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In an earlier work I wrote various considerations and notations concerning Celtic music. In said article I made a few observations in reference to Celtic music on the one hand and modern classical European music, i.e., that of the last three centuries, on the other. At the end, more or less by intuition, I made some more observations along the same lines:

"Modern classical Western music (i.e., from J.S. Bach onwards) suffers from an acute case of provincialism, narcissism and arrogance. In reference to modes it is terribly impoverished, and does not use quarter-tones. In search of "renovation", the *avant garde* composers resort to the so-called "atonal music", which is nothing more than pure cacophony. In Medieval, Byzantine, Celtic, Persian and Indo-Aryan music they could find new modes, the use of quarter-tones, and in Indo-Aryan music new instruments. For what inconfessable motives they play with the cold and repugnant cacophony of "atonal music" in place of seeking fresh inspiration in Medieval, Byzantine, Celtic, Persian and Indian music is something which admits of no rational explanation."

Thanks to other source material which has since become accessible to me, I have been pleasantly surprised to discover how true and correct were said observations and intuitions.

Firstly, in my earlier work I possibly left intact the idea that Celtic music, though agreeable to the ear, is "folkloric", "primitive", etc., that in effect it is not serious music. In the first place, one may quote Bela Bartok. who said that composers must seek inspiration in ethnic and folk music and abandon the cold, sterile and pedantic cacophony of so-called "atonal music".

It must not be thought that Bartok was indulging in some sort of "smarmy" sentimentality towards something vaguely called "the

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folk" or "the people", terms much abused by both the Marxists and the Nazis, of which Bartok was most emphatically neither the one nor the other. Anyone who had the misfortune to live during the 1960's will remember the host of Communist propaganda tracts set to jingly tunes by party hacks which were passed off as "folk music". Bartok was a very intelligent and clear-headed man, a great composer and ethnomusicologist who knew very well indeed what he was talking about. While it is quite true that "the folk does not create but only preserves", it is also true that what "the folk" preserves is very often of immense value. Bartok knew very well that "the folk" often preserves musical treasures otherwise lost.

However, this still leaves intact the impression that Celtic music is, at best, only "raw material" for "serious music", that from it one may take only a sort of "nationalist music" as did Bartok with the ethnic music of Hungary, Glinka, Tchaikovsky, Rimsky-Korsakov and Borodin with that of Russia, Grieg with that of Norway, and Albeniz and de Falla with that of Spain. But Celtic music is particularly difficult to force into "classical molds"; perhaps neither Russian and Ukrainian music, with its Iranian and Byzantine roots, nor Hungarian music offer such difficulties, are so refractory in this respect. It is obvious that if one takes modern European classical music as the absolute criterion of excellence, then Celtic music will be relegated to the fringes, a mere curiosity, a footnote, a paragraph in a textbook on Indo-European anthropology or ethnology. It is

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absolutely necessary to discredit and destroy the above-mentioned criterion if Celtic music is ever to be considered as serious music. Little will be gained by begging and pleading and screaming "me too" from the position of an acute inferiority complex. Celtic music and modern European classical music are basically incompatible, having in common only the use of heptatonic or seven-tone scales. Attempt to force Celtic music into "classical" molds means to annihilate it. Modern European classical music is the product of a mentality, a way of life and of understanding life, in summary a whole Romano-Germanic culture which is profoundly anti-Celtic; while the criteria of said mentality continue to be regarded as the measure of excellence and "progress", Celtism is something condemned to marginalization, to disdain, at best to a certain paternalism as an archaeological curiosity to which one may give alms on occasion but never take seriously. Is celtic music anti-western? This depends on how one defines "western". During the Middle Ages Celtic civilization formed an integral part of Medieval European Christendom. Thus, if one considers Medieval European civilization as "western", then Celtic civilization is not anti-western. But it is true that Celtic civilization is anti-Classical (Viriathus, Vercingetorix and Boudicca are the proof) and anti-modern (here there are a multitude of proofs), nothing easier to demonstrate. The apostles of modernity since Henry VIII to the French revolutionaries, passing by way off Cromwell, William of Orange and George I & II were all brutally

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and savagely anti-Celtic. As I said before, one way of defining modernity is precisely by its savage anti-Celtism. Since the beginning of the Modern Era, defined by the Breton musicologist Alain Stivell as "Romano-Germanic materialism", Celtism has been only a subterranean current which comes to the surface in fundamentally anti-modern movements such as Romanticism.

Firstly we must demonstrate that said criterion, i.e., that of the modern mentality or "Romano-Germanic materialism" is false, that it is based on a provincialism of time and place, exactly the same as the rustic who a priori despises everything outside his own hamlet. That modern western civilization has achieved much in the fields of technology and has created unprecedented material wealth is undeniable. Is this not the very least that one might expect from "Romano-Germanic materialism"? But it is not for this reason superior in other respects; frequent are the technocrats who are ignorant louts in everything else and also plutocrats without culture and without taste, with no other merit than their money. Obviously, those who are as materialistic as said plutocrats but who have had less material success and who are consumed with envy have even less merit. This is a vast topic with many facets, but at the moment we are speaking of music, and we are going to stick to this topic, for want of space if nothing else. Secondly, we must demonstrate that in reference to sophistication and resources Celtic music is not inferior to modern European classical music, that there are reasons for saying that it is superior.

In reference to the Indo-European peoples at least, only a few centuries ago all music, including that of Byzantium and Medieval Western Europe, was modal, which means that it used a great variety of modes or forms of scale, the melody being fundamental, harmony secondary. It is true that polyphony existed, and was highly developed in the Middle Ages. But this did not alter the modal basis of the music, harmony being secondary, an ornament to the melodic line. Of course, Celtic music is modal, some of its modes coinciding with medieval modes, others not. The most exact analogy to Celtic music is the music of Persia and India, as I said in an earlier article. These three musical systems are all modal, based on "airs" or melodic lines derived from the modes, i.e., from each mode proceed numerous "airs", the three systems using quarter-tones in the ornamentation of the melody, in all three the melody is fundamental, tempo and rhythm being somewhat free and changeable. The music of the three systems sounds rather different because of use of different instruments, the number of possible modes is great and the number of melodic lines, tempos and rhythms still greater. It is important to remember this.

There is a great break in continuity between medieval music and modern music; in fact the two have little more in common than the use of heptatonic scales. Beginning with the Renaissance, harmony became more and more complex, and its relative importance increased, harmony at last becoming the principal element of the so-called "classical music". In the interest of the now

omnipotent harmony, quarter-tones were eliminated. Eliminated also were all modes except two, i.e., the major and the minor, the last being only a variant of the first. Obviously this impoverishment in reference to melodic resources was a disaster for the melody; in effect, melody was sacrificed on the altar of harmony. Thus much modern music, whether classical or not, consists of chord progressions rather than melody, and the harmonic basis of many so-called "melodies" is evident. Even among the common people the word "melody" has come to be synonymous with "light music" or "folk music". But this is not the end of the affair. To help compensate for the loss of modes and quarter-tones, transposition was introduced, or at least became frequent. To facilitate this, even the major mode was "tempered", disfigured and made insipid and inexpressive; the fact is that a mode which permits transposition is not exactly the same as that which permits correct harmonic intervals. The "tempered scale" is a compromise between the two, without being correct either for the one nor for the other. As Alain Danielou says:

"... this necessitates a useless mass of chords, whose role is only to colour the notes, otherwise perfectly insipid, of the tempered scales."(23)

In another place the same author says

"All those who have been in contact with ancient western modal music or with the music of the Middle and Far East have deplored the ruin of the melodies and rhythms corollary to the development of harmony, a phenomenon which could be observed through the 19th Century and which is still perceptible in the northern countries, Russia, and also Scotland and Ireland."(24)

N.A. Willard uses even stronger language:

"The modern melody has not the merit of the ancient and ... harmony is used with the view of compensating for its poorness and diverting the attention of the audience from perceiving the barrenness of genius."(25)

And Helmholtz also said:

"The music based on the temperate scale must be considered as an imperfect music. ... If we suppose it or even find it to be beautiful, it means that our ear has been systematically spoiled since childhood."(26)

And A. Langel:

"The ear became accustomed to the continual approximations of temperament only at the cost of a part of its natural sensitiveness."(27)

Once again Alain Danielou:

"The generalization of equal temperament, by simplifying musical structures to an absurd degree, has led people completely to forget the most elementary acoustic realities and, by distorting all the intervals, has rendered the signification of chords vague and unclear. It is generally said that the ear does recognize a true relation through the temperate relation. This is a fact, but each ear makes a different adaptation according to individual tendencies, and the same chord may have for different people, or according to mood, different significations; the meaning of an accurate chord, on the other hand, is determined absolutely and perceived by all.

The result is that, more and more, Westerners have lost all conception of a music able to express clearly the highest ideas and feelings; they now expect from music mostly a confused noise, more or less agreeable, but able to arouse in the audience only the most ordinary sensations and simplified images. ... But who in modern times tries for an intelligent intercourse with the muses? People try only for technical progress which allows virtuosity, and for extravagant theories which make their authors famous."(28)

At least in relation to the Indo-European peoples, including the Iranians and Indo-Aryans, until only a few centuries ago all

music was modal. The music which might be called "temperate-harmonic" is a western invention of the last three or four centuries (the process was gradual, not rapid). We have spoken of the weaknesses of the "temperate-harmonic" system. There remains the question as to whether the modal system, still in use in a great part of Asia and North Africa and among some peoples of Europe - such as the Celts, the Greeks, the Rumanians and the Slavs - more or less on the fringes of the so-called "Modern Western Civilization" is superior. There does indeed exist "the pot calling the kettle black", or, to use the Gospel phrase, "the mote in the neighbor's eye". First we must clarify our terms.

As the philosophers of *Vedanta* say:

"A single sound is not capable of manifesting a meaning (*sphota*), otherwise to utter another sound would be useless, ... but, each sound leaving an impression (*samakara*) in the wind, it is by cumulative operation of the previous sounds (*dhvani*) that the last sound reveals the idea."(29)

Said the Russian musicologist A. Bernshtein:

"An isolated tone perceived by our ear disappears without a trace for our psyche almost immediately after the cessation of the vibration. We do not have the capacity to recognize it, to determine its pitch, to compare it with an isolated tone which we heard a quarter of an hour ago, just as we cannot reproduce it ten minutes later. Only rare individuals, with an exceptional musical talent, have the ability to evaluate the heard tone with their voice."(30)

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Bernshtein continues:

"The elements of a melody, indefinable in isolation, acquire, when combined, new qualities which facilitate their combined appreciation. Evidently, that qualification which is missing with respect to an isolated tone is present with respect to their combination, and, without determining each member, it determines their sequential series." (31)

A. Bernshtein goes on:

"Although our ear is capable of perceiving tones with any number of vibrations, their recognition and differentiation are limited by definite relations. Thus, what is important for auditory perception is not so much the absolute number of vibrations of the surrounding air as the relation of the values of the sequentially changing rates of vibrations. In each series of sequential sounds our perception either isolates only those which are related to one another as a series of definite relations between some integers or artificially and approximately reduces the remainder to the same regular series.

Tones are not remembered by themselves but rather in their relations to rates of vibrations; thought captures not the absolute pitch of each tone but rather their sequence, corresponding to the sequence of the relations of certain integers. An old melody in a new tonality is recognized without error because its remembered form consisted not of a series of tones of definite pitch but rather of a series of relations not changing with the tonalities. The limits to such an identification in the memory are not constrained by any factors; within the limits of the possible perception of the physical scale from the lowest to the highest tones, passing by half-tone from tonality to tonality, infinitely changing its timbre in different instruments, a melody nevertheless remains strictly identical with its remembered form, since it remains mathematically faithful to itself, i.e., to the sequence of its elements. We remember a melody although we cannot always remember what instrument we heard it from." (32)

I would like to add that one can easily recognize the same melody sung by a soprano and by a bass-baritone, though obviously the tonality is different, as a soprano cannot lower her voice to

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the pitch of a bass-baritone, nor can a bass-baritone raise his

voice to the pitch a a soprano; in other words, the same melody can be recognized even in cases in which no two tones have the same pitch.

One can readily recognized that the Scottish-Gaelic song "*An Ataireachd Ard*" [The Eternal Surge of the Sea] sung by the soprano voices of the MacDonald sisters has exactly the same melody as its version in English "The Song of the Sea" sung by the bass-baritone Bill McCue even though in this case not only do any to tones have the same pitch, but no two words are the same; Irish and Scottish songs often mix Gaelic and English, but such was not the case in this instance; *An Ataireachd Ard* is pure Gaelic, containing no English words, while "The Song of the Sea" contains no Gaelic words.

In reference to this, Alain Danielou says:

"(Modern) Occidentals, although they are bound to acknowledge this process in the spoken language, are not trained to perceive it in the musical language, and they recognize the meaning only if the few sounds which represent the idea are heard simultaneously. An exception can be, however, made for the arpeggio which can, theoretically, be understood in both systems. There is no essential difference between successive or simultaneous sounds, provided the ratios which bind them are the same. The image appears suddenly to our mind as soon as the different elements which constitute it have been perceived. It is the relation of sounds which represents the idea, and, as long as this relation remains incomplete, the idea cannot appear; "the partial manifestation of a concept being impossible because a concept has no parts". (Swami Hariharanand Saraswati, *ibid.* ...) The harmonic system, in which a group of related sounds is given at once, is, in a way, more direct, but it is also less clear, because an accurate discrimination of the

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different elements which constitute a chord is not usually possible. On the contrary, the modal development allows the exact perception and immediate

classification of every one of the sound elements. The modal system permits, therefore, of a much more accurate, powerful and detailed outlining of the expression.

"This is why the modal system is always to be given preference when music is envisaged, not merely as a stimulant of sensations, but as a means of education, capable of creating in the mind profound and durable impressions. This is easily explainable; it is because an external perception can only produce a permanent impression in our mind (*sthayi bhava*) if we concentrate on it for a sufficiently long time. Only modal music can create such permanent impressions because all its variations only tend towards expression of one feeling or one image accurately determined. This cannot fail, after a sufficient time, to imprint that feeling or that image in the mind of all those who hear the mode, whether they are attentive or not."(33)

Certainly the temperate-harmonic system only dominates in a nearly absolute manner in modern western classical music and in that which might be called "popular commercial", i.e., "rock", "pop", etc. Much folkloric and traditional music of Europe and America is still modal because it preserves medieval, Byzantine and Celtic elements, in some places Iranian, Arabic and Hebraic elements as well. Also, before the self-inflicted disaster of the so-called "liturgic reforms" the liturgical music of the Roman Catholic Church also remained faithful to Byzantine and medieval modes.

It is certainly depressing and frankly repulsive to see the Church acting like a vain and very stupid woman who throws away priceless jewels to buy plastic baubles which happen to be in fashion at the moment. Today the Eastern Orthodox Church, the

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Catholic Eastern Rites and the Catholic Mozarabic Rite of Toledo, Spain remain in the breach.

Speaking of all this, we should mention a few very interesting facts. There are indications that the Druids had a sort of liturgical chant, which is certainly not surprising: the Persian Magi had a liturgical chant and the Hindu Brahmins still preserve the Vedic Liturgical Chant. As a matter of fact, the similarity between the Vedic Chant and the Gregorian Chant has been noted.(34) Now, as we have said before, the modes used in Gregorian Chant are of Byzantine origin, though the person who noted the similarity between Vedic and Gregorian Chant most probably knew nothing of Byzantine Chant.

To the eternal honor and glory of the Celts and Celtic Civilization, in Western Europe at least it has been the Celts and their musical modes who have most tenaciously resisted the destruction and tyranny imposed by the temperate-harmonic system. Alain Danielou is basically an Indologist, but he pays tribute to the tenacious resistance of Celtic music against the steamroller of the temperate-harmonic system:

"In the West, in spite of the havoc created by the temperate scale, it is possible quite easily to find the continuity of Celtic modes from Scotland to North Africa."(35)

One may suppose that Celtic modes were taken to North Africa by Spanish Muslims or Moriscos fleeing the Christian Reconquest.

The presence of Celtic and liturgical modes in Hispano-Muslim or *Arabigoandalusian* music is yet another proof of the

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"Spanishness" of Hispano-Muslim culture.

The theme of Hispano-Muslim or "*Arabigoandalusian*" music

leads us to the fascinating figure of Ziryab. Though of great importance, Ziryab is a shadowy figure; biographical details given by different authorities are so different, indeed contradictory, that it is difficult to believe that they are all speaking of the same person. The reasons for said discrepancies are unclear. What is unquestioned is that Ziryab was a musician trained at the Abbassid court in Baghdad, that he made certain technical improvements in the 'ud or lute, and that he came to the court of Amir Abd ar-Rahman II in Cordoba. Ziryab is credited with introducing Baghdadi fashions in dress, etiquette and cuisine in al-Andalus, but he was first and foremost a musician.(36)

The technical improvements which Ziryab made to the 'ud consist of using a thinner wood for the body, thus improving resonance, and adding a fifth string, though this last was apparently more symbolic than functional.(37)

It is evident that Ziryab - and no doubt some others whose names are now forgotten - did indeed introduce the Baghdadi or Abbassid style of music to al-Andalus, where before was known only the heavier, Umayyad-Damascene style had been known in the court of the Amir in Cordoba. Very early, pre-Ziryab sources mention that the older, heavier Umayyad style was preserved in al-Andalus while in the Abbassid Court in Baghdad the music was strongly influenced by Persian models.(38) Al-Tifashi (b.1184, d.1233) mentions four modes as being used in *Andalusi* music: *Khusrawani*,

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Mutlaq, *Mazmun* and *Mujannab*.(39) The name "Khusrawani" is obviously of Persian rather than Arabic origin. Unfortunately, it

is evident that al-Tifashi's list of modes is incomplete, as he associates, or confuses, modes and musical forms, these last involving rhythm and tempo as well as mode.(40)

According to al-Tifashi, in the first decades after the Muslim conquest of Spain, music in al-Andalus was either in the style of the Christians (or Mozarabs) or was *Huda'*, the songs of Arab camel drivers.(41) "*Huda'*" indicates folk songs rather than art music. Then the Umayyad-Damascene style was introduced by the Umayyads, then the Baghdadi or Abbassid style was introduced by Ziryab, and, some two centuries later, ibn Bajja

"Fused Christian (or Mozarabic) song with Eastern song, thereby creating a style found only in Spain",

paving the way for the compositions of Abul Husayn ibn al-Mursi (circa 1200).(42)

Owen Wright notes that:

"The reported fact of ibn Bajja's innovation is of considerable importance, for such integration (or synthesis) can only be possible in the context of a degree of similarity between the types of music practised by the two communities rendering them mutually permeable."(43)

Now, if the traditional music of the Christians of al-Andalus was largely of Celtic origin - as it is to this day in all or nearly all the Iberian Peninsula, and this must also have been true in the time of ibn Bajja - then we have no problem. As

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we have seen, Persian and Celtic music are based on exactly the same general principles, which means that they were - and are - most certainly mutually permeable. Once again, the Celtic

heritage of Spain paved the way for the acceptance of Persian influences. We shall have more to say about this very shortly.

The Persian mode *Shur* is identical to the Hispano-Muslim mode *Sika*.(44). Of course, one cannot be certain that the Andalusi *Beyati* mode is of Persian origin - though it most likely is - as it may be Celtic, as both Persian and Celtic music use heptatonic (seven-tone) modes, and, as we have seen, both Persian and Celtic modes were used in Hispano-Muslim music.

Celtic modes being untempered, they are therefore fundamentally different from the tempered major and minor modes of most modern Western music, and also bear little resemblance to modes used in liturgical chant, though liturgical modes, whether Byzantine, Mozarabic, Gregorian or Slavonic are also heptatonic and untempered. With the very important exception of the bagpipes of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands (which henceforth we shall call "Gaelic bagpipes"), the vast bulk of Celtic music is composed using four untempered heptatonic modes, sometimes called *Doh*, *Soh*, *Ray* and *Lah*.(45) All of these Celtic modes are very similar to certain Hindustani *thatas* or modes, identical to them or very nearly so. The Celtic *Doh* mode corresponds very exactly to the Hindustani *Bilaval* mode, the Celtic *Soh* mode to the Hindustani *Khammaja* mode, the Celtic *Ray* mode to the Hindustani *Marava* mode, the Celtic *Lah* mode to the Hindustani *Yavanapuri* mode.(46) It

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should be noted that "Yavanapuri" means "City of the Greeks", in this case no doubt Greco-Bactrians.

In addition, the Celtic *Lah* modes corresponds very closely to

the *Sika* mode of Hispano-Muslim music (47) and resembles the Persian mode *Shur* so closely that it could be considered a variant or *plagal* of it.(48) The Celtic *Ray* mode corresponds very exactly to the Persian *Shekaste* mode.(49)

Celtic music may once have used a far greater variety of modes than it does today. This appears particularly likely if one recalls that the ancient Celtic harp music was lost in the 17th and 18th centuries, only elements of its ornamentation of embellishment of the melody being preserved in the music of the Gaelic bagpipes.(50)

The chanter of the Gaelic bagpipes is tuned to a most unique mode, which, though it bears no resemblance to any Persian mode, very exactly corresponds to the Hindustani *Bhairavi* mode and the Byzantine II Authentic (*Echos Beta*) Mode.(51) Obviously, the mode of the Gaelic bagpipes is an ancient Celtic mode. Said mode is of special interest to us. Because its intervals cannot be expressed or even approximated in terms of modern Western chromatic scales, which use half-tone intervals for a scale of twelve half-tones. The intervals of the scale of the Gaelic bagpipes can only be expressed in terms of the twenty-two quartertones or microtones of Persian music or the twenty-two or twenty-five) microtones of Hindustani music.(52)

The scale of the Gaelic bagpipes also very closely resembles

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the *Avaroha* (Descent) of the *Asavari* Raga. This is most interesting: while the *Asavari* Raga is derived from the *Bhairavi Thata* or mode, the *Asavari* Raga is in the *Yavanapuri* group of

Ragas, which group also includes the *Gandhari Raga*(53) As we have seen, "Yavanapuri" means "City of the Greeks", no doubt Greco-Bactrians. "Gandhari" literally means "from Gandhara". Gandhara is the ancient name for Kandahar in Afghanistan, which was a very great centre of culture under the Kushans. In other words, the names "Yavanapuri" and "Gandhari" both point to a connection with the pre-Islamic Iranian world.

The chanters or *punteiros* of the bagpipes of Galicia and Asturias continue to be played in a totally Celtic manner, using Celtic types of ornamentation of the melody. I can testify to the totally Celtic sound of Gallego and Asturian bagpipes. During the Spanish Civil War of 1936-39, Irish and Highland Scots who had come to Spain to fight on the Nationalist side (generally in Carlist units) loved the sound of Gallego bagpipes; this may have been a factor in said bagpipes becoming so generally used in the Nationalist Army, and their continued use in the Spanish Army today. Another factor may have been that the Muslim troops or "Moors" also loved the sound of Gallego bagpipes. There are jokes about Muslims and Gallegos in the Nationalist Army, but they do not translate. I can testify to the fact that Gallegos and Asturians love the sound of the Gaelic bagpipes, many having told me that they prefer the sound of the Gaelic bagpipes to that of their own bagpipes.

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As we have said before, both Celtic music and Persian music are based on untempered heptatonic modes. Since untempered modes require ornamentation of the melody, since they do not permit the

the complex harmonies of tempered modes, they require more in the way of ornamentation or embellishment of the melody. We have already mentioned the ornamentation of the melody with microtones, used in both Celtic and Persian music. Both Persian and Celtic music use grace notes very extensively in the ornamentation of the melody, indeed at times using whole strings of grace notes.(54)

Grace notes are used in groups of two, three and four are used in Gaelic bagpipe music. In this type of ornamentation, it is essential that each grace note used cuts the note being embellished, so that two grace notes never sound simultaneously. This type of ornamentation is called *cranning*.(55) The word "cranning" probably comes from the Gaelic *cranngail*, meaning the drone pipes of a set of bagpipes.(56)

Repetition is an integral part of Persian music.(57) Repetition is also a vital part of Celtic music, most notably in the *Ceol Mor* (Great Music) or *Piobaireachd* of the Gaelic bagpipes, in which numerous "doublings" or "treblings" are an integral part of each "*Ceol Mor*" composition.(58)

There is one sort of embellishment of the melody which is so common in Persian music that it is not even indicated in the notation. This is difficult to describe without using a musical score, but may be called "strums", "trills" or "staccato runs".(59) What may be called "non staccato runs" are also very

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common in Persian music.(60)

Staccato runs are very common in the music of the Gaelic bagpipes.(61) and also in that of the Gallego and Asturian

bagpipes. Non-staccato runs are also very common in the music of the Gaelic bagpipes.(62) In Celtic music, runs, particularly non-staccato runs, are called by the Gaelic term *Sruth Mor*, literally meaning "Great Stream".(63) Runs, *Sruth Mor* are said to derive from ancient harp music.(64) The *Sruth Mor* type of ornamentation has been preserved by the Gaelic bagpipers. Though the ancient Celtic harp music is lost, the revival of the harp in Ireland, the Scottish Highlands and Wales has also led to *Sruth Mor* once again being used in harp music. Contemporary Celtic harpers owe an enormous debt to the Gaelic bagpipers for preserving at least some of the techniques and types of ornamentation used by the ancient harpers.

Some musical systems are mutually permeable and some are not. In spite of the destruction wrought by tempered scales in the last few centuries, in Europe and America, there survives a great deal of traditional or folkloric music based on untempered scales or modes. A mode is either tempered or it is not, there is no compromise possible. Therefore, music based on tempered modes and music based on untempered modes may coexist, but they cannot combine, they are not mutually permeable. Likewise, music based on pentatonic modes and music based on heptatonic modes are not mutually permeable. Hexatonic (six-tone) and pentatonic tunes may exist within heptatonic music systems, but said tunes are

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derived from heptatonic modes. One cannot derive heptatonic tunes from pentatonic modes, and pentatonic music often sounds "off key", sometimes almost unbearable so, to someone accustomed to

heptatonic music. Heptatonic and pentatonic music are not mutually permeable.

It is evident that Celtic music on the one hand and Persian music on the other are not only mutually permeable, but could - and in Muslim Spain did - blend into one another to such a degree that one cannot detect where the one ends and the other begins.

Notes Owen Wright:

"...al-Tifashi, who has a keen sense of differing regional styles and an equally clear conception of what is ancient and what is modern, the oldest layer of the contemporary music of Muslim Spain, and he is in general keen to stress the conservative core of this tradition, contrasting it with that of the East, which he stigmatizes as having become so indebted to Persian modes and styles that most singers are generally incapable of performing the ancient Arab repertoire. Indeed, they are said to be unable to pronounce Arabic properly, and even when they can cope with the text they are unable to sing it in the old style, which, it is implied, was more complex. Differences between East and West in the ability to perform ancient songs (or song texts) are matched (and, presumably, reinforced) by differences of melodic habit, in relation to which al-Tifashi again stresses the modernity of the modal and compositional procedures (*tara'iq talhin*) in the East. Although, unfortunately, no technical details are given, he makes it clear that in his day East and West had evolved separate modal systems. That of the East provides in its nomenclature clear evidence of the incorporation of Persian elements, and is already organized into two sets of 12 and 6 modes which will receive their canonical form in the 7th/13th century descriptions of Safiyy al-Din and which are prefigured in the works of earlier Eastern Writers." (65)

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Below is a selection from the 11th century AD work The Qabus Nama by Kai Ka'us Ibn Iskandar, Prince of Gurgan, translated from the Persian by Reuben Levy:

Chapter XXXV

"If you are a poet, see to it that your verses are, within limits, easy of comprehension, and guard against making your utterances too profound. There may be subjects familiar to you but not to other people, who will need a commentary; these subjects are to be avoided, because poetry is composed for the benefit of the general public and not for oneself alone. Never be content merely with metre and rhyme; compose no verse which is lacking in craftsmanship and artifice; verse unadorned is displeasing, therefore let your poetry have art and movement.

Whether in poetry, instrumental music or singing there should always be present a tremolo to give true pleasure, or else some artifice of the kind permitted by the rules of verse. Examples of these are (the figures and metres) known as, *paraonomasia* (punning), parallelism, antithesis, balance, simile, metaphor, duplication, refrain, [note this apparent reference to strophic verse] pairing, coupling, equipoise, quotation, allusion, concatenation, rhymed prose, equalization, acrostic, composition of words in which the Arabic letters are all joined by ligatures, or in which some remain unjoined (?) unshackling, the ornate poem, the "ingenious" two-rhymed poem, the *rajaz*, *mutaqarib* and anagram.

If you wish your verse to be endowed with distinction and possessed of permanence, let it have plenty of metaphor in it drawn from what is possible (in nature), using it even in your panegyrics. If you compose odes and lyrics, let them be light and delicate, with rhymes that are familiar, and avoid tasteless unfamiliar [to Persian-speaking people] Arabisms. Your love-songs should be apposite, your verses witty and your similes pleasurable, in order that they shall appeal to men of all kinds. Make no verses that are no more than clumsy exercises in prosody; only men of an inferior talent, men incapable of sweet words and witty ideas, will cling slavishly to prosody and heavy metres. Yet if there is a demand for the other kind of verse compose it; excuses will be found for you.

Make yourself familiar with the science of prosody and learn the art of versification, the forms of address (to patrons) and the criteria for judging

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verse, so that if ever a dispute arises or someone displays his rivalry with you or you are put to the test, you shall not fall short. Further, you must know the seventeen [Persian] metres which occur in the Persian system of prosody [*Hazaj*, *Rajaz*, *Hazaj-i-makfuf*, *Hazaj-i-akhrab*, *Rajaz-i-matwi*, *Ramal-i-makhbu*, *Munsarih*, *Khafif*, *Mudari'*, *Muqtadib*, *Sari'*, *Mujtathth*, *Mutaqarib*, *Qarib-i-akhrab*, *Tawil*] and also the metres of the Arabs.

Make yourself fully acquainted with them all.

Whatever the form of your verse-composition, whether it be a religious poem, a panegyric, an ode, a satire or an elegy, let it be in the best style of which you are capable. Never utter anything of inferior style. Should the theme be one best suited for prose do not put it into verse; prose may be likened to subjects and verse to a king - what is fitted for the king is not so for his subjects. Let your odes and lyrics be in brilliant style. As for your panegyrics they should be strong, bold and of lofty spirit; you yourself must know each man's worth, so that when you are composing a laudatory ode it shall be suited to the person to whom it is addressed. Do not say of the man who has never so much as girt on a dagger, "Your sword brings low the lion, with your lance you move the mountain of Bihistun, with your arrow you can split a hair", and when a man has never even bestridden a donkey, do not compare his horse to Duldul [the mule of Caliph Alim fabled for its speed], Buraq [the fabulous steed on which Muhammad mounted into Heaven], Raksh [Rustam's famous horse which saved him from a lion], or Shabdiz [the equally renowned horse of Khusraw Parviz, the king who was the lover of Shirin]. Have a clear understanding of what may fittingly be said of any person; nevertheless, it is the poet's duty to judge the character of his patron and know what will please him, for until you say what he desires, he will not give you what you need.

Yet do not be abject-spirited, nor call yourself "slave" or "servant", except in a panegyric upon someone who is worthy of it. Moreover, do not make a practice of composing satires; the pitcher does not always return from the river unbroken.

If you have some talent for pious poems and those which proclaim the oneness of God, do not neglect it; it will stand you in good stead both in this world and the next. In your verse do not carry invention beyond proper limits, even though hyperbole is a virtue in poetry and elegies on friends and honored persons demand it. If you wish to compose a satire, say the exact opposite of what you would say in a panegyric,

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for the satire is the reverse of an encomium, and similarly for the love-lyric and the threnody.

Whatever the composition, let the material come out of your own quiver. Do not cling to other men's words; thus you will permit your talent to develop, the field of poetry will expand before you and you will not linger at the stage at which you first entered on to the composition of verse. Even when you have mastered the art of poetry and your talent has developed with your increase of skill, if you hear of some unusual turn of phrase which pleases you, you should not precipitately

adopt it for a similar theme nor use the selfsame words. If you find it in a panegyric, adapt it for use in a satire, and if it was contained in a satire use it in a panegyric. Similarly, if you hear it in a love-lyric, adapt it to a threnody, and if you hear it in a threnody, use it in a love-lyric; in that fashion no one will know whence it came.

Lastly, when you are looking for a patron, do not go about the bazaar with a gloomy countenance and soiled garments, but rather be evr of an agreeable and smiling appearance. Learn anecdotes, rare quips and amusing tales in abundance, and repeat them to your patron. It is an exercise indispensable to the poet.

Chapter XXXVI

If you become a musician, my son, be sweet-tempered and light of spirit. Furhermore, keep your garments clean, fragrant and perfumed. Be polite of speech, and when you enter a house to play as a minstrel do not be sour-faced and reserved. Do not let all your musical modes be heavy ones nor yet all light ones; it is unsuitable always to play in one style, for not all man have the same character. They are as varied in nature as they are in their bodily composition, and for that reason the musical experts have given the art an especial pattern.

They invented the "Royal Melody" to be played in an assembly where kings were present. Then they set down certain styles of playing in a solemn measure to which songs can be sung - styles which the also called modes - the measure being such as was appropriate to the disposition of old men and other of serious character. These heavy (solemn) modes were invented for such persons.

But, seeing that not everyone was old or of a serious disposition, they said, "We have invented a mode for the sake of old people; now let us invent one also for them that are young". Consequently they sought about and invented poems which were in a lighter

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measure and suited to light modes. These they called "Nimble"; and matters were so arranged that after every "heavy" mode something was played in the light mode. In that way, at a musical session there was something both for the older people and also for the younger ones.

Then, in order that women, children and men of more effeminate taste should not be left unprovided for, they composed the *tarana* for their benefit in order that they might derive pleasure. And in verity there is no measure so delicate as that of the *tarana*.

Do not therefore either play or sing regularly in one mode, but practice your minstrelsy as I have

described, so that all may derive some pleasure from hearing you. When you are seated with a company, look about you. If the audience is composed of men of ruddy and sanguine complexion, let your music be largely on bass strings; if the audience is pale and bilious, let the music be chiefly on the short strings [the shorter the string, the higher the pitch]; if your hearers are pale-faced, obese and large, play mostly on the bass [strings]; if they are dark-complexioned, lean and melancholic, play on the lute for them. These modes have been invented to suit the four different human temperaments; I wished to familiarize you with this fact in order that you might bear it in mind, even though it forms no part of the principles and art of minstrelsy.

Next, exert yourself to become a *raconteur*; by telling a number of stories, witticisms and jests you can rest yourself and so diminish the strain of minstrelsy. If, in addition to your musicianship, you are skilled in poetry, do not be enamoured of your own verse nor let all your recitations be confined to your own compositions. Others may not be as pleased with your poetry as you are yourself, because minstrels are rhapsodists for poets in general and not mere reciters of their own verse.

Next, if, when you have been engaged as a minstrel, you find two people playing at backgammon, even if you are yourself a player of the game, do not waste your minstrelsy. Do not sit down to teach backgammon, nor take a hand yourself at backgammon or chess; you have been called upon for minstrelsy, not to gamble.

Further, when you are learning a song, keep discrete measure, never singing (or learning) a lyric or quatrain out of time; it is disagreeable when your song is in one place and the musical accompaniment in another. Should you happen to fall in love with someone, do not every day be singing of what suits your

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mood; it may please you to do so, but it will not please others. Let each of your songs be on a different theme; memorize large numbers of poems and lyrics, on (lovers') parting and meeting, coyness, reproaches, upbraidings, refusal and consent, loyalty and cruelty, kindness and yielding, and all those things which are appropriate to times and seasons, like the songs of spring an autumn, winter and summer. You must be acquainted with what may fittingly be recited at each period, not singing an autumn song in the spring nor a spring song in the autumn, nor a song of winter in the summer nor a summer song in winter. In fact, you must know the appropriate time for every song.

Even though you are an unrivalled master, be attentive to the craftsmanship of your fellow musicians.

If your audience consists of men especially

qualified, elderly and wise, who are acquainted with the profession of music, be lavish in your minstrelsy and play your tunes well; and let most of your songs then be about old age and scorn of the world. If your audience consists of young men and boys, play chiefly in the lighter modes; sing melodies picturing women or in praise of wine and wine-bibbers. If you see that the audience is military or given to living by freebooting, sing them quatrains of Transoxiana, songs about battle and bloodshed and in praise of an adventurous life. Do not be sad, nor play all your melodies in the "Royal" mode, claiming it is the rule of minstrelsy.

First play something in the true key, then, in due order, in all the keys such as those of "Iraq", "The Lovers", "The Overthrowing", "Ispahan", "The Hostage", "The Barred", "The Husaini" and "Ba Kharzi". Thus you will discharge the duty expected of you as a minstrel. Then return to the ordinary run of melodies, so that you are executing the program of minstrelsy your colleagues will have reached the stage of intoxication and taken their departure.

Devote yourself to discovering what mode each (member of your audience) desires. When the cup in circulation reaches him, sing what he desires so that you may receive from him whatever it is that you desire. The greatest skill in a minstrel is the capacity to penetrate into the character of his audience.

Should you be in a company, do not show excessive haste to take wine nor call for too large a measure of it. Drink wine sparingly until you have received your fee; then, when you have reached your objective, (having obtained your money), devote yourself to the wine. In your capacity as minstrel, do not dispute with

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intoxicated men over any song they may call for, however ridiculous. Pay no regard to that, but permit them to say what they wish. When you have drunk wine and are all intoxicated, do not enter into dispute and argument with your fellow minstrels; you gain no money and you cause only annoyance.

Take good heed never to engage in drunken brawling with another minstrel; thereby your fee as a minstrel is lost and you return home with head and face damaged, your clothes torn and your instrument broken. You must understand that musicians are hired by toppers, who refuse to pay quarrelsome musicians. If there is anyone in the company who applauds you, show yourself very much at his service, sing whatever he demands of you and thus attract the applause of the rest.

At first, while the audience is still sober, you will gain applause but no money, but as the members become intoxicated, money follows the applause. If those who are intoxicated insist strongly upon a particular

mode or tune, as is the habit of drunken men, you must never become wearied until you have attained your object from them. The highest form of skill in a minstrel is the ability to exercise patience with intoxicated men; those who cannot be patient with them always remain disappointed.

Furthermore, it has been said that a minstrel should be deaf, blind and mute [*Hear no evil, see no evil, speak no evil*]. That is to say, he should not turn his ears in any direction that is not meant for him, nor look in any direction in which he should not look, nor report anything which he has seen or heard in a particular company. The minstrel with those qualities will never lack a host." (66)

Chapter 1 of The Feather of Simurgh by Johann Christoph

Burgel is most interesting for our purposes:

"In his charming epic poem The Language of the Birds the Persian mystic Fariduddin 'Attar, who flourished in the twelfth century, told the story of how the birds decided to seek Simurgh, the mythic bird known from the Shahnameh, in order to elect it as their king. Simurgh here is a symbol of the Divine, and the birds represent human souls, with their various natures, longings, and illusions.

For more than one reason Simurgh has been chosen for this representational role. First of all, she is a bird of supranatural or, we might say, magical rank and, in addition to that, she is a bird who, unlike the

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bird Rokh known from The Thousand and One Nights, tends to help human beings in dangerous situations. She saves the child Zal, second of the four great heroes in the Book of Kings, who, being an albino, had been abandoned by his father Sam. On delivering the child to Sam, she gives him one of her feathers, telling him to light it in a moment of danger, and then she will appear and help him. A further reason is the Persian pun hidden in the name of the bird and which has been utilized by 'Attar in an ingenious way: toward the end of his story, when most of the thousands of birds who started out to find Simurgh have lost courage or been enticed away, the rest of the birds become aware that they by now are no more than thirty - in Persian *murgh* - and the simple phonetic identity of these two syllables with the name of their idol engenders in them a sudden ecstatic illumination; they realize that they have become identical with the object of their longing.

A third reason is given by 'Attar in his introduction and put in the mouth of the hoopoe, who,

owing to its being mentioned in the Qur'an, is the guide of the birds going on pilgrimage. Here is a translation of the lines in question:

The matter with Simurgh - O miracle! -
A feather fell down from her in the midst of China,
Whereupon turmoil seized the whole country.
Everybody procured himself an image of that feather
And whosoever beheld the image started to act.
This feather is, thus, in the picture gallery of China.
"Seek knowledge, be it even from China!"
If the image of her feather had not disclosed itself,
This uproar would not be in the world.
All these works of creation are there because of her/its radiance.
All images stem from the image of her feather.
But since her description has neither beginning nor end
It is not befitting to speak more about her.

Simurgh's feather is thus a symbol for the earthly reflections of the Divine, and these reflexes are, on the one hand, the natural phenomena, the creatures, and, on the other, as expressly mentioned in this text, the images of pictures. It is noteworthy that 'Attar indicates that the feather is found in the picture gallery (*nigaristan*) of China, China being at that time the homeland of painting, her praises being sung by Muslim travelers and the traces of her influence having left their imprint on Persian miniature.

