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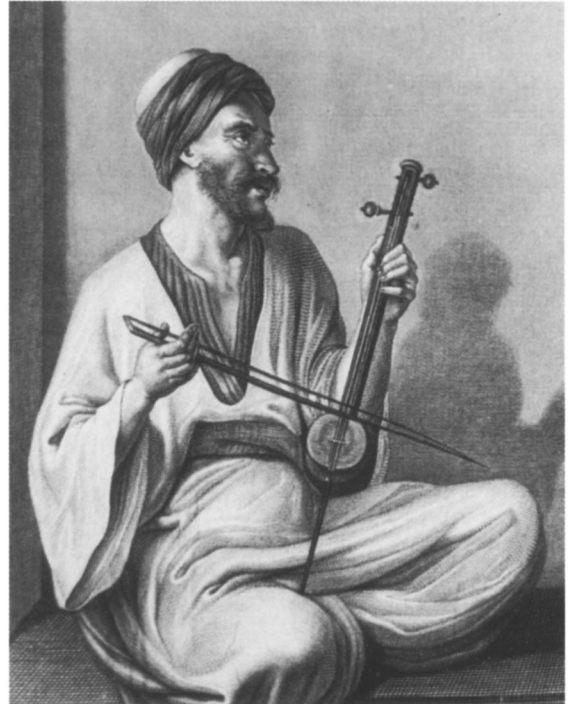
John Haines

The Arabic style of performing medieval music

THE uninitiated customer browsing for recent recordings of medieval monophonic music may be surprised by an eruption of Arabic sounds: antiphons and responsories undulating in a manner more reminiscent of Koranic recitation than the sober tones of conventional interpretations,¹ troubadour and trouvère tunes declaimed to the accompaniment of an *'ūd* (Arabic lute)² and pulsing with the beat of various North African drums,³ or French courtly dances filtered through a Moroccan *bendir* (frame drum).⁴ Our curious customer might rightly enquire where the interpretation of medieval music using an Arabic style originated.

In fact, this recent 'Arabic' interpretation goes back to a much earlier fascination with the Middle East, the phenomenon known as orientalism.⁵ Musical orientalism can be found as early as the monumental *Description de l'Égypte* (1809–28), which contained many beautiful engravings from Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, including one of a 'violin' (actually a *rabāb*) player (illus.1). The 19th century marked the beginning of both orientalism and medievalism on a large scale; the West looked to the Middle Ages and to the Orient for its roots.⁶ Novels such as Gustave Flaubert's *Salammbô* (1862) evoked a primitive and sensuous East, while musical works conjured up an oriental sound with such instruments as flutes and tambourines—generic rather than country-specific signifiers.⁷

At around the same time medieval themes began to appear in literature, from the popular 'genre troubadour' around 1800 to Lord Alfred Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* (1859), while scholars such as Charles-Edmond-Henri de Coussemaker laid the



1 'Le joueur de violon' from *Description de l'Égypte, État moderne, Planches*, vol.2, plate E (1817)

foundations for the study of medieval music. An oriental Middle Ages emerged in such works as Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe* (1819), where Scott described the 'wild barbaric music' of a tournament procession: 'it was of Eastern origin', Scott wrote, 'having been brought from the Holy Land.'⁸ We also find the same oriental Middle Ages in music histories: Jean-François-Joseph Fétis claimed that troubadour songs were 'nothing more than memories of oriental

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songs put to new words', concluding that the very 'origins of medieval secular music are Oriental'; Edward Dent wrote of the close contact between Eastern music ('the Moors in Spain, the Saracens in Italy') and that of the medieval West; Gustave Reese opened his account of medieval history with the idiophones of Mesopotamia and Egypt, and placed the origins of Christian sacred chant in the lost vocal art of Syria; and Curt Sachs placed the beginnings of *Our musical heritage* in 'The Orient' (the title of his second chapter), whose musical 'inertia' still contained echoes of the distant musical past.⁹ For all these writers the primitive monophony of the Middle Ages had been filtered from its pure, oral oriental state through the corrupting minds and notation of the West.

Nineteenth-century orientalism led to Arabic hypotheses in medieval scholarship in the first half of the 20th century. Formal and topical similarities between troubadour verse and earlier Arabic poetry led to a theory that the one was influenced by the other. This 'Arabic hypothesis' produced some remarkable research, most notably Alois Nykl's magisterial defence of the hypothesis, *Hispano-Arabic poetry and its relations with the old Provençal troubadours* (1946), and the more tempered study of Pierre Le Gentil, *Le virelai et le villancico: le problème des origines arabes* (1954). However, since the hypothesis was usually inferred from general points of contact such as the Crusades rather than conclusive evidence of troubadour knowledge of Arabic, the majority of scholars, including specialists of Old Occitan, remained sceptical; Le Gentil, for instance, concluded that no direct Arabic influence could be proven.¹⁰ A similar hypothesis was developed for medieval music. Its main champion was Henry George Farmer, an orientalist whose position rested on certain indisputable facts, including the general influence on Western music theory of Arabic scholars such as Al-Fārābī (*fl.* early 10th century).¹¹ Another proponent was Julián Ribera, who based his highly subjective transcriptions of troubadour melodies on loose connections between these and later Spanish songs.¹² Despite their advocacy of the Arabic hypothesis in medieval music, both Ribera and Farmer had to admit the absence of positive musical documentation of contact between East and West.

