

**SONG CYCLE AS LIFE CYCLE:  
MARIO CASTELNUOVO-TEDESCO'S *THE DIVAN OF MOSES IBN EZRA*  
AND THE PERSISTENCE OF MEMORY**

**Paul M. Leventhal B.A. (hons.), M.A., M.Phil.**

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Faculty of Arts

Department of Media, Music, Communication, and Cultural Studies

Macquarie University, New South Wales, Australia

October 2018

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	v
<i>Statement of Originality</i>	vii
<i>Dedication</i>	viii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	ix
<b>Introduction</b>	<b>1</b>
<b>Chapter One</b>	
<b>Rationale, Research Questions, Analytical Approaches, and Research Methodologies</b>	<b>9</b>
Archival Research	12
A Note on Transliterations, Transcriptions, and Pronunciation	14
<b>Chapter Two</b>	
<b>Literature Review</b>	<b>15</b>
<b>Chapter Three</b>	
<b>Theoretical Framework: Diaspora, Identity, and Memory</b>	<b>27</b>
Defining the Jewish Diasporic Condition	28
Cultural Dimensions of the Diaspora: Dynamics of Renewal	32
The Role of Memory in Cultural Identity	35
Applying Memory to the Exilic Condition as Artistic Catharsis	42
Concluding Remarks	45
<b>Chapter Four</b>	
<b>The ‘Golden Age’ of Spanish Jewry</b>	<b>46</b>
Key Moments Towards Jewish-Muslim Interaction on the Iberian Peninsula	48
Al-Andalus: Islamic Expansion, Jewish Freedoms, and the Courtier-Rabbi	49
The Rise and Early Development of Hebrew Poetic Forms	53
Poetic Styles	60
Major Figures of Hebrew Poetry	63
Conclusions	68
<b>Chapter Five</b>	
<b>Moses Ibn Ezra: A Product of his Age</b>	<b>70</b>
Ibn Ezra as Youthful Poet—Subjects and Styles	70
Exile and Isolation: The Complaint Poetry and Scholarly Pursuits	75
The Poetic and Philosophical Works	85
<i>HaSallah</i> —The Penitent	89
Conclusions	94

## Chapter Six

<b>Towards Conflict: The Racial Laws and their Consequences</b>	<b>96</b>
Italian Jewry and Society Towards the Fascist Era	97
Alignment with Germany and the Rise of Official Antisemitism	102
The Racial Laws of 1938	104
Immediate Impacts of the Racial Laws on Cultural Life	109
Re-Settlement and the Lure of Hollywood	114
Conclusions	117

## Chapter Seven

<b>Biographical Notes on the Life and Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco</b>	<b>119</b>
Italian Nationalism and New Directions in Music	120
Stylistic Consolidation: Casella and Pizzetti	122
Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Art Song, and the Musical Trends	124
Family Background and Early Training	126
Early Works and Cultural Influences; Pizzetti and Bloch	134
Early Career as a Composer: Orchestral Works, First Opera, and Grandfather's Notebook	138
Interpreters, Major Performers, and the Early Guitar Works	147
From "The Prophets" to the Jewish Composer in America	149
The Film Music, Acculturation, and Citizenship	167
Working Methods Towards the <i>Divan</i>	181
Genres, Works, and Legacy	188

## Chapter Eight

<b>The <i>Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra</i> and its Musical, Historical, and Social Contexts</b>	<b>194</b>
An Historical Trajectory of Music for Jewish Worship	194
Jewish Music Research: A Brief Examination of Sources and Trends	198
Analytical and Compositional Approaches	206
Writing for the Guitar	212
Aspects and Features of the <i>Divan</i>	215
<i>Lyric Source Material</i>	215
<i>General Structure</i>	219
<i>General Overview of Subjects</i>	224
<i>The Score</i>	228
<i>Correspondence with Rossi</i>	230
Castelnuovo-Tedesco after the <i>Divan</i>	232
Publishing and First Performance	233
Musical Markers and the Song Cycle	238
Summary of Findings	246

<b>Chapter Nine</b>	
<b>Reading the <i>Divan</i> Across the Centuries</b>	<b>249</b>
Cathartic Interpretations of the <i>Divan</i> : A Summary	249
<i>The Poetry of Love and Friendship</i>	250
<i>Expressions of Memory and Legacy</i>	251
Jewish Musical and Poetic Traditions Embedded Within the <i>Divan</i> :	
A Summary	252
<i>Cultural Background and Jewish Musical Trajectories</i>	253
<i>Restoration of Arabic Forms</i>	254
Considering the Wider Cultural Implications of the <i>Divan</i>	255
Ibn Ezra's Exile Poetry in the <i>Divan</i>	256
Theoretical Frameworks of Diaspora and Cultural Memory as	
Analytical Perspectives to the <i>Divan</i>	259
The <i>Divan</i> as Representation of the Heartland	262
<i>Bibliography</i>	264
<i>Published Scores</i>	275
<i>Discography of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra</i>	276
<i>Appendix</i>	277

*This research project marks the 50th anniversary of the passing of  
Jewish composer, author, critic, commentator, educator, and Italian émigré  
Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco:  
Florence, April 3, 1895 - Los Angeles, March 16, 1968*

...My songs shall live,  
while the earth and sun  
Their ordered daily course shall run;  
But songs in falsehood wrought,  
shall be within a day,  
forgotten utterly...

*Moses Ibn Ezra  
c. 1055-1138*

## Abstract

Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco was a prolific composer who gained reputation from the 1920s as a young writer of modern Italian music. Following implementation of Italy's antisemitic racial laws in 1939, Castelnuovo-Tedesco emigrated to America. There, he became recognised within the Hollywood film-music industry and known as a major composer for the guitar, an instrument he did not play.

Throughout his career Castelnuovo-Tedesco placed special emphasis on composing themes inspired by his Florentine background, by his Jewish roots, and by composing art song using great literary works. Connecting the visual to the aural, he was sometimes referred to as an 'impressionistic' composer due to the highly visual atmospheres he depicted in his music, he utilised elements of ordered and clear Italian neoclassicism, emotional and melodic French neoromanticism, geometric German chromaticism, colourful chordal extensions, and dissonance in his music.

This thesis takes as its focal point the last of his compositions that used culturally Jewish texts for its lyric and was written for guitar and voice. One of the great Jewish singer-poets of the Islamic period in Spain was Moses Ibn Ezra (c. 1055-c. 1138), who was exiled from Granada. Castelnuovo-Tedesco used an English rendition of Ibn Ezra's secular poetry and in 1966 selected nineteen songs which became Opus 207, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra: A Cycle of Songs for Voice and Guitar*. Themes that emerge in this sometimes dark song cycle are the pain of exile, love and friendship, morality, and mortality.

Two lines of inquiry will be formed in this thesis. One line of inquiry focusses on the composition itself, to understand its musical and poetic significance. In doing so, it will arrive at some conclusions as to why Castelnuovo-Tedesco chose this poetic material, and in what respects it is a unique composition. The second major line of inquiry is contextualising the *Divan* as representative of a cultural continuum connecting medieval poet to the modern composer. Underpinning historical and musicological elements, use will be made of writings by philosophers, psychologists, cultural scientists, and historians to construct a theoretical framework highlighting the association that exiled Jewish diaspora populations maintained between their Jewishness and aesthetics, and highlighting the differentiation between commonality and connectivity in the Jewish historical experience.

The goal of this research is to ascertain the socio-historical and cultural conditions that led Castelnuovo-Tedesco to the *Divan* and suggest some implications it has on the study of identity. The theoretical approach is cross-disciplinary and amplifies the conceptual frames of cultural identity, concepts of diaspora, and the transference of memory.

## **Statement of Originality**

*This work has not previously been submitted for a degree or diploma in any university. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the thesis itself.*

Paul M. Leventhal  
October 29, 2018



## **Dedication**

To my wife, Professor Debbie Haski-Leventhal for her loving partnership, support, patience,  
expert guidance, continual encouragement, and inspiration in Everything.

And to my life teachers, my daughters Emily and Michaela for continually showing me  
what's What,  
and what's definitely Not.

## Acknowledgements

I am especially grateful to my doctoral supervisors Dr. Andrew Alter and Dr. Sarah Keith who were always utterly professional and supportive, offering wisdom, valuable insights, guidance, technical and editing support, as well as music criticism. With an ‘open door’ policy, both were generous with their time and wisdom well beyond their formal calling and beyond all expectations.

This research project would not have been possible but for the financial and professional support of Macquarie University and the Department of Media, Music, Communications, and Cultural Studies. My sincerest thanks to the hard-working professional and administrative staff who enthusiastically backed my project and generously provided the resources to fully undertake it.

I would like to thank Ms. Diana Castelnuovo-Tedesco for providing me guidance, access to documents and her own personal experiences throughout the research process. Appreciation is also extended to Ms. Mary Moldenhauer who gave me permission to copy and use the manuscript score held in the Hans and Rosalie Moldenhauer Archive. Thanks to Dr. James Westby for his encouragement, highly valuable ideas, and useful comments; Mr. Gregg Nestor who premiered the *Divan* in 1975 for his recollections surrounding that event; and Maestri Giuliano Balestra, Giuseppe Maria “Beppe” Ficara, and Angelo Gilardino for their highly valuable insights, useful documentation and dedication of their time to the project. Thanks also to all the other talented and thoughtful *Divan* guitarists and singers who provided expert guidance through their impressions of the composition and its meanings to them.

Appreciation to Mr. James Blair for the idea of a social study of guitar music, and thereafter Dr. Rowena Cowley of the Sydney Conservatorium of Music for recommending Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco as a subject worthy of study and pointing out his place as a composer of some note. Dr. Lara Palombo, who dedicated valuable time and expertise to the theoretical model. Ms. Katherine Allen for working with me on recording and performing the *Divan*, a tremendous young soprano giving her valuable time and much valuable advice. Dr. Denis Crowdy for kindly sharing his classical guitar skills, Mr. Ben Nash for his masterful technical assistance and engineering in the recording of the *Divan*, Mr. David Smith for sharing his insights into modal analysis, and *The Phantom* illustrator Mr. Glenn Ford for his design work on the CD.

Permission to use examples from the published score of *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, Op. 207 was kindly granted by Bèrben *s.r.l.* Publishing House, February 27, 2017.

## Introduction

My initial interest in investigating *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra (1055-1135): A Song Cycle for Voice and Guitar, Op. 207* (1966)<sup>1</sup> came about following thoughts of connecting prior academic experience in Jewish and Islamic histories, cultures, and languages with that of playing the guitar, a passion from childhood. It was pointed out to me that Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, seemed an interesting possibility for research—a modern Jewish composer who wrote for the guitar and who used Biblical, liturgical and para-liturgical (‘devotional’) Jewish themes set to music. Most of those Jewish-themed works constituted an opportunity to examine identity within the context of monumental socio-historical changes in the twentieth century. Moreover, a Jewish work utilising the guitar added a unique perspective to the mix.

The composer’s relative obscurity at the time of his death in March 1968 is remarkable. One obituary is limited to five-and-a-half column lines of dry narrative referring to him passing ‘...at age 72. A composer of film scores, concert pieces, and operas. Mr Castelnuovo-Tedesco came to the United States in 1939 and became a citizen.’<sup>2</sup> Of the ten obituaries of that edition only a retired instrumental music teacher received less space, being half a column line less at five lines, while a music educator and music consultant for the Dallas, Texas public school system received eighteen lines, and Woody Guthrie, fifteen column lines. Not surprisingly, an article published in 1971 only a few years after his death aptly entitled “A Neglected Impressionist...,” stated that ‘[w]hen Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco died a few years ago in California, the news created hardly a ripple of interest in the musical world.’<sup>3</sup>

However, attitudes to the composer have changed since then. To measure Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s level of ‘popularity’ in the 1980s, in a review of *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music* (1987), the author of the review devised a value system based on length in inches of each biographical entry pertaining to the American careers of each entrant. This is presumably an index of the subject’s ‘worth’ or ‘presumed interest’ to readers. Curiously, Castelnuovo-Tedesco is not in the top 50 in the Composers list at all, but nevertheless ‘scores’ 22 in the Performers list, which compares to Beiderbecke, James Brown, Brubeck, Sinatra (who each score

---

<sup>1</sup> Op. 207, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra* will herein be referred to as the *Divan*.

<sup>2</sup> Anon., “In Memoriam,” *Music Educators Journal* 55/1 (September 1968): 5.

<sup>3</sup> Ernest Lubin, “A Neglected Impressionist Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” *Clavier* Vol. X, No. 2 (February 1971): 29.

20), and Eldridge (26). Elvis ‘scores’ 43, and Charlie ‘Bird’ Parker gets 80.<sup>4</sup> While not overly ‘popular,’ Castelnuovo-Tedesco is at least recognised as being part of a group of important figures, despite them primarily being known as performers, while Castelnuovo-Tedesco is of course primarily a composer.

Outside of guitar circles, considering the breadth and sheer volume of his work, Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s relative obscurity within the general discourse of historical composers is, at first glance, exceptionally strange. Except for the symphony, the composer wrote for nearly every performing ‘classical’ music form and was also known as an accomplished writer of film music: ‘I have written a great deal of music in my life—of every genre, of all dimensions...—piano pieces, songs, chamber music, music for chorus, opera, ballet, and naturally, I have composed a great deal of sympathetic music.’<sup>5</sup> From the 1920s, he was considered a major force in twentieth-century Italian music, but today Castelnuovo-Tedesco is generally remembered as a composer of film scores—presumably this is his reference to “sympathetic music,”—and a teacher of contemporary composers, many of whom today are household names, like John Williams (including ‘Star Wars,’ ‘Indiana Jones,’ and ‘Harry Potter’), Nelson Riddle (‘Batman’ and many others), André Previn (‘My Fair Lady’ and many others), Henry Mancini (‘Pink Panther,’ ‘Breakfast at Tiffany’s’ and many others), Jerry Goldsmith (including ‘Star Trek’ and ‘The Omen’), and others. Through those composers, Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s legacy within modern musical culture is marked and significant.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was first inspired by impressions of his beloved Florence and Tuscan background that gave rise to many ‘visually-based’ impressionistic compositions: ‘It seemed to me that everything could be expressed or translated into music: the landscapes I saw, the books I read, the pictures and statues I admired.’<sup>6</sup> This interest in an aural representation of the visual subsequently expanded into the use of great literature including the Bible, Shakespeare, and works

---

<sup>4</sup> Allen P. Britton, “Review of *The New Grove Dictionary of American Music*,” edited by H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie, *American Music* 5/2 (Summer 1987): 198.

<sup>5</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “A Composer on Writing Concertos,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1939, 4. Location: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco Papers, Library of Congress, ref. 115/20 (herein: ‘MCT Papers, LoC, 115/20’). The text of the article is very similar to several other articles published just after Castelnuovo-Tedesco arrived in America in 1939, as part of a campaign of branding him as a ‘Jewish’ composer.

<sup>6</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco in *The New Book of Modern Composers*, ed. David Ewen (3rd. edition. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 111-112; Also, in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Contemporary Composer,” *Temple Israel Light* by Emery Grossman (March 1959), 10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 119/5.

using texts of other great literary figures. These literary interests found expression in his most prolific output, the genre of the lyric art song. In his own words, throughout his career he composed ‘so many [songs with] lyrics—two hundred and twenty for solo voice and piano, over sixty choral works, and a dozen duets.’<sup>7</sup> As Higham points out, equally significant are the three compositions for voice and guitar, and another eight for voice and orchestra.<sup>8</sup>

One of my ambitions has always been to wed my music with the purest and highest poetry in the form of the song for voice and piano. So great is my passion for this form of art that I once wrote, and I repeat it here, that if there is any composer I envy it is Franz Schubert for his *Lieder*.<sup>9</sup>

Although the majority of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s considerable body of chamber work is music for piano or for voice and piano, what has heightened and perpetuated his name and reputation is his music for guitar. The long association with guitarist Andrés Segovia inspired Castelnuovo-Tedesco to write a significant number of works. Asbury points out that some are in a conservative style as per the requirements of that seminal guitarist,<sup>10</sup> although works written either for other guitarists, or for no specific guitarist were more experimental. Higham has shown that 1950 stands at the midpoint between Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s first (1932) and last (1968) works for guitar and that the first period produced less than half of the second period, demonstrating its heightened importance for the composer. However, the relatively minor place the guitar receives in scholarly endeavours is shown by the guitar not being mentioned in *Chambers Biographical Dictionary* in the short description of Castelnuovo-Tedesco.<sup>11</sup> Likewise, the *Oxford Companion to Music*, describes him as a composer of various musical forms, but the guitar is nowhere mentioned.<sup>12</sup> Even in the 1968 obituary noted above,<sup>13</sup> there is no mention of the guitar works,

---

<sup>7</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica: un libro di ricordi*, ed. James Westby (Florence: Cadmo, 2005), 158-159: ‘...ch’io abbia scritto tante liriche (sono, quelle per voce sola e pianoforte, duecentoventi, oltre sessanta quelle corali, e una diecina i duetti).’ Translated by this author.

<sup>8</sup> Peter Anthony Higham, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Works for Guitar” (M.Mus. thesis, University of Alberta, 1977), 1.

<sup>9</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, as cited by Roland von Weber, “Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” in D. Ewen, ed., *The New Book of Modern Composers*, 113. Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s passion for the songs of Schubert is of great relevance as Schubert was an avid amateur guitarist who frequently conceived his piano parts on the more portable guitar. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer,” *Musical Quarterly* 30/1 (January 1944): 108

<sup>10</sup> David S. Asbury, “20th Century Romantic Serialism: The Opus 170 Greeting Cards of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas, 2005), 2.

<sup>11</sup> Magnus Magnusson, ed., *Chambers Biographic Dictionary*, s.v. “Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario” (5<sup>th</sup> ed., Edinburgh: Chambers, 1990), 273.

<sup>12</sup> Percy A. Scholes, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Music*, s.v. “Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario” (10<sup>th</sup> ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 159.

<sup>13</sup> Anon., “In Memoriam,” 5.

which indicates the relative lack of importance the instrument was accorded during that era. In some contrast, the entry on Castelnuovo-Tedesco in the *Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians* written by the authoritative biographer of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, James Westby, briefly remarks that ‘his most recognised contribution [to music] is the almost one hundred works for guitar,’ although Westby emphasised other aspects of his work therein.<sup>14</sup>

Despite Castelnuovo-Tedesco being a prolific composer, much of his music remained unproduced and unpublished during his lifetime, demonstrating that in America he had lost the favour, prestige, and rewards he once enjoyed in Italy, where, as a young composer, he attracted many commissions and accolades. Indeed, many of his compositions, particularly the choral music, remain obscure even today. Rossi laments this obscurity:

That Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s music is not performed more frequently today is one of the tragedies of the age, for his works are filled with excitement, originality, and beauty: melodies that soar and sing, rhythms that are energetic and varied, harmonies that are, at once, rich and modern.<sup>15</sup>

In explanation, Asbury states that Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s work in the ‘lighter’ fields of film and guitar music may have been a factor in the composer remaining largely overlooked in modern scholarship and public recognition.<sup>16</sup> Another factor may be his preference for *tonal* frameworks and a neoromantic melodic lyricism over the more experimental styles that dominated Art Music composition during the 1950s and 1960s. According to Asbury, this led many critics ‘to dismiss him as unworthy of serious consideration and viewed as a stylistically conservative 20<sup>th</sup>-century romantic,’<sup>17</sup> a fate that befell many refugee composers who ended up in America and who subsequently found employment in the Hollywood film industry like Tansman, Milhaud, and Toch. Another reason for Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s relative obscurity may be the difficulty of defining exactly what sort of composer he was, for even his categorisation as a Neoromantic is not uniformly accepted. Hinsley has pointed out that his music has been labelled ‘impressionistic’ as it regularly utilises a twentieth-century harmonic language associated with that French-derived style, elements such as the common use of parallel fourths and fifths, whole-tone and pentatonic scales, chords with sixth, seventh, and ninth colourings, chromaticism and subtle resolutions into altered

---

<sup>14</sup> Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. “Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario,” by James Westby (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London.: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), V: 255.

<sup>15</sup> Nick Rossi, “Introduction,” in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, vii.

<sup>16</sup> Asbury, “20th Century Romantic Serialism,” vii.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

chords that obscure tonal centres.<sup>18</sup> Similarly, Rossi states that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was ‘an “impressionist” in the spirit of Ravel, but in his music the melodiousness of an Italian heritage is always in evidence.’<sup>19</sup> Definitive stylistic characterisation of this hybrid composer is exceedingly difficult as he traversed different cultures and held wide interests. Finally, the possibility that the composer’s relative obscurity outside film and guitar circles may be due to the fact that his most prolific outputs—lyric art song—is no longer a genre of currency for the listening public. This is recalled by Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco:

Mario had written so much for voice and piano, songs. And the concerts for voice and piano and sometimes other instruments had many performances in Europe at that time, before the war. Then this died completely...Chamber singers: they don’t exist anymore...they don’t sing Schumann and Schubert and Debussy...or Mozart...Not only Mario’s music is dead, all the music...<sup>20</sup>

The only composition that combined the composer’s Jewish identity and interests with use of the solo guitar is *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*. It was the penultimate of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s so-called Jewish works, and at approximately 40 minutes duration, the last composition of any length. The work utilises an English translation of Ibn Ezra’s medieval Hebrew poetry that conjures up life, love, and death in an idealised Spain of high religious and cultural Jewish-Muslim symbiosis. No published examination of the work has adequately examined the composer’s relationship to his chosen text, nor any identification he may have felt towards the medieval Spanish philosopher-poet Ibn Ezra. Furthermore, in surveys of the composer’s Jewish works, most sources neglect the composition. This is illustrated by the musicologist Irene Heskes in her *Passport to Jewish Music*,<sup>21</sup> in which the *Divan* is not even mentioned in the context of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Jewish works that are catalogued therein. In Rosen’s important work on Judaic influences on a selection of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s music, the *Divan* is only mentioned in the context of a briefly annotated listing of Jewish compositions.<sup>22</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Matthew Gerritt Hinsley, “Text-Music Relationships in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Vogelweide*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 10-11.

<sup>19</sup> Nick Rossi, “The Choral Masterpieces of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” *The Choral Journal* 17/3 (November 1976): 5. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 119/12.

<sup>20</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade. Completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1982), 81-83.

<sup>21</sup> Irene Heskes, *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994).

<sup>22</sup> Harriette Mildred Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1991), 63.



Although it is long neglected in academic and popular sources, judging from current performances documented online, the *Divan* is now becoming better known as a performance work, although questions remain regarding its inherent meaning to the composer—and thus to the performing and/or listening interpreter. A small number of writers, including Rosen, Scalin, and more recently DeLong and Shelleg have written about the significance of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Jewish background, his Jewish collective and individual experiences, and selections of his music as reflection of those elements. Yet, while some work has been done, no definitive work on the *Divan* has examined Castelnuovo-Tedesco's relationship to his chosen texts nor to Ibn Ezra.

The current thesis is divided broadly into theoretical, historical, and musicological chapters and closes with a discussion summarising and blending findings. Chapter One outlines the Rationale, Research Questions, and Methodologies that underpin this research, followed by a survey of major sources consulted in Chapter Two. The review of literature is structured on current research of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, followed by the theoretical framework comprising diasporic identity and memory studies, then historical contexts of both poet and composer, and lastly, aspects of the history, practice, and research of Jewish music. Because dislocation and consequent adaptations Castelnuovo-Tedesco underwent throughout his life contributed to his emerging cultural identity, Chapter Three will provide a theoretical framework discussing diaspora and exile as markers of cultural identity. Intimately connected to diaspora studies is the persistence of memory as a unifying factor between temporally and spatially diverse populations and individuals holding a perceived sense of commonality through shared Jewish experience. The implications of parallel trajectories within the diasporic experience will be examined within the identity paradigm of 'original home' and 'new home,' and will be augmented by a third factor, namely cultural identity. This primarily consists of acquired cultural memory expressed through myth and tradition and will be applied to a study of the *Divan* as a monument of memory. Ultimately, the composer's *Divan* is analysed in relation to the source of its text to theorise a diasporic condition based on complex juxtapositions of homelands with varied nostalgic investment in each.

Chapters Four to Seven comprise the socio-historical contexts that both poet and then composer experienced. Chapter Four will comprise a detailed survey of 'Golden Age' Spain (c. tenth to twelfth centuries, and commonly referred to as such primarily due to its Muslim-Jewish synergy and resultant cultural achievements), examined through poetry and poetics of the time.

The chapter aims to understand the literary conventions as well as values that allowed for a crossing over of Islamic and Arabic poetic norms to those religious authors and poets that used a rich Spanish-Arabic culture to enhance Jewish cultural and social life. The life of Ibn Ezra will be described in Chapter Five, using his poems as primary source materials. This examination primarily functions to describe and define dispossession and the exile that Ibn Ezra experienced.

Chapter Six looks at the socio-political state of Italy primarily from the rise of the Fascist government during the 1920s. Surveying the conditions of Fascist Italy and its effects on the Jewish population as well as other musicians and composers allows for a wider understanding of what motivated the composer in the different environments he worked within, and then after introduction of the racial laws, as an émigré composer in America. Chapter Seven examines the musical context and life trajectory of the composer through primary writings and through opinions and observations of those who were familiar with him and his work. As with an examination of the factors in play between the wars that impacted composers in Italy, a survey of Jewish music will preface the life of the composer, to provide some background to the problems that Castelnuovo-Tedesco addressed in his approach to writing music with a Jewish character. Primary consideration will be given to his development as a Jewish composer, through his musical outputs, writings and within the broader context of Jewish musicians who migrated to America from Europe in the 1930s.

Chapter Eight isolates the *Divan* to investigate elements of art song and the song cycle, and reconstructs a chronology of events leading up to and following its composition. This is intended to help understand the conditions under which Castelnuovo-Tedesco chose to set this generally ‘dark’ poetry to music. It will also highlight some compositional markers that stand out when interpreting the composition and some elements that make it a unique addition to the corpus of the composer’s works. Through archival research, several limitations that have appeared will be highlighted. Chapter Nine applies the theoretical aspects of cultural studies into a reading of the *Divan* and discusses its use as an interpretive mechanism of one living in exile and in a diaspora. This chapter will firstly look at some of the unique features of the *Divan* and suggest what those features may have meant to the composer. Secondly it will examine the *Divan* as a monument to the transference of memory through the ages.

It is hoped that the breadth of research using the *Divan* as focal point will contribute to an understanding of the connections between a composer's identity and his/her expression of it through her/his aesthetic outputs.

## Chapter One

### **Rationale, Research Questions, Analytical Approaches, and Research Methodologies**

This thesis isolates the *Divan* of Castelnuovo-Tedesco as a primary text through which aspects of the composer's cultural self expression, personal emotions/anxieties, and lived experiences may be understood. The work is thoroughly contextualised through an examination of the composer's letters, publications, commentary of friends and family, as well as through information about the political, religious, and historical worlds in which he lived. The composition's lyrical content, namely, the poetry selected from Moses Ibn Ezra's non-liturgical poems is also examined in order to better understand the life and times of the medieval poet himself. The study is therefore musicological, and seeks to investigate the breadth of impulses, histories, and emotions that intersect within the composition's ontology. Ultimately, the thesis seeks to use the composition and its many contexts to theorise musical practice as an integral part of cultural memory.

Timothy Taylor argues that musicologists seldom ask the more complex questions about a composer, whose motivations and outputs may reflect a social response to a set of circumstances. Warning against the limitations of a simplistic recounting of biographical information, Taylor writes:

Musicians are not usually viewed as subjects inhabiting a particular historical moment and a particular place, but instead are viewed un-problematically as total agents: things happen in a musical work because composers make them happen. Accordingly, biographical information of composers is sometimes used as a point of departure for musicological analyses, which can produce some useful insights, but runs the risk of reductionism.<sup>1</sup>

Indeed, most academic works written about Castelnuovo-Tedesco usually comprise tonally-centred, technical, and analytic examinations of the composition addressed. Understandably, being musicological studies, they are generally structured around prominent harmonic, melodic and/or vocal characteristics, with the composer's biography of secondary importance. The latter is frequently provided as factual information. While exceptions certainly do exist,<sup>2</sup> the compositions

---

<sup>1</sup> Timothy D. Taylor, *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007), 3.

<sup>2</sup> For example, the socio-political environments leading to Castelnuovo-Tedesco's relocation from Italy to America is examined in Noah David DeLong, "Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio *The Book of Ruth*" (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015). In contrast, the composer's Jewish cultural background and its impacts on a range of his works is discussed in Burton Howard Scalin, "Some Biblically Inspired and Liturgical Compositions of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco," *Tatzlil* [*The Chord*]: *Forum*

are rarely examined as a direct consequence of the composer's socio-historical environment. This thesis sets out to build on the work that has already been undertaken on the life and Jewish compositions of Castelnuovo-Tedesco by examining those socio-historical considerations that contributed to his musical development ultimately leading to the *Divan*. Consequently, the thesis is guided by the following research questions:

1. What thematic elements are emphasised in the poetry and musical setting of the *Divan*?
2. In what ways is the *Divan* a unique composition within the corpus of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's art songs?
3. How does Castelnuovo-Tedesco's compositional style and choice of poetry reflect an approach that draws on Jewish traditions of musical and poetic performance practice?
4. What role did the trauma of exile from Italy play in the compositions of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and how do the geopolitical and socio-historical events surrounding his emigration explain part of the significance of the *Divan*? and
5. In what ways, and to what degree do the theoretical frameworks of collective memory and diaspora studies provide a useful analytical perspective on the *Divan*?

The thesis will frame the composition within diaspora studies and memory studies to provide social and cultural significance to the composition, in addition to highlighting its musical and poetic characteristics. It will utilise elements of historical ethnography to explore the interaction between Muslim and Jewish medieval Spanish cultures and will apply a hermeneutic approach in understanding meanings and contexts within Golden Age poetry. Furthermore, the research will use historiography, musical analysis, and oral histories to interpret the composer's motivations as well as his compositional practice. The reasoning for this mix of methodologies is to help define 'connectedness' and 'commonality' as it relates to the two exiled artists living 700 years apart.

In examining how broader ideological and cultural shifts left deep traces in musical processes observable in the *Divan*, this approach will add a new perspective (a) to the many important scholarly works that revolve around this composer, and (b) on the understanding of how

---

*for Music Research and Bibliography* (Israel: Haifa Music Museum and Amli Library, 1976): 9; Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 119/13.

musicological and historical investigations can be expanded through the theoretical frameworks of cultural memory and diaspora studies. The analytical process adopted responds to these research questions and includes the following:

- a. A study of the popular genres of Spanish-Jewish poetry including the complaint poetry and the love poetry. This was important in isolating elements of the *Divan* which are highlighted in this thesis;
- b. An analysis of the poetic texts of the *Divan* by comparing the original medieval Hebrew to the translation that the composer used. Because he left no indications of his source or sources, this was invaluable in isolating some interpretive elements that pointed to the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition as his primary source;
- c. An analysis of harmonic progressions within the *Divan* to identify specific musical gestures that recurred throughout the composition. It found strong Spanish influences and emphases on highly altered dominant chords as well as recurring use of the harmonic minor subdominant mode;
- d. A recording of the *Divan* as a means to engage more deeply with the work and to experiment with the expressive interpretations that exist within the score;<sup>3</sup> and
- e. An expansion of the defined models of ‘homeland’ and ‘hostland’ in traditional diaspora studies through the inclusion of the term ‘heartland.’ Related to the Jewish experience, this third element is more emotive and internal, indicating cultural identification with a mythical home, an innate *ideal* being a group identity not related to an actual return to a physical homeland. The methodological justification of this model is based on the writings of the existentialist philosopher Martin Buber in which he refers to a ‘national soul’ of the Jewish people and discusses its basis, meanings and implications. To best justify some of Buber’s theologically-biased assertions, the research looks at other philosophers and places them within a framework given by more modern scholars addressing religion and cultural memory. The use of this theoretical model will provide further definition to connectedness and commonality when referring to similarities between Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Ibn Ezra as represented through the *Divan*.

---

<sup>3</sup> The recording undertaken is not an assessable component of this thesis. It is currently available for limited access by contacting the author at paul.leventhal@gmail.com

## Archival Research

Additional to his autobiography, Castelnuovo-Tedesco left a wealth of primary source materials including letters, telegrams, cards for differing occasions, and essays that allow us to better understand the production of a great corpus of his work. His acquaintances included many of the foremost musicians of the twentieth century, and there is a range of information in his writings about this broader musical community. Therefore, as a methodological aspect of the analytical process, archival work was extremely valuable in identifying primary sources that illustrate the composer's emotional state on a day-to-day basis. These sources provide much commentary on the composer's own compositions in his own words. In trying to reconstruct the conditions leading up to the *Divan*, this archival material is crucial because it is the only source so far uncovered that provides any commentary on the work.

Two archives were visited during the course of research: The Library of Congress, Washington DC, and the Music Library of the University of South Carolina, Columbia. It was because of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's long-term friendship with an early patron, Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague-Coolidge and her association with the Library of Congress, that Castelnuovo-Tedesco arranged to have his collection and letters safely stored and made accessible in this library, a personal wish expressed as early as 1938, with the rise of antisemitism in Italy: 'It would be a great joy for me, if my best work (as I consider it [in reference to his newly-composed *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Op. 98]) would be kept one day in the Library of Congress. (At least my manuscript would be safe!).'<sup>4</sup> This "joy" became reality late in 1965, when the Library of Congress requested '...all my autographs and papers! So I am in the process of arranging the "deal"—But I believe it was a wise decision. The Library of Congress will always be the main source of research...'<sup>5</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco letter to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, November 25, 1938. Location: Special Collections, Music Division, Library of Congress, Washington DC.

<sup>5</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco letter to Hans and Rosaleen Moldenhauer, December 18, 1965. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 123/31. In addition to the Castelnuovo-Tedesco collection, the library also acquired the Moldenhauer Archive that contains much in the way of letters and manuscripts from and to Castelnuovo-Tedesco and others. Hans Moldenhauer (1906-1987) was a German-American musicologist who taught and lived in Washington (State) and was very aware of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's work from his early period on the West Coast. Moldenhauer collected Castelnuovo-Tedesco manuscripts from early the late 1950s to Castelnuovo-Tedesco's death in 1968 and the two families formed a close bond. Dorothy Landis-Gray, "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings of Music for Women's Voices from His American Period (1939-1968)" (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1996), 4.

Today, the Library of Congress in Washington, DC holds the *Mario Castelnuovo Papers*, an archive collection of manuscripts and other documents of the composer, donated by the family in 2000 and made available in 2010 to researchers with the use of the published Catalogue containing well over 8,000 items in over 160 box-containers.<sup>6</sup> The Estate is today maintained by the composer's granddaughter Diana Castelnuovo-Tedesco who provided permission to copy and use documents pertaining to this research.

The University of South Carolina Music Library at Columbia is where Castelnuovo-Tedesco's friend and colleague Nick Rossi left his now catalogued collection. In it, many letters written to him by Castelnuovo-Tedesco are preserved. These were cross-referenced to the letters that Rossi wrote back to the composer that are held in the Library of Congress. The references Rossi made in one letter are critical in the analysis of the *Divan* as will be seen in Chapter Eight.

However, limitations to archival research exist when it is the only accessible source of information. These limitations include apparently missing documents and others that may be held in private hands. Prior to 2010 with the cataloguing of the collection in the Library of Congress, most academic works relied on Castelnuovo-Tedesco's autobiography (detailed in the following chapter) for information which, prior to publication in 2005, was in manuscript form preserved as individual chapters in two parts, but without continuous page numbering. After 2005 the autobiography was published in its original Italian and page numbers made quotes easy to reference.

This thesis has used archived documents that, amongst other topics, highlight the composer's emotional state during the writing of the *Divan*. Other uses of the archives include access to unpublished essays written by the composer, press clippings, letters, and other documents preserved from performers including information such as brochures and programmatic information on the premiere of the *Divan* in 1975. What was *not* found was any information whatsoever that the composer himself wrote about the *Divan*, nor the source of the composer's text of Ibn Ezra. This is remarkable and will be examined in detail in Chapter Eight.

---

<sup>6</sup> It includes holograph music manuscripts, printed scores, libretti, writings, correspondence, business papers, photographs, programs, clippings, and some books from his collection. "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco Papers, Guides to Special Collections," Music Division, Library of Congress (Washington, D.C., 2010), 2-3.



## A Note on Transliterations, Transcriptions, and Pronunciation

In those poems appearing in the 1934 Brody and Solis-Cohen edition of *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra* that Castelnovo-Tedesco apparently used in his *Divan*, I have added an illustrative and informal transliteration of the approximate ending of each line of the Hebrew in the English stanza. Although in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition, the Hebrew is presented next to the English interpretation on its opposite facing page, the Hebrew word only rarely corresponds to the last word of the English due to differences in syntax and structure. For example, in verb and noun placements, object-subject orders, interpretation of words, and generalities in translation such as where several words could be utilised in the translation. English simply does not have the rhyming capability of Hebrew or Arabic where gender and singular/plural forms are almost always expressed as suffixes affixed to three-letter root verb forms and from them, their derived nouns etc. allowing for logically fluent rhyming poetry. Considering the discussion of Arabic and Hebrew poetics in understanding Golden Age poets and their highly sophisticated poetry, the reason for adding the informal transliteration is to preserve and demonstrate, however insufficiently, at least a portion of the charming rhythmic and rhyming aspects of Ibn Ezra's work that has largely been lost in the English rendering.

In my transcribing of Arabic and Hebrew to English, the Hebrew 'ch'/'kh' sound is usually replaced with a simple 'ḥ' which conforms to either the Ashkenazic 'throaty' sound or more guttural Sephardic 'breathy' enunciation. In Arabic, 'ḥ' usually denotes the heavy throaty 'H' sound. Exceptions do exist due to common usage (such as *halacha/halakha*) and these are rendered in the most commonly used form. The guttural letter 'ayin in both Hebrew and Arabic is denoted by the single inverted quotation mark and the silent Hebrew letter *aleph* is presented as the vowel that accompanies it.

## Chapter Two

### Literature Review

This chapter provides a survey of literature used in the research and includes three broad areas under review. The survey begins by identifying the most relevant current research on two specific broad aspects of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's works; namely, his Jewish works and his guitar works. Secondly, it will discuss sources that have been used to guide the theoretical and historical approaches adopted for the thesis. Thirdly, the chapter will review the more general sources used for background information used in the study. These include sources on the history and practice of Jewish music as well as sources that discuss medieval poetics.

Initial general information about Castelnuovo-Tedesco was drawn from Westby's contribution in the *New Grove Dictionary*<sup>1</sup> which provides a useful survey of the genres and musical development of the composer. However, the primary source available in understanding the life and thoughts of Castelnuovo-Tedesco is his autobiography (in Italian) edited by Westby, *Una vita di musica*.<sup>2</sup> As Castelnuovo-Tedesco informed his friend and colleague Nick Rossi,

[t]he book "*Una vita di musica*" ("A life of music") already exists, as you see! And it is done exactly the way you suggested: narrating my life through my music, and explaining my music at the same time (its origin, its form, its qualities, its faults ...); and this nobody else but me could do...It is done up to the first performance of *The Merchant of Venice* [which was in Florence in 1961]... I keep on adding chapter after chapter, and it seems it will never end...

The book itself is one of the greatest "works of art" I have ever produced! and I am just[ly] proud of it as of the best of my music! It reads like a novel, and yet it is absolutely true! No composer, I believe, has ever analyzed [sic] himself and his music with such sincerity (as an artist and a psico-analyst [sic]), nor described with such objectivity the life "on two continents." I am sure, some day, it will be a precious document. But when? And where?<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario" by James Westby (Second edn., London.: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), V: 255-257.

<sup>2</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica: un libro di ricordi*, ed. James Westby (Florence: Cadmo, 2005).

<sup>3</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, May 11, 1964, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco Collection, University of South Carolina: Series 3: Correspondence, box 13 (Herein: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13). The manuscripts of *Una vita* are divided into four parts: Chapters 1-70, 'Exodus,' written in Castiglione, n.d.; Part II: 'In America,' chapters 71-100, written Castiglione July 15, 1952 to New York, October 13, 1952, with the first 'Epilogue,' written in Beverly Hills, June 15, 1955 to August 1955. Following a break of six years, Part III: 'Between Two Worlds,' chapters 101-115 was written in Florence, July 1961; Part four is the final 'Epilogue,' dated May 1966 and would seem a logical

The autobiography commenced in July 1952, at Castiglioncello, originally as a three-year project, officially ending on August 19, 1955 at Castelnuovo-Tedesco's home in Beverly Hills.<sup>4</sup> It was written as a book but is accompanied by adaptations and edits of various chapters or sub-sections of chapters that appeared in articles and newspapers over the years to 1966. The last additions to *Una vita* were written as late as May of that year,<sup>5</sup> a mere month before composing the *Divan*.

Additionally, the composer left a wealth of other written information about his life, his environments, influences, and other observations. These include many essays and articles, as well as correspondence to many colleagues and friends leaving much extra-musical information that serves to assist in an analysis of his motivations and development of his ideas. The vast number of letters that are now archived in the Library of Congress and University of South Carolina, indicates that recipients had valued and preserved his correspondence. His writings about leaving Italy and going into exile in America are especially valuable as, amongst other uses, they allow a comparison of theoretical models of diaspora to be applied to his life.

Contemporary scholarship of Castelnuovo-Tedesco shows important critical and scholarly contributions by several researchers, some of whom were personally familiar with the composer and/or his immediate family. One issue with these sources is the possibility that such works give an uncritical or even hagiographic reading of the composer.

Those writing on the guitar works of Castelnuovo-Tedesco that were useful for this thesis include Higham. He highlights important thematic elements in understanding the development of the composer, including

...on the one hand, the Hebrew tradition and on the other, his remote Spanish connections. The former accounts for large works with texts from the Bible (cantatas and scenic oratorios) as well as works of Hebrew-melodic influence (for example the *Sacred Service*, and *Le Danze del Re David*). The latter is reflected in the many works inspired by differing aspects of Spanish culture, which he felt deeply akin.<sup>6</sup>

---

conclusion, dwelling on family. I would like to thank Maestro Angelo Gilardino who brought these observations to my attention and translated the chapter headings. Location of the manuscripts to *Una vita*: MCT Papers, LoC, 109-113.

<sup>4</sup> Nick Rossi, "The Story of *Una vita di musica*," *Newsletter of the International Castelnuovo-Tedesco Society* (July 1976): 1. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 117/1.

<sup>5</sup> Nick Rossi, "A Tale of Two Countries. The Operas of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco," *The Opera Quarterly* 7/3 (Autumn, 1990): 118.

<sup>6</sup> Peter Anthony Higham, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Works for Guitar" (M.Mus. thesis, University of Alberta, 1977), 8.

One of the most logical of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's compositions that connect the themes of Spain and Hebrew culture is the *Divan*, yet it is almost ignored by Higham. His only mention of the *Divan* is in a chronological listing of the guitar compositions. This limited reference provides another illustration of the low level of interest the piece elicits in general academic literature on the composer.

Van Gammeren<sup>7</sup> examines the guitar works of Castelnuovo-Tedesco and describes the problems faced when non-guitarist composers write guitar compositions. As a thesis addressing the intent and the editorial process of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's guitar works, van Gammeren's dissertation provides a clear view of analysing the composer's intentions through the consultation of urtexts. However, as in Higham's work, the *Divan* is mentioned only in general terms. This is notable since the *Divan* is a good example of the problems encountered when guitaristically interpreting an unedited composition—or close to unedited, as it was in fact lightly edited by Angelo Gilardino in its published form, ensuring some of the more unplayable sections were made possible to execute. This will be further highlighted in Chapter Eight.

A highly useful study focusing on Castelnuovo-Tedesco's transition from respected young Italian composer to a composer of film music and guitar works in America was produced by DeLong.<sup>8</sup> His study is instructive for a number of reasons including his detailed work on the political, economic, and social factors that characterised the rise, functioning, and fall of the Fascist government of Mussolini. Furthermore, he helpfully translates many passages from Castelnuovo-Tedesco's autobiography, some of which have been used in the present study.

The study by K. Georg is very instructive in mapping the Christian and Jewish elements that formed part of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's cultural heritage. Although there is no comparison with his clear Jewish identification, Georg points out that the composer also identified with Christian traditions based on gentleness, peace, and love as he did with Jewish cultural traditions.<sup>9</sup> This is illustrated by Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Evangélion*, Op. 141 written in 1947, based on the story of

---

<sup>7</sup> Dario Leendert van Gammeren, "The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles, Comparative Source Studies and Critical Editions of Selected Works" (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2008).

<sup>8</sup> Noah David DeLong, "Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio *The Book of Ruth*" (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015).

<sup>9</sup> Klaus Georg, "Selected Early Italian Songs of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco" (D.M.A. diss., Illinois: Northwestern University, 2014), 25, 42.

Christ at a time when the composer was branding himself a ‘Jewish composer’ in the American media.

Hinsley’s examination of *Die Vogelweide*, as well as Robles’s examination of the same composition<sup>10</sup> both provide many conceptual ideas that are adopted in this thesis, since both compositions share important characteristics. These include both being based on medieval texts, written as song cycles, and for guitar and voice. Hinsley and Robles both demonstrate the centrality of interpreting the text according to musical markers that indicate Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s intentions in his reading of the literature.

A brief but important mention of the musical character of the *Divan* is provided by Asbury<sup>11</sup> within his work on the series of *Greeting Cards*. Asbury’s analysis touched on why Castelnuovo-Tedesco was neglected as a modern ‘serious’ composer being characterised more as a light romanticist and film composer.<sup>12</sup> His dissertation is also noteworthy as Westby served on Asbury’s doctoral committee.

Sources about the composer that incorporate a closer examination of the *Divan* include that by Landis-Gray,<sup>13</sup> who produced a useful musical study of selected vocal works for women’s voices, the *Divan* being—in her view—within that category. It is valuable for the musical information and traits common to a selection of Castelnuovo-Tedesco works for ‘women’s voices in the American period (1939-1966).’ Aside from Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s obvious love of art song using women’s vocals, the assumption is that the *Divan* is one of those compositions for ‘women’s voices’—as indeed it may well have been intended.<sup>14</sup> There is a gender perspective in this approach that will be examined in Chapter Eight considering the selections of poetry Castelnuovo-Tedesco chose to include in the *Divan*. Landis-Gray observes several noteworthy compositional

---

<sup>10</sup> Matthew Gerritt Hinsley, “Text-Music Relationships in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Vogelweide*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003).

<sup>11</sup> David S. Asbury, “20th Century Romantic Serialism: The Opus 170 Greeting Cards of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas, 2005), 65-66.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1.

<sup>13</sup> Dorothy Landis-Gray, “Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings of Music for Women’s Voices from His American Period (1939-1968)” (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1996).

<sup>14</sup> Although it is noteworthy that the premiere performance of the *Divan* in April 1975 was with the male tenor Howard Fried (1921-1996), and this will be further detailed in Chapter Eight.

features within the choral works she examined<sup>15</sup> which, as will be shown through various isolated examples in that chapter, are also contained in the *Divan*.

The only published work specifically focused on the *Divan* to date is that by Kidd<sup>16</sup> who provides editorial solutions on what she proposes are difficult passages of the work for a guitarist. As Kidd points out, the *Divan* has enjoyed only limited performance value due to the inherent difficulties in its practical application. It was ‘not written with any particular idiomatic approach to the guitar,’ and being difficult to execute, has thus ‘gained minimal recognition as a major chamber work in the guitar repertoire.’<sup>17</sup> Her dissertation is also valuable for its interviews with Ronald C. Purcell (1932-2011), who was a guitarist and student connected personally with Castelnuovo-Tedesco during his final years.

A close examination of the modern history of a unified Italy and the rise of the Fascist regime provides context for understanding the life trajectory of Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Much useful information from a first-hand perspective exists in the writings by the composer himself. This includes his commentary on Fascism and how it impacted musicians and composers.<sup>18</sup> In addition, highly informative interviews with the composer’s wife Clara and son Lorenzo were published as *La sua fede* under an oral history program directed and edited by Andrade.<sup>19</sup> This source is highly useful as it provides a social perspective to the historical events that led to Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s emigration. Important primary sources have been used to understand Mussolini’s philosophies such as *Talks with Mussolini* which are interviews with the dictator edited by E. Ludwig<sup>20</sup> and Mussolini’s *Doctrine of Fascism*.<sup>21</sup> These sources demonstrate the political theories and social issues that guided *Il Duce*. Important statements on Italian Jews that are largely positive, as well as the dictator’s attitudes to Germany and Hitler, that are largely negative, are enlightening in trying

---

<sup>15</sup> Landis-Gray, “Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings,” 205-209. Landis-Gray’s focus on “text painting” is a subjective and problematic method of musical analysis. Curiously, Landis-Gray uses this term throughout her thesis instead of the more common “word painting.”

<sup>16</sup> Carolyn Kidd, “Issues and Solutions for the Guitarist in the Performance of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *The Divan of Moses-Ibn Ezra. A Cycle of Songs for Voice and Guitar op. 207 (1966)*” (M.Mus. diss., Canberra School of Music, 1996), 1.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

<sup>18</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism” (ms., 1944). Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/17.

<sup>19</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade. Completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1982).

<sup>20</sup> Emil Ludwig, *Talks with Mussolini*, trans. Eden Paul and Cedar Paul (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1932).

<sup>21</sup> Benito Mussolini and Giovanni Gentile, *The Doctrine of Fascism* (New York: Howard Fertig, 2006), 4.

to understand the circumstances that led to his government legislating the racial laws in the latter part of 1938.

Presented in Chapter Six, the survey of Jews under Fascism largely relies on secondary sources addressing that era and as such, itself constitutes a literature review. Briefly, a range of modern writers were utilised to best understand the sudden decline of Jews under Fascism towards the 1938 racial laws. Both Levi and Nidan-Orvieto<sup>22</sup> wrote extensively on the social aspects of antisemitic legislation and the effects on both Jews and the wider population; Sarfatti<sup>23</sup> for the legal processes, cultural aspects, and social implications of the racial laws; Zuccotti<sup>24</sup> for the relations between Italy and Germany, and De Felice<sup>25</sup> for aspects of the role the Church and King played in enacting the racial legislation as well as for statistical information. All writers have mapped in detail the educational restrictions placed on Jewish children and in academia as well as restrictions imposed on the professions, arts, the bureaucracy, and on social interactions based on race, which alienated and ultimately forced Castelnuovo-Tedesco to leave Italy.

The emigration of composers to America and the implications on that culture are detailed in separate works by Jezic and Kahn<sup>26</sup> tracing the activities of various prominent composers, musicians, and others. They outline the opportunities granted to foreign composers and the impacts they had on American culture from the 1920s, especially once German antisemitism created the conditions that led to mass one-way migration to America. Kahn was especially useful in his examination of the pedagogical activities of émigré composers and how they contributed to

---

<sup>22</sup> Fabio Levi, "Social Aspects of Italian Anti-Jewish Legislation," in *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, ed. Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin (Bethesda, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 2000); Iael Nidan-Orvieto, "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation on Everyday Life and the Response of Italian Jews, 1938-1945," in *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, ed. Joshua D. Zimmerman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

<sup>23</sup> Michele Sarfatti, "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy, 1936-1943," in *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, ed. Bernard D. Cooperman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Michelle Sarfatti, "Characteristics and Objectives of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws in Fascist Italy, 1938-1943," in *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule*, ed. Joshua D. Zimmerman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005); and Michelle Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*, trans. by John and Anne C. Tedeschi (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2006);

<sup>24</sup> Susan Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival* (New York: Basic Books, 1987).

<sup>25</sup> Renzo de Felice, "Forward," in *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, ed. Nicola Caracciolo, trans. Florette Rehnitz Koffler and Richard Koffler (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995).

<sup>26</sup> Diane Peacock Jezic, *The Musical Migration and Ernst Toch* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989); Alexander Gordon Kahn, "Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009).

American culture and future generations of modern composers. Reinhold Brinkman was helpful in differentiating between the challenges faced by musicians and other émigrés:

Western music as a common language for members of the Western musical culture does not require “translation”; thus, the active integration of the immigrant musician, of whatever caliber [sic], into the professional life of classical music in the United States was in general easier than for writers, actors, and others dependent on the written or spoken word. And that shaped the immigrants’ view of their new country decisively.<sup>27</sup>

Chapters Four and Five precede the chronologically later chapters based around the social and political events leading to the rise of the Fascist regime, and then the life and times of Castelnuovo-Tedesco. These chapters survey the Spanish Golden Age and the life of the poet Moses Ibn Ezra. As far as possible, interpretive translations of Ibn Ezra’s poetry, as well as those of a few other poets that contain autobiographical elements are used to provide historical background to the life and times of the poet. Several general works of Jewish history detailing the Spanish Golden Age are utilised that, although published in the 1960s and 1970s, have been repeatedly reprinted. Literature associated with this historical period will be reviewed more comprehensively in Chapter Four. In particular, the writers Grayzel, Dimont, Ben-Sasson, and Roth<sup>28</sup> were all useful for a general historical overview of the period and the socio-cultural interactions between Jews and Muslims in Spain. Works by Goitein, Mansoor, and Stillman<sup>29</sup> provided more information specifically regarding the poetry and adaptations made by Jews working within an Arabic environment, with Stillman’s work based on annotated primary documents. More detailed information on the courtier-rabbis, their poetry, poetics, and other social aspects of the age were provided by Scheindlin in multiple publications, Brann in multiple publications, and Lopez-Morillas.<sup>30</sup> The secular poetry and more specifically the love poetry genre

---

<sup>27</sup> Reinhold Brinkmann (ed.), “Introductory Thoughts,” in *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States* (USA: University of California Press, 1999), 7.

<sup>28</sup> Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, rev. ed., 1968); Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet Classics, 1962); H.H. Ben-Sasson, ed. and contributor, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976); Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews* (USA: Schocken Books Inc., rev. ed., 1970).

<sup>29</sup> S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967); Menahem Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1991); Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979).

<sup>30</sup> Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), Raymond Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Poems on the Good Life* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986); Ross Brann, *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), Ross Brann, “The Arabized Jews,” in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, Michael Sells (United



were detailed by Citron, Schirmann, and Schippers.<sup>31</sup> The biographies of Ibn Ezra and the other great poets of the Golden Age appear within most of the preceding sources but specific entries in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica* and the *Encyclopedia of Islam*<sup>32</sup> provide much specific detail. The publication of Brody, translated by Solis-Cohen<sup>33</sup> that seems to have served Castelnovo-Tedesco in sourcing his poems for the *Divan* includes an informative biography of Ibn Ezra and provides much information about the manuscript sources of the poems published within his volume. Brody's "Incidents in his Life"<sup>34</sup> provides overall structure and illustrates the life cycle of the poet partly through his own poetry as well as investigating the mysterious conditions of his exile from Granada and from his family.

Following the historical sections of this thesis, Chapter Eight moves to an investigation of the history and practice of Jewish music. The chapter ultimately incorporates a wider examination of the *Divan* as a work indicative of the Jewish aesthetic experience. This is important for two reasons. Firstly, because Castelnovo-Tedesco was involved in discussing the nature and implementation of Jewish music throughout his career. Secondly, the perspective is essential to understanding what considerations may be used to define the *Divan* as being of a 'Jewish character.' Castelnovo-Tedesco wrote two important articles on the issue that are widely used in this thesis: "My Experiences in Jewish Music," and "Music for the Synagogue."<sup>35</sup> Both were written after the composer arrived in America and, under the aegis of his manager, were seemingly designed to brand the composer as a *Jewish* composer. To contextualise the later ideas of an historical trajectory of Jewish music research, early modern writers including Idelsohn in his

---

Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Consuelo Lopez-Morillas, "The Languages of Al-Andalus between the Arrival of the Muslims and the Reconquista" in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, et. al (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

<sup>31</sup> Aaron S. Citron, "Love elements in the poetry of selected Hebrew Poets of the Jewish Golden Age in Spain: A Study of the Use of Love as a Theme and of Love Images in the Poetry of Shmu'el HaNagid, Shlomo Ibn Gabriol, Yishaq Giyat, Moshe Ibn Ezra and Yehuda HaLevi" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1965); Jefim Schirmann, "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry," *Sefarad* 15/1 (January 1955); Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994).

<sup>32</sup> Cecil Roth, Geoffrey Wigoder, et al., eds, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. "Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob" (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1971); C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, et al., *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Musa bin 'Azra," by A. Schippers (Leiden-New York: E.J. Brill, 1993).

<sup>33</sup> Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934).

<sup>34</sup> Heinrich Brody, "Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents in his Life," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 24/4 (April 1934).

<sup>35</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," *Jewish Music Notes*, part I (May 1951), published by the JWB Jewish Music Council. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/21; Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," trans. by Burton H. Scalín, *Journal of Synagogue Music* 5 (December 1974).

studies of the nature of Jewish music, including Jewish music in Italy, and the nature of the “Tedesco” Jews<sup>36</sup> was referred to, despite being dated. A more contemporary analysis of Idelsohn was provided by Cohen,<sup>37</sup> who highlights the associations Jewish populations maintained between Jewishness, sound and identity. Another early writer was Binder,<sup>38</sup> who is referred to since he was a colleague of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, writing on trends in synagogue music that impacted Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s interest in the same issue. Heskes edited a “Handbook” entitled *Jewish Music Programs* (see n. 38) that contains several essays drawn from extracts or chapters from larger works from a range of other authors working in the field. These include Binder, Freed and Yasser writing on various elements of Jewish music. Though the work is dated, it provides an overview of the dilemmas facing musicological research of Jewish music in and of the diaspora. Of concern to these studies is the high level of influence exerted by the diverse cultures within which Jewish composers lived.

More contemporary writers were also utilised, including Rosen who looks at Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s use of Judaic themes in several of his works without a vocal part.<sup>39</sup> These include the solo piano work *Le Danze del Re David*, Op. 37 (1925), the *Second Violin Concerto* (*‘I profeti’*), Op. 66 (1933), and *Prayers My Grandfather Wrote*, Op. R200a (1962). Rosen identifies them as part of the Jewish genre due to borrowings from ritual chant of the liturgy or in their use of Jewish melodies that were taken from Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s research. Other writers on the issue that were consulted for this thesis include Kornhauser who wrote in detail about the reintroduction of organ music into the Jewish ritual, and Shelleg who more recently wrote of the Jewish socio-historical contexts and the major instrumentalists, composers, historiographers and audiences in relation to the foundation and development of Israeli ‘art music.’<sup>40</sup> He examined composers like Castelnuovo-Tedesco—during his Italian period towards emigration—and using comparative

---

<sup>36</sup> A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music* (New York: Schoken Books, 1967).

<sup>37</sup> Judah M. Cohen, “Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review*, vol. 100, No. 3 (Summer 2010): 417-453.

<sup>38</sup> Abraham W. Binder, “New Trends in Synagogue Music” (1955) in *Jewish Music Programs. Concerts Liturgical Services, Multi-Arts Events. Sampling from Jewish Music Festivals: To 1978 and How to Commission New Works: Guidelines, Procedures and Examples*, ed. by Irene Heskes (New York: Jewish Music Council of JWB [i.e., the Jewish Welfare Board], 1978). It is summarised from Abraham W. Binder, *Biblical Chant* (Sacred Music Press: New York City, 1959).

<sup>39</sup> Harriette Mildred Rosen “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1991).

<sup>40</sup> Bronia Kornhauser, “Jewish Music: Beyond Nation and Identity?” *Australasian Music Research* 7 (2002): 113-120; Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 71.

methodologies within Hebrew culture, made important contributions in defining the Jewish composer and his musical characteristics.

The theoretical framework adopted for this thesis is divided into two blended sections: diasporic identity and memory. The study of diaspora in contemporary cultural studies holds differing approaches and emphases regarding the relevance and place the Jewish experience of exile holds within the study of modern migration. The contrasts of approach to diaspora theory are subtle but important: Safran emphasises the importance of the homeland orientation,<sup>41</sup> and Hall, of the hybrid identity of diasporic communities and their interaction with differing cultural and political groups.<sup>42</sup> The Jewish diaspora experience was not only defined by expulsion but was maintained voluntarily throughout millennia, and out of conditions of self-preservation, isolation, and transnationalism contributed to a growing, or widening, of cultural identity. One aspect of this identity was the Jewish diaspora's communicative *creativity* and *achievement*, emphasised especially by Said and Clifford;<sup>43</sup> while on the other, its ever-present *apartness*, *anxiety*, and *distrust*, is emphasised by Safran (see n. 41), Cohen and others.<sup>44</sup>

A prominent aspect of diaspora studies in the Jewish context is the multiplicity of homelands. The homeland—hostland paradigm is frequently the basis of contemporary diaspora studies. However, Slobin, Shuval, Baronian et al., Clifford (see n. 43), Cohen, and others<sup>45</sup> describe the subtle shades of Jewish homeland thinking, dividing it into two: from where one was exiled, a physical homeland that may be reflected in actual experience; or through collective memory of generations past, an imagined homeland. They recognise that both 'homelands' are equally relevant in understanding the cultural identity of one identifying as a diaspora person.

---

<sup>41</sup> William Safran, "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," *Israel Studies. Israel and the Diaspora: New Perspectives* 10/1 (Spring, 2005): 36-60.

<sup>42</sup> Stewart Hall, "Culture, Community, Nation," *Cultural Studies* 7/3 (1993): 349-363; Stewart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathon Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 222-237.

<sup>43</sup> Edward Said, "Reflections on Exile," in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed. Marc Robinson (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994), 137-149; James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology, Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future* 9/3 (August 1994): 302-338.

<sup>44</sup> Robin Cohen, "Global Diasporas: An Introduction" (Seattle, University of Washington Press, 1997).

<sup>45</sup> Mark Slobin, "The Destiny of 'Diaspora' in Ethnomusicology," in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (Routledge: NY and GB, 2003), 284-296; Judith T. Shuval, "Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm," *International Migration* 38/5 (2000): 41-56; Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, eds, *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006), s.v. "Introduction" (by the editors), 9-16.

However, the inclusion of ‘acquired memory’ as central to diaspora discourse in Shuval’s characterisation is a valuable addition to the discourse and adds a wider dimension to better understanding the complexities of a Jewish diasporic identity borne and maintained in multiple cultures and geographic regions. In several publications, Assmann and Shuval are particularly informative for linking the cultural aspects of identity to memory by differentiating autobiographical memory and cultural, or shared memory<sup>46</sup> based in imagination. Boyarin merges several aspects of identity into a unique Jewish transnationalism of looking both ‘East and West,’ which he terms ‘re-diasporisation.’<sup>47</sup>

Traditional philosophies of a ‘shared soul,’ holding characteristics of what is currently termed ‘cultural memory,’ will be applied to better understand the underlying forces that, it will be argued, contributed to Castelnovo-Tedesco identifying with his literary source. The works of Buber especially in his *Tales of the Hasidim* and his seminal *I and Thou*<sup>48</sup> serve as a springboard for a wider and more grounded examination of the nature of commonality within a specific social group. Buber is important as he links an imagined cultural past to a nationalistic present. A contemporary of Buber was C.G. Jung who worked in the field of collective consciousness.<sup>49</sup> His work on the ‘psychic archetype’ bridged concepts of the soul by Buber and the “Over-soul” of R.W. Emerson<sup>50</sup> towards the work of modern scholars who have placed memory as a central platform in understanding cultural identity. These scholars include West, Confino,<sup>51</sup> and Assmann (see n. 46) who in turn connect the concepts of memory to understanding aspects of retention or reconstruction of identity under circumstances of displacement and loss.

---

<sup>46</sup> Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in Astrid Eril and Ansgar Nunning, eds, *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Walter De Gruyter, GmbH and Co.: Berlin, New York, 2008), 109-118; Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” translated by John Czaplicka in *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring - Summer, 1995): 125-133; Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006).

<sup>47</sup> Jonathan Boyarin, “Introduction: Powers of Diaspora” in Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, eds, *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002).

<sup>48</sup> Martin Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, trans. by Olga Marx (New York: Schocken Books, 1975); Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Scribner, 1958).

<sup>49</sup> Carl Jung, “The Structure of the Unconscious,” in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, vol. 7, Gerhard Adler and R.F.C. Hull, eds (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 263-292.

<sup>50</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The Over-Soul,” in *The Essays of R. W. Emerson* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1908).

<sup>51</sup> Brad West, “Cultural Memory,” in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, ed. David Inglis and Anna-Mari Almila (London: Sage Publications, 2016), 455, 458; Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review*, 102/5 (December 1997): 1386-1403.

This thesis aims to apply memory studies in a consideration of the *Divan* to identify more than just a commonality spanning 800 years, but to demonstrate a connection between two exiled persons as expressed through a monument of music. This connection has been theorised by Bohlman as a concept of ‘represence’ in artistic representation, a ‘theoretical triangulation’ connecting individuals, and, as will be seen in the following chapter, ultimately provides a statement that one was ‘here before.’<sup>52</sup>

This brief review of literature summarises the main themes and works consulted for the thesis and provides an overview that will be treated more comprehensively in the relevant chapters. The next chapter moves to a consideration of the theoretical frameworks that underpin the thesis. The diasporic condition is considered in some detail to provide definition for what will ultimately guide the discussion of the *Divan*. Understanding how identity and memory are created and maintained is essential to this discussion.

---

<sup>52</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, “Afterword: The Beginning of the End: Moments of Represence in Post-Holocaust Germany,” in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 267.

## Chapter Three

### Theoretical Framework: Diaspora, Identity, and Memory

The emigration of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco from Italy to America in April 1939 was a formative event in the composer's life that greatly impacted his works. Rosen has demonstrated that Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote 78 works from 1925 to his emigration. That year was important for the composer, in which he found his grandfather's musical jottings, wrote his first Jewish composition, and won a national prize. However, only five of the works written between 1925 and 1939 were based on Hebrew ritual chants or Biblical subjects (<6.5%). In contrast, from his emigration in 1939 to his death in 1968, he composed 173 works of which 24 were religiously inspired (<14%).<sup>1</sup> The increase in the number of compositions inspired by his Jewish cultural heritage may be ascribed to both a combination of his cultural identification partly as a response to exclusion and displacement, and with a heightened appreciation of the literary qualities of Hebraic textual sources.

In seeking to connect persons living in temporal and spatial separation but holding commonality within the widespread Jewish diaspora, this chapter explores the theoretical background to the notion of collective memory and cultural continuity. Both are significant for the discussion of diasporic identity that follows. The chapter will augment a two-dimensional diasporic concept of homeland and hostland with a more abstract but innate third dimension that includes cultural memory: its acquisition, retention, and transference. This dimension represents the cultural identification of individuals within a socio-historical collective that includes recognition of a mythical, imaginary 'Biblical' homeland as of equal importance to the homeland and the hostland. For Castelnuovo-Tedesco, the Biblically oriented 'homeland' existed in parallel to his reality of Florence. For Ibn Ezra, it was parallel to Granada.

It should be emphasised that this chapter serves as a framework for understanding the *Divan* rather than an exhaustive study of these developed fields within cultural studies. Nonetheless, it aims to provide enough understanding of a range of ideas that will form the basis of

---

<sup>1</sup> Harriette Mildred Rosen, "The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1991), 37-38.

a discussion of continuity and commonality that will be applied in discussing the wider significance of the *Divan*.

### Defining the Jewish Diasporic Condition

Castelnuovo-Tedesco self-defined as an ‘exiled’ composer,<sup>2</sup> but was also categorised by others as an ‘émigré’ composer.<sup>3</sup> Addressing terminology, Said has pointed out that although anyone prevented from returning to a home may be termed an ‘exile,’ there are some important distinctions between exiles, refugees, expatriates, and émigrés.<sup>4</sup> The individual as an *exile* refers to one under dispersal and the term originated in the practice of banishment. Once banished, the exile usually underwent some form of trauma,<sup>5</sup> often attached to the stigma of being an outsider. Reflecting his own desire to remain outside of his ‘homeland,’ Said views exile as a permanent state.<sup>6</sup> This permanence was also illustrated by Castelnuovo-Tedesco after receiving ‘the long-awaited permission [to emigrate]! It was delivered to me on April 3, 1939, exactly on the day of my birth! And I said immediately that this was the last gift that I would receive from my homeland.’<sup>7</sup>

Said asserts that *refugees* are a twentieth-century creation arising primarily from political conflict, suggesting masses of innocent and bewildered people in need of assistance.<sup>8</sup> In this context the term *usually* implies a temporary, transient, and uprooted state. By contrast, *expatriates* voluntarily live in an alien country usually for personal or social reasons. While they may share in the solitude and estrangement of exile, they do not suffer under its rigid proscription. *Émigrés*, however, are the most complicated group, sharing elements of all the prior groups, and thus holding a more ambiguous status. Technically an émigré is anyone who immigrates to a new

---

<sup>2</sup> For instance, see Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Jewish Background of an Exiled Musician,” *American Jewish Outlook* (July 2, 1940): 4. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/9.

<sup>3</sup> For example, see Irene Heskes, *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994), 309 and 312.

<sup>4</sup> Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile,” in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed. Marc Robinson (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994), 143.

<sup>5</sup> For example, Moses Ibn Ezra says that he has become so thin that people can only perceive him by his voice! As cited in Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 320.

<sup>6</sup> Edward Said, *Power, Politics and Culture: Interviews with Edward Said*, ed. by Gauri Viswanathan (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 56.

<sup>7</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 304, trans. Noah David DeLong, “Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio *The Book of Ruth*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015), 33.

<sup>8</sup> Said, “Reflections on Exile,” 143-4.

country, under whatever circumstances, but as Said points out, choice in the matter is a possibility in the émigré's decision.<sup>9</sup> Because in Castelnovo-Tedesco's words, he was 'torn'<sup>10</sup> away from his homeland after the introduction of restrictive racial antisemitic laws, he may indeed best be characterised as an exile because he had little choice in the matter of his change of residence.

Clifford also notes that an émigré as an individual holds a sense of *temporary* dislocation. By contrast, the overarching condition of any national diaspora state is that it is a *long-term* dwelling away from an original homeland while maintaining a sense of shared destiny or community membership.<sup>11</sup> Although the lack of the concept of 'return' in Clifford's thinking reduces the centrality of a particularist Jewish diasporic condition, the Jewish prototype is almost always central to the discussion, paradoxically mainly due to its very duration. Safran points out that despite the wide application of the term diaspora in modern discourse,<sup>12</sup> there are commonalities between different groups claiming diaspora status (such as the Irish, Kurdish, African, Palestinian, Armenian, Indian, Chinese, Turkish, and Sikh experiences) that differentiate them from 'mere' émigrés.<sup>13</sup> These include some measure of encouraged migration from one country to another; maintaining a group's original culture; a sustaining of one's primary ethnic or religious institutions; and a reluctance to give up former identities. In all this, there is a collective transnational aspect between country of origin and dispersal, provided the exiled group retains its communal nature, as opposed to an individual's personal experience. Of all the varied groups, Boyarin claims that the Jewish diaspora is the most *precise* form of diaspora because of the sheer historical 'persistence' of Jewish communities looking to the Biblical homeland, even without the physical existence of this homeland, it being primarily 'commemorative.'<sup>14</sup>

The Jewish diasporic 'condition' is usually defined as deriving from a violent scattering that was caused shortly after the cataclysmic and traumatic event involving the destruction of the First Temple and its institutions by the Mesopotamians in 586 BC. The Babylonian exile became

---

<sup>9</sup> Ibid., 144.

<sup>10</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 306, trans. in DeLong, "Between Two Worlds, 34.

<sup>11</sup> James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology, Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future* 9/3 (August 1994): 308.

<sup>12</sup> William Safran, "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," *Israel Studies. Israel and the Diaspora: New Perspectives* 10/1 (Spring 2005): 50

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 36

<sup>14</sup> Jonathan Boyarin, "Introduction: Powers of Diaspora" in Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, eds, *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 7.



the basis of a folk memory of the pessimistic, downtrodden victim which finds expression in all facets of Jewish social and religious life—a central and constant motif in Jewish art, literature, culture, ritual, and prayer.<sup>15</sup> Over time however, the word Babylon, did not only refer to that geographical entity, for example as demonstrated by Castelnovo-Tedesco’s use of the word in referring to his Hollywood film music period as ‘the years of captivity in Babylon.’<sup>16</sup> Cohen suggests that Babylon as metaphor represents ‘all the afflictions, isolation, and insecurity of living in a foreign place, set adrift, cut off from one’s roots and prior sense of identity, and living under an alien culture and ruling class.’<sup>17</sup>

Yet Babylon was related to as an exilic event and not a diasporic one. Safran highlights that a people defined as being in a diaspora state hold ancestral links of an experienced dispersal from an original ‘centre’ to at least *two* foreign regions. Being spread to two or more foreign regions eliminates any sense of being ‘merely transferred or relocated.’<sup>18</sup> Were a group to have been exiled to only one location, it would be difficult to define that group as diasporic since, not being split up, the entirety of the group theoretically maintains its cultural links. It would then be a transferred or migrated population entirely maintaining its own culture in a foreign land. This would seem to negate the perception that the Jewish diaspora was rooted in its exile after destruction of the First Temple, since it resulted in a group being banished entirely and singly to Babylon. Destruction of the Second Temple, its culture and institutions, and the subsequent fateful Jewish revolt in c. 135-6 AD would however conform to this criterion however, as the geographical spread of the subsequent dispersal went both eastward and westward. This will be further detailed in the context of the development of Jewish music in Chapter Eight.

Geographic considerations are not the only aspect of the Babylonian scattering, which ended up being quite temporary, and was apparently attractive enough that not all Jews returned to their homeland. The Biblical homeland<sup>19</sup> was, as Safran points out, traditionally considered the place to perpetuate the notion of God’s message, as a sacred space where Jewish life could be

---

<sup>15</sup> Robin Cohen, “Global Diasporas: An Introduction” (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 22.

<sup>16</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, June 6, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>17</sup> Cohen, “Global Diasporas,” 23.

<sup>18</sup> Safran, “The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective,” 56, n. 3.

<sup>19</sup> This term shall be used herein replacing other common terms like Canaan, Judea, Israel, the Holy Land, etc. unless a specific quote determines otherwise.

enacted according to directions and injunctions laid out in Biblical and post-Biblical sources.<sup>20</sup> This cultural idea later evolved, as Safran shows, once exile was perceived as a ‘normal’ condition both by and for the Jews: internally, as a punishment for neglecting God’s commandments, and externally by Christian societies, holding them responsible for the death of Christ. Since there was no homeland to return to, the Jews defined themselves culturally by their diasporic condition and this served two functions. Firstly, looking towards restoration and developing religious and cultural institutions both ensured that return to the biblical homeland (*shiv’at tziyon*) from exile (*galut*) was ever-present in thinking, including guidance in the Talmud, expression in the liturgy, apocalyptic writings, and in the modern myth-making of the State of Israel. Secondly, Jews also defined themselves as a diasporic community to differentiate themselves within their new hostland’s culture and society. This response to external socio-historical pressures is a central element in Jewish communal sustainability. Baronian et al. use the term ‘boundary maintenance’ to refer to the retention of strong emotional and/or material links to a prior homeland<sup>21</sup> that serve to adhere the community and defend it from external assimilatory or predatory pressures. In looking ‘backwards’ towards perceived authority and authenticity, boundary maintenance of cultural and communal identity became a crucial aspect of maintaining identity within the Jewish diasporic condition.

However, the deep cultural attachment to specific cities like ancient Babylon, those in medieval Spain, or modern America complicates, if not casts doubt on any monolithic definition of a Jewish diaspora looking towards return to an original primary homeland. Evolving from ideas of the *centrality* of the land for Jewish expression, to the *normalisation* of life in the Jewish diaspora, Clifford takes this evolution a step further by noting ambivalence in Jewish tradition regarding claims for a territorial basis of Jewish identity. ‘Return,’ he states, defined as exclusive ‘possession of the land’ is not the logical conclusion of exilic Jewish history.<sup>22</sup> For example, Clifford shows that Spain provided Jews with an engaging centre on which to focus in times of comfort, whereas in times of persecution and expulsion, socio-historical pressures force one to look eastwards only as an alternative. The Biblical homeland may thus be viewed as an expedient solution rather than a

---

<sup>20</sup> Safran, “The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective,” 42-43.

<sup>21</sup> Baronian, et al., eds, *Diaspora and Memory*, 10.

<sup>22</sup> Clifford, “Diasporas,” 322.

core tenet of Jewish identity. More prominence is placed on communal stability and ensuring cultural differentiation and distinction to the host community.

Considering the varied Ashkenazic and Sephardic origins, histories, cultures, and attitudes in the diaspora, a return to the Biblical homeland was not *the* unifying factor in any proposed single Jewish cultural identity.<sup>23</sup> Rather, it was the recognition and practice of a set of laws (*halakha*) that governed every aspect of life, customs, and traditions deeply rooted in a highly ritualised religion that would ensure widespread Jewish communal adhesion, unity, and distinction from the host culture—and not exclusively a longing for the original homeland. One may say that the Jewish diasporic experience was represented more by the cultural concept of the ‘Book’ rather than any physical attachment to the ‘Land.’

### **Cultural Dimensions of the Diaspora: Dynamics of Renewal**

Existing within foreign populations and cultures, Jewish communities established means of expressing national identity outside of the original homeland that were strong enough to prevent those in greater power from imposing external practices on traditional Jewish life. The concept of ‘boundary maintenance’ was demonstrated in originally-exiled Jewish communities residing in diverse areas such as Alexandria, Antioch, Damascus, Asia Minor (from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, including modern-day Turkey), Babylon-Iraq, and much later all the way to Spain, Europe, and America. In those places, settled Jewish communities fostered immense Jewish creativity and highly developed intellectual outputs that Boyarin calls a ‘power of diaspora,’<sup>24</sup> demonstrating benefits gained by integration into rich and diverse ‘alien’ cultures. Renewal and cultural dynamism take place because the lost homeland not only signifies territory, but a lost homogenous culture from which the diasporic community has been displaced. Huyssen points out that both the maintenance and constant reappraisal of a diasporic culture not only safeguards the identity of the diaspora community, but also serves as a springboard for cultural renewal.<sup>25</sup> Said asserts that it is precisely the experience of being an exile that makes possible this creative renewal, coming out of wider and expanded horizons, since

---

<sup>23</sup> Ibid., 327. Sephardic Judaism has a clearer connection to the Biblical homeland mainly through the great religious institutions.

<sup>24</sup> Boyarin, “Introduction: Powers of Diaspora,” 6-8.

<sup>25</sup> Andreas Huyssen, “Diaspora and Nation,” in Baronian, et al., eds, *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*, 85-87.

...most people are principally aware of one culture, one setting, one home; [but] exiles are aware of at least two, and this plurality of vision gives rise to an awareness of simultaneous dimensions, an awareness that—to borrow a phrase from the musical lexicon—is *contrapuntal*...<sup>26</sup>

Consistent with his general approach to the study of diasporic identity, Said here asserts that cultural expression and creative activity in a new environment inevitably occurs in juxtaposition to the memory of past experiences, things in another environment where both the new and old environments are occurring together.<sup>27</sup> In his “Reflections on Edward Said,” V. Lal observes that since the exiled person bears within herself or himself a recollection of that left behind and plays this against the present experience, which Said has described as ‘counterpoint’ in musical terms, then Said would here imply that it is exclusively the exile that would enjoy a full awareness coming from that contrapuntal understanding.<sup>28</sup> Nevertheless, the traditional elements of ‘displacement,’ ‘trauma,’ and ‘uprooting’ expressed in prayer, life-cycle events, and in other forms of cultural recollection including the arts were compensated for by high levels of social motivation and creativity in the Jewish diaspora—as of course they were in other national diasporas. However, Lal points out that Said came from a privileged background and had the perspective of a powerful intellectual in exile, asking to what extent Said’s perspectives were relevant and available to others not in his “privileged” position?<sup>29</sup>

In its geographical spread, Jews in the diaspora were perceived as forming a part of, what Cohen has termed a ‘transnational cosmopolitanism’ and ‘geo-politicism.’<sup>30</sup> Therefore, without reducing the traumatic significance of the Jewish exilic experience, life in the diaspora was as at least sufficiently attractive to minimise a physical identification with a mythical homeland. In this way, Said describes life in the diaspora as having more of a culturally transformational significance, rather than a particularly geocentric one:

On the one hand, achievements of those exiles are permanently undermined by the loss of something left behind forever. But on the other hand, if true exile is a condition of terminal loss, it has also been transformed into a potent, even enriching, theme within modern culture, after all, modern Western culture is in large part the work of exiles, émigrés, and

---

<sup>26</sup> Edward Said, “Reflections on Exile,” in *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*, ed. Marc Robinson (Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994), 148-149.

<sup>27</sup> *Ibid.*, 149.

<sup>28</sup> Vinay Lal, “Enigmas of Exile: Reflections on Edward Said,” *Economic and Political Weekly* 40/1 (January 2005): 33.

<sup>29</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>30</sup> Cohen, “Global Diasporas,” 7.

refugees. In America, academic intellectual and aesthetic thought is what it is today because of refugees fleeing from oppressive regimes such as Fascism and Communism...<sup>31</sup>

Cohen's concepts of 'transnational cosmopolitanism and geo-politicism' as features of Jewish diaspora, were enriched with consideration of more recent theoretical models providing shades and contrasts to his theoretical models and associated terminology that implies a certain universalism. Lachs highlights the role of poetry and song in unifying contrasting communities within the Yiddish-speaking world. He argues that the cultural work of the socialist poems and songs of the Yiddish poet M. Winchevsky became an integral part of the identity of many diverse Jewish East Enders in the mid-1880s to the 1910s who settled in London from Eastern Europe from the early 1880s. The poetry gave them a sense of group identity, cohesion, and made them feel a part of the socialist movement no matter their background. The poetry was 'in their own Yiddish mother-tongue and gave the Anglo-Yiddish workers a sort of parochial internationalism that connected them to a global Yiddish community amidst a London immigrant world.'<sup>32</sup> Further shades are illustrated by Shternshis who examines contrasting commemoration and perception of the *shtetl* ('village') by both post-Soviet and American Jews living around the world, but all searching for a meaningful communal past in the face of a loss of Jewish identity in the modern era. By intellectualising Jewish life in the *shtetl* on the one hand by ex-Soviet Jews, and on the other seeking to find a romanticised, impoverished and traditional Jewish life by Americans in contrast to life in the New World, she questions the premise a universalist approach to perceiving a single Jewish continuity.<sup>33</sup> A final example of shades in transnationalism is seen by looking at contrasting attitudes to German and post-Soviet notions of identity, rootedness and community in a global-connected world. By focusing on the interaction of the differing identities of Soviet and post-Soviet Jews with Jews in Israel, the US, and in Germany, Shneer examines the meaning of homeland and exile, and puts notions of diversity at the centre of conversations about global Jewish life.<sup>34</sup> This again brings a further level of contrast into Cohen's blending towards a transnational cosmopolitanism.