Furthermore, 'Attar says that everyone selected a picture of this feather. Perhaps this is why Persian painters have given such marvelous shapes to Simurgh.

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To be sure, in using the words *naqsh* and *nigraistan*, 'Attar's intention may not have been to make a statement that painting was one of the reflexes of the Divine. However, his lines do lend themselves to such an interpretation. A famous contemporary of 'Attar, Shihabuddin as-Suhrawardi, the founder of the "philosophy of illumination", also made use of the symbol of Simurgh. In one of his mystical treatises, entitled The Whistle of Simurgh or, as Corbin translated, "The Incantation of Simurgh", we read:

"Her shadow is the salvation for the sick, no matter whether they suffer from the ailments of hydropsy or slow consumption. She effaces leprosy and puts an end to all evils. ... Know, that all colors derive from Simurgh, although she herself is without colors. ... All knowledge derives from the incantation of this Simurgh. The marvelous instruments of music, such as the organ and others have been produced from its echo and its resonances.

... Her nourishment is fire. Whoever binds a feather of her wings on his right side will pass through fire without burning. The morning breeze stems from her breath. This is why the loving tell her the mystery of their hearts, the secrets of their intimate thoughts. Even the words written down here are an inspiration from her." (67)

Note that Kai Ka'us Ibn Iskandar names many purely Persian verse forms, and also note that the most of the metres and the musical modes that he names, with the possible exception of "Iraq'" bear Persian names. Johann Christoph Burgel, relying mainly on Nizami of Ganja (died 1209 AD) gives us more detail on the subject of which we are speaking.

"Music thus could, and evidently did, influence man's emotions as well as his character, and there were theories about this which the Arabs inherited from the Greeks and further developed into a more or less elaborate system. There are two main concepts. One is the Pythagorean idea that music is an echo or imitation of the music of the spheres and thereby arouses harmony and joy in the souls of the player and the listener. We find this idea expounded in the Treatises of the
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Brethren of Purity written in the tenth century (AD).

"It is clear that to the movement of the spheres and of the stars there are notes and melodies ... some of them touch, knock, and rub one another, and resound just as iron and bronze resound. And their notes are harmoniously related and their melodies are measured ... like the notes of the string of the lute."

The Brethren indicate that the proportions of the lute correspond to certain proportions in the universe. They also emphasize that their purpose in the Treatise is:

"...to explain the harmony and beauty of the universe through music and its harmony, in order to make the reader aware of universal harmony and of his need to go beyond material existence."

It is certainly in the wake of this conception that

the totally beneficial existence of music could be claimed. Thus, Ibn 'Ali al-Katib, author of a book entitled The Perfect Education in the Art of Song makes the following statement:

"if the musician combines the qualities of mastery and knowledge and the listener possesses the faculty to comprehend them, the emotion will be perfect, the music will penetrate into the spirit, generosity will manifest itself, the faculty of judgement will be established, the soul will adorn itself with knowledge, don the gown of virtuous action ... and abstain from all vices. ... If it had previously been timid, it will be filled with courage, if it had been miserly, it will become generous, if it had been restless, it will be calmed. All dangers and terrors, to which it is exposed, will lose in importance. It will choose the attire of virtue ... it will swim in the sea of emotion and gallop on the hippodrome of joy."

A Persian writer on music, Abdulqahir Ibn Ghaybi, even interpreted the act of creation by the divine command "Kun" (Be!) as a musical event:

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"Every being is endowed with existence and guided to virtue and generosity by listening to the song of *kun*."

Music as lifelong psychotherapy against grief is praised in an early Arabic poem composed in naïve and simple language:

Many a pleasant song that I
listened to from a pleasant lad,
Was one that took away my grief,
Was one that made me very glad.
Would that such song throughout my life
Along with body's health I had!

The idea that music was an echo of the spheres will occupy us again in the last section of this chapter, which deals with the role of music in Islamic mysticism.

The other aspect of the theory about the influence of music is the so-called musical ethos, known to the Occident from, Plato's Republic and The Laws, as well as from the writings of theorists of music in Greek and Latin. According to this theory, various musical modes

arouse various emotions and strengthen certain virtues or vices. The first Arabic author to include this theory in his writings on music was the above-mentioned al-Kindi. Even though usually regarded as a peripatetic, al-Kindi had a strong inclination toward some of the occult sciences. He composed tracts on astrology and apparently even on magic. It is understandable, therefore, that he should have conceived of music as being woven into that network of cosmological correspondences which formed the conceptual fundament also of the occult sciences. The following table shows, "how much music was considered as a cosmic ingredient as it were."

One easily perceives that this system is based on a whole series of tetrads. An important thing is, however, still lacking: the names of the so-called *maqam* or *dastgah*, i.e., the musical modes that formed the tonal fundament of all music sung and played in the Islamic period from its very beginning up to the present time. According to Henry George Farmer, the first definite mention of these *maqam* appears in a treatise by Ibn Sina (Avicenna) in which he allots them to particular times of the day. The origin of these *maqam* seems to be obscure. In all likelihood, they date back to pre-Islamic times. Their names, being partly Persian and partly Arabic, imply that both these cultures contributed to their development. Furthermore,

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three of these names - *Hijza*, *Iraq* and *Ispahan* - apparently point to a particular region where the respective *maqam* came into being. As for the theory of the *gamuts* (i.e., range from lowest tone to the highest) and the intervals, its principles were taken over from the Greeks [the theory, perhaps -though I have my doubts on this; see the beginning of this chapter - but NOT the modes themselves, as we shall see]. The *maqam*, however, are not simply *gamuts*; they are tone models or patterns, created by Oriental musicians. All this is very complicated and need not occupy us here in detail, since the subject can only be appropriately dealt with and thoroughly understood by specialists. Instead, let us look more closely at the influences themselves and, therewith, at the magic and semimagic aspects of that music.

<i>mode</i>	<i>zodiacal sign</i>	<i>element</i>	<i>quality</i>	<i>humor</i>	<i>sex</i>	<i>time</i>
Rast	Aries	fire	hot-dry	yellow bile	male	diurnal Tuesday
'Iraq	Taurus	earth	cold-dry	black	female	nocturnal

				bile		Wednesday
Zaraf-kand	Gemini	air	hot-humid	blood	male	diurnal Friday
Isfahan	Cancer	water	cold-humid	phlegm	female	nocturnal Monday
Rahawi	Leo	fire	hot-dry	yellow bile	male	diurnal Sunday
Buzurk	Virgo	earth	cold-dry	black bile	female	nocturnal Wednesday
Zankula	Libra	air	hot-humid	blood	male	diurnal Friday
Maya	Scorpius	water	cold-humid	phlegm	female	nocturnal Tuesday
Busalik	Sagittarius	fire	hot-dry	yellow bile	male	diurnal Thursday
Nawa	Capricorn	earth	cold-dry	black Bile	female	nocturnal Saturday
			(1312)			
Husayni	Acquarius	air	hot-humid	blood	male	diurnal Saturday
'Ushshaq	Pisces	water	cold-humid	phlegm	female	nocturnal (blank)
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Note that the great majority of the above mentioned modes have transparently Persian names. Also note a close parallel here with Hindustani or North Indian music. Note that below we are speaking, not of modes (*thata*), but rather of *raga*-s (feminine; *ragini*, which are derived from modes. The word *raga* (feminine: *ragini*) lacks an exact English equivalent, and is generally translated as "air", "tune" or "melodic line". Notes Alain Danielou:

Time of Play

"One who sings knowing the proper time

remains happy. By singing *raga-s* at the wrong time one ill-treats them. Listening to them, one becomes impoverished and sees the length of one's life reduced." Sangita-makaranda, I, 23-24.

"The cycle of the day corresponds to the cycle of life which also has its dawn, its noon, its evening. Each hour represents a different stage of development and is connected to a certain kind of emotion. The cycle of sounds is ruled by the same laws as all other cycles. This is why there are natural relationships between particular hours and the mood evoked by musical modes. Musical modes played at the proper time develop naturally in favorable conditions. Orthodox musicians in India never play a *raga* at any other than its proper time, for at the wrong hour it could never be developed so perfectly nor could it so greatly move an audience. The Western organists who would play a funeral march at a wedding would, to say the least, appear lacking in taste. In the same way an Indian musician who plays a morning *raga* in the evening disregarding the surroundings and the mood of his listeners appears utterly lacking in sensibility.

There are certain characteristics through which a
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ragas at what time it should be played. *Raga-s* to be played between midday and midnight have their predominant note (*vadi*) in the lower tetrachord (*purva anga*). They are called "*Purva raga-s*". *Raga-s* to be played between midnight and midday have their predominant note in the upper tetrachord (*uttara anga*). They are called "*Utara raga-s*".

Raga-s that correspond to crucial moments (sunrise, sunset, midday, midnight solstices, equinoxes, etc.) often use both F# and F flat (*Ma tivra* and *Ma shuddha*).

Besides these, Bhatkhande indicates the following time-characteristics, which are generally followed:

1.) *Raga-s* sung at sunrise and sunset are known as "*Samadhi-prakasha* (twilight) *raga-s*". Most of them include *Ri* and *Dha komala* (d and A flat).

2.) *Raga-s* with *Ga* and *Ni komala* (E and B flat) usually belong to the middle of the day or night.

3.) *Raga-s* with *Ri*, *Ga*, *Dha* and *Ni shuddha* (D, E, A, and B natural) are usually played after twilight - in the first quarter of morning or night.

4.) *Raga-s* sung before twilight - in the last quarter of day or night - insist on the tonic, the fourth and the fifth (*Sa*, *Ma* and *Pa*).

The raga-s of evening twilight never omit *Ga* and *Ni* (E and B), and the raga-s of morning twilight never omit *Ri* and *Dha* (D and A).

These rules, however, are not infallible."(69)

Below is an exposition of the main *raga-s* and *ragini-s* and the time of day at which they are played. Many of these *raga-s* and *ragini-s* have Sanskrit poems dedicated to them. I cannot resist including these short poems describing the moods of the *raga-s* and *ragini-s*, as they are charming and remind me of my time in India. To quote Rudyard Kipling:

For the wind is in the palm-trees, and the temple bells they say...

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If you've heard the East calling, you will never heed anything else
But the sunshine and the palm trees and the tinkly temple bells ...

For the temple bells are calling, and its there that I would be ...

EARLY MORNING RAGA-S

LALITA at dawn

Lalita, charming in her innocence, is bright like gold. While she holds a lute, a cuckoo perches on her lotus hand. She is seated beneath the wishing tree, her breasts all unadorned, a thousand times desirable.

Chatvarimsch'hata raga nirupanam

A vina and a book in her hands, Lalita appears, the goddess of music. Charmingly playful she talks lightly, her eyes like red lotuses.

Raga-sagara

Lalita, young and fair, and garlanded with seven-fold flowers. Her long eyes like the petal of a lotus. Sighing, overwhelmed by fate - still, at dawn dressed for a lovers' meeting.

Chatvarimscha'hata-rage-nirupanam; Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

VIBHASA *at sunrise*

Fair, and fair of face, with a white scarf. Bold
like the cry of the cock at sunrise, his laughter sways
the locks that brush his brow. Vibhasa-raga is lovely
like the God of Love Himself.
Ratna-kalpa-druma

BHAIRAVA GROUP

(derived from mode or *Thata* Bhairava)
(After Sunrise)

Yogiya I
Yogiya II
Prabhat
Shiva Bhairava
Ananda Bhairava
Bengala Bhairava
Bhairava
Ramakali
Gunakali

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YOGIYA

"Holding a trident, snake and lute, braids of
matted hair falling about her limbs, she is a *yogini*,
adept in all the lore of yoga."

Raga-kalpa-druma

PRABHAT

SHIVA BHAIRAVA

ANANDA BHAIRAVA

"Seated under a wood-apple tree, the joyful Ananda
Bhairava holds a hautboy and a peacock's plume. His hair
is tied in a knot."

Raga-sagara III

BANGALA BHAIRAVA

Bangali is described as young woman large-eyed,
bright golden like the sun. Smearred with ashes, her hair
matted and tightly bound, with a sword under her arm, in
her left hand she bears a blazing trident.
Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

"His sacred lock, bound on one side, shines like
black sapphire. Ever shall my heart dream of Bangala,
greatest of raga-s, red like the China rose. Holding a
sword and shield, honored by men, he worships the feet

of Shiva on whose brow the crescent moon shines"

Raga-sagara

BHAIRAVA

His limbs smeared with ashes (that lovely body),
his brow lustrous with the cool rays of the moon,
trident in hand and mounted on a bull, such is Bhairava,
and so the sages tell.

Chatvarimshach'hata-rage-nirupanam

Upholding Ganga, the crescent moon upon his brow,
three-eyed, wrapped in the skin of an elephant and
adorned with snakes, his scarf white, his garland of
human skulls, armed with a burning trident - so triumphs
Bhairava, the first of raga-s.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

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We praise Bhairava, the hero, the source of life,
the measure of rhythm, pervading the ocean of notes and
intervals. A skull in his hand, the crescent moon upon
his matted hair, he worships Shiva, Lord of Sleep. His
body is smeared with sandalwood paste.

Raga-sagara

RAMAKALI

Sylph with the lotus face, for fauns and centaurs
hard to win, lute in hand and standing on a mountain,
the wise have called her Ramakri.

Chatvarimschach'hata-raga-nirupanam

Bright like gold, her robe deep blue, Ramakali
wears a garland and rich ornaments. Haughty and
pretending anger, yet when her lover is near her voice
grows sweeter.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

A shining woman in her posture of heroes, thus
should Ramakriya be seen. Dark like jambu fruit she
holds a bow and arrow.

Raga-sagara

GUNAKALI

Faithful, dear to cowherds, adorned with a golden
pigment taken from the cow, mysterious in her movements,
Gunakriya is said to know of hidden treasures.

Chatvarimshach'hata-rage-nirupanam

Her head bowed low, lovely tresses disheveled about her form, once famous for her beauty; since her lover went away Gunakiri is in a pitiabile state. Her reddened eyes are desperate, her sorrow-shrunken limbs are soiled with mud.

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam;
Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

I remember Gundakriya playing in a garden of sandalwood trees. Her silken garment is yellow, her hips are beautiful. With her left hand she holds the neck of a vina.

Raga-sagara

(1317)

TODI GROUP I

(derived from *thata* or mode Todi)
(First quarter of the day)

Gurjari
Mukhari
Lachari Todi
Todi
Vilasakhani Todi

GURJARI

A Southern girl, dusky, with splendid hair, Gurjari sits smiling upon a bed made of the tenderest sandalwood trees of the Malaya mountain. Knowing all the secrets of music, she plays, cheek leaning upon the lute.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

Praised be Gurjari whose cheeks are rosy like the young lodhra tree. A ball in her hand, she plays with girl companions. Her limbs are hidden by a white garment.

Raga-sagara

MUKHARI

I ever see Mukhari drunk with wine and pleasure. She draws near, supported by tow maidens, a garland of corals round her neck.

Raga-sagara

LACHARI TODI

TODI

Her slender body anointed with saffron and camphor gleams white like the jasmine flower. The woodland deer are spellbound at the sight of Todi splendid, holding a lute.

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam;
Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

Never shall my heart forget Todi, one hand supporting her charming face, the other clasping the edge of her lover's garment. Her crystal cup is filled with the wine of Kadamba.

Raga-sagara

(1318)

VILASAKHANI TODI

TODI GROUP II (Yavanapuri)
(First quarter of the day)

Gandhari
Deshi
Pathamanjari
Yavanapuri
Asavari

GANDHARI

Her two hands clasping a vina, Gandhari is seen ever seated near the temple of Shiva, Lord of Sleep. Her crown is of gold set with precious stones.

Raga-sagara

DESHI

Tall and amorous, with lovel limbs, her skin prickling in the rapture of the heroic mood, forcing away the passionate arms that bind her, Deshi shines, beloved of Hindola.

Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam

This is the famous Deshi, fair, charming decked with parrot-plumes. Eager for pleasure, her heart full of desire she tries to awaken her lover who pretends to be asleep.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

PATHAMANJARI

Grown lean and tarnished, sundered from her lover,
Pathamanjari decks with flowers her withered beauty. Her
friend is trying to comfort her.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

YAVANAPURI

Yavana Todi is fully ripe, a foreign girl. Richly
dressed, her hair plaited upon her brow, she wears
golden ear rings shaped like flowers and set with
precious stones. Skillful, she plays in the morning
languidly, sipping the wine of grapes, letting her white
limbs and lovel form be seen.

Raga-mala of Pundarika Vitthala

(1319)

ASAVARI

Her breast adorned with saffron, embraced by her
man of expert taste in music, so shines Asavari, in the
mind of the sages.

Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanem

I remember Asavari, all clad in red, eating
pomegranates. Fair, with lovely nails, her arm supports
her heavy breasts. Holding a cushion she bends her body
and shows her face.

Raga-sagara

LATE MORNING RAGA-S

BHAIRAVI GROUP

(derived from *thata* or mode Bhairava)

(Second quarter of the day)

Rewa
Dhani
Shat
Bhairavi
Bhupala
Samanta

REWA

DHANI

SHAT

On the blessed summit of Mount Kailasa dwells the
Greatest of Sages. With matted locks, his body white
with the ashes of funeral pyres, sweetly and tenderly he

smiles. Ever in him, Shat raga, at dawn, are sung majestic odes worthy of meditation. In him there dwells the music of the gods, its sweetness and its meaning.

Raga-kalpa-druma

BHAIRAVI

She whom poets in their vision see as great-eyed Bhairavi, golden consort of Bhairava, throned on carved crystal at the peak of Kailasa, with cymbals in her hands, worships Him with the leaves and flowers of the lotus.

Raga-kalpadruma; Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hate-
raga-nirupanam; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

(1320)

BHUPALA

I see Bhupala comfortably seated on a lion's throne, his huge family around him. Young women, their eyes like those of deer, fan him with a whisk.

Raga-sagara

SAMANTA

BILAVAL GROUP

(derived from *thata* or mode Bilaval)

(Second quarter of the day)

Bilaval

Lach'ha Bilaval

Kakubha Bilaval

Alhaiya Bilaval

BILAVAL

Velavali has the lustre of the blue lotus. Arranging jewels upon her body she makes secret signs to her lover. How can she forget for one moment her chosen deity, the god of love?

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshaach'hata-raga-nirupanam;
Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

LACH'HA BILAVAL

KAKUBHA BILAVAL

With a garland of champaka, her face like the moon, plump, showy, generous, adorned for love, Kakubha with

her enticing glances is charming.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

ALHAIYA BILAVAl

(1321)

NOON AND AFTERNOON RAGA-S

SARANGA GROUP
(Noon raga-s)

Saranga
Madhyamadi
Brindabani
Gauda

SARANGA

His somber limbs mighty in armor are covered with a yellow robe. Armed with discus, mace and bow and bearing a shield, his gleaming quiver full, holding a lotus and a conch, adorned with sumptuous ornaments, Saranga rides upon the bird-form Garuda.

Raga-mala of Pundarika Vitthala

Saranga, the young hero, pride of the god of love, drinks the liquor of honey. He delights in bouquets of flowers.

Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam

MADHYAMADI SARANGA

Madhyamadi, lotus-eyed, her golden skin smeared with saffron, laughingly embraced by her husband, kisses and is kissed by him, the sages tell, after her heart's desire.

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam;
Shiva tattva ratnakara

BRINDABANI SARANGA

GAUDA SARANGA

Seated beneath the wishing tree, his body white as snow, his long hair tightly bound, Gauda Saranga is seen in the afternoon playing upon a lute. The sages tell that he has the voice of a nightingale.

Raga-kalpa-druma

(1322)

SHRI GROUP

(Last quarter of the day)

Danashri
Malavashri
Shri
Bhimapalashri
Multani

DHANASHRI

Charming is Danashri, her body somber like the durva grass. Her cheeks are pale with the torment of separation. The tear drops falling on her breast, she is writing to her beloved.

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam;
Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

Beautifully dark at the side of her lord Dhanyasi lies on a bed in a charming mountain hut. A lute presses against the nipple of her breasts. I ever think of her.

Raga-sagara

MALAVASHRI

Slender, sitting at the foot of a mango tree, with a dreamy smile she holds in the palm of her hand a red lotus. So they describe Malavashri.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

SHRI

Shri-raga is eighteen. With tender leaves quivering at his ears, he is the alluring image of the god of love. Robed in red, he looks like a king. Sa and all the other notes are his slaves.

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam;

Shiva-Tattva-ratnakara

My heart worships Shri Raga, whom lovely women surround. His hand resting on a lion's head, he sits in the posture of heroes. His scepter is laden with precious stones.

Raga-sagara

(1323)

BHIMAPALASHRI

With wide lotus eyes and fragrant with celestial flowers, Bhimapalashri, the sages tell, sings with her deep voice to the lute. Her lovely form is the embodiment of art.

Raga-kalpa-druma

MULTANI

NATA

(In the afternoon)

Valorous, his golden body smeared with blood, his arm upon the neck of his stallion he wanders about the battlefield. So the ancients imaged Nata-raga.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

Ever shall I praise Nata raga proudly riding a large horse through the battle field. Wearing a high crown, he carries a sword and a shield and a bow in his hand. The crescent moon on his forehead, he appears kind and gentle surrounded on all sides with beheaded bodies.

Raga-sagara

EVENING RAGA-S

Pilu

PILU

PURAVI GROUP

(At the end of the day)

Marava
Puravi
Rat Puriya

MARAVA

First among the daughters of the Rajput desert, this stately moon-faced girl with her long tresses, tender-eyed like a young deer. Her golden limbs are robed in red and richly adorned with flowers. Smiling, she praises the knights assembled on the battle-field. Thus, ever, is Marava, with Ni and Ga like fire, Ri and Dha like elephants.

(1324)

Raga-mala of Pundarika Vitthala

I see Marava who playfully holds a many colored discus. Beneath a sweet mango tree she stands near to Shiva, the three-eyed Lord of Sleep.

Raga-sagara

PURAVI

Puravi, her deceitful body so charmingly beautiful is filled with the pain of separation. Her lotus eyes heavy with sleep, still, at the end of the day she is thinking of her lover.

Raga-kalpa-druma

Strong, of many colors, with a floating white veil, Purvika, skilled in archery, comes riding on an elephant.

Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam

Intoxicated with wine and praise, Purvika is restless like a young deer. Her moonlike body is clad in a garment thinly woven with gold. Her hands hold a parrot and a cup of wine. The head of her lover rests upon her lap.

Raga-sagara

RAT PURIYA

DIPAKA

(The Fire Raga)

(After sunset)

For a lustful end having put out the lamp, Dipaka, king of raga-s, draws near to his beloved in the darkened house. But he is made bashful by the brilliance of her jeweled diadem.

Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshaach'hata-raga-nirupanam;
Shiva tattva-ratnakara

(1325)

RAGA-S OF THE EARLY NIGHT

KALYANA GROUP
(Night, first watch)

Yaman-Kalyana
Tilaka Kamoda
Gopi Kambhoji
Yaman
Kamoda
Chhayanata
Kedara
Bhupali

YAMAN-KALYANA

I see Yamana Kalyani in her blue royal robes gently rocking on a swing. Women hold her lovely hands.

Raga-sagara

With her dim moon-fair body, her lovely breasts, and a lotus in her hand, her skin chilling with an exquisite emotion, Kalyani of the lovely voice is riding on a deer.

Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam

Lovely lotus of the forest Kalyani, the giver of boons, strikes with a plectrum the strings of her lute. Yellow as turmeric, her neck is loaded with garlands of golden champak flowers. The she-parrot, the shari bird, the swan, enhance her music with their cries. For her each day is the season of love.

Raga-sagara

TILAKA KAMODA

GOPI KAMBHOJI

I think of Gopi Kambhoji who loves children. In one hand she holds a jug of curds taking out the cream with her other hand.

(1326)

YAMAN

Blood-red, sword in hand, his forehead marked with sandalwood paste, he enters the battle robed in gold. The sages speak of Kalyana-raga as the embodiment of fury.

Raga-kalpa-druma; Sangita-darpana

Blood red. Sword in hand, his forehead marked with sandalwood paste, he enters the battle robed in gold. The sages speak of Kalyan-raga as the embodiment of fury.

Raga-kalpa-druma; Sangita-darpana

KAMODA

In the forest, dressed in yellow and with lovely hair, Kamodi looks about on every side in terror. Thinking of her lover, even the cuckoo's happy cry fills her her with desperation.

Sangita-darpana

CHHAYANATA

Chhayanata, fair limbed, with a pink turban and, about his throat, a jeweled necklace. How pleasant is his polished speech! At evening by the roadside, surrounded by friends, a sweet ball of flowers in his hand, bold and amorous with reddened eyes, he laughs aloud at the passers-by.

Raga-mala of Pundarika Vitthala

KEDARA

Her matted locks are crested with the silver moon, her breast and shoulders wreathed with snakes. Wearing the veil that Yoginis use in meditation, her mind immersed in contemplation of the Lord of Sleep upholder of the Ganges, Kedarika is the ragini of Dipaka, the raga of fire.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

I ever think of Kedari. A rare book in her hand, she sits beautifully dressed, in front of the temple of Shiva, Lord of Sleep.

Raga-sagara

(1327)

BHUPALI

High-breasted, her radiant white body reddened with saffron, her face a heart-entrancing moon. When all is still, with bitter grief Bhupali remembers her absent lord. Raga-kalpa-druma; Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

KHAMMAJA GROUP
(Night, first quarter)

Durga
Hambir
Khammaja

DURGA

HAMBIR

Caressing a vina with his lovely hands, Hambir raga, a fresh Karnika flower at his ear, is seated at the house of rendezvous. The sages call him the image of desire.

Raga-kalpa-druma

KHAMMAJA

A lovely girl in the flower of youth, robed in yellow, Khambhojika of the beautiful hair. Searching everywhere in the forest with her maids, the thought of her lover makes her weep with tenderness.

Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

Bearing arrows of flowers and adorned with the blue lotus, moon-faced Kambhoja, her breasts like lily buds.

Chatvarimshach'hata-raga-nirupanam

In a sensuous mood, ever ready to sing, Kambhoji holds wooden clappers near her left temple. Her dancing feet seem to write, restless, on the ground. I ever think of her.

Raga-sagara

(1328)

RAGA-S OF THE DEEP OF NIGHT

KANADA GROUP
(Second quarter of the night)

Suha
Sindhura
Sahana
Kafi
Sinddha Kafi
Kanada
Bageshri
Jayajavanti
Bahar

SUHA

SINDHURA (SAINDHAVI)

United in love with Shiva, robed in red and in her hand the flower of friends, brandishing a trident in the fearful anger of the hero mood, Saindhavi, the ragini of Bhairava.

Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

SAHANA

KAFI

Of shining whiteness, Kapika who inspires lust tenderly sits on the lap of her playmate in the royal palace, fond of parrots, she is dressed in blue and decked with jewels. She is the image of sensuousness.

In thw lotus of my heart I cherish her, lovelier than Lakshmi the goddess of fortune.

Raga-sagara

(1329)

SINDDHA KAFI

KANADA

With uplifted sword and, in the other hand, the tusk of an elephant, the divine form of Kanada is lauded by the hosts of heaven.

Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

I see Kanada a sensuous woman, who plays the stronger part in love's gentle fights. Her limbs are dark, her ornaments charming and strange. Her open tresses fall to her waist. She remains playfully near a banyan tree, her hand caressing the muzzle of a deer.

Raga-sagara

BAGESHRI

Her voice seductive when she is near her lover, Vagishvari is lovely, desirable. With eyes large like the lotus and a flawless pale body, she plays upon the lute her songs of love.

Raga-kalpa-druma

JAYAJAVANTI

Buxom and comely, with eyes like a gazelle's, her golden skin fragrant with divine flowers, Jayajavanti is the consort of Megha-raga, god of rains. Drunken, playing upon a lute, she carols like a Kokila.\

Raga-kalpa-druma

BAHAR

RAGA-S OF MIDNIGHT AND LATE NIGHT

Malakosha
Bihaga

MALAKOSHA

His mace running with blood, garlanded with the

skulls of heroes, Malakosha, surrounded by braves, and bravest of the brave!

Raga-kalpa-druma; Sangita-darpana;
Shiva-tattva-ratnakara
(1330)

BIHAGA

PARAJ GROUP
(After midnight)

Paraj
Sohini

PARAJ

SOHINI

Tall, virgin, charming, her eyes like lotuses, ears clustered with celestial flowers, Sohini's is a lovely form. She holds a lute, and her songs are amorous.

Raga-kalpi-druma

SHANKARA
(At the end of the night)

Shankara

SHANKARA

KALINGADA
(Before dawn)

Kalingada

KALINGADA

SEASONAL RAGA-S

SPRING RAGA-S

Hindola
Vasanta
Panchama

(1331)

HINDOLA

Dwarf, with the sheen of a dove, on a swing pleasantly placed for play Hindola is gently rocked, the sages say, by women with ample hips.

Raga-kalpa-druma; Sangita-darpana; Chatvarimshach'hata-nirupanam; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara.

Her pale golden body with great hips is fragrant like the flowers of heaven. Well-favored, long-eyed, she holds a lute. Raga-kalpa-druma

My heart dreams of Hindola, whose breasts are firm, dressed in colorful garments.

With the flowers of the Lotus she worships the Lord Krishna who sits on a swing tied to the hanging roots of a banyan tree. She listens to the notes of the flute, her heart full of love, her fair limbs covered with jewels. Raga-sagara

VASANTA

With earrings of mango flower and a high diadem spread wide like the fan of a peacock, her indigo body dark like the black bee, lovely, voluptuous, fortunate, is Vasanti the darling of Spring. Raga-kalpa-druma; Sangita-darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

Parrots, cuckoos and shari birds flutter about Vasanta, Lord of Spring, who dances in the garden of love surrounded by lovely women. His image never leaves my herart. Raga-sagara

PANCHAMA

Golden, with blood-red scarf, his ruddy eyes wide open and heavenly blossoms at his ears, this amorous youth, victorious, dear to all, the very form of love, talks charmingly like the kokila bird at dawn.

Sangita-darpana

(1332)

RAGA-S OF THE RAINY SEASON

Miyan Mallar
Desha Mallar
Gauda Mallar
Surat Mallar
Shuddha Mallar
Megha Mallar

MIYAN MALLAR

DESHA MALLAR

GAUDA MALLAR

SURAT MALLAR

SHUDDHA MALLAR

Pale and weak, her voice like the song of the kokila bird, some cadence reminds her of her lord. Claspings her lute, Mallarika cries out in misery - heart-anguished with the pain of youth.
Sangita Darpana; Shiva-tattva-ratnakara

I meditate upon Malahari, who constantly worships Shiva, the Lord of Sleep. Pure, she rests surrounded with the lotuses of the cool season below the divine tree of ages. Her pure, pale body has the glow of the winter clouds.
Raga-sagara

MEGHA MALLAR

The ancients tell of Megha Raga, lustrous like ablue lotus, the divine smile of his moon-like face is sweeter than ambrosia. Clothed in yellow in the midst of heavy clouds, he shines among the heroes. The thirsty chataka birds that drink only raindrops, at the sight of him cry out for water.
Sangita-darpana;
Shiva-tattva-ratnakara. (70)

Celtic music also has certain fiddle and bagpipe tunes which are to be played on at a certain time of day. In northwestern Spain there is a special word - *alborada* - for bagpipe tunes that are to be played only at daybreak; an example is the *Alborada de*

Veiga of the region of Galicia. In Ireland there is the famous fiddle tune, "The Lark in the Morning", which, as the name indicates, is only to be played in early morning. The above are two examples which come immediately to mind. To my knowledge, there has been no systematic study of Celtic tunes to be played only at a certain time of day or night.

In any case, it is evident that Celtic music, Persian music and northern Indian music have a great number of close affinities, a topic with which we will deal at some length, but first a preliminary study.

Says Egon Wellesz:

"The nucleus of the chants of the Byzantine Church derives from the Syro-Palestinian Church, which in its turn is the liturgical heir of the Synagogue. The principle, spread over the Near East, of building up a melody from a limited number of traditional formulae can be studied even more clearly in Byzantine Chant than in that of the Western Church.

The opinion has been expressed in earlier times that Byzantine liturgical music has its roots in that of ancient Greece. There is no foundation for this. The early Christians did indeed adapt and take over pagan Syrian hymns, but the councils of Laodicea in the 4th century and of Braga in 563 had forbidden all use of non-biblical texts in the liturgy. Thus, apart from the *Doxa* (Gloria) and the *Phos ilarov* (O Gladsome Light), nothing survives of the songs of the early Church. All we possess is the 3rd century Oxyrhynchus fragment of a hymn to the Trinity on papyrus in (Ancient) Greek musical notation. This hymn is, in fact, the earliest document of Christian music we possess. It already shows melodic traits that we meet again in later Byzantine music as its characteristic "formulae".

Greek hymn written down with Byzantine musical notation are next found six centuries later. These are two sets of hymn-collections for morning and evening service: 1.) the *Heirmologion*, containing the model stanzas of the Odes of the Kanones; 2.) the *Sticherarion*, containing longer monostrophic vocal pieces, which were originally inserted between the

separate Psalm-verses and paraphrased them.

The question has often been raised how it is that, out of the rich musical life of the Byzantine Empire during a millennium, music manuscripts only survive from such as late period, and these restricted to a repertory which does not include one single piece from the secular ceremonial chants; and that even of the many songs whose texts survive not a single melody has come down to us? The explanation of this loss is probably to be found in the costliness of the writing material, parchment. Only those chants in regular use in the liturgy were written down. Another question, whether musical manuscripts existed earlier than the end of the 9th century, could not be answered up till now. But the developed nature of the notation in the earliest surviving manuscripts suggests to me that there were indeed music manuscripts before the age of Iconoclasm (726 - 843), which were no doubt illuminated, and thus were destroyed in this long period of hostility to representation.

Byzantine chant is divided by the 14th and 15th century theoreticians into three atylistic groups: 1.) the heirmologic chants, i.e., the melodies of the Odes of the Kanones, collected in the Heirmologion; 2.) the sticheraric chants, monostrophic chants most nearly comparable to the antiphons of the Latin church, to be found in the Sticherarion; 3.) the melismatic chants, contained in the Kontakarion and other kiturgical chant-books.

Unfortunately, neither liturgical chants in the narrower sense nor Kontakia survive from the period up to the 13th century, so that we are only informed about the atylistic development of two groups: the Heirmoio and the Stichera, while we first meet the melismatic style in 13th century manuscripts - and in greater number in those of the 14th century where the ornamentation already begins to pass over into a kind of *Coloratura*. In the late 14th and the 15th centuries the melismatic ornamentation of the soloist's chant takes on such proportions that the words of the poems become unintelligible through prolongation.

Despite the different functions of Byzantine chant, everything noted down in manuscripts of the 10th to 13th centuries makes a homogenous impression, exactly as the icons, despite all formal differences produced by time and workshop, make a homogenous impression on us. The monk who paints an icon, who writes a hymn and gives it a melody, is guided by the principles of the Orthodox theology, which finds in artistic creations the reflection and echo of a celestial emanation that earthly eyes and ears may not see and hear. This is the

theology of that disciple of Proclus who under the name of Dionysius the (Pseudo)-Areopagite (Patriarch Severus of Antioch? Stephen bar Sadaili? Both?) wrote the Heavenly Hierarchy, wherein he says (Chapter II, paragraph 4) that "matter also has its being from the truly Beautiful", and that "the material world through all its realms possesses an echo (*apechamua*) of spiritual beauty." The chants - Pseudo-Dionysius (whoever that was in reality) is speaking of the "Trisagion" - sung by the angels around God's throne are transmitted by the ladder of Heaven to divinely inspired singers. The hymnodes must thus keep to existing models. The types are fixed: the hymnode may extend and rearrange the separate meodic formulae and clausulae, add transitions, make cuts: but to set a new melody to a hymn would never come into his head. These considerations also give us the key to the understanding of the Byzantine notations. Many of the introductions to the "study of melody" by 15th and 16th century theoreticians survive. From these we may learn the fundamentals of the notation, the intervals, modes and intonation formulae, and also the style of the chants: but all this is usually set in a dialogue for teacher and pupil, written for incipient musicians who had been familiar with the Byzantine chant from childhood, so that the "lost matters of course" - to use Hugo Riemann's expression - for long made the decipherment of the notation impossible, despite painstaking attempts. Two difficulties seemed insuperable: 1.) the notations of the 9th 12th centuries did not show fixed intervals, 2.) the notations of the 13th - 14th centuries possess a whole group of signs, all of which (according to the theoreticians) could in some circumstances denote a rising second, while in other circumstances they were "silent". The explanation of why the fully developed Byzantine notation had five signs for the rising second, which in certain combinations had no interval-value, came from the interpretation of a theoretical treatise. It became clear to me that the Byzantine musicians had gradually worked out an equally clear and economic notational system, which not only fixed the intervals, but also rendered the rhythmic nuances, dynamics and *agogics* accurately. H.J.W. Tillyard, who had already for some years busied himself with the earliest phrases of the notation, had clarified simultaneously with myself the complicated system of the *Martyriai* or intonational formulae, so that there could now be no further doubt on what note to start the melody.

What is said here about solving the problem of decipherment refers primarily to the "middle

(1336)

Byzantine" notation of the 13th - 14th centuries, but also to the "late Byzantine" or *Cucuzelian* of the

subsequent centuries. Furthermore, with the aid of the middle Byzantine notation we can also translate the *Coislin* 12th century notation studied by Tillyard, which does not yet distinguish intervals, but otherwise stands very close to the middle Byzantine system. When, however, we turn back to the earliest phases of early Byzantine notation we find, as the greatest difference from later practice, that not all syllables of the text have signs, and that the omission of signs does not imply repetition of notes.

The following table may serve to illustrate this. Here we compare five manuscripts containing the Troparion *Ote to stavro* for the ninth hour of the "Great Horae" on Good Friday, transcribed on p 42 from Codex Vatopedi 1499, (Va), written on Mouny Athos in 1292. Next follows the version of Codex theologis Graecae 181 of the Nationalbibliothek, Vienna, of the year 1221, (D) and from the same library Codex theologia Graecae 136, (V), written about 1000. Fourthly stands Codex Grottaferrata delta, beta chi, (G.F.) of about 1138, and fifthly the (Mount) Athos manuscript Codex Laura 252, (L), from the end of the 9th century. ...

Comparison of the 5 versions shows that they all represent the same melody, whose melismatic beginning only reaches full expression in Va and D; L obviously has a syllabic beginning, like the Beneventan version of the "*Ote to stavro - O quando in cruce*" reproduced here on p. 12. But it is remarkable that the syllables *to stavr-* have no neumes. How is this to be explained?

We must start from the fact that, as already explained, the musician was bound to the traditional melodies. He had learned the liturgical repertory from his childhood. If he had set music to a new hymn in a new metre, he arranged the formulae belonging to an *Echos* (mode) in such a way that the metrical climaxes of the line agreed with the melodic ones. I may say here at once that the *melodoi* were masters in the art of uniting word and sound, particularly in the case of *idiomela*, melodies newly fitted by the poet-composers to a hymn. The adaptataion o a new poem to an existing melody, called a *prosomoion*, is frequently less successful.

The leader of the choir knew the repertory by heart. The neumes over the text gave indications of the movement of the melody, but they were principally intended to regulate the rendering of the music. There were ultimately five signs fo ascending motion, which could be added to the third, fifth and sixth: if they

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stood alone they signified five different nuances for the rendering of a rising second. The following table gives a list of the principal signs of the "middle Byzantine" or "round notation..."

Oligon, *Oxeia*, *Petaste*, *Pelaston*, *Kuphisma* and *Dyo Kentemata* are the signs for the rising second; *Apostrophos* and *Dyo apostrophoi* for the falling second. On the basis of the theoreticians' statements we transcribe the signs of the second thus...

In the *Heirmologia* and *stichearia* of the 12th and 13th centuries, the signs of expression are frequent, but not excessive. In the melismatic manuscripts of the late 13th and 14th centuries, however, they are present in such abundance that the different nuances following on each others' heels are only practicable in a very slow tempo. Here we only give some of the usual ones. Dom Lorenzo Tardo in his book L'Antica melurgia bizantina (p. 292) lists 17 *cheironomic* signs for the earlier period, for the late Byzantine epoch (p 294) 38, and this number does not exhaust all the combinations.