The nascent industry of early music sound recording at the beginning of the 20th century would ultimately not resist orientalism. Unlike Baroque and Renaissance music, medieval monophonic repertoires were largely ignored by recording companies until after World War II, possibly because performers were less confident about how these should be interpreted. Curt Sachs's *Anthologie sonore* drew upon traditional Swiss mountain songs for inspiration in one of the very few recordings of *Minnesinger* and *trouvère* melodies before the 1950s. Sachs was attempting to produce as authentic a performance as possible by drawing on living traditional songs which he thought may have had links to medieval Germanic ancestors.¹³ The result was nonetheless a carefully literal interpretation of the musical text by the tenor Max Meili.¹⁴

Beginning in the 1950s performers such as Safford Cape (with Pro Musica Antiqua) and Russell Oberlin approached troubadour and *trouvère* songs in a similar fashion to Sachs. Cape's group featured heavy voices and long, rubato phrasing, while Oberlin's stately countertenor was echoed by a sparse viol accompaniment.¹⁵ At the end of the decade, however, New York Pro Musica's *The play of Daniel* inaugurated a new approach, their costumes exploding with colour, their sound bristling with 'Arabian nakers ... and jingles, and Near Eastern finger cymbals'.¹⁶ Their exotic and ostentatious demeanour was reminiscent of the costumes and antics of the early music innovator Arnold Dolmetsch, who had gone so far as to make a pilgrimage to Morocco in 1929 to draw inspiration from Arabic music.¹⁷ The only instruments the New York Pro Musica actually imported from the Orient were percussion, but as well-known signifiers they were all that was needed to evoke things Arabic. A Fétisian narrative was even recalled in Paul Henry Lang's liner note preface:

Early Christendom's music grew on the shores of the Mediterranean and in its spirit ... It was not really purely Western, for the flowering magic of the melody remained Eastern in character ... The oriental could create the long coloratura chain of melody but was unable to write it down; the western monk could, but as he did so he immediately exerted the characteristic rational and poetic bent of the European.

In other words, the West was smarter than the East,

but lacked its vitality; Western music performance practice could be made more authentic by tapping the oriental source. *The play of Daniel* was the perfect piece for such an endeavour. Set in ancient Babylon, it even included at one point a fire-eater and a sword-swallower. It became the New York Pro Musica's most popular performance.¹⁸

Rock music performers, too, would turn eastward for musical inspiration in the next decade: the Beatles to India and Brian Jones of the Rolling Stones to Morocco.¹⁹ The early 1960s thus anticipated an innovator who would forge a new sound for the field of early music. That innovator was Thomas Binkley.

Thomas Binkley (1932–95) first studied at the University of Illinois and later moved to Munich, where in 1959 he founded the Studio der frühen Musik (a.k.a. Early Music Quartet) with fellow American Sterling Jones and the Estonian singer Andrea von Ramm.²⁰ Binkley, who had read the works of Le Gentil and Farmer in support of the Arabic hypothesis, travelled in the early 1960s to India, Turkey and North Africa, where he heard musical performances which inspired him to bring these theories to life.²¹ It was at this time that the Studio began a marathon recording spree, producing over 15 LPs in the span of a decade (1963–73), and covering music from the Middle Ages to the early Baroque. (See table 1.) Taking its cue from New York Pro Musica, the ensemble released in 1964 an album of the Latin *Carmina burana* songs. This ushered the listener into an unprecedented recorded musical landscape combining jangling tambourines and bells, a Middle Eastern *rabāb* and *darbukka*, and the flutey subtlety of boy soprano and countertenor voices. Its release propelled the Studio der frühen Musik to fame: 'the recording was an immediate success, and was winning prizes' (liner notes). Like Dolmetsch in the late 1920s the ensemble then journeyed to Morocco to experience Arabic music at first hand, specifically the classical Moroccan Andalusian suite or *nūba*.²² As a result of the Moroccan pilgrimage the Studio gradually developed what Binkley called an 'Arabic' or 'Southern' style which explicitly took after the Andalusian *nūba*. As Harry Haskell later saw it, the Studio had 'revolutionized the interpretation of medieval monophonic music ... by applying improvisatory techniques derived from Middle Eastern

folk music';²³ and Howard Mayer Brown went so far as to call theirs 'an ethnomusicological approach to performance practice'.²⁴ Listeners found in their recordings a product of 'superior imagination and ... educated guesswork'; earlier efforts were now deemed 'ill-conceived, bland and boring'.²⁵ By the early 1970s the Studio had single-handedly inaugurated an authoritative modern performance practice of medieval monophony which continues to have an enduring influence on both its critics and adherents.