---

<sup>31</sup> Said, "Reflections on Exile," 137. Including Nazism, which Edward Said curiously does not mention.

<sup>32</sup> Vivi Lachs, "Revolution in Anglo-Yiddish Poetry: Morris Winchevsky's Strategies to Revolutionise the Jewish Immigrants to Britain, 1884-1894," *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14/1 (2014): 1, 17.

<sup>33</sup> Anna, Shternshis, "White Piano in a Shtetl: Material Culture and Ethnic Identity in the Post-Soviet Jewish Urban Community," *Jewish Social Studies* 16/2 (Winter 2010): 122-123.

<sup>34</sup> David Shneer, "The Third Way: German-Russian-European Jewish Identity in a Global Jewish World," *European Review of History*, 18/1 (February 2011): 111.

The Jewish-American diasporic experience is highly relevant to this discussion considering the contribution that émigré composers like Castelnuovo-Tedesco made to American popular culture, both directly through their works, and indirectly through their influence. Despite Said's "terminal loss," arising from the forced emigration from an intolerably antisemitic Europe, integration, and cultural continuity maintained within the new American hostland does not imply lack of concern about homeland matters, nor affect emotional or even active attachment to that homeland.<sup>35</sup> Hall terms this general aspect the cultural 'hybridity'<sup>36</sup> of diasporic communities allowing them to 'have a foot in two nations' where it is possible to retain

...strong links to 'origins' of place but not necessarily having any desire to return, whether that be illusory or actually possible. They have come to terms with a new environment they inhabit, without assimilating, and are defined by the traces of their own culture, traditions, languages, beliefs, texts, histories, etc., that shaped them. But they are making something new of their new environment—products of interlocking histories and cultures, and of a diasporic consciousness where identity is always an open, complex and an unfinished game.<sup>37</sup>

In noting that diaspora groups "inhabit, without assimilating" Hall is emphasising the pre-eminence of cultural differentiation in maintaining the diasporic group identity. Cultural differentiation is a major element in a diasporic group's religious and national identities.

In examining aspects of the Jewish diasporic experience, one may observe a developmental continuum arising firstly from firstly maintaining one's cultural identity based in a lost physical homeland, then evolving to cultural creation and net contribution through Cohen's 'transnational' experience at the other end of the continuum.

### **The Role of Memory in Cultural Identity**

Two points may be reiterated at this point in the discussion. Firstly, the Jewish diaspora is attached to an innate cultural identity that is represented by a mythical and largely imaginary Biblical homeland. Identity associated with the Biblical homeland serves as an adhesive between the many and varied Ashkenazic and Sephardic diaspora communities living in different geographical and cultural diasporic realities. The Jewish diaspora is thus multi-faceted where the individual might

---

<sup>35</sup> Safran, "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective," 37.

<sup>36</sup> Stewart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Diaspora," in *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. Jonathon Rutherford (London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990), 225.

<sup>37</sup> Stewart Hall, "Culture, Community, Nation," *Cultural Studies* 7/3 (1993): 362.

look back to a lost land of birth and at the same time, even further back to another land based in cultural imagination. The second point emphasises the transition from ‘boundary maintenance’ that functions to preserve communal cohesion, as suggested by Boronian et al.<sup>38</sup> and morphs into a creative cultural renewal that demonstrates a beneficial aspect of Hall’s ‘hybrid’ transnational identity.<sup>39</sup> A commonality therefore exists within the Jewish diasporic experience that transcends geographical boundaries but connects by tradition, culture, and renewal.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco looked to life in both Florence and America, and Ibn Ezra, to Granada and cities of northern Spain as formative to their broadened self-identities. However, both also shared the common experience of an innate diasporic experience, which connects them temporally and spatially as individuals. This commonality is based on a Jewishness perpetuated and transferred through imagination as expressed by ‘cultural memory.’ Memory as a conduit of connection and identity over time and space has been a topic within theology, philosophy, and later psychology, over the last two centuries and more. Some discussion of the intellectual history behind the concepts of cultural and collective memory is valuable here to trace the history and development of these ideas.

Connecting the early thinkers to the modern context, Martin Buber (b. Vienna, 1878, d. Jerusalem, 1965) was a nationalist Jewish philosopher who, according to Grayzel, is acknowledged as one of the foremost philosophers encompassing modern theology.<sup>40</sup> His works conform to his religio-political aspirations relating to the restoration of modern Israel. He developed Jewish existentialist philosophy, trying to make sense of a universe in which irrationality was all too apparent, emphasising individual existence, freedom, and choice. As one of the leading spiritual thinkers of his generation,<sup>41</sup> he contributed to Western culture through his influence on the writings of numerous educators, sociologists, psychiatrists, psychologists, philosophers, theologians, humanists, and poets. Buber fled Nazi Germany, in the same immediate pre-war period that

---

<sup>38</sup> Baronian, et al., eds, *Diaspora and Memory*, 10.

<sup>39</sup> Hall, “Cultural Identity and Diaspora,” 225.

<sup>40</sup> Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, rev. ed., 1968), 606-607.

<sup>41</sup> Cecil Roth, Geoffrey Wigoder, et al., eds, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. “Buber, Martin” (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing House, 1971), IV: 1432.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco fled Italy and he settled in British-mandated Palestine.<sup>42</sup> In his 1948 work, *Tales of the Hasidim: Early Masters*, a collection of tales based on written and spoken traditions of seventeenth-century Eastern European Hasidim, Buber relates the idea of transmission through a ‘collective soul.’ In his research, he collected stories attributed to one *tzaddik* (a learned religious mentor, or ‘righteous one’) by the name of Elimelech of Lizhensk. One story holds that every male child is endowed with a part of the prophet Elijah’s soul, while Elijah himself was endowed with the ‘whole soul of Israel.’<sup>43</sup> When the child becomes an adult, the Elijah-soul within him appears to him in a vision. Elijah is therefore perceived as the representation of a collective unconscious soul of the community of Israel. Incidentally, it is also related by Elimelech of Lizhensk that an otherwise unidentified ‘Master Ibn Ezra’ never attained this vision, despite being ‘of a far loftier sphere.’<sup>44</sup> Buber wrote this work at a time of great upheaval and change in Jewish national aspirations with the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948. A discussion of continuity from those in the present intimately connected to the biblical homeland fit nationalist ideas of Buber and with the atmosphere of the times. This discussion of Eastern European Hasidic thought becomes more meaningful when one considers a chronology of the modern concept of ‘collective memory.’ The concept is connected to those early attempts at innately communicated connection and transmission over extended time periods. The idea of relating a contemporary Jewish diaspora to an innate unconscious as represented by Buber’s recollections of the Elijah-soul is notable, being so specific and rooted in traditional Jewish culture.

Distinct from the internally-focussed Elijah-soul of the Jews, which was devised at least partly in response to socio-historical pressures prevailing on the Jewish ghettos of Eastern Europe, a more inclusive, universalist approach was taken by the author and philosopher-poet Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882). He made an early Western European attempt at defining a collective in a popular essay called ‘The Over-Soul,’ first published in 1841.<sup>45</sup> The work presents the view that at some level, the ‘souls’ of all people are connected, as if there is a physical quality to this imaginary

---

<sup>42</sup> Edward N. Zalta, ed., *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Winter 2014 Edition), s.v. “Martin Buber,” by Michael Zank and Zachary Braiterman. <https://plato.stanford.edu/archives/win2014/entries/buber/> (accessed July 17, 2017).

<sup>43</sup> Martin Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, trans. by Olga Marx (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 258.

<sup>44</sup> Ibid., 257-8. No further details were provided in the text as to whether it was Abraham or Moses Ibn Ezra, or another person altogether.

<sup>45</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The Over-Soul,” in *The Essays of R. W. Emerson* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1908), 137.



trait, which might today better be termed in the collective as ‘human nature.’ He presents the idea that spirituality is part of shared meanings, as each person possesses an individual soul that together forms an ‘Over-Soul’ that is given divine significance when two persons communicate.<sup>46</sup> Strongly reminiscent of Emerson’s views of over 50 years prior, it was in Buber’s *I and Thou* of 1923, as well as in numerous lectures, that he puts forth his own philosophy of mutual, equal dialogue between humankind, and between humankind and God, and his own idea of an innate collective unconscious soul. In Buber’s worldview, the individual soul constitutes an indivisible part of a collective unconscious national soul, a reflection of the ancient collective soul of the Jewish people, which he says, is

...pre-Sinaitic; it is the soul which approached Sinai; and there received what it did receive; it is older than Moses; it is Patriarchal, Abraham’s soul, or more truly, since it concerns the product of a primordial age, it is Jacob’s soul.<sup>47</sup>

This “soul of Judaism” represents creation of a shared innate knowledge, and ‘in order to know one’s self, the Jew must know the history of the people, with the Old Testament being an affirmation of the collective experience of the Jewish people with God, on an individual basis.’<sup>48</sup>

An important period for psychology and later memory work was between the two World Wars when personality testing developed leading to further interest in classification studies and methods. This movement was driven by the rise of mass consumerism arising from the establishment of production lines like the Ford Company (est. 1908), and large-scale weapons factories established in the period preceding World War One. The 1920s saw great advances in understanding personality with a large influx of European immigrants into America and its associated social changes, as well as from 1929 with the Great Depression and resultant interest in its dire social implications.<sup>49</sup>

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibid., 149.

<sup>47</sup> Martin Buber, “The Two Foci of the Jewish Soul” [An address delivered in 1930], in Martin Buber, *Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis* (New York: Schocken Books, 1963), 28.

<sup>48</sup> Martin Buber, *I and Thou* (New York: Scribner, 1958), 77, 122-4. According to Buber, because the Jewish people’s heritage is innate, i.e. preserved in the self’s unconscious, he created the ‘I and Thou’ encounter with God, with the key to salvation being the collective and individual encounter with God through faith, which needs no dogma or rituals of formal Judaism, and does not oppose science nor reason. See Howard Morley Sachar, *The Course of Modern Jewish History* (New York: Delta Books, 1958), 415.

<sup>49</sup> For example, Halbwachs, who will be examined below, wrote an important book on suicide, *Les Causes du Suicide* in 1930.

Buber's innate collective unconscious is reminiscent of the work of his contemporary Carl Gustav Jung in his '*kollektives unbewusstes*.' The term appears in Jung's 1916 essay *The Structure of the Unconscious*<sup>50</sup> in which the collective unconscious encompasses the soul of humanity at large. Jung maintains that every human being is endowed with this psychic layer since birth. One cannot acquire this stratum by education or other conscious effort because it is innate. It is described as a universal library of human knowledge, and a wisdom that guides mankind. Jung states that the whole of mythology could be taken as a form of projection of the collective unconscious: 'The collective unconscious—so far as one can say anything about it at all—appears to consist of mythological motifs or primordial images, for which reason the myths of all nations are its real exponents.'<sup>51</sup> Jung is here stating that the whole of mythology relates to the collective unconscious. From 1933, Jung expanded on his ideas defining the collective unconscious as 'the gathering place of forgotten and repressed contents...identical in all men...present in every one of us.'<sup>52</sup> He avoids use of the word 'soul,' paradoxically preferring the Italian Catholic term *anima* for 'soul,' that for Jung is 'a living thing in man, that which lives of itself and causes life.'<sup>53</sup> His collective unconscious is

[a] part of the psyche which can be negatively distinguished from a personal unconscious by the fact that it does not, like the latter, owe its existence to personal experience and consequently it is not a personal acquisition...The contents of the collective unconscious have never been in consciousness, and therefore have never been individually acquired, but owe their existence exclusively to heredity...The content of the collective unconscious is made up essentially of *archetypes*...—literally a pre-existent form.<sup>54</sup>

Jung, like Buber, is speaking here of the bonding nature of an *innate* hereditary memory independent of "personal experience." This imagined universality has been part of the range of subjects that most early psychologists have also addressed to one degree or another. The German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900) is credited as the first theoretician of a bonding memory. Significantly, both Nietzsche and Sigmund Freud independently developed a concept of

---

<sup>50</sup> Carl Jung, "The Structure of the Unconscious," in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, vol. 7, Gerhard Adler and R.F.C. Hull, eds (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967), 263-292.

<sup>51</sup> Carl Jung, "The Structure and Dynamics of the Psyche," in *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung*, vol. 8, Gerhard Adler and R.F.C. Hull, eds (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1970), 325.

<sup>52</sup> Carl Jung, *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, tr. R.F.C. Hull (New York: The Bollingen Foundation, Inc., Princeton University Press, 1959), 3-4.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 26.

<sup>54</sup> Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," in *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*, 42-43.

collective memory, the function of which is to transmit *collective identity*,<sup>55</sup> neatly connecting the two concepts of memory and identity. Nietzsche and Freud both sought to find a means by which humans maintain their nature consistently through generations.<sup>56</sup> Basing his research on Nietzsche and Freud, the art historian and cultural theorist, Abraham Moritz (Aby) Warburg (Germany, 1866-1929) was the first to consistently use the concept of collective memory, emphasising the aspect of transmission of representation when he considered the movement of ideas from classical art to Western culture. Being an art specialist, he emphasised the connection between artistic representation and the social world, in which, as Confino pointed out, from the 1920s he considered ‘all human products [i.e. ‘culture’], and artistic work in particular, as expressions of an unbroken human memory transmitted through symbols from ancient times.’<sup>57</sup> Warburg treated images—that is, objectified symbols of culture—as transmitters of memory. Warburg’s studies explored what is now called the ‘history of mentality’ or ‘collective memory.’<sup>58</sup>

Working independently of Warburg in developing theories of a ‘collective memory’ or a ‘social memory,’ and equally impacted by the works of Nietzsche and Freud, the French philosopher and sociologist Maurice Halbwachs (b. France, 1877 - d. Buchenwald concentration camp, Germany, 1945) produced his landmark *La Topographie légendaire des évangiles en terre sainte: Etude de mémoire collective* in 1941. This work was the first to use the concept of *mémoire collective* systematically.<sup>59</sup> Some of his most important works on the collective were written within an atmosphere of antisemitism in France imbued with Nazism’s emphasis on biology and heredity. Halbwachs sought to distinguish between individual ‘autobiographical’ memory, referring to our own ‘episodic’ experiences, and group or ‘semantic’ memory, that which is mediated through cultural artefacts, symbols or practices: what is learned or memorised, a communicative memory.<sup>60</sup>

---

<sup>55</sup> Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” trans. John Czaplicka, *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring - Summer, 1995): 126.

<sup>56</sup> If it was thought that this was a measurable science detached from the likes of Buber’s work with the ‘soul,’ then Freud himself indicates that *science* is only a part of memory studies as demonstrated in his criticisms of Jung: ‘...the striking elucidations of very obscure symptoms in dementia praecox, so-called, made by C.G. Jung at a time when this [sic] investigator was a mere psycho-analyst and did not yet aspire to be a prophet...’ Sigmund Freud, *A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis* (New York: Garden City Publishing, 1943), 238.

<sup>57</sup> Alon Confino, “Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method,” *American Historical Review*, 102/5 (December 1997): 1390.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid.

<sup>59</sup> At around the same time Halbwachs wrote *La Mémoire collective* (published in translation as *The Collective Memory*, New York: Harper and Row, 1980), in which he described the conditions under which collective memory develops within groups situated in society.

<sup>60</sup> Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, 1-2.

An individual's understanding of the past is therefore strongly linked to group consciousness. By establishing the connection between a social group and collective memory or memories within a given society, the field of cultural sociology of memory was credited primarily to Halbwachs, and to a lesser degree, Warburg.

Ideas of collective memory, such as those explored by Jung, Buber, Halbwachs, Warburg and others find contemporary expression in the works of Assman and Conway. For Assmann, the solution connecting the notion of collective memory to long-distance *buber-esque* psychic connection is offered through *cultural memory*. He defines this central term as memory that encompasses all knowledge, and that which directs behaviour and experience within a society. It is perpetuated through the long-term in repeated societal practice and rites such as initiation.<sup>61</sup>

The concept of cultural memory comprises that body of reusable texts, images, and rituals specific to each society in each epoch, whose 'cultivation' serves to stabilise and convey that society's self-image. Upon such collective knowledge, for the most part (but not exclusively) of the past, each group bases its awareness of unity and particularity.<sup>62</sup>

For Assmann, *communicated* memory is that in which each individual composes memory that (a) is socially mediated, and (b) relates to a group.<sup>63</sup> In addition, however, our memory has a more abstract and innate cultural basis which encompasses all past experiences even if there is no awareness of those experiences—as he says being 'age-old, out of the way, and discarded.'<sup>64</sup> This draws on Jung's concept of the 'pre-existent form.'<sup>65</sup>

How this memory is transmitted is termed by Conway as 'the work of remembrance.'<sup>66</sup> It involves meaning-making and interpretation in relation to the past, and responds to a need for establishing a stable identity that may arise out of cultural enforcements. Memory work responds to a need for self-identification as much as self-differentiation from external forces being applied to the diasporic group. It is used to strengthen identity on two levels—the personal and the collective. For example, Castelnovo-Tedesco refers to his *Naomi and Ruth*, Op. 137 (1947), as his

---

<sup>61</sup> Assmann, "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity," 126.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid., 132.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid., 127.

<sup>64</sup> Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006), 25, 27.

<sup>65</sup> Jung, "The Concept of the Collective Unconscious," 42-43.

<sup>66</sup> Brian Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5.

“symbolic autobiography,”<sup>67</sup> comparing his own family to that of the Biblical narrative. This “symbolic autobiography” is an example of applying Conway’s ‘work of remembrance’<sup>68</sup> to the composer’s life where transferred identity leads to a sense of one-ness with an ideal that impacts thoughts and behaviours relevant over generations. The autobiographical content that finds expression in *Naomi and Ruth* is significant for an examination of the *Divan*, since they are two highly illustrative works with strong connections to personal and cultural continuity and memory.

### **Applying Memory to the Exilic Condition as Artistic Catharsis**

Alongside the diaspora group and the host society as core elements in the diaspora experience, Shuval builds in a third element, which is a *former* homeland, by noting that

[a]ttachment to a prior homeland may be derived from an experienced and on-going memory, or in a very different sense, an attachment and loyalty to an earlier culture and homeland that might not have been personally experienced.<sup>69</sup>

Shuval therefore clearly differentiates between memory of a physical and/or experienced nature, and memory of an emotive and imaginary nature that was not experienced by the first person—one that has been acquired through myth, tradition, education, or other cultural transmission. There is thus a differentiation between one living in exile, being of an experienced nature, and one living in a diaspora, which may hold a transmitted nature. Slobin takes a very similar approach using terms such as the homeland of ‘everyday connection’ in differentiation to the homeland ‘of remembrance,’ which he points out in Jewish tradition resides in oral and literary traditions.<sup>70</sup> Baronian et al. take a slightly different approach in their model, dividing ‘belonging’ into two places located physically apart with a third being a unifying aspect. This triple orientation involves identification with: (a) a local diasporic community; (b) same self-identified groups in other locations, in their words to a non-geographic collective; and (c) a point of origin, whether an actual or imagined homeland that binds the two groups together.<sup>71</sup>

---

<sup>67</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 494, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 55

<sup>68</sup> Brian Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5.

<sup>69</sup> Judith T. Shuval, “Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm,” *International Migration* 38/5 (2000): 46.

<sup>70</sup> Mark Slobin, “The Destiny of ‘Diaspora’ in Ethnomusicology,” in *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*, ed. Martin Clayton, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton (Routledge: NY and GB, 2003), 285-287.

<sup>71</sup> Baronian, et al., *Diaspora and Memory*, 12.

The critical third point above, being the homeland as an imagined ideal, is one bonding mechanism that effectively connects members of the Jewish diaspora. This demonstration of memory is what Assmann calls communicated memory, which can be found in three different forms: (a) individual memory, being of the autobiographical or of recent past experience; (b) communicative memory as a social function, shared and conveyed in a collective within living memory; and (c) cultural memory that is not of an individualised nature but contains a collective historical, mythical narrative of an absolute past and is measured in cultural timeframes.<sup>72</sup> Boyarin blends what Assmann terms the ‘autobiographical’ and ‘communicative’ memory into a merged ‘cultural’ memory taking as its example the unique Jewish transnationalism which he terms ‘re-diasporisation.’ This is where the imagined homeland is longed for culturally but imagined through the lens of any number of cities in the world,<sup>73</sup> where Jewish communities reside permanently.

In a similar sense, Cohen states that the Jewish diaspora contains an adaptation to form a sort of dual consciousness which is directly linked to a multi-diasporic paradigm—that of being poised between looking East to an idealised spiritual home, and expressed by ‘the Book’ on the one hand, and in ‘the land,’ maintaining, on the other hand, an ‘assimilation apart’ within a host community.<sup>74</sup> Longing for ‘home’ is therefore focused on a city and community, for example in Ibn Ezra’s Spain, at the same time as possessing a broader cultural identification of connection to the ‘Biblical homeland’ via its oral and written traditions.<sup>75</sup> Similarly, Clifford states that the paradox of diaspora is that dwelling *here* assumes a solidarity and connection *there*, although *there* is not necessarily a single place or individual nation,<sup>76</sup> as it also involves cultural identification and the way in which it is expressed through memory. Identity was maintained as the sense of ‘past’ and its cultural connection was strong enough to resist any powerful socio-historical pressures or normalising processes of forgetting, assimilating, and distancing from a remembered or imagined past.

Borne of responses to socio-historical events, the concept of collective memory is useful

---

<sup>72</sup> Jan Assman, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in Astrid Eril and Ansgar Nunning, eds, *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Berlin and New York: GmbH and Co., 2008), 109, 117.

<sup>73</sup> Boyarin, “Introduction: Powers of Diaspora,” 11.

<sup>74</sup> Cohen, “Global Diasporas,” 14-15.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 29-30.

<sup>76</sup> Clifford, “Diasporas,” 322.

for conceptualising transnational identities, particularly as related to the Jewish diaspora. In these cases, collective memory functions to reinforce social identities, beliefs, and practices within an historical guise. West states that cultural memory—that is, the ways in which people make sense of the present by recalling and engaging with their national, social or cultural collective past—can exist through ‘maintaining cultural relevance of key historical events or figures.’<sup>77</sup> The process serves to reinterpret, and in a very practical sense, re-use, ‘history.’ Assmann defines these fixed historical points, or fateful events of the past, as memory maintained through cultural formation. This cultural formation is expressed in such things as rites and monuments, as well as institutional communication involving such things as recitation, practice, and observance which he terms ‘figures of memory.’<sup>78</sup> Conway expands on this, noting that the transmission of the past to the present superimposes a stable representation of culture, although new elements intrude, and these are formed with new understandings or interpretations of that past.<sup>79</sup>

In discussing the function that experienced or mythical homelands make in identity formation of the diaspora person, Cohen points out that historically disenfranchised diasporic communities—including Jews and others—developed the means of cultural identification and transmission that responded to their outsider status in their hostlands.<sup>80</sup> In the Jewish case, a prominent theme of this identification was looking backwards to a mythical lost ‘home’ that sustained what he terms a ‘collective imagination.’<sup>81</sup> Such collective imagination may serve to represent and even compensate for a national culture now devoid of geographic boundary. Hall asserts that one function of a national culture in the diaspora is to represent a ‘one-people’ while recognising that this need arises within the context of relations of power. Their traditions are important in projecting continuity backwards to a purer, mythic time.<sup>82</sup> Put another way, as Baronian et al. suggest, the ‘internal boundary of diaspora is memory.’<sup>83</sup>

---

<sup>77</sup> Brad West, “Cultural Memory,” in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, ed. David Inglis and Anna-Mari Almila (London: Sage Publications, 2016), 455, 458.

<sup>78</sup> Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” 128-129.

<sup>79</sup> Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday*, 16-17.

<sup>80</sup> Cohen, “Global Diasporas,” 14.

<sup>81</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

<sup>82</sup> Stewart Hall, “Culture, Community, Nation.” *Cultural Studies* 7/3 (1993): 356.

<sup>83</sup> Baronian, et al., *Diaspora and Memory*, 11.

## Concluding Remarks

In this discussion, memory involves two elements: personal experiences like an exilic event, and shared communal narratives, like a diasporic tradition. Their transmission is at ‘the centre of diasporic identity.’<sup>84</sup> Diasporic memory may no longer have a direct first-hand connection to the ‘homeland’ but becomes the principal ground of identity formation in diaspora cultures, where territory is now decentred, perhaps even mythical.

In representing the unifying function of cultural memory, one may apply the ‘collective’ of Buber, Emerson, Jung, and Assman in connecting Ibn Ezra and Castelnovo-Tedesco through the *Divan*. This is because musical artistic monuments demonstrate how imagination travels through time and space to express commonality between persons generations apart. Bohlman refers to this sort of transference as ‘represence’ which, while not resulting from historical continuity due to rupture and fragmentation, serves to connect individuals uniting temporal and spatial dimensions in artistic representation, ultimately stating that one was ‘here before.’<sup>85</sup> Frühauf and Hirsch connect the concept of the ‘represence’ of musical memory as a collective act to Halbwachs’ writings of memory transmission through commemorative acts. They note that ‘commemoration also bridges time and space as actual events that preserve memory for the future while serving as a link to the past.’<sup>86</sup>

In the Jewish experience, collective memory found use as a response to socio-historical events that were countered by unification, and collective and communal constructs, towards a goal of communal safety through shared meanings. Thus, culturally and geographically diverse members of the diaspora, even separated by many hundreds of years are maintained by certain cultural markers and can be held remembered or re-created through the works of mind, through popular culture, and through shared imagination. It is transferred and made into a commonality by the creation of cultural monuments one of which, as will be demonstrated in Chapter Nine, is the *Divan*.

---

<sup>84</sup> Ibid., 12.

<sup>85</sup> Philip V. Bohlman, “Afterword: The Beginning of the End: Moments of Represence in Post-Holocaust Germany,” in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 267.

<sup>86</sup> Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch, “Introduction,” in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 5.



## Chapter Four

### The 'Golden Age' of Spanish Jewry

The Spanish 'Golden Age' (c. 900-1200) is remembered particularly within Jewish narratives today for several reasons, one of which is the large body of Hebrew non-liturgical poetry that was produced. The historian Solomon Grayzel has commented on its high quality and aesthetics,<sup>1</sup> brought about by a stimulating social environment existing under Islamic rule. Although corresponding to love songs preserved in troubadour songs of the Rhineland from the eleventh century and France from the twelfth century, as Mansoor has shown, it was already regarded as one of the high points of diaspora Jewry from the end of the twelfth century,<sup>2</sup> and which future generations of Jews—evidently including Castelnovo-Tedesco—would likewise look back to with fascination and pride.

The Golden Age represents a period of Jewish-Muslim synergy and coexistence, involving poets and grammarians, moralists and philosophers, scientists of every then-known variety, and statesmen. Goitein states that of these areas, the most remarkable expression of Jewish-Muslim collaboration and cross-fertilisation, was not to be found in the hugely popular *Arabic* literature of Andalusian Jews, but in the purely *Hebrew* poetry created by them.<sup>3</sup> This new adaptation of Hebrew was much developed as a modern poetic medium emulating Muslim poets and writers who demonstrated the beauty and richness of Arabic verse in their own works. Structurally and stylistically, the Arabic-speaking Jewish poets produced poems that hardly differed from contemporary Arab poetics, adopting their styles within the already long established Arabic genres of *maqam*, the Arabic musical modes used in rhymed prose. Scheindlin points out that this was possible because poetry was religiously neutral and could therefore cross over between Muslims and Jews.<sup>4</sup> It thus had no impact on maintaining a 'pure' Jewish identity while also demonstrating the creativity that arises from life in a hybrid environment.

---

<sup>1</sup> Solomon Grayzel, *A History of the Jews* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, rev. ed., 1968), 290.

<sup>2</sup> Menahem Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1991), 183. It seems that the term 'Spanish Golden Age' was coined in Victorian times.

<sup>3</sup> S.D. Goitein, *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), 155.

<sup>4</sup> Raymond P. Scheindlin, *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 4.

Golden Age non-liturgical poetry is commonly represented by five poets, and they will be described below. The number of poets seems to be small, although the outputs of this group were considerable. Moses Ibn Ezra considered himself the poets' 'leader' and referred to the others poetically as 'a wonderful group [*kvutza nehederet*] and a marvellous troupe [*havurah mefo'eret*].'<sup>5</sup> These learned poets used parts of the Bible as well as the Qur'ān in both their secular and liturgical poetry, and created a new form of Hebrew literature, in which balance is maintained between existing convention and the poet's own individual form of expression. This was a shift from former styles used over the previous approximately 600 years in which Jews produced little else but anonymous communal devotional poetry. The use made of Qur'anic texts shows that poets including Ibn Ezra not only had easy access to this material but absorbed and seamlessly utilised it without impacting their perceived Jewishness or 'apartness' as individuals.

Hebrew poetry of the period used popular recurring stylised themes and imagery which made it subject to popular interest and appeal. The poetry may be classified into three general types, and will be further defined below: liturgical, non-liturgical devotional, and secular, although the categories are sometimes hard to differentiate. For example, the poem in the *Divan* "Only in God I trust..."<sup>6</sup> is implied as secular and non-liturgical poetry in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition, but being somewhat reminiscent of Psalm 62:9-1, could also be interpreted as para-liturgical or devotional. Although there is clear crossing over between them, the three categories are often described as follows:

- Liturgical poetry is that which relies heavily on Biblical materials and forms a continuity with the much earlier Hebrew liturgical canon used to express communal devotion. Its messianic elements in Golden Age religious poetry sometimes refer to the suffering brought about through conflict, creating tangible hope for the coming of the Messiah;<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>5</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah wa'l-mudhākarah* ("The Book of Discussion and Memorising") as cited in Ann Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), ix.

<sup>6</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, "Only in God I trust..." in Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), 52; Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, ed. Angelo Gilardino, (Bèrben: Edizioni musicali – Ancona, Italia, 1973), 39.

<sup>7</sup> Aaron S. Citron, "Love elements in the poetry of selected Hebrew Poets of the Jewish Golden Age in Spain: A Study of the Use of Love as a Theme and of Love Images in the Poetry of Shmu'el HaNagid, Shlomo Ibn Gabriol, Yishaq Giyat, Moshe Ibn Ezra and Yehuda HaLevi" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1965), 319.

- Non-liturgical devotional religious poetry. Produced by all Golden Age poets, it involved an emphasis on the love of God in *emotional* terms as expressed by the individual. It may describe, for example devotion for God through the use of erotic poeticism, and this may be seen alluding to interpretations of the Song of Songs,<sup>8</sup> as well as to Psalms and Proverbs. Little non-liturgical poetry appears to have been written from the post-Biblical period prior to the Golden Age; and
- Secular poetry, which is closely related in form, structure, and content to the Spanish Arabic poetry of the time. Religious or other psychological considerations seem to have tempered the outputs of poets producing secular work earlier in the Golden Age. Much secular and erotic material was subsequently cloaked in religious allegory.

This chapter will briefly survey the historical and literary conditions that led up to and formed the Spanish-Hebrew Golden Age. It will also briefly look at the main poets and their life trajectories, as they were all products of an atmosphere of cultural synergy between the Jewish and Muslim intellectual communities. One of those poets was Moses Ibn Ezra, whose work will be examined in more detail in the following chapter together with his poetic styles, motivations, range of productions, and influence.

### **Key Moments Towards Jewish-Muslim Interaction on the Iberian Peninsula**

The Romans ruled Hispania from 192 BC to 411 AD, when they were replaced by wandering and marauding Germanic tribes. Thereafter, in 453 AD, the west Germanic Aryan Visigoths supplanted a weakened Roman rule. The eastern tribe of the Goths, the Oestrogoths settled in Italy. Through the third century, Jews lived in equality with other inhabitants, but relations soured from the time of the Council of Elvira (303-304) and its various discriminatory proclamations.<sup>9</sup> Restrictions and freedoms came and went during the next 200 years.

Evidently, Jewish numbers in Spain grew to significant proportions by the early fifth century such that the Visigoth rulers felt the need to decree and implement various religious, social, and economic restrictions. Although Jews developed as merchants and landowners wielding

---

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., 320.

<sup>9</sup> Joseph Jacobs, Richard Gottheil, Meyer Kayserling, eds, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. “Spain” by Joseph Jacobs (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906), XI: 485.

considerable respect,<sup>10</sup> by 589 with the Council of Toledo, the recently converted Catholic Visigoths<sup>11</sup> implemented wide-ranging restrictive laws. These laws subsequently became established custom, to the extent that Jews were forced to maintain their religious traditions in private.<sup>12</sup> The Visigoth King Sisebut together with the clergy decreed the first persecutions of Jews in Spain under the decrees of the fourth Toledan Council in 633. The decree reaffirmed all previous anti-Jewish laws by ensuring they were more fully enacted. Jews were now unable to educate their children in the faith, even if they were baptised, and children over the age of seven were ordered entrusted to Christians.<sup>13</sup> Throughout the Visigoth period, the position of the Jews declined from a form of citizen, to a somewhat tolerated minority, to that of slave.<sup>14</sup> By the latter part of the seventh century, the overt practice of Judaism was forbidden. This was a major factor in the Jewish welcoming of Islam, or at least supporting the banishment of the current repressive regime by the new invaders.

### **Al-Andalus: Islamic Expansion, Jewish Freedoms, and the Courtier-Rabbi**

By the mid-eighth century, Islam had already expanded and established itself throughout Egypt and the Levant as well as having integrated itself within the civilisations of Sassanid Persia and Byzantine Mesopotamia, the traditional seats of post-exile Jewish settlement. Within merely a century, this rapid conquest put Muslims in control of the entire land mass from central Asia through North Africa, and into Spain and France. Arabic-speaking Jews from the East, and North Africa also spread with the Muslim invaders, involving themselves primarily as traders and agricultural settlers.

In 711, Ṭāriq Ibn Ziyād led a Berber force in the conquest of southern Spain from North Africa. The caliphate of Córdoba was taken that year, and the remainder of southern and central Spain within four years. The troops included a small core of Arabic speakers of varied Eastern origin that in association with the vast non-Arabic speaking Berbers, would grow into an

---

<sup>10</sup> Grayzel, *History of the Jews*, 272.

<sup>11</sup> The Visigoth king Reccared converted to Catholic Christianity in 587 and it subsequently became the official religion of the kingdom. One of its aims was to convert the Jews to Christianity, which many did, but their tolerance and persecutions of Jews fluctuated during successive reigns. Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet Classics, 1962), 213-214.

<sup>12</sup> Cecil Roth, *A History of the Jews* (USA: Schocken Books Inc., rev. ed., 1970), 146-147.

<sup>13</sup> H.H. Ben-Sasson, ed. and contributor, *A History of the Jewish People* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 409.

<sup>14</sup> Citron, "Love Elements," 15.

indigenous Arabic-speaking *Andalusian* people<sup>15</sup> holding a particularly Spanish-Islamic culture. The very extent and suddenness of its expansionist success moderated the early Islamic fighting spirit, since good relations with newly subjugated populations were needed to maintain economic and social structures. Consequently, Jews found their legal and social status enhanced, enjoying a degree of religious and civil autonomy as well as economic freedom. With well over a century of resistance to the Visigoths behind them, Jews were not easily tempted to the new faith. However, as protected ‘people of the Book’ (*ahl al-kitāb*) they had to pay a poll tax (*jizyah*) and according to Roth, this served to differentiate them from the dominant group as much as to raise needed revenues.<sup>16</sup> Brann demonstrates an acceptance by the Jews of the new invaders bringing about the end of Visigoth rule as an expression of ‘God’s Will,’ signalling an end to their tribulations—or an end to Exile itself.<sup>17</sup>

Early Islam was as much an intellectually cultural movement as it was military, political, and religious. Intellectual pursuits were even tied to military success, as Ibn Ezra observes, ‘because the Arab tribes excelled in their eloquence and rhetoric, they were able to extend their dominion over many languages and to overcome many nations, forcing them to accept their suzerainty.’<sup>18</sup> The cultural absorptions of the Arabic thinkers made a strong impression on the Jews, and being influenced by general Arabic culture, a combination of long-held traditions fused with a new rationalism would soon become the basis of a new socio-religious outlook. This intercultural adaptation of Arabic norms would lead to, amongst other intellectual pursuits, a new Jewish poetic genre within which Ibn Ezra would find prominent place—a representation of the hybridity of diaspora life within a different cultural environment.

In 750, the ‘Umayyad dynasty, which ruled over most of the Muslim world from its capital in Damascus, fell to the Abbasid dynasty based in Baghdad, and in a political sense, Islam broke apart. Al-Andalus emerged as a sovereign Islamic land and by the end of the eighth century, being

---

<sup>15</sup> Consuelo Lopez-Morillas, “The Languages of Al-Andalus between the Arrival of the Muslims and the Reconquista” in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, et. al (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 38.

<sup>16</sup> Roth, *A History of the Jews*, 150-151.

<sup>17</sup> Ross Brann, *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain* (London and Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991), 2.

<sup>18</sup> Rabbi Moshe [Moses] Ben Yaakov Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, Hebrew trans. (from the Arabic) by Benzion Halper (Jerusalem: A.Y. Shtibel, 1924), 53, trans. in Norman A. Stillman, *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979), 58.

relatively stable and prosperous, it became the wealthiest and most cultured land in Europe. It attracted oppressed Jews of the northern Christian kingdoms, as well as Jews from the countryside into the urban centres, where they adopted Arabic and an urban lifestyle. Already constituting an important but formerly disenfranchised minority, Jews soon entered all walks of economic and cultural life leading to the rise of a significant class of Jewish courtier-rabbis. Their knowledge of languages enabled them to serve as intermediaries and translators between the conflicting Arabs and Christians, as well as utilise their trade connections with widespread Jewish communities. Poetry and music flourished in the court setting, as did the decorative arts and architecture, most usually for aristocratic consumption.

With the breakdown of centralised government in 1013, the political unity of the Andalusian ‘Umayyad caliphate based in Córdoba that had flourished from the eighth to the tenth centuries fragmented into twelve minor states under different rulers. Thereafter, localised princes known as emirs, who ruled over local city kingdoms often in conflict with one another, established themselves in a now weakened and increasingly vulnerable Muslim polity. Arising from this fragmentation and localisation, the Christians managed to stem the Muslim advance northwards, capturing Toledo in 1085.<sup>19</sup> Because of their linguistic abilities, Jews were used by the southward moving Christians within their own diplomatic missions, and again became prominent at court. Significantly, however, they exercised influence much less frequently than they had under Muslim rule.

To stem this southward Christian advance, zealous Berber mercenaries from Morocco known as the Almoravids were invited by the emir of Seville to save their territories in 1086—despite warnings not to do so by his own son.<sup>20</sup> The Almoravids soon secured his regional capital of Córdoba, but they also took control from the emir himself. Subsequently, one by one the victors removed the individual emirs from their city-thrones, reaching Granada, the city in which Ibn Ezra resided, in 1090 or 1091. The Almoravids brought with them a primitive Islamic sternness, simplicity, and fanaticism. Gone was the favoured position Jewish statesmen previously held, freedom of worship was severely restricted, and forced conversions began as part of renewed persecutions of Jews and Christians—as well as of Muslim ‘heretics.’ However, soon enough,

---

<sup>19</sup> The Christians captured Huesca (within Aragon) in 1096, Saragossa in 1118, Córdoba in 1236, Jaén in 1246, and Seville in 1248.

<sup>20</sup> Jacobs, “Spain,” 487; Brann, “Judah Halevi,” 272.

moderation replaced zeal and the enlightened traditions of the caliphate were revived in the courts where Jews again exercised considerable influence and served in roles such as physicians and scientists.

The power of the Almoravids was short-lived however. In 1146, around a decade after Moses Ibn Ezra's death, in response to yet another call from an emir of Al-Andalus, the Almohads,<sup>21</sup> in the name of restoring 'the true faith,' crossed into Spain from North Africa. Both groups were composed principally of men recently converted to Islam, and of the opinion that Arab leadership, what there was of it, had gone soft and was ignoring the original teachings of Muḥammad. With new fanaticism, over the next decade, the social condition of Jews once more deteriorated. Jewish exiles streamed north seeking refuge in the Christian lands most especially to Castile and Toledo, where its tolerant ruler Alfonso VII received them. The Almohad invasion was of great significance to the literary development of Andalusia, as from this point on, the Christian states in the north became the main centres of Jewish poetry. From around the middle of the twelfth century, Jewish life would take root and flourish in the courts and communities of the Christian kingdoms as a short-lived 'Silver Age' (c. 1150-1212).

King Alfonso VIII was defeated by the Almohads at Alarcos in 1195, after which the Almohads invaded Castile and threatened to overrun the whole of Christian Spain. The Archbishop of Toledo then summoned adventurers who streamed to Spain from all parts of Europe, and crusading operations were launched against both Jews and Muslims. These *ultrapuertos* were hailed with joy in Toledo, with the Jews its first target. The engagement of Las Navas de Tolosa, in 1212 resulted in a key Christian victory over the Almohads, and by 1264 only Granada remained under Muslim rule. This victory inevitably saw the position of the Jews deteriorate since diplomatic missions to Muslim states had ceased and Christianity no longer felt any need to use Jews as intermediaries. Hence the importance of Jewish thinkers trained in the Muslim schools declined. Other factors such as Christian pride and religious intolerance as well as commercial rivalries began to penetrate the Spanish peninsula, as it did in the rest of Europe, ultimately leading towards the Expulsion in 1492, from which Castelnovo-Tedesco traces his roots.

---

<sup>21</sup> From the Arabic *wahad* [Heb. *ehad*] referring to the unity of God. This reference refers to ideas of Allah's omnipotence and omniscience as much as to the political authority of the caliphs. It would also find resonance with attacking the Christian idea of the Trinity at a time of bitter rhetorical and physical conflicts between and within the faiths.

## The Rise and Early Development of Hebrew Poetic Forms

During the sixth and seventh centuries, Jews in Palestine began developing a Hebrew form of poetry for liturgical purposes.<sup>22</sup> *Piyyut*, an adaptation from the Greek practice of *poesis* from which it was probably inspired, was not composed as a form of entertainment, but served as devotional, moralistic versified hymns used in communal recitation. The ‘successful’ *piyyut* became part of the official liturgical service, and its verses mainly dwelt on themes of accounting for one’s conduct, one’s utter insignificance before the power of God and the necessity for profound personal faith and confidence in God. In form, *piyyut* adopted the Byzantine style of the isosyllabic hymn where each line has the same syllable count, no matter where emphasis or accent was placed, and only later in Spain was it fused with the more complex Arabic meters and styles.

Although a great deal of liturgical poetry was written in Hebrew throughout the post-Biblical period, from roughly the first to fifth centuries, the area of non-liturgical poetry was totally neglected for over a thousand years.<sup>23</sup> As Schirmann points out, there was a ‘sudden surge of a secular strain with the Spanish Jews by the middle of the tenth century... This was a revolutionary novelty.’<sup>24</sup> It was facilitated by a milestone in the development of the Hebrew language when the Babylonian-Egyptian Rabbi Sa’adia Gaon (882-942) translated large portions of the Hebrew Bible into Arabic and established the discipline of Hebrew grammar. In doing so, he addressed a prevailing ignorance of Hebrew, since most people had only a superficial knowledge of the language.<sup>25</sup> He thus fostered the literary foundations that paved the way for the future poets writing in Hebrew. Hebrew poetry was rapidly developed as Jewish poets who excelled in the composition of Arabic verse began to take more of an active part in cultural life within Arab-Muslim lands where they resided. Wandering scholars spread the new fashions to cosmopolitan and tolerant Al-Andalus, where Arabic, and its modes of usage were copied and adopted,

---

<sup>22</sup> Jefim Schirmann, “The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry,” *Sefarad* 15/1 (January 1955): 55.

<sup>23</sup> Erotic love poetry was nothing new however, for example that which was preserved in the canonised *Song of Songs*, 5:2-6:

‘I sleep, but my heart waketh; Hark! my beloved knocketh: “Open to me, my sister, my love, my dove, my undefiled; For my head is filled with dew, My locks with the drops of the night.” I have put off my coat; how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet; how shall I defile them? My beloved put in his hand by the hole of the door, And my heart was moved for him. I rose to open up to my beloved; And my hands dropped with myrrh, And my fingers with flowing myrrh, upon the handles of the bar. I opened to my beloved; but my beloved had turned away and was gone...’ Translation: <http://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt3005.htm> (accessed March 24, 2017).

<sup>24</sup> Schirmann, “The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry,” 55.

<sup>25</sup> Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought*, 188.



impacting Hebrew poetry to the extent that it in its expanded usage, it rapidly replaced spoken Aramaic and other dialects.<sup>26</sup>

Arabic poets were outside the Islamic religious system, and therefore Jewish courtier-rabbis had no inhibitions about studying and absorbing the new styles.<sup>27</sup> Slowly, over the next two centuries, by the early tenth century the Jews had completely adopted Arab standards in poetry, dress, tastes, values, and most other forms of cultural expression. Arabic became commonly used for general communicative functions, becoming a bridge of communication between the peoples, with Hebrew reserved for aesthetic-literary functions. However, as Brann points out, the Jews' integration into mainstream Arabic society did not at all extend to their religious observances, practices, beliefs nor their distinctive sense of history.<sup>28</sup> The circumstance therefore provides an illustrative example of 'boundary maintenance' as expressed in contemporary diaspora theory.

The earthy secular poetry was generally lyrical and descriptive, having broad themes that ran first through the Arabic models such as love, wine, and death, which were subsequently adopted by the Hebrew poets. It was developed to entertain and persuade by virtuosity and ornamentation, as well as having the use of clear consistent imagery. Through the poetry, which doubtless served also to advance self-interest at court, poets celebrated values such as generosity and friendship, harassed enemies, lamented the dead, bemoaned the brevity of life, the pleasures of drinking, and of course celebrated the beauty of young women, and equally, as will be seen below, of young men, especially the *saki*, who served wine at wine soirees.<sup>29</sup>

Arabic styles and meters also impacted the use of Hebrew by Jewish Andalusian poets in their *liturgical* poetry. This daring and innovative literary approach to traditional materials came about in an Islamic environment, where both Arab and Jewish poets being religious figures themselves, felt conflicted between a pleasing secular culture of which they sung about in their poetry, while at the same time feared its consequences. As Goitein notes, the conflict suffered by the Hebrew poets in using the holy, infallible Biblical tongue to represent such things as love, lust,

---

<sup>26</sup> Cecil Roth, Geoffrey Wigoder, et al., eds, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. "Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob" (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1971), VIII: 1172.

<sup>27</sup> Raymond, P. Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death. Medieval Poems on the Good Life* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986), 5.

<sup>28</sup> Ross Brann, "The Arabized Jews," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, Raymond P. Scheindlin, Michael Sells (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 441.

<sup>29</sup> Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 20.

wine, satire, and leisure, was mitigated by the fact that the devout Muslim poets likewise felt the same conflict in their literary endeavours.<sup>30</sup> Spanish-Hebrew verse ought to be understood as reflecting the setting and values of Jewish courtier society firmly embedded within Muslim civilisation of Spain.

As Muslim patrons did in Arabic societies, from the tenth century, wealthy educated Jews became benefactors of secular poets. For the first time, Jewish poets in Muslim Spain began to earn their livelihood from writing poetry to be used outside the synagogue, with a ready public that was literate and interested. What they produced, in contrast to the religious poems, expressed a more personal attitude to the world, rather than the generalised tones of the *piyyutim*. Three general types of poems were used: (a) those that had a direct bearing on a particular event, or the personalities of those involved; (b) religious themed poems; and songs for pastime; and (c) those used as a means of enhancing publicity through pronouncements, such as for helping a business, building reputations, declaring friendships, or for weddings, births, circumcisions, investitures in office, or recovery from illness.<sup>31</sup> The two most common forms however, were the panegyrics delivered to a patron and his family, and elegies or funeral epitaphs. Frequently accompanying a commission of poems, personal letters were written mostly in rhymed prose, and these include much personal information about the poet, his environment, attitudes, and opinions. Relatively few of these have survived, although some examples are in the collections of secular poems known as *dīwāns*, of Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi.<sup>32</sup> These letters are sometimes more valuable than the poem itself, as they reflect the norms of society and describe contemporary standards of elegance and conduct.<sup>33</sup>

One not uncommon aspect of the new poetry was the development of a homosexual poetic element, which has found its way quite prominently into Castelnovo-Tedesco's *Divan*. Homosexuality appeared relatively early in Arabic poetry, perhaps traceable to Greek influence; even in the Qur'ān, the beautiful youth (*ghalmānun*), handsome 'as well-guarded pearls' (Qur'ān

---

<sup>30</sup> Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 156.

<sup>31</sup> Jefim Schirmann, "The Function of the Hebrew Poet in Medieval Spain," *Jewish Social Studies* 16/3 (July 1954): 235.

<sup>32</sup> Ibid., 245. The name "Halevi" consists of the definite article being *ha*, appended to the name of the Israelite tribe of Levi. Sometimes the spelling of Halevi is HaLevi that indicates the construct. This thesis uses the more common form without the capitalised L, unless a source specifically notes it in the alternative in its title, for example within Citron, "Love Elements."

<sup>33</sup> Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*, x.

52:24, *sūrat at-Ṭūr*), the bearer of wine, is listed among the fixtures awaiting the righteous in heaven. By the end of the eighth century, Sufi Muslim mystical poets became a more prominent movement, and later impacted Jewish poets active in the Spanish Golden Age. The rich erotic symbolism of Sufi religious poetry often extended to an idealisation of young men as the beloved who *symbolised* the divine, with the result that Sufi poetry contains much allegorical homosexuality.<sup>34</sup>

Wine poetry and court life were closely linked, and the young boys or girls involved were predominantly from other national or religious groups than were the drinkers.<sup>35</sup> Even when the abovementioned *saki* were young girls, they wore their hair short and dressed like boys,<sup>36</sup> while the boys were very effeminate,<sup>37</sup> demonstrating perhaps a degree of perceived gender fluidity. The *saki* was trained to use his beauty and wit to arouse the revellers, and frustrate them at the same time, as Ibn Ezra observed,

The saki has a weakling's lisp, and yet  
Brave soldiers fall before the words he speaks.  
His eyes are widened not with paint, but charm;  
Abundant loveliness they have, and magic power...

With our imaginary mouths we kiss his lips;  
With eyes alone, we pluck his beauty's bud;  
We sate our eyes on his abundant grace;  
Our lips the while are faint with famine's pang.<sup>38</sup>

One may notice in the above stanza, that it is an “imaginary mouth” that kisses the lips of the *saki*, and “with eyes alone” demonstrates a seemingly ‘look, don’t touch!’ attitude rather than expressing any fulfilment of physical desire.

Wine parties were attended by singers and dancers, usually women, who performed behind a curtain, a *sitara*,<sup>39</sup> and the recital of poems and music was integral to the wine parties,<sup>40</sup> as shown by Ibn Ezra in the *Divan*:

---

<sup>34</sup> Citron, “Love Elements,” 83-84.

<sup>35</sup> Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 312-313.

<sup>36</sup> Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 20.

<sup>37</sup> Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*, 317.

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Dīwān*, ed. Brody, 1:185-188 as cited in Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 84.

<sup>39</sup> Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 20. The basis of the English word *orchestra*.

<sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

Drink deep, my friend, and pass the cup to me (*adei-ki*),  
 My heart from crushing sorrows to set free<sup>41</sup> (*amagen*);  
 And if I die before thy face, do thou (*m'heirah*)  
 Revive me quickly with thy minstrelsy (*ham'nagen*).<sup>42</sup>

The above poem may point to some expressed mystical power of music, or at least the friend's skilled use of music over and above any intoxicating effects of consumption.

One may wonder how such pious men, authors of *piyyutim* including Moses Ibn Ezra, could possibly adopt and develop homosexual poetry, in light of the Biblical prohibition on male homosexuality, termed *to'evah*, an 'abomination.'<sup>43</sup> In Arabic, *liwāt*, or lying together with boys, is no less proscribed in the Qur'ān.<sup>44</sup> In most of Ibn Ezra's poems, the description of the male beloved is matter-of-fact and descriptions of the male 'gazelle' are quite similar to his descriptions of the female. As a code-word for the lover, the gazelle has also been used to describe Israel, God, and sometimes the messianic redeemer, but it cannot be ignored that there is a matter-of-fact and open homosexual element in this genre of love poetry. For example,

...He listened and let me come home with him (*im'o*).  
 He did what I wanted, obeyed every whim (*shikhmo*).  
 By day and by night we dallied within (*im'o*).  
 I took off his clothes and he took off mine (*va'yaph-shiei'ni*),  
 He offered his lips and I drank of their wine... (*va'yay-nikay'ni*).<sup>45</sup>

Another rendition of the same verse has it thus where the poet is represented as going to a youth's home, where his mother lives, and there apparently engaging in specific sexual activities:

We went to his mother's house.  
 There he bent his back to my heavy yoke.  
 Night and day, I alone was with him.  
 I took off his clothes and he took off mine.

---

<sup>41</sup> This line, as in the next were repeated in Castelnovo-Tedesco's *Divan*, in an unusual deviation, serving musical balance, from the original text.

<sup>42</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, "Drink Deep, my Friend...", in Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, ed. Angelo Gilardino (Bèrben: Edizioni musicali – Ancona, Italia, 1973), 30; Heinrich Brody, *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), 42. In the Scheindlin translation/interpretation, the last two lines read: 'And if you see me dying, tell the boy [i.e., the wine server], "Revive him! Quick! Take up your lute again.'" The last few words reflect that of the prophets, in which music was used to bring on the prophetic experience. For example, Kings 3:15. Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 64-65.

<sup>43</sup> Leviticus (*parashat* [section] *Vayyiqra*) 18:22 and 20:13, in *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* ed. by Dr. J. H. Hertz (London: Soncino Press, 1971), 492 and 507.

<sup>44</sup> *Sūrat l-Qamar*, Qur'ān 54:37 in respect to the story of Lot.

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ezra as cited in Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 97.

I sucked at his lips and he suckled me.<sup>46</sup>

Homosexuality is supported by the grammar in which the corresponding masculine nouns and verbs are used. It is however, highly erotic, but usually not actually sexual:

A fawn is he with slender thighs (*mat'nav*).  
The sun goes dark when it sees him rise (*panav*).  
Darts are flying from his eyes (*einav*).  
Stole my sleep away from me (*g'zal'ani*),  
Altogether wasted me (*aḥalani*).  
Never will I forget the night (*ḥeldi*)  
We lay together in delight (*tzidi*)  
Upon my bed till morning light (*u'mar'vadi*).  
All night he made love to me (*n'shak'ani*),  
At his mouth he suckled me (*heni'kani*).  
Charming even in deceit (*darko*);  
The fruit of his mouth is like candy sweet... (*hiko*).<sup>47</sup>

The extent to which poetic references such as those above relate to actual physical experiences is unknown. After all, writing a death scene does not mean the writer needs to have experienced just that. Nonetheless, it would be realistic to assume there was some direct or indirect relationship between the poets' real-life experience and the subject matter of which they wrote. There can be little doubt of the religious nature of the poets themselves, but since homosexuality was prevalent in the poetry, it must have been, to some extent, socially acceptable in their environment, and could therefore pass as poetry that an audience would appreciate.

One approach to understanding this genre is in the *concept* of a homosexual relationship. There need not be anything *erotic* about the relationship between poet and who he is referring to, but perhaps merely a tenderness, admiration for the form, a relationship not considered outside the scriptural bans. Indeed, one may refer to the literary relationship between the Biblical David and Jonathan for just such a relationship: 'I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathon; very pleasant hast thou been unto me; wonderful was thy love to me, passing the love of women.'<sup>48</sup>

Generally, the physical male in the idealised style of Ibn Ezra's poetry conforms to its counterpart in contemporaneous Arabic poetry and as Ibn Ezra states, '...a poet might describe

---

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Ezra "The Treacherous Fawn," trans. in T. Carmi, ed., *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 323.

<sup>47</sup> Ibn Ezra, as cited in Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 103.

<sup>48</sup> II Samuel, 1:26.

love and even the highest passion of love, without ever having loved himself.<sup>49</sup> It seems that the love poetry for both boys and girls was a popular poetic Arabic literary fashion, in demand by an audience but having little no relation to the actual life of the poet. When Jews fled or were expelled to the Christian north from Andalusia after the Almohad invasion in 1146, the Christian states in the north became the main centres of Jewish poetry and from that point on, boys were rarely seen in the Hebrew poetry. This was probably due to a lack of Arabic poetry on the subject, and shows it as a popular literary device normative in majority-Muslim society.

The enthusiastic use of Arabic models such as expressions of homosexuality show the Spanish-Jewish community's adoption of Arabic culture was so intimate that it fundamentally redefined its own relationship to Hebrew. This flowering of Arab-inspired Jewish culture in Spain paradoxically also gave rise to 'nationalist' tendencies amongst the Jewish poets. Reports of the autonomous Ḥazar kingdom in the Crimea, a Greek-speaking Turkic tribe led by King Bulan that converted from Christianity and paganism to Judaism around the year 740,<sup>50</sup> played a part in fostering a newly discovered national pride in tenth-century Spain.<sup>51</sup> Since Christians often attempted to discredit Judaism in the eyes of the Muslims, by pointing out the absence of a Jewish temporal power in the world as proof of their fall from grace before God, the Ḥazar stories were often utilised as refutation of this claim.

Ibn Ezra, like Hanagid before him, tended to regard the political and cultural achievements of the Jews of Al-Andalus as signs of divine favour.<sup>52</sup> He proudly declares the superiority of the Hebrew language in Spain over anywhere else in the diaspora by stating that '[t]here is no doubt at all that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, from whom we—members of the Spanish exile—are descended, were more knowledgeable in rhetorical eloquence and in rabbinic tradition than the residents of other cities and towns.'<sup>53</sup> This linguistic pride is important as subsequent to the rise of Islam, the Arabs had considered poetry and rhetoric to be their greatest cultural heritage, deeply ingrained in Islamic society.<sup>54</sup> But on the other hand, writers including Ibn Ezra sought to find

---

<sup>49</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 192, trans. in Schirmann, "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry," 67.

<sup>50</sup> Dimont, *Jews, God and History*, 198. The Ḥazari people began dispersing after 969 when the Russian Duke Stanislav defeated them and incorporated their territory into his.

<sup>51</sup> Citron, "Love Elements," 35.

<sup>52</sup> Brann, "Judah Halevi," 274.

<sup>53</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 62, trans. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 57.

<sup>54</sup> Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 58.

meaning and significance in the generations of forced exile and humiliation brought about by expulsion from the Biblical homeland, as well as the Crusades and of the persecutions in Spain by the fanatical Berber Almohads of North Africa. To find meanings and solutions to these complex socio-cultural issues, as Scheindlin points out, the courtier-rabbis morphed into philosopher-rabbis, whose intellectual life was enhanced by fusing the Bible and Talmud with Arabic humanism and philosophy,<sup>55</sup> which itself was strongly infused with Hellenistic thought.

## Poetic Styles

Addressing the relatively limited vocabulary in the Hebrew Bible, Ullendorff points out that ‘it has, of course, long been recognised that the ancient Hebrew vocabulary must have been markedly larger than that preserved in the Hebrew Bible.’<sup>56</sup> This derives from the nature and purposes of the texts, and the vocabulary relevant to its limited range of messages:

[There is]...a greater concentration [of fields] within a number of specific areas; and many other fields are inevitably neglected in the type of literature which was admitted into the canon. This is, however, a reflection of the interest of the redactors rather than of the breadth of the Hebrew lexicon in Biblical times. The fact that words for ‘blessing’ or ‘whoring’ are frequent, merely determines the genre of literature collected in the Old Testament, while the apparent absence of words denoting ‘spoon’ or ‘niece’ does not imply that the Hebrews ate their food with their fingers and indulged in nepotism practices.<sup>57</sup>

The vocabulary of the Bible was too limited for its newly expanded poetic purposes in Spain. It therefore became necessary for the Hebrew poets and grammarians to take some liberties if they wanted to achieve the range of expression in their language they were exposed to in Arabic, which was much more modern and already had a long poetic history. These included conjugating patterns that were not used in the Bible, using Arabic grammatical patterns and rare forms of Hebrew grammar, utilising rare words, and using those of uncertain meaning. The meanings of Hebrew words were also fused with the meanings of similar-sounding Arabic words. As Lopez-Morillas has shown, a new Hebrew usage was founded on its Biblical source but infused with a distinctive flavour derived from Arabic, although ‘the poets were convinced they were using pure Biblical Hebrew.’<sup>58</sup> The Arabic custom of writing letters of friendship in verse was also adopted by the

---

<sup>55</sup> Scheindlin, *The Gazelle*, 140.

<sup>56</sup> Edward Ullendorff, “Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34/2 (1971): 242.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 243.

<sup>58</sup> Lopez-Morillas, “The Languages of Al-Andalus,” 44.

Spanish Jews and necessitated developing a knowledge of prosody. Rhetorical devices became common with the introduction of clever wordplays (acrosticism), the use of certain words that have correspondence with its opposite meaning and figures of speech as well as manipulating Biblical quotations. The secular Hebrew poetry that emerged in mid-tenth century Al-Andalus as a Hebrew adaptation of Arabic verse also absorbed many of the forms of the local vernacular it encountered in Spain. The popular spoken language was the ‘Romance’ dialect,<sup>59</sup> spoken by all inhabitants of Muslim Spain regardless of religion,<sup>60</sup> and was an important language facilitating social and economic interactions between the populations and communities.

From the latter part of the tenth century, Jewish poets writing Hebrew poetry adopted the Arabic use of the quantitative meter, which was based on the alternation of long and short syllables.<sup>61</sup> This meter differs to the tonic meter which emphasises a more random placing of stress by using both stressed and unstressed syllables as emphasis.<sup>62</sup> Making use of those meters, three main strophic structures were used: *zejal*, *qaṣīda*, and *muwashshaḥāh*. The *zejal* strophe was written in colloquial Hebrew and/or Arabic and later, written in mostly Spanish with an admixture of Arabic and sometimes Hebrew.<sup>63</sup> The *qaṣīda* was the favourite style of the pre-Islamic Arabs with every verse being of half-line length (hemistich). It was mono-rhyming ‘ode’ prose, sometimes with 40 or 50 verses designed for public or private recitation,<sup>64</sup> holding such topics as the wine poetry genre, love and loss, life and its vicissitudes, calls for a beloved, valour, praise of a patron, and abuse of an antagonist. It was also used as an introduction preceding another main poetic work, with an entirely different theme or subject matter to the work for which it opens. In his writings on the history of Spanish Jewish poetry, Ibn Ezra implies that Yitṣḥaq (Isaac) Ibn Ḥalfun (active in the tenth to eleventh centuries) was the first to use the *qaṣīda* form in Jewish poetry and was the first to earn his livelihood from poetry, being the first *professional* poet.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>59</sup> Citron, “Love Elements,” 95.

<sup>60</sup> Romance dialects were probably used as a second or third language, although no written evidence for this exists. Ibid., 97.

<sup>61</sup> The *quantitative* meter differs from the Biblical *tonic* verse which is purely *accentual* and holds free variation of the verse units. Post-Biblical poetry uses a regular *number of accents* with liturgical poetry largely formed by accents based on the *number of words*.

<sup>62</sup> Elcanon Isaacs, “The Metrical Basis of Hebrew Poetry,” *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 35/1 (October 1918): 27, 34, 48.

<sup>63</sup> Citron, “Love Elements,” 92-93.

<sup>64</sup> Ross Brann, review of Tova Rosen-Moked, “The Hebrew Girdle Poem (*Muwashshaḥ*) in the Middle Ages,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 80/3/4 (January-April 1990): 380.

<sup>65</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 112, trans. in Schirmann, “The Function of the Hebrew Poet,” 237-8.



Of primary importance however, is the *shir 'ezor*, the ‘girdle’ form more commonly known by its Arabic name, *muwashshaḥāh*. It is termed ‘girdle poetry’ as, according to A.Z. Idelsohn, it is ‘a variant meter inserted in the middle of a stanza, usually of three lines that are shorter than those of the main body.’<sup>66</sup> The *muwashshaḥāh* form first appeared in the ninth century, came into widespread popular use in the following century, and as Scheindlin points out, ‘emerged as the most common poetic style by the eleventh century, intended for a more musical type of performance than the *qasida*-type poems.’<sup>67</sup> It was in short strophic form, performed with a first verse probably serving as a repeated refrain, and frequently used musical accompaniment to the shifting rhymes holding popular and erotic love subjects.<sup>68</sup> Two types of love poems were used, those that are petitionary which are directed to the lover, and those that are descriptive, about the lover. The primary structural element of both the *zejal* and *muwashshaḥāh* forms is text that moves back and forth between two distinct elements in strophic form (verse-verse-chorus-verse, or other such combinations). One maintains the same rhyme throughout the poem (the common rhyme A) whereas the other element presents a new rhyme in each of the usually five stanzas (the secondary rhyme B, C, etc.).<sup>69</sup> For the Jewish poets using this style, like Ibn Ezra and Judah Halevi, it was exclusively written in Hebrew script using either Hebrew or classical Arabic. This makes it very different to the less formal colloquial Arabic *zejal* form although there was great flexibility in the use of rhyme, and it usually ended in colloquial language that may have been in Arabic or the Romance dialect.<sup>70</sup>

So keen were the poets and grammarians in the new Arabic adaptations that it resulted in the development of Judeo-Arabic—Arabic in Hebrew characters and using an admixture of Hebrew words. Although Arabic never fully displaced Hebrew and Aramaic which was used in more formal writing and correspondence, by the late ninth century it became a new independent style. It thus attracted its own grammatical rules which gradually became the Judeo-Arabic written dialect used in all manner of texts, including that of religious commentary.

The *dīwān* collections of Ibn Ezra’s non-liturgical poetry involve a combination of rhyming and non-rhyming stanzas, some of which, it may be surmised, may have been performed as

---

<sup>66</sup> A.Z. Idelsohn, *Jewish Music* (New York: Schocken Books, 1967), 368.

<sup>67</sup> Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 16.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid.

<sup>69</sup> Dwight Reynolds, “Music,” in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, 75.

<sup>70</sup> Ibid.

accompanied or unaccompanied musical song:<sup>71</sup> *Muwashshaḥāt* (pl.) were sung to instrumental accompaniment, their first verse probably serving as a refrain.<sup>72</sup> This is a significant element, as will be further detailed in Chapter Eight, considering the idea that Castelnovo-Tedesco may have *restored* melody and harmony to the sing-song Hebrew *muwashshaḥāh* poetry of Ibn Ezra, thus demonstrating innovation in art song and an example of cultural renewal.<sup>73</sup>

## Major Figures of Hebrew Poetry

The great changes brought about by the expanded usage of Hebrew was undertaken by a relatively small number of known figures. The first to arise in Spain was Rabbi Hasdai Ibn Shaprut (905-975). He was appointed court physician in Córdoba, and being familiar with Latin and Greek, was utilised in diplomatic missions. Under Ibn Shaprut, Spain became the centre of Talmudic study, with Córdoba being established as the centre of Jewish learning. Under his aegis, Spanish-Jewish scholarship flourished, and Jews were encouraged to develop their interests in the literary arts, leading to great socio-linguistic transformation.<sup>74</sup> Ibn Shaprut made a decisive break from the authority of the Babylonian Talmudic institutions that included the responsibility for adjustments of the calendar and determining the dates of holidays, transferring Jewish leadership and legal authority towards his own Andalusian-Jewish community.

Ibn Shaprut's importance was as patron and developer of the Spanish school, but it was the Talmudic scholar and linguist Shmu'el Ibn Nagdela 'Hanagid' ('community leader') who was the first virtuoso poet of the Andalusian school, and was the first poet to flourish after the revolutionary adoption of Arabic meters.<sup>75</sup> Hanagid was born in Córdoba in 993, and was at home in Greek philosophy and mathematics, astronomy, geometry, and logic, as well as being a famous Talmudic scholar and patron of its learning. He was very successful in navigating the politics of court life, ending up as the most powerful Jewish vizier of Granada, after his family fled from

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibn Ezra repeatedly refers to music, or at least to 'song' in his poetry. For example in "Fire Whose Flame No Man Hath Kindled," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 19. In at least one instance, he refers to its value, mentioning those "pilferers of song (*shir*), that steal my words (*mila'i*), and fain would make my thoughts their prey..." This demonstrates the differentiation as well as strong relationship between 'song' to 'word.' Ibn Ezra, "How Long at Fate's Behest," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 4.

<sup>72</sup> Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 16.

<sup>73</sup> A brief connection between the *Divan* and the Arabic strophic form of *muwashshaḥ* first appears in Fabrice Holvoet, "*L'oeuvre pour guitare de Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco*" (Universite Catholique de Louvain, 1985), n. 1, p. 106. I acknowledge and thank Maestro Giuseppe Ficara for providing me with this dissertation for analysis.

<sup>74</sup> Brann, *Compunctious Poet*, 5.

<sup>75</sup> Citron, "Love Elements," 5.

much-loved Córdoba to Granada at the time of the overthrow of the ‘Ummayyads in 1013.<sup>76</sup> Hanagid was a brilliant poet, and is remembered in both Arab and Jewish histories for incorporating emotion within his rational and critical deliberations of both the individual and society. He was also a military commander, and of the great Hebrew poets, he was the only one actively involved in leading troops in battle.<sup>77</sup> This experiential aspect found expression in his unique poetry and writings dealing with military matters. Being entrusted to manage virtually all affairs of State, he held a highly powerful position and regarded his position as a divine mission to safeguard his people in the lands whose rulers he served. He patronised the outstanding litterateurs of his age, both those using Arabic and Hebrew, and his interests extended to every field of Jewish scholarship, which benefited both communities. Hanagid died in 1055 probably in Granada, the year around which Ibn Ezra was born there. Hanagid was universally mourned and subsequently replaced by his son Husain. His son’s rule ended with his execution amidst anti-Jewish riots in Granada in 1066 that subsequently led to the community’s temporary scattering from the city.<sup>78</sup> This affected the Ibn Ezra family as will be seen in the following chapter.

Like Ibn Shaprut and Hanagid, wealthy individuals patronised poets such as Shlomo Ibn Gabirol of Málaga (c. 1021- c. 1056), the ‘Nightingale of Piety’ and others, including Ibn Ezra. Ibn Gabirol took the Biblical, prophetic, and liturgical poetic traditions to new literary levels, and many of his poems have made their way into the Sephardic prayer book as well as the liturgy, for example into the festival of Passover. Ibn Gabirol’s hymns enriched the communal *piyyut* liturgy while his philosophical works that were translated into Arabic had a powerful influence on both sophisticated Muslim and Jewish thinkers.<sup>79</sup> Ibn Gabirol produced an unusual blending of metaphysical ideas, philosophy, and poetry and not only was he the first Jewish philosopher in Spain, but he was the first Spanish philosopher and the first exponent of Neoplatonism in Europe.<sup>80</sup>

Moses Ibn Ezra (c. 1055- c. 1138), whose biography will be discussed in detail in the following chapter, was born in Muslim Granada (*Ġarnāṭah*), the newly established major city founded after the Muslim conquest. Ibn Ezra excelled in poetic skills and expressed the range of human emotions, but like Ibn Gabirol, many of his later poems are permeated with melancholia,

---

<sup>76</sup> Menocal, “Visions of Al-Andalus,” 3.

<sup>77</sup> Ben-Sasson, *History of the Jewish People*, 455.

<sup>78</sup> Jacobs, “Spain,” 486.

<sup>79</sup> Scheindlin, *The Gazelle*, 3.

<sup>80</sup> Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought*, 225.

withdrawal from society, and premonitions of death. Ibn Ezra was respected by both Jews and Arabs, where he was considered a great influence due to his theoretical, philosophical, and poetic outputs. As a poet bridging the two communities, he was universally considered ahead of his time regarding his theories surrounding the nature of poetry.<sup>81</sup> Later in life, Ibn Ezra renounced and abandoned secular poetry to devote his remaining years to theoretical and philosophical pursuits.<sup>82</sup> This was not uncommon for both Arab and Jewish writers aspiring to a life of devotion and philosophy after that of ‘mere’ poetic excess. It also shows the ambiguous position of poetry within the medieval Islamic world, a conflict between contradictory literary, social, and religious commitments, leading to the need to overcome guilt by repenting and atoning for the secular writings by these essentially religious writers. Although in older age Ibn Ezra went from creating poetry to more scientific matters, then to penitential asceticism, in his older age he never gave up writing poems completely ‘when they were needed.’<sup>83</sup>

The poetic and philosophical tradition of Spanish Jewry reached its peak with Judah Halevi (c. 1075-1145), who was not only a wealthy and successful physician but also a remarkable poet. Halevi was less than 20 years old when he rose to prominence in Granada. Ibn Ezra used a poem structured in *qaṣīda* form to extoll his skills, asking ‘[h]ow can it be that a charming [or “sweet”<sup>84</sup>] young lad can carry the mountains of wisdom on his back?’ Subsequently, he invites the younger man to partake of his ‘garden of love and friendship.’<sup>85</sup> This and other similar poetic quotes are often referred to when discussing the sexuality of the poets. Indeed, Halevi wrote poetry showing that homoeroticism was not particularly scandalous in Golden Age society:

...I would ask for his honeycomb lips,  
reddening like the setting sun my eyes transfixed on his form . . .  
How, how, how does this man from Aram colour his lips so ruddy?  
His song ploughs through my body, he sings to awaken my fire.  
Enough, my love, drink from my mouth.  
Kiss, kiss, kiss my mouth, Put aside your black mood, my friend.<sup>86</sup>

---

<sup>81</sup> C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, et al., eds, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. “Musa bin ‘Azra” by A. Schippers (Leiden-New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), VII: 642.

<sup>82</sup> Schirmann, “The Function of the Hebrew Poet,” 251.

<sup>83</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 82, 88, trans. in Schirmann, “The Function of the Hebrew Poet,” 251-252.

<sup>84</sup> As interpreted in Citron, “Love Elements,” 68.

<sup>85</sup> Ibn Ezra: *Shirei HaHol*, ed. Chaim Brody (Berlin, 1935), p. 22-23, as cited in Brenner, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*, 17.

<sup>86</sup> Yehuda Halevi, “Look at Me My Fawn, Look,” trans. Steve Greenberg, American Jewish World Service: On1Foot: Jewish Texts for Social Justice, <https://www.sefaria.org/sheets/115316> (accessed June 1, 2018).

The “man from Aram” is unidentified, but Biblical Aram is situated north of Israel in Syria and could easily denote any dark Middle Easterner. It could also refer to a man speaking Aramaic, again referring to a Middle Easterner, such as Ibn Ezra, who often reminds us of his ethnic roots as being from Jerusalem.

Halevi, unlike many other poets, was born in or very close to a Christian-dominated part of Spain. Consequently, according to Ibn Ezra, Halevi frequently traversed the shifting borders of Christendom and Islam.<sup>87</sup> He covered the range and depth of the human condition, and demonstrated a deep passion for the Biblical homeland, developing a thematic genre which was particularly his own, that of love of Zion with immediate redemption as the central idea.<sup>88</sup> Ibn Ezra referred to Halevi, as one who ‘drew pearls from the sea,’ which is a stylised form of honorific in both Arabic and Hebrew poems.<sup>89</sup> It may also have connection to the poetry based on themes of the sea and seafaring that Halevi was well-known for.

Unlike Ibn Ezra, who was scrupulous in following the rules of the Arabic meters, Halevi frequently wrote non-metrical liturgical poetry, despite being intimately familiar with Arabic and its rules, norms, and usage.<sup>90</sup> This divergence was related to his love of a redeemed and culturally independent Jewish people. In his work, published in English as *The Kuzari*, Halevi argues that Hebrew poetry was corrupted by Arabic standards, quoting the authority of Psalms 106:35: ‘They mingled with the gentiles and learned their works.’<sup>91</sup> He may thus be termed a ‘nationalist poet’ indicating an emphatic assertion that Jewish secular or national culture holds equal value to prevailing Arabic culture. His poems expressed the deepest thoughts and aspirations of an exiled people in the diaspora, and of himself as more of a religious devotee than a lyric poet and communal notable.<sup>92</sup> His many poems that expressed contempt for exile and his longing for a return to the Biblical homeland coincided with a general feeling of messianic apocalypse and the surprising and obviously disappointing non-appearance of a foreseen coming of the end of days.<sup>93</sup>

---

<sup>87</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 75, trans. in Citron, “Love Elements,” 68.

<sup>88</sup> Citron, “Love Elements,” 280.

<sup>89</sup> Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*, 4-6.

<sup>90</sup> Citron, “Love Elements,” 288.

<sup>91</sup> Judah Halevi, *The Kuzari: An Argument for the Faith of Israel*. Introduction by H. Slonimsky (New York: Schocken Books, 1964), 128.

<sup>92</sup> Brann, “Judah Halevi,” 269.

<sup>93</sup> Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 60.

A constant theme in his poems are the serious doubts about the meaningfulness of life in exile and of the comforts of Spain:

My heart is in the East, but I am at the edge of the West.  
How can I savour what I eat, how I find it sweet?  
How can I fulfil my vows and obligations while  
Zion is in Christendom's fetter, and I am in the shackle of Islam?  
It would be easy for me to leave behind all the opulence of Spain;  
It would be glorious for me to see the dust of the ruined Shrine!<sup>94</sup>

This poem illustrates Boyarin's concept of 're-diasporisation,' where the imagined Biblical homeland is longed for culturally but imagined through the lens of any number of cities in the world.<sup>95</sup>

Halevi calculated that the year 1130 was to bring the Redemption,<sup>96</sup> and in line with general attitudes at the time, he set out for the Biblical homeland. Past 60 years of age, he abandoned family and secular life to actualise all that he had symbolised in his works. This did not end well for the poet as, according to one legend, he was trampled to death immediately upon his arrival there.<sup>97</sup> Another version of events has him speared to death just as he arrived.<sup>98</sup>

The last of the generally accepted major poets leaving a large corpus of works in the Golden Age was Abraham Ibn Ezra (1089-1164), a native of Toledo and Halevi's younger contemporary. He was also contemporary to Moses Ibn Ezra, perhaps even a relative, and left his home in Spain to wander outside of Spain through Italy, France, and England, carrying the valuable Spanish-Jewish learning to Western Europe. Essentially a liturgical poet, he is best known for his works on Bible commentary, grammar, philosophy, religion, and astronomy, although he was also a noted writer of poetry. He is also remembered for establishing new centres of learning and literary activity, most especially in the Provence region of southern France. Many of the important translated works from Greek to Arabic were also translated into Hebrew and were taken through Europe by itinerant scholars like Abraham Ibn Ezra, to the Jews as well as to the Christians. This is unsurprising as Jews were much more likely to be multi-lingual than their

---

<sup>94</sup> Judah Halevi, as cited in Brann, "Judah Halevi," 273.

<sup>95</sup> Jonathan Boyarin, "Introduction: Powers of Diaspora" in Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, eds, *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 11.

<sup>96</sup> Brann, "Judah Halevi," 270.

<sup>97</sup> Roth, *A History of the Jews*, 172.

<sup>98</sup> Grayzel, *History of the Jews*, 297.

Christian peers and functioned as translators, interpreters, ambassadors, and scribes. In Europe these Arabic texts were translated into Latin and made available to the rest of the continent, the population of which would probably otherwise have remained ignorant of much of the culture and accomplishments of the Jews of Spain. According to Scheindlin, Abraham Ibn Ezra's departure from Spain, in the same year as Judah Halevi's, heralded the eclipse of Andalusian Jewry, with the following decade seeing the conquest of the country by the fanatical Almohads.<sup>99</sup>

Finally, a little-mentioned outsider in the group of the significant poets under discussion here was Isaac Ibn Giyat. Ibn Giyat wrote little in the way of poetry, most of which was religious in character. He was however, a noted scholar who was a personal connecting link between the various generations of Hebrew poets in Golden Age Spain. Like Ibn Gabirol, he apparently had personal contact with Hanagid, yet he lived on to become the teacher of Moses Ibn Ezra, who was in turn the mentor of Halevi. Thus, as Citron points out, the few poems he left us are important as a literary bridge between the eleventh-century writings of Hanagid, and the twelfth-century poetry of Ibn Ezra and Halevi.<sup>100</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra left a short critique of Ibn Giyat's poetic activities, by noting that

...the oldest of that group, and the best among them was...Giyat...He was a fountain of eloquence...who was a master of the treasures of the Hebrew language and expert in the Arabic language...He composed brilliant poems...More than his predecessors he wrote on ethics and composed prayers, panegyrics<sup>101</sup> and elegies; but he did not write many poems in meter because his knowledge of the wisdom of the Arabs was slight ...<sup>102</sup>

In fairness, Ibn Giyat was primarily a religious leader, and as such may have deliberately avoided composing secular love lyrics. But the comment on his lack of wisdom seems more designed to imply Ibn Ezra's own superiority over "the best among them," than a reflection of Ibn Giyat.

## Conclusions

As Scheindlin points out, the Hebrew poetry of the Spanish Golden Age represents the ability of the Jews of the time to absorb the values and the styles of the outside world and to reshape it without losing a sense of Jewish identity.<sup>103</sup> The cultural nationalism of the Spanish-Hebrew poets

---

<sup>99</sup> Scheindlin, *The Gazelle*, 231.

<sup>100</sup> Citron, "Love Elements," 61.

<sup>101</sup> Panegyric literature in this context refers to texts in praise of someone, usually while the subject is still alive.

<sup>102</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 72, trans. Citron, "Love Elements," 208.

<sup>103</sup> Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death*, 14.

used the language, imagery, and associations of the Hebrew Bible, and by doing so, emphasised connections between contemporary Hebrew poetry and the authoritative Hebrew Bible, of which their communal identity was based. There was little fear from other persons of different religions, and sufficient insulation provided by the strength of their own religious institutions. This security allowed culture to be preserved, but also to grow through creativity borne of a cultural ‘hybridity.’