The circumstance that only manuscripts later than the 12th century can be used to transcribe Byzantine melodies as they are the earliest to give intervals definitively, should not be taken to mean that the melodies or versions are of this date. Comparative studies have shown that from the 10th century onwards the chants in the heirmologic style, and the greater part of those in the sticheraric style, remained the same, and only varied in minimal details in the course of three centuries. This may be proven most clearly when a manuscript in early Byzantine notation is transformed by a 13th century scribe into an interval-notation. Such a manuscript is the 10th century Codex Saba 83 of the Jerusalem Patriarchal library, whose notation was transformed and completed in the 13th century. It is, as I have proven elsewhere, certain that the monks of St. Saba sang the same melodies in the 13th century as in the 10th. The following example from the model stanza of Kanon by Andreas of Crete (folio 13 recto) shows how an *Apostrophos* was turned into an **Ison**, (1), how the later *Oxeia* at first only indicated the accentuation of a note (2), how the leap of a fifth up and then down was merely suggested by *Dyo Apostrophoi* and *Oxeia* (3), how there was originally no sign for the *Oligon* (4), etc.

Must we then rest satisfied that the earliest documents we can read with absolute certainty are of the 12th century, while agreeing that we can imagine roughly how these melodies might have sounded in the 10th century? As far as the liturgical melismatic music
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of the Byzantine Empire itself is concerned, it does seem that we can push back no further. But the case is altered if we turn to the Greek colonies in Italy, and to the parts of South and Central Italy taken over since Justinian's days by Byzantine troops and a civil executive.

In volume XIV of Paleographie Musicale the

bilingual antiphon or Good Friday *Ote to stavro - O quando in cruce* is published along with some other Graeco-Latin antiphons. I have studied these and other bilingual antiphons in my Eastern Elements in Western Chant, and have come to the conclusion that these chants were taken over direct from Jerusalem in the 7th century, and were evidently longer retained in Benevento and Ravenna than in other liturgical centres (where the eight modes of Patriarch Severus had become dominant). These chants were treated like a strange treasure, or, to use a valuable coinage of A. Baumstark, who speaks of a "law of conservation of the old in the liturgy from the most valuable era", like relics. That the melody in the Beneventan Gradual is the authentic version of the Greek Church, and not a local variant, is shown by comparisons with the versions from 13th century manuscripts from Mount Athos.

We begin our antholy, therefore, with a group of chants from the early days of the Eastern Church. Then follow chants from the Hermologion, the great collection of model stanzas of the odes of the Kanones, which is arranged by the eight modes (*Echoi*) [of Patriarch Severus]. Every Kanon contains nine odes: every ode, up to 15 stanzas, all sung to the melody of the model stanzas. The odes are poetically based on the nine Canticles: these are:

The Song of Moses after the Passage through the Red Sea (Exodus, XV: 1 - 19).

2.) The Song of Moses before his Death (Deuteronomy XXXII:1-43):

3.) The Prayer of Hannah (I Samuel XX:1-10).

4.) The Prayer of Habakkuk (Habakkuk III:2 - 19).

5.) The Prayer of Isaiah (Isaiah XXVI:9 - 19).

6.) The Prayer of Jonah (Jonah II:3 - 10).

7.) The Prayer of the Three Holy Children (Daniel III:26 -56).

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8.) The Song of Praise of the Three Holy Children (Daniel III:57 - 88).

9.) The Magnificat (Luke I:46 - 55) and Zacharias' Prayer (Luke III 68 - 79).

The second ode is sung only during Lent, as it is based on the speech of Moses, "Hear, ye heavens

(Deuteronomy XXXII) and its contents are too gloomy for festivals. This second ode is therefore lacking in the "Golden Kanon", the Easter Kanon by St. John of Damascus: but it I present in the Kanon in honor of Lazarus, as this is sung on Sunday of the fifth week of Lent. Both Kanones are in the first *echos* (mode), in order to show the melodic variation within the 17 *Heirmoi*.

Then follows a selection of single model stanzas in the other 7 *echoi* (modes).

The third section contains chants from the *Sticherarion*. Whereas the *Heirmoi* are, apart from a few almost stereotyped ornaments, syllabic, i.e., have one, or two, notes to a syllable, many chants of the *Sticherarion* are more richly ornamented; they also show a greater range of stylistic variation than the *Heirmoi*.

At the beginning comes a group of 12 *Troparia* (i.e., stanzas) ascribed to Sophronios, Patriarch of Jerusalem (634 - 638) - a cycle which one could describe as a Christmas mystery play. Dramatic dialogues are already found in 5th century Syriac poetry. Here we see a dialogue between Mary and the Magi on the feast of Epiphany, on which date, up to the middle of the 4th century, the birth of Christ and the adoration of the Magi were celebrated together. This original conjunction is still to be seen in the 4th Triparion of the Byzantine cycle. The characters of the sacred play are: a narrator, Joseph, Mary, and a chorus. Whether one may imagine a semi-dramatic performance in the church, as is testified for England in the 10th - 11th centuries from rubrics, or whether it was performed by a soloist, or chorus, or a mixture of the two, cannot be ascertained. When we consider that in late Hellenistic times a single mime could act a whole play of Euripides, it does not seem inconceivable that the twelve *Troparia* were performed by one, or two, soloists with choral refrain. The surprising daring of the poem lies in Joseph's accusation, and then in the long tension until Mary's moving answer.

The second group gives a selection from the 15 antiphons for Good Friday; they are couched in a simple style with little ornament. The third section concludes with the 13th century Byzantine version of *O quando in*
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cruce, whose earlier version was given in the first section. To illustrate the growth of this ornamented version from the original simple, almost syllabic, form, the beginning of a version from the Beneventan manuscript is set above it. The music to this *Troparion* belongs to the most moving creations of the Eastern liturgy: and indeed the intensity of feeling is expressed even more strongly in this richly ornamented version than in early version.

The last section is dedicated to a small selection from the rich repertory of melismatic chant, the publication of which has begun with a transcription of the Proemium and the 24 stanzas of the most famous hymn of the Greek Church, the *Akathistos* (Church Slavonic: *Akafist*). Its author is unknown. For a long time he was considered to be the Patriarch Sergius, who, according to legend, struck up the hymn in the church at Blachernae on the night after the raising of the siege of Constantinople by the Avars in 626. But it seems much more probable that the *Akathistos*, which is poetically and musically a *Kontakion*, was written by the greatest writer of *Kontakia*, Romanos, who flourished in Constantinople at the beginning of the 6th century: and further, that it was the Patriarch Germanos who, after the retreat of the Arab fleet on 24 March 719, struck up this hymn, which was regularly sung in honor of the Mother of God (Latin: *Mater Dei*; Greek: *Theotokos*; Church Slavonic: *Bogoroditsa* or *Bozhii Mater*) during the vigil of the Feast of the Annunciation, with a new Proemium as a song of victory.

The *Akaphistos* is the only *Kontakion* which is still sung complete to the present day; indeed, it has an Office of its own, and is sung in 4 sections at Matins on the first 4 Saturdays of Lent, and complete during the night from Friday to Saturday of the fifth week of Lent. Its peculiarity is that twelve to fourteen laudations are added to the odd stanzas.

These follow 2 more *Kontakia*, 2 alleluias and 2 doxologies. In all these melismatic chants a certain unity of ornamentation is noticeable. One can thus speak of a *Kontakion*-type just as one speaks, for example, of a Tract-type.

The melismatic chants are the lengthiest and also the most musically interesting of the repertory of the Eastern Church. This is a store of melody which we have only recently deciphered from the manuscripts.

In conclusion, it may be said that the deciphering, the transcribing and the study of the structure of Byzantine melodies is of great influence on the knowledge of Christian chant in general. It is, in the first place, the repertory of the Eastern

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Church, silenced for more than half a millennium, that is now revealed. But over and above this, our knowledge of the early stages of Western liturgical chant is widened through the recovery of the melodies of the Eastern Church. We stand, however, only at the beginning of these studies. Only when a greater part of the Eastern Church's melodic treasures are published shall we be able to draw full profit from the conclusions that have already been reached by comparative liturgiology."(71 The Music of the Byzantine Church,

TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS

A. THE EARLY FORMS.

Alleluia. Dominus regnavit.

Alleluia. The Lord reigneth, and hath put on modesty: the Lord hath put on strength, and girded himself with virtue.

II. *Chants during the Adoratio Crucis on Good Friday* (Beneventan Rite)

1.) *First antiphon.*

We adore Thy Cross, and the sign of Thy Cross,
and the power of the Crucified.

2. *Ote to stavro - O quando in cruce*

When the lawless ones nailed the Lord of righteousness to the Cross, He cried out to them: "Eherein have I offended you, or wherein have I angered you? Who brought you out of peril? And now, what do you render me? Evil for good. For the pillars of fire, you have nailed me to the Cross. For the cloud, you have hewed me out a grave. For the manna, you have offered me gall. For the water, you have given me to drink vinegar. Now I will call he people: and they shall praise me with the Father and the Holy spirit." Amen.

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B. THE KANON

I. *Kanon for the feast of Lazarus, by Andreas of Crete.*

Ode 1.

Let us all sing a song of praise to God. He has done wonders with His mighty arm and has saved Israel. Nobly is He praised.

Ode 2.

Behold, behold, for I am He who commanded Moses to lead the enslaved people of Israel through the desert and saved them through My might.

Ode 3.

The stone which the builders rejected is become the head o the corner. This is the rock on which God founded the church that He had drawn out of the midst of the heathen.

Ode 4.

You foresaw the incarnation of the Word (*Logos*), O prophet Habakkuk, and you did proclaim and cry: "In the ripeness of time Your works are made known: when the time is come, they shall be revealed." Glory be to Your power, O Lord!

Ode 5.

Grant us Your peace, O Son of God, for we know no God but You. We cal upon Your name, for You are the Lord of the quick and the dead.

Ode 6.

I cry out, imitating the prophet Jonah: O good God, make my life free of corruption, and save me, Savior of the world that praises You.

Ode 7.

The ire did not take hold on Your children in the furnace, O Savior, nor did it destroy them. Then sang the three as with one mouth, and cried: "Praised be the God of our fathers."

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Ode 8.

Him, before whom tremble the angels and all powers as Creator and God, laud Him you priests, glorify Him you children, praise Him you peoples and honor Him to all eternity.

Another Heirmos to Ode 8.

Him, who saved the children singing in the furnace and turned the flame of thunder into water, Christ the Lord, praise Him and honor Him to all eternity.

Ode 9.

The light-bearing cloud wherein the Lord of All fell like rain from heaven like rain to birth, and took on flesh for us, the Eternal became man: let us all praise her as the pure Mother of our God.

II. *Kanon for Easter Day*

Ode I. (St. John of Damascus)

On the day of the Resurrection let us, O people, be clothed with gladness: it is the Pascha, the Pascha of the Lord: for from death to life, and from earth to heaven, has Christ our Lord caused us to pass over, singing the Hymn of Victory.

Ode 3.

Come, and let us drink the new drink, not produced by miracle from the barren rock, but the fountain of immortality, Christ having burst from the tomb, in whom we are established.

Ode 4.

Upon Your divine watch-tower, Habakkuk, prophet of God, stand with us and show the Angel of Light continually proclaiming: Today is salvation to the world, for Christ as Almighty has risen.

Ode 5.

Let us arise very early in the morning, and instead of ointments let us bring a hymn to our Lord. And we shall behold Christ, the Sun of Righteousness, causing life to spring forth to all.

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Ode 6.

You did descend into the lowest parts of earth, O Christ: and having broken the eternal bars which held the prisoners, You did on the third day as did Jonah from the whale, rise again from the tomb.

Ode 7.

He that delivered the children from the furnace became man, and suffered as a mortal, and by suffering endowed the Mortal with the beauty of immortality. He the God of our fathers, is most blessed and most

glorious.

Ode 8.

This is the chosen and holy day, the first of all Sabbath days, the Feast that is lady and queen of all feasts, and the solemn Festival of solemn festivals, in which we bless Christ for ever and ever.

Ode 9.

Shine, shine, O New Jerusalem, for the lorry of the Lord has risen upon thee. Rejoice and exult, O Zion! And you, Pure Mother of God, joy in te Resurrection of your son.

III. CHOICE OF ODES FROM THE OTHER 7 ECHOI

Echos 1 Plagal

Ode 1.

Let us strike up a hymn of victory, ye peoples, in praise of God, who has freed the people of Moses from the captivity of Pharoah: for he has triumphed gloriously.

Ode 2.

Let us praise the Lord, who lives to all eternity.

Ode 3.

Strengthen me, O Lord, I who am cast down, and stretch out Your hand towards me, Thou Amighty One.

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Echos 2

Ode 1.

Let us sing a song of victory to the Lord, He who once led the people through the sea, and drowned in it Pharoah and al his hosts. Let him be praised.

Echos 2 Plagal

Ode 1. For Maundy Thursday by Kosmos of Jerusalem

The Red Sea opens for the cut-off folk. The depths rich in waves are made dry. The same sea becomes at once a passage to the unarmed and a grave to the armed. And a song of rejoicing in God arose. Let Christ our Lord be praised gloriously.

Echos 3

Ode 1.

O ye peoples, let us sing a new song, to him who was born from a virgin for our salvation, and united the earthly ones to the Heavenly ones. Let him be praised.

Ode 5.

Upon the earth were You seen, O invisible one, and were cheerfully among mortals, O Incomprehensible. And we come in the early morning to You and sing to You, O Friend of man.

Echos 3 Plagal.

Kanon for Pentecost. Ode 1. By Kosmos of Jerusalem.

With great might did Christ, the hero in war, sink Pharaoh with his chariots in the sea. Let us sing unto Him, for He has triumphed gloriously.

Echos 4

Kanon for the Theotokos. Ode 1. St. John of Damascus.

I open my mouth and am filled with the spirit, and a song flows from me to honor the royal Mother; and I shall be seen gloriously praising and rejoicing in the song of her marvels.

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Ode 9.

Let everything born on earth dance in the Spirit, but let the world of immaterial beings carry torches and praise the sacred Ascension of the Mother of God and say: Hail, you ever-blessed, holy Theotokos, ever virgin.

Echos 4 Plagal.

Kanon for the martyr Anastasios. Stephanos Monachos.

Ode 2.

Hear, O heaven, and announce unto us the immeasurable greatness of the divine nature of Christ.

C. CHANTS FROM THE STICHERARION.

I. Christmas Mystery Play.

- 1.) Bethlehem, arise! The crib is prepared, the cave shall hear: the Truth is come, the darkness is fled, born of a virgin, has appeared to mankind, in one form, and has made divine the form that He put on. Therefore is Adam renewed with Eve, and they cry: "Good will has appeared on earth to save our race."
- 2.) Now is the prophecy mysteriously fulfilled, which says: "And you, Bethlehem, in the land of Judah, are not the least among the princes, you who has prepared the cave. For out of you shall come in the flesh the leader of the peoples, born of a virgin maid, Christ the Lord, who shall pasture his people, the new Israel." Let us then all magnify Him.
- 3.) Thus says Joseph to the maid: "Mary, what marvel is this that I behold in you? I cannot understand and am confounded, and my soul is afflicted. Away from me quickly, that I see you not! Mary, what marvel is this that I behold in you! Instead of honor, shame: instead of joy, sorrow: instead of praise, you have brought me confusion. I cannot bear what shall come, the mockery of men. For I have received you from the priests out of the Temple as a pure virgin of the Lord. And now, what must I behold?"
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- 4.) This is our God, and no other can stand beside Him, beside Him that is born of a virgin and has lived among men. In a poor manger is the one-born Son seen as a mortal, and wrapped in swaddling-clothes is the Lord of Glory. And a star shows the wise men a sign, that they may honor Him. And for us, we sing "Holy Trinity, save our souls."
- 5.) Before Your birth, O Lord, the heavenly hosts were seized with trembling to see the marvel that You should take pleasure to become a little child, You who has adorned the heavens with stars, and lie in a manger among beasts, You who holds in Your hand all the corners of the earth. Or by

this scheme was manifest our sympathy, Your great pity, O Christ. Raised be You.

- 6.) "Joseph, tell us how it is that you bring the young maiden you did take from the temple back to Bethlehem with child?" - "I", says he, "have searched the prophets, and am counselled by the angel. And now I am convinced that Mary shall mysteriously bear a God, to whom wise men from the East shall come to honor Him, and to attend Him with worthy presents." - "Glory to You, Lord, who for us has taken flesh."
 - 7.) O ye believers, let us arise in God's spirit and let us consider His descent from Heaven, that He appears unto us in Bethlehem. And with pure hearts let us bring with us for our lives virtues instead of myrrh, prepared in belief for the beginning of the feast of His birth with spiritual treasures: let us say: "Glory to God in the highest, to Him in the Trinity, through whom good will come to mankind; He, the Friend of mankind, who released Adam from the heritage of sin."
 - 8.) Hear, O Heaven, and hearken, O earth! Let the foundation tremble, let fear seize the underworld: for God, the Creator, is made incarnate: and He, that with mighty hand created all things, shows Himself as heart of His creation. O depth of the richness, the wisdom and understanding of God! How mysterious are His counsels and how unsearchable His ways!
- (1348)
- 9.) Come, ye Christ-bearing peoples, let us see the wonder that is above all understanding and wipes out understanding, and let us sing piously and adore in belief. Today comes a virgin to Bethlehem with child, that she may give birth to the Lord. Choirs of angels haste before her. And when Joseph her suitor saw this, he cried: "What strange marvel is this, O maiden, that comes from you? And how shall you give birth, O heifer who knows not the yoke?"
 - 10.) Herod was confounded when he saw the adoring of the wise men, and mastered by rage he inquired the age (of the child). Mothers were childless,

and the tender age of children was pitilessly cut down. Breasts were dried up, and milk had no issue. Great was the sorrow. - Therefore, O believers who are gathered together in belief, let us honor the birth of Christ.

- 11.) As Joseph, wounded by his sorrows, turned to Bethlehem, did You, O Virgin, say unto him: "Why are you so sad and cast-down, that you see me with child? Cast away all fear and hear the miracle: God of His pity is come down to earth. He is now within my womb, where He is made incarnate. When He is born, you shall learn His counsel: and you shall joyfully adore Him. As your Creator, He whom the anges sing and honor for ever, with the Father and the Holy Spirit."
- 12.) Today is He born of the Virgin, who holds all creation in His hamd, bound in rags like a mortal, He who is in His nature invisible. In a manger He lies, who has made the heavens fast. He sucks milk who had poured down manna in the desert for His people. He calls the wise men to Him, He, the bridegroom of the Church. He, son of the Virgin, receives their gifts. We adore Your brth, O Christ. Show us also Your Holy Divinity.

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II. ANTIPHONS FOR GOOD FRIDAY.

Antiphon I.

- 1.) *The rulers of the people assembled together against the Lord and His Anointed.*
- 2.) *"They have brought false witness against me. O Lord, O Lord, forsake me not!"*

Antiphon III.

- 1.) Because You did raise Lazarus, O Lord, the children of the Jews did cry unto You "Hosanna", You friend of mankind, - But the lawless Judas would not understand.

- 2.) At your supper, Christ our Lord, You said to Your disciples: "One of you shall betray me." - But the lawless Judas would not understand.
- 3.) When John asked You, O Lord: "Who is he that shall betray You?" did You show him with the bread, - But the lawless Judas would not understand.
- 4.) For 30 pieces of silver, O Lord, and for a false kiss the Jews sought to betray You. - But the lawless Judas would not understand.
- 5.) When You did wash their feet, Christ our Lord, gave You this word unto them: "Do this as you see it." - But the lawless Judas would not understand.
- 6.) "Watch and pray, that you fall not into temptation," did You say unto Your disciples, O Lord. - But the lawless Judas would not understand.

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III. ADORATIO CRUCIS (See A. 2.)

D. MELISMATIC CHANTS.

I. The Akathistos.

A captain of the angels was sent from heaven to say to the Virgin "Hail", and seeing You, Lord, became corporeal at the incorporeal voice, he was amazed and stood still, and cried out to her: "hail, you through whom joy shall shine forth. Hail, you through whom the curse shall be redeemed. Hail, Restoration of the fallen Adam. Hail, Redemption of the tears of Eve. Hail, summit inaccessible to human minds. Hail, Depth scarce visible to even the angel's eyes. Hail, because you are the seat of the King. Hail, because you bear

the Bearer of all. Hail, Star who makes visible the Sun. Hail, womb of the divine Incarnation. Hail, you through whom the creation is regenerated. Hail, you through whom the Creator becomes a babe (is honored). Hail, unwedded bride."

II. Kontakion of Romanos for the First Monday in Lent.

My soul, my soul, arise, why do you sleep? The end draws near, and will you be confounded? Be you humbled, that Christ the Lord may spare you, He who is ever present and fills the world.

III. Kontakion for the Martyr Thecla (24 Sept.)

Prooemium

Through the beauty of virginity did you shine forth: by the crown of martyrdom were you adorned, you to whom the apostolacy was entrusted, O maiden greatly honored. And you have turned the flame of fire into water; the rage of the bull have you softened by our paryer, you the first martyr.

Strophe I.

The splendor of the feast outshines the sun in its glory; forelighting the rays of the light, it is mirrored in the eyes of the faithful. Therefore all we that dance with the angels rejoice aloud to the Savior, and cry unto Him: "You heighten, O Savior, Your mercies, giving her, the first martyr, unto the people as a perfect offering."

(1351)

IV. ALLELUIAS AND DOXOLOGIES.

Soloist:

Alleluia.
The heavens declare the glory of God:
The work of His hands is shown in -

Choir: the firmament.

Soloist:

One day certifies another:
And one night to another

Choir: gives knowledge.

2. *Doxology.*

Glory to You, Glory to You, O God!

3. *Doxology.*

Neanes: Glory to You, O God!

4. Alleluia. (72)

In the first paragraph of the above essay, Egon Wellesz is right as far as he went, but by going no further, he may have inadvertently given the reader a wrong impression.

As we shall note in some detail, Byzantine liturgical chant uses eight heptatonic (seven tone) modes, which, except for being heptatonic, bear no resemblance to classic Greek modes, nor to the those modes used in the music of the synagogue. These eight modes spread from Byzantine chant to Syrian, Armenian, Georgian, Slavonic, Rumanian, Mozarabic (or Visigothic), Ambrosian, Gallican and Gregorian chant. Each and every one of these eight Byzantine modes has an exact equivalent in ancient Hindustani or North Indian music. As the number of heptatonic modes which are theoretically possible is enormous, the fact that all eight of the Byzantine liturgical modes has an exact equivalent in ancient

(1352)

Hindustani or North Indian music cannot conceivably be a coincidence. The "inventor" of these eight modes was Patriarch Severus of Antioch, so their introduction into Byzantine liturgical music can be quite precisely dated to the first half of the sixth century.

Some say that Patriarch Severus, polyfacetic genius that he was, also authored the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite. Since a large part of said works appear to be a

paraphrase of the Upanishads, this leads one to some fascinating, if highly theoretical speculations. The use of antiphons in Byzantine chant seems to be of Persian precedence, while the Byzantine *Ison* or *Isso Kratima*, of which we shall have a great deal to say, also appears to be of Persian or Indian origin. But we are getting far ahead of ourselves...

Strange though it may appear, in a certain sense the modes used in Catholic and Eastern Orthodox liturgical chant also fit into this. All or nearly all Catholic and Eastern Orthodox liturgical chant - Syrian, Byzantine, Ambrosian, Mozarabic, Gergorian, Georgian, Slavonic - all use the same eight modes. As we shall note later, these eight modes - *Octoechos* in Greek, *Ikhadias* in Syriac - were all composed by Patriarch Severus of Antioch (early 6th century AD). Now, all eight of Patriarch Severus' modes have exact equivalents in the music of northern India. As the number of seven-tone modes which are theoretically possible is vast, the fact that each and every one of the eight modes composed by Patriarch Severus has an exact equivalent in

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northern Indian music cannot possibly be a coincidence; in other words, the ultimate northern Indian origin of the eight modes of Patriarch Severus is beyond doubt. We will note in Chapter 7 that the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius or the Pseudo-Areopagite in large part appear to be a close paraphrase of the Upanishads, the foundational scriptures of Hindu Vedanta philosophy. The general consensus is that the real author (who cannot possibly be the Dionysius the Areopagite mentioned by St. Paul) is Patriarch

Severus, which, if true, would make Patriarch Severus a true polyfacetic genius. However, others say that the real author of the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius is the early 6th century Syrian Christian mystic Stephen bar Sadaili. At this late date there is no way to know for certain who is the real author of said works. There are factors which lead one to favor Patriarch Severus as the real author of the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius, though without precluding a certain influence or input by Stephen bar Sadaili. The reasons are as follows:

1.) Patriarch Severus was bilingual Greek-Syriac, while Stephen bar Sadaili apparently knew only Syriac; the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius were apparently written originally in Greek, there is no evidence whatever of an early version in Syriac.

2.) As we have noted above, there are proofs that Patriarch Severus had northern Indian connections, though we have no knowledge of the particulars of this. Now, as we have said, a large parts of the works of the Pseudo-Dionysius appear to be a close paraphrase of the the Upanishads, which also indicates north Indian connections. There is nothing which indicates that Stephen bar Sadaili had north Indian connections.

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We now return to Johann Christoph Burgel:

"At a given moment, twelve of these *maqam*, not always the same, were chosen to be inserted in an enlarged system of correspondences, this time ruled by the zodiacal signs.. To the dodecads, the tetrads of al-Kindi could easily be added, as may be gleaned from the table shown above.

Influences on character and emotions might already be deduced from these correspondences between the musical modes, the elements, the qualities, and the humors, given the fact that virtues and vices were set in relation with, and regarded as functions of, such physical factors already in Greek antiquity. There are, however, also specific lists of how every single *maqam* affected man's psyche. Thus, the following indications are given in a work of Safiyyudin 'Abd al-Mumin, one of

the great practitioners and theorists of Arabic music, who was at the service of the last Abbasid caliph (1243-1268 AD) and entered the service of Hulagu after the fall of the former:

Rast	?	Zankula	slumber
'Iraq	pleasure	Hijaz (Maya)	humility
Zirafkand	grief	Busalik	strength
Isfahan	generosity	Nawa	bravery
Rahawi	weeping	Husayni	peace
Buzurk	cowardice	'Ushshaq	laughter

Another less specific description of the influences of the modes is vaguely related to the tripartite Greek musical ethos. According to this simplified scheme, 'Ushshaq, Busalik, and Nawa cause "the courage and force, typical of Turks and mountain dwellers; Niruz (Nauruz), Isfahan, Rast, and 'Iraq pleasure, all the rest abstinence and sorrow.

An even more simplified view of this matter is offered in a mediavl text of the thirteenth century, written by al-Muzaffar, "the Son of the judge of Ba'albakk," a known Arabic physician. His book entitled *Mufarrih an-nafs* or "The Soul's Rejoicer", is unique in Arabic medical literature in being a handbook exclusively devoted to psychohygiene, treating the psychic effects of sensual perceptions. The bulk of it, however, is devoted to recipes of *al-mufarrihat*, drugs with stimulating "soul-rejoicing" effect, the precursors of modern psychopharmacology. Each of the human senses is treated in a separate chapter, the leading idea, however, remaining the same throughout the book: *I'tidal*, harmony or balance, moderation in
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every respect, is the key to psychic as well as to somatic health.

In the second chapter, dealing with the sense of hearing, the author talks of music, mentions the twelve modes, and gives some meager information about their respective nature. They are, al-Muzaffar says, either cold and moist and cause pleasue and tranquility, or they are hot and sharp and cause pleasure and alertness. The cold and calm modes are Rast, 'Iraq, Nawa, Maya, Busalik, and 'Ushshaq; the hot and mobilizing ones are Isfahan, Zirafkand, Buzurk, Husayni, Rahawi, and Zankula. It may obviously be noted that these last correspondences partly contradict those quoted in the list above.

Al-Muzaffar recommends that the quiet ones should be played during the day and in the evening, the others during the night, because the powers of the body are on the surface during the day, but submerge into the inner

parts during the night. Hot melodies would therefore disturb their balance if played during the day, but are beneficial during the night by drawing the powers of the body to the surface.

It is tempting to employ the knowledge so far acquired for a closer view at a chapter in Nizami of Ganja's Khusraw & Shirin, the scene where the two lovers have a long and passionate dialogue through the mouths of two musicians, Barbad and Nakisa, each of whom sings four times, every time in a different mode. The sequel of the modes is as follows: Rast, 'Iraq, Nawruz, Isfahan, Hisari, 'Ushshaq, Rahawi, Zarafkand. According to Safiyyuddin, in whose list, however, Nawruz and Hisari are not mentioned and Rast is not referred to a particular mood (or to something not understood by [Henry George] Farmer?), this gives the following sequence of moods: (uncertain), pleasure, (uncertain), generosity, (uncertain), laughter, weeping, grief. According to the tripartite scheme the sequel starts with the four modes that cause pleasure and ends with two modes evoking grief. According to the indications of al-Muzaffar, the sequel starts with two modes that cause pleasure and ends with two modes evoking grief. According to the indications of al-Muzaffar, the sequel starts with two modes that are calm and cold and ends with two that are hot and mobilizing. In addition to this, let us note that the two modes Isfahan and Zirfkand allotted to Khusraw were believed to influence women, even though this belief is apparently traceable only in sources later than Nizami of Ganja. All these connotations correspond with the development of the text. On the other hand, Nizami probably still had other musical functions in mind, of

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which we are not aware. He also plays with the meaning of words. Thus, he uses the word "Isfahan" for an illusion to Shakkar, the spicy beauty who had bewitched (the city of) Isfahan [note: in Sassanian times Isfahan was known as Jay or Gay; some remains of the Sassanain Jay or Gay are still visible in and around the modern city of Isfahan], and with whom Khusraw had amused himself and annoyed Shirin for a certain while. At any rate, we may be sure that the poet did not choose these modes or arrange their sequel at random."(73)

Note that in the above Nizami of Ganja refers to music of the Sassanian period, as the Khusraw of Khusraw & Shirin is the Sassanian Emperor Khusraw Parviz. Also note that Nizami specifically names eight modes as having had their origin in the

Sassanian period, or perhaps earlier. Also note that Khusraw Parviz, Shirin and the poet Barbad are all historical personages; we have dealt with Shirin in another place. Shirin was unquestionably a Christian, though there is some debate as to whether she was Byzantine, Armenian or Kurdish. Personally, I am inclined to believe that Shirin was Kurdish, for reasons given in another place.

In Sanskrit, **Bharata** may be either a personal name or a noun of masculine gender. Says Alain Danielou concerning **Bharata** as a personal name:

"The Bharata Problem:

The main available work attributed to Bharata, the Natya Shastra is a compilation which has been variously dated between the second century BC and the fourth century AD. It mentions Kohala and Dattila but not Matanga, and probably contains fragments of the work of Nandikeshvara, Kohala etc., and the earlier Bharata. It may in fact be doubted whether a sage named Bharata ever wrote the Natya Shastra. The Bharata Vriddha (Bharata the Elder) mentioned by Sharadatanaya, as distinct from the author of the Natya Shastra, is
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probably the author of the Gitalamkara, a much older treatise belonging to the Shaiva school and quoted in the Panchatantra, the book of fables, dated about 300 BC. The word bharata designates a dance-actor: **some Celtic scholars link the Celtic word "bard" [Gaelic; bard; Welsh; bardd, Breton; barzh] to the Sanskrit Bharata**. It was a common name in the title of all the treatises on stage technique. Thus we hear of Adi Bharata, Nandikeshvara Bharata, Arjuna Bharata, Matanga Bharata, Kohala Bharata, etc. Bharata Natya Shastra would then simply mean "the text-book of the dance-actor". It is, in fact, a practical compilation of authoritative works on the subject periodically brought up to date.

The Natya Shastra, therefore, cannot be taken as a sure basis to determine the chronology. We should not be surprised to find Bharata himself mentioning several later authors as his sons. They all, however, belong to an earlier period and must obviously precede the last revision of the Natya Shastra.

According to tradition Bharata had four sons - Shandilya, Vatsya, Kohala and Dattila.

"I taught the perfect practice (of music) to my sons, Shandilya, Vatsya, Kohala and Dattila." (Natya Shastra)

"The family of Bharata-s will be made famous in the future by the Bharata-s - Kohala, and, after him, Vatsya, Shandilya, Dattila." (Natya Shastra)

These obviously later additions only mean that these four authors are considered the direct heirs to the tradition of the earlier Bharata. Their work, therefore, has great authority." (74)

One is inclined to relate the name **Barbad**, the famous bard of the court of Khusrau Parviz, immortalized by Nizami of Ganja in his romance Khusrau & Shirin, and of whom we shall have much to say very shortly, to the Sanskrit name *Bharata* and the Sanskrit word *Bhartri* and also to the Celtic or Gaelic word **bard**, Welsh: **bardd**, Breton: **barzh**:

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"BHARATA: Masculine gender, 'to be maintained', name of *Agni*, Vedic god of fire, kept alive by the care of men, Rig Veda, Brahmanas; of *Agni* as father of *Bharata* and *Bharati* (feminine of *Bharata*); a priest (= vitrify); (Mahabharata); an actor, dancer, tumbler (Yajnavalky Shiksha); ... name of *Rudra* (Vedic god of winds), Rig Veda; name of a son of *Agni* *Bharata*; *Bharatajñā*, adjective, 'knowing the science of *Bharata*, i.e., conversant with dramatic writings and rules; *Bharata Putra* or *Bharata Putraka*, masculine, 'son of *Bharata*', i.e., an actor, mime. ... *Bharata Vakya*, noun, 'speech of *Bharata*', name of the last verse or verses of a play (preceded almost always by the words *tathapidaim astu bharata vakyam*; *Bharata* is also the name of various teachers and authors (especially of an ancient *muni* (one who is moved by inward impulse, an inspired person, enthusiast, Rig Veda; a saint, sage, seer, ascetic, monk, devotee, hermit; a Brahmin of the highest (eighth) order, name of a son of *Bharata*], supposed author of a manual of the dramatic art called *Natya Shastra* or *Bharata Shastra*. *Bharata Shastra*, i.e., *Bharata's* manual

of the dramatic art. Also name of a manual of music by *Raghu Natha*."(75)

Also interesting in this connection is the Sanskrit word *bhartri*, see below:

BHARTRI: (masculine gender), a bearer, one who bears or carries or maintains (*Rig Veda*); a preserver, protector, maintainer, chief, lord, master, (*Rig Veda*). From *bhartri* is derived the Sanskrit *bhatta*, (masculine gender): a title of respect used by humble persons addressing a prince. ... Also any learned man = a doctor or philosopher. ... Name of a mixed caste of hereditary panegyrist, a **bard**, encomiast (panegyrist). From the Sanskrit word *bhatta* is in turn derived the Hindi-Urdu word *bhat*, meaning **bard**, minstrel, trobador, etc."(76)

So, once again we see the interrelationship between the Persian, Celtic and north Indian traditions.

We now continue with Johann Christoph Burgel:

"Al-Muzaffar's text has brought us close to the medical use of music, and we can now approach this topic. We shall, however, not enter upon many details because the source material is scanty and our present
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interest in the topic belongs in a context which emphasizes the magic aura of music.

Let me start with a quotation from a medical text entitled The Benefits (of Health) for the Body and for the Soul, written by the well-known ninth-century scholar Abu Zayd al-Balkhi. He deals with music at the end of the first part, devoted to the body, and thus links it with the second part, devoted to the things beneficial for the soul. From this chapter on music (*sama'*) I quote the following passage:

"Listening to music, does, in fact, not exactly belong to the benefits for the body. On the contrary, it apparently belongs more properly to the benefits for the soul than to those of the body. However, in spite of its influence being mainly upon the soul, it does play a considerable part in the benefit and profit to be gained by the body, for the protection of health as well as for its reconstitution. As for the protection of health its benefits lie in that eating and

drinking in particular are more palatable, profitable, and efficient for the body's nutrition and development when accompanied by music. As for the reconstitution of health its benefit lies in that kind of treatment which was already customary with the philosophers and physicians of antiquity and consisted in making the ill listen to pleasant tunes, which would strengthen their bodies, rejoice their souls, and alleviate the pains of their diseases."

The physicians of antiquity are regularly quoted when musical therapy is discussed. About one century after al-Balkhi, another scholar named Ibn Hindu wrote a book entitled The Key of Medicine, which is an introduction to medicine and a guidebook for the student. In the eighth chapter he discusses the kind of knowledge required before one starts studying medicine and mentions music along with logic and some other sciences. Literally he says:

"The science of music also belongs to the medical art in some way or other. Relying on Hippocrates, Theon of Alexandria tells that the previous philosophers would cure the sick by melodies and by playing the instrument called *lyra* (=lyre), and the shawm. However, the author continues, that kind of therapy
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has decayed and vanished. Even Hippocrates, with all his greatness, did not know it any longer, only those prior to him having practiced it. Should we undertake to revive it, it would be regained only after many generations and epochs. Our discussion should, however, be based on that Hippocratic medicine which is still at our disposal. So we state the following: it is true that the subtleties and mysteries by means of which those physicians were able to cure, disappeared and are beyond our capacity. However, we still know its major and evident aspects. We do know that there is a mode of melody and rhythm which arouses sadness, one which rouses joy, one relaxing and tranquilizing, another one disquieting and tantalizing, one which keeps awake and one which narcotizes. And how often do we order those who suffer from melancholy to be treated with the respective modes and it helps them! Yet, the physician need not be himself a performer of the percussion and the

shawm and the dance, since there are many people in the physician's service such as the pharmacist and the phlebotomist and the scarifier whose help he employs for the respective activities, and the same is the case with music."

At another place in his book Ibn Hindu makes the following statement about music which is even more indicative of his awareness of the magic roots of musical therapy:

"Music is an art which knows the congruence and difference existing between the numbers and the relationships existing between the melodies and the movements and states of the body and the soul, and which constructs instruments to produce such effects. *He who performs music plays, as it were with the bodies and the souls of men.* If he wills, he uses his instrument so as to make the listener laugh or weep; if he so wishes, he arouses joy or sadness. I was told that one of the great masters of music had enemies who wanted to waylay him. Now, it so happened one day that he went into the desert, together with some of his friends, to enjoy themselves. His enemies noticed this and

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hurried to that place. When they appeared it turned out that neither that sage nor his companions had weapons on them. So the sage took refuge in his musical instrument and began to play in the mode that slackens and weakens. And the joints of those foes became slack and their weapons fell down, so that they could not fulfill their intentions."

This story is reminiscent of an anecdote told by Ibn 'Ali al-Katib. According to this narration. Empedocles was on a visit when once of the guests suddenly attacked the host with his sword. The philosopher changed the tuning of his lute and played in the mode that assuages. The man's wrath calmed down, and the host was saved.

Ibn Hindu's version is in all likelihood a free rendering of this Greek anecdote, however with the noteworthy difference that the Greek ethos, which is limited to influences in man's character, is replaced by a strange machination evoking a magic aura.

Ibn 'Ali al-Katib also preserved another reminiscence of musical therapy in Greek antiquity: the story of Terpanros and Arion, two famous musicians from

the Isle of Lesbos, who saved its inhabitants from the plague by means of their melodies.

Very little is known about specific cases of musical therapy in the Islamic era. An amazing story is told about how al-Kindi brought a seemingly dead young man back to life with music played at his bedside. However, when the musicians became tired and had to pause, the young man's death could no longer be postponed. This is, however, not a typical case of musical therapy. It rather belongs in the long series of reports about seemingly dead persons being resuscitated by a great physician - almost a literary topos in medieval Islamic sources. Normally, musical therapy seems to have been applied for the cure of melancholy and other mental diseases.

We know that Maimonides, the great Jewish philosopher and physician of the twelfth century, recommended his princely patient, al-Malik al-Afdal, a son of Saladin, who suffered from melancholy, to drink wine and listen to music. We know that the Shefa'iyya Asylum in Divrigi, Anatolia, completed in 1228, "contains a wonderful basin in which the melosious sound of falling water-drops was utilized for mental treatment. And we know that music was played in various hospitals, among them the hospital of the Bayezit Kullesi in Adrianople, where, as Evliya Celebi tells su, the mentally ill were regularly made to listen to
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music. The famous Turkish traveler mentions the following details about this music in his *Seyahatname*: Bayezit had employed ten musicians for the cure of the ailing, to strengthen the spirit of the mentally ill, and to reduce black bile. Three of them were singers, the rest instrumentalists who played the following seven instruments: flute, violin, flageolet, cymbal, harp, harp-like cymbal, and lute. "They come three times a week and play a piece for the ill, whereupon many of them feel relieved. They understand most of the modes: rast, Busalik, Dugah, Segah, Chehargah, Suzanak. When the modes Rast, Busalik, and Zankula resound, this instills life into the patients. These instrumants and these modes provide nourishment for the soul."

In other words, Celebi mentions four of the classic *maqam*, and if we look in the tables for the effect they have, we find bravery for Nawa, pleasure for Rast, strength for Busalik, and slumber for Zankula. On the one hand, this sounds rather reasonable; on the other it remains entirely speculative as long as we do not have the musical material utilized, and we realize that we still know hardly more than Farmer, who wrote "how all these things were accomplished is not explained musically." At any rate, here is an interesting field waiting for further research. Maybe some more insight

could be gained from those places where musical therapy is still being practiced on traditional lines. Here also belongs the ceremony called Zar and similar ceremonies, the purpose of which is to cast out demons believed to be the cause of someone's illness, by means of music and an ecstatic dance, ceremonies which are still very much in vogue in Egypt, Morocco, and other parts of the Islamic world. This brings us back to magic and to the next section of our chapter.