WHAT was the nature of the Andalusian classical music, or *Mūsīqā andalusīyya*, that Binkley and his ensemble heard in Morocco in the 1960s? Rooted in Persian dance forms, the Andalusian musical style emigrated from Baghdad to Spain in the 9th century, then to North Africa from the 10th century on, after which each country developed its individual tradition. Since none of this music was written down until modern times, it is impossible to assess the stability of the tradition over eight centuries, though some, notably Farmer, have argued for a certain continuity.²⁶ It is likely, however, that regional fragmentation and oral transmission assisted in significantly transforming Andalusian

Table 1 Studio der frühen Musik, selected discography, 1963–73

	Abbreviated titles	Label
1963	Frühe Musik: Italien	Teldec SAWT 9466-B
1964	Bauern-lieder	Teldec SAWT 9486-A
	Carmina burana, vol. 1	Teldec SAWT 9455-A
	Music of Elizabeth I	Archiv 199 001
	High Renaissance: Dowland	Archiv APM 14 345
1965	Florid-song in England	Teldec SAWT 9472-A
1966	Minnesang und Spruchdichtung	Teldec SAWT 9487-A
	Secular music	Teldec SAWT 9504-A
1967	Carmina burana, vol. 2	Teldec SAWT 9522-A
1968	High Middle Ages	Teldec SMT 1244
	Musica Iberica	Teldec SAWT 9620-1
1970	Chansons der Troubadours	Teldec SAWT 9567-B
1972	Guillaume de Machaut	Reflexe 1 C063-30106
	Oswald von Wolkenstein	Reflexe 1 C063-30101
	Roman de Fauvel	Reflexe 1 C063-30103
1973	Martin Codax	Reflexe 1 C063-30118
	Camino de Santiago	Reflexe 1 C063-30107-8

music during this long period of time; even Farmer had to admit that certain assumptions were necessary, given the lack of evidence.²⁷ Furthermore, these changes were accelerated in the 20th century. As Ruth Davis and Salwa El-Shawan have pointed out with regard to Tunisia and Egypt respectively, the well-documented traditional Andalusian ensemble has changed drastically in instrumentation, repertory and practice since the Middle Ages. In fact, in recently reviving these repertoires, Egypt and North Africa have often taken the Western orchestra as a model.²⁸

The modern Andalusian *nūba* is a monophonic setting of several poems with instrumental interludes. Governed by a single melodic mode, a *nūba* is usually divided into several movements, each with its own characteristic rhythm. It traditionally lasts up to several hours, although modern performances consist only of selections from a given *nūba*. The traditional Andalusian ensemble is typically made up of a chorus and a male soloist accompanied by the following instruments: the *rabāb* (two-stringed fiddle),

ūd (fretless lute), *kamenja* (violin), *nāy* (flute), *qānūn* (psaltery), *tār* (tambourine) and *darbukka* (drum). Western instruments such as the double bass and piano may also be used.²⁹

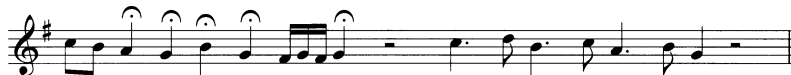
Beyond the characteristic form and instrumentation, however, the proper ornamentation of the melody is the defining and integral element of Arabic music. Each instrument and voice actively embroiders the melody in some way. As Mahmoud Guettat has argued,

It is to these ornaments that the individual parts of the *nūba* owe all their charm. When used with taste and in the right place ... they arouse, in performers and audience alike, a wonderful delight.³⁰

Some frequently used embellishments are so pervasive that they sometimes become part of the melody itself. A typical instance of this is found in the second phrase of ex.1, which is transcribed from the opening of a recent recording by the Fez Orchestra.³¹ (See illus.2.)

Inspired by Andalusian music, the Studio returned to Europe with a view to transforming the

Ex.1 Opening of *nūba*, *Hijazi al-Kabir* by Fez Orchestra



2 The Fez Orchestra performing at the 1977 Basel symposium, 'Woche der Begegnung' (photo: Peter Armbruster)

sound of early music performance. Shortly after his Moroccan journey Binkley introduced the concept of a 'Northern style' and a 'Southern Arabic style' of medieval music to the Studio's 1966 record *Minnesang und Spruchdichtung*. According to the liner notes, the *Minnesinger* song *Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde* was rendered in what Binkley defined as the medieval Southern Arabic style of performance. The Studio's exposure to Andalusian music was manifest in several aspects. They first added an Egyptian tambourine to an ensemble which included a flute, fiddle and lute, the resulting whole being vaguely suggestive of an Andalusian ensemble. These instruments then performed a prelude based on the original medieval melody (ex.2). Furthermore, sung strophes alternated with various instrumental interludes, a structure inspired by the Andalusian suite.

