Wright, O. (2019), *Persian perspectives: Chardin, De la Borde, Kaempfer, Rast Musicology Journal, 7(2), s.2050-2083. Doi:*https://doi.org/10.12975/pp2050-2083

Persian perspectives: Chardin, De la Borde, Kaempfer

Owen Wright*

Corresponding Author:
*Music, School of Arts, School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London
Thornhaugh Street, London WCIH 0XG, ow@soas.ac.uk

Abstract
Less well explored than the material supplied by European observers of Ottoman musical practice, that relating to the Safavid realm is nevertheless instructive, both for the glimpses it gives of music as a social activity, especially in Isfahan, of the instruments used, and for what it reveals about the attitudes of the observers. The contributions of two of the most perceptive seventeenth-century European commentators are surveyed here, together with the attempts of an eighteenth-century encyclopaedist to grapple with a Persian theoretical text, reflecting a nascent concern with indigenous theory as Enlightenment thinkers develop an interest in exploring the music of other cultures while at the same time becoming more self-confident in their assumptions of European musical superiority.

Keywords
persian music, historical musicology, ethnomusicology, orientalism

Within the thickening humus of postcolonial re-evaluations of the cultural entanglements between Europe and the wider world is a particular layer concerned with the various musical traditions of the Middle East. Its assessments of Western perceptions, reactions, and various forms of exploitation have, perhaps inevitably, been frequently coloured by Said's critique of Orientalism[1] and, as might be expected, its concerns have largely been with the modern period and, crucially, with the consequences of the imposition by Western colonial powers of control over much of the Arab world.[2] For this, the symbolic, even if transient, beginning is Napoleon's 1798 Egyptian foray, especially given the major scholarly outcome that resulted from it, Villoteau's monumental attempt to come to grips with the musical present and past of Egypt.[3] Despite being by that time already well advanced in South Asia,[4] Western involvement elsewhere in the Middle East was less immediate and less direct, but although the Ottoman Empire was still not, in the nineteenth century, subjugated and subaltern, increasing recognition, and exploitation, of its military weakness and the parlous state of its economy meant that it, too, could readily be assigned to the same category of cultural inferiority as the similarly enfeebled polities to the east, increasingly subject to Russian and British pressure (in Persia) or under their direct control (in the Caucasus, Central and South Asia).

However, from the fifteenth century until the eighteenth, one would assume that rather different assessments and attitudes prevailed. Persia was still recognized as a major power, while the Ottomans were perceived more immediately as a direct and potent military adversary, with the bloodthirsty lustful Turk rampaging through the popular imagination. For this period, investigation has naturally tended to dwell upon a literature produced within and

affected by a context of power relationships dominated by an overriding concern with the Ottoman Turks.[5] Persians, in contrast, were more distant and no threat, and their characteristics were generalized in quite different terms: not for nothing do we find Montesquieu choosing *Lettres persanes* rather than *Lettres turques* as the vehicle for his critical observations. Indeed, Persia could be courted as a possible ally in anti-Ottoman coalitions and as a potential commercial partner that might help develop trade routes circumventing Ottoman territory.

As a result, it would hardly be unexpected to find a degree of asymmetry in the reactions of European travellers and observers, mainly commercial and/or diplomatic agents, to the cultural worlds of the Persians and the Ottomans.[6] Yet as far as music is concerned what is striking is as much what they have in common as the differences between them; it suggests, rather, that the possible emergence of a more nuanced and varied spectrum of reactions is held back by the pervasive effect of prejudices that result in categorizations of a negative nature. Nevertheless, among the more perceptive we encounter a respectful, if sometimes puzzled, recognition of alterity that, on occasion, can lead to a profounder understanding, demonstrated in particular in the mid eighteenth-century by the more dispassionate nature of Fonton's exploration of the Ottoman tradition.[7]

Within the narrower confines of musicology, similar qualifications may be made with regard to the eighteenth-century flowering of a primarily text-based scholarly endeavour to construct a universal panorama of music, one that expanded beyond its inevitable ancient (Biblical, Greek) to modern (European) trajectory to incorporate accounts of an increasing range of other traditions, from East Asia to Africa to South America. It pays, however, little heed to the cultural relativism associated with one strand of Enlightenment thought and stresses, rather, the value-laden teleological intersection of the diachronic and synchronic axes, the locus of the Western achievement of polyphony and functional harmony, against which the music of both ancient times and distant but contemporary places is ultimately to be regarded as deficient.[8] This ideological attitude was, indeed, sufficiently pervasive for it to lurk behind the later nineteenth-century emergence of *vergleichende Musikwissenschaft* and re-emerge in the twentieth-century archaeological and evolutionary approaches to other cultures, viewed as either static repositories of the past or harbingers of the more highly developed and complex Western present.[9] Nevertheless, an eighteenth-century theorist and historian such as De la Borde, concerned with textual traditions rather than the observation of practice, stands alongside Fonton as someone capable of a more objective assessment at least of Middle Eastern theoretical approaches, a representative case being that of questions of pitch organization: in the light of contemporary debates on tuning systems, they occupied what was for him familiar territory—he was, after all, a student of Rameau—and were perfectly comprehensible, because fundamentally analogous, developing a common Pythagorean legacy.

Between the Ottoman Empire and Persia, it was the former, given its relative proximity and the fraught nature of relations with it, that inevitably attracted the greater share of attention. It was a constant presence on the European stage—theatre, masque and opera—its threat exorcised through *buffo* costume or comedic distortion and, with specific respect to music, the creation of a particular set of sonic tropes refracting increasingly distant recollections of the *mehter*, the Ottoman military band. It also yielded observations from numerous visitors, feeding an increasing market for

travel literature. Most demonstrate various degrees of overt prejudice and hostility: the Turk, with some reservations made by those familiar with the sound of Mevlevi flutes,[10] is generally categorized, whether performer or listener, as ignorant and uncouth, satisfied with discordant din. The result is a depressing catalogue of persistent negativity ushered in towards the end of the fifteenth century by Tinctoris (c1435-1511), writing only shortly after the shock of the fall of Constantinople in 1453. It continued through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries[11] and culminated in the scornfully dismissive remarks of Marchese Febvre (Michele Febure da Novì, c1630-post 1687).[12] In contrast, no such judgments are made by his contemporary Giovanni Battista Donado (1627-99), who actually supplements his pioneering 1688 survey of Turkish literature with transcriptions of three songs—but at the same time he adds, as a clear if not explicitly articulated signal of deficiency, a blank bass stave beneath. The only dissenting voice of significance prior to the eighteenth century comes from another contemporary, Charles Perrault (1628-1703), who presents a sophisticated debate accepting misunderstandings on both sides but at the same time recognizing technical excellence: Perrault's protagonist praises a particular Persian instrumentalist and notes the greater subtlety of the single melodic line of the music of the Ancients and the 'Orientals'.[13] We thereby approach the possibility of a balanced evaluation that could be viewed as part of a more objective pre-Enlightenment ethnography, and one from which it is only a step to the fuller involvement of Fonton, whose declaredly comparative survey of Ottoman music remarks on difference while largely avoiding verdicts of inferiority.[14]

For Persia the number of witnesses is, inevitably, smaller. Loquacious voyagers there certainly are,[15] but few do more than remark upon, say, the presence of singers and dancers at a feast or wedding ceremony, without adding anything more specific, so that there is in consequence no insistent background noise of denigration against which, or emerging from which, the major informative voices can be heard. They are those, first, of two contemporary but very different figures, Jean Chardin[16] (1643-1713) and Engelbert Kaempfer (1651-1716). By profession a jeweller, like his father, Chardin first went to Persia in 1666, and on a second journey arrived in Isfahan in 1673, staying there for four years. He was both widely travelled in the provinces and familiar with the life of the capital, including the palace, where he had business with senior officials and also served as an intermediary with foreign missions. A keen and inquisitive observer, his voluminous account of the country and its people is invaluable for its insights as well as its factual content.[17]

In contrast, Kaempfer was a pastor's son who studied in various North German universities and qualified as a doctor. In 1681 he went to Uppsala and became attached to a Swedish diplomatic mission to Persia that reached Isfahan in 1684. He stayed for the best part of two years, but rather than return with the mission to Sweden took a post with the Dutch East India Company and moved to Bandar Abbas, where he remained for a further two years, suffering various bouts of illness, before embarking in 1688 and eventually arriving in Japan in 1690. Given its inaccessibility, he is perhaps better known for his detailed reporting on Japan, where he stayed for two years, particularly noteworthy being his pioneering account of its flora, but his material on Persia is equally detailed, extensive, and valuable, containing much on society and geography as well as botany.[18] His record of aspects of musical practice during the final quarter of the seventeenth century is largely congruent with the corresponding parts of Chardin's generally more diffuse observations, and

to reduce repetition can be interwoven with them. So, too, with the remarks of other keen observers who wrote detailed reports of their travels to and through Persia, notably Adam Olearius (1603-71)[19] and Cornelius Le Brun (1652-1726),[20] the former, especially, being not far behind in the alertness of his responses to whatever music he heard.