Moses Ibn Ezra emerged into and helped shape this great intellectual vibrancy in Golden Age Spain. His poetry bridged a gap between the production of culture with that of traditional learning and *piyyut* poetry. It therefore fused traditional Jewish elements with production of aesthetic works, which were regarded as indispensable in contemporary social life.<sup>104</sup> The forthcoming chapter explores in more detail the life of Ibn Ezra which inspired this cultural hybridity that found its way into Castelnovo-Tedesco’s *Divan*.

---

<sup>104</sup> Goitein, *Jews and Arabs*, 161.



## Chapter Five

### Moses Ibn Ezra: A Product of his Age

Moses ben Ya'acov Ibn Ezra was born 'in Granada about 1055-60,'<sup>1</sup> and died in his eighties sometime after 1138, probably in Castile. His biography is commonly divided into three periods although they are not always successive. The periods begin as respected youthful poet, then as outcast and exile, and finally, as philosopher, historian, and penitent.

Since Ibn Ezra often wrote about his own life in exile, sometimes using it in comparison to the fate of the Jews in exile, the outline of his life and times may be gained by using his own poetry, letters, and other surviving writings. Other biographical sources that have survived include writings by his contemporaries that include poets and others who may have had a professional interest in praising Ibn Ezra. His biography is, however, what he wanted his audiences to know and may not necessarily be historically accurate.

The biographical summary of this chapter will allow for a better understanding of what motivated Ibn Ezra to write the sort of poems he did, and in turn, will shed light on any subsequent transferred meanings those poems may have in Castelnovo-Tedesco's musical setting of the *Divan*.

#### **Ibn Ezra as Youthful Poet—Subjects and Styles**

Moses Ibn Ezra was born into a rich and prominent family, enjoying authority and distinction in the courts of the Granadan Muslim elite. Ibn Daud's traditional narrative describes the Ibn Ezra family line as descended from the inhabitants of Jerusalem, even specifically from nobility of the tribes of Judah and Benjamin.<sup>2</sup> This doubtless fanciful view of his descent would probably be a factor in Moses' high regard of himself. His father Jacob held office under the powerful Jewish vizier, Shmu'el Ibn Nagdela ('Hanagid'), and Moses enjoyed a privileged upbringing, passing his youth in an environment of wealth and culture. He was educated in all facets of the Hebrew language and literature, including Biblical and Talmudic grammar and poetry, as well as in the rhetoric and poetry of the Arabs. He was also educated in classical languages including Greek and Latin, as well as

---

<sup>1</sup> Heinrich Brody, ed., "Introduction," in *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), xx. This is quoted because it is relevant to Castelnovo-Tedesco's dating on the score, as will be examined in Chapter Eight.

<sup>2</sup> Abraham Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* ("The Book of Tradition") as cited in Ann Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 10. This work traces Jewish history from ancient times to the year 1161.

philosophy, logic, mathematics, optics, astronomy, music, and mechanics—all considered important parts of the curriculum in this period.<sup>3</sup> Ibn Ezra was married, probably early in life, and frequently speaks of his children, although for unknown reasons, his wife is never mentioned. Moses had three brothers with Isaac his elder, while Judah and Joseph were younger. Although he was apparently a pupil of Yitzḥaq (Isaac) Ibn Ghiyyat in Lucena,<sup>4</sup> where there was a renowned rabbinical academy, his older brother seems to have been an important influence. As Moses himself writes, ‘among the poets who wrote vivid, sweet verses was my older brother, Abu Ibrahim. He (Lord have mercy upon him) learned to write beautiful prose and pleasant poems, because he spent much time in the study of the styles of the Arabs.’<sup>5</sup> The statement also demonstrates the high regard Ibn Ezra placed on Arabic models for writers of Hebrew verse.

In Arabic, Ibn Ezra was known sometime during his pre-exile period in Granada as *ṣāhib al-shurṭa* which translates as ‘head of the police,’ but more probably refers to ‘his excellency.’ Consequently, it seems that Ibn Ezra held an important administrative post before the Almoravid invasions which spread throughout southern and central Spain from 1086. This may not have been surprising considering his ‘pedigree,’ education, and well-established rhetorical skills. After 1090, with the arrival of the invaders to Granada, he would have lost all status.

Ibn Ezra was extremely proud of the role and significance of the poet in society, it being ‘...to raise unknown men to the summit, of honour, and greatness, with his power, he crowns kings, and breaks the might of rulers and princes.’<sup>6</sup> It is of little surprise, considering his supposed pedigree, that this general pride is projected onto himself, even comparing his own poems to ‘God’s scripts and

---

<sup>3</sup> Menahem Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought: An Introduction* (New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1991), 197.

<sup>4</sup> C.E. Bosworth, E. Van Donzel, et al., eds, *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. “Musa bin ‘Azra,” by A. Schippers (Leiden-New York: E.J. Brill, 1993), VII: 642. According to Cecil Roth, Geoffrey Wigoder et al., eds, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. “Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob” (Jerusalem: Keter Publishing, 1971), VIII: 1171, it is written as ‘ibn Ghayyat,’ and Lucena is mentioned as the ‘city of poetry,’ obviously an important centre of culture, Dimont claims it was also called the ‘Town of the Jews.’ Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet Classics, 1962), 197.

<sup>5</sup> Rabbi Moshe (Moses) Ben Yaakov Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, Hebrew trans. into Hebrew (from the Arabic) by Ben Zion Halper (Jerusalem: A.Y. Shtibel, 1924), 141, as trans. in Aaron S. Citron, “Love elements in the poetry of selected Hebrew Poets of the Jewish Golden Age in Spain: A Study of the Use of Love as a Theme and of Love Images in the Poetry of Shmuel HaNagid, Shlomo Ibn Gabriol, Yisḥaq Giyat, Moshe Ibn Ezra and Yehuda HaLevi” (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1965), 66. When each of his brothers passed away, the poet wrote great elegies in their memory, some being found in the Solis-Cohen translated selections.

<sup>6</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, *Otzar Nechmad*, III, 184, as cited in Israel Zinberg, *A History of Jewish Literature. Vol 1, The Arabic-Spanish Period*, trans. and ed. Bernard Martin (Cleveland and London: Case Western Reserve University, 1972), 79.

tablets' and to 'golden songs [that] will not be forgotten by men, as long as night follows day.'<sup>7</sup> His self-assurance may well have been justified, as Ibn Ezra's personal and intellectual qualities apparently earned him widespread esteem and much affection. In Brener's words, he was considered 'the greatest Hebrew poet on Iberian soil.'<sup>8</sup> In illustration, many of his secular poems are constructed in *tajnis* style, an acrostic mechanism in which words are pronounced in the same way but are homonymic in rhyme, having differing meanings in their repetition. Ibn Ezra's poetry appealed to scholars and those who were able to appreciate his technical prowess, for example according to the Spanish Hebrew poet Yehuda al-Harizi (c. 1170-c. 1235), 'the poetry of Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra is highly esteemed by professional poets, more so than others, by virtue of its rhetoric and its delicate craftsmanship.'<sup>9</sup> Al-Harizi implies that his poetry was preferred over the celebrated Ibn Gabirol and the young virtuoso Judah Halevi, with the latter himself writing a gracious letter of self-introduction to Ibn Ezra referring to him as 'commander of the host of poets.'<sup>10</sup> Ibn Ezra's secular poems describe experiences common to all mankind, and in terms more or less common to Greek and Roman literature and the secular Latin poetry.<sup>11</sup> It therefore corresponds to the same courtly love tropes of the minnesängers of the eleventh-century Rhineland, and in the troubadour material in France from the twelfth century.

The relative freedoms that Jews enjoyed after the Muslims arrived in Spain from 711 led to widespread farming and agricultural work and this return to the land found expression in 'earthy' garden and wine songs (*ḥamariyya*) that appeared in Hebrew. The wine genre replicated the very popular Arabic and Persian models, and wine songs were apparently recited at social functions which were an important feature of courtly life. Since they were heavily stylised, the poems need not have reflected an actual drunken experience, with both the love poetry and the wine poetry describing an imagined, common experience. Like most other poets of the period, Ibn Ezra used stylised feminine, and sometimes bawdy, personifications for wine, like 'daughter of the vineyard,' 'girl child of the vines,' and 'descendant of the vineyards.'<sup>12</sup> Wine poetry is celebrated in the Andalusian school for its

---

<sup>7</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 79.

<sup>8</sup> Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*, 11.

<sup>9</sup> Judah al-Harizi' (d. 1235), *HaShirah Halvrit*, III, p. 141, cited in Ross Brann, "Structure and Meaning in the Secular Poetry of Moshe Ibn Ezra" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1981), 1.

<sup>10</sup> As cited in Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 59-60.

<sup>11</sup> Raymond Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Poems on the Good Life* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986), 6.

<sup>12</sup> Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 196.

especially virtuoso rhetorical performance and Ibn Ezra excelled at writing about wine, the garden, and the ritual of drinking. For example:

Immerse your heart in pleasure and in joy,  
and by the bank a bottle drink of wine.  
Enjoy the swallow's chirp and viol's [Heb.: *nevel*] whine.  
Laugh, dance, and stamp your feet upon the floor!  
Get drunk and knock at dawn on some girl's door.<sup>13</sup>

The above poem neatly combines natural scenes (“the bank”) with wine, stringed music (Heb.: *nevel*, translated as “viol,” probably referencing a stringed instrument such as the ‘oud from which the word, but not the modern instrument viola loosely derives<sup>14</sup>), and pleasure. Gardens are a normative and highly stylised setting for the wine songs, containing chirping birds, usually the dove—symbolic of lovers amongst Arab poets<sup>15</sup>—and fruits, particularly apples, sometimes comparing them to a beloved one.<sup>16</sup> The below example from the *Divan*, shows the use of these earthy motifs intertwined with the homoerotic, as expressed in ‘*Lento, triste* (Slow and sad)’:

For by the humility of my spirit (*b’hash’ot*),  
I would feign to restore my banished heart (*ne’dahav*)  
To its place in the heart of the loved one (*bekirbo*).  
Like a gentle shower will I enter therein (*netahav*),  
As a stream of oil into its hidden recesses...  
Then shall I walk through the darkness (*le’oro*)  
Unto the light of my friend (*yerahav*),  
And he will no longer withhold from me his shining.  
I will hope to eat of the fruits of the garden of his love—(*ahavav*)  
The aftergrowth, if the first fruits be denied me... (*sephiḥav*)<sup>17</sup>

This poem of erotic love within the garden stylistically illustrates the normative way that the lover is not talked of in individual terms, rather emphasising the act of love and loving.

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibn Ezra, as cited in Raymond Scheindlin, *Wine, Women, and Death: Medieval Poems on the Good Life* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986), 90-91. The translation of *viol* for the Hebrew *nevel* is problematic as what we consider today a viol did not exist at that time. A better literal translation would be harp, which is what is used in modern Hebrew although Ibn Ezra usually uses the word *kinnor*, that is usually translated as harp. A more practical translation for *nevel* would be ‘oud.

<sup>14</sup> Richard Chapman, *Guitar: Music, History, Players* (London: Dorling, Kindersley, 2000), 11.

<sup>15</sup> Citron, “Love elements,” 249.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 247. This usage of apples and fruits may have been derived even further back in the *Song of Songs*, for example 2:3, 2:5.

<sup>17</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, “Fate has blocked the way...,” in Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, ed. Angelo Gilardino (Bèrben: Edizioni musicali – Ancona, Italia, 1973), 19; Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), 14.

The young Ibn Ezra used the whole range of themes that describe the joys of nature that usually include the offshoot of music: love, happiness, springtime, the grape, and the beauty of youth, as demonstrated in allegory as '*Allegretto gentile*' in the *Divan*:

The garden dons a coat of many hues (*ha-gen*);  
The mead a brodered carpet hath unrolled (*dish'o*);  
Now the woods are brave in chequered mantles—Now (*kol-etz*)  
A wondrous scene may every eye behold (*pil'o*):  
The newborn flowers acclaim the newborn Spring (*hadash*),  
And forth to meet his coming, gaily throng (*bo'o*);  
High, at their head, on sovereign throne is borne (*avar*)  
The rose—the flowret's queen—queen of my song (*kis'o*).  
From prisoning leaves, she bursts, and casts aside (*alav*)  
Her captive garb, in royal robes to shine (*cil'o*).  
I drink to her! Nor heaven forgive the wretch— (*alav*)  
If such there be—who spares his choicest wine! (*hat'o*)<sup>18</sup>

This poem illustrates the connection between the feminine, wine, and song which is unsurprising considering the strong links between the soothing effects of wine and music. Both were perceived as alleviating sorrow and woe:<sup>19</sup>

They that play upon the harp [*kinnor*] and flute (*yitz-halu*)  
Bring comfort unto mourners (*yir-vahu*),  
To give them respite from weeping.  
But my anguish, alas—for my brothers who are no more (*asher saph'u*)  
For my friends, driven into exile—  
My anguish, alas, they cannot soothe (*hud-hu*).<sup>20</sup>

Music was an essential element in Ibn Ezra's poetry and although no traces remain of the music itself, the poet wrote many of his verses in strophic form and probably sung them to entertain. This is illustrated in the poetry itself:

I entreat thee, O minstrel [*m'nagen*] (*maḥshevot*),  
Play and sing for me.  
Dispel the sadness of my thoughts,  
Make my grieving vanish as a shadow (*yivrehu*).  
Thy harp [*kinnor*] is like a foot joined to a thigh (*bli*)  
Without leg to divide them.

---

<sup>18</sup> Ibn Ezra, "The garden dons a coat of many hues...", Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 33; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 45.

<sup>19</sup> Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 196.

<sup>20</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Fire Whose Flame No Man Hath Kindled," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 20.

My heart pulses to its strings (*nutaḥu*)  
As they sway to and fro,  
Resting and moving (*asher*).  
Instrument and voice sound in harmony;  
Wonderfully they accord, in exact rhythm (*naḥu*).

I marvel at the gracefulness of thy hands as they wander about— (*ve'al*)  
Now springing upon the cords, and now outstretched (*shalaḥu*),  
And ever according to line and number (*ve'alai*).  
Even so, they pass over the anguished hearts of men... (*pasaḥu*)<sup>21</sup>

Considering the esteem granted by his contemporary professional poets, aside from being so prolific Ibn Ezra did not actually break any new technical ground. While there are only a few dozen secular love poems by Hanagid and Ibn Gabirol, the number of poems dealing with aspects of love by Ibn Ezra runs into the hundreds. As Citron points out, certain images and ideas which one finds barely hinted at in the poetry of Hanagid and Ibn Gabirol are fully developed in Ibn Ezra's works.<sup>22</sup> It is *quantity* that is the unique aspect of Ibn Ezra's secular poetry.

### **Exile and Isolation: The Complaint Poetry and Scholarly Pursuits**

In 1066, following civil disturbances and riots, the Granadan Jewish community was temporarily scattered. Ibn Ezra's family fled to nearby Lucena where young Moses entered the famous Talmudic academy there and enjoyed a privileged and stimulating intellectual life. This was Ibn Ezra's first taste of exile, a temporary disruption which seemingly had no lasting effect on the poet. However, only 20 years later, in 1086, the Almoravid invasion of Andalusia began, and in 1090 the invaders reached and captured the city-kingdom of Granada. This event broke the social and political stability of that city affecting both Jews and Muslims alike. The Jewish community was destroyed, its leaders fled, and two of Ibn Ezra's brothers, as well as undoubtedly other family members, were dispersed and went into exile in Córdoba and Toledo. His poetry may refer to this event:

Come, let us seek the spots where dwelled of old (*ahuvim*),  
The Folk beloved (*ḥaverim*).  
Faith hath scattered them,  
And only the ruins of their homes remain.  
Where stood the shelter of the roes, behold (*ve'hen'am*)  
The lair of lions and the wolves' terrain (*le'azavim*).<sup>23</sup>

---

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 19. The similarities between this verse and Castelnuevo-Tedesco's love of the art song are striking.

<sup>22</sup> Citron, "Love elements," 246-247.

<sup>23</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, "Come let us seek the spots," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 102.

Despite this massive disruption, for unknown reasons Moses and a number of other members of his family remained in Granada, perhaps because he or they had no apparent means of support in exile. In his now desolate native city, poor and isolated, he was soon rejected by those around him, apparently including his brothers, family, and friends.<sup>24</sup> This experience shaped his general outlook to the end of his life, and incidentally may be compared to what Castelnovo-Tedesco experienced in Italy before his own exile.

Only five years later however, in 1095 the poet's life took a dramatic turn when after an internal family dispute, or misunderstanding, or otherwise somehow related to his personal downfall, an 'aged' 40-year-old Ibn Ezra was compelled to abandon his wife and children including a new-born baby,<sup>25</sup> and leave Granada to go into what turned out to be permanent exile. One may interpret this event as referred to in the Spanish-themed opening of the *Divan* as Castelnovo-Tedesco directs 'Andantino agitato e un poco malinconico':

When the morning of life had passed as a shadow (*panu*),  
 And the path of my years was shortened (*shanav*),  
 Exile called to me: "O thou, that dwellest at ease, arise!" (*kooma*)  
 At the sound of his voice, mine ears tingled (*az'nav*);  
 I arose, with shaken heart,  
 To go forth, a wanderer—(*ve'yatzati*)  
 And my children cried unto God!  
 But they are the fount of my life—  
 How shall I exist without them,  
 And the light of mine eyes be not with me... (*banav*)<sup>26</sup>

Whatever the exact circumstances of Ibn Ezra's exile, it caused the poet to lose what supportive environment he had, following the exile of his brothers and the other notables: 'I wander heart-sick and wailing. To whom can I cry out? Whereto can I escape? Towards whom?'<sup>27</sup> Seemingly, as Brann observes,<sup>28</sup> it is less the problem of physical exile that preoccupies Ibn Ezra

---

<sup>24</sup> Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 106. Ibn Ezra also writes: "Who will take revenge upon the lions for my blood?," where the lions refer to those friends who deserted him. T. Carmi, ed., *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981), 27.

<sup>25</sup> Heinrich Brody, "Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents in his Life," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 24/4 (April 1934): 310.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ezra, "When the morning of life had passed," in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 4; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 10.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ezra, as cited in Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 83.

<sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*

(“whereto?”) as it is the psychological and social exile: ‘How long yet must my feet, at fate’s behest (*shaloah*) / The path of exile tread, and find no rest? (*manoah*)’<sup>29</sup>

One narrative of his exile has it that Moses fell in love with his brother Isaac’s daughter,<sup>30</sup> and apparently, since his family would not consent to any marriage of this sort, the desolate poet then decided to leave his birthplace and home. It is a romantic theory, showing how unhappy love, a consistently favourite topic of the poet, had found its way into mainstream Hebrew poetry:<sup>31</sup>

...Tell also the swallow, my beloved,  
who has built her nest in the depths of my soul, how,  
without her, life is odious to me, and death becomes my hoped-for liberator.  
Tell her, *on her account, I am caught in the net of exile* [italics added],  
for the sake of her, my dearly beloved one,  
I have drunk to the dregs the cup of affliction,  
and my soul is a plaything for the sling of homelessness.<sup>32</sup>

Upon closer examination however, Moses’s romantic love for his niece seems unlikely. It makes no sense that the middle-aged poet would leave his wife, newborn child, and his other children and seek marriage with his niece. More likely this poetry can be interpreted as the tendency of the poet to conform to long-established poetic conventions describing love. In these idealised forms, the affection of the lover is never returned—she is never described as being in love but only of arousing love in her admirers. The hapless man therefore endures difficult days and nights while trying to conceal his suffering, but the beloved inevitably knows of the lover’s suffering and enjoys watching it.

From 1095, the exiled Ibn Ezra wandered through Jewish and perhaps other communities in the north-eastern Spanish kingdoms of Aragon, Navarre (Pamplona), and Castile, locations probably chosen as friends or patrons there provided some means of support. It is not known why his brother Judah, while able, refused to assist although another brother Joseph seems to have taken care of

---

<sup>29</sup> Ibn Ezra, “*How Long at Fate’s Behest*,” in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 2. Indicating the parallel of his own woes with those of Israel’s, this poem draws inspiration from Deut. 28:28: ‘Among these nations you will find no peace, no rest for the sole of your foot... Your life will hang continually in suspense, fear will beset you, night and day, and you will find no security all your life long.’

<sup>30</sup> For example, see Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 69.

<sup>31</sup> Brody, “Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents,” 310.

<sup>32</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, *Otzar Nechmad*, III, 47-49, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 71.



Moses' wife and children in Granada.<sup>33</sup> If part of his poetry is to be taken literally as biography, then this care may not have been as sufficient as Moses expected, as expressed in the *Divan* as 'Lento':

Mourn, little dove, mourn for the wanderer (*u'vanaiv*),  
And for his children, that are far away (*meḥonen*),  
With none to bring them food.  
He sees no one that has seen their faces (*p'neiḥem*),  
None he can ask of their welfare, save wizards  
and mutterers (*um'on'en*).  
  
Grieve for him, little dove, and bemoan his exile (*l'vado*);  
Display not before him gladness and song (*ve'rainen*)...  
O lend him thy wings,  
That he may fly unto his loved ones (*ve'yaoof*)  
And rejoice in the dust of their land!' (*veḥonen*)<sup>34</sup>

Schippers has pointed out that in Hebrew Andalusian poetry, doves are usually linked with sadness,<sup>35</sup> and this device appears above to describe Ibn Ezra's feelings, cut off from his wife and children and separated from a life of peace and comfort. The poet never reconciled himself to his wandering life in exile, and became embittered, not least because of the continuous search for supportive patrons. His existence was dependent on the largess of these patrons, some of whom are mentioned in his poetry. The *Kitāb Zahr al-Riyād*, or known in Hebrew as *Sefer Ha-'Anaq*<sup>36</sup> ('Book of the Necklace' an innovative work based entirely on word-plays or puns) is completely dedicated to one.<sup>37</sup>

Living to an advanced age in his eighties, Ibn Ezra spent the remainder of his long life in exile, never returning to his native city, for which he continually and mournfully yearned:

O beloved doves, you faithful messengers!  
Like little clouds you soar towards the West, to the land of my birth.  
By my love I adjure you:  
give my greetings from afar to my friends who have remained faithful.  
Far away from them, homeless am I, but their tent is firmly spread out in my heart.  
Tell them how beloved they are to me,

---

<sup>33</sup> Brody, "Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents," xxiii.

<sup>34</sup> Ibn Ezra, "The dove that nests in the tree top...", in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 8; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 11.

<sup>35</sup> Arie Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 324-325.

<sup>36</sup> The *Sefer Ha-'Anaq* was first published by Baron David Guenzberg (Berlin, 1886). It is partially included in Brody's edition of *Selected Poems*; and a commentary was written slightly earlier by Saul b. Abdallah Joseph in *Mishbezet ha-Tarshish* (1926). It will be examined in more detail below.

<sup>37</sup> Schippers, "Musa bin 'Azra," 642.

how pained is my heart from longing and misery...<sup>38</sup>

Ibn Ezra's poetry continually expressed the idea of his return from exile, while also expressing Israel's restoration from exile. The love of homeland is sometimes allegorically expressed in terms of endearment and has found its way into the *Divan* marked 'Fast and murmuring' by Castelnovo-Tedesco:

O brook, whose hurrying waters go  
To the far land that holds my friend (*la'aretz*),  
By thee, my greeting let me send (*shlomi*);  
And if thy waves seem red as blood (*adumim*),  
Tell him my tears have stained thy flood;  
The mingled drops of eye and heart (*ve'dami*),  
For exile and for love they flow— (*ve'hishko*)  
Exile and love that rend the frame  
Of them who dwell from friends apart (*be'atzmi*).

O Brook, bespeak him tenderly;  
Fill thou his heart with thought of me (*yesh...*),  
So that usurper may not claim  
My place therein (*mekomi*)  
Make him to know  
That for his ransom I would give (*ve-im hu*)  
What years I yet may have to live—  
Or if my life be all too little worth,  
That which I hold most precious upon earth (*ve'imi*).<sup>39</sup>

One recurring theme in Ibn Ezra's complaint poetry is the ignorance of the local inhabitants. His shock and dismay at the cultural levels of life in the north led him to express that its residents were inherently inferior to those in his Granadan homeland. Again, this is demonstrated in the *Divan* as 'Andantino agitato e un poco malinconico':

Fate has led me to a land (*eretz*)  
Wherein my mind is bewildered, and my thoughts confused— (*ra'ayonav*)  
To a people rude of speech and obscure in word (*peh*);  
Before the insolence of their gaze, my face is cast down (*panav*).  
Oh, when will God call unto me, "Go free!" (*yikrah*)  
That I may escape from them—if only by the skin of my teeth! (*sheinav*)<sup>40</sup>

---

<sup>38</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Otzar Nechmad*, III, 47-49, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 71.

<sup>39</sup> Ibn Ezra, "O brook..." in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 26; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 23.

<sup>40</sup> Ibn Ezra, "When the morning of life had passed," in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 4; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 10.

In the above poem, it was *fate* and not *fault* that led to his wandering. This elevates his situation to something like divine destiny, or predestination, and leaves no room for Ibn Ezra's own responsibility in the matter. Ibn Ezra could neither adapt himself to the manners of the populations he encountered, nor to their low cultural standard. In one of his writings sent to a young friend, the great poet, Judah Halevi, he complains that,

...I live among wolves to whom the name 'man' is strange...  
they are incapable of distinguishing spiritual beggars and petty misers  
from bearers of wisdom and prophets of God's word...  
Oh, how narrow has the world become for me!  
It chokes my soul like a still neckband.<sup>41</sup>

These unusual poetic letters formed a preamble to a main poem and are sometimes more important than the actual poem itself. This is because they establish certain biographical details, such as recipients of poems and the circumstances in which they were composed.<sup>42</sup> But as significantly, these preambles mark the emergence of poetry in which the poets expressed their *own* impressions and experiences, rather than standard communal wishes, desires, and concerns or stylised environments and relationships.

Ibn Ezra refers to his own poems as young maidens 'not yet known by a man,' and they are 'filled with precious stones,'<sup>43</sup> amongst other lofty descriptions. In his boasting, he demonstrates his alienation from his hostland community—as a group, not as individuals—people who do not know poetry, populated by those who cannot comprehend his lofty thoughts and supreme knowledge.<sup>44</sup> However, the function of harsh and bitter denigration may simply serve to highlight his own superiority and self-obsession:

If in mine exile, I might meet but one (*achi*),  
With whom to hold sweet converse of the mind,  
Then would I willingly, forgive Fate's spite (*lisloah*),  
That sent me forth, so dear a friend to find.

From town to town I haste,  
But everywhere (*ahalai*)  
It is to Folly's tents that men repair (*matoah*);  
To Learnings gate they cannot find the way— (*ve'hem*)

---

<sup>41</sup> Ibn Ezra *Otzar Nechmad*, III, 50-51, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 71.

<sup>42</sup> Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*, 7.

<sup>43</sup> Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*, 342.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 344.

Yet never do I bar it, night or day,  
 And none need weary to gain entrance there (*liftoah*).  
 Dullards! They cannot see the stars of fame (*ve'hem*),  
 That in the firmament of letters rise  
 To blazon forth my name (*lizroah*)  
 My words of wisdom could not please their ear (*k'vedah*)  
 Though these had the power to make the deaf to hear (*patu'ah*).  
 Say to the pilferers of song, that steal (*shalalu*)  
 My words, and fain would make my thoughts  
 Their prey (*malcoah*),  
 That they indeed, their thievish hands may fill (*mahatzev*)  
 With fragments of my precious gems...(*im-hoah*)  
 How shall men like to the lion's roar (*he'enosh*)  
 The futile yelping of an angry cur? (*linbo'ah*)  
 To catch a race-horse, shall a blind man try? (*im neshet*)  
 Or sparrows chase an eagle through the sky? (*ephro'ah*)  
 My songs [*shir'ei*] shall live while the earth and sun (*shemesh alai*)  
 Their ordered daily course shall run;  
 But songs in falsehood wrought, shall be (*shachoa*)  
 Within a day, forgotten utterly.  
 Oh, how can I, whose wont was to consort (*ta'arev*)  
 With the great minded nobles of the west;  
 Take joy in life? How shall my lonely heart,  
 Even in sleep, find rest? (*l'vivi noah*)<sup>45</sup>

This self-importance appears in one of the songs Castelnovo-Tedesco selected for his *Divan* as  
 'Subito mosso e agitato':

...Though enemies rage, I will knock upon the doors (*delatav*);  
 In the face of the envious will I enter the portals (*petachav*).  
 Locks will I shatter with the power of speech (*ashaber*),  
 With the songs [*shir*] of my lips, I will break bolts in sunder (*be'raihav*).<sup>46</sup>

Although he was beset by an environment he loathed, by lack of money, friends, support, and  
 cultured circles, Ibn Ezra never lost hope, and his poetry shows that he remained full of joyous  
 expectation of personal restoration:

Yet may not Fate, that hath been harsh so long  
 Relent at last (*me'at*);

<sup>45</sup> Ibn Ezra, "How Long at Fate's Behest," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 4.

<sup>46</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Fate has blocked the way..." in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 19; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 14.

And grant my heart's desire—and lead me back  
 To that fair city where my youth was passed? (*yishloah*)  
 There wait the roofs of friends, and there might I  
 Sit by a loved one's threshold, and exchange (*b'ztel*)  
 Greetings of friendship with the passers-by...(*pasoah*)

But who can say if those dear, distant ones  
 Cherish or scorn the love I treasure yet?— (*ha'ahavah*)  
 If I forget them, may my hand forget (*shaloah*)  
 Its cunning<sup>47</sup>—if, from them apart (*ve'im*),  
 One thought of joy can enter in my heart (*lismoah*).

Oh, if indeed, the Lord would me restore (...*hadar*)  
 To beautiful Granada-land, my paths (*tza'loah*)  
 Would be the paths of pleasantness once more (*be'yom*)  
 For in that land my life was very sweet...(*daloach*)<sup>48</sup>

According to his dated poetry, in 1114 Ibn Ezra's beloved died in childbirth in Córdoba. This was probably not the fabled niece, but otherwise an unknown person, and her death profoundly shocked the poet.<sup>49</sup> His despair was increased through hearing of the deaths of friends, and unusually for the Hebrew poets, he wrote elegies for both women and men. With time and misfortune, Ibn Ezra's yearnings for Granada and his children increased, but despite his trials, he refused the advice of Judah Halevi, to leave and return to Granada where the younger poet lived.<sup>50</sup> Only sometime before 1128 did he finally relent, in deference to the wishes of his only surviving brother Joseph. However, Joseph soon died, and Moses continued his bitter life in a strange place, informing the reader that '[d]espite those who hate and envy me, I will proceed on my own chosen way.'<sup>51</sup>

For whatever reason, it seems even his children disowned him over time, with his nephew Judah the only member of his family he ever saw again. This isolation was dramatically expressed in the *Divan* as '*Piu agitato e drammatico*'.<sup>52</sup>

Oh, how have my kin have made a stranger of me! (*krovai*)  
 My brothers hold me as an alien (*k'nehri*),  
 And like them, my children renounce me— (*yeladai*)

---

<sup>47</sup> Again, comparing himself to the fate of Israel in exile, note the reference here to Psalm 137:5: 'If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning.'

<sup>48</sup> Ibn Ezra, "How Long at Fate's Behest," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 45.

<sup>49</sup> Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 74.

<sup>50</sup> Schippers, "Musa bin 'Azra," 642.

<sup>51</sup> Ibn Ezra in L. Dukes, *Moses ben Ezra aus Granada* (Altona, 1839), 95, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 72.

<sup>52</sup> Brody, "Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents," xxiv.

Even as I was stubborn and neglectful toward my father (*le'hor*i).

But a little while have they yet on earth— (*be'tevel*)

And tomorrow, their lot will be as mine (*k'mikri*).

Verily, the firstborn of Death will cut them off,

And their memory will be lost from the world (*ve'zihram*)

Even as I am forgotten<sup>53</sup> (*ke'zihri*).

True it is, that the fortune of one who begets

many sons (*alaphim*)

Is like that of him who goes childless (*ariri*).<sup>54</sup>

Here one observes a development in the life story of Ibn Ezra. The early poems in the cycle of the *Divan* where "...my children cried unto God"<sup>55</sup> when Ibn Ezra went into exile are now expressed in opposite terms, where his children "renounce" him. The grief suffered because of his material and personal hardships finds expression throughout his later works and his poems become a lament for the sadness of his own life. The following is from the *Divan* in 'Agitato e drammatico':

Wrung with anguish (*matzavi*)

My heart complains (*libi*);

Each chamber mourning (*heldi*)

The other's hurt (*miktzato*).

Like a bird in flight (*negdi*)

My life span seems—(*av'ro*)

My years its wings (*natzato*),

Their feathers, days (*kayyav*).

In all my years (*ma'avayav*)

In all their days (*lo-heisig rayk*)

I have reached but a shadow (*shimtzato*)

Of my desire (*siho*).

My mind is wearied (*koho*)

My strength decays (*zoken*);

I stumble and fall

In the morass of age (*uv'vitzato*).

What now are my sayings? (*ma'anav*)

Or what my thoughts?

What is my wisdom (*u'mlitzato*)

Or what mine art?

More shift than shadows (*shishim*)

My three-score years (*hashim*)

---

<sup>53</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco concludes his work with 'Even as I am forgotten' omitting the continuation.

<sup>54</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Wouldst thou look upon me in my grave?...", in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 56; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 64-65.

<sup>55</sup> Ibn Ezra, "When the morning of life had passed," in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 4; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 10.

Faster they rushed (*shotef*)  
 Than a racing steed (*bim'rutzato*).  
 From the time of man's birth (*li'd'to*)  
 Till his time has come (*ud-bo'ito*)  
 Is but from kneading (*batzek*)  
 To rising of dough! (*humtzato*)<sup>56</sup>

Perhaps arising from his abject misery and abandonment, Ibn Ezra lost interest in the material world. He subsequently devoted his time entirely to scholarly pursuits writing *about* poetry, philosophy, society, and reflecting on his relationship with God:

I meditate upon the days that have gone by (*be'libi*),  
 To make mine ears hearken to the portents of the  
 days to come... (*l'az'nai*)

Then do I understand that within me is the Lord (*Adonai*)  
 Whose glorious self is hidden, but whose (*b'sihli*)  
 Wondrous works (*Adonai*)  
 Reveal him to the eye of thought... (*ve'niglah*)

Then for all my works, God will bring me  
 into judgement—(*b'mishpat*)  
 And my deeds shall accuse me, and my deeds  
 shall plead for me (*ve'danai*).

Therefore, will I shun the habitation of the world (*l'bilti*),  
 Lest she entice me, and I become prey unto  
 arrogant sin... (*z'donai*);

But my desire is to join my threshold (*le'siphay*)  
 Unto the threshold of the men of learning,  
 And among them to make my lodge (*m'lonai*).

Keen is my longing to dwell with them (*alaihem*),  
 But my feet are drawn by the cords of my (*ainai*)  
 Transgressions.

Unto the midst of a people that know me not (*ve'hen-lo*).  
 Thus, do I bide with them in whom I have no part,  
 Neither are they of my fellowship (*mayhamon'ai*);  
 When I think to greet them with the kiss  
 of peace (*le'shalom*),  
 They deem that I would bite their cheek (*be'shinai*).

I will make the wisdom of the ancients my portion (*me'nati*),  
 And their books shall be the balm to my affliction (*ye'gun'ai*)

---

<sup>56</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Wrung with anguish...", in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 11; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 12.

With them will I take sweet counsel (*le'sodi*),  
For they are the chosen ones among the faithful (*ne'eman'ai*).

When I dive into the sea of their knowledge, I bring forth pearls to adorn my throat (*alaket*)  
In these shall my heart and mine eyes delight (*et'panai*),  
And of them shall my glad lips sing (*ve'libi*).

...On them will I meditate all the days of my life—(*et-panai*)  
For they are the fountains of my joy (*me'ayan'ai*).<sup>57</sup>

Evidently, it is no longer his children, but learned scholars who are now Ibn Ezra's "fountains" of joy. For whatever reason, the goal of Ibn Ezra's life transformed from the pursuit of material well-being and sensual or artistic gratification into a striving for solace in reason:

I roused my sleeping mind  
To lull my lusting soul, my restless eyes,  
And in my heart I studied what has passed away,  
So that my ears might hear what lies in store...

Yet God has made my earthly life an emptiness;  
I walk the path that others have walked before:  
I journey on my father's path  
Alight where they encamped,  
and God will call me to account for everything,  
And my own deeds will be his witness.

And so I scorn this world and shun her lure,  
So that she not pile sins on me—  
Abandon her, lest she abandon me...

The ancient books are everything I want;  
Their wisdom is the balm that soothes my pain.  
With them I keep sweet company...<sup>58</sup>

Expressions such as the "earthly life [holding] an emptiness" dramatically illustrates the transformation of the poet from youthful singer of sophisticated songs, to that of mature philosopher and ultimately, penitent, looking backwards to the "ancient books [that] are everything I want..."

### The Poetic and Philosophical Works

Ibn Ezra considered the aural elements of a poem as integral to its meaning, and it is this close connection between sound and meaning that is one outstanding characteristic of the poems he

---

<sup>57</sup> Ibn Ezra, "I Rouse My Thoughts," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 6-9.

<sup>58</sup> Ibn Ezra, "The Lamp Within," trans. Raymond P. Scheindlin, as quoted in Nili Scharf Gold, "Rereading 'It is the Light,' Lea Goldberg's Only Novel," *Prooftexts* 17/3 (September 1997): 260-262.



produced. He was a master of structurally elaborate compositions and in his ability to use word-plays to suit his own literary needs. While Ibn Ezra was conformist, he was the first to compose an entire Arabic-style volume of homonymic poems, using the *tajnis* form which constitutes the body of his long poetic work *Sefer Ha- 'Anaq* ('Book of the Necklace').<sup>59</sup> It contains many descriptions of poetry, comparing it to precious stones, necklaces, precious garments, and more. Structurally, the specific *tajnis* style of poetry involved verses of words with multiple meanings, but the same phonetic sound, usually in the ending syllable. Although Ibn Gabirol composed in *tajnis* earlier, Ibn Ezra's use of the style in whole poems was an innovation by making all the similar sounding words follow the order of the Hebrew alphabet. Not only does the *Sefer Ha- 'Anaq* use *tajnis*, but it also conforms to as many lines of verse as the letters of the Hebrew word *tarshish*, an element or stone mentioned in the Bible,<sup>60</sup> when it is understood as *gematria* (from the Greek 'geometry') where each letter is assigned a number, and then matching words with equal values. The poems consist of ten chapters, each of which contains the 22 letters of the Hebrew alphabet in order, and each chapter ends with the name of a precious stone. Therefore, the poems hold the corresponding number of each stone's name in *gematria* as central to its structure.<sup>61</sup> This innovation does not come at the expense of poetic quality and imagery—providing a vivid illustration of Ibn Ezra's poetic skills.

The secular poetry of Ibn Ezra is found in two major collections. One is the *Sefer Ha- 'Anaq* that contains 573 short poems, forming a miniature encyclopedia of the range of Spanish contemporary poetic themes. The other are the collections that together constitute his *dīwān*,<sup>62</sup> which as we have it today, is a collection of poetry consisting of about 300 secular lyric and non-liturgical poems. The *dīwān* that Moses Ibn Ezra himself collected and arranged has been lost and the few collections that remain were collected by others. The *dīwān* collections were first made accessible under the Hebrew title *Shirat Yisrael* edited in 1924 by Benzion Halper. This work contains 250 non-liturgical and secular poems and a greater number of liturgical works. Poems of praise, most of them quite long, comprise the most abundant group and many of the poems are 'friendship poems.'<sup>63</sup> An edition of Ibn Ezra's *dīwān* was prepared by the great poet and author Chaim Nachman Bialik with

---

<sup>59</sup> Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 59.

<sup>60</sup> Exodus 28:20, *tarshish* was a stone on the priestly breastplate.

<sup>61</sup> The evergreen example of Hebrew *gematria* is the word *chai* ("alive"), which is composed of two letters that add up to eighteen. Therefore, this has made eighteen a 'lucky number,' and gifts in multiples of it are very popular.

<sup>62</sup> The word *dīwān* derives from the Persian *dibir* which means writer or scribe. This is closely related to the Hebrew root *d-b/v-r* from which derives such forms as 'speak' (*daber*) and nouns such as *do'ver*, meaning spokesman.

<sup>63</sup> Brann, "Structure and Meaning," 35.

Y. Ravinitski (1928) and was important because of the cultural influence of Bialik himself. In 1934, H. Brody and S. Solis-Cohen published the collection of *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*<sup>64</sup> and the *dīwān* material as used by Castelnovo-Tedesco was, by all appearances, taken from this Solis-Cohen English translation and will be discussed in Chapter Eight. In 1935-41, Brody then published the two volume *Shirei HaHol: Moshe 'Ibn Ezra* (Berlin, 1935). It was based on two manuscripts of the *dīwān*: Schocken MS 37 and Oxford MS 1972, as well as containing other fragments, totalling 300 poems. Brody's efforts produced the first complete reconstructed version of a *dīwān* belonging to any poet of the Golden Age. Selected *piyyutim* and secular poems by Ibn Ezra were also published in various anthologies.

Ibn Ezra wrote four *Arabic* works on Andalusian *Hebrew* poetics and cultural history of which only two have survived.<sup>65</sup> His religious-philosophical work bears the Arabic title *Maqālat al-ḥadiiqa fī ma'na al-majāz wal-ḥaqiqah*<sup>66</sup> and known in Hebrew as *Arugat Ha-bosem* ('Bed of Spices'). It is a collection of mainly Neoplatonist musings on the transcendence and nature of God, the meanings and uses of philosophy, the position of man in the universe, motion, nature, and intellect.<sup>67</sup> It is important primarily as it shows a profound knowledge of Graeco-Arabic thinkers such as Plato, Pythagoras, Socrates, and Aristotle amongst others, as well as the philosophy of Sa'adia Gaon and Ibn Gabirol.

Ibn Ezra's second work, *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah wa'l-mudhākarah*, or in Hebrew, *Sefer Ha-Iyunim Ve-Ha-Diyunim* ('Book of Discussing and Memorising') is far more important. It was composed towards the end of his life and deals with rhetoric and poetry. Written in the form of eight responses to questions asked by inquiring young friend, it is one of the earliest works on Hebrew poetics, dealing mainly with the question of how modern Andalusian poets wrote their poems according to Arabic poetic laws, and demonstrating how it conforms to those poetic laws and norms.<sup>68</sup> The work incorporates autobiographical materials as well as a history of the settlement of Jews in Spain including a valuable survey of Hebrew Andalusian literature and early figures of Hebrew poetry and grammar. Some are obscure today, others well known, including those with whom Ibn Ezra was personally familiar. The work sets out to connect the poet to his environment,

---

<sup>64</sup> Published in Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934.

<sup>65</sup> Ross Brann, "The Arabised Jews," in *The Literature of Al-Andalus*, ed. Maria Rosa Menocal, 439.

<sup>66</sup> Schippers, "Musa bin 'Azra," 642. It remains unedited.

<sup>67</sup> Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought*, 245; Roth, et al., "Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob," 1173.

<sup>68</sup> Schippers, "Musa bin 'Azra," 642; Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 73.

helping us understand the dilemmas and conflicts of the introduction of the long-short quantitative Arabic meter<sup>69</sup> into Hebrew poetry.<sup>70</sup> The final chapter of Ibn Ezra's *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah*, comprises about half the book, and is a close study of 'poetic ornaments' (*adab*), an informal and casual style of rhetorical forms and metaphorical language used to embellish a poem. Ibn Ezra's detailed examination of Arabic figures of speech quotes from Arabic source books including the Qur'ān and Arabic poetry as well as Hebrew scripture and contemporary Hebrew Andalusian poetry.<sup>71</sup> The *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah* is Ibn Ezra's most lasting contribution—his Judaeo-Arabic writings about Hebrew poetry itself and Andalusian Jewish culture. He establishes a relationship between the poet and his environment as well as between the Bible and poetry contemporaneous to twelfth-century Spain. While Ibn Ezra's secular poetic, and later, his devotional outputs were impressive enough, the *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah wa'l-mudhākarah* is the most comprehensive work on Hebrew poetry and poetics—and it was written in Arabic. This work justifies how Ibn Ezra saw himself—a teacher and transmitter of high Andalusian culture, and an invaluable and unique source for the history, theory, and rhetoric of Andalusian Hebrew poetry.

In discussing the legitimacy of Arabic-influenced Hebrew prose, Ibn Ezra's ultimate purpose seems to have been to impart the study and composition of Hebrew poetry in Spain with a contemporary framework that would legitimise Hebrew poetry in the face of Islamic sophistication. He therefore criticises those poets who considered meter and rhyme as the primary constituents of poetry, and as an end in themselves while ignoring any association of these elements with the subject matter of the poem:

They have no experience in writing poetry or prose...They are eager to write poetry, they rush to write prose and hurriedly concoct rhymes...They believe that poetry consists of no more than paying attention to meter and rhyming letters and enduring that the poem has both rhyme and meter.<sup>72</sup>

---

<sup>69</sup> Poetic meters were based on fixed rules whereby certain vowels were consistently considered 'short,' others 'long' regardless of whether they were stressed or not. English, by contrast, uses alternating stressed and unstressed syllables.

<sup>70</sup> Dunash ha-Levi ben Labrat was the first characteristic poet of the Golden Age, often accused of corrupting Hebrew poetic style with Arabic meters. Moreover, he was the first of the Hebrew poets in Spain to write lyric poetry about the pleasures of wine. Within a generation, these innovations were to become commonplace in the Hebrew poetry of Spain.

<sup>71</sup> Schippers, "Musa bin 'Azra," 642.

<sup>72</sup> Ibn Ezra as cited in Dana, "Meaningful Rhyme," 170-171.

### ***HaSallah—The Penitent***

While Ibn Ezra composed several learned works, he did not remain engaged by scholarly pursuits for long. He may have subsequently identified with the opinions of those such as his admired friend Judah Halevi, with the warning to ‘...let not the wisdom of the Greeks beguile thee, which hath no fruit but only flowers.’<sup>73</sup> His youthful feeling of joy in life, and then his interests in logic were replaced with a feeling of his own misfortune in the world. The joyous singer who had earlier been filled with the love of life now became the sorrowful humble composer of religious hymns summoning the supplicant to repentance and piety. This finds place in a song that Castelnovo-Tedesco appropriately marks ‘Quiet and Devout’ in the *Divan*. It is an example of lyric poetry that would be considered ‘non-liturgical’ religious poetry according to the classifications of Citron.<sup>74</sup> Nevertheless, it is included in the *dīwān*, that by its definition is a collection of ostensibly secular lyric poetry, while at the same time is para-liturgical and even close to ‘religious’ poetry:

Only in God I trust, To Him, my prayer (*aḥaleh*)  
Ascends continually;  
The secret of my soul I will not bare  
For man to see (*agaleh*).

What help for mortal lies in mortal’s power? (*l’gever*)  
What succour unto one despised (*l’nikleh*)  
Can issue from the lips of them unprized.

Earth’s favour, spurn. ‘Tis she, with her own hands (*ge’oneh*)  
Bring low her tower,  
And she that turns her precious gifts to naught.... (*teveleh*)<sup>75</sup>

The poem may be seen to reflect the uneasy relationship between the secular poet and his overarching religious identity. This is illustrated by noting the similarity in content, style, and structure between the above poem and to the below Psalm 62:9-11:

Trust in him at all times, you people;  
pour out your hearts before him,  
for God is our refuge...

Men who are the lowborn are vanity,  
and the highborn men are a lie.

---

<sup>73</sup> Judah Halevi as cited in Dimont, *Jews, God and History*, 198.

<sup>74</sup> Citron, “Love elements,” 319-320. Citron states that this type of poetry emphasises the love of God in emotional terms. The production of this content seems to relate to particular incidents in the lives of the poets. Citron, *op. cit.*

<sup>75</sup> Ibn Ezra, “Only in God I trust...,” in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 39; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 52.

If weighed on a balance, they are nothing;  
together they are only lighter than a breath.

Do not trust in oppression  
or put vain hope in stolen goods;  
though your riches increase,  
do not set your heart on them.<sup>76</sup>

Prevailing thought in the eleventh and twelfth centuries valued certain forms of expression and knowledge over others. Those arts and sciences that increased the knowledge of God's universe were considered worthier of pursuit than others.<sup>77</sup> This may be a reason why the Jewish poets who wrote secular verse apparently had doubts about the appropriateness and purposefulness of this lyric poetry. Citron has pointed out that this is noticeable in the fact that Hanagid and Ibn Gabirol felt it necessary to explain poems of this type as a form of religious allegory.<sup>78</sup> Therefore, a constant theme of the penitential poems of Ibn Ezra is the transgressions in his youth when he was so enamoured of this world, and now begs forgiveness, as expressed in the *Divan* as '*Animato e deciso*':

The world is like a woman of folly (*p'tayut*),  
Vain are her pomp and glory (*v'hodah*);  
She speaks sweet words, but verily (*ve'aḥen*)  
Under her tongue is a snare (*metzudah*).

O brother of wisdom, frustrate her cunning (*aḥi-bin*);  
Turn thou her glory into shame (*k'vodah*).  
Hasten, and send her from thee forever— (*la'tzmitut*)  
Her bill of divorcement in her hand! (*be'yudah*)<sup>79</sup>

The world metaphorically described as a treacherous woman is a theme that first appears in the works of the Iranian-born Arabic poet Abū Nuwās (756-814). Ibn Ezra's "world" that speaks "sweet words" represents the material and physical surroundings of the poet before "divorcing her" from his mind. This is a stylised genre in which the world is said to resemble a beautiful woman singing in a garden; but the woman is "of folly," her song a lie, and the garden abundant with

---

<sup>76</sup> Psalm 62:9-11, trans. by this author. See "*Tehilim* chapter 62," <https://www.mechon-mamre.org/p/pt/pt2662.htm> (accessed June 26, 2018).

<sup>77</sup> Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought*, 194.

<sup>78</sup> Citron, "Love Elements," 211.

<sup>79</sup> Ibn Ezra, "The world is like a woman of folly," in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 39; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 47. Like Shmuel Hanagid, a favourite device of Ibn Ezra's is his use of the image of a prostitute as metaphor for the world. Ibn Ezra, *Shirei Kodesh*, ed. by S. Bernstein, 30, as cited in Citron, "Love elements," 229-230.

poisoned fruits in which the stylised combination of connected themes again appears.<sup>80</sup> These usually involve woman, song, and garden/fruits. Since poetry was merely the fruits of the imagination, the repentance used by Ibn Ezra as well as other poets, was not only a poetic gesture but public rebuke of lyric poetry:

As to humorous and mocking poems, which are outside the realm of beautiful and proper things and are to be considered among the many ugly things, I only dabbled in them occasionally, and [therefore] have not stopped to mention them. Poems of this sort are nothing more than the errors of youth, like love poems and...are better hidden. I ask pardon from the old for this sin and repent completely.<sup>81</sup>

It may seem surprising that of all the Hebrew poets in the Spanish-Jewish period, Ibn Ezra who was probably the most prolific composer of lyric secular, and erotic/homoerotic love poetry disavowed this genre in his later life. However, eroticism in religious poetry is frequently connected with mysticism, and Ibn Ezra was certainly interested in pursuits such as mysticism, astrology, and numismatics. But whatever the motivations, Ibn Ezra did his best to deal with the conflicts of combining obviously sincere piety with an equally sincere commitment to earthly pleasure and the beauty in it he so admired.

Ibn Ezra composed approximately 300 surviving religious hymns and penitential *seliḥot*.<sup>82</sup> Rhyme and meter in a wide variety of forms, were the principal characteristics of this para-liturgical and liturgical poetry, as it was the secular poetry, not merely functioning as a sound effect, but underlining the message of the poem. The aim of the genre is to invite one to look internally; they portray the vanity of worldly desires, and the inevitable divine judgment coming to the pleasure-seeker. This theme is expressed by Castelnovo-Tedesco in the *Divan* as ‘Quiet’ and ‘Fluent’:

Peace upon them that sojourn in holes of the ground (*ḥora'i*),  
Upon them that dwell in the deep shadows (*be'ashmaynim*).  
These are they that were reared in purple (*ul*),  
And that fed upon dainties—(*le'ma'adaynim*)  
Naught remains to them now, of all their glories (*ki*);  
But upon their backs are mounds of earth (*tziunim*)  
And slabs of stone.

O Children of the world, be ye terrified at their showing— (*be'marayhem*)

---

<sup>80</sup> The theme that women are untrustworthy, troublesome, fickle etc. closely reflects the writings of Shmu'el Hanagid, and is a highly stylised genre and a very common literary device. The Qur'ān reflects on the social position of women (*Surat an-Nisa*, Qur'ān 4:15, 4:34), and it would be unrealistic to think that the Hebrew poets were unfamiliar with this.

<sup>81</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 92, trans. in Citron, “Love elements,” 65.

<sup>82</sup> Roth, et al., “Ibn Ezra, Moses ben Jacob,” 1172. The form is derived from the three-letter root *s-l-ḥ* from where is also derived the proper noun *Ha-Sallah* etc.

Be admonished and instructed, O ye that think! (*banim*)<sup>83</sup>

The numerous penitential poems gave rise to Ibn Ezra becoming known as *Ha-Sallah* or *Ha-Salhan* by later generations. Although the penitential prose of *Ha-Salhan* was adopted into the most intimate prayers recited communally in the synagogue to this day, the liturgical poet combined Hebrew and Arabic literature and literary elements as well as secular and liturgical in his prayers.<sup>84</sup> This mixture is unsurprising as, in the words of Brody, Ibn Ezra ‘rejected the opinion that because the laws of poetics established by the Arabs are unknown to the Bible, they are alien to the spirit of the Hebrew language.’<sup>85</sup> Furthermore, like Hanagid he was something of a Qur’anic scholar, and his works are infused with quotations from the holy book of Islam, most notably in the above-mentioned *Kitāb al-muḥāḍarah*, that have indirectly infused and enriched Jewish prayer with Islamic expressions. Despite his obvious pride in Jewish cultural heritage, since he subscribed to both Jewish and Arabic cultural norms, Ibn Ezra has been accused of holding ‘assimilationist’ tendencies.<sup>86</sup> However, this is unfair because the Arabic language was the vernacular in Muslim Spain, and since Arabic was rich in scientific terminology which Hebrew lacked, it was used by many Jews in their scientific and philosophical treatises on the Hebrew language itself.

The greater part of Ibn Ezra’s sacred compositions is found in the Sephardic *maḥzor* (the standardised prayer book), and some in Hebrew secular poem collections. His well-known *El nora alilah* is a *piyyut* with strong national tones that begins the *Ne’ilah* in the *Yom Kippur* service. It was adopted into the Ashkenazic liturgy as well as the Sephardic:

...Generations of our sires strong in faith walked in Your light  
As of old, renew our days,  
as Your gates are closed this night (*ne’ilah*).  
Gather Judah’s scattered flock unto Zion’s rebuilt site  
Bless this year with grace divine,  
as Your gates are closed this night (*ne’ilah*).<sup>87</sup>

---

<sup>83</sup> Ibn Ezra, “Peace be upon them that sojourn...,” in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 52; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 62.

<sup>84</sup> Carmi, *Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*, 105.

<sup>85</sup> Brody, “Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents,” xxvi-xxvii.

<sup>86</sup> Brann, *Compunctious Poet*, 16.

<sup>87</sup> Rabbi Moshe Ibn Ezra, *El Nora Alila*, in *Piyyut: North America*, <https://static1.squarespace.com/static/513b9fc4e4b0b5df0ebd941d/t/56ae307920c64718e8ba2e48/1454256249901/El+Nora+Alila.pdf> (accessed December 10, 2017).

The *Avodah* is another skilful work and is poetically based on the Book of Jonah.<sup>88</sup> This is one of his *piyyutim* with a national aspect, and today forms part of the introduction to the Sephardic *maḥzor*. It is an example of where Ibn Ezra used nationalistic tones in his religious lyrics, while at the same time also expresses his own personal exile:

I hear afar, the cry of the gazelle  
That wails in Edom's keep, or Ismael's chain;  
She weeps for her beloved One, estranged,  
The bridegroom of her youth.  
Oh, may she sing  
For joy, instead of grief! Oh, may her words  
Find favour as aforetime:  
"Me sustain  
With Thy endearments, as with flagons. Bring  
With sweets of love, my soul to life again!"<sup>89</sup>

The Jewish nationalistic poems form a separate part of the secular poetry in Spain and express attachment and longing for a lost Biblical homeland represented by "Edom's keep" under the yoke of the Muslim "Ismael's chains," and they express the suffering of the Jews at the hands of their enemies, as well as pray for the coming of the Messiah and redemption:

...To bewail the magnitude of our misfortune  
is beyond our powers...  
It would not be possible to describe the least part of our suffering.  
...the day of their exile knows no tomorrow.<sup>90</sup>

By all accounts, Ibn Ezra led a long life despite his bitter exile, the separation from family and friends, and major material losses. A theme that becomes increasingly used in his works is his own mortality expressed by Castelnuevo-Tedesco as '*Lento, grave*' in the *Divan*:

Come now, to the Court of Death,  
Behold them that sleep therein (*ve'hebet*),  
And be thou hushed and humbled (*ve'niḥlam*),  
See, their rooftops are of stone (*ba'avanim*),  
Their couches and their coverlids, of dust (*ve'tzilam*);  
And this is their rest and their portion (*ve'halkum*)  
Whilst earth endures—and their dwelling-

---

<sup>88</sup> Mansoor, *Jewish History and Thought*, 245.

<sup>89</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Come let us seek the spots...", in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 102.

<sup>90</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Otzar Nechmad*, III, 183-184, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 79.



place forever (*le'olum*).<sup>91</sup>

The verses in which the poet recalls in old age the graves he was no longer destined to see in Granada, are sorrowful and elegant: 'The resting face of my parents and dear ones I saw in a dream. I greeted all of them but received no answer.'<sup>92</sup> In his poems containing expressions of the vanities of the world as well as his poems on the feelings evoked at the sight of a cemetery, he skilfully blended artistic expression with philosophy, morality, and analytical thought. In his expressions of the importance of visiting the graves of his family, there is also parallel with Castelnovo-Tedesco: '...Suffice it to say that the only place where I felt comfortable was at the cemetery, before my parents' tombs...'<sup>93</sup>

Although sometimes cited as occurring in 1135, as in Castelnovo-Tedesco's *Divan*, sometime soon after 1138, the year he wrote an elegy which is the last of his known dated poems,<sup>94</sup> Ibn Ezra died as a wanderer in exile. Yehuda Halevi's elegy to Ibn Ezra indicates the profound loss that this great poet and writer felt as did, it may be assumed, many others by lamenting: 'Who else can now explain the impenetrable things after his death?'<sup>95</sup>

## Conclusions

The major artistic contribution that emanated from Spanish Jewry of the medieval period—under mainly Muslim but also Christian rule—is the sacred, devotional, and secular poetry written in Hebrew. Despite the language, it is primarily based on Arabic models, structures, themes, and meters. The 250-year period of literary creativity is typically recalled in popular language as the 'Golden Age' of Spanish-Hebrew poetry. For instance, in the words of Levine, the poetry was 'virtually unparalleled and certainly unsurpassed in world literature for its artistic sophistication and astonishing breadth of subject matter, this literary legacy reflects both the Jewish encounter with Greco-Arabic [sic] culture and the poets' mining of their own Judaic and Hebraic foundations.'<sup>96</sup>

---

<sup>91</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Come now to the Court of Death...", in Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 50; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 61.

<sup>92</sup> Ibn Ezra as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 79.

<sup>93</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, letter of September 2, 1948, as quoted in Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 206, translated from Bruno, ed., *Ildebrando Pizzetti: Cronologia e Bibliographia* (Parma, 1979), p. 301-2. The letter was written while Castelnovo-Tedesco was in Tuscany, from his old summer house.

<sup>94</sup> Brody, "Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents," xxv.

<sup>95</sup> Yehuda Halevi as cited in Schippers, *Spanish Hebrew Poetry*, 339.

<sup>96</sup> Neil Levine, "A Garden Eastward: Sephardi and Near Eastern Inspiration" (October 10, 2011), Milken Archive of Jewish Music, <http://www.milkenarchive.org/articles/view/introduction-to-volume-2> (accessed January 27, 2017).

Those poets active to the middle of the twelfth century in Al-Andalus—and that are known to us mostly due to quality as well as quantity—were often also philosophers, Biblical commentators, religious (*halakhic*) scholars, and physicians. Moses Ibn Ezra was an interesting and most skilled proponent of the Andalusian school. Although less well known than other Golden Age poets for his secular work today, the range of emotions he expresses in his poetry is wide and sophisticated. The non-liturgical dimension of the poetry embraces an impressive range of subject matter: spiritual as well as physical yearning, mystery, metaphysics, corporeal pleasures, friendship, human understanding and wisdom, grief and mourning, family, national sentiments, the pleasure of wine and nature, and sensuous, sometimes bawdy eroticism. In addition, the religious elements of the secular poetry can also be appreciated as devotional poetry in itself. His expressions of exile, both personal and communal are profound, visual, and disturbing, and contain emotions culturally transferrable to the modern reader. His use of the male beloved, his expressions of nature, the grape, and other stylised devices are as accessible today as they evidently were when he was a young and well-respected producer of the genre.

One remarkable aspect of this poet is his use of the musically strophic form of *muwashshaḥāh*. Although we do not have any record of how—or if—the poetry was actually musically accompanied, being strophic in form, it may have been sung by the wandering poet Ibn Ezra himself.

Having explored Golden Age poetry, including its socio-cultural environment, its producers, and the role and implications of exile on social and cultural identity, the next chapter jumps forward eight centuries to consider the socio-historical environments that impacted upon Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Those environments ultimately led to him to amalgamate Golden Age poetry of Ibn Ezra with a modern twentieth-century musical setting the outcome of which, it will be suggested, represents a persistence of cultural memory as part of the diasporic condition.

## Chapter Six

### Towards Conflict: The Racial Laws and their Consequences

From national unification in the early 1860s through the Fascist era from the early 1920s, Italy provided an accommodating and inclusive environment for Jews to enter all facets of public life. It was when Italy allied itself to Nazi Germany that political expedience enabled persecution and exclusion of Jews constituting a sudden decline from full acceptance to legislated racial antisemitism. Introduction of the racial laws in 1938 therefore forms a turning point within the biographical narrative of Castelnuevo-Tedesco, marking the loss of one way of life and the acquisition of a new set of strategies to replace it.

Using milestones and highlights from modern Italian history, this chapter seeks to place Jewish artists and intellectuals within the geopolitical context to allow a better understanding of the motivations for Castelnuevo-Tedesco and others like him to abandon Europe for America. This chapter does not set out to portray an exhaustive examination of Italian Jewish history. Rather, it surveys how the socio-historical environment affected the Castelnuevo-Tedesco family, and how the *Divan*, through its association with Ibn Ezra ties together expressions of exile.

Jewish settlement in Italy spans well over 20 centuries, and is thought to be divided into three historical groups, as outlined by Clara Castelnuevo-Tedesco:

...[T]he first one [of the groupings] was in Italy since the time of the Roman Empire, settled down in the city of Rome, the states of Umbria and Marche...this was the *Stato Pontifico*, what was called the State of the Popes. The second one had come from Spain around 1492, when there had been the great ‘*cacciata*’ (‘expulsion’)...[arriving in the port of] Leghorn, in Tuscany...in the State of *Granduca di Toscana*. And there they are still [called] *Ebrei Sefardici* [i.e., the ‘Sephardic Jews’]. The third group, probably of origin *Austro-Polacco*, [are the] Polish from Austria. They spread in the region of Lombardo-Veneto, Lombardi, and Veneto. And they are *Ebrei Ashkenazy*... [i.e., the ‘Ashkenazic Jews’].<sup>1</sup>

There are many theories regarding the origin and nature of the “*Ebrei Sefardici*.” Sephardic Judaism was a blending of thoughts and philosophies that, in Dimont’s words, constitute a ‘way of life distilled through the history of the Jews from the Babylonian exile and through the [Eastern]

---

<sup>1</sup> Clara Castelnuevo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade (Los Angeles: UCLA Oral History Program, 1982), 8-9.

civilisations in which it resided through to the Islamic period.’<sup>2</sup> By contrast, the “*Ebrei Ashkenazy*” emerged as highly distinct from the Sephardic rite in the early sixteenth century and became the dominant type of Judaism in Europe. A major distinction of Ashkenazic Judaism was its emphasis on moral behaviours and traditional legalities. Primarily derived from interpretations of the Torah and Talmud, this emphasis served to resist assimilatory and other pressures of the Christian powers amongst whom Jews resided in the diaspora.

Demonstrating complexity in defining any single Jewish cultural identity, both Clara’s and Mario’s *paternal* sides were claimed to be from the second group (in Clara’s description above), that is, those exiled from Spain in 1492. Conversely, the *maternal* sides were from the first group, that is, those derived from ancient Rome, and, if popular thinking is to be believed, then ultimately drawn from those dispersed into the diaspora following the destruction of the Jewish community of the Biblical homeland in the second century.

### **Italian Jewry and Society Towards the Fascist Era**

Assimilation of the Jews into Italian society proceeded gradually from the Napoleonic period,<sup>3</sup> part of the greater European emancipation of Jews that took place from the end of the eighteenth century. In 1798, Napoleon’s armies overwhelmed Rome and proclaimed the short-lived *Repubblica Romana* accompanied by the granting of freedom to all Italians, meaning equal rights and religious tolerance to all minorities. However, the equality that Jews enjoyed during the nineteenth century came at the cost of religious life and community. Rosen points out that one effect of this assimilation was that the quality of Jewish education and the practice of religion diminished rapidly, to the extent that succeeding generations knew almost nothing about their Judaic heritage. Hebrew prayers were transferred into Latin characters and the music of the liturgy became almost unknown.<sup>4</sup> Another aspect of a changing Ashkenazic Italian Jewish identity was that the liturgical music of the Sephardic immigrants deriving from the 1492 expulsion from Spain gradually became

---

<sup>2</sup> Max I. Dimont, *Jews, God and History* (New York: Signet Classics, 1962), 245.

<sup>3</sup> Fabio Levi, “Social Aspects of Italian Anti-Jewish Legislation,” in *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, ed. Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin (Bethesda, Md.: University Press of Maryland, 2000), 402.

<sup>4</sup> Harriette Mildred Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1991), 23.

absorbed in the synagogue services of the Italian Ashkenazic Jews and continued through succeeding generations.<sup>5</sup>

The turning point for national unification became known as *Il risorgimento*, and occurred in 1861 when Count Cavour's Redshirts took Sicily and Naples, creating the Kingdom of Italy. In 1870, Rome and the surrounding areas were annexed from the Pope and officially made the nation's capital, enjoying the first unified government since the decline of a weakened Roman Empire in the fifth century. Italian Jews, more than any other minority group, were completely in favour and supportive of the Italian nation-building project, and contributed to its success, correctly assuming the project for an Italian nation was an opportunity for full emancipation. In the new Italy, Jews played a prominent role, and were elected to high positions in government, the military, the legal system, and in local politics. Lingering official anti-Jewish discriminatory practice was put to an end, and Jews were given equal rights as normative Italians. This was remarked on by Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, emphasising that the Jews 'went to the war just the same as the others. There were no differences at all.'<sup>6</sup> Jewish loyalty to the Kingdom derived from emancipation,<sup>7</sup> and most Jews saw no contradiction between their Jewish identity on the one hand and their feelings towards Italy on the other, forming two aspects of Italian-Jewish identity.

Well into the 1920s, Jews enjoyed a uniquely tranquil period, playing a welcome and active role within the fabric of Italian social, economic, cultural, and political life. They were especially prominent in the arts and sciences. Italian Jewry between the First and Second World Wars was highly urbanised, belonged mainly to the middle- and upper-middle-classes, and enjoyed an above average educational level in the country.<sup>8</sup> During the early years of Fascism, Jews comprised only one-tenth of one percent of the population, and so there was no such thing as a 'Jewish question' or any such 'Jewish problem.' Despite the Jewish issue cropping up from time to time, mostly during

---

<sup>5</sup> Rosen, "The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music," 24. One congregant from Modena was a man named Bruto Senigaglia who, as will be examined in the following chapter, wrote musical notation to Hebrew prayers between 1862 and 1864 in three-part arrangements. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco was his maternal grandson, and in 1925 he discovered this notebook of Bruto's musical musings. In 1962, 100 years after the first compositions were entered therein, he composed his celebrated *Prayers My Grandfather Wrote* for organ or piano solo, that was inspired by this material.

<sup>6</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 10-11.

<sup>7</sup> Iael Nidan-Orvieto, "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation on Everyday Life and the Response of Italian Jews, 1938-1945," in *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, ed. Joshua D. Zimmerman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 172.

<sup>8</sup> Nidan-Orvieto, "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation," 158.

national crises in one way or another,<sup>9</sup> there was no part of the world where religious freedom was more real.

World War One was a human and economic disaster for Italy. It left the Italian population scrambling and searching for effective leadership. Riding on the disgruntled attitudes of a depressed post-war Italy, Benito Mussolini (1883-1945) rose to positions of power in the early 1920s, promoting a populist stance emphasising the glory of the state. Facing a divided parliament and suffering widespread social discontent, Mussolini finally took power in Italy following what became known as the ‘March on Rome’ in 1922, marking the end of a government based on liberal, parliamentary processes. As Castelnovo-Tedesco points out, underlying the unrest were economic factors: ‘When Fascism came to power in 1922, Italy was undoubtedly in a period of economic depression and of political confusion (as most of the European countries were, as a consequence of the first World War).’<sup>10</sup> Although the ‘March on Rome’ never actually happened as planned, on October 31, 1922, only 60 years after the modern nation of Italy had come into existence, Mussolini was invited to form a new cabinet as leader of the revolutionary and populist *Il Partito Nazionale Fascista*.

Despite the popular nationalistic overtones of the new government, the advent of Fascism did not lead to any deterioration in the position of Italian Jewry. On the contrary, for twelve years after the March on Rome, Michaelis points out that relations between Jews and the general population in Italy were more harmonious than ever.<sup>11</sup> However, the depression years of 1929-1934 marked a fundamental change in the relationship, when the Fascists took over much of the national banking system and industrial sectors, effectively eradicating small businesses. The first stirrings of totalitarianism became apparent in 1929 when government decree extended the teaching of the Catholic religion to all secondary schools. By then, the government had already become a dictatorship and Italian Jews, like others, were henceforth unable to express any dissent

---

<sup>9</sup> For example, the charges of prominence in Freemasonry caused resentment in Catholic circles and clergy during the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the conflict between Italy and Turkey gave rise to polemics against Jews as firstly Zionists, and as part of ‘international Jewry’ both harbouring divided loyalties and opposing Italian aspirations in North Africa. Furthermore, World War One saw an outbreak of anti-Jewish tendencies, with complaints of the perceived stranglehold that the German-Jewish banks had on Italian industry and commerce. Meir Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews: German-Italian Relations and the Jewish Question in Italy, 1922-1945* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978), 6-7

<sup>10</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism” (n.p. ms., 1944), 4. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/17.

<sup>11</sup> Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, 6.

publicly.<sup>12</sup> Mussolini's totalitarianism was aimed at achieving a sense of a social order and a return to national stability, progress, and ultimately to national glory. To achieve this, direct state control was imposed on all areas of life to mobilise the population within a unified plan. The 1932 Doctrine of Fascism ('*La dottrina del fascismo*') which is partly ascribed to Mussolini himself describes the nature of Italian Fascism's totalitarianism in the following way:

The rights of the State as expressing [sic] the real essence of the individual. And if liberty is to be the attribute of living men and not of abstract dummies invented by individualistic liberalism, then Fascism stands for liberty, and for the only liberty worth having, the liberty of the State and of the individual within the State. The Fascist conception of the State is all embracing; outside of it no human or spiritual values can exist, much less have value. Thus understood, Fascism is totalitarian, and the Fascist State—a synthesis and a unit inclusive of all values—interprets, develops, and potentates the whole life of a people.<sup>13</sup>

Italy's totalitarianism looked towards internal unity, mobilisation of its national resources and 'moral' energies, and the use of citizens working towards its unified goals. This theory was in accord with the myth of the 'New Italian,' the bearer of a strong Roman and imperial civilisation, freed of the debris of Western democracy, of 'bourgeois' pacifism and communism, and of a 'foreign' Jewish identity.<sup>14</sup> However, as will be seen below, until 1938, Mussolini's attitude towards the Jews as a whole was ambiguous, and if he did have misgivings about the Jews, they were not based on racial attitudes.

From around 1933, Italian Fascism systematically utilised propaganda when the Fascist philosophy towards the arts was formulated, later known as *Mistica fascista*, the 'Mystique of Fascism.' Castelnovo-Tedesco points out its place in Fascist thinking:

Mussolini himself started his political career as a socialist, then [Fascism] became ardently "nationalistic," [then] later violently "imperialistic" and finally it displayed the same kind of wild "intolerance" it had learned from the Nazis...very clearly reflected in the successive relations between Fascism and art...The "Mystic of Fascism" [sic., *mistica fascista*, thus should read "Mystique..."] was formulated officially around 1933 while

---

<sup>12</sup> Michele Sarfatti, "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy, 1936-1943," in *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, ed. Bernard D. Cooperman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 414.

<sup>13</sup> Benito Mussolini and Giovanni Gentile, *The Doctrine of Fascism* (New York: Howard Fertig, 2006), 4.

<sup>14</sup> Mario Toscano "Prologue: The Jews of Italy and the Anti-Semitic Policy of Fascism," in Nicola Caracciolo, *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, trans. Koffler and Koffler (IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), xxxvi.

Fascism had come to power almost ten years before, in 1922...[and] its practical purpose was to use Art as an instrument of propaganda.<sup>15</sup>

To the mid-1930s, fifteen years of the regime saw Jews not only left unmolested but continuing to occupy some of the highest government and military positions. When the National Socialists came to power in Germany in early 1933, Mussolini showed only contempt for Nazism, for Hitler personally and for his racial policies. He stated that there were no 'pure races' and no 'Jewish question' in Italy, nor any particular 'nobility' of the Teutonic race. He stated that '[n]o such doctrine will ever find acceptance here in Italy...National pride has no need of the delirium of race.'<sup>16</sup> In 1932, he distanced himself from the German antisemitic model, noting that antisemitic incidents increased in response to social discontent:

Anti-Semitism does not exist in Italy...Italians of Jewish birth have shown themselves good citizens, and they fought bravely in the war. Many of them occupy leading positions in the universities, in the army, in the banks. Quite a number of them are generals; Modena, the commandant of Sardinia, is a general of the artillery.

[The interviewer then notes:] ...Whenever things go awry in Germany, the Jews are blamed for it. Just now we are in exceptionally bad case! [To which Mussolini replies]: Ah yes, the scapegoat!<sup>17</sup>

Notwithstanding the extent to which Jews were assimilated into all facets of Italian society, their modest and insignificant number was one factor ensuring racial antisemitism had never spread there. In the 1931 census, mostly Sephardic Jews constituted approximately 39,000 amongst 41 million Italian citizens,<sup>18</sup> Despite the small number of Jews, post-reunification Italy had one Jewish and one half-Jewish prime minister. However, from 1938, Fascist policy towards the Jews was to change radically. This was observed and later described by Castelnuovo-Tedesco, who wrote in mid-1940 that,

[u]ntil two years ago, the life of Jews in Italy was mostly quiet and easy. We know about difference of faith, but we were not aware of difference of civil standing. The assimilation was, from this point of view, almost complete. Florence had a prosperous Jewish community, a rabbinical college, and a splendid synagogue.<sup>19</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music under Italian Fascism, 3.

<sup>16</sup> Emil Ludwig, *Talks with Mussolini*, trans. Eden Paul and Cedar Paul (London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1932), 73-4.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-75.

<sup>18</sup> Toscano, "Prologue," xxxv; Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, 5.

<sup>19</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Jewish Background of an Exiled Musician," *American Jewish Outlook* (July 2, 1940): 4. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/9.



## Alignment with Germany and the Rise of Official Antisemitism

From the mid-1930s, growing divergence in the political aspirations of Italy and the Western democracies led to a deepening of ties with Nazi Germany. By October 1936, Mussolini concluded that conflict with the European democracies was inevitable and a formal alliance with the militarily stronger Germany was, *Il Duce* presumed, Italy's best option. Additionally, Mussolini had concerns about Hitler's ambitions in Austria, that Italy regarded as within its own sphere of influence, as well as its ambitions vis-à-vis Italy's German minorities.<sup>20</sup> For these two main reasons it was naively thought that being allied to Germany would strengthen Italy as well as keep Hitler in check.

Mussolini's opposition to the communist workers movement and its influences on destabilising labour movements arose after the First World War, one factor that affected his attitudes towards the Jews. He shared this communist fear with Germany's National Socialists, who perceived Jews largely responsible for the theories and growth of the 1920s Bolshevik and communist movements,<sup>21</sup> rooted in the Russian Revolution of 1917. Perceived communist inroads and worker unrest led many conservatives to fear that a communist Bolshevik revolution was a very real threat in Italy as well. More widely throughout Europe, numerous aristocrats and conservative intellectuals, as well as capitalists and industrialists, lent their support to new fascist movements that arose in emulation of Italian Fascism,<sup>22</sup> perceiving it to be an effective protectionist strategy.

Another factor impacting Mussolini's attitudes towards the Jews came about by the second half of the 1930s. At that time, Mussolini became suspicious of Zionism and feared that supporting Zionists—and that meant all Jews to him,—would alienate the Arabs he was cultivating as part of his anti-British and anti-French policy. This policy was designed to dislodge perceived imperialistic powers in the Mediterranean and Middle East.<sup>23</sup> He held Judaism to be an instrument

---

<sup>20</sup> Susan Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 29.

<sup>21</sup> Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, 8.

<sup>22</sup> "Anti-communism," *The New World Encyclopedia*, last modified November 23, 2015: <http://www.newworldencyclopedia.org/entry/Anti-communism> (accessed August 31, 2017).

<sup>23</sup> Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 32. However, 'only a small number of Jews were Zionists' in a nationalistic sense. Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, 8.

of English imperialism, and therefore to be considered hostile to Italy's position in the Mediterranean.<sup>24</sup>

Although Zionism did not have any place in the centrally regulated totalitarianism of the nation of which Mussolini conceived, to this point official antisemitism had not turned into any practical political factor, and anti-Jewish sentiment as existed in Fascist circles was utilised for political expedience only. However, strengthening relations with Nazi Germany did lead to the first government-sanctioned antisemitic press campaign from 1934 when outlandish articles started to appear. From 1936, Mussolini's 'racial policy' became official Fascist policy and official antisemitic propaganda became frequent in the Italian press.<sup>25</sup> This brought a 'Jewish problem' to the forefront, which until only a year before, even Mussolini said did not exist.<sup>26</sup> In September 1937, Mussolini visited Germany to finalise Fascist-Nazi relations. By the end of that year, and throughout 1938, official antisemitic pronouncements increased dramatically as a precursor to the introduction of official racial legislation. In a 1944 lecture Castelnuovo-Tedesco details the rise and development as well as the philosophies and vagaries of Italian Fascism. His personal perspective is informative and particularly relevant as he

...saw (as a witness, not as an accomplice) the formation and the rise to power of the Fascist movement...Nazism came with a very ideological program, with very definite prejudices and all sorts of limitations. [They were then] imposed on Italian Fascism by the Nazis as one of the conditions of their alliance...[and were] foreign to the spirit of the Italian people...In spite of twenty years of dictatorship, it didn't take any deep root...Italian Fascism had very few "ideas" of its own...even in the field of politics...its ideologies [were] quite vague, eclectic, incoherent and I would say, "erratic": it lasted as a movement of internal reconstruction.<sup>27</sup>

The introduction of Nazi doctrine into Fascist policy led to an unexpectedly vocal and vicious antisemitic presence revealed in Italian society. This only escalated in 1938 as Hitler's racial attitudes became embedded in Mussolini's opportunistic but inconsistent thinking. A united

---

<sup>24</sup> Michaelis, *Mussolini and the Jews*, 8.

<sup>25</sup> Sandro Servi, "Building a racial state: images of the Jew in the illustrated Fascist magazine, *La difesa della razza*, 1938-1932," in *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, ed. Joshua D. Zimmerman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 114. The official magazine *La difesa* aimed to illustrate scientific and cultural justifications for Italian racial and antisemitic policies. Like its Nazi parallels, it sought to cite anthropological studies and classical sources to justify its position.

<sup>26</sup> As cited in Ludwig, *Talks with Mussolini*, 73.

<sup>27</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music under Italian Fascism," 1-2.

front was adopted to put Italy in line with its German ally regarding social theory in which the Fascist propaganda machine identified Italians as ‘Aryans.’ In line with German racial policy, Jews could not be either Italian or Aryan. Mussolini’s political anti-Zionism turned into outright racial antisemitism, and the press campaign attacked Jewish racial heritage and deemed Jewish loyalties ‘foreign.’<sup>28</sup> Claiming that the country’s Jews were disproportionately represented in its economic, educational, and public life, the media campaign expressed unreserved support for implementing racial laws, usually including the theme that Jews were responsible for a range of social, economic, and professional ills. The press denigrated all Jewish contributions to cultural and intellectual life, past and present, with radio programs being used to relentlessly broadcast antisemitic themes.<sup>29</sup> Music was an important part of the Fascist propaganda machine, as Castelnuovo-Tedesco notes:

It was only in 1937 that the first signs of ideological intolerance...and racial discrimination...which until then were the prerogative of the Nazis...made their appearance in Italy...The most advanced trends in modern music [were accused of being] anti-Italian, anti-Fascist, and ...under Jewish influence (the usual arguments [including] Stravinsky [who was] mentioned as a Jew!).<sup>30</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco noted that while most composers resisted pressures to compose music for propaganda uses, ‘the only real exception...was Alfredo Casella, who wrote the 1937 opera *Il Deserto Tentato* which was supposed to be an allegorical celebration of the Ethiopian War.’<sup>31</sup>

### **The Racial Laws of 1938**

Introduction of the racial laws can be traced to Italy’s experience in its Ethiopian campaign of 1935-6, aimed at ensuring Italy’s supply routes and increasing its self-sufficiency. The campaign created a consciousness in Italian circles of perceived racial differences between Africans and Europeans, which became internalised in the bureaucracy.<sup>32</sup> These attitudes led to policies of isolation to ensure racial ‘purity,’ including penalising Italians having sexual contact with black-

---

<sup>28</sup> Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 32-33.

