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Cross-Cultural Influences in Makam Theory: The Case of Greek Orthodox Theorists in the Ottoman Empire

ABSTRACT

The makam theory, which has been transmitted for nearly 5,000 years in Anatolian culture through the periods of Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Empires, Medieval Islam, the Ottoman Empire, and the Turkish Republic, presents an efficient cultural base on which sociocultural changes can be traced. In this regard, the works of Greek Orthodox theorists, who played a dominant role in the transmission of Ottoman music theory, especially after the 17th century, establish a powerful database for research on such topics as multi-culturalism in Ottoman music, the effect of Byzantine Music theory on Ottoman music, and the reflections of national identities in music. To be able to derive conclusions on these topics, the scope of this paper concentrates on a comparative survey of works of three Greek Orthodox theorists, namely Halaçoğlu, Marmarinos, and Kiltzanidis from the 18th and 19th centuries, and the works of other prominent theorists of the Ottoman music scene, such as Cantemir and Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede. The comparative analysis provides a scope to better understand how the music related to the social life of the Ottoman Empire at the time, and how the aesthetic and social changes were reflected in the music.

Makam as a Tool for Cultural Cross-Sections[1]

As the melody-organizing structures that make up the melodic patterns in traditional music mainly in Anatolia, Near East, and the Balkans, *makam* structures have been theorized for nearly 5000 years, going back to the Ancient Mesopotamian musical culture. Since then, the theory has been transmitted through a combination of memory and written manuscripts, establishing a cultural chain between the remains of the Ancient Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Empires, Medieval Islam, the Ottoman Empire and the Turkish Republic. Hence, *makam* theory, with its formulations, rules, and organizational logic defines one of the strongest tangible components of shared memory, shaped within these regions, enabling remarkable cross-sections of different historical periods.

Within the history of *makam* theory, the Ottoman Empire has a particular significance with its distinguishing cultural and artistic characteristics, through a multicultural dimension, which lies at the core of the cultural identity of the empire. The music scene of İstanbul is of special interest with regard to *makam* theory. Having become the capital of the Ottoman Empire once the Ottoman troops took over the city from the Byzantine Empire, İstanbul faced the development and the decline of the empire in social, cultural, and political senses. Throughout the historical process, İstanbul was home to quite a few important music theorists, many of whom authored manuscripts about *makam* music. *Makam* music was among the different music traditions that were alive in the daily life of İstanbulite citizens, who belonged to different ethnicities and religious origins. Within this multicultural context, the Greek Orthodox population represented a crucial point in the transmission process of Byzantine cultural heritage to the Ottoman culture.

This article aims to understand the music scene of İstanbul in the 18th and 19th centuries, in relation to the writing on *makam* music. The specific focus being on the Greek Orthodox theorists, this article digs into the interrelationship between the Byzantine cultural heritage and the Ottoman multicultural identity during the period

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[1] This article was developed from two conference presentations, by Cenk Güray and Ali Fuat Aydın at the 2nd International Conference of Byzantine Music and Hymnology in Athens in 2009 and by Nevin Şahin and Cenk Güray at the 2nd International Interdisciplinary Musicological Conference of the Department of Psaltic Art and Musicology of the Volos Academy of Theological Studies in Volos in 2016.

when the Ottoman Empire went through a political decline while, on the other hand, reaching an artistic climax. Among the innumerable performers and theorists, the work of two outstanding 18th century individuals is particularly useful for musicologists who research the interaction between the Byzantine church music tradition and the Ottoman musical culture in the theorization of *makam* music. These theorists are Panayiotes Halaçoğlu (Chalatzoglou) and his student Kyrillos Marmarinos, both of whom belonged to Greek Orthodox clergy. The works of Halaçoğlu and Marmarinos are analyzed in comparison with the contemporary works of theorists from a variety of ethnic and religious backgrounds, and with Kiltzanidis – a 19th century theorist from the Byzantine church music tradition. The comparative study carried out between the works of these theorists and the common theoretical trends of the time periods they belong to, reveals interesting results regarding the inner relations within this multicultural texture.

18th Century Ottoman Musical Life

The 18th century was a significant period in Ottoman history in that the empire, after ruling in three different continents, experienced a period of decline and strove to transform into a developed Western country, which resulted in its inevitable collapse after the World War I. According to the anti-decline scholarship, 18th century Ottoman Empire lost its dominance and declined politically, but, on the other hand, that period witnessed the vivid daily life of modern transformation even before the official modernization effort of the state (Sajdi, 2007: 6-11). Not only did public music life flourish in İstanbul (Greve, 2017: 35-39), but also the interactions between people from different ethnic and religious backgrounds dominated the daily life. The interaction between minorities and the Turkish Muslim community was at such a level that the Islamic court (*kadı*) would deal with disputes between members of the Jewish, Armenian and Greek Orthodox communities, as well as the cases of the majority (Göçek, 2005).

Besides the royal school of the Ottoman court, *Enderûn*, the military, and the dervish lodges were important centers where *makam* music was taught and practiced by that time (Tanrıkorur, 2005: 22-32). Furthermore, the Ecumenical Patriarchate cultivated theoretical contributions on *makam* music by the performers of ecclesiastical music within (Güray & Aydın, 2011). This also reflected the rising

interest in secular music, which was nourished by the humanist education of higher classes (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000: 10).

The ethnic diversity of the city contributed to the colorful daily life, frequently enjoyed in tulip gardens and coffee houses, with a variety of spatial identifications and music circles. Fener district, for instance, was the location of mainly Greek neighbors and the Phanariots, who were of higher socio-economic status and cultural elitism, played an active role in the music scene of the city. They were musicophiles; they not only enjoyed reading music, which led to the proliferation of manuscripts, especially in the 19th century, but they also composed music, which resulted in the peculiar genre of Phanariot Songs (Kalaitzidis, 2012: 158-159).

However, it was not only Phanariots who contributed to the music scene of İstanbul in the 18th century. Besides the Turkish composers, Greek and Armenian composers also contributed to the compilation of İstanbul-themed songs, which reflected the daily entertainment programs which took place in tulip gardens, mansions, coffee houses, and tourist sites, together with a strong affective attachment to the city (Sancar, 2003: 279-286).

This colorful daily life of 18th century İstanbul filled with music was also supported by the Ottoman court. Some of the Ottoman sultans were themselves musicians, and they supported composers and performers by offering royal accommodation and employment in addition to commissioning compositions and manuscripts. Sultan Selim the 3rd, for instance, was an instrumentalist, who studied *tanbur* with the most prominent *tanbur* players of the time. He was also a devotee of the Mevlevi order, for which he himself composed an *ayin* (a genre of religious music that accompanies the whirling rituals) in the *makam Suzidilara*, which was, again, compounded by himself. He invited significant Mevlevi composers to the court, commissioned compositions and performances, and made them write theory books. The Mevlevi dervish Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede authored a theory book and composed a notation system upon the order of Sultan Selim the 3rd (Özcan, 2009: 425-426).

This period was also significant in terms of the theoretical works on *makam* music. Different from the previous centuries, when *makam* music was analyzed on a scale-based approach upon cycles (*edvar*), the 18th century was characterized with a

theoretical approach, which favors frets and intonations over cycles. The late ethnomusicologist and art historian Eugenia Popescu-Judetz (2010: 7-8) regards this change in the theoretical orientation of *makam* analysis as a change from a taxonomic model to a transformative model. The pioneer of the transformative model was, surprisingly, not a theorist raised within the taxonomic model, but rather a multicultural outsider, the Moldavian prince Dimitri Cantemir, in the early 18th century. Popescu-Judetz called his theoretical understanding "an analytic and even a constructivist approach" (Güray & Aydın, 2011).

The Contribution of Greek Orthodox Theorists to Makam Theory

In light of the general view of the 18th century music life of the Ottoman Empire, the works of Halaçoğlu and Marmarinos can be evaluated through comparative analysis. Before digging into the cultural reflections on theory, it should be emphasized that both theorists were raised in a multicultural environment.

With roots going back to Trabzon, Panayiotes Halaçoğlu was the *protopsaltes* of the Ecumenical Patriarchate. After receiving his education on Byzantine chant on Mount Athos (*Αγίων Όρος*), he moved back to İstanbul, becoming a well-known figure with a mission in the patriarchate and a position in the music school of the patriarchate in Fener district. His work comparing *makam*s and Byzantine modes (*echoi*) is the first ever comparative study in *makam* theory (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000: 12-15).

Yet another comparative study is the work of Kyrillos Marmarinos, who was a student of Halaçoğlu. A clergyman like his teacher, Marmarinos was also a multicultural composer with liturgical compositions in genres such as *sticherarikon* and *kalophonikoi heirmoi* and compositions in *makam* music in genres such as *semai*. His treatise, titled *Eisagogi Mousikis* (Introduction to Music), written approximately 20 years after Halaçoğlu's treatise, devotes its third chapter to a similar comparison of *makam*s and Byzantine modes made by his teacher (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000: 16-18).

The influence of Cantemir on Halaçoğlu's work is undeniable, which he acknowledges at the very beginning. In an understanding similar to Cantemir, Halaçoğlu analyzes *makam*s on a fret-based approach rather than a cycle-based approach. His student Marmarinos also takes this stance, but a slight difference

occurs in their comparison of basic *makam*s (*kyria makamia*) and basic modes (*kyria echoi*), as shown in Table 1. This difference might have resulted from the fact that Marmarinos was also a performer, who worked together with Turkish masters (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000: 87).

Frets	Correspondent Echoi in Halaçoğlu	Correspondent Echoi in Marmarinos
Yegâh	Aneones	Plagal I heptaphonos
Aşîran	Neeanes	Plagal II
Irak	Barys aanes	Barys
Rast	Neagie	Plagal IV
Dügâh	Ana(nea)nes	Authentic I
Segâh	Neanes	Authentic II legetos
Çargâh	Nara	Authentic III
Nevâ	Hagia	Authentic IV
Hüseynî	Plagal I	Authentic I tetraphonos
Eviç	Plagal II	Authentic II
Gerdaniye	Plagal barys	Authentic III
Muhayyer	Plagal IV	Authentic IV

Table 1. Byzantine modes compared to basic *makam*s on a fret-based approach in Halaçoğlu and Marmarinos.

Halaçoğlu divides the *makam* structures into two groups, based on the frets (basic building blocks of *makam* structures – sounds created by intonations addressing to an interval of frequencies). He produces 12 main *makam*s from the main frets, and from the half frets he produces 52 'derived *makam*' so called *şube*. Neither the main *makam*s nor the *şube*s have a direct relation to the 15th century theory. *Şube*s are further divided into two groups of 'basic' and 'irregular.' Basic *şube* structures can be defined in relation to one fret, but the irregular ones can only be defined through a transposition, or the interaction of different frets. In his theoretical approach, he also cares about melodic movement within the structures.

The turn of the 19th century witnesses the important works of Kiltzanidis (Pappas, 1997; Popescu-Judetz, 2010) in the Patriarchate. Kiltzanidis, similarly to Halaçoğlu,

classifies the organizations as *makam* and *şube*. In his work, 12 main *makam*s are related to the 12 main frets. The main *şube*s are related to the half frets. The other 167 organizations, which cannot be attained with a specific fret are referred to as *şube* (also called/defined as irregular in the manuscript). His approach has no direct relation to the 15th century theory either. Similarly to Halaçoğlu, Kiltzanidis also defines Ottoman music theory through Byzantine music theory.

It is interesting to note that Marmarinos' 18th century theoretical approach is slightly different from that of the other representatives of the Patriarchate (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000; Güray, 2012: 107). He defines 12 *makam*s in relation to the main frets. He remarks that Old Persian masters related 7 main *makam*s to 7 planets, resembling the relation of the *avaze*s (structures that do not have a full scale, as is the case of *makam*s) to planets in the 15th century theory. He defines 19 *nim*s in relation to the half frets. Marmarinos defines *şube*s as composed of a synthesis of two separate structures, parallel to the *avaze* and *terkip* (*makam* compound) definition of the 15th century. Therefore, it can be argued that Marmarinos preserves the fret-based classification of Halaçoğlu which was later used by Kiltzanidis too. His main system of classification depends on the specific characteristics of frets and their relations/interactions with other frets with the classes named as *makam* and *nim,* resembling the trend led by Cantemir. But unlike Halaçoğlu and Kiltzanidis, he clearly places the organizations that occur when several structures are compounded, in another class, thus differentiating from the other two theorists – a move that recalls the theory of the 15th century.

It should also be emphasized that both Halaçoğlu and Marmarinos hesitated to express Ottoman identifications related to *makam* music. While Halaçoğlu named *makam*s as Persian, Marmarinos referred to the *makam* music as Arabo-persian, emphasizing the Persian and Middle Eastern ethnic connotations rather than Ottoman, Turkish and Anatolian connotations. This has to do with the tradition being merely named *musiki* in the Ottoman Empire without any ethnic identifications (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000: 9-12) but it might also be related to the geographical intersection between the Byzantine Empire and the Ottoman Empire, thus an effort to consolidate the Byzantine and Greek Orthodox identity by avoiding any Ottoman references. Similarly, the 19th century manuscript on Byzantine

notation by Apostolos Constas refers to *makam* music as *dış musiki* (external music) (Pappas & Beşiroğlu, 2007: 35) in an effort to distinguish the Byzantine musical identity from the Ottoman musical identity.

A closer look into Marmarinos's work also reveals connections with the multicultural structure of the Ottoman Empire. His reference to the 15th century cycle-based theory not only differentiates his work from other Greek Orthodox theorists but it also relates to the works of Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede, who makes constant comparisons between *kudemâ* (predecessors) and *müteahhirîn* (successors) (Tura, 2006) in terms of theory transmission throughout the centuries, and Tanburî Küçük Artin, who has a broader geographical understanding of *makam* and refers to Persian as well as Indian traditions together with the Ottoman understanding (Popescu-Judetz, 2002).

It must also be noted that both Marmarinos and Nâsır Abdülbâkî Dede reference the debates concerning music theory. Marmarinos says that the masters whom he consulted, participated in large disputes with each other, and thus he decided to take what was sound and reasonable to him into his theory (Popescu-Judetz & Sirli, 2000: 87). Abdülbâkî Dede starts his discussion as early as Pythagoras and states that the ancients and the moderns have differing, and from time to time nonsensical, ideas concerning *makam*s; he concludes his preface by saying that his theory is a response to such nonsense (Tura, 2006: 29-32). Despite the influence of the transformative model initiated by Cantemir on both Marmarinos's and Abdülbaki Dede's works, the two treatises have an important difference in that the influence of Sultan Selim the 3rd in Abdülbâkî Dede's work cannot be denied. This influence has to do with the innovative approaches towards modernity on the state level, which dominated the reforms of the 19th century and resulted in the sultan commissioning Abdülbâkî Dede to compose his theoretical treatise.
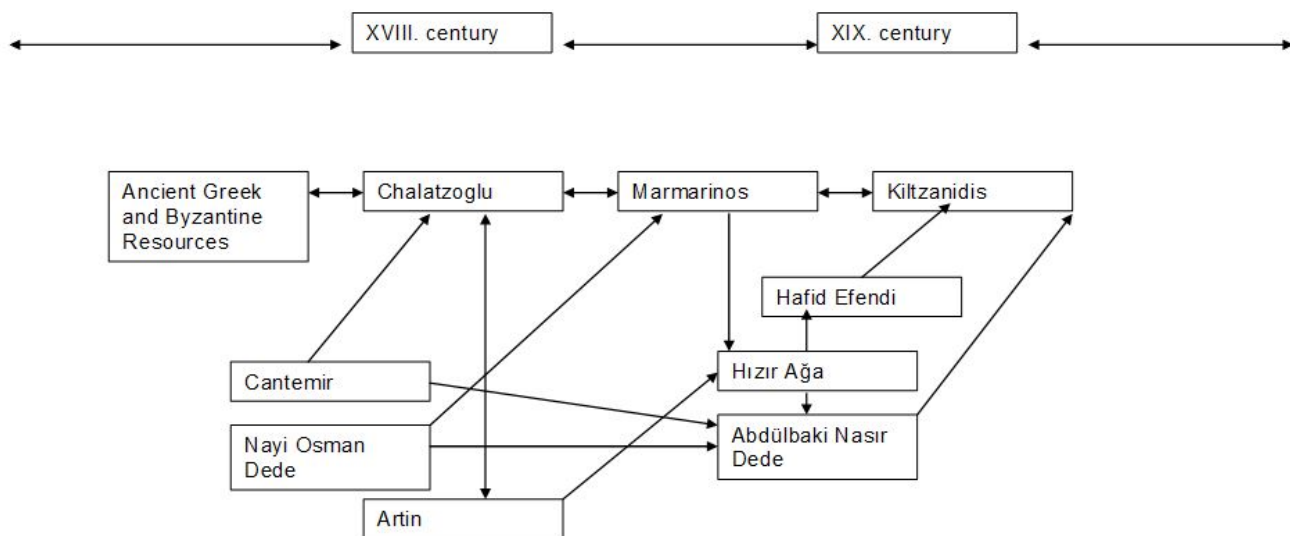
Table 2. Interaction between theorists of 18th and 19th centuries (Güray, 2012: 108).

The similarities in the interpretations of *makam* theory reveal that neither the Greek Orthodox theorists, nor the Turkish Muslim theorists remained limited to their local theoretical understandings, but rather benefitted from each other's contribution to *makam* theory. The dynamism of *makam* theory can be further traced to the 19th and 20th centuries. The move from the taxonomic model to the transformative model in the 18th century, for instance, at one point encounters modernization and Westernization, leading to the *makam*s being explained using the terminology of Western art music, as is the case with the 19th century theorist Haşim Bey (Yalçın, 2016). It can be argued that sociopolitical processes of modernization and nation-state formation also played role in the transformation of *makam* theory throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. However, a meticulous look into the music is crucial in seeing sociological connections. Analyses of the notations and recordings might tell a musical story of the dynamic history of *makam* theory beyond the interaction of Greek Orthodox and Turkish Muslim theorists, especially for the 19th century.

Conclusion

The practical characteristics of the treatises by the Greek Orthodox theorists reveal that they were developed from a complex combination of resources, and carried a strong trace of the Byzantine church tradition, while at the same time, in practice, extensively interacting with the *makam* tradition of the Ottoman musical culture.

These treatises also reflect the rich heritage of Greek Orthodox composers within the Ottoman tradition. On the socio-cultural level, the treatises show a strong connection to the Greek Orthodox identity, constructing bonds with the Byzantine music theory. This stance also strengthens the identity by differentiating the Greek Orthodox musical culture from the Ottoman, based on the initiative of the interaction of Ottoman music with the Arabic and Persian musical cultures. This identification is enhanced throughout centuries together with the rise of nationalistic ideologies (Erol, 2015). However, this cultural identification of music theory does not stand as a paradox since the music theory transmits not only the musical choices but also the social cross-sections covering the musical representation.

Besides the cultural significance of the works of Greek Orthodox theorists, Marmarinos's work is special in terms of having a vision of combining the new theoretical trends of the 18th century with the classical theory of the 15th century. Hence, these three theorists who were raised in the same environment, contributed to different topics of Ottoman musical theory after the 17th century. Halaçoğlu and Kiltzanidis, efficiently transmitted and improved the fret- and melodic direction-based classification approach led by Cantemir. They also transmitted Byzantine musical theory, in combination with Ottoman musical theory to the 20th century. On the other hand, Marmarinos, as an additional contribution to Halaçoğlu and even Kiltzanidis, became one of the last theorists to have carried visible traces of the 15th century theory into the 20th century, in a period when the traces of this ancient theory were nearly lost due to the severe effects of Westernization (Öztürk, 2018: 1777-1778). The detailed analysis of the old musical sources which exist within the borders of the Ecumenical Patriarchate, will deeply assist the researchers to further enlighten the critical effects of the Greek Orthodox theorists in the construction, variation and transmission of the Ottoman Music Theory.

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General Overview of Art Music in Kosovo: Social and Political Impact

ABSTRACT

Art Music, if understood in the sense of concert activity and foundation of professional institutions in Kosovo, started to develop by the middle of the 20th century, i.e. still during the Yugoslav period. Precisely, the population of Albanian ethnos in Kosovo was to share its fate with other people of the ex-Yugoslav State after World War II, from 1945. As an integral part of this development, new economic, political, social, and cultural circumstances arose for the professional development of Art Music as a significant segment of cultural life during this period. Prior to this period, there were no professional music institutions, no artists, composers, instrumentalists, or educated singers in Kosovo.

In order to properly understand the characteristics of Art Music in Kosovo, it is necessary to take a brief look at the impact of social and political circumstances on such development. This article strives to help identify specific problems that initially affected the delayed appearance of such a tradition in Kosovo. Despite all the difficulties, and political-historical circumstances, which had overwhelmed Kosovo, and continue having a huge impact even today (2017-18), Art Music (brought and dealt with very late), has managed to achieve a lot. At least it overcame the dark period and unfavourable conditions it had encountered for centuries.

Introduction

The development of Albanian Art Music in Kosovo started after World War II, and it shared the same fate as other countries in the Balkans. Art Music of Kosovo has gone through different political, social, and economic situations, all of which had a strong impact in its development.