This section is concerned with aspects of music we would deem to be of a more or less magical range, whereas for medieval understanding they simply belong to the large range of psychosomatic influences caused by music. Since these are cases that belong neither to musical therapy, nor to mystical music, nor to the domain of simple entertainment, we devote a special section to them.

The common denominator of these cases is the faculty of hypnotizing people by one's music, as mentioned in the above-quoted passage from Ibn Hindu's The Key of Medicine, and it is gleaned from fictional as well as nonfictional sources, which shows that the magic or semimagical musician was not only a legend from a remote past, but continued to exist in reality, or was, at least, believed to continue.

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A strange story is told of al-Farabi, the greatest theorist of Arabic music and an outstanding practitioner as well. I quote from Ibn Khallikan's Biographical Dictionary. The scene is in the castle of Sayf ad-Dawla, the Hamdanid ruler of Northern Syria at the time.

"The prince then ordered some of the most eminent performers of instrumental music to be brought in, but not one of them could touch his instrument without exciting Abu Nasr's (=Farabi's) disapprobation. 'Have you any skill in this art?' said Saif ad-Dawlat. 'I have,' replied the other, and, drawing a case from beneath his waistband, he opened it and produced a lute. Having tuned it, he began to play and cast all the company into a fit of laughter. He then undid the strings and, having tuned it in another manner, he played again and drew tears from their eyes. Mounting it a third time, in a different key, he played and set them all asleep, even the doorkeepers, at which he took the opportunity of retiring and left them in that state."

Exactly the same story is told by the brethren of Purity, however without mentioning any name. Had Farabi's performance already become a legend shortly

after his death, when the Brethren wrote their epistles? Or was an old legend attached to the name of the great philosopher - Ibn Khallikan wrote three centuries after him - in order to place him in a ranking with the great Greek musicians? At any rate, the motif of putting people - and sometimes also animals - to sleep by music is very old and recurs in Islamic literature in many forms. Orpheus appears in the background, although his name seems to have been unknown to the Arabs.

More than one musical source mentions that King David "used to sing psalms once a week in Jerusalem and the beasts were charmed by his beautiful voice." Other sources add a famous name of Islamic times to that of the Jewish king and Qur'anic prophet: the already mentioned Safiyyuddin 'Abd al-Mumin. Both are said to have charmed birds and beasts with their instruments. Incidentally, let us point here to the snake charmer, familiar even in the Orient of today.

Another strange story, the hero of which is again Safiyyuddin, should be mentioned in this context. The 'ulama' of Egypt had, according to this report, decided to banish music from the capital, regarding it as more
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damaging than useful to the state and the government (the locale is not correct since Safiyyuddin lived in Baghdad, not in Cairo). The sultan acquiesced. The musician, however, was upset. He went to the sultan and tried to dissuade him from his decision, arguing that he was going to wrong his subjects by abolishing an art so pleasant and so innocent. However, the sultan seemed firmly resolved. So Safiyyuddin said:

" 'I shall no longer oppose your decision. I only ask you the favor of being permitted to show you one of the miracles music is capable of performing. Give order that a camel be left without water for forty days and that, when the time has elapsed, it be brought into your presence, where, on one side, water be offered to him and, on the other, I be allowed to sing a song of my own composition. If, then, the animal is so enchanted by the pleasure of my music that it forgets to drink, would not even the enemies have to avow the beauty and power of this art? But, if not, music deserves all the rigor you are going to exert and I feel no longer entitled to practice it!' The sultan consented. Everything was arranged according to the singer's wish, and success was so overwhelming that the sultan went into sheer raptures, praised the musician and his art and expressed his intention to support it even

more than before."

This story, even though some doubt has to be felt about its authenticity, is a good example of how the magic power of art could be used to defend itself against its opponents, to overcome the rigor of the legalists by the fascination of art. Furthermore, it reveals the belief in the existence of such capacities of the artist, not in fairy-tales, but in real life. Reality did not exclude magical or semimagical events, but that fact implies that the appearance of these events in fiction did not exclude their being understood by the reader as feasible and likely to occur in one's own life - an aspect we have to keep in mind while discussing the following tales from fictional literature, in which paralyzing or hypnotizing by means of music is the central motif.

Let us start with the most remarkable of these tales, dealing with a competition between Plato and Aristotle. The story is told by Nizami, in the second part of his Iskandarnameh, where the hero, Alexander
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the Great, develops from a conqueror and emperor into a philosopher and, finally, a prophet. Nizami's tale, apparently a free invention based on the motif of musical influence, takes us into an assembly of philosophers gathered at the court of Alexander. Representatives of various sciences such as - apart from philosophy - mathematics, theology, literature, and, - not to forget! - magic, give expositions of their respective disciplines. Aristotle adds a few remarks always, thereby showing his superiority in each branch of knowledge, and ends up by calling himself the founder of all sciences and the head of all wisdom. All agree, chiming in his praise, except one: Plato, who leaves the room under silent protest, knowing himself to be the true founder of all sciences. He retreats to his tub - this being an old confusion between him and Diogenes - and starts meditating over the secrets of being. By listening to the music of the spheres he finds the correspondences on the lute and the mathematical proportions of modes by which to influence the soul and the body of animal and man. By his melodies he induces them to leap and dance, fall asleep as if dead and wake up again. The rumor of this miracle spreads all over the world and reaches the court of Alexander. "Harut has united in combat with Venus!" This is the wording the poet utilizes; it means that magic and music have united. Furthermore, Plato's procedure is clearly described as a magical action: before playing the lute he draws the conjurer's circle (*khaj-I mandal*) around himself. Aristotle feels ashamed "like someone defeated by his enemy." He retreats into a corner of the palace

and after long and laborious efforts on the part of the intellect discovers the tune that puts one to sleep. "And he hurried to the desert, struck the tune, tried out the talismans of hypnosis, and bereft a number of people of their consciousness. He then played in a different way. Yet, as for the tune that would bring the unconscious back to their senses, Fortune did not lend him her help to find out." Aristotle had to acknowledge the superiority of Plato and ask him for his advice, which was willingly granted by the latter.

The story is a striking example of the awareness of a poet like Nizami of the "mightiness" involved in the arts. It reminds us of the fact that the motif of mental competition is a recurring topic in his oeuvre. Yet the symbolism of the story reaches probably even further. Is it by mere coincidence that Nizami wrote this story at a time when Aristotelianism was breathing its last in the far West, whereas in the East it was already being replaced by Platonism and the Neo-

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Platonic amalgam so brilliantly elaborated in Suhrawardi's *Philosophy of Illumination*, a synthesis of Greek and Oriental traditions, among which the occult sciences were given a prominent place?

Nizami must have been very fond of music and an excellent connoisseur as well. According to Farmer, he mentions more than thirty instruments. Music is one of the major topics in his epics. Particularly his novels about Khusraw and Shirin, and about Alexander the Great provide ample evidence for this predilection. And the figures of great musicians who appear on his stage never lack a certain touch of magic, as with the harpist Nakisa in Khusraw & Shirin. Nizami describes him as follows:

There was a man named Nakisa, a harpist,
A special boon companion and influential nobleman,
And so excellent a singer that the sky, that harp-hunched
Organ builder, had never seen his like.
He was it who introduced rhythm into song
And mensuration into music.
He played such moving tunes that, struck with grief,
The birds began to flap their wings upon the ground.
The melodies he improvised made by their very rhythms
Venus dance around the spheres.

The other musician in this epic, a player of the lute-like *barbyton*, is Barbad, a well-known historical figure. Nizami ascribes to him the invention of a hundred songs, thirty of which he makes him present in a concert given at the court of Khusraw. The poet describes them in a sequel of ingenious verses, full of puns inspired by the titles of these songs, **which had apparently been**

handed down from Sassanian times. The following verses show how strongly the magical effect of music is emphasized. In a short preamble the very act of playing is described in a way evoking the idea of magic.

When he struck the barbyton with his plectrum,
He produced wet sound from dry wood.

"Wet sound" is an allusion to the four qualities of Galenic medicine and has to be understood in terms of the correspondences discussed above. The verse has a counterpart in Nizami's tale of the musical contest between the two philosophers. Here the poet says of Plato:

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He aroused a tune from the dry lyre,
Which by its wetness brings down the sphere.

Here are some of the verses describing the thirty tunes of Barbad:

(2) When he played the "Tune of Kaweh's Treasure,"
The earth brought forth Kaweh as well as his treasure.

(5) When he struck up the "Tune of the Vaulted Throne,"
Heaven opened a door in its vault (to listen).

(6/7) When he intoned the two songs called "Of Thrones"
"Of Bells".
The throne (of Khusraw) started to chime like a bell.

(9) When he preluded to "The Moon Over the Mountain,"
His tongue placed the moon upon the mountains

(16) On listening to the sounds of "Green Over Green,"
The green in the withered garden shot up.

(20) When he sprinkled the musk of "The Lady's Bower,"
All the bowers (in the castle) filled at once with musk.

(29) When he began the "Song of the Hatred of Iraj,"
Mankins felt again the hatred of Iraj.

(30) When he trickled the sugar of "The Garden of Shirin,"
Even the fruits of a bitter tree became sweet.

The last verse not only foreshadows the reconciliation of the loving couple after many bitter experiences; it may as well be understood as a hardly veiled self-praise on the part of the poet, who made the tree of the tragic

history of Khusraw and Shirin full of fruits of charming sweetness.

There is also a famous female musician to be met with in Nizami's poetry, the slave-girl Fitneh ("Temptation", "Uproar"), favorite of King Bahram Gur in the epic *Haft Paykar* or "The Seven Beauties." The musical skill of this lutenist is again described with an image pointing to the semimagical effects of music:

When she brought forth the sobbing sounds upon her lute,
The birds came down to listen from the air.

Strangely enough, Nizami did not elaborate the musical motif here alluded to in this story, as if wishing to save it for his last epic, even though he considerably
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transformed the model he utilized, a story in Firdawsi's *Shahnameh*. The details of this transformation do not concern us here. Suffice it to say that in Firdawsi's version Bahram Gur kills the girl in a fit of wrath because she did not applaud him for the display of his art as a hunter. Nizami avoided this brutal end. His Bahram Gur spares the girl since "it does not befit a brave man to kill a woman." So she has the opportunity of preparing a piece of craftsmanship of her own by which to demonstrate to the king that even the most difficult art may be mastered by practice. Her show-piece consists in carrying a seven-year-old bull - with whom she has been practicing it for seven years when she performs this feat before Bahram Gur - up a staircase or a ladder to a roof garden.

Nizami's first imitator, Amir Khusraw of Delhi (1253-1325), replaced this somewhat heavyweight act by the graceful craft we are dealing with. In his version the girl meets a master of music who "instructs her in every art, particularly that of string-music and the reed-pipe."

How often did she perform sorcery
By killing and making alive again!

Later on when the rumor of her skill spreads people say:
A unique sorcerer has appeared in the world!
She calls the gazelles from the desert,
Kills them and makes them alive again
A farmer's sealed [virgin] daughter,
Whose signet ring is a match to that of Solomon.

Amir Khusraw usually does not attain the level of Nizami in his imitations. In this case, too, he cannot compete with Nizami's richness of language and depth of thought. Yet, he surpasses him by the choice of a motif appropriate to put into relief a young woman's grace.

Amir Khusrau was not only a poet. He was also a great musician in practice as well as in theory, who sang, played an instrument, wrote about music, and contributed to its development by the inventions of new tunes. In his musical writings the image of himself and of his fellow musicians emerges with the aura of those cosmic dimensions which are the mark of the perfect man. Thus, he categorizes the state musicians - at the court of the Khalji sultans in Delhi in whose service he was - as those who "moisten the universe with the dewy melody of *Chang*" (harp), or "who tune-heat [*sic*] the sun with the rhythmic energy of *Duff* (Tambourine).

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Talking of the tune he himself invented he makes the following interesting comment:

"It is in the main based on *Iham* and *Khayal*, my own invention. *Iham* is consummated by the use of words echoing each other in sound and sense or resembling each other in body and build. *Khayal* is elaborated by letting the imagination go free among the objects and the phenomena around so as to hold a mirror to the universe and to populate the mind with dreams."

He called himself a "treasury of marvels" and claimed that "even the tabooed *mazamir* (woodwind instruments) find themselves disciplined and sanctified in our hands" and that

In our hands the hollow gourd may not be deemed to be empty, But full to the brim with the drops of delight which cure the ailing souls.

"The tambourine is a reference to the cycle of existing things (*da'irat al-akwan*); the skin which is fitted on to it is a reference to general existence (*al-wujud al-mutlaq*); ... the five small bells (*jalajil*) are a reference to the prophetic ranks, the saintly ranks, the apostolic ranks, the khalifate ranks, and the imamate ranks. [*This last indicates that Amir Khusraw was a Shi'a or at least had strong Shi'a tendencies.*] ... And the voice of the singer is a reference to the divine (*rabbaniya*) life which comes down from the innermost arcana to the levels (*maratib*) of the spirits, the hearts, and the consciences (*asrar*). The flute (*qasab*) is a reference to the human essence, and the nine holes are a reference to the openings in the

outer frame (*zahir*), which are nine, viz., the ears, the nostrils, the eyes, the mouth, and the private parts (*al-qubl wa'd-dubr*)."

Even more revealing is al-Ghazzali's mystical-symbolical analysis of the word *sama'*. In its four letters (the short vowel *a* is not written) he discovers the Arabic words *samm* = "poison", *ma'a* = "with", *sama'* = "Heaven", *umm* = "mother", *ma'* = "water", and *'amm* = "enclose", and combines them into a description of the round dance which leaves no doubt as

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to the ecstasy and elevation the mystic expects from this ritual.

'Its *sin* and *mim* indicate *samm*, meaning that the inner nature of audition is like poison which causes one to reach the unseen stations. Its *'ayn* and *mim* indicate *ma'a*, meaning that audition causes one to reach the Essential, divine co-existence (*ma'iya*). ... Its *sin*, *mim*, and *alif* indicate *sama'*, to make known that audition causes one to become supernatural and heavenly, and one comes forth from the lower ranks. And its *alif* and *mim* indicate *umm*, to tell that he who engages in audition is the mother of everything else, gets support from the unseen by his spiritual nature, and pours forth on everything else life and knowledge which the word *ma'* indicates. Its *'ayn* and *mim* indicate *'amm*, i.e., he who engages in audition encloses in his spiritual nature supernatural things, in the life of his heart human things, and in the light of his pure soul bodily things and other states. So he who engages in audition rises to the high stations and the divine favors which one cannot attain by a thousand efforts and the most perfect religious exercises. And the benefits of audition reach a hundred benefits and a hundred thousand states which he who has taste, ecstasy, and insight discovers."

As one would expect, the topic of music is also prominent in the writings of the founder of the Philosophy of Illumination, Shihabuddin Yahya as-Suhrawardi, who was sentenced to death at the age of thirty-six years because of his mystical doctrines. Henry Corbin pointed to the importance of the musical topic in several of his tracts, and we have already quoted a few lines about the mythical bird Simurgh as a symbol of the Divine.

There is a magnificent passage in the best-known of these treatises, entitled The Occidental Exile (*al-Ghurbah al-gharbiyah*), in which the author describes in a most fantastic and symbolic manner the interior itinerary of the soul, its liberation from the bonds of the body, and its ascension through the spheres. On his way to the mystical Mount Sinai, the pilgrim passes through the celestial spheres and this is what he relates about his experience there: "I saw the sublime bodies. I joined them and heard their tunes and modes, (1371)

which I learned to sing, but the sound grated on my ears as though it were a chain being dragged across granite. My limbs were almost torn to pieces and my joints were almost pulled apart from the pleasure I experienced."

In his treatise The Whistle of Simurgh, or, as Corbin rightly translated, The Incantation of Simurgh, Suhrawardi made use of the image of the magic bird to express his persuasion, the old Pythagorean doctrine that all terrestrial music was but a resonance of the celestial model, with the following words:

"All knowledge stems from the incantation of Simurgh. The marvelous musical instruments such as the organ and others have been made from the echo and the resonance of it."

Later in this text the author expounds the idea that all kinds of sounds may arouse a state of ecstasy:

"If one waits on festival days, when people go out to the prayer-field and great shouts, loud exaltations, and harsh clamors take place and the noise of cymbals and clarions prevails, if one is endowed with vision and a sound nature and recollects holy states, one will experience a very pleasant sensation. Again, in war, which is a time when men clash, warriors shout, horses neigh, drums are beaten, and battle reaches a pitch, with the headlong rushing of men and brandishing of swords, if one's mind is slightly clear, even though one may not be ascetically disciplined, one will experience something of this state - provided that one recollects during that time holy states and recalls the souls of the departed, the vision of divine might, and the ranks of the hosts of heaven. So also, if one is seated on a galloping horse and urging it to charge faster and images that an overwhelming awe is being produced within oneself and that one is going abstractly and psychically into the presence

of the Self-subsistent and rushing into the ranks of the celestials, in such a state too an effect will be produced in one, even though one may not be an ascetic adept. Herein are mysteries that these days are fathomed by few. When these flashes come to men, an effect reaches the brain, and it may appear as though a vein in the brain, the
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shoulder, or back has begun to throb violently, though very pleurably. One may be helped by the *sama'* and the pleasure will be even more intense, although this is still the first stage."

In his introduction to the treatise, Corbin utilized the word "magic" in order to describe what he felt Suhrawardi's understanding of music was like:

"Music comprises the way of our shaykh (Suhrawardi) as it comprises the way of our romantics, so that which it appears to us that they are very near to one another, it is a sonorous "magic", a magic of the soul, which the soul itself produces in the midst of the sounds of which it arranges the proportions in accord with its own intimate nature. The musical phrase is an incantation which operates on the soul, in order that it may comprehend the song of the Simurgh and that song which is an incantation which open the door to unknown worlds."

Where such psychic energy, such magic power, is attributed to music, the danger involved must of necessity also be felt. Even mystics themselves have warned time and again against indulging in this kind of experience without having reached the inner state it requires.

Time and again *fatwas* were launched against those practices. Shiloah quotes Ibn Taymiyyah, the outstanding Hanbali jurist of the thirteenth century, whose *fatwas* on *sama'* do not lack in rigor. Music, he says, is a female activity. Muhammad did not tolerate any of it except the clapping of the hands and drumming done by women and hermaphrodites.

"Therefore", the *fatwa* continues, "the *sama'* as practiced by the Sufis is entirely an innovation, transgressing the maws; it is inspired by secular music and by such instigators as al-Farabi, Ibn Sina, and the Ikhwan as-Safa. The effect of music is only

an intoxication originating in satanic possession."

Three centuries later, the famous Grand Mufti of the Ottoman Empire, Abu s-Su'ud, was again confronted with the same old problem. A recently published anthology gleaned from the thousands of rulings that
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were issued by this authority reveal his abhorrence of the sufi practice of dance and music. Nevertheless, he allows it under certain conditions, the critical limit being reached when Sufis claim that their dance is a form of worship. This claim is, Abu s-Su'ud says, an act of apostasy, since it implies that God has ordered such abominations.

Similar discussions are going on in our century. The shaykh of the mystical order Halvetiye Cerrahiye in Istanbul, which practices ritual dance, recently published a booklet entitled The Unveiling of Love, in which he ardently defends the practice of whirling as a religious performance.

"Whirling in worship is one of the fundamental practices of the Sufi orders. The first to perform it was the Noble Messenger, God bless him and give him praise."

The author then mentions stories telling how and why Muhammad, Abu Bakr, 'Ali, Ja'far ibn Abi Talib, and Zayd ibn Harith were enraptured to dancing. And he states:

"Dancing may not be permitted within Sacred Laws, but neither is it positively unlawful. Perhaps it comes into the category of legally indifferent natural acts like sitting down and standing up. Therefore, since well-intentioned whirling is permissible, it can undoubtedly be an act of worship when so intended, because in whirling we are remembering God, Exalted is He, and Divine Remembrance is lawful always and everywhere and with whatever movements it may be expressed. Those who remember God, Exalted is He, will certainly receive recompense and reward from their Lord.

While all prescribed acts of worship performed for Almighty God have a definite beginning and ending and a set pattern the Remembrance of God or Divine Remembrance is not structured in the same way. This is because God, Glorified and Exalted is He, has ordered and commanded us to remember His Divine Essence very, very often. Those whoe

hearts find tranquility and calm, who experience joy and delight in remembrance of their Lord and in whirling in worship, and who hope in this way to reach the object of their striving and attain God's Mercy, will
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most certainly not be left destitute by God, Glorified and Exalted is He, Who will shower His blessings and bounty upon His servants and bring them to salvation and success."

The text leaves no doubt that its author, and that means the shaykh and the adherents of this order, regard whirling as an act of worship. The whirling of the Khalvetis ends in a wild ecstatic outburst of high leaps performed by the disciples around the shaykh, who himself seems to leap even higher than they do. I had the impression of an elevation taking place when I saw it first. Yet, this tumult is soon turned into a quiet aftermath of silent meditation. The ceremony preceding this effervescent finale is a long, well-structured sequel of litanies and repeated formulae, performed first in a sitting position and then in a dance, circling and leading through a process of gradual intoxication to the complete rapture, in which, as Suhrawardi said in his Epistle on the State of Childhood

"the soul deposes the ear from its function and listens for itself, but it listens in the other world, where it is not the ear's job to listen."

The most refined and most beautiful form of the mystical dance is indisputably the one cultivated by the Mevlevis, the order founded by Jalaluddin Rumi. Hellmut Ritter called it:

"eine der schönsten und eindrucksvollsten religiösen Feiern, die es überhaupt gibt."

The whirling men in their white floating frocks appear like a living ornament. Nevertheless, the ceremony is one of sublime licit magic, for, to quote Annemarie Schimmel:

"the encircling of a sacred object - or a person, as sometimes in the *sama'* - means to partake of its magical power or to endow it with power."

In other words, the ceremony is a celebration of the perfect man, an ever-new enthronement of the pious magician of Islamic mysticism. This is evident from the

symbolism of this ceremony. One of the key words in the terminology of the Mevlevi-ance is the word *qutb*, which means "pole" or "axis". The dance-master (*sema'zen* (1375)

basi) is called *qutb*, because the dancers dance around him. But, at the same time, this word evokes the idea of the axis of the universe, around which the planets circle. The cosmic mightiness conjured by the *sama'*, and embodied in the person of the shaykh, is also expressed in the hymns sung during the ceremony by the choir and accompanied by the orchestra. In these hymns addressed to the Prophet, to Rumi, his friend Shams-I Tabriz, his son Veled, all these personages appear as incorporations of the archetypal perfect man, whose cosmic power or mightiness is felt to be active in the present shaykh, like an electric charge that flows from him into the dancers, the musicians, and all those who enter the realm of his irradiance. The language of love and of panegyric is utilized to express this over whelming feeling of cosmic mightiness. Here are some extracts from the so-called *selams* or "greetings", pieces sung during the ceremony:

1.) O Thou, in whose face my soul flashes unveiled!
O Thou, who attracts all the inclination of my heart!
Hundreds of thousands of souls and hearts saw I,
O heart-robber, hanging on one of your hairs!

2.) O king of the town of spirit and soul!
On the throne of the heart You are the Khaqan
(=Sovereign)!
In Heaven and on earth You are the emperor of emperors!

... ..

You are the paradise, the wine, the cup-bearer (= Persian: *saki*) and guardian of Paradise!

7/8.) A thousand hails! What an emperor!
Whosoever becomes His servant, becomes himself Khusraw and Khaqan.
Whoever believes today in Veled and rubs his face (in the dust before him), becomes lord if he is poorm and emperor, if he is lord!

Apart from these texts sung during the ceremony, many other verses of Rumi point to the miraculous or magic power of the *sama'*, and some of them have been quoted above. In one of the his most enthralling *ghazals* Rumi describes the rapture, the cosmos-riding ecstasy, that befalls the mystic during the round dance:

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You are beyond the two worlds as soon as you enter the *sama'*.
Beyond the two worlds lies that world of the *sama'*.
Even though the roof of the Seven Spheres is a high roof,
The ladder of the *sama'* goes beyond this roof.

And again Rumi said in a *ruba'i*:

Wherever the lover touches the ground with his dancing feet,
The water of Life will spring out of the darkness.

Mystical dance means to become one with the dancing universe.

"Everything created should wittingly partake
in this great cosmic dance in which it is
already involved unwittingly."

"Gabriel dances in love for the beauty of
God. The horrible demon dances, too, in love
for a she-demon."

One of the mystics, Ruzbihan Baqli, even symbolized the state of mystical union as

"a dance with God." (77)

We are seeing how difficult - indeed impossible - it is to keep the topics of the various chapters rigorously separate from one another, how arbitrary said separation can be. In this chapter we have at times dealt with material which might seem to belong in Chapter 3, Chapter 7, even Chapter 9. How does one separate the white from the yolk in a scrambled egg?

We now return to Owen Wright.

For the West, however, al-Tifashi mentions no more than four modes: *Khusrawani*, *mutlaq*, *mazmum* and *mujannab*. Traces of this nomenclature may still be found in later Eastern theoretical treatises, but it is evident that it is there considered both marginal and ancient. Further indications to support al-Tifashi's claim that the tradition to which these terms relate is more conservative than the Eastern one may be found in al-Hasan's treatise, which cites three of them and

implies that two, despite certain innovations affecting
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their structure, are essentially survivals from the early modal system that received its definitive codification at the hands of Ishaq al-Mawsili. It is also of some interest to note that what for al-Hasan the beginning pieces of a sequence (i.e., those occupying what are for al-Tifashi are the *nashid* and *basit* slots) should be in either *mazmum* or *mutlaq*, and if this association between forms and modes were later extended to cover *khusrawani* and *mujannab* as well it could be that al-Tifashi's list is incomplete and that, as comparisons with both earlier and later practice would suggest, there were other modes in existence at the time, for the passage in question is not designed as an exhaustive account of the modal system, but rather as an anthology of song texts specific to the *nashid* and *basit* forms: there are no examples of *mushshaha* and *zajal* texts and, consequently, no mention of any modes that might have been particularly associated with these forms. But whatever the range of modes employed in Muslim Spain in the 7th/13th century, it is certain that the modern Maghribi (i.e., North African) system is considerably different. Indeed, of the four modes mentioned by al-Tifashi, only two, *mazmum* and *mujannab*, survive into the modern period." (78)

Note that the name of the mode *Khusrawani* is transparently Persian.

Owen Wright has not taken certain facts into account. As the name indicates, al-Tifashi was NOT an Andalusí, but rather was a native of that ancient Phoenician colony on the Algerian coast known in Roman and Byzantine times as *Tipasa*, a city consecrated in Catholic and Eastern Orthodox history and legend as being the home of the early Christian martyr (4th century AD), Ste. Salsa of Tipasa. In other words, al-Tifashi, rather than being an Andalusí or Hispano-Muslim, was a *Maghribi* or North African, though, in modern parlance, he was an Algerian, not a Tunisian. Al-Tifashi at times refers specifically to al-Andalus, though more frequently he refers to "the West" or *Maghrib*. Now, in medieval Islam al-

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Andalus was at times considered to be part of the Maghrib, as it was also in the West, but more frequently al-Andalus was considered to be something apart from Maghrib, because it was geographically, ethnically and culturally quite distinct from North Africa or *Berberia*. Remembering that al-Tifashi was himself a North African, when he refers to the West or Maghrib, it is a safe assumption that he speaks of North Africa or *Berberia*, and not al-Andalus. To repeat, when al-Tifashi refers to "the West" or Maghrib, and not al-Andalus, it is a safe bet that he refers to North Africa, but NOT al-Andalus.

Now, Persian and the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula, including that which the Arabs called *Lisan al-Ajjam*, are all Indo-European languages. Indeed, Persian on the one hand and the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula on the other, are all grammatically remarkably similar, and phonetically nearly identical, while all are radically distinct from Arabic in both their grammatical structure and their phonetics. The Germanic languages do indeed have sounds which are very difficult for someone whose mother tongue is of a different branch of the great Indo-European language family, but this is not true of the languages of the other Indo-European branches. The Slavic languages have sounds which at first may appear strange to someone whose mother tongue is Indo-European but not Slavic, but these sounds are strange rather than difficult, and are quickly acquired. However, Arabic, a Semitic and NOT an Indo-European tongue, has many sounds which are very difficult for speakers of

Indo-European languages. As we have said before, at least 95 per cent (some say 97 per cent) of the population of al-Andalus was of Spanish rather than Arab or Berber origin, and for a very long time the predominant spoken language in al-Andalus was *Lisan al-Ajjam* or Romance, even the caliphs of Cordoba being bilingual Arabic-Romance. So, the pronunciation Arabic language as spoken in al-Andalus was deformed in exactly the way as al-Tifashi describes it as being deformed in the East due to the influence of Persian, at least among the musicians. There is documentary proof of this.

In French, *blond* is masculine, while *blonde* is feminine; recall the song so popular with French soldiers:

*Après du ma blonde
 Qil fait bon, fait bon, fait bon
 Après du ma blonde
 Qil fait bon dormir.*

The French soldier is singing of his sadness and remorse because he and his blonde girl friend have broken up.

We now return to our old friend, the tall, blond, *muy simpatico* Cordoban poet with the Visigothic name, Ibn Quzman. Now, Ibn Quzman composed at least his best known works in Andalusian Vulgar Arabic rather than literary Arabic. In order to write Andalusian Vulgar Arabic using the Arabic alphabet, Ibn Quzman was forced to borrow three letters from Persian in order to represent the "CH" (as in "church"), the "G" and the "P" sounds which Andalusian Vulgar Arabic had inherited from *Lisan al-Ajjam* or Romance. Ibn Quzman had a special problem: Arabic has no "V" sound, while Persian has no "W" sound, so in Persian the Arabic

letter "Waw" is either used as a vowel, or, more frequently, takes the "V" sound. Now, the Romance languages of the Iberian Peninsula have both the "W" (though it is written not as "W", but as "UA" or "UE") sound and the "V" sound. Ibn Quzman solved this dilemma by putting a dot over the Arabic letter "Waw" in order to change it from the "W" sound to the "V" sound. In other words, in al-Andalus the Arabic language was deformed in exactly the same ways as it was deformed in the East by people whose native tongue was Persian. It is evident that when al-Tifashi speaks of the West or Maghrib, and not specifically to al-Andalus, he refers to North Africa, and is therefore not applicable to al-Andalus. This will be made evident below, as Owen Wright continues:

"Now, it is clear that although certain complex forms required the skills of highly trained experts who, in all probability, would only be appreciated by a sophisticated minority, there is no reason to suppose that the *mushshahah* and *zajal* fell into this category, and we are faced therefore with the question of whether there was a significant gulf between court music and folk music and, if so, of the extent to which the *nawba* (and its specialist performers) might bridge it. Certainly there is no particular problem in positing an audience part sophisticated, part popular, nor, indeed, in accepting the possibility of what may have been originally a folk-music form, characterized by alternating solo and chorus sections, gradually gaining acceptance at court. We are not, it may be assumed, faced with a contrast as stark as that between highly virtuosic coloratura (operatic or *bel canto*) arias and the simplest of hymn tunes: a more reasonable analogy could perhaps be found in the modern Iraqi *maqam* tradition, where in the typical performance context of a family celebration the expertise of the solo singer would be listened to attentively only by the *cognoscenti*, while the whole audience would enthusiastically join in the lighter *pasta* which rounds off each group of *maqams* (*fasl*).

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If we now edge towards the question of how Arab musical styles might have been accepted or indeed adopted by the Christian population, and vice versa, we

may note, first, that there is some evidence, in anecdotes of singing slave-girls adorning Christian courts or households, to point to the most sophisticated style of Arab singing finding enthusiastic reception. But such evidence is by no means conclusive: anecdotes of this kind may be preserved because they they represented the exception rather than the rule, and where such singers were acquired through conquest they may have resembled mounted trophies, tokens of victory indicating ostentation rather than comprehension. In any case, it may be assumed that the kind of cultural contact that would lead to significant and durable exchange was more likely to have involved popular styles and to have occurred at the popular level. That such contact, and exchange, may have begun at a very early date is suggested by al-Tifashi, whose historical perception - even is unbuttressed by source references - is striking in its clear acceptance of the confluence of two (or more) cultural streams. For him the old Andalusian song, that is, the music of the first decades of the Muslim conquest, before even Ziryab's predecessors from the East arrived, was either Christian in style or was the song of Arab camel-drivers, the *huda'*. It is reasonable to suppose that the primary purpose of this reference to the *huda'* was to reflect the quite commonly expressed view that it was the earliest genre of singing known to the Arabs, antedating the emergence of *ghina'*, the ultimate forbear of court music, and consequently to imply that the only genres the first immigrants brought with them were those of folk song.

The reference to a Christian style is less easy to interpret. But on the assumption that al-Tifashi would hardly dwell on indigenous forms that were unknown to the Muslim population we may detect here the first signs of cultural influence, probably in the form of contrafact songs resulting from the adaption of Arabic (probably vulgar Arabic) words to tunes which originally had Latin or, more likely proto-Romance (i.e., *Lisan al-Ajjam*) texts. Al-Tifashi goes on to tell us that the style of Ziryab then held sway for some two centuries until, in a crucial new stage of cultural interaction, Ibn Bajja "fused Christian song with Eastern song, thereby creating a style found only in Spain", and further refinements to this base resulted in the final apotheosis of the compositions of Abu 'l-Husayn ibn al-Hasib al-Mursi (circa 600/1200). The reported fact of Ibn Bajja's innovation is of
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considerable importance, **for such integration can only be possible in the context of a degree of similarity between the types of music practiced by the two communities rendering them mutually permeable.** But concerning the nature of the resulting changes we can,

unfortunately, only speculate. Ibn Bajja is noted as a texts for several of his songs are recorded by al-Tifashi, who also states that he refined (*tahdhib*) the *istihlal* and *'amal* (thus demonstrating, incidentally, that the former was now viewed as a fully composed section). Of his individual style, however, nothing is said, so that the nature of the Christian component remains elusive."(79)

Now, we have noticed that Celtic music and Persian music have so many points in common that they are not only mutually permeable, but that one cannot detect where the one ends and the other begins; this, like many other things, is one of a multitude of examples of the countless affinities between the Celts on the one hand and the Iranian peoples on the other. We have noted that the folk and traditional music of the whole Iberian Peninsula and not only in the northwest is fundamentally or at least very largely Celtic. Alain Danielou has noted the presence of Celtic modes in North Africa, to whence they were no doubt taken by Hispano-Muslims and Moriscos. The fusion achieved by Ibn Bajja and Abu 'l-Husayn ibn al-Hasib al-Mursi occurred when the music of the Hispano-Muslims had become so Persianized that it became mutually permeable with the Celtic-based folk and traditional music native to Spain. We have mentioned Persian immigrants - Sufis and others, such as the famous al-Razi family - who came to al-Andalus, of the surprisingly numerous Persian words present in Andalusian Vulgar Arabic, and of a multitude of other Persian influences in fields as diverse as clothing, cuisine, architecture and a long etcetera.

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This fusion of Celtic and Persian music which took place in Muslim Spain lives on in the so-called "Andalusi" music of parts of North Africa, but also in the folk and traditional music of several

regions of Spain, from whence it was taken to Central and South America and to southern U.S.A., both southeastern and southwestern.

Owen Wright has noted the presence of Gregorian modes in the "Andalusi" music of present day North Africa; I have noted that Owen Wright is correct in relation to the substance of said modes, but, not in relation to their procedence, which is either the Byzantine Rite, or, more likely, Visigothic-Mozarabic Rite. As we have said in another place, all Christian liturgical chants use the same eight modes (Greek: *Octoechos*; Syriac: *Ikhadias*), which in turn appear to be of Indian origin, or of Indian origin by way of Persia.

We have dealt with the Zajal and the Muwashshaha in Chapter 3. However, since especially the Zajal was sung and therefore is involved with music as well as prosody. For this purpose we turn to Benjamin M. Liu and James T. Monroe:

"...says the Jewish writer Tanhum Yerushalmi in a mid thirteenth century passage in Arabic explaining the Hebrew word *pizmon* (metrical hymn with refrain):

"No [derivative] of this root appears in the Code [of Maimonides] or in the *Mishna*, but [the word] is much used in writing down lyrics and *muwashshahas*. At the end of each strophe *pizmon* is written, yet no one knows or asks what that word means, but I have seen an explanation of it, which is that the *targum* [translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew to Aramaic] renders Job XXX:1: 'and
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Job answered and Job uttered a *pizmon'*, while the meaning of 'he answered' here, is *inshad* [solo singing], and an *inshad* either arouses sadness or happiness and joy. And during the solo part of the *muwashshaha*, when the soloist has finished a given strophe, those present answer him by repeating the *matla'*,

which is the first verse of the lyric, on whose rhyme the rhymes of the final lines of each and every strophe end. [It is called *matla'*] because from it one 'rises or sets out' (*yutla'u*) on that commencement which is the beginning of the lyric, and is therefore its "point of departure". The *matla'* is called *pizmon* because it is soloed and repeated in choral response after the soloist has ended each strophe." (80)

As its use in a *targum* indicates, *pizmon*, which is most obviously not an Arabic word, is presumably originally Aramaic, meaning "answered" or "he answered". How it came to be used in reference to the muwashshaha is explained above.

After the return of the Jews from the Babylonian Captivity, they no longer spoke Hebrew, but rather Aramaic, then the lingua franca of what is today Palestine, Jordan, Lebanon, Syria and Iraq or Mesopotamia. Since most of the Jews of Palestine were now unable to read or understand Hebrew, the Old Testament was translated from Hebrew to Aramaic. These translations were called "*targums*", which simply means "translation". There are quotations from these *targums* in the New Testament, but this topic is outside the scope of this chapter. Remember, Aramaic, NOT Hebrew, was the everyday language of Jesus, His family and His disciples. This is not to say that Jesus did not read Hebrew, but He did not speak it in ordinary conversation. The Gospel According to St. Matthew was originally written in Aramaic (NOT Hebrew), and

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later translated to Greek *Koine*; some fragments of the Aramaic original survive.

We now return to Liu and Monroe.

Since there is no evidence that the Arabic

muwashshaha was sung differently from its Hebrew derivative in the Middle Ages, we must assume that this description also applies to it; the evidence of modern performances confirms this assumption. Concerning these, Lois Ibsen al-Faruqi defines the genre as

"a vocal composition performed by a chorus or by a chorus alternating with a soloist. The vocal line is usually accompanied by a small group of instruments. It is much less frequently a solo performance, and then is often of a religious character. As a musical form it is consistently vocal and based on a repeated rhythmic pattern or mode (*iqa'*), in addition to being strophic, incorporating a recurring refrain and having a generally monophonic texture."

In discussing the musical structure of the poems, she explains their three main sections:

"The first of these is the *dawr* (from "turn", "cycle") or *badaniyyah* ("body"). This is a setting to music of the opening *juz'* ("part") or strophe. Most often this initial *dawr* is accompaniment for only one line or *bayt* of poetry. Or perhaps it carries only the first hemistich of that line. This *dawr* is repeated to accompany the second poetic *bayt* or the second hemistich. The second section of the *muwashshahah* is called *khanah* ("inn", "square of a chessboard") or *silsilah* ("chain" "series"). This is either a completely new musical presentation or has new elements at its outset and then a return to a musical refrain previously presented near the end of the *dawr*. There is new poetry for the *khanah*, but this section may contain poetic repetitions as well as musical ones. The third section is called *qaflah* ("key", "closing"), *ruju'* ("return"), or *ghita'* ("cover"). It presents new poetic material set to a repeat of the musical elements of the *dawr*.

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Occasionally a literal, poetic, as well as musical repetition of the *dawr* replaces the *qaflah*. This succession of new over again with a new *juz'* of poetry, the end of the performance determined more by the inspiration and inclination of the performers than by the actual number of strophes or lines in the poem."

Al-Faruqi adds:

Muwashshahat are performed generally by a small group of vocal and instrumental performers. Such a group is known in the Arab world as a *takht* ("dais", or "Platform" on which the performers sit) or *firqah* ("party" or "group"). Whether performing this or another type of Arabian music the *firqah's* leader or *ra'is* signals to the other performers with his body movements or with musical interludes and interjections. Women as well as men participate in the *firqah*. When they are included in the performance group, women often alternate with the male voices in singing phrases or sections. At other times either women or men will sing a phrase, to be answered by the group as a whole. These antiphonal renderings help emphasize the divisions within the *muwashshah* and make its non-developmental, disjunct arabesque quality even more distinct. ... The principal instruments used to accompany the vocalists are the *daff* (tamborine), the *tabla* (drum), the *'ud* (lute) and the *Kaman* or *kamanjah* (bowed, stringed instrument) [**in Persian music, *kamanjah* refers to a spike fiddle**]. ... If there are no instruments, the *iqa'* is maintained by *tasfiq* (hand beating or clapping). Because it is usually done by a chorus, the music is less influenced by melismatic ornamentation than the solo genres."