<sup>29</sup> Ibid., 34-35.

<sup>30</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism,” 17.

<sup>31</sup> Ibid., 15-16. This opera was a critical failure, played to an almost empty theatre in Florence 1937. Other examples dedicated to Mussolini included Malpiero’s opera “Julius Caesar” (1935-6), and Franco Alfano’s “Quartet No. 2” for strings (1926). See Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 50.

<sup>32</sup> Sarfatti, “The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy,” 415-416.

skinned peoples, and in doing so, converted racism based on colonialism, to a racism based on biology.<sup>33</sup>

More fateful, however, was what ensued after Hitler's visit to Italy in May 1938. The enormous influence he had over Mussolini became clear with the July 14, 1938 publication of the *Manifesto della razza*, or the *Manifesto of Race*,<sup>34</sup> closely modelled on the Nuremberg laws<sup>35</sup> that banned Jews from public life and identified them publicly and visibly as Jews. The *Manifesto* contained ten points describing how '...the population and civilisation of Italy today is of Aryan origin...[and] there exists a pure Italian race...[but] Jews do not belong to the Italian race.'<sup>36</sup> Published under the patronage of the Ministry of Popular Culture,<sup>37</sup> the *Manifesto* was drawn up in the name of a group of ten scientists from Italian universities to give it a 'biological' basis. However, only one of the ten scientists signed it, and almost none of the group had any national stature. The other nine only added their names some ten days later, possibly after official pressure.

A census based on racial grounds preceded the creation of new racial laws implementing the *Manifesto*, which partly served to identify and map the Jewish community. That census ascertained that there were 58,412 people with at least one Jewish, or formerly Jewish, parent. Of these 46,656, or 80 percent declared themselves Jewish. The census showed that Jews constituted only approximately one one-thousandth of the overall Italian population.<sup>38</sup>

In embarking on a campaign against his Jewish subjects, the Fascist regime passed from the Ethiopian-borne form of racial discrimination to radical antisemitism based on German ideas, which Mussolini had hitherto scornfully rejected. Zuccotti points out that although Italian antisemitism had no ideological base as such, it was a 'policy consistent with the times,'<sup>39</sup> and a

---

<sup>33</sup> Ibid., 416.

<sup>34</sup> Sometimes known as the 'Declaration on Race,' for example according to Michelle Sarfatti, "Characteristics and Objectives of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws in Fascist Italy, 1938-1943," in *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule*, ed. Joshua D. Zimmerman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 72.

<sup>35</sup> Robert Paxton, *The Anatomy of Fascism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004), 61. These laws were passed by the *Reichstag* on September 15-16, 1935 disenfranchising all those deemed to have 'Jewish blood.' It excluded Jews from all professions and professional, mercantile, and other activities.

<sup>36</sup> "Anti-Jewish Legislation and Persecution of the Jews in Western Nazi Occupied Europe: some examples - The Persecution of the Italian Jews under Fascist rule," translated articles from the frontpage of "La Stampa," July 15, 1938. EHRI Online Course in Holocaust Studies: <http://training.ehri-project.eu/c03-frontpage-la-stampa> (accessed September 22, 2017).

<sup>37</sup> The Ministry was established in 1937. Its objective was to ensure that all culture conformed to the Fascist platform, which itself was something very flexible and always changing.

<sup>38</sup> Sarfatti, "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy," 418.

<sup>39</sup> Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 34.

‘product of mindless and cynical opportunism,’<sup>40</sup> in which professional positions held by Jews were made vacant for others to take. However, Zuccotti shows that it is an open question as to exactly why Mussolini brought in the racial laws noting that

[w]hile a chronological connection between Mussolini’s Jewish and German policies is undeniable, the causal connection is subtle. Mussolini was isolated and anxious for a German alliance after the Ethiopian War and the Italian intervention in Spain, but there is no evidence that Hitler or his top aides ever demanded an anti-Semitic program as the price of German friendship. Mussolini alone bears responsibility for the racial laws. On the other hand, he did not have to be told that an Italian racial policy would please the Führer by demonstrating that the Fascists had cut all ties with Britain and France. Mussolini introduced the racial laws, in part, as a token of the sincerity of his bid for an alliance.<sup>41</sup>

The relationship between the actions of Mussolini and Hitler are aptly summed up by Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco who stated that ‘Mussolini got more and more...tied...with him [Hitler]. So, he was doing what Hitler wanted...’<sup>42</sup> The *Manifesto* very soon evolved into systematic laws introduced on September 4-5, 1938, in which the bulk took effect immediately with another set of legal restrictions imposed in November. Roth points out that unlike the German Jews who had four years of decline towards their plight, one of the most appalling features of the Italian persecution was its suddenness, restricting life almost overnight.<sup>43</sup>

Because the school system was where a new fascist generation was to emerge,<sup>44</sup> the first resolutions in the *Manifesto* eliminated Jewish students and teachers from every educational level, taking effect immediately in early September 1938. Aside from the educational implications, this led to the estrangement of Jewish children who lost many social connections, those of schoolmates and teachers, depriving them of any chance of future integration into greater society. Children and youth were therefore among the first sectors of the Jewish population to be persecuted. Since integration into Italian society was now closed, the new laws forced local Jewish communities to quickly set up separate and segregated schools staffed by teachers mostly now expelled from their teaching posts. The racial laws also banned new Jewish students from enrolling in universities. Furthermore, the restrictions stated that, ‘Jews shall cease to be members of academies and learned

---

<sup>40</sup> Ibid., 40.

<sup>41</sup> Ibid., 33.

<sup>42</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 51-52.

<sup>43</sup> Cecil Roth, *History of the Jews in Italy* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1946), 529.

<sup>44</sup> Nidan-Orvieto, “The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation,” 162.

societies from October 16, 1938.<sup>45</sup> Almost overnight, this restriction eliminated Jewish academics from Italian cultural life, and was met by quiet acquiescence and acceptance by members of the institutions.<sup>46</sup> Many Jewish scholars—constituting a significant share of the small Italian Jewish community—were stripped of their academy membership and fell victim to this intellectual purge numbering at least 672, including Castelnuovo-Tedesco and many others of the top calibre of individuals. As for the universities, 96 professors were expelled, being nearly seven percent of the entire category.<sup>47</sup> The scope of the expulsions touched all facets of Italian cultural life, and as Sarfatti notes,

Dino Alfieri, Minister of Popular Culture, expelled authors, orchestra conductors, concert performers, singers, film and stage directors, and actors from radio stations, opera houses and theatres, and purged them from the catalogues of recording and film companies. Painters and sculptors were no longer allowed to exhibit their works. Publishers almost completely stopped printing new books written by Jewish authors.<sup>48</sup>

At the same time, the laws also decreed that no foreign Jews would be permitted to reside in Italy or any of its provinces any longer. The laws stripped Italian citizenship from all foreign-born Jews that became nationalised after January 1, 1919. They were henceforth to be regarded as foreigners, leading to their prompt expulsion.<sup>49</sup> More than 10,000 foreign Jews residing in Italy were forced to leave in September 1938, although paradoxically they were replaced by thousands of Jewish refugees fleeing persecution from less hospitable European countries.<sup>50</sup>

On November 17, a second wave of social and economic restrictions came into effect and included the prohibition of mixed marriages between Jews and Aryans which become increasingly frequent in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as a series of economic measures limiting business sizes, professional opportunities including becoming lawyers, engineers, physicians, midwives, accountants, and agronomists. Other employment opportunities including those in the public service were severely limited or closed off altogether, such as for librarians, train drivers, and those in military service. Jews could no longer be members of Italian social organisations and

---

<sup>45</sup> As cited in Annalisa Capristo, “The Beginnings of Racial Persecution: The Exclusion of Jews from Italian Academies,” in *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, ed. by Joshua D. Zimmerman (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 83-4. Only Jewish students already enrolled at university were permitted to continue their education

<sup>46</sup> Capristo, “The Beginnings of Racial Persecution,” 81.

<sup>47</sup> Sarfatti, “The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy,” 422.

<sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, 421.

<sup>49</sup> Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 36.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, 42.

clubs, use public libraries, or publish books. Jews were also banned from membership in the Fascist Party, prior to which they were prominent, as well as being expunged from the military, including some highly decorated generals and admirals. Additionally, scores of other restrictions were brought in from early 1939, which supplemented the November 1938 decrees. These included limitations on the size of land ownership, and permitting the expropriation of Jewish assets and property.

Sarfatti observes that King Victor Emmanuel III, who was greatly revered by the Jews of Italy, as well as the newly installed Pope Pius XII both expressed deep misgivings about the racial policies. This was despite having supported Mussolini's ongoing elimination of free speech as well as the repression of all forms of political opposition. However, regardless of his misgivings, the King signed all antisemitic declarations into law.<sup>51</sup> This support derived from the King's, as well as the Pope's priority in wanting to uphold the monarchy and maintain the centrality of the Roman Catholic Church in the nation's life. Thus, it may be assumed, they kept their protests private and their public opposition to a minimum. The racial laws were also received enthusiastically by noblemen and high-ranking army officers in the Senate, and with indifference by the academies, institutions, and the educated. Although Capristo points out that implied threats of dismissal cannot be discounted as partial explanation,<sup>52</sup> the value of appropriating Jewish jobs and the opportunities that arose from newly-opened vacancies were clear to opportunistic bureaucrats, academics, as well as other non-Jews who could and did benefit professionally from the elimination of Jews from the institutions and professions. As Nidan-Orvieto states, 'hundreds of non-Jews denounced Jews for professional, ideological or personal reasons, while others showed hostility, attacked Jews in public, and denied them help and assistance.'<sup>53</sup> But on the other hand, as de Felice observes, the vast majority of ordinary Italians viewed the laws unfavourably,<sup>54</sup> and many who opposed the measures were willing to assist and defend their Jewish friends, although, as Nidan-Orvieto points out, mostly in private.<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>51</sup> Sarfatti, "Characteristics and Objectives of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws," 77.

<sup>52</sup> Capristo, "The Beginnings of Racial Persecution," 86.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> de Felice, "Forward," xvi. Although Levi emphasises the 'widespread indifference with which Italians accepted the laws, and the resulting lack of opposition...' Levi, "Social Aspects of Italian Anti-Jewish Legislation," 404.

<sup>55</sup> Nidan-Orvieto, "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation," 165.

## Immediate Impacts of the Racial Laws on Cultural Life

Alongside the abrupt end of jobs, education, segregation, and the exclusion of Jews from economic opportunity, the emotional shock was probably greater among the Jewish affluent and assimilated, those who considered themselves a fully assimilated part of Italian society.<sup>56</sup> Zuccotti highlights that one unintended effect of the racial laws was a new sense of, if not religious Judaism, then a sense of Jewish community being instilled into the highly assimilated and previously ‘indifferent’ Jewish community.<sup>57</sup> Paradoxically, in meeting new Jewish peers, a stronger sense of Jewish cultural identity was emerging. This was a return to, what Nidan-Orvieto calls, a Jewish ‘collective,’<sup>58</sup> which, more specifically as Levi points out, re-established ties with Jewish tradition and worked out a new sense of communal belonging.<sup>59</sup>

By 1938 Castelnuovo-Tedesco was arguably one of the best-known Italian composers of Jewish origin in Italy. He was shocked by the sudden new restrictive laws and very quickly decided to leave. As Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls, his father witnessed the political changes himself, noting that

...while he [Mario] was not politically involved, many of the people that he knew were politically active [being]...anti-fascist...they were killed by the Fascists. So he had a very good sense of what was happening and what was coming. I think that’s what led him to leave.<sup>60</sup>

By September 1938 broadcast bans of Jewish works from radio, opera houses, and other musical institutions came into full official effect. Similarly, Italian authorities purged all Jews in the entertainment sector from their positions,<sup>61</sup> excluding Jews from all facets of cultural life. Royalties no longer appeared, and Italian Jewish composers who were very well known throughout Italy, found themselves suddenly excluded from professional opportunity, as Lorenzo recollects:

Well, Italian Jews, after the Rome-Berlin axis pact, were so disenfranchised, in the sense that their civil liberties were removed. My father’s music was no longer played. My brother and I couldn’t go to public schools, for example. It was fairly like being a non-citizen.<sup>62</sup>

---

<sup>56</sup> Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 42.

<sup>57</sup> *Ibid.*, 46.

<sup>58</sup> Nidan-Orvieto, “The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation,” 162.

<sup>59</sup> Levi, “Social Aspects of Italian Anti-Jewish Legislation,” 407.

<sup>60</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 56.

<sup>61</sup> Michelle Sarfatti, *The Jews in Mussolini’s Italy*, 156.

<sup>62</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in *Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco: La Sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade (Los Angeles: UCLA Oral History Program, 1982), 52.



The aim of the *Manifesto* was to establish a biological basis to a hastily manufactured ‘Jewish question’ in Italy, although its objective, according to Mussolini’s concept of *discriminazione* was to ‘discriminate,’ not ‘persecute.’<sup>63</sup> According to Sarfatti, the voluntary emigration of large numbers of Jews, if not all Jews, whether Italian or foreign, from Italy and Italian society was *precisely* the point of the racial laws, a way to reverse the hitherto complete integration of now-unwanted Jews into all facets of Italian life.<sup>64</sup> Those Italians who emigrated were generally either Jews who were directly affected by the racial laws, Aryans with Jewish family members, other Italians who held anti-fascist views, and/or others who were either married to Jews or unmarried persons in government positions.<sup>65</sup> This was illustrated in the case of Casella, one of the best-known Italian composers of his generation, who lived in constant fear of being taken from his French-Jewish wife and their daughter. He was thus subject to arrest and deportation.<sup>66</sup>

The reactions to the racial laws by Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s contemporaries were mixed. Pizzetti, whom Mario refers to as ‘a perfect Aryan,’<sup>67</sup> did not protest the new laws,<sup>68</sup> despite his closeness to Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Most celebrated non-Jewish Italian composers and performing musicians likewise had gone along with the regime’s edicts. Some, it may be assumed, because they believed in them, others for self-serving purposes. Of course, there were those who protested, like the baritone Titta Ruffo, but the most famous was Arturo Toscanini. In 1936 he resigned from his post at La Scala when untrained and inefficient Fascist administrators were placed in positions of authority there, as they were placed in all artistic institutions. Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls Toscanini saying that “‘If the Fascists enter La Scala, I leave.” And He kept his word!’<sup>69</sup> Toscanini even went to British-mandated Palestine in 1936 and again in 1938 at his own expense to show

---

<sup>63</sup> Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust*, 40.

<sup>64</sup> Sarfatti, “Characteristics and Objectives of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws,” 75. She says elsewhere that, ‘by revoking the right to education and, in part, to a profession, they also induced Jews in emigrate.’ Sarfatti, “The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy,” 421.

<sup>65</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in James Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America: The Film Music” (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1994), 64-65. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 128/18.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” *The Jewish Press* (June 21, 1940), 2. This term was used by Castelnuovo-Tedesco within the context of the warm relationship that the two men had, to highlight the lack of political barriers between them.

<sup>68</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, vol. 1, p. 329-330, as cited in Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy* (London and New York: Norton & Company, 1988), 129.

<sup>69</sup> As cited in Susan Zuccotti, *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival* (New York: Basic Books, 1987), 10.

solidarity with the Jewish victims of persecution by conducting the Palestine Orchestra (now the Israel Philharmonic), as ‘an honorary Jew,’<sup>70</sup> where, in his own words, he was received ‘as if their messiah had finally arrived.’<sup>71</sup> This came to a halt when Mussolini had the conductor’s passport cancelled after Toscanini was overheard describing the racial laws as ‘medieval stuff.’<sup>72</sup>

Perhaps reflecting the ‘foreign’ nature of the laws amongst the general population and bureaucracy, the racial laws were unevenly applied. For example, only a few months before its implementation, Ernest Bloch’s *Macbeth* was presented in Naples—and he was a composer that flaunted his Jewishness, with much of his work meant to be Jewish in character. Although in deference to Hitler who visited Italy that same year, the composer did not conduct it himself and only three performances were given since the anti-Jewish campaign was well under way at that time.<sup>73</sup> Significantly, Shelleg has pointed out that Bloch himself expressed a variety of antisemitic clichés,<sup>74</sup> and this may have made him somewhat more palatable in antisemitic Fascist eyes. Additionally, in October 1938, the country’s leading musical journal *Musica d’Oggi* devoted its entire issue to Mozart’s Jewish-born librettist, while the progressive *Rassegna musicale* also continued to publish articles about Jewish musical figures. Absurdities are also recorded. For example, in one instance a work by the Polish-Jewish composer and violinist Henryk Wieniawski (1835-1880) was introduced at a concert at the Milan Conservatory as ‘written by an anonymous composer.’<sup>75</sup>

In neighbouring Germany, not only Jews but other musicians were deemed ‘artistic Bolsheviks.’ Musical *kulturbolschewismus* first referred to the despised Jewish composer Gustave Mahler and was a term widely used by Nazi propaganda to denounce modernist movements in the arts, and to brand non-Jews and Jews as equally reprehensible. These included the Austrian Ernst Krenek, who composed a 1927 Jazz opera, and thus warranted a place in the infamous ‘*Entartete Musik*’ (‘Degenerate Music’) exhibition of 1938, where Kurt Weill was also prominently featured.

---

<sup>70</sup> Arturo Toscanini, letter April 11, 1936 in *The Letters of Arturo Toscanini*, ed. Harvey Sachs (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 198.

<sup>71</sup> Toscanini, December 11, 1936, *ibid.*, 229.

<sup>72</sup> Sachs, ed., *The Letters of Arturo Toscanini*, 343.

<sup>73</sup> Marcello Sorce Keller, “Ignored and Forgotten: Research on Jewish-Italian music during the 19th and 20th centuries,” *Forum Italicum* 49/2 (2015): 454.

<sup>74</sup> Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 56.

<sup>75</sup> Sachs, “Jews and Music in Fascist Italy,” World ORT.com: Music and the Holocaust, <http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/politics-and-propaganda/jews-and-music-in-fascist-italy/> (accessed March 22, 2016).

Similarly, the German composer Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), prominent in the neo-baroque style of the 1920s, the so-called ‘new objectivity,’ had his works banned by the Nazis who connected it to *kulturbolschewismus*.<sup>76</sup>

It was the more prominent of the European composers and musicians who had the means to emigrate, while many others had to remain, where their fate was sealed. The scale of emigration of threatened citizens was great: 500,000 left Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia alone between 1933 and 1941, and 132,000 made it to America. Of those, around a quarter (approx. 124,000) were of Jewish descent.<sup>77</sup> As many as 6,000 Jews left Italy between 1938 and October 1941 while as De Felice noted, another 6,000 remained in Italy and converted to Catholicism.<sup>78</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco bluntly stated that the consequences of remaining in Italy were dire, noting that, ‘[t]here was no choice. It was the greatest tragedy you can think of...But if we had stayed in Italy, it would have been the end of everything. So, we were lucky to leave.’<sup>79</sup>

British-mandated Palestine was not considered a place of suitable emigration, as according to Shelleg, many perceived it as desert, or just another kind of ghetto,<sup>80</sup> and like many others, the Castelnuovo-Tedesco family chose America. In the words of the composer, America was ‘...a country that is strong, rich, full, free, full of resources, where I had influential friends who (I hoped) would help me.’<sup>81</sup> Because of this influx, virtually every field of American intellectual and artistic life was impacted. The arriving exiles included some 1,900 scientists and authors. Over 1,000 musicians emigrated to America between 1933 and 1941, approximately two-thirds were from either Germany or Austria,<sup>82</sup> and an estimated 69 composers came to America from Europe, mostly employed in the film industry or educational institutions.<sup>83</sup> Professionally excluding the artists impacted many facets of German cultural life, including the early German film industry.

---

<sup>76</sup> Ben Winters, “Composers in Exile,” World ORT.com: Music and the Holocaust, <http://holocaustmusic.ort.org/resistance-and-exile/composers-in-exile/> (accessed March 1, 2016).

<sup>77</sup> Alexander Gordon Kahn, “Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009), 9.

<sup>78</sup> Renzo de Felice, “Forward,” in *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, ed. Nicola Caracciolo, trans. Florette Rechnitz Koffler and Richard Koffler (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), xvii.

<sup>79</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 58.

<sup>80</sup> Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 71.

<sup>81</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, ed. by James Westby (Florence: Cadmo, 2005), 302, trans. Noah David DeLong, “Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio the *Book of Ruth*,” (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015), 31.

<sup>82</sup> Kahn, “Double Lives,” 9-10.

<sup>83</sup> Diane Peacock Jezic, *The Musical Migration and Ernst Toch* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989), 6-7.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco notes that, ‘by banishing musicians like Korngold, Kreneck, and Kurt Weill, that country was deprived of the elements that could do most honour to its production.’<sup>84</sup>

In 1942 the Italian government made further labour restrictions on those of ‘the Hebrew Race’<sup>85</sup> and in May, over 400 Italian Jews as well as thousands of foreign Jews residing in Italy were sent away to internment camps or other locations. Despite the discrimination against Italian Jews, the Italian government defied Nazi genocidal demands (as did Bulgaria). The Fascist regime did not deport the 44,000-50,000 Jews living in Italy, nor in regions that came under Italian military occupation, including parts of Yugoslavia, Greece, and southern France. Koffler states that ‘willed inefficiency in the face of inhumane orders [out of Germany] was accompanied at the [Italian] administrative level by countless acts of decency on the part of officers, soldiers, police, and even officials of the Italian concentration camps in the country and zones of Italian occupation.’<sup>86</sup> However, the restrictions placed on Jews were to worsen significantly with the fall of the Fascist government on July 23, 1943, and even further when the Germans occupied the northern half of the country in September, installing the puppet Badoglio government. Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco summarises the situation, where,

[i]n the late thirties, there were no physical threats against people, unless they were politically anti-fascist. And so Jews were relatively safe, except that it was difficult for them to make a living, to live a normal kind of life...It wasn’t until the early forties, after the Germans really took control of the country, that it was very, very dangerous. At that point the Germans really began to search out and deport the Jews...<sup>87</sup>

Fifteen separate convoys transporting Jews to German extermination camps left Italy from October 1943 through the end of 1944; the total number of Jews deported from Italy and Italian territories mainly to concentration camps including Auschwitz, was 8,369 with only 980 survivors.<sup>88</sup> The Fascist era ended when the Allied forces assisted by the partisan uprising liberated northern Italy on April 25, 1945. Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco describes the fate of Jews who did not have the resources to leave, referring to

---

<sup>84</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Movies” (n.p., February 29, 1940), 9. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/17.

<sup>85</sup> Toscano, “Prologue,” xxxix.

<sup>86</sup> Koffler and Koffler, “Introduction,” xxviii.

<sup>87</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 59.

<sup>88</sup> *Centro di Documentazione Ebraica Contemporanea, Ebrei in Italia: Deportazione, Resistenza* (Florence: La Giuntina, 1975) p. 61, as cited in Toscano, “Prologue,” xli.

[a]ll the people, all the Jews I knew. It was so terrible that if some old people, Jews, who were sick or too old to leave, if they didn't have enough help to leave Italy, they were taken even [from] their beds, and they disappeared and [were] never seen again and brought to the Jewish camps. They disappeared and were never heard from again. It was frightening.<sup>89</sup>

### **Re-Settlement and the Lure of Hollywood**

From the early 1920s, established European performers came to America for the higher fees and greater exposure available there, and as Jezic points out, this movement became almost a 'rite of passage' through the 1930s.<sup>90</sup> However, with the rise of Hitler the passage of musicians and artists became noticeably one-way due to the increasingly hostile environment for Jews in Europe.

There were three general possibilities of re-settlement in America. For many, New York City was the first stop and preliminary home. It had the largest émigré population in America, but was also the closest point to Europe, important if one wanted to return home after the war. Therefore, it was the first and most obvious destination, where one could work on Broadway and in the arts in general, as well as find employment in the academic institutions in the New York area.<sup>91</sup> The second tendency was to seek out educational institutions further afield throughout the country and integrate into the teaching field. The third possibility was to head to California. This was a popular and diverse multi-cultural destination having a pleasant climate and was considerably cheaper than living in New York.

California also enjoyed a popular image formed by the movies from the 1920s that presented it as embracing new technologies, promoting a 'new social order' and being a 'land of endless sunshine.'<sup>92</sup> The demographic changes on the city were enormous. Even by the mid-1930s, native-born Californians accounted for no more than 20 percent of the general population and it was already home to large numbers of highly talented and prestigious musicians, who settled in Hollywood or somewhere on the California coast. The burgeoning film industry in Hollywood was a major draw, and a source of steady work, as were possibilities for employment at California's

---

<sup>89</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 69.

<sup>90</sup> Jezic, *The Musical Migration*, 3.

<sup>91</sup> Including Princeton and Columbia Universities. Kahn, "Double Lives," 13.

<sup>92</sup> *Ibid.*, 15-16.

universities.<sup>93</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco's early opinions of the film industry were lofty and hopeful, stating that,

[w]e may justifiably say that the "musical moving picture" can become the true "national art" form for America, exactly as the opera [is] for Italians...Entirely instinctively, man associates music to sight, word, song, movement...[For example], in the "movies" of Charlie Chaplin...Never before in the moving picture had instrumental music been "coupled" to sight in so precise and appropriate a fashion.<sup>94</sup>

Important social and cultural considerations for European Jews moving to California in the 1930s included the many foreigners already settled there, with Los Angeles having emerged as a major centre of Jewish culture in America, eventually outpacing Chicago and Philadelphia. Kahn points out that the Hollywood film industry was heavily staffed by foreign-born Jews. For example, in 1936, 53 of Hollywood's 85 best known producers were Jews, many of them born in Europe.<sup>95</sup> By 1945, the exile population in the Los Angeles area was larger than in any other in America, except for New York City. However, the musical and performance opportunities there could not rival that of New York despite the presence of Piatigorsky, Rachmaninoff, Heifetz, and others.<sup>96</sup>

Many émigrés held negative feelings about the social and cultural life of their adopted home, considering their rich European cultural life to have been far superior. More particularly, transplantation had a profound effect on composers who had to adapt to a public not much interested in imported modern music.<sup>97</sup> On the other hand, they had to shape their outputs to the requirements of a film industry that had much to offer émigré talent. In their new home, conservative musical tastes dominated, and Los Angeles ensembles played little new music composed after around 1900. There was also a lack of viable venues and working ensembles, made more acute by the film studios that paid better than any orchestra could. The city's major ensembles, the Los Angeles Philharmonic only dated back to 1919, and was not well supported financially. In general, émigrés had to cope with a background of lingual difficulties, shifting

---

<sup>93</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco taught at the Los Angeles Conservatory of Music, which in a 1961 merger became the California Institute of the Arts. "Los Angeles Conservatory of Music," [https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Los%20Angeles%20Conservatory%20of%20Music&item\\_type=topic](https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=Los%20Angeles%20Conservatory%20of%20Music&item_type=topic) (accessed May 21, 2017).

<sup>94</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Movies," 3, 7.

<sup>95</sup> Kahn, "Double Lives," 20.

<sup>96</sup> Jezic, *The Musical Migration*, 13.

<sup>97</sup> *Ibid.*, 3.

geopolitical and socio-historical events, marked cultural differences, wartime xenophobia, and personal problems, as well as grappling with maintaining links to the past while creating new connections and embracing new experiences. Additionally, as Kahn and Westby both point out, America was not immune to that antisemitism the Jewish exiles were desperate to leave behind, experienced in anti-Jewish attitudes and actions from the bureaucracy, the professions,<sup>98</sup> and from the high number of German-born Americans. Kahn finds that America during the 1930s and early 1940s was a place of isolationism and xenophobia, with fears that exiles were communists, and would take away local jobs, including those highly prized positions in Hollywood. American products were promoted, and foreign ones viewed with suspicion. If new music was played at all, it was by American-born composers.

Amongst the most celebrated forced emigrants were Arnold Schoenberg, Kurt Weill, and Erich Wolfgang Korngold, each of whom had different experiences.<sup>99</sup> Schoenberg (1874-1951) left Europe in 1933 and viewed exile as a damaging experience that meant giving up the ability to communicate with his neighbours and finding himself in a land that lacked both history and tradition. In contrast to Schoenberg and his cultural disconnect from America, Kurt Weill (1900-1950) embraced his new surroundings and made a major contribution to American musical theatre.<sup>100</sup> In contrast, ‘voluntary’ émigrés included Bela Bartok as well as Igor Stravinsky,<sup>101</sup> whose emigration was more opportunistic than voluntary.<sup>102</sup> Other composers such as Ernst Krenek, who was frequently but incorrectly referred to as Jewish by the German authorities, and the German Paul Hindemith, whose early operas were deemed sexually degenerate, were driven from Europe for various political reasons.<sup>103</sup> While Schoenberg and Korngold suffered varying degrees of homesickness, they were the fortunate ones. In 1934, Schoenberg, the creator of twelve-tone serialism, even talked of being ‘driven into Paradise.’<sup>104</sup> Together with the gratitude of being

---

<sup>98</sup> Kahn, “Double Lives,” 22-23; Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 63.

<sup>99</sup> In 1934, three other prominent European composers reached Hollywood: Franz Waxman (‘Bride of Frankenstein,’ ‘Sunset Boulevard’), Friedrich Hollaender (‘The Man Who Came to Dinner’) and Werner Richard Heymann (‘Caravan’). With Korngold, they were the dominant composers for the central European stage scene before the Nazi era. Miklós Rózsa (‘Spellbound’ and ‘Ben Hur’) followed these composers and arrived after Castelnuovo-Tedesco in 1940. See Daniel Hope, “Driven into Paradise,” *WSJ Opinion*, last updated February 18, 2015: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/driven-into-paradise-1424299219> (accessed September 6, 2018).

<sup>100</sup> Kahn, “Double Lives,” 1.

<sup>101</sup> Richard Taruskin, ed. “Music and Totalitarian Society,” in *The Oxford History of Western Music* (New York: Oxford Press, 2005), 765. No mention of Castelnuovo-Tedesco is made.

<sup>102</sup> *Ibid.*, 766.

<sup>103</sup> Winters, *op. cit.*

<sup>104</sup> As cited in Daniel Hope, *op. cit.*

free in their newfound home, many felt their exile disturbed their careers to such an extent that some considered they never recovered their reputations. The Viennese Ernest Toch fled Germany in 1933 and thereafter always believed himself ‘the most forgotten composer of the twentieth century,’<sup>105</sup> which reflects Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s observation of his father that ‘...he felt more connected and more appreciated in Europe.’<sup>106</sup>

Since composition could not fully sustain an émigré composer, teaching became a favoured option for those not finding work in the film industry. Remuneration was low, and highly qualified and respected composers often ended up teaching basic-level subjects. However, their experiences as teachers in America produced unique and high-quality text-books, which most likely would not have appeared had they stayed in Europe working with more advanced students.<sup>107</sup> These include books written by Toch, Hindemith, and Schoenberg, while Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s unfinished four-part *Appunti* for guitar students was in process at his death in 1968.

## Conclusions

Hughes notes that the wave of European emigration was ‘...the most important cultural event—or series of events—of the second quarter of the twentieth century...two-thirds of that migration were of Jewish origin...Italians accounted for only a small percentage of the emigration, their eminence, and their success in their new country compensating for the thinness in their ranks.’<sup>108</sup>

Some of those Italian émigrés like Castelnuovo-Tedesco became successful composers for film soundtracks in Hollywood, and remained in the United States because the film industry was vibrant, despite the country’s recent economic struggles. Despite best intentions, and lofty artistic aims early on, once a composer entered into a contract with Hollywood it became very difficult to maintain the prestige of being a ‘serious’ composer. This is largely because many of them wrote movie-scores in a so-called ‘romantic’ style that was increasingly seen as outmoded, and not too serious or worthy of serious consideration.<sup>109</sup> On the other hand, they transformed the notion of symphonic film music, for example by using devices such as specific melodic phrases for

---

<sup>105</sup> Noah David DeLong, “Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio the *Book of Ruth*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015), 52.

<sup>106</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 80.

<sup>107</sup> Kahn, “Double Lives,” 25.

<sup>108</sup> H. Stuart Hughes, *The Sea Change: The Migration of Social Thought 1930-1965* (New York: Harper and Row, 1975), 1-2.

<sup>109</sup> Kahn, “Double Lives,” 44.



individual characters. Essentially, having skills in genres such as opera, film music no longer passively accompanied images, but actively engaged in the dialogue, adding layers of emotion and in so doing, significantly contributed to the overall production.

Additional to their contributions in developing the film industry, émigré composers like Castelnuovo-Tedesco demonstrated that as teachers and educators, they widely influenced the development of an entire generation of American performers, composers, film-score writers, and scholars quite apart from their continuing compositional activities. In their struggle for livelihoods, the émigré composers contributed much more to American and modern Western culture than just musical composition alone. This was expressed by Jezic, who observes that from those writers, artists, musicians, philosophers, and scientists who emigrated to America fleeing European persecution in the 1930s, one could have constituted no less than an ‘entire civilisation.’<sup>110</sup>

---

<sup>110</sup> Jezic, *The Musical Migration*, 4.

## Chapter Seven

### Biographical Notes on the Life and Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's biography is integral to the study of the *Divan* as it serves the purpose of understanding the differing environments and conditions that impacted the composer's creative outputs. Equally important is that Castelnuovo-Tedesco's biography may be compared to that of Ibn Ezra to identify both men's association with the Iberian peninsula as well as their exilic conditions and cultural identifications. The comparison highlights shared experiential memory that may be considered as contributing to a collective cultural identity.

Several accessible biographies of Castelnuovo-Tedesco are published online, in academic and mainstream print, on record/CD sleeves and booklets, in biographical dictionaries, and general or music encyclopedias. To differing degrees, these biographies emphasise the composer's Italian period, his compositional tendencies, his Jewish identity, the exiled composer, his focus on guitar compositions, and/or his output as a composer of film music. Some, like that provided by Scalin, are modernist in tone, organising the composer's works into stylistic periods, each with a distinct musical character.<sup>1</sup> However, one problem in constructing a biography around periods is that it risks essentialising stylistic features, as stylistic elements of one period may be found in other periods. For this reason, the current research de-emphasises an organisation around stylistic periods. Consequently, the biography presented here does not list, describe, and contextualise *all* Castelnuovo-Tedesco's compositions in any one genre. This has been done already, most notably by Taylor, Rossi, Westby,<sup>2</sup> and others. Instead this research refers to key compositions that were a result of relevant socio-historical or other cultural forces that pertain to the composer's decisions in composing the *Divan* in 1966.

---

<sup>1</sup> Burton Howard Scalin, "Operas by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco" (Ph.D. diss., North-western University, 1980), 317-320. Scalin's schema organises the composer's compositions into three periods. The first period incorporates what Scalin refers to as the 'youthful years' from 1915 to the 1920s in which small scale for piano and voice were produced. The second period is that from the 1920s to his emigration in 1939 when he works towards a simplification of style, more clearly defined tonalities, regular phrase lengths, and less rhythmic variety. The third period Scalin identifies as being from the 1940s to 1960s where Castelnuovo-Tedesco combined simplification with more 'accessibility,' a stylistic intention no doubt influenced by the requirements of film work and commissions with a strong desire for publication in mind.

<sup>2</sup> Robert Taylor, ed. and compiler, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Complete Bibliography (Up to 1965)* (Los Angeles: University of California, 1966); Nick Rossi, *Catalogue of Works by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco* (New York: The International Castelnuovo-Tedesco Society, 1977); James Westby, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Catalogo delle opera: Composizioni, bibliographia, filmographia* (Florence: Cadmo, 1995).

The chapter is organised in two distinct parts—the Italian period and the American period—but opens with some discussion about Italian musical context. This contextualisation serves to provide footing for the emergence of Castelnuovo-Tedesco as an individualistic young composer within shifting Italian cultural, social, and political environments. It will serve to illustrate what Castelnuovo-Tedesco was alluding to in his refusal to be stylistically classified and will provide a context of where Castelnuovo-Tedesco stood in the conflicting attitudes of his mentors and peers. The biographical information presented here relies heavily on quotations from Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s own published and unpublished letters and publications. In this way, the composer’s own voice is emphasised as are those who were close to Castelnuovo-Tedesco, including family members and students.

### **Italian Nationalism and New Directions in Music**

Italian independence and national unification in the early 1860s spawned a growing political quest for a unified Italian national identity. Consequently, the period is marked by a regeneration of the Italian arts, a regeneration that was inspired by, and echoed many similar projects of nationalism across Europe.<sup>3</sup> From its inception in the early 1600s, Italy’s rich operatic heritage was a dominant musical force throughout Europe, and it played a considerable part symbolising national identity. However, instead of further developing the Italian styles of such indigenous composers as Rossini, Verdi, Donizetti or Bellini, the dominant Italian trend during the nineteenth century was to follow the path of German composers who were evolving the new musical language of romanticism exemplified by Liszt and Wagner. By the early 1900s, the pre-eminence of German composers was being supplanted by French impressionists such as Fauré, Debussy, and Ravel. Italy felt this French influence and it was the French spirit rather than the German, that most impressed a new generation of Italian composers.<sup>4</sup>

With Mussolini’s rise to power in 1922, Italy became strongly militaristic. As parts of its attempts to construct a unified national identity and culture, the regime cultivated and promoted the arts, frequently with political overtones and propaganda.<sup>5</sup> Mussolini’s national-political

---

<sup>3</sup> Geoffrey Hindley, ed., *The Larousse Encyclopedia of Music*, s.v. “Modern Italian Music” (16<sup>th</sup> ed., London: Hamlyn Publishing, 1987), 418.

<sup>4</sup> E.H.C. Oliphant, “The Songs of Young Italy,” *The Musical Quarterly* 9/2 (April 1923): 191-192.

<sup>5</sup> Ruth C. Lakeway and Robert C. White Jr., *Italian Art Song* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 19.

philosophy fit well with the renaissance of Italian national music. In describing the specific relationship between Fascism and music, Castelnuovo-Tedesco states that

...we may divide them into three periods...the period of organisation, 1922-1933 [of the long-established conservatories, in administration and political policy]; the second...the absorption by the State of all administration and musical activities [using music chiefly as an instrument of propaganda declaring the doctrine of Fascism was the theory of the absolute supremacy of the State and an aspiring Colonial Empire], and goes from 1933 to 1938; the third...the period of ideological intolerance and goes from 1938...to the end.<sup>6</sup>

Mussolini advocated that music should be inspired by nobility and classical symmetry,<sup>7</sup> and that it should lose any Christian meekness and humility in favour of assertiveness, brashness, and audacity. This became an explicit plank in the evolving fascist platform. Its musical analogy, equally explicit, was overt orchestral neoclassical virtuosity,<sup>8</sup> which became the style of the day. However, contemporary instrumental music was sorely lacking.

Perhaps the musician most concerned about the state of Italian music from the end of the nineteenth century was Ferruccio Benvenuto Busoni (1866-1924). He sought to liberate Italian music from external influences and tried to introduce students to Italian *instrumental* music; as well as unbind it from past conventions, a movement which would later be taken further by Pizzetti. Busoni realised that bringing German musicians into Italy, while raising overall musical standards, would also stifle *new* Italian musical development. On the other hand, he recognised that for this development to take place, Italian musicians had to go to Germany to raise their musical standards.<sup>9</sup> Busoni advocated an Italian style that embodied deep love of an illustrious musical past; one that stirred young Italian musicians to new musical endeavours. It was to represent a return to constituted logic and order with respectable tonal resolution. It moved away from the more abstract post-World War One ‘modernism,’ disassociating itself from the music of Schoenberg and his contemporaries.<sup>10</sup> Similar movements were occurring elsewhere in Europe during the 1920s. Busoni may have been inspired somewhat by the popular ideas of ‘Futurism,’ the new movement that arose in 1909, which for the first time since the mid-1800s, gained

---

<sup>6</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism” (n.p. ms., 1944), 4. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/17.

<sup>7</sup> Paolo André Gualdi, “A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Piedigrotta* 1924: *Rapsodia Napoletana* (D.M.A. diss., University of Georgia, 2010), 22.

<sup>8</sup> Taruskin, “Music and Totalitarian Society,” 751.

<sup>9</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 14-15.

<sup>10</sup> Guido M. Gatti, “Modern Italian Composers,” *The Musical Quarterly* 18/3 (July 1932): 397-398.

international recognition as an *Italian* innovation in the arts. Futurism, however, was a short-lived movement that, as Lakeway and White point out, is remarkable in its call for students of music to drop formal studies and the conservatories, and compose for themselves in their own way, not for the public or to merely make money. It advocated that music should be new, not just a reconstruction of the past. Significantly, Futurism advocated for instrumental music to be equal in importance to the vocal music.<sup>11</sup>

Busoni was first identified with the new neoclassical movement. He was part of *La generazione dell'ottanta* ('of the '80s') a movement of those born generally between 1875 and 1885 (Castelnuovo-Tedesco was born ten years later), that included both conservatives and progressives: Casella, Malpiero, Pizzetti, Respighi, and others. The *generazione* sought a musical expression that would capture a new independent Italian spirit in *instrumental* music, and sought successfully to create an Italian style that was different to other European styles. However, these composers continued to follow the traditions into which they were born: Italian post-Romantic *Verism* ('realism'),<sup>12</sup> impressionism, and chromaticism, and they all wrote opera, even though it was not their primary concern. They were generally unified by a need for advancement away from nineteenth-century Italian operatic tradition, and its associated dramatic *verismo* in which composers consciously strove for the integration of the opera's underlying drama with its music.

### **Stylistic Consolidation: Casella and Pizzetti**

The neoclassical 'nationalist' ideas of Busoni were musically best represented by Alfredo Casella (1883-1947) who began to revive the classicism of former great Italian instrumental composers. He was a central figure in the return to Italy's great instrumental heritage and provided a natural focus for Italians to develop an interest in their national music.<sup>13</sup> Writing in 1932, Casella himself noted that

[s]ince the War, our music has freed itself completely from all foreign influences and has assumed a national outlook, which characterises it strongly and makes it independent in the

---

<sup>11</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 18.

<sup>12</sup> *Verismo* refers to 'realism' in the sense of dramatic truthness. The *Verismo* movement in Italian dramatic music was pioneered by Pietro Mascagni (1863-1945) with his important 1890 work *Cavalleria Rusticana*, a milestone in operatic history. It is also associated with Italian composers such as Ruggero Leoncavallo, Umberto Giordano, Francesco Cilea, and Giacomo Puccini.

<sup>13</sup> Hindley, ed., "Modern Italian Music," 420.

midst of all other European music...and guarantees for it great liberty of movement in the troublous [sic] times in which we are living.<sup>14</sup>

Post-World War One nationalism for Casella was intimately connected with a national musical revival. The ambition of Casella was to create a truly national style that could compare with the best Europe had to offer. Although he rebelled against the exclusive status of opera as an appropriate expression of a new Italian identity, he felt it necessary to go through a period of rediscovery of the instrumental music of Italy's past. By the mid-1920s, Casella was, therefore, adapting idioms and forms of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.<sup>15</sup>

During the 1920s and into the 1930s important music festivals were held in Italy, in which Casella's neoclassicism became strongly representative of the artistic ideals of the Fascist movement. The composer himself stated that his music 'both stood for order and reactionary revolution.'<sup>16</sup> The festivals were founded after Casella's return from a sojourn in France from 1921 to 1923, in which he together with Malpiero decided to start an organisation to attract the younger generation of musicians to current European musical thought and the new Italian trends. It was to be called the 'New Music Corporation,' and Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge was one of the major benefactors, providing bursaries for compositions of which the young Castelnuovo-Tedesco was one recipient.<sup>17</sup> It sponsored approximately 70 concerts holding its first festival in Salzburg in 1923 featuring Castelnuovo-Tedesco's work, after which it became the Italian chapter of the International Society for Contemporary Music (I.S.C.M.) in which Castelnuovo-Tedesco continued to feature prominently. The newly formed musical societies were a great help in promoting new composers internationally and made staying in Italy highly attractive for the younger generation.

Although they were all trying to create an alternative to popular Italian opera, there were two opposing factions in the *generazione*. One was the younger progressive group led by Casella and Malpiero with its emphasis on a return to the great age of Italian instrumental music such as

---

<sup>14</sup> Alfredo Casella, *The Musical Courier*, as cited in Scholes, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Music*, s.v. "Italy" (10th ed., Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 527.

<sup>15</sup> Gualdi, "A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Piedigrotta*," 420-421.

<sup>16</sup> Casella as quoted in Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy* (London and New York: Norton & Company, 1988), 135-136. Casella formally declared his sympathies with Fascism in 1926 but was supportive of the movement from as early as March 1922, when he began to identify with neoclassicism that was aligned with Fascist ideals. Despite being married to two French Jews consecutively, he continued to speak out in favour of Fascism even after the racial policies of 1939 were introduced.

<sup>17</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 19. Castelnuovo-Tedesco was to remain friends with Sprague-Coolidge, who was much later partly responsible for the composer's archive being housed at the Library of Congress.

that by Palestrina and Frescobaldi.<sup>18</sup> This faction was most closely aligned with Italian neoclassicism but maintained an openness to other European trends such as impressionism. The other musical faction within the *generazione* included ‘elders,’ led by the more conservative Idelbrando Pizzetti (1880-1968), and Ottorino Respighi (1879-1936). They saw the future of Italian music as modelled on the success of late nineteenth-century Italian opera but with an instrumental emphasis devoid of any external musical influences.

What was common between both groups, however, was the perceived necessity to break with the Italian operatic past that emphasised vocal display. Although the two factions were divided since the early 1920s, in 1932 they completely diverged following a public rebuke by the conservatives Pizzetti and Respighi. Published in the newspapers to gain favour with the Fascist administration, the rebuke constituted an opportunity to reinforce their own position in favour of a pure Italian tradition.<sup>19</sup> It claimed that the last century’s romanticism was being over-run by an ‘atonal and polytonal honking style,’<sup>20</sup> which was perceived as an attack primarily on Casella and Malpiero.

### **Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Art Song, and the Musical Trends**

Despite their conflicts, like Pizzetti who advocated isolationism, and Casella who advocated internationalism, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was a great admirer of Debussy’s music, and many of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s piano compositions from the early part of his life were influenced by Debussy’s style. Despite the independence of compositional thought that both Pizzetti and Casella encouraged of the younger composer, he was often associated with the approach of his master Pizzetti, although he tried to take a neutral stance between them:

As far as theories are concerned, I do not believe in theories. I have never believed in modernism, or in neo-classicism, or in any other -isms...Every means of expression can be true and just, if it is used at the opportune moment (through inner necessity rather than through caprice or fashion). The simplest means are generally the best.’<sup>21</sup>

---

<sup>18</sup> Klaus Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (D.M.A. diss., Northwestern University, 2014), 12.

<sup>19</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 33, as cited in Gualdi, “A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Piedigrotta*,” 16-17.

<sup>20</sup> Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 24-25.

<sup>21</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Composer Speaks,” in *The New Book of Modern Composers*, ed. David Ewen (3rd edn., revised and enlarged, New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 111-112. He also details this in “Modern Italian Music” (*Boston Evening Transcript*, December 16, 1939) in which he mentions being ‘accused by turns [sic] of modernism, cerebralism, romanticism, eclecticism, or any other “isms.”’ Location, MCT Papers, LoC, 115/15.

Composers like Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Aldo Finzi, and Vittorio Rieti came to prominence after the 1880's original *generazione*. They were not much younger than their predecessors but had the advantage of the older generation's precedents. Oliphant notes that they were very conscious of a renewed interest in local Italian culture and literature, and the corresponding consideration of art song as a worthwhile compositional activity.<sup>22</sup> Although as far back as the late 1800s, text was an important factor in shaping the form of Italian chamber music, poetry was no longer the only desired subject, and new inspiration was found in impressions of the Italian countryside full of earthy, simple emotion.<sup>23</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco refers to the art song genre as 'lyric song'<sup>24</sup> stating that it resulted from an 'amalgamation of poetry and music that served...[historically] as the intellectual and aristocratic art of the court.'<sup>25</sup> He and other composers including Respighi were devoted to the composition of these earthy *liriche da camera* for voice and piano. Whereas the vocal music in the nineteenth century had utilised lyrics merely as a vehicle for the demonstration of melodic expression, Castelnuovo-Tedesco's models for vocal composition were the German Romantic composers of *lieder* including Schubert, Schumann, and Wolf. These composers had chosen the texts of the great literary figures and tried to respect and convey these words in sound.<sup>26</sup> In the Italian music of the early twentieth century, modality and contrasts using colour tones to emphasise the text can be traced back to these influences.

Considering Fascist cultural impositions on artists and composers, it is quite remarkable that Castelnuovo-Tedesco emphasised the popular lyrics of Spain and Tuscany during the inter-war period. He used humble Italian and foreign folk tunes, quite out of step with the general movement to rediscover the ideal 'Italian voice' through its great historical traditions. He preferred the more 'exotic' influences of Spain and France instead of the more local sources from the Italian folk tradition,<sup>27</sup> and was an independent voice already from his early period of composing.

---

<sup>22</sup> Oliphant, "The Songs of Young Italy," 194.

<sup>23</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 16.

<sup>24</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer," *Musical Quarterly* 30/1 (January 1944): 103.

<sup>25</sup> Ibid.

<sup>26</sup> Eric B. Robles, "An Analysis of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Vogelweide*: Song Cycle for Baritone and Guitar" (D.M.A. diss., Florida State University, 2004), xi.

<sup>27</sup> Gualdi, "A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Piedigrotta*," 22-23.



By understanding Castelnuovo-Tedesco's neutrality in the musical conflicts of the 1920s and 1930s, and his identification with not only his friend Casella and teacher Pizzetti, but also with the romanticists and impressionists of France and Germany, one might better be able to identify his stylistic approach—a style that would remain with him to the end of his life. Castelnuovo-Tedesco found all means of expression valid and useful, but he rejected the highly analytic and theoretical style that was in vogue among many twentieth-century composers. His own style separated him from the mainstream of contemporary composition of the so-called 'serious' or 'high art' vein. His music was informed not by abstract concepts and procedures, but by extra-musical ideas—whether literary or visual, enhancing either the word or the visual image.<sup>28</sup>

### **Family Background and Early Training**

Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco was born in Florence within the province of Tuscany on April 3, 1895. At that time, Jews were fully integrated, accepted, and freely allowed to follow their own traditions. As Mario himself notes, '...my family had lived in peace for 400 years. I know that one of my forefathers was a rabbi in Siena, a small town of Tuscany, but my family came about a century ago to Florence.'<sup>29</sup> Mario's parents differed with respect to their Jewish cultural heritage. Their alliance is interesting as, according to Castelnuovo-Tedesco, it involves the connection between the Italian Ashkenazic roots of his mother's lineage, with his paternal Spanish Sephardic roots, in which,

...[a]mong the several groups of Jews of different origins who lived and still live in Italy, two were outstanding. One lived around Rome and in the former states of the Church, probably since the times of the Roman empire, and to this, the family of my mother belongs, called 'Senigaglia' from a little town of that region. Another group came from Spain about four hundred years ago, landed in the port of Livorno, and settled down especially in Tuscany. To this group the family of my father belongs. I was told once that the name Castelnuovo is perhaps a simple translation of *castilla nueva*, the province of Spain where my ancestors came from...<sup>30</sup>

---

<sup>28</sup> Westby, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America," 39.

<sup>29</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Jewish Background of an Exiled Musician," *American Jewish Outlook* (July 26, 1940): 4. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/9.

<sup>30</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco as quoted in Gdal Saleski, *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1949), 31; Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography" (1940, typed manuscript. in English), 18. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/13.

The complexities of Jewish identity are aptly illustrated through the names used here. A Spanish Sephardic ‘Castelnuovo,’ an Italian Ashkenazic ‘Senigaglia’ as well as German Ashkenazic ‘Tedesco,’<sup>31</sup> are all names that represent diversity in the western dispersion of Jews in the diaspora.

It seems that Mario grew up self-identifying as part of the Sephardic community and its own particular synagogue was doubtless the Tempio Maggiore (‘Great Synagogue’):

I was born in Florence in a Sephardic community, which was very flourishing at the time and was proud of a huge splendid synagogue...; and musically speaking what I heard sung in *our* [italics added] synagogue were mainly echoes of the Italian operatic style, and not of the best kind...<sup>32</sup>

The full name ‘Castelnuovo-Tedesco’ derived from a much simpler condition. Mario’s paternal grandfather, Angiolo Castelnuovo, a banker, was in business with his aunt’s husband, Samuele Tedesco who married Enrichetta, Angiolo’s sister.<sup>33</sup> Samuele had no children, and ‘wishing that his name not become extinct,’<sup>34</sup> named Mario’s father Amadeo as heir on condition that he took the name Tedesco and appended it to Castelnuovo,<sup>35</sup> which he did: ‘...Giramonte is a ‘villa’ which belonged to my father: it belonged before to “Uncle Tedesco,” the one who left us his fortune and...half of our last name! (as you know, we were originally only Castelnuovo ...).’<sup>36</sup>

Mario’s mother, Noemi (née Senigaglia), came ‘from a cultivated artistic family much interested in music and art,’<sup>37</sup> and provided Mario and his two older brothers Ugo and Guido with a very supportive environment. Mario recalls that his grandfather, Noemi’s father

...always used to sing! And he was fond of “Italian music.” He sang pieces of opera and had made his three daughters study the piano (my mother played it quite well). Moreover,

---

<sup>31</sup> Mario notes that the name Tedesco in Italian means ‘German.’ See Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography,” 1.

<sup>32</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” *Jewish Music Notes*, part I (May 1951): 3, published by the JWB Jewish Music Council. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/21. The other synagogue, of the Ashkenazi rite, was housed within the Benivieni Palace close to the Duomo.

<sup>33</sup> Nick Rossi, “Modern Master of Melody,” *American Music Teacher* 25/4 (February-March 1976): 13.

<sup>34</sup> Pietro Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Harriette Mildred Rosen, March 6, 1989, as quoted in Harriette Mildred Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1991), 35.

<sup>35</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade (Los Angeles: UCLA Oral History Program, 1982), 20-21.

<sup>36</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, Florence, June 23, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>37</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Saleski, *Famous Musicians*, 31.

even the uncles Senigaglia were musical (while I could not find any natural bent for music in my father's family)...<sup>38</sup>

Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco relates that Mario's mother 'saw how gifted her son was,' and even as a baby and a small child, he would sit 'under the piano, and started to be interested.'<sup>39</sup> Two events from Mario's childhood stand out in his emerging musical development, both at the age of six. The first was seeing Bizet's "Mediterranean Opera"<sup>40</sup> *Carmen*, which remained one of his favourite operas not least because of its connection to his beloved Spain. The second was 'knowing (and singing) all the main arias of *La Bohème* by heart,' accompanied by his mother.<sup>41</sup> According to Rossi, in contrast to his mother, Mario's father Amadeo, who was a leading banker in Florence,<sup>42</sup> was stern, severe, rational, and reserved. According to Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco, he was staunchly resolved to rear a respectable young man and imposed the study of medicine—and was not particularly sympathetic to Mario becoming a musician.<sup>43</sup> Mario recalls that

[t]here were no artistic traditions in my father's family; these were generally lacking in Italian Jews, who are a very cultivated class, prominent in professions and sciences, but not particularly in art, nor especially in the musical field. Italy had not only very few Jewish composers; there was not even that important "legion" of musical interpreters (pianists, violinists, cellists, conductors) which honoured Eastern and Central Europe so much. We did not even have many Jewish singers, although the "*bel canto*" was supposed to be the specialty and pride of Italy.<sup>44</sup>

Italy's assimilation and tolerance of Jews from the time of the establishment of the modern state (1861) to the Fascist era from 1922 until the mid-1930s, created high social mobility, so well demonstrated in Mario's upbringing. The 'Italian' identity of middle-class Jews was one side of two parallel identities, the other being its Jewish identity. While fully assimilated, the family held a strong Jewish cultural identity, expressed in the centrality of the synagogue, of which Mario attended,

---

<sup>38</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, "First Part: 1. The Ancestors," typed manuscript in English. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/13, being from the manuscript *Una vita di musica*, p. 6 (as per top of page; page 8 in margin).

<sup>39</sup> Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 25.

<sup>40</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco, "Under the Sign of Orpheus: The Milestones of Opera. A Series of Lectures," (n.p., c. 1959), 99. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 114/6.

<sup>41</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, "Under the Sign of Orpheus," 111.

<sup>42</sup> Nick Rossi, *Catalogue of Works by Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco* (New York: The International Castelnovo-Tedesco Society, 1977), i.

<sup>43</sup> Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 25.

<sup>44</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, "Jewish Background," 4; Castelnovo-Tedesco, "The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography," 2. *Bel canto* refers to a lyrical style of operatic singing. It has several meanings but in general refers to those possessing a full, rich, broad tone and smooth phrasing.

...not as much out of inner conviction, but rather to give pleasure to my parents...(but where) I could almost see the ancient Temple—destroyed for centuries. Anyhow, for me the Temple in Florence remained tied to “traditions,” to the memories of my family—my father and my mother.<sup>45</sup>

The way the composer ties both the ancient and Florentine Temples to a common tradition, as well as family and memory is critical. His expressive language clearly illustrates characteristics of diaspora identity, continuity, and collective memory that were so much a part of his Jewish heritage. Later, Castelnuovo-Tedesco reveals a significantly contrasting attitude towards the synagogues of America. He observes that they were

...not only places of prayer, but the centres of various [social] activities...I am not debating the usefulness of these last functions, but they seem completely extraneous to me. While I always felt a *deep sense of fellowship with the Jewish people* [italics added], frankly I wasn't interested in these secondary activities. The synagogues themselves, as a place of prayer, seemed so little “inspiring” to me...Above all, the synagogues did not have the inner meaning, traditional and familiar, of the “Temple” in my native Florence.<sup>46</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's ‘cultural interest’ in a collective Jewish tradition had its roots back in his childhood—roots that were disconnected from any idea of ritual as a cultural marker:

My father's family were orthodox Jews and they were observing—religion was a very important part of their life. My father did have religious training and we would occasionally go to Temple with him and with my paternal grandfather...within our house, the issue of religion was not important...My father did observe the holidays but that was about the extent of it...I think it was more a *cultural interest* [italics added] in tradition, rather than an involvement with organised religion. I think that was pretty much the way my father felt.<sup>47</sup>

The assimilation of the Jewish community within the wider Italian society extended even into Jewish liturgical life, where music used in the Florentine Sephardic synagogue reflected the wider cultural context. Castelnuovo-Tedesco notes this by pointing out,

[a]s is well known, the music of Jewish composers has been greatly influenced by the music of the countries where they happened to be born and educated...while I was more impressed by some songs (more primitive and authentic) which I heard from my maternal grandfather at the family reunions, especially on Purim and Passover.<sup>48</sup>

---

<sup>45</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” trans. Burton H. Scalin, *Journal of Synagogue Music* 5/3 (December 1974): 9-10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/19. This derives from Part II, chapter 87 of the then-unpublished *Una vita di musica*.

<sup>46</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 10.

<sup>47</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 46.

<sup>48</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” *Jewish Music Notes*, part I (May 1951): 3, published by the JWB Jewish Music Council. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/21.

Here Mario defines Jewish music as basically adapted borrowings of the Jews living within their differing national diaspora communities, with the inference that there was nothing “authentically” Jewish about it. Castelnuovo-Tedesco is critical of what he heard in synagogue, which is important for understanding the early development of the Jewish composer’s Sephardic identity,<sup>49</sup> because

...the music I heard [evidently in the Florence Sephardic synagogue, the Tempio Maggiore] was extremely poor and gave me very few suggestions. You may imagine the worst music of Italianate opera of the nineteenth century, and you will have an idea of what I heard in the synagogue.<sup>50</sup>

The strong Italian identity of his upbringing derived from Florence as a hub of European intellectual and artistic life in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s youth, being ‘the greatest artistic place for musicians and for literature, for painting also, great painters...’<sup>51</sup> It should be no surprise that Mario’s culturally broad early education impacted his later musical activities. ‘...My education was typically Italian; among ancient languages, Latin and Greek had a larger influence on my cultural formation than Hebrew, and I grew up mostly in the spirit of the Italian Renaissance.’<sup>52</sup> Throughout his early development, Mario became acquainted with all the major works of literature in their original languages. This was a part of his interest in Greek and Latin, Hebrew, Italian, Spanish, French, English, and German languages<sup>53</sup> that had great impact on his development and outputs in art song. The Hebrew background that Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls seems most likely a reference to the general religious education he received during his childhood.<sup>54</sup> Furthermore, his use of the English translation of the poetry of Ibn Ezra would seem to indicate that his Hebrew was not at the level of his other languages. He admitted that his knowledge of the Hebrew language was limited, a surprising fact considering his association as a ‘Jewish composer’: ‘I know too little

---

<sup>49</sup> In the previous quote, the composer self-identifies as being of the Sephardic community, and would logically have attended his own institutions, which is strengthened by his stating elsewhere that “the interior (of the Temple in Florence) is of a chocolate colour and decorated with arabesques that make it resemble a mosque.” Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” trans. Burton H. Scalin, *Journal of Synagogue Music* 5 (December 1974): 10.

<sup>50</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” *The Jewish Press* (June 21, 1940), 2. Also published as “Jewish background of an Exiled Musician” (1940); and “My Musical Background,” *The Southern Israelite* (1940). Location MCT Papers, LoC, 115/9.

<sup>51</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 31.

<sup>52</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” I, 3.

<sup>53</sup> Rossi, *Catalogue of Works*, i.

<sup>54</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” I, 3.

of Hebrew language...<sup>55</sup> Shelleg observes that Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Jewish identity in Italy had been restricted to religious practice following the Jews' 'growing involvement in Italy's political and social life and a 'social insecurity' caused by emancipation.<sup>56</sup>

At the age of nine, Mario began learning the piano, although his father was 'not too willing to have an artist in the family.'<sup>57</sup> Encouraged by his maternal grandfather Bruto Senigaglia,<sup>58</sup> his mother secretly taught him music over his more conservative father's objections to such activities, for the first year of his musical education:<sup>59</sup> 'But [unlike father,] in mother's family, everybody was musical, and from there, I inherited my musical inclination. My mother was my first teacher.'<sup>60</sup> The opposition that his father voiced to him learning the piano did however, have some value, as he says, 'I believe that this element of contrast helped strengthen my vocation very much.'<sup>61</sup> In 1904, Mario lost his beloved grandfather, the implications of which would prove highly significant to his developing identity and compositional motivations:

I started piano when I was nine years old, and one year later, my dear grandfather (who had been my "good angel") suddenly died...To my grandfather I owe not only my musical inclination and my deepest religious feelings, but also the first suggestion to write Jewish music. But this happened many years after his death...<sup>62</sup>

The clandestine piano classes were revealed to his father when, after one year of lessons, Mario chose to perform some Chopin for his father, as well as one of his own compositions.<sup>63</sup> Although still displeased, the banker relented and allowed Mario to continue his musical studies, but only as a pastime.<sup>64</sup> At the age of nine or ten, Mario published two compositions for piano although his career as a serious composer really began later, around 1909 when he composed and performed his *English Suite* at age fourteen. Soon after, he composed *Cielo di Settembre* which

---

<sup>55</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Musical Background," 33. However, even fluency in either modern or Biblical Hebrew would not allow for a satisfactory 'amateur' translation of Ibn Ezra's complex medieval poetry in its archaic Hebrew form.

<sup>56</sup> Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 65.

<sup>57</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2.

<sup>58</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Contemporary Composer," *Temple Israel Light* by Emery Grossman (March 1959), 10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 119/5.

<sup>59</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Jewish Background," 4.

<sup>60</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Saleski, *Famous Musicians*, 31.

<sup>61</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography," 3.

<sup>62</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Jewish Background," 4.

<sup>63</sup> Ruth C. Lakeway and Robert C. White Jr. *Italian Art Song* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989), 258.

<sup>64</sup> Saleski, *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*, 32.

was premiered in 1915 in Florence, orchestrated and conducted by Pizzetti. His early compositions, including his *Primavera Fiorentina* (1911), are some of his best original works, and this recognition is recalled by the composer himself:

I am glad you liked the little picture and you understood the “meaning” that it has for me: it commemorates the “first achievement” of a fourteen years [sic] old boy...: really, up to that time, I had written music which was, more or less, “derivative”...; but this was the first “original thing”! and really it was, for the time completely new...: I remember that when I showed it, several years later, to Casella, he exclaimed, “But this is Stravinsky before the [i.e., before his] time!”...<sup>65</sup>

One of Mario’s first ambitions was to express what he terms the ‘musical essence’<sup>66</sup> of his native city, and he began to compose descriptive music based on image and recollection, primarily inspired by the beauty of Florence:

The background of my native city, of the city where I lived, of my beloved Florence, gave me plenty of suggestions, if not specifically musical, at least highly artistic. The wonderful country, the harmonious architecture, the statues, the paintings, all the splendours of the medieval art and of the Italian renaissance surrounded me. Therefore, nobody can be surprised if my first and deepest inspirations were rather Italian than Jewish; and not only Italian, but particularly Tuscan, Florentine!...

It seems that I succeeded so well in my purpose that I was generally called “the musician of Florence”...[and] all the Jewish composers in Italy had, by preference, a regional character. Sinigaglia<sup>67</sup> is known for his *Piemontese* Rhapsodies, Masserani for some pages inspired by Lombardy, myself for the Florentine music.<sup>68</sup>

As Westby has demonstrated, this early approach to image-based music would be transferred with great effect to his work as a respected film writer in Hollywood from the early 1940s to the mid-1950s.<sup>69</sup>

Mario’s first two formal teachers were Jewish. He began private piano lessons with his mother’s cousin, the Jewish pedagogue, concert pianist, and composer Edgardo Samuel del Valle de Paz (1861-1920). In 1909 he attended the Royal Institute of Music, the *Istituto Musicale Cherubini* in Florence under Valle de Paz’s guidance. At the age of fourteen or fifteen (thus 1909-

---

<sup>65</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, November 3, 1964, Beverly Hills. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>66</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” 2.

<sup>67</sup> Leone Sinigaglia (1868-1944) was an Italian composer and mountaineer. He has no apparent relationship to Mario’s maternal side (remembering Mario’s grandfather Bruto Senigaglia) and is spelt slightly differently.

<sup>68</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography,” 4.

<sup>69</sup> James Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America: The Film Music” (Ph.D. diss., UCLA, 1994), 48. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 128/18.

1910),<sup>70</sup> Mario gained a diploma in piano. According to the composer, his second teacher, also Jewish, was apparently Ernesto Consolo (1864-1931) who had ‘lived in America a long time, and taught in Chicago before coming to Florence.’<sup>71</sup> Mario states he was the ‘best Italian pianist at that time, and I was very honoured to have him as first interpreter of several of my works among them my first piano concerto.’<sup>72</sup> There is however, no documentary evidence that Consolo was a teacher to young Mario, and was perhaps more of a mentor. His first composition teacher was Gino Modena, who helped Mario find his own style early on,<sup>73</sup> a style recognisable as early as 1914 when he published his first piano piece *Questo fu il Carro della Morte*.<sup>74</sup> Modena introduced him to the French impressionistic style of Debussy and Ravel. These two composers, and in particular Debussy, influenced his early work: ‘it was a whole world that was revealed to me, and it was exactly corresponding to my aspirations!’<sup>75</sup>

As Lorenzo pointed out, his father ‘became a composer at a time when French impressionist music was first being played in Italy.’<sup>76</sup> Debussy’s impressionistic style is notable in his use of characteristic whole-tone sections and parallel block chords, which likewise became a prominent marker of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s style. Rossi points out that the harmonic shadings of the French school of Debussy were combined in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s compositions with the lyricism of his Italian heritage.<sup>77</sup> The composer deemed this period extremely important for the development of his musical individuality that, in his own words, remained ‘unchanged’<sup>78</sup> for the duration of his life. His use of parallel chords, pentatonic and whole-tone scales, and the ninth and

---

<sup>70</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Jewish Background,” 4. There are inconsistencies with the dates of the graduations in the literature. For example, in Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song* (p. 258), it states that ‘he achieved diplomas...(one) in 1914...’ Regardless, he achieved his ‘diplomas,’ or as sometimes stated, ‘degrees’ at a relatively early age.

<sup>71</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Jewish Background,” 4.

<sup>72</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography,” 5. However in a letter to Hans Moldenhauer, June 6, 1960 he does not provide any details as to where and when these studies took place, or whether they were formal or otherwise.

<sup>73</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, 75-76 as cited in Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 10.

<sup>74</sup> Guido Gatti, “Some Italian Composers of To-Day,” *The Musical Times* 62/936 (February 1921): 93.

<sup>75</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, 76, as cited in Paolo André Gualdi, “A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Piedigrotta* 1924: *Rapsodia Napoletana*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Georgia, 2010), 11.

<sup>76</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 121/7.

<sup>77</sup> Nick Rossi, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Neglected Master,” *Musical Journal*, 33 (1975): 13. Rossi was founder of the now-defunct International Castelnuovo-Tedesco Society, est. 1975.

<sup>78</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, 76, as cited in Gualdi, “A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Piedigrotta* 1924,” 11.



eleventh extensions as hallmarks used by the French impressionistic composers,<sup>79</sup> are also prominent markers found within the *Divan*.

In 1914, the teenage Mario wrote his celebrated *Ninna-Nana* and also composed 2 *Madrigali a Galatea*, for chorus using the *Bucolics* (also known as *Eclogues*) of Virgil as textual basis. As Westby points out, these songs demonstrated early on the ‘gift of interpreting the spirit of old poetry by modern means’<sup>80</sup> which is effectively seen even towards the end of his life in the *Divan*.

### **Early Works and Cultural Influences; Pizzetti and Bloch**

In either 1914 or 1915, Castelnuovo-Tedesco served in a medical unit in the military, but after a brief period of duty, a recurring and physically debilitating case of pleurisy exempted him from further service.<sup>81</sup> His delicate health would be factor throughout his life, and will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Eight. Whether or not it is related to his exclusion from the military, in one of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s few overtly ‘political’ acts, in 1915 he contributed to the national effort at a time when Italy was choosing sides and readying itself for war.<sup>82</sup> In one morning he wrote the patriotic *Fuori i barbari*, which as Clara states, was ‘an “anti-German” song...[that] means “kick out the barbarians.”’<sup>83</sup> The term “barbarians” here refers to ‘foreigners,’ in this case being the Austro-Hungarians, and it became very popular with soldiers and on the streets.<sup>84</sup> Later, when facing persecution as a Jew under the Fascist regime, Castelnuovo-Tedesco would point out the irony that he, the author of the famous nationalist song of the Great War, was being called un-Italian and suffering by having his performances cancelled by the authorities.<sup>85</sup>

At the outset of his compositional career, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was considered one of the ‘progressives.’ According to Westby, his music from this period showed the influence of ‘the contrapuntal austerities of Pizzetti, Debussy’s Impressionism, Ravel’s neoclassicism, and a

---

<sup>79</sup> Nick Rossi, “A Tale of Two Countries. The Operas of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” *The Opera Quarterly* 7/3 (Autumn, 1990): 89.

<sup>80</sup> James Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario,” in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. Stanley Sadie (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London.: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), V: 256.

<sup>81</sup> Enrique Caboverde III, “A Graduate Recital Consisting of Works by Leo Brouwer and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco with Extended Program Notes” (M.A. diss., Florida International University, 2012), 2.

<sup>82</sup> Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 64-65.

<sup>83</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 35.

<sup>84</sup> *Ibid.*, 107-8.

<sup>85</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, p. 292-294, and n. 409, as cited in Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 65.

tendency to flirt with polytonal techniques and unconventional harmonies.’<sup>86</sup> By 1915, at the age of around 20, Castelnuovo-Tedesco became known in Europe as a composer and concert pianist of some note.<sup>87</sup> At this time he began studying counterpoint and composition with Ildebrando Pizzetti (1880-1968), one of the major Italian composers and a major composer of vocal music where independent voices would provide simultaneous polyphonic melody. By the mid-1920s, some composers were referring to vocal polyphony as a dying art form,<sup>88</sup> but it was a form that Castelnuovo-Tedesco would devote himself to. Although he was a well-educated musician before he went to Pizzetti, who Castelnuovo-Tedesco referred to as ‘my beloved teacher,’<sup>89</sup> he was a major influence musically and personally in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s life, being ‘one of the few who influenced him, also in the mood and in the orchestration, no doubt.’<sup>90</sup> Rosen observes that Castelnuovo-Tedesco adopted several of Pizzetti’s compositional practices ‘including extensive choral writing, elaborate counterpoint, strict chromaticism with diatonic melody lines, and declamatory recitative [*recitativo*].’<sup>91</sup> However, Castelnuovo-Tedesco would maintain that he was not to be categorised. ‘Every man must find the means to express what he wants to say...I found my *métier* relatively early—it even struck the world as being modern once—and I have remained faithful to it. Fashions do not impress me...’<sup>92</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco undertook studies in Florence where Pizzetti was director of the Florence conservatory, and then, through an examination for the Diploma in Composition as an external student at *Liceo Musicale di Bologna*.<sup>93</sup> He completed

---

<sup>86</sup> Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America: The Film Music,” 31. Similarly, ‘he was able to forge a personal brand of impressionism with unconventional harmonic and rhythmic methods’ (Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 258); and Georg: ‘The young composer seems to have begun his career at least in touch with the musical *avant-garde*, especially with neoclassicism and polytonality’ (Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 22).

<sup>87</sup> Rossi, *Catalogue of Works*, i.

<sup>88</sup> Guido M. Gatti, “Four Composers of Present Day Italy,” *The Musical Quarterly* 12/3 (July 1926): 451.

<sup>89</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, November 28, 1958, as quoted in David S. Asbury, “20th Century Romantic Serialism: The Opus 170 Greeting Cards of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2005), 24.

<sup>90</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 87.

<sup>91</sup> Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music,” 36-37. The recitative is used in the *Divan* most notably in the last and highly interesting line of the cycle: “...I am forgotten...”

<sup>92</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Martin Bernheimer “Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Birthday Gift to LA,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1966, p. 2.

<sup>93</sup> Levine, “Review of the Naxos CD: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco – Naomi and Ruth, Op. 137; Sacred Service for the Sabbath Eve, Op. 122.” Academy of St. Martin in the Fields Orchestra cond. by Neville Marriner, Neil Levine, Ronald Corp. Milken Archive/Naxos CD 8.559404 (2004).” Naxos.com: [https://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs\\_reviews.asp?item\\_code=8.559404&catNum=559404&filetype=About%20this%20Recording&language=English](https://www.naxos.com/mainsite/blurbs_reviews.asp?item_code=8.559404&catNum=559404&filetype=About%20this%20Recording&language=English) (accessed January 25, 2017).

them at age 23 in 1918: '(Pizzetti) could see that in a week I could learn what other boys could take some months [to learn]...' <sup>94</sup>

Although Pizzetti was a non-Jew, he had an interest in Jewish modal music <sup>95</sup> as well as a deep interest in the Hebrew Bible which had great impact on Castelnuovo-Tedesco, who stated that Pizzetti '...so worshipped the Old Testament that his best opera is *Deborah and Jael*, for which he himself derived from the Book of the Judges.' <sup>96</sup> Both Pizzetti and Castelnuovo-Tedesco developed a shared interest in Jewish music, where Pizzetti, although a Christian, prompted Castelnuovo-Tedesco's own growing interest in Jewish music. '...It was through him [Pizzetti] that I had my first scientific knowledge of Jewish music, but rather through the derivations of the Gregorian Chant, than from a direct source.' <sup>97</sup> This interest and encouragement stimulated Castelnuovo-Tedesco to remember the simple songs his grandfather used to recite during Jewish festivals:

I had often in my earlier age, the desire, the ambition to write something of Biblical inspiration (and the stories of Esther and of Ruth were at that time my favourite reading), but I did not really know where I might find authentic Jewish music.

Still, I remembered having heard from my maternal grandfather (in the family meetings on the evenings of Pesach and of Purim, which remain the happiest and most moving memories of my youth), some melodies, some fragments, some cantillations, which really haunted me; and these I often asked my mother to sing to me again. I was to use them later. <sup>98</sup>

Pizzetti was a close friend and an admirer of Ernest Bloch (1880-1959) <sup>99</sup> and in 1918, at a time when both showed interest in Jewish music, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was exposed to Bloch's *Schelomo: Rhapsodie Hébraïque for Violoncello and Orchestra* (1915-16). This work was inspired

---

<sup>94</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, from the ms. *Una vita di musica*, as read by Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 27.

<sup>95</sup> Jewish liturgical music primarily uses a set of musical modes that form part of what is known as the musical *nusach* (Heb.: code, form, or tradition) of the community. They identify the type of prayer used, and its point to its applicable time of day for communal recitation. The primary modes that Pizzetti and Castelnuovo-Tedesco would have been referring to would have been those of the Ashkenazi tradition, three modes plus a derivative: The (third) Phrygian dominant mode (with the flattened ninth), *Ahavah Rabbah* (Great Love); the (sixth mode), minor Aeolian *Magen Avot* (Shield or defence of the/our Fathers); the dominant seventh with flattened ninth mode, *Adonai Malah* (God Rules). See Baruch Joseph Cohon, "The Structure of the Synagogue Prayer-Chant," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3/1 (Spring, 1950): 18-20 for more detail; and the lesser used Ukrainian Dorian mode built on the seventh mode of the *Ahava Rabbah* 'scale' and related very strongly to the *Magen Avot* 'scale' being built from its (supertonic) fifth degree (Cohon, "The Structure of the Synagogue Prayer-Chant," 22).

<sup>96</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," I, 3.

<sup>97</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2. Castelnuovo-Tedesco is here noting that ancient Jewish music is only preserved embedded in much later music and will be discussed at length later.

<sup>98</sup> Ibid. Cantillations that are referred to above are Biblical chants governed by 28 types of melodic patterns, notated by symbols of intonations called *ta'ammim* in Hebrew.

<sup>99</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2.

by the Book of Ecclesiastes, the third of five important Jewish works composed during what Bloch called his 'Jewish Cycle' of 1912-1916. 'The first deep impression I had from a Jewish composer... This music aroused my enthusiasm, and corresponded for the first time, to my ideal of a Jewish expression.'<sup>100</sup> As a composer showing interest in Jewish music, Bloch's music was

...the real "revelation" to me; it showed me the possibility, of which I had always dreamed, to create a real authentic Jewish music through the feelings, from the heart, rather than on historical documents... through modern technical means, and at the same time to transpose it far off in the remote, colourful atmosphere of the heroic, Biblical times...; and his works of Biblical inspiration (especially the first ones which are bound to some of my dearest remembrances and deepest emotions) are among my best beloved.<sup>101</sup>

As the quotation reveals, Castelnuovo-Tedesco showed an interest in the 'exotic' Jewish past using terms such as "far off," "remote," "colourful," and "heroic" as well as demonstrating an awareness of the complexity in the development of Jewish music. This discovery did not, however, lead to Castelnuovo-Tedesco writing his first composition either based on or inspired by the Bible or other Jewish sources. Rather, it was the discovery of his grandfather Bruto's notes in 1925, that prompted this milestone, and will be discussed below.

Pizzetti encouraged Castelnuovo-Tedesco in his aversion to conformity and his individuality of compositional style.<sup>102</sup> This is illustrated when in 1921 Castelnuovo-Tedesco first began to experiment in art song, putting poetic and other literary works to music and composing *L'infinito* to the poem by Leopardi. As Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls, Pizzetti was encouraging and impressed, as when 'I played the music, and then Pizzetti said to me, with a low voice full of emotion, "Publish it, and dedicate it to me." This was the first piece which I dared to dedicate to him...' <sup>103</sup> Pizzetti also indirectly exposed Castelnuovo-Tedesco to the film music industry, pointing out that, 'Pizzetti wrote some very serious music (too serious!) for a spectacular, but perfectly dull film, *Scipione l'Africano* (in which telephone poles were seen on the battle-field of Zama).'<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>100</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," I, 3.

<sup>101</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2.

<sup>102</sup> Gualdi, "A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Piedigrotta 1924," 19.

<sup>103</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 133-134, as cited in Georg, "Selected Early Italian Songs," 88.

<sup>104</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Movies" (n.p., February 29, 1940), 10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/17. The film "Scipio Africanus: The Defeat of Hannibal" (1937) was funded by Mussolini and used as propaganda for his ambitions to invade North Africa.

## Early Career as a Composer: Orchestral Works, First Opera, and Grandfather's Notebook

In 1920, Castelnuovo-Tedesco won first prize in a competition organised by Guido M. Gatti, for his journal *Il Pianoforte* with his piano work of the same year *Cantico, per una statuetta di San Bernadino di Niccolò dell'Arca*. It was inspired by the statuette of Saint Bernardino (1380-1444), an Italian Franciscan missionary, sculpted by dell'Arca.<sup>105</sup> This Christian themed-work provided a basis for Castelnuovo-Tedesco to establish himself as one of the leading young Italian composers of the day. This was facilitated by the advocacy of Alfredo Casella (1883–1947) who played a major role in Italian musical activities of the time:

When I was still in my teens Alfredo Casella...played at his annual recital in Rome one of my first piano pieces. That time, the critics really called me names: "horrible," "confused," "presumptuous" was the least they could say. But Casella, who loved my piece (much more than I did!), had the constancy of playing it again for six consecutive years...<sup>106</sup>

Once Castelnuovo-Tedesco's music came to Casella's attention, he included it in the repertory of the newly-established *Società Nazionale di Musica* established in 1917 by Casella himself, together with Pizzetti and Malpiero, amongst others.<sup>107</sup> Through association with those well-respected musicians, the young composer was launched onto the European scene, which allowed him to make connections with the leading modern musicians in Italy. The young composer's works were soon premiered in the early 1920s by Toscanini, Heifetz, and Andrés Segovia, according to Oliphant, partly because of his 'wide range and [his capability] of treating successfully a subject unlikely to appeal to the ordinary musician.'<sup>108</sup>

Two tendencies became prominent in Castelnuovo-Tedesco's early compositions. Firstly, he regularly used melodies of his Jewish heritage of which the ritual chants form the inspiration for several works. Secondly, he increasingly referred to Spanish musical characteristics, particularly after travelling there with his parents in 1913. It would be reasonable to assume that this fascination with Spain was connected to his cultural background that traced part of his familial

---

<sup>105</sup> Gualdi, "A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Piedigrotta* 1924," 13. The relevance of Christianity and Catholicism to the development of the Jewish composer will be examined later in this chapter.

<sup>106</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music Criticism," undated, n.p., 3. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/11.