Among them all, it is only Chardin who ventures into the world of theory and structure. However, stumbles would be more accurate, as he confesses to finding himself lost, and it is not until a century later that we arrive at a fuller and more informative account of aspects of Persian (and Turkish) theory. Derived from secondary sources rather than first-hand observation or contact with an expert informant, it appears in the chapter on the music of the Persians and Turks in an encyclopaedia by Jean-Benjamin de la Borde (1734-97).[21] His work provides a sharp contrast in tone and content to that of Chardin and Kaempfer, and his life, too, could hardly have been more different: as well as a stay-at-home scholar and a prolific opera composer he was a court intimate and a *fermier général*, and as one of this hated class of tax-collectors ended up, not surprisingly, on the scaffold.

The material they provide may be considered under three broad heads: observations on music heard; instruments; and theoretical description. With regard to the social contexts of performance, experienced at first hand, a prominent place is given, not surprisingly, to the presence and impact of the ceremonial and military band.[22] In terms of sound, though, nothing specific is said by most witnesses: the appeal is to a familiar military and ceremonial world of trumpets and drums to which the reader may be expected to assimilate the unknown.[23] The exceptions are Kaempfer, for whom it is an infernal racket, a point he makes repeatedly,[24] and Le Brun, whose reaction is also negative.[25] On a more cheerful note, Chardin describes the spring new year celebration at Isfahan, ushered in by artillery and musketry when given the signal, established by astrolabe readings, that the equinox has arrived, followed by the military ensemble, which performed before the palace gate on each day of the eight-day long celebration, the atmosphere being one of a fair, with dancing, fireworks and entertainment.[26] Kaempfer refers to an even longer performance stint for a coronation, the ensemble having to play over twenty days, the number corresponding to the age of the ruler. Incidental references of the same nature, if for mercifully briefer periods, may also be found elsewhere: Michele Membré notes the sounding of drums (*nagara*) for three days and nights both for a diplomatic encounter and for the rather more gruesome occasion of the display of severed heads on the gibbet in the city square.[27]

In addition, as part of his account of the palace, Kaempfer mentions the quarters of the *naqqāra-ẖāna*, placed between the palace workshops (for metalwork, the mint, and the painters' atelier) and the stables, and his more immediate concern with the power structure and habits of the court[28] leads him to provide a catalogue of court officials that concludes with the master of music, the *čālči bāši*.[29] His responsibilities cover, in addition to the ceremonial ensemble, the entertainment provided by dancers, singers, players, reciters, poets, actors, pantomimes, and wrestlers.[30]

Mention is also made of feasts and receptions accompanied by music. Membré, for example, describes being present at a feast entertained by a young singer and an instrumental ensemble, and commends the quality of the singing.[31] For insight into the morphology of the grander occasions it is, though, to Chardin and Kaempfer that we need to turn. In Chardin's case

the reference is to a marriage celebration organized by the governor of Erivan[32] where, on entering the courtyard area, he found wrestlers and swordsmen (*gladiateurs*) entertaining the guests. After an hour of this, the ground was covered with felts and carpets, and there entered a large ensemble of musicians and dancers of a type maintained by provincial governors, which performed for more than two hours without, he graciously adds, inducing boredom. The corresponding passage in Kaempfer is rather fuller, consisting of an extensive account of hospitality and entertainment that is located not in the city but in a countryside palm grove, and it begins by waxing lyrical about the 'innate' preference of the rural inhabitants for pure water and an absence of intoxicants.[33] The composition of the entertainment in what follows is, compared with Chardin's marriage feast, more complex and rather more factually explicit, with a different sequence of events, but rather than an account of a particular occasion it is presented as typical, in parts, indeed, almost a catalogue: it should be regarded not as a record of a particular event but as a conflation of possibilities synthesizing elements from various social contexts. Mention is made of female dancers (*saltatrices*), but the emphasis is at first on the delivery of various verbal genres, both secular and religious.[34] Eventually, though, seriousness gives way to frivolity, provided either by a mimic (*taqlidji*) or an actor, or by a juggler (*ḥoqqa-bāz*), provoking amusement and laughter, and when we reach sunset thoughts turn to dancing—although not by the guests themselves, who do not indulge in this form of activity. Rather, it is an entertainment provided by itinerant troupes of professional dancers (*raqqāṣ*), both men and women.[35] Kaempfer expresses admiration for their agility and suppleness, but when he turns to the accompanying music there is a grinding change of rhetorical gear, the tone set immediately by an introductory 'alas': it is strange, exotic, and delight is taken in the dissonant combination of a variety of instruments.[36] Reinforced here by exclamation marks, the sarcastic tone continues through the characterization of the most important instrument, the shawm (*sornāy*), as cackling,[37] and drowning out the others with grunting sounds,[38] a verdict depressingly reminiscent of the forms of denigration found in reactions to Turkish music, although thereafter the descriptions becomes more neutral as Kaempfer proceeds to a catalogue of other instruments.

For Chardin, too, dance is an entertainment provided by others, naturalized for the reader by being compared to a theatrical performance or, more precisely, to opera.[39] Called upon for major social occasions,[40] such performances are described by Chardin in explicitly operatic terms, as a narrative in which each act deals with episodes in a love story: initial enchantment; pursuit and rejection; and final reconciliation. He concurs with Kaempfer in praising the agility and suppleness of the dancers but disagrees in the assignment of rôles: dance is a female preserve, while playing instruments is an almost exclusively male domain. Both Olearius and Bembo, on the other hand, note participants of both genders dancing at weddings, but separately.[41]

A more insistent concern for Chardin with regard to dance, though, is sex.[42] Comments on the lasciviousness of the sung text are linked to judgments about Persian views on male continence (or the lack of it), and on the moral status of dancing. It is viewed as immodest, even shameful, especially because female dancers are also prostitutes: the twenty-four dancers of the Shah's troupe are characterized as the most famous courtesans in the country, and Chardin goes on to discuss their organization and travel arrangements and ends, after describing a visit to their quarters, with

a moralizing dismissal of their life style[43] before moving on to prostitution in general. The connection is also made by Le Brun, who refers to a ban on *les danseuses, & les femmes de méchante vie*.[44] For women with unblemished reputation we need to turn to the harem, where Kaempfer informs us that various artistic activities are practised, including singing, playing string instruments, and dance.[45]

A social context of a quite different order in which musical elements are present is glimpsed through Le Brun's account of the Muharram processions of mourning for the victims of Karbala.[46] One includes half-naked groups with blackened faces singing lamentations accompanied by castanets, while another involves handsomely apparelled horses followed by singers, instrumentalists and dancers holding up a canopy. Halting at times, they throw, while singing, straw over their heads, calling out 'Hoseyn, Hoseyn'.[47] Otherwise, the religious domain is, when not silent, amorphous: there is no mention of Quranic cantillation or, more surprisingly, of the call to prayer beyond remarking on its volume. Nor is there mention of other elements of the urban soundscape such as vendor's cries, or, with the significant exception of Kaempfer, of music heard in the countryside (where travellers were mainly passing through, being more concerned with the number of leagues covered).

Given his emphasis on theoretical issues, but more especially the lack of any possibility of direct observation, it is hardly surprising to find that social contextualization is absent from the information provided later by De la Borde. He does, nevertheless, fill a gap left by the other major witnesses by outlining the contents of what he calls a normal (*régulier*) concert, one given, it may be assumed, in a *majles* containing a culturally sophisticated audience.[48] The leader of the ensemble is the singer, who is at the same time the percussionist, playing either a frame drum or a pair of small kettle drums.[49] It is he who decides on the mode, signalled by his use of its scale and modal contour in his initial improvisation.[50] After this he sings four verses, which must accord with the character of the mode, the instrumentalists following in imitation. They then play, in the same mode, a *pichreu* (*pišraw*), said to be a small piece and described, rather confusingly, as a kind of *ritornello* consisting of a first couplet, a repeat and a refrain. The singer then performs either three short *besté* or one long *kiar* (the orthography suggesting a Turkish rather than a Persian source for these terms), which are normally by Marāġi, identified as the famous *Coya* (< *ḫoja*) *Abdelkader d'Isfahan*—a new city for him, incidentally—and, in a classic example of posthumous aggrandizement, as the composer of more than two thousand such pieces. In conclusion, several further pieces in the same mode are performed, after which comes an interval and then a second sequence in another mode, and if one wishes to prolong the concert a maximal third can be added.