Thus was inaugurated the medieval Southern Arabic style. Yet even with all these adjustments, the Studio's sound could hardly have been called 'Arabic'. Just as the rondo form was by no means unique to the Andalusian suite,³² the flute, drone and drum combination used on the record was not exclusively reminiscent of Andalusian music. More importantly, the lack of appropriate Arabic or any other ornamentation recalled the austere performances of Max Meili and Russell Oberlin. The Studio had also introduced a more subtle element which was not especially characteristic of the *nūba*, a continuous drone performed by the fiddle. Rather than emphasizing the melody's linear aspects as in Andalusian music, the drone instead created strong vertical structures suggestive of common period tonality. In *Nu alrest* the D drone brought out the melody's outline of what amounted to a minor triad on that pitch, giving the reassuring semblance of a minor key for the listener unaccustomed to medieval or Arabic modes.³³ Once the experiment had begun, it was clear that more would be needed to make the Southern style more convincingly Arabic even to

Western listeners who knew nothing about Arabic music.

Two years later, in the Studio's second *Carmina burana* recording, the medieval Northern and Southern styles were more sharply defined in the liner notes: 'The two major poles were the traditional inherited performance styles indigenous to the area and the imported and superimposed Arabic style.' The exact historical origins of this Arabic importation were not specified, and listeners were left to supply in their imagination the gradual orientalizing of the *Carmina burana* melodies as they made the trek from their Austrian homes to the courts of southern Spain. The Studio's rendition of *Ecce gratum* linked it to the 'concept of the "nuba"' and 'the classical form of the late Andalusian style', as Binkley wrote in the liner notes. An ensemble consisting of a tenor, lute, fiddle and organetto was supplied with Arabic feel by means of several tambourines 'from the Orient' featured in the brief interludes. This rendition otherwise differed very little from the earlier *Nu alrest* and added nothing substantially new to the Southern style. But what the 1968 *Carmina burana* had accomplished was a more explicit formulation of the Southern style and its presumed Andalusian connection.

It was in 1971 that Binkley firmly seized the 'Arab *Nuba* ... as a model for the creation of the accompaniments' in the Southern style. According to the liner notes of *Chansons der Troubadours*, Binkley claimed that the *nūba* was 'a form which seems to have changed little since the time when Arabian culture exerted such a positive influence on Western Europe.' Hitherto a shadowy idea, the Southern style had become with *Chansons der Troubadours* a clearly articulated concept, one which nonetheless rested on dubious premises. The first of these was the unlikely notion of an unchanged musical tradition over eight centuries, as mentioned earlier. Binkley's next assumption of the 'extensive influence' of Arabic music on European medieval performance practice

Ex.2 Prelude to the Studio der frühen Musik's *Nu alrest lebe ich mir werde* (1966)



was not substantiated and is still regarded sceptically today. Finally, as Binkley had earlier maintained, the Studio's 'accompaniments reveal the extensive influence exerted on medieval European musical performance by Arab culture', bringing 'the performance of this music close to the elusive original, an accomplishment thought impossible just a decade ago.'³⁴ The notion of a recorded 'elusive original' would soon come under attack in the polemic surrounding authenticity in early music performance.³⁵

But the problems with these arguments were not remarked on at the time, and *Chansons der Troubadours* received an enthusiastic reception. The Studio had here revealed a new recorded interpretation of early music which, in the words of one reviewer, 'promises (and deserves) to become a classic.' The same writer went on to say that *Chansons der Troubadours* 'compels one to declare: "That's what it could have sounded like."³⁶ From this release on, other early music groups began imitating the Studio's Arabic style by adopting extensive preludes and interludes, drones, and Middle Eastern and North African instruments (especially percussion), with an increasing attention to instrumental improvisation.³⁷

Following its gestation during the 1960s, the Southern style had burst into sound with *Chansons der Troubadours*. Nineteenth-century orientalism and medievalism were revived on vinyl grooves with the new promise of an authentic medieval performance. Two tracks especially reflected the Studio's evolving Arabic style, the anonymous *A l'entrada del temps clar* and the Comtessa de Dia's *A chantar m'er*. The latter was much like earlier renditions with its rondo form and drone. But what distinguished this performance were the lengthy instrumental interludes that extended this single *canso* to over 10 minutes in length; interestingly, precedents for this had already been established in popular music, from the Rolling Stones' single *Going home* (1965) to the Beatles' *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967),

which merged several songs together into one continuous whole. *A l'entrada del temps clar* was shorter than *A chantar*, but the conspicuous percussion of this lively call and response tune suggested the novelty of Eastern excitation to an audience more accustomed to medieval music recordings in a slow and sober style.