However, the impact was stronger due to the beginning of the last war in Kosovo (commencing in 1990, almost a decade before the war), a war that warranted an inevitable ten-year desertion of the Albanians' cultural and educational life in Kosovo. To gain a deeper insight into the cultural circumstances in Kosovo, it is useful to provide a brief overview of the social, economic, and political circumstances the country faced.

Socialist Yugoslavia was founded in 1946, after Josip Broz Tito (1892-1980) and his communist-led partisans had helped liberate the country from German occupation in 1944-45. This Yugoslavia covered much of the same territory as its predecessor, with the addition of land acquired from Italy in Istria and Dalmatia. The previous kingdom of Yugoslavia, which existed until 1943, was replaced by a federation of six nominally equal republics: Croatia, Montenegro, Serbia, Slovenia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Macedonia. In Serbia the two so-called provinces of Kosovo and Vojvodina were given autonomous status in order to acknowledge the specific interests of Albanians and Magyars, respectively (Allcock and Lampe, 2012).

Serbia – and many Serbs had viewed Kosovo as their cultural heartland – instituted a new constitution in 1989 revoking Kosovo's autonomous status. Kosovo's Albanian leaders responded in 1991 by organising a referendum, which lead to the declaration of Kosovo's independence. Serbia undertook repressive measures against the Kosovar Albanians in the 1990s, provoking a Kosovar Albanian insurgency. (Central Intelligence Agency, 2013) This indicates a complicated situation in terms of ethnic and national identity, which profoundly transformed in the second part of the 20th century and was felt especially at the time of the first-ever elections after World War II in Yugoslavia, as the units that were part of it started proclaiming their status of independence (i.e. Slovenia and Croatia in 1991). It also accounts for the consecutive wars instigated by Yugoslav government against

the states demanding their independence from Yugoslavia, during this time, and onwards. This includes Kosovo, which witnessed an intense war (March-June 1999) until the intervention of NATO forces, which began the bombings on Serbia's military bases, at which point Slobodan Milosevic (1941-2006) acknowledged his defeat.

The above-mentioned political and social circumstances, as well as other dramatic changes within Kosovo have negatively affected the development of Albanian Art Music in Kosovo, which, from the author's perspective, was and is a neutral sphere of identity, as it started in a vacuum – i.e. an emptiness, in terms of its activities which did not exist before 20th century. Going back in history, a stronger role of Albanian music was noted especially in terms of public awareness during the continuous tensions with the Serbian State (1912-1913) during the First Balkan War, the First World War (1913-1918), and the Second World War (1939-1945), tensions that ultimately resulted in war in 1999.

Art Music in Kosovo has gone through challenging phases, even the ones when it was not cultivated at all, due to the socio-political circumstances brought onto Kosovo's population. And I do concur with the Kosovar musicologist Engjëll Berisha (1934-2015), who outlined in his influential book *Zhvillimi i stileve në veprat e kompozitorëve shqiptarë të Kosovës* [Developing Styles in the Works of Kosovo Albanian Composers], that the best way to present this country's history is music, which is considered, from its origin as the best expression of social and cultural stories existing throughout the world (1997: 8). The compositional oeuvre of Albanian composers can surely shed light on this matter. And this comes as a result of the program of their compositions, which, besides the melodic support deriving from Albanian folk music, have been strongly supported in the great historical events of the country, which we are witnessing today through their music. In the previously mentioned book, Berisha further continues remarking:

> In the 21st century, music represents national values for the younger
> cultures or countries that have been liberated more recently from what
> they had experienced during invasions. In contrast to the more affirmed
> cultures, which already possess centuries-long music traditions or at

least a narrative of a commonly accepted music history, it presents – on the positive side of this situation – an opportunity to develop new composition techniques that might be less blocked by pre-existent discourses, stylistic biases, etc. (2004: 87).

In a specific culture such as that of Kosovo, reliance on national values was almost inevitable. However, this was not easy to accomplish by taking into consideration the government of that period, which did not allow such a thing. Firstly, during the Yugoslav period (1929-1989), as a Kingdom (1929), then renamed as Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, and when the situation changed, the Serbian government that dominated the region from 1989-1999 did not allow the use of overtly specific national (i.e. Albanian-rooted) values/elements, other than the cultivation of music that did not contain any national motives – be it in its lyrics or melody (Munishi, 2001: 111). According to the Serbian writer and publisher based in London, Radomir Putnikovich (1936-), during the previously mentioned period, the music in Serbia was mostly in service of patriotic ideas and of the preservation of the nation, as indicated by the ecclesiastical performances of the time (1995).

If we go back in time, the situation regarding Albanians in Kosovo was better in 1945 when the socialist government under Josip Broz Tito came to power. Tito, a Yugoslavian revolutionary leader and a statesman, is still remembered with sincere sympathy by many Albanians of former Yugoslavia. Concerning the above-mentioned period, as the British historian and academician Noel Macolm states in his book, *Kosova një histori e shkurtër* [Kosovo, a Short Story], Albanians of Kosovo regarded Tito as the man who stopped or opposed the hostile policy of the regime of former Yugoslavia (2011: 398). Tito systematically repressed all manifestations of nationalism throughout Yugoslavia, seeking to ensure that no republic or nationality gained dominance over the others. In particular, Tito weakened the power of Serbia – the largest and most populous republic at that time – by establishing autonomous governments in the Serbian province of Vojvodina in the north and in Kosovo in the south. As the authors Daniel Bethlehelm and Marc Weller noted in their book, *The Yugoslav Crises in International Law*, "When Kosovo became a province, by Tito's decision, Kosovo's borders did not precisely match the areas of ethnic Albanian settlement in Yugoslavia (significant number of Kosovo Albanians remained in the

Republic of Macedonia, Montenegro and Serbia)" (Bethlehelm andWeller 1997: 15). This means that it was an unjust territorial division, but Tito made this decision to satisfy Kosovo by declaring it a province, and also to satisfy other countries that were part of Yugoslavia while maintaining the stability of his government.

After Tito's death, the situation in Kosovo was becoming more difficult with every day that passed when Slobodan Milosevic came to power in 1989. According to Bethlehelm and Weller, in 1991 Milosevic stopped the work of the Kosovo Assembly, whose delegates had declared Kosovo's independence on July the 2nd of the same year (Bethlehelm and Weller, 1997: 15). This deteriorating situation affected the culture in general, by suspending any existing cultural activity, which came from the largest ethnicity in Kosovo, which were and are Albanians. Regarding this, Malcolm remarks:

> *This was responded to by a cultural war in Kosovo; Albanian intellectuals began expressing their discontent with the Serb establishment through different writings in and out of Kosovo. Professor Ali Hadri, was forced to resign from the Institute of History accused as a "nationalist", then the sociologist Hajredin Hoxha was attacked aggressively for his study in which he mentioned the demand for secession. On the other hand, the Serbian intellectuals, such as Dimitrie Bogdanovic with his book Knjiga o Kosovu accused Kosovo Albanian people that they were trying to create an "ethnically pure province, and so did other books during the 80's where the main focus of Serbian authors was to present the history of Serbs in Kosovo as a permanent ethnic martyrdom (2011: 423).*

Reactions from the Serbian side were retaliated with imprisonments of Albanian intellectuals and insurgents, expulsion of teachers and students (who, at the time, refused the new Serb syllabus, which excluded the teaching of Albanian literature and history) from educational institutions (Malcolm, 2011:436). I was part of the generation which was not allowed to learn Albanian language, or in it, in educational institutions. Having been excluded from the public educational system, the teaching continued in private homes, lent for that purpose by the parents of the pupils, as

well as the homes of the teachers and people of goodwill, homes which served as an improvised school environment. This situation was motivated by hoping to avoid the abandonment of education by the younger generations, but the conditions and the learning outcomes were very weak.

Set against the context sketched out above, my focus goes towards the impact that historic events had on the Art Music works and compositions in a multi-ethnic, yet ethnically divided environment such as Kosovo. The historical circumstances of Kosovo's dramatic conditions culminated in the sole purpose of showing its need to found its own state, which was ultimately achieved in 2008.

In 1999, the fate of history turned sides in favour of the Art Music development. The Albanian music revival in Kosovo had no older historical, musical, or classical reference point for a local Art Music history, such as Franco-Flemish renaissance music, or the Viennese classical composers. As mentioned above, its development started in the 20th century – the development of Art Music of a state, which the Serbian government had put it in a state of clinical death (1914-1945) (Munishi, 2001: 295). To that point, cultural activities had suffered not only from isolation, but also suppression in Kosovo for ten more years (1990-1999).

According to the Serbian musicologist Melita Milin, Art Music and composers' oeuvres were isolated as a result of the negative effect of the previously described dramatic changes and other historic circumstances in Serbia during and after 1945, and during the 1990s (2009). At the time of writing, Kosovo still did not have an adequate hall for Art Music concerts and shows. The lack of conditions for performance is contrasted by a strong local interest in cultivating Art Music literature among local composers. As a result of the above-mentioned circumstances and lack of venues, which are necessary for the presentation of specific genres, only some of the existing composers continue composing in Kosovo nowadays.

This situation, not withstanding, Art Music in Kosovo, was performed, presented, and developed after World War II.

This means that we cannot make a real comparison between Art Music of Kosovo with that of other states of the world.

The main reason I can never make such a comparison is that the inception of Kosovo's Art Music took place only in 1944-45 (as mentioned above), whereas world Art Music at that time was characterized by twelve-tone serialism, atonality, and minimalism, all of which were integral to the composers' education and work. Yet Kosovar composers, especially in the beginning of their compositional oeuvres, did not employ these styles, considering the non-existence of previous Art Music styles in Kosovo, which hindered Art Music in Kosovo from developing in parallel with the Western European one, and resulted in an inability to analyse previous styles, which may have been a huge support to their newly-composed Art Music oeuvre, the newest in Europe and beyond.

Art Music of Albanians in Kosovo: General Considerations Regarding the Pre-Conditions of Art Music Development

According to Berisha, a pre-condition for the development of Art Music (professional music) in Kosovo were the registered amateur music societies active at the end of the 19th century, also known as the 'Albanian Renaissance' (2004: 36). The same situation was the case in Serbia which ruled Kosovo during the 19th century, after the Balkan Wars (late 19th century). According to Radomir Putnikovich, Art Music life in Serbia had its beginnings in the amateur music ensembles and foreign musicians, i.e. Czechs. As he pointed out:

> *The period itself was remarked by amateurism, but Serbian music of the Romanticist style began then, based on the folk melodies. Apart from native Serbian musicians, the rise of music was also contributed to by foreigners, especially the Czechs, who were choir leaders in Serbian singing societies, playing in orchestras and teaching in the Serbian schools (1995).*

As indicated by Putnikovich, Art Music in Kosovo also began its life with these semi-professional ensembles formed in different cities of Kosovo, i.e. the Cultural Art Society 'Agimi' in Prizren in 1944, and other societies of such type that consisted of choirs and chamber orchestras of unique importance for Art Music. Special credit goes to the music art institutions for introducing and further developing Art Music in Kosovo by starting their activities in 1948, when the first school of this kind was

established. Soon after the establishment of the music faculty (1975), the introduction of the first professional composers, orchestras, ensembles, ballet, and classical music festivals followed. Further, we shall prove that in Kosovo, halfway through the 20th century (reasons for the delay are specified in the Introduction of this article) a part of the primary conditions for introduction and development of this type are fulfilled. As such, we mention other introductions that speak for themselves, such as the nonexistence of a national opera house or even an adequate music (concert) hall, which does not motivate composers to expand their compositional opus; eventually the result is the lack of opera and other compositions for the stage.

For a limited time, there was a broad and genuine development in music activity, such as amateur societies like Ramiz Sadiku, Bajram Curri, Kastriotët etc., and despite the difficult circumstances, the spark for a beginning of cultural life was lit. As previously mentioned, sadly, this would come to a halt and collapse by the end of the 1990s. The total occupation of Kosovo found Albanians unprepared and completely unused to such an environment. This ultimately affected our general cultural flow, and music in particular. Nevertheless, despite all the torture and political influences, music and its power prevailed by accompanying the people of Kosovo through the darkest times.

Albanian composers of Art Music in Kosovo: a historical division
Art Music development in Kosovo was divided into three generations, and accordingly, composition studies are also divided in that way, (Berisha, 1997: 34) paying attention to the stylistic characteristics and modes of musical expression of Kosovar Albanian composers.

According to this division, the first generation is represented by Lorenc Antoni (1909-1991) and Rexho Mullaj (1923-1982). These composers lived and composed in the time of former Yugoslavia (the second and the third generation and some of the composers from the fourth/new generation did as well), when Kosovo was recognised as an Autonomous Socialist Province within Yugoslavia (1946-1990).

Lorenc Antoni and Rexho Mullaj are known as the pioneers of Art Music (professional/classical music) in Kosovo, not only due to the fact that they

established modern composition grounds, but also for carrying the experiences from working with amateur collectives This indicates that the compositional oeuvre of the above-mentioned composers is characterised by a local Kosovar musical expression derived from the collections from the field and Albanian folk music, while it is identified through melodic and rhythmic elements. At the time when these two composers lived and started their musical activity, Kosovo still lacked music education institutions. This situation would undoubtedly directly affect their creation, which remained without significant technical-compositional elaborations (particularly in reference to Lorenc Antoni).

The second generation is represented by the composers born in the thirties of the last century, such as: Fahri Beqiri (1936-), Mark Kaçinari (1935-1985), Akil Koci (1936-), Vinçenc Gjini (1935-), Esat Rizvanolli (1936-2006). This generation provided us with a larger number of composers representing this period – composers who lived and composed in better conditions compared to the first generation, because they had the opportunity to be educated in and outside our country (major cities of former Yugoslavia, such as Belgrade, Zagreb, Sarajevo etc.), due to social changes mentioned in the first part). It needs to be taken into consideration that now secondary music schools (since 1949) existed for them, which was a great relief for young talents, who would one day become the representatives of Art Music in Kosovo. The criterion for division based on stylistic orientations and ideo-aesthetic principles can be seen more precisely in this generation of composers, considering that there are significant stylistic differences amongst them.

The uniqueness of this generation is that while may have many similarities and many differences at the same time, they ultimately enriched Art Music of Kosovo with various influences from European music which they brought in. In the oeuvre of these composers, the folk motifs with frequent citations remain present, especially in the works of Halit Kasapolli and Mark Kaçinari, while the works of Fahri Beqiri, Esat Rizvanolli and Vinçenc Gjini have fewer citations, but contain the melo-rhythmic elements of our folk music (i.e. odd meters such as 5/8. 7/8, 9/8, augmented seconds, modal scale etc.). Akil Koci in the second phase of his career, detached from these principles and headed towards the avant-garde and the stylistic

directions of 20th century music. The style of these composers in contrast to the national one is close to the late European romanticism and neoclassicism up to the emergence of expressionism.

The third generation includes Zeqirja Ballata (1943-), Rauf Dhomi (1945-), and Rafet Rudi (1949-). Traces of late 19th, early 20th century Western Art Music are most apparent in the compositions of Kosovar Albanian composers of the third generation. When I say traces, I refer to the influences of Western Classical Music, or more precisely, the national romanticism of the 19th century and the atonal music of the 20th century, which are both part of the approach of some of the composers of this generation (not all of them), especially in the second phase of their oeuvres, when they moved toward the avant-garde and 20th century modernism

Albanian composers in Kosovo were split, as a part of the third generation finished their education in the universities in Skopje (Macedonia), Sarajevo (Bosnia and Herzegovina), and Belgrade (Serbia), due to the lack of such institutions in Kosovo, until 1963. The above-mentioned composers, even though they belong to the same generation, have stylistic distinction, which is natural due to the existing pluralism of styles in that period, as well as the freedom the composers had, to return to earlier styles, or access new waves of music that were circulating in Europe at that time. We can notice in their works a modern elaboration of composition elements starting from harmony, serialism, and polyphony. As a result, it is worth mentioning, that composers such as Zeqirja Ballata and Rafet Rudi, in the early stages of their careers were more traditional, with their scope spanning from neo classicism to neo baroque, which is well documented through the analysis of compositions that these composers left behind. They continuously searched for, and aimed at access towards the modern/avant-garde Art Music, which is evident in the second phase of their compositional oeuvre. On the other hand, a composer of the same period, Rauf Dhomi, goes in the opposite direction by devoting all of his work to the national style, more specifically, the late national romanticism, as expressed by the recently liberated Kosovar Albanian people.

Albanian musicians and all other composers born in the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s who actively contributed in this specific field, are not divided into generations by

Berisha, so I will classify them as belonging to the new, or fourth generation of composers, which includes Mendi Mengjiqi (1958-), Baki Jashari (1960-), Valton Beqiri (1967-), Donika Rudi (1982-), Kreshnik Aliçkaj (1982-) and Dafina Zeqiri (1984-). This qualification (fourth generation) appears due to the implication of various styles in the compositional opus, and not based on the age. Despite the contemporary element, the fact that their compositional styles vary greatly is actually characteristic of them as a group. Some of them tend to remain more traditional in the context of application of Albanian folk music as can be seen in the works of Mendi Mengjiqi (the first stage of his career), Valton Beqiri, Baki Jashari, and Kreshnik Aliçkaj, while others have embraced the contemporary spirit, including its experimental aspects, as can be seen in the works of Dafina Zeqiri and Donika Rudi.

Mengjiqi, Beqiri and Jashari are stylistically closer to the Art Music of Western Europe of this time. Mendi Mengjiqi started composition studies in Kosovo and finished them in Poland. Even today, his compositional oeuvre is influenced by the new Polish school of composers. Younger composers received lessons from the young generation of Albanian composers, such as Mendi Mengjiqi, in Kosovo. They graduated with degrees in composition from the Faculty of Art Music in Pristina (Kosovo), where since 2000, with the insistence of composer Mendi Mengjiqi, a Composition department was established within the Music faculty. Composers like Dafina Zeqiri and Kreshnik Aliçkaj completed their studies in Kosovo, and the influence of Mengjiqi's composition style in these two composers is evident even today. Donika Rudi started composition studies in Kosovo and went on to study Acousmatic music in Belgium.

As a result of my observations, first of all, it is worth noting some of the key moments reflected in this division, starting from the professional qualification of composers. Some of the Art Music composers in Kosovo, such as Rexho Mullaj, Fahri Beqiri, Esat Rizvanolli, Zeqirja Ballata, Rafet Rudi, Rauf Dhomi, or Akil Koci, due to a lack of adequate education opportunities in Kosovo, were obliged to attend studies in foreign countries (usually in parts of former Yugoslavia, such as Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Slovenia).

While here we mainly talk about the first, second and third generations of composers, a few of them returned to contribute and share their knowledge, however, others, such as Vinçenc Gjini, Akil Koci, and others, never came back to Kosovo, not only because of the last war in our country, but also due to various financial problems which affected most people in Kosovo. Composers of the new generation, such as Valton Beqiri, Baki Jashari, Kreshnik Aliçkaj, Dafina Zeqiri , who lived and composed in favourable conditions and with adequate education in the country, with their work being interpreted and performed both on their "home turf" and abroad, by different orchestras, are worth noting. This was made possible through individual attempts, such as either participating in different international competitions for composers, or meeting international conductors who from time to time work with the Kosovo Philharmonic.

A great opportunity for presenting the works of Albanian composers of Kosovo abroad are various festivals, the mission of which is the promotion of their compositional oeuvre.

The Second Yugoslavia (1963-1991), which included Kosovo, was and is still considered to have been the best period for the development of music in general, which had a huge impact in the broader development of the Art Music scene as well, with regard to Kosovo as well. However, the presentation of the traditional (and, thus, local-national) aspect in the composers' compositional oeuvre was not allowed, always in accordance with the leaders of Yugoslavia, who gave patriotic and political connotation to it. Although, regarding Albanian Art Music, composers of Kosovo were free to choose their compositional techniques and styles. Their oeuvre was subject to the influence of other countries, which were part of ex-Yugoslavia. This lasted up until 1990, when every music activity of the Kosovar Albanians was stopped.

The Impact of Socio-Cultural and Political Developments on the Life and Work of Albanian Composers in Kosovo

As we have mentioned in the introductory part of this paper, it was precisely the unfavourable historical, political, economic, and cultural circumstances, which led to the delays of the emergence and development of Art Music in Kosovo, which begins

its journey after the Second World War (1945). Before this war, professional music institutions did not exist neither in Kosovo, nor in the other parts of former Yugoslavia inhabited by Albanians, nor in Albania itself.

As already mentioned, the end of World War II witnessed the instauration of the communist regime in Yugoslavia and the imposition of the socialist realism in music. Although this period lasted only several years, the impact of the damages it caused lasted much longer. The establishment of the first Art Music institutions (the music school in Prizren in 1948) also enabled the gradual development of professional musicians, most of whom, due to the nonexistence of such an institution in Kosovo, would be obliged to further continue their musical studies in other cities of former Yugoslavia, such as Belgrade, Zagreb, and Sarajevo, Belgrade being the largest (under the power of which were all other Yugoslav states).

Coming back to their hometown from the above-mentioned cities, composers, such as Esat Rizvanolli, Rafet Rudi, Zeqirja Ballata, Rauf Dhomi, Mendi Mengjiqi, brought and practiced harmonic and polyphonic rules, vocal forms, instrumental, and vocal-instrumental genres and structures, means of expression characteristic of the countries where they got their education. However, the majority of them decided that their work, to a great extent, would be based on folk music elements.