All this suggests structural analogies not just with a familiar concert format but also, more specifically, with European suite forms and their unity of key and standard sequences of movements. At the same time, it hardly gives the reader any insight into the structure, let alone the character, of the vocal pieces, although given the acute difficulties inherent in communicating the nature of an unfamiliar idiom without at least the help of transcription this was, perhaps, only to be expected, just as is De la Borde's silence with regard to the for him unheard voice. It is Chardin who provides some help here, venturing a characterization of Persian singing as clear, firm and gay,[51] with a preference for strong, high voices, to which two further but less obvious characteristics are added, humming (*fredon*), possibly a reference to the prolongation of nasal obstruents, and

a rumbling sound (*les grands roulemens*). There is no polyphony: singers take turns, usually accompanied by plucked and bowed string instruments.[52]

The various accounts given of Persian instruments also sometimes suffer from isolation in similar ways. As artefacts they could certainly be described in some detail, with specifications of materials and dimensions but, in most instances, little is said about how they were played, how they were or were not combined in performance, and even less about the sounds they produced. An interest in specificity with regard to a physical object is shown, for example, by Le Brun,[53] who cites among the main instruments of the Shah's ensemble, first, the *qarnā(y)*,[54] giving precise measurements: some have a circumference of five inches at the top and four feet at the bottom and are seven feet six inches in length, requiring a stand. The sound, he adds, is extraordinary. Measurements are likewise given for the *kus*, a drum five feet two inches in length and with a circumference of nine feet nine inches: it is only used in battle, the players being mounted on camels. Less detail is given for the other instruments, which include, as the most frequent, the *kamanja* (described curtly as an *espece de violon*). Some, indeed, are just listed as lexical equivalences: *harpe, plusieurs sortes de flûtes*, and *clavessins*, presumably referring to the *santur* but doubtless interpreted by the innocent reader as a harpsichord.

A similarly vivid sketch is given by Olearius, who likewise begins with the *qarnāy*, but expressing a decidedly negative reaction to its sound (a horrible roaring), while the remainder of the ensemble—shawms, horns, trumpets and various drums—is merely deafening.[55] The same bias towards wind and percussion is exhibited by Chardin, who begins his survey[56] with the kettle drum (*timbale*), the cylindrical drum (*tambourin*), made of copper or brass, the frame drum (*tambour de basque*, with incidental praise of the performance skills involved), and a barrel drum (*une sorte de tambourin long*), attached to a belt and played by a hand on each face. Size, again, was worth noting: some kettle drums are three feet in diameter, like a hogshead (*muid*) cut in half, and, being too heavy even for camels, are pulled along on carts.[57] With wind instruments there is again an emphasis on the military side, and upon size. Among the straight cornets, which serve as horns and trumpets, some are incredibly large: the smallest are some seven to eight feet in length. The bore is very narrow a foot from the mouthpiece, widening out to two inches at the mouthpiece, and at the other end is nearly two feet. Not surprisingly, we are told that the player finds it difficult to hold up and may buckle under the weight. It can be heard from far off and, although gruff and muffled (*rude et sourd*) by itself, combines well with others, providing what he perceives as a bass line. Mention is made of other types resembling hunting horns and clairons,[58] while the *cor des Turcs* is said to be in common use but very difficult to play because of the amount of breath required. Otherwise he just gives us names, *hautbois, flûte, fifre, flageolet*, and a disparaging comment about how they sound together.[59]

The strings, likewise, are reduced to little more than a name list: *rebec, harpe, épinette*(!), *guittare, tétracorde (*i.e. *čahārtār)*, *violon, tamboura*, defined as a sort of ladle (*poche*), a gourd at the end of a neck, used like the lute, and *kenkeré*, an Indian interloper, as is confirmed by the accompanying illustration, which is of a vina. Strings are of either twisted raw silk or brass wire (*fil-d'archal*): gut is avoided for religious reasons. Finally, percussion instruments are mentioned: cymbals, castanets[60] and, interestingly, a rare item of tuned percussion, porcelain or brass bowls of different sizes struck with two long thin

sticks.[61] Chardin compares the resulting sounds favourably to a clock chime and notes that they are much livelier.

For a concert performance of the kind he outlines, De la Borde states that at least six types of instrument are required: '*ud, qānun, nāy, kamanja* and, rather unexpectedly, *nefir* (glossed as *demi hautbois*), seemingly, then, a small shawm, and *ıklık*, a Turkish term glossed as a long-necked lute.[62]

Instruments were, then, at a basic level, inert physical objects to be inventoried and visually represented, almost, in the case of Kaempfer, like exhibits in a cabinet of curiosities, yet it is also Kaempfer who provides the richest commentary on several.[63] Interestingly, his arrangement (fig. 1) places together at the top those associated with the ensemble that had

Figure 1

the most immediate impact upon foreign visitors to Isfahan or other major cities, its wind component, shawm, trumpets and horn framing various percussion instruments, some integral to the *naqqāra-ḫāna*, but several not. This contrasts with the rather unexpected narrative framework within which the extensive and detailed accompanying text is set, his account of the entertainment provided during the summer exodus to the palm groves. What makes it clear that this is a conflation is the indiscriminate addition of both military band and urban art-music instruments to whatever might have been locally available in order to provide a comprehensive survey. Indeed, his description of the *donbak*, for example, a goblet-shaped drum, references its use in both rural and urban contexts.

Kaempfer begins his account with (1) the shawm, *sornāy*, described, as already noted, in disparaging terms, and then enters percussion territory with (2) small tinkling bells, qualified as 'like ours', and (3) large cymbals, *ṣanj*, described in some detail as having a wide rim around a smaller centre and, held at the boss, able to make alternately soft and loud clashes. His following treatment of various drum types is sometimes curt, sometimes detailed: he is concerned with shape and, if approximately, dimensions, but in some cases adds information on materials, playing technique, comparative dynamics and even, on occasion, performance context. First is (4) a small barrel drum, *doṃbāl (? = taṃbal)*, which he considers an import from either India or Europe (!), then (5) *dohol*, which Europe has in turn copied for military use, some examples being so large that they can barely be carried. This is followed by the surprising comment that they are all played not with beaters but softly with hands and fingers, producing gentle and agreeably different sounds as they alternately strike the two heads—a perfect encapsulation of the playing technique of an Indian-derived barrel drum of the *dholak* type, but surely not accurate in relation to the larger *dohol*. The following account of (6) the *donbak*—depicted as unrealistically small in relation to the others—is equally precise and extends also to aspects of performance context (Fig. 1).

Made of earthenware, it has a light structure of the form and size of an earthenware jar, set above a short base; it is held by the player under the arm, and the mouth or opening is covered by a tightly stretched parchment or bladder. In the context of folk festivities it is reinforced by clapping, so that in combination they give further rhythmical dynamism to the dancers; and in an urban setting, as part of an ensemble, it accompanies the *čahārtār*, which is played either alone or with other string instruments.[64] Chardin also refers to finger clicking,[65] used by singers to encourage the dancers: the noise they make is just as loud as the strong clear sound produced by the bone castanets of the dancers themselves.

The frame drum (7), *def*, is then characterized as soft-sounding and described, again, with great precision. It is similar in size, shape and its light weight to a sieve, four hand-spans in compass, its single face having a very thin skin stretched over it, and gently struck by the fingers to produce the sound. Four or five pairs of small sonorous concave brass discs are set on rods inserted in the thin wooden rim, and when the frame drum is struck they collide against each other like cymbals. In contrast, if rings are set around the frame, producing a sound that is soft and muffled (*confusus est & remissior*), the instrument is called (8) a *dāyera*.

At this point Kaempfer inserts the account of the singer's role, discussed above, before listing a variety of instruments used for social and private pleasure, for war, and in public squares for signalling the time of celebrations. First come the

remaining percussion instruments, then wind, and finally strings, with in each group variations in the amount of detail given. The percussion (*ṭabl*) group includes (9) the *kus*, a large kettle drum played with two curved beaters, (10) a pair of small kettle drums, *naqqāra*, and even (11) a falcon drum, *ṭablbāz*, used in hunting. The brass (*nafir*) group consists of (13, 14) two straight trumpets, *qarnāy*, the shorter, more delicate in sound, being half the length of the other, which produces a deafening noise, and (15) a bronze horn of the same size as (14). Among string instruments, the most common lute type is (16), which has a long neck and a small oval table,[66] while (17), a lute with double courses, is considered superior.[67] Also commended for its mild tone and superiority when played well is the *kamanja*, the first of (18, 19) the two spike fiddles to be shown; both are described in some detail. The depiction of the remaining three (20-22) is rather approximate and the descriptions not wholly helpful: 20 is said to be a zither with an unusual shape, the other two harps, *čeng*, 21 with six strings and hence easy for beginners, and 22 a rarer type, rectangular in shape. However, both are said to be played with bent sticks or with feathers (i.e. plectra), and so rather than harps are more likely to be impressionistic representations from memory of *santur* and *qānun*. Of wind instruments, left to last, only (23) the panpipes, *musiqār*, receives a cursory accompanying comment (it has eight tubes to blow in), while flutes are expressly omitted in order not to prolong the narrative.