Despite earlier liner note claims, Binkley would later admit that it was with the 1973 double LP *Camino de Santiago* that the Studio first incorporated the Andalusian style: 'I tried here for the first time to imitate the Andalusian practice and to mix it with other styles.'³⁸ This release focused on Mediterranean repertoires associated with the pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostela in north-west Spain. If the troubadours' musical contact with Arabic styles was historically questionable, the Spanish *cantiga* repertory could demonstrate indisputable iconographic proof of such a connection: the famous miniatures of *cantiga* manuscript El Escorial b.I.2 depict Spanish and Arabic musicians playing together (evidence used earlier by Ribera); some of these were reproduced on the record sleeve. The most distinctive rendition on *Camino de Santiago* was *Non e gran causa*. Like *Nu alrest* and *A chantar*, it alternated sung verses with strongly contrasting instrumental interludes. This performance took *A chantar*'s ambitions of length a step further, however, stretching the *cantiga* into a 20-minute suite with solo and ensemble interludes. And here for the first time the Andalusian connection became explicit. The very last interlude used a melody which was clearly an imitation of—if not a direct loan from—the contemporary Andalusian repertory (ex.3). Several melodic turns are reminiscent of the Fez Orchestra excerpt from ex.1.

Compared to previous efforts, this was a significant achievement and marked the culmination of the ensemble's Arabic style. But this brief Andalusian interlude was also conspicuous, for it contrasted with the music preceding and following it, which

Ex.3 Final interlude of the Studio der frühen Musik's *Non e gran causa* (1973)



was more akin to the Studio's earlier experiments with the Southern style. The instrumentation of *Non e gran causa* featured *vielle*, lute and lira, not a *kamenja*, 'ūd or *rabāb*; as before, ornamentation was kept to a minimum in favour of a literal musical reading. Throughout *Camino de Santiago* a continuous drone once again appealed to the vertical sensibilities of Western listeners, as in *Quen a Virgen* and *Quis dabit*, where one could hear F major and D minor, respectively.

By 1973 the Studio had perfected their Southern Arabic style with the gradual addition of percussion instruments, the creation of a Western Andalusian hybrid ensemble, and the use of extensive instrumental preludes and interludes. Yet these Arabic graftings, like the final interlude of *Non e gran causa*, made all the more clear the gap which separated recorded early music repertoires from orally transmitted traditional Arabic music. The most glaring discrepancy was the lack of appropriate style, best illustrated in the Studio's inability to integrate the ornamentation so fundamental to Arabic music.³⁹ Perhaps the ensemble could not bring itself to improvise too much on Western art music, having inherited from Safford Cape and Noah Greenberg a reluctance to tamper too much with the musical text, a need to present it literally. This was not an isolated phenomenon. Robert Philip has pointed out for recorded Western orchestral repertory that a restrained approach replaced the more casual treatment characteristic of recordings before World War II.⁴⁰ At the same time that it sought to depart from earlier recorded interpretations, in its literalism the

Studio followed the example of such performers as Max Meili and Russell Oberlin.

In fact it would be difficult to characterize as specifically Andalusian or Arabic any of the Studio's performances during their crucial decade of recording, though a few features of their style are shared with Andalusian practice (table 2). Andalusian music played only a minor role in the creation of Binkley's Southern style, which was largely an eclectic fabrication, albeit an effective one. Binkley's ensemble chose a middle ground between accepted practice and innovative ideas, and successfully juggled the paradoxical modern demands for fashionable sounds and historical accuracy. In this scheme, Arabic music was used more as a pretext to revive orientalism than as a scientific working out of the actual sounds, as the tantalizing goal of an authentic medieval performance was attempted. Just as 19th-century Europe had gone to the Islamic Orient for its own roots, so did the European-American Studio turn to Arabic music after World War II for the renewal of early music performance practice.

Following the publication of Binkley's retrospective in the 1977 issue of the *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, René Clemencic pessimistically declared that 'a satisfying reconstruction of medieval performance practice on purely scholarly grounds is never possible—indeed, impossible even in principle', thus expressing an idea which was soon to become common currency. Clemencic proposed the idea of a 'performance practice of medieval music in the twentieth century'.⁴¹ Thanks to the Studio's earlier contributions, such a practice

Table 2 Some points of comparison between Andalusian music and Studio der frühen Musik recordings