<sup>107</sup> On July 15, 1917 it became the *Società Italiana di Musica Moderna*, or SIMM. Stanley Sadie, ed., *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, s.v. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario," by James Westby (2<sup>nd</sup> ed., London.: MacMillan Publishers Ltd., 2001), V: 255. Its aim was to promote the production and performance of original and audacious Italian compositions. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, 19, as translated and cited in Gualdi, "A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Piedigrotta* 1924," 12.

<sup>108</sup> E.H.C. Oliphant, "The Songs of Young Italy," *The Musical Quarterly* 9/2 (April 1923): 206.

roots to the Spanish expulsion in 1492. His visit to Spain led, soon after to the *Coplas*, Op. 7/1 (1915),<sup>109</sup> written at age 20, a set of eleven songs set to modern Spanish poetry by Jean Richepin: ‘[In composing the *Coplas*,] I was inspired by my own memories of travel in Spain: the gardens of Andalusia, the muleteers of Plaza de Zocodover in Toledo, the shrewd gypsies of Albaicin. All those memories affected my personality.’<sup>110</sup> In 1951, Castelnuovo-Tedesco composed his *Romancero Gitano*, Op 152, ten selections for mixed voices and guitar set in Spain in 1913, another recollection of his visit. This piece is based in Granada, Ibn Ezra’s birthplace, and is also the birthplace of F. Garcia Lorca. The primacy and place of the guitar in the musical spectrum of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s works is expressed by him when referring to Garcia Lorca:

...I will therefore suffice to say that (for that love of the guitar and Spain I've held for so many years), I relate to the kind of epitaph that García Lorca dictated, holding so much melancholy sweetness, in his Memento (that is shorter than the poems of *Romancero*): “*When I die, / bury me with my guitar / under the sand, / between the orange trees / and the good grass ...*”<sup>111</sup>

The composer became acquainted with many people in 1920s Florentine artistic society through both the professional and social circles in which he and Clara moved. This expanding social circle no doubt affected Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s expanding horizons, and Clara recalls that

Mario was always invited to gatherings of artists at a villa of Ugo Ojetti, a “great Italian critic,” and then after, of course, I went too. So we knew all the artists, European artists, and also American artists, coming from all over the world...<sup>112</sup>

The way in which he was viewed as a young Italian composer is expressed in a telegram sent sometime in the early 1920s by an admirer, the Italian poet Gabriele D’Annunzio (1863-1938). He described his impressions of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s music as ‘...borne from the sea,

---

<sup>109</sup> ‘[The composition]...which revealed him not only as a musician of individual temperament, but as having a mastery of resources and a sense of formal perfection positively amazing in a youth of twenty.’ Gatti, “Four Composers of Present Day Italy,” 449.

<sup>110</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, chapter XXI: From *Coplas* to *Raggio Verde* [1915-1917], trans. Oliver Wendell Worthington II, “An Analysis and Investigation of *Coplas* by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas in Austin, 2001), 145.

<sup>111</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 516. Translated by the author: ‘In questi ultimi mesi ho scritto dei nuovi pezzi per chitarra sola; ma questi escono dai limiti cronologici che mi sono imposto per questo libro (che mi pare già illimitato!). Mi contenterò dunque di dire che (per quell’amore che ho portato per tanti anni alla chitarra e alla Spagna) potrei far mio quella specie di epitaffio che García Lorca ha dettato, con tanta malinconica dolcezza, in *Memento* (la più breve fra le poesie del *Romancero*): «*Quando yo me muero, / entiérrame con mi guitarra / bajo la arena, / entre los naranjos / y la hierba buena...*».’

<sup>112</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 33.

solitary like a mystic island with its roots in the rigorous art of the old masters, with certain echoes of the Sistine and all of its suspended people.’<sup>113</sup> D’Annunzio was of great stylistic influence in the early stages of the Italian instrumental revival championing the neoclassical musical renaissance then taking place in Italy.<sup>114</sup>

Prior to 1925, Castelnuovo-Tedesco established himself by both performing his own piano works and accompanying other interpreters of his songs. Most of these works were highly descriptive, based on images of his Florentine upbringing.<sup>115</sup> Some works that were widely performed were *Cipresse, Coplas*, Op. 7/1, *Alt Wien* (1923),<sup>116</sup> and the *Shakespeare Songs*, Op. 24.<sup>117</sup> Those settings for 33 Shakespeare songs were taken from all the comedies and the tragedies and were written between 1921-1925, with Castelnuovo-Tedesco claiming that these were his most successful efforts in any genre.<sup>118</sup> Rossi states that these were ‘not only the finest art songs of the twentieth century, but also the equal of any art songs in the annals of music history with the exception of the masterpieces of Schubert.’<sup>119</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco expressed his contribution to the genre suggesting that

I think Clara is right when she says that in the union of poetry and music, I have found my most frank and personal expression; and I think if anything of my music will remain, it will be the lyric form (given that they are still being sung!).<sup>120</sup>

---

<sup>113</sup> Gabriele D’Annunzio to Castelnuovo-Tedesco, as cited by Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 17-18.

<sup>114</sup> Karin Maria Di Bella, “Piano Music in Italy During the Fascist Era” (D.M.A. diss., University of British Columbia, 2002), 20.

<sup>115</sup> Nick Rossi, “A Musical Portrait of Italy,” *Keyboard Classics* (March-April 1982): 10. Location: MCT Papers, 119/12.

<sup>116</sup> Roland Von Weber writes that ‘to the American public’s ear (*Alt Wien* is) as much the audible symbol of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco as has the popular *Bolero* become that of Maurice Ravel, or the *Rhapsody in Blue* the symbol of George Gershwin; and perhaps as aptly...*Alt Wien* shows a pianism adroit and masterly beyond that of any other Italian composer of this century.’ Roland von Weber, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco” in *The New Book of Modern Composers*, ed. by David Ewen (3rd ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 112.

<sup>117</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995. Guido M. Gatti states that ‘these pieces are among the most exquisite of all the musician has written, and discover, as always, an intimate comprehension of both the spirit and the language of Shakespeare.’ Gatti, “Four Composers of Present Day Italy,” 455.

<sup>118</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Shakespeare and Music,” *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 15/3 (July 1940): 167. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/28. In a letter to Nick Rossi, in regard to his settings of the sonnets that ‘...I believe (in my outrageous immodesty!) that some of them are among the most beautiful songs in the English literature!’ September 30, 1963. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>119</sup> Rossi, “Modern Master of Melody,” 14.

<sup>120</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita di musica*, 165. Translated by the author: ...Credo che abbia ragione Clara, quando dice che nell’unione della poesia e della musica, io ho trovato la mia espressione più schietta e più personale; e credo che se qualche cosa della mia musica resterà, saranno proprio le liriche (ammesso che si canti ancora!). “Lyric form” is interchangeable with the term “art song.”

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was also known as a noted concert pianist. He accompanied such internationally famous artists as Lotte Lehman (d. 1976), Elisabeth Schumann (d. 1952), and Gregor Piatigorsky (d. 1976).<sup>121</sup> He also accompanied the Hungarian violinist Edith Lorand in a concert in the presence of the Italian royal family,<sup>122</sup> and was one of the pianists when *Les Noces* by Stravinsky was first performed in Italy in 1927.<sup>123</sup>

In the 1920s, Castelnuovo-Tedesco became more active as an orchestral composer. Westby points out that his growing reputation was based on his operas even though the piano works and songs were performed more extensively.<sup>124</sup> His first milestone opera won the prestigious *Concorso Lirico Nazionale* prize in 1925 and ushered in a notable series of operas from the composer based on great literary classics.<sup>125</sup> *La Mandragola*, Op. 20, was written in 1920 and based on the comic-ironic work by Machiavelli. The opera, according to Gatti, conveys the ‘actual’ atmosphere of sixteenth-century Renaissance Florence.<sup>126</sup> The wide variation of mood and subject matter employed by the composer during this period was noted by Gatti, who contrasted the comic *La Mandragola* of 1920 with the slightly earlier *Fioretti di Santo Francesco*, Op. 11 (1919-1920),<sup>127</sup> that was based on Franciscan parables: ‘If the leap from the ascetic idealism of the *Fioretti* to the terrestrial materialism of *La Mandragola* seems too abrupt, we are reminded of...the dual character of the composer: he is a dreamy poet, but also a keen and philosophic observer.’<sup>128</sup> The *Fioretti* was written based on the figure of Saint Francis of Assisi one of the most well-known of all Catholic saints who,

...always fascinated me (also for the naïve language in which they [i.e., the writings of the Saints] are narrated: sparkling like a silver filigree, fresh as a pool of spring water)... I believe they are still the most spiritual and moving pages I have written. (They are also the

---

<sup>121</sup> Neil Levine, “Review,” op. cit.

<sup>122</sup> Dario Leendert van Gammeren, “The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles, Comparative Source Studies and Critical Editions of Selected Works” (Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2008), 21.

<sup>123</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 23, 37.

<sup>124</sup> Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 5.

<sup>125</sup> These are: *La Mandragola* (Op. 20, 1920), *The Merchant of Venice* (Op. 181, 1957), *All’s Well That Ends Well* (Op. 182, 1957), *Saul* (Op. 191, 1958-1960), and *The Importance of Being Earnest* (Op. 198, 1961-1962).

<sup>126</sup> Gatti, “Four Composers of Present Day Italy,” 455. Gatti may however be referring to a more stylistic *verismo*, which loses its cultural significance in translation.

<sup>127</sup> *Fioretti di Santo Francesco: per voce e orchestra*, the three symphonic frescos, conceived as a musical interpretation of Giotto’s pictures, are based on three episodes in the life of the Saint. Gatti, “Four Composers of Present Day Italy,” 454-5.

<sup>128</sup> Gatti, “Some Italian Composers of To-Day,” 96.



first pages that I dedicated to Chiara [i.e., Clara Forti, his future wife] who was then my ‘St. Clare’).<sup>129</sup>

The composer’s “St. Clare” that he connects to Clara is primarily illustrated in the third and final movement concluding the story of the *Fioretti*, being *Come Santo Francesco e Santa Chiara*. In it, Castelnuovo-Tedesco omits part of the movement as it was less spiritually-inclined, similar to his actions regarding the last brutal sentence of the *Divan*, which he likewise removed. Not only are the *Fioretti* and the *Divan* both derived from a figure living in a similar period, but both share similar musical markers in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s setting of them. These include the use of pedal tones giving a drone-like effect, as well as passages that are clearly tonal, but not always connected to a particular key for too long. Both effects give an impressionistic and modern improvisatory feel.

The warm admiration Castelnuovo-Tedesco held towards Saint Francis of Assisi is interesting considering his Jewish background. Castelnuovo-Tedesco identified as a Jew on the one hand, but also proudly identified as living in and belonging to a Catholic society. Well before his first culturally Jewish composition, *Le Danze del Re David*, Op. 37 (1925), he had already written two major works on Catholic subjects: the *Cantico di San Bernadino* and the *Fioretti*. The statement above that “they are still the most spiritual and moving pages I have written” is indeed strong coming from a Jewish composer who wrote major services in Hebrew reflecting a relationship with the American Jewish diaspora: the *Sacred Service for the Sabbath Eve*, Op. 122a, for cantor, mixed chorus, and organ (1943),<sup>130</sup> *Songs and Processionals for a Jewish Wedding*, Op. 150 for organ and chorus, and based partly on II Hosea and Song of Songs, and the *Memorial Service for the Departed*, Op. 192 for cantor, chorus, and organ (1960). All three major works use mixed chorus reflecting a departure from the ‘old world’ of conservative tradition and were written in an atmosphere of progressive Judaism. But his choice of religious themes also considers their purely aesthetic qualities:

Naturally the poetry of the Christian legends, its profound humanity, its high spirituality was fascinating to me as well, and to me (born in a Latin and Catholic country, growing up

---

<sup>129</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 135, as cited in Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 88-89.

<sup>130</sup> Levine, “Review,” op. cit.

in the City of the Renaissance), the picturesque rites of the church, its grandiose architecture, the splendour of its iconography were always undeniably attractive.<sup>131</sup>

Adding another layer onto the composer's use of religious themes for his compositions, in 1937 the composer wrote *Processional Song in Praise of Saint Ephesius Goccus*, Op. 96. In contrast to the other Christian-themed works, it was based on a grand figure in the eastern *Orthodox* tradition. Unlike his admiration for figures within both the Catholic and the eastern churches, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was relatively *unsympathetic* when it came to the synagogue liturgy and synagogue life, perceiving '[t]he synagogues themselves, as a place of prayer, seemed so little "inspiring" to me...'<sup>132</sup>

Perhaps Castelnuovo-Tedesco's most non-Jewish biblical narrative work came after his emigration to the United States. In 1947, the year of his father's death, he wrote *Evangélion*, Op. 141, relating the story of Christ. It is primarily dramatic and is subtitled 'four volumes narrated to children in twenty-eight little piano pieces,' which emphasises the composer's intent to express a story<sup>133</sup> as well as to educate. It was the composer's longest piano work, lasting over 70 minutes and divided into four separate books: The Infancy, The Life, The Words, and the Passion. Within those books each song represents a chapter or event in the life of Christ.<sup>134</sup> Regardless of the Jewish or Christian narrative, Castelnuovo-Tedesco felt as qualified to tell this story, as he did the other Biblical narrative works.<sup>135</sup> Indeed, the Catholic presence was so great in his life that he was sometimes accused of apostasy, though in fact he never considered abandoning Judaism.

...Many marvelled that I as a Jew, turned to Christian mystics for inspiration. Some were displeased. As far as I could tell, even my father. And I imagine that their objections will be repeated when I publish the series of piano pieces that I recently wrote about the life of Christ...Some thought, I had converted! I would like to declare, that *this is something I have never considered* [italics added]...What has always attracted me, and convinced that at the heart, common to all religions is the recognition of an unknown and supreme power, something outside of us, and above us. Something we depend on, and in front of which we are responsible for, the concept of God.

In conclusion, I have never searched for religion, always I have been a believer. I never had, like many, any "crises of belief;" and what has undoubtedly helped, ever since I

---

<sup>131</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, from *Una vita*, 136, as cited in Georg, "Selected Early Italian Songs of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco," 25.

<sup>132</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 10.

<sup>133</sup> Georg, "Selected Early Italian Songs," 25.

<sup>134</sup> Music CD: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Evangélion*, Alessandro Marangoni, piano (Naxos CD, 573316).

<sup>135</sup> Georg, "Selected Early Italian Songs," 26.

was little, was the presence of music which seemed to presage an ever more mysterious and august presence...<sup>136</sup>

For Castelnuovo-Tedesco, faith was evidently a vehicle for spirituality, which served as a means of connection with the human spirit. Demonstrating the complexities of defining Castelnuovo-Tedesco's cultural identity, precisely at the time he was presenting himself as a Jewish composer, he wrote the *Evangelion* but this may partly be seen as a manifestation of his Italian national identity, an identity which is inexorably bound to the Church.

Mario married Clara Porti (1895-1989) in March 1924. She came from a wealthy and successful wool-factory owning family in Prato, Tuscany and was highly educated in Italian, French, Greek, and English.<sup>137</sup> Clara was a singer, and from the time they met in 1912 or 1913, would sing Castelnuovo-Tedesco's music. The couple also shared interests in art and literature. They had two sons, Pietro (1925-1998) born one year after they married, and Lorenzo (1930-2000), born five years later. The year after Castelnuovo-Tedesco married, a discovery was made of his maternal grandfather Bruto's notations of Jewish liturgical melodies, housed in his mother's library in Florence. They were set in three-part harmony, and had enormous impact on the composer:

In 1925, when all my uncles from the maternal side were extinguished, and the house deserted, it happened that I discovered in a bookcase, and hidden under many books, a tiny little book of musical manuscripts. It was the handwriting of my grandfather. There were some Hebrew prayers set to music by himself. No one, even in the family, knew that he was able to compose (it was "the old gentleman's secret"); and the music was, perhaps not of great value—still it was of great importance to me.

I found there a source of my whole life, both in music and in faith; it was the *revelation, the symbol, perhaps of my destiny* [italics added]...and I decided to compose my first Jewish work, which I dedicated to his memory and composed for the piano, for the instrument that he wished me to play...<sup>138</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, greatly impressed, revealed this to be the "source" of his musical talent,<sup>139</sup> and the motive behind why his grandfather insisted on his musical education.<sup>140</sup> He viewed those roots of his musical creativity as symbolic of his destiny and source of a musical creativity that

---

<sup>136</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, chap. XXVIII, "La mia fede," 315-317. I would like to thank James Westby who brought this passage to my attention and kindly translated it.

<sup>137</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 13, 15, 30.

<sup>138</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2.

<sup>139</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Jewish Background," 4.

<sup>140</sup> Avraham Soltes, *Off the Willows: The Rebirth of Modern Jewish Music* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1970), 99.

continued throughout his career in writing Jewish compositions. Although “not of great value” musically, which is in line with Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s impressions of the cantorial practice he was exposed to as a child and youth, it spurred him on to compose one of his seminal works for piano,

...on the themes which I had so often heard from him in my infancy, and which my dear mother again sang to me.

Entitled “*The Dances of King David: A Hebrew Rhapsody on Traditional Themes*,” the work had an immediate success; so much so that (no matter how strange it might seem today!) it was chosen to represent Italian music at the International Festival of Contemporary Music in Frankfurt in 1926,<sup>141</sup> and was first performed by Walter Giesecking, of all pianists!<sup>142</sup>

Later in 1926, I wrote another piano work, *Three Chorales on Hebrew Melodies* (dedicated to my mother), still on material of the same source. But while of the “*Dances of King David*” I treated the theme musically in a coloristic way, here I explained them from the contrapuntal standpoint.

In the same year...I wrote a Vocalise *La manière des chants Juifs*. Like all the Vocalises...it was very seldom sung, but very often played in various instrumental transcriptions under the title of “*Chant Hébraïque*” [Op. 53/3].<sup>143</sup>

*Le Danze del Re David*, Op. 37 (‘The Dances of King David: A Hebraic Rhapsody on Traditional Themes’) was written at the age of 30 in 1925, only a few months after Castelnuovo-Tedesco discovered the notebook. This fifteen-minute work was influenced by, but did not directly use the Sephardic chants discovered therein, and was dedicated to Senigaglia’s memory.<sup>144</sup> It was based, in part, on musical intervals used in the *shofar* call, the ritual ram’s-horn which is the only apparently Biblical instrument still in use today, and partly on a reconstruction of the melodies sung by grandfather Senigaglia.<sup>145</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco began to utilise melodies from Jewish liturgical chants only after the early 1930s. Up to that time, he had written his own melodies to

---

<sup>141</sup> Or 1927 as per Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Jewish Background,” 4.

<sup>142</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco says: ‘Giesecking, faithful to the party line, stopped playing “Jewish music” including mine, of course. I was sorry about it, but I didn’t want to argue the matter, and I broke off all correspondence. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “From a Lifetime of Music: Puccini, Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Others,” trans. Harvey Sachs. *Grand Street* 9/1 (Autumn, 1989): 155. However, he also states that: ‘Ten years later, in 1937, although I knew he could no longer play music by a Jewish composer, I sent him my latest piano pieces...He answered with a charming letter which began: “When the postman brought me your music, I was just playing, for my own pleasure, ‘Three Chorales on Hebrew Melodies’ which I find still admirable.”’ Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Jewish Background,” 4.

<sup>143</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” I, 3.

<sup>144</sup> Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music,” 32.

<sup>145</sup> Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 66.

Jewish materials.<sup>146</sup> Shelleg observes that the notebook served rather as an emotional catalyst and cultural inspiration more than a stylistic or religious one.<sup>147</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's emotional experience is reflected by the musicologist J. Yasser who states that, '[l]ying dormant for a considerable length of time, perhaps since childhood, these elements of the Jewish melos are usually brought to the surface of the composer's consciousness under the stress of some profound experience or emotional drive.'<sup>148</sup> Indeed, only one year after he discovered the notebook, in 1926 Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote *Tre Corali su melodie Ebraiche*, Op. 43 (*Three Chorales on Hebrew Melodies*) partly inspired from melodies taken from his grandfather's notebook.

...I tried to construct a stricter and purely contrapuntistic [sic] work on the Hebrew melodies... inspired by the chorales which Johann Sebastian Bach (and so many after him) composed on Lutheran Chorales. In a word, a sort of "Jewish Bach-Busoni."<sup>149</sup>

Shelleg calls the *Chorales* cycle 'an interesting blend of Jewish substances and Italian form,'<sup>150</sup> which neatly reflects Castelnuovo-Tedesco's definition of a "Jewish Bach-Busoni."

Castelnuovo-Tedesco continued to compose Jewish and other religiously inspired music throughout the rest of his life. Additional to *Le Danze del Re David*, Op. 37 (1925)<sup>151</sup> for solo piano, these include the second violin concerto *I profeti*, Op. 66 ('The Prophets,' 1931, pub. 1937), the largest of the instrumental works based on the Bible, and *Prayers My Grandfather Wrote*, Op. R200a (1962) for organ or piano solo, based on liturgical texts again drawn from his grandfather's notebook. It commemorates the works left by his grandfather written exactly 100 years earlier. Rosen states that 'these works were chosen because their themes were either borrowed from Jewish liturgical chants or newly composed in the style of Jewish melodies.'<sup>152</sup> However, it was the growing antisemitic environment that led him to compose some Jewish works, rather than any

---

<sup>146</sup> Rosen, "The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music," 250

<sup>147</sup> Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 66.

<sup>148</sup> Joseph Yasser, "On Jewishness in Music" (1949), in *Jewish Music Programs. Concerts Liturgical Services, Multi-Arts Events. Sampling from Jewish Music Festivals: To 1978 and How to Commission New Works: Guidelines, Procedures and Examples*, ed. by Irene Heskes (New York: Jewish Music Council of JWB [i.e., the Jewish Welfare Board], 1978), 110.

<sup>149</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2.

<sup>150</sup> Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 65.

<sup>151</sup> As Rosen notes, this was a particularly good year for Castelnuovo-Tedesco in which he wrote *Le Danze*, achieved the *Concorso* prize for *La Mandragola*, wrote his second stage work *Bacco in Toscana*, found his grandfather's notebook, and had his first child. Rosen, "The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music," 42.

<sup>152</sup> *Ibid.*, 19.

personal, cultural, or familial religious awakenings. *I profeti* was his first ‘deliberately political piece,’<sup>153</sup> and as will be shown below, it was in this composition that Castelnuovo-Tedesco also first utilises the poetry of Moses Ibn Ezra.

### **Interpreters, Major Performers, and the Early Guitar Works**

From the late-1920s, prominent musicians such as Jascha Heifetz, Gregor Piatigorsky, Arturo Toscanini, and Walter Giesecking began performing Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s works.<sup>154</sup> Giesecking, the great German pianist, was the most authoritative performer of his piano music during the 1920s.<sup>155</sup> As will be seen, Jascha Heifetz was to also play a great role musically and personally in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s life.<sup>156</sup> Piatigorsky, the great Russian cellist often performed the *Concerto for ‘Cello and Orchestra* that he requested in 1932,<sup>157</sup> and Arturo Toscanini introduced Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s music to American audiences from 1930. In 1932 Castelnuovo-Tedesco was formally introduced to both the prominent Spanish composer Manuel de Falla (1876-1946) and Andrés Segovia (1893-1987) at the International Music Festival in Venice.<sup>158</sup> There, they expressed admiration for Castelnuovo-Tedesco and soon after, Segovia requested of the composer to write a piece for him. His response was that ‘...I would be extremely happy, but...that I didn’t have the slightest idea how to write for the guitar!’<sup>159</sup> To assist, Segovia provided him

...a small slip of paper showing me the way the guitar was tuned, and the *Variations on a Theme of Mozart*, Op. 9 [from *The Magic Flute*] by Fernando Sor and *Variations and Fugue on La Folia* by Manuel M. Ponce, as representing the greatest technical difficulties that could confront the guitar. I then sat down and tried a set of Variations myself, which I entitled *Variations Through the Centuries*...He was so satisfied, that the next year he asked me for a new and larger work...<sup>160</sup>

On receiving *Variations Through the Centuries*, Op. 71, Segovia wrote back to Castelnuovo-Tedesco saying that this was ‘the first time I find a musician who understands immediately how to

---

<sup>153</sup> Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 24-25.

<sup>154</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995, 2.

<sup>155</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “From a Lifetime of Music,” 153, 155.

<sup>156</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “A Composer on Writing Concertos,” *New York Times*, October 29, 1939, 5. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/17.

<sup>157</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “A Composer on Writing Concertos,” 5-6.

<sup>158</sup> Although Castelnuovo-Tedesco states that he met Segovia previously ‘in the houses of our friends Passigli and Roselli in Florence.’ Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Segovia,” from *Una vita di musica*, chap. LX: 14 (rendered in translation). Location: MCT Papers, LoC, box. 111.

<sup>159</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Guitar, that Beautiful and Mysterious Instrument” (ms., June 1958), 6. This was written for an Andrés Segovia 3-LP set *Golden Jubilee* (Decca, 1958). Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/16.

<sup>160</sup> Ibid.

write music for the guitar.<sup>161</sup> However, Segovia never actually recorded it despite his admiration for the piece. This was the beginning of many requests and commissions, and a long collaboration to the composer's death in 1968:

If I have written so much for the guitar, the one responsible is Andrés Segovia... Segovia was so satisfied that he played them at all his concerts that season and since then every year he has asked me for a new work. Therefore, by now the guitar music constitutes one of the most considerable "chapters" in my production.<sup>162</sup>

During Segovia's trips to Florence, the guitarist suggested to Castelnuovo-Tedesco that he write more works for the guitar. In a short time, he composed sonatas such as *Omaggio a Boccherini*, Op. 77 (1934), *Capriccio Diabolico*, Op. 85, *Tarantella per chitarra* (1936), and *Aranci in fiore*, Op. 87a (1936). This latter piece would be a guitar work neither commissioned, nor dedicated to Segovia, and from that time, regular uncommissioned works for guitar would appear, the *Divan* being the last.

Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco states that Andrés Segovia was 'the soloist who probably had the greatest impact on the composer's career. From their beginning in 1932 and for the following 36 years, Segovia became a catalyst for the countless works dedicated to him.'<sup>163</sup> Their collaboration gave birth to the composer's neoclassical<sup>164</sup> *Concerto for Guitar and Orchestra*, Op. 99 requested of Castelnuovo-Tedesco in 1937. Completed in January 1939, the *Concerto* was the first significant guitar concerto of the twentieth century, and it established the composer as one of the most important contemporary composers for the guitar.

Amongst the more well-known non-commissioned guitar works is *Romancero gitano*, Op. 152, one of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's larger works for guitar and mixed voices. It is based on Spanish folk poems by Garcia Lorca and the appropriate designation *romancero* is not a musical marker in the German or French "romance" sense, but refers to a collection of songs that Garcia Lorca imagined to be sung by a Spanish troubadour.<sup>165</sup> Aside from the shared Spanish roots of the

---

<sup>161</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Segovia," *Una vita*, chap. LX: 15 (rendered in translation).

<sup>162</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Alfred Frankenstein, "San Francisco Symphony Program Notes" (February 1960). Location: Moldenhauer Archive, LoC.

<sup>163</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995, 2. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, p. 266 mentions that most of his guitar works are dedicated to Segovia.

<sup>164</sup> Westby, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario," in *The New Grove Dictionary*, V: 255.

<sup>165</sup> Rossi, "Choral Masterpieces," 3.

poetry, in the concept of a collection of individual songs, there is a comparative element to the singer-poet Ibn Ezra and his songs in the *Divan*.

### From “The Prophets” to the Jewish Composer in America

At a time of rising German antisemitism, in 1931 Castelnuovo-Tedesco was commissioned by Jascha Heifetz to write the Biblically-themed *I profeti*, of ‘...Biblical character and inspiration, product of a deep religious sentiment but also...of intimate and family circumstances.’<sup>166</sup> This work was a milestone in the career of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and a defining point in which he identified as a Jewish composer. The following record of the composer’s own words are worth citing at length here to demonstrate how he himself characterised the Jewish elements and background of the work.

The most important (of my works), at least in proportion, and I believe the most significant, among my works of Jewish inspiration is my [second] Violin Concerto [*The Prophets*] written in 1931 at the request of Jascha Heifetz.

Heifetz had often played my [first] Violin Concerto, which I called *Concerto Italiano*, because of its character...inspired by the Italian masters of the violin.

When he, Heifetz, asked me to my great pleasure to write a new concerto for him, I felt I wanted to express another aspect of the origin of my personality, the Jewish one, it was also the time when the anti-Semitic movements started and became harder in middle Europe, and *by reaction* [*italics added*] I felt proud of belonging to a race so unjustly persecuted. I wanted to *express this pride* [*italics added*] in some large work glorifying the splendour of past days and the burning inspiration which inflamed the “envoys of God,” the Prophets.

The violin seemed to me particularly adapted to personify as a protagonist the free and vivid eloquence of the prophets; the orchestra in the multi form aspects of the symphonic texture could evoke all the voices of the surrounding world, voices of people, voices of nature, voices of God.

An ambitious plan, I acknowledge, preparing myself for such a task. I wished to base my attempt on some foundation more reliable scientifically speaking, than the “oral tradition” which helped form the former works [that is, the *Three Chorales / Chant Hebraique*]. But I could find very little; the songs of the Italian Jews, belonging to the Sephardic group, are greatly corrupted from the original Palestinian.<sup>167</sup>

The only work I was able to find of historic scientific kind on the Jewish Italian melodies was a collection printed in Florence about 1870 by Federico Consolo based on the traditions of northern Italy which I also discovered in the bookcases of my grandfather; and I remembered that I had known Consolo himself as a very old man when I was a little child; who sang these melodies in the synagogue, with vivid, almost fanatic eyes, and with a shrill voice.

---

<sup>166</sup> Referring to his grandfather’s notebook. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “A Composer on Writing Concertos.” 5.

<sup>167</sup> This issue will be examined further in Chapter Eight, discussing the *Divan*.



I know scholars despise this collection...; the few I picked out, I tried to change [some of the melodies] and to bring [them] back to a more authentic, or at least more plausible form; and for the rest, I had to supply themes of my own invention.<sup>168</sup>

The work by Federico Consolo (1841-1906) referred to was *Sefer Shirei Yisrael: Libro dei canti d'Israele* published in 1892.<sup>169</sup> It is a collection of 445 Sephardic liturgical melodies collected by the Italian violinist mostly for solo cantor. Consolo notated these liturgical melodies according to the tradition of Spanish-Sephardic Jews who came to live in Livorno, Italy following their expulsion in 1492. Castelnuovo-Tedesco utilised it although

[t]he transcriptions were extremely poor, as Consolo, evidently under the spell of “major” and “minor,” had been unable to recognise the modal quality of the melodies. Yet the book contained several interesting fragments, which I interpreted in a new and different way.<sup>170</sup>

This composition marked a turning point for Castelnuovo-Tedesco. ‘As for the thematic material, while in my preceding Jewish works, I had always referred to the “oral tradition,” this time I chose to draw from the “written source.”’<sup>171</sup> In each movement he portrayed sayings of the prophets ‘that plead righteousness and faithfulness to God through morality and justice.’<sup>172</sup> Rosen points out that of the nine different themes of *I profeti*, six relate directly to those cantillations of Consolo.<sup>173</sup> The cantillations were used in a range of traditional prayers, for example the *Mizmor LeDavid* (“Psalm of David,” Psalm 29) appears as Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s second theme in movement one. Much more relevant to this discussion however, is the second theme of the second movement: a *piyyut* known as *Nil’eh le’halil al shivreinu* (“Weary of wailing of our woes from exile”), a prayer notated as number 258 by Consolo and written by Moses Ibn Ezra:<sup>174</sup>

We are weary of bemoaning our woes (*shivreinu*)  
Even if our mouths were filled with moans  
And if all the oceans were ink (*yamim*)  
And the parchments were like the expanse of the skies  
And all the reeds of rotene were pens (*r’tamim*)

---

<sup>168</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” 2.

<sup>169</sup> Federico Consolo, *Sefer Shirei Yisrael: Libro dei canti d'Israele. Antichi canti liturgici del rito degli Ebrei Spagnoli, raccolti e notati* (Firenze: Edizione Bratti, 1892). The basis for Castelnuovo-Tedesco stating it was published in the 1870s seems to be an inaccuracy on the composer’s part.

<sup>170</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” I, 3.

<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music,” 104.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid., 111.

<sup>174</sup> Consolo, *Sefer Shirei Yisrael*, 112.

It would not suffice to record even part of our sorrows (*pinu*).<sup>175</sup>

Since no composers of the poetry are mentioned in Consolo's edition, it is unclear whether Castelnuovo-Tedesco was conscious of his own use of Ibn Ezra. Although the poetry itself does not appear in the score of *I profeti*, the words of the poem are appropriate to the expression of sorrow that Castelnuovo-Tedesco wished to express *musically* in that brief part of the movement.<sup>176</sup> The third theme in the second movement,<sup>177</sup> number 94 in the Consolo anthology,<sup>178</sup> is *Shahar Av'kash'ha* and comes from a *bakashah* (prayer of supplication), the words of which were written by another great of the Golden Age, Shlomo Ibn Gabirol. The perhaps subconscious use Castelnuovo-Tedesco made of the poetry of Ibn Ezra in 1931 is a prelude to his use of the same poet in 1966 except that the *Divan* used what is classified in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition as non-liturgical poetry. Upon completion of *I profeti*, Castelnuovo-Tedesco sought Toscanini's opinion:

Toscanini examined the score and was very much interested in the historical side of the work...he found *my own themes much more Jewish than the traditional ones* [italics added], and perhaps he was right.

Toscanini granted the great honour of a first performance of *The Prophets* under his direction, and with Jascha Heifetz as soloist in Carnegie Hall with the New York Philharmonic Orchestra in April 1933.<sup>179</sup>

After the comment by Toscanini, the composer made no further attempts to base any major works on traditional Jewish melodies. Subsequently, he would only write his own 'Jewish' melodies as it

...responded to some secret feeling which was hidden in my subconscious. Anyway, from that time (except for a few transcriptions), I have never again used any traditional materials in my Jewish works, and I think that has been for the best.<sup>180</sup>

Keller points out that by the mid-1930s, during the time of Mussolini's government, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was internationally well-known and by far the best-known among the Italian-Jewish composers.<sup>181</sup> In 1935, the year when neighbouring Germany was passing fateful

---

<sup>175</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, *Nil'eh le'halil al shivreinu* (Hebrew), translated in Avi Chai/Snunit: "An Invitation to Piyyut." <http://old.piyut.org.il/textual/528.html> (accessed April 24, 2017).

<sup>176</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *I profeti* (Milano: Ricordi and Co., 1935), 3-5. Location of score: MCT Papers, LoC, 13/3).

<sup>177</sup> *Ibid.*, 74-77.

<sup>178</sup> Consolo, *Sefer Shirei Yisrael*, 38.

<sup>179</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2-3.

<sup>180</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," I, 4.

<sup>181</sup> Marcello Sorce Keller, "Ignored and Forgotten: Research on Jewish-Italian music during the 19th and 20th centuries," *Forum Italicum* 49/2 (2015): 456.

racial laws, one measure of his fame was demonstrated when Mussolini himself selected Castelnuovo-Tedesco to write incidental music to the tragedy *Savonarola* by Rino Alessi.<sup>182</sup> The work was presented outdoors in Florence at the 1935 *Maggio Musicale* Festival. Paradoxically, in 1935 being Jewish may have been an advantage for a composer as it avoided conflict with Church positions, as Castelnuovo-Tedesco explains:

An instinctive antipathy had always led me to carefully avoid finding myself in his [*Il Duce's*] path. I believe his choice [of me]...was that I was a Florentine musician *par excellence*, thus right for the job...and also because, knowing that I was Jewish, he thought I would have fewer scruples in the event that the Ecclesiastical authorities created the problems that were foreseen at the time, but [I, however] avoided by submitting the text for the Cardinal Archbishop's approval.<sup>183</sup>

Working by commission from Mussolini in no way indicated willing collaboration with the regime. Although Castelnuovo-Tedesco did not generally express political opinions, in the magazine *Pegaso* of 1929 he is quoted as saying that the 'true work of art is born in regimes of freedom not of coercion.'<sup>184</sup> Four years later, he again made another public expression of dissent when he refused to sign a Fascist manifesto that he deemed xenophobic since it dictated the political position of exponents of contemporary Italian music.<sup>185</sup> However, his stance did not affect his ambivalence towards the Jewish nation-building project. This was demonstrated in a letter responding to an invitation to organise and preside over the Italian section in the newly established World Centre for Jewish Music in British-mandated Palestine. In rejection of this idea, he replied that he

'...cannot do either of these things...I have always refused to take part in organisations, even in my own country. I believe moreover, that for political reasons it would be terribly difficult at this moment to organise Italian-Jewish composers (as far as I know, very few in number) and to develop some sort of communication, with the "circles of Jewish culture," which in fact are totally private in nature.'<sup>186</sup>

A lack of material or physical connection to a Jewish nation-building project does not however negate the importance of Jewish cultural identification that Castelnuovo-Tedesco demonstrated

---

<sup>182</sup> Girolamo Savonarola, a friar who lived from 1452 to 1498 was active in the 1490s in Florence, where he gave sermons about moral corruption and incontinence of their leaders. He and his small group of supporters ousted the Medici establishment and seized control of the city's councils.

<sup>183</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, vol. 1, 329-330, as cited in Harvey Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 1988), 183-184.

<sup>184</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, vol. 1, 329-330, as cited in Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 183.

<sup>185</sup> Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 24.

<sup>186</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Salli Levi, July 12, 1937 as cited in Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities*, 72.

even before emigration. Composing Jewish works in response to a climate of antisemitism within the society in which the composer lived would be considered a Jewish act as much as an adherence to the strict dietary code of the traditionalist. This may somewhat contradict Keller's position that 'Sinigaglia, Massarani,<sup>187</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and Rieti<sup>188</sup> were Jewish, but are certainly not, "Jewish composers." Except for Sinigaglia, they were not interested in traditional music, Jewish or otherwise.'<sup>189</sup> This position is difficult to maintain as although his relations with the synagogue were ambivalent, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was active in advocating for music in the synagogue. For example, he accepted a commission from the orthodox Amsterdam synagogue for his first 'synagogue composition' of which 'the text, although from a distant age, is very beautiful':<sup>190</sup>

Another work of Jewish inspiration...was a chorus *Lecha Dodi* for tenor solo and male voices, written in 1936 by request of the synagogue of Amsterdam. I wrote it with the greatest enthusiasm, and that was also my first attempt...of setting a Hebrew text to music. I know it was often sung.<sup>191</sup>

*Lecha Dodi*, Op. 90 (1936) was based on the sixteenth-century acrostic poem written by Shlomo Halevi Alkabetz a well-known mystic poet living in Safed, Ottoman Palestine in 1529.<sup>192</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco describes respecting the limitations placed on him, as the 'organ was not permitted, the choir had to be unaccompanied, [and] it had to be only for male voices (since women were not permitted to sing).'<sup>193</sup> He continues, noting that this work is significant as 'the text had to be complete, but no words were to be repeated.'<sup>194</sup> However, Castelnuovo-Tedesco later modified it for performance in 1943 (now known as Op. R90a),<sup>195</sup> when it appeared less constrained by the earlier limitations, '... in a new version with *mixed* [italics added] voices and organ accompaniment at the [reform, non-orthodox] Park Avenue Synagogue in New York.'<sup>196</sup>

---

<sup>187</sup> Renzo Massarani (1898-1975). See Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 184.

<sup>188</sup> Vittorio Rieti (1898-1994), Jewish-Italian composer. Born in Alexandria, Egypt, moved to Milan to study economics; subsequently studied in Rome under Respighi and Casella, and lived there until 1940 when he emigrated to America. See Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 184.

<sup>189</sup> Keller, "Ignored and Forgotten," 456.

<sup>190</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 11.

<sup>191</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 3.

<sup>192</sup> Rosen, "The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music," 144. He wrote another *Lecha Dodi* as the third movement of the composition *Prayers my Grandfather Wrote* of 1962.

<sup>193</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 11.

<sup>194</sup> Ibid.

<sup>195</sup> The 'R' inserted before the Opus number is a mark from Nick Rossi in his cataloguing of works. The small 'a' following indicates it was composed shortly after the previous work with the same Opus number.

<sup>196</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," II, 3. This version was arranged for cantor, augmented choir, congregation, and organ.

A milestone in the life of the composer occurred in early 1938, when the composition Castelnuovo-Tedesco considered one of his most important and significant works of Jewish inspiration,<sup>197</sup> *I profeti*, his second violin concerto that was scheduled for performance with the Turin Radio Orchestra was replaced by another performance.

Do you know that I had the strange privilege to be the first one to have a work, “The Prophets” banned in Italy, just as Mendelssohn’s *Violin Concerto* was in Germany? And this even before the official [antisemitic] campaign started.<sup>198</sup>

The conductor for a new recital was to be a German Nazi sympathiser, and in line with party doctrine, the authorities decided to substitute the Jewish composer’s work with another, for fear of consequences in Germany. Since at least the time of Wagner, race was used as a criterion for marginalising musicians.<sup>199</sup> By 1939 therefore, the *Maggio Musicale* in Florence presented only compositions classified as ‘Aryan.’<sup>200</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco was apparently not too concerned at the time, but only fifteen days after his own cancellation, another Jewish musician had a similar experience, with a cancelation of a concerto by Mendelssohn who was the first Jewish composer boycotted by Germany. This instance now contributed to Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s growing anxiety.<sup>201</sup> He discovered the instructions of replacing Jewish artists were usually handed down unofficially and verbally by telephone, on an ad-hoc basis.

[*The Prophets* was]...the first of my works which for years later, was forbidden in Italy. It is perhaps interesting to state that a public performance scheduled by the Italian Radio in Turin, in January 1938, was suddenly cancelled by a mysterious telephone order from Rome. And that happened six months before the anti-Semitic laws were issued.<sup>202</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco noted that the orders came over the phone ‘from the Minister [perhaps this should read “Ministry”] of Propaganda [directly] to Radio Stations.’<sup>203</sup> It is, therefore, of little

---

<sup>197</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Saleski, *Famous Musicians*, 33.

<sup>198</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Contemporary Composer,” 11.

<sup>199</sup> Judah M. Cohen, “Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States,” *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 100/3 (Summer 2010): 444.

<sup>200</sup> Dorothy Landis-Gray, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: “Selected English Settings of Music for Women’s Voices from his American Period (1939-1968)” (Ph.D. diss., Washington D.C.: The Catholic University of America, 1996), 2.

<sup>201</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, Florence, September 6, 1938. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 121/10.

<sup>202</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” 2-3.

<sup>203</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism,” 17.

wonder that the tacit bans were applied unevenly, and Castelnuevo-Tedesco happily records this occurring in March 1938,<sup>204</sup> showing that,

...in the meantime, things seemed to calm down (it was still the beginning). In fact,...this tacit “radio ban” was removed on one single occasion: when Marinuzzi conducted...my music for [Pisandello’s last and unfinished drama:] *I Giganti della Montagna* in a concert at the *Politeama Fiorentino*...I had my revenge!<sup>205</sup>

It is ironic that Castelnuevo-Tedesco, who first became known for his patriotic song *Fuori i barbari* around which Italian soldiers would find encouragement during World War I, and who later wrote *Concerto Italiano*, would be accused of being un-Italian and un-patriotic. He was deeply affected by his own countrymen abandoning him, pointing out that ‘...so many colleagues of mine turned their backs on me.’<sup>206</sup> One of these close colleagues was Casella, where,

[i]n 1939, a cloud temporarily darkened our relationship. While I prepared to leave Italy as the racial campaign was raging, Casella, who had always been our house guest, informed me that on this trip he would rather meet me in a more neutral location, somewhere more *ariana*, more Aryan. This grieved me deeply; and, after the war, when he wanted to resume our correspondence, I wrote to him frankly, but I did not hold any resentment; I had too many reasons to be grateful to him...<sup>207</sup>

The political developments around Italy’s relations with an antisemitic Germany gave cause for alarm, as expressed by Clara Castelnuevo-Tedesco, saying, ‘...we were not so frightened of him [Mussolini] as we became when he became involved—when he was united with Hitler.’<sup>208</sup> Castelnuevo-Tedesco observed worrying developments leading up to the Italian racial laws noting the geopolitical motivations of bringing in the racist legislation. ‘...In May 1938, Hitler came to Italy, and he made his final “deal” with Mussolini, [where] Germany would renounce her minorities in Southern Tirol [sic] on condition that the Fascist Government would advocate itself to a “racial campaign.”’<sup>209</sup> Hitler’s visit took place in early May 1938, and on July 14 the ‘Manifesto of Race’ was published. In point IV of the Manifesto, it declared that ‘the majority of the current population of Italy is of Aryan origin and its civilisation is Aryan,’ and in point IX

---

<sup>204</sup> Or April 1938, as in Castelnuevo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism,” 18.

<sup>205</sup> Mario Castelnuevo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 295, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 26.

<sup>206</sup> Castelnuevo-Tedesco, “Segovia,” *Una vita*, LX, 17.

<sup>207</sup> Castelnuevo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, chap. XVI, ‘Casella,’ 97-98. I would like to thank James Westby who brought this passage to my attention and kindly translated it.

<sup>208</sup> Clara Castelnuevo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 50.

<sup>209</sup> Castelnuevo-Tedesco, “Music under Italian Fascism,” 18.

declared that ‘Jews do not belong to the Italian race.’<sup>210</sup> Mussolini ordered a public media campaign in preparation for the new racial laws that included insults, insinuations, and accusations in the press.<sup>211</sup> On August 5, 1938 a declaration in *Informazione diplomatica No. 18* informed its readers that although ‘to discriminate does not mean to persecute,’<sup>212</sup> the ratio of Jewish participation in public life had to remain limited at 1:1000.<sup>213</sup> At the same time, the first practical antisemitic restrictions came into force, including those educational, social, and professional restrictions that would prove so destructive for Italian Jewry, and would lead to the end of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s permanent residence in Italy.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco and family were returning from holiday in Switzerland, when they stopped in Milan in September 1938. There, they read in the newspapers of the new limitations to Jewish children’s education, the government making them ‘pariahs and outlaws from infancy on,’<sup>214</sup> in fact placing them outside the law,

[a]nd it was a terrible blow; I could have endured anything, the end of my professional career, the seizure of my property, but not this! I can still see the desperate expression on [his son] Pietro’s face when he read “the sentence” and if there is one thing for which I cannot forgive the Fascist regime, it is exactly this silent, inward and deep pain that I read on the face of my son.<sup>215</sup>

Mussolini’s proclamation of the *leggi razziali* in July 1938 placed the Jews in a condition of professional isolation and enforced inactivity which greatly affected Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s personal and professional trajectories,

[w]hen aged forty-four, my successful career was cut short, and the edifice I had so patiently built was destroyed “by decree” with a single stroke of a pen, I asked myself “A *quoi bon?*” and both glory and fame looked to me, as indeed they are “*vanitas vanitatum*” (“vanity of vanities”).<sup>216</sup>

---

<sup>210</sup> Andrea Fedi, trans., “The Manifesto of Race (1938),” at *HUI 216 - Italian Civilization Through the Ages*. Last modified 4 April 2011: [http://www.andreaferdi.com/216/doku.php/216:manifesto\\_of\\_race](http://www.andreaferdi.com/216/doku.php/216:manifesto_of_race) (accessed April 23, 2017).

<sup>211</sup> Corazon Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works for the Guitar* (Revised edition, Newcastle upon Tyne: Ashley Mark Publishing Co., 1999), 53.

<sup>212</sup> Para. 2.3: “*La Campagna Antisemita in Italia*” at *UCIIM Torino Piemonte Valle d’Aosta Associazione Professionale Cattolica*: [http://www.uciimtorino.it/campagna\\_antisemita.htm](http://www.uciimtorino.it/campagna_antisemita.htm) (accessed April 23, 2017).

<sup>213</sup> Mario Toscano “Prologue: The Jews of Italy and the Anti-Semitic Policy of Fascism” in Nicola Caracciolo, *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, trans. Koffler and Koffler (IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995), xxxviii.

<sup>214</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, I, 329-330, as cited in Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 184.

<sup>215</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 301, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 8.

<sup>216</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Preamble to *Una vita di musica*,” ms. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 111.

The Nazi rise to power in Germany directly contributed to Castelnuovo-Tedesco's professional isolation as it led the publisher Schott's of Mainz (est. 1770) to shun the Jewish composer. His subsequent works were published by Casa Ricordi in Milan, until Italy soon emulated the German antisemitic laws in July 1938. As Segovia wrote, '[y]ou know that he [Castelnuovo-Tedesco] is a Jew and, consequently, has been dropped by Schott, the German music-publishing house, as well as by Ricordi, the Italian one...' <sup>217</sup> His music was now banned from the radio and concert programmes. No longer having his works performed in Italy seriously impacted his means of earning a living, as it did other Jewish composers and performers. Demonstrating his now deep anxiety, Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote in September of that year,

[y]ou know that (although my family lives in Italy from [sic] centuries...) I am of Jewish blood; and you certainly know from the papers which is now our situation...I doubt I will be able to continue here any musical activity, and I am very anxious for my family. <sup>218</sup>

Nidan-Orvieto states that 'in coping with the antisemitic policy, every Jew searched for different strategies. The changing context, as well as changing self-identity influenced one's understanding of the situation, the possibilities that each person had, and each persons' consequent reactions and responses.' <sup>219</sup> But it was the educational restrictions on children that Castelnuovo-Tedesco felt were worse than anything done to private property or professional activity.

On returning to Florence, I talked briefly with my wife Clara...listen, if some accusations were made against us, against adults, then maybe, in some instances, they could possibly be justified. But one cannot and should not accuse and oppress the innocent children! Once that begins then anything is possible! And there is only one thing left to do—leave. <sup>220</sup>

In October 1938, further and wider restrictions were put in place, and the criteria for belonging to the Hebrew 'race' were more clearly specified. The new restrictions included prohibitions of marriage between Italians and those not of the Aryan 'race,' expulsions of foreign Jews from the kingdom, exclusion of Jews from the Fascist Party, restrictions on employment including within the professions, and limits to Jewish property rights.

---

<sup>217</sup> Segovia to Sophocles Papas (founder of the Washington Classical Guitar Society which morphed into the Segovia Guitar Society), April 18, 1939, as cited in van Gammeren, "The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles," 37.

<sup>218</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, Florence, September 6, 1938. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 121/10.

<sup>219</sup> Iael Nidan-Orvieto, "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation on Everyday Life and the Response of Italian Jews, 1938-1943," in Joshua D. Zimmerman, ed. *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945* (Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 167.

<sup>220</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 301-302, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 30.



Quickly deciding to emigrate, America was a logical choice of destination since Europe was increasingly unsafe for Jews, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco had friends and support there.<sup>221</sup> Once the decision to go was made, in order to evade the Italian censors of his mail, and to keep his plans secret, Castelnuovo-Tedesco visited Switzerland towards the end of 1938 where in seeking advice about leaving Italy, he wrote letters to colleague-friends already in America: Toscanini, Heifetz, and the American violinist Albert Spalding. Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco notes that, ‘...when the political situation in Italy began to deteriorate, of course they [i.e., including Toscanini, Heifetz, and Spalding] encouraged my father to emigrate.’<sup>222</sup> In reply, Toscanini offered help in providing lodging, and Heifetz in finding work in the motion-picture industry.<sup>223</sup> Most reports that came back to him were promising<sup>224</sup> as illustrated in a letter from Spalding in 1939, indicating that

...when I was out in California, I was in touch with one of the large moving-picture companies and in speaking of you, I found that they were definitely interested in securing your services for a contract of one to three years. The financial return, while not brilliant, is good, and would represent security for you and your family and in some ways would mean a more comfortable assurance to you at the outset of your stay here.<sup>225</sup>

America was the best option for Castelnuovo-Tedesco not only because of his support circles. ‘Of course, America was a natural choice, as I wanted to insure [sic] my sons’ freedom of education,’<sup>226</sup> and because America ‘was the only place where there was a great life in all fields, and safe, no doubt...New York was the only centre.’<sup>227</sup> As Lorenzo recalls,

...my father was in the enviable position of having many friends in the United States who encouraged him, to come, and of having skills that were relatively easy to export. Whereas it was very difficult for many other people to leave.<sup>228</sup>

---

<sup>221</sup> In 1936 Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote *Louisiana* even then showing an interest in American life. von Weber, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” 116.

<sup>222</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 39.

<sup>223</sup> Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 55.

<sup>224</sup> Not everyone had the means to give positive responses to Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s inquiries. Mrs. Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, while sympathetic, wrote in letters in response to Castelnuovo-Tedesco that, ‘I know of no distinct “protection” which I can offer you in this country’ (September 29, 1938 [Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 121/10]). Regarding bookings for performances of his small chamber opera *Aucassin et Nicolette*, on the French text of the twelfth century, she wrote that ‘I absolutely see no way of arranging your affairs as you have asked me to do,’ and regarding teaching, that ‘I know of no such vacancies’ (December 4, 1938 [Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 121/10]).

<sup>225</sup> Spalding to Castelnuovo-Tedesco, March 24, 1939. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 127/18.

<sup>226</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Contemporary Composer,” 11.

<sup>227</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 70.

<sup>228</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in *Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco: La Sua fede*, 52.

To obtain a US entry visa, potential immigrants needed detailed affidavits from several sponsors. They also needed to secure a ‘waiting number’ within the quota for their country of birth and prove that they were in imminent danger of being blacklisted or becoming a political prisoner.<sup>229</sup> Further complicating the process were actions by the American authorities in investigating the private and financial lives of those who *provided* the affidavits.<sup>230</sup> That Toscanini, Heifetz, and Spalding provided the necessary affidavits, was ‘a rare and touching proof of friendship and solidarity,’<sup>231</sup> and they all played a part in the process of Castelnuovo-Tedesco receiving the required Italian exit visa. ‘We came to America because Mario’s friends were Toscanini, Heifetz, Piatigorsky; they all helped him to come out. In a week, they gave us the right papers, the American papers, to come stay...’<sup>232</sup> Additionally, the moral support displayed by Segovia was of great importance considering the immediate effects that the racial laws were having on ordinary middle-class Italian Jews, the “anguish” of which was expressed by the composer:

In 1938 the ‘anti-Semitic campaign’ had burst out, and I was preparing myself to leave Italy (no one can imagine how this was tearing my heart!): full of anguish and worries, I had *not composed for the last six months...* (quite unusual for me, generally so active...) [italics added]. It was then that Segovia did an exquisite action I shall never forget...: just in that period when so many colleagues of mine turned their backs on me (or, at least, carefully avoided me...),<sup>233</sup> Segovia came expressly to Florence to spend Christmas holidays with me and encourage me to hope in a better future: he told me that I should not despair, that I was talented and in America I would be able to rebuild my life...: in a word, he heartened me deeply. And I was so moved by his friendly action, that I promised him that my next work would have been that *Concerto for Guitar and Orchestra*, which I had promised him so many times. Much more, during his stay in Florence, without further delay...all in one breath [I completed] the first movement, and we tested it together.<sup>234</sup>

---

<sup>229</sup> “Obstacles to Immigration,” at *Holocaust Encyclopedia, United States Holocaust Memorial Museum*: <https://www.ushmm.org/wlc/en/article.php?ModuleId=10007455> (accessed January 7, 2017).

<sup>230</sup> Jayme Michael Kurland, “The Refugee Musician is Now a Part of Us: Musical Exiles and Mark Brunswick’s National Committee for Refugee Musicians (1938-1943)” (M.A. diss., Arizona State University, 2015), 19-20.

<sup>231</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 303, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 32.

<sup>232</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 52.

<sup>233</sup> Most non-Jewish Italians began to ignore their Jewish acquaintances after the September 1938 enactment of the *leggi razziali* (racial laws). Nevertheless, there is a clear tendency among Jewish sources to emphasise the ‘real friends,’ those who ignored the risks of having contact with Jews and helped them in any possible way. Nidan-Orvieto, “The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation,” 164-165.

<sup>234</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Segovia,” *Una vita*, LX, 17. This statement is important when we consider the rare ‘dry spell’ that occurred after writing the *Divan* in July 1966 lasting almost a year. A prior six-month period of silence and depression also occurred around 1936 which he refers to as his ‘neurasthenia’ (Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “*Nevrastenia e guarigione*,” *Una vita*, 281-285).

Two points stand out in the above quote. Firstly, Castelnuovo-Tedesco mentions a six-month period of compositional silence brought up, no doubt, by stress and depression, as will be seen below when he mentions the overall period as “tragic.” Another rare instance of compositional silence occurred after composition of the *Divan* which is significant and will be seen in Chapter Eight. Secondly, in his use of the expression “we tested it together,” the genesis of a working method in which guitarists assisted the pianistic composer in converting his ideas to be more comfortable for the instrument was instigated.<sup>235</sup>

Segovia visited Castelnuovo-Tedesco during Christmas 1938 in Florence. Speaking optimistically of a better future for him in America, where his talents would be better used, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was obviously very comforted, and partly ‘under his supervision,’<sup>236</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco completed the *Concerto* for Segovia which was his last guitar piece of this period, ‘written just before [we left].’<sup>237</sup> This was at a time of the greatest upheaval in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s life, although he considered it

...one of my happiest works, in every sense: on a formal point of view, for its spontaneity, cleanness and conciseness, on a spiritual point of view, for its absolute “serenity.” This last fact might look strange, as I wrote the concerto...in the most tragic moments of my life (my departure from Italy, and my mother’s death) that I wrote the most serene, and (I repeat it), my happiest pages...<sup>238</sup>

Although he was not present at the premiere, ‘...the first performance of the *Concerti* took place in Montevideo, in October 1939, and since then, I dare say, it turned round [sic] the whole world.’<sup>239</sup>

The process of emigration was convoluted and complex. Nevertheless, Castelnuovo-Tedesco wanted to undertake the correct procedure to obtain the Italian exit visa, ‘because he

---

<sup>235</sup> As will be seen in the following chapter, this concept of collaboration was not to be undertaken in the *Divan*, leading to several technical problems, and one reason why it may have remained so little played.

<sup>236</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Guitar, that Beautiful and Mysterious Instrument,” 7.

<sup>237</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 55.

<sup>238</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Segovia,” *Una vita*, LX, 18-19; and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Concerto in D, op. 92,” *Los Angeles Harmonic Orchestra Symphonic Magazine* (March 23, 1950).

<sup>239</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Segovia,” *Una vita*, LX, 18. Although the *Concerto for Guitar and Orchestra* is sometimes considered the first guitar concerto of the twentieth century, it was in fact the second. A concerto by the Mexican composer, Rafael Adame (*Concierto*, 1930), precedes Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s by nine years, but is a much lesser-known composition.

didn't want to create problems for his [remaining] family'<sup>240</sup> nor did he want to be defined as a "refugee,"

...because at the time it [i.e., the government] was refusing all of them [i.e., Jewish exit visas] (saying to the Jews that the spaces of "quota" were reserved for the Aryans, and vice versa). They assured me, however that with such an exceptional affidavit [i.e., the statements from Heifetz, et al.], going to the American consulate in Paris, London or Zurich, I could quickly obtain permission to enter the United states, even without the consent of the Italian government. At this I rebelled! I said that I did not want to be a refugee...[later] they would grant permission to me, but not to my family: I rebelled once again, and answered that if I intended to emigrate, it was not for me but for my family!... But I did not give up, and finally with the help of a musician friend, who for reasons of position had easy access to the higher ranks, I obtained the long-awaited permission! It was delivered to me on April 3, 1939, exactly on the day of my birth! And I said immediately that this was the last gift that I would receive from my homeland.<sup>241</sup>

This 'last gift' indicates little consideration of ever returning to Italy and an acceptance by Castelnovo-Tedesco of the finality of his position. In contrast, as Nidan-Orvieto points out, 'most [Jews] saw their emigration as a temporary step, taken to overcome the difficulties of life under the racial restrictions.'<sup>242</sup> Aided by the references, it was within six months that Castelnovo-Tedesco secured papers to emigrate via the American Consul in Naples.<sup>243</sup> 'It was very difficult. But Mario really said he wanted to have it [i.e., the exit visa], and he succeeded in having the right papers openly, and we left openly. I mean, not escape.'<sup>244</sup> The family decided to expedite their leave since, 'during the summer dictators always lose their heads; better to leave as soon as possible.'<sup>245</sup> The decision was timely as Germany invaded Poland on September 1, 1939 signalling the beginning of war. Castelnovo-Tedesco recalls that the months of preparation were 'months of physical efforts, moral strain and sentimental torment.'<sup>246</sup> As the day of embarkation drew near, Castelnovo-Tedesco became profoundly depressed at the thought of leaving his country and his relatives, whom he deeply loved. As his son notes: 'Leaving his parents and his beloved Florence was a heartbreaking decision.'<sup>247</sup> Although Mario's parents were supportive and encouraging of

---

<sup>240</sup> Lorenzo Castelnovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco *La sua fede*, 52.

<sup>241</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 304, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 33.

<sup>242</sup> Nidan-Orvieto, "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation," 169.

<sup>243</sup> Westby, "Castelnovo-Tedesco in America," 53.

<sup>244</sup> Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 54.

<sup>245</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 304, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 33.

<sup>246</sup> Ibid.

<sup>247</sup> Lorenzo Castelnovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995.

the decision to leave,<sup>248</sup> Mario tried to assure his parents of his return by purchasing a round-trip ticket,<sup>249</sup> which was either a merciful deception, or more doubtfully, a desire for eventual return. A month before embarkation, Mario wrote to Pizzetti expressing how

I cannot tell you how painful it is...to leave this country, my parents and so many dear friends!... I shall carry with me... the unforgettable memory of you, of your artistic integrity, and of your precious teachings.<sup>250</sup>

Again, in the above quote there is no indication of a sense of temporariness in the emigration.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco later wrote about how he felt at the moment of departure from his beloved native Florence and Italy:

...what I felt in that moment, I do not know how to repeat, and one who does not know the bitterness of expatriation cannot imagine it. One cannot speak of sorrow, regret, moral suffering: it was almost a physical torment, a tearing asunder, a mutilation! (it seemed almost a dress rehearsal for death). And there in that moment, something permanent died in me—not hope but illusion. And if something kept me alive it was the love for my family and the love of music. Although with time, I grew sincerely fond of my adopted country, I could no longer become attached to people and things; I have lived as if suspended in mid-air, in a cloud, waiting: without resentment (rather, with a mind full of understanding and pity for this poor, tortured humanity) but by now “distant.”<sup>251</sup>

With visas secured, the family departed Italy for New York on April 3, 1939. They were fortunate to have the sponsors to escape, unlike their relatives, who, as Clara recalls,

...didn't know anybody in America. But these cousins and brothers and sisters, during the night, they escaped one at a time the way they could to Switzerland. It was the country that was free, was accepting, reliable and the closest.<sup>252</sup>...Another brother [of Mario's] was hidden...in a convent for some time...many convents of priests and nuns, and they helped very much.<sup>253</sup>

But at that moment it was hell because of Mussolini and Hitler, and what was going on. So it was only frightening to be there. Everybody, all the Jews possible [sic], tried to leave or get out. As a matter of fact, many of my friends and Mario's brothers and my sisters and brothers left Italy. They couldn't come to America because they didn't have any means to come to America, but they left for Switzerland as soon as they could, by night through the lakes.<sup>254</sup>

---

<sup>248</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 302, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 31.

<sup>249</sup> *Ibid.*, 34.

<sup>250</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, to I. Pizzetti, June 1939, as cited in Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 129.

<sup>251</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 306, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 34.

<sup>252</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 51.

<sup>253</sup> *Ibid.*, 55-56.

<sup>254</sup> *Ibid.*, 69.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco spent the journey to America in a state of uncertainty, but could continue his creative endeavours: ‘...what was I doing in that time (other than chasing after the thoughts that tormented me and trying to guess the uncertain future that awaited us)? I read and studied the piano and [even] composed.’<sup>255</sup> Having a piano installed on board and transporting it to America was an indication of the high status and financial means that Castelnuovo-Tedesco enjoyed at that time. Most emigrants could only take what they could lift and carry. Although there were no restrictions put on them by the American authorities, the ship’s cargo capacities severely limited passengers’ belongings.

Indicating the deep affection felt by both his Jewish and non-Jewish friends, one of the latter left with him to America, this being,

...my friend Aldo Bruzzichelli...one of my oldest and most faithful friends, so faithful that, when we left Italy, in 1939, he and his wife left Italy with us, not to leave us alone! and they remained in New York during the war...<sup>256</sup>

Upon arrival in New York, Castelnuovo-Tedesco expressed amazement at the sights he encountered, calling it ‘...truly, a “new world”!’<sup>257</sup> But this excitement was tempered with the realisation that, ‘I can no longer hear the bells. They were the voice of my city, the voice of my now distant country.’<sup>258</sup> The “bells” were not only an actual feature of the Italian soundscape that does not exist in New York but would represent the wider traditional environment Castelnuovo-Tedesco had left. It would seem that the word “distant” referred to not only physical distance but primarily to the breaking of an emotional attachment to Italy. This may be compared to Ibn Ezra’s expressions of the psychological and social aspects of exile: ‘How long yet must my feet, at fate’s behest (*shaloah*) / The path of exile tread, and find no rest? (*manoah*).’<sup>259</sup>

The family initially took lodging in a hotel in New York City, however, Castelnuovo-Tedesco later stated that, ‘it was always difficult for me to compose in the bustle of the city, and I

---

<sup>255</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 311, trans. Delong, “Between Two Worlds,” 35.

<sup>256</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, June 1, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13; Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco also wrote: ‘Aldo Bruzzichelli...was a close friend of my father’s. I don’t know whether they intended to emigrate, but they left as tourists. Then of course, they realised what was happening, so they stayed in the United States all through the war. And many people did that.’ In Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 64-5.

<sup>257</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 312-3, trans. Delong, “Between Two Worlds,” 36.

<sup>258</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 67. No references are provided throughout this work, as use was made of the *Una vita* manuscript which did not hold consecutive page numbering.

<sup>259</sup> Ibn Ezra, “How Long at Fate’s Behest,” in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 2, recalling Deut. 28:28.

always had my best inspiration from the countryside.’<sup>260</sup> Following the brief stay, they moved to a greener environment.

It was, as I have said a harshly scorching and stifling summer (as it can only be in New York!), and not only did we adults suffer, but above all the boys, who I was afraid to see, wasting away; even worse than our daily excursions was the return to the hotel in the evening, where we were unable to sleep. Therefore, after a week I decided to seek refuge in the country, where the air was, if not fresher, at least more pure and free, where there was a little bit of green (not the dullness of relentless asphalt); there needed to be, for me, a little bit of quiet in order for me to work.<sup>261</sup>

With the decision made to look for a place outside of the city, the family rented a small house about 30 kilometres northeast of midtown Manhattan in Larchmont, NY, where they had Italian friends.<sup>262</sup> This lasted for about eighteen months, until the contract at MGM. However, during the period in Larchmont, Castelnuovo-Tedesco enjoyed no steady work. This created financial challenges and difficulties, highlighted by Clara, as,

...[in Italy] we had money. When we came to America, [we arrived] here, with no money at all, because we had permission to leave Italy openly, but not to take money with us.<sup>263</sup>

...They let us go with the right papers from Italy, but no money. So we arrived in New York really with nothing. So that’s why Mario had necessity to start—but he had already concerts organised in New York, many concerts. He was playing, and his music was performed.<sup>264</sup>

Two days after its invasion of Poland, and on the day Britain and France declared war on Germany, the September 3, 1939 issue of the *New York Times* noted Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s arrival.<sup>265</sup> Shortly afterwards, he performed ‘in New York soon after arriving, three performances in November 1939 in Carnegie Hall.’<sup>266</sup> This, he stated, was ‘with the New York Philharmonic [conducted by John Barbirolli], playing my new Piano Concerto.’<sup>267</sup> Clara also notes that ‘we

---

<sup>260</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, to Nick Rossi, Florence, June 23, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>261</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 312-3, trans. Delong, “Between Two Worlds,” 36.

<sup>262</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 62, 68.

<sup>263</sup> *Ibid.*, 40, 61.

<sup>264</sup> *Ibid.*, 54.

<sup>265</sup> Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 54.

<sup>266</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 71.

<sup>267</sup> Referring to the *Piano Concerto No. 2* in F major, Op. 92. Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, August 14, 1939. Location: Special Collections, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Collection, Library of Congress, Washington DC. It is difficult to understand the statement of Toscanini in which he wrote in a letter dated November 10, 1939: ‘Castelnuovo-Tedesco made his debut last week as pianist composer. I heard it over the radio. Both pianist and composer irritated me! He is forever the victim of a continual musical dysentery. And he writes music that grips no one, it runs off you just like it runs out of his ...pen. The reviews were mixed.’ Arturo Toscanini, *The Letters of Arturo Toscanini*, ed. H. Sachs, 367-8. This is a very curious statement considering the long, close, and illustrious relationship between these two musicians.

couldn't live with what Mario could make with concerts. What concerts? He was a composer, not a concert performer.<sup>268</sup> Around six months after his arrival, in April 1940, A.W. Binder, the Jewish composer, educator, and Chairman of the Jewish Music Forum, organised an event honouring Castelnuovo-Tedesco, with the composer himself accompanying various musicians on piano.<sup>269</sup> Despite these performances, his feelings about the future at that point were uncertain, as recalled by Clara:

Mario had written so much for voice and piano, songs. And the concerts for voice and piano and sometimes other instruments had many performances in Europe at that time, before the war. Then this died completely. Mario had written so much for voice, and this music was not performed any more. Don't you see? Now there are no concerts for voice, in America or in Europe. Singers you hear only in opera. But they don't give concerts, chamber concerts. Chamber singers: they don't exist anymore...they don't sing Schumann and Schubert and Debussy...or Mozart...Not only Mario's music is dead, all the music..., the classical, which is very, very sad, because the best music for the voice—that's what it was—chamber. Women used to give concerts with this music. Now nobody hears it.<sup>270</sup>

From the expression, "they don't exist anymore," referring to the musical styles and tastes of the day, one may observe a reason that Castelnuovo-Tedesco, as an 'Italian' composer of art song came to be supplanted by the rise of his identification as a 'Jewish' composer. This is demonstrated when Albert Morini, Castelnuovo-Tedesco's American 'Concert Manager' persuaded, encouraged, or pressured Mario to write articles as well as music to raise his Jewish profile soon after his arrival in America.<sup>271</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco preferred a work situation that would allow him to remain close to his family, which was difficult when travelling as a performer. Therefore, he spent a great deal of effort searching for steady work—either in teaching or the film industry, but despite earlier promises, opportunities did not present themselves at this time.<sup>272</sup>

...And (although it was very hard to leave our country, our home, our friends, all...!) we feel very happy to come to this country, where the atmosphere is free and human dignity is respected...Our plans are still uncertain, and I am looking for [a] professional situation; I

---

<sup>268</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 71.

<sup>269</sup> Saleski, *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*, 31

<sup>270</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 81-83.

<sup>271</sup> I acknowledge James Westby for this observation. Morini's name as manager appears at the foot of at least one article ("Modern Italian Music" in the *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 16, 1939), that curiously does not mention the composer's Jewish identity and, unlike Latin, even removes Hebrew as one of the languages the composer was familiar with.

<sup>272</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 321-2, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 37.



know it will not be easy, but I have some hopes and some good friends (as Heifetz and Spalding) promised to help me.<sup>273</sup>

It is quite possible that an offer from the film industry was not forthcoming due to feelings of war patriotism, when employing a foreigner was frowned upon, and all Italians fell into the ‘category’ of enemies of the Allies.<sup>274</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco had come seeking refuge, but he now found himself subject to restrictions on foreigners from nations including Italy, Germany, and Japan—he could not go out at night or travel more than fifteen miles from home, although for Italians, this only lasted for a few months.

This period of shifting national identities also brought out the composer’s Spanish side as, ‘both Segovia and De Falla loved the very Spanish side that every now and then came out in my music, and they encouraged me to cultivate it.’<sup>275</sup> Manuel de Falla (1846-1946) was a refugee from the Spanish Civil War in Argentina, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls him saying, ‘...that we were the two most lucky musicians in the world, because he lived in Granada, and because I was born in Florence; and I told him how much I loved Granada, from when I went to Spain.’<sup>276</sup> This statement indicates that Granada, where Ibn Ezra was born, was a town that Castelnuovo-Tedesco warmly embraced, the other being Florence. It may also indicate one consideration that drew Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Ibn Ezra and his poetry.

Another prominent inclination during his early American period was Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s two different categories of religiously-based works—the spiritual and the dramatic—and as previously pointed out, not all had a Jewish basis. Writing in 1940, Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Jewish cultural identity was contributing to his overall musical output during a most turbulent period:

I call myself a liberal composer. I never believed in modernism or neo-classicism...And now...now I am here, in this country, in my new country; my plans as to my work and life are still uncertain, as the destiny of all is uncertain, in these troubled times. Yet I hope to be able to work again and to give some more pages of my creation to Jewish music.

---

<sup>273</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge, August 14, 1939. Location: Special Collections, Elizabeth Sprague Coolidge Collection, Library of Congress, Washington DC.

<sup>274</sup> Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 67.

<sup>275</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 271. Translated by this author: ‘Tanto Segovia che De Falla amavano molto quel lato spagnuolo che ogni tanto affiorava nella ia musica, e mi avevano incoraggiato a coltivarlo...’

<sup>276</sup> *Ibid.*, 269. Translated by this author: ‘i due musicisti più fortunate del mondo, lui perché abitava a Granada, io perché ero nato a Firenze; ed io, di rimando, gli dissi quanto avessi amato Granada, quando ero andato in Spagna...’

I do not know what I shall do or when, however the music I shall write will probably spring more from my own fantasy and from my personal feelings than from supposed historical documents, it will be more a work of artistic creation than of scientific scholarship; but it will be above all an “act of faith” - of the faith I inherited from my father, from my mother, from my grandmother and which is so well expressed in the words of the psalm which my grandfather used to sing (Psalm 37:25):

‘I have been young and now I am old,  
Yet I have not seen the righteous forsaken.’<sup>277</sup>

Although in his determination not to categorise his work, the composer contradicts himself elsewhere by stating, in reference to his *Quintette*, Op. 143 for guitar and string quartet, that ‘it is a melodious and serene work, partly “neo-classic” and partly “neo-romantic” (like most of my works); I would say it was written in almost a “Schubertian vein”—Schubert has always been one of my favourite composers.’<sup>278</sup>

### **The Film Music, Acculturation, and Citizenship**

A critical date in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s life was July 26, 1940 for two contrasting reasons: his mother Noemi died, and he received a call from Heifetz asking if he would accept a contract with a movie studio. For Castelnuovo-Tedesco, the two events were closely connected, and he stated that, ‘I had the impression that mother wanted it that way and this was the last gift that she gave me, from the gates of the after-life.’<sup>279</sup>

In mid-October 1940, Castelnuovo-Tedesco accepted a contract for work at the Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) studios that was arranged by the agent for Jascha Heifetz.<sup>280</sup> Working in the film industry from 1941 to 1956 was an important chapter in his life, during which time he contributed as composer, assistant, and/or collaborator to approximately 250 movies for MGM, Columbia, Universal, Warner Bros., Twentieth-Century Fox, and CBS among others. Hollywood in the 1930s and 1940s was the era of the ‘silver-screen’ and the age of symphonic film music, a style pioneered by the Viennese composer Max Steiner in his revolutionary score for ‘King Kong’ (1933), and afterwards developed and perfected by another Austrian, Erich Wolfgang Korngold in

---

<sup>277</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” 3.

<sup>278</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, liner notes for *Andrés Segovia with Strings of the Quintetto Chigiano* (LP, Decca Gold DL 9832, 1953).

<sup>279</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 322, trans. Delong, “Between Two Worlds,” 39.

<sup>280</sup> Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 55.

his eighteen film scores,<sup>281</sup> including ‘Deception,’ and ‘The Adventures of Robin Hood.’ Many of the studio composers were displaced from Europe, and they brought with them skills acquired from a highly sophisticated European symphonic music scene that they subsequently adapted for their film work.

The system of operations in the film industry involved different composers contributing different parts independently, with Castelnuovo-Tedesco and others holding no copyright and referred to as ‘ghost-writers.’<sup>282</sup> Composers had to deliver fast, and the individual pieces of submitted music were edited and arranged by another orchestrator/arranger into either a musical medley, or set within the overall score...or even discarded.<sup>283</sup> Clara stated that Mario was ‘writing one scene here, two, three scenes, never a whole movie...but he did it because he needed the money.’<sup>284</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco wanted to do his own arrangements for entire films, but initially his directors refused. However, on one occasion due to a shortage of arrangers, in 1942 or 1943 Castelnuovo-Tedesco was permitted to score his first entire film. It was successful and rapid, which saved time and money for the studio. As Westby describes it,

[c]omposition came easily for him; he composed quickly, in ink and never at the piano; his reputation for fluency and ready technique were well deserved. His speed of composition alone would prove invaluable during his Hollywood years. Facility, craftsmanship, an evocative narrative style and an ability to compose self-contained, short musical segments were the qualities Hollywood demanded of its composers. These Castelnuovo-Tedesco had in abundance.<sup>285</sup>

An indication of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s range of skills in his film work and teaching was given by pianist, composer, orchestrator, and conductor André Previn, who recalls that, despite very poor eyesight, he was ‘...a walking encyclopedia. There was nothing he didn’t know. You could ask him what the lowest possible shake on the oboe d’amore was and he wouldn’t have to look it up.’<sup>286</sup>

---

<sup>281</sup> Diane Peacock Jezic, *The Musical Migration and Ernst Toch* (Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989), 78.

<sup>282</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, June 6, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>283</sup> Daniel Hope, “Driven into Paradise,” *WSJ Opinion*, last updated February 18, 2015: <https://www.wsj.com/articles/driven-into-paradise-1424299219> (accessed September 6, 2018).

<sup>284</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 73.

<sup>285</sup> Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 56-57.

<sup>286</sup> Previn as cited in Martin Bookspan and Ross Yockey, *André Previn. A Biography* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981), 58.

Mario's family followed him to Los Angeles some six months after his own arrival there, once all satisfactory contractual arrangements were put in place, as Los Angeles 'was the centre of movie work...(while) New York was the centre of great concerts.'<sup>287</sup> Although Castelnuovo-Tedesco moved there as an economic decision, not an artistic one, Lorenzo recalls that the 'industry' was much different from what he imagined.

He was bemused by one of his first assignments at MGM which consisted of writing a sonata for violin and piano in four movements lasting three minutes. Subsequent tasks included solo pieces for Harpo Marx and background music for countless chases.<sup>288</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's success as a film composer did have creative impact on his general writing of 'serious' music. Some of his 1940s work was impacted by his American impressions in such works as *Stars: Four Sketches for Piano*, Op. 104 which is a musical portrait of Greta Garbo, Deanna Durbin, Marlene Dietrich, and Shirley Temple,<sup>289</sup> and *Nocturne in Hollywood* (without Opus), both for piano and both written in 1940-1941, with more American themed music continuing throughout the 1940s and 1950s including *Three California Sketches*, Op. 165 (1953). Levine connects the film work with his artistic enterprise both of which involved the composer's creativity:

Critical assessments point to the film industry as having both defined Castelnuovo-Tedesco's American career and affected his musical style in general—as it did for many of his fellow refugee composers. In fact, he saw film originally as an opportunity for genuine artistic creativity—an alternative medium to opera (which he viewed as inherently European) for the development of a manifestly American form of expression.<sup>290</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was immersed in the Hollywood movie industry in an era when many of the most highly recognised names in music settled there, including Heifetz, Piatigorsky, Rachmaninov, Artur Rubinstein, Alexandre Tansman, Vladimir Horowitz, Stravinsky, and Schoenberg.<sup>291</sup> The musical scene in California proved to be paradoxical in that it attracted great musicians, yet as Asbury observed, the Californian musical culture generally could not sustain a composer in the composition of 'serious' music.<sup>292</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco thus committed to the

---

<sup>287</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 79.

<sup>288</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995.

<sup>289</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Movies," 10.

<sup>290</sup> Levine, "Review," op. cit.

<sup>291</sup> Schoenberg (1874-1951) had been baptised a Protestant at the age of eighteen but reconverted to Judaism after fleeing Berlin in 1933.

<sup>292</sup> Asbury, "20th Century Romantic Serialism," 11.

film industry although he didn't like it much, as expressed in his use of the 'garden' as a description of his musical outputs, that 'in it, grow green vegetables, my film music; and flowers in abundance, [which is how I view] the music I compose for myself.'<sup>293</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco considered his work in film as mediocre, and was always dissatisfied, referring on different occasions to the work as 'years of captivity in Babylon.'<sup>294</sup>

But I didn't know of your [i.e., Nick Rossi's] activity as a "ghost writer"! Having been one myself, in music, during my unfortunate MGM years ("the years of the captivity in Babylon," as I used to call them ...). I can't find anything "dishonourable" in it; but... I am glad I am through with it!<sup>295</sup>

Despite his misgivings, Castelnovo-Tedesco was pleased with at least one movie—'And Then There Were None' (1945)—based on Agatha Christie's crime novel and directed by René Clair. For this, he did the music for the entire film and appeared prominently in the opening credits. But Castelnovo-Tedesco consistently placed little value on his work in the film industry saying that 'in my artistic life the film experience doesn't represent more than "one hundredth" [i.e., presumably one cent].'<sup>296</sup> In summary of the pros and cons, his attitude towards film music was such that,

[r]eally, none of it is very interesting to me, and least of all the music I write for films which (fortunately) I forget as soon as I've written it (or right after I've orchestrated it and recorded it), so that it won't disturb my brain too much. However, it's been useful to me not only as a means of making a living but also as a great exercise in orchestration.<sup>297</sup>

Walter Arlen, the New York times music critic and friend of Castelnovo-Tedesco's, wrote on the composer's relationship with his film music as follows:

He composes constantly in ink, without piano, and, if for orchestra, directly into the score. What has been finished is neatly recorded, with dates and opus numbers, in two small books with florid covers.

There is a third book. Its cover matches the others. Its title is "Hollywood." Its contents record a chapter of activities that Castelnovo-Tedesco likes to keep strictly separate. He speaks of it with the same gentle amusement and disarmingly charming

---

<sup>293</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, from the ms. *Una vita*, in Otero, *Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 9.

<sup>294</sup> Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, November 23, 1958. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 118/3.