Being also concerned to set music-making in a social and ethical context, Chardin reports that learning an instrument is disapproved of, and that music is avoided by the pious. The result is that as an art it is neither as polished nor as advanced as in the West, a slightly subtler form of denigration than that used by most observers of the Ottoman scene, but one equally secure in its assumption of Western superiority: the terms require no explanation and the notion of progress is a given. Instrumentalists are poor and shabby, and apart from those patronized by the Shah are not worth hearing. Dance is narrative and a performance may last (a surely exaggerated) three to four hours; it is also even further down the moral scale, and here Chardin displays an interest in sexual (im)morality that verges on the prurient, even, indeed, the hypocritical: a performance includes lascivious episodes, and is only performed by vile prostitutes—it is as if the notion of a courtesan culture were alien to both him and his readers.

His separate chapter on music, from which the above material on instruments and dancing is taken, forms part of a wide-ranging *Description des Sciences et des Arts libéraux des Persans*. It is followed by a chapter on mathematics, but awareness of the relationship between the two does not extend to any transmission of aspects of musical theory connected with number. Chardin is, in fact, quite candid in admitting that as he had no informant to help him while in Persia the one text he had managed to obtain remained obstinately beyond his understanding. He describes it as full of complex tables and diagrams, which points to it being a work in the Systematist tradition, but not one of the more expansive ones, as he describes it as a small work taking some three hours to read. Its Systematist credentials are confirmed by the accompanying table,[68] which contains, above a short example of notation, various diagrams, not all exactly copied, one a set of interlaced semicircles marking the consonant intervals of the *rāst* octave and another (fig. 2) an equally familiar circular representation of the fourth and fifth relationships in the same octave. However, no explanation is given, so that for the reader these diagrams remain impenetrable, and Chardin himself confesses not to understand them: all that

he has managed to extract from this work is that there are nine pitches, that there are vocal and instrumental tablatures, and that the method of learning is governed by complex rules. Expressing the hope that he will eventually find the time to discover more, he adds that there are further tablatures in chessboard format, the biggest

Figure 2

having 306 cells, some marked by notes, the others blank.[69] The following remarks about modes are somewhat impressionistic, yielding only the information that some are named after cities, others after body parts (!), and yet others after everyday objects (!), after which comes a statement that the forty-eight *tons* are named after cities.[70] His conclusion, because there are so few learned musicians, just the ten to a dozen who are all in the Shah's employ, is that theory is an area of confusion. It is one leaving the reader in no position to disagree. The chapter is then rounded off by the reiteration of a familiar theme: good singers are few because of the moral obloquy surrounding the profession, which is left to prostitutes and mountebanks.

Far more informative, even if also beset with interpretative problems, is De la Borde's Chapter XIX, *De la Musique des Persans & des Turcs*. It begins with a succinct definition of music according to *les Orientaux*, a term that clearly includes its ostensible subjects (for whom *Levantin* sometimes appears as an equivalent) but seems to exclude Arabs, Indians and Chinese, whose traditions are covered in separate chapters. The definition covers pitch, referring to a sequence of consonant intervals,[71] and temporal organization, referring to the controlling role of percussion instruments.[72] There is no allusion, as with Kaempfer and Chardin, to the absence of harmony (De la Borde saves this for the chapter on Arab music), but as the crucial teleological distinction of the development of polyphony as a distinctively Western attainment had already been stressed at the beginning of the book, silence too can be interpreted as a marker situating these traditions within the underdeveloped inheritance of the ancient world.

The next sentence then refers to music as a science, here clearly more than just elegant variation, and states that it had always been strongly present in Persia: the lack of a parallel reference to Turks is telling, but does not foreshadow a specifically Persian-oriented approach for the chapter as a whole. Greater historical precision follows with an anchorage in the fifteenth century: music is said to have flourished even more between 800 (/1400) and 900 (/1500) under Sultan Ssharot (= Shāhrukh Mirzā, r. 1405-47), the son of Tamerlane (Timur, r. 1370-1405), and Sultan Khasembigra (= Ḥosayn Bāyqarā, r. 1469-1506). There is a reference to several works having been written during this century, and moreover to their availability,[73] which one would assume to indicate an awareness of the Timurid constellation of Systematist treatises, but it appears, rather, that whatever Persian texts De la Borde was able to consult were Safavid, and of a different type. Unfortunately, there is no extant treatise known to be by the one author mentioned, a certain Abu 'l-Wafā',

whose work is said to form the basis for almost all of De la Borde's account, and if his chapter does indeed largely reflect the contents of a single treatise it is one that in certain respects is puzzlingly different from the remaining literature.[74] Further, as Abu 'l-Wafā' is also named as the author of the text that Chardin struggled with it would seem too much of a coincidence for it not to be the same work, yet it is difficult to reconcile their listing (and understanding) of the contents: they appear, rather, to be extracting information from different sources, so that exactly what was available to them remains a mystery.[75]

When compared to earlier accounts which, apart from Chardin's inclusion of his unsuccessful attempt to grapple with a text, are all derived largely from personal experience and observation, this exclusive reliance on written sources constitutes a crucial difference. What we are presented with is an attempt to outline the basic structures of the system in question as presented in its own theoretical literature, or at least in one representative specimen thereof, and there are, inevitably perhaps, attendant problems of communication: even for the most alert of readers the picture would be blurred, and little would be communicated to the less assiduous beyond the notion of an idiom characterized by modal and rhythmic complexity. After his brief introductory remarks, De la Borde plunges into an account of the scalar system, beginning with a display of the abjad series of alphanumerical symbols used by Systematist theorists to define pitch steps. They are then set out both over an octave on a monochord (fig. 3) and as a fretting for a lute with five courses. On the monochord the expected L (limma) and C (comma) intervals are arranged in ascending order yielding, in the lower tetrachord, the standard order L L C, L L C, L. This order is not, however, repeated in the upper tetrachord, where we have L C L, L C L, L, with the same L C L disposition in the disjunctive whole tone above. However, dissatisfied with this arrangement, De la Borde gives a second line purporting to provide a correction, according to which the lower tetrachord also becomes L C L, L C L, L.[76]

There is, though, no reflection of Systematist definitions in the following survey of modes, which begins with the assertion that the whole tradition is based upon twelve 'father modes'.[77] However, we are then immediately told that each of them has alongside it two further modes, termed *collatéraux*,[78] related to their higher and lower registers respectively, echoing a derivational typology characteristic of post-Systematist sixteenth- and seventeenth-century texts.[79] The total number of modes is thus 36, although one might have expected 42, with the addition of the six modes of the *āvāz* group, which do not disappear from the categorization of the modes until the early eighteenth century, but fail to be mentioned here. Unknown to the Greeks, these derived modes are Persian, having the names of the towns in which they originated, and, passing over the Turks in silence, De la Borde adds the comment that the Arabs, too, have several modes unknown to the Greeks.

A further reference to the Greeks, but

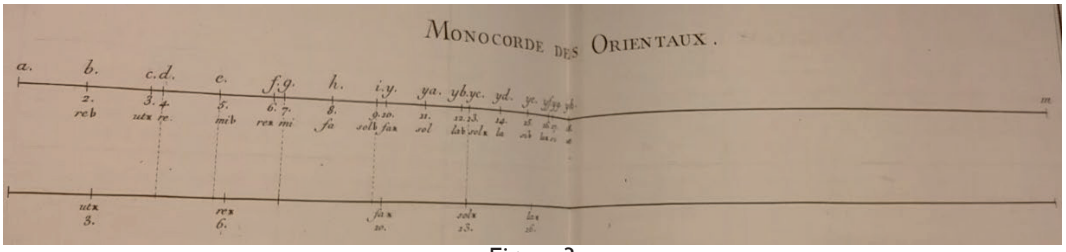

Figure 3

this time a positive parallel, accompanies the statement that the Persians claim that each of their modes has a particular character. The twelve *maqām* modes are then named and grouped according to a typology first exemplified by al-Urmawī,[80] but given here with later adjustments and also a reformatting, so that instead of three unequal groups there are now four groups of three modes each:

1) *rāst, navā* and *'oššāq* are warlike: Tartar, Turkish and Ethiopian musicians, wild in nature (*dont l'humeur est sauvage*),[81] sing almost exclusively in these. When the Turkish army leaves Istanbul to go on campaign, the shawms, fifes and trumpets play in *rāst*, and the Persians use it for singing heroic and bellicose *šāhnāma* texts, for which they also occasionally turn to *'oššāq*, following ancient practice.

2) *busalik, ḥosayni and eṣfahān* are learned (*savans*), used for difficult compositions.[82]

3) *ḥejāz, zangula* and *'erāq* (*le Babilonien*) are joyful, and used at weddings and celebrations. They are combined with the bellicose modes if there is a triumphant return from war. It is said that Shah 'Abbās was cured by a concert in *'erāq* from a mortal illness brought on by melancholy: one of the melodies was called *l'air de la santé* (*ṣeḥḥat-nāma*).[83]

4) *bozorg, zirafkand* and *rahāvi* are sad. The Turks use them for their amorous romances and in their prayers for the dead.