	Andalusian Music	Studio Recordings
Repertory	several modern poems transmitted orally	one medieval poem transmitted in writing
Voice	tenor: clear, no vibrato	alto–bass: some vibrato
Instruments	<i>rabāb</i> , 'ūd, <i>kamenja</i> , <i>nāy</i> , <i>qānūn</i> , <i>tār</i> , <i>darbukka</i>	<i>vielle</i> , flute, harp, shawm, etc. with 'ūd, <i>rebec</i> , <i>tār</i> , <i>darbukka</i>
Form	five movements (several hours)	one movement (3–10 minutes)
Style	heterophonic (extensive ornamentation)	monophonic (little ornamentation)
Tempo	slow–fast–slow within movement	no tempo change
Metre	varying (e.g. 4+2, 5+3)	usually 3/4 or 4/4
Melody	modes (<i>tubū</i> ') using 1/4 and 3/4 tones	Western modes: no use of 1/4 or 3/4 tones

already existed in the form of the new Arabic style. Following his remarkable decade of recording, Thomas Binkley would go on to become one of the most influential figures in early music performance, first in his position at the Schola Cantorum in Basel in the 1970s, and later as founder of the Early Music Institute at the Indiana University School of Music. His later official accomplishments have perhaps overshadowed what was, if not his most important, then at least one of his most enduring contributions, although one about which he himself had ambivalent feelings.⁴²

The Studio der frühen Musik—to return to my opening argument—was but one contributor

(although a key one) to an orientalism of early music performance practice already established by the 1950s. It had been imagined by 19th-century music historians and practised as early as Dolmetsch; Noah Greenberg's New York Pro Musica's 'Arabian nakers and Near Eastern finger cymbals' had etched it onto vinyl posterity. Beginning with *Carmina burana*, Binkley and the Studio built upon this existing orientalism and experimented their way into the Southern style of performance, picking up the odd instrument and fact as they became available. And on their way to discovering an Arabic medieval style, the Studio der frühen Musik revitalized the 20th-century performance practice of medieval music.

1 *Chants de l'Église de Rome: Vêpres du jour de Pâques*, Ensemble Organum, dir. Marcel Pérès (Harmonia Mundi HMC 901604, 1998). The liner notes explain that this re-creation is actually inspired by Byzantine chant. Compare this approach to the popular *Chant: the Benedictine monks of Santo Domingo de Silos*, dir. Ismael Fernandez de la Cuesta (Angel CDC 7243-5-55138-2-3, 1993).

2 *Manuscrit du Roi*, Ensemble Perceval, dir. Guy Robert (Arion 68225, 1992); *The sacred bridge: Jews and Christians in medieval Europe*, Boston Camerata, dir. Joel Cohen (Erato 2292-45513-2, 1990).

3 *The courts of love: music from the time of Eleanor of Aquitaine*, Sinfonye, dir. Stevie Wishart (Hyperion A 66367, 1990); *Trobar e cantar: Gérard Zuchetto chante les troubadours: XII^e et XIII^e siècles* (Gallo 684, 1992).

4 *Bella domna: the medieval woman: lover, poet, patroness and saint*, Sinfonye, dir. Stevie Wishart (Hyperion A 66194, 1988).

5 See E. Saïd, *Orientalism* (New York, 2/1994), esp. ch.1, 2.

6 Saïd, *Orientalism*, pp.113–15.

7 D. B. Scott, 'Orientalism and musical style', *Musical quarterly*, lxxxii (1998), pp.309–10, 327. See also J.-P. Bartoli, 'L'orientalisme dans la musique française du XIX^e siècle: la ponctuation, la seconde augmentée et l'apparition de la modalité dans les procédures exotiques', *Revue belge de musicologie*, li

(1997), pp.137–70; R. P. Locke, 'Cut-throats and casbah dancers, muezzins and timeless sands: musical images of the Middle East', *The exotic in Western music*, ed. J. Bellman (Boston, 1998), pp.104–36.

8 Sir Walter Scott, *Ivanhoe: a romance* (New York: Signet, 1962), pp.102, 383. Later in the same work Scott refers to the 'strangely sweet sound' of the character Rebecca's songs imported from her native Palestine.

9 Fétis, *Histoire générale de la musique depuis les temps les plus anciens jusqu'à nos jours* (Paris, 1876), v, pp.7, 11; E. J. Dent, 'Social aspects of music in the Middle Ages', *The Oxford history of music*, introductory volume, ed. P. Buck (London, 1929), pp.205–6; G. Reese, *Music in the Middle Ages, with an introduction on the music of ancient times* (New York, 1940), pp.5, 67; C. Sachs, *Our musical heritage: a short history of music* (New York, 2/1955), p.9. Sachs also wrote that 'nearly all the musical instruments of medieval Europe came from Asia ... or from the Islamic empire': *The history of musical instruments* (New York, 1940), p.260.

10 Bibliographic references to these and other works can be found in R. Taylor, *La littérature occitane du Moyen Âge: bibliographie sélective et critique* (Toronto, 1977), pp.20–22. A recent summary of past scholarship is found in G. T. Beech, 'Troubadour contacts with Muslim Spain and knowledge of Arabic: new evidence

concerning William IX of Aquitaine', *Romania*, cxiii (1995), pp.14–18.