Colloquial poetry in North Africa is designated by the term *malhun*. In his book on the *zajal* in Morocco, 'Abbas ibn 'Abdallah al-Jirari explains the meaning of the term: "The truth is that the word *malhun* here is derived etymologically from *lahn* [melody] with the meaning of *gina* [song], because the fundamental difference between it and classical Arabic poetry is that *malhun* [poetry] is composed, above all things, to
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be sung." On the general structure of the Moroccan *zajal*, he adds:

"For the most part, the poem begins with an opening line [*matla'*] called *duhul* [entrance], which is not considered part of the strophes [*aqsam*], and which is followed by the *harba* [refrain]. After that, the strophes follow, one after another, with the

harba separating them from each other in the singing [*inshad*]. The strophe [*qism*] begins with a number of lines [*abyat*] based on a new rhyme [i.e., different from that of the refrain], then returns to the original rhyme of the *harba* [refrain], and this variation, or to put it otherwise, this shift from one rhyme to another, followed by a return to the original rhyme is called *as-sarah wa-r-rawah* [release and departure]."

The lack of medieval Arabic musical notation, has led scholars to reconstruct the musical structure and performance practices of Andalusian lyrics by the following methods:

- 1.) reconstruction from medieval treatises and descriptions of music;
- 2.) inferences from formal, and especially metrical analyses of *muwashshahas* and *zajals*;
- 3.) comparison with the music of Romance poetic analogues which are *zajalesque* in form;
- 4.) comparison with modern Arabic renditions of medieval songs in the oral Andalusian tradition. ...

MUSICAL TRADITION: FROM ANDALUS TO THE MAGHRIB

Since we are dealing with orally transmitted songs, we may assume that the melodies must have been altered substantially during their transmission. This is not the case for the lyrics; although they show numerous textual departures from the medieval recensions (which already exhibited numerous variants), the modern versions are immediately recognizable as variants of the medieval lyrics. Our confidence in the traditional nature of the modern Moroccan melodies - as faithfully reflecting Andalusian song - rests mainly on the continuity of their musical tradition from Andalus to the Maghrib. There are at present eleven *nawbas* recognized in Morocco: *rasd al-dil*, *istihlal*, *'iraq al-'ajam*, *ramal al-maya*, *rasd*, *garibat al-husayn*, *hijaz al-kabir*, *hijaz al-mashriqi*, *'ushshaq*, *maya*, and *isbahan* [note that some of the above names have an

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obvious Persian etymology]. These are composed of some twenty-four (or twenty-five, counting the mode *sika*) melodic modes (*tab's*) which appear to have remained intact in Morocco since the beginning of the sixteenth century. ...

...the *asls* are the four principal modes whose fundamental tones correspond to the tones of the four open strings of the Maghribi lute. Their branch modes (*far's*) correspond to fingered tones. (the fifth principal mode, *garibat al-muharrara*, has no branch

modes.) The anonymous author of *Ma'rifat al-Nagamat al-taman*, the early Maghribi treatise published by Henry George Farmer, notes that the *dil* and *zaydan* were formerly called the *bamm* and *zir*, **names of Persian origin which denoted, respectively, the lowest and highest strings of the Persian lute tuned by successive 4^{ths}.** In theory. Each of these twenty-four modes (excepting *sika*) defines a repertory of songs in the mode, to be performed at designated hours of the day and night. Moreover, each principal mode and its branch derivatives agrees with one of the four cosmic elements and its corresponding bodily humor, thus serving an appropriate therapeutic function as well as a musical one. Many of the current *nawbas* contain more than one melodic mode (*tab'*) **[in this important aspect they differ from the north Indian raga]**. The present *nawba garibat al-husayn*, for example, comprises, beside the *tab' garibat al-husayn*, two additional *tab's*: *garibat al-muharrara* and *sika*. Al-Haik, in his introduction, recognizes twenty-four actual modes in Morocco, to which he appends the mode *sika*. These twenty-four modes are combined to form eleven *nawbas*, of which the *nawba garibat al-husayn* contains the same three modes found in Ra'is' modern collection.

The other countries of the Maghrib show some variation in both the system of melodic modes (*tab's*) and their arrangement in the *nawbas*. The names of Algerian and Tunisian *nawbas* are different from their Moroccan counterparts, and d'Erlanger recognized twenty-nine Tunisian modes, many different from the Moroccan *tab's* and of apparent Eastern derivation. Al-Tifashi describes the music of the medieval Tunisian region:

As for the people of Ifriqiya, their method in singing combines the method of the people of the Maghrib and the people of the East, for it is faster (*ahaffu*) than the style of the people of Andalus and has more notes than the style of the people of the East.

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Elsewhere, this author tells us that the Andalusian style is slower (*atqalu*) and "has more notes" than the music of the East. His comments are at least partially confirmed by our version of Ibn al-Hatib's *Hal dara zabyu l-hima*, which was collected in Tunisia by d'Erlanger. This version is in the fast and light rhythm *hafif* (6/4), unused in Morocco. In Al-Ha'ik's Moroccan songbook, the rhythm of this song is listed as *darj*; in Yafil's Algerian collection, as *insiraf*. Furthermore, the melody of d'Erlanger's Tunisian version is largely syllabic, rather than melismatic; this latter style is more characteristic of the highly ornamented numbers of

Morocco. The Tunisian song also has fewer vocalized interpolations than do Ra'is' Moroccan ones.

An account by Ahmad ibn Muhammad al-Yamani (the Yemenite), an Eastern traveler in Andalus taken ill in Malaga in 1015, describes his reaction during a sleepless night to two very different styles of music that kept him awake:

Around me, the strings of lutes, *tunburs*, and other instruments vibrated from all directions, and [different] voices [sawts] blended in singing, which was bad for me, and added to my insomnia and suffering. I used to loathe such percussions [*darbs*], and detest such tunes by disposition, so that I would have wished to find lodgings in which I could hear neither, yet it was impossible for me to do so, because [music] was uppermost in the concerns of the people of that region.

He goes on to relate how he suddenly heard a sweet melody in the air, then a solo female voice, only to discover that the singer was a slave girl from Baghdad, formerly owned by Al-Mansur (died 1002 AD), and now in the possession of a vizier:

One night I awoke after dozing a little, and noticed that the tumult of odious voices and turbulent tunes had calmed down, leaving only a breath of sound, tranquil and lovely. I felt that my soul understood this music and could find repose in it, with none of the repugnance I had felt for the other. It was purely instrumental, without the human voice. Then it began increasing slowly in volume. I was drawn to it and disposed to listen even when it had reached the fullest possible strength. I found myself forgetting my misery
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in the emotional enjoyment, which almost caused me to imagine that the walls and floor were floating around me. And all this time there had been no sound of a human voice. I said to myself: "For instrumental music, nothing could be more perfect. What kind of voice will the musician have? How will it end?" Scarcely was the question asked before there came the sound of a woman's voice, clear and beautiful. I could not contain myself and got up, leaving my two companions sleeping. I opened the door of my room and followed the sound until I reached the part of the house whence I could overlook

the neighbors. I saw a large garden with about twenty people in the center, seated in a row with sweets, fruits, and drinks before them. The girl who was singing sat apart from the others, and held her listeners spellbound. She sang and sang, and I, hidden above, could watch without being seen. As she sang a verse, I learned it, till I knew quite a number. Finally I withdrew to my room, thanking God, as though I had come out of a great trouble and were no longer ill or suffering.

This Eastern traveller's account illustrates two contrasting styles that coexisted in Andalus. The one, represented by the slave girl from Baghdad, was imported from the East, perhaps in large measure influenced by Ziryab (arrived in Andalus in 822 AD, died 852 AD) and the singing school he founded in Andalus. This style prevailed in refined circles, rather than among the populace. The other style, so distressing to Al-Yamani, was probably autochthonous and popular. Furthermore, Al-Yamani's description of "voices blended in singing" suggests that this latter style involved local forms of choral singing, in marked contrast to the strictly solo singing of the slave girl from faraway Baghdad. As discussed above, choral performance is one of the essential features of the *muwashshaha* and *zajal*. Likewise, Al-Yamani's mention of stringed instruments that sounded at the same time as the singing, implies that the instruments' primary function was to provide accompaniment for the singing rather than to produce extended instrumental interludes.

In the modern Maghribi *nawba*, the situation is similar. Al-Faruqi's description of the modern *muwashshaha* stresses the choral nature of its
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performance, which renders it "less influenced by melismatic ornamentation than the solo genres". Chottin provides a similar view, although he mentions the improvisational ornamentation that can be introduced by a soloist (*munshid*):

The *nawba* is essentially a choir in unison with the orchestra. Each vocal phrase (bit) is reprised in its entirety within the same movement by the instruments. This sort of return-reprise is called *juab* (response). It is in effect a response, faithful and complete, in the sense of the counterpointists. ... Later is sought within the choir a "munshid", that is to say, a singer of *inshad* (or: *bitain*), who is the

most accomplished of the amateurs (mulu' = class.: mualla'), this last is permitted at times free variants within the register, or attempts for vocalization or or by capricious instrumental sounds to vary the motif in tempo and thus achieve a sort of rudimentary fugue style which is not lacking in piquancy.

Instruments play a similar supportive role in the Moroccan *nawba*, echoing the vocal line in a "response", except when a transition between songs or sections is required. Ra'is has transcribed only the vocal melodies, but he indicates the manner of instrumental accompaniment:

The written repetitions apply to the singing alone. Should we wish to sing the song and then play it on a musical instrument, here is the explanation of [how] that [is to be done]:

Two-line Songs:

The first line is sung. Then its instrumental repetition (*jawab*) takes place. The second line is sung without a repetition in order to proceed to the song that follows.

Line 1 ---- ---- sung and repeated (instrumentally)
Line 2 ---- ---- sung without repetition.

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Five-line Songs:

Line 1 ---- ---- sung and repeated.
Line 2 ---- ---- sung and repeated.
Line 3 ---- ---- sung only, to pass to the *tagtiya*.
4 (*Tagtiya*) ---- 1st hemstich is sung and repeated; 2nd hem. Is sung alone.
Line 5 ---- ---- sung without repetition, to pass to the next song.

Seven-line Songs:

Entrance 1.1 ---- 1st hem. Is sung and repeated; 2nd hem. Is sung alone.
Line 2 ---- ---- sung without repetition.
Line 3 ---- ---- sung and repeated.
Line 4 ---- ---- sung and repeated.

Line 5 ---- ---- sung alone, to pass to line 6.
Line 6 ---- ---- like line 1.
Line 7 ---- ---- like line 2.

The *accordatura* or tuning of the Maghribi 'ud (also known as the 'ud 'arabi or *quwaytara/kuwitra*) is unlike that found in the Eastern tradition: the North African 'ud is tuned, relatively, C1 D1 G2 A2, providing a melodic range of a single octave. These strings are known in the Maghrib by the names *dil*, *husayn*, *maya*, and *ramal*. This tuning is attested in the pre-sixteenth century anonymous Maghribi treatise *Ma'rifat al-Nagamat al-taman* mentioned above. Furthermore, the 'ud *qadim* of the early Arabs was tuned in the same manner. It was rivaled during the early Umayyad period by the 'ud *farsi*, introduced from Persia probably by Ibn Surayj (circa 634-726 AD) or Ibn Misjah (died circa 715). This latter instrument, tuned in successive 4^{ths}, is described by most of the Abbasid theorists, sometimes with a fifth string completing the double octave, although the addition might have been a theoretical, rather than a real, improvement. Nevertheless, according to Farmer, the 'ud *qadim* "still continued to be favored" during the Abbasid period and was in use until the fifteenth century. Probably from Andalus, it found its way to the Maghrib, where it survives to the present. Al-Tifashi, in his writings on music, remarks that ancient Arabic poems cannot be sung to modern Persian melodies, and that modern Arabic or Persian poems cannot be set to ancient Arabic melodies. Unlike the Persian-influenced Eastern styles, however, the music of Andalus was in the old Arab style;

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As for the styles people adopt in singing during this age of ours, they differ: as far as the people of Andalus are concerned, their style of singing is the ancient style, and the poems which they sing are the selfsame poems of the Arabs in the *Kitab al-Agani l-kabir* by Al-Isfahani.

If the Andalusians preserved the style and the songs of the early Arabs, no doubt they preserved the ancient lute as well.

In another passage Al-Tifashi transmits a description of an Andalusian lute with five strings. The authority of this description is attributed to no less a character than Ibn Bajja (died 1139), whom Al-Tifashi elsewhere credits with having

"Combined the songs of the Christians with

those of the East, thereby inventing a style found only in Andalus, toward which the temperament of its people inclined, so that they rejected all others."

IBN BAJJA'S LUTE

Ibn Durayda said: "There was dictated to me. Concerning the tuning of the lute, what was transmitted on the authority of Ibn Bajja about the four tetrachords [*tabaqa*], namely that they took the *tabaqa* in tuning the second strings [*matnas*]; then they tuned the highest string [the *zir*] to the [tone of the] little finger [*hinsir*] of the *matna*, and they tuned the third string [*matlat*] to the [tone of the] index finger [*sabbaba*] of the *zir*, this being the sequence among them, and the first placing. There then occurs the variation among the tunings according to the variation of the lowest string [*bamm*], for when the *bamm* is tuned to the *sabbaba* of the *matna*, they called the tuning *mazmun*, and when they tuned it to the *zir*, they called it *mazmun 'ala z-zir*, and when they tuned it to the ring-finger [*binsir*] of the [*matlat*, they called it *khusrawani*, and when they tuned it to the open tone [*mutlaq*] of the *matna*, they called it *mutlaq*, and when they tuned it to the intermediate tone [*mujannab*, 'neighbor'] of the *matna*, they called it *mujannab*."

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The *accordatura* described by Al-Tifashi on the authority of Ibn Bajja is the same as that of the '*ud farsi*' used in the East, with two exceptions. Since the fifth string is tuned to the *zir*, the lute has only four open tones, the *zir* being double-strung. In the *mazmun* mode, these four strings are tuned, in the Persian manner, in successive 4^{ths}, however, the tuning of the *bamm* may vary according to the mode. The names of these five modes partly coincide with those found in other old Arab systems: *mazmun*, *mutlaq*, and *mujannab* are the names of three out of six modes known as the *asabi'* (later *mawajib*), whose systematization is attributed to Ibn Misjah (died circa 715). This system is described by the theorists Safi al-Din (died 1293) and 'Abd al-Qadir ibn Gaybi (died 1435); by the fifteenth century this classification was regarded as ancient (*qadim*). *Mazmun*, in addition, is the name of one of the principal modes (*asls*) still used in the Maghrib, whose fundamental tone is that of the open *ramal* string. Al-Tifashi's passage

seems to be telling us that Ibn Bajja's borrowings from the songs of the East included, in part, the tuning of the lute (probably through Ziriyab) and his system of modes.

CONCLUSIONS

In his pioneering study of modern Andalusian music, which relied on lyrics from Morocco and Tunisia, Jozef M. Pacholczyk noted that this tradition was one of *rondeaux*. Our study included far more texts, a few of them cerifiable medieval Andalusian lyrics, from a different and more extensive *nawba* than Pacholczyk's. It fully confirms his conclusions. Pacholczyk added that the arresting similarity between the *rondeau* patterns of modern Andalusian music and those of medieval Romance lyrics, allowed only two possibilities: either the Arabs had borrowed the *rondeau* melodic structure from medieval Romance, or the reverse had occurred. At that stage in his investigations, Pacholczyk wisely rested his case. The exclusively *musical* evidence with which he worked was insufficient to reveal the direction in which the strikingly obvious influence had gone. Relying, as we have done, on numerous other medieval Arabic and European texts, many of them literary and therefore not commonly known to musicologists, we may now affirm that the direction of the influence was *from* medieval Romance *to* Arabic music. This finding has at least one important consequence: the fact that Al-Tifashi and other medieval Arabs were in no doubt that Romance music in Andalus had significantly altered their own

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song tradition early in its development shows that the theory according to which trobador lyrics had their origin in a model provided by Hispano-Arabic poetry needs revision. Put differently, the "Arab" music and poetry of Andalus - said contemporary Arab witnesses - had already been influenced by Hispano-Romance music and poetry. Entirely aside from the fact that enthusiasm for the "Arabic theory" is often inversely proportional to a theoretician's knowledge of the Arabic language and culture, we see that matters are far more complex than some enthusiasts of the "Arabic theory" suspect.

AHMAD AL-TIFASHI ON ANDALUSIAN MUSIC

The following pages contain a translation of chapters 10 and 11 of Al-Tifashi's *Muta'at al-Asma' fi 'ilm al sama'* (Pleasure to the Ears, on the Art of Music, from Volume 41 of his vast encyclopedia entitled *Fasl al-Hitab fi madarik al-hawass al-hams li-'uli l-albab* (Unerring Method for the Intelligent to Perceive with their Five Senses)). Most of the encyclopedia has

been lost, but a manuscript of Volume 41 is preserved in the private library of Muhammad al-Tahir ibn Ashur, in Tunis. Attention was first drawn to one of its paragraphs by E. Garcia Gomez, in "La lirica hispanoarabe y la aparicion de la lirica romanica" in (the periodical) *Al-Andalus*, 21 (1956), pp. 303-338, at p. 310, and "Una extraordinaria pagina de Tifashi y una hypothesis sobre el inventor del zejel," *Etudes d'orientalisme dediees a la memoire de Levi-Provençal* (Paris: Maisonneuve, 1962), Volume 2, pp. 517-523. Volume 41 has never been published in its entirety. An edition of the Arabic text, corresponding to chapters 10 and 11, was prepared by Muhammad ibn Tawit al-Tanji, in an article entitled "Al-Tara'iq wa-l-Alhan al-musiqiyya fi Ifriqiya wa-l-Andalus" *Al-Abhath: Quarterly Journal of the American University of Beirut*, 21: 1, 2, 3 (December, 1968), pp. 93-116. A fragment of the text has recently been discussed in James T. Monroe, "A Sounding Brass and Tinkling Cymbal: Al-Halil in Andalus (Two Notes on the *Mushshaha*)," *La Coronica*, 15:2 (Spring, 1987), pp. 252-258, a pp. 254-257.

The present English translation of Al-Tanji's Arabic edition omits the numerous incipits and fragments of poetry quoted by Al-Tifashi, although it identifies their authorship when known, pinpointing their location within the text. We decided not to render the poetic fragments into English because of the difficulties involved in translating unvowleled lines of Arabic verse that are isolated from their context.

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Since Al-Tifashi's incipits are all lines from classical, monorhymed compositions, rather than from strophic *zajals* or *mushshahas*, and lack any notation for the melodies to which they were originally sung, they add nothing to our understanding of the problems with which this study is concerned. Hence we do not consider the excessive labor that would be necessary to produce unreliable translations to be useful to our purpose.

Pleasure to the Ears, on the Art of Music

Chapter 10

On people's Styles in Singing, According to their Diverse Categories

As for the styles people adopt in singing during this age of ours, they differ: as far as the people of Andalus are concerned, their style of singing is the ancient style, and the poems which they sing are the selfsame ancient poems of the Arabs mentioned in the *Kitab al-Agani l-kabir* by Al-Isfahani, such as:

[four *incipits* follow]

And others of the same kind.

As for the people of Ifriqiya, their method in singing combines the method of the people of the Maghrib and the people of the East, for it is faster than the style of the people of Andalus and has more notes than the style of the people of the East. Furthermore, the poems which they sing are those of the poets from Islamic times.

We will mention some of the styles in which [classical] poems are sung in the Maghrib, Andalus, and Ifriqiya, in order that you may receive information about the subject. Among the [classical] poems set to music which they currently sing in the whole of this region are:

[fifty-six *incipits* follow]

This is the totality of the [classical] poems set to music that are sung in the Maghrib, Andalus, and Ifriqiya in this age, at the gatherings of kings and chieftains, when they are drinking wine and the like. Among these, some are ancient, pre-Islamic, Arab poems, some are by Islamic poets who flourished at the dawn of Islam, some are by those poets who lived at the beginning of the Umayyad and Abbasid dynasties, or
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shortly thereafter. Similarly, some of their melodies are ancient, [pre-Islamic] ones, and some are Islamic.

The last to compose melodies in the Maghrib was Abu Bakr ibn al-Sa'ig, the philosopher, known as Ibn Bajja (known in the West as *Avempace*) "and no modern poem was set to music among them save by Ibn Bajja, who both composed poems and set them to music, despite which, his songs are neglected among them, so little do they sing them, whereas modern poems are sung among them only when their melody coincides with the melody of an ancient poem that is set to music. Even then, they hardly ever sing them, save rarely, and then only upon request, singing such poems, or similar ancient poems set to music, only to ancient melodies."

As for their styles in singing, the style of the Andalusians is slower and has more notes, as we have mentioned. There appeared before us, in Ifriqiya, a male Andalusian singer who sang part of the poem by Abu Tammam abovementioned, beginning:

[*incipit*]

I counted seventy-four *hazzat* [*vibrati?*] on his part [in singing] this line. I also witnessed a singing slave girl at the reception of a Maghribi notable, who

sang this poem:

[*incipit*]

And two hours passed while she sang this line alone.

Today, this form of singing is especially prevalent, among Andalusian cities, in Seville, where there are expert old women who teach singing to slave girls they own, as well as to salaried half-Arab female servants of theirs. The [slave girls] are sold from Seville to all the kings of the Maghrib and Ifriqiya, and each of those slave girls is sold for one thousand Maghribi *dinars*; either more or less, according to her singing, not [for the beauty of] her face. She is never sold without an accompanying register containing all [of the songs] she has memorized, most of which consist, essentially, of those poems we have mentioned. Among them are rapid poems suitable for a beginning, and slow poems which experts in the art of music sing only at the end, such as *Tashakka l-kumaytu* and *An-nahlu wa-l-qasru*, for such songs and their like are sung only by outstanding experts. For this reason, those [slave girls] are, among [Andalusians], sold with a warranty, the absence of which necessarily lowers the price of the sale. Among them, a singing girl is required to have an elegant handwriting, and to display

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what she has mentioned to one who can certify to her mastery of the Arabic language. Her buyer reads what is in the register and shows her whatever part of it he wishes, whereupon she will sing it to the instrument specified in her sale. Sometimes she is an expert in all instruments, and in all kinds of dance and shadow play, and comes with her instrument, along with [an entourage of] slave girls to beat the drum and play the reed (flute) for her. She is then called a "consummate" artist, and sells for many thousands of Maghribi *dinars* "for ten thousand *dinars* or close to that figure".

Chapter 11

On the principal Modes of Andalusian Singing, Every Item Being Ascribed to its Composer, and on its Instruments.

[Mode of] Al-Khusrawani

In the style of *nashid*, which is what is known among the people of Andalus as *istihal* plus *amal*, and which they begin with slow notes, little by little, after which they abandon these for rapid notes, interposed between the two parts, and stimulate a joyful emotion:

[4 lines of verse follow: text and melody by Abu Bakr

ibn Bajja]

[3 lines of verse follow: text by Abu 'Ali ibn Rashiq al-Qayrawani; melody by Ibn Bajja, improved by Ibn al-Hashib]

[4 lines of verse follow: text by Hassan ibn Tabit; melody by Ibn Bajja, with additions and improvements by Ibn al-Hasib]

[4 lines of verse follow: text by Ibn Hudayl al-Qurtubi; melody by Ibn Bajja, with improvements by Kalb al-Nar (Firedog), the singer]

[2 lines of verse follow: same as previous, with part of the melody embellished by Yusuf ibn Harun al-Ramadi]

[4 lines of verse follow: text by Abu l-Tayyib al-Mutanabbi, also exists]

(1399)

In the style of *sawt*, which is all *'amal* with no *istihal*:

[3 lines of verse follow: text and melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[4 lines of verse follow: text by the vizier Ibn al-Zayyat; melody by Ibn al-Hammara or by Ibn Bajja]

[3 lines of verse follow: text by Mihyar al-Daylami; melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[4 lines of verse follow: text by Tawbat al-Hafaji; melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[6 line of verse follow: text by the jurist 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Baghdadi; melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[3 lines of verse follow: text by Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali; melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[Mode of] Al-Mutlaq

In the style of *nashid*:

[2 lines of verse follow: text by 'Umar ibn Abi Rabi'a; melody by Ibn Bajja]

[2 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified; melody by Ibn al-Hammara]

[4 lines of verse follow: text by Al-Busti; melody by Ibn Bajja]

[3 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified; melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[1 line of verse follows: text by Ibn al-Zaqqaq al-Balansi; melody by Ibn al-Hasib]

[4 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn Judi]
[3 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hammara]
[3 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn Bajja]
[3 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn Bajja]
[2 lines of verse follow: text and melody by Ibn Bajja]
[2 lines of verse follow: text and melody by Ibn
Hammara]

(1400)

In the style of *sawt*:

[2 lines of verse follow; author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hasib]
[1 line of verse follows: text by Al-Mutanabbi; melody
by Ibn al-Hasib]
[4 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hammara. There also exists an *istihlal* to it
by Ibn al-Hasib]
[3 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hasib]
[3 lines of verse follow: text by Ibn 'Ammar; melody by
Ibn al-Hasib]

[Mode of] Al-Mazmun:

In the style of *nashid*:

[3 lines of verse follow: text by [Abu] Qutayfa; Eastern
melody, sung by Ziryab, to the *istihlal* and '*amal* of which Ibn
Bajja added notes]
[3 lines of verse follow: text by Nusayb; melody by Ibn
Bajja, improved by Ibn Judi]
[2 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn Bajja, improved by Ibn al-Hasib]
[2 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hammara]
[4 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hasib]
[4 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;

melody by Ibn Judi]
[2 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hasib]
[4 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn Bajja]

In the style of *sawt*:

[3 lines of verse follow: text by Du l-Rumma; melody by
Ibn Bajja]
[1 line of verse follows: texts by Ibn al-Zaqqaq; melody
by Ibn al-Hasib]
[1 line of verse follows: text by Ibn Jah; melody by Ibn
al-Hasib]
[3 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hammara]
[4 lines of verse follow: text by Al-Sharif al-Radi;
melody by Ibn al-Hasib]
[3 lines of verse follow: text and melody by Ibn Judi]

(1401)

[Mode of] Al-Mujannab]:

In the style of *nashid*:

[4 lines of verse follow: author of text unidentified;
melody by Ibn al-Hammara, with improvements by Ibn al-Hasib].

In the style of *sawt*:

[3 lines of verse follow: text by Abu Nuwas; melody by
Ibn Hammara]
[3 lines of verse follow: text attributed to Al-Mu'izz;
composer of melody unidentified].

The above are the Andalusian songs that have reached me, each melody of which is ascribed to its composer, from among the previously mentioned Andalusian eminences in this art.

Among the singers of Andalus, both men and women, there are those who can sing five hundred songs, one after the other, or close to it. Songs among them are either *nashids*, *sawts*, *muwashshahas*, or *zajals*.

Ahmad al-Tifashi said: "The secretary and litterateur Abu l-Hasan 'Ali, son of the teacher, expert, and historian, Abu 'Imran Musa ibn Sa'id, informed me that the teacher Ibn Duwayrayda, who was an expert on this subject, informed him, on the authority of Ibn al-Hasib, that the latter told him [that] the songs of the people of Andalus were, in ancient times, either in the style of the Christians, or in the style of the Arab camel drivers, although they had no rules to

rely upon until the establishment of the Umayyad dynasty. In the time of Al-Hakim al-Rabadi, some persons who were skilled in singing medinese melodies came to [the Emir] from the East and from Ifriqiya, and the [Andalusian] elite learned from them, until the foremost expert in this art, 'Ali ibn Nafi', nicknamed Ziriyab, the student of Ishaq al-Mawsili, arrived at the court of (Emir) 'Abd ar-Rahman II. He introduced previously unheard of [innovations], and his style was systematically adopted, while all other were forgotten, until Ibn Bajja, the most illustrious expert, appeared and secluded himself for several years with skilled singing girls, whereupon he improved the *istihlal* and *'amal* and combined the songs of the Christians with those of the East, thereby inventing a style found only in Andalus, toward which the temperament of its people inclined, so that they rejected all others. After him came Ibn Judi, Ibn al-Hammara, and others, who added further improvements to [Ibn Bajja's] melodies, while also inventing as many moving melodies [of their own]

(1402)

as they could. The seal of this art was Abu l-Husayn ibn al-Hasib al-Mursi, who achieved in it, both in theory and in practice, what no one had achieved before him, and who composed a large book on music, in many volumes, so that the melody of every poem by a contemporary poet, heard [today] in Andalus and the Maghrib, was composed by him. The same Ibn Duwayrayda said:

"There was dictated to me, concerning the tuning of the lute, what was transmitted on the authority of Ibn Bajja about the four tetrachords, namely that they took the tetrachord in tuning the second strings; then they tuned the highest string to the [tone of the] index finger of the highest string, and tuned the fifth string to the highest string, this being the sequence among them, and the first placing. Then there occurs the variation among the tunings according to the variation of the lowest string, for when the lowest string is tuned to the index finger of the second string, they call this tuning *mazmum*, and when they tuned it to the highest string, they called it *mazmum 'ala' z-zir*, and when they tuned it to the ring-finger of the third string, they called it *khusrawani*, and when they tuned it to the open tone of the second string, they called it *mutlaq*, and when they tuned it to the intermediate tone of the second string, they called it *mujannab*."

Abu l-Hasan al-Waqqashi, one of the eminences in this art during our age, said:

"Slave girls and masters of the instrumental art have made marvelous and moving additions, *ad libitum*, to the charming poems which are sung at this time, consisting of notes that delight their hearer, for the need to arouse emotion has induced them to [add] what none of the ancients, removed from them in time, ever mentioned. Thus Al-A'ma ibn Hlwh, who flourished in Seville, became famous for making additions to every poem, so [charming in nature], that they almost moved inanimate objects [to ecstasy]. These additions were not mentioned by Ibn Bajja, Ibn al-Hammara, Ibn Judi, Ibn [...] or others from an earlier (1403)

period. The same is true for others such as the eminent experts in the instrumental art, namely the moderns living in Andalus during our times, both men and women.

As for the musical instruments [used] among [Andalusians], the most beautifully moving of them are the *'ud* (lute), the *nay*-reed (oboe), the *duff* (tambourine), and the *shiz* (castanets). They emply the *ruta* (crowd, roet), which is like the *jank* (chunk) in the East, save that its shape differs. They sing a great deal to the *rabab* (rebec), which is, among them, of two kinds, having two different shapes: the Andalusain and the Eastern. The noblest instrument among them, and the one producing the greatest pleasure in dancing and singing is the *buq* (horn), in which the people of Andalus specialize, and which has a large shape, for reed-playing, like the *buq*. Into its head a horn is inserted, after which a reed is inserted in the horn, next a small tube is inserted in the reed, and attachments continue to be thus added until it ends in a wheat-straw which is the final element of the ensemble, through which one blows. And in which the entire art resides. It emits, in playing, rare and magnificent melodies producing the greatest rapture and astonishment. This, among them, is the highest form of celebration [of which they are capable] with an instrument for song and dance, at a drinking party." (81)

Provençal trobadors came to Galicia on pilgrimage to the tomb

of St. James in Santiago de Compostela (see appendix II). In Galicia the Provençals inspired the Gallego-Portuguese trobadores, thus allowing Gallego-Portuguese to become a genuine literary language. Though perhaps never achieving the artistry and sophistication of their Provençal models (to this day some Gallegos accuse the Provençals of "artificiality" and "insincerity"), the works of the Gallego-Portuguese trobadores have an appeal and a merit all their own, redolent of wild, rugged

(1404)

coasts, misty landscapes, dark forests, heather, bagpipes and hard cider, often infused with that untranslatable concept which in Gallego-Portuguese is called *saudade*, something known in other places as "Celtic melancholy" or "Gaelic gloom". Also, the works of the Gallego-Portuguese trobadores are not a mere imitation of the those of the Provençals in yet another respect; many of them echo a popular tradition, indigenous to Galicia, notably those known as *cantigas de amigo*, which at least in content have no parallels with the works of the Provençal trobadores.

In the medieval Kingdom of Castile and Leon, epic verse was written only in Castilian (ancestor of modern Spanish), while lyric verse was written only in Gallego-Portuguese. Of course, Castilian would eventually develop its own lyric verse, but Gallego-Portuguese never developed an epic tradition, or at least nothing of it has survived, except perhaps in popular legends and folklore. King Alfonso X *el Sabio* (the Wise) of Castile and Leon (13th century) was very much a Castilian. However, when he wrote his series of songs in honor of the Virgin Mary, he wrote them not

in his native Castilian, but rather in Gallego-Portuguese, as they were by definition lyric rather than epic verse. This collection of songs by Alfonso X "the Wise" is known as *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, which in Castilian would be *Canciones de Santa Maria*.

Says the Hungarian Scholar Zoltan Falvy:

"Alfonso X, the Wise, is considered one of the major kings of Spanish history. He led several campaigns against the Moors, he commissioned a history of the country and an attempt was made at his court to compile a universal history as well; he had the Bible
(1405)

translated, he was well versed in chemistry and philosophy, and he founded at Salamanca a university with a famous school of music (the whose organist he paid 50 *maravedis* a year). In addition to all that, Alfonso was a poet who wrote in several gallego-Portuguese dialects. No traces remain of his abilities as a composer, but his musical discrimination is all the clearer from the Cantiga Manuscript (i.e., of the *Cantigas de Santa Maria*), one of the largest and most famous collections of songs in medieval social history, containing in all more than 400 pieces. That manuscript is the richest storehouse of European secular (i.e., non-liturgical; the subject matter of the *cantigas* is mainly religious).

He was crowned as King Alfonso X of Castile and Leon in 1252, at the age of 31. The power of the Muslim Arabs on the peninsula had almost been eliminated; the last Alomohads (al-Muwahidun) had been driven out of Spain in 1225 and forced to settle in North Africa (from whence they had come). The small states they had founded in southern Spain [*nota bene*: in Andalus, the Almohads had been very much considered to be, generally hated, North African invaders, and there were resistance movements against them, notably that in the Valencia region led by the redoubtable Ibn Mardanish, known as "the Wolf King"], (such as Cordoba, Valencia [the kingdom of Ibn Mardanish, "the Wolf King", implacable enemy of the Almohads], Seville and Cadiz surrendered one by one to Spanish [i.e., Castilian or Aragonese; the Hispano-Muslims were also Spanish] rule. Moorish power prevailed only in Granada and its surroundings, where it had been established in 1231 by Muhammad al-Ahmar I, who maintained his independence only by recognizing the kings of Castile as overlords, which also entailed a permanent cultural and political relationship. The construction of the Alhambra in Granada was also started in the 13th century, and although Cordoba, the seat of

the Caliphate, fell to the Spaniards [Castilians] in 1236, Arab [i.e., Hispano-Muslim] mystics, writers and singers continued to be active. Indeed, Alfonso the Wise himself seemed to consider that the sole way to achieve cultural development was to collect all who pursued the arts at his own court. The great Cantiga Manuscript and several other phenomena witness that he surrounded himself with scholars, writers and musicians from various social strata, men who had played similar important roles in the Caliphate of Cordoba, and similarly, Alfonso's court included, besides the troubadours, a number of Moorish, Jewish and Arab writers and musicians whose arts enriched the culture of the Iberian Peninsula and

(1406)

was transmitted by it to Europe. In the arts are included works of theory, forms of literature and poetry, types of instruments, occasions for music making, and interpretational techniques, in short all the phenomena that could be called a common "musical vernacular" of Mediterranean culture [whatever that is supposed to mean]. At the court of Alfonso the Wise, every kind of music and poetry was free to exist, although Alfonso subordinated their manifestations to his own ideology, and content and form so complemented each other that many issues of the social history of the 13th century found their place there. For musical history his greatest achievement is the Cantiga Manuscript mentioned before. Its more than 400 songs and 40 instrumental miniatures were compiled under the king's supervision, and he even took part personally in constructing the texts and melodies of the songs, as can be concluded from the tone of the prologue, which, freely translated, declares: "For someone to sing well considerable expertise is needed; even if I do not possess this to the extent desirable, I hope I can express at least part of what I wish; my sole desire is that [the Virgin] Mary should accept me as her troubadour." Here the Arab reverence of women and the Marian ideal of the Christian Middle Ages are combined with the fashionable secular musical practice of the period: only a troubadour in medieval society could speak in that manner. Interwoven in the contents of the songs lie the difficult social problems and everyday cares of medieval man: pagan symbols of idolatry, concerns of welfare, impoverished knights, the desire for food and plenty of hungry masses on pilgrimages. Most of the songs have a pilgrimage setting. [Santiago de] Compostela was a famous medieval place of pilgrimage which attracted thousands of people from France and other parts of Europe. In the 12th century European polyphonic music developed there, as it did in Paris and at St. Martial (Limoges). Along the pilgrim routes towns

grew up and trade boomed.

Let us examine the content of some of the songs: Cantiga No. 1118 tells of a woman of Zaragoza who has had several stillborn children. After her third child has been born dead she offers a wax doll to [the Virgin] Mary, but the fourth child also dies after birth. The woman pleads with Mary to restore her fourth child to life. The miniature that introduces this series of ten *cantigas* (110-119) depicts two musicians, each with a rebec in his hands. Cantiga 79 deals with what is presumably also a social concern: it tells of young courtesan "of easy virtue", Musa by name. She dreams that Mary calls on her to lead a serious life

(1407)

and abandon her bad habits. As a reward she will be placed among the heavenly women in 30 days. Musa changes for the better, but after 30 days she dies. Song 58 belongs to the same theme. A nun is tempted to become the lover of a knight. They have already arranged the time for her escape and the meeting place when the nun dreams of a deep abyss into which 'evil' souls like hers will be thrown. She awakes and asks the knight who is waiting to go without her.

Several songs feature the rich man who has lost his fortune. In Song 216 he offers his own wife to the devil in order to regain his riches. Several ailments occur in the songs (a whole range of Arabic medical books were translated or written in the territories of the European Caliphate): paralysis occurs in Song 166, and a lame woman in 179. Interestingly, both these illnesses are cured in the town and monastery of Salas (near Oviedo). A large place in the subject-matter of the songs is taken by pilgrimages, but it is never the destination that is important, only the events that take place on the way: of nine portions of meat, one is stolen while it is being cooked (song 159); a pilgrim steals his companion's money (Song 302). Money, or rather money lending, is also the subject of Song 25, during the course of which we learn how the Jew who has lent the money becomes a Christian.

These are all questions that concern society, that shape the society of medieval Spain, and poetry and music as important a role here as the troubadour songs in Provençal culture. The music of the *cantigas* can hardly be understood without a knowledge of the social background, of which examples have been given. To expand the matter further, the realm of the *cantigas* is indispensable to an understanding of troubadour music. The two great 'corpora' of medieval secular music complement each other, and by doing so throw light on major topical questions concerning medieval society. The question of an Arab origin for the music of the *cantigas* has often been raised (as it has in connection with

troubadour music). Without giving an account of the set schools, contrasting views and their debates with one another, it is worth pointing out the potential solutions that lie in further study (beyond the partial results already obtained) of the more than 400 melodies contained in the manuscript and the depictions of more than 80 different instruments in the initials.

In this examination we apply the methods of musical iconology, which has gained ground in recent years and consists of a comparative study of illumination [i.e., illustration], musical paleography

(1408)

and the sporadic hints as to interpretation. We also discuss in broad outline the relationships between the *cantigas* and troubadour music, primarily from the point of view of musical construction and melodic formation.

The texts of the *cantigas*, which were written in the Gallego-Portuguese language [as we said before, in the time of Alfonso X the Wise, Castilian was considered unsuitable for lyric verse, while Gallego-Portuguese was considered unsuitable for epic poetry, so the very Castilian Alfonso X "the Wise" wrote his lyric verse in Gallego-Portuguese], consist in general of 4-line stanzas, with a couplet as refrain repeated before and after each stanza. According to their musical structure they can be ranged into 3 types: *virelai*, *rondeau* and *kanzone* (*cancon*). The *cantigas* have strong links with the [liturgical] Latin *conducti*. Each musical type characteristically appears in some kind of refrained form, similar to the character of the text. ...