According to the musicologist Melita Milin, the use of folk music in former Yugoslavia was re-actualised, often regressing to simplifying and keeping only a surface level. However, starting in the middle of the 1950s, a number of works of lasting value were created, all using some elements of folk and church music with great refinement (Milin, 2009).

Not only in Kosovo, but also in other countries inhabited by Albanians, such as Albania, although having independence and being a free country, until the Second World War no development of Art Music occurred. It was the weakest country in terms of economics, with unfortunate illiterate people. As a consequence, in these circumstances, a development of Art Music in Albania differs from the education of Albanian composers of Kosovo. Composers of Albania, such as Çesk Zadeja (1927-1997), Tish Daija (1926-2004), Pjetër Gaci (1931-1995), Ferdinand Deda (1941-), etc., due to the political relations of the state, pursued their studies in Socialist

states, such as the USSR, Czechoslovakia, Romania, and Bulgaria, until appropriate institutions opened in their country such as Liceo, founded in 1946). In the case of Albania, Byzantine manuscripts are presented as evidence for the beginning of musical life there (Markovic, 2009). But because neither in the medieval period, nor at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th century was there any individual who primarily identified as a composer who enjoyed an authentic musical education. According to the Albanian musicologist Hamide Stringa, it was only after the country's liberation in 1945 that Albanian music really did begin to flourish (Markovic, 2009).

Regarding Kosovo, with the opening of higher education institutions, the need for musical production also appeared. The compositional oeuvre of Art Music would not exist without such institutions. After the establishment of the institutions for music education, the foundation of Radio Television of Prishtina Symphony Orchestra, and, in the 1970's, a professional choir and ballet ensemble, had a great importance for Art Music. In Kosovo, the concert life of Art Music gradually began, and was considered to be another big push for the expansion of Kosovar Albanian composers' compositional oeuvre.

All of these circumstances had a direct impact on the music literature of its composers, but after a few years of activity, it was completely overthrown in the period (1990-1999), because the Serbian government of that time violently stopped the education process for Kosovo Albanians, and cultural life would undoubtedly go to its total silence.

The composers of this period were only in the role of music pedagogues in the schools known as the 'home schools'. They continued their compositional oeuvre secretly, which would be presented only after 1999. Composers who fled Kosovo, such as Vinçenc Gjini, Zeqirja Ballata, Baki Jashari, etc., continued the presentation of their work in the countries in which they chose to live and continue their musical activity.

Besides the importance of local music for the development of Art Music in Kosovo, according to Berisha, in order to better comprehend the compositional oeuvre of Albanian composers of Kosovo, it is also necessary to present some of the features of

European music that was composed during 19th and 20th centuries (2004: 9). The reason why Berisha advised this seems to be quite logical, because these periods are characterised by musical romanticism as the style and foundation of national schools, as the need for emancipation and cultural identification of many peoples. This stylistic movement, with all its features, would present itself in the 20th century, especially in those countries that later found their liberation. Among them, the people of Kosovo, namely the composers of Art Music in the beginnings of their compositional work approached 19th century romanticism, but they also worked on the new styles, which were active in the 20th century.

According to Melita Milin, Serbian Yugoslav composers of the 20th century, had to present to the so-called European music community their musical craftsmanship and creative individuality conveyed through the introduction of native folk elements as tokens of a specific identity (2009). The same situation was pervasive in 20th century Kosovo, but only at the very beginning. Later on, compared to the other states of Yugoslavia, Kosovo due to the influences of the often difficult and unexpected political circumstances remained too far behind, and not only in its Art Music development, but unfortunately in terms of society as a whole. Kosovo was seriously damaged by successive wars, up until and including, the last one in 1999. Compared to the other states that were part of Yugoslavia, Kosovo was not a Republic, it was considered as an 'autonomous region' (1946) and then 'autonomous province' (1963) within Serbia. This resulted in the increase of inter-ethnic tensions up through 1989.

Going back to our main focus, I can conclude that the concise use of folk music elements by Albanian composers was warranted by the lack of earlier styles in this art. The need for an expression of nationalism and the desire to tell about the existence and identification of a culture was obvious in the midst of the ongoing attempts at assimilation on the part of the Serbian government. This trait (use of folk music) is also linked with the nationalist view of Europe developed in the 19th century, but not in regard to Kosovo. Even in Albania, situation, in terms of the use of folk music elements, was the same, but unlike Kosovo, which was part of Communist Yugoslavia, Albania was at that time, in the phase of Socialist Realism, an ideology which we can find in the work of many composers, such as Abdulla Grimci (1919-),

Çesk Zadeja, Tish Daija, Ferdinand Deda (1941-), and Kristo Kono, given that music, according to the government of the time, was used for socialist education of the population, and this type of composition had not only national and regional, but also polynamic value (Berisha, 2004: 32, 33, 34). According to Albanian musician Melita Dervishi, this process in Albania came too late, due to the delayed development of Art Music, a problem that in this case is very complex (Dervishi, 2016). The process started its way when Albania was among the Socialist states and when the communist system exerted a real censorship over art in general, both with respect to composition and interpretation (Dervishi, 2016).

This conclusion came about because this kind of compositional oeuvre is an extraordinary reflection of the life of Albanian society at this time, an oeuvre that was not allowed to overcome the ideology of socialist realism, given the delayed contact with contemporary, avant-garde, and modernist movements. As in other countries of the former Yugoslavia, oral tradition was the product of a combination of factors. As Serbian musicologist Roksanda Pejovic sketched the process with regard to oral tradition in Serbia, she outlined that people naturally brought traditions with them from their ancient homeland to the lands where they settled on the boundary of the civilizations of East and West (2012). Pejovic further continues:

> *This was combined with the tradition they encountered in the new land, which was in direct contact with the classical heritage. Later on, it developed further as it defended itself from oriental influences, while accepting elements of those influences at the same time (2012).*

This unfortunately did not happen in Albania. The musical development in Albania was manipulated and impacted by political factors. At this time (20th century), Albania was becoming a Communist state, closed in itself, not only unable to face outward in the sense of physical boundaries (people had very few opportunities for tourist travel with the small exception of other communist countries, like Russia and China), but also, and above all isolated, in terms of information on other realities (Cili, 2009). The Serbian government of that time in Kosovo (1945-1990), unlike Albania, was much more open in relation to the development of professional music

for Kosovar Albanians. This can be evidenced even better by the statement of Mateo Cili, an Albanian musician, who said:

> *Culture became the slave of the state power, and the examples are many: starting from newspapers and books, regularly written and revised by the ("Labour Party") Then the songs, the simplest form of defiance for the masses in those years, the songs that were state-operated communist propaganda megaphones, with folk music, typical dance and well-known voices. In any case, the young singers who came later, were only "approved" by the government: popular music development started from here that even now, in 2009, is the majority of all the music genre (2009).*

Great influence on the development of the Art Music life of Kosovo, in addition to folk music, came from the initiative of the concert life, which was presenting its very beginning from the founding of the symphonic orchestra of RTP[1]. Then, the Collegium Cantorum[2] lead us towards the need for the emergence of local musical literature, by enriching the expanded repertoire of the above-mentioned institutions.

Set against this background, in the compositions of Kosovo composers in general, one may notice a wide spectrum of conveying the music inspiration: from simple musical expressions with the stylistic colouring of national music, through the use of Albanian folk music from neo-romanticism, through neo-classicism (second and third generation of composers), and up to expressionism and complete submission to atonality (fourth/new generation of composers). However, the majority decided to support their compositions on folk music grounds, with an inclusion of particulars derived from folk music (first generation of composers).

Lorenc Antoni, also known as an ethnomusicologist besides his work as a composer, did special fieldwork in almost all areas inhabited by Albanians, where he collected traditional songs, transcribed, and analysed them, extracting their basic

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[1] RTP – Radio Television of Prishtina

[2] *In 1969, the first ensemble of semi-professional mixed choir "Collegium Cantorum" was formed in Pristina (Kosovo) upon the initiative of the affirmed composer and conductor Mark Kaçinari.*

characteristics, particular to Albanian folk. He included these songs in his collection titled *Folklori muzikor shqiptar* [Albanian Folk Music]. This collection and analysis that Antoni accomplished will enable Albanian composers of Kosovo to get to know their folk music and its characteristics better, which will find their presence in their compositional oeuvre.

Nonetheless, Kosovo remains far behind in the development of Art Music, and we must further take into consideration the compositional affinity of our composers, who still live and perform their musical activity (in most cases as lecturers), while being left with no motivation to continue forward with their compositional oeuvre. All these issues add to the late beginning of Art Music foundation and the late presence of composers.

Art Music in Kosovo began with choral compositions, which were more elaborate, and later, with stylised folk music. Seen as a whole, musical nationalism, lasting almost a century from the mid-19th to mid-20th century produced valuable works, some of which are among the best composed in Yugoslavia. In many works of Kosovar composers, we find as the main theme the treatment of the history of the Albanian people, the treatment of our human, historical figures.

They continue to provide Kosovo Art Music with a foundation of a considerable number of works of various forms and genres, but with a gradual decline in number, thus making me more curious and prompting me to decide that the research on the Art Music activity of Albanian composers in Kosovo will be based on this matter. I asked myself two questions:

- the decline of the number of composers was the result of modern techniques which are now demanded worldwide, and which, for our composers, is still only a topic that finds circulation in Europe and beyond. Would this, then, be evidenced with their compositional oeuvre below, or
- the circumstances and bad luck of a country, which for a long period of time could not promise a reasonable socio-economic life, let alone allow for thinking about art, all of this resulting in depleted motivation for composers for such an approach, or even for the expansion of their musical opus;

However, Albanian composers and other composers from the former Yugoslav countries are little known abroad. This can be attributed to the very rare performances of their music abroad and the lack of a sensitive cultural policy. According to Milin, the question of whether a specific Serbian national expression has been achieved is hard to answer (Milin, 2009). I can say exactly the same for Kosovo.

For a certain period of time, Albanian composers of Kosovo joined Serbian composers (for their studies) and others within Yugoslavia, very little is written, talked about and supported even today about that period, one of the reasons being that these composers (Albanian) never believed in Yugoslavia, and even today do not want to identify or analyse the territorial-political context, which according to composer Rafet Rudi was inexistent and ridiculous (Rudi, 2017). According to Rudi, Kosovar composers cannot be recognised as Yugoslav, nor can their oeuvre be identified as such. The territorial environment in which they lived made them change their names, as a result of the social changes of that time (2017).

Thus, gradually according to the analysis made about the life and musical activities of composers of Art Music in Kosovo, most of them today, similarly to any other composers of the world, find themselves immersed in certain musical styles, in which they have based their compositional oeuvre. All this gives us the impression of 20th century musical pluralism, where as publicist and editor John Burrows who stated in his book titled Classical *Music*:

> *Music of this century known as modern, has developed in a wide variety of styles, many of them strongly influenced by ideological, social, and technological changes, but also found themselves practicing their music activity as lecturers or managers of different music institutions, often obliged by the financial difficulties in which the society was going through" (Burrows, 2005: 380),* in this case society in Kosovo as well.

Conclusion

Having the label of one of the newest states in the world, Kosovo remains a focal point of research interest for various disciplines, due to its political, economic, and undoubtedly, cultural development. Kosovo has always been regarded as an area of

many political, ethnic, and territorial conflicts. The central aim of the paper was to present a different Kosovo – through the perspective of art and culture, to investigate the determinants of the existence of Art Music, with a focus on social, economic, and political contexts that have shaped its development. Furthermore, the aim of this study was to identify the existence of a new culture that – as I have asserted here – is apparent in the rich sphere of Art Music.

If I summarise all the findings from a broader perspective, Art Music in Kosovo exists, and is presented in four periods/generations of composers, evidenced and divided through the practice of compositional techniques such as: harmonic and polyphonic rules, orchestration, vocal-instrumental forms, genres, and tools of expression. A great contribution came from the establishment of professional educational institutions in the country, which, with all the documentation and evidence of its historical aspect, for a short time managed to establish an identity, and also give a worthy reflection of culture in Kosovo.

Today, Art Music continues its development mostly by people of good will, and factors directly associated with Art Music, such as performers, composers, etc., through performances in concerts, festivals, and other activities without any relevant financial benefit. Local cultural festivals receive minor support from relevant institutions (Ministry of Culture, Culture Directorate of Municipalities or private sector institutions) for their organisation, with many students and people of good will contributing in their organisation with no benefit. All these events are free for the public, with the sole reason of extending the popularity of Art Music, and to create a public for the new art in Kosovo. One cannot survive as a free artist in Kosovo, as is the case in most other countries. Musicians are obliged to have second jobs (in some cases even out of their profession) in order to earn a normal living. Unmotivated artists, engaged in Art Music, can be easily noticed among the artistic community. In normal conditions, one initially chooses a profession because of the talent and love for it, decides to pursue it, which should eventually enable one to make a living from it. This does not occur with the Art Music in Kosovo.

Today our artists are in a very difficult position within the artistic community. These problems have undoubtedly weakened the concert and theatre life, the presence on

the stage. Furthermore, for many years now, (Kosovo, being a state in transition) commercial music has occupied a leading role. If, in the near future, better conditions for Art Music development are created (such as proper infrastructure of music educational institutions, concert halls etc.) as well as financial support from relevant institutions mentioned above, I am confident it would pave a way for further development of Art Music. This way, artists would continue their journeys, having greater opportunities towards achieving and offering Kosovo a fully fledged Art Music practice.

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"Sung Poetry" of the South Siberian Turks: Interrelations between Music and Poetry

ABSTRACT

The article is devoted to the so-called 'sung poetry' of several Turkic-speaking peoples of South Siberia. The author's main focus is on the problem of metric organization of poetic and musical parameters and the interrelations between them.

The author starts with a discussion of some methodological issues, in particular, what can be regarded as 'meter' in vocal folk music. Contrary to some authors, who attribute this term exclusively to poetic expression, in this article it is understood in a broader sense: as a system of temporal organization.

In Altai, Tuva, Shor, and Khakass song traditions, there is a 'syllabic rhythmical formula' (SRF), which corresponds to the verses, as well as to the melodic line. The SRF, following the author's opinion, can be regarded as a meter for a song, or the song as genre. It usually regulates number and quality of musical units in correspondence with the syllables.

This common and rather simple picture, nevertheless, becomes more complicated when the author starts to describe some particular cases. The traditions of the Telengits, Chalkans and Kumandins, Shors, and Khakasses-Sagays are chosen to demonstrate a variety of arrangements of the of 'sung poetry' of the South Siberian Turks.

Preliminary remarks

South Siberian Turkic peoples consist of

- the South Altaians (Altai-Kizhi, 'Telengits', 'Teleuts'),
- the North Altaians ('Tubas', 'Chalkans', 'Kumandins');
- the 'Shors' (Nothern and Southern);
- the Khakass (Kyzyls, Kachins, Sagays, Beltirs, Koybals, KhakasShors groups);
- the Tuvans (Western, Southern, Central, Southern-Eastern, North-Western, or 'Toju');
- the 'Tofas';
- the Altai Kazakhs (an isolated group of the Kazakhs of Middle Zhuz).

Now some of these peoples are officially on the list of the 'Small people of the North' (they are marked in the list above).

Traditional musical cultures of all of these peoples include song traditions[1], which are the most popular and widely-distributed amongst them. Song traditions mainly belong to the sphere of lyrics. For songs are typical strophic forms, and relatively short compositions. Epic traditions are associated with the singing and glorification of heroes, *alyps*. They are embodied in large epic forms and use a special musical arrangement. All of the song traditions are based on a different kind of syllabic verse and particular poetic forms, characterized by perfect strophic structure. Poetic form corresponds to a particular type of melodies, which we define as 'model tunes' – "melodies, typical for a given local tradition, and characterized by several features: non-attachment to concrete rites, time, place and so on; polytextuality (i.e. possibility to improvise all verbal repertoire with one tune); typified structure[2]" (Sychenko, Krupich, Pinzhina, 2006:36). These features easily allow for the performance of any poetic texts, including improvised ones, which is very important and essential for these cultures. Considering the extremely high status of poetry in these cultural systems, I proposed that we refer to this type of song tradition as 'sung poetry' (Sychenko, 1989).

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[1] I distinguish song tradition with other genre traditions such as epic, cattle incantations, lullabies, shamanic singing, 'throat singing', etc.
[2] Original is in Russian.

Model tunes play different roles in each of these traditions. Thus, it is the main and, practically the only, kind of melody characteristic of the South Altaians'(Altai-kizhi and Telengit) and the Tofas' song traditions. The Teleuts', North Altaiians', Shors' and the Khakass' as well as the Altaian Kazakhs' traditions also include other groups of song genres and corresponding tunes. Tuvan tradition includes two main genres of songs: *kozhamyk*, performed with model tunes, and *yr/yry*, which is characterized by particular melodies and more strict correlation between text and melody[3]. However that may be, the model tunes play an important role in each of these cultures and form the main body of their melodic repertoires.

One of the most important characteristics of the model tunes is the free connection between music and poetry. 'Free', in this case, means that practically each verbal text may be performed with any of the model tunes. There is no strict correspondence between them.

Besides this common principle, different traditions demonstrate different interrelations between verbal and musical patterns. Some of them are organized in a very strict way; others are organized more freely.

In the present article I would like to (1) examine several examples from some of these song systems, and (2) demonstrate the different cases of interrelations between music and poetry, and (3) examine 'metric / free-metric' relationships in some of them.

Sources for the research

I base my research on the field materials, published works and several unpublished manuscripts (theses) of students and post-graduate students, which are kept in the Archives of the NSC (Novosibirsk State Conservatoire named after M. I. Glinka). All these materials form a basis for a large research project for the study of Turkic song

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[3] *Yrlar* are often considered by informants as being 'composed by somebody', that is, they have an author, no matter known or unknown one. *Kozhamyktar*'s melodies (but not the texts!), in its turn, are regarded as 'common, belonging to a whole ethnic group'.

traditions of South Siberia. Historical bibliography can be found in the essays of the volume (Galitskaya, Mazepus, 1997)[4].

For the given article, the works on the Altai, Shor and Sagay traditions were used. (Eliferenko, 2015; Pinshina, 2007; Sychenko, 1989; 1998; 2010).

Methodological background

Before turning to the concrete examples of the 'sung poetry' of the South Siberian Turks, I would like to discuss some methodological and terminological issues, such as trying to define what can be regarded as 'free-metric' in these musical-poetic systems[5]. In connection with this, one may pose several questions, such as: What is 'meter' for non-European folk traditions? Is the term correct? To which phenomena does it relate: to music, poetry, or both? What is (or, could be) 'free-metric'? and so on.

Primarily, the term 'meter' (Greek μέτρον 'measure') has appeared in ancient Greek poetry, which was a poetico-musical art. One of the earliest meanings of the terms 'meter', 'metrical' is connected with the particular poetic system ('metrical', or 'quantitative' poetry), based on the combination of feet formed by short and long syllables. Nowadays, the term 'meter' has a much wider meaning and applies to both poetry and music. It is also used in a narrow as well as in a broader sense. Here I will neither discuss the abundant literature on what meter is in poetry and music, nor analyze and compare different points of view on the subject (see, for instance, Agawu, 2006; Arom, 1985; Jacobs, 1965; Longman, 1984, etc.). Instead, I will refer to the excellent works by Russian philologist and musicologist M.G. Kharlap, who has published several essays on 'meter', 'rhythm', and similar issues in different literary

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[4] So as it is not the purpose of this article to make full review of all sources available, I just mention names of my colleagues – philologists and ethnomusicologists – substantially contributed into collection, notation, studying of the song traditions of South Siberia Turkic peoples during the last thirty years: L. N. Arbachakova, L. S. Astanaeva, A. D.-B. Baranmaa (Mongush), M. M. Badyrgy, M. D. Chertykova, M. A. Demchinova (Tolbina), A. Kh. Kan-ool, N. S. Kapitsyna, Z. S. Kazagacheva, N. M. Kondratyeva, V. V. Mindibekova, R. B. Nazarenko, L. Nyssen, S. K. Pavliuchik, T. M. Sadalova, D. S. Saynakhova, Yu. I. Sheikin, O. A. Sheikina, N. M. Skvortsova. E. L. Tiron (Krupich), K. E. Ykachina, and others.

[5] 'Free-metric singing' was the main topic of the 2nd Symposium of the ICTM (International Council for Traditional Music) Study Group on Music of the Turkic-Speaking World (Berlin, 2010). By some reasons articles prepared for the Symposium were left unpublished.

and musical encyclopedias, as well as in the Big Soviet Encyclopedia (Kharlap, 1967; 1974; 1976, and others).

On the basis of Kharlap's ideas, as well as my own research experience, I propose a synthetic 'working' definition: 'meter is a system of measurement of time units'. In this broad sense, meter exists in most types of music, poetry, and dance. In all these arts, duration as such should be measured, temporal units should be calculated, and meter is an instrument for it. In this sense it is rather universal.

Meter can reveal itself in different aspects and different modes. Verses / musical lines, poetical / musical feet, or syllables / times, accents / beats, and so on, can be measured and regulated by different 'metric systems', or 'meters'. Therefore, meter is a scheme, a rule(s) of temporal organization. Rhythm, in its term, is the concrete manifestation of the system, including all possible breaches of this scheme.