None of the 24 derived modes is named: they are merely said to have more or less the same character as the ones from which they are derived, presumably then, those listed in relation to the above groups of three. It is only towards the end of the chapter that we encounter further relevant snippets of information, mention being made there of seven notes, some specified as initial, finalis and dominant, and of each of the seven (notional) fret positions having the name of the mode of which it is the finalis.

Further material is neverthess to be found—but in the chapter on Arab music, where De la Borde is clearly indebted, amongst others, to Šams al-Dīn al-Ṣaydāwī, some of whose diagrammatic mode definitions he reproduces. Here the twelve *maqām* are divided into four principal (*uṣūl*) and eight derived (*furū'*) modes, and they are at last complemented by the six *āvāz* modes, each one derived from two *maqām*. Individual characterizations are given, among which the reader might be puzzled to learn that *'erāq*, used in the other chapter to cure Shah 'Abbās from his mortal sickness, here stirs up the passions and disturbs the soul. There is, further, mention of what is termed the *ghiah*, the seven 'number' modes where *-gāh* is suffixed to the Persian numerals 1-7, each one after the first beginning on a successively higher degree in the scale. To these there is no reference in the chapter on the Persians and Turks, nor to the factual observation (accurate for the seventeenth century) that *ḥosayni* is the most commonly used mode among the Turks. Since De la Borde claims that the Arab modes are borrowed from the Persians and taken over with their original names one might have expected him to amplify his account of the Persian modes accordingly, or at least provide an appropriate cross-reference, but the two chapters remain quite different in character, and were doubless conceived independently.

With the modes thus summarily dismissed, rhythm (*mesure*) is introduced and covered in a rather more thorough fashion, so that whereas the reader is given no information on the intervallic structure or other characteristics of the individual modes, leaving them as mere names, we are presented with a detailed and rather painstaking account of six exemplary rhythmic cycles. The disparity suggests

either a deliberate selectivity on De la Borde's part or the use of a different source. He begins by referring to the term *iqā'* (cavalierly translated as *combinaison*) and mentions the existence of 28 kinds, much in excess of the canonical 17 cycles of Persian texts of the period and possibly therefore derived from a different perception, although not one documented in the extant literature.[84] His notation system, taking the notion that the smallest and basic value is a time unit too short to be divisible (symbolized by a semiquaver), distinguishes five discrete note lengths of 1 to 5 time units, symbolized as a, b, c, d, e, the last being deemed the longest possible. This is, however, misleading, for the introductory section concludes with a set of equations in which the relationship between the successive letters is not x, x+1, x+2 … but x, 2x, 4x …: a = semiquaver, b = quaver, c = crotchet, d = minim, e = semibreve, and it is these values that are used in the following definitions. In addition, he notes a contrast between *düm*, associated with the right hand and symbolized by ×, and *tek*, associated with the left and symbolized by ∪, and he also recognizes the right-left combination *teka*, with a duration of two time units, symbolized by — (the Turkish forms *düm* etc. are used for ease of comparison).

The definitions themselves are preceded by the outline of a standard concert format presented above, and by two examples of notation, to be considered below. There is then an introductory remark in relation to the 28 cycles (*manieres de battre la mesure*), called *circulation* (presumably *dawr*), noting the practice of transmitting song texts with merely the addition of the name of the cycle, this being a sufficient indication for the musicians, all of whom know the cycles by heart. Descriptions are then provided of the structure of six cycles, with in each case several complementary types of definition being provided. Not all of these are congruent with each other, thus presenting sometimes severe interpretative problems, although no doubt set aside by the average reader in favour of taking the transnotated version as authoritative, with its familiar symbols (crotchet, quaver, etc.) laid out on the central line of the stave. However, given that De la Borde makes a determined and thorough attempt to present the durations and percussion patterns characterizing each cycle, to transnotate the durations and, for the benefit of a classically educated readership, to naturalize the structure by providing Greek prosodic equivalents, a more detailed examination of his account is in order.

The first example is *mokammer* (an odd distortion of *moḫammes*), its definition consisting first of:

c b b c c c c c b b c c b b c c b b b b

where c = 2b, so that if the relative lengths are represented by numerals (with b = 1) and the following symbolization of the drum strokes is added below with, beneath that, the writing out of the drum strokes that is then given for clarification, we will have:

2	112	2	2	2	2	11	2	2	11	2	2	11	11
×	—×	∪	×	×	∪	—	×	∪	—	×	∪	—	—
düm	teka	düm	tek	düm	düm	tek	teka	düm	tek	teka	düm	tek	teka	teka

This yields a total of 30 time units, but in the following transnotation the final tek is represented not by a crotchet but by a minim, yielding:

2	11	2	2	2	2	2	11	2	2	11	2	4		11	11
düm	teka	düm	tek	düm	düm	tek	teka	düm	tek	teka	düm	tek	∅	∅	teka	teka

thereby raising the total to 32, and providing a version that corresponds very closely to the form recognized by Cantemir. But De la Borde is not quite finished: dealing as he is with a contemporary tradition, he feels impelled to add a classical equivalent

(*la mesure des anciens*), articulated in prosodic terms: dactyl + 2 spondee + dactyl + spondee + anapaest + 2 pyrrhic, which yields:

— ∪ ∪ / — — / — — / — ∪ ∪ / — — / ∪ ∪ — / ∪ ∪ /∪ ∪ /

This runs in parallel to the drum mnemonics for most of its length, but complete correspondence would require the insertion of an equivalent of tek ∅ ∅ before the final two pyrrhics. For this there is no exact terminological match, hence, presumably, the omission, but it might have been usefully approximated to by a spondee, thereby reducing the degree of confusion from which a diligent reader would otherwise undoubtedly suffer.

If the definition of *moḫammes* is not easy to untangle, problematic in a rather different way is the following account of *semay (= samā'i)*, interest in which would doubtless have been whetted by the initial information that it was used by the Dervishes in their dance. The definitions give, first, four iterations of

c	b b	c	d
×	—	×	∪

and this distribution is confirmed by the transnotation:[85] if b (= quaver) = 1 we arrive in both at a total of 10 time units. Reference to the Ottoman tradition would lead to the expectation of a description relating to cycles of 6 and/or 10, and the appearance here of only the latter is a little unexpected, as a 10 time-unit form is first recorded in Cantemir's notations of the turn of the eighteenth century.

However, what we find there is a structure of two balanced halves, so that the relationship between the two accounts is not at all straightforward. An alignment of sorts could be achieved by rotation, staggering the cycle onset:

Cantemir	düm	∅	düm	tek	∅	tek	∅	düm	tek ∅[86]
	3 +			2 +		2 +		3	
De la Borde	2 +	1 +							
	1 +	2 +		4					

so that we have, in effect, 3 + 3 + 4, but its artificiality is emphasized by the lack of fit in the percussion mnemonics, which consist of düm teka düm tek. More problematic still is the relationship between the initial definition, a seemingly clear 2 + 1 + 1 + 2 + 4, and the *mesure des anciens*, given as:

2 spondee + trochee + anapaest + trochee + anapaest; trochee + anapaest + cesura

This equates to — — / — — / — ∪ /∪ ∪ — / — ∪ / ∪ ∪ — /; — ∪ / ∪ ∪ — / /, and bears no relation to the previous definition. One might conjecture a reordering by which the final 4 is represented by the initial two spondees, but there is then a threefold iteration of trochee + anapaest, which possibly relates to the remaining 2 + 1 + 1 + 2 but can hardly be meant to stand for it, as it could be rendered exactly by trochee + iamb. Equally inexplicable is the function of the semicolon: it might suggest a cycle division, but then so, presumably, does the caesura too, resulting in a puzzling asymmetry.