11 See especially G. H. Farmer, 'The Arabic influence on European music', *Glasgow University Oriental Society*, xix (1961–2), pp.1–15; G. H. Farmer, *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence* (London, 1930). See also S. Burstyn, 'The "Arabian influence" thesis revisited', *Current musicology*, xlvi (1990), esp. p.119, n.1.

12 J. Ribera, *Music in ancient Arabia and Spain*, trans. E. Hague and M. Leffingwell (London, 1929), and *La música andaluza medieval en las canciones de trovadores, troveros y minnesinger* (1923–5; New York, 1974).

13 This is Sachs's assumption in his 'The road to major', *Musical quarterly*, xxix (1943), pp.381–404, and 'Primitive and medieval music: a parallel', *Journal of the American Musicological Society*, xiii (1960), pp.43–9.

14 *Anthologie sonore*, vol. 1, record 1, *Gregorian chant to the thirteenth century*, AS-1 (The Haydn Society, 1954); these recordings were first released in the 1930s and 1940s.

15 *Chansons et motets du treizième siècle*, Pro Musica Antiqua, dir. Safford Cape (Archiv APM 14068a [1956]); *Music of the Middle Ages*, i: *Troubadour and trouvère songs*, Russell Oberlin and Seymour Barab (Musical Heritage Society 675, 1956).

16 *A twelfth century musical drama: the play of Daniel* (Decca DL 9402, 1958), p.2.0

17 G. H. Farmer, 'The music of Islam', *Ancient and oriental music*, New Oxford History of Music, i, ed. E. Wellesz (London, 1957), p.476.

18 J. Gollin, *Pied piper: the many lives of Noah Greenberg* (Hillsdale, NY, 2001), ch.28. See also H. Haskell, *The early music revival: a history* (Mineola, 1996), pp.110–11.

19 The Beatles' *Norwegian wood* (from the 1965 *Rubber soul*) and *Love you to* (*Revolver*, 1966) featured the sitar; Rolling Stones member Brian Jones's posthumously released *Brian Jones presents the pipes of Pan at Joujouka* (1971) included live music by Moroccan musicians. I would like to thank Robert Lug for his expert assistance on these points; the Beatles' influence is also mentioned in Gérard Le Vot's 'Les troubadours et la musique arabe: malentendus et réalité', in *Granadas 1492: Histoire et représentations* (Amam, 1993), p.127.

20 H. M. Brown, 'Pedantry or liberation? A sketch of the historical performance movement', *Authenticity and early music, a symposium*, ed. N. Kenyon (Oxford, 1988), p.49, n.53. On Binkley, see D. Lasocki, 'The several lives of Tom Binkley: a tribute', *Early music America*, i (1995), pp.16–24, and J. Cohen and H. Snitzer, *Reprise: the extraordinary revival of early music* (Toronto, 1985), ch.6.

21 As he later recalled in T. Binkley, 'Zur Aufführungspraxis der einstimmigen Musik des Mittelalters—ein Werkstattbericht', *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis* i (1977), pp.21–2, 75. On Binkley's familiarity with Le Gentil, I would like to thank an anonymous reader for communicating first-hand knowledge of this fact.

22 Binkley's later recollection of the journey's date was 1964–5 (Binkley, 'Zur Aufführungspraxis', p.22); contemporary liner notes state 1963–4.

23 Haskell, *The early music revival*, p.165.

24 Brown, 'Pedantry or liberation?', p.49.

25 J. Beck, review of Clemencic Consort's 1977 *Troubadours, Romance philology*, xxxviii (1985), p.420.

26 Farmer, *Historical facts*.

27 G. H. Farmer, *A history of Arabian music to the thirteenth century* (1929; London, 1994), p.206. See, for example, C. C. Wendt, 'North Africa: an introduction', *The Garland encyclopedia of world music: Africa*, i, ed. R. Stone (New York, 1998), p.534.

28 R. Davis, 'Traditional Arab music ensembles in Tunis: modernizing *Al-Turāth* in the shadow of Egypt', *Asian music*, xxviii (1997), pp.73–108; S. El-Shawan, 'Traditional Arab music ensembles in Egypt since 1967: "The continuity of tradition within a contemporary framework"?' *Ethnomusicology*, xxviii (1984), pp.271–88. See also Burstyn, 'The "Arabian influence" thesis revisited', pp.121–5.

29 M. Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb* (Paris, 1980), p.97; A. Chottin, *Tableau de la musique marocaine* (Paris, 1938), pp.85–6; Ah. Aydoun, *Musiques du Maroc* (Casablanca, 1992), p.26; on the Tunisian tradition, see R. Davis, 'Arab-Andalusian music in Tunisia', *Early music*, xxiv (1996), pp.423–37.