One of the most common cases of meter in vocal folk musics of the world is 'syllabic rhythmical formula' (SRF). This term is common in Russian-language ethnomusicology. It corresponds to the English term 'pattern', but not completely. It refers to both poetic and musical parameters of vocal music and, therefore, reflects its essential features. Below I will give some examples of this kind of meter. But this is just one possible, specific case of folk meter, and there are others, which cannot be ignored.

It is clear, that in a verbal text of a song, its own – poetical – meter can be found. Thus, we found such meters as 7-, 8-, ... syllabics in syllabic systems; iambic tetrameter in accentual-syllabic systems; double-hit accentual verse in a tonic system, etc. Melody of a song, instead, has its own rhythm, but its meter is usually strictly connected with the verbal one. Therefore, meter reveals itself (1) in an organization of a verse; (2) in a temporal organization of a tune; (3) in a complex interrelation between verse and tune. SRF is a point of connection between two parameters, verbal and musical, and, therefore, it is a real complex meter of a song, or a group of songs.

Similarly to the new European 'bar music', meter in folk songs is a basic structure, and rhythm is its realization. The difference between them is that in folk music,

rhythm and meter are not as independent, as they can be in the composer's music. If meter in 'bar music' has a rather abstract character (2/4, 6/8 and so on) and almost never reveals itself as a rhythm, meter as SRF is concrete and sometimes coincides with rhythm.

The expressions 'free meter', and 'free-metric' are useful, but it is not very clear which phenomena they cover. Does it mean that there are phenomena deprived of meter completely, or is it a matter of an opposition between strict and free meters? So as I speak exclusively about vocal music, the first case could be related to three issues. First, there is prosaic text as a basis; secondly, it is poetry of a *verlibra*, or free verse type; thirdly, it is vocalization without verbal text as such. In Turkic traditions of Southern Siberia very few phenomena can be regarded as free metric in this sense. They are: cattle incantations, some kinds of lullabies, and some epic traditions. As far as song traditions, or 'sung poetry' is concerned – all of them are based on different kinds of syllabic poetical systems, and therefore are not, by definition, deprived of meter (SRF in this case). As my research of shamanic musical-poetic texts shows, these kinds of oral texts in Southern Siberia are based on different kinds of syllabic systems as well.

Another sense of the expression 'free-metric' may concern a possible way of realization of a meter, with continuous gradation on the scale from 'strict' to 'free'.

I will now turn to the examples that illustrate this point.

Sung poetry *kozhoŋ* (the Telengits)

Sung poetry *kozhoŋ* of the Telengits (as well as of the Altai-kizhi) is one of the most strictly organized in this area (Sychenko, 1998). It is based on 7-syllable verse with a constant caesura: 4+3.

Only the first syllable can be replaced by two, and the basic verse structure changes: 4+3→5+3. The verse structure can therefore be represented by the formula 7 (8) = 4 (5) + 3:

<div align="center">

Кара таштың бажынаң(7)
Карчага тӱшти, јем сурап,(8)
Кара тажуур койтылдап,(7)
Куда келди, кыс сурап.(7)

</div>

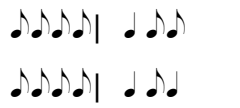There are four main SRFs for the 7-syllabic verse (Table 1):

1	♪♪♪♪ | ♪♪ ♩ / ♪ odd musical line
	♪♪♪♪ | ♪♪ ♩ even musical line
2	♪♪♩ ♩| ♪♪ ♩ / ♪ odd musical line
	♪♪♩ ♩| ♪♪ ♩ even musical line
3	♪♪♪♪| ♩ ♪♪ odd musical line
	♪♪♪♪| ♩ ♪♩ even musical line
4	♪♪♪♪| ♩ ♩ ♩ odd and even musical lines

<div align="center">

Table 1. Rythmical modi of South Altaian sung poetry

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SRF in this tradition covers the whole verse (poetic line), which is why I proposed to call it 'rhythmical modi' (RM).

Four RMs are strictly connected, and this connection can be shown with this scheme:

<div align="center">

AA   → aaA(a)

↗   ↗

a(αα)a → aa → Aaa(A)

↘

AAA

</div>
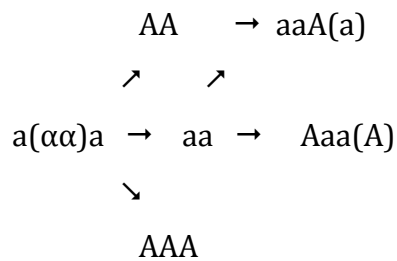
In this scheme 'α' means ♪ (extra-short element), 'a' means ♪ (short element), and 'A' means ♩ (long element); element(s) in brackets may replace the preceding element.

The first level of freedom in using this strict system[6] is a variation of the quality of the last syllable of the odd verse. Very often an odd musical line represents a short

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[6] I don't mention that concrete meaning of each element may vary as well – it is common place in oral performance.

version, and an even line – a long version of the main SRF. Such irregularity breaks the monotonous character of the performing.

The second level of freedom is the possibility of iambic transformation of the basic RMs. Two short elements transform into short and long, and the long element transforms into one and a half long elements:

$$♪\ ♪ \rightarrow ♪\ ♩\ ;\ ♩ \rightarrow ♩.$$

It is convenient to define basic RMs as 'neutral', and transformed ones as 'iambic' (Table 2):

RM	Neutral	Iambic
1	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♪ ♪ ♩	♪ ♩ ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♩ ♩.
2	♪ ♪♩ ♩ | ♪ ♪ ♩	♪ ♩ ♩. ♩. | ♪ ♩ ♩.
3	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♩ ♪ ♪	♪ ♩ ♪ ♩ | ♩. ♪ ♩
4	♪ ♪ ♪ ♪ | ♩ ♩ ♩	♪ ♩ ♪ ♩ | ♩. ♩. ♩.

Table 2. Binar and ternar variants of RM of South Altai sung poetry

Finally, the third level of freedom is the possibility to vary long elements of the neutral RMs and one and half elements of the iambic RMs with extra-long elements with indefinite length, which depends only and exclusively on the performer's intention, taste, and desire. Its length may exceed the basic long element by double the duration or more.

Melodically, super long elements can be represented by one long lasting tone, or by a group of tones (melisma)[7]. In this way, two styles of drawn-out singing are formed: simple and ornamental.

Four sound examples demonstrate four different realizations of a RM-2. Examples 1 and 2 demonstrate a fast style of singing using two variants of the basic SRF;

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[7] I guess that in the song traditions with a very elaborate genre of drawn-out songs, these last ones use both techniques: melisma, and lasting tones.

examples [3] and [4] demonstrate a simple drawn-out style, with identical variations of the last syllable of the odd line of SRF.

Sung poetry kyska saryn (the Chalkans)

The Song genre of the North Altaians similar to *kozhoŋ* is called *kyska saryn*, or 'short songs' (for the Chalkans), or *takpak*[8] (for the Kumandins). Two traditions have an almost identical organization (Sychenko, 1998).

Two examples of Chalkan *kyska saryn* demonstrate typical cases of the verse structure 7 (8, 9) = 4 (5) + 3 (4):

1 example
Qas palazï qaqïldap (7)	Gosling's cackling,
Qamïštu sasta uyam, diyt. (8)	In a reed marsh his nest is, says.
Qïs palazï qïmnanïp (7)	Girl-child whispering,
Äl aymaqta t'urtïm, diyt. (7)	In a middle of people her home is, says.

2 example
Qare *le* köstü qara adïm (9)	With black eyes my black horse,
Qarš'a qaylanïp kisteve. (8)	Turning back, don't neigh.
Qare *le* köstü *äy*, palam, (8)	With black eyes, *hey*, my child,
Qarš'a qaylanïp qomnava. (8)	Turning back, don't grieve.

Rhythmical structures of this type of songs are based on the combination of musical feet consisting of 2 or 3 elements (Table 3):

	1 example	2 example
1 line	♪ ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♩	♪♪ ♪ ǀ ♪. ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♪
2 line	♪ ♪♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♩	♪♪ ♪ ǀ ♪. ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♩.
3 line	♪. ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♩	♪♪ ♪ ǀ ♪. ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♪
4 line	♪. ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♩	♪♪ ♪ ǀ ♪. ♪ ǀ ♪ ♪ ♪ (ᴾ.)

Table 3. Syllabo-rhythmic scheme of two Chalkan songs

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[8] Literal translation of the term does not exist, but its meaning is similar to the Chalkan term *kyska saryn*.

There are several kinds of the two pre-caesura feet. Post-caesura feet are, for the most part, variants of the same foot[9]. Musical feet do not correspond to the verbal feet.

It is impossible to extract basic SRFs of the same type as in the *kozhoŋ* tradition. But one may notice the basic structure, which is close to the RM-1 of the South Altai's *kozhoŋ*. In this case, the meter is formed by measuring the time for each element: first and second pre-caesura feet are equal in duration, and third post-caesura foot is twice as long. Altogether pre- and post-caesura parts are equal: 2 + 2 | 4 time units.

The first level of the freedom is similar to the South Altai tradition: the last element of the line (and of the third foot) varies from short to long, and so on.

The second level is a free combination of musical feet. Particular songs may be based on the same combination of feet (as in example 2), or they may consist of different feet (as in example 1). This provides a possibility to produce different rhythms, sometimes more typified, sometimes more individual.

Unfortunately, the North Altaians don't have a tradition of drawn-out singing. We don't know if such a tradition existed before and was lost, or it likely never existed. Genre *uzun saryn* now refers to songs, which include more stanzas then *kyska saryn*[10]. Melodies and, therefore, rhythms, are identical in both kinds of songs.

Two song traditions described above give two examples of rather different rhythmic organization of poetry, based on similar syllabic systems. The 'syllabic-modal' system of South Altaians is based on the syllabic verse and rhythmical modi. 'Syllabic-temporal' system of the North Altaians is based on syllabic verse and musical feet of proportional duration.

Sung poetry takpak (the Shors)

Verse structure of Shor sung poetry is very similar to the North Altai one. But for the Shor tradition 8-syllable verse 8=5+3, is more typical. Musical organization is based on the principle of combining feet as well.

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[9] The 9-syllable verse of example 2 transforms into 'normal' 8-syllable verse during singing because of the elision of one vowel between words: *qara adïm* becomes *qar[a] adïm.*
[10] Normally it has only one stanza.

There are several model tunes in the Shor tradition, each of them with its own typified meter (Sychenko, 2010). Musical feet can be found in the model tunes 1 and 2[11], which are very close to each other (Table 4):

Model tune	Odd line	Even line
1	♪ ♫♫| ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♪ ♩	♪ ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♩ ♩
2	♪ ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♪ ♩	♪ ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♩ | ♪ ♩ ♩

Table 4. Syllabo-rhythmic scheme of the two main Shor model tunes

The difference reveals itself in the character of the feet. If the feet in the North Altai sung poetry are of proportional durations, and therefore are of the divisive type, then the feet in the Shor sung poetry are of different durations, and are of the additive type.

Temporal proportion of the feet is typical for the first case[12], and temporal inequality is characteristic of the second case: 2+3 | 4 / 4+3 | 5 (model tune 1); 4+3 | 4 / 4+3 | 5 (model tune 2).

The Shors have a song genre called *uzun / uzak saryn*. In contrast to the North Altaians, they are stylistically opposed to the *takpak*. *Uzak sarynnar* are based on the same model tunes, but they are performed in a slower tempo; performers use the intra syllabic singsongs; the rhythm seems to be of improvised character due to free interpretation of the typified schemes. Nevertheless, its connection with the meter of the model tunes is clear.

Sung poetry saryn and takhpakh (the Khakasses-Sagays)
Verses in the sung poetry of Sagays are realized in numerous variants. (Eliferenko, 2015; Pinzhina, 2007). Thus, in the model tune 1[13], the following cases can be found: 3+3, 4+3, 5+3, 6+3; 4+4, 5+4, 6+4; 3+5, 4+5, 5+5, 6+5; 4+6, 5+6; 5+7. Verses may consist of 6 to 12syllables: 6-12 = (3-6) + (3-7).

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[11] Model tunes 1 and 2 are the most typical and popular amongst the Shors.
[12] Proportion of the feet is usually broken at the end of line. Conversely, this system would be very close to the tact metric system.
[13] It is the most popular and widely spread model tune.

Of course, all these variants cannot be found in one particular song. But even in one song, the number of syllables may vary significantly. Naturally, the question arises: Is it possible to define this system as 'syllabic'?

Not all of the verses listed above have the same value for the MT-1. Statistically, more important are the verses of 4+3, 4+4, 5+3, 4+5, 5+4, and 5+5 type; that is, variation can occur from 7 to 10 syllables: 7 (10) = 4 (5) + 3 (4, 5). Even in this case the syllabic system – if we may call it that – is very free.

Different poetic meters may be freely combined in one song:

Хара ла мінін хара пастарым 10 (5+5)	Let my dear black heads
Халзын агарып чирдін ўстўнде. 10 (5+5)	Leave this earth when they will become grey.
Аймахтан килген позычаан 8 (5+3)	You, who came from another land,
Илбек чўректиг пала поларзын. 10 (5+5)	You are, for sure, a child with a big heart.

It seems that the poetic meter of Sagays' sung poetry is the freest amongst the traditions examined here.

As far as syllabic rhythm is concerned, the musical line is always divided into two parts: pre- and post-caesura[14], with a long stop on the last element of each half of line. Each segment is based on a typified SRF. Thus, for instance, the main SRFs for verses 5+5 and 5+3 are as follows (Table 5):

Verse 5+5	Verse 5+3
♪♪ ♪ ♪♪. | ♪♪ ♪ ♪♪	♪♪ ♪ ♪♪. | ♪♪ ♪ ♩ ♪♪ ♪ ♪♪. | ♪♪ ♩

Table 5. Syllabo-rhythmic scheme of two variants of a verse in s Sagay model tune

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[14] The same principle can be found in Tuva sung poetry, but in this case syllable rhythmical organization based on the verse 8 (4+4) is very strict.

One may notice that SRFs for all 5-syllable segments are identical. It is the most typified structure for the model tune 1. The first 4-syllable segment is usually based on the same SRF without the first element: ♪ ♪ ♪♩.

Pre-caesura segments seem to be organized more strictly, and post-caesura segments are organized freer. There are numerous ways to vary the main SRF: to add more syllables; to rearrange elements; to multiply or reduce elements. It gives substantial freedom and allows fitting verses with different number of syllables when necessary. It is very likely that the Sagay song tradition combines syllabic poetic system with free verse, and its complex musical-poetic meter regulates this process.

The drawn-out tradition of singing has a similar approach to that one of Shors and South Altaians: it uses the same model tunes performed in a different style.

Some conclusions

As examples discussed above show, musical-poetical song traditions – 'sung poetry' – of South-Siberian Turks have different systems of temporal organization.

On the poetic level, different types of syllabics are characteristic for them – from strict, and caesuraed to free.

On the musical level, there are three main metric principles:

1) rhythmical modi (SRF for the whole line); RMs always correspond with the borders of the verse (South Altai tradition);

2) musical feet (SRF for the minimal part of the verse); they may not correspond with the borders of the text; they are combined relatively freely when they are of a divisive type (North Altai tradition), and they are used in a more strict way when they are of an additive type (Shor tradition);

3) half-line SRF; it is represented in every strict way (Tuvan and Tuva-Toju traditions[15]) as well as by a very free one (Khakass-Sagay tradition).

As far as drawn-out song genres are concerned, it seems that in this particular area, they are always in relation with a basic metric system of each given tradition. Based on the typical song meters, they interpret them rather freely. As our analysis shows, there are no traditions deprived of all metric organization. So 'free-metric' in all these cases means a degree on the scale of 'strict – free'.

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[15] Tuva and Tuva-Toju traditions are not described here, but they are rather well-known. See, for example, (Tiron, 2018).

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List of audio examples

Example 1

Kozhoŋ
Klavdia Kharlapievna Ul'turkeeva, clan (*söök*) Köbök, 1927 y.
Balyktuyul, Ulagan district, Gorno-Altaiskaya avtonomnaya oblast'
15.07.1984
Yuriy Sheikin, Ol'ga Sheikina, Galina Sychenko
ATM, A0014, № 117
Duration: 0:13

Example 2

Kozhoŋ
Klavdia Kharlapievna Ul'turkeeva, clan (*söök*) Köbök, 1927 y.
Balyktuyul, Ulagan district, Gorno-Altaiskaya avtonomnaya oblast'
15.07.1984
Yuriy Sheikin, Ol'ga Sheikina, Galina Sychenko
ATM, A0014, № 118
Duration: 0:25

Example 3

Eneniŋ kozhoŋy
Elizaveta Alekseevna Koydysheva, clan (*söök*) Köbök, 1926 y.
Ulagan, Ulagan district, Gorno-Altaiskaya avtonomnaya oblast'
16.07.1984
Yuriy Sheikin, Ol'ga Sheikina, Galina Sychenko
ATM, A0014, № 136
Duration: 0:35

Example 4

Eneniŋkozhoŋy
Elizaveta Alekseevna Koydysheva, clan (*söök*) Köbök, 1926 y.
Ulagan, Ulagan district, Gorno-Altaiskaya avtonomnaya oblast'
16.07.1984
Yuriy Sheikin, Ol'ga Sheikina, Galina Sychenko
ATM, A0014, № 138
Duration: 0:19

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The Azeri *Aşiq* in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan: Towards a Transnational Comparison of a Diverging Tradition[1]

ABSTRACT

The Azeri aşıq tradition is a genre of musical storytelling that has circulated through the Caucasus and Northern Iran for over 500 years. Aşıqs travelled between regions to perform, and practitioners remained in contact for most of the genre's history. This contact was disrupted in the early 20th century, when northern Azerbaijan was incorporated into the USSR. Divided between two countries, the aşıqs of the Republic of Azerbaijan and Northern Iran have developed along separate paths. This paper will compare contemporary aşıq performances as observed in The Republic of Azerbaijan and Northern Iran, focusing on historical factors, performance contexts, and gender. Finally, it will consider how increased interaction between the two regions since the 1990s may influence the future of the genre. This study is based on the fieldwork and research of Anna Oldfield in the Republic of Azerbaijan and Behrang Nikaeen in Iran.

KEYWORDS

Azerbaijan

Azeri

Iran

Caucasus

Bardic

Ashiq

Aşıq

Musico-Poetic

Dastan

In the southern Caucasus and northern Iran, professional Azeri bards called *Aşıq* (*Ah-SHUGH*) have been singing and playing for over 500 years. The genre, also called *aşıq,* is the Azeri people's oldest vehicle for oral narrative, including epic *dastan,* lyric poetry, and verbal dueling. The *aşıq* is deeply embedded in the Azeri cultural imagination and holds an important role in weddings and other life cycle ceremonies. *Aşıqs* travel to perform, and can be found wherever Azeri people live, including in the Republic of Azerbaijan, neighboring areas of the Caucasus, and northern Iran. Once a common tradition that circulated through the region, it diverged in the 20th century as Azeri *aşıqs* were separated into two powerful and mutually suspicious states, the USSR and Iran. Since the fall of the USSR in 1991, *aşıqs* in the two countries have been in closer contact, but now embody two different trajectories of the same genre.

This paper is a working comparison of contemporary *aşıq* performance as observed in the Republic of Azerbaijan and northern Iran. Although the genre has been researched in both regions, there has been little comparative work across the border. This paper seeks to open this comparison by focusing on some initial questions: How are *aşıq* arts different on both sides of the Azerbaijan/Iran border? What factors may have contributed to these differences? How is the genre changing in the 21st century now that the border is more open? This paper discusses our initial exploration of these questions. The first section, *One Tradition, Two Paths: Contemporary Performance*, offers a window into contemporary *aşıq* performance in the Republic of Azerbaijan and northern Iran. Section two, *Evolution of the Aşıq Genre,* gives a historically framed overview of the tradition. Next, *Split in Two: Political Division in the 20th century,* describes the impact of 20th century historical and political forces on *aşıq* performances in both regions. Sections four and five, *Performance Contexts and Repertoire* and *Gender in Aşıq Performance,* look more closely at aspects that differ between the two regions. The final section, *Contemporary Concerns and Future Possibilities*, concludes the paper and offers direction for further research.

One Tradition, Two Paths: Contemporary Performance
In Baku, the capital of the Republic of Azerbaijan, it's not difficult to find an example of the bardic *aşıq* genre, which is performed frequently at concerts, festivals, and

holidays both in the capital and in other regions. While conducting her fieldwork (2004-6 and 2017-18), author Anna Oldfield observed a number of performances, from spontaneous home concerts to very formal events staged at prestigious state venues. Although there are many possibilities to see *aşıqs* perform at concerts, weddings, and on television, an *aşıq* event in Baku will usually be carefully planned and staged. At a typical *aşıq* concert event you will arrive to see a stage festooned with flowers or banners and a graceful Azerbaijani *saz,* the long necked lute of the *aşıq*, leaning on a podium. As the show begins, an *Aparacı* [Master of Ceremonies] - often a scholar or poet, sometimes an *aşıq* him or herself - will introduce the proceedings. You are likely to be in an audience consisting of men and women of all ages, dressed formally for a night out. Whole families have come out with their children and teenagers - the latter on their cell phones, of course- but in fact, many adults in the audience will use their phones to record the event as well. You will find the crowd both enthusiastic and knowledgeable as they cheer the appearance of beloved performers and respond to their favorite songs with applause.