After this it is relief to turn to the account of *doüyeck* (the orthography hinting at a splicing of *doyak* and *düyek*), much easier to decode, and congruent with the seventeenth-century Ottoman (and, we may assume, Persian) form. It is defined as three occurrences of c d c d d, where if c = 2 then d = 4, so that we have:

c	d	c	d	d
2	4	2	4	4
×	∪	∪	×	∪

This corresponds exactly to Cantemir's düm tek ∅ tek düm ∅ tek ∅ .[87] Also provided is a description of *doüyeck double (çifte düyek)*, consisting of two iterations of:

a	a	b	a	a	b	c	b	b	b
1	1	2	1	1	2	4	2	2	2
—		×	—		×	∪	×	×	∪

which gives an apparent total of 18 time units. Reference to the transnotation (fig. 4) suggests, however, that 20 might have been intended, as its final term is 4 instead of 2:

It also suggests, by using semiquavers as

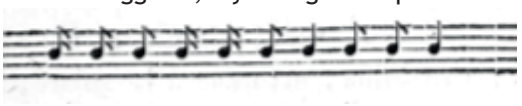

Figure 4

the shortest value, that the difference between *çifte düyek* and *düyek* was one of tempo as much length, but that still leave a gap between 8 and 10.[88] Ottoman sources, however, stick with 8, *çifte düyek* merely adding extra percussions to *düyek*. Although not mentioned by Cantemir, it is recorded by both Ali Ufuki and Evliya Çelebi. The notation given by the former corresponds to Fonton's drum mnemonics and to the different ones given by Evliya Çelebi,[89] assuming only an unmarked final time unit in the latter:

düm tek ∅ tek düm düm tek tek
tır taka tır tak tır tır tak ∅

The next cycle illustrated is *sofyan*, used, it is said, by clerics (*Religieux*) when praying publicly for the sovereign. Of this, the simplest and clearest definitions are the last two, which state that for the Greeks it consists of four dactyls: — ∪ ∪/ — ∪ ∪ / — ∪ ∪ / — ∪ ∪ /, and give the precisely equivalent four iterations of crotchet + two quavers in the preceding transnotation. It is, therefore, to be identified unproblematically with the four time-unit Ottoman cycle, articulated as düm ∅ tek tek. These definitions are preceded by five iterations of / × — /, but with the obvious reading of each as 2 1 1 confounded by the accompanying letter code above, which gives five iterations of c a b, presumably an error for c b b.

The final cycle to be described is *deur* (= *dawr*). We are given, first:

c c c c d d d d b b b b
× × ∪ × ∪ ∪ × × — —

and these relative values are maintained in the transnotation (with b = quaver), while their order is changed to c c d c d d c d b b b b. The *chez les Grecs* equivalent is spondee, trochee, spondee, trochee, 2 pyrrhic, etc., where the pyrrhics can reasonably be taken to correspond to the final b b b b, thus leaving the 'etc.' to designate, if anything, a repeat of the cycle. But if b = 1, it is difficult to see how the sequence — — / — ∪ / — — / — ∪ / ∪ ∪ / ∪ ∪ ∪ /, which, considered in isolation, appears to yield a total of 18, could be made to correspond to the total of the other two versions where, whichever the order, the result is a 28 time-unit cycle. This is undoubtedly what was intended, as there is an evident correspondence with the Ottoman *devri kebir*, perceived in the seventeenth century as a cycle of 14, and in the stroke indications it requires only the assumption of a missing left-hand stroke to achieve an exact match with the Ottoman düm/tek articulation. The result, though, is a distribution of relative length that, although similar, corresponds to neither of the versions given exactly. Even more distant is the 'classical' definition, and to make it fit further and more radical adjustments would need to be made, one possibility, even if evidently unsatisfactory, being to regard the long syllable in certain positions as of variable length and a marker, rather, of timbre, associated in most instances with düm:

düm	düm	tek	düm	∅	tek	∅	tek	düm	düm	tek	∅	teke	teke /
×	×	∪	×		∪		∪	×	×	[∪	]	—	—
2	2	2	4		4		2	2	2	4		1 1	1 1
[c	c	c	d		d		c	c	c	d		b b	b b]
—	—		/ —		∪		/ —	—	/ —	∪		/ ∪ ∪	/ ∪ ∪ /

With *dawr*, then, the reader with no knowledge of the Ottoman *devri kebir* would experience considerable difficulty in reconciling these various versions and, even if of a lesser order, similar problems have been seen to occur elsewhere,

eroding somewhat the value of this account or, rather, pointing up its nature as a rather strenuous effort to domesticate an unfamiliar form of description. Yet even if clear and comprehensible readings do not always emerge from the rather complex layering that is employed, it is nevertheless to be applauded as a valiant attempt to communicate, with a varied selection of cycles ranging from four to thirty-two time units, the nature of the often complex structures making up the world of seventeenth-century Ottoman and Persian rhythmic practice.

The chapter draws towards its end, after the section on rhythm, with an odd diversion to what is stated to be an Indian instrument, called *aoud indien*, which resembles the lute with its two-octave range but is an Indian invention, with five courses (although the previous 'ud also had five courses). The courses are double, the reason given not being to increase sonority but to provide insurance, allowing the player to continue if one of the two strings snaps. That this was a potential problem appears from the following rather unconvincing discussion of tuning and string thicknesses. The tuning is first given as F B♭ e♭ a♭ d♭′ (the previous lute was equally tuned in fourths), and it is stated that the thickness of each string should therefore be three quarters that of the next lower-pitched string, with the consequence that the bass string would be too low and the top string too high, resulting in it snapping. The remedy is to tune the third string down an octave (!), and the upper two at successive fourths therefrom, so that we now have F B♭ E♭ A♭ d♭. There is, finally, a faint and inconsequential echo of the earlier theoretical tradition, a slightly confused reference to al-Urmawī (incidentally now a Persian) and the resemblance between fourth and fifth. He is, though, almost correctly quoted as saying that when the fourth, e.g. G c, is sounded one seems to hear the fifth, c g.[90]

However problematic certain aspects of their treatment of theory might be, both De la Borde and Chardin provide the reader with another potential insight into musical practice by including examples of notation. In this respect Chardin is unique among seventeenth-century observers, and although the one transcription he supplies (fig. 5)[91] is rather slight, it compares favourably with the contemporary Turkish examples included by Donado, and adds to the text a somewhat approximate and flowery translation:

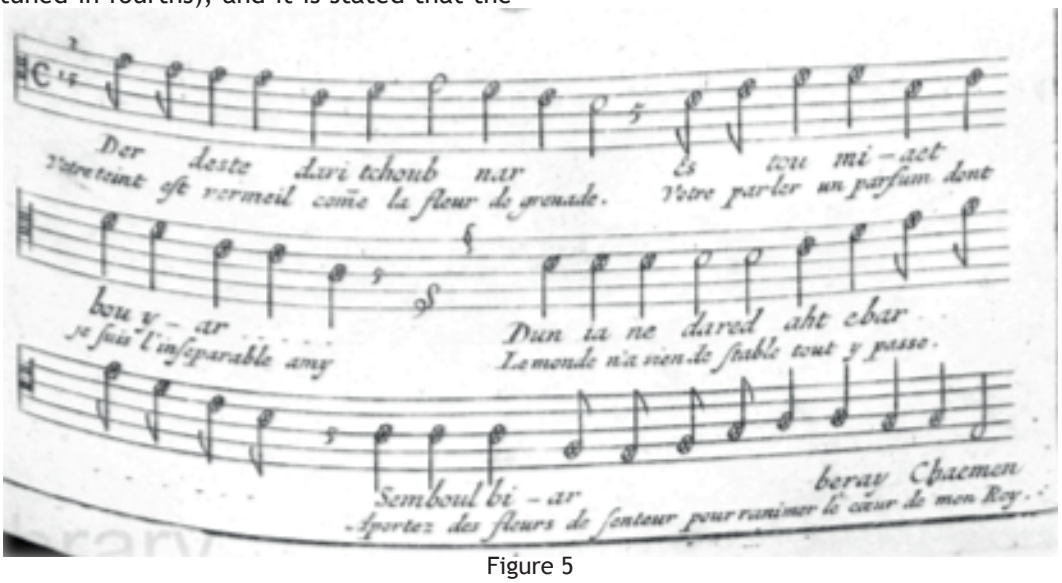

Figure 5

From this the original text can be recuperated fairly readily:

در دست داری چوب نار از تو می‌آید بوی یار
دنیا ندارد اعتبار سنبل بآر برای شاهمن

It deviates somewhat from the setting of two lines (four hemistichs) in one of the classical metres, with an *aaba* rhyme scheme, that might be expected in an art-music composition. Here we have four segments all with the same rhyme, the first three consisting of two feet of the form / — — ∪ — / (*mustaf'ilun*) and the fourth of a single foot, followed by a fifth segment with a different rhyme and different prosody, suggestive of the beginning of a strophic text, perhaps to be associated with a more popular and musically less complex genre. The translation given:

Votre teint est vermeil comme la fleur de grenade.
Votre parler un parfum dont je suis l'inseparable amy
Le monde n'a rien de stable tout y passe.
Aportez des fleurs de senteur pour ranimer le Coeur de mon Roy

elaborates what might be rendered more literally and prosaically as:

Tu tiens dans la main une branche de grenade
De toi se répand le parfum de l'ami
Le monde n'a aucune importance
Apportez des hyacinthes pour mon roi

It thereby renders certain otherwise puzzling transitions somewhat less abrupt, although with perhaps excessive freedom at the outset. As it suggests, the last two segments may be taken together, thus resulting in four phrases for which the melody provides corresponding divisions. They exhibit, within an overall compass of a ninth, a gradual extension of range, rising to a in the third before descending for the first time to the lower tetrachord in the fourth to cadence on G, the previous phrases terminating on d, c, and d respectively. Nothing untoward, then, to the European ear, and one could well imagine an experimental performance. The equal length of the phrases, of twelve (crotchet) time units,[92] likewise suggests a balanced structure, particularly given the parallelism between the endings of the second and fourth (where the final falling thirds would sound suspiciously odd to a Persian ear).