...Altogether a mere 10 *cantigas* were written without refrain (here only musical refrains are considered). We attribute very great significance to the refrained form in the manuscripts we have examined, not because it was a discovery that began to conquer European music in precisely those decades and centuries, but because it was the common idea that connected, through the poetic and musical types, the new European types with Mediterranean culture [once again, whatever that is supposed to mean]. In this respect, too, the Cantiga Manuscript maintains a relationship with the corresponding types of troubadour music, and even certain principles of melodic construction are similar: for example, the *psalmodic* character can be registered in several *cantigas* (Numbers 6, 43, 60, 62, 68, 83, 121, 125, 213, 231, 232, 234, 236, 255, 320, 322, 328, 335, 344, 347, 351, 354, 371, 385, 391): besides the traditional Mediterranean, Near Eastern type of psalmody there appears a *recitative* manner of performance without any part being played by the *psalmodic initium* (Numbers 1, 26, 33, 40, 63, 81, 91, 119, 120, 149, 157, 162, 166, 313); nor are *descending* melody openings rare (Numbers 20, 24, 27, 87, 88, 96, 103, 113, 114, 115, 117, 122,

133, 137, 142, 155, 156, 171, 182, 202, 204, 233, 263, 272, 334, 338, 349, 350, 352, 387) and, indeed, as the figures bear out, they form a major structural element in the *cantigas*. Beyond the above criteria, many of the manuscript's melodies are syllabic, almost a third of the songs being written without ligature or ornament signs [*nota bene* that this still means that more than two-thirds of the *cantigas* have melismatic melodies;
(1409)

see below when we deal with liturgical chant].

In analyzing the links between the troubadours and Alfonso the Wise [the reader will note that I always use the purely Provençal spelling *trobador*; in using the spelling *troubadour* I am merely respecting the integrity of Zoltan Falvy's text] and Alfonso the Wise in the first section of this chapter, we have referred to a song of Cadenet's. But the musical idiom of the *cantigas* is linked by many other threads to the music of the Provençal troubadours. The melodies of Peire Vidal, whom we shall introduce in detail, include several motifs which were also used by *cantiga* music, a fact we mention not because there was any direct relationship, adoption or mutual influencing, but because we assume the existence of a motivic treasury generally available and made use of in both places. The motifs of Vidal's 1st song (*Anc no mori per amor*) are encountered in Cantigas 224 and 307, the dance-inspired motifs of the 2nd song (*Baro, de mon don covet*) could be found in Cantigas 1, 8, 159, 341, and 360, parts of the 3rd song (*Bem pac d'ivern*) are contained in Cantiga 133, motifs of the 4th (*Ges pel temps*) in Cantiga 333, the tune of the 6th (*Nulhs hom no pot d'amor*) in Cantiga 382, that of the 11th (*S'eu fos en cort*) in cantigas 39 and 48, and finally that of the 12th (*Tart mi veiran*) in Cantiga 41.

The series of miniatures form one of the most valuable parts of the Cantiga Manuscript; they have a bearing beyond the scope of musical history as a source material for social history as well. The depiction of more than 80 instruments in the 40 miniatures is the earliest presentation of the inventory of instruments in European musical history, even though some depictions in statues and codex miniatures about 100 to 150 years earlier are also known. The instruments of the *cantigas* have preserved a period before *trecento* [14th century Italian] art, but whereas in fine arts (e.g., in Giotto) instruments scarcely serve as more than decoration, in the Cantiga manuscript they have a functional significance; they are shown along with their performers and that combination of instrument and performer is what throws a 'photographic' light on the court circle of Alfonso the Wise and fills out the picture formed so far of its social historical background. Moreover, one can form a picture not only of the court, but of the whole

of contemporary society, since peasant musicians are frequently to be found alongside their court counterparts; these are placed in a rural, non-courtly environment. G. Chase writes in his book on Spanish music: "Another miniature shows how the *Cantigas* were performed by the people, for whom
(1410)

they were written." And later, "One curious circumstance is that no one is visible singing in this picture. Have we to do, then, with a purely instrumental performance?"

When we have analysed the instruments and instrumental groups we shall return to this question of Chase's. A closer discussion of the instruments is called for because works that deal with them have always limited their coverage to the particular instruments with which they were concerned. W. Bachmann's excellent treatise on the history of the violin is an example. He gave a minute description of the stringed instruments in the manuscript, but dealt with no other instruments shown.

So a coherent discussion of the instrument depictions in the manuscript is overdue, as is a comprehensive analysis of the functions of those instruments.

The manuscript is carefully constructed, which one can see from the appearance of an instrument depiction before every tenth *cantiga*. With the exception of six pictures, which each contain a single figure and instrument, every picture shows two musicians who sometimes play the same and sometimes different instruments. The first miniature, before the prologue, is an initial that stretches over the whole width of the text, showing the interior of a building with five arches, the king being seated in the middle arch. To the right and left of the king are two groups of scribes (perhaps troubadours), who are writing down what the king dictates. The instrumental musicians are to be found in the two outside arches: to the left are two fiddle-players, one with and the other without a bow, while to the right there are two persons playing guitars (of the *guitarra latina* type), one with a plectrum in his hand.

There are several criteria for grouping the miniatures (e.e., those showing a single instrument, as against those with two instruments or performers). We have chosen to group them according to the types of instruments. The instrumental miniatures of the manuscript can be divided into two large groups:

the *first half* of the codex (up to and including *Cantiga* 210) i.e., mainly shows stringed instruments (bowed and plucked), while the *second half* (from *Cantiga* 220)

shows mainly *wind* instruments (with one exception they are woodwind instruments).

Among the stringed instruments one can find the
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ancient European and Near Eastern as well as the Arab types of the violin (*vielle*, rebec), varieties of guitar and lute (*guitarra latina*, *guitarra morisca*, the common lute, the long-necked lute, pandora), and various forms of the psaltery (*shantur*) family (trapezoid psaltery, square psaltery, *canun*). Non-stringed instruments in the first group include the hurdy-gurdy, also called the *organistrum* (Illumination 15), of which two are shown as elongated, oblong boxes (whereas in other sculptural depictions, for example, it has the form of a flat-lying number '8' and two musicians play the one instrument) [in a sculpture in the Cathedral of Santiago de Compostela is shown a very large *organistrum* which is played by 4 men; this instrument was reconstructed based on this sculpture, and sweetness of its music was unforgettable], two instruments next to each other in one picture. Other pictures of non-stringed instruments show a *carillon* consisting of three small bells sounded by a single musician with a hammer (Illumination 16), a small pair of double *cymbals* (Illumination 17) and a *portative organ* (Illumination 18).

The large group of wind instruments also presents a most colorful picture in the second half of the second half of the manuscript. Besides the transverse flute (Illumination 21) all the major types can be found from the small flageolet (shepherd's pipe) through the double flute to the *launedda* consisting of three pipes (this is the last among the stringed instruments in Illumination 14). There are also depictions of the crumhorn and several bagpipes [after all, the *cantigas* are written in Gallego-Portuguese, and bagpipes are the Gallego musical instrument *par excellence*] (three, of different types, in Illuminations 23, 25 and 31). Among the wind instruments are a pipe and tabor [still used as shown in the illumination as a folk instrument in Castile] and a flute with castanets. There appears only one brass instrument, a straight trumpet (illumination 28).

On two occasions a stringed instrument appears among the winds: a *canun* (in Illumination 34) and a harp (in Illumination 35); in the final illumination (36) there appears another *carillon*, which is noteworthy for its seven bells, on whose clappers are written the names of the notes they sound - [ab] cdefg - the first two note names being covered by the hand of the musician. We shall refrain from a mechanical listing of the whole range of instruments, which can be found in earlier publications, above all in Julian Ribera's strongly Arab-oriented, but fundamental book.

Some observations can be made from the
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instrumental depictions, and some social historical lessons drawn from them.

Illustrated histories of instruments and other iconographical publications have not always considered the miniatures of the *cantigas* (apart from six) always contain two musicians. Often they are playing different instruments, and perhaps for this reason it has been thought justifiable to treat just the instrument the work is concerned with, i.e., to describe only *half* an illumination. So the opportunity is lost of presenting the illumination and the instruments it depicts in the function intended by the illuminator, that is, *in the course of performance*. In almost every case it is possible to observe the performance or the interpretation, since a large majority of the musicians are *looking at each other and watching each other* as they play.

The background in the illuminations and the apparel of the musicians are also worth analyzing, since they provide considerable help in pursuing the points of social history raised by the miniatures and complementing the musical information they give.

In many cases the illuminations have a coffered background evoking Arab [or Persian] carpet patterns or architectural interiors; others have architectural formations of a different type, while yet others show simple rural landscapes. In each case there is a frame that corresponds with the subject, the instrument, the apparel, and the musician. For example, the first instrumental picture, at Cantiga 10, has two standing musicians watching each other, against a coffered background: one holds a (4-stringed) fiddle placed on his shoulder and plays with a bow, while the other has a Moorish guitar in his hand, which he plucks with a plectrum. Their clothes show no peculiarities; they might perhaps be simple court musicians, but even with this first illumination it can be seen that the musicians are not put there randomly (Illumination 2). By their active interpretation, they are participants in the performance of the *cantiga* above which they were depicted (and maybe of the other nine *cantigas* before the next illumination).

The musicians playing together provide opportunities to make several interesting observations of detail. Along with the many Moorish and Christian court musicians, a significant part in medieval society of the Iberian Peninsula was played by Jewish musicians, as typical depictions in both the first and second half of the manuscript bear out: at Cantiga 70 (Illumination 6) and Cantiga 380 (illumination 35). The composition of these miniatures is striking in that

they are not framed by a Moorish-Arab coffered environment, but by a different background, in part plain and in part connected with the structure of the picture. Illumination 35 is particularly remarkable. It shows the interior of a building with a vaulted ceiling; where the ribs of the vaulting meet a lamp is suspended, similarly to illustrations in some Haggadah manuscripts. Above the vaulting that frames the illumination there is the only townscape to appear in the codex. The clothes of the musicians are also typical: both pictures show characteristic high caps and hats of types which could be identified in the illuminations of several Hebrew manuscripts. The instruments the musicians play are unequivocally Biblical instruments, used in medieval miniatures as the attributes of David. The illumination at Cantiga 70 shows two trapezoid *psalteries*, the most frequent of the many psaltery forms. The Jewish musicians are holding the instrument on their knees with their left hands, while with their right hands they play the instrument (with the help of a plectrum). The trapezoid psaltery only appears with Jewish musicians. Moorish and European court musicians in other miniatures are shown playing other forms of the instrument (square, arched, etc.). The medieval *harp* is another instrument shown throughout the manuscript only in the hands of Jewish musicians; the illumination before Cantiga 380 has two Jewish harpists, whose hand positions show they are actually playing. The instrument is recognizably portrayed with the sound box and string-tension pegs clearly visible.

Rustic figures and peasant musicians never feature against an 'oriental' coffered background. They are surrounded either by a blank field or some kind of landscape. At cantiga 60 (Illumination 14), in the first half of the manuscript, they are shown blowing a 3-piped *launedas* (a folk instrument still employed in Corsica today); in the second half, at Cantiga 340 (Illumination 30), they each play a short *flageolet*, while at Cantiga 370 (Illumination 33), there is a pipe and *tabor* held in a playing posture particularly common among medieval European entertainers: pipe in the left hand and *tabor* played with the right [the same as in Castile to this day].

At Cantiga 130 a western [most likely an Hispano-Muslim or **Andalusi**] Moor and an eastern Arab (who can be distinguished by their dress) together play long-necked guitars, which the Arab plucks with a plectrum. They too appear to watch each other while playing. At Cantiga 140 (Illumination 10) the illumination shows a Moorish and a Christian court musician playing the

tambur [derived from the Persian *tanbur*] together, each using a plectrum to pluck the strings. At Cantiga 300 (Illumination 26) a Moor is blowing a conical flageolet (*bug zamri*) while a female figure next to him holds a *darbuka* on her shoulder and beats time.

The last mentioned three instrumental combinations were typically of Arab origin in Europe; only the *tambur* (also called the *Pandora*) [*nota bene*: in Galicia a typical folk instrument is the *pandeira*, a frame drum, usually played by striking it with the hands, though at times drumsticks are used; in Gaelic this same instrument is called *bodhran*; presumably the Gallego *pandeira*, in spite of its name, is of Celtic origin, as it does not even remotely resemble the *tambur* or *Pandora*] perhaps pointed to a more distant source - Persia [in Persian: *tanbur*]. This instrument, and variants of it, was not introduced into Europe through the Iberian Peninsula, since it occurs in a Caucasian sculpture relic from the 10th century, and records of it survive from the 12th century in Hungary, where it was called the *koboz*. The instrument's pear-shaped resonator can be compared with surviving instrumental depictions in the Byzantine sphere, and Hungarian scholars suppose it may have reached Europe directly from the east in the age of the great migrations. The role Byzantium played in passing Arab [and Persian] instruments on to Europe, particularly to the Balkans, has not been fully clarified, but the *rebec*, for example, reached Europe through the Balkans as well as through Spain. Indeed, among the Balkan peoples it was taken over by folk music and remains as a folk instrument to this day. In the Cantiga Manuscript the *rebec* makes several appearances: at Cantiga 170 (Illumination 12) it is shown in company with an Arab lute that has an enlarged resonator, while at Cantiga 100 it features alone in a short-necked form held *vertically* on the knee (as elsewhere in the manuscript) and bowed horizontally [in India the fiddle is always played in this manner, as is also true of the Persian *kamanjah* or spike fiddle]. In the Middle Ages this was the *eastern playing technique* as opposed to the *European*, in which the instrument was held on the *shoulder*. The European performing style scarcely appears in the manuscript: single musicians are shown using it at Cantiga 10 (Illumination 2) and in the large introductory initial depicting the environment of Alfonso the Wise.

Other clues besides the bowed instruments help establish the extent of Near Eastern-Arab [and Persian] influence versus European influence. Looking at the range of instruments depicted, the two carillons (at
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Cantigas 180 [Illumination 16] and 400 [Illumination 36] are instruments which were almost unknown to Near

Eastern musical performers. The second offers a particularly striking example, since its seven bells may correspond to the diatonic stock of notes, and as has been mentioned, the note names appear on the clappers of the bells. The bagpipes with several drones, shown at Cantiga 350 (illumination 31), can also be considered European. Bagpipes feature in other illuminations (at Cantigas 260 [Illumination 23] and 280 [Illumination 25] but these only show blowing pipes [Gallego-Portuguese: *punteiro*] and the instruments could have been used anywhere along the Mediterranean coast, for the multiple drones were the European development. Another European phenomenon appears at Cantiga 200 (Illumination 18): a primitive portative organ in which the player is working the bellows with his left hand and playing with the right, or rather his right hand is resting on the manual. Very little is known about the course of the organ's development between Antiquity and the Middle Ages, and one is tempted to assume that this is one of the very earliest medieval European depictions of a portative organ.

So a very high proportion of the almost 80 instruments that appear in the 40 miniatures are from Near Eastern-Arabic [and Persian] musical practice, regardless of the social stratum to which the performer belongs. It is beyond the scope of this study to examine either the spread of instruments from The Iberian Peninsula through Europe or the development of Europe's inventory of instruments, but it is certain that the (mainly oriental) instruments listed here accompany a collection of European secular monody that cannot be interpreted without taking the instrumental depictions into account. The question posed by Gilbert Chase as to whether the *cantigas* were perhaps for purely instrumental performance, we can answer the following:

1.) The instrumental depictions in the codex indicate a manner of performance in which the instrument actively joins in the vocal performance and no separate musical material is provided for the instrument. That is the case with folk performance in North Africa today, where the instrument and the voice perform the same melody, together or alternately, using the same ornamentation.

2.) A high proportion of the instruments found in medieval depictions have survived to

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this day, some in European and some in North African and Near Eastern instrumental folk music. Here musical iconography can play a

most significant role, since the evaluation of old miniatures allows comparison with today's folk instruments. In an extended sense, musical iconology, with the help of ethnomusicology, can reconstruct the practice of medieval art music and create the framework for authentic interpretation."(82)

Obviously, Zoltan Falvy has no knowledge of the Persian language. The word "lute" obviously derives from the Arabic *la'oud*. The above is particularly evident in Spanish, in which the word for "lute" is *laud* (pronounced: "**LAH'OOD**"). However, the word "guitar" or *guitarra* is just as evidently of Persian origin, as the Persian word for "string" is *tar*. Elsewhere in this chapter we shall note that it is perfectly evident that the European guitar or *guitarra* is derived from the Persian instrument known as *setar*. Obviously, the guitar was brought from Persia to Andalus in the Muslim period. Pilgrims to Santiago de Compostela took the guitar to all parts of western Europe, and the close connections between Catalunya on the one hand and Provence and north Italy (there are a few places on the island of Sardinia where Catalan is still spoken) also aided in the dissemination of the Persian guitar to most of Europe. The above processes are so easy and natural that there us no reason to seek any other routes of dissemination, no reason to *buscar cinco patas al gato* (look for five feet on the cat) as the Spanish say.

Note that al-Tifashi and Ibn Bajja affirm that initially, when the Muslims of Spain practiced only the ancient Arab music,

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there occurred no fusion between it and the music indigenous to Spain, because the two were mutually impermeable. Only when the

music of the Muslims of Spain became Persianized did a fusion between it and the music indigenous to Spain become possible. The reason for the above is simple: Persian music and Celtic music have so many affinities that they are mutually permeable. Thus, the music of the Muslims of Spain and that of the indigenous inhabitants finally fused. Alain Danielou has noted that Celtic modes are found to this day in the so-called "Andalusi" music of North Africa; said Celtic modes must have been brought to North Africa by Hispano-Muslims and Moriscos. This mingled Celtic and Persian music is very influential to this day, not only in the "Andalusi" music of North Africa, but also in the traditional music of various regions of Spain, and also in the traditional or "folkloric" music of southeastern USA and New Mexico. Thus, the *choque y fusion*, of which Emilio Garcia Gomez speaks, between the music of the Muslims of Spain and that of the indigenous population only occurred when the music of the Muslims of Spain became thoroughly Persianized. Obviously, the presence of the music of the indigenous inhabitants of Spain must have had an at least unconscious influence on the acceptance of the Persianized music from the East; here was a type of music which was readily accepted by all the populace, whatever the religion or ethnic origin.

The same is true in relation to verse forms, as we have said in the previous chapter. The music and verse forms of the Hispano-

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Muslims and those of the Provençal trobadors resemble one another rather closely, but neither bears even the remotest resemblance

either to Classical Roman or Latin verse or to Classical Arabic poetry. However, both Hispano-Arabic music and verse forms and the music and verse forms of the Provençal trobadors resemble both early Celtic verse forms and musical modes, and also certain Persian musical modes and verse forms. Thus, the theory of an Arabic origin for the art of the trobadors is irrelevant, because, whether either influenced the other or not, both spring from a common origin, an essentially Celtic origin, though a certain Persian influence cannot be ruled out. To put it another way, the verse forms of the trobadors do not derive from Classical Arabic poetry, which they do not even remotely resemble. Those Hispano-Arabic verse forms sometimes put forward as having influenced the art of the trobadors are not those of Classical Arabic verse, which they do not even remotely resemble, and thus do not derive from them; rather, they derive from Celtic verse forms native to Spain, with perhaps a certain Persian influence, albeit for chronological reasons there are certain difficulties here, though difficulties are never disproof. Thus, if the Arabic theory concerning the origin of the trobador art cannot be shown to be totally false, it is, in reality, irrelevant since those Hispano-Arabic verse forms which are presented as having influenced the trobadors do not derive from Classical Arabic verse, but rather spring from essentially the same origin as the art of the trobadors. We have dealt with this in much greater detail in the

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previous chapter, to which I refer the reader. I also wish to beg the pardon of the reader, because when one uses the same material

in different contexts, a certain amount of repetition is inevitable, otherwise one runs the risk of obscurity and loss of continuity and even coherence.

I feel it necessary to make the following confession: I loathe and detest the ancient Romans. In the film "The Robe", the Greek slave Demetrius screams at the Roman tribune Marcellus:

'Romans: thieves, murderers, jungle animals! May God's curse be on you and your Empire!'

I have never attempted to hide my agreement with the Greek slave Demetrius.

Certain specialists in Romance languages blindly adore the ancient Romans, and when hearing some of my theories they would reply that it is pure fantasy that anything Celtic could have survived the centuries of Romanization, accusing me of suffering from "Ukrainian alcoholic psychosis from indulging in too much horlika and slivovitz". Such absolute faith in the omnipotent destructive power of ancient Rome!

Unfortunately these blind adorers of ancient Rome were just that: blind. They were guilty of *a priori* judgements of the sort which are normally considered to be a cardinal sin in scholarly circles. They were in no position to judge whether or not there are Celtic survivals in Spain because their ignorance of Celtic studies was total, and so they were in no position to judge the above question. Their ignorance of Celtic studies was truly

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amazing: they confused the Celts with the Vikings, which is like confusing badgers with hedgehogs, and used expressions such as "Celto-Germanic", which is like saying "canino-equine". In other

words, they were totally unable to recognize Celtic survivals when they saw them, yet they dogmatically insisted that the idea of Celtic survivals in Spain is pure fantasy. There are none so blind as those who refuse to see. They were unable to recognize Celtic survivals when they saw them, yet, how could they explain the survival of the Basque language (known in Spain as *Euzkera* in the Basque language, and *Vascuence* in Castilian Spanish), which is not only pre-Roman but pre-Celtic and pre-Indo-European (both Celtic and Latin are Indo-European languages, and there is some evidence of pre-Celtic Indo-European languages in Spain). According to the worshippers of ancient Rome, the Basque language could not possibly exist. But it does.

The fact is that Celtic survivals in a multitude of fields are literally everywhere in Spain, as anyone with any knowledge of Celtic studies is well aware; to make even a fairly comprehensive catalogue of them would require years of research and several thick tomes. Perhaps I am mistaken on some points: I have never claimed to be omniscient or infallible; however, to use as an argument against me that "it is pure fantasy that anything in Spain could have survived the centuries of Romanization" is no argument at all; rather, it is a confession of gross ignorance and wilfull blindness on the part of he who uses it. Anyone who attempts to use said argument is disqualifying himself, because he

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is confessing his own total lack of any right to judge said topic. To attempt to pontificate on a subject concerning which one is totally ignorant is the hallmark of a fool.

It is a fact that on the soil of Spain occurred a re-encounter between Celts and Iranians. This was, of course, true to some extent of other countries in western Europe with a Celtic background, as we have seen. However, in Spain this was of far greater importance, firstly because of the Visigoths. As we noted in Chapter 2, the Goths were both the most Celticized and the most Iranized of the Germanic peoples that invaded the Roman Empire. The Ostrogothic period in Italy was relatively brief, lasting only about a century or slightly more. However, in Spain the Visigothic period lasted for nearly three centuries, and the Visigoths left a far deeper impress on Spain than the Ostrogoths did on Italy. Nevertheless, it was the Muslim period which caused the Celtic-Iranian re-encounter to be far more extensive than elsewhere in western Europe. Some of the Persian or Iranian influences in medieval Spain entered during the pre-Islamic period, as we have noted; however, though it is difficult to be certain on this point, it is probable that most of them entered during the Muslim period. At first the above might appear to be surprising; at least the early Umayyads were strong Iranophobic or anti-Persian. Partly this was no doubt due to Arab-Persian, or, to put it another way, Semite-Aryan or Semite-Indo-European rivalry, but mainly it was because the Umayyads considered Persians to be partisans of the Alids or the Abassids. This is no doubt the

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motive for the fact noted by al-Tifashi that in Andalus the Muslims continued to use the ancient Arab musical style at a time when the newer, Persianized style had replaced in the rest of the

Islamic world. Note, however, that when the Persianized style of music finally reached Andalus, it was accepted with more enthusiasm than, probably, anywhere else. Ibn Bajja, of course, gave the motive; the ancient Arab style of music and the indigenous music of Andalus, which, as we have said, was essentially Celtic by origin, were mutually impermeable. As we note in this chapter, Celtic music and Persian music have so many affinities that they are readily mutually permeable, and Alain Danielou has noted that Celtic modes are found in the so-called "Andalusian" music of North Africa, to whence they were no doubt taken by Hispano-Muslims and by Moriscos from Spain. In other chapters we have shown that the something similar is true in other fields besides music.

Liturgical chants, whether Syrian, Byzantine, Mozarabic, Gregorian or Slavonic, all use untempered, heptatonic modes, as do both Celtic and Persian music. Now, all music traditions based on untempered, heptatonic modes are mutually permeable to one another in some degree, examples abound.

The American university song "Ivy Rose" has exactly the same tune as the Russian folk song *Poscholj* (Have Mercy on Me). Typical of parts of Southern USA is an exotically beautiful song titled "Salangadou". Today "Salangadou" has lyrics in French or a

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mixture of French and English, but the tune is manifestly NOT of French origin. Since said tune is based on an heptatonic mode, an Amerindian or African origin is precluded. Experts believe that the tune of "Salangadou" is Hispano-Muslim, brought to what is now

Southeastern USA by Moriscos among the first Spanish colonists in that region. I lack the resources to further comment on this.

Celtic music and that based on liturgical modes are mutually permeable, as we have seen in relation to Gallego and Asturian bagpipes.

Ergo, in pre-Islamic Spain there existed music based on the modes used in Byzantine and Mozarabic chant, there existed music with a Celtic base, and, as we have seen, there existed combinations of the two. Beginning with Ziryab, if not before, many Persian cultural elements came to Islamic Spain, very much including Persian music. Being based on untempered heptatonic modes, Persian music and that based on Byzantine and Mozarabic liturgical chants are mutually permeable, as we have seen.

Persian music and Celtic music have so many elements in common that the two are not only mutually permeable, but may easily combine in such a way that it is impossible to determine where one ends and the other begins. In summary, Persian music was mutually permeable with music based on Byzantine and Mozarabic chants, more permeable with music in which liturgical and Celtic elements were mixed, and even much more mutually permeable with Celtic music. As we have seen, in Muslim Spain Persian music combined with both music based on liturgical modes and with Celtic

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music, making Hispano-Muslim music unique and richly varied. Thus, Hispano-Muslim music continues to have considerable vitality in North Africa, and much of it survives in the traditional and folkloric music of most of Spain, notably Aragon, Valencia,

Murcia, Andalusia and Extremadura.

As we have seen, Alain Danielou has noted that Celtic modes were used in Hispano-Muslim music, while Owen Wright has also been noted that Gregorian modes were also used in Hispano-Muslim music. (83) This brings us to some very interesting topics.

Both Celtic and Gregorian modes (and also Byzantine and Mozarabic modes) were - and are - used in the traditional music of all the regions of the Iberian Peninsula. There can be not the slightest doubt that al-Tifashi was right, that elements from pre-Islamic Spain did indeed enter into Hispano-Muslim music. Christian liturgical chant - whether Gregorian, Syrian, Byzantine, Mozarabic or Slavonic - has one element in common with the musical system common to Celtic and Persian music: the use of heptatonic or seven-tone modes. Hence, Celtic, Persian and Hispano-Muslim music could easily adopt modes derived from Christian liturgical chant. Since Gregorian, Gallican and Mozarabic chants are all based on Byzantine chant (84), and indeed they use identical modes. The Gregorian Rite was not introduced in Spain until well into the 11th century, and then only in the Christian Kingdoms of the North, NOT among the Mozarabs still under Muslim rule. Thus, the liturgical chant used by the pre-Islamic Christian population of Spain and by the Mozarabs under Muslim rule could have been

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only the Mozarabic, or, perhaps in some places the Byzantine chant. Thus, the Hispano-Muslims could not have been familiar with Gregorian Chant.

It has been noted that while the language of the Gallican

Rite is Latin, its character is not Roman. The same is manifestly true of the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite. whose language is Latin - save several phrases in Byzantine Greek - but whose character is Celtic and Syro-Byzantine rather than Roman. Recordings of Mozarabic Chant are available, and anyone may prove the above for himself.

St. Leander, brother of St. Isidore of Seville, was ambassador to Byzantium, where he lived in the same house with the future Pope Gregory I the Great, then Papal Nuncio to Byzantium.(85) Also, a great part of southern and eastern Spain as well as the Balearic Islands were under Byzantine rule for more than a century. I recall reading on the back of an LP disk that the traditional and folkloric music of Murcia is mainly of Syro-Byzantine origin, so the Byzantine impress there must have been strong. Hence, at the time of the Muslim Conquest, the Byzantine Rite was almost certainly in use in parts of the Iberian Peninsula as well as the Balearic Islands. So, the strongly Syro-Byzantine character of the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite and the many Byzantine Greek phrases which it contains are no surprise.

It is easy enough to conceive the idea of the tonic in relation to the bagpipes and certain stringed instruments;

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however, some people may find it more difficult to conceive it in terms of vocal music, such as liturgical chant. For this reason, we find it advisable to repeat what Alain Danielou says concerning the definition of the tonic:

"All music is based upon relations between sounds. These relations can be worked out in different ways, and thus give rise to varying musical systems, each of which has possibilities of expression peculiar to itself.

The modal group of musical systems, to which practically all Indian music belongs, is based on the establishment of relations between a permanent sound fixed and invariable, the "tonic" or Sa, and successive sounds, the notes.

Modal music is not merely melody without accompaniment, neither has a song or melody, in itself, anything to do with mode.

Indian music, like all truly modal music, is built on the independent relationship of each note to the tonic. The relationship to the tonic determines the meaning of any given sound. **The tonic must therefore be constantly heard.** It can either be sounded as a drone or repeated at frequent intervals, as is done on stringed instruments. It should be remembered that the drone is not merely intended to keep the singers on pitch, so that they can always attack at the correct pitch, but it is the key to all modal expression. As long as the hearer has not entirely identified himself with the tonic, but still perceives drone and melody as separate entities, it will remain impossible for him to follow or understand the meaning of modal music."(86)

The drone pipe or pipes of the bagpipes is the most obvious example of the tonic which comes to the mind of most people, though many will recognize it in relation to certain stringed instruments. However, its existence in vocal music will seem not so obvious to most people in the modern Western world, indeed, the very idea may seem odd to many.

However, the tonic does indeed exist in vocal music,

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particularly in certain types of choral music and especially in liturgical chant. The equivalent of the drone pipe or pipes of the bagpipes in vocal music is the Byzantine *Ison*; no doubt there are other words for it in other languages, such as Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Rumanian, Church Slavonic and Latin (through what can

only be called the torpidity of Pope Gregory I "the Great" [recognized by Dante Alighieri in the Divina Commedia; yes, even very great men can at times be very torpid], the Byzantine *Ison* did not pass to Gregorian Chant, much to its detriment; however, as we shall see, there is strong evidence that the Byzantine *Ison* was indeed used in certain Latin-language liturgical chants, notably the Visigothic or Mozarabic), I do not know what the Byzantine *Ison* is called in any language save Greek. Pardon my ignorance in this respect.

We now continue with the topic of the "tonic", "drone" or *Ison*, fundamental to our thesis, which topic we have touched upon briefly. To introduce said topic, we turn once again to Alain Danielou:

"That which characterizes the system of relations to a tonic is the almost continuous sounding of that tonic. This common tonic is called *ISON* in Byzantine (liturgical) music, (*Sadja* in modern Hindustani or North Indian music). It seems that modern (non-Celtic) westerners are completely unable to perceive relations with a tonic. The remarks of Bourgault-Ducoudray comparing the Byzantine *Ison* to a spit passing through the melody, or of Amedee Gastoue (in La musique Byzantine): "It is not, as far as we know, from a need of harmony that the **Ison** was introduced(!!!) into the Byzantine chant, but it was from the necessity of keeping the singers in tune", imply that they have not the slightest idea of those relations which are,

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properly speaking, the harmony of the so-called *monodic* music and outside of which melody has not much effect or meaning. It would be just as ridiculous to speak of adding a fundamental to a chord, since a chord exists only by relation to its fundamental note.

The *Ison* or "equal" of Byzantine (liturgical) music was called *Chhandovati shruti* (the measuring sound) in ancient Hindu music. It is, properly speaking, the standard by which all intervals (of musical pitch) are measured. No interval, no note, no melody has a meaning unless the *Ison* (*Sa*) is present. It seems that modern

(non-Celtic) Occidentals are just as unable to "hear" those relations as Orientals are unable to perceive chords, but this is not a sufficient reason to consider either system of relations as unpleasant and useless. The *Ison* defines the meaning of each note, which can be expressed by a numerical ratio, exactly as does harmony. And melody without *Ison* is just as flavorless as is, for the modern (non-Celtic) westerner (this was **NOT** true in the Middle Ages), melody without harmony. When they disregard the importance of the *Ison*, learned and respectable (modern, non-Celtic) Occidentals only show that they understand nothing of the Eastern music they pretend to study and explain, that they perceive nothing of its marvelous power." (87)

Alain Danielou continues:

"The modal group of musical systems, to which practically all (Northern) Indian music belongs, is based on the establishment of relations between a permanent sound fixed and invariable, the "tonic" or *Sa*, and successive sounds, the notes,

Modal music is not merely melody without accompaniment, neither has a song or melody, in itself, anything to do with mode.

(Northern) Indian (or *Hindustani*) music, like all truly modal music, is built on the independent relationship of each note to the tonic. The relationship to the tonic determines the meaning of any given sound. The tonic must therefore be constantly heard. It can either be sounded as a drone (or *Ison*) or repeated at frequent intervals, as is done on stringed instruments. It should be remembered that the drone (or *Ison*) is not merely intended to keep the singers on pitch (in spite of Amedee Gastoue), so that they can always attack at the correct pitch, but it is the key to all modal expression. As long as the hearer has not entirely identified himself with the Tonic (or *Ison*), but still perceives drone and melody as separate

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entities, it will remain impossible for him to follow or understand the meaning of modal music.

At different periods it appears that different notes were taken as the starting point of the (Hindustani) scale. But *Shadja (Sa)*, C, the tonic of all modern (Hindustani) music, seems to have been considered as such since medieval times.

"*Shadja (Sa)*, C is the first of all notes and so it is the main or chief note." (Simhabhupala commentary on the *Sangita-ratnakara*, I, 4, 6-8).

"Dattila explains that the *Shadja (the tonic)* may be established at will on any *pitv* (on any *Shruti*) and

that, by relation with it, the other notes should be established at the proper intervals." (Simhabhupala commentary on the *Sangita-ratnakara*, I, 4, 15-16).(88)

In Byzantine manuscripts, not only is the number of the mode (*Echos*) given at the beginning of each hymn, but also there is a sign called *Martyria* or "Signature", which indicates on which note (Sanskrit: *Shruti*) the melody begins. Below we give a list of the notes on which a melody in a certain mode (*Echos*) may begin, the rest of the notes of the modes being transposed accordingly. The Sanskrit or Hindustani names of the notes are in italics:

Echos Alpha or First Authentic Mode: nearly all melodies in this mode begin with A (*Dha*)

Echos Beta or Second Authentic Mode may begin with any of the following notes or *Shruti*:

- 1.) G (*PA*)
- 2.) B-natural (*NI*)
- 3.) A (*DhA*)

Echos Gamma or Third Authentic Mode may begin on any of the following notes or *Shruti*:

- 1.) C (*SA*)
- 2.) A (*Dha*)
- 3.) F (*MA*)

Echos Delta or Fourth Authentic Mode: nearly all melodies in this mode begin on G (*PA*).

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Echos Plagal Alpha or First Plagal Mode may begin on any of the following notes or *Shruti*:

- 1.) D (*RI*)
- 2.) A (*DhA*)
- 3.) G (*PA*)

Echos Plagal Beta or Second Authentic Mode may begin on any of the following notes or *Shruti*:

- 1.) E (*GA*)
- 2.) F (*MA*)
- 3.) G (*PA*)
- 4.) A (*DhA*)
- 5.) D (*RI*)

Echos Plagal Gamma (Barys) or Third Plagal Mode may begin on any of the following notes or *Shruti*:

- 1.) F (MA)
- 2.) A (DhA)
- 3.) E (GA)

Echos Plagal Delta or Fourth Plagal Mode may begin on any of the following notes or *Shruti*:

- 1.) E (GA)
- 2.) G (PA)
- 3.) A (DhA)
- 4.) C (SA)
- 5.) D (RI) (89)

We will note in passing that the liturgical chant of the Russian Orthodox Church, though it uses the eight Byzantine modes (*Oktoechos*), never developed the use of *Martyriae* or "Signatures", for which there is no word in Church Slavonic, Russian or Ukrainian.(90) This means that before the introduction of modern staff notation the beginning notes of Russian liturgical melodies were passed on orally, from master to student. This is one of the problems of deciphering early Russian musical manuscripts, as well as the manuscripts of the Visigothic or Mozarabic Liturgical Chant used in early medieval Spain. One may bitterly lament that the Russian and Spanish students of the

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Byzantines did not adopt the use of *Martyriae* or "Signatures" from their Byzantine masters.

Alain Danielou continues:

However, a common tonic is necessary so the *raga-s* may be easily compared. In the notation of the *raga-s* which form the second part of this book, the tonic is noted in every case as C (SA), since C (SA) is usually considered the first note of the Western (Major) scale, just as SA (in present day Hindustani) music always the tonic) is the first note of the (Northern) Indian scale.

With C (SA) as the tonic, the white keys of any

keyboard instrument, such as the piano or organ, give approximately the Major Mode or unaltered (*Shuddha*) scale, the scale (or mode) of *Bilaval* in modern (Northern or Hindustani) Indian music. The different modes (*Thata*) can be visualized as modifications of this basic *Shudda* scale.

The fact that the tonic (or *Ison*) used by most singers is lower - often B flat - is not important. Once the real nature of each mode has been properly understood (and practice shows that this is easier if the tonic is always noted as C) the modes can be transposed so as to commence on any note that may be suitable for different voices or instruments."(91)

In the above, Alain Danielou is dealing primarily with Northern Indian or *Hindustani* music, though with references to the *Ison* of Byzantine Liturgical Chant. As he noted, other notes besides SA or C may be used as the tonic. The drone pipes of the Celtic bagpipes and the drone strings of the *bandura*, the Ukrainian national musical instrument, are perfect examples of the principle of the drone or tonic.

As we shall see, what Alain Danielou says concerning the *Shadja*, the tonic or drone in Northern Indian or *Hindustani* music is identical to the use of the tonic or drone in Persian and Celtic music. As we shall emphasize later, the Byzantine *Ison* is

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used to this day in the liturgical chant of the Greek Orthodox, Serbian Orthodox, Bulgarian Orthodox and Rumanian Orthodox Churches. Also, as we shall note, the Byzantine *Ison* was used in the liturgical chants of the Russian Orthodox Church prior to the so-called "reforms" of Patriarch Nikon in the 17th century, and continues to be used among the sect of the Old Believers, or, more accurately, "Old Ritualists", and the chants of certain Russian Orthodox monasteries in both Russia and Ukraine. Finally, we shall

demonstrate that the Byzantine *Ison* was used in the Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgical chant used in the early Middle Ages by the Catholic Church in Medieval Spain.

There have survived a great many ancient Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgical melodies with notation. However, in most cases the notation of said melodies cannot at present be deciphered; the pitch of the notes cannot be determined because the pedal point of the Tonic, the Byzantine *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* is not indicated. The pedal point of the Tonic, the Byzantine "*Ison*" or "*Isso Kratima*" is the *Chhandovati shruti* or "The Measuring Sound" of the ancient Hindu music texts, the *Shadja* of modern Hindustani music. Says Alain Danielou concerning the Tonic, the *Chhandovati shruti* or *Shadja*, the Byzantine *Ison*:

"The relationship to the Tonic (*Chhandovati shruti* or *Shadja*) determines the meaning of any given sound. The Tonic must therefore be constantly heard. It can either be sounded as a drone (*the principle of the Celtic bagpipes in their Gaelic, Breton, Gallego and Asturian versions*) or repeated at frequent intervals, as is done on stringed instruments (*true in Celtic and Persian as well as ancient Hindu and modern Hindustani*) (1433)

music). It should be remembered that the drone is not merely intended to keep singers on pitch, so that they can always attack at the correct pitch, but it is the key to all (*Ancient Hindu and modern Hindustani, Celtic, Persian and Byzantine*) modal expression. As long as the hearer has not entirely identified himself with the Tonic, but still perceives drone and melody as separate entities, it will remain impossible for him to follow or understand the meaning of (*Ancient Hindu and modern Hindustani, Celtic, Persian and Byzantine*) modal music." (92)

The pedal point of the Tonic, the *Chhandovati Shruti*, *Shadja*, *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* is a fundamental part of Persian music (93), where it is usually called *Mayeh*, though in other contexts the

word "*Mayeh*" may mean "mode".(94) No doubt this semantic confusion arose because the Tonic very often if not always indicates the mode. Another, and unambiguous Persian word for "mode" is *Maqam*, sometimes transcribed as *Magham*. "*Magam*" or "*Magham*" means only and exclusively "mode", unlike the ambiguous "*Mayeh*", which usually means "pedal point of the Tonic".(95) To avoid confusion, it would be best to use "*Mayeh*" to refer only to "Tonic" and "*Maqam*" or "*Magham*" to refer only to "mode".

Says Dariush Tala'i:

"*Mayeh*: tonality, tonal center, beginning and ending with the first tone (the Tonic). Tonal center of a *gusheh* (melody type), *avaz dastgah* (grouping of *gusheh* or melody types) makes the *Mayeh* the essence of a *dastgah*."(96)

Obviously, the "*Mayeh*" or Tonic very often, if not always, indicates the mode, hence the semantic confusion mentioned above.