<sup>295</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, June 6, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>296</sup> Westby, "Castelnovo-Tedesco in America," 1.

<sup>297</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco writing in 1945, as cited in Otero, *Mario Castelnovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 45.

sarcasm he is wont to bestow upon compositions by some esteemed colleagues whose musical paths he deems in error.<sup>298</sup>

Despite the income from his film work, when the MGM contract came to an end in October 1943,<sup>299</sup> he did not renew it, but worked for a range of movie studios on a freelance basis. That same year another chapter in his life ended in which he played his last *Concerto for Piano and Orchestra* which concluded his performing career, in order that he might concentrate on composition. In the years Castelnovo-Tedesco was involved in writing film music, he also created over 70 concert works in various genres.<sup>300</sup>

Westby observes that his overriding concern, whether it be film music or concert/chamber pieces, was his ‘devotion to text, be it literal or visual...his compositions demonstrate, that music functioned to enhance either the word or the visual image...’<sup>301</sup> This statement is similarly expressed by Lorenzo Castelnovo-Tedesco who noted that writing music,

...was a need and a fascination with the art of associating sounds to express ideas and emotions, as a language that speaks across cultures and centuries. It became a long and rich career, sustained with single minded commitment he called a “life of music.”<sup>302</sup>

During this period, Castelnovo-Tedesco also composed significant Jewish liturgical compositions closely related to the synagogue service. These include an arrangement of the traditional chant from the Yom Kippur or Day of Atonement service, the *Kol Nidrei*, Op. R111a in 1941 that was ‘commissioned for the *Yom Kippur* services of the Westwood Synagogue, where there was an excellent cellist.’<sup>303</sup> *Kol Nidrei* is an ancient melody of Ashkenazic tradition sung in Aramaic as the opening prayer on *Yom Kippur*, the holiest day in the Jewish calendar, a fast day that ends with the blowing of the ram’s horn *shofar*. The use of such a symbolic melody shows that the composer had no hesitation in exploring the heart of Judaism’s liturgical expression, as he did with the narrative-Biblical. The liturgical composing continued with his 1943 *Sacred Service for the Sabbath Eve*, Op. 122a for cantor, mixed choir, and organ, in ‘memory of my mother and all of my dear ones who have passed away.’<sup>304</sup> He wrote the piece, as he says when he still ‘...didn’t

---

<sup>298</sup> Walter Arlen, “Personal Note,” in *The New Book of Modern Composers*, ed. by David Ewen (3rd ed., New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 109-110.

<sup>299</sup> Clara Castelnovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 74.

<sup>300</sup> Westby, “Castelnovo-Tedesco in America,” 16

<sup>301</sup> *Ibid.*, 41-42.

<sup>302</sup> Lorenzo Castelnovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995.

<sup>303</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 14.

<sup>304</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” II, 3.

have any more news from Italy. I didn't know how many of mine would be missing! Therefore, I felt filled with inspiration.<sup>305</sup> In this work he 'had already decided not to use any traditional themes,<sup>306</sup> and consequently he decided to use the Italian polyphonic tradition. This, he thought, provided a 'sense of historic depth'<sup>307</sup> and expressed his own heritage best: '[S]eeing that I was born in Italy, I decided to follow the Italian polyphonic tradition, a 'sort of "Jewish Monteverdi" which corresponded better to my spirit and to my cultural education.'<sup>308</sup> He states this elsewhere with a greater historical emphasis:

This was not an absurd plan, historically speaking, if one considers that the first examples of an Italian Jewish liturgy date back exactly to the Mantuan, Salomone Rossi [1587-1628], who was not only a contemporary of Monteverdi, but a friend and a disciple.<sup>309</sup>

This compositional approach may also be interpreted as a reaction to his new American environment and the need to maintain cultural links to his homeland. Although Castelnuovo-Tedesco's own cultural tradition was Sephardic, the *Sacred Service* was written according to Ashkenazic pronunciation and accentuation, highly impacted by the timbre of Yiddish, which was the vast majority practice in America. It was also written in parallel with an English transliteration, and thus could be used for liturgical purposes or as a concert work. The *Sacred Service* held a great deal of personal significance for the composer. It was written in 1943, marking the end of what he regarded as his 'bad years' of 1939-1942 and his first as an expatriate. Later, he wrote that 'with this work, my "recovery" started.'<sup>310</sup>

His Jewish works responded to a need to express those parts of his identity that were most fractured coming out of the war years: his shifting national identity, his Jewish identification, and his family now divided by exile. In 1944, the year in which Otero claims 'he expressed much anguish in the destruction of European Jewry,'<sup>311</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco participated in the *Genesis Suite* commissioned by Nathaniel Shilkret who was the A&R director of RCA Victor Records and a noted composer. It was a 'series of musical frescos the main episodes of the Biblical story...contributed to by a number of prominent composers including Schoenberg and

---

<sup>305</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 12.

<sup>306</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," II, 3.

<sup>307</sup> Soltes, *Off the Willows*, 101.

<sup>308</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 13; Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," II, 3.

<sup>309</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 13.

<sup>310</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, February 6, 1959. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 123/31.

<sup>311</sup> Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 73.

Stravinsky.<sup>312</sup> Shilkret brought together contemporary modernist (Stravinsky, Schoenberg) and more popular music composers with film experience (Shilkret himself, and the émigrés from Nazi-dominated Europe: Tansman, Milhaud, Toch, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco),<sup>313</sup> creating an accessible format designed for mass audiences. Castelnuovo-Tedesco's contribution was from the story of Noah's Ark, titled *The Flood*, Op R122c for narrator, chorus, and orchestra, constituting Part V of the *Suite*.<sup>314</sup>

Following the war, Castelnuovo-Tedesco did not return to Italy but decided to take American citizenship, a difficult decision that he and Clara contemplated privately for a long time.<sup>315</sup> It was the employment and educational opportunities that gave him the very positive view of his new land of residence, in which,

...I owed to America a debt of gratitude! Since here I had been welcomed in perfect equality of rights with the other citizens, here I had been able to continue my work undisturbed, here I had been permitted to freely and openly educate my children! (and I knew that, if I had given the option to my children, as later in fact I did, they would have preferred to carry out their lives and activities in America, rather than return to a country of which they could not keep a very grateful memory). Neither Clara nor I would ever have agreed to separate ourselves from our children, or, worse yet, to risk finding ourselves in "different camps."<sup>316</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco appreciated the cultural and ethnic diversity that he observed in his new hostland, while still being able to identify with his country of origin saying,

...it is truly unique that in America, groups of ethnic origins could preserve intact their attachment to the country of origin (perhaps even more so than those who live in their homeland!) while they feel, on the other hand, that only under the aegis of American laws have they been granted the free and peaceful coexistence which too often has been denied them in their country of origin.<sup>317</sup>

Six years after arrival, the Castelnuovo-Tedesco began the process of citizenship which was granted on July 23, 1946, nearly seven years after first arriving in America.<sup>318</sup> However,

---

<sup>312</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "From a Lifetime of Music," 161.

<sup>313</sup> Schoenberg was a pre-war Jewish émigré, having formally reclaimed his Jewish faith in Paris in early 1933. Out of fear of the consequences, he did not return to Germany, arriving in America in October 1933.

<sup>314</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "From a Lifetime of Music," 161-2.

<sup>315</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 464, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 43.

<sup>316</sup> Ibid., 466, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 44.

<sup>317</sup> Ibid.

<sup>318</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 468-9, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 45.



Castelnuovo-Tedesco's father was distressed by the news,<sup>319</sup> prompting Castelnuovo-Tedesco to explain to him that,

...the government declared the Jews to be second class citizens, taking away our right to work and to educate our children, and although the people are not responsible, neither did they protest. Nevertheless, I felt no rancour toward my fellow countrymen, but I haven't forgotten, nor can I have faith in the government. In these post-war years of confusion, no one can foretell the political future of our country. On the other hand, I have a sense of duty and gratitude toward the United States because I was taken in, and given every right, I was able to continue working I was able to educate my children freely, and now they prefer to continue their lives in the United States rather than return to their own country of which they don't have happy memories and neither Clara nor I would ever separate from them.<sup>320</sup>

It would seem from the above that the composer would have returned to his homeland were it not for his children and the material benefits of staying in America. This hypothesis is strengthened when he stated that the idea of buying a house, which he now needed to do, seemed like 'buying a place in the cemetery.'<sup>321</sup> Nevertheless, his domestic plans were based on "gratitude" for receiving refuge in America, from the Italy in which he and his family had been treated as second-class citizens.

From the year that he received citizenship, the composer began his teaching career working in harmony and composition at the Los Angeles Conservatory of Music. As an educator Castelnuovo-Tedesco taught composition privately and 'had as many as forty students at one time.'<sup>322</sup> Most prominent of these included John Williams, Nelson Riddle, André Previn, Henry Mancini, and Jerry Goldsmith,<sup>323</sup> although other composers also studied with him including Leon Levitch, guitarist Ronald C. Purcell, and Herman Stein.<sup>324</sup> In 1959, Castelnuovo-Tedesco taught a course in opera composition at Michigan State University as 'Distinguished Visiting Professor.' Lorenzo explains that his father was so in demand because

...he was a very good technician, and was very good in teaching theory, a lot of young composers who were interested in the film field came to study with him, orchestration, harmony, counterpoint, composition and so on. Many of them were interested in

---

<sup>319</sup> van Gammeren, "The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles," 24.

<sup>320</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 76.

<sup>321</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, from *Una vita*, in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 72

<sup>322</sup> Anonymous Introductory Notes appended to Castelnuovo-Tedesco's 1959 lecture series at Michigan State University, which he compiled as "Under the Sign of Orpheus: The Milestones of Opera. A Series of Lectures," (n.p., c. 1959), 2. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 114/6.

<sup>323</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 75.

<sup>324</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Judith Clurman, March 27, 1995.

cinema...and since he was both a composer and a composer who had written for film, I think he developed a reputation.<sup>325</sup>

André Previn's biography demonstrates the reputation Castelnuovo-Tedesco gained as an educator stating that 'from his [i.e., Previn's] musician friends at MGM, he learned that everyone who was anyone in Hollywood music studied, at one time or another, with Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco.'<sup>326</sup> He continues, stating 'that "Studied under Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco" was a virtual requisite for California musicians!'<sup>327</sup> Considering the film composers who were greatly influenced by him, teaching composition and orchestration was a prominent way Castelnuovo-Tedesco left his mark on American culture.<sup>328</sup> Although not seeking to, he bridged the 'popular' with the 'serious' but also in some ways, "legitimate" presumably 'classical' music, and Jazz.

It is very strange: most of my students are Jazz composers and in their records they generally give me credit for having studied with me. So I will probably go down to posterity as a teacher of a "Jazz generation," but I certainly don't teach them *that*. But none are in the legitimate field.<sup>329</sup>

Although widely revered as a teacher of composition and orchestration, Castelnuovo-Tedesco's own feelings about teaching seem mixed. Previn states that Castelnuovo-Tedesco did have limitations noting that he leaned more towards traditional composition. He notes how Castelnuovo-Tedesco was disturbed if a student wrote something that was different from his own line of thinking, claiming he 'would not know how to deal with it, except on purely technical terms.'<sup>330</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco returned to Italy in 1948, three years after the end of the war, where his name was mentioned for the directorship of a major conservatory in Naples, an offer that he says 'naturally pleased me as a sign of recognition and—I would say—a symbol of reconciliation.'<sup>331</sup> However, he had already determined to keep his working base in America, not wanting to remove his children from school, as well as considering the difficulties in finding transportation back to Italy.<sup>332</sup> A cultural pull to his homeland however was clearly present:

---

<sup>325</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 76-77.

<sup>326</sup> Bookspan and Yockey, *André Previn*, 57.

<sup>327</sup> *Ibid.*, 58.

<sup>328</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 259.

<sup>329</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Contemporary Composer," 11.

<sup>330</sup> Previn as cited in Bookspan and Yockey, *André Previn*, 64.

<sup>331</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 467, trans. DeLong, "Between Two Worlds," 42.

<sup>332</sup> *Ibid.*, 468, in *ibid.*, 42.

I would like to go back to Italy to see it again; but America is now my home. I would like to see Florence again and the cypresses of Usigliano di Lari, and I would consider myself happy if my old bones could be buried there. America is a splendid country to live in. Italy is a lovely country to die in.<sup>333</sup>

However, the war had made him wary of the intentions of the Italian people and the leaders of post-war Italy:

...Anyway one must not forget that we Jews had been estranged from Italian life, had been declared, if not foreigners, second class citizens, and they had denied us those rights that, among very civilised people, are elementary and fundamental: the right to work and the right to a free education for one's children! It is true that the responsibility did not belong to the people, but to a despicable gang of governing criminals; and on the other hand, this people (though so good) had not raised a single voice in protest of the injustice that was perpetrated. I held no grudge against the Italian people, but I could not forget; and above all, I could not, (at that time) have confidence in an Italian government. And then, what government? In those confused years of the immediate post-war period, no one could foresee what shape the political life of Italy would take; would it be a free democratic government, a communist dictatorship, or worse yet a Fascist dictatorship! One did not even know (at that moment) if Italy would be a republic or a monarchy.<sup>334</sup>

Upon arriving in Italy at the end of May 1948 to the family's departure in early November, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was shocked by scenes of the physical destruction and social degradation from the war. 'I said to myself (and may God forgive me!) "Maybe it would have been better if everything had been destroyed, so everything could be rebuilt from scratch."' <sup>335</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco was clearly fond of Italy,<sup>336</sup> but the visit highlighted deep changes in the way he felt about his original home. Two factors made him refuse the offer of leading the Naples conservatory: Lorenzo became seriously ill while in Naples, and the locals' own infighting and self-interest.

I cursed the day that I returned to Italy!...but it seemed, in any event a sign, a warning (superstition again?); and from that time my decision was settled: we could not remain in Italy...and above all, we could not remain in Naples.<sup>337</sup>

...Everyone had some reason to resent, and hold a grudge toward the others, and each one warned me about someone else...Right now everyone wishes me well, since I have been away for ten years, and you have fond memories of me; but if I return here, after six months you would hate me like you hate one another here! It is not your fault: it is that there are too many around this bone that has been picked clean, called Italian music, and every success, every performance, is a reason for jealousy! Believe me, the best thing that I

---

<sup>333</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, as cited in *American Composers Today*, ed. by David Ewen (New York: H.W. Wilson and Co., 1949), 50.

<sup>334</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 465, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 43.

<sup>335</sup> Ibid, 482, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 46.

<sup>336</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 103.

<sup>337</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 482-3, trans. Delong, "Between Two Worlds," 46.

could possibly do for the sake of my homeland is to return to America, to my modest and quiet life.<sup>338</sup>

In his beloved Florence, Castelnovo-Tedesco felt ‘the ecstasy of rediscovering my city!...a city made exactly for me, to my standards (but it was I, rather, who was made to its standards).’<sup>339</sup> However, the peaceful city he remembered was not that which now existed, going so far as to state that ‘if Hitler had still been alive, I would have sentenced him there as an atonement (seeing that he began as a painter) to whitewash the walls of the buildings of Florence.’<sup>340</sup> Outside of Naples and Florence, Castelnovo-Tedesco visited his country estate at Usigliano, a ‘dream for many years,’<sup>341</sup> which he observed was

...as beautiful as ever! Here for the first time, I’ve felt at home again..., but in the cities, I felt ill at ease, even in Florence, which I found beautiful still but where too many things have changed (for me at least)...and being there in a hotel as a guest, seemed to me unnatural! Suffice it to say that the only place where I felt comfortable was at the cemetery, before my parents’ tombs. You are right, Italy is the most beautiful country in the world ...but for me, perhaps, it is a “paradise lost.”<sup>342</sup>

A final act in cutting all ties to the homeland occurred with the sale of the estate, as restoration after the war would have cost a lot of money. Thus, Castelnovo-Tedesco together with the co-owners decided to sell ‘with deep sorrow and immense regret.’<sup>343</sup> This would be the last actual land Castelnovo-Tedesco owned in Italy and one may see a point in which his new transnational identity solidified:

With a heavy heart I embraced my brothers again; and I left there bitter and upset: everything had been a disappointment and a failure, above all to have realised by then that it would be impossible for me to adapt to Italian life (and this while keeping my attachment to my native country, and at the same time my gratitude for my adopted country). But I would not be, from then on, completely happy either here nor there, and I would not ultimately belong to either of the two. I realised in that moment, maybe for the first time, what was to be the real tragedy of my life (what I had already sensed many times before, but only vaguely, and not as a definitive conviction): the tragedy of expatriation! From that time on I would remain for the Americans “the Italian,” and for the Italians “the

---

<sup>338</sup> Ibid., 485, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 47.

<sup>339</sup> Ibid., 486, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 47.

<sup>340</sup> Ibid., 482-3, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 46, 48.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid., 490, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 50.

<sup>342</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, letter of September 2, 1948, as quoted in Sachs, *Music in Fascist Italy*, 206, and sourced from Bruno, ed., *Ildebrando Pizzetti: Cronologia e Bibliographia* (Parma, 1979), p. 301-2. The letter was written while Castelnovo-Tedesco was in Tuscany, from his old summer house.

<sup>343</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 491, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 50.

American;” from now on (or at least for the years that I had left), suspended between two worlds!<sup>344</sup>

In 1950 Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote his synagogue music *Songs and Processionals for a Jewish Wedding*, Op. 150 commissioned by the Cantors Assembly of the United Synagogue of America.<sup>345</sup>

These excellent Cantors were disturbed by the fact that the wedding marches of Mendelssohn and Wagner were used in Jewish wedding ceremonies. In reality, Mendelssohn was a Jew who was baptised, and Wagner was absolutely an anti-Semite...In order to please these good men, I agreed to write the four pieces on texts assigned to me from Hosea and the Song of Songs.<sup>346</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was on the one hand a Jewish composer writing liturgically-themed and dramatic songs with a ‘Biblical’ theme, but on the other, he also felt cultural affinity quite apart from any religious sentiment that he expressed through music. This was highlighted in 1951, when he composed two *Palestinian Songs and Dances* at the request of the Jewish dancer Corinne Chochen (1905-1990),<sup>347</sup> and to which other Jewish composers contributed.<sup>348</sup> However, the result was that ‘these songs sounded quite Slavic in character and were therefore rather foreign to my spirit.’<sup>349</sup> The prevailing idea that Jewish music was developed regionally, under the influence of the cultures and identities of which Jewish composers were exposed was a factor in which Castelnuovo-Tedesco took a deep interest. He felt

...much more at home when another Palestinian artist, the charming singer Bracha Zefira asked me to harmonise for her *Three Sephardic Songs* in that curious Ladino dialect which is a mixture of Spanish and Hebrew.<sup>350</sup>

Growing interest in American Jewish identity and music had already led to the commission for Ernest Bloch’s *Sacred Service* (1930-1933), by Temple Emanu-El in New York.<sup>351</sup> Like Bloch, Castelnuovo-Tedesco became ‘one of those European musicians that tried deliberately and

---

<sup>344</sup> Ibid., 492, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 50-51.

<sup>345</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” II, 3.

<sup>346</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 14.

<sup>347</sup> Corinne Chochem (b. Russia, 1905) had a distinct impact on Hebrew folk dance, both in her teaching and her two books, *Palestine Dances* (1941) and *Jewish Holiday Dances* (1948). The latter is the work for which Leonard Bernstein, Darius Milhaud, Ernst Toch, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote music based on the original folk tunes. Pauline Koner, “Corinne Chochem,” *Jewish Women’s Archive: A Comprehensive Historical Encyclopedia* (updated 1 March 2009), <http://jwa.org/encyclopedia/article/chochem-corinne> (accessed April 29, 2017).

<sup>348</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” II, 3.

<sup>349</sup> Ibid.

<sup>350</sup> Ibid.

<sup>351</sup> Cohen, “Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music,” 449.

successfully to create Jewish music'<sup>352</sup>—perhaps better expressed as synagogue ‘art music’ for the Temple or concert hall. One example of expressing a Jewish spirit by creation of Jewish music is Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s small cantata *Naomi and Ruth*, Op. 137. It was composed in 1948, after taking U.S. citizenship, and he was encouraged to expand it into an oratorio by Ernst Toch, another Jewish exile. This he completed in 1949 as *The Book of Ruth*, Op. 140 after his first return to Italy.

...[M]uch more than in the works written for the synagogue (not to say the transcriptions), I think that my Jewish spirit has expressed itself freely and without any “restrictions” in the two Biblical Oratorios which I have been working on recently ...the *Book of Ruth* which grew out of a smaller work the Cantata of *Naomi and Ruth*, written in 1948.<sup>353</sup>

His Jewish identification led him to link particular characters in the Biblical stories with members of his own family.

...[W]hat attracted me to it above all was the name of one of the principal female characters (indeed, in a certain sense, the protagonist), Naomi, which in Hebrew means “sweetness” (which was also my mother’s name); therefore, in a certain sense I identified her with my mother (and at the same time identified myself with her)...the other principal female character, Ruth, gentle and faithful, resembled Clara (and, vaguely, her union with Boaz and their meeting in the sunny countryside at the time of the harvest, reminded me of my own wedding and made me think of Usigliano).<sup>354</sup>

In the Biblical story of Ruth, the Israelite protagonists are displaced from their homeland yet find warmth and opportunity in a new country, which the composer subsequently compares to his own life and cultural heritage.

Thus, as you can see, the echo of the story of Ruth ran across all of my life and became the symbol and the autobiography of my life (in a certain sense was really my “symbolic autobiography” before I decided to write these pages with an open heart); it was therefore no surprise that (at a time when I saw my life in danger) I had so much to express musically.<sup>355</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s acknowledgement of the similarities between his own life to the Jewish exile contained in the story of Ruth is notable. At the same time that he was acknowledging the safety and benefits of his American life, he was comparing his personal exile from Italy to the broader Jewish exilic narrative.

---

<sup>352</sup> Roth, Wigoder, et al., eds, *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, s.v. “Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario,” V: 239.

<sup>353</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” II, 3.

<sup>354</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 494, trans. Delong, “Between Two Worlds,” 53.

<sup>355</sup> Ibid., trans. Delong, “Between Two Worlds,” 55.

The composer did not consider his two small Biblical cantatas *Naomi and Ruth*, Op. 137 (1947) and the *Queen of Sheba*, Op. 161 (1953) to be devotional music. Rather, he stated that ‘they are the first of my Biblical choral-works, a genre to which I intensely dedicated myself and are remote from the liturgy...’<sup>356</sup> One may say that his effort enhanced the value of Jewish music was a form of religious activism, further strengthening the bond between Jewish music and American Jewish cultural life.

In 1958, his second major recognition came about when the opera *Il Mercante di Venezia* (Shakespeare’s ‘Merchant of Venice’) won first prize in the prestigious *Concorso Internazionale* sponsored by the *Teatro a La Scala* in Milan.<sup>357</sup> A mark of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Jewish pride at this time is illustrated in his signing the copy of the score which he submitted for the prize as “SEM.” He wrote that, ‘I chose SEM (proudly and defiantly!) to warn my judges that I was a “Semite,” and to remind them of the “anti-Semitic campaign.”’<sup>358</sup> After his exile from Italy in 1939, Castelnuovo-Tedesco had become sensitive to the outrageous antisemitism he found in Shakespeare’s play and as Rosen points out, compared it to the brutality practiced by the Italian Fascists towards the Jews where the victim is perceived as the persecutor.<sup>359</sup> However, the opera was never performed in Milan’s *La Scala* as Pizzetti, for unknown reasons, recommended against its performance, a betrayal which caused Castelnuovo-Tedesco great anguish.<sup>360</sup> Its premiere took place at the *Maggio musicale* in 1961 in Florence, where it enjoyed huge success with the public though it received a mixed reception from critics. Nevertheless, the performance showed that Castelnuovo-Tedesco kept in touch with developments in the Italian musical scene. His ties to Italian culture were augmented by purchasing an apartment in Florence in 1954, although he sold his land holdings in 1948. This purchase evidently moved him greatly, saying that ‘no one can imagine my joy of having a home of my own now in my native city... I would stand looking at my city in a state of ecstasy.’<sup>361</sup>

---

<sup>356</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 15-16. In addition, Castelnuovo-Tedesco subsequently wrote *The Book of Ruth* (Op. 140), *The Book of Jonah* (Op. 151), *The Song of Songs* (Op. 172), *The Fiery Furnace* (Op. 183), *The Book of Esther* (Op. 200), and *Tobias and the Angel* (Op. 204).

<sup>357</sup> Rossi, *Catalogue of Works*, iv.

<sup>358</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, December 15, 1958, as cited in Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America,” 13.

<sup>359</sup> Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music,” 44.

<sup>360</sup> Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 16-17.

<sup>361</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco from *Una vita* as quoted in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 95 and 97.

In 1960, at a time when he once again enjoyed critical recognition, Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote the last of his liturgical works for synagogue, the *Memorial Service for the Departed*, Op. 192 for organ. The work was written to mark the death of his cousin Lina. It was a commission by the Cantors Assembly of America for use in any memorial service, individual or collective, formal or informal, including the memorial *yizkor* service on Yom Kippur and festivals in synagogues where the organ is used.<sup>362</sup> It was written using a traditional style but in C major which is notable considering that the *minor* modes are predominant in the modern Jewish tradition for such solemn sacred music.<sup>363</sup> Again, as it was with the *Songs and Processionals for a Jewish Wedding*, Op. 150 of a decade before, one sees a compositional relationship being demonstrated between Castelnuovo-Tedesco the Italian émigré and the composer identifying with his newer American environment.

However, as a Jewish composer, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was troubled by the American synagogue service, complaining that ‘I have the feeling that our Service is too much patterned on the model of the Catholic Mass and of the Protestant Service...’<sup>364</sup> He questioned why there were no spoken words used in the synagogue service, and why only the *organ* was used, considering that the Bible speaks about other instruments used in Jewish worship.<sup>365</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco went through a phase where he did not write for commissions, but rather out of passion and pride. What resulted were a series of Jewish and narrative Biblical compositions for mixed ensembles throughout the 1950s: *Queen of Sheba*, *Fiery Furnace*, *Jonah*, and then in 1954-5 the *Song of Songs*, Op. 172, premiered in 1963 by a youth group from the L.A. High School’s Hollywood Theatre Arts Workshop choir and orchestra.<sup>366</sup>

### **Working Methods Towards the *Divan***

Starting from his early years in America, Segovia encouraged Castelnuovo-Tedesco to write more and more for the guitar, at a time of steep decline in the composer’s position and popularity: ‘Segovia is a great artist and my most faithful interpreter. When it seems [that] others have forgotten my music, Segovia goes on playing it, and I am grateful.’<sup>367</sup> From 1943 until his death in

---

<sup>362</sup> Levine, “Review,” op. cit.

<sup>363</sup> Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 26.

<sup>364</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” *Jewish Music Notes* (Part II, Oct. 1951): 3.

<sup>365</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Soltes, *Off the Willows*, 102.

<sup>366</sup> Ibid.

<sup>367</sup> Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 67.



1968, Castelnuovo-Tedesco composed at least one new work for the guitar almost every year,<sup>368</sup> including his *Guitar Concerto No. 2*, Op. 160 (1953) which was requested by Segovia. The work was, however, premiered only much later by Segovia's student Christopher Parkening in Los Angeles.<sup>369</sup> Hinsley points out that his fondness for the instrument was demonstrated in 1962 when the composer arranged four of his own songs to be performed with guitar, which were originally for different instruments and configurations.<sup>370</sup>

On three occasions, Castelnuovo-Tedesco combined his love of song and his interest in the guitar with medieval texts: *Ballata dall'Esilio*, Op. R180a ('The Ballad of the Exile,' 1956), *Die Vogelweide*, Op. 186 (1958), and the *Divan* of 1966. Of the first piece, the Italian poet and troubadour Guido Cavalcanti's *Ballata* must have held special meaning for Castelnuovo-Tedesco as he was forced to leave his native Florence as an exile, as was Cavalcanti (b. 1255) in the year 1300. Through Its pained expressions of dispossession, it may be viewed almost as a prelude to the *Divan*:

Because no hope is left me, Ballatetta,  
Of return to Tuscany,  
Light-foot go thou some fleet way  
Unto my Lady straightway...

O smothered voice and weak that tak'st the road  
Out from the weeping heart and dolorous,  
Go, crying out my shatter'd mind's alarm,  
Forth with my soul and this song piteous  
Until thou find a lady of such charm...<sup>371</sup>

The *Ballata* was written in the same year that Castelnuovo-Tedesco abandoned the film industry. However, any connection between that step and composing the *Ballata* is speculative.

---

<sup>368</sup> Including: *Rondo*, Op. 124 (1946); *Quintet*, Op. 143 for Guitar and String Quartet (1950), *Romancero Gitano*, Op. 151 (1951) for a quartet of voices and guitar, on poems by the Spaniard Federico Garcia Lorca (1898-1936), the Second Guitar Concerto in C ("Concerto Serano"), Op. 160 (1953); *Platero y Yo*, Op. 190 (1960); 24 *Caprichos de Goya*, Op. 195 (1961); *Les Guitares bien temperees*, Op. 199 (1962) for the Presti-Lagoya duo consisting of 24 preludes and fugues in all the major and minor keys; the *Concerto for Two Guitars*, Op. 201 (1962), and the *Sonatina* for flute and Guitar, Op. 205 (1965), a highly performed piece for this configuration. His last major contribution for the guitar, *Appunti, prelude e studi per chitarra*, Op. 210 ("Notebooks," 1968) was of a didactic nature and remained unfinished upon his death. It was dedicated to advancing students of the guitar.

<sup>369</sup> Ronald C. Purcell, "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and the Guitar," *Guitar Review* 37 (Fall, 1972): 2.

<sup>370</sup> Matthew Gerritt Hinsley, "Text-Music Relationships in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Vogelweide*" (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003), 3.

<sup>371</sup> Guido Cavalcanti, "*Ballata dell'esilio*," trans. Ezra Pound, All Poetry.com, [https://allpoetry.com/Perchi-no-spero-di-tornar-giammai-\(Because-no-hope-is-left-me-Ballatetta](https://allpoetry.com/Perchi-no-spero-di-tornar-giammai-(Because-no-hope-is-left-me-Ballatetta) (accessed October 5, 2018).

The next composition combining song and guitar was *Die Vogelweide*, Op. 186. It is a cycle of ten songs for baritone and guitar, based on medieval German texts by Walther von der Vogelweide (1156-1230), a German poet-singer writing of subjects including politics, religious devotion and instruction, society, an elegy, cultural pride, and love.<sup>372</sup> Like Ibn Ezra, most knowledge concerning Walther comes via his own writings, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco's only two major song cycles—*Die Vogelweide* and the *Divan*—share additional conceptual similarities: both are written for guitar and voice and both are based on medieval texts of a similar period. Both compositions are labelled a “song cycle” although in *Die Vogelweide*, as Hinsley points out, the poetry ‘was not conceived as unified in its subject matter but a mixture of themes with clear musical markers.’<sup>373</sup> This is much like the subject matter in the *Divan*. Finally, both German *Vogelweide* and Spanish Ibn Ezra were poet-singers, although no evidence exists that the poems of *Vogelweide* were specifically sung, unlike at least a portion of Ibn Ezra's non-liturgical poems used in the *Divan*.

Several other compositions also invite comparison with the textual-musical gestures and ideas later found within the *Divan*. They include *Bacco in Toscana*, Op. 39 (1925-6), a Tuscan folk opera based on a well-known poem by Francesco Redi.<sup>374</sup> In this work, Castelnuovo-Tedesco extracted 35 verses and set the text to music, drawing some parallels to his selection of songs for the *Divan*. It was his most widely performed operatic work to date and premiered at La Scala in 1931 to wide acclaim. Another is his *Aucassin et Nicolette*, Op. 98 (1938), based on a late twelfth-century French *chante-fable*.<sup>375</sup> It was considered a ‘masterwork’ written for marionettes, voice, and small orchestra,<sup>376</sup> and again demonstrates Castelnuovo-Tedesco's interest in the medieval period of which the *Divan* also derives. He also connected this work to his exile when he noted regarding its performance that ‘it returned to Florence. Neither Hitler nor Mussolini were able to destroy it, it returned to Florence where it was born...[it is] medieval but eternal, which is evolving before my very eyes...deep down, it is how my life has always been, my “life of music.”’<sup>377</sup>

---

<sup>372</sup> Hinsley, “Text-Music Relationships,” 1.

<sup>373</sup> *Ibid.*, vi.

<sup>374</sup> von Weber, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” 115.

<sup>375</sup> Noah David DeLong, “Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio *The Book of Ruth*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015), 16.

<sup>376</sup> von Weber, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” 115-116.

<sup>377</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco from *Una vita* as quoted in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 88.

In 1961 a misunderstanding between Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Segovia occurred. It was about interpretation as well as professional expectations the composer had of the guitarist that were not fulfilled, leading to delays in publication. Although the argument was seemingly based on long-suppressed frustrations of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, the two were soon reconciled and their close relationship is evidenced by a 1961 letter by Segovia who wrote,

[i]f God prolongs my life, I will find the time to play them [the compositions remaining unplayed] one day, you will see...but do not deprive the guitar of your talent, nor...perish the thought!—of the magic that your works bring to it.<sup>378</sup>

While the friendship was salvaged, few additional works were either written for, or commissioned by Segovia.<sup>379</sup>

Unlike those composers who wrote using the guitar, Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote well over 200 highly varied pieces while never actually playing the instrument. In February 1967, Castelnuovo-Tedesco expressed to Angelo Gilardino,

...regarding the guitar, [that] I must make some “confessions”! First of all, I do not play the guitar at all! Not even—and I always say this—an open string! However, I think in “guitaristic terms” and I like to invent! I know very well that my pieces, as they are, are at times “unplayable” and that they not only require fingering, but also the “goodwill” of an editor (to whom I am always most grateful!). But on the other hand, if it was not “dared,” then the same tune would be played over and over again...!<sup>380</sup>

Despite these technical limitations, by the time of his death, Castelnuovo-Tedesco became most well-known as a composer for the guitar. This was facilitated by the recordings that Segovia made of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s guitar music that were virtually the only recordings of the composer’s music that were made while he was alive. But Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s relationship to the guitar was bittersweet:

I have accepted the fact that people associate me with the guitar repertory and am thankful that there has been so much success in that area. I would be happy if my operas were to

---

<sup>378</sup> Written in 1961, as quoted in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 110.

<sup>379</sup> Eric B. Robles, “An Analysis of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Vogelweide*: Song Cycle for Baritone and Guitar” (D.M.A. diss., Florida State University, 2004), 4.

<sup>380</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Angelo Gilardino, February 23, 1967 in Angelo Gilardino, “Un fiorentino a Beverly Hills: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Nuove rivelazioni nel carteggio con Angelo Gilardino,” *Seicorde*, 53 (1995), 25; trans. van Gammeren, “The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles,” 119-120.

gain the same kind of acceptance, but I am well aware of the obstacles against such a thing. There are worse fates than being the victim of a guitar.<sup>381</sup>

This complex relationship to the guitar may be partly explained by the composer himself in 1966 describing that ‘[I] devote most of [my] time these days “writing guitar music—for the people who pay me, and theatrical or orchestral music—for myself.”’<sup>382</sup> However, the overall importance of the guitar to the life and career of Castelnuovo-Tedesco was noted by his son Lorenzo:

I think it was only in the last decade of his life, when the guitar music became more popular and reached a broader audience, that he had the kind of recognition that he had had when he was younger in Europe. I think the -forties and -fifties were really very difficult times for him.<sup>383</sup>

Travelling frequently between his home and Florence, his earlier feelings of being “suspended between two worlds” is reiterated in 1964 showing the composer made a physical break with his homeland, although not an emotional one:

...On one side it is very pleasant to be back in Florence, on the other one, I feel very much a “stranger” and “detached” from this kind of life...: I don’t belong to this “society” any more...It is even more than “coming back” from another Continent, it is like dropping down from another planet...It is sweet and sad, and touching at the same time...Only if I go into some Church or some Museum I find the Florence I love, the real one, the eternal one, and the figures of Botticelli and Ghislandi are more true to me, than [are] existing ones.<sup>384</sup>

While Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s identity as an Italian Florentine was undiminished, his rootedness in Florence was detached from its inhabitants. Castelnuovo-Tedesco demonstrates his displacement from an idealised home in his relationship not to Florence as a living city but as a memorial, through its art and architecture. He expresses this as being “suspended” between cultures and societies and relates to both homeland and hostland through his compositions and writings.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s friends and colleagues constituted an important element in his music, with most of his instrumental work inspired by, or dedicated to a particular artist. He composed over 50 miniatures called the *Greeting Cards* over many years starting with Opus 170,

---

<sup>381</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Martin Bernheimer “Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Birthday Gift to LA,” *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1966: 2.

<sup>382</sup> Ibid.

<sup>383</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La sua fede*, 80.

<sup>384</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, June 5, 1964. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 123/31.

No. 1 dedicated to his student André Previn in 1953. The composer would assign letters to consecutive two-octave half-steps on the piano typically beginning on ‘A,’ after which it would spell out the friend’s name forming a musical ‘greeting card.’ This system was alluded to when Castelnuovo-Tedesco explained that,

[m]usic is a science based on physical laws with which one must become familiar. Acoustic vibrations and rhythmic beats can be numerically expressed in a formula or equation...more than other disciplines it approaches pure mathematics or astronomy...naturally not everything can be expressed numerically, and that’s the pitfall of so many musical systems.<sup>385</sup>

Considering his method of writing the Greeting Cards, it is interesting that Castelnuovo-Tedesco held so little regard for Schoenberg and his twelve-tone serialism, but is reminiscent of Moses Ibn Ezra’s use of *gematria*. Notably, such mathematical approaches to composition seem confined to his Greeting Cards alone.

In June 1966, two years before his death, Castelnuovo-Tedesco composed his second and last song cycle, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, Op. 207. Evidently, this was not written having any particular performer in mind, nor for commission, and its sheer and sometimes brutal darkness is highly unusual for Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s customary choice of poetic content. Judging by the exactness of the text as well as the song order, it would be safe to say that the text used by Castelnuovo-Tedesco is the English interpretations by Solis-Cohen of Brody’s selections of Moses Ibn Ezra undertaken from 1934, although this is not credited in the score itself. Aside from the literary subject matter, as will be seen in the following chapter, the many Spanish musical gestures—for example in the opening ostinato pattern of Song 1—may be significant in the *Divan* since Moses Ibn Ezra was from Spain, and that connection, through the use of the guitar, is undoubtedly important to the work. As Segovia said, ‘...it is the instrument that describes the soul of Spain,’<sup>386</sup> and it is, therefore, hardly surprising that the guitar was chosen by Castelnuovo-Tedesco to accompany Ibn Ezra’s poetry. The Arabic poetic form that Castelnuovo-Tedesco used in the English translation, *muwashshahāh*, was originally strophic, where all verses were sung to the same melodic theme, and may have been recited with accompaniment by stringed instruments similar in function to today’s guitar. Castelnuovo-Tedesco may have become aware of Ibn Ezra as

---

<sup>385</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco as cited in Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 70.

<sup>386</sup> Segovia as cited in Graham Wade and Gerard Garno, *A New Look at Segovia: His Life. His Music* (USA: Mel Bay Publications, 2000), I: 38.

poet and possibly a singer in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition that he most probably used. There, Golden Age Hebrew poetics and singing is connected.<sup>387</sup> This is no doubt of the strong relationship between poetry and song even in Ibn Ezra's own descriptions of his own works:

My songs [*shir'ei*] shall live while earth and sun  
 Their ordered daily course shall run;  
 But songs in falsehood wrought, shall be  
 Within a day, forgotten utterly.<sup>388</sup>

Interpretation of the Hebrew word *shir* as a musical indicator is key for this discussion. T.O. Lambdin translates *shir* as "song"<sup>389</sup> and it is used over thirty times in the Hebrew Bible.<sup>390</sup> *Shir* as music can often be understood in biblical sources as linked to devotion, prophecy as well as battle. For example, Exodus 15:1: "Then sang (*ya'shir*) Moses and the children of Israel this song (*shirah*) unto the Lord..." Hertz (as editor of the Soncino edition) notes that "[f]rom verses 20-21 (examined next), it appears there was musical accompaniment, with male and female choruses. It is probably the oldest song of national triumph extant."<sup>391</sup> Indeed, the strong connection is demonstrated in Exodus 15:20-22, in which "Miriam the prophetess, the sister of Aaron, took a timbrel (*tof*, or drum) in her hand; and all the women went out after her with timbrels and with dances. And Miriam sang unto them (*ta'an*, which Hertz notes as indicating lead singing with the desire for an answer in chorus): Sing (*shir'u*) to the Lord, for he is highly exalted."<sup>392</sup> Another example of the relationship between *shir* and song is given in Judges 5:12 where the tribes are to be gathered for battle: "Awake, Awake Deborah, utter a song (*dabri shir*)," in which Hertz explains that to "utter a song" in this context signifies "[t]he war song which roused the clans to battle."<sup>393</sup> Yet one more descriptive and poetic example is from Isaiah 23:16: "Take up your harp (*kinnor*), stroll through the city, O forgotten harlot; make sweet melody, sing many a song (*shir*), so you will be remembered."

---

<sup>387</sup> For example in Solis-Cohen, "A Foreword," in Brody, ed. *Selected Poems*, xiv; and H. Brody, "Introduction," in Brody, ed. *Selected Poems*, xxvii, which will be detailed in the following chapter.

<sup>388</sup> Brody, *Selected Poems*, excerpt from: 'Songs of Wandering,' poem 1, p. 4.

<sup>389</sup> T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew* (London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973), 339.

<sup>390</sup> Alexander Cruden, *Cruden's Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testaments*, edited by C.H. Irwin, A.D. Adams and S.A. Waters (rev. ed., Guildford and London: Lutterwrth Press, 1974), 617.

<sup>391</sup> *Pentateuch and Haftorahs* ed. Dr. J. H. Hertz (London: Soncino Press, 1971), 270.

<sup>392</sup> *Ibid.*, 273.

<sup>393</sup> *Ibid.*, 284.

A contextual connection may thus be made between Ibn Ezra's common use of the word *shir* in form and content to its biblical usage as 'song,' and/or 'song with music.' He was, after all, educated in all aspects of Hebrew language and grammar and in a reading of Ibn Ezra's "songs" (*shir'ei*), it may be strongly assumed that the poet was referring to song with a melodious content. Therefore, returning what is originally strophic poetry (*muwashshaḥāh*) back to a musical format is one of the foremost aspects of the *Divan* that holds it apart from Castelnuovo-Tedesco's other works. It is, however, not the first time the composer connected music to spoken poetry. In 1940, he recognised that Shakespeare 'asked for musical collaboration as a necessary element for completing the poetic expression...sometimes linked with the dramatic expression...' <sup>394</sup>

The *Divan* was not Castelnuovo-Tedesco's final chamber work, nor the final work for his evidently preferred sound of the strings. The Opus 208 of April-May 1967, a sonata for cello and harp was written less than a year after it, and less than a year before his death. One may notice that these last pieces were all for strings, with many similarities of timbre between them. In fact, some of the great nineteenth-century guitar composers like Carulli and Giuliani were also cellists, and both wrote for the two instruments with equal facility.

Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco died of heart failure aged 72 at Mount Sinai hospital, Los Angeles, California on March 16, 1968, 'a world away from his beloved city of Florence.' <sup>395</sup> He was buried at Westwood Memorial Park in Los Angeles three days later.

### **Genres, Works, and Legacy**

The body of work that Castelnuovo-Tedesco has left is impressively large. <sup>396</sup> It includes, among other things, 21 orchestral works, seven operas, five oratorios, six cantatas, fifteen concerti (being the first to write a violin concerto since Paganini <sup>397</sup>), four ballets, and the eleven Shakespeare overtures 'most of which were conducted by Toscanini.' <sup>398</sup> More specifically, there are over 400 songs, more than 100 choral works, <sup>399</sup> over 40 solo piano works that form a component of over 100 piano works in total, fifteen solo classical guitar works that are part of 30 major guitar

---

<sup>394</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Shakespeare and Music," 166.

<sup>395</sup> J. C. G. Waterhouse, "Obituary: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco," *The Musical Times* 109/1503 (May 1968): 467.

<sup>396</sup> A summary listed under genres may be found in Westby, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario," in *The New Grove Dictionary*, V: 256-257.

<sup>397</sup> Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works*, 34.

<sup>398</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, 88.

<sup>399</sup> Purcell, "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and the Guitar," 3.

pieces,<sup>400</sup> sixteen chamber works, 33 duos set for various instruments including harp, organ, piano, violin, viola, violoncello, four works for solo organ,<sup>401</sup> making up a considerable amount of chamber music for varied instrumental combinations, and a series of over 50 small pieces comprising the *Greeting Cards*, built on the names of friends and colleagues. There are also the hundreds of film scores he partly or fully scored. But even in the broad range of his composing, as von Weber has pointed out, there is a consistency in his works, a combination of stylistic patterns and formulae.

...[A]s in Brahms' music, there is extraordinary variety in the songs [of Castelnuovo-Tedesco], in the overtures and concertos, in the chamber music; but the lyric intensity, the melodic patterns, the shaping of the forms, the direct power through direct speech, shows the unmistakable signature of the man.<sup>402</sup>

Four major stylistic influences can be observed throughout Castelnuovo-Tedesco's work. There is firstly, his Tuscan, and specifically Florentine heritage that includes the many folk songs and poems that appear throughout his career:

Those who know the hills of Tuscany, its trees its skies, its seasons, its proverbial culture, find in this [i.e., Castelnuovo-Tedesco's] music its pure expression, and, in the song and stage works, hear the texts of its greatest poets from Dante to Polizano, from Machiavelli to Palazzeschi and Redi.<sup>403</sup>

Works inspired by his Tuscan heritage and identity include *La Mandragola*, Op. 20 (1925), *Bacchus in Toscana*, Op. 39 (1931), and the setting of *Savaranola*, Op. 81 (1935).

Secondly, he was such a great admirer of Shakespeare that he completed a set of 33 Shakespeare songs—all the tragedies and comedies, (Op. 24, 1921-25, for voice and piano) which have been noted as his best music of the 1920s.<sup>404</sup> He later produced 32 Shakespeare sonnets, Op. 125 (1944-1947) and a set of four additional sonnets in 1963, as well as two plays as operas being *All's Well that Ends Well*, Op. 182 (*Gigletta di Narbona*, 1955), and *Merchant of Venice*, Op. 181 (*Il mercante di Venezia*, 1956). In his treatment of Shakespeare's works, Castelnuovo-Tedesco set his text in Shakespeare's original English simultaneously translating it to Italian himself. He

---

<sup>400</sup> Lorenzo Micheli, op. cit., liner notes to *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco (1895-1968): Complete Guitar Concertos*.

<sup>401</sup> Peter Anthony Higham, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Works for Guitar" (M.Mus. diss., University of Alberta, 1977), 2.

<sup>402</sup> von Weber, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco," 113.

<sup>403</sup> Ibid.

<sup>404</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 259.



composed without the use of the piano, writing the full score in ink on master sheets, with almost no corrections made, a talent, according to Rossi, that is equal to that of Verdi's writing of *Aida*.<sup>405</sup>

Notwithstanding his ambivalence to synagogue music from an early age, his third stylistic influence was Jewish liturgical, Biblical, and cultural themes. For example, his *Sacred Service for the Sabbath Eve*, Op. 122a (1943) and the Biblical opera *Saul*, Op. 191 (1958-60) as well as the oratorios all forming part of this genre. Castelnuovo-Tedesco composed Jewish and dramatic Biblically-inspired pieces throughout almost all his life. These projects were undertaken from 1925 with *Le Danze del Re David*, Op. 37 inspired by his grandfather's hidden musical jottings, to the *Divan* of 1966 and represented approximately fourteen percent of his total corpus of compositions.<sup>406</sup> Though it may have been better for his career to distance his compositional activity from his Jewish heritage to try to maintain his career track in Italy in the period before the war, Castelnuovo-Tedesco chose instead to express pride in his faith and ancestry through music, a cornerstone of his cultural identity. This was notably demonstrated by *I profeti*, Op. 66 in 1931, written in reaction to European antisemitic measures.<sup>407</sup>

The greater part of his culturally Jewish inspired works was written after he came to America as an émigré. It is unsurprising that in the years following the war he continued to compose works that display Jewish influences, moving into the liturgy, including *Sacred Service*, Op. 122a (1943), and ultimately, to a setting of the culturally Jewish but non-liturgical poetry of Moses Ibn Ezra. Although the compositions were written not in protest, his music was a strong affirmation of his faith and his cultural identity partly within the context of racial antisemitism. All of the composer's cantatas and 'scenic oratorios'<sup>408</sup> were written on texts from the Hebrew Bible or the Apocrypha: *Naomi and Ruth*, Op. 137 (1947, from the Biblical book of Ruth), *The Book of Ruth*, Op. 140 (1948/9), *The Book of Jonah*, Op. 151 (1951), *The Queen of Sheba*, Op. 161 (1953, from I Kings), *The Song of Songs*, Op. 172 (1954-55), *The Fiery Furnace*, Op. 183 (1958, from the book of Daniel), *The Book of Esther*, Op. 200 (1962), and *Tobias and the Angel*, Op. 204 (1964-65, from the late non-canonised work the Book of Tobias [*Tuvyeh*]), written especially for high

---

<sup>405</sup> Rossi, *Catalogue of Works*, v.

<sup>406</sup> Burton Howard Scalin, "Some Biblically Inspired and Liturgical Compositions of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco," *Tatzlil* ['The Chord']: *Forum for Music Research and Bibliography* (Israel: Haifa Music Museum and Amli Library, 1976): 1. Location of ms., MCT Papers, LoC, 119/13.

<sup>407</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," *The Jewish Press* (June 21, 1940), 2.

<sup>408</sup> von Weber, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco," 114.

school performers, indicating educational considerations. The composer also based compositions on texts selected from Proverbs and The Song of Solomon. One of his most remarkably dramatic works is, however, the *Evangélion*, Op. 141 (1947) that was based on the story of Christ. This, like a few other compositions were based on Christian religious figures but can be categorised as an oeuvre holding universal humanistic values. This brings into focus the impact of his Jewish heritage in relation to that of his Florentine-Catholic heritage. It blurs the boundary between his Judaism and the Italian-Catholic Christianity he was brought up within, de-essentialising the claim for a monolithic Jewish identity of the composer.

In a much-reduced way, the fourth stylistic influence on his music was his devotion to his adopted country. This was reflected in such works as *Larchmont Hills* (1942) and *An American Rhapsody* (1945)<sup>409</sup> that would also stylistically characterise his film output.

Because Castelnuovo-Tedesco was intimately acquainted with major works of literature in their original languages, the texts of his choral works are drawn from some of the greatest literary masterpieces, notably those in English. In addition to Shakespeare, there are settings of well over 70 songs of English texts by Milton, Byron, Sir Walter Scott, Shelley, Elizabeth Barrett Browning, D.H. Laurence, Walt Whitman, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Arthur Guiterman, Longfellow, Keats, Wordsworth, Tennyson, and Christina Rossetti.<sup>410</sup> Texts in other languages are drawn from the writings of Virgil, Machiavelli, Aeschylis, Dante, Savonarola, Heine, Ronsard, and Garcia Lorca among others. 'He knew the English poetry very much...Mario read everything, and he put to music...all the classic poets...That's why his music was in the classic style...He never changed his nature or his style, never.'<sup>411</sup>

If his personal circles were responsible for exploring the technical possibilities of various solo instruments—Heifetz for the violin concertos and Piatigorsky for the cello concerto, it was Segovia, and the two guitar concertos that formed a most important part of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's repertoire. These compositions remain in the performing repertoires of most advancing guitarists, unsurprising since the principle interpreter of his works was maestro Andrés Segovia. As Rossi points out, in large part because of the exposure Segovia gave the composer, Castelnuovo-Tedesco

---

<sup>409</sup> Lakeway and White, *Italian Art Song*, 259-260.

<sup>410</sup> von Weber, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco," 113-4.

<sup>411</sup> Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, 89-90.

is arguably best remembered for his guitar compositions today. This is emphasised by the composer himself:<sup>412</sup>

[Segovia] indeed turned the guitar into such an expressive instrument as it had never been, and, perhaps, as it will be no more...which has the virginity of the lute, the spirit of the harpsichord, the softness of the harp; which almost floats (between past and future) “out of time”...Certainly, I wouldn’t have written music for the guitar, had I not met Segovia: it was he who just “revealed” it to me; and it is “his fault” if today my music for guitar makes one of the most remarkable sections of my production; and should it even, in the future, be little or not at all performed, I am happy and proud of having written it “for him.”<sup>413</sup>

The guitar works of Castelnuovo-Tedesco can be divided into 36 solos, three duets, two concerti, one choral work, four chamber works, one concerto for two guitars, a serenade for guitar and orchestra and two song cycles for guitar and voice, the last being *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, Op. 207 (1966).<sup>414</sup> Divided into instrumental combinations, he composed over 100 works of differing length for solo guitar, five for guitar and orchestra, and a quintet for guitar and strings, besides duos for voice and guitar, guitar and piano, guitar and flute and for two guitars.<sup>415</sup> His contributions to the guitar literature are as numerous as they are highly original and musically engaging, made all the more remarkable considering he was not a guitarist. Doubtless, the adventurous and unique nature of his compositions for guitar can at least partly be attributed to the fact that he was not a guitarist, and not writing in a style that necessarily fully conforms to the timbral or technical range of the instrument.

From his many essays, articles, book contributions, criticisms, and other writings, it is easy to judge that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was a brilliant and deeply learned person. This was a defining characteristic that, together with a creativity that may be ascribed to transnationalism and shifting identity which was examined in Chapter Three, may contribute to explaining the range of his musical outputs. This range is described by his close friend and collaborator, Nick Rossi:

He was easily conversant in more than half a dozen languages and was familiar with the major works of literature in their original languages: Greek, Hebrew,<sup>416</sup> Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, German, and English. He was knowledgeable about the great

---

<sup>412</sup> Rossi, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Neglected Master,” 12.

<sup>413</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, chapter LX “Segovia,” 19.

<sup>414</sup> Rossi, *Catalogue of Works*, pp. 16, 18, 19, 21, 22, 24, 25, 28-38, 103-105.

<sup>415</sup> Westby, “Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario,” in *The New Grove Dictionary*, V: 256-257.

<sup>416</sup> Since the composer used an English translation of the medieval Hebrew texts of Ibn Ezra, including Hebrew in this list may well not be justified considering his distaste for using translations in general, and that he very rarely speaks about using Hebrew in his writings.

masterpieces of Western art in all their mediums: oils, frescos, etchings, mosaics, sculpture and drawings, and could describe the settings for the great works, whether they be [in] churches, galleries and museums.<sup>417</sup>

His broad set of interests found expression not only in a wide range of composing styles, but in diverse activities including writing essays of an historical nature, music commentary, and most significantly in teaching, of which Rossi noted his ‘...knowledge of music, its theories, practices, and genres was profound, [and] not only was he a noted composer, but an acknowledged musician, whose masterpieces have also become a part of the standard musician’s literature.’<sup>418</sup> Through his music—whether that be the ‘serious’ or, as he referred to it, the “sympathetic”—its commentary and its teaching, Castelnuovo-Tedesco influenced nearly all major Hollywood composers, training some of the most prominent stage and screen writers of the twentieth century and thereby contributing indirectly but significantly to modern American popular culture.

Writing in 1996, Landis-Gray notes that Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s overall musical output remains relatively little-known today, especially his vocal and choral works,<sup>419</sup> perhaps because, as Caboverde points out, his three-decade-long career as a composer of film music seems to overshadow much of what he composed for the concert stage.<sup>420</sup> He went from being promoted by the likes of Casella, Pizzetti, Toscanini, Heifetz, Piatigorsky, and Segovia in the pre-World War Two Italian period, to relative obscurity in post-war America, as modern art music moved into the more abstract, dissonant, and experimental 1950s and 1960s. Only in 2018 an official website was launched wholly dedicated to the life and music of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco.

The following chapter will survey the development of Jewish music that will provide historical context towards the subsequent discussion of why and how Castelnuovo-Tedesco chose to set Ibn Ezra’s poetry to music, and its contribution to art song, and to the Jewish music genre.

---

<sup>417</sup> Nick Rossi, “Introduction,” in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade. Completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1982), vi.

<sup>418</sup> Ibid.

<sup>419</sup> Landis-Gray, “Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings,” 4.

<sup>420</sup> Caboverde, “A Graduate Recital,” 1.

## Chapter Eight

### **The *Divan* of Moses Ibn Ezra and its Musical, Historical, and Social Contexts**

To assess Castelnuovo-Tedesco's attitudes towards the materials he drew on for his Jewish-themed compositions, this chapter seeks to identify those elements that became normative in synagogue music, as well as those reactions to 'foreign' infusions most especially in America. The chapter explains the composer's attitudes towards art music in general and Jewish music in particular, thereby providing context for the identification of Jewish elements in the *Divan*. As Castelnuovo-Tedesco has pointed out, the exact nature of Jewish music in its historical development remains elusive:

First, one should define what is Jewish music, which is not easy. To me it is a matter of feeling...Jewish music...is still influenced by the music of the countries from which the composers came, especially Russia, Germany and Poland...<sup>1</sup>

One purpose of this chapter is therefore, to articulate with some coherency, what this "matter of [Jewish] feeling" is. As a feeling this Jewish identity remains somewhat ephemeral and undefinable. However, there are elements, both musical and textual, that can be identified as Jewish. Consequently, It is worth reviewing these elements to illustrate the kinds of arguments that may have influenced Castelnuovo-Tedesco's compositional practice up to and including the *Divan*. The intention here is not to limit the study through the adoption of a reductionist approach through the essentialisation of Jewish elements. Rather, it is to outline features of music used in Jewish religious practice that are clearly of contextual relevance to the *Divan* and its overt use of Jewish textual material.

### **An Historical Trajectory of Music for Jewish Worship**

The integral place of music in religious rituals and ceremonies of all kinds is illustrated in many traditions. Tomlinson has examined the "selective advantages of musicking" in a work involving the evolutionary aspects of music in society:

...Others, more plausibly, suggest that the power of group musicking to establish social coalitions and forge and maintain social order is key. This "social bonding" or "coalition signalling" hypothesis can expand in various directions, from the easing of communal labor

---

<sup>1</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Contemporary Composer," *Temple Israel Light* (March 1959): 11.

[sic] and enabling of territorial defence all the way to the facilitating of religious trance; it tends to emphasize dance as well as musicking.<sup>2</sup>

Consequently, it is hardly surprising to find regular references within classical Jewish sources that describe religious musical practices at almost every stage of early Israelite history. Music served not only as entertainment but was a critical component in prophetic and other practice.<sup>3</sup> Scholes points out that music is probably mentioned more often in the Hebrew foundation texts, than in the history of any other people—every sort of popular rejoicing or marking of any event is accompanied by music.<sup>4</sup> The destruction of the First Temple by the Babylonian King Nebuchadnezzar II in 587-6 BC and consequent exile to Babylon constitute a cataclysmic break in every aspect of Israelite custom including the use and function of music. The traditional ban on secular song, the song of the people, apparently derives from this event, as expressed in Hosea 9:1: ‘Rejoice not O Israel, for joy, as [other] people.’ The function of this ban is to remind the Israelites of the grief of losing independence represented by the centrality of the Temple, and best expressed by the cessation of music: ‘How can we sing the Lord’s song in a strange land?’<sup>5</sup> From the prophets such as Isaiah, Amos, and others, one subsequently reads of vanities of this world, such as wine, women, and music,<sup>6</sup> topics for the sake of enjoyment, that as such were subsequently things to be avoided in exile.

Babylon was conquered by the Persians in 539 BC. Arising from economic and political considerations that legend and myth has subsequently translated into benevolence and greatness,<sup>7</sup> the Persian King Cyrus II permitted the Jews to return to their former homeland and rebuild the Temple in 537 BC. Although, significantly, many Jews elected to remain in the somewhat attractive Babylonian hostland, the Second Temple was constructed with the return of many others, and Temple worship and priestly sacrifice recommenced at this time. The lists of returning Jews in the

---

<sup>2</sup> Gary Tomlinson, *A Million Years of Music: The Emergence of Human Modernity* (Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2015), 33.

<sup>3</sup> For example, the story of the Prophet Elisha in II Kings, 3:15, also Joshua at Jericho 6:13-21 where *shofarot* (ram’s horn trumpets) were presented as playing a part in military strategy.

<sup>4</sup> Percy A. Scholes, ed. *The Oxford Companion to Music*, s.v. “Jewish Music” (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1970), 538.

<sup>5</sup> Psalm 137:3-5: ‘For there our captors demanded of us songs, and our tormentors’ mirth, saying, “Sing us one of the songs of Zion.” How can we sing the Lord’s song [*shir Yahweh*] in a foreign land?’

<sup>6</sup> Henry George Farmer, “Maimonides on Listening to Music,” *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (October 1933): 868.

<sup>7</sup> For example, from Isaiah 45:1 and Ezra 1:1-2.

books of Ezra and Nehemiah include choirs of singers and grand orchestras,<sup>8</sup> indicating the return of musical practice within restored Temple rites. The contemporary, but not entirely objective Jewish-Roman historian, Josephus talks of massive investment in musicians, instruments, and even appropriate clothing for them.<sup>9</sup> However, it was the destruction of the Second Temple, along with the priesthood and the core sacrificial rituals by the Romans in 70 AD that began the process of a long-term dispersion of the Jews, the development of a completely new practice of Judaism created by the rabbis, and a religious reformation in exile represented by the centrality of the Torah, and its representative ‘temple,’ the synagogue. Arising as a response to the new environment, the localised synagogue practice of the formerly temple-based religious practice decreed legal abstention from instrumental music, which became one symbol of former joy and glory.<sup>10</sup> The associated perceptions of victimhood that derive from the dispersal into the diaspora persist to today and are referred to in many aspects of Jewish ritual, prayer, and poetry. While no reliable evidence exists of what Jewish music *sounded* like during Biblical and post-Biblical times, writings in the Mishna and the later Talmud, dating from the second to sixth centuries, offer several descriptions, though of course they remain as lexical descriptions with all the inherent ambiguity that that implies.<sup>11</sup>

Over the course of a long history, the communal synagogue prayer-chant was developed. It was notated within the scriptural readings by cantillation markers which represent standardised motifs. This feature of synagogue worship also extended to the home and used in festive occasions such as the Passover meal. In synagogue, the ritual chanting was the duty of the cantor (*hazzan*) whose central position was not only connected to the chanting but to other activities such as ritual slaughter.<sup>12</sup> Augmenting any ‘original’ musical intent, traditional melodies were acquired from the cultures amongst which the Jews resided, and these undoubtedly included such things as popular folk tunes. This infusion occurred in the European Ashkenazic tradition as well as to a lesser

---

<sup>8</sup> For example, Ezra 2:41, 65 and Nehemiah 7:44, 67; 12:27–43.

<sup>9</sup> Flavius Josephus, *Antiquities of the Jews*, book VII, chap. 3, vs. 8, <http://penelope.uchicago.edu/josephus/ant-8.html#b26> (accessed April 8, 2017).

<sup>10</sup> See Psalm 137:6 associating music with joy. Also note Farmer, “Maimonides on Listening to Music,” 868.

<sup>11</sup> For example, the legendary *magrepha*, with its ten pipes and its 1,000 notes was said to have been used in the Temple service and is described in Talmud tractate *Erḥin* (lit. ‘Assessment’). It is claimed to have been an instrument far superior to any organ in use at the time, being able to be heard ten miles away in Jericho. Juliet Sutherland, David King, eds, “The Project Gutenberg eBook,” posted December 16, 2004, <https://www.gutenberg.org/files/14368/14368-h/14368-h.htm> (accessed April 8, 2017).

<sup>12</sup> Scholes, ed., “Jewish Music,” 539.

extent, in the Arabic-speaking and North African Sephardic traditions especially from Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco.<sup>13</sup>

Although exile brought about the end of instrumental music as a core feature of devotional services, two practical factors prevented the organ from being slowly reintroduced into the mainstream synagogue service. The first was the association of the instrument with Christian worship, and the second was its mechanical nature that prevented its use being made on the day of rest, the Sabbath. This self-imposed prohibition of devotional music was to remain until the awaited end of exile and anticipated return to the Biblical homeland, although organ playing and musical expression in the synagogue did persist from even before the twelfth century via the services of non-Jewish organists.<sup>14</sup> Jews in Italy played an important role in the slow redevelopment of Jewish music that had impact well beyond its borders. When Spanish Jews were expelled from Spain in 1492, they brought with them to Italy sophisticated liturgical music and religious poetry that eventually became an important part of the ritual in Italian synagogue services. Immigrants from Germany also sought refuge in the somewhat more liberal regime in Italy. The Jewish musicologist A.Z. Idelsohn points out that they were called ‘Tedesco,’ referring to German Ashkenazi Jews, who came to Italy before and during the seventeenth century.<sup>15</sup> The ‘Tedesco’ gradually drifted away from their ancestral traditions and adopted those of the Italian or Sephardic communities in which they lived.<sup>16</sup>

The best-known names of Italian Jewish musicians in the Renaissance period include Guglielmo Ebreo da Pesaro (c. 1420-1484)<sup>17</sup> and Salomone de Rossi (1570-1630). De Rossi was well known for setting psalms in the contrapuntal style in four to eight voices, issuing them in Hebrew for use in the synagogue. Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls this composer in the context of his own writing for synagogue noting that,

[t]he last of my pieces written for the synagogue was a *Naaritz’cha*, a *Kedushah* [a type of prayer praising God’s name] requested in 1952 by Gershon Ephros for the fourth volume of his *Cantorial Anthology*. I was interested in the fact that the volume also included a setting

---

<sup>13</sup> Ibid., 540.

<sup>14</sup> Farmer, “Maimonides on Listening to Music,” 870.

<sup>15</sup> A.Z. Idelsohn, “Traditional Songs of the German (Tedesco) Jews in Italy,” *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11 (1936): 569.

<sup>16</sup> Ibid., 571.

<sup>17</sup> Marcello Sorce Keller, “Ignored and Forgotten: Research on Jewish-Italian music during the 19th and 20th centuries,” *Forum Italicum* 49/2 (2015): 456.



of the same text by Salome Rossi [i.e., Salomone de Rossi / Salamone di Rossi], and [who] I thought [was] the first—and perhaps the last of the Jewish-Italian composers.<sup>18</sup>

Rossi is known as being the first to apply independent Renaissance-style polyphony to Hebrew liturgy. While there is nothing especially Jewish about Rossi's musical settings of the Psalms, he adapted the service to a choral setting which was the great innovation. Rossi was soon followed by the Italian composer Benedetto Marcello (1636-1789) who made a well-known setting of 50 psalms using over a dozen tunes from the Ashkenazic and Sephardic synagogues in Venice from 1724 to 1727. But even these were themselves Jewish borrowings from other sources, not Jewish music *per se*.<sup>19</sup>

In 1595 a new synagogue was erected in Prague equipped with a permanent organ to be used during the Sabbath services.<sup>20</sup> However, it was only from the latter part of the eighteenth century, that German and then Russian synagogues slowly began to re-introduce instrumental music into the service on a wider scale. From the end of that century and with the freedoms of European Emancipation, Jewish composers began to include European styles into the music of the Hebrew liturgy in the style of the four-part Lutheran choral. Castelnuovo-Tedesco refers to Lutheran music when speaking about his 1926 *Three Chorales on Hebrew Melodies* (*Tre Corali su melodie Ebraiche*, Op. 43) inspired from melodies taken from his grandfather's notebook.<sup>21</sup>

### **Jewish Music Research: A Brief Examination of Selected Sources and Trends**

In 1810, the German Reform movement was founded, and in 1837 Abraham Geiger convened its first conference of Reform Rabbis. Leopold Zunz (1794-1886) was most influential in this new movement. He wrote an important work in 1832, 'History of the Jewish Sermon'<sup>22</sup> that demonstrates how the Judaism he observed had lost its character as a living creed, and was a type of reform emanating from local conditions such as those imposed by life in the ghettos.<sup>23</sup> His works prompted a review of synagogue worship to bring it more in line with modern humanistic

---

<sup>18</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," trans. Burton H. Scalin, *Journal of Synagogue Music* 5 (December 1974): 15.

<sup>19</sup> Scholes, ed., "Jewish Music," 539.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid.

<sup>21</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," *The Jewish Press* (June 21, 1940), 2.

<sup>22</sup> Leopold Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden historisch entwickelt. Ein Beitrag zur Alterthumskunde und biblischen Kritik, zur Literatur—und Religionsgeschichte* (Berlin: Asher, 1832).

<sup>23</sup> David Philipson, "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 15/3 (April 1903): 492.

thought. Igniting much debate, synagogues were again adorned, services were modernised, and the German vernacular widely included. Accompanying the cantor, music was made a formal part of the devotion, and men and women would sit together without the requirement of head coverings. He demonstrated that these reforms were a part of the orthodoxy at one time or another.<sup>24</sup> The Reform movement's disenchantment with traditional synagogue ritual led to the widespread use of organ and choral settings into worship.<sup>25</sup> Whether by artistic inspiration or cultural transfer, it approximated the musical conditions of Christian churches, and became the subject of a great deal of debate and research, to which Castelnuovo-Tedesco would contribute.

Adopting the reforms, Ashkenazic reform movements in the United States regularly used prayers and hymns in English, as well as arrangements for organ, choir, and unison congregation, which constituted a standard format for reform synagogues from the 1920s. The mixed choirs often had the participation of non-Jews. For example, the organ player was frequently Christian, due to proscriptions of the Sabbath and the music held strong borrowings from the Christian musical repertory.<sup>26</sup> This infusion of external influences into the synagogue led Castelnuovo-Tedesco to state that

[i]t is difficult now to know, and even to imagine, what the early Jewish liturgy might be—if not for the few remaining traces perhaps in Gregorian chant and by the so-called ‘cantillation,’ which is more authentic, but the interpretation of which is uncertain.<sup>27</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was evidently dissatisfied with Christian musical forms introduced into Jewish worship, with the hymn singing and organ playing pushing any perceived authentic Jewish spirit out, saying that ‘...in my mind this instrument is associated more with the Catholic and Protestant rites than to the Jewish rite.’<sup>28</sup> But since no instrument has an immediate and distinctive association with Jewish music,<sup>29</sup> he asked,

[w]hy the organ, or rather why the organ alone? Many other instruments are mentioned in the Bible...I believe that a small group of different instruments (chosen among the descendants of the Biblical ones) would be more appropriate...and I would like to have the chorus treated more freely, sometimes almost “spoken.” As it is now, I have the feeling that

---

<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 506.

<sup>25</sup> Bronia Kornhauser, “Jewish Music: Beyond Nation and Identity?” *Australasian Music Research* 7 (2002): 118.

<sup>26</sup> Scholes, ed. “Jewish Music,” 540.

<sup>27</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 12-13.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid.

<sup>29</sup> Kornhauser, “Jewish Music: Beyond Nation and Identity?,” 118.

our Service is too much patterned on the model of the Catholic Mass and of the Protestant Service...<sup>30</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco was clearly uncomfortable with musical settings in American synagogues, ‘not so much the mixture of English and Hebrew, but the ‘curtailment’ of some texts’<sup>31</sup> as well as the widespread use of the four-part chorus and the organ. His compositional outlook sought authority from Biblical sources:

I don’t believe now that I will write any more music for the synagogue<sup>32</sup>... [But] if I would write Synagogue music again (I have thought of writing a second *Sacred Service*...for myself, this time) I would write it in a completely ‘non-traditional’ style or perhaps, more authentically traditional. It would have a choir that spoke and sang monodically and would be accompanied by all the instruments named in the Bible (or their modern equivalent) instead of the organ. Look at Psalm 150 – ‘Praise God with trumpet [*shofar*], flute [*machol*, or pipe], harp and stringed instruments [*nevel* and *kinnor*; *minim ve’ugav*], drums [*tupim*], and ringing cymbals [*tziltzelei shama* ’]!’ It would be a kind of ‘Jazz-band,’ as the Levites’ orchestra probably was. Certainly, no synagogue in America, perhaps in the whole world, would consent to perform it.<sup>33</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s vision for musical renewal was something that preoccupied him for many years before the composition of Op. 207. He was not alone in his desire for renewal and revival, as during the first half of the twentieth century, Jewish composers such as Bloch and others began to write art music based on old chants of the Hebrew liturgy, for use in the concert hall instead of the synagogue.

The Jewish music research of the 1920s-1950s is useful in understanding the nature of the debates of the time, rather than proving any actual historical basis of Jewish music. One such researcher in the middle of the twentieth century was the influential composer and liturgist Rabbi Avraham Wolf Binder (1895-1966). Being a distinguished composer and professor of liturgical music, Binder arranged classes for his students with Castelnuovo-Tedesco, one of whom was the author Avraham Soltes who, in 1940, became his first American student.<sup>34</sup> Binder emphasised the strong linkage of Jewish music to its textual materials, the function of which was to ‘...create the

---

<sup>30</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” *Jewish Music Notes* (October 1951): II, 3.

<sup>31</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” 3.

<sup>32</sup> Although he in fact did so, in 1960 with the *Memorial Service*, Op. 192.

<sup>33</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 15.

<sup>34</sup> Soltes said of Castelnuovo-Tedesco that he was ‘so at home using English, and so well respected in Italy, together with the security in his Jewishness, that he was truly a “renaissance man.”’ Avraham Soltes, *Off the Willows: The Rebirth of Modern Jewish Music* (New York: Bloch Publishing, 1970), 103.

atmosphere of a holiday, a prayer, an occasion or a moment.<sup>35</sup> Binder states that the rhythm for the composer's melodic material should derive from the rhythm of the text with which he is dealing,<sup>36</sup> which is incidentally very much in line with Castelnuovo-Tedesco's own work in art song and finds expression in the *Divan*.

In contrast to Binder, who linked Jewish music to its textual sources, Castelnuovo-Tedesco bound his own experiences in Jewish music to his Sephardic roots in Italy, and to a legacy of personal and social experience, including those musical sketches made by his grandfather, rather than communal liturgical music.

Arising from their very different diaspora experiences, Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews absorbed music from their different environments and expressed these absorptions in their musical output. However, as Castelnuovo-Tedesco pointed out, this further distanced Jewish music from its authentic roots: '...the songs of the Italian Jews, belonging to the Sephardic group, are greatly corrupted from the original Palestinian...'<sup>37</sup> Ashkenazic Jews were much more confined to ghettos and used songs borrowed from the synagogue or externally, from the German popular song repertory. The words never show a love of country life, in contrast to Sephardic (and later, Israeli) folk songs.<sup>38</sup> As Castelnuovo-Tedesco observed of synagogue music, being dispersed throughout the world, Jewry has accumulated a great body of local folk song.

The liturgy has successfully adapted itself to the times and the custom of the countries where the Jews had successively taken residence. There was no organ, and the chorus was not polyphonic. The liturgy was probably sung monodically, or perhaps almost spoken.<sup>39</sup>

Modally, a number of scales are identified as being traditionally Jewish, and used at various times of the year for different services and certain occasions.<sup>40</sup> A large part of the Bible is chanted in major, or in scales featuring the major third interval, despite the mournful character of

---

<sup>35</sup> Abraham W. Binder, "New Trends in Synagogue Music" (1955), in *Jewish Music Programs. Concerts Liturgical Services, Multi-Arts Events. Sampling from Jewish Music Festivals: To 1978 and How to Commission New Works: Guidelines, Procedures and Examples*, ed. by Irene Heskes (New York: Jewish Music Council of JWB [i.e., the Jewish Welfare Board], 1978), 112.

<sup>36</sup> Ibid.

<sup>37</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," 2.

<sup>38</sup> Scholes, ed., *The Oxford Companion to Music*, s.v. "Jewish Music," 540.

<sup>39</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music for the Synagogue," 12-13.

<sup>40</sup> Joseph Jacobs, *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, s.v. "Music, Synagogal" (New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1906): <http://www.jewishencyclopedia.com/articles/> (accessed October 14, 2016).

many passages.<sup>41</sup> This for example, is the character of the *Adonai Malach* ‘scale’ (dominant-seventh mode, subdominant Mixolydian of the major<sup>42</sup>). In contrast, the more Middle Eastern-sounding *Ahavah Rabbah* scale allows for both the natural and flattened second and sixth degrees within a largely major scale context. This emblematic scale is in widespread use in the Sabbath services and major festivals and is the same as the Arabian *Hijaz* scale,<sup>43</sup> while the *Magen Avot* uses scale pitches that are mostly equivalent to the (minor) Aeolian mode. However, use of these modes does not necessarily express any true ‘form’ of Jewish music at all.

This musical contrast demonstrates that melody cannot in itself contain any one particular culturally Jewish element, but can be identified as holding ‘Jewish character.’ Addressing ‘character,’ in the 1930s, the musicologist David Ewen defined Jewish music on the basis of its ‘mood’ suggesting that, ‘Hebrew music is spirit expressed in music. That perpetual sadness nurtured during two thousand years of the diaspora; that idealism which has kept a race alive despite the weight of centuries...an audible expression of something that is in the heart of every Jew.’ This approach is primarily useful when comparing it to Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s concept given above, in which ‘[f]irst, one should define what is Jewish music, which is not easy. To me it is a matter of feeling...’<sup>44</sup> Significantly, however, Ewen argues further that synagogue music ‘has been the binding force to tie all these separate elements of the Hebrew race into one inextricable and imperishable whole.’<sup>45</sup>

In the late-1940s, the musicologist Joseph Yasser discussed the essence of Jewish music and noted two principles. These he states to be the thematic materials used as well as the technical treatment by the composer of ‘melodies that may be liturgical or secular, Israeli or created in the diaspora, traditional or “borrowed.”’ The melodic curves of these melodies are Jewish because they are reminiscent of native Jewish tunes, even though they may not actually, or wholly, embody complete liturgical or secular melodies. Nonetheless, these melodies might ‘include characteristic

---

<sup>41</sup> Baruch Joseph Cohon, “The Structure of the Synagogue Prayer-Chant,” *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3/1 (Spring, 1950): 19.

<sup>42</sup> Although according to Cohon’s observations, in the upper octave only, the raised third and seventh (so to this point it is not really *Mixolydian*, which normally has a flattened seventh) are both flattened giving the mode a totally minor Dorian flavour, differentiating it from the Mixolydian. See Cohon, “The Structure of the Synagogue Prayer-Chant,” 22.

<sup>43</sup> Cohon, “The Structure of the Synagogue Prayer-Chant,” 19.

<sup>44</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Contemporary Composer,” *Temple Israel Light* (March 1959): 11.

<sup>45</sup> David Ewen, *Hebrew Music: A Study and an Interpretation* (New York: Block Publishing, 1931), 45, 47.

intervallic patterns, types of ornamentation, peculiar rhythmic twists, etc.’<sup>46</sup> Yasser asserts that even when Jewish composers reject the use of traditional material, they nevertheless maintain it ‘since their own feelings and thoughts are fundamentally Jewish’ and are therefore bound to be reflected in the music regardless of its particular musical content and style.’<sup>47</sup>

Taking a different approach to Yasser’s emphasis on melodic aspects of Jewish music, the composer and educator Isadore Freed states that: ‘Hebraic *rhythms* [italics not original] stem from the accents of the Hebrew language, which occur on the ultimate and the penultimate syllables. These rhythms constitute [the] true idiomatic components of Jewish music. For this reason, one can say that such and such a tune has a Jewish sound.’<sup>48</sup> The approach of musical analysis within the literary form is highly relevant considering Ibn Ezra’s emphasis on the rhythmic and rhyming characteristics of his poetry and Castelnovo-Tedesco’s dedication to preserving the rhythmic integrity of the poetry in his art songs, including the *Divan*.

More recent research into Jewish identity and music has been undertaken by Judith Cohen, who maps out ideas of categorising Jewish music that are ‘layered and flexible, and changing from community to community, or even amongst individuals within a community.’<sup>49</sup> Running through Cohen’s work is a descriptive turn that references the earlier writers in the 1930s and 1940s who defined Jewish music as a perception and an expression of ‘mood.’ Cohen’s categorisation is in two groups of liturgical and secular but with helpful subsections. The first group includes para-liturgical songs that include calendrical cycle songs and songs on religious themes as well as life-cycle songs and popular compositions. The second grouping includes the secular materials like romances and other narrative songs, lyric songs, and topical and recreational songs that comprise known compositions of the present or past.<sup>50</sup> The *Divan* would fall within the category of para-liturgical life-cycle songs, but also crosses into the secular ‘romances’ category. These categories, therefore, sometimes overlap in function.

---

<sup>46</sup> Joseph Yasser, “On Jewishness in Music” (1949), in Heskes, ed., *Jewish Music Programs*, 110.

<sup>47</sup> Joseph Yasser, “Jewish Composer, Look Within!” *Menorah Journal* 34/1 (1946): 115, as cited in Assaf Shelleg, *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History* (UK: Oxford University Press, 2014), 55.

<sup>48</sup> Isadore Freed, “The Qualities of Jewish Music” (1956), in Heskes, ed., *Jewish Music Programs*, 114. Text summarised from Isadore Freed, *Harmonising the Jewish Modes* (Sacred Music Press: New York City, 1958).

<sup>49</sup> Judith R. Cohen. “Judeo-Spanish Songs in the Sephardic Communities of Montreal and Toronto: Survival, Function and Change” (Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, Canada, 1989), 128.

<sup>50</sup> Cohen. “Judeo-Spanish Songs,” 133-5.

