo using notes from the class presentation. Specify that they should include what each would look like visually on a score. Next, ask the students to break up into new groups with one representative each from the previous groups. Present students with unmarked scores of Rossi's two editions of "Cor mio" and have them decide which score belongs to which definition, asking them to write down a list of specific attributes that led them to that decision. Close with a group discussion talking about what they found, and address and questions or confusion that may arise."

The goal of this activity is to have students gain confidence with score study and to solidify their understanding of *intavolatura* and basso continuo in a visual context. I have found that students learn definitions that they then have trouble putting into

practice when looking at music (or when score study is assigned on their own time, they do not actually look at it). This way students will have an opportunity to get comfortable in a group setting and address any questions with their instructor. As this activity involves looking at earlier notation, it is recommended primarily for music majors.

Historical Antisemitism in Music: Salamone Rossi & His Successors

The overarching goals of this lesson plan are:

1. To provide students with a historical understanding of antisemitism and assimilation in Renaissance Italy and beyond the lens of music
2. To use Rossi's works as a case study for framing music composition within its political and functional contexts
3. To equip students with their own tools for restructuring the current canon, and to show how canon formation can occur

Listening Examples

"Elohim Hashiveinu," Salamone Rossi (1622/23)

This piece employs counterpoint techniques common in the sixteenth century. Its main theme is quite like Orlando di Lasso's "Cum essem parvulus," published forty years earlier in 1582.[93] Whether this was done consciously or not, it does show that Rossi found influence in the music of his Christian contemporaries. Given that he was somewhat ostracized from the Jewish community (especially by those more conservative authorities) for his use of Gentile-like music, this type of imitation is intriguing.

[93] Joshua R. Jacobson, "Art Music and Jewish Culture before the Jewish Enlightenment: Negotiating Identities in Late Renaissance Italy," in *The Cambridge Companion to Jewish Music*, ed. Joshua S. Walden (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 150.

"Kaddish," Salamone Rossi (1622/23)

This motet is strophic and largely homophonic, again more of a sixteenth-century practice (albeit a different one, for some variety). However, I would not immediately attribute this choice to Rossi being out of touch with newer compositional techniques like the *stile recitativo*. In every prayer service, the Kaddish (the text used for the piece by the same name) is chanted multiple times by the congregation along with the cantor. While writing in a freer style for cantorial singing would make sense, the homophonic texture here may be a conscious decision because it is meant to be chanted collectively.

Sinfonia grave a 5, Salamone Rossi (1607)

Written in his first book of instrumental music, this piece is restrained both in rhythmic composition and musical complexity.[94] It is not one of Rossi's more groundbreaking pieces for instruments and should be used more as a comparison to Rossi's later works which were drastically freer, more expressive and more modern in terms of composition style.

Sonata sesta in dialogo detta la Viena, Salamone Rossi (1613)

This piece exemplifies the new style of the sonata which Rossi helped to cultivate in its earliest days. It is considered to be unique even within its collection for the dialogue that occurs between the two upper voices.[95] Particularly, it differs from the "duo" sonata, in which two upper voices would play together over the accompanying

[94] Don Harrán, *Salamone Rossi: Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*, Oxford Monographs on Music (Oxford ; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 168.
[95] Ibid., 62.

lower instrument. This sonata, which is not marked as "duo" but "in dialogo" gives each upper instrument lengthy solo sections, which alternate back and forth. It is only at the end of the section that they join together. Don Harrán posits that the piece may either be in reference to Mantuan diplomacy in Vienna (Viena) or to a woman's name (Viena was a name found in several Venetian books at the time).[96] In either case, it would make sense that a dialogue would occur between whoever, or whatever, Viena referred to and the other party involved in conversation. This may also reflect rhetoric practices common in Baroque music and writings (which are addressed in this lesson plan's reading assignment).

Reading Assignment

Chapter 2, "The Seventeenth-Century Musical 'Work'," by John Butt, from *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*

Butt begins this chapter by attempting to define the term "work-concept," something that is typically used only to describe pieces of music after 1800 and continues by addressing the problem with classifying works in the seventeenth century as "works." Butt specifically addresses the changes occurring in musical composition during this century which are important for student understanding of not only function of this music, but also of shifting styles like *intavolatura* to *basso continuo*, *stile antico/prima pratica* to *stile moderno/seconda pratica,* as well as forms of instrumental music. This reading is beneficial in helping students understand how music was viewed in the seventeenth century as opposed to our view now. This is important for meeting

[96] Ibid.

the second goal in this lesson plan, of assuring students know how music functioned in political and cultural contexts at this time.

Interactive Component

The lesson plan indicates the following directions:

> "Have students pick a piece of their own identity that is significant and unique to them. Then, have them form groups based on what they chose (some examples could be: gender, LGBTQ+, immigrant, BIPOC, religion, ethnicity). In these groups, allow students to work for half the class finding a composer or musician that represents the piece of their own identity they have chosen. In the second half of class, ask student groups to present briefly on their chosen composer/musician."

This activity aims to target canon formation and focus on broadening student perspectives beyond what is typically taught in a music history survey class. Additionally, though, my hope for this interactive activity is to foster a sense of belonging within each student and the chosen piece of their identity within music history. As a student, I often felt left out among classmates who had grown up in the Church. I was also frustrated that no Jewish composers were ever discussed, and that Jewish music seemed unimportant when compared to musical advances made by the Church. This thesis project is, in part to counteract that sense of being left out, and I wanted to provide students with a place to feel a sense of belonging that I longed for in my classes. Included in the instructions on the lesson plan page is a list of helpful resources for students to use.