As we shall see, there is an excellent possibility that Iranian, i.e., Zoroastrian and Mithraic liturgical chants, entered

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into the formation of Christian liturgical chants, very much including the Byzantine Chant.

In Byzantine music, the Tonic, *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* is the standard by which all intervals are measured. Says Spyridon Peristeris, First chanter of the Athens cathedral:

"The Byzantine Chant is entirely vocal, and whether chanted by one or more singers, always homophonic, its only harmonic consonance being the so-called *Ison* or dominant tone (*Isso Kratima*) with its various alternations."(97)

Thus, the *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* defines the meaning of each note.

Says Egon Wellesz:

"The beginning, middle, end and integration of all the signs of the (*Byzantine*) psaltic art is the *Ison*. Without it (*the Ison*) no singing can succeed. It is called *aphonon*, not because it is soundless, but because it is not counted as a note: it is sung, but not measured. All the time the tone remains on the same level the *Ison* is sung..." (98)

"The *Ison* (or *Isso Kratima*) occupies a special position. It is considered the most important sing (*arche, mese, telos kai sustema panton*) because, in Byzantine Greek music, the repetition of the tenor, the tone of recitation, plays an important part in the structure of the melodies. It is the king, because it is the beginning and the foundation (*ache kai kai themelion*) not merely of the notation, but of the melody itself. For the *Ison* (or *Isso Kratima*) is, in fact, the opening of the mouth in order to sing a melody, a *Sticheron* (Antiphon) or a *Hirmus* (strophe, stanza). It is therefore the beginning of all song, but it is also the end, because all songs close with the *Ison* (or *Isso Kratima*)."(99)

Says Johann von Gardner:

"In Byzantine practice, the *Ison* (or *Isso Kratima*) is the fundamental notes of a melody, often treated as a pedal point, which is sustained by a group of singers or even by the congregation, softly and without the
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words. Against this constant background the protopsaltes (chanter) or another accomplished singer sings a melodically developed melody. This sustained tone serves as a point of reference for the soloist, enabling him to maintain the proper intonation."(100)

Thus, the *Ison* serves both an aesthetic and a practical purpose.

Says R. Palikarova Verdeil:

"The Greek (*Orthodox*) Church does not accept the use of (*musical*) instruments in the divine service. Organs, though abundant in the Imperial Palace of Constantinople, were banned in the churches. The playing of musical instruments was considered to be profane, and it was thought that only the human voice

was capable of and worthy to chant the glory of the Lord. However, as it was difficult to sing the chants without an instrument to aid or support the voice, the Byzantines introduced the use of the *Ison*, or vocal drone, which took the place of the pedal of the organ. It (the *Ison*) consists in holding the tonic or dominant of the tonality through the whole course of the melody.

The *Ison* is sung by the choir, which in a drone or monotone sweetly accompanies the verse of which the soloist (*Protopsalte*) chants the melody; in the smaller churches a solo voice replaces the choir. When there are two choirs, one holds the *Ison* while the other chants the melody, sometimes changing roles (*the one holding the Ison changing to carry the melody, the one carrying the melody changing to hold the Ison; or, to put it another way, the two choirs take turns at holding the Ison and carrying the melody*).

The simple *Ison* holds only the tonic, the double *Ison* holds both the tonic and the dominant (*of the tonality*). In these modulations, the *Ison* passes from holding the tonic of the first tonality to holding the tonic of the second tonality, thus aiding the the soloist (*or second choir*) to sing correctly (*or, to put it another way, "to stay on key"*). The *Ison* at times performs certain movements within the compass of the tonality, especially when the voice of the soloist (*or second choir*) chants a repeated note.

In general (*though not invariably, as we have seen*) the *Ison* accompanies the the chants sung by a soloist, especially those sung by a priest."(101)

Of course, as we have said before, the principle of the drone

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(or *Ison*) is known in the music of many Indo-European peoples, including Indo-Aryans, Iranians, Celts and Armenians. As Alain Danielou has noted, the drone is a natural and logical (though not inevitable) part of or complement to heptatonic modal music. It is obvious that Pope Gregory I "the Great" made a serious error when he brought the Byzantine modes to Rome, but did not also bring the Byzantine *Ison*.

For reasons which will be given below, I believe that in Spain the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant, **unlike** Gregorian Chant,

employed the Byzantine *Ison*.

The *Ison* is used in the Rumanian, Serbian and Bulgarian Orthodox Chant as well as the Byzantine Chant.

In the 17th century the controversial Patriarch Nikon introduced a number of reforms in the Russian Orthodox Church, mainly some errors which were the result of faulty translations from the Byzantine Greek, while, very paradoxically, adopting many elements from Western Catholic polyphony into the music of the Russian Orthodox Church.

One thing is certain: in the Russian Orthodox Church (with important exceptions which we shall deal with below), since the time of Nikon has not used the *Ison* in its sacred music. There is a lively debate as to whether or not the *Ison* was used in the sacred music of the Russian Orthodox Church prior to the time of Nikon.

Those who say that the *Ison* was not used in the sacred music

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of the Russian Orthodox Church before the time of Nikon note that it is not marked in any pre-Nikon Russian Orthodox musical manuscripts. However, this proves nothing. As Johann von Gardner notes:

"In Greek liturgical musical manuscripts written in staffless neumatic notation, the *Ison* is never notated, but it is implied and is invariably used in performance. It is quite possible, in fact, that during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, and perhaps (*I would say almost certainly*) earlier, *znamenny* (pre-Nikon Russian Orthodox) chant was performed with the *Ison*, particularly in the case of hymns with complex melismatic passages that would have been difficult for an ensemble of singers to perform: the mass of the singers (or the congregation) sustained the *Ison*, as a more skilled singer (or several singers) sang the

extended, melismatically complex and mobile melody. To notate the *Ison* would have been superfluous, since it was constant and did not fluctuate (*in pitch*)."(102)

In other words, since each mode has its *Ison*, if one knows the mode (which is always indicated) one knows the *Ison*, and since the pitch of the *Ison* does not fluctuate in pitch, there was no motive for notating it.

There are two facts which would seem to prove conclusively that the *Ison* was used in the sacred music of the pre-Nikon Russian Orthodox Church. Precisely as a reaction against the changes made by Patriarch Nikon, there arose a rite ("sect" would not be an appropriate term in this case, as there were no theological differences, and the differences in practice were relatively slight) within the Russian Orthodox Church known as the *Old Believers*, or, much more accurately, *Old Ritualists*. The Old Believers or Old Ritualists attempted to preserve the practices of the pre-Nikon Russian Orthodox Church. To this day the Old

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Believers or Old Ritualists continue to use the *Ison* in their liturgical chant.(103) Among the changes made by Nikon to which the Old Believers or Old Ritualists objected was putting Russian Orthodox practices in line with Greek Orthodox practices. The Old Believers or Old Ritualists (events since 1917 have changed this) were very devoted to Holy Mother Russia and the concept of Moscow as the Third Rome (Constantinople being the second). The idea that the Old Believers or Old Ritualists would have adopted the *Ison* from Greeks, Rumanians or Bulgars is simply unthinkable. It may therefore be considered a fact that the *Ison* was used in the

sacred music of the pre-Nikon Russian Orthodox Church.

In spite of the changes mandated by Patriarch Nikon, many monasteries in Russia and Ukraine continued to use the ancient Russian *Znamenny* Chant or the Kievan Chant, i.e., *Kievskiy Rospev* or *Kievskoye Znamia*. The famed monastery of Valaam on an island in Lake Ladoga in the Russian North was one of those which continued to use the ancient Slavonic *Znamenny* Chant in spite of the changes mandated by Patriarch Nikon.

The Valaam Monastery was destroyed by the Communists. However, in 1989 on November 30, Day of St. Andrew, patron saint of Russia, four monks and two novices returned to Valaam Island to refound the famed monastery, which today has eighty monks and novices. The Valaam Monastery today uses the *Znamenny Chant* with the Byzantine *Ison*.(104) I am not absolutely certain that the *Ison* was used by the monks of Valaam before 1917. However, it seems most unlikely to me that the monks of the new monastery of

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Valaam, who strive so hard to maintain continuity with the pre-1917 Valaam Monastery, would deliberately depart from its usages in so important an aspect as liturgical chant. In other words, if the present monks and novices of the Valaam Monastery use the Byzantine *Ison* in their liturgical chant, it is virtually certain that the *Ison* was used in the pre-1917 Valaam Monastery.

Valaam Island is in Lake Ladoga in the Russian North, very far indeed from Greece or Constantinople, and, for that matter, from Rumania and Bulgaria.

For all the above reasons, the fact that the Byzantine *Ison*

is used in their liturgical chant by the monks of the present day Valaam Monastery is excellent proof that the Byzantine *Ison* was used in the liturgical chants of the pre-Nikon Russian Orthodox Church.

In a recording of *Kievskiy Rospev* or *Kievskoye Znamia* chants for the Christmas season from the famed Perchersk Mavra Monastery in Kiev, Ukraine, the Byzantine *Ison* is clearly audible.(105)

The above is important to our topic, because it bears on the question as to whether the Byzantine *Ison* was used in the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant. In all probability there will never be a firm answer to said question.

The objection that the Byzantine *Ison* is not notated in any of the surviving Visigothic or Mozarabic musical manuscripts proves absolutely nothing, for the same reasons given above by Johann von Gardner in relation to the question of the use of the Byzantine *Ison* in the sacred music of the pre-Nikon Russian

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Orthodox Church.

Personally, I firmly believe that the Byzantine *Ison* was used in Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgical chant, something which I believe should be accepted as a fact unless contradicted by firm evidence to the contrary, because:

- ❖ 1.) Since, as we shall see, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant follows its Byzantine model in everything except in the use of the Latin language rather than Greek (though the Visigothic or Mozarabic liturgy contains whole phrases in Byzantine Greek, as we have noted), it would seem highly probable that it also followed its Byzantine model in the so important an aspect as the use of the use of the *Ison*.

- ❖ 2.) Personally, I believe that Pope Gregory I "the Great" made a serious mistake when he adopted the eight Byzantine Modes but not the *Ison*, by which omission Gregorian Chant loses a great deal from the aesthetic point of view. As Alain Danielou says:

"Unfortunately, during their journey to Rome, these (Byzantine) modes had lost the essential element of their differentiation, namely the measuring element, the pedal of the tonic, the Byzantine *Ison*, essential element of all modal music, in relation to which each tone and the expression of each note is defined. These (Gregorian) melodies are thus devoid of a basis and have a character ill-defined and an absence of expressiveness rather peculiar." (106)

It would that Dante Alighieri was in agreement with Alain Danielou and myself, because in the Divina Commedia, Paradiso, Canto XXVIII he says:

"(Pope) Gregory (I the Great), later, differed with his conclusions But hardly had he wakened in this Heaven then he was moved to laugh at his own delusions."

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Says Dag Norberg:

"The oldest Christian religious service was not at all lacking in songs or poems. Well before St. Ambrose introduced in the West the poetic hymn that assumed the form of ancient versification, singers had been singing, in the East as well as in the West, hymns and songs, either borrowing from the Bible or composed after models offered by biblical poetry. In the Bible, it was mainly the Psalter that supplied the material for these songs. But singers also sang other gymns from Holy Scriptures, for example, the canticles of Moses (Exodus 15 and Deuteronomy 32), the canticle of tuhe three boys (Daniel III:52-90), and the *Magnificat*, *Benedictus*, and *Nunc dimittis* (Luke I-II). Following the models supplied by biblical poetry, poets also composed new poems, as we see by nymeros pieces of evidence in the patristic literature and by some hymns that have been preserved

for us. The best known among these, belonging to the first centuries of Christianity, is the *Te Deum*, which by the parallelism between its words and its ideas, gives us a representative image of this form of poetry:

*Te Deum laudamus
Te Dominum confitemur,
Te aeternum patrem omnis terra venerator.
Tibi omnes angeli,
Tibi caeli et universae potestates,
Tibi cherubim et seraphim incessabili voce proclamant:
Sanctus, sanctus, sanctus Dominus Deus Sabaoth.*

This poetry in prose had nothing in common with Greco-Latin versification. It is not possible to confine the structure of the verse within any particular form, nor is it possible, as regards its composition, to indicate the precise boundaries between this poetry and artistic prose.

But this poetry was written to be sung. The melodic character could be simple and syllabic, but after the period of Constantine it often became quite rich and embellished with *melismas*, that is to say, with melodic figures sung on a single vowel. The psalmody was originally responsorial: a soloist sang first and the community responded with a refrain. When the melodies were more and more embellished with melismas, the responses were often given by a professionally trained choir. A new way of singing the psalms and the canticles was introduced by the time of St. Ambrose, who had the texts sung by two alternating choirs: such a song is called *antiphonal*.

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In the preceding chapter, we examined several forms of responsorial poetry, for example, the hymn of Marius Victorinus:

Miserere Domine
Quia credidi in te,
Miserere Domine
Quia misericordia tua cognovi te. ...

To which one responded with the refrain: *Miserere Domine, miserere Christe*. We also saw in the preceding chapter how it was especially the refrains, because of their well-defined and simple rhythm, that gave birth to new forms of birth. Since these refrains had their origin in poetry in prose and in melody, they were entirely independent of ancient [Greek and Roman] metre.

Poetry in liturgical prose continued throughout the Middle Ages. As a typical example, I quote the antiphon *Salve regina misericordiae*, which was for a long time attributed to Hermannus Contractus (died 1054):

Salve, regina misericordiae,
Vita, dulcedo et spes nostra, salve!
Ad te damamus exsules filii Evae
Ad te suspiramus genentes et flentes
In hac lacrimarum valle.

Eia ergo, advocate nostra,
Illos tuos misericordes oculos ad nos converte
Et Iesum, benedictum fructum ventris tui,
Nobis post hoc exilium ostende,
O Clemens, o pia.
O dulcis Maria.

Related to this free-form poetry are a certain number of new poetic forms, often having quite complicated rhythms, which we are going to study in this chapter.

We begin with the sequence, which was linked to a precise moment of the Mass. From the most remote times on, two intercalary songs have been placed between the reading of the Epistle and the Gospel: the Gradual and the Alleluia (or, during times of penitence, the Tract). It is especially the Alleluia that was the object of a rich musical ornamentation (the Aramaic word *Alleluia* means "praised be the Lord"). The Alleluia was a responsorial song, and, already at the beginning of the Middle Ages, it was being presented in this way: a soloist first sang *Alleluia*; the choir repeated it but added a long final vocalization (the

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Jubilus): after that, the soloist sang a *Versus Alleluiaticus*, ordinarily borrowed from the Psalter (on Christmas Day, for example, this Alleluia verse is: *Dies sanctificatus illuxit nobis, venite, gentes, et adorete Dominum, quia hodie descendit lux magna super terram*); and the choir then responded again with *Alleluia + Jubilus*.

The melismatic song on the last syllable of *Alleluia* varied each Sunday and had a more or less rich form, as Cassiodorus tells us: *Hoc ecclesiis Dei votivum, hoc sanctis festivitibus decenter accomodum. Hinc ornatur lingua cantorum; istud aula Domini laeta respondet et tamquam insatiabile bonum tropis semper variantibus innovator* [This is a prayer offered for the churches of God, this is properly suited to sacred festivities. By it the language of the singers is embellished; the court of God answers it with joy; and, as if an insatiable good, it is renewed with ever-changing tropes]. The song itself is called a sequence, as Amalarius of Metz, among others, explains it to us at the beginning of the ninth century: *Haec iubilatio quam cantores sequentiam vacant illum statum ad mentem nostrum sucit, quando non erit necessaria locution*

verborum sed sola cogitatione mens menti monstrabit quod retinet in se [This rejoicing, which singers call a sequence, brings to our mind that state when the speaking of words will not be necessary but by thought alone the mind will show to the mind what it holds in itself].

Amalarius (the element *Amal-* indicates an Ostrogothic origin) does not indicate if it is possible to add words to the vocalizations which follow the *Alleluia*. We know, however, that about 851 this possibility was put into practice at the abbey of Jumieges. The abbey was plundered about that time by the Vikings, and one of their monks fled to St. Gall (Switzerland), carrying the Jumieges antiphony, in which were some of the poems composed on the melodies of the *Jubilus*. It is Notker Balbulus (died 912) who tells about this episode in the foreword of his book on sequences. He had had difficulty remembering some of the long melodies and was inspired by the antiphony of Jumieges to compose some liturgical poems on these melodies. Each syllable of the text had to correspond to a tone (or note) of the melody. This new poetic form was called *versus ad sequentiam*, *sequential cum prosa*, or more briefly, *prosa*, which was the most common term in France. The poem was also called *sequential*, a term taken from the domain of music and transferred to that of literature.

From succinct pieces of information provided by
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Notker we can draw out some characteristic features of the sequence. The melody was, according to Notker, the essential feature, the text being only secondary. Moreover, Notker's teacher, Iso, had taught him this: *Singulae motus cantilena singulas syllabas debent habere* [Every movement of the music ought to have a single syllable]. The melody, therefore, had to be sung syllabically. It follows from what I have just said that the oldest sequences are to be compared, with regard to their form, with the liturgical poems in prose of which we spoke a short while ago. ***There is not a trace of classical (i.e., Greco-Roman) versification in the oldest sequences nor of the rhythmic verse that came from it; all the attempts that one could make to establish a relationship to these two forms are irremediably doomed to failure.***

Scholars have speculated a great deal about the origin of sequences. P. Wagner searched for the primitive type in Byzantine liturgical poetry; see also Egon Wellesz, Eastern Elements in Western Chant, Studies in the Early History of Ecclesiastical Music, Copenhagen, 1967, p. 154; Handschin considered the influence of Irish (and therefore Celtic) music; according to Genrich, it is the melodies of *Alleluia*

verses that played a great role; other scholars, for example, Bartsche, think that the long melismas on the last syllable of the word *Alleluia* were sung by two alternating choirs and that this antiphonal chant explains the parallelism of the structure of the sequence." (107)

Some further explanation may be necessary. Dag Norberg defines melismas as "melodic figures sung on a single vowel", while in other places the term "syllabic" is used. This may cause confusion in some readers; however, there is really no problem. While it is possible to have a syllable which contains no consonants, it is quite impossible to have a pronounceable syllable which does not contain a vowel or diphthong. Also, consonants, unlike vowels, and diphthongs, cannot be lengthened. Thus, the use of the terms "a single vowel" and "syllabic" should cause no confusion.

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In syllabic composition, each syllable, or, to be more exact, the vowel or diphthong of each syllable, is represented by only one note, though the duration of said note may vary (quarter notes, half notes, full notes, etc.), its pitch is constant. In melismatic composition, on the other hand, each syllable, or, to be more precise, the vowel or diphthong of each syllable, may be represented by more than one note, and the pitches of these notes as well as their duration varies; thus, one may have a whole melodic line used to represent a single syllable or its vowel or diphthong. It is perfectly possible to have purely syllabic composition, or very nearly so. It may be theoretically possible to have purely melismatic composition, but in practice this is not really viable, for obvious reasons.

Note that Norberg emphasizes the word *Alleluia*, and for good reasons; said word is found in all early Christian liturgical compositions, whether in Latin, Greek or Syriac, and later in Armenian, Church Slavonic and Rumanian (I am not absolutely certain concerning Coptic and Georgian in this respect). In the famed "Alleluia Chorus" of the oratorio "The Messiah" by George F. Haendel one encounters a number of melismatic figures, mainly on the word "Alleluia". Since recordings of the "Alleluia Chorus" or the oratorio "The Messiah" which contains it are readily available, I recommend to the reader that he listen to it if he wishes to hear an example of melismatic composition.

Now, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant, like the Byzantine, Rumanian, Bulgarian and pre-Nikon Russian chants, has a strongly

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dramatic, exuberant character and a flow of melody which is rich rather than smooth and makes use of long, complex *melismas*, and also in its predominant use of the interval of a fourth rather than a fifth.(108) However, in these very aspects in which it concords with Byzantine, Rumanian, Bulgarian and pre-Nikon Russian Liturgical Chant, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant **is radically different from** Gregorian Chant. Gregorian Chant has a disciplined (or "Roman") character, a smooth flow of melody and absence of long melismas. Rather, as we have said, Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant has a dramatic and exuberant(Oriental and Celtic), totally **non-Roman** or **un-Roman** character, a flow of melody which is rich rather than smooth, and an abundance of long, complex melismas.

The absence of the Byzantine Ison was a severe loss for Gregorian Chant from a purely aesthetic point of view, as Alain Danielou noted. However, for reasons given by Johann von Gardner, the absence of the Byzantine Ison would, from a purely practical viewpoint, have been a much greater loss for the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant than it was for Gregorian Chant. Or, to put it another way, from even a purely practical viewpoint, the Byzantine Ison was far more necessary, far more indispensable to the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant, with its rich flow of melody and long, complex melismas than it was to the Gregorian Chant, as the Gregorian Chant has a smooth flow of melody and does not use long, complex melismas.

St. Leander and St. Isidore of Seville were among the most learned men of their day, and far more immersed in and imbued with Byzantine culture than was Pope Gregory I the Great. It is simply unthinkable that St. Leander and St. Isidore of Seville would have made such a grave mistake as to adopt the eight Byzantine Modes without also adopting the Byzantine Ison.

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- ❖ 3.) The principle of the Byzantine Ison is something which has deep roots in Spain (though not in Rome). The guitar is often considered to be the archetypical Spanish musical instrument, yet it is a relatively recent introduction. Far more ancient in Spain are the bagpipes, which, as we said before, go back to pre-Roman times. Now, the drone pipe or pipes of the bagpipes represent the principle of the Byzantine Ison applied to instrumental music, or, to put it another way, the Byzantine Ison represents the principle of the bagpipes applied to vocal music. Thus, the principle of the Byzantine Ison would have been very familiar to St. Leander and St. Isidore of Seville and to all the other Spaniards of their day, including those with no close contacts with Byzantium and its culture.

A number of years ago I was fortunate enough to visit the city of Fes, Morocco, and have fond memories of this visit. In 1994 occurred the Fes (Morocco) Festival of World Sacred Music". The music of this festival is now available on CDs. On track V, CD I, Volume II of the music of said festival is "Spiritual Union in

Song: Children of Abraham", performed by Jewish, Christian and Muslim youth choirs from Morocco with Aicha Redouane, who describes herself as "a Berber from the Moroccan Middle Atlas" as soloist.

The songs performed by said combined choirs contained the elaborate melismas typical of Byzantine and Mozarabic or Visigothic chant, and used the Byzantine *Ison*, though the language was Arabic. The Byzantine *Ison* was clearly audible, at times almost drowning out the voice of the soloist.(109) This is very typical of Byzantine (and, I firmly believe, Mozarabic or Visigothic) chant, with the soloist carrying the melody and the choir the *Ison*, though, as we have noted, at times two choirs may

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be used, one choir carrying the melody, the other choir carrying the *Ison*.

Unfortunately, my training in musicology is not sufficient for me to be able to determine the mode or modes in which said songs are composed. If said songs are composed using Byzantine modes, this would be virtually conclusive proof that the music of said songs is derived from the Mozarabic or Visigothic chant, which, as we said above, used Byzantine modes.

Though said "Fes Festival of World Sacred Music" included music and performers from Indonesia to Morocco, Spain and France, the obvious emphasis is on "Arab-Andalusian Music", which is most appropriate for Fes, which prides itself on maintaining the atmosphere of Muslim Spain, which is why I love it so. It appears to me to be obvious that on track V, CD I, Volume II of said

festival, we have a case of Mozarabic or Visigothic chant translated to Arabic from Latin and Byzantine Greek and adapted for Islamic use by early Spanish converts to Islam during the Muslim period in Spain. Here indeed is a most powerful proof that the Byzantine *Ison* was used in Mozarabic or Visigothic chant.(110)

As we said before, the modes - as well as other, less fundamental elements such as melismas and the rich, exuberant flow of melody - and no doubt other elements which would be revealed had more Mozarabic melodies been deciphered - of Mozarabic chant are of Byzantine derivation, so, since the Visigothic or Mozarabic chant is older than the Gregorian, and the Mozarabic liturgy contains so many words and whole phrases in Byzantine Greek.

(1449)

Therefore, any Mozarabic melody in which the *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* is not indicated cannot be deciphered.

As was said previously, except for words and whole phrases in Byzantine Greek, the language of the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite is Latin, its character, as exemplified by the numerous and long melismas and the rich, exuberant flow of melody, is most definitely NOT Roman, but, rather, Byzantine and, perhaps, Celtic. One must most bitterly lament that so few Mozarabic melodies have been deciphered.

In 1975 I had to honor to be invited to the I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozarabes (1st International Congress of Mozarabic Studies) in Toledo, Spain, which I attended as unofficial representative of the Archbishop of Santiago de Compostela. While at said congress, someone commented:

"The Visigothic-Mozarabic Antiphonary of the Cathedral of Leon is a well, but without a rope and without a bucket."

The only clue is the fact that, as we shall see, there is no doubt that all said melodies use the eight modes (*Oktoechos*, Syriac *Ikhadias*) used in Byzantine liturgical chant. Peter Wagner held that the Mozarabic Chant system descended from the Byzantine *Oktoechos* (Syriac *Ikhadias*). (111)

(1450)

All told, only twenty-one ancient Mozarabic Rite melodies have been deciphered. These melodies all use modes identical to the Byzantine Modes

- ❖ I Authentic (*Echos Alpha*),
- ❖ II Authentic (*Echos Beta*),
- ❖ I Plagal (*Echos Plagioi Alpha*)
- ❖ II Plagal (*Echos Plagioi Beta*)
- ❖ IV Plagal (*Echos Plagioi Delta*). (112)

However, there is reason to believe that the other Byzantine modes were used in Mozarabic chant.

Dom Casiano Rojo, OSB and Dom German Prado, OSB have noted that the verse endings of Mozarabic responsories indicate the modes used. (113)

(1451)

Following the work of Rojo and Prado, Peter Wagner has matched Mozarabic *neum* patterns with the appropriate mode. Though the work of Wagner on this point is largely speculative, considering that the Mozarabic notation is not yet deciphered, his researches indicate that, in addition to the Byzantine modes used in the 21 Mozarabic melodies which have been deciphered, Byzantine modes

- ❖ III Authentic (*Echos Gamma*)
- ❖ III Plagal (*Echos Plagioi Gamma* or *Echos Barys* ["Barys" = "Grave"]) were also used in Visigothic or Mozarabic chant.(114) If Wagner is right, then only the mode
- ❖ IV Authentic (*Echos Delta*)

was not used in Visigothic or Mozarabic chant, and if more Visigothic or Mozarabic melodies had been deciphered, it is highly probable that we would find that said Byzantine mode was also used

in Visigothic or Mozarabic chant.

Besides the work of Rojo and Prado, there are other reasons to believe that Wagner was right. Says Egon Wellesz:

"I am convinced that anybody who knows the cadences of the *Echoi* (plural of "*Echos*") by heart, as the Byzantine singers did, will be able to sing the melodies from manuscripts from the Middle Period. This knowledge also enables us to detect scribal errors, and to correct them. We have often been obliged to make such corrections in our transcription, and having compared them with the notation of a manuscript containing a faultless version of the melody, we have always found them to be accurate.(115)

(1452)

Regarding the above, Clyde Waring Brockett Jr. says:

"We deduce from this that Mozarabic Chant's brightest hope (of its musical notation being deciphered) may lie in this area (*i.e., that touched on by Rojo, Prado, Wagner and Wellesz above*). One may be reasonably certain that the *Oktoechos* (or *Ikhadias*) was widely enough systematized to include Spain among its practitioners."(116)

Both Gregorian and Byzantine Chant use eight modes, four "*Authentic*" and four "*Plagal*", *i.e., "derived"*. Note that "*Authentic*" and "*Plagal*" are both Greek words, as is the prefix "*Hypo ...*", which in Greek means "under" or "from under" used to indicate a plagal mode in the Gregorian modal system; for example, the I Gregorian Mode is called "Dorian", while the II Gregorian Mode is called "Hypodorian", since it comes under "Dorian". The Byzantine "*Plagioi*", from whence "*Plagal*", comes from the Greek word for "half-brother" or "half-sister"; for example, the I Authentic Byzantine Modes is called "Echos Alpha", while the I Byzantine Plagal Modes is called "Echos Plagioi Alpha". "*Authentic*" and "*Plagal*" were used in reference to Byzantine Chant

long before Gregorian Chant appeared. Also, until the late 7th or 8th century, many Popes were Greek or Syrian. In the Byzantine system of classification of liturgical modes ("*Oktoechos*", Syriac "*Ikhadias*", literally "eight tones"), the authentic modes are numbered 1 - 4, while the plagals are numbered 5 - 8. In the Gregorian system of classification of modes, the authentic and plagal modes alternate, i.e., each Authentic Mode is followed by its Plagal. Nevertheless, the identity of the Gregorian system of classification with the Byzantine "*Oktoechos*" or the Syriac

(1453)

"*Ikhadias*" is evident. The difference in systems of classification does not affect the reality or substance of the respective modes themselves. Below is a schema of the classification of the Byzantine Modes or "*Oktoechos*":

BYZANTINE	MODES	(OKTOECHOS)
I	<i>Echos Kyrios Alpha</i>	(<i>Kyrios</i> = Authentic)
II	<i>Echos Kyrios Beta</i>	
III	<i>Echos Kyrios Gamma</i>	
IV	<i>Echos Kyrios Delta</i>	
I	<i>Echos Plagios Alpha</i>	(<i>Plagios</i> = Plagal)
II	<i>Echos Plagios Beta</i>	
III	<i>Echos Plagios Gamma</i>	or <i>Echos</i>
	<i>Plagios Barys</i>	[<i>Barys</i> = "Grave"]
IV	<i>Echos Plagios Delta</i>	

Obviously, the first four Byzantine Modes are Authentic, while the last four are their Plagals or derivatives (as the word "*Plagioi*"

indicates). The difference in classification or numbering does not alter the fact that in substance Byzantine Modes and Gregorian Modes are identical, and that Gregorian Modes are copied from the Byzantine.(117)

(1454)

Here is a schema showing the Byzantine Modes in relation to their equivalent Gregorian Modes:

<u>Byzantine</u>	<u>MODES</u>	<u>Gregorian</u>
I <i>Echos Kyrios Alpha</i> =		I (Dorian)
II <i>Echos Kyrios Beta</i> =		III (Phrygian)
III <i>Echos Kyrios Gamma</i> =		V (Lydian)
IV <i>Echos Kyrios Delta</i> =		VII (Mixolydian)
I <i>Echos Plagios Alpha</i> =		II (Hypodorian)
II <i>Echos Plagios Beta</i> =		IV (Hypophrygian)
III <i>Echos Plagios Barys</i> =		VI (Hypolydian)
IV <i>Echos Plagios Delta</i> =		VIII (Hypomixolydian)

Here is the usual Gregorian numbering system in regards to modes:

<u>GREGORIAN MODES</u>	
I	(Dorian)
II	(Hypodorian)
III	(Phrygian)

- IV (Hypophrygian)
- V (Lydian)
- VI (Hypolydian)
- VII (Mixolydian)
- VIII (Hypomixolydian)

Note that the Gregorian Modes, unlike their Byzantine equivalents, have been arbitrarily given Classical Greek names, though in reality, except that they are heptatonic, they bear no

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relation to said Classic Greek Modes. Also note that the Gregorian numbering system retains the distinction between authentic and plagal modes, though in a different way. The Greek prefix *Hypo* means "under" or "below". Hence, in the Gregorian numbering system, each authentic mode is immediately followed by its corresponding *plagal*, or, to put it another way, all odd numbered modes are authentic, while all even numbered modes are plagal.

The Russian Orthodox Church also adopted the eight Byzantine modes. Interestingly, the Russian numbering of said modes differs from both the Byzantine and the Gregorian:

MODES

Byzantine

Russian

I Echos Kyrios Alpha =	Glas I
II Echos Kyrios Beta =	Glas II
III Echos Kyrios Gamma =	Glas III
IV Echos Kyrios Delta =	Glas IV
I Echos Plagios Alpha =	Glas V
II Echos Plagios Beta =	Glas VI

III Echos Plagios Barys =

Glas VII

IV Echos Plagios Delta) =

Glas VIII (118)

Note that the Russian numbering system, unlike both the Byzantine and the Gregorian, makes no distinction between authentic and plagal modes, and, unlike the Gregorian, makes no attempt to attach Classical Greek names to the modes.

(1456)

Says Roman Jakobson:

"Old Church Slavonic Poetry" was approached by Roman Jakobson. This poetry, hitherto usually overlooked in medieval studies, belongs to the most abundant and remarkable products of the powerful Byzantine impact upon Slavic civilization. It was deeply rooted in the wide creative activities of the two truly bilingual brothers and endowed the Moravian literature of the 860's to the 880's with magnificent masterpieces of both hymnody and paraenesis. Throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries, in all the regional variants of Old Church Slavonic language and culture, poetic art continued in the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The late Middle Ages witnessed the further evolution of this poetry in those countries which still used Church Slavonic as their ecclesiastic language. Finally, the formation of modern Russian poetry in the eighteenth century and its subsequent drift were much influenced by the liturgical tradition of ecclesiastic chants. Thanks to progress in the comparative investigation of Byzantine and Church Slavonic chants, students of the song books copied in Russia in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries can detect and reconstruct their prototypes, which prove to be at least two to three centuries older. In particular, the analysis of the early Slavic original canons enables us to ascribe to the Moravian mission of the 870's and 880's and to its leader Methodius, not only the canon for St. Demetrius of Thessalonika but also, beyond any doubt, the Church Slavonic Hirmologion, and to throw new light upon the vexing question of the divine service practiced by this mission. The intimate connection of this canon with the Cyrillo-Methodian mission is attested by the final ode, a poignant yearning, in the struggle against "the cruel triliguals and heretics", for a return from wanderings

over strange lands to the native Thessalonika, while the close textual and metrical coherence between the canon's troparia and hirmoi proves the anterior Slavic translation of the Hirmologion.

Oliver Strunk analyzed "Two Chilandari Choir Books", the Triodion Chilandari 307 and the Hirmologion Chilandari 308, both published in 1957 as a part of the series Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae. These two choir books, like other ancient monuments of Slavic chant, preserve vestiges of archaic musical and liturgical practices; they can shed new light on the early history of Byzantine music, and the Triodion in particular might even be said to constitute a compensating replacement for a type of Byzantine manuscript that

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must once have existed but is no longer extant. Professor Strunk concluded that (1.) the archaic Slavic notation is of Byzantine origin; (2.) it must have been introduced well before the year 1000, perhaps as early as 950; (3.) at some time after the year 1000, perhaps as late as 1050, it was modified in certain respects and these modifications were again of Byzantine origin; and (4.) in certain other respects it is an original creation because it restricts the use of some of its borrowed signs in ways quite unfamiliar to Byzantium and because it has invented at least one sign of its own. Even with these modifications, however, Slavic notations continues to retain its archaic character, for the revisions to which it was subjected were minor ones, affecting only isolated details. However intimately one may come to understand the workings of an archaic notation like this one, to think in terms of a positive transcription on the five-line staff is simply to deceive oneself. Under favorable conditions, and with the help of unambiguous, unimpeachable controls, in particular of a Byzantine control, one can as a rule work out a sort of reconstruction, but the result is highly tentative. As such an experiment, a musical reconstruction of a Slavic translated hirmos is proposed.

Kenneth J. Levy dealt with "The Earliest Slavic Melismatic Chants"; he analyzed an Old Russian kontakarion, and concluded that the origins of the Slavic melismatic chants are firmly rooted in Byzantium. The enigma of the kontakarion notation is finally opened to solution. This notation enables the musicologist to explore the structure of the asmatic melodies. Their centonate-formulaic design underlies the compositional process for many, if not most, early liturgies, and the Slavic chants, preserving the earliest state of the Byzantine melismatic traditions, have a unique contribution to make toward the understanding of this process. The notation of these Slavic chants shows not

only archaisms related to the early characters of Byzantine notation, but also points of contact with (Byzantine) Greek developments of the eleventh century."(119)

For reasons given below, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant is derived from the Byzantine Chant and NOT the Gregorian Chant, so it is the Byzantine Chant that we are concentrating on, Gregorian Chant not being relevant for our purposes.

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The Ambrosian or "Milanese" chant bears many resemblances to Byzantine chant. This last is certainly no surprise. Though Milan itself was held by the Byzantines for only a short time, Ravenna was the capital of Byzantine Italy and continued to be held by the Byzantines long after most of the rest of the Italian Peninsula had been overrun by the Lombards. From Milan to Ravenna was a short and easy journey across the Northern Italian plain, while the journey from Milan to Rome was both longer and more difficult.

One way in which the Ambrosian or Milanese chant concords with the Byzantine but not the Gregorian chant is the use of the interval of a fourth rather than the interval of a fifth, this last predominating in Gregorian chant.(120)

In the aspect mentioned above, Mozarabic chant follows the Ambrosian, Byzantine, Rumanian, Bulgarian and pre-Nikon Russian chants, but does NOT follow the Gregorian chant.(121) As Rojo and Prado say:

"It must be recognized that the melodies of the Mozarabic liturgy very rarely remind us of the Roman (or Gregorian) melodies, but very frequently, entirely or at least in part, they (*the Mozarabic melodies*) resemble the Ambrosian

melodies."(122)

Rojo and Prado make much of the resemblances between the Mozarabic and the Ambrosian chants.(123) We have noted the similarities between the Ambrosian and Byzantine chants. Now, there are aspects in which the Mozarabic chant concords with both

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the Byzantine and the Ambrosian chants, but NOT the Gregorian chant. Now, Rojo and Prado make the a priori assumptions that all the aspects in which the Mozarabic chant concords with the Ambrosian and Byzantine chants are of Ambrosian and not Byzantine precedence. In this I believe that they are mistaken. I believe that in all doubtful cases that preference should be given to the Byzantine hypothesis, or, to put it another way, that in doubtful cases one should assume that said aspects are of Byzantine and NOT Ambrosian precedence, for the following reasons:

- ❖ 1.) St. Leander spent one year in Constantinople, and both he and his younger brother St. Isidore spent nearly their whole lives either in the Byzantine Province of Spain or within a few miles of it. I have not heard nor read anywhere that either St. Leander or St. Isidore visited Milan or any other city in Northern Italy.
- ❖ 2.) The Visigothic or Mozarabic Liturgy contains words and whole phrases in Byzantine Greek, which the Ambrosian Liturgy does not.
- ❖ 3.) In one important aspect, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant follows the Byzantine Chant, but does NOT follow either the Ambrosian nor the Gregorian Chants.

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As Egon Wellesz says:

"It will be noticed that the interval of the descending third is filled up in Ambrosian Chant by steps. This tendency is a remarkable feature in melodies of the Western Church and very much in accord with its spirit. Byzantine music has a markedly dramatic character. Melody and words aim at a strong accentuation of expression. Gregorian Chant, influenced by the smooth and flowing character of Latin prose, prefers a smooth and flowing line of melody in which intervals are filled up as much as possible by transgradient notes. Intervals, as for example a fourth, are only used to emphasize a particularly important word."(124)

Even a brief look at a musical transcription of the known Visigothic or Mozarabic melodies leaves no doubt that in the above aspect the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant follows the Byzantine model rather than the Ambrosian or Gregorian model.(125) As we have noted, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant, like the Byzantine Chant, has a markedly dramatic character, with melody and words aiming at a strong accentuation of expression, the flow of melody being rich and dramatic rather than smooth. In this important aspect, the Mozarabic chant has a strongly Byzantine (or Oriental and Celtic) character rather than a Latin or Western character.

In summary, Visigothic or Mozarabic chant concords with the

Byzantine and Ambrosian - but **NOT** the Gregorian - Chant in the predominant use of the interval of a fourth rather than a fifth. Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant concords with Byzantine, Rumanian, Bulgarian and pre-Nikon Russian Chant - but NOT with Ambrosian or

(1461)

Gregorian Chant - in its dramatic character, strong accentuation of expression, a flow of melody which is rich and dramatic rather than smooth and also in the fact that it makes great use of long, complex melismas.(126)

When all is said and done, one should be cautious about making too much of the resemblances between the Visigothic or Mozarabic and Ambrosian Chants. As Clyde Waring Brockett Jr. says:

As author (Clyde Waring Brockett Jr.) has great doubts that Mozarabic Chant, from its seventh-century wellspring had a great deal in common with other chants in any epoch, naturally raised by our belief that the earliest musical scribes attempted authentically to render the original chant, largely composed by native (*Spanish*) fathers for the Visigothic Church. The same conclusion was reached by an eminent student of comparative chants, Peter Wagner, who added that the old Spanish (i.e., Mozarabic) Chant is not close to the Roman (or *Gregorian*) or Milanese (or *Ambrosian*) chants regarding its great wealth of forms either."(127)

Note that the above-mentioned native (Spanish) fathers visited Constantinople and lived almost their whole lives either in the Byzantine Province of Spain or within a few miles of it.