30 'C'est à eux [les ornements] ... que les parties de la *nūba* doivent tout leur charme. Leur emploi avec goût et au bon endroit ... suscite, aussi bien chez les musiciens que chez les auditeurs un enchantement merveilleux' (Guettat, *La musique classique du Maghreb*, p.287).

31 Excerpt from instrumental prelude to *nūba, Hijazi al-Kabir* from *Maroc: musique classique andalou-maghrébine*, Fez Orchestra, dir. Hajj Abdelkrim Raïs (Ocora c 5590 16 [1988]). It was Mr Raïs's ensemble which participated along with the Studio der frühen Musik in a 1977 symposium on Andalusian and medieval music at the Schola Cantorum Basiliensis. A recording of the Fez ensemble's 1977 performance is also available: *Andalusian music from Morocco: Moroccan Ensemble Fez* (Harmonia Mundi GD 77241, [1991]). On the 1977 symposium ('Woche der Begegnung') see various articles in *Basler Jahrbuch für historische Musikpraxis*, i (1977), and N. van Deusen, 'Basel, Switzerland: Woche der Begegnung', *Current musicology*, xxiii (1977), pp.20–22.

32 The traditional Persian *tasnif* and Turkish *fasl*, for example, are cycles

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33 The enduring popularity of the drone in performances of medieval music was recently questioned on iconographical grounds by S. Howell, 'The medieval instrumental drone: busy bee or lazy idler?', presentation at the Thirty First International Congress on Medieval Studies, Kalamazoo, Michigan, 11 May 1996. See also T. McGee, *Medieval instrumental dances* (Bloomington, 1989), p.36; S. Wishart, 'Echoes of the past in the present', *Companion to medieval and Renaissance music*, ed. T. Knighton and D. Fallows (Berkeley, 1992), pp.219–21.

34 *Carmina burana*, i, Studio der frühen Musik (Teldec SAWT 9455 [1964]), liner notes.

35 Burstyn, 'The "Arabian influence" thesis revisited', pp.119–22; N. Kenyon and R. Taruskin in *Authenticity and early music*, ed. Kenyon; R. Taruskin, *Text and act: essays on music and performance* (Oxford, 1995), pp.3–47. See also Haskell, *The early music revival*, ch.9.

36 J. Beck, 'Thomas Binkley's *Chansons der Troubadours*', *Romance philology*, xxxi (1977), pp.361, 364. Binkley's record was the first reviewed in *Romance philology*.

37 For example, *Troubadours*, Clemencic Consort, dir. René Clemencic (Harmonia Mundi 90396, 1977).

38 'Hier versuchte ich zum ersten Male, die andalusische Praxis nachzuahmen und sie mit anderen Stilen zu vermengen' (Binkley, 'Aufführungspraxis', p.25). At the same time he denied liner-note claims made between 1963 and 1971: 'It was not my intention to create an imitative species of Arabic music' ('Es war nicht meine Absicht ... eine Art Nachahmung der arabischen Musik anzustreben').

39 I played *A l'entrade* for Moroccan natives who had internalized Andalusian music from an early age. Their response was that even this freer performance felt only 'slightly Arabic' because the necessary embellishments and correct feel were missing. (I wish to thank Charles and Dahlia Obadiah

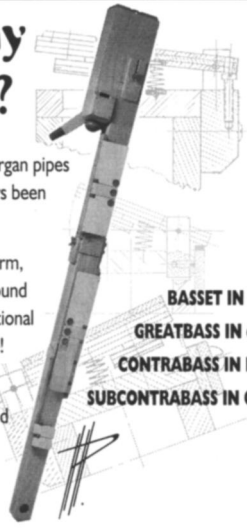
of Toronto, a teacher of traditional Berber dance, for listening to and commenting on several excerpts by the Studio der frühen Musik in November 1995.)

40 R. Philip, *Early recordings and musical style* (Cambridge, 1992), pp.230–34.

41 'Rein wissenschaftlich ist eine befriedigende Rekonstruktion mittelalterlicher Aufführungspraxis niemals möglich, prinzipiell nicht möglich' (R. Clemencic, 'Aufführungspraxis mittelalterlicher Musik im 20. Jahrhundert', *Musica antiqua: acta scientifica*, v (Bydgoszcz, 1978), pp.29–30). See also L. Dreyfus, 'Early music defended against its devotees: a theory of historical performance in the 20th century', *Musical quarterly*, xix (1983), pp.315–22, and R. Lug, 'Minne, Medien, Mündlichkeit: Mittelalter-Musik und ihre Wissenschaft im CD-Zeitalter', *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik*, xc/xci (1993), pp.77–8, esp. n.14.

42 See Lasocki, 'The several lives of Tom Binkley', p.19.

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