You will probably see many *aşıqs* perform in one evening. Male *aşıqs* will wear boots and a Caucasian *papak* (lamb's wool hat) or a dark suit, while females will wear colorful traditional or evening dress. Each performer will sing one or two songs of about 5-minutes length, sometimes performing musical dialogues in duos or ensembles. All *aşıqs* will play the *saz*, most of them will sing, and they may be accompanied by a double reed wooden *balaban,* and/or percussion. The concert will end in a gala of *aşıqs* and accompanying musicians on the stage all playing together, with closing words from the *Aparacı*. It is a night to celebrate Azerbaijani music, poetry, and heritage, and your experience will be focused and mediated by the formal context of the performance.

Figure 1. *Aşıqs* Gülarə Azaflə and Roman Azaflı with ensemble at the Jubilee of *Aşıq* Rustemov held at the Azerbaijan State Philharmonic Hall, April 2017, Baku, Azerbaijan. Photo by Anna Oldfield.

Occasionally a special guest may be introduced to a hushed, expectant audience – an Azeri *aşıq* from over the border in northern Iran. The guest performer would be brought to the stage and introduced by the *Aparacı* to play one or two songs to enthusiastic applause. During conversations with Azerbaijani scholars,[2] the author understood that the *aşıqs* of northern Iran are perceived to be heirs to a purer tradition, one in which whole *dastan* epics are still told, in which older performance rituals have not given way to popular culture, and where rare regional saz *hava* and singing styles are preserved. In concert, the author observed that performers from northern Iran were met with admiration and respect by Baku *aşıqs* and their audiences.

Back home in Iran, the same *aşıq* may have a very different performance experience. As author Behrang Nikaeen observed during his fieldwork in Zanjan in 2015, people report having mostly seen *aşıqs* performing at weddings rather than onstage at a concert. If you are a man, you would be attending a specific men's ceremony (if you

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[2] This is based on consultation with a number of Baku-based Azerbaijani scholars on Azeri *aşıq* arts in Iran, including Məhərrəm Qasımlı , Azad Nəbiyev, Sanubar Baghirova and Kəmələ Dadaşzadeh, as well as interviews with Aşıq Isa Tabrizli, who lives in Iran but often performs in Baku.

are a woman you will see the *aşıq* play later at a mixed gender part of the wedding). You are seated comfortably on a richly decorated carpet on the floor, eating and chatting with your friends, who all settle down on two sides of the room in anticipation. Soon the *aşıq* starts his performance, striding confidently between the lines of seated men, often followed by a *balaban* and a *qaval* frame drum. People are still talking as he recites the opening rituals to hush the audience into paying attention. Soon he will begin a *dastan,* telling the narrative portions of the story in dramatic prose, singing dialogues between characters in song with the accompaniment of his *saz*, making amusing digressions and responding to audience requests. As he strides back and forth through the center of the room full of seated men, his interactive performance pulls you into the *dastan* to experience the adventures of heroes such as the star-crossed lovers *Asli and Kerem* or the lonely *Aşıq Garip.* He closes with a series of rituals and prayers after a performance that has lasted over an hour.[3]

Figure 2. *Aşıq* Mehdi Najafi, and his ensemble, September 2015, Zohreyn Village, Zanjan, Iran. Photo by Behrang Nikaeen.

These performances are both called '*aşıq*' and are both performed by Azerbaijani bards who identify with a single tradition. The performers choose most of their

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[3] Several performances of this type were recorded by Behrang Nikaeen in 2015.

music from the same stock of *hava[4]*, and most of their sung lyrics from the same stock of Azeri oral literature[5]. However, there are important differences: in the Republic of Azerbaijan audiences will most often see a staged performance managed by an *Aparacı* during which a number of male and female *aşıqs* play and sing, each for a duration of 5-10 minutes. In northern Iran, audiences will most often see a single male *aşıq* conduct the entire performance, leading the wedding ceremony and performing an entire oral narrative *dastan.*

Looking at how *aşıq* arts have diverged between the Republic of Azerbaijan and northern Iran gives us a living example of how traditional bardic arts experience change along with the social and political lives in which they are enmeshed.

Evolution of the Aşıq Genre

The *aşıq* genre begins its early history in oral narrative (which makes it difficult to place its origins empirically), but from the earliest *dastan* narratives such as *Qurbani* many scholars believe it evolved as a form of Western Turkic bardic singing and storytelling at the end of the 15th century in early Safavid Iran (Axundov and Tahmasib, 2005: iii; Köprülü, 2006: 174). The genre developed as *aşıq* bards, accompanying themselves on a long-necked lute called the *saz,* or sometimes, the *qopuz*, traveled to sing *dastan* and compete in verbal dueling contests at gatherings called *məclis* throughout northern Iran and the Southern Caucasus. *Aşıqs* have always been mobile, and sharing music and narratives across larger geographies is integral to the tradition; as they traveled, *aşıqs* became conduits for music, stories, and news, creating a larger sense of community that went beyond nationality and language (Oldfield, 2014: 230).[6]

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[4] *Hava* are named musical structures that are played on the *saz.* They can be played simply or improvised upon. *Hava* can be regional, but there is a collection of traditional *hava* recognized by all Azeri *aşıqs.*

[5] The Azeri *dastan* is a prosimetric epic in which the story is told in speech and the dialogue is sung to a *saz hava*. The songs themselves can be embedded in the *dastan* or sung by themselves. *Aşıqs* also sing lyrics taken from oral poetry and compose lyrics themselves; however, all *aşıq* songs will be sung to a *hava.*

[6] Closely related genres that branched out across Western Asia include the Turkish *aşık*, the Turkmen *bakhshi* and the Armenian and Georgian *ashug* (Başgoz, 1970: 402; Ustunyer, 2009: 137).
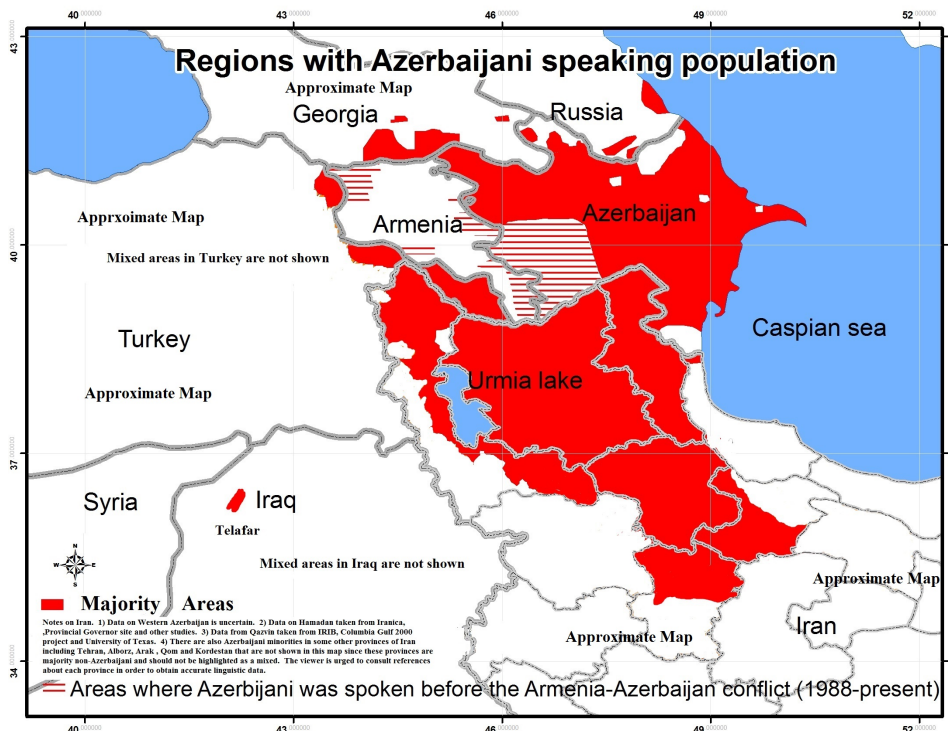
Figure 3. Approximate Map of Azerbaijani Speaking Regions in the Caucasus and northern Iran ('Regions': 2013)

As *aşıqs* fanned out into the Caucasus, the genre merged with regional traditions and became influenced by local narratives. Local schools took root around certain *ustad* (master *aşıqs* who could teach apprentices), and developed their own styles, repertoires and instrumentation (Qasımlı, 2003: 58). The *aşıq* became deeply integrated into village and community life, taking on special functions in weddings and holidays. Regions and micro-regions developed distinctive instrumental and vocal traditions and repertoires of *saz hava,* and many hava are named after their places of origin, such as *Tabrizi, Zancan Dubeytisi, Şirvani,* or *Göycheli* (Eldarova, 1984: 59). [7] However, because *aşıqs* traveled to perform with others as part of their profession, performers kept in communication with different regions, and a large shared repertoire developed among Azeri *aşıqs* across northern Iran and the southern Caucasus. Thus although widely dispersed, Azeri *aşıqs* remained part of a single performance community.

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[7] For example: In the eastern regions of Iran most *aşıqs* play with ensembles that include a *balaban* and a *qaval* frame drum, while in the eastern regions of the Republic of Azerbaijan most *aşıqs* play in ensembles with a *balaban* and two percussionists. In the Western regions of both countries most *aşıqs* perform solo.

Split in Two: Political Division in the 20th century

At the beginning of the 19th century the Russian Empire expanded into the Caucasus and challenged the borders of the Persian Qajar Empire in a series of wars. In 1828 negotiations led to the Turkmanchai Treaty, which divided the greater Azerbaijani region between the Russian and Persian Empires along the Aras River (Swietochowski and Collins, 1999: 129). Azeri people found themselves living in two different countries: in the south, they remained as a large minority in the Persian Empire, while in the north, they were incorporated into the Russian Empire. Nonetheless, *aşıqs* still travelled frequently between the two regions and remained in close contact.

Figure 4. Map of the Aras River Border (Heidari, 2011: 430)

This contact between *aşıqs* north and south of the Aras was dramatically disrupted in the early 20th century. Northern Azeri territories in the Russian Empire were set free by the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917, leading to the formation of the Azerbaijan Democratic Republic, which was then conquered by the Soviet Union in 1920. After the USSR consolidated power, the government worked to sever Azerbaijani cultural ties with Iran and Turkey and reorient them towards Moscow. Communication with Azeris in Iran was largely closed off. As political and cultural change (such as changing the written alphabet to Cyrillic) made it difficult for citizens of the new Azerbaijan Soviet Socialist Republic to keep contact across the border.

The political changes of the 20th century had a major impact on how music evolved in the USSR. In Soviet Azerbaijan the *aşıq* genre was subject to a complex of cultural

manipulation policies, which sought to harness local traditions to arouse enthusiasm for the building of socialism and support for the new state. Because it was the art of the rural lower classes, the *aşıq* genre was strongly encouraged, and given new teaching and performance opportunities (Huseynova, 2016: 56). With new performance norms structured by the *Union of Aşıqs,* the formerly interactive *dastan* performance, which had integrated audience requests, digressions and commentary, quickly became a mediated stage appearance where *aşıqs* performed short songs in a fixed program, contextualized by an *Aparacı* to suit the event (Anniversary of the October Revolution, etc.). Still important at festivals and holidays, male and female *aşıqs* played throughout the 20th century, often openly supporting the USSR, but also keeping a traditional parallel culture alive in rural performances, where pre-revolutionary *dastan* were still told for much of the 20th century (Oldfield, 2018: 149).

In the 1970s-80s *aşıqs* gained more independence from Socialist directives and became an important part of a powerful movement that hailed traditional folklore as a national identity in opposition to Russification and Soviet culture. As a result, songs from traditional *dastan* were revived in concert, and older *aşıqs,* who still knew *dastan* were recorded. By the fall of the USSR in 1991, *aşıq* concerts, television, and radio shows had long become vehicles to celebrate Azerbaijani national culture, not the Soviet State.

In Iran, Azeri *aşıqs* who began the 20th century in the Persian Empire, underwent a similarly tumultuous century. The early century saw the Constitutional Revolution and trouble in the Azeri regions, which were ambushed twice by the Russian Empire (Keddie and Amanat, 2008: 205-7). After the First World War, Reza Khan ousted the Qajar dynasty to become the first Pahlavi Shah, only to be forced out and replaced by his son Mohammad Reza Shah in 1941. In northern Iran, the Azerbaijan Democracy Party (ADP) formed in 1945 (Hambly, 2008a: 245). The ADP guaranteed the territorial integrity of Iran, but aspired to civic, economic, and cultural autonomy; this was unacceptable to the state and the ADP was disbanded (Atabaki, 1997: 120). In the 1950s, popularly elected Prime Minister Mossadeq replaced the Shah, but was removed by a coup backed by Great Britain and the US, who placed Mohammad Reza Shah back in power. The Shah became deeply unpopular, and in 1979, the Islamic

Republic of Iran was able to take power during a popular revolution (see Hambly, 2008b).

The Azeri people of Iran weathered these storms and preserved the *aşıq* genre throughout. Unlike in the USSR, the Iranian government made no attempt to influence or interfere with Azeri *aşıq* performance. However, the cultural policies toward the Azerbaijani language were quite different; while in the USSR Azerbaijani was used as a written language and taught in schools in parallel with Russian, in Iran, Farsi was the only language taught in schools. One of the policies of the first Pahlavi Shah was to make Farsi the only national language, repressing other ethnic languages (Atabaki, 1997: 71; Atabaki and Zürcher, 2004: 238). This language policy was an ongoing source of conflict with Azeris, and it was part of the unsuccessful ADP program (Atabaki, 1997: 114). As their language could not be taught or written, the *aşıq dastan* became a vital agent in preserving Azeri literature.

Ilhan Başgöz noticed this cultural function of *aşıqs* in Tabriz, Iran in 1970: "Azerbaijan Turks are a minority group. Among them *ashiks* are the only ones able to offer a cultural activity in Turkish" (403). Still today, Azeris take marked pride preserving the *aşıq* narrative tradition, and performance of full *dastan* has remained an integral feature of performance. *Aşıqs* have kept a huge body of oral literature alive for the Azeris in Iran, a vital cultural function for a minority people.

In the Republic of Azerbaijan, Azerbaijani is the official language and is spoken by the majority. Even during the Soviet Period, Azerbaijani was widely used and had a flourishing written literature. [8] *Dastan* were written down by folklorists throughout the 20th century, and *aşıqs* in the north did not need to take on the function of preserving the language and literature. The authors theorize that this has allowed *aşıqs* in the Republic of Azerbaijan the freedom to pursue paths farther away from the bardic traditions. The performance context of the concert stage rather than the wedding has further encouraged virtuoso musical performances rather than *dastan* narration.

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[8] This is not to discount the impact of Russian and Soviet policies which privileged the Russian language. Soviet Azerbaijan had both Russian and Azerbaijani schools; however, Russian had a higher official status land was seen by many as a road to getting a higher education, better employment, travel, etc.

Performance Contexts and Repertoire

In contemporary performance**,** *aşıqs* in Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan show marked differences in performance contexts. Although new performance opportunities have been developing, *aşıqs* in Iran have kept firmly to the most traditional venues, the coffeehouse (*kahvehane*) and the wedding (*toy majlisi)*. These venues were noted by Başgöz and Albright in the 1970s, and are still strong today. Both feature the telling of whole *dastan* and a high-level of audience interaction including digressions, banter, and requests, especially at wedding ceremonies.

The wedding ceremony is by far the most important venue for *aşıq* performance in Iran. Weddings are one of the most vital life cycle ceremonies in Azeri culture as in many others (Van Gennep, 1960: 116-145), and include people of all ages and social status. When interviewing Azeri people of Iran, they most often cite the wedding as the place where they have seen *aşıqs* perform.

The *dastan* recitation is the most complex performance demand for the *aşıq* at the wedding. During this section, he will open the ceremony with specific prayers, reciting *ustadname* (words of wisdom by an *ustad*) and playing specific songs. He will then recite, narrate, and act out the events of the *dastan*, punctuating his narrative with song, then finally close the narrative with ritual prayers. The audience sits on a carpet on two sides of the room as the *aşıq* walks back and forth between them throughout the performance.

Audience interaction is extremely important for *aşıqs* in all performance contexts in Iran. At the coffeehouse or the wedding, the *aşıq* performs very close to the listeners, who react to the music and are free to make requests. *Aşıqs* are judged by their ability to respond to any and all requests, which can include *dastan* as well as many types of *aşıq* or popular song. Requests have had a strong influence on *aşıq* repertoire in Iran, keeping it in tune with the tastes of the audience.

In the Republic of Azerbaijan, audience interaction is limited as a result of the *aşıqs* being on stage rather than walking close to listeners. The program is decided ahead of time and requests are seldom part of a performance. The *Aparacı* mediates the performance, his or her words serving in place of the rituals with which an *aşıq* would begin and end the performance. The musical repertoire features traditional

saz hava and Azeri poetry; often the songs are taken *from dastan*, but whole *dastan* are not performed in concert venues.

After the Soviet Union fell in 1991, *aşıqs* in the newly independent Republic faced many new challenges. No longer supported by the state and seen by many as old-fashioned and Soviet, they suddenly needed to compete in an entertainment market against a new influx of global popular music. Although still supported by a loving and loyal base, and still integrated into weddings, holidays, and festivals as a sign of national culture, *ashiqs* in the Republic of Azerbaijan have had to adjust themselves to a new world. The continued popularity of the concert venue with a push towards musical virtuosity has marked the post-Soviet era. *Dastan* are no longer performed at weddings nor in concert.[9] However, the prevalence of songs taken from *dastan* shows respect for and familiarity with the tradition.

Gender in Aşıq Performance

A notable contrast in performance north and south of the Aras is the difference in gender norms. Researching in coffeehouses in Tabriz in the 1970s, Albright wrote that "the title *'aşıq'* refers to a male, professional musician" (1976: 221), and observation shows the same today; *aşıqs* in Iran are men, and many performance contexts are for all-male audiences. However, this limitation for women is specifically for public performance; woman can learn the *aşıq* arts and study *saz* in music institutes in Iran, but they cannot work professionally as *aşıqs*. In the Republic of Azerbaijan, audiences at all performance venues are of mixed gender, and many of the most respected and popular *aşıqs* are women (Oldfield, 2008: 8). How is it that women are excluded from performing professionally in one region and fully engaged in another?

Certainly, 20th century politics and social engineering have affected gender in the *aşıq* genre in both regions. In Iran there have been strong state controls on musical performances by women since the foundation of the Islamic Republic in 1979; this

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[9] That is not to say *dastan* are not valued as cultural artifacts. The State Sound Recording Archive of Azerbaijan and the Folklore Institute of the National Academy of Sciences are two institutions that have worked to record older *aşıqs* who know *dastan* and to preserve recordings. Sanubar Baghirova, who has worked on UNESCO projects connected to *aşıq* arts, reports new initiatives to bring *dastan* to a wider audience (personal conversation, 2018).

has been an evolving issue, but currently, women are allowed to play musical instruments but not to sing (except in a chorus). But even before the establishment of the Islamic Republic, researchers did not observe any women *aşıqs,* nor was an Azeri woman ever seen in a coffeehouse (Başgöz, 1970: 399). It was never questioned that the genre was all male.

How then to explain the robust participation of women in the genre north of the Araxes? Certainly, northern Azerbaijan's incorporation into the Soviet Union compelled the inclusion of women in all aspects of public life, as a way to break with traditional culture, and gender segregated events became a thing of the past (Naroditskaya, 2000: 245). Female musical performers were especially encouraged "to create an image of emancipation" across all of the republics (Sultanova, 2011: 113), and cultural centers across the republic attracted and taught girls to play saz. In the 1980s the poet Narinc Xatun travelled around Soviet Azerbaijan looking for women *aşıqs* and found them in all corners of the republic; she founded a women's collective called the *Aşıq Pəri Məclisi*, which went on to become a major success in concert and on television (Oldfield, 2008: 152). Prominent women performers, such as Gularə Azaflı, who won the '*Aşıq* of the Year' award in 2011, are still popular today. Clearly, the 20th century and the Soviet era encouraged the public performance of women in the genre, and their popularity has continued after independence.

However, while it is tempting to see women *aşıqs* as the result of Soviet cultural policies, women were in the genre well before the Soviet Era. Azerbaijani scholars have traced women *aşıqs* back to at least the 17th century, and in the 19th century many of them had become well known (Cəfərzadə, 1974; 3, Qasımlı, 2003: 212). All research shows that north of the Aras river, female *aşıqs*, if they were able to achieve mastery in the genre, shared the same repertoire, social function, and performance norms as men, differing only in dress.

There are, as far as the authors know, no professional women *aşıqs* in northern Iran at this time. But the existence of women *aşıqs* in Iran has not been researched and could open up new possibilities. Although possible, it seems puzzling that there would be women in the genre for hundreds of years north of the Araxes but not in

the south, and the question is worth further research. In addition, there is the question of whether women will continue to stay out of the genre in Iran as contact with the Republic of Azerbaijan increases, and women performers are seen and heard on radio and television coming from Baku. With modern technology, such as cell phones, it will be more and more possible for audiences in Iran to see professional women *aşıqs* performing in the Republic of Azerbaijan.