Two further music examples of notation are contained in De la Borde's chapter, placed, rather surprisingly, before his account of the rhythmic cycles rather than after. Chardin's song could be readily understood and received as something assimilable, but these two examples, in contrast, not being presented in Western notation, are far less approachable, and although just as interesting as his survey of theory, are in places equally as baffling.[93] The first is an instrumental piece described, somewhat approximately, as a *piece moresque* for the march of the *Grand-Seigneur*—presumably the Ottoman Emperor rather than the Persian Shah—to be played on *fifres*, possibly to be understood as *zurna*, and a composition evidently belonging to the repertoire of the military band (*mehter* or *naqqāra-ḫāna*). We are also informed that it is in *rāst* and in *mesure double*, to which corresponds the representation in terms of minims in the brief excerpt (fig. 7) that is transnotated beneath the original, which has the heading *pischreu*, immediately glossed—in a reminder that, presumably reflecting his source, De la Borde does not discuss forms—as *retournelle pour la simphonie*, where *simphonie* may be understood as suggesting an ensemble (i.e. a military band). The heading is also to be construed in the light of the previous mention, in the outline of the concert format, of a *pichreu (pišraw)*, described as a kind of *ritornello* consisting of a *premier couplet*, a *reprise* and a *refrein*, the *aab* format of which seems to require at least a following *c(c)b* to justify the use of the terms *refrein* and *ritornello*.
The notation itself (fig. 6) consists of a

20x14 grid, distantly reminiscent therefore of the sophisticated method of notation devised in c. 1300 by Qotb al-Din Širāzi and consequently suggesting the possibility of a later but no longer extant text using a simplified version. Each cell contains a pitch specification using the letter symbols introduced at the beginning of the chapter, so that, to take only the basic pitches of the *rāst* scale, we have:

De la Borde's symbols	a	d	f	h	ya	yc	ye	yh	ka	kc	ke		
corresponding to Systematist	a	d	w	ḥ	yā	yj	yh	yḥ	kā	kj	kh		
equivalent to	D	E	F+	G	A	B-	c	d	e	f+	g		
=	5	6	7–	1	2	3-	4	5	6	7-	1′		

The four sections are each terminated by the sign ⊙, to be read as a punctuation and, except possibly at the very end, as either a rest or a continuation of the pitch of the preceding time unit. The sign ⊙ also occurs within the last two sections, and here it is best read as a rest. Two sections are called *refrein*, but the second is not a repeat of the first, so that the precise meaning of the term is unclear; not is it clear why the first section should be called *1er couplet* when there is no second, and when giving (in fig. 7) a transnotation of this section, up to the first punctuation sign, which occurs in the eighth slot of the second line, De la Borde's heading is *Traduction du premier couplet refrein*, further complicating the terminology.

This first section is much the shortest, and was presumably meant to be

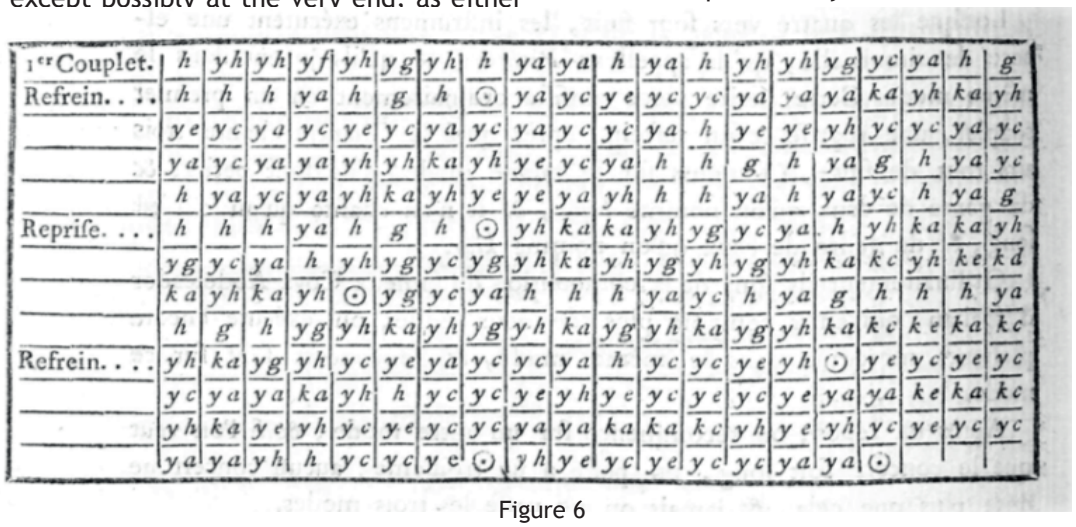

Figure 6

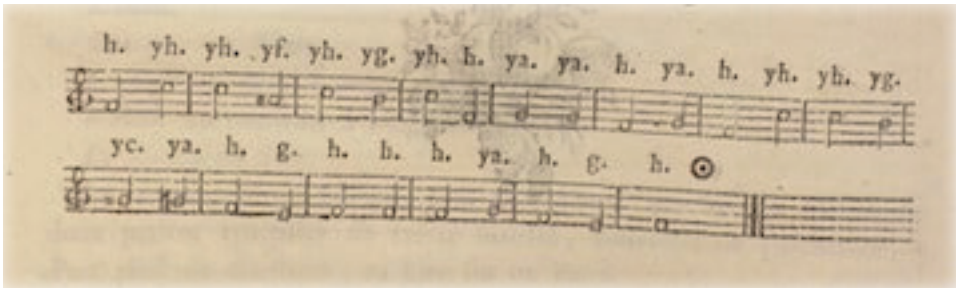

Figure 7

repeated. The following *refrein* is a natural continuation and corresponds structurally to the *mülazime* section of an Ottoman *peşrev*, with a clear cadence on the finalis, thus making *refrein* an appropriate label, assuming that it would recur later. Repetition would presumably have been possible. The remaining two sections correspond equally well to the Ottoman second and third *hāne*, the

second modulating and the third returning to *rāst*. Repetition of the second, termed *reprise*, would also presumably have been possible, but whether repeated or not the melodic logic of its ending denies the expected return to the preceding *refrein*: it requires, rather, a continuation into the final section, the second *refrein* (for which this label seems singularly inappropriate). The structure of the whole is thus *couplet* (A) + *refrein 1* (B) + *reprise* (C) + *refrein 2* (D) + *refrein 1*.

The rhythmic articulation is not immediately obvious. If we assume that each slot in the grid has the duration of one time unit, the totals for the various sections are:
couplet 28 (x2 = 56); *refrein 1* 80; *reprise* 72; *refrein* 2 80 (assuming that the final punctuation mark incorporates the value of the three final empty cells) or 76 (assuming that it does not and is itself without duration).
The difference between the totals suggests as the most obvious candidate a cycle of four time units, the cycle totals then being 7 (x2 = 14); 20; 18; and 20 or 19. However, we should also consider the possibility of a cycle of eight (*doyak/düyek*), conditional upon the *couplet* being repeated and with the repeat beginning half way through the cycle. *Refrein* 2, likewise, if interpreted as consisting of 76 time units, would, unless repeated, also end with half of a cycle of eight. This is a seemingly unlikely arrangement, but is one for which Cantemir's notations provide precedents,[94] and the transcription proposed in fig. 8 is articulated in terms of segments of eight time units.

By comparison with *rāst* as manifested in the seventeenth- and eighteenth century Ottoman repertoire[95] the modal morphology of this composition exhibits some unusual features. One would expect the initial exposition to concentrate on the pentachord 1 2 3- 4 5, with 1 and 5 prominent, and with the likely addition of the flanking notes 7 and 6, the former