Ultimately, it is precisely because Jews lived on many continents and absorbed many different cultures and languages that uniformity in any definition of Jewish music is impossible. In Castelnuovo-Tedesco's words, one finds a blending of the elements needed to create what he perceived as Jewish music which include,

...first, the 'traditional' music, of the 'modes' and of the 'cantillation' is certainly useful and necessary, but it does not by itself constitute Jewish music; it will be at the most, a preliminary background on which to create. Second, even less essential is the use of folk-like themes which until now have always been under the ethnic influence of different countries. Third, the true Jewish spirit will be able to express itself only in freedom, without any restrictions of style and of technical means. Fourth, the real Jewish music will come up only from the experiences of life; probably now, from the new State of Israel (where life seems to be 'complete'). That does not mean it will come in a few years, it will probably take some decades (if not centuries) to take shape and to assert itself...<sup>51</sup>

The nebulous definition of a Jewish style of music, which was mentioned by researchers in the beginning of the twentieth century is echoed by more recent scholars. For instance, Auston Clarkson states,

[a]s Jewish music has as many species and manners as the Jews have countries in whose cultures, languages and manners of life they are educated, we needn't expect a specific authentic type, but must look for a multiple type. This type embodies the folk music of all countries, since you find Jews in Yemen, Africa, Japan, the Americas, etc... As concerns the European Jews—they are influenced by certain specific things: ideas and principles of great musicians... the heritage of tonality...<sup>52</sup>

...Amateur composers in Palestine [are] creating a national Jewish music...[with] mixed together elements from the Balkan, Russian, German and Oriental cultures from which they came... They were unable to envision a national musical language apart from their inherited traditions.<sup>53</sup>

What is perhaps more emphatic amongst contemporary music scholars defining characteristics of Jewish cultural expression is the emphasis placed on the complex and multi-dimensional nature of diaspora. While early scholars noted the varied nature of Jewish music and Jewish composers, contemporary writers have tried to explore the complexity of the diasporic condition in more detail. For instance, Kornhauser notes that what results from the cultural productions of Jewish diaspora artists becomes part of a 'national culture' by contributing to a greater body of artistic work. This national culture, she points out, does not refer to a geographic

---

<sup>51</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," 3.

<sup>52</sup> Auston Clarkson, "Preface," in Stefan Wolpe, "What is Jewish Music," *Contemporary Music Review* 27/2-3 (April/June 2008): 186.

<sup>53</sup> *Ibid.*, 197.

region, but to regeneration of a ‘peoplehood,’ because ‘Jews have always been a communal people. There is an idea of oneness, an ethos which holds that the actions of one person affect the whole group, producing the phenomenon of collective memory, collective belief, collective suffering, collective redemption. Some call this the Jewish essence.’<sup>54</sup> Through a continuity of themes, primarily including exile and dispersion, a defining sense of ‘peoplehood’ is maintained through “ethos” and transferred by way of communicative monuments. The *Divan* may be considered one such monument, in company with ritual behaviours, literary works, film, and other cultural artifacts.

Considering the diversity and derivative nature of Jewish music, an approach that might better define Jewish music may involve the broader definitions that identify one to be a Jewish composer. Such a focus reveals that at least two core elements are significant. Firstly, composers who self-identify as belonging to a Jewish diaspora, and thereby claim to exhibit cultural apartness and uniqueness within a new homeland, are by definition creating music of a Jewish character. Secondly, composers who wish to express something of a timeless Jewish spirit invoke an historical continuum more than any specific set of musical notes, tones, timbres, or rhythms. This musical activity is heavily coloured by the results of interactions within the larger spheres of public discourse and cultural and even political attitudes.

In concluding this discussion, Jewish music may be seen to have a multiplicity of identities and combinations of elements that point to a complex and somewhat ambiguous definition for what constitutes this music. The New York-based contemporary Jewish singer Shirona, who, as did Castelnuovo-Tedesco with his *Divan*, composed melodies with multi-cultural influences set to ancient texts of the Bible and the *mahzor* (standardised prayer book) in Hebrew, perhaps most aptly describes an approach to music-making by Jewish musicians. She explains the unique multiplicity of identities that draw on elements from a common tradition saying, ‘the truth is that there is no such thing as purely Jewish music...But we are great at preserving stuff, and we are great at adding layers of meaning, our very Jewish meaning, to otherwise mundane creations.’<sup>55</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Kornhauser, “Jewish Music: Beyond Nation and Identity?,” 118.

<sup>55</sup> An email message responding to comments published under the title ‘What makes a Song Jewish?’ Posted January 24, 2001: <http://archive.chazzanut.com/hanashir/msg03297.html> (accessed January 7, 2017).



Jewishness in music was an issue that occupied Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and it was his life experiences that together formed his outlook. These include the Italian musical scene of which he was a part, his impressions of synagogue music, Jewish socio-cultural identity, his deteriorating social and professional position under the Fascist government, his arrival and adaptation in America, and ultimately, his branding as a Jewish composer. The *Divan* is certainly an example of a multi-cultural Jewish composition that not only preserves “stuff,” but conforms to Frühauf and Hirsch’s description of ‘[Jewish] music’s complexity, evolution, and inherent hybridity,’<sup>56</sup> which involves a multitude of meanings and interpretations as well as the sum total of the composer’s cultural acquisitions.

### **Analytical and Compositional Approaches**

Many of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s choral works and oratorios are based on Biblical texts, with the composer identifying the King James Bible as a ‘significant literary influence.’<sup>57</sup> This is demonstrated by the shorter choral works such as *The Proverbs of Solomon*, Op. 168 (1953), *The Lament of David*, Op. 169 (1953), *Two Motets from the Gospel According to St. John*, Op. 174 (1955), as well as oratorios including *Esther*, *Ruth*, *Tobias*, and *Jonah*. Two major factors contributed to his use of Biblical materials: ‘not only the fact that I am a Jew myself, but the fact that I love poetry. And the Bible is the greatest poetry of all.’<sup>58</sup> Of the two, the primacy of the quality of poetry over cultural identification is demonstrated in the period before 1925 when Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote Catholic-themed works regardless of cultural identification. However, by the early 1930s as antisemitism became more prevalent and unavoidable in Italy, he wrote his explicitly Jewish-themed works and this tendency continued with the choral work *Kol Nidre*, Op. R111a (1941), and the *Sacred Service for the Sabbath Eve*, Op. 122 (1943). Only much later, and in somewhat more settled times, did Castelnuovo-Tedesco return to Catholic subjects with *Évangélion*, Op. 141 in 1947. When considering the degree to which Castelnuovo-Tedesco may be termed a ‘Jewish’ composer, Georg writes insightfully that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was ‘able to find

---

<sup>56</sup> Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch, “Introduction,” in *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music and Postwar German Culture*, ed. Tina Frühauf and Lily E. Hirsch (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 3.

<sup>57</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Composer Speaks,” in *The New Book of Modern Composers*, ed. David Ewen (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961), 111.

<sup>58</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Contemporary Composer,” by Emery Grossman, *Temple Israel Light* (March 1959): 10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 119/5.

the best in disparate religious traditions and write deeply spiritual as well as incisively dramatic music, with a personal perspective, not dependent on a particular religion.’<sup>59</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco approached his poetry with an eye for analysis as well as aesthetics. On occasion, the final conception of a piece took years. This, for example, was the case with his *Song of Songs*, Op. 172:

The first idea of setting to music *The Song of Songs* in the form of a “Scenic Oratorio” came to me in 1917, while reading the book in the beautiful French translation by Renan, but I didn’t write the work until 1955, just before composing my prize-winning opera *The Merchant of Venice*.<sup>60</sup>

It is notable that Castelnuovo-Tedesco connects his *Songs* with his later *Merchant of Venice*, Op. 181 (1957) because the latter is another work in which this time differential applies. ‘[The] *Merchant of Venice*...[was] actually written all in one year, [although] the first sketches were made in 1932, exactly twenty-five years before.’<sup>61</sup> The intervening years in the composition of both pieces appears to have included ‘a period of research...meticulous and exacting.’<sup>62</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco points out that *Song of Songs* holds various interpretations of its sometimes-esoteric meanings in which,

[t]he main objection to this certainly fascinating hypothesis [that the *Song* was essentially public performance-based drama] resides in the fact that the Hebrews never knew nor produced any form of theatre, perhaps on account of the Biblical law which forbade any form of “representation” in images or action. The origins of what we know as “drama” are to be found either with the Greeks or the Hindus, whose religion allowed them to represent the Gods and glorify the Heroes. This objection, however, is minimised by Renan by considering *The Song* not so much as a form of “public performance” as we intend it today, but as a series of “wedding rites” performed privately in the home, usually, perhaps to solemnise the wedding ceremony. Such rites would have [been] re-enacted through dialogues, songs and pantomimes, a well-known tale dating back to the time of Solomon. As the festivities lasted for a whole week, Renan suggests that each one of these little

---

<sup>59</sup> Klaus Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (D.M.A. diss., Illinois: Northwestern University, 2014), 27.

<sup>60</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Song of Songs,” *Music Journal* 21/8 (November 1963): 21. The promotional material for the *Song of Songs* advertises that it was premiered by the Hollywood Theatre Arts Workshop at the Hollywood High School by its student body in August 1963, and produced by Nick Rossi.

<sup>61</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry (Problems of an Opera Composer)” (ms., August 1952), 5. Location MCT Papers, LoC, 116/16.

<sup>62</sup> In this instance referring to another composition, the *Coplas*. Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, chapter XXI: From *Coplas* to *Raggio Verde* [1915-1917], trans. Oliver Wendell Worthington II, “An Analysis and Investigation of *Coplas* by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (D.M.A. diss., University of Texas in Austin, 2001), 143.

“scenes” was enacted by the participants on a different day, without any thought of development or dramatic continuity, but rather, as a static situation.<sup>63</sup>

As this quotation demonstrates, not only was Castelnuovo-Tedesco aware of the background commentary of the literature he was working with, but he also came to his own critical understandings of the significance of the text, in addition to considerations of poetic content. This background work demonstrates an interest in secular characteristics of Jewish literature, an interest reflected prominently in the *Divan*. Consequently, several parallels emerge between *Song of Songs* and the *Divan*. These include their Jewish-secular character and their reflection of past events. Both the *Song of Songs* and the *Divan* are social reflections of community ideas, norms, and behaviours that are derived from an idealised past. Additional to its historical and literary significance, Castelnuovo-Tedesco pointed out that the aesthetic choice of the poem is paramount. The poem should, he states,

...not be too long...nor too short (unless there are to be several songs in a cycle); ...the content may not be too philosophic and intellectual...and...the less strict forms of *canzone* and the *ballata* are generally preferable, or poems that are entirely free.<sup>64</sup>

Bearing in mind clarity and simplicity of content, Castelnuovo-Tedesco possibly used these principles when considering the poems to be included in the *Divan*. It may be observed that they were mainly the shorter ones, in the English rendition they usually had free form, and they covered subjects that can easily be understood without complicated explanations of Jewish social, cultural or religious mysteries. In further consideration of the inherent qualities of poetic materials to be set to music, Castelnuovo-Tedesco asks,

[i]s good poetry just “beautiful words” (carefully chosen and arranged) and sonorous rhymes, richness and variety of images? It is also that, but not only that, it is also emotional content controlled by thought. And good poetry is the right balance between all these elements: the best poetry is actually when the poet succeeds in expressing his inner feelings and thoughts with the smallest amount of well-chosen words.<sup>65</sup>

---

<sup>63</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Song of Songs,” 22.

<sup>64</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer,” *Musical Quarterly* 30/1 (January 1944): 105. Castelnuovo-Tedesco here refers to two forms of secular poetry both specifically Italian in nature. The first is from the Renaissance period and involves tragedy, comedy, and elegy in simple song-like form. The second was prominent from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries, primarily used as folk ‘dance’ music with the first and last stanzas having the same text.

<sup>65</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry (Problems of an Opera Composer),” 11.

It is apparent that the shorter length of Ibn Ezra's poetry would have appealed to the composer's desire for the "smallest amount of well-chosen words," and may provide an explanation of why some of the longer poems were excluded from the overall composition. Once poetry was selected, one of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's first concerns was expressing the inner meaning of the text with his musical accompaniment. It had to remain faithful in every way to the text, in both the melody and accompaniment.

My ambition—even more than that, a profound urge within me—has always been to unite my music to poetic texts that arouse my interest and emotion, to interpret them and at the same time to set them forth in lyric expression, to stamp them with the authentic and therefore un-detachable seal of melody, to give utterance to the music that is latent within them, and, in doing so, to discover their real source in the emotions that brought them into being.

...At least during the nineteenth century, my countrymen satisfied this need (for song) predominantly through theatre music (in which the quality of the words—which were often only a pretext—counted little); whereas my preferred territory has been the more intimate one of vocal chamber music, and my aim that of approaching the purest and highest poetic expressions, not only in Italian, but in foreign languages as well.<sup>66</sup>

As Scalin has pointed out, Castelnuovo-Tedesco read widely and had a discerning taste for great writing,<sup>67</sup> adding that '[his] practice of setting prior sources in their original language, even when such languages are not Italian, is a feature which appears to be unique to him.'<sup>68</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco himself indicates preference for the use of texts in their original languages because

[t]ranslations of poetry are almost always "betrayals." Even if there is not a betrayal of the content, there is a betrayal of rhythm or of form and these are poetic elements too precious and essential to neglect.<sup>69</sup>

He goes on to relate that his first encounter with English 'was by way of Shakespeare, being dissatisfied with [the] Italian translation of "Twelfth Night."'<sup>70</sup> For his own usage, his early impressions of the language were mixed since

...English does present some remarkable difficulties to the song-writer. One, for example, is its great number of monosyllabic words, which it is difficult to distribute over a melody in an expressive fashion and, at the same time, with correct accentuation. But, on the other

---

<sup>66</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Poetry," 102.

<sup>67</sup> Burton Howard Scalin, "Operas by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco" (Ph.D. diss., North-western University, 1980), 308.

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*, 311.

<sup>69</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer," 106-7.

<sup>70</sup> *Ibid.*, 107.

hand, it is perhaps just this—its very lack of “sonorous substance” - that lends English its charm and makes it one of the most “*spiritual*” [italics added] and transparent languages I know.<sup>71</sup>

This connection of English with spirituality is interesting when one remembers that the *Divan* text used by the composer was of an English translation of the medieval Hebrew original.

Castelnuovo-Tedesco could transpose literary texts into a musical composition through consideration of many aspects of that text and, as Georg states, was able to condense complex and profound works in to the ‘expressive core’ that he sought.<sup>72</sup> The process of setting poetry to music involved such considerations as accent, melody, phrasing, and articulation:

When I find a poem that particularly interests me or arouses my emotion, I commit it to memory and, at the same time, naturally, I analyze its form, its character, its distribution of phrases, its possibility for contrast etc. After some time, when the poem has entered my blood, so to speak, (this may take anywhere from a day to several months), I sing it quite naturally: the music is born. For me, to love a poem is to know it, it is to sing it!<sup>73</sup>

Part of the compositional process apparently involved committing chosen texts to memory, which may contribute to his uncovering of a natural musical shape of the text. Castelnuovo-Tedesco illustrates this by his methods in writing accompaniment:

To produce it properly is a matter of finding the right atmosphere, the “background,” the environment that sounds and develops the vocal line. It is also a question of expressing through the instrument what the voice alone cannot express. Finally, it is a question of creating something that will combine with the vocal line to form a quite inseparable and complete unity...<sup>74</sup>

Landis-Gray observes this combination played out in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s setting of texts to music, in which the accentuation of the words is closely matched by the patterns and accentuation of the rhythms. They alternate in unexpected places to maintain textual integrity including the use of duplets and triplets, as well as occasional meter changes to accomplish this effect.<sup>75</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s sensitivity to correct text declamation may be traced to the

---

<sup>71</sup> Ibid. However, in two related instances in the *Divan*, towards the end of song fifteen, Castelnuovo-Tedesco uses a scalar step to emphasise two one-syllable words: “all,” and “live.” However, this seems to be used for melodic emphasis with a *rubato* or lingering guitar accompaniment than as a solution to any textual difficulties described in the quote.

<sup>72</sup> Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 21.

<sup>73</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer,” 109-110.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid., 110.

<sup>75</sup> Dorothy Landis-Gray, “Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings of Music for Women’s Voices from His American Period (1939-1968)” (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1996), 208.

influence of his teacher Pizzetti, who was also concerned with matching musical rhythms with the rhythms of speech. Landis-Gray states that ‘above all, Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s first aesthetic principle seems to be a profound awareness that it is necessary to be true to the text in every way.’<sup>76</sup> But as he stated, the essence of the poem is critical:

...I have already said that every poem-for-music must have, above all, an “expressive core” – which may be formed of one or several fundamental elements—a core that provides the key to the poem itself. It is this key, it is these elements, that one must discover and to which one must give utterance through almost “symbolic” musical means....What will these “symbolic” means be?...

I myself began, in my first songs, with accompaniments rather complicated in harmony and rhythm. Afterwards I always tried to simplify, rather, I must say, through instinct than through reason. I tried to express my thoughts by the simplest and most natural means, even if, to some, these might be less “interesting.”<sup>77</sup>

The tendency towards simplicity was first expressed in a 1926 interview with Castelnuovo-Tedesco in which Raymond Hall writes:

Nevertheless, it remains true that his general tendency, like that of his colleagues...is in the direction of greater simplicity, transparency and melodiousness, as implicated in a return to the traditions of Italy’s golden centuries, viewed through a modern sensibility.<sup>78</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s search for simple clarity in musical language is demonstrated in his works, whether they are based on folk poetry or international literature.<sup>79</sup> It is even a value Castelnuovo-Tedesco adhered to in the film industry, where he hoped that composers ‘would learn (through necessity) to “deintellectualise themselves,” to become more simple and direct.’<sup>80</sup> Indeed, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was successful in the film music genre because he approached the visual experience as he did a literary one, applying the same compositional approaches expressing literature within a musical setting to portraying images and varied scenery.

In summary of compositional considerations before setting poetry to music, Castelnuovo-Tedesco emphasised brevity, simplicity, freedom of text and its inner significance or meaning. The following section discusses considerations of the guitar as both solo and accompanying instrument.

---

<sup>76</sup> Ibid.,” 209.

<sup>77</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer,” 110.

<sup>78</sup> Raymond Hall, “An Interview with Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco,” *The Musical Leader*, 54 (January 1928, in four parts): Part II, 5.

<sup>79</sup> Georg, “Selected Early Italian Songs,” 20.

<sup>80</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Movies” (unpublished, February 29, 1940), 10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/17.

## Writing for the Guitar

Demonstrating his dedication to music research, Purcell has observed that Castelnuovo-Tedesco ‘catalogued one thousand years of music under two basic principles: namely, the melodic and the thematic...’<sup>81</sup> This tendency is also reflected in his liner notes to Andrés Segovia’s *Golden Jubilee*, a recording of 1958. In the essay, Castelnuovo-Tedesco demonstrates critical interest in the development of the guitar. ‘It was brought by the Moors to Spain between the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and was known under the name *vihuela*...a general name given to all stringed instruments with a neck...’<sup>82</sup> In fact, by the mid-fourteenth century two specific types of guitars were known, the Moorish guitar and the Latin guitar.<sup>83</sup> Although there is much debate around the origins of the European lute-guitar, it existed in Spain as an ‘oud in the period not too long after Ibn Ezra, but as Maroney has pointed out, may have had a delayed development in Europe because of its association with the Muslims who were perceived as foreign invaders dominating Spain for centuries.<sup>84</sup>

Although the guitar was strongly associated with Spain, special interest in the instrument was shown in early seventeenth-century Italy, which produced many exceptional performers and the greatest amount of written music for the instrument.<sup>85</sup> However, during the nineteenth century great composers for the guitar emerged both in Italy and Spain including player-composers such as Sor, Carcassi, Carulli, Tarrega, Giuliani, Mertz, Coste, and Molino. As the twentieth century progressed, the literature for the guitar grew dramatically by international composers including Barrios (Paraguay), Lauro (Venezuela), Carlevaro (Uruguay), and others. However, performing repertoire today can also be attributed to contributions by composers who were not guitarists, such as De Falla, Rodrigo, Britten, and Poulenc. Such a trend ran contrary to the long-standing tradition of guitarist-composers and led to compositions that were not constrained by traditional notions of the guitar’s capabilities. Consequently, the twentieth century witnessed a significant increase of

---

<sup>81</sup> Ronald C. Purcell, “Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and the Guitar,” *Guitar Review* 37 (Fall 1972): 3.

<sup>82</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Guitar, that Beautiful and Mysterious Instrument” (ms., June 1958). Written for Andrés Segovia, *Golden Jubilee* (LP, Decca, DXJ-148, 1958). Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/16.

<sup>83</sup> Richard Chapman, *Guitar: Music, History, Players* (London: Dorling, Kindersley, 2000), 10.

<sup>84</sup> James Frederick Maroney, “Music for Voice and Classical Guitar, 1950-1994: An Annotated Catalog” (Ph.D. diss., New York: Columbia University Teachers College, 1995), 17

<sup>85</sup> *Ibid.*, 20.

highly interesting works for the guitar, thanks in large part to the advocacy of Segovia. As Castelnuovo-Tedesco notes,

...it wasn't until the advent of Andrés Segovia that the guitar became known all over the world as a concert instrument, ...[and who] brought to [it] a higher level of sensitivity and of aristocratic art. Besides he has almost entirely renovated and "recreated" the guitar literature, both by his own transcriptions and by endorsing contemporary composers to write for the instrument.<sup>86</sup>

Segovia requested several non-guitarist composers to write for the instrument, including Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Tansman, Moreno-Torroba, Turina, and Ponce. He also deeply involved himself with the editorial processes, ensuring pianistically conceived compositions were made feasible for the guitar. This is because the instrument presents composers and editors with a unique set of problems, as well as a unique range of subtle timbre opportunities for the composer, such as natural and artificial harmonics, muting (*pizzicato*) and other tonal and percussive effects. As van Gammeren points out, performing editions of guitar music have of necessity included alterations to the composer's original score to present a performable edition of the work. In so doing, the original score—a crucial part of the composer's intentions—had to be altered by guitar editors in order that they become better suited for the instrument. This may not necessarily detract from the score however. In working with guitarists to ensure his pianistic compositions were appropriate to the guitar, Castelnuovo-Tedesco stated that 'Segovia knows the guitar better than I do—he knows what sounds better.'<sup>87</sup>

The guitar became more important in the compositional outputs of Castelnuovo-Tedesco after he emigrated to America and especially from the 1950s, when the number of compositions for guitar and voice increased dramatically. The guitarist John Duarte (1919-2004) speculates on the conditions that may have prompted this guitaristic tendency:

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's flirtations with "modernity" were probably prompted by his waning success in Hollywood, where the stylistic tide had flowed past him, and his obvious discomfort with it led him to reject 'isms' and 'ologies' and revert to his earlier musical persona, that of the writer of graceful melodies—received most gratefully by singers and guitarists. His collaboration with Segovia was a godsend, reviving his fortunes when they

---

<sup>86</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "The Guitar, that Beautiful and Mysterious Instrument," 4-5.

<sup>87</sup> As quoted by Christopher Parkening, *Fingerstyle Guitar* 11 (September-October 1995): 17.



were at a low ebb, and keeping his name greener than it would almost certainly otherwise have been by now.<sup>88</sup>

A certain process was employed by Castelnuovo-Tedesco that served to translate his pianistic concepts into a practical and playable form for the guitar. Utilising information from guitarist Ronald C. Purcell, a composition student of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's between 1960 and 1968, Kidd<sup>89</sup> relates how Castelnuovo-Tedesco consulted with an 'inner circle' of guitarists who assisted him in revising and redrafting his compositions for guitar.<sup>90</sup> An example of the collaboration between the composer and those guitarists is illustrated in the last year of his life, when the guitarist Ruggero Chiesa (1933-1993) proposed Castelnuovo-Tedesco write a series of studies to be published as a 'tutor.' Chiesa was in contact with Castelnuovo-Tedesco soon after his composition of the *Divan*, when the composer advised him to

[b]ear in mind that I do not play the guitar and that I write everything by intuition, without worrying about technical problems...let me know also if you would "allow me" (if the occasion arises) to tune the 6<sup>th</sup> string to a D.<sup>91</sup>

The resulting three-part *Appunti*<sup>92</sup> comprises a series of compositions of varying lengths—although none under one page—that underwent an editorial process by Chiesa. However, as Kidd points out, only a year prior to this collaboration, the *Divan* seems to have remained outside the usual process of consultation and revision.<sup>93</sup> Kidd surmises that this was perhaps due to ill-health which

---

<sup>88</sup> John Duarte, a review of Etcetera CD KTC1150, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco Vocal and Guitar Works," April 1994: <https://www.gramophone.co.uk/review/castelnuovo-tedesco-vocal-and-guitar-works> (accessed September 11, 2017).

<sup>89</sup> Kidd, "Issues and Solutions for the Guitarist," 18-32.

<sup>90</sup> Aside from Segovia, they included: Christopher Parkening (b. 1947 for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Ballatella*, Op. 170/34 in 1963), Siegfried Behrend (1933-1990, for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Rondel*, Op. 170/6 in 1954), Ruggero Chiesa (1933-1993, with whom Castelnuovo-Tedesco collaborated towards the end of his life on the *Appunti* and for whom he wrote the 1967 Greeting Card *Aria di Chiesa*, Op. 170/43), Laurindo Almeida (1917-1995, for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Brasileira*, Op. 170/44 in 1967), Oscar Ghiglia (b. 1938 for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Romanza*, Op. 170/37 in 1964), Ida Presti (1924-1967) and Alexandre Lagoya (1929-1999), Angelo Gilardino (b. 1941, the guitarist, composer, and former protégé of Mario's and for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Volo d'Angeli*, Op. 170/47, in 1967), Ronald Purcell (1932-2011, for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Homage to Purcell*, Op. 170/38, in 1966), Alirio Diaz (1923-July 2016, for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Canción Venezolana*, Op. 170/40 in 1966), Ernesto Bitetti (b. 1943, for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Canción Argentina*, Op. 170/41 in 1966), and Manuel López Ramos (1929-2006 for whom he wrote the Greeting Card *Estudio*, Op. 170/42 in 1966).

<sup>91</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Chiesa, April 27, 1967, as quoted in Corazon Otero, *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works for the Guitar* (Revised edition, Newcastle upon Tyne: Ashley Mark Publishing Co., 1999), 127.

<sup>92</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Appunti - Preludi e Studi Per Chitarra*, edited by Ruggero Chiesa in three volumes (Milan: Edizione Suvini Zerboni, 1968).

<sup>93</sup> Kidd, "Issues and Solutions for the Guitarist," 1.

prevented him from following through with his usual consultative process of composition for his guitar works,<sup>94</sup> but no definitive evidence exists as to why it remained unedited before publication.

### **Aspects and Features of the *Divan***

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's fascination with various texts written during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries like *Die Vogelweide*, Op. 186 (1958) written by Walther von der Vogelweide (1156-1230), and the *Ballata dall'Esilio*, Op. R180a written by Cavalcanti (c. 1255-1300 [the latter is the date of his exile]) were, like the *Divan*, all set to D-tuned guitar accompaniment. This instrumental setting might be attributed to the use of stringed instruments in Spain, Italy, southern France,<sup>95</sup> and the Rhineland by travelling medieval 'troubadour' lyric-poetry performers of the period.

Just prior to composing the *Divan*, Castelnuovo-Tedesco used the guitar in two other major works, further illustrating the pre-eminence that the instrument was taking in his outputs during this period. These were the *Sonatina for Flute and Guitar*, Op. 205 (1965), and the *Eclogues*, Op. 206, completed just nine days before Castelnuovo-Tedesco commenced the *Divan*, Op. 207 in June 1966. It held the unusual combination of flute, cor anglaise, and guitar, but in contrast to the *Divan*, the composer wrote detailed information about the *Eclogues* in various correspondences. Thus, the *Divan* remains an enigma because there is almost no commentary on it by the composer and no collaborative correspondence while its context is mysterious and open to much interpretation and speculation.

The following sections look more closely at the *Divan*, its precedents, composition, content, form, uniqueness, and significance. The aim is to hypothesise conditions under which it was composed and reconstruct the circumstances that stimulated the composer to use this particular textual source material.

#### *Lyric Source Material*

The *tarshish* and *dīwān* collections of non-liturgical poems by Moses Ibn Ezra were first rendered from the Arabic into Hebrew in 1924 by Benzion Halper. Halper's publication, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael* ('Book of Poems of Israel') was divided into two sections, one of secular poems and the other of

---

<sup>94</sup> Ibid., 38.

<sup>95</sup> Chapman, *Guitar*, 11.

religious poems.<sup>96</sup> A decade later, selections of the poetry, again divided into non-liturgical and religious, were interpreted into English opposite the original Hebrew texts and published as *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*.<sup>97</sup> In contrast to the approximately 300 poems appearing in Halper's collection, the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition includes 34 non-liturgical poems (two being long elegies, numbered eleven and twelve), of which Castelnuovo-Tedesco had drawn out nineteen for his *Divan*.

There is no information regarding the circumstances under which Castelnuovo-Tedesco came across his source or sources for the *Divan*. His neglect in ascribing any textual source of his composition contrasts his earlier song cycle for guitar and voice *Die Vogelweide* (1958, also holding a piano option) which at least states: *Gedichte von Walther von der Vogelweide*. The assumption that the Solis-Cohen translation is the source of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Divan* may be justified for three main reasons. Firstly, the translations, or rather interpretations of the archaic Hebrew are exactly that of Solis-Cohen, which would be highly unlikely in an independent translation of the poetry. Secondly, the order of the poems is based exactly on those of the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition. Lastly, the chapter titles as well as the names of the selected poems are likewise exactly as in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition. That is not to say that a condensed publication existed somewhere else, or was prepared for the composer, but no evidence of either has come to light.

As noted above, on the one hand Castelnuovo-Tedesco used the Brody and Solis-Cohen texts exactly. But on the other hand, there are factual inconsistencies between his score and between the biographical information in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition. All of which indicates that while the poems were from Brody and Solis-Cohen, Castelnuovo-Tedesco used more than one source for his research. For example, in the Introduction of the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition, Brody states that '... [as] late as 1138 he [Ibn Ezra] wrote the last of his dated poems now extant, an elegy...'<sup>98</sup> Since Castelnuovo-Tedesco's full title of Op. 207 is *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra* (1055-1135), it is notable that the year of Ibn Ezra's death in the score is three years earlier than in Brody and Solis-Cohen's. Furthermore, Brody states that Ibn Ezra was born 'in Granada about

---

<sup>96</sup> Rabbi Moshe [Moses] Ben Yaakov Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, trans. by Benzion Halper (Jerusalem: A.Y. Shtibel, 1924).

<sup>97</sup> Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934.

<sup>98</sup> H. Brody, "Introduction," *Selected Poems*, xxv.

1055-60,<sup>99</sup> whereas Castelnovo-Tedesco uses only the earlier year without any indication that this is an approximation, or only one option. Castelnovo-Tedesco's title of the work might also imply a singular, complete collection although he used only nineteen songs drawn from the larger *Selected Poems* of Brody and Solis-Cohen that itself contains only 34.<sup>100</sup> Brody shows that multiple sources exist that make up his *Selected Poems* which incidentally that author (like Halper before him) never refers to as a *Dīwān* or *Divan* which would imply a complete collection. Rather, Brody states that although Ibn Ezra's own collection of his verse (his own *divan*) has been lost, various smaller compilations collected by another hand are found in libraries in Oxford, Berlin, Moscow (which was lost), and in single poems in various manuscripts and in published form.<sup>101</sup> Castelnovo-Tedesco's title *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, which holds only nineteen of Ibn Ezra's poems is, therefore, somewhat misleading,

Considering the detailed research Castelnovo-Tedesco had undertaken for his *Song of Songs* as well as for other works, it may be that Castelnovo-Tedesco had a far more sophisticated approach to this material than first appears. If one accepts that the Brody and Solis-Cohen volume was the (or at least one) source for Castelnovo-Tedesco, Solis-Cohen himself wrote the following in his Foreword to the *Selected Poems*, which, would it have been read, could not have been lost on Castelnovo-Tedesco: 'A form of composition much favoured by Moses Ibn Ezra, as by most of the Hebrew *singers* [italics added] of his period, was the acrostic.'<sup>102</sup> Here Ibn Ezra is seen as a *singer* of poetry. A further note is made by Brody in his Introduction to the same volume: '[Ibn Ezra] rejected the opinion that because the laws of poetics established by the Arabs are unknown to the Bible, they are alien to the spirit of the Hebrew language, and hence should not be taken over by Hebrew *singers* [italics added].'<sup>103</sup> Both in the Foreword and the Introduction to the Solis-Cohen edition Ibn Ezra (and his contemporaries) is emphasised as being a 'singer' of poems and is in accordance with how Ibn Ezra describes himself: 'My songs [*shir'ei*] shall live, while earth and sun / Their ordered daily course shall run.'<sup>104</sup>

---

<sup>99</sup> Ibid., xx.

<sup>100</sup> That number also represents a much smaller representation of the entirety of Ibn Ezra's secular poems numbering around 300 as per Halper's 1920s edition.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., xxxii.

<sup>102</sup> Solis-Cohen, "A Foreword," in Brody, ed. *Selected Poems*, xiv.

<sup>103</sup> H. Brody, "Introduction," *Selected Poems*, xxvii.

<sup>104</sup> Ibn Ezra, poem 1 in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 4.

If Ibn Ezra was a ‘singer’ of his own poetry, then Castelnovo-Tedesco was a pioneer in restoring Jewish poetry to an originally presented form. It is highly likely that Castelnovo-Tedesco would have noted this fact while undertaking his usual processes of literary research, provided of course he used the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition.

Not only the singing of the poetry, but music, and more specifically, a stringed instrument (*kinnor*) that preceded today’s guitar was an important part of Ibn Ezra’s expression of the poetry. We can see this combination in the following passage:<sup>105</sup>

But give me for my soul, those beauteous maids (*c’lilot*),  
With hair like night, with faces like the moon— (*l’vanot*)  
Singing, with lutes [*kinnor*] held to their breasts, they seem (*be’haykan*)  
Like nursing mothers, to their babes that croon (*l’vanot*).<sup>106</sup>

Beautiful are the fingers of the loved one (*v’damu*);  
[When she plays upon the harp or lute,]<sup>107</sup>  
They fly over the strings swiftly as an arrow (*v’atim*),  
And smoothly as the pen or a ready writer.  
When she lets the music of her voice be heard (*v’yah’rish*),  
Throstle [*ai’it*] and robin upon the branches  
Hush their song (*v’itim*).<sup>108</sup>

Doff, friend, the cloak of gloom. Rejoice to hear (*ha’ser*)  
Fair Ophrah’s singing; quaff the cup of cheer! (*anot*)  
The bitter time is when no wine’s in bowl (*yaymar*);  
It is the songless day afflicts the soul (*‘anot*).<sup>109</sup>

Two important aspects may be observed in this poem by Ibn Ezra. Firstly, that music is integral to medieval poetry which shows the centrality or at least the importance of musical expression, as is word play, and clever uses of language. Secondly, utilising the stringed lute, vihuela, ‘oud, or proto-guitar was probably not lost on Castelnovo-Tedesco when considering the musical character of the composition, for there is long precedent of combining poetry with stringed instruments going back to the literature of ancient Greece. For example, the *kithára* (lyre) was a

---

<sup>105</sup> This poem incidentally was not selected for inclusion by Castelnovo-Tedesco perhaps because it was irrelevant to the flow and concept of the ‘song cycle.’ It may also have been excluded as it holds similar poetic concepts that Castelnovo-Tedesco used in the poem ‘Drink deep my friend...’ (Castelnovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, Song 7, p. 30; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 42).

<sup>106</sup> Ibn Ezra, poem 21 in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 74.

<sup>107</sup> This line is not in the original Hebrew but was added, this researcher assumes, as interpretation of the poetry by Brody. The important thing is how Castelnovo-Tedesco may have interpreted the translation. The character of the Hebrew text, and its interpretative and free translation is of less relevance to this research.

<sup>108</sup> Ibn Ezra, poem 22, in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 74.

<sup>109</sup> Ibn Ezra, poem 23, in *ibid.*, 75.

symbol connected with the gods Hermes and Apollo,<sup>110</sup> and, generally speaking, it is easy to note the etymological connection between *kithara*, *chitarra*, *guitarra*, *kisaar*, *gytarah*, and guitar in different cultures. The guitar would therefore have been Castelnovo-Tedesco's logical means of accompaniment to this specific poetry.

As previously noted, unique to Castelnovo-Tedesco's compositions that use voice, is the hypothesis that the *Divan* is musical poetry that has lost its *original* musical character and was *restored* by Castelnovo-Tedesco. The composer reunited originally *muwashshahāh* (strophic) poetry once again with musical accompaniment but now using a highly modern musical setting emphasising altered dominants, substitutions, tri-tones, parallel voicings, and other more standard devices including colour tones and Spanish-tinged progressions including use of the flattened-ninth within voicings. This performance practice approach to the *Divan* may be considered a form of cultural renewal, what Stewart Hall calls 'imaginative rediscovery.'<sup>111</sup> Hall goes on to state that in a 'retelling of the past, there is necessarily a creative act that involves a production of identity, an act of reviving a culture that has lost its position or centrality by a restoration to its original state.'<sup>112</sup>

### *General Structure*

Before undertaking a closer examination of the *Divan* as a composition in cyclic form, a brief survey of analogous processes by other composers concerned with the genre of the song cycle will help contextualise Castelnovo-Tedesco's work therein. The term itself has long been debated, it being referred to as "confusing," "ambiguous," and "vague." in musicological analysis.<sup>113</sup> However, the general expectation is that the song cycle will comprise more than a mere collection, that it will exhibit "musicopoetic cohesiveness,"<sup>114</sup> and thus scholars have pointed to some common musical and textual elements.

---

<sup>110</sup> Martha Maas, Jane McIntosh Snyder, *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989), 202.

<sup>111</sup> Stewart Hall, "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation," in *Ex-Iles. Essays on Caribbean Cinema*, ed. Mbye B. Cham (Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1992), 222.

<sup>112</sup> Ibid.

<sup>113</sup> Benedict Taylor, *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory: The Romantic Conception of Cyclic Form* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 6.

<sup>114</sup> John Daverio, "The Song Cycle: Journeys Through a Romantic Landscape," in Rufus Hallmark, ed., *German Leider in the Nineteenth Century* (New York: Routledge, 2009), 363.

Taylor points out that the term ‘cyclic’ was applied to music since c. 1750 and frames a definition whereby it entails: (a) a work where part of one movement is recalled in another; (b) a work where separate movements are based on similar thematic material often accompanied by the merging of individual movements; and (c) a collection of miniatures, which make full sense only when considered as a whole.<sup>115</sup> Daverio adds that despite differing opinions on what characterises true cycles, they should contain self-sufficient, but interdependent works belonging to the same genre, and hold unity of poetic content that includes shared thematic, harmonic and rhythmic figures connecting adjacent songs.<sup>116</sup>

Taylor distinguishes between a musical cycle and “cyclic form.” The cycle generally refers to a succession of individual movements to go to make up a work, and can refer to music from almost any period. In practice, however, when referring to those from the later eighteenth century onwards, ‘the term cycle is usually reserved for a collection of miniatures (such as the song or the piano cycle), as distinct from the conventional three- or four- movement sonata cycle.’ He goes on to say that ‘a work in cyclic form is a particular type of cycle in which the connections between the individual parts are intensified and made explicit.’<sup>117</sup> However, ‘their general characteristic, the idea of relationship of parts to whole, is too vague an attribute to support a common definition.’<sup>118</sup>

Referring to Taylor’s three forms of what characteristics may define a cycle, the context of the *Divan* placed within the wider genre may be understood. For example, when considering the single instance of Song 12 (“Only in God I Trust”) and Song 13 (“Where are the Graves”), the ostinato figure, measures 22-29 of the first song is mirrored in bars 5-9 in melodic shape and rhythm within the second song. Although it only happens in this single instance, one may nevertheless place it within Taylor’s first category, alongside—as Taylor adds—Haydn’s Symphony No. 46, Beethoven’s Fifth and Ninth Symphonies, Mendelssohn’s Octet, Schubert’s Eb Trio, Schumann’s Piano Quintet, and later pieces by Franck, Brahms, Dvořák, Elgar and Mahler.

The *Divan* is divided into five parts, with three distinct themes within its 19 songs: exile, friendship, and death. These themes are thematically contained and “recalled” within different songs. It may then be placed within Taylor’s second grouping with such examples as Schubert’s

---

<sup>115</sup> Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 6.

<sup>116</sup> Daverio, “The Song Cycle: Journeys Through a Romantic Landscape,” 365.

<sup>117</sup> Taylor, *Mendelssohn*, 7.

<sup>118</sup> *Ibid.*, 8.

‘Wanderer’ Fantasy, Mendelssohn’s Third and Schumann’s Fourth Symphonies, Liszt’s B minor Sonata, and numerous works of Franck. However, the *Divan* is not linear: it contains wine and friendship songs (Part III, Song 7-9) that seem to bear no resemblance to the overall cycle. As shown in Schubert’s *Winterreise*, there is precedent for cycles that hold no strictly progressive, linear development towards a goal.<sup>119</sup>

Daverio notes that ‘a song cycle can bring together a single author’s poems not originally conceived as a unit,’ an example being Schumann’s Eichendorff *Leiderkreis*, Op. 39.<sup>120</sup> In a similar way, the non-liturgical poems written by Moses Ibn Ezra were not written as a collection, nor as a consecutive story. To place the poems in categories was the job of those charged with editing his works and then publishing collections. The job of Castelnuovo-Tedesco was to choose a number of those miniatures, and unify themes of childhood, love, exile, longing, admonition and death in a musical setting. It indeed can only make sense when considered as a whole. It therefore conforms to Taylor’s third and final category which contain the archetypical Romantic song-cycle including piano collections such as Schumann’s *Carnaval* or *Davidsbündlertänze*.<sup>121</sup>

The *Divan* also sits well with Daverio’s definitions of the song cycle: although most of the songs are separated by unrelated keys, differing rhythms, and tonal diversity, this independence is balanced by the unity of poetic style and content. This stylistic characterisation allows it to be compared to Schubert’s *Die schöne Müllerin* and *Winterreise* as well as to smaller-scaled groups, such as Schubert’s settings of the Harper and Mignon songs from Goethe’s *Wilhelm Meister’s Journeyman Years* (1821).<sup>122</sup> As he described in a multitude of letters and articles, Castelnuovo-Tedesco was very fond of the music of Schubert, and that composer had a ‘predilection for focussing on the works of a single poet and setting clearly definable groups of poems en masse.’<sup>123</sup> By having the same protagonist, and a general chronological order whereby each song represents a later moment than the earlier one, both composers demonstrate in their song cycles a measure of tonal and narrative cohesiveness which grounds Castelnuovo-Tedesco within a tradition of text settings containing defined characteristics both musically and textually.

---

<sup>119</sup> Daverio, “The Song Cycle: Journeys Through a Romantic Landscape,” 372.

<sup>120</sup> Ibid., 366.

<sup>121</sup> Taylor, “The Idea of Cyclic Form,” 6.

<sup>122</sup> Daverio, “The Song Cycle: Journeys Through a Romantic Landscape,” 365.

<sup>123</sup> Ibid., 369.



Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Divan* is a song cycle divided into five parts as per the structure of the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition. The fifth part of the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition holds seven songs, while Castelnuovo-Tedesco has treated the seventh song (poem 36 in Brody and Solis-Cohen) as a separate Epilogue. While it is possible to identify some common features of the *Divan* as a 'cycle,' these nineteen songs were not conceived as a unity by the poet-singer Ibn Ezra, holding no single clear thematic thread through the chapters. In the liner notes to the 1993 recording of the *Divan*, MacDonald summarises and categorises the content of the *Divan* as follows:

The first four sections – ‘*Songs of Wandering, Songs of Friendship, Of Wine and of the Delights of Men*’ (the only light-hearted section, functioning perhaps as a central scherzo), and *The World and its Vicissitudes*, consist of three songs each. The fifth part, *The Transience of this World*, contains six songs, and through them accumulate a severe spirit of sustained funereal elegy, finally summed up in the single grisly song of the Epilogue, ‘*Wouldst thou look upon me in my grave?*’ which nevertheless achieves a kind of fatalistic tranquillity. Despite the overall effect of this song-cycle as a sustained meditation on death, as one writer puts it, Castelnuovo-Tedesco in fact creates an extraordinary variety of light and shade from song to song.<sup>124</sup>

An apparent consideration for Castelnuovo-Tedesco in his inclusions for the *Divan* was the unique content of each poem. Each poem is one-page or less in length, although additional poems of this length were excluded from his work (poems 16, 20-23, 25-29 for example).<sup>125</sup> Length may have been one consideration but did not play a major role, as both poem 7 in Brody and Solis-Cohen (‘Fate Has Blocked the Way’) as well as the Epilogue in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Divan* poem 36 in Brody and Solis-Cohen (‘Wouldst Thou Look Upon Me in My Grave’) are both well over a page in length. Of the poems that were excluded and under one page, most fall in the chapter of ‘The World and Its Vicissitudes,’ (poems 18-29). Of this section, poems 18 and 19 were included, while poems 20-23 were excluded possibly due to the content being similar to the aforementioned (being ‘Men Are Children of This World,’ and ‘The World is Like a Woman of Folly’). The serene poem 24 (‘Only in God I Trust’) was included and seems to be an inserted subject providing some relief from the preceding and following messages of morality and warning, being poems 25-29. Poems 30-36 were all included by Castelnuovo-Tedesco.

---

<sup>124</sup> Malcolm MacDonald writing in the 1993 CD liner notes of *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra* performed by the soprano Roberta Alexander and the guitarist Dick Hoogeveen (Etcetera records, Amsterdam, 1993, KTC 1150)

<sup>125</sup> See Appendix for a complete listing of the non-liturgical poems in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition.

The Epilogue ‘Wouldst Thou Look Upon Me in My Grave,’ is one of the most dramatic parts of the *Divan* and may hold hints as to what Castelnuovo-Tedesco identified with in this text:

My son, wouldst thou look at me in my grave?  
Behold a prisoner in chains...  
Oh, how my kin have made a stranger of me!  
My brothers hold me as an alien,  
And like them, [musical marker: *stringendo*] my children renounce me.  
[musical marker: *repentant* in *fortissimo*] Even as I as stubborn and neglectful toward my  
father....and their [i.e., the brothers’ and sons’] memory will be lost from the world,  
[musical marker: *parlato*] even as I am forgotten.<sup>126</sup>

It is possible to relate this poem in a number of ways to the life and thoughts of Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Both poet and composer suffered alienation by the local population in their respective homelands of Granada and Florence. It also expresses a number of apparently autobiographical statements by Ibn Ezra referring to his own father and brother that were set most dramatically in the music of Castelnuovo-Tedesco. In hypothesising why these statements were made so uniquely dramatic in the Castelnuovo-Tedesco setting, one may include the possibility that the composer may have been thinking of his own experiences and relationships in these lines. The Epilogue is slightly edited at the end with Ibn Ezra’s original text removed, ending with the dramatic “Even as I am forgotten...,” giving some hint as to another meaning to this song. The words preceding that important phrase, are “...memory will be lost, from the world.” These words are emphasised in the accompaniment in the minor by quaver chords played *piano* on the first syllable of ‘memory’ and ‘lost,’ that are cut off after their allotted quaver length with quaver-to-crotchet rests filling in the rest of the bar. As it finishes the cycle, it may be interpreted as referring to the composer’s concerns for his own legacy. After these dramatic and dark lines, the actual last lines of the poem, shown as follows, were removed by the composer: ‘True it is, that the fortune of one who begets many sons (*alaphim*), / Is like that of him who goes childless (*ariri*).’<sup>127</sup> The removal of these final lines was an unusual act by the composer and allows for dramatic closure of the composition musically interpreted by Castelnuovo-Tedesco as a fading away of his own legacy: *p grave*—to *psf*—to *p*—to *piu p*—to *pp*: that is, to almost nothing.

---

<sup>126</sup> Ibn Ezra, “Wouldst thou look upon me in my grave?....,” in Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 56; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 64.

<sup>127</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, “Wouldst thou look upon me in my grave?....,” in Heinrich Brody, *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), 65.

## *General Overview of Subjects*

A not unusual interpretation of the *Divan* is that given by MacDonald who writes that Castelnuovo-Tedesco's 'identification' with the poems selected involves 'a personal identification with these meditations of an old man confronting death...' <sup>128</sup> As will be demonstrated below, since nothing directly written by the composer about the composition has been uncovered, any motivations need to be reconstructed through correspondence. One such correspondence is that by his son Lorenzo:

The *Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra* is a collection (Divan) of poetry written by Moses-Ibn-Ezra (born 1055, died 1135)...My father put to music an English translation of this work...he was in the habit of putting to music poetry that he ran across in his reading; There is no reason to believe that he had any presentiment of his death, although he certainly was aware as we all are, of his mortality...' <sup>129</sup>

Lorenzo's statement above seems to place more emphasis on the literary value of the texts, and less on any particular thoughts of mortality. However, Kidd records correspondence with Castelnuovo-Tedesco's student at the time, Ronald C. Purcell who was also familiar with the composer's day-to-day health at that time, noting that

[e]ven in his four-volume unpublished autobiography *Una vita di musica*, there is no mention of the work [i.e., the *Divan*], and Purcell informs me [i.e., the writer, Kidd] that, due to ill health, the composer added very little to the autobiography from the time the song cycle was composed in 1966 until his death two years later in 1968. <sup>130</sup>

As Gilardino states in the liner notes of a 2017 recording of selected Castelnuovo-Tedesco's works—including the *Divan*: 'In the last years of his life, Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, cognizant of his declining health, wrote a few pieces in which he pondered about his personal history and, more broadly, about the human condition.' <sup>131</sup> However, Castelnuovo-Tedesco would have health concerns throughout his life starting with an exemption from military duty when he was still a teenager, and often mentioned age and ailments in his correspondence. <sup>132</sup> The question

---

<sup>128</sup> Malcolm MacDonald, liner notes of *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, Roberta Alexander and Dick Hoogveen (Etcetera Records, KTC-1150, 1993).

<sup>129</sup> Lorenzo Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Dorothy Landis-Gray, September 15, 1993. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 122/5.

<sup>130</sup> Kidd, "Issues and Solutions for the Guitarist," 2.

<sup>131</sup> Angelo Gilardino, draft of liner notes for the CD Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, in Joanna Klisowska (soprano) and Giulio Tampalini (guitar), "Complete Music for Soprano and Guitar" (Italy: Brilliant Classics, BT-1202, 2017), trans. Dr. Alberto Furlan, November 2016.

<sup>132</sup> For example, letter to Rossi May 21, 1965: 'And too bad that I am too old, too tired, and too sick to attempt it.' Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13. I thank James Westby for pointing this observation out to me.

is why health concerns would be a particularly important issue in mid-1966? In May 1965, Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote to Nick Rossi noting his ‘...walking on the beach (as far as my ever diminishing breath consents)...’<sup>133</sup> In January 1966, a mere three months prior to composing the *Divan*, Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote: ‘I have been very busy and also not feeling too well (nothing serious, but, I believe a case of “exhaustion” which not only prevents me from working but makes even writing a letter an almost “unbearable effort”...).’<sup>134</sup>

His health however did not prevent him from continuing and forwarding his work to Moldenhauer: ‘...on a few “scraps” which might interest you in your archive [including]...the first proofs of the English libretto from the *Merchant of Venice*...with my corrections....’<sup>135</sup>

Apparently, health, compositional activity, as well as preservation of his works, were prominent issues in his life towards, and in 1966. In fact, leading up to Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s composition of the *Divan*, the year 1966 was a typical year of activity. In January, the *Second Guitar Concerto* was premiered in Los Angeles featuring Christopher Parkening. In April, the otherwise highly successful *Merchant of Venice* was performed in San Diego, though that particular event was deemed a “sad” disappointment as it was held in an “almost empty theater” [sic] on a rainy night and on the same night as the Oscars. The poor attendance caused the next performance to be cancelled.<sup>136</sup> In May Castelnuovo-Tedesco completed the *Eclogues*. In early June 1966, he completed *Cancion Venezuela*, Op. 170/40a, a Greeting Card for Alirio Diaz. He completed another, the *Cancion Argentina*, Op. 170/41 for Ernesto Bitetti and then *Estudio*, Op. 170/42 for Manuel Lopez Ramos soon afterwards.

The *Divan* contains sections of sombre darkness and melancholy and this is usually explained as cathartic thoughts of mortality by an old man, but it is possible that Castelnuovo-Tedesco wished the *Divan* to express a spiritual testament of his *whole* existential journey.<sup>137</sup> A major aspect of this journey is exile. It was an important thematic inspiration for Ibn Ezra’s poetry in general and as contained in his *Divan* finds prominence in the first six songs of the cycle. Exile

---

<sup>133</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, May 15, 1965. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>134</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, January 16, 1966. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 118/3.

<sup>135</sup> January 16, 1966. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 118/3.

<sup>136</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Hans Moldenhauer, May 2, 1966. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 118/3. .

<sup>137</sup> I would like to thank Maestro Giuliano Balestra for bringing these observations to my attention.

brings the composer emotionally closer to the life and experiences of Ibn Ezra as both were ostracised and forced out of their homelands.

A subtler cathartic expression may be uncovered through Castelnuovo-Tedesco's intent regarding whether a male or female soloist should sing the *Divan*. The matter is significant since the *Divan* also contains mysterious romantic suggestions. It is unusual for such scant information about the soloist to be found on the score, particularly noting how his other song cycle, *Die Vogelweide*, Op. 156 written in 1958, clearly notes: 'Ein Leider-Cyklus für Bariton und Gitarre (oder Klavier).'<sup>138</sup> Nonetheless, based on the conventions he followed for his other art songs, one might assume that the work was intended for female soprano, although the premiere of the *Divan* in 1975 was with the tenor Howard Fried in the presence of Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco. No indications exist that she objected to it being interpreted by a male singer. Likewise, on January 10, 2012 when the work was performed in New York (at the Weill Auditorium, Carnegie Hall),<sup>139</sup> the performance was by the male soprano David Michael Schuster. Unlike reviews of the original score, the performance was enthusiastically received by the audience as recounted by "Viva! New York" critic Lucas Eller.<sup>140</sup> Notwithstanding those important performances undertaken by a male soloist, numerous recordings and video performances of the *Divan* are sung by a female soprano. This partly justifies the earlier approach of Landis-Gray, who considers the *Divan* part of the 'Women's Voices' theme in her thesis, and who first put a gender perspective on the composition.

For both Muslim and Jewish poets, love poetry of the Golden Age in Spain contains sensibilities relating to close male relationships which today could be interpreted as homosexual in nature. The following text from the *Divan* is a case in point:

Sorrow shatters my heart (*ve'riv-kol*);  
And men distress it with blame,  
Because it follows love (*atzavo*).

They censure it for its delight in the beautiful friend (*tzvi-ḥen*),  
And because it loves him, even as its own soul (*ahavo*);  
They rebuke it for the abundance of its tears (*dma'av*)  
When it thinks and speaks of him (*dubro bo*).

They impute to him a blemish (*ḥeyoto*),

---

<sup>138</sup> Although in *Ballata dall'Esilio* the score only states 'Per voce e chitarra.'

<sup>139</sup> <https://www.revolvy.com/main/index.php?s=David%20Michael%20Schuster> (accessed November 4, 2017).

<sup>140</sup> [https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David\\_Michael\\_Schuster](https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/David_Michael_Schuster) (accessed November 4, 2017).

In that his face, bright as day,  
Is framed about with the blackness of night (*svivo*).  
Wherefore my heart swears by the life of Love (*ve'hashek*),  
That it will not listen to his detractors (*yerivo*);  
But the flame of its affection  
It will hide in its innermost chamber, even from the loved one (*ve'dodav*),  
That his heart might not be lifted up in pride (*rum-levavo*).<sup>141</sup>

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's choice of particular poems appears to emphasise homosexual tendencies (specifically, Part II, poems 4-6) including social objections raised by others. This inclusion may be due to compositional intent, where these poems were included as simply logical, if one assumes the work was written for a female soprano expressing love, *heterosexually* to a male suitor-beloved. If this were true however, then one might have expected other apparently homosexual poetry in other works for female voice. None are apparent and consequently, the *Divan* is unique in its use of this poetic device. However, if this is not the case, and Castelnuovo-Tedesco did include these poems with the intention of referencing apparently male-male relationships, then the context of the poetry dramatically shifts. Castelnuovo-Tedesco's long-time friendships included the film and stage composer, pianist, and music administrator Nino Rota<sup>142</sup> in which correspondence from 1939 through December 1966 demonstrates that both men were very close. A case in point is one of the many letters Rota wrote to Castelnuovo-Tedesco in the 1930s:

Dearest Mariolito: Your letter brought me immense pleasure. I feel that distance is of very little matter to us; even less than what I expected. Maybe because I know where you are, and it almost seems that I can travel with you in my imagination...To everyone and to you, a hug and all my affection...Nino.<sup>143</sup>

Two things stand out in this letter of Rota: Firstly, he refers to Castelnuovo-Tedesco as "Mariolito" a quintessentially Spanish reductional form of the name Mario. Castelnuovo-Tedesco himself used this in correspondence with his fiancé Clara in 1923 signing off as "*Mariolito de Nuevo*

---

<sup>141</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Sorrow shatters my heart..." in Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 15; Brody, Solis Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 13.

<sup>142</sup> Nino Rota (1911-1979) amongst other works, wrote the music for the first two 'Godfather' films.

<sup>143</sup> I would like to thank Maestro Giuseppe Ficara who brought to my attention this document dated August 29, 1939. Translated by the author: 'Carissimo Mariolito: le tue lettere mi hanno fatto un immenso piacere. Sento che la distanza è ben poca cosa per noi; meno di quello che m'aspettassi. Forse anche perché conosco i posti dove sei e mi sembra quasi di viaggiare insieme a te nell'immaginazione. ... A tutti e a te un abbraccio e tutto l'affetto del tuo. Nino.' A large collection of other letters, similar in tone, and all addressed 'Mio caro [or *Carissimo*] Mariolito' are located at the MCT Papers, LoC, 127/1.

*Castillo*,’’<sup>144</sup> demonstrating the affectionate use of the form, aside from the exotic Spanish side that the composer strongly identified with. The same applies to the younger Nick Rossi, whom Castelnuovo-Tedesco repeatedly refers to as ‘*Niccolino caro*’ (for example letters dated February 27, 1964 and October 17[?], 1964, February 27, 1965) holding expressions such as ‘I am afraid, from time to time, we will have to write each other letters, to express feelings which our lips would refuse to say...’ (August 22, 1963); ‘I have the feeling that, in our conversations, we are leaving half of the things we have in our hearts unsaid...’ (October 1, 1963); ‘I wonder if you realise what an important (I would say “essential”) part this friendship has taken up in my life...Thank you for existing Nick...I have re-read all the letters you have sent me during these months (I have kept them all)...’ (January 9, 1964); and ‘...you may wonder sometimes, about my “love life”...’ (January 13, 1964). These letters display a connection to Rossi augmenting their purely musical relationship. It would only be speculative however, to imply or interpret that the male-male passages in the *Divan* reflect or refer to any possible personal feelings that the composer felt to any particular person.

### *The Score*

The manuscript of the *Divan* includes the dates in which Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote each song. This was not unusual, and as Rossi has stated, ‘Castelnuovo-Tedesco set time frames for the progress of larger works, establishing (and keeping!) dates by which certain acts of movements would be completed...working directly with India ink on ozalid master papers.’<sup>145</sup> Each song in the cycle took one or two days to compose, from June 24 to July 18, 1966, demonstrating, as the composer says, that ‘when I am sitting down to write, I do it very fast.’<sup>146</sup> His method of working directly onto the score would be a major factor explaining why no preliminary ideas of most of his works were written.

The original *Divan* manuscript is located at the Library of Congress, in the Moldenhauer Archive. Four days after completing the score, it was headed with a dedication: ‘To Hans and

---

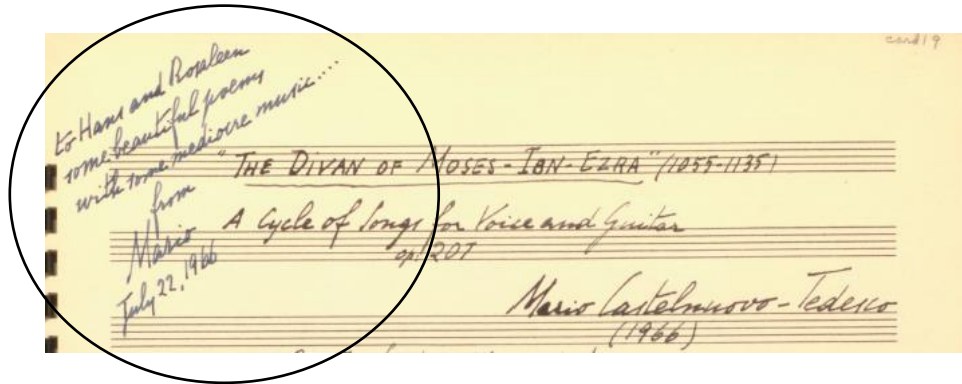
<sup>144</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La barba bianca* (score), Op. 28 (A. Forlivesi & Co., 1923), signed and sent to Clara, December 9, 1923. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 7/10.

<sup>145</sup> Nick Rossi, “Introduction,” in Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *La Sua fede*, interviewed by Rebecca Andrade. Completed under the auspices of the Oral History Program (Los Angeles: UCLA, 1982), vii.

<sup>146</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry (Problems of an Opera Composer)” (ms., August 1952), 4. Location MCT Papers, LoC, 116/16.

Rosaleen...Some beautiful poems with some mediocre music...From Mario, July 22, 1966.’<sup>147</sup>

Although it says nothing of interest, this statement is the only non-musical reference talking about the composition by the composer himself and is thus included below:



**Figure 8.1: The title of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Divan* showing the dedication, the only extra-musical reference to the composition found from the composer’s hand.**

No further correspondence to Moldenhauer was found from May 2 until November 20, 1966, where the composer talks about his eventful recent trip back to Italy.<sup>148</sup> No mention is made of a lull in writing, and this indicates that letters may have been lost. A period of silence again ensues with the next letter being April 3, 1967 then May 7, 1967 in reference to the *Sonata for Cello and Harp*, Op. 208.

Van Gammeran points out that when Castelnuovo-Tedesco began working in the film industry in Hollywood he had access to state-of-the-art copying facilities. From then on, he began to produce one master and distributed copies to friends and publishing houses.<sup>149</sup> Two known copies were made of the original *Divan*. These are located at the University of South Carolina Music Library, in its Special Collections—a copy sent to his friend and confidante Nick Rossi (August 16, 1966), and another copy sent soon after to one of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s most devoted students and friends,<sup>150</sup> the composer Robin Escovado (August 20, 1966).<sup>151</sup>

<sup>147</sup> Catalogue reference: ML96.C34/154. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 87/2.

<sup>148</sup> Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 123/31.

<sup>149</sup> van Gammeran, “The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles,” 15.

<sup>150</sup> David S Asbury, “20th Century Romantic Serialism: The Opus 170 *Greeting Cards* of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco” (Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2005), 65.

<sup>151</sup> Location: University of South Carolina Music Library Rare Book Room. Container List: Series 1: Music (box 1, folder 4, and 1/5, for the *Divans*): [http://library.sc.edu/music/mct\\_cl.html](http://library.sc.edu/music/mct_cl.html). The Library also acquired many other items in 2000 and then in 2002 when Rossi, and then his partner Prof. Talmadge Fauntleroy subsequently died.



### *Correspondence with Rossi*

Remarkably, no accompanying letters to the original score or its two extant copies are known to exist. There is an important letter written *by* Nick Rossi (1934-2000) dated August 22, 1966 that is preserved in the Library of Congress. In this letter, Rossi appears to respond to a now missing letter written before that date by Castelnuovo-Tedesco in which he talks about the *Divan*. It is likely that this missing letter accompanied the copy of the score sent to Rossi who preserved a substantial collection of writings, scores, and correspondence of the composer which he donated to the Music Library of the University of South Carolina in 1999. Though not the words of Castelnuovo-Tedesco himself, Rossi's letter comes close to revealing the composer's feelings about the *Divan* as it seems to reflect comments made in the missing letter. Rossi's letter is the only known correspondence of the time that directly refers to the *Divan*:

...On Thursday last week your letter arrived...[with] the complete song cycle [Op. 207]... *I do see what you mean* [italics added], however, in the overall pessimistic "outlook" of the poems, yet I feel that within this "general content" there is a variety, as there is in your musical setting of them. For example, numbers 7 and 8 of Part II [sic, should read Part III] – the strong contrasts between "Drink Deep" and "Dull and Sad is the Sky" – both superb settings, but with contrasts in "text" and certainly in the "feel" of the settings. And of course, in No. 5 "Fate has Blocked the Way," [t]here are "internal" contrasts within the song itself – a most powerful and dramatic setting, yet with its moments of calm.

I think they are amongst my favourites I would choose No 2 ['The Dove That Nests in the Tree-top'...]...and "O Brook" with its "murmuring" (and reminiscences of our beloved Schubert!)...[but] one shouldn't try to choose favourites...because of our own "subjective" mood at the particular time we are reading through them...

Once again I am indebted to you, both for this wonderful "music" and for sending me a copy of it...<sup>152</sup>

It is very likely that Castelnuovo-Tedesco's letter to which Rossi refers ("...I do see what you mean...") would have talked in some detail about the music of the *Divan*. This was Castelnuovo-Tedesco's common practice and can be seen in any number of his other letters referring to other works. In all likelihood, the missing letter here would have been written sometime after completion of the *Divan* on July 18 and before Rossi's response of August 22. It would be reasonable to assume that Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote his letter on the same date he dedicated a copy of the score to Rossi on Tuesday August 16. It went from Beverly Hills to Hollywood, California on "Thursday last week," being August 18, making it a two-day postal service, which is

---

<sup>152</sup> Dated August 22, 1966. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 125/7.

improbable. This would mean that it was more likely hand delivered the eight kilometres either personally or by courier.

However, the letter that prompted Rossi's response on August 22, 1966 was not found in either his or Castelnuovo-Tedesco's archives in the Library of Congress or the University of South Carolina.<sup>153</sup> This contrasts starkly for example with a six-page letter to Rossi of April 4, 1965 and another of four pages on May 21, 1965 in which Castelnuovo-Tedesco speaks in great detail about *The Book of Tobit II: Tobias and the Angel*, Op. 204 (1964-65), going so far as to include musical illustrations, comparisons to other works, his orchestrations, other composers, and varied other impressions. Regarding his persistent health concerns even year before writing the *Divan*, in that letter he comments that he needs to continue '...and I must gather all my strength! (The little that is left to me...).' <sup>154</sup>

The absent correspondence from Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Rossi is inexplicable. Examining Nick Rossi's letters to Castelnuovo-Tedesco preserved in the Library of Congress over the years 1965-1967, one can see that he was writing on average three (to four) letters to Castelnuovo-Tedesco every month during that entire period. In 1965, he wrote at least 32 letters, with at least nine referring to Castelnuovo-Tedesco's letters. In 1966, he wrote over 50 letters and postcards with at least thirteen referring to the composer's letters. In 1967, he wrote thirteen letters with five responding to Castelnuovo-Tedesco's letters. Consequently, during those years it is logical to estimate that there were at least 30 letters from Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Rossi that, judging from what does exist in Rossi's archive, one would have thought would have been carefully preserved.

When Rossi died in 2000, a portion of his documents were left to the University of South Carolina. Soon afterwards, Prof. Talmadge Randall Fauntleroy, head of Opera at the USC, left the remainder of Rossi's documents to the University including the correspondence after he himself died in 2002. However, all correspondence from July 1965 to March 1968 between Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Rossi has disappeared. Considering the weekly or even twice weekly letters that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was writing to Rossi during 1963 to 1965, for example in May 1965 alone

---

<sup>153</sup> Series 3, *Correspondence*, box 1/4: [http://library.sc.edu/music/nr\\_cl.html](http://library.sc.edu/music/nr_cl.html)

<sup>154</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Rossi, May 21, 1965. Location MCT Papers, LoC, 125/7. I would like to thank James Westby who brought this document to my attention. The words here are similar in an earlier letter of January 23, 1964 in which Castelnuovo-Tedesco says to Rossi 'I didn't have the strength to walk to the nearest mailbox.' Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

when Castelnuovo-Tedesco wrote eight letters and postcards now held in the USC, there are obviously many letters yet to be unearthed and analysed. One of those is the letter describing Castelnuovo-Tedesco's feelings and perhaps motivations for composing the *Divan*.

The content in many of the letters that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was writing to younger Rossi during these earlier years showed an emotional attachment to the younger man. One may only guess as to why the latter letters are absent, but the warmth of feeling to Rossi is similar in tone to that so beautifully expressed between the poet Ibn Ezra and his 20-year younger colleague Yehuda Halevi using terms of admiration and love.<sup>155</sup>

### **Castelnuovo-Tedesco after the *Divan***

A matter of days after completing the *Divan* on July 18, 1966, Castelnuovo-Tedesco, composed a few miniature works, all on July 22, 1966. These included a Greeting Card *Homage to Purcell*, Op. 170 No. 38; *Cancion Argentina*, Op. 170 No. 41; *Estudio*, Op. 170 No. 42, on the name of Manuel Lopez Ramos; and *Cancion Venezuela*, Op. 170 No. 40 on the name of Alirio Diaz, 1966 (undated but according to the opus number, seemingly likewise on July 22, 1966). This shows a level of considerable activity following the completion of the *Divan*.

Despite the considerable compositional work during the first half of 1966, the year seems to have ended on a low. On September 6, Castelnuovo-Tedesco returned to Italy for the eighth and final time remaining there until November 19. Despite the positive start to the year, from August 1966 through to January 1967 Castelnuovo-Tedesco became depressed and non-productive, which was very unusual for him. In a letter of October 3, 1966 Castelnuovo-Tedesco writes of his changing relationship to his beloved Florence by explaining

...why I dislike so much life here (in Florence) and why I am so anxious to get back to America. It isn't that I like America better than Italy! It is only that Italy is becoming much worse than America! You cannot imagine (besides the noise and the traffic and the bad smell...) what is the situation here...the vulgarity of the people, the immorality, the cheating, the robberies, the crimes...when you read the Italian papers the headlines of the L.A. Times become "children's play"!<sup>156</sup>

---

<sup>155</sup> For example, see Ibn Ezra, *Shirei HaHol*, ed. Brody (Berlin, 1935), p. 22 in the poem *Yaldei Yamim*, where Ibn Ezra enigmatically invites the younger poet to his "garden of love and friendship..."

<sup>156</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Erna Albersheim, October 3, 1966. I would like to thank James Westby who brought this, and the two following documents to my attention.

Between November 4 and 10, 1966, Florence was flooded, adding to the darkness around Castelnuovo-Tedesco at this time. In a letter of December 7, 1966, he wrote that ‘unfortunately, in the floods of Florence, we were there! And it was horrible...And now we are at home! (But I assure you that the sound of rain, which I loved so much before, now makes me cringe).’<sup>157</sup> In another letter dated January 28, 1967, he writes of the idealised Florence of his youth impacting the present:

I didn’t send you any music for Xmas for the simple (and sad) reason that I hadn’t written any music since August...and, for myself, torn as I am between the images of Florence in my youth, and the ones of the “deluge,” I wanted to restore the image of Florence as I saw it as a boy, with the eyes, perhaps of Botticelli.<sup>158</sup>

As this letter confirms, after completing the *Divan*, Castelnuovo-Tedesco stopped composing altogether for nearly half a year. In fact, he does not finish another chamber work until May 1967, a gap of almost a year. The work (*Sonata for Cello and Harp*, Op. 208), was completed concurrently with another work involving the solo harp which was the *Rhapsody for Harp* (“The Harp of [King] David”) Op. 209 of May-June 1967. This period of silence and depression gives one cause to wonder if the completion of the *Divan* with its dark musings of death contributed to his depression, like those two instances of six-month compositional silence in the 1930s brought about by extreme stress (in 1936 and 1938). It is quite clear that at that time he was reflecting on his legacy, as in 1966 he donated, for the first time, a set of manuscripts to the Library of Congress, fully aware that he wanted to preserve his legacy.<sup>159</sup> This may find reflection in the last words of the *Divan* in solemn *parlato*, “...even as I am forgotten.” However, his spirits had at least improved by 1967 such that he was looking towards the future by dedicating the didactic work *Appunti* to young guitarists. This was Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s final large-scale guitar project, although it was never completed.

### **Publishing and First Performance**

Regrettably, Castelnuovo-Tedesco never heard the *Divan* performed. It was only published in 1973 by *Edizioni Musicali*, Bèrben<sup>160</sup> well after his death in 1968. This may not have surprised the

---

<sup>157</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Carlo Carfagna, December 7, 1966.

<sup>158</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to G. and E. Albersheim, January 28, 1967.

<sup>159</sup> I would like to thank James Westby who brought these observations to my attention.

<sup>160</sup> Bèrben, Ancona, Italy, 1973; Catalog No EB1713.

composer, as he once remarked that most of his best music would appear posthumously.<sup>161</sup> Initial response to the score was made the same year as the publication and was less than impressive. A reviewer for the periodical *Music and Letters* writes: '[The *Divan*] was written in, but is hardly of, 1966. Despite an obviously ingratiating guitar accompaniment, the music is dull and unimaginative, relying on well-worn harmonic formulas.'<sup>162</sup>

Angelo Gilardino, the guitar editor for the Bèrben edition, and one of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's colleagues, left the score without fingering guidance. As Ruggero Chiesa states in his edition of the *Appunti*, Castelnuovo-Tedesco's final compositions, works left unfingered and unrevised are preferable 'in order not to betray the intentions of the composer, [so] any alterations to the others are left to the performer.'<sup>163</sup> In the *Divan*, without making changes, some sections are unidiomatic and either highly impractical or impossible to play. Therefore, some *ossia* appear, which Gilardino apparently saw fit to add alongside the original, but he also occasionally replaced the original without notification, as will be seen below. In a 1974 review of the score by Mary Criswick, she calls the decision by Gilardino to leave the music unsullied, as 'wise,' noting, '[as] in his introduction to *Platero y yo*, Gilardino explains that this is an urtext edition, and that any guitarist wishing to play from it must himself make the necessary amendments in order that the music, written by a non-guitarist, should fit the instrument.'<sup>164</sup>

When comparing the 1973 Bèrben publication with the manuscript of the *Divan*, editorial changes to the guitar part by Gilardino are evident, primarily in inner voicings, but also in octaves that impact the overall musical effect in some places. Some are controversial. The *ossia* in Song 2 was added by Gilardino and noted as a new addition to the score although it is not particularly necessary considering the ease of fluency by which the original lightly dissonant chords can be executed:

---

<sup>161</sup> As cited in Ernest Lubin, "A Neglected Impressionist Castelnuovo-Tedesco," *Clavier* X/2 (February 1971): 31.

<sup>162</sup> T.H., *Music & Letters*, 54/4 (October 1973): 519.

<sup>163</sup> Ruggero Chiesa, "Preface," *Appunti - Preludi e Studi Per Chitarra* (Milan: Edizione Suvini Zerboni, 1968), 1.

<sup>164</sup> Mary Criswick, "Guitar Review," *The Musical Times* 115/1572 (February 1974): 147.



Figure 8.2: 'The Dove That Nests in the Tree-Top,' Song 2, mm. 1-7.

Another example of where the editor added an unnecessary *ossia* is in Song 2, section A, mm. 9-12, which is marked below the original intent, as is the above example.

An example of an unmarked *ossia* is in Song 2, at the end of section C (bars 45-48), where the editor saw fit—justifiably so in guitaristic terms—to break up the descending concluding pattern by taking mm. 45-46 down an octave. While this change is logical, it would have been beneficial to know the original consistently descending intent of the composer as it appears in the manuscript. Below is the published score with the first two measures altered without notification. The handwritten manuscript follows with original intent:



Figure 8.3: 'The Dove That Nests in the Tree-Top,' Song 2, mm.45-48.

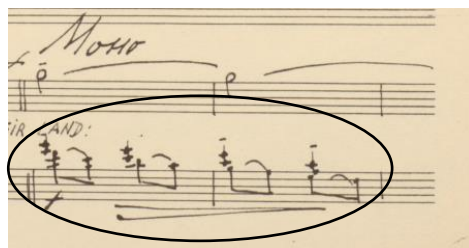


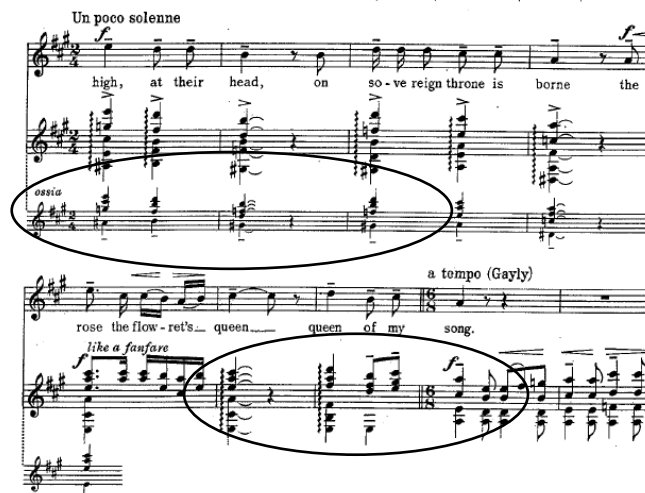
Figure 8.4: 'The Dove That Nests in the Tree-Top,' Song 2, mm. 45-46 from the manuscript of the *Divan*.

A similar action may be seen in Song 3, where middle voicings have been moved (firstly, the D above middle C has gone down an octave, and then the middle C has gone up an octave). Again, no clarification of original compositional intent was indicated by the editor. The score followed by the manuscript follows:

Figure 8.5: 'Wrung With Anguish,' Song 3, mm. 45-47.

Figure 8.6: 'Wrung With Anguish,' Song 3, mm. 45-47 from the manuscript of the *Divan*.

The changes that were made by Gilardino were generally helpful, but there is inconsistency, as other passages clearly needed an *ossia* alternative. For example, the A section of Song 9 (presuming D tuning) where in measures 14-15 the stretch from (the finger-stopped) low E to the highest notes in the chords is not possible. On the other hand, Castelnuovo-Tedesco himself added an *ossia* to one of the songs as the original is clearly impossible to play:



**Figure 8.7: ‘The Garden dons a Coat of Many Hues,’ Song 9, mm. 9-13 showing the composer’s own *ossia*, and mm. 14-15 that were left in an unplayable state.**

Why the composer chose to leave the original idea in the score is unclear, although it remains as a remnant of original concept. This lack of clarity and the necessary changes to compositional intent for the sake of the appropriate fluency and sonority of the guitar may be factors that kept the composition out of mainstream repertoires.

In 1973, the year of its publication but a full two years before its premiere, Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco sent a copy of the score to guitarist Giuliano Balestra, at which time he began work on his own recording of it with the *soprano* Elisabetta Majeron.<sup>165</sup> Evidently, it may not have made too much of an impression (on him or on a record company), as it was only recorded and released in 1979. More significantly, in 1975, two years after the score was published, the *Divan* was premiered by Gregg Nestor (b. 1956), a California-based guitarist. Nestor corresponded with Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco seven months before the April 1975 performance, with the aim of enticing her to the premiere, over 160 kilometres away. In

<sup>165</sup> I would like to thank Maestro Giuliano Balestra for bringing this to my attention.



correspondence with her, Nestor writes that ‘...I am right now researching information...on Castelnuovo-Tedesco and on the composition that will be performed...’<sup>166</sup> Research must indeed have been undertaken as the same letter notes the title as including ‘ben Jacob’ to the name Ibn Ezra as per the Solis-Cohen edition. Although Ibn Ezra’s full name does not exist in the Castelnuovo-Tedesco score, nor the source of the translation, the press release for the concert emphatically stated that the text was translated by Solomon de Silva Solis-Cohen:

The Wealth and Vitality that is Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Howard and Gregg will present the premiere of the *Divan of Moses ben Jacob Ibn Ezra* based on the poetry of Ibn Ezra—one the finest Hebrew poets and philosophers of the Spanish Golden Age. Mrs. Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco will be a special guest of honour.<sup>167</sup>

With the support of Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, the performance took place as part of “*An Evening of Castelnuovo-Tedesco*” at the Jewish Community Centre of San Diego on Sunday April 27, 1975, featuring the *tenor* Howard Fried. Use of a tenor voice conforms to the abovementioned reviewer Criswick, written a year before, who observes that the songs are ‘probably best sung by a tenor as the tessitura lies a little uncomfortably for a lower voice.’<sup>168</sup> This is interesting as a *higher* voice, being in the contralto or mezzo-soprano ranges was not even considered. It may be an indication that to Criswick the song cycle was obviously intended for the male voice, just not in the baritone range as was for example the earlier song cycle *Die Vogelwiede*. Aside from any comfortable melodic range, the basis for Criswick’s apparent thinking that the male voice was the most appropriate means of singing the composition may have been impacted by the timbre of the poetry itself: dark, brooding, and solemn. Indeed, it was premiered the next year using the male tenor, but rarely undertaken since, as will be seen below.

### **Musical Markers and the Song Cycle**

Ibn Ezra did not compose his poems as a unified narrative. Creating a unified work out of the individual poems was what Castelnuovo-Tedesco set out to achieve. Earlier the composer makes a general reference to his compositional technique in which he identifies his use of musical ‘symbols’ as a unifying element in his works.

These different “symbols,”...may also consist of a melodic element, a thematic cell (which is sometimes in the voice part too), a rhythm (which may likewise stem from the voice part,

---

<sup>166</sup> Gregg Nestor to Clara Castelnuovo-Tedesco, September 25, 1974. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 124/4.

<sup>167</sup> April 27, 1975. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 124/4.

<sup>168</sup> Criswick, “Guitar Review,” *The Musical Times*, 147.

or may, on the contrary, be entirely opposed to it), an instrumental figuration ...[like a] simple *arpeggio*, a chromatic scale, or finally, some harmonic element—a series of chords of even a single chord...<sup>169</sup>

Several musical tendencies are found throughout the accompaniment of the *Divan*. These include single note and chordal chromaticism, imitation of the melody, mainly conjunct melody lines with occasional large intervallic leaps that serve to place emphasis on given portions/words of the text, and a variety of colour tones in the chords, including ninths, elevenths, and thirteenthths as well as sophisticated alterations of those tones. Figures 8.8 to 8.11 show some examples of the above stylistic markers utilised in the *Divan*:

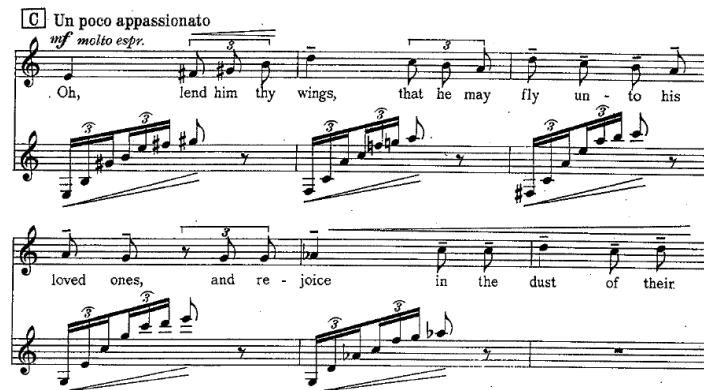


Figure 8.8: 'The Dove the Nests in the Tree-top,' showing an example of arpeggiated chromaticism. Song 2, section C, mm. 1-5.