Conclusion: Contemporary Concerns and Future Possibilities

In 1991, the Soviet Union fell and the Republic of Azerbaijan came into being as an independent state. Contact between Iran and the Republic of Azerbaijan was revitalized, and is robust today. Azeri people, many of whom had divided families, began to travel more easily over the border from both sides. The two parallel *aşıq* traditions, which had known each other mainly through radio and tv signals, could now meet freely in person. Now that they are able to meet, they are also influencing each other again in ways that will create new possibilities in the future. Northern Iran is now seeing *aşıq* performances in concert halls very similar to those in the Republic of Azerbaijan, and *aşıq* concerts are featured on the television and radio channels of the Azeri provinces. Clearly, *aşıq* arts in Iran are also moving to include staged, musical performances, although traditional *dastan* narration is still strong.

Keeping the *aşıq* tradition alive in the modern world is challenging. Some factors at work in both regions include cultural change, globalization, cell phone technology, the commercial music marketplace, and declining attention for lengthy *dastan*. In addition, *aşıqs* now travel widely again and artists of many regions may meet to perform together and learn from each other, Today, this process of musical exchange exists not only between *aşıqs* of different regions, but also between *aşıq* and other musical cultures, such as classical, *mugham,* urban song, and popular music.

Of course, this discussion is only the beginning of a comparison of the *aşıq* genre between the Republic of Azerbaijan and northern Iran. As well as further research, this study needs interviews with *aşıqs* themselves to understand how they perceive their differences. However, the authors believe it is an important collaborative topic, and we are eager to begin the conversation with this paper. Observing this genre as

it has developed in the past, and watching it continue to evolve, it is clear that the genre will continue to change in conversation between *aşıqs* and their audiences. The newly enlarged transnational context of *aşıq* arts across the Azerbaijan/Iran border shows a dynamic field of possibilities that is open to the future.

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Ancient Greek Rhythms in *Tristan* and Nietzsche[1]

ABSTRACT

It was Friedrich Nietzsche, appointed professor of classical philology in 1869 at the age of twenty-four and before he had completed his doctoral dissertation, who first postulated on the basis of rigorous textual studies that eminent classical philologists active in Central Europe in the nineteenth century had gone seriously off-track. Nietzsche's teaching and research notes on ancient Greek rhythm, the four notebooks he composed during his short-lived professorship at Basel University, were not published until 1993. In them Nietzsche alluded to Wagner's use of Greek rhythm in Tristan, though he did not give a straightforward account of how he understood it. This paper takes a cue from Nietzsche's most extended analysis of a Tristan excerpt (act III scene 2) buried therein, which proves catalytic in leading to an analysis through which I argue how Wagner made covert use of ancient Greek rhythm in Tristan under the constraint of the modern notation and the metrical system.

KEYWORDS

Greek rhythm

Wagner

Tristan

Nietzsche

Introduction

Within pedigreed historical narratives of European cultural history, ancient Greece has been widely regarded as privileged, seminal to European self-awareness, and ancestral to as well as formative of core European values. Yet the idealised uniqueness of ancient Greece, allowing it to be claimed and appropriated by 'the West,' has been shaped by a paradigm of literacy, and this has influenced perceptions of music in the Greek world. On the one hand, ancient Greek music could be elevated precisely because its concrete reality remained elusive. On the other hand, clues to the true nature of that reality were dependent on what could be deduced from ancient Greek writing on music theory, as well as on what we would today call music aesthetics. Hence the seminal importance of Greek music theory, whose reception in the West has been widely discussed, but whose material trace in European art music has been under-investigated and under-valued in the past. The present study addresses this material trace both directly and indirectly via existing scholarship. In particular, it investigates the resurgence of ancient Greek rhythms in European art music during the era of cultural modernism.

There are several reasons that we have so little to tell about the compositional use of Greek rhythms. One is quite simply a lack of familiarity with them, apparent even among those music theorists who have specialized in rhythm. Another is that our use of modern notation often complicates Greek rhythms not just graphically but also conceptually. And a third is that classical philologists have usually lacked the musical knowledge to research compositional appropriations of Greek rhythm. The problematic transcriptions made by a whole generation of philologists—Gottfried Hermann, August Boeckh, Rudolph Westphal, to name but a few—add to the difficulties.[2]

It was Friedrich Nietzsche, appointed professor of classical philology in 1869 at the age of twenty-four and before he had completed his doctoral dissertation, who first postulated on the basis of rigorous textual studies that eminent classical philologists active in Central Europe in the nineteenth century had gone seriously off-track. A

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[2] A hint at this may be gleaned from the 'Westphal' entry in *Grove Music Online*, written by R. P. Winnington-Ingram and Thomas J. Mathiesen: 'Metrical studies have changed direction in the 20th century and most of his [Westphal's] theories in this area have fallen out of fashion' (Winnington-Ingram; Mathiesen, 2001).

study of Nietzsche's teaching and research notes (henceforth, the 'four notebooks'), composed during his short-lived professorship at Basel University, is pivotal to any enquiry into his Greek rhythm research. The publication of Nietzsche's complete set of 'four notebooks' was, however, seriously delayed until 1993 (Table 1).[3]

- *Griechische Rhythmik*
- *Aufzeichnungen zur Metrik und Rhythmik*
- *Zur Theorie der quantitirenden Rhythmik*
- *Rhythmische Untersuchungen*

Table 1. Nietzsche's 'four notebooks' (Nietzsche, 1993: 99-338)

In *Griechische Rhythmik* Nietzsche alluded to Wagner's use of Greek rhythm in *Tristan*, but he did not give a straightforward account of how he understood it. Nietzsche drew our attention to such details as '5/4 Takt ebenso – ∪ I –' (Nietzsche, 1993: 109n) and '7 Dipodien' (Nietzsche, 1993: 115n), yet without providing us with any explanation.[4] Nevertheless, he ended *Griechische Rhythmik* with a section titled '*Tactwechsel und Tactgleichheit*,' in which his most extended analysis of a *Tristan* excerpt (act III scene 2) appears (Nietzsche, 1993: 201).[5] That analysis is surprisingly detailed, and it stands as an effective exposition of the two concepts in question. Put simply, *Tactgleichheit* and *Tactwechsel* refer to metric uniformity (equal measure length) and metric irregularity (varied measure length), and can be mapped to the concepts of eurhythmic (no meter change) and *alogia* (frequent meter change).

In order to tackle the key issue of how Wagner might have made compositional use of Greek rhythm in *Tristan*, I begin by reviewing Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan*, act

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[3] In recent decades Fritz Bornmann 1989 and James Porter 2000 had made pioneering moves to give the 'four notebooks' long overdue scholarly attention. Ulrich von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Nietzsche's peer and a fierce critic of *The Birth of Tragedy* who came to be established as a towering figure in classical philology, was understandably reluctant to give recognition to Nietzsche's discovery. According to Porter, the highly influential monograph *Griechische Rhythmik* published by Paul Mass, Wilamowitz's pupil, even 'buries Nietzsche's contribution in three brief mentions and in a series of unacknowledged, often nearly verbatim, borrowings' (Porter 2000: 136).

[4] See also Nietzsche, 1993: 188 for his analysis of a short excerpt from *Tristan*.

[5] Nietzsche did not analyze the whole of scene 2. He stopped just before Isolde appears (m. 77).

III scene 2, in which he shows how individual measures are grouped into phrases, and then sections, all the way up to the two asymmetrical halves (strophe and antistrophe) that span the passage as a whole.[6] I then question what special attributes of the excerpt might have led Nietzsche to single it out for detailed analysis. This review of Nietzsche's analysis leads to a more extensive study of *Tristan*, in which I argue that Wagner had made covert use of Greek rhythms in all three acts, albeit within the constraints of modern notation and the metrical system.

Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan*, act III scene 2

To my knowledge, it was Christophe Corbier who first drew scholarly attention to Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan*, act III scene 2.[7] In '*Alogia* et eurhythmie chez Nietzsche,' Corbier referenced Nietzsche's claim that he had uncovered a revival of 'ancient dionysisme' in Wagner's 'lyric drama.'

> Having noticed the frequency of the changes of meter in the verses of the ancient [Greeks], Nietzsche relates it to the 'music of the future,' which disregards the eurhythmic element, the regularity, and the periodic return of the downbeat. In this way, the lyric drama of Wagner marks well the resurgence of ancient dionysisme, since some of its parts are regulated by *alogia* [frequent meter changes], by irrationality, expressive means unknown to the moderns and rediscovered by the master of Bayreuth.[8]

In Corbier's view, Nietzsche situated his analysis of *Tristan*, act III scene 2 at the end of his discussion of *alogia* in *Griechische Rhythmik* because *alogia* is, first and foremost, a hallmark of this scene. Kathryn Fry also commented on Nietzsche's

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[6] Despite the importance of this analysis, it has rarely been referenced, let alone critiqued.

[7] Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan* is not mentioned in Bornmann's 'Nietzsches metrische Studien' or Porter's *Nietzsche and the Philology of the Future*, detailed studies of Nietzsche's 'four notebooks' with emphasis on classical philology.

[8] 'Après avoir remarqué la fréquence des changements de mesure dans les vers des Anciens, Nietzsche fait le lien avec la «musique de l'avenir», qui fait abstraction de l'eurythmie, de la régularité, du retour périodique de temps forts. De cette manière, Ie drame lyrique de Wagner marque bien une résurgence du dionysisme antique, puis que certaines de ses parties sont régies par l'*alogia*, par l'irrationalité, moyen expressif inconnu des modernes et retrouvé par Ie maître de Bayreuth' (Corbier, 2009: 33-34).

analysis in Nietzsche, *Tristan und Isolde*, and the Analysis of Wagnerian Rhythm,' though she was less concerned about *alogia* than about broader structural issues.

> [Wagner] seems to be trying to establish a sense of overall formal symmetry, as reflected in the section's division into two groups of the same phrase rhythm, designated 'strophe' and 'antistrophe.' This would imply that he envisaged an interaction between irregularity on the level of the phrases and periods, and a sense of order and symmetry on the larger level of the scene (Fry, 2014: 263).

Although Fry did not critique Nietzsche's analysis or reference Corbier's '*Alogia* et eurhythmie chez Nietzsche,' there are some interesting details in her article , such as Nietzsche's possible use of 'Hans von Bülow's [then] newly published vocal score [of *Tristan*]' (Fry, 2014: 255). In what follows, I scrutinize Nietzsche's analysis of act III scene 2 and contend that his reading of two strains (strophe and antistrophe) in the passage as exhibiting 'the same phrase rhythm' is fraught with problems.

Stage 1

3/4 4/4 3/4 3/4 4/4 3/4 4/4 3/4 4/4 4/4 3/4 4/4 4/4
4/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4
3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 4/4 4/4 4/4
3/4 4/4 4/4 3/4 4/4 4/4 3/4 4/4 3/4 4/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4
4/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 3/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 5/4 4/4 4/4 4/4 4/4
3/4 3/4 3/4 2/4 2/4 2/4 2/4
2/2 2/2 2/2 2/2 2/2 2/2 usw.

Stage 2a (the last '2' on the first line is typo for '1')

3 2 2 3 3 3 2 2 2 4 4 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 1 1 1
                   2 2 2
                     7   7
3 3 2 2 4 3 1 1 1 1 2 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1

Stage 2b (the last '2' on the first line is typo for '1')

3 2 2 3 3 3 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 2 1 1 1
     a   b   c   d
3 3 2 2 4 3 2̋ 2̋ 2 2 2 2̋ 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1
     a   b   c   d

Stage 3
a b c d Strophe
a b c d Antistrophe

Example. 1. Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan*, act III scene 2, excerpted from *Griechische Rhythmik* (Nietzsche, 1993: 201).

Nietzsche presented this analysis only graphically, but it is not hard to discern that it comprises three stages. In stage 1 (Ex. 1) he lists all the seventy-six time signatures (mm. 1-76) and adds slurs to group them into segments.[9] He arrives at forty segments in total and underlines the respective endings of the two strains, which he subsequently labels as strophe (mm. 1-40) and antistrophe (mm. 41-76). The first strain comprises eighteen segments, while the second strain is expanded to twenty-two-segments (Appendix 1).

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[9] I decided against using the term 'phrase' since it seems a misnomer for slurred units that are only one measure long.

Starting from stage 2a of the analysis the time signatures are no longer displayed. Instead, Nietzsche takes into account the number of measures occupied by the segments (as defined in stage 1) and presents the two strains as number series. For instance, the opening four segments (mm. 1-10) are shown as 3 2 2 3, meaning that there are respectively 3, 2, 2 and 3 measures to these four segments (Ex. 2). Nietzsche adds slurs again, this time to indicate how Wagner might have grouped the segments into sections. There are four sections in the first strain. As for the second strain, it is hard to tell from the way Nietzsche slurs the numbers whether he reads it as in six sections or perhaps more.

Example. 2. Opening four segments (mm. 1-10) of act III scene 2 (Wagner, 1906: 273)[10]

A comparison of Nietzsche's stage-2a and stage-2b readings shows that his analysis of the first strain remains essentially the same. But this is not so in the case of the second strain. Nietzsche effectively modifies the ways he partitions the music to assert the uniform presence of twenty segments in each strain.[11] Uniformity is

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[10] Excerpted from Richard Kleinmichel's vocal score of *Tristan* published by G. Schirmer in 1906. Excerpts of *Tristan* cited as music examples in this paper are all from the same vocal score.

[11] This contrasts with the stage 2a-reading of twenty and twenty-three segments respectively in the two strains.

further enhanced as Nietzsche groups the segments in the respective strain into four sections (a to d) that exhibit the same schema of 4+2+7+7 segments. For instance, Nietzsche opted for the stage-2b grouping of 3+3+2+2 in order that both the first and the second strains begin with a section that comprises four segments, involving 3+2+2+3 and 3+3+2+2 measures respectively (Plate 1). Having tidied up the analysis, Nietzsche designates the two strains as strophe and antistrophe in stage 3.

Bei Wagner Tristan III Sc. 2 Periode von 7 Dipodien antistrophisch dann

```
  3   2   2   3
  |   |   |   |
  3   3   2   2
```
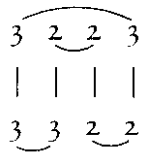
Plate 1. 'Periode von 7 Dipodien' in act III scene 2 (Nietzsche, 1993: 115, footnote 7)

Example. 3. Antistrophe (Wagner, 1906: 274): the seven-note ascent is stated only twice before the threefold statement of the F-E-D descent

Nevertheless, Nietzsche's stage-2b reading of the antistrophe (mm. 41-76) as restating the four sections of the strophe, replete with the same schema of 4+2+7+7 segments, is problematic (Ex. 3).[12] While the seven-note ascent deployed at the outset of act III scene 2 is stated four times to constitute section a in the strophe, the same ascent is stated only twice in the antistrophe. This is followed by the threefold statement of an F-E-D descent, which constitutes another well-defined section (mm.

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[12] The vocal and instrumental parts do not always 'breathe' at the same points. Nietzsche's reading references the instrumental part.

47-54).[13] And yet Nietzsche reads the first and second statements of the F-E-D descent (mm. 47-50) as parts of section a, and the third statement of the same descent (m. 51ff) as the beginning of section b (Table 2). Nietzsche's view that section d does not commence until m. 70 is equally problematic. He does not seem to have considered such an obvious cue as the return of 5/4 at m. 62. The fact that what formerly constitutes section d in the strophe (mm. 31-40) parallels mm. 62-71 also seems to have escaped him.

Section a	Section b	Section c	Section d
mm. 41-50	mm. 51-57	mm. 58-69	mm.70-76
mm. 41-46	mm. 47-54	mm. 55-61	mm. 62-76

Table 2. Nietzsche's stage-2b analysis of the antistrophe (shaded); my reading (not shaded) is closer to his stage-2a analysis

Having problematized Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan*, act III scene 2, I question what it is in the music that might have impelled him to analyze this scene at such length toward the end of *Griechische Rhythmik*. The frequent changes of meter (*alogia*) and the use of five- and seven-beat phrases in act III scene 2 are, in my view, critical factors. Throughout *Tristan*, the highest rate of meter change occurs in both scenes 1 and 2 of Act III (Table 3).[14] The use of five- and seven-beat phrases is, however, exclusive to Act III scene 2.[15]

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[13] In the strophe the seven-note ascent is stated four times consecutively. The first and fourth statements of this ascent are three rather than two measures long, due to a one-measure extension. They are separated in time and yet connected through the shared use of a higher register and similar instrumentation. The high B (m. 10) initiates a prolonged descent, which ends with a signature figure: F4-E4-Eb4 (mm. 14-16), the first chromatic descent in Wagner's *Tristan* Prelude. A variant of this descent (F-E-D instead of F-E-Eb) is stated three times consecutively in the antistrophe. In either case the *Tristan* chord appears with the note F.

[14] The frequency drops dramatically from thirty down to nine, which is the next highest, in act II scene 2.

[15] Both Corbier and Fry commented on the frequent meter change and the use of 5/4 in act III scene 2, though without mentioning Wagner's use of seven-beat phrases, which is not plainly notated in 7/4. Corbier quoted *Griechische Rhythmik* (Nietzsche, 1993: 115, footnote 7), without noting that 'Periode von 7 Dipodien' is likely Nietzsche's reference to use of septuple time in the seven-note ascent first heard at the outset of act III scene 2.

Act Ill, scene 1

(prolonged alternation between 3/2 and 2/2 is shaded)

4/4 – 3/2 – 4/4 – 3/2 – 4/4 – 3/2 – 4/4 – 2/2 – 4/4 – 2/2 – 4/4 – 3/2 – 2/2 – 3/2 – 2/2 – 3/2 – 2/2 – 3/2 – 2/2 – 3/2 – 2/2 – 3/2 – 2/2 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/2 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 2/4 – 3/4 – 2/2

Act Ill, scene 2

(prolonged alternation between 3/4 and 4/4 is shaded)

3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 5/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4

⬆

– 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 5/4 – 4/4 – 3/4 – 2/4 – 2/2 –

⬆

6/8 – 4/4

Table 3. An overview of the meter changes in act III scenes 1 and 2

Still, Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan* (act III scene 2) did not specify Wagner's use of any Greek rhythm, how then should we make sense of his inclusion of this analysis in *Griechische Rhythmik*? Nietzsche's letter to Carl Fuchs, a musicologist and a close friend, dated 1877 is revealing in this regard:

> Your counting of rhythmical beats is an important find, real gold, out of which you will be able to mint some good coin. It reminded me that while studying ancient metrics in 1870 I had been hunting for five- and seven-beat phrases and had counted through *Die Meistersinger* and *Tristan*—which told me a few things about Wagner's rhythms. [...] he prefers to prolong four-beat phrases into five-beat ones, [and] six-beat ones into seven-beat ones[.] (Nietzsche, 1969: 162).

Nietzsche wrote about his 'hunting for five- and seven-beat phrases' in Wagner's music 'while studying ancient metrics in 1870,' though without explaining how they are related. Perhaps he thought of five- and seven-beat phrases as suggestive or as appropriations of Greek rhythms? And perhaps Nietzsche's 'hunting' led him to act III scene 2 of *Tristan*, whose opening bass ascent is *de facto* a seven-beat phrase, and whose melodic motifs are frenetically repeated to carve out five-beat phrases at the onset of 5/4? In order to address these questions, I delve further into Act III Scene 2,

since Nietzsche's remark that '[Wagner] prefers to prolong four-beat phrases into 5-beat ones, [and] six-beat ones into seven-beat ones' applies well here.

The seven-note ascent heard at the outset of act III scene 2 comprises a three-note head motif and a four-note ascent, both of which are seven eighth notes long.[16] Although the seven-note ascent fits neatly into one measure of 7/4 (7/8 + 7/8), Wagner notates it in two measures of unequal lengths (3/4 + 4/4) instead (Ex. 4; see also Ex. 2).[17] Seven time is, in this sense, engaged at two levels: 7 quarter notes at the tactus level, and 7+7 eighth notes at the sub-tactus level.

Example 4. Section a: seven-note ascent (3/4 + 4/4) re-notated in 7/4 (7/8 + 7/8)

The alternating use of 3/4 and 4/4 in section a (mm. 1-10) continues in section b (mm. 11-16) before section c (mm. 17-30) settles down to the exclusive use of 3/4. Notwithstanding the notated meter of 3/4 in section c, the constituent treble descent and bass ascent may suggest 6/4 and 3/2 instead (Ex. 5).

Example 5. Section c: treble descent and bass ascent (3/4 re-notated as 6/4 and 3/2 respectively)

Nietzsche's stage-2b reading of section c (strophe) is 2 2 2 2 2 2 2, meaning that the two-measure-long treble motif is stated seven times consecutively (Table 4). The prime number 7, formerly associated with the seven-beat ascent in section a, can be understood to manifest in section c at level of the motif rather than the beat. The sevenfold statement of the treble motif (section c) also mirrors the 3+4 grouping of

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[16] I shall explain the rationale that underlies my reading of two rather than just one rhythmic pattern at a later point in this paper.

[17] Had Wagner adopted 7/4, the time signature would have changed less frequently.

notes in the seven-note ascent (section a) at level of the motif. This argument is based on the observation that the bass ascent (four statements) is introduced to counterpoint the treble motif (seven statements) only after the latter has been stated three times.