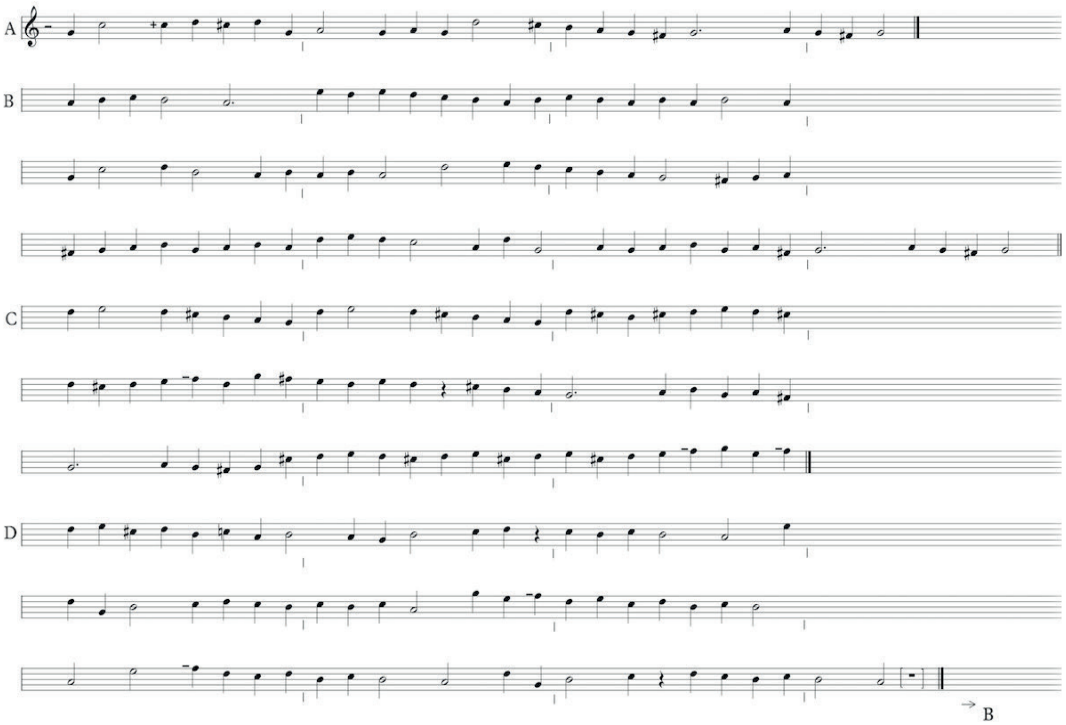

Figure 8

most frequently in the cadential flexure 1 7 1. This feature is clearly present, but the preceding descent replaces 4 with 4♯, and even more uncharacteristic is the opening phrase which, after a wholly orthodox 1 – 5 leap, contains not only the atypical flexure 5 4♯ 5 but also precedes it with *yf* = 4+: 4 fails to appear in the *couplet* at all.[96] It is introduced, though, in *refrein 1*, the melodic movement of which conforms to expectations, with medial cadences on 2 before 1 is reached at the onset of the final cadence area, which echoes that of the preceding *couplet* and recurs within the body of the oddly-titled following *reprise*. This is a modulatory section which uses 4♯ throughout in place of 4, and from an Ottoman perspective would be classified as *nigriz*, recognized by Cantemir as a member of the modulatory family of *rāst*. It also ventures into the upper register, with a final tentative exploration of the 5 6 7- 1′ tetrachord, 7- having been cancelled out on its first appearance by 7. The final *refrein 2* drifts back to home territory, with 4♯ soon being replaced by 4, but cadences on 2, preparatory to the return to *refrein 1*, with which the piece ends.

However elementary such a modal characterization, it would probably elude a scholarly eighteenth-century readership, which would have no access to the Ottoman corpora of notations to elicit comparative data and, rather more basically, would almost certainly not have the patience to take De la Borde's transnotation further.[97] It is, in fact, rather odd that he should have failed to proceed with this himself, and equally not to have provided at least an equivalent sample from the second notation, a vocal piece this time, again in *rāst* and with the remark *mesure double*, suggesting a moderate tempo. It is categorized as a *kyar* (*kār*), characterized in the concert format outlined above (where it is cited as *kiar*) as a relatively lengthy song form that comes after the *pišraw*. What we have here is rather brief and surely incomplete: if really a *kār* it could only be the beginning.

The notation (fig. 9) consists in this instance of pairs of horizontal lines of text, the lower giving the syllables sung, the upper the alphanumerical pitch indications, a peculiarity of which is that except for its first and one subsequent occurrence *yc* (= B-) is written as *yċ*, but with no indication of what the diacritic might indicate. The vertical alignment of the entries in each pair gives a good idea of the positioning of pitches in relation to the text, and indicates a predominantly syllabic style of setting. The distribution is sometimes reinforced by the addition of commas, although these do not appear to have been inserted systematically, and there are no vertical lines, as in the instrumental notation, to create a grid that would give greater precision and, more importantly, supply data allowing the rhythmic cycle to be established. At most one might guess that the pairs of lines, with their similar amounts of text and syllable, were of approximately the same duration.

Even if a degree of uncertainty surrounds the formal labels in the previous piece, they do give clear indications with regard to section divisions, but here there are none, leaving the structure of the song undefined, and a cursory survey of the pitch symbols reveals fewer repeating sequences that could be construed as cadential. Taking account of these, the transnotation in fig. 10 may be proposed.

No explanation is given of the standard textual layering encountered in a *kār*, consisting of a) an initial passage of nonsense syllables ending in b) meaningful but formulaic phrases, after which c) the verse setting begins. The reader thus has no means of knowing about this conventional organization, still less of where one ends and the next begins. In fact, the first three lines consist of nonsense syllables (a) and

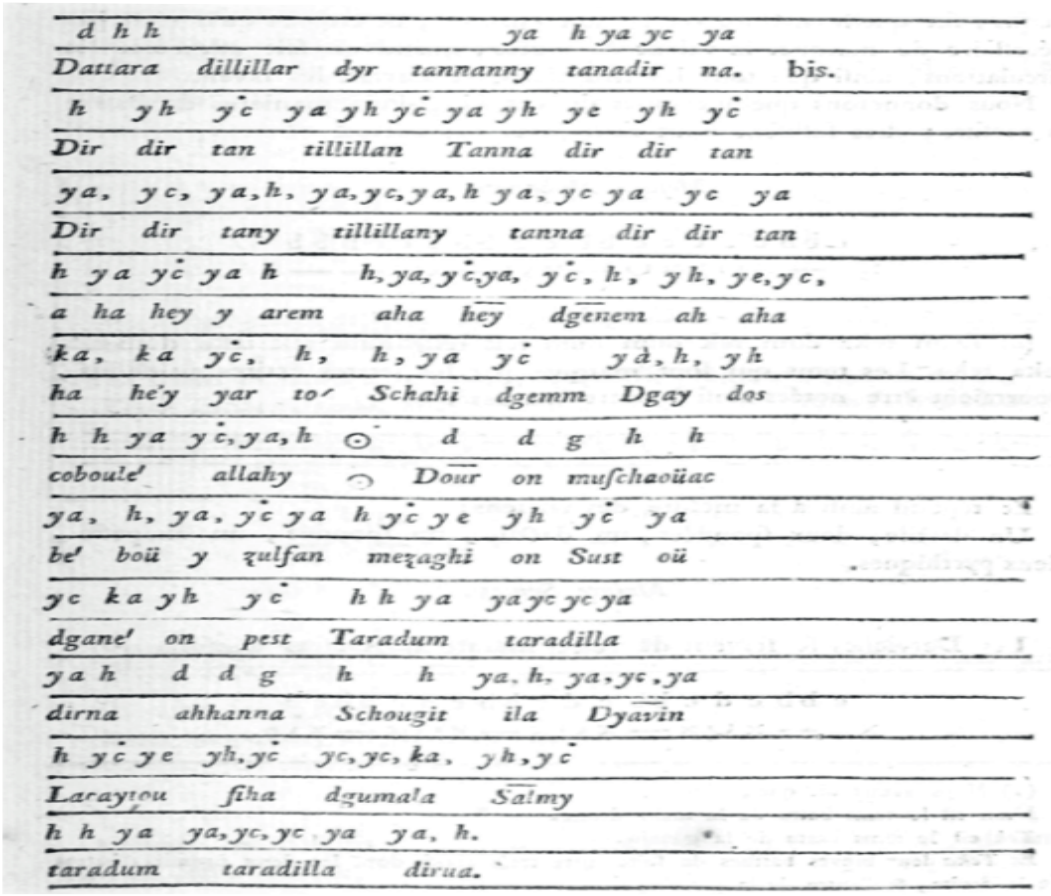

Figure 9

the next line and a half of formulaic phrases involving the standard *yār* ('friend') and *cān* ('soul') (b). The verse arrives at last in the middle of the fifth line, but with no indication of what it might be, being this time left untranslated—understandably so, given the problems it raises. The beginning announces itself as in Persian, but it lacks rhyme and appears prosodically irregular, and becomes increasing difficult to decipher[98] before arriving, after a brief passage of nonsense syllables, at the much more straightforward second part, a recognizable fragment of Arabic verse with a clear metrical structure.[99]

Being just the first part of a more extended composition, it is not surprising to find here that the range is narrower than before, concentrating on the lower pentachord of *rāst*, and especially the trichord 1 2 3-, with extensive prolongations of 2 before cadencing on 1. There is no sign of 4♯, so prominent in the instrumental piece, and 5 is normally followed by 3- in descent. The 1 – 5 base is, as before, extended to include 6, and there are three instances of a phrase initial 6 (7) 1. Phrase structure in relation to the first text-setting section is also clearly segmented, with its onset on 1 following 6 3-, and its final phrases ending 5 3- and 6 5 3- respectively. The setting of the second text section is virtually identical with the second half of the first, and the concluding nonsense syllable passage slightly expands the cadential 3- 2 1 descent.

Had De la Borde's two pieces been presented in a form readily accessible to late eighteenth-century scholarship they