Figure 8.9: 'O Brook,' showing an example of single-note chromaticism. Song 6, section A, from measure 1.

<sup>169</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song-Writer," 110.



Figure 8.10: ‘Fate has Blocked the Way,’ showing an example of melodic imitation. Song 5, section A.

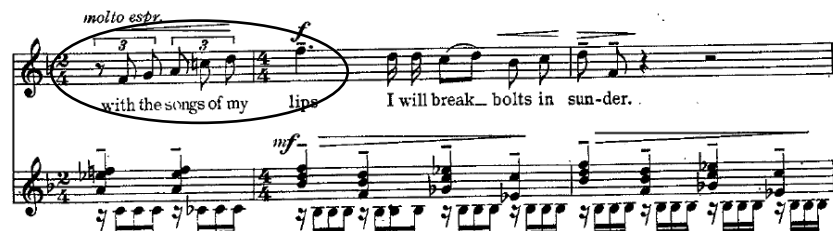


Figure 8.11: ‘Fate has Blocked the Way,’ showing an example of conjunct melody followed by a large leap of a sixth. Song 5, section A, mm. 7 and 9.

Figures 8.12 to 8.15 show examples of colour tones (ninth, eleventh and thirteenth extensions) in chordal accompaniment:

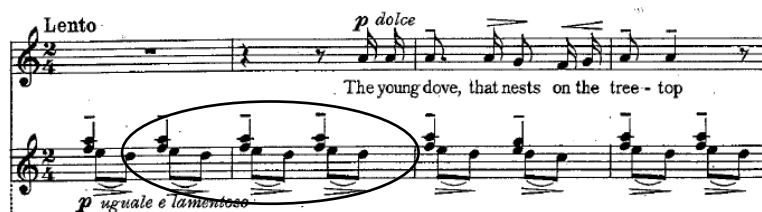


Figure 8.12: ‘The Dove that Nests in the Tree-top,’ showing an example of ninths in delicately dissonant Dm ‘crush’ chords. Song 2, mm. 1-6.

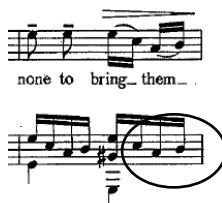


Figure 8.13: ‘The Dove that Nests in the Tree-top,’ showing an example an unaltered 11<sup>th</sup> chord being an E11 (add b13) that is imitated in the melody. Song 2, section A, measure 15.



Figure 8.14: 'Sorrow Shatters my Heart,' showing use of the thirteenth in a minor setting: Fm13.  
Song 4, section C, measure 10.

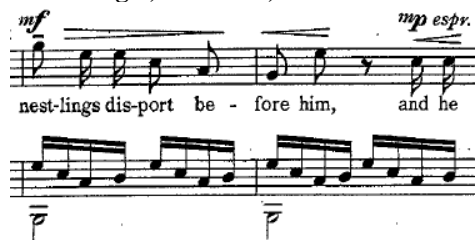


Figure 8.15: 'The Dove that Nests in the Tree-top,' showing use of the thirteenth in a G dominant with all chordal extensions included. Song 2, section A, mm. 5-6.

Landis-Gray notes mood-setting devices such as the use of rhythmic ostinato, pedal tones, tri-tones in accompaniments, and sudden key modulations that function to indicate a change in subject or idea,<sup>170</sup> as shown in Figures 8.16 to 8.19:



Figure 8.16: 'When the Morning of Life has Passed,' showing use of rhythmic ostinato as the opening motif for the composition. Song 1, mm. 1-4.



Figure 8.17: 'Wouldst Thou Look Upon Me in My Grave,' showing use of an E pedal tone.  
Song 19, section A, mm. 3-5.

<sup>170</sup> Landis-Gray, "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings," 126 and 209.

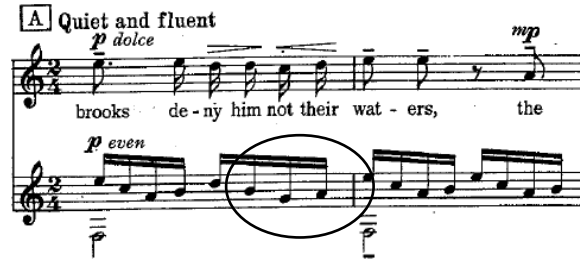


Figure 8.18: 'The Dove that Nests in the Tree-top,' showing a tri-tone example: F add #11. Song 2, section A, mm. 1-2.

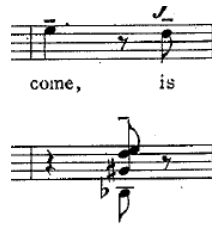


Figure 8.19: 'Wrung with Anguish,' showing an example of the dominant tri-tone used: Bb7#11 which subsequently resolves in *fortissimo* to Dm (with an A in the bass [not shown]). Song 3, section C, measure 4.

Additionally, as Higham notes, the guitaristic characteristics of this piece, common with others of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's guitar works, include D-tuning, frequent variations of repeated forms (see above Figure 8.16 where the D tuning is specified), prominent melodic and structural use of octaves, and common use of parallel triads.<sup>171</sup> Examples of these latter characteristics are shown in Figures 8.20 and 8.21:

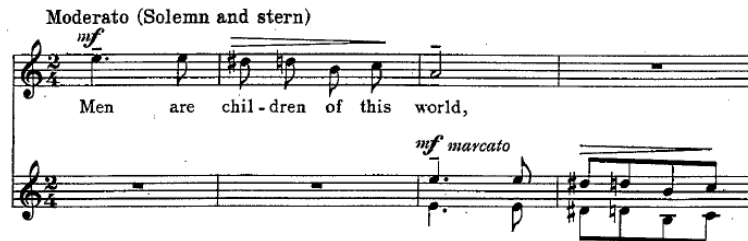


Figure 8.20: 'Men and Children of this World,'<sup>172</sup> showing octaves in melody imitation. Song 10, mm. 3-4.

<sup>171</sup> Higham, "Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Works for Guitar," 135.

<sup>172</sup> The published score incorrectly titles this song. According to the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition (p. 46) as well as Castelnuovo-Tedesco's manuscript (p. 35), the correct title should be 'Men Are Children of this World.'

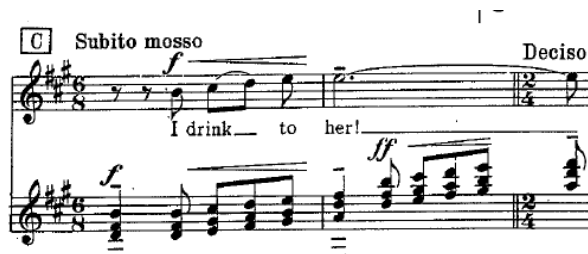


Figure 8.21: 'The Garden dons a Coat of Many Hues,' showing parallel triads as well as melodic imitation. Song 9, section C, mm. 1-2.

Additional prominent musical markers for Castelnuovo-Tedesco's guitar writing style are the common use of the natural subdominant and subdominant harmonic minor (Lydian minor sixth) as shown in Figures 8.22 to 8.24:



Figure 8.22: 'When the Morning of Life had Passed,' showing subdominant progressions from F major to C major, then Fm6/C, the subdominant in C harmonic minor providing mood change and colour. Song 1, mm. 13-16.



Figure 8.23: 'When the Morning of Life had Passed,' showing a modulation from C#m to a subdominant F#m6 (with C# in the bass), providing mood change and colour. Song 1, mm. 25-27.



Figure 8.24: 'Wrung with Anguish,' showing prominent use of the subdominant, where Fm6 cycles to Bbmaj7 in ostinato. Song 3, from measure 1.

Many other examples of the use of the subdominant are to be found throughout the composition that create one of the prominent markers of unity within the entire song cycle.

Use is also made of highly sophisticated tri-tone substitutions and imaginative altered dominants as shown in Figure 8.25:

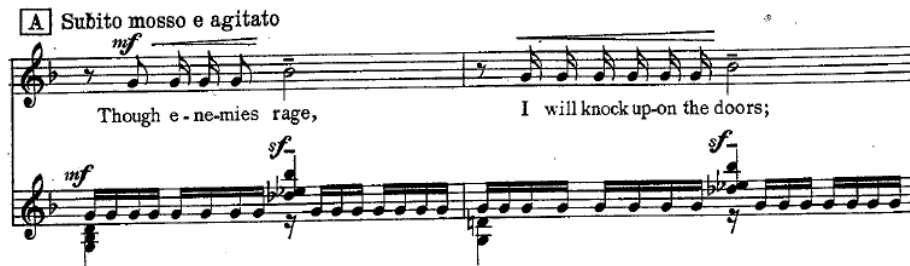


Figure 8.25: 'Fate has Blocked the Way,' showing tri-tone substitution in a Gm to Eb7b5—a substitute of the A7—which then cycles back to the Gm. Song 5, section A, mm. 1-4.

Complex altered dominant chords may also be found in abundance throughout the composition, as shown in Figures 8.26 and 8.27:

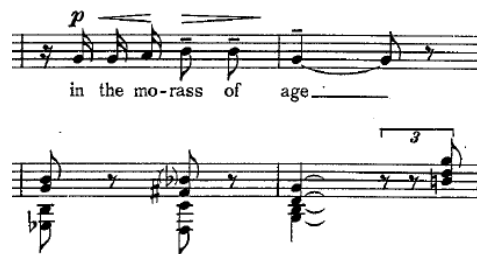


Figure 8.26: 'Wrung with Anguish,' showing an altered dominant where an Eb7 triad is substituted for a half-diminished that resolves to a D7b13 in turn resolving to a true minor. Song 3, measure 35, leading into the A section.



Figure 8.27: 'Fate has Blocked the Way,' demonstrating a D7b13 chord sequence. Song 5, measure 8. Measures with changed time signatures are also used to best serve the rhythmic qualities of the poetry as shown in Figure 8.28:

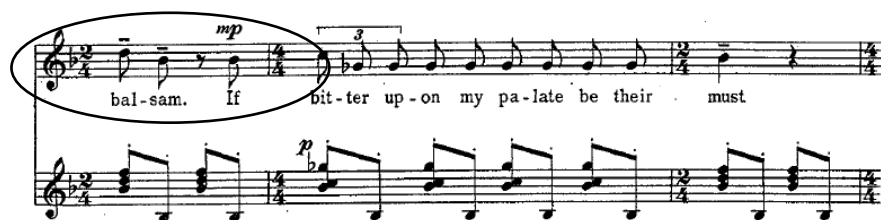


Figure 8.28: 'Fate has Blocked the Way,' demonstrating changed time signatures. Song 5, section B, mm. 3-5.

Of the variety of styles that the song cycle uses, chord progressions together with repeated use of tonic together with flattened-ninth within the chords regularly reference Spanish music especially in the first half of the *Divan*. In Song 1 alone, reminiscences of Spain and the particular Andalusian style are found in the opening ostinato shown above in Figure 8.16 in Am in which the descending chords follow a chromatic descending triadic pattern reminiscent of the Andalusian Phrygian cadential pattern (Am-G-F-E). Figures 8.29 to 8.32 show some further examples of Spanish progressions:



Figure 8.29: 'When the Morning of Life has Passed,' demonstrating Andalusian Spanish music by use of an imperfect submediant in B7 with the  $b9$  and  $\#11$ . Song 1, section B, mm. 41-44.

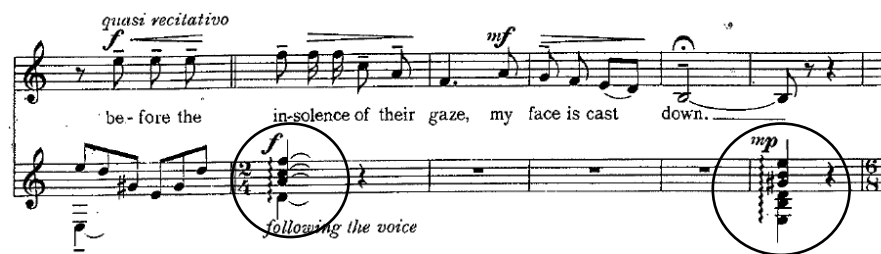
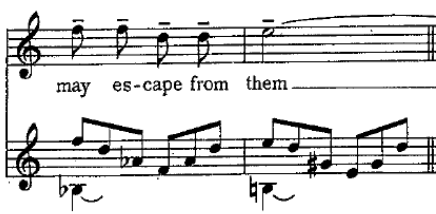


Figure 8.30: 'When the Morning of Life has Passed,' demonstrating an Andalusian Spanish progression where Dm (an F/D) progresses to E7. Song 1, section B, mm. 14 and 18.





**Figure 8.31: ‘When the Morning of Life has Passed,’ demonstrating an Andalusian Spanish progression where a Bb7 ascends to an E7 with the B in the bass. Song 1, section C, mm. 5-6.**



**Figure 8.32: ‘The Dove that Nests in the Tree-top,’ demonstrating Andalusian Spanish music where an E7 holding the flattened ninth and flattened thirteenth is played in possible reminiscence of the rasgueado effect. Song 2, section A, measure 30.**

While tonal and harmonic forms like the use of the subdominant as a minor sixth, and references to Spanish music, create a *stylistic* thread throughout the composition, musical markers alone may not be enough to justify terming the single poems of the *Divan* a ‘cycle.’ In her categorisation of Jewish music, the function of a song cycle was expressed by Cohen as referencing the ‘life cycle.’<sup>173</sup> Rosen notes that this ‘life cycle’ in Sephardic thought is divided into five, being birth, childhood, courtship, marriage, and death.<sup>174</sup> The *Divan*—as a song cycle—may be understood as representing philosophical understandings of a pre-ordained progression in life, the Sephardic ‘life cycle.’ It may thus explain the composition as a meditation on the entire journey of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s life experience, including family, trials, and tribulations in exile, loves, fears, and legacy.

### Summary of Findings

No first-hand information has been uncovered indicating Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s motivations in composing the *Divan*, nor his feelings regarding the Golden Age poet he chose. This is an exceedingly unusual situation for someone who was such a prolific correspondent, critic, and writer. There is a hint that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was familiar from an early age with the poet since he used Ibn Ezra’s poetry 35 years earlier, as part of his *I profeti*, Op. 66 (1931). However, in the prayers of Consolo, which form a part of the work and to which Castelnuovo-Tedesco refers, no sources of the poetry are indicated. It is therefore possible that Castelnuovo-Tedesco was not

<sup>173</sup> Judith R. Cohen. “Judeo-Spanish songs in the Sephardic communities of Montreal and Toronto: Survival, Function and Change” (Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, Canada, 1989), 133-5.

<sup>174</sup> Harriette Mildred Rosen, “The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud” (Ph.D. diss., University of California, San Diego, 1991), 36. This statement was not referenced and is a generalisation. In any case, its value in understanding any cyclic value in the *Divan* is very limited.

aware of his own preliminary use of Ibn Ezra. What is in no doubt is Castelnuovo-Tedesco's love of poetry. This is evidenced by his writing more than 300 art songs using poetic literature in six languages:

...It is true that I wrote, amongst other things, an enormous amount of songs (over 300)...Of the 300 and more songs of which I have written and published, [there are those in] Italian...French...German...Latin...Greek [and] English, including by Shakespeare...besides the Bible (which is of course the greatest poetry of all!...). And all of these, I have set in their original languages (except for the Greek and the Hebrew).<sup>175</sup>

As demonstrated in the first songs of the *Divan* (I-III and V-VI), and likewise in his earlier *Ballata dall'Esilio* of 1956 using terms such as “weeping heart and dolorous,”<sup>176</sup> the themes of exile, absence, and loss were evidently very important for Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Both compositions show the composer's personally experienced position vis-à-vis diaspora and memory of homeland. Exile and loss were also themes holding great prominence in the poetry of Moses Ibn Ezra. Ibn Ezra was born in Granada, a town that Castelnuovo-Tedesco almost felt as strongly toward as his own Florence. This is illustrated clearly when Castelnuovo-Tedesco recalls his talks with De Falla, as noted in the previous chapter. Spain and Spanish music were indivisible from the guitar and in his autobiography, Castelnuovo-Tedesco used the same words of Garcia-Lorca's to describe his love for that instrument: ‘When I die bury me with my guitar.’<sup>177</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco was highly conscious of his own Spanish-Jewish origins. This was indicated in no more illustrative manner than his own probably temporary nickname ‘*Mariolito*,’ the Spanish, not Italian, diminutive for Mario. The *Divan*, which was a late composition, was culturally inspired by Golden Age Spain, a location close to the composer's heart even from his early years.

The *Divan* holds some unique elements that make it a unique and culturally significant composition. These include its restoration of secular medieval *muwashshaḥāh* (strophic) poetry back to musically accompanied song; its reflection of personal feelings, experiences, and mortality; and its use of apparently homosexual poetry that serves contrasting purposes. The single

---

<sup>175</sup> Letter to Mr. Goldberg, August 28, 1958 included within the unpublished August 1952 essay of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry (Problems of an Opera Composer),” 4. In his earlier article “Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer,” Castelnuovo-Tedesco states that “a need for song” has spurred him on. Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer,” 102.

<sup>176</sup> Guido Cavalcanti, “*Ballata dell'esilio*,” trans. Ezra Pound, All Poetry.com, [https://allpoetry.com/Perchi-no-spero-di-tornar-giammai-\(Because-no-hope-is-left-me-Ballatetta\)](https://allpoetry.com/Perchi-no-spero-di-tornar-giammai-(Because-no-hope-is-left-me-Ballatetta)) (accessed October 10, 2018).

<sup>177</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 516. Translated by the author: ‘In questi ultimi mesi ho scritto dei nuovi pezzi per chitarra sola; ma questi escono dai limiti cronologici che mi sono imposto per questo libro (che mi pare già illimitato!). Mi contenterò dunque di dire che (per quell'amore che ho portato per tanti anni alla chitarra e alla Spagna) potrei far mio quella specie di epitaffio che García Lorca ha dettato, con tanta malinconica dolcezza, in *Memento* (la più breve fra le poesie del *Romancero*): «*Quando yo me muero, / entiérrame con mi guitarra / bajo la arena, / entre los naranjos / y la hierba buena...*».’

elements of the *Divan* are fused with a conceptual theme where Castelnuovo-Tedesco seems to identify with his chosen writer of poetry, empathising with his expressions of exile, the world, relationships, and their ultimate mortal conclusion.

The significance of the *Divan* may be understood by considering it a song cycle representing or even recalling the life journey of Castelnuovo-Tedesco culturally transmitted from the life trajectory of Moses Ibn Ezra and preserved within the score and its interpretation. The implications of this interpretation will be further investigated in the following chapter.

## Chapter Nine

### Reading the *Divan* Across the Centuries

Chapters Four through Eight of this thesis set out to examine the histories, narratives, cultural conditions, and personal circumstances that influenced Castelnuovo-Tedesco's inspiration for, and approach to *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*. The composer's numerous letters as well as his autobiography and various other commentaries provide valuable contextual material for understanding these circumstances and conditions. In so doing, the thesis has thus far suggested answers to the first three research questions as noted in Chapter One; namely,

1. What thematic elements are emphasised in the poetry and musical setting of the *Divan*?
2. In what ways is the *Divan* a unique composition within the corpus of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's works, and in art song more generally? and
3. How does Castelnuovo-Tedesco's compositional style and choice of poetry reflect an approach that draws on Jewish traditions of musical and poetic performance practice?

These three questions emphasised the thematic elements in the poetry within the *Divan*. They also focussed on its musical settings and how the work was unique within Jewish musical traditions and more specifically, as part of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's art song genre. This chapter will firstly summarise answers to these questions before turning to a discussion of the final two questions that expand on the theoretical aspects underlying an interpretation of the *Divan*. Consequently, the latter part of this chapter theorises the work as a cultural monument of Jewish continuity, and this contrasts with the earlier questions addressing the *Divan* as an activity of personal catharsis. The discussion serves to apply theoretical perspectives of diasporic identity and cultural memory as frames for discussing the biographies of Ibn Ezra and Castelnuovo-Tedesco within the literary, artistic, and socio-historical contexts that they inhabited.

### Cathartic Interpretations of the *Divan*: A Summary

Within the nineteen songs of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Divan*, several prominent themes are expressed in each of the five sections and Epilogue. They start with exile and loss, move to drinking, love, and companionship, and end with the implications of death's inevitability. While

the opening theme of exile and loss will be discussed later in this chapter, interpretations of the themes of love and companionship as well as those of death and legacy will be surveyed below.

### *The Poetry of Love and Friendship*

Amongst the varied themes of Ibn Ezra's non-liturgical poetry that Castelnuovo-Tedesco chose to include in his *Divan*, was the highly stylised love poetry linked to a male subject (Part II, songs 4-6). As seen in Chapter Eight, the poetry is 'homosexual' in nature if one considers the poet or singer performing it to be male, as one might assume it was when Ibn Ezra was active. This inclusion within Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Divan* is notable through two interpretations. If the settings were designed for a female singer—which may well have been the case considering the composer's love of using the female voice with piano—then use of this material is a sophisticated use of love poetry sung—'conventionally'—by a woman to a man. It would constitute an adaptation of stylised 'homosexual' love poetry outside of its presumably original context. For this reason alone, it is therefore, a unique addition to the corpus of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's art songs.

However, if one accepts the male-male love poetry as expressing emotions that Castelnuovo-Tedesco wanted to express if a male were to sing the poetry, then the poems may be interpreted quite differently. As noted in Chapter Eight, the composer's own surviving letters from around 1963 to 1965—after which they largely disappear—show an 'unchanging affection'<sup>1</sup> for his younger collaborator, colleague, and friend Nick Rossi. This expression of emotion transferred within settings of the *Divan* may be interpreted as serving a deep cathartic purpose for Castelnuovo-Tedesco: '...sometimes I have the feeling that if I didn't send you my "daily thought," then the sun wouldn't rise...';<sup>2</sup> and '[b]ut I am happy anyway... Why?... Probably at the idea of coming home...; and certainly at the thought of seeing you again!'<sup>3</sup> Rossi's friendship and admiration for the composer may have served to alleviate the composer's somewhat depressed state of mind in the years before his death, where he felt '...every day more old, more discouraged and more lonely...'<sup>4</sup> This feeling of loneliness is remarkable, considering his numerically large circle of family, friends, associates, colleagues, students, and admirers.

---

<sup>1</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, January 25, 1964. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>2</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Rossi, March 23, 1964.

<sup>3</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Rossi, August 14, 1964.

<sup>4</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Rossi, March 7, 1968.

Supporting the second interpretation, use was indeed made of the male voice on its premiere, as was done in the only other of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's song cycles for guitar and voice, *Die Vogelweide*. As noted in the previous chapter, the first review of the score, which was published the year before its premiere, indicated that it is probably best sung by a tenor,<sup>5</sup> implying the male voice.

### *Expressions of Memory and Legacy*

Connected to the love poetry and Castelnuovo-Tedesco's apparent discouragement and feelings of being "lonely" during the writing of the *Divan*, another conceptual element found therein involves the heightened emotional statements of ultimate demise. A sense of the composer's ill-health is one common explanation of these later darker sections of the song cycle (parts IV-V and Epilogue): an old man musing on his mortality and legacy. Since his health was *always* an issue for him,<sup>6</sup> and while it logically concludes the song cycle, it may be only one element in understanding the overall significance of the *Divan*.

Certain passages may provide other clues as to what attracted Castelnuovo-Tedesco to the unusually dark poetry as reflecting his own feelings and experiences, especially in the musically-marked *funereal* Epilogue.<sup>7</sup> In this section, which was separated from the main body of Part V of the poetry in the Brody and Solis-Cohen edition, one finds expressions such as feeling a 'prisoner in chains.' Musically-marked *repentant* musings refer to being 'neglectful' of one's father, as are references to brothers holding one 'as an alien.' Furthermore, in contrast to earlier sections of the cycle, the poet's children now 'renounce' him. How Castelnuovo-Tedesco may have related to these words that he included in his composition, and the degree to which he saw any reflection of these words in his own experiences remains an unanswerable question. More telling however, is the last line of text in *parlato* recitation: 'Even as I am forgotten,' which may indicate thoughts of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's legacy during the writing of the *Divan*. Notably, the composer omits the following final two lines of Ibn Ezra's text: 'True it is, that the fortune of one who begets many sons / Is like that of him who goes childless.'<sup>8</sup> This omission may have been used to emphasise the

---

<sup>5</sup> Mary Criswick, "Guitar Review," *The Musical Times* 115/1572 (February 1974): 147.

<sup>6</sup> I wish to acknowledge James Westby for this observation.

<sup>7</sup> Ibn Ezra, "Wouldst thou look upon me in my grave?...", in Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Divan*, 56-59; Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 64.

<sup>8</sup> Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 64.

previous line that Castelnuevo-Tedesco wanted to end on ('...Even as I am forgotten') or may alternatively have had some unknown personal significance, so much so that the composer chose not to include those lines. Whatever the reason, the omission, which is rare in Castelnuevo-Tedesco's works, is important as it shows the centrality of every part of the text to the composer, to the point that his omission was itself a statement, now ending in: 'Even as I am forgotten.'

Whether the composition was a result of thoughts of relationships, legacy, family, health, and death, it did precede a six-month period of compositional silence, a very unusual occurrence for this normally prolific composer. One of the two other known periods of compositional silence occurred just before he emigrated from Italy in 1938, a time of high anxiety and emotion as noted in Chapter Seven, in which

...the "anti-Semitic campaign" had burst out, and I was preparing myself to leave Italy (no one can imagine how this was tearing my heart!): full of anguish and worries, I had not composed for the last six months... (quite unusual for me, generally so active...) ...<sup>9</sup>

One may only speculate whether the *Divan* was a *result* of dark thoughts of death that derived from a depressed state of mind or was a *catalyst* to a dark depressed state of mind that found expression in this period of silence following its composition.<sup>10</sup> Whatever the reasoning, one possibility for the composer using these selected texts of Ibn Ezra is that at their core, they reflect his own dark experiences of exile, and thoughts and feelings of friendship, love, death, and legacy, imparting the *Divan* with very personal significance.

### **Jewish Musical and Poetic Traditions Embedded Within the *Divan*: A Summary**

Although his stature as a poet is equal to other Golden Age poets, there are no specific genre innovations that can be might attributed singly to Moses Ibn Ezra. He was a conservative poet best known for his prolific output dealing with stylised subjects written in formal Arabic styles. In some ways, it is remarkable that Castelnuevo-Tedesco chose Ibn Ezra at all, rather than other more individualistic and better-known poets of the Golden Age. However, being rendered into English, accessibility may have been a factor since the translation by Solis-Cohen would have constituted an opportunity for the composer to delve into this genre.

---

<sup>9</sup> Castelnuevo-Tedesco, "Segovia," *Una vita*, LX, 17.

<sup>10</sup> I wish to acknowledge James Westby for this observation.

### *Cultural Background and Jewish Musical Trajectories*

Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Jewish background was a prominent factor in his life. This was repeatedly emphasised in his music, articles, and essays both before but especially after emigration. A highly illustrative example of his identifying with a Biblical narrative was his 1947 *Naomi and Ruth* which holds double meaning by connecting the stories of the Biblical characters to significant personalities in his own family. Castelnuovo-Tedesco affectionately recalled his youth when certain rituals played a part in family functions, where he was '...impressed by some songs (more primitive and authentic) which I heard from my maternal grandfather at the family reunions, especially on Purim and Passover.'<sup>11</sup> Consequently, culturally Jewish music as distinct from liturgical music was of considerable interest to the composer from his early years. Two milestones may be observed in his development as a Jewish composer, the first purely cultural and personal, the second historical and collective. The discovery of his grandfather's musical settings to Jewish prayers that he found hidden in 1925 directly inspired him to write Jewish compositions. It was a formative moment in his career connecting music to cultural memory. As he writes, 'I found there a source of my whole life, both in music and in faith; it was the revelation, the symbol, perhaps of my destiny...and I decided to compose my first Jewish work...'<sup>12</sup> Secondly, in simple numerical terms, the quantity of Jewish compositions increased dramatically after his emigration from largely Nazi-aligned Italy to America on the eve of World War II. This increase in compositional output, beginning with *I profeti*, Op. 66 in 1931, may be related to the socio-historical events occurring around him.

I felt I wanted to express another aspect of the origin of my personality, the Jewish one, it was also the time when the anti-Semitic movements started and became harder in middle Europe, and by reaction I felt proud of belonging to a race so unjustly persecuted...<sup>13</sup>

Therefore Castelnuovo-Tedesco demonstrates his Jewishness in two distinct forms. One form is culturally determined and includes beliefs, rituals, and identity. The other form involves collective and ahistorical aspects of race, memory, and the diasporic experience.

---

<sup>11</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "My Experiences in Jewish Music," *Jewish Music Notes*, part I (May 1951): 3, published by the JWB Jewish Music Council. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/21.

<sup>12</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life," *The Jewish Press* (June 21, 1940), 2.

<sup>13</sup> Ibid.



Intertwined with his cultural identity, Castelnuovo-Tedesco became deeply involved in defining the nature of Jewish music from as early as the first decade of the twentieth century. In numerous articles and essays as outlined in Chapter Seven, he remarked on the low standard of Italian Jewish music for the synagogue, as well as his dissatisfaction with the artistic flourishes that cantors introduced into their expression of Jewish liturgy. These he believed to be ‘mainly echoes of the Italian operatic style, and not of the best kind; they did not appeal to me too much...’<sup>14</sup> While he did not overtly identify as a composer of Jewish music, his obvious concern with the nature of Jewish music was consistent throughout his compositional life.

In his Jewish compositions, Castelnuovo-Tedesco generally set texts to music that had a narrative Biblical theme, or that were fit for a liturgical context. For this reason, it is notable that he chose to use Ibn Ezra’s *secular* poetry as his subject matter in the *Divan*. The choice of text is an important cultural addition to the composer’s Jewish works, being neither liturgical or Biblical. Instead it expresses a Jewish aesthetic culture that was deeply impacted by Islamic thought, containing nothing especially *Jewish* within it, aside from the author of the poetry’s obvious Jewish heritage. As discussed in Chapter Eight, Jewish music can be defined in various ways including that which is made by Jews, or for consumption by Jews, or expressed in a perceived Jewish melodic or rhythmic style, or whether it holds Jewish subject matter. The *Divan* is a composition that holds Jewish character, one aspect of which is simply the cultural identification of the poet himself. Its musical setting by Castelnuovo-Tedesco does not hold any particularistic Jewish representation, but the songs are certainly not absent of a Jewish sensibility in their expressions of exile, supplication, and death. What makes the *Divan* identifiable as a work firmly Jewish in character is not so much its purely aesthetic qualities but rather the identity of both poet and composer, their life cycles, and cultural identification which are central in interpreting the significance of the work.

### *Restoration of Arabic Forms*

The use of Ibn Ezra’s secular poetry for Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s *Divan* is remarkable for several reasons that relate to the treatment of Arabic poetic forms. Firstly, Castelnuovo-Tedesco *re-sets* what were originally melodious strophic poetic forms—*muwashshahāh* and *zejal*—to music, forms

---

<sup>14</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “My Experiences in Jewish Music,” *Jewish Music Notes*, part I (May 1951): 3, published by the JWB Jewish Music Council. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/21.

that were briefly examined in Chapter Four. It is likely that most of the poems included in the *dīwān* collections were written to be sung in different social settings and it was not unusual for poems to be written for specific purposes especially if they were commissioned by a patron. For example, the exile and more religiously tinged materials for a communal setting, the wine songs recited in a social ‘soiree’ setting, and the poems of death being used with elegies or as part of the mourning ritual. As described in Chapter Four, these social settings were all common for the recital of poetry in Muslim Spain.<sup>15</sup> The act of placing poetry in a musical setting by Castelnuovo-Tedesco is therefore a unique example of cultural transference from the Golden Age to contemporary art song.

Secondly, the *Divan* is remarkable for its choice of accompaniment. In its original form one may imagine a singer accompanying her- or himself with astringed contraption referred to in Ibn Ezra’s poetry as a generic *kinnor*: ‘Thy harp [*kinnor*] is like a foot joined to a thigh / Without leg to divide them / My heart pulses to its strings...Instrument and voice sound in harmony / Wonderfully they accord, in exact rhythm...’<sup>16</sup> While the transposition of Golden Age poetry into music is not in itself innovative, the utilisation of the stringed instrument as an accompanying medium to the singer of originally strophic poetry is highly unusual, perhaps unique, in modern art song.

### **Considering the Wider Cultural Implications of the *Divan***

The poetic features of the *Divan* illustrate how the poetry of Ibn Ezra inspired and motivated Castelnuovo-Tedesco to approach the musical setting of the work in ways that reveal a deeper understanding of the cultural context of the medieval poet’s life. As a consequence, the work is unique both within the corpus of Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s Jewish compositions, and within the broader art song genre.<sup>17</sup> What is of further significance, however, is the level to which the composer’s work may be interpreted within the exilic experiences of himself as well as that of his

---

<sup>15</sup> Jefim Schirmann, “The Function of the Hebrew Poet in Medieval Spain,” *Jewish Social Studies* 16/3 (July 1954): 235.

<sup>16</sup> Moses Ibn Ezra, “Fire Whose Flame No Man Hath Kindled,” in Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), 19.

<sup>17</sup> A wider study of any further restoration of strophic forms in art song in general is suggested, but beyond the scope of this research.

lyricist from some 800 years earlier. The final two research questions seek to delve deeper into the theoretical frames that shape a unique interpretation of the work. These questions are:

1. What role did the trauma of exile from Italy play in the compositions of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and how do the geopolitical events surrounding his emigration explain part of the significance of the *Divan*? and
2. In what ways, and to what degree do the theoretical frameworks of collective memory and studies of diaspora provide a useful analytical perspective on the *Divan*?

These questions constitute the theoretical framework for a cultural examination of the exilic experience and collective memory as it relates to the *Divan*. The concluding part of this chapter discusses aspects of how and why the *Divan* may be considered a monument representing, on the one hand, aspects of the commonality of *exilic* identity, and on the other, cultural transference, continuity, and commonality through an innately communicated *diasporic* identity.

### **Ibn Ezra's Exile Poetry in the *Divan***

The opening theme of the *Divan* expresses the pain of being an exile. Because of the life trajectory of Castelnuovo-Tedesco, and by its very prominence in the song cycle, exile constitutes a major thematic element, sometimes perceived as representative of the entire composition.<sup>18</sup> The theme of exile preserved within the composition contains expressions that could be interpreted as part of Ibn Ezra's prominent 'complaint' genre concerning his exile from his beloved Granada: 'Oh, if indeed, the Lord would me restore / To beautiful Granada-land ... For in that land my life was very sweet...'<sup>19</sup> As noted in Chapters Four and Five, this exile took place in 1095 when the poet was 40 years of age, five years after the Almoravid invasion of Granada, and was clearly a traumatic milestone in the life of the poet. It seems to have been a forced exile, even though the exact

---

<sup>18</sup> This was demonstrated by a performance of the *Divan* at the Italian Cultural Institute of New York on May 17, 2018, organised as part of events holding the theme "Exile and Creativity." The fourth event was dedicated to Castelnuovo-Tedesco and titled "Concert: Mario Castelnuovo Tedesco's composition *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*." In the concert's promotional materials, the *Divan* is described as about exile *alone*, labelling it 'one of [Castelnuovo-Tedesco's] last compositions [putting] into music a series of poems on the exile by the great Spanish Hebrew poet who lived between the XI and the XII century.' It was performed by Luigi Attademo, guitar and Tookah Sapper, soprano with a presentation by Tina Frühauf. [https://iicnewyork.esteri.it/iic\\_newyork/en/gli\\_eventi/calendario/2018/05/serie-esilio-e-creativita-mario.html](https://iicnewyork.esteri.it/iic_newyork/en/gli_eventi/calendario/2018/05/serie-esilio-e-creativita-mario.html) (accessed May 15, 2018). I thank Diana Castelnuovo-Tedesco for bringing this event to my attention.

<sup>19</sup> Ibn Ezra, "How Long at Fate's Behest," in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 5.

circumstances of his emigration are unknown. Regardless of the circumstances, exile transformed him from an affluent and respected artist to a wandering singer of songs reliant on the largess of patrons. Not surprisingly, this change in circumstance is echoed in the poetic style itself. His early works were joyful and earthy in comparison to his later works which reveal a somewhat self-obsessed and inward-looking philosopher and penitent. Comparing his own exile to that of Israel itself, he blamed this decline in his fortunes to his fate, and not through any direct fault resulting from his own actions.

It would be logical to assume that Castelnuovo-Tedesco related to the condition of the Spanish-Jewish exiled poet, since their fate was in many ways similar. Castelnuovo-Tedesco regarded leaving Florence as being ‘one of the most tragic moments of my life...’<sup>20</sup> He refers to his homeland holding ‘all the splendours of the medieval art and of the Italian renaissance surrounded me. Therefore, nobody can be surprised if my first and deepest inspirations were Italian rather than Jewish...’<sup>21</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco went, through no fault of his own, from respected young composer to economically disadvantaged exile at age 44. He subsequently reinvented himself partly as a composer of ‘lighter’ genres such as film music, guitar music, and partly as an educator to younger composers. The trauma he expressed at the time of leaving Italy—‘torn asunder,’ enduring a ‘mutilation,’ and being ‘suspended in mid-air’<sup>22</sup>—equates to Ibn Ezra’s expressions within the *Divan*: ‘I arose, with shaken heart, To go forth, a wanderer. And my children cried unto God!’<sup>23</sup> Evidently, both poet and composer felt deeply the trauma of their respectively experienced exile, and one may perceive a sense of commonality of life trajectory between Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s own experiences and those of his Jewish fellow Sephardic traveller, Ibn Ezra. The exilic condition that both Ibn Ezra and Castelnuovo-Tedesco experienced was related to their experienced past: Ibn Ezra from ‘Granada-land’ to the northern cities under

---

<sup>20</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Concerto in D, op. 92,” *Los Angeles Harmonic Orchestra Symphonic Magazine* (March 23, 1950).

<sup>21</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography” (ms., 1940), 4. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 116/13.

<sup>22</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 306, trans. Noah David DeLong, “Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio *The Book of Ruth*” (D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015), 34.

<sup>23</sup> Ibn Ezra, “When the morning of life had passed,” in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, ed. Angelo Gilardino (Bèrben: Edizioni musicali – Ancona, Italia, 1973), 4; Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans. Solomon Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), 10.

Christian control; and Castelnuovo-Tedesco from Florence to Los Angeles. It follows the familiar homeland—hostland paradigm in modern migration studies as surveyed in Chapter Three.<sup>24</sup>

One aspect of their exilic condition is illustrated by the uneasy relationships they held with the hostland societies in which they lived in exile. One example—amongst many—of this ‘otherness’ may be demonstrated when Castelnuovo-Tedesco says he cannot ‘become attached to people and things in America...’<sup>25</sup> Similarly, Ibn Ezra, says he has been driven to ‘...a people that know me not / Thus do I bide with them in whom I have no part / Neither are they of my fellowship...’<sup>26</sup> In fact, a stark disconnect exists between Ibn Ezra and his (presumably) fellow Jews in the Christian north:

...I live among wolves to whom the name ‘man’ is strange...  
they are incapable of distinguishing spiritual beggars and petty misers  
from bearers of wisdom and prophets of God’s word...  
Oh, how narrow has the world become for me!  
It chokes my soul like a still neckband.<sup>27</sup>

This isolationism is loosely echoed in Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s attitudes towards his countrymen back in Italy, saying, ‘...it would be impossible for me to adapt to Italian life...’,<sup>28</sup> as well as towards some of his American students, ‘because they are “hopeless cases...”’<sup>29</sup> While not reflecting on the subjects of Ibn Ezra’s and Castelnuovo-Tedesco’s musings, these statements do reflect a certain disconnect with their general personal and professional environments.

This uneasy relationship with a new hostland as one aspect of maintaining cultural boundaries is defined by Baronian et al.,<sup>30</sup> while Boyarin has emphasised that maintaining cultural identity leads to cultural renewal—paradoxically calling it a ‘power of diaspora.’<sup>31</sup> This “power” produces new cultural expressions borne of an imposed transnational background. It goes beyond community maintenance as a mechanism responding to external forces or assimilation, to the

---

<sup>24</sup> For example, see Robin Cohen, “Global Diasporas: An Introduction” (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1997), 22.

<sup>25</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 306, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 34.

<sup>26</sup> Ibn Ezra, “I Rouse My Thoughts,” in Brody and Solis-Cohen, *Selected Poems*, 6-9.

<sup>27</sup> Ibn Ezra *Otzar Nechmad*, III, 50-51, as cited in Zinberg, *History of Jewish Literature*, 71.

<sup>28</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, *Una vita*, 492, trans. DeLong, “Between Two Worlds,” 50-51.

<sup>29</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco to Nick Rossi, March 7, 1968. Location: MCT Collection, USC, 3/13.

<sup>30</sup> Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, “Introduction” in Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, eds, *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006), 10.

<sup>31</sup> Jonathan Boyarin, “Introduction: Powers of Diaspora” in Jonathan Boyarin and Daniel Boyarin, eds, *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002), 6-8.

empowerment and strengthening of the community. Therefore, the 'hostland' holds both negative and positive connotations. Negative, as it implies being drawn away from a long-term homeland, usually of birth, by force of circumstance; but positive due to regeneration that takes place in which identity and its expressions are broadened and strengthened. As Huyssen suggests, this is 'cultural renewal.'<sup>32</sup> Exile constituted an experiential commonality between poet and composer and held both highly positive and profoundly negative implications. Their exilic condition derived from circumstances beyond their control, and fundamentally altered the course of their lives.

### **Theoretical Frameworks of Diaspora and Cultural Memory as Analytical Perspectives to the *Divan***

A certain experiential parallelism exists between Ibn Ezra and Castelnovo-Tedesco. Their experiences of exile and their relationships to their former homelands as well as their hostlands invites comparison. There is, however, a distinction between the identification of common experiences and any suggestion of *connectedness*, which implies a more abstract and less measurable cultural relationship between Ibn Ezra and Castelnovo-Tedesco. A differentiation between the personally experienced exilic condition and the diasporic condition derived from a different age involves looking beyond the experienced homeland to another homeland orientation, that being diasporic and residing in collective Jewish memory. This aspect of multiple homeland orientations forms an additional layer of connection to the exilic identities of Castelnovo-Tedesco and Ibn Ezra as expressed in the homeland-hostland paradigm.

To explore and define connectedness between Ibn Ezra and Castelnovo-Tedesco, research for this thesis utilised theoretical models found in cultural studies and more specifically, studies of identity and memory, placing these within the context of diasporic identity. Using ideas of culturally communicated memory it may be possible to expand on concepts by writers such as Cohen, who point out that historically disenfranchised diasporic communities developed strategies of maintaining identity that responded to their outsider status.<sup>33</sup> In the Jewish case, he continues, this response involved looking backwards to a mythical lost 'home' that sustains what he terms a 'collective imagination.'<sup>34</sup> By its nature, the mythical homeland was experienced many generations

---

<sup>32</sup> Andreas Huyssen, "Diaspora and Nation," in Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, eds, *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics* (Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006), 85-87.

<sup>33</sup> Cohen, "Global Diasporas," 14.

<sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, 13.

ago and has passed into history and tradition. Although it may be as vivid as an experienced homeland, it nevertheless resides only in imaginative memory and transferred through literary history. As a fundamental means to ensure community cohesion and cultural maintenance, sustaining the *reality* of an *imagined* homeland by transmission of memory has been a part of communal spiritual awakenings for Jews since Hasidic times at least. Certain thinkers expressed the existence of a common soul, or collective soul,<sup>35</sup> an ‘Over-Soul’<sup>36</sup> that intimately connected persons in a linear fashion over generations. The concept of a collective is strongly related to the more modern concept in the collective memory studies of Jung and others.

The function of collective memory, also termed cultural memory by modern writers such as West and Assman,<sup>37</sup> is to consciously connect a person to an identity by means of physical or other commemorative markers. As Conway suggests, this is ‘the work of remembrance.’<sup>38</sup> The *work* of remembrance is to regularly reiterate a better time, a better place, a stronger sense of purpose, and a sense of distinctiveness. It is very reminiscent of the function of Emerson’s ‘Over-Soul’ that serves to connect persons on an innate and unconscious level. Collective memory can be transferred over generations, contributing to a sense of peoplehood and common identity, a sense of one-ness with an ideal, something that impacts thoughts and behaviours, and remains relevant over generations. As Buber records, transmission through a ‘collective soul’ was referenced in Hasidic thought and forms an innate part of one’s being.<sup>39</sup>

Encompassing the emotional ideas of Buber and Jung in contemporary considerations of diaspora and identity, it was found that the collective soul of imagination is a useful addition for understanding theoretical models of diaspora in general as well as of models of contemporary migration. The persistence of memory is central to the Jewish diasporic identity and constitutes a

---

<sup>35</sup> See Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, 258.

<sup>36</sup> Ralph Waldo Emerson, “The Over-Soul,” in *The Essays of R. W. Emerson* (London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1908), 137.

<sup>37</sup> Specifically, in Brad West, “Cultural Memory,” in *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, ed. David Inglis and Anna-Mari Almila (London: Sage Publications, 2016); Jan Assmann, “Communicative and Cultural Memory,” in Astrid Eril and Ansgar Nunning, eds, *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook* (Walter De Gruyter, GmbH and Co.: Berlin, New York, 2008), 109-118; Jan Assmann, “Collective Memory and Cultural Identity,” translated by John Czaplicka in *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring - Summer, 1995): 125-133; Jan Assmann, *Religion and Cultural Memory*, trans. Rodney Livingstone (Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006).

<sup>38</sup> Brian Conway, *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory* (Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 5.

<sup>39</sup> Martin Buber, *Tales of the Hasidim*, trans. by Olga Marx (New York: Schocken Books, 1975), 258.

formative element in maintaining cultural uniqueness within a multitude of local conditions. It functions to connect vastly contrasting Ashkenazic and Sephardic cultures to a common mythical origin of exile from the Biblical homeland into the ‘global diaspora.’ Commonality within the range of Jewish communities in the diaspora is sustained by unifying factors such as rituals, laws, and customs, and transferred through language, literature, and the arts.

The paradigm of the homeland—hostland experience is also expressed in the Jewish diaspora construct through what Boyarin has labelled “re-diasporisation.”<sup>40</sup> The term identifies where an émigré looks simultaneously to the land of ‘original exile,’ a diasporic marker housed in myth and tradition, but has also experienced a recent physical exile, most commonly due to modern socio-historical forces that include modern antisemitism and large-scale migratory movement. A differentiation can therefore be made between an experienced exile on the one hand, and memory of the original Jewish diasporic scattering on the other hand. It serves to culturally differentiate between an exilic identity, brought about through personal upheaval, and a diasporic identity involving forms of cultural conditioning brought about through a memory-retained collective event. For Ibn Ezra, the second-century exile both eastwards and westwards from Biblical Jerusalem was a formative moment for the Hebrew people, and by extension for himself, as he claimed descent from the royal house of Jerusalem.<sup>41</sup> He refers to his cultural heritage as bearing a national stamp, stating that, ‘there is no doubt at all that the inhabitants of Jerusalem, from whom we—members of the Spanish exile—are descended...’<sup>42</sup> Ibn Ezra constantly called for, and prayed for Israel’s physical return to the Biblical homeland, and strongly disagreed with contemporary attempts to give mere symbolic interpretation to the messianic interpretations of Scripture of an actual return.<sup>43</sup> For Castelnuovo-Tedesco, his identification with the ancient Hebrews was expressed as being ‘...proud of belonging to a race so unjustly persecuted. I wanted to *express this pride* [italics added] in some large work glorifying the splendour of past days and the burning inspiration which inflamed the “envoys of God,” the Prophets...’<sup>44</sup> More specifically, he stated that: ‘...I always felt a deep sense of fellowship with the Jewish people...’<sup>45</sup> and expressed

---

<sup>40</sup> Boyarin, “Introduction: Powers of Diaspora” in Boyarin, eds, *Powers of Diaspora*, 11.

<sup>41</sup> Abraham Ibn Daud, *Sefer ha-Qabbalah* [“The Book of Tradition”] as cited in Ann Brener, *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada* (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), 10.

<sup>42</sup> Ibn Ezra, *Sefer Shirat Yisrael*, 62, trans. Stillman, *Jews of Arab Lands*, 57.

<sup>43</sup> H. Brody, “Introduction,” *Selected Poems*, xxxi.

<sup>44</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Modern Composer Tells Story of Life,” 2.

<sup>45</sup> Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” 10.



connection to an idealised Biblical homeland when he spoke about the synagogue he attended as a child, ‘...(where) I could almost see the ancient Temple—destroyed for centuries...’<sup>46</sup>

Although both claim ancestry to, and diasporic identity from an original cultural centre as expressed in their common Judaic beliefs and rituals, both have the added layer of Boyarin’s personally experienced ‘re-diasporisation.’<sup>47</sup> The term is somewhat misleading because, as Safran points out, ‘diasporas have been subject to several relocations...so that a confusion has arisen about the question of which is the homeland and which is the hostland.’<sup>48</sup> I suggest a more precise explanation is required that involves clearly differentiating between the exilic experience and the culturally diasporic one.

### **The *Divan* as Representation of the Heartland**

Additional to the homeland-hostland experience, there exists an imaginary bond of transmitted memory that serves to build an identity across transnational boundaries. Consequently, I suggest that this imaginary bond be labelled a ‘heartland’—a third level of diasporic consciousness that crosses over and between homelands and hostlands. It is different from an exilic identity in that it represents the non-experienced, mythical, and memory-based diasporic identity that results from synchronic connections between geographically disparate locations and asynchronous connections across different time periods. The concept of the ‘heartland’ refers to those transferred cultural markers that connect different persons living entirely different diasporic experiences within a commonality of shared culture. Using ideas of memory and its persistence, the ‘heartland’ serves to represent those aspects of cultural identity that connect persons living temporally and spatially separate. Although this ‘heartland’ does not exist physically, it resides in the imagination of the diaspora person, as ‘real’ as imagination and memory, but is expressed through cultural monuments. It is nevertheless a third home, an innate touchstone, the home of secure continuity and socio-religious cultural identification, which aligns with the broad terms of cultural identity and cultural memory.

---

<sup>46</sup> Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, “Music for the Synagogue,” trans. Burton H. Scalin, *Journal of Synagogue Music* 5/3 (December 1974): 9-10. Location: MCT Papers, LoC, 115/19, This derives from Part II, chapter 87 of the then-unpublished *Una vita di musica*.

<sup>47</sup> Boyarin, “Introduction: Powers of Diaspora,” 11.

<sup>48</sup> Safran, “The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective,” 42-43.

Both Castelnovo-Tedesco and Ibn Ezra, therefore, express separate diasporic and exilic markers that try to make sense of their re-diasporised condition while acknowledging the realities of a more immediate hostland. They yearn for their place of birth as a location which formed their identities while acknowledging connections to a mythical Biblical homeland embedded deeply within Jewish culture. This is a *triple* homeland orientation: firstly, towards a Buber-esque unified Jewish identity, part of a ‘diaspora people’ and represented by the concept of the ‘heartland;’ secondly, towards a cultural birthplace from which they were exiled; and thirdly, towards a newly acquired ‘re-diasporised’ hostland while living amongst an alien culture of more immediate experience.

In connecting the poet Ibn Ezra to Castelnovo-Tedesco the composer, shared cultural identity is formed in the identification they both made with their spiritual roots. These roots are linked through a Jewish diasporised consciousness that has kept various overarching cultural markers intact despite living within very different geographies and cultures. It is transferred through the work of ‘boundary maintained’ memory and expressed through monuments such as the *Divan* thereby forming an amalgamation of artistic landscapes. It is, on the one hand, a monument of a synergetic Hebrew Golden Age restored and transformed into an expression of living contemporary culture. On the other hand, *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra* represents the wider relationship between the homeland, hostland, and ‘heartland’ that together contribute to a perception of shared cultural ‘soul,’ a cultural dialogue that in its creation and reception, transcends time and space.

## Bibliography

- Adler, Gerhard and R.F.C. Hull, eds. *The Collected Works of C.G. Jung* (vols. VII and VIII). Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1967 and 1970.
- Anonymous. *Music Educators Journal* 55/1 (September 1968): 4+6.
- Asbury, David S. "20th Century Romantic Serialism: The Opus 170 Greeting Cards of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." Ph.D. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2005.
- Assmann, Jan. "Communicative and Cultural Memory." In *Cultural Memory Studies. An International and Interdisciplinary Handbook*, edited by Astrid Eril and Ansgar Nunning, 109-118. Berlin, New York: Walter De Gruyter, GmbH and Co., 2008.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Collective Memory and Cultural Identity." Translated by John Czaplicka. *New German Critique*, 65 (Spring - Summer, 1995): 125-133.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Religion and Cultural Memory*. Translated by Rodney Livingstone. Stanford, California: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Baronian, Marie-Aude, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, eds. *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006.
- Ben-Sasson, H.H., ed. *A History of the Jewish People*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Bernheimer, Martin. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Birthday Gift to L.A." *Los Angeles Times*, April 3, 1966.
- Bookspan, Martin and Ross Yockey. *André Previn. A Biography*. London: Hamish Hamilton, 1981.
- Boyarin, Jonathan and Daniel Boyarin. *Powers of Diaspora: Two Essays on the Relevance of Jewish Culture*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2002.
- Brann, Ross. *The Compunctious Poet: Cultural Ambiguity and Hebrew Poetry in Muslim Spain*. London and Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Structure and Meaning in the Secular Poetry of Moshe ibn Ezra." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Review of Tova Rosen-Moked, "The Hebrew Girdle Poem (*Muwashshah*) in the Middle Ages." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 80/3/4 (January-April 1990): 380-383.
- Brener, Ann. *Judah Halevi and his Circle of Hebrew Poets in Granada*. Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Brinkmann, Reinhold, ed. *Driven Into Paradise: The Musical Migration from Nazi Germany to the United States*. USA: University of California Press, 1999
- Britton, Allen P. "Review of The New Grove Dictionary of American Music, edited by H. Wiley Hitchcock and Stanley Sadie." *American Music* 5/2 (Summer 1987): 194-203.

- Brody, Heinrich. "Moses Ibn Ezra: Incidents in his Life." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 24/4 (April 1934): 309-320.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*. Translated by Solomon Solis-Cohen. Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934.
- Buber, Martin. *I and Thou*. New York: Scribner, 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Israel and the World: Essays in a Time of Crisis*. New York: Schocken Books, 1963.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Tales of the Hasidim*. Translated by Olga Marx. New York: Schocken Books, 1975.
- Caboverde III, Enrique. "A Graduate Recital Consisting of Works by Leo Brouwer and Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco with Extended Program Notes." M.A. diss., Florida International University, 2012.
- Capristo, Annalisa. "The Beginnings of Racial Persecution: The Exclusion of Jews from Italian Academies." In *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman, 81-95. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Carmi, T., ed. *The Penguin Book of Hebrew Verse*. New York: Penguin Books, 1981.
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Clara. *La sua fede*. Interviewed by Rebecca Andrade. Los Angeles: UCLA Oral History Program, 1982.
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario. "From a Lifetime of Music: Puccini, Schoenberg, Stravinsky and Others." Translated by Harvey Sachs. *Grand Street* 9/1 (Autumn, 1989): 150-164.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Jewish Background of an Exiled Musician." *American Jewish Outlook* (July 26, 1940): 4-8. Also published as "Modern Composer Tells Story of Life." *The Jewish Press* (June 21, 1940): 2, 5 and "My Musical Background: One of Italy's Famous Musicians Tells of his Musical Experiences." *The Southern Israelite* (1940): 27-28; 30-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Modern Italian Music." *Boston Evening Transcript*, December 16, 1939.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music and Movies." Unpublished, February 29, 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music and Poetry: Problems of a Song Writer." *Musical Quarterly* 30/1 (January 1944): 102-111.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music and Poetry (Problems of an Opera Composer)." Unpublished, August 1952.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music Criticism." Unpublished.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music for the Synagogue." Translated with notes by Burton Howard Scalin. *Journal of Synagogue Music* 5 (December 1974): 9-15.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music of the Times: A Composer on Writing Concertos." *The New York Times*, 29 October 1939: 4-8.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Music under Italian Fascism." Unpublished, 1944.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "My Experiences in Jewish Music." *Jewish Music Notes* (I: May 1951): 3-4 (II: October 1951): 3.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Shakespeare and Music." *The Shakespeare Association Bulletin* 15/3 (July 1940): 166-174.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Guitar, that Beautiful and Mysterious Instrument." Manuscript, June 1958.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Jewish Chapter of my Autobiography," 1940.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Song of Songs." *Music Journal* 21/8 (November 1963): 21-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Una vita di musica: un libro di ricordi*, edited by James Westby. Florence: Cadmo, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Under the Sign of Orpheus: The Milestones of Opera. A Series of Lectures." Unpublished, c. 1959.
- Chapman, Richard. *Guitar: Music, History, Players*. London: Dorling, Kindersley, 2000.
- Citron, Aaron S. "Love elements in the poetry of selected Hebrew Poets of the Jewish Golden Age in Spain: A Study of the Use of Love as a Theme and of Love Images in the Poetry of Shmu'el HaNagid, Shlomo Ibn Gabriol, Yishaq Giyat, Moshe Ibn Ezra and Yehuda HaLevi." Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1965.
- Clayton, Martin, Trevor Herbert and Richard Middleton, eds. *The Cultural Study of Music: A Critical Introduction*. New York and Great Britain: Routledge, 2003.
- Clifford, James. "Diasporas." *Cultural Anthropology, Further Inflections: Toward Ethnographies of the Future* 9/3 (August 1994): 302-338.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Predicament of Culture*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1988.
- Cohen, A., ed. *Joshua and Judges*. London: Soncino Press, 1973.
- Cohen, Judah M. "Rewriting the Grand Narrative of Jewish Music: Abraham Z. Idelsohn in the United States." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 100/3 (Summer 2010): 417-453.
- Cohen, Judith R. "Judeo-Spanish Songs in the Sephardic Communities of Montreal and Toronto: Survival, Function and Change." Ph.D. diss., University of Montreal, 1989.
- Cohen, Robin. *Global Diasporas. An Introduction*. London and New York: Routledge, 2008.
- Cohon, Baruch Joseph. "The Structure of Synagogue Prayer Chant." *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 3/1 (1950): 17-32.
- Confino, Alon. "Collective Memory and Cultural History: Problems of Method." *American Historical Review* 102/5 (December 1997): 1386-1403.

- Consolo, Federico. *Sefer Shirei Yisrael: Libro dei canti d'Israele. Antichi canti liturgici del rito degli Ebrei Spagnoli, raccolti e notati*. Firenze: Edizione Bratti, 1892.
- Conway, Brian. *Commemoration and Bloody Sunday: Pathways of Memory*. Hampshire, UK: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010.
- Criswick, Mary. "Guitar Review." *The Musical Times* 115/1572 (February 1974): 147.
- Cruden, Alexander. *Cruden's Complete Concordance to the Old and New Testaments*. Edited by C.H. Irwin, A.D. Adams and S.A. Waters. Revised Edition, Guildford and London: Lutterworth Press, 1974.
- Dana, Joseph. "Meaningful Rhyme in the Hebrew Poetry of Spain (Selected Examples from the Sacred Poetry of Rabbi Moses Ibn Ezra)." *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 76/3 (January 1, 1986): 169-189.
- de Felice, Renzo. Foreword to *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, edited by Nicola Caracciolo. Translated by Florette Rechnitz Koffler and Richard Koffler, xv-xxviii. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- DeLong, Noah David. "Between Two Worlds: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco, His Journey from Italy to America, and his Oratorio *The Book of Ruth*." D.M.A. diss., University of Iowa, 2015.
- Di Bella, Karin Maria. "Piano Music in Italy During the Fascist Era." D.M.A. diss., University of British Columbia, 2002.
- Dimont, Max I. *Jews, God and History*. New York: Signet Classics, 1962.
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo. *The Essays of Ralph Waldo Emerson*. London: Arthur L. Humphreys, 1908.
- Ewen, David. *Hebrew Music: A Study and an Interpretation*. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1931.
- Ewen, David, ed. *American Composers Today*. New York: H.W. Wilson and Co., 1949.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The New Book of Modern Composers*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.
- Farmer, Henry George. "Maimonides on Listening to Music." *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 4 (October 1933): 867-884.
- Frankenstein, Alfred. "San Francisco Symphony Program Notes." February 1960.
- Frazer, Sir James G. *The Golden Bough*. New York: Macmillan Co., 1953.
- Freud, Sigmund. *A General Introduction to Psycho-Analysis*. New York: Garden City Publishing, 1943.
- Frühauf, Tina and Lily E. Hirsch. *Dislocated Memories: Jews, Music and Post-war German Culture*. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Gatti, Guido M. "Four Composers of Present Day Italy." *The Musical Quarterly* 12/3 (July 1926): 449-471.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Modern Italian Composers." *The Musical Quarterly* 18/3 (July 1932): 397-410.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "Some Italian Composers of To-Day: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *The Musical Times* 62/936 (February 1921): 10-11.
- Georg, Klaus. "Selected Early Italian Songs of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." D.M.A. diss., Northwestern University, 2014.
- Gilardino, Angelo. "Un fiorentino a Beverly Hills: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco. Nuove rivelazioni nel carteggio con Angelo Gilardino." *Seicorde* 53 (September-October 1995): 24-33.
- Goitein, S.D. *Jews and Arabs: Their Contacts Through the Ages*. New York: Schocken Books, 1967.
- Grayzel, Solomon. *A History of the Jews*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1968.
- Grossman, Emery. "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco - Contemporary Composer." *Temple Israel Light* (March 1959): 10-11.
- Gualdi, Paolo André. "A Study of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Piedigrotta 1924: Rapsodia Napoletana*." D.M.A. diss., The University of Georgia, 2010.
- Halbwachs, Maurice. *The Collective Memory*. New York: Harper and Row, 1980.
- Halevi, Judah. *The Kuzari: An Argument for the Faith of Israel*. Introduction by H. Slonimsky. New York: Schocken Books, 1964.
- Hall, Raymond. "An Interview with Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *The Musical Leader* 54 (January 1928).
- Hall, Stewart. "Cultural Identity and Cinematic Representation." In *Ex-Iles. Essays on Caribbean Cinema*, ed. by Mbye B. Cham, 220-236. Trenton: Africa World Press, Inc., 1992.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Cultural Identity and Diaspora." In *Identity, Community, Culture, Difference*, ed. by Jonathon Rutherford, 222-237. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Culture, Community, Nation." *Cultural Studies* 7/3 (1993): 349-363.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Introduction to *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices*, ed. by Stewart Hall, 1-11. London: Sage Publications, 1997.
- Hallmark, Rufus, ed. *German Leider in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Halper, Benzion, trans. and ed. *Sefer Shirat Yisrael le-R. Moshe ben Yakob ibn Ezra, meturgam le-'ivrit 'im mabo ve-he'arōt me-et Benzion Halper*. Jerusalem: Shtibel Publishing, 1924.
- Hertz, Dr. J.H. *Pentateuch and Haftorahs*. London: Soncino Press, 1971.
- Heskes, Irene. *Jewish Music Programs. Concerts Liturgical Services, Multi-Arts Events. Sampling from Jewish Music Festivals: To 1978 and How to Commission New Works: Guidelines, Procedures and Examples*. New York: Jewish Music Council of the Jewish Welfare Board, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Passport to Jewish Music: Its History, Traditions, and Culture*. Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1994.

- Higham, Peter Anthony. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco's Work for Guitar." M.M. diss., University of Alberta, 1977.
- Hindley, Geoffrey, ed. *The Larousse Encyclopedia of Music*. London: Hamlyn Publishing, 1987.
- Hinsley, Matthew Gerritt. "Text-Music Relationships in Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Die Vogelweide*." D.M.A. diss., University of Texas at Austin, 2003.
- Holvoet, Fabrice. "L'oeuvre pour guitare de Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." Universite Catholique de Louvain, 1985.
- Hughes, H. Stuart. *The Sea Change: The Migration of Social Thought 1930-1965*. New York: Harper and Row, 1975.
- Huyssen, Andreas. "Diaspora and Nation." In *Diaspora and Memory: Figures of Displacement in Contemporary Literature, Arts and Politics*, edited by Marie-Aude Baronian, Stephan Besser and Yolande Jansen, 81-96. Amsterdam: Editions Rodopi, 2006.
- Idelsohn, A.Z. *Jewish Music*. New York: Schoken Books, 1967.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Traditional Songs of the German (Tedesco) Jews in Italy." *Hebrew Union College Annual* 11 (1936): 567-591.
- Isaacs, Elcanon. "The Metrical Basis of Hebrew Poetry." *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 35/1 (October 1918): 20-54.
- Jezic, Diane Peacock. *The Musical Migration and Ernst Toch*. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press, 1989.
- Jung, Carl. *The Archetypes and the Collective Unconscious*. Translated by R.F.C. Hull. New York: The Bollingen Foundation, Inc., Princeton University Press, 1959.
- Kahn, Alexander Gordon. "Double Lives: Exile Composers in Los Angeles." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2009.
- Keller, Marcello Sorce. "Ignored and Forgotten: Research on Jewish-Italian Music During the 19th and 20th Centuries." *Forum Italicum* 49/2 (2015): 447-461.
- Kidd, Carolyn. "Issues and Solutions for the Guitarist in the Performance of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *The Divan of Moses-Ibn-Ezra. A Cycle of Songs for Voice and Guitar, Op. 207* (1966)." M.M. diss., Canberra School of Music, 1996.
- Koffler, Florette Rechnitz and Richard Koffler. Introduction to *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, edited by Nicola Caracciolo. Translated by Florette Rechnitz Koffler and Richard Koffler, xxv-xxxiv. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Kornhauser, Bronia. "Jewish Music: Beyond Nation and Identity?" *Australasian Music Research* 7 (2002): 113-120.
- Kurland, Jayme Michael. "The Refugee Musician is Now a Part of Us: Musical Exiles and Mark Brunswick's National Committee for Refugee Musicians (1938-1943)." M.A. diss., Arizona State University, 2015.



- Lachs, Vivi. "Revolution in Anglo-Yiddish Poetry: Morris Winchevsky's Strategies to Revolutionise the Jewish Immigrants to Britain, 1884-1894." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 14/1 (2014): 1-19.
- Lakeway, Ruth C. and Robert C. White Jr. *Italian Art Song*. Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1989.
- Lal, Vinay. "Enigmas of Exile: Reflections on Edward Said." *Economic and Political Weekly* 40/1 (January 2005): 30-34.
- Lambdin, T.O. *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1973.
- Landis-Gray, Dorothy. "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Selected English Settings of Music for Women's Voices from His American Period (1939-1968)." Ph.D. diss., The Catholic University of America, 1996.
- Levi, Fabio. "Social Aspects of Italian Anti-Jewish Legislation." In *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, edited by Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin, pp.401-411. Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2000.
- Library of Congress, Music Division. "Finding Aid: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco Papers." Washington, D.C., 2010: <http://hdl.loc.gov/loc.music/eadmus.mu010012>.
- Lubin, Ernest. "A Neglected Impressionist Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *Clavier* Vol. X, No. 2 (February 1971): 29-31.
- Ludwig, Emil. *Talks with Mussolini*. Translated by Eden Paul and Cedar Paul. London: George Allen and Unwin Ltd., 1932.
- Maas, Martha and Jane McIntosh Snyder. *Stringed Instruments of Ancient Greece*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1989.
- Magnusson, Magnus, ed. *Chambers Biographic Dictionary*. Edinburgh: Chambers, 1990.
- Mansoor, Menahem. *Jewish History and Thought: An Introduction*. New Jersey: Ktav Publishing House, 1991.
- Maroney, James Frederick. "Music for Voice and Classical Guitar, 1950-1994: An Annotated Catalog." Ph.D. diss., Columbia University Teachers College, 1995.
- Menocal, Maria Rosa, Raymond P. Scheindlin, Michael Sells, eds. *The Literature of Al-Andalus*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Michaelis, Meir. *Mussolini and the Jews: German-Italian Relations and the Jewish Question in Italy, 1922-1945*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1978.
- Mussolini, Benito and Giovanni Gentile. *The Doctrine of Fascism* (1932). English edition. New York: Howard Fertig, 2006.
- Newsom, Jon and Alfred Mean, eds. *The Rosaleen Moldenhauer Memorial. Music History from Primary Sources. A Guide to the Moldenhauer Archive*. Washington DC: Library of Congress, 2000.

- Nidan-Orvieto, Iael. "The Impact of Anti-Jewish Legislation on Everyday Life and the Response of Italian Jews, 1938-1945." In *Jews in Italy under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman, 158-181. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Oliphant, E. H. C. "The Songs of Young Italy." *The Musical Quarterly* 9/2 (April 1923): 191-210.
- Otero, Corazon. *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: His Life and Works for the Guitar*. Revised edition, Newcastle upon Tyne: Ashley Mark Publishing Co., 1999.
- Parkening, Christopher. *Fingerstyle Guitar* 11 (September-October 1995): 16-18.
- Paxton, Robert. *The Anatomy of Fascism*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2004.
- Philipson, David. "The Beginnings of the Reform Movement in Judaism," *The Jewish Quarterly Review* 15/3 (April 1903): 475-521.
- Purcell, Ronald C. "Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and the Guitar." *Guitar Review* 37 (Fall, 1972): 2-4. Reprinted in the *International Castelnuovo-Tedesco Society Newsletter* 1/2 (January 1977): 1, 3-4.
- Robinson, Marc, ed. *Altogether Elsewhere: Writers on Exile*. Boston: Faber and Faber, 1994.
- Robles, Eric B. "An Analysis of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Vogelweide*: Song Cycle for Baritone and Guitar." D.M.A. diss., Florida State University, 2004.
- Rosen, Harriette Mildred. "The Influence of Judaic Liturgical Music in Selected Secular Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco and Darius Milhaud." Ph.D. diss., University of California-San Diego, 1991.
- Rossi, Nick. "The Choral Masterpieces of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *The Choral Journal* 17/3 (November 1976): 5-8.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Musical Portrait of Italy," *Keyboard Classics* (March-April 1982): 10-12.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Neglected Master." *Music Journal* 33/1 (January 1975): 12-13.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *Catalogue of Works by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco*. New York: International Castelnuovo-Tedesco Society, 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Modern Master of Melody." *The American Music Teacher* 25/4 (February-March 1976): 13-14, 16.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "A Tale of Two Countries. The Operas of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *The Opera Quarterly* 7/3 (Autumn, 1990): 89-121.
- Roth, Cecil. *A History of the Jews*. USA: Schocken Books Inc., 1970.
- \_\_\_\_\_, Geoffrey Wigoder, eds. *Encyclopaedia Judaica*. Jerusalem, Israel: Keter publishing, 1971.

- Rutherford, Jonathon, ed. *Identity: Community, Culture, Difference*. London: Lawrence and Wishart, 1990.
- Sachar, Howard Morley. *The Course of Modern Jewish History*. New York: Delta Publishing Co., 1958.
- Sachs, Harvey. *Music in Fascist Italy*. London and New York: Norton & Company, 1988.
- Sachs, Harvey, ed. and trans. *The Letters of Arturo Toscanini*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002.
- Said, Edward. *Power, Politics and Culture: Interviews with Edward Said*, edited, with an introduction by Gauri Viswanathan. London: Bloomsbury, 2004.
- Safran, William. "The Jewish Diaspora in a Comparative and Theoretical Perspective." *Israel Studies. Israel and the Diaspora: New Perspectives* 10/1 (Spring 2005): 36-60.
- Saleski, Gdal. *Famous Musicians of Jewish Origin*. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1949.
- Sarfatti, Michelle. "Characteristics and Objectives of the Anti-Jewish Racial Laws in Fascist Italy, 1938-1943." In *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman, 71-80. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Jews in Mussolini's Italy: From Equality to Persecution*. Translated by John and Anne C. Tedeschi. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2006.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Persecution of the Jews in Fascist Italy, 1936-1943." In *The Jews of Italy: Memory and Identity*, edited by Bernard D. Cooperman and Barbara Garvin, 412-424. Bethesda: University Press of Maryland, 2000.
- Scalin, Burton Howard. "Some Biblically Inspired and Liturgical Compositions of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *Tatzlil: Forum for Music Research and Bibliography* 9 (1976): 19-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. "Operas by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." Ph.D. diss., Northwestern University, 1980.
- Scharf-Gold, Nili. "Rereading 'It is the Light,' Lea Goldberg's Only Novel." *Prooftexts* 17/3 (September 1997): 245-259.
- Scheindlin, Raymond, P. *The Gazelle: Medieval Hebrew Poems on God, Israel, and the Soul*. Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Wine, Women, and Death. Medieval Poems on the Good Life*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society, 1986.
- Schippers, A. *Spanish Hebrew Poetry and the Arabic Literary Tradition. Arabic Themes in Hebrew Andalusian Poetry*. Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, s.v. "Musa bin 'Azra." Leiden-New York: E.J. Brill, 1993.
- Schirmann, Jefim. "The Ephebe in Medieval Hebrew Poetry." *Sefarad* 15/1 (January 1955): 55-68.

- \_\_\_\_\_. "The Function of the Hebrew Poet in Medieval Spain." *Jewish Social Studies* 16/3 (July 1954): 235-252.
- Scholes, Percy A., ed. *The Oxford Companion to Music*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990.
- Servi, Sandro. "Building a Racial State: Images of the Jew in the Illustrated Fascist Magazine, *La Difesa della Razza*, 1938-1932." In *Jews in Italy Under Fascist and Nazi Rule, 1922-1945*, edited by Joshua D. Zimmerman, 114-157. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Shelleg, Assaf. *Jewish Contiguities and the Soundtrack of Israeli History*. UK: Oxford University Press, 2014.
- Shneer, David. "The Third Way: German-Russian-European Jewish Identity in a Global Jewish World." *European Review of History*, 18/1 (February 2011): 111-121.
- Shternshis, Anna. "White Piano in a Shtetl: Material Culture and Ethnic Identity in the Post-Soviet Jewish Urban Community." *Jewish Social Studies* 16/2 (Winter 2010): 111-126.
- Shuval, Judith T. "Diaspora Migration: Definitional Ambiguities and a Theoretical Paradigm." *International Migration* 38/5 (December 2000): 41-56.
- Soltes, Avraham. *Off the Willows: The Rebirth of Modern Jewish Music*. New York: Bloch Publishing, 1970.
- Stillman, Norman, A. *The Jews of Arab Lands: A History and Source Book*. Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1979.
- Taruskin, Richard, ed. *The Oxford History of Western Music*. New York: Oxford Press, 2005.
- Taylor, Benedict. *Mendelssohn, Time and Memory: The Romantic Conception of Cyclic Form*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
- Taylor, Robert, ed. *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Complete Bibliography (Up to 1965)*. Los Angeles: University of California, 1966.
- Taylor, Timothy D. *Beyond Exoticism: Western Music and the World*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2007.
- "T.H." *Music & Letters* 54/4 (October 1973): 518-519.
- Tomlinson, Gary. *A Million Years of Music: The Emergence of Human Modernity*. Brooklyn, NY: Zone Books, 2015.
- Toscano, Mario. "Prologue: The Jews in Italy and the Anti-Semitic Policy of Fascism." In *Uncertain Refuge: Italy and the Jews During the Holocaust*, edited by Nicola Caracciolo. Translated by Florette Rechnitz Koffler and Richard Koffler, xxxv-xxxix. Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1995.
- Ullendorff, Edward. "Is Biblical Hebrew a Language?" *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London* 34/2 (1971): 241-255.

- van Gammeren, Dario Leendert. "The Guitar Works of Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Editorial Principles, Comparative Source Studies and Critical Editions of Selected Works." Ph.D. diss., University of Manchester, 2008.
- Wade, Graham and Gerard Garno. *A New Look at Segovia: His Life. His Music.* USA: Mel Bay Publications, 2000.
- Waterhouse, J. C. G. "Obituary: Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." *The Musical Times* 109/1503 (May 1968): 467.
- West, Brad. "Cultural Memory." In *The Sage Handbook of Cultural Sociology*, edited by David Inglis and Anna-Mari Almila, 455-462. London: Sage Publications, 2016.
- Westby, James. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco in America: The Film Music." Ph.D. diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco: Catalogo delle opera: Composizioni, bibliographia, filmographia.* Florence: Cadmo, 1995.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, edited by H. Wiley Hitchcock, and Stanley Sadie, s.v. "Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario." London: Macmillan Publishers Limited, 2001.
- Wolpe, Stefan. "What is Jewish Music (1940)." *Contemporary Music Review* 27/2-3 (April-June 2008): 179-192.
- Worthington II, Oliver Wendell. "An Analysis and Investigation of *Coplas* by Mario Castelnuovo-Tedesco." D.M.A. diss., University of Texas in Austin, 2001.
- Zinberg, Israel. *A History of Jewish Literature. Vol 1, The Arabic-Spanish Period.* Translated by Bernard Martin. Cleveland and London: Case Western Reserve University, 1972.
- Zuccotti, Susan. *The Italians and the Holocaust: Persecution, Rescue and Survival.* London: Peter Halban Publishers, 1987.

## Published Scores

Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario. “*Appunti - Preludi e Studi Per Chitarra*,” edited by Ruggero Chiesa. Three volumes. Milan: Edizione Suvini Zerboni, 1968.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Ballata dall’esilio: per voce e chitarra*. Ancona, Italy: Edizioni musicali Bèrben, 1979.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Die Vogelweide: ein Lieder-Cyklus für Bariton und Gitarre (oder Klavier)*, op. 186. Ancona, Italia: Bèrben, 1987.

\_\_\_\_\_. “*La barba bianca*” (Op. 28). A. Forlivesi & Co., 1923.

\_\_\_\_\_. “*I profeti (2nd Concerto) per violino ed orchestra*.” Milano: Edizioni Ricordi and Co., 1937.

\_\_\_\_\_. “*The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra (1055-1135). A Cycle of Songs for Voice and Guitar, Op 207*.” Edited by Angelo Gilardino, Ancona-Milano, Italy: Edizioni Musicali Bèrben, 1973.

### **Discography of Castelnuovo-Tedesco's *Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra***

- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*. Elisabetta Majeron (soprano), Giuliano Balestra (guitar). Rome: Pan (Edipan) Records, PRC S20 03, 1979/2007 (reissue).
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra. A Cycle of Songs for Voice and Guitar, op. 207*. Duo Voccord: Susann Finch-Bucher, Wolfgang DiaB. Germany: Voccord Records 01, 1986.
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra. Song Cycle for Voice and Guitar, Opus. 207*. Roberta Alexander (soprano) and Dick Hoogeveen (guitar). Amsterdam: Etcetera records, KTC 1150, 1993.
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, in "Blansons Des Fleurs": Elisabeth Mattman (soprano) and Claude Chappuis (guitar), France: Gallo CD 751, 1993 (three songs only).
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, in "Märta Schéle Sings," Märta Schéle, soprano, Josef Holecek, guitar. Sweden: GRAMMOFONFIRMA BIS LP-31/BIS CD-34, 1995 (six songs only).
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, in Joanna Klisowska (soprano), Giulio Tampalini (guitar), "Complete Music for Soprano and Guitar." Italy: Brilliant Classics, BT-1202, 2017.
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, in "Novecentos," Donatella Debolini (soprano) and Duccio Bianchi (guitar). Le Carrozze Records, 2002 (three songs only).
- Castelnuovo-Tedesco, Mario: *The Divan of Moses Ibn Ezra*, in "On My People," Cherie Hughes – soprano, Roberto Limon – guitar. ORIGIN CLASSICAL 33019, 2014.

## Appendix

Complete list of the non-liturgical poems in Heinrich Brody, ed., *Selected Poems of Moses Ibn Ezra*, trans., S. Solis-Cohen (Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1934), pp. 2-74. Bold indicates those songs used by Castelnuevo-Tedesco, with length and date of composition.

### Part 1 - Songs of Wandering:

1. How Long at Fate's Behest
2. I Rouse my Thoughts
3. **When the Morning of Life Had Passed** (14 lines, June 24-25, 1966)
4. **The Dove That Nests in the Tree Top** (14 lines, June 26)
5. **Wrung with Anguish** (14 lines, June 27-28)

### Part 2 - Songs of Friendship:

6. **Sorrow Shatters my Heart** (12 lines, June 29)
7. **Fate has Blocked the Way** (24 lines, July 1-2)
8. Fire Whose Flame No Man Hath Kindled
9. **O Brook** (10 lines, July 3-4)
10. Is it the Scent of Myrrh That Fills the Earth

### Elegies:

11. The Sun Hath Set
12. Are My Tears Restrained

### Part 3 - Of Wine, and the Delights of the Sons of Men:

13. Winter Hath Vanished
14. **Drink Deep My Friend** (4 lines, July 5)
15. **Dull and Sad is the Sky** (6 lines, July 5)
16. Bring me the Cup
17. **The Garden Dons a Coat of Many Hues** (12 lines, July 6)



Part 4 - The World and its Vicissitudes:

18. **Men Are Children of This World** (11 lines, July 8)
19. **The World is Like a Woman of Folly** (8 lines, July 9)
20. The Promises of the World
21. To the Man Who assumes the Turban of Power
22. In Vain Earth Decks Herself
23. All ye That Go Astray
24. **Only in God I Trust** (8 lines, July 10)
25. Say unto Him That Trusts Deceithful Fate
26. He That Puts Time to Proof
27. He That Regards the Precious Things of Earth
28. Ye Anger Earth
29. Reject the World

Part 5 - The Transience of this World:

30. **Where are the Graves** (6 lines, July 11)
31. **Let Man Remember All His Days** (6 lines, July 15)
32. **I Have Seen Upon the Earth** (12 lines, July 16)
33. **Come Now to the Court of Death** (6 lines, July 16)
34. **Peace Upon them that Sojourn** (8 lines, July 16)
35. **I Behold Ancient Graves** (6 lines, July 17)
36. **Wouldst Thou Look upon Me in My Grave** ('Epilogue,' 16 lines, July 17-18)