(1462)

As we said above, all twenty-one Visigothic or Mozarabic melodies which have been deciphered are in the Byzantine I Authentic or Echos Kyrios Alpha, II Authentic or Echos Kyrios Beta, I Plagal or Echos Plagios Alpha, II Plagal or Echos Plagios Beta, and IV Plagal or Echos Plagios Delta, as we said above, though there are excellent reasons to believe that the Byzantine modes III Authentic (Echos Kyrios Gamma) and III Plagal (Echos Plagios Gamma or Echos Barys; *Barys* = Grave) were also used in Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant.

Of course, it may be considered axiomatic that the other Byzantine Mode, i.e., IV Authentic or Echos Kyrios Delta, was also used in Visigothic or Mozarabic melodies which have not been deciphered or have not survived at all. There is no reason whatever to suppose that the twenty-one Visigothic or Mozarabic melodies which have been deciphered are at all representative of the totality of Visigothic or Mozarabic music in relation to the frequency of Byzantine Modes employed.

The Byzantine system of 8 modes (Greek: *Oktoechos*; Syriac: *Ikhadias*) is the work of Severus, who was the Monophysite Patriarch of Antioch from 512 to 519.(128)

Thus, said system is somewhat older than the Gregorian. Also, Patriarch Severus was not only a Syrian but a Monophysite.

Now, the Syrian Monophysites tended to be militantly Semitic or Syriac and somewhat anti-Hellenistic. The Monophysite Rite uses Syriac or Aramaic (*Syriac*, which uses a unique alphabet, is a Northern Syrian dialect of Aramaic) rather than Greek as its

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liturgical language. This would seem to indicate a Syriac or Aramaic origin for the modes used in Byzantine Chant, though, considering that all eight of the Byzantine modes have an exact equivalent in ancient Hindu music, this would seem to be highly improbable.

It may be claimed that Patriarch Severus merely copied the Classical Greek Modes. However, this is manifestly false. Besides the fact that Patriarch Severus was a Monophysite, there are other reasons:

- ❖ 1.) The substance of the modes of Patriarch Severus' *Oktoechos* or *Ikhadias* is radically different from that of the Classical Greek Modes: in other words, the modes of Patriarch Severus' "Oktoechos" or *Ikhadias* do not have Classical Greek equivalents, though, as we shall see, they do have Indian equivalents.
- ❖ 2.) Patriarch Severus nowhere uses the names of the Classical Greek modes; it was only when the *Oktoechos* or *Ikhadias* of Patriarch Severus was adopted by the Roman or Latin (because of the use of Latin as the liturgical language) Church as the basis of Gregorian Chant that the modes of Patriarch Severus' *Oktoechos* or *Ikhadias* were arbitrarily given the names of Classical Greek Modes; to this day, said Classical Greek names have not been adopted by the Eastern Orthodox Church, which continues to use the names given by Patriarch Severus:
- ❖ 3.) The Classical Greek Modes were reckoned from the top (or highest pitched note) downwards, while Patriarch Severus' modes are reckoned

from the bottom (or lowest pitched note)
upwards:(129)

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❖ 4.) Though our knowledge of Classical Greek music is not sufficient to be absolutely certain of this, I can find no evidence that the Byzantine *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* was used in Classical Greek music; the *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* no doubt entered Byzantine music from Persia and/or India. Many Early Church Fathers were from Cappadocia and Armenia, where Zoroastrianism had been strong, while Mithraism, another religion of Iranian origin, was at one time widespread through nearly whole Roman Empire until Christianity supplanted it. So, it is highly possible that elements from Zoroastrian and/or Mithraic liturgical chants entered into the formation of Christian Liturgical Chants, including the Byzantine Chant.(130) On the other hand, the *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* may have come to Byzantium from India by way of Persia; as we shall see below, the Byzantine modes do indeed have their Indian equivalents. It should be noted that the principle of the *Ison* or *Isso Kratima* is well known in Celtic music, as we have seen. To give only one example, the Celtic bagpipe in its Gaelic, Breton, Gallego and Asturian versions embodies the principle of the *Ison* or *Isso Kratima*, or, if you prefer, the *Chhandovati sruti* of ancient Hindu musical texts, the *Shadja* of modern Hindustani music.

❖ 5.) In fact, there is virtually no continuity at all between Classical Greek music on the one hand and Byzantine music on the other. Not only are the Classical Greek modes and the Byzantine modes radically distinct from one another, but the whole style of composition is totally different.(131)

Says Egon Wellesz:

"Comparing the music of the hymn (*Hymn to*

the Holy Trinity, very late 3rd century) with the other documents of Greek music which have come down to us we can see an important difference between the remnants of Classical Greek music on the one hand and the Christian hymn on the other.

With the exception of the *Paeon* from the Berlin papyrus, dating from the end of the 2nd or the beginning of the 3rd century AD, no other piece
(1465)

of Greek music shows so rich a flow of melody as that of the Hymn to the Holy Trinity. With the exception of a few passages all the Greek melodies are syllabic, i.e., a single note corresponds to a syllable or a monosyllabic word of the text. Even in the *Paeon* the florid style is mostly restricted to the cadences and is of a more ornamental than structural character. The music of the Christian hymn is structurally florid. It is built up from a number of melodic formulae linked together by varying short passages in the manner of a recitative. This principle of composition is to be found everywhere in the Middle East, but is unknown in Greek music; it is the same principle of composition which has been discovered in both Gregorian and Byzantine (and also Ambrosian and Mozarabic) melodies, and some of the melodic formulae actually show a close relationship to Byzantine melody types."(132)

The first mention of the Oktoechos or Ikhadias is by Bishop John of Maiuma (now El-Mineh) near Gaza in 515.(133) This does not contradict the fact that the Oktoechos or Ikhadias was the work of Patriarch Severus of Antioch, who became patriarch in 512; as he died in 519, he apparently was not a young man when he became patriarch, and so he may well have compiled the Oktoechos or Ikhadias some years before he became patriarch.

Says Gustave Reese:

"Jeannin and Puyade see in the Oktoechos (or Ikhadias) an imitation of the system of Aristoxenos, a classification made by theorists from a definitely musical standpoint, the result to some extent codifying scalar (*modal*) characteristics. This opinion does not prevent these writers from seeing in Syrian (Chant)

music a preponderant Oriental influence: the *echoi* (plural of *echos*) they claim, were, during the first centuries of Christianity, tonalites populaires; Hebrew and other Oriental music even if themselves affected by Hellenistic culture, must have retained their distinctive character; it was the idea of classifying according to "modes" that constituted the chief appropriation from Greek sources. Besseler observes no (1466)

trace of Greek scale-doctrine (i.e., in the actual substance of the modes) in the Oktoechos (or Ikhadias).(134)

It should be noted that the concept of musical modes (Sanskrit *Thata* or *Murchhana*) originated in India, so even said concept is not conclusive proof of Classical Greek influence. It should also be noted that while the substance of the Byzantine modes does not coincide at all with that of the Classical Greek modes, it is quite possible to make a schema showing how Byzantine modes have exact equivalents in ancient Hindu and modern Hindustani "*thata*" or "*murchana*":

BYZANTINE	=	HINDU or HINDUSTANI
I Echos Kyrios Alpha	=	<i>Shuddha Shadja Murchhana</i>
II Echos Kyrios Beta	=	<i>Bhairavi</i>
III Echos Kyrios Gamma	=	<i>Gaur Sarang</i>
IV Echos Kyrios Delta	=	<i>Matsarikrita Murchhana</i>
I Echos Plagios Alpha	=	<i>Yavanapuri Todi</i>
II Echos Plagios Beta	=	<i>Ashvakranta Murchhana</i>
III Echos Plagios Barys(Barys	=	<i>Khammaj</i>
IV Echos Plagios Delta	=	<i>Kafi (135)</i>

It should be noted that the rather close resemblance between the Vedic Chant, still used in Hindu ceremonies, and those Christian liturgical chants which use the eight Byzantine or Syriac modes (including Gregorian Chant) is still evident even to those with no musical training.

One can only agree with Egon Wellesz:

"Christian (*Liturgical Chant*) music, deriving from a Syriac-speaking province, was quickly assimilated into Byzantine Civilization."(136)

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"(*In the Hellenistic Renaissance of the 11th century*) it becomes a habit to allude to the grandeur of (*Classical*) Greek music, which had completely disappeared in the 6th century."(137)

There is also a chronological difficulty in assuming that the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant is of Gregorian origin. St. Leander and Pope Gregory I the Great were almost exact contemporaries, so the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite was compiled long before the Gregorian Rite became extended in Western Europe. As Egon Wellesz says:

"Various designations are used for the melodies of the Western Church: Plainchant, Plainsong, Gregorian melodies. The last is not restricted to melodies used in the Roman Rite after the reform by Pope Gregory I "the Great" (died 601), but also (however erroneously or inaccurately) includes those contained in the Ambrosian, Gallican and Mozarabic Rites, which remained independent of the reforming influence of Gregory I."(138)...

"Until the present time, therefore, it was only possible to state the fact of relationship in general terms, and to suppose that the main body of Byzantine as well as Gregorian melodies derived from common Syro-Palestinian sources. This theory is strongly supported by the fact that the Ambrosian melodies (*the Ambrosian Rite is sometimes known as the "Milanese Rite"*), which of all the various types of Gregorian chant show the most striking resemblance to Byzantine melodies of the best period (6th century) of hymnography, are considered to be the oldest form of Plainchant preserved in those manuscripts whose notation can be deciphered."(139)

We have noted above that Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant resembles the Ambrosian or Milanese Chant far more than it does the Gregorian, and it is our contention that the Visigothic or

Mozarabic Chant resembles the Byzantine, Rumanian, Bulgarian and pre-Nikon Russian Chant far more than it does either the Ambrosian

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or the Gregorian.

As we said above, only 21 Visigothic or Mozarabic melodies have been deciphered. Were the Visigothic-Mozarabic notation to be deciphered, the opinion expressed above by Egon Wellesz would certainly have to be revised: in other words, it might be the Visigothic or Mozarabic Chant rather than the Ambrosian Chant which bears the most striking resemblance to Byzantine melodies of the best period of hymnography, i.e., the 6th century.

Though the Byzantines held Seville for only a few years, they continued to hold most of the rest of Andalusia, all of Murcia and much of the region of Valencia, as well as the Balearic Islands. So, for nearly a century Seville was either Byzantine territory Or was only a few miles from the border between Visigothic Spain and the Byzantine Province. In other words, for the whole lifetime of St. Leander and for nearly the whole lifetime of St. Isidore, Seville was only a few miles from the Byzantine Province.

St. Leander was born in 534 in Cartagena, but moved to Seville with his family. In 583 he was sent on a diplomatic mission to Constantinople by the Visigothic King Leovigild. On his return from Constantinople in 584, St. Leander was named Bishop of Seville. However, the Visigothic king Leovigild then exiled him to the Byzantine Province. St. Leander died on March 13, 600.

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St. Isidore, younger brother of St. Leander, was born in

Seville in 560. We have mentioned St. Isidore before, because he was one of the most learned men of his time. Though he made

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frequent journeys, often to the Byzantine Province, St. Isidore resided all his life in Seville, where he succeeded his elder brother as bishop in 600 and where he died in 636.(141)

The above information is of great importance, because the Visigothic Rite (later called the Mozarabic Rite) was mainly the work of St. Leander, though completed by St. Isidore.(142) Note that St. Leander lived in Constantinople for about a year, and both St. Leander and St. Isidore lived almost their whole lives either in the Byzantine Province, where there were Byzantine clergy and churches which followed the Byzantine Rite, or in Seville, which was only a few miles from the border between Visigothic Spain and the Byzantine Province, which they visited frequently.

Dom Jordi Pinell OSB of the famed Monastery of Montserrat attended the I Congreso Internacional de Estudios Mozarabes (First International Congress of Mozarabic Studies) in Toledo, Spain in 1975, as did I. At said congress, Dom Jordi Pinell noted that the Mozarabic parish of Santas Justa y Rufina follows a slightly different rite than the other Mozarabic parishes in Toledo. He explained that as a result of the invasion of al-Andalus by the Almoravides, large numbers of Mozarabs from Seville took refuge in Toledo, where they were granted the parish of Santas Justa y Rufina. Thus, the Mozarabic parish of Santas Justa y Rufina follows the "usage" of Seville, while the other Mozarabic parishes

of Toledo follow the "usage" of Toledo.

Certainly no one can doubt that the Visigothic or Mozarabic

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"usage" of Seville is that written by St. Leander and St. Isidore, who were both bishops of Seville. Now, since the differences between the usage of Seville and the usage of Toledo are very slight, this leaves no possible doubt that the usage of Toledo is also the work of St. Leander and St. Isidore. Hence, no one can doubt the ultimate Byzantine origin of the Toledo usage of the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite. Some other researchers belonging to the Benedictine Order (besides Dom Jordi Pinell OSB), such as Cagin, Cabrol, Ferotin and Schuster, affirm that the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite has direct Byzantine influence, and that part of said rite proceeds, by way of Byzantium, from Jerusalem.(143)

As we said above, a large part of Southern and Eastern Spain, including most of Andalusia, all Murcia and part of Valencia as well as the Balearic Islands were under Byzantine rule from 554 to the reign of the Visigothic king Swintila (621-631). It is therefore quite likely that at the time of the Muslim Conquest of 711 that the Byzantine Rite rather than the Visigothic Rite (later known as the Mozarabic Rite) was still in use in large parts of Spain. In any case, the Visigothic or Mozarabic Rite shows strong Byzantine influence in its use of words and whole phrases in Byzantine Greek, its predominant use of the interval of the fourth, its abundant and lengthy melismas, dramatic, expressive quality, lavish, exuberant flow of melody and its general character, so non-Roman or non-Latin in spite of the use of the

Latin language.

Thus, it would appear obvious that the Visigothic or

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Mozarabic Liturgical Modes are not copied from the Gregorian, but rather that both spring from a common Byzantine source.

Gregorian Chant was not used in pre-Islamic Spain, nor was it used among the Christian Mozarabs of the Islamic Period.

Therefore, some will claim that Gregorian Modes could not have been used in Hispano-Muslim music, as Hispano-Muslims could not have been familiar with Gregorian Chant.

As Owen Wright has noted, modes identical to Gregorian Modes were indeed used in Hispano-Muslim music. However, Owen Wright was mistaken in calling said modes "Gregorian", as they were of Mozarabic and/or Byzantine rather than Gregorian precedence. An investigator familiar with Gregorian Modes but not with Mozarabic and Byzantine Modes would naturally make the error of saying that Gregorian Modes were used in Hispano-Muslim music; this last is correct as to the substance of the modes, but mistaken as to their precedence. In other words, said modes are identical to Gregorian modes, but they came to Hispano-Muslim music **NOT** from Gregorian Chant, but rather from Visigothic or Mozarabic and/or Byzantine Chant. However, this error is purely onomastic or semantic rather than substantial. As we said in the preceding chapter, in the U.S.A., white potatoes are often called "Irish potatoes" because they were first introduced into that country by Irish immigrants. However, the truth is that the white potato originated not in Ireland but rather in Peru. The white potato itself is the same,

whether it be called (inaccurately) "Irish potato" or (accurately) "Peruvian potato". Whether they are called (inaccurately)

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"Gregorian", or, (accurately) 'Visigothic', "Mozarabic" or "Byzantine" does not affect the substance of the modes to which Owen Wright gives the name "Gregorian".

To his expression "the continuity of Celtic modes from Scotland to North Africa", Alain Danielou might have added "and from Ireland to Hungary and perhaps Rumania". A few years ago in Ortigueira in Northwestern Spain there was a "Music Festival of the Celtic World". Besides those from Ireland, Scotland, Wales, Brittany and Northern Spain, there was a group from Hungary. This puzzled me a great deal. The Hungarian language not only is not Celtic, it is not even Indo-European. True, what is now the Hungarian Plain was anciently Celtic land, but it became part of the Roman Empire, was overrun by waves of Huns, Germans and Slavs, and finally occupied by the Magyars, who gave the country its name and language. That anything of the Celtic heritage could survive in the Hungarian Plain except for a few place names seemed incredible to me. The Hungarian music which I had heard up to that time certainly did not sound Celtic.

I was mistaken. Like Franz Liszt in the 19th Century, I had confused Gypsy music with music that is truly Hungarian. Bela Bartok did not make the same mistake. Bartok confirmed the Celtic roots of much Hungarian folk and traditional music, including the use of Celtic modes and airs on the cover of the LP disk "Music of Hungary". This Celtic survival may have been favored by the fact

that Iranian elements, i.e., Sarmatian or Sakas, may have been included among the Magyars, perhaps as part of the ruling

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class, as many historians believe. If these Celtic elements survived in the folk and traditional music of Hungary, there must certainly be Celtic elements in the folk and traditional music of Rumania, much less affected by the Germanic, Slavic and Magyar invasions.

The above-mentioned continuity of Celtic modes over such a vast area and such a long period of time is proof of the vitality of the Celtic musical tradition and a magnificent example of Celtic resistance against modernity, a sort of *Chouannerie* (144) or *Jacobitism* (145) in the field of music.

Objectively, it is perfectly evident that there is no motive whatever to believe or suppose that the temperate-harmonic system typical of modern western classical music and "pop commercial" music, in effect, modern music in general, is superior to the modal system used in all Europe three or four centuries ago, still in use in a great part of Asia and North Africa and which survives in part in folkloric and traditional music in Europe and America (in a very pure and intact form in authentic Celtic music) and in liturgical music. Rather, the balance indicates without doubt that the modal system is superior.

Why, then, is there such a strong tendency to suppose that the temperate-harmonic system is superior, all other systems being "primitive", "benighted". "backward", "underdeveloped", etc.? The motives are easy to discover.

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Firstly, it should be noted that the great majority know only the viewpoint of the temperate-harmonic system. In the conservatories and colleges of fine arts of European and American universities it is practically the only system taught, the modal system being considered as a mere archaeological and anthropological curiosity, of interest only to musical archaeologists who wish to specialize in medieval music or folkloric and traditional music. In Europe and America virtually everyone from childhood on receives a veritable "brainwashing" to convince them that only music of the temperate-harmonic system is "serious music", all other systems being mere curiosities, at best a stage in the "progress" toward the temperate-harmonic system. Books such as that of Alain Danielou cited here and others cited by Danielou himself are very rare and are not utilized in conservatories and universities in Europe and America.

That the present situation described in the last paragraph could exist is, in a few words, the product of the provincialism of time and place of the modern West. The provincialism of time is generally called "the doctrine of progress", incarnated in the evolutionism of the 19th Century which continues to be held today in a great variety of forms. According to said "doctrine", the new is always superior to that which has gone before. This doctrine contradicts experience, logic and common sense, and in fact is infantile, reminding one of vain and very stupid women who

must always follow the latest fashion, for monstrous, unbecoming

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and uncomfortable that said fashion may be. It is the expression in temporal terms of the provincialism of the rustic who believes that everything in his own hamlet is a priori superlative in all respects and that everything outside his hamlet is a *priori* inferior, "benighted", "backward", "underdeveloped" or whatever. In reference to music the modal system is prior to the temperate-harmonic system. In ancient times and in the Middle Ages the modal system was the only music system known, at least among the Indo-European peoples of Europe and Asia. Thus the temperate-harmonic system is "modern" while the modal system is not. Ergo, for the evolutionist or "progressive" mentality the temperate-harmonic system is a priori superior, without taking the trouble to discover whether this judgement is objectively true or not.

Very accentuated is the provincialism of place, to consider everything Western, at least of the Modern West, as a priori superlative, superior, "evolved", "progressive", etc. and everything else as "backward", "benighted", etc. This is precisely the provincialism of the rustic who believes a priori that everything in his own hamlet is the absolute best in all respects. In summary, it is taken as an article of faith and dogma that the temperate-harmonic system is superior to the modal system simply because the temperate-harmonic system is a product of the modern West while the modal system is not. This is pure ignorant provincialism; "rustics", "hicks", "hayseeds", "rubes", "rednecks", "peckerwoods", "hillbillies", "briarhoppers" (Kentucky

rednecks), "buckhoppers" (Ohio rednecks), are not only found in

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hamlets, they are even found in universities and conservatories.

M.E. Britt gives an excellent example of the modern western provincialism in reference to music in the following paragraph:

"It is in vain that the explanation of the modern scale has been sought in the physical phenomenon of the vibration of sonorous bodies. ... This disposition of elements presents itself, in our diatonic scale, under a concrete and rigorously logical form, otherwise it could never have produced either its own synthesis, or the symphony, or the musical drama, or any of the harmonic forms which are the originality of modern music. And, if the rationalism of the Western genius has been able to triumph over traditional mistakes, if it has been able to create a melodic and harmonic organ so complete and so perfectly adapted to the expression of human feelings, it is because the constitution of the modern scale no doubt corresponds to some law of inner organization of psychic essence, whose imperious necessity could only be felt at the time when the mental development of humanity was sufficiently advanced to receive its revelation and conceive of its reality."(146)

Commenting on the above, Alain Danielou says:

"One could not find expressed in a more blatant form the perverted reasoning which deprives so many otherwise well-documented works of the Westerners of all serious scientific value, and we wonder whether Mr. Britt would really be ready to defend the logical implications of his words. He would have us apparently believe that harmonic forms exist only in modern (Western) music, that all modern Western melodies are superior to those of the modal systems, that (modern) Western music alone is capable of expressing human feelings, (*that those who are not modern Westerners either have no feelings*), or, if they have feelings, have no means of expressing them, that Aristotle and Shankaracharya were mentally deficient since human beings had not attained to mental development before modern times, that the secrets of harmony have been "revealed" to some modern Moses by a benevolent Jehovah delighted at the good behavior of our contemporaries, etc.

In general the reasoning of (modern) Western scholars, in relation to music, could be summarized as

follows:

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The (*modern*) Western scale is not correct according to the laws of physics or mathematics, but, being used by (*modern*) Westerners, it is therefore superior to all others. And, since it is in contradiction with physical laws, it must therefore be the expression of some superior psychic law, still unknown to us, but which is the measure of genius and progress, etc.

That such methods of reasoning could be printed and accepted certainly does not indicate that the mental development of humanity has yet attained to the elements of logic, and, if nobody objects to it, it is probably because the superiority of everything (*modern*) European is an article of faith which should not be discussed."(147)

There is yet another relevant observation: if the temperate-harmonic system is so perfect and excellent, why is it that the so-called *avant garde* composers" feel such an imperious necessity to "break the classical molds"? Not that said *avant garde* composers have any particular merit. The fact that they turn to the cold, pedantic and repugnant cacophony of the so-called "atonal music" in order to "break the classical molds" in place of seeking inspiration in the modal Celtic, Medieval, Byzantine, Persian and Hindustani music shows that the "avant garde composers" are still poisoned by the provincialism of time and place, by the idolatry of "the modern" and "the Western" of which we have already spoken, that they are still bound by the idiotic and infantile evolutionist prejudice. A rustic does not cease to be a rustic because his chair is made of plastic rather than wood. More hopeful is the so-called "minimalist school" of composers, although this term is no longer very applicable. Though still in its infancy, said school of young composers promises to re-establish modal music in the West, with all that

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this implies. Said young composers show great interest in Hindustani music. This is very interesting; they sincerely wish to escape from provincialism of time and place.

We have spoken much of the modal system because this is the real kernel of the problem of the re-evaluation and revitalization of Celtic music. Until modal music is re-established in the West, Celtic music can never achieve the position that it deserves. Some say that it would be better to attempt to combine the modal system with the temperate-harmonic system, thus permitting the integration of Celtic music into modern Western music. The difficulty is that this is not possible, it has been attempted before. Says Alain Danielou in this regard:

"Many imagine that the best would be to combine both systems, as has been attempted, but this is not possible because there is an almost complete opposition between them. Except for a few fundamental chords, which are also used in modal music as ornaments, all changes in chords and modulations are possible only by violating the small distinctions in the structure of intervals which are the very root of modal expression." (148)

Some things are mutually compatible and some are not. For example one may mix vinegar with sugar or honey without annihilating either one. In fact, this is the basis of the sweet-and-sour sauces so frequent in Chinese cooking, particularly the Cantonese. In said sauces each flavor is enriched in place of annihilated. But if one adds sodium bicarbonate to vinegar, the vinegar is chemically destroyed, losing all flavor and becoming completely insipid.

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The same is true in reference to music. Persian and Indo-Aryan music, combined, this being in great part the work of the polyfacetic genius Amir Khusrau of Delhi, of whom we have spoken before, forming the music called "Hindustani". Neither of these two styles was annihilated, both being enriched by this fusion or synthesis. The fact is that Persian and Indo-Aryan music both are modal, both use seven-tone scales, both are based on modes and "airs" or melodic lines, both use quarter-tones in the ornamentation of the melody. Thus the two are perfectly compatible, and may combine without annihilating either the one or the other, both being enriched. But neither Persian nor Indo-Aryan music can combine with Chinese music, for example. Although from quite early times (522 BC at the latest) the Chinese knew of the seven-tone scale, probably by way of Iranian and Tocarian peoples of Central Asia, they never adopted said scale; to this day Chinese music uses pentatonic, i.e., five-tone scales (149). Now, as we have said, music may be heptatonic (seven-tone) or pentatonic (five-tone) but not both at once.

In the same way, Celtic music cannot combine with modern Western music (classical or not) while this last remains based on the temperate-harmonic system. Like Persian, Indian, and Byzantine music, Celtic music is heptatonic, modal, based on modes and airs or melodic lines, utilizes quarter-tones in the ornamentation of the melody, and makes crucial use of the pedal point of the Tonic. Eliminate the quarter-tones reduce the many modes to only the major and minor modes of the temperate-harmonic

scale, put chord progressions in place of modal melodies, and eliminate the use of the pedal point of the Tonic, and Celtic music is annihilated, destroyed. For exactly the same reasons, recent attempts to combine modern Western classical music with Hindustani music have failed.

To express it another way, while the temperate-harmonic system of modern Western classical music continues to be considered as the summit and the measure of "progress", "excellence", etc., in other words synonymous with serious music, there does not exist even the most remote possibility that Celtic music will come to be considered as "serious music" and achieve the place it deserves.

Once modal music in general has been re-evaluated and once again considered to be serious music, the re-evaluation of Celtic music will follow automatically. As we said before, Celtic music has been praised and eulogized during many centuries, and has abundant resources.

Immediately some are going to say that to vindicate and propagate an ethnic music such as the Celtic is "provincial", "narrow", "ethnocentric", etc. They are mistaken; the real narrow provincials are the defenders of the supremacy of the temperate-harmonic system and/or the *avant garde* atonal system. We will now explain why at some length.

There is a perfect analogy in the field of religion. I am a traditional Catholic, though not a follower of Monsignor Lefebvre, whom nevertheless I greatly respect. What Monsignor Lefebvre

lacks is the healthy ecumenism, universality and breadth of vision which a study of mysticism, philosophy and comparative religion produces; Monsignor Lefebvre has profundity but not breadth, like a river which is deep but very narrow. To closely paraphrase a Spanish proverb:

"I do not care a cumin seed for names and labels, but only for meaning and substance." And, as was said by St. Gregory of Nyssa (4th century), one of the Cappadocian fathers: "...terms that we use to express the way in which the unnameable and unspeakable Divine Nature (*Ousia*) adapts itself to the limitations of our human minds."

In other words, I totally reject the intellectual and spiritual toxin known as "Nominalism".

Protestantism is even more narrow than Monsignor Lefebvre, and very much shallower; "progressive" or "modernist" Christians have neither profundity nor breadth; they are like dry wells or dry river beds, because their "faith" has been emptied of content and they are absolutely identified with modern Western civilization, which is the idol that they worship. "Progressives" and "modernists" may accuse me of being "narrow" and "provincial", but they are mistaken; they are the narrow and provincial ones, not I. Traditional Catholicism participates in the Perennial Philosophy, the *Sophia Perennis* and the Tradition with a capital "T", which transcend such spatio-temporal categories as "Western Civilization" and "Modernity". Thus it is Traditional Catholicism (along with Traditional Eastern Orthodoxy, but of course **NOT** that which collaborates with Communist regimes) which is capable of

coming to an understanding with the other great religions, to be truly "Catholic" (the word "Catholic" comes from the Greek **Katholikos**, which means "Universal"), truly "Orthodox" ("Orthodox" is also a Greek word and means "true belief") and truly ecumenical. "Modernize", "adapt to the times", *aggiornamento* or whatever one wishes to call it means accepting elements which come from modern secular ideologies, which would weld the Church to Modern Western Civilization and irrevocably identify one with the other, separating the Church from the Perennial Philosophy, the *Sophia Perennis* and the Tradition with a capital "T", thus rendering impossible any ecumenism with the other great religions and making the names "Catholic" and "Orthodox" mere sarcasms. Thus the narrow and provincial ones are the "modernists" and "progressives" who are also guilty of what one might call "civilizationism", i.e., putting a civilization, in this case Modern Western Civilization, before religion. Only traditional Catholicism may be ecumenical and truly Catholic, because "Catholic" means "Universal", with no distinction of epoch, nor culture nor "civilization". A traditional Catholic or Orthodox believer is infinitely nearer to a traditional Hindu (especially a Vedantist or follower of *Bhakti*) or a traditional Muslim (especially if said traditional Muslim is Shi'a and Sufi) than he is to a Protestant or to a "modernist" or "progressive" Catholic. This I know from years of experience.

In exactly the same way, in the field of music the narrow and provincial ones are those who accept as "serious music" only that

based on the temperate-harmonic system and/or the avant garde atonal system. Said systems are peculiar to and exclusive to Modern Western Civilization, and are absolutely incompatible with the music of any other epoch or culture. As Alain Danielou notes:

"Modern western music was able to develop its polyphonic system only by deliberately sacrificing the greater part of its possibilities and breaking the ties which connect it with other musical systems. Formerly, all the musical systems were near to each other and, in spite of differences, could generally be understood from one country to another; this can clearly be seen in the success that the musicians who came with the Turkish Empire had in China. ... But since the Middle Ages, there has been, in the West, a tendency to accept those simplifications of the theory which had already been rejected everywhere else as being incompatible with a refined form of Art. Therefore, when, in the words of M. Amedee Gastoue, "Guido d'Arezzo having reduced everything to the diatonic, and given the last blow to the quarter-tones inherited from Greek melody, directs our scale towards temperament and facilitates the progress of polyphony, d'Arezzo, in reality, only gives a blow to all popular forms of music (including the Celtic) whose very complex modal and rhythmic forms will give place to an official art, heavy and simplified." (150)

Celtic music, on the other hand, is compatible with any modal heptatonic system, which means medieval and Byzantine music, the music of Classic Greece and the music of a great part of Asia and North Africa. I have noted a great many times that Arabs, Iranians and Hindus who like neither modern Western classical music nor "pop commercial" music enjoy Celtic music at once and immediately become "fans" of it.

As we said before, it is with Indo-Aryan and Persian music that Celtic music has the firmest and closest analogies, in effect

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the three have an identical basis. Celtic music may combine with

elements of Persian and Indo-Aryan music, as these last two combined to form "Hindustani music", both being enriched, not annihilated, because neither had to accept anything incompatible with its own base, nor to renounce anything belonging to said base. We have seen how in Spain during the centuries of Muslim rule Celtic music combined with Syro-Byzantine, Persian and Arab elements to produce **Hispano-Muslim** or **Arabigoandalusian** music, which, partially at least, survives in parts of Spain and North Africa.

In Persian and Indo-Aryan music, Celtic music might find new instruments, new modes, new airs, tempos and rhythms. Up to a point the reverse is now a fact; as we said in another place, the Gaelic bagpipes, i.e., the bagpipes of Ireland and the Scottish Highlands, are now used in the music of India and Pakistan. The role which Celtic music might play in the meeting of civilizations is obvious.

Celtic music has not been very fortunate in reference to musicological studies. The case is exactly the reverse in reference to Indo-Aryan music. Amir Khusrau of Delhi said that the music of India is superior to that of any other country. I did not realize how right Amir Khusrau was.

As Sylvain Levi says:

"Music, in which the Hindus excelled, has not yet been object of special studies. The refinements of a too scholarly theory have paralyzed the researches of the Europeans."(151)
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Commenting on this, Alain Danielou says:

"Since the remotest antiquity there has existed in

India, besides a general theory of sounds, a theory of musical modes which seems to have been the source from which all systems of modal music originated. ... Starting from metaphysical principles, the Hindus have recreated the theory of sounds. They have analyzed and classified all the possible ratios and relations between sounds. The result is, obviously, an astronomical number of theoretical chords, modes and combinations, of which a few only are utilized in practice; the others, however, remain accessible for the day when new conditions, or the inspiration of musicians, may require new modes or new musical forms.

The Hindu classification deals once and for all with the subject of musical relations. It is the necessary basis of any serious study. All other classifications are, beside it, child's play. Unfortunately, its approach is difficult, no systematic study of it has been made in any modern language, and we cannot start here this enormous enterprise. But, without going beyond the limits of the classifications utilized today in Hindu music, we can find therein easily understandable elements which are sufficient for the comparative study of all existing modal systems."(152)

The value which a study of Indian musicology might have for Celtic music is evident. Also, considering that Celtic music and Indo-Aryan music share the same bases, the facts noted above should put an end once and for all to the idea that Celtic music is something "primitive", "backward", "benighted", etc., and should make it perfectly clear that there is no reason whatever that Celtic music should have inferiority complexes in relation to modern Western classical music, and most certainly not to any other type of "modern music", such as "rock", "pop", "soul", etc., all based on the temperate-harmonic system and which attempt to compensate for their poverty or bankruptcy by means of strident and monotonous rhythms and deafening volume. Of course, Celtic

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music most certainly need feel no inferiority complex in relation to the cold, pedantic and repugnant cacophony of the so-called

"avant garde atonal music". Repeat, Celtic music cannot combine with any music based on the temperate-harmonic system nor on the atonal system without being annihilated; Celtic music can only combine with modal and heptatonic music.

There are problems in revitalizing Celtic music, but they do not seem to be insuperable. Firstly, as we said before, Celtic music is relatively poor in instruments. Many modern musical instruments are incompatible with Celtic music. But almost any bowed string instrument, ancient or modern, Eastern or Western, is compatible with Celtic music, and in Persian, Indo-Aryan and medieval music all types of instruments perfectly compatible with Celtic music abound. In order to be compatible with Celtic music, a musical instrument must be capable of being played in various modes, of producing quarter-tones and the melodic subtleties of Celtic music; thus the majority of modern Western musical instruments, except bowed string instruments, are incompatible with Celtic music.

Another problem is how little studied and understood is modal music in Europe and America today. Only in a few conservatories which specialize in medieval music and a few seminaries which still teach Gregorian Chant, as well as Eastern Orthodox and Eastern Rite Catholic seminaries continue teaching modal music. But in Northern India and Pakistan the study of modal music remains as vital as ever, taught in a multitude of universities,

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conservatories, academies and by individual masters or *ustads*.

As a song says: "To India I must return". Only after acquiring a

firm base in modal music in general is anyone truly qualified to do something with Celtic music.

The great *ustad* of North Indian or Hindustani music, Ravi Shankar, made an autobiographical film titled Raga, which in Sanskrit, Hindi and Urdu means "air" or "melodic line". Ravi Shankar has traveled a great deal in Europe and America, giving concerts and lessons of Hindustani music. Near the end of the film, Ravi Shankar confesses that at times he asks himself if he has not "played a bad role", leading Westerners to mix or partially abandon their own traditions. He need not worry, he has played a magnificent role. To teach Hindustani music is to teach modal music, which is the key to the revitalization and re-evaluation of Celtic, medieval and Byzantine music and a very large part of the folkloric and traditional music in general. Thus Ravi Shankar has inspired Westerners to return to their real traditions. Is it a mere coincidence that the interest in Celtic music chronologically coincides with the work of Ravi Shankar and the interest in Indo-Aryan music? Nota bene: Hindustani music is only one "school" of Indo-Aryan music among others, although perhaps the most varied and interesting; as we said before, it is in great part a fusion of Indian and Persian music. It is the school which predominates in the greater part of Northern India and Pakistan.

It is interesting to note that Ravi Shankar, being from

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Varanasi or Benares, is from outside the real stronghold or area of greatest predominance of said school.

Perhaps the most difficult problem connected with the revitalization of Celtic music is this; the system of musical notation now used in the West is completely inadequate to represent Celtic music. Said system of musical notation is truly adequate only for the temperate scale and has no means of representing quarter-tones. Of course, this problem is not peculiar to Celtic music. As Alain Danielou says:

"Western (*musical*) notations are of such inaccuracy that all sorts of misunderstandings are possible. Therefore, musicians speak of a sharp a little higher, or a third a little larger, of a brilliant-toned or dull-toned note, in order to be able to realize, by instinct, intervals whose signification is clearly distinct, whose definitions could be found and are even often implied in the principles of music as described in the treatises of harmony. Such inaccuracy in notations explains also the misrepresentation of ancient modes and Oriental (and Celtic) melodies written in Western notations, not to speak of Western popular music (including the Celtic), also completely disfigured.

The failure of modern musicians to realize any effect from their transcriptions of Greek or Oriental (or Celtic) modes comes from the fact that they always saw them through temperament, which disfigured their intervals and flattened their coloration, reducing practically everything to one unique mode, the temperate chromatic. We should not forget that, although it is comparatively easy to recognize a known mode or melody in its temperate approximation, it is often extremely difficult, if not impossible, to imagine its colour and expression if one has never heard its real intervals. Unfortunately, instead of realizing, by contact with Greek or Eastern (or Celtic) modes the deficiencies of their own musical notations, many Western musicians, aided by their convenient evolutionist prejudice, prefer comfortably to consider that these modes, which they are unable to play, are "primitive", of small interest, and could add nothing
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to the achievements of Modern Western music."(153)

The problem of musical notation is difficult but does not appear to be insuperable. Also, since this problem affects not

only Celtic music, it should be possible to find aid in this task, particularly among the young composers of the "minimalist school".

In spite of the attempts, at times of an incredible ferocity, of Romano-Germanic materialism to annihilate Celtism and the celtic heritage, these yet live. Except for a very long parenthesis during the Middle Ages, this attempt of cultural and ethnic genocide against the Celts is a constant in the history of Western Europe during more than 2,000 years. First the Romans viewed Celtism as a vigorously anti-Classical culture, an aesthetic, spiritual and chivalrous culture incompatible with the grossly materialistic and philistine tyranny of Imperial Rome. Later, various Germanic peoples, notably the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings, also saw the Celts and Celtism as a barrier, something incompatible with their own version of Philistinism. During the great period of Medieval Civilization there was an aesthetic, spiritual and chivalrous culture with which Celtism was compatible and formed an integral part. This was true not only of Medieval Christendom, but even, to a degree of Islam, in Spain at least. It is very easy to demonstrate that Celtic elements were pervasive in all aspects of Medieval Civilization (including Muslim Spain), notably in religious mysticism, literature, art, music and the code of chivalry. But with the Renaissance Romano-Germanic materialism returned. Exactly like the ancient Romans, the

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"modernists" or "enlightened ones" saw Celts as aesthetic, spiritual and chivalrous, as a hindrance to the triumph of their Philistinism and materialism, as something "anti-classical",

"anti-Western", "benighted", "reactionary", "backward", etc. which must be annihilated in the name of "modernity", "progress" and "enlightenment". This continues to this very day.

But now the limitations of Romano-Germanic materialism, of a Philistine civilization whose only object is to produce and distribute material goods, whose only motives are greed, vanity and envy are now becoming manifest. Now one sees clearly that there exists a lamentable confusion between means and ends. material goods are a means, not an end in themselves. Technology and material wealth, i.e., the means, are growing in a more or less constant fashion, while the ends are either forgotten or very much deteriorated.

There is now a neo-Romanticism in the air which reaffirms the rights of the imagination, ecology, return to nature, which is interested in the so-called "Oriental civilizations". Celtism, far from being "out of date", "benighted", etc. now has a great deal to offer in many fields, including art and literature in the broad senses of these words.

Much is said about "the global village", of contacts between civilizations and cultures. Celtism is ideally adapted to relate to some "Oriental" or "non-Western" civilizations; not to all, of course. The indiscriminate use of the terms "Oriental" and "non-Western" gives the impression that the non-Western civilizations

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form a more-or-less homogenous bloc, which is completely false. Even in the field of ecology, Celtism has much to offer, much to say and do. As I said in another place, ecology is, at base, a

metaphysical problem.

Of course, the Celtic revival and the re-evaluation of Celtism and the Celtic heritage is a vast theme with many facets.

In the present work we have spoken almost exclusively of music because space is limited and it is better to treat one facet in a monographic manner. I hope to be able to treat other facets in the future.

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