Treble motif   2 2 2 2 2 2 2   (three plus four statements; 2 measures each)

Bass ascent   2 2 2 2   (four statements; 2 measures each)

Table 4. The treble motif (seven statements) and the bass motif (four statements)

Thus far, seven groupings loom large in act III scene 2, manifesting in sections a and c at different hierarchical levels, which may help explain why Nietzsche hunted for 'seven-beat phrases' in *Tristan*. If we close in on the opening seven-note ascent, we notice that the prolongation of 'six-beat ones [phrases] into seven-beat ones' is arguably at work here. Notwithstanding the arcane rhythmic makeup of the seven-note ascent, we can easily convert a rhythmically conventional six-note ascent into such a rhythmically unconventional seven-note ascent. Conversely, as shown in Ex. 6, it takes only the elimination of a short value from the seven-note ascent (the last notes of the two halves) to convert it into a six-note ascent. This technique is only hypothetically established here, but we are not short of real cases in act III scene 2.

Example 6. Hypothetical conversion of the seven-note ascent (re-notated in 7/4) into a six-note ascent through the elimination of an eighth note

Section c reprisesall four statements of the bass ascent heard back in section a, but the ascent is shortened to be six- rather than seven-beat long (cf. Ex. 4 and Ex. 5).[18] A change from the six-beat motifs of section c to the five-beat motifs of section d then

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[18] That this six-note ascent is heard as a curtailment of the preceding seven-note ascent is prompted by their use of exactly the same head motif and a continuing stepwise ascent.

brings about a concomitant change from 6/4 to 5/4 (Ex. 7).[19] A schematic change of meter is evidently in play.
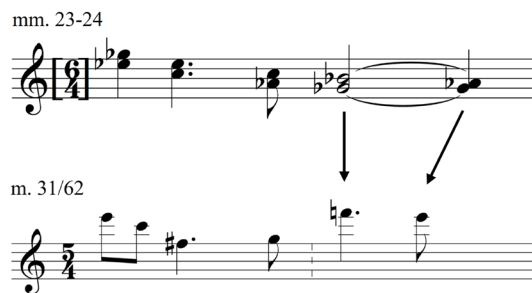
Example 7. Conversion of the six-beat motif (section c) into the five-beat motif (section d) through the elimination of an eighth note

The 5/4 measure is divided by a dotted bar line into 3/4 and 2/4. The 3/4 portion of the five-beat motif maps well onto the first half of the preceding six-beat motif. The 2/4 portion of the five-beat motif, on the other hand, may be derived from the second half of the six-beat motif. As shown in Ex. 7, it only takes the elimination of an eighth note from the half note and the quarter note to convert the six-beat motif into the five-beat motif. The aforementioned technique (see Ex. 6) is again at work here. A similar use of this technique can effectuate the subsequent change from 5/4 to 4/4 approaching the end of section d (mm. 62-76) in the antistrophe. The five-beat motifs, having emerged at the onset of 5/4, 'modulate' to their four-beat counterparts through the elimination of a short note value at three different points (Ex. 8).
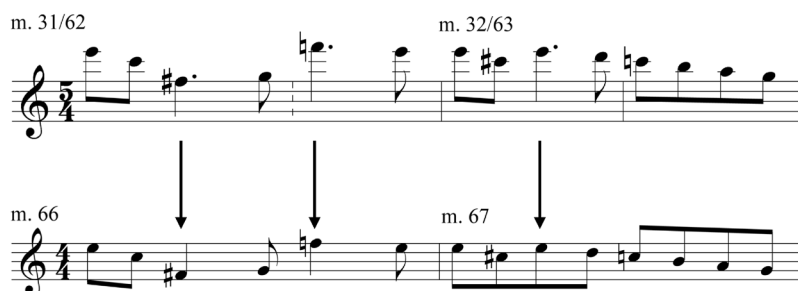
Example 8. Conversion of the five-beat motifs into their four-beat counterparts

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[19] See Nietzsche, 1993: 109, footnote 5 for Nietzsche's very brief mention of this special use of 5/4.

The 'modulation' from 6/4 through 5/4 to 4/4 is far from an isolated case in act III scene 2. An orderly change of time signatures in fact underlies the strophe and the antistrophe. Table 5 shows an overview of the extended changes of meters in *Tristan*, act III scene 2. In the strophe the meter changes from 7/4 (notated as 3/4 + 4/4) through 6/4 (notated as 3/4 + 3/4) and 5/4 down to 4/4. In each case, the meter is established through the insistent repetition of at least one distinct melodic motif.[20]

	m. 1	m. 17	m. 31	m. 38		
Strophe	7/4	6/4	5/4	4/4		

	m. 41	m. 58	m. 62	m. 66	m. 70	m. 73
Antistrophe	7/4	6/4	5/4	4/4	3/4	2/4

Table 5. *Tactwechsel* in *Tristan*, act III scene 2

Changes of meter as such are also characteristic of the antistrophe. It begins with 7/4 again (notated as 3/4 + 4/4), but this time the meter goes through 6/4, 5/4, 4/4, 3/4 all the way down to 2/4. The list of meters becomes extended and the pace of changes accelerated, especially since the antistrophe is shorter than the strophe.[21] In Ex. 9 the two series of meter changes are conflated into one by drawing a parallel between the first pair of 5/4 measures in the strophe and its counterpart in the antistrophe.

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[20] In the strophe, the dynamic level in sections a and b is on the average *p*. This is raised to *f* in section c and *ff* at the outset of section d.

[21] The strophe and antistrophe are forty and thirty-six measures long respectively.

Example 9. Act III scene 2: meter changes from 7/4 through 6/4, 5/4, 4/4, 3/4 down to 2/4

To recapitulate, I have argued how Wagner might have systematically applied different meters (not always plainly notated) to forge two extensive accelerations in the strophe and the antistrophe, and how he might have prolonged 'four-beat phrases into five-beat ones, [and] six-beat ones into seven-beat ones' in act III scene 2 of *Tristan*. The key question of Wagner's hypothetical strategy for composing with Greek rhythms in *Tristan*, however, remains to be addressed.

Seven time and related Greek rhythms in act III scene 2

As a first step, I set up the seven-note ascent of act III scene 2 as a reference point (henceforth, the referential seven-note ascent) because Nietzsche's most substantial analysis of *Tristan* begins with it, and also because it marks the most overt use of seven time and related Greek rhythms in *Tristan*. As a second step, I identify melodic structures that share the attributes of ostinato-like repetition (being stated several

times consecutively or in close proximity)[22] and unconventional rhythmic grouping with the referential seven-note ascent. The two selection criteria (shared attributes) are introduced to avoid permissively choosing tempting extracts to support my reading of Greek rhythms in *Tristan*. These melodic structures are like the referential seven-note ascent in that they assume special motivic importance in the music. I thus designate them as melodic motifs (narrowly defined), and group them into categories IA, IB, and II melodic motifs according to their degree of resemblance to the seven-note referential ascent. The categorization, accordingly, has no bearing on the chronological sequence of the melodic motifs in *Tristan*. Following this, I undertake an analysis of the appropriation of Greek rhythms in the referential seven-note ascent to precede that of the other categories of melodic motifs, since it helps clarify the axioms upon which the analyses are based.

Table 6 summarizes how the categories IA, IB, and II melodic motifs relate to the referential seven-note ascent. Category IA melodic motifs, replete with a head motif (L-S-L) and an uninterrupted stepwise ascent/descent, most closely resemble the referential seven-note ascent. There is only one category IB melodic motif, which is differentiated from category IA motifs by having a rather different head motif (see Ex. 13). An S-L-S rather than an L-S-L rhythmic pattern is adopted. Category II melodic motifs are stepwise ascents/descents of four or more notes but devoid of the head motif.

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[22] Due to the ostinato-like repetition of a melodic motif (often a stepwise ascent or descent), there are times when it seems as if the music has reached a deadlock and cannot move forward. This typically happens in the orchestral rather than the voice parts. The deadlock effect is intensified when the repetition persists at a fixed pitch level. The most insistently repeated melodic motif in *Tristan* is stated twenty-seven times without a break in act II scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 118-120).
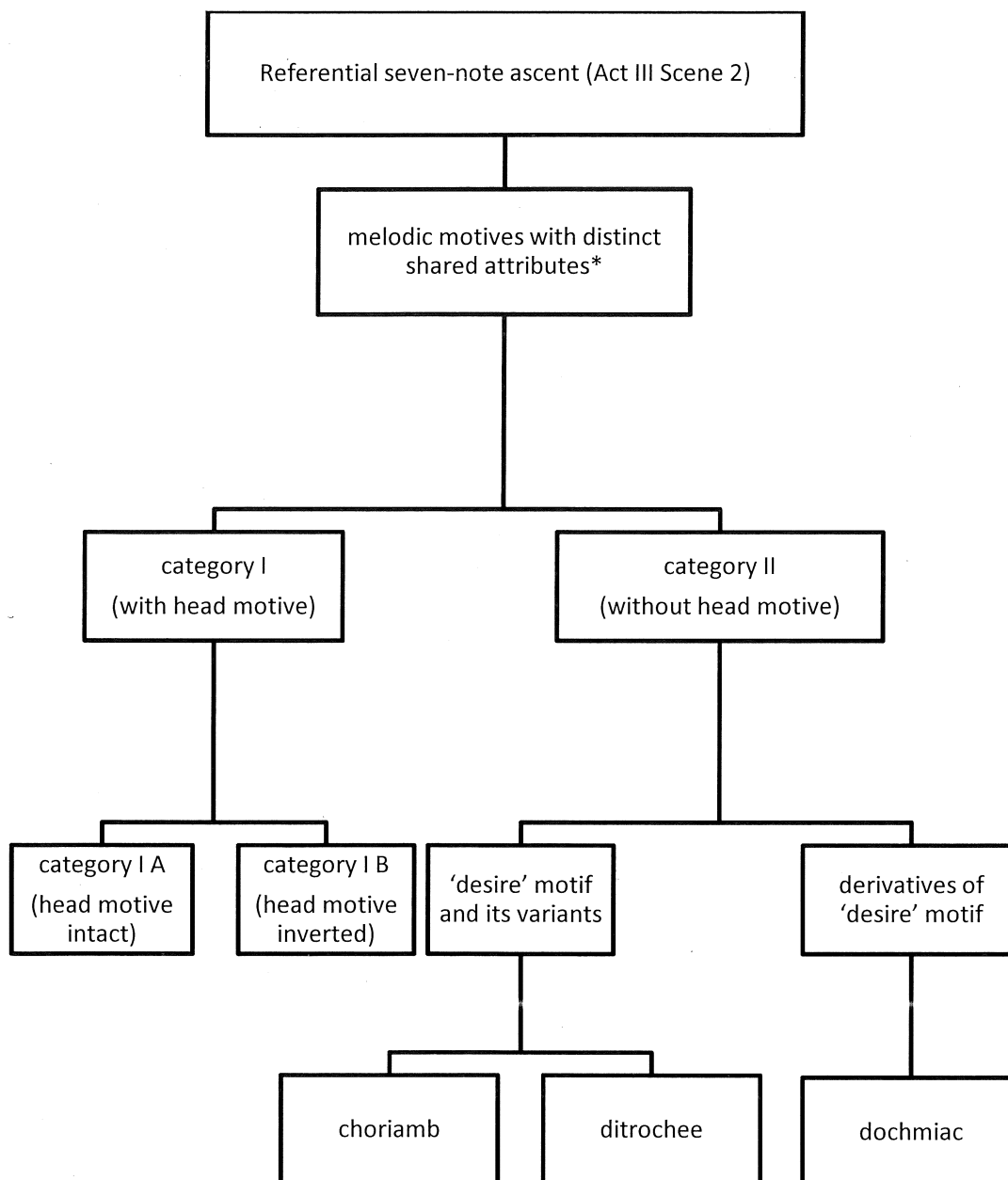
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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│        Referential seven-note ascent (Act III Scene 2) │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
                        │
          ┌──────────────────────────────┐
          │  melodic motives with distinct │
          │      shared attributes*         │
          └──────────────────────────────┘
                        │
      ┌─────────────────┴──────────────────┐
┌─────────────────┐              ┌──────────────────────┐
│   category I     │              │    category II        │
│ (with head motive)│             │ (without head motive) │
└─────────────────┘              └──────────────────────┘
      │                                    │
  ┌───┴────┐                    ┌──────────┴──────────┐
┌────────┐ ┌────────┐   ┌──────────────┐      ┌─────────────┐
│category I A│ │category I B│ │ 'desire' motif │    │ derivatives of │
│(head motive│ │(head motive│ │ and its variants│   │ 'desire' motif │
│  intact)   │ │ inverted)  │ └──────────────┘      └─────────────┘
└────────┘ └────────┘        │                         │
                        ┌────┴─────┐               ┌────┴────┐
                  ┌──────────┐ ┌──────────┐   ┌──────────┐
                  │ choriamb │ │ ditrochee │   │ dochmiac │
                  └──────────┘ └──────────┘   └──────────┘
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Table 6. Melodic motifs that share the attributes* of ostinato-like repetition and unconventional rhythmic grouping with the referential seven-note ascent

Referential seven-note ascent: cretic + epitrite IV

The referential seven-note ascent heard at the outset of act III scene 2 marks a critical point in the drama (Ex. 10). Tristan is dying physically and also dying to meet with Isolde again. As mentioned in the foregoing, the referential seven-note ascent marks the most pronounced use of seven time throughout *Tristan*. The two halves of the ascent have seven eighth notes each, and yet they accommodate three and four notes respectively. This brings about an acceleration that is made more intense by

the syncopation featured in the second half.[23] The quarter notes therein are syncopated against an underlying metrical grid (essentially a quarter-note pulse stream), as suggested by the notated meter of 4/4.

3-1-3   2-2-2-1   (7+7 eighth notes)
L-S-L   L-L-L-S   (L and S in 3:1 and 2:1 ratios)
cretic   epitrite IV

Example 10. Referential seven-note ascent, act III scene 2 (Wagner, 1906: 273): cretic + epitrite IV

Without presuming a metrical grid, the referential seven-note ascent could be played as a duration series, i.e. 3-1-3-2-2-2-1 eighth notes. If we treat 3 as long (L) and 1 as short (S), and interpret 2 and 1 along the same lines by assuming that the ratio between L and S is relative and hence variable,[24] the head motif and the continuing four-note ascent can be mapped onto the Greek metrical feet of cretic (L-

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[23] The miniature accelerando mirrors the large-scale accelerando of the strophe and especially that of the antistrophe.
[24] This assumption gains weight from the fact that, throughout *Tristan*, the 'desire' motif and its variants often articulate a choriamb (L-S-S-L) by engaging longs and shorts in different ratio (see Ex. 15 and Ex. 16).

S-L) and epitrite IV (L-L-L-S) respectively.[25] The axioms upon which this and other analyses of the appropriation of Greek rhythms in *Tristan* are summarized below:

- The ratio between the longs and the shorts is not restrictively 2:1. Different long-short ratios (for instance, 3:1 or 5:1) may be used in different Greek rhythms, and even in different parts of an appropriated Greek rhythm.
- The same ratio may vary quantitatively; for instance, 2:1 may involve a quarter note and an eighth note, or a half note and a quarter note, and so on in different Greek rhythms.

Category IA melodic motifs: cretic + amphibrach/peon II

Category IA melodic motifs—a seven-note ascent and a seven-note descent in act III scene 1, and a six-note ascent in act III scene 2—are deployed around the referential seven-note ascent. These melodic motifs are like the referential seven-note ascent except that they are six (rather than seven) quarter notes long and are notated in two measures of 3/4. Due to the prominence of the head motif, the six-note motif of act III scene 2 (Ex. 11) may be heard as comprising a cretic L-S-L (3-1-3eighth notes) and an ensuing amphibrach S-L-S (1-3-1eighth notes). They are inversions of one another, in that L become S and S becomes L. Their 7+5 asymmetrical grouping of the twelve eighth notes contradicts the symmetrical grouping of 4+4+4, to which we are certainly more accustomed. The 3-1-3 head motif also assumes a strong presence in the seven-note ascent and the seven-note descent of act III scene 1 (Ex. 12) and indicates an asymmetrical 7+5 grouping of the twelve eighth notes, though the grouping of 1-2-1-1 eighth notes suggests a peon II (S-L-S-S) instead of an amphibrach.

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[25] Greek rhythms discussed in this paper are listed with related ones in Appendix 2. *Greek Metre* (1982) and *Ancient Greek Music* (1992) by Martin West, one of the most eminent classical philologists of our times, are adopted as major secondary sources.

Example 11. Six-note ascent, act III scene 2 (Wagner, 1906: 273-274): cretic + amphibrach

Example 12. Seven-note descent, act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 269): cretic + peon II

We first hear a category IA melodic motif as the opening half of an arc-like melody toward the end of act III scene 1. It is then fragmented, as it were, and converted into a seven-note descent before it reverses to become a seven-note ascent. All these changes register the dramatic sequence in the scene. The seven-note ascent makes its debut (Wagner, 1906: 263) just as Tristan's obsession turns from the Isolde who abides in his thoughts to the one who is physically on board the ship. Tristan urges

Kurwenal to hurry to the watch-tower and find out if he can catch sight of the ship. It is not long before Kurwenal reports joyously that the ship is in sight. Tristan then asks if Kurwenal can see Isolde on board the vessel (*'See'st du sie selbst?'*). Right after this, Kurwenal cries out to Tristan that the ship might be in danger (*'Jetzt schwand das Schiff hinter dem Fels. Hinter dem Riff. Bringt es Gefahr?'*) and initiates the seven-note descent (Wagner, 1906: 269). This change from an ascent to a descent is evocative, in musical terms, of a dramatic change from hope to despair. Instead of catching sight of the ship and then Isolde, what is likely to happen next is shipwreck and Isolde's demise. The seven-note ascent then reappears just before Kurwenal exclaims that he at last sees Isolde in the distance (Wagner, 1906: 271).

Category IB melodic motif: amphibrach + choriamb

In act III scene 1 the seven-note ascent and also the descent are directed toward the referential seven-note ascent stationed at the outset of act III scene 2. The importance of all these seven-note melodic motifs and the fact that they appear exclusively in act III beg the question of whether they are in any way prepared in acts I and II. We might, for example, rethink the all too familiar seven-note melodic motif heard in the opening measures of *Tristan* and classify it as a category IB melodic motif (Ex. 13). As signified by the slur and the change of instrumentation, the opening melodic motif (Wagner, 1906: 1) begins with a three-note head motif followed by a four-note chromatic ascent (commonly referred to as the 'desire' motif).[26] Thus, the 3+4 grouping of notes characteristic of the prototypical seven-note ascent/descent (act III scene 1) and the referential seven-note ascent (act III scene 2) is already in evidence.

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[26] The four-note chromatic ascent (upper voice) overlaps with the preceding four-note chromatic descent (inner voice).

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head motif      four-note ascent ('desire' motif)
1-5-1           5-1-1-5
S-L-S           L-S-S-L          (L and S in 5:1 ratio)
amphibrach      choriamb
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Example 13. Seven-note melodic motif (*Tristan* Prelude): amphibrach + choriamb[27]

But there are also important differences. In the opening seven-note melodic motif, the rhythm of the head motif is S-L-S (instead of L-S-L), and that of the stepwise ascent, which appears only in the second half, is L-S-S-L (instead of L-L-L-S). The relationship between the opening melodic motif and the referential seven-note ascent may also escape us because they are widely separated in time (Ex. 14). Nevertheless, these differences do not refute a reading of the head motif (1-5-1) and the four-note ascent (5-1-1-5) in the opening melodic motif as appropriations of the Greek rhythms of amphibrach (S-L-S) and choriamb (L-S-S-L), with the longs and shorts in 5:1 rather than 2:1 ratio. What is more, the first and second halves of the four-note ascent (5-1-1-5) are marked off by two different block chords, and this leaves us in little doubt about the pairing of trochee (L-S) with iamb (S-L) in the making of a choriamb (L-S-S-L).[28]

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[27] The last note of the four-note ascent is followed by a very long rest and hence not clearly defined in length, but the rhythmic pattern remains unambiguously L-S-S-L. I interpret the duration of the last note as five eighth notes by including the ensuing pair of eighth-note rests.

[28] If the longs and shorts are 2:1 in ratio, the choriamb can easily be mistaken as the grouping of L + S-S + L in a measure of triple time.

Example 14. Referential seven-note ascent and related melodic motifs—the head motifs are shown in the left box; the 'desire' motif and its variants are shown in the right box

Category II melodic motifs: 'desire' motif, its variants and derivatives[29]

Category II melodic motifs are stepwise ascents or descents of four or more notes. Although these melodic motifs are least like the referential seven-note ascent because the head motif is absent, they far exceed category I melodic motifs in number. Because there is a multitude of category II melodic motifs, to which a unifying principle applies, they in fact provide exceptionally strong evidence of the purported use of Greek rhythms in *Tristan*. I shall return to this.