Concluding Thoughts

As is clear at this point, Salamone Rossi was not a particularly revolutionary figure in Baroque music. While he did help develop some new styles, and he has some claims to "firsts" (first madrigal technically published with *basso continuo*, first polyphonic setting of sacred Hebrew texts, etc.), this is not what truly makes him an important figure in music history. In fact, when scholars try to claim he is extraordinary, they are damaging efforts to diversify music history by tokenizing him as "just" a Jewish composer.

Rossi's music and life, though, are important. His music does have pedagogical significance, and his life experiences as a Jewish musician and composer in a Christian world are important for two reasons. They can help us understand functionality of music in seventeenth-century Italy, and they lay a foundation for Jewish composers' experiences with identity and assimilation for centuries to come. But Rossi is also an important figure for another reason. He is proof that we do not always need to teach the "great men" of music history in order to *teach* music history. Those composers are still worth mentioning, yes, but we do not need to place so much weight on them when others like Rossi contributed valuable information that can still demonstrate what we are trying to get across. This "great men" approach is the driving force behind the holdout on diversifying music history. But teaching these "great men" is a dated method. We need to be teaching the "everyday" of music history – Rossi's everyday as a Jewish figure in the music world and how it led to the musical choices he made is worth teaching; his everyday as a working musician in Italy at the start of the seventeenth century is valuable for teaching students how musical styles changed over

time. More than that, though, Rossi teaches us, as I learned during this process, that not everything we research needs to lead to some extraordinary, one-of-a-kind discovery.

It is my hope that the materials in this thesis do shed light on Salamone Rossi, his works and his life. But more importantly, I want the resources here to be put to some good. I do not want them to sit on a shelf in Chapman Hall of the Clark Honors College. I want them to be taken and used and shared. Doing that, I hope, will have an effect in music history pedagogy on two fronts. It will ensure at least some representation in the classroom for Jewish students like me. But also, and this is crucial, it will encourage more people to do something similar with something that is meaningful for them. Change will take time, but it will take a little less time if we all contribute to the process.

Appendix I: Lesson Plans

Themes for Teaching

1. Music Technology from the Renaissance to Modern Day
2. Amateur and Professional Performance Practice in Modern Music History
3. The “Others” of Modern Music History
4. Improvisational Techniques Across Musical Genres

Salamone Rossi's Madrigals as a Case Study in Late Renaissance and Early

Baroque Accompaniment Notation

Lesson Plan Goals

- Redefine the shift in musical practices between the sixteenth and seventeenth century using the gradualist model
- Broaden student understanding of composers in the Baroque period beyond the Grout-Palisca approach

Listening Examples
"Godi, turba mortal," Emelio de' Cavalieri
"Cor mio, deh non languire," Salamone Rossi (5 voices)
"Cor mio, deh non languire," Salamone Rossi (solo voice with *chitarrone*)
"T'amo mia vita, la mia cara vita," Claudio Monteverdi

Score Study Materials
"Cor mio, deh non languire," 1600 Publication: Canto & Chitarrone
"Cor mio, deh non languire," 1618 Publication: Basso Continuo

Reading Assignment
Ch. 3: "Italian Vocal Music", from Don Harrán's *Salamone Rossi – Jewish Musician in Late Renaissance Mantua*

Interactive Assignment (Discussion Section Work)
Put students in equal groups and have them create their own definitions of *intavolatura* and *basso continuo* using notes from the class presentation. Specify that they should include what each would look like visually on a score. Next, ask the students to break up into new groups with one representative each from the previous groups. Present students with Unmarked scores of Rossi's two editions of "Cor mio" and have them decide which score belongs to which definition, asking them to write down a list of specific attributes that led them to that decision. Close with a group discussion talking about what they found, and address and questions or confusion that may arise.

Historical Antisemitism in Music: Salamone Rossi & His Successors

Lesson Plan Goals

- Provide students with historical understanding of antisemitism and assimilation in Renaissance Italy through the lens of music
- With Rossi's works as a case study, frame music composition within its political/functional context
- Equip students with tools to restructure their understanding of canon formation

Listening Examples
Elohim Hashiveinu, Salamone Rossi
Kaddish, Salamone Rossi
Sinfonia grave a 5, Salamone Rossi
Sonata sesta in dialogo detta la Viena, Salamone Rossi

Reading Assignment
Chapter 2, "The Seventeenth-Century Musical 'Work'," by John Butt, from *The Cambridge History of Seventeenth-Century Music*

Interactive Assignment (Discussion Section Work)
Have students pick a piece of their own identity that is significant and unique to them. Then, have them form groups based on what they chose (some examples could be: gender, LGBTQ+, BIPOC, religion, ethnicity, heritage, or communities with which you strongly identify). In these groups, allow students to work for half the class finding a composer or musician that represents the piece of their own identity they have chosen. In the second half of class, ask student groups to present briefly on their chosen composer/musician.

Resources for this assignment:
https://www.womensongforum.org/
https://www.composerdiversity.com/composer-diversity-database
https://www.musicbyblackcomposers.org/
https://www.chamber-music.org/pdf/2018-Composers-Equity-Project.pdf
https://morebipocvoices.com/all-works
http://www.annaedwardsconductor.com/annas-composer-database

List of women Baroque composers (credit to Marc Vanscheeuwijck):
Maddalena Casulana
Lucia Quinciani
Claudia Sessa
Vittoria Aleotti
Francesca Caccini
Sulpitia Cesis
Leonora Duarte
Barbara Strozzi
Lucrezia Vizzana

Antonia Bembo
Isabella Leonarda
Elisabeth Jacquet de La Guerre

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