As shown in Ex. 14 (right box), category II melodic motifs include, first and foremost, the chromatic ascent heard in mm. 2-3 of the *Tristan* Prelude. This chromatic ascent and its literal repetition at different pitch levels, all of which appropriate the L-S-S-L rhythm of choriamb, will be referred to collectively as the 'desire' motif. Although it is initially embedded in the seven-note melodic motif (Wagner, 1906: 1), throughout

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[29] Most of the category II melodic motifs are notated to fit neatly one or two measures. When this is not the case, the presence of a slur helps define a distinct melodic motif. These two features are, however, not set up as selection criteria.

Tristan, the 'desire' motif more often than not appears alone, which explains why I classify it as a category II melodic motif.[30] As the 'desire' motif journeys through *Tristan*, its pitch and rhythmic profiles mutate along the way. One notable change is from choriamb (L-S-S-L) to ditrochee (L-S-L-S), which repeats rather than reverses the L-S in the first half to be the L-S in the second half.[31] In the following discussion, four-note ascents/descents that are treated with ostinato-like repetition and unconventional rhythmic grouping and yet do not literally transpose the opening chromatic ascent are named 'variants' of the 'desire' motif. Their counterparts, similar ascents/descents that comprise five or more notes, are named 'derivatives' instead (see Table 6).

Variants of 'desire' motif: choriamb/ditrochee (symmetrical/asymmetrical)

Regardless of whether the variants of the 'desire' motif appropriate choriamb (L-S-S-L) or ditrochee (L-S-L-S), the 2:1 ratio typical of Greek rhythms is seldom observed and the long-short ratio is usually relative rather than absolute. There are also cases where the two halves of a variant adopt different long-short ratios, thereby rendering it asymmetrical rather than symmetrical in layout. More specifically, the addition of the same short duration to the component notes in the first half brings about a written-out ritardando in the second half of the choriamb or ditrochee.[32] A number of examples are cited below to illustrate how a unifying principle may be understood to be at work in all these different variants.

Choriambs (symmetrical)

A variant of the 'desire' motif is repeated in ostinato-like fashion for the first time at the point the magic potion is first sung of in act I (Wagner, 1906: 8).[33] As shown in Ex. 15a, this variant (3-1-1-3) shares with the 'desire' motif (5-1-1-5) the rhythmic profile of choriamb (L-S-S-L), but the long-short ratio is modified to be 3:1 rather

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[30] The 'desire' motif appears as an integral part of the category IB melodic motif on only a few occasions and in act I exclusively (See Wagner, 1906: 5, 51-53, and 91).

[31] Ditrochees that are symmetrical in layout are rhythmically conventional, banal even. They are not considered variants of the 'desire' motif since unconventional rhythmic grouping is an indispensable attribute of all melodic motifs.

[32] This resonates with the technique Messiaen calls 'inexact augmentation.' (See Messiaen, 1956: 18-19).

[33] The magic potion is supernatural power made manifest as a material trace. Even the all-controlling Isolde falls prey to its destructive power.

than 5:1.[34] Other variants include 4-2-2-4 and 6-2-2-6 (Wagner, 1906: 13), which differ in the long-short ratios. Unlike 3-1-1-3, which is fitted into one measure of 2/2, the two halves of 4-2-2-4 and 6-2-2-6 are separated by a bar line, and the rhythmic makeup of L-S + S-L is thereby highlighted graphically (Ex. 15b).

a. Act I scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 8)[35]

3-1-1-3 (L-S-S-L) choriamb (symmetrical)

b. Act I scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 13)

4-2-2-4 (L-S-S-L) choriamb (symmetrical)

Example 15. Variants of the 'desire' motif: choriambs (symmetrical)

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[34] This variant appears less often in act II and only once in act III. In act II we hear it in the 'Introduction' (Wagner1906: 106-107) and shortly after scene 1 begins (Wagner, 1906: 109). In each case it contributes to the shaping of an extended crescendo. The last time this variant reappears is in act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906.: 234). The variant is stated five times consecutively before it once again develops into an extended ascent. In sum, the choriamb 3-1-1-3 is used motivically in *Tristan* at the following points: Wagner, 1906: 8-10 (act I); 106-107, 109 (act II); act III, 234 (act III).

[35] The chromatic ascent (F-F#-G-Ab) is literally stated three times. The whole series of ascents is then transposed up a tone.

Choriambs (asymmetrical)

A different variant of the 'desire' motif is sung by Isolde shortly after act I scene 2 begins, just as the young sailor finishes singing '*Weh, ach wehe, mein Kind!*' (Ex. 16a). At no other point in act I is a variant repeated so insistently to bring about an octave-long ascent (D4 to D5). Choriamb (L-S-S-L) is again suggested, though with the long and short in the first half 3-1 (L-S) lengthened by an eighth note and inverted into 2-4 (S-L) in the second half. In act III scene 1, we encounter a similar variant, in which 7-1 (L-S) in the first half is lengthened by an eighth note and inverted into 2-8 (S-L) in the second half (Ex. 16b). The choriambs are, in both cases, asymmetrical in layout.

a. Act I scene 2 (Wagner, 1906: 15-16)[36]

3-1-2-4 (L-S-S-L) choriamb (asymmetrical)

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[36] In the first and second statements of this variant, the last note is notated as a quarter note. The next main attack, however, comes only after a half note.

b. Act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 228)

7-1-2-8 (L-S-S-L) choriamb (symmetrical)

Example 16. Variants of the 'desire' motif: choriambs (asymmetrical)

Ditrochees (asymmetrical)

Variants of the 'desire' motif that appropriate ditrochees (L-S-L-S) appear in act III exclusively. In scene 1 of the act, before the curtain is raised, such a four-note ascent is stated repeatedly (Ex. 17a). The long and short in the first half 5-1 (L-S) of this four-note ascent can be lengthened by an eighth note into 6-2 (L-S) in the second half. Similar four-note ascents appear later (Ex. 17b and Ex. 17c). They are just as dark and foreboding, creeping in at the points Tristan finishes singing '*doch kann ich dir nicht sagen*' (Wagner, 1906.: 227) and '*zu entschwinden Tristan ist vergönnt*' (Wagner, 1906: 232). In Ex. 17b, the long and short 4-2 (L-S) in the first half are lengthened by a quarter note into 6-4 (L-S) in the second half. In Ex. 17c, the long and short 2.5-0.5 (L-S) in the first half are lengthened by a sixteenth note into 3-1 (L-S) in the second half. In both cases, the second half (L-S) of the ditrochee (L-S-L-S) can be derived from the first half (L-S) by adding to the two component notes the same short duration. As in the afore-mentioned asymmetrical choriambs, the two longs of each asymmetrical ditrochee are of different lengths, as are the two shorts. The augmentation is unconventional in that the long-short ratio in the first half is altered in the second half.

a. Act III (Wagner, 1906: 216)

5-1-6-2 (L-S-L-S) ditrochee (asymmetrical)

b. Act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 227)[37]

4-2-6-4 (L-S-L-S) ditrochee (asymmetrical)

c. Act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 232)[38]

2.5-0.5-3-1 (L-S-L-S) ditrochee (asymmetrical)

Example 17. Variants of the 'desire' motif: ditrochees (asymmetrical)

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[37] The last note of the ditrochee is interpreted as four eighth notes long by including the ensuing quarter-note rest.

[38] This variant of the 'desire' motif is played three times in a row (Wagner, 1906: 254) before it dissolves into an extended chromatic ascent, and leads all the way up to a high C.

Derivatives of 'desire' motif: dochmiac

Derivatives are like variants of the 'desire' motif in articulating stepwise ascents/descents except that they comprise more than four notes. There are fewer derivatives than variants,[39] but they are just as important and are unique in their appropriation of dochmiac. Plate 2 reproduces West's comprehensive list of 'normal dochmiacs,' which shows all 'possible combinations' of longs and shorts (2:1 in ratio) in the making of dochmaics (West, 1982: 109).

Plate 2. West's comprehensive list of 'normal dochmiacs'

West defines dochmiac as a pattern that "contains the equivalent of eight short notes, divided unequally in groups of three and five" (West, 1992: 142). Like the Greek rhythm choriamb featured in the 'desire' motif and its variants, dochmiac connotes tragedy.[40] Regarding the three derivatives featured in *Tristan*, a reading of the unconventional 5+3 grouping of eighth notes characteristic of dochmiac makes much better sense than that of different patternings of longs and shorts. The 5+3 grouping is well defined, though the diminutions in each group are achieved in notably different ways. The appropriation of dochmiac in the derivatives brings

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[39] The number of derivatives would escalate considerably if I included structures that are not stepwise ascents/descents. But then it would be less convincing to argue that they are derivatives of the 'desire' motif. Just a couple of them will be examined following a discussion of the derivatives.

[40] Gevaert refers to dochmiac and choriamb as rhythms associated with Greek tragedy (Gevaert, 1881: 65, 79). West is also of the view that dochmiacs are 'characteristic of tragedy' (West, 1982: 108).

about a written-out accelerando, just as a ritardando is composed out by an asymmetrical choriamb in selected variants. It is as if the appropriation of dochmiac in the derivatives and that of choriamb in the variants were conceived as a pair.

A derivative of the 'desire' motif first appears in act I scene 3 (Wagner, 1906: 27-28) at the point Isolde and Brangäne decided to use the magic potion (Ex. 18a).[41] The unconventional 5+3 grouping of eighth notes in this six-note ascent is suggested by the beaming of the last three notes. If only the last two eighth notes had been beamed, this six-note ascent would have assumed the conventional rhythmic grouping of 2+4+2 instead.

a. Six-note ascent, act I scene 3 (Wagner, 1906: 27)

b. Five-note descent, act II scene 2 love duet (Wagner, 1906: 183)

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[41] This six-note ascent is pitted against a four-note descent to form a wedge-shaped pair. Stated three times consecutively, the wedge-shaped pair generates mounting tension in response to Brangäne's words ('*Weh! ach wehe! dies zu dulden!*'). The same rhythm, albeit realized through a six-note ascent that is only partially stepwise, is heard three times in a row shortly after Brangäne exclaims '*O weh! Ach! Ach des Übels, das ich geahnt!*' (Wagner, 1906: 11).

c. Six-note ascent, act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 235)

Example 18. Derivatives of the 'desire' motif: dochmiacs (5+3 eighth notes)

The second derivative of the 'desire' motif appears in the love duet of act II scene 2 when Tristan and Isolde embrace for the third and last time (Ex. 18b).[42] The attack points of the two tied notes in this derivative mark off a 5+3 grouping of eighth notes.[43] Stated six times without a break, this derivative articulates an accelerando-cum-crescendo, which is further intensified by the use of syncopation.

The third derivative (S-L-L-S-S-S) appears in act III scene 1 (Ex. 18c).[44] The unconventional beaming of the last three eighth notes in this six-note ascent (as in

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[42] The five-note descent ♩♪ ♩ ♪♫ is evidently an extension of the preceding four-note descent ♩♪ ♩ ♩ ♪. A passing note is added, but the introduction of a triplet to accommodate the passing note ensures that the four- and five-note descents are of the same length, taking up one measure of 2/2 each.

[43] The same reading is inferred in the case of the four-note descent, from which the five-note descent originates. The four-note descent can also be read as a ditrochee (asymmetrical), i.e. L-S (3-2) followed by L-S (2-1). This reading is nonetheless problematized by the fact that no other ditrochees (asymmetrical) in *Tristan* repeat a note of the same length.

[44] This six-note ascent first appears in act I scene 5 near the markings of 'Tristan (confused)' (Wagner, 1906: 94) and 'Isolde (in confusion)' (Wagner, 1906: 102), when Tristan and Isolde, having taken the love potion, embrace one another passionately for the first time. But it is not until act III scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 235) that this six-note ascent is played insistently, being stated six times in a row to shape an extended crescendo. A sense of

the six-note ascent of act I scene 3) suggests the appropriation of a 5+3 dochmiac. The Greek rhythm dochmiac is most unequivocally projected in this derivative, given the schematic use of longs and shorts in strictly 2:1 ratio. S-L-L-S-S-S is also special because the motivic use of an ascent in *Tristan* usually begins with two shorts or one long.[45]

a. Act II scene 1 (Wagner, 1906: 119)

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[45] This rhythm appears in West's comprehensive list of 'normal dochmiacs' and is cited by Messiaen from Pindar's *Olympic II* to illustrate how iamb (S-L) and cretic (L-S-L) are juxtaposed to form dochmiac (see Messiaen, 1994: 78).

b. Act II scene 2 (Wagner, 1906: 147)[46]

c. Act I scene 5 (Wagner, 1906: 94)[47]

Example 19. Melodic motifs affiliated with the derivatives: dochmiac (5+3 eighth notes)
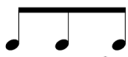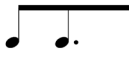
Dochmiac is also prominently featured through the melodic motifs that are not shaped as stepwise ascents/descents and therefore not classified as derivatives of the 'desire' motif. A comparison of three such melodic motifs (Ex. 19) and the afore-mentioned derivatives shows that there is a one-to-one mapping between them (Ex. 20). Wagner might have played with different ways to 'reduce' the asymmetrical 5+3 grouping of eighth notes to come up with multiple pairs of dochmiacs. The melodic motif affiliated with the first derivative is prevalently used throughout *Tristan*, and is stated twenty-seven times consecutively in act II scene 1 (Ex. 19a).[48] An even more impressive record of thirty-two consecutive statements of this melodic motif

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[46] A six-note melodic pattern that shares with the second derivative the same rhythm, except that the ties are not yet in place, appears in act II scene 2 (Wagner, 1906: 147) and is stated five times in a row.

[47] In act I scene 5 a six-note melodic pattern that shares with the third derivative a similar rhythmic profile is stated three times in a row near 'Tristan (confused)' (Wagner, 1906: 94) and again near 'Isolde (in confusion)' (Wagner, 1906: 102).

[48] Wagner, 1906: 106-108, 110, 112-113,115-116, 118-120, 126, 128-129, 139-140, 161, and 276.

results if the single measure of interruption (located right after the twenty-seventh statement) is discounted. This is remarkable, given that such obsessive repetition of a rhythm is not heard elsewhere in *Tristan*. Only the ending of the love duet in act II scene 2 and the ending of act III and hence *Tristan*—in both cases saturated with different manifestations of the 'desire' motif—may be considered comparable.

first derivative

affiliated melodic motif

second derivative

affiliated melodic motif

third derivative

affiliated melodic motif

Example 20. Derivatives and their affiliated melodic motifs

Epilogue

In the 1870s, while still a keen advocate of Wagner's music, Nietzsche had espoused Wagner as a modern-day Aeschylus and alluded to the revival of Greek rhythms in *Tristan*.[49] In *Griechische Rhythmik*, however, Nietzsche had made only tangential remarks on the use of five and seven time, and the frequent changes of time signature and measure length in *Tristan*. Taking Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan* act III scene 2 as a cue, I conducted a comparative analysis of melodic motifs deployed in all three acts of *Tristan* that resemble the referential seven-note ascent. The appropriation of distinct Greek rhythms in *Tristan* thus becomes evident: choriamb and dochmiac, which connote tragedy, outnumber cretic, amphibrach, epitrite IV, and peon II, which are heard mainly in act III and in association with category IA melodic motifs. A notable number of melodic patterns adopt the unconventional 5+3 grouping of eighth notes characteristic of dochmiac. They are nonetheless

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[49] As the relationship between Nietzsche and Wagner turned sour, however, the unconventional rhythmic approaches he praised in Wagner's music became the targets of his attacks.

deceptively conventional in that each of them neatly fills out one measure of 2/2 or 4/4.[50] The same applies to choriamb (L-S-S-L), which underpins the 'desire' motif and the many occurrences of its variants. A wealth of evidence supports the argument that the long-short ratio is made variable not just across different choriambs, but also across the two halves of individual choriambs. The reading of a variety of long-short ratios—ranging from 2:1 to 3:1, 3:2, 4:1, 5:1, and even 7:1—is thus treated as axiomatic.

A good grasp of Greek rhythms is a prerequisite for any attempt to understand how Wagner might have appropriated them in *Tristan*. Still, even for someone well versed in Greek rhythms, they may not be readily recognizable. There is no way of telling from the mere presence of iamb (S-L), trochee (L-S), anapest (S-S-L), dactyl (L-S-S), and spondee (L-L), which fit perfectly well our rhythmic idioms and notation, whether individual composers considered these rhythmic patterns to be Greek rhythms or not.[51] Throughout *Tristan*, most of what I argue as Greek rhythms are notated in duple or triple meters. Quintuple meter appears only rarely, while septuple meter is only implied by the change of meter from 3/4 to 4/4 in the referential seven-note ascent.[52] While the use of five and seven time in *Tristan* suits well Nietzsche's hunting for 'five- and seven-beat phrases,' the more prevalent use of choriamb and dochmiac seems to have escaped him.[53]

Despite the importance of the melodic motifs analyzed in this study, only the seven-note melodic motif at the outset of the *Tristan* Prelude and the 'desire' motif embedded in it are commonly understood as Leitmotifs. That most other melodic

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[50] Dochmiacs illustrate well how unconventional rhythmic patterns, depending on how they are notated, can visually appeal to us as somewhat conventional in makeup.

[51] The slow movement of Beethoven's Seventh Symphony is a case in point. Deprived of any documentation that points to Beethoven's conscious use of Greek rhythms, we can hardly verify Messiaen's view that dactyl rather than just a commonplace L-S-S pattern is pervasively used in the movement. *'Toute la pièce est en effet basée sur des dactyles, et Ie thème initial est lui-même une succession ininterrompue de dactyles et de spondées'* (Messiaen, 1994: 117).

[52] The use of unconventional rhythmic patterns in *Tristan* often coincides with the depiction of excited, confused, or disturbed mental states. In Nietzsche, 1993: 123-124, he draws an analogy between rhythmic irregularities that result from frequent changes of meters and unbalanced mental states, which may trigger such physiological condition as irregular heartbeat.

[53] The use of dochmiac in *Tristan* seems apt. According to West, dochmiacs 'appear in every extant [Greek] tragedy. Their tone is always urgent or emotional' (see West, 1982: 108).

motifs are stepwise ascents/descents and in this sense melodically banal may help explain why they have received little scholarly attention. There is virtually nothing about Wagner's compositional use of Greek rhythms in the existing literature, not to mention any attempt to address questions such as whether Wagner makes substantial use of Greek rhythm for the first and only time in *Tristan*, or perhaps similar approaches are adopted elsewhere in his *oeuvre.*

Fueled by important archeological findings, philological studies of Greek rhythm burgeoned during Wagner's lifetime. One major archeological discovery was the *Anonymous Treatise*, which was published by Bellermann in 1841. There were, of course, endless debates about the true nature of ancient Greek rhythms. During the long nineteenth century, the concept of Taktgleicheit (equal measure length), promulgated by a line of distinguished German philologists, waxed and waned. There was growing awareness that ancient Greek rhythms could never be known and experienced as they had been in the past, for the obvious reason that audiences had changed. Wagner, though, might not be concerned with what ancient Greek rhythms truly were, but how best to turn what he understood of them into a valuable compositional resource,[54] exploiting the notion of untimeliness at multiple levels and in ways that resonate well with Nietzsche's stance in the late 1870s:

> It is only to the extent that I am a pupil of earlier times, especially the Hellenic, that though a child of the present time I was able to acquire such untimely experiences. That much, however, I must concede to myself on account of my profession as a classicist: for I do not know what meaning classical philology could have for our time if it was not untimely—that is to say, acting counter to our time and thereby acting on our time and, let us hope, for the benefit of a time to come (Nietzsche, 1997: 60).

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[54]A parallel can be drawn between the use of Greek rhythms and the magic potion in *Tristan*. Both are inherited from the past, hardly known, and yet stunningly powerful.

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Appendix 1. Nietzsche's analysis of *Tristan*, act III scene 2 (mm. 1-76)

Appendix 2. Greek rhythms appropriated in the seven-note referential ascent and the categories I and II melodic motifs are bolded

Trochee	L–S	— ∪
Iamb	S–L	∪ —
Tribrach	S–S–S	∪ ∪ ∪
Spondee	L–L	— —
Dactyl	L–S–S	— ∪ ∪
Anapest	S–S–L	∪ ∪ —
Proceleusmatic	S–S–S–S	∪ ∪ ∪ ∪
Amphibrach	S–L–S	∪ — ∪
Bacchius	S–L–L	∪ — —
Cretic	L–S–L	— ∪ —
Antibacchius	L–L–S	— — ∪
Peon I	L–S–S–S	— ∪ ∪ ∪
Peon II	S–L–S–S	∪ — ∪ ∪
Peon III	S–S–L–S	∪ ∪ — ∪
Peon IV	S–S–S–L	∪ ∪ ∪ —
Ionic major	L–L–S–S	— — ∪ ∪
Ionic minor	S–S–L–L	∪ ∪ — —
Molossus	L–L–L	— — —
Epitrite I	S–L–L–L	∪ — — —
Epitrite II	L–S–L–L	— ∪ — —
Epitrite III	L–L–S–L	— — ∪ —
Epitrite IV	L–L–L–S	— — — ∪
Ditrochee	L–S–L–S	— ∪ — ∪
Diiamb	S–L–S–L	∪ — ∪ —
Choriamb	L–S–S–L	— ∪ ∪ —
Dochmiac	S–L–L–S–L	∪ — — ∪ —
Dactylo-Epitrite	L–S–S–S–L–L–L	— ∪ ∪ ∪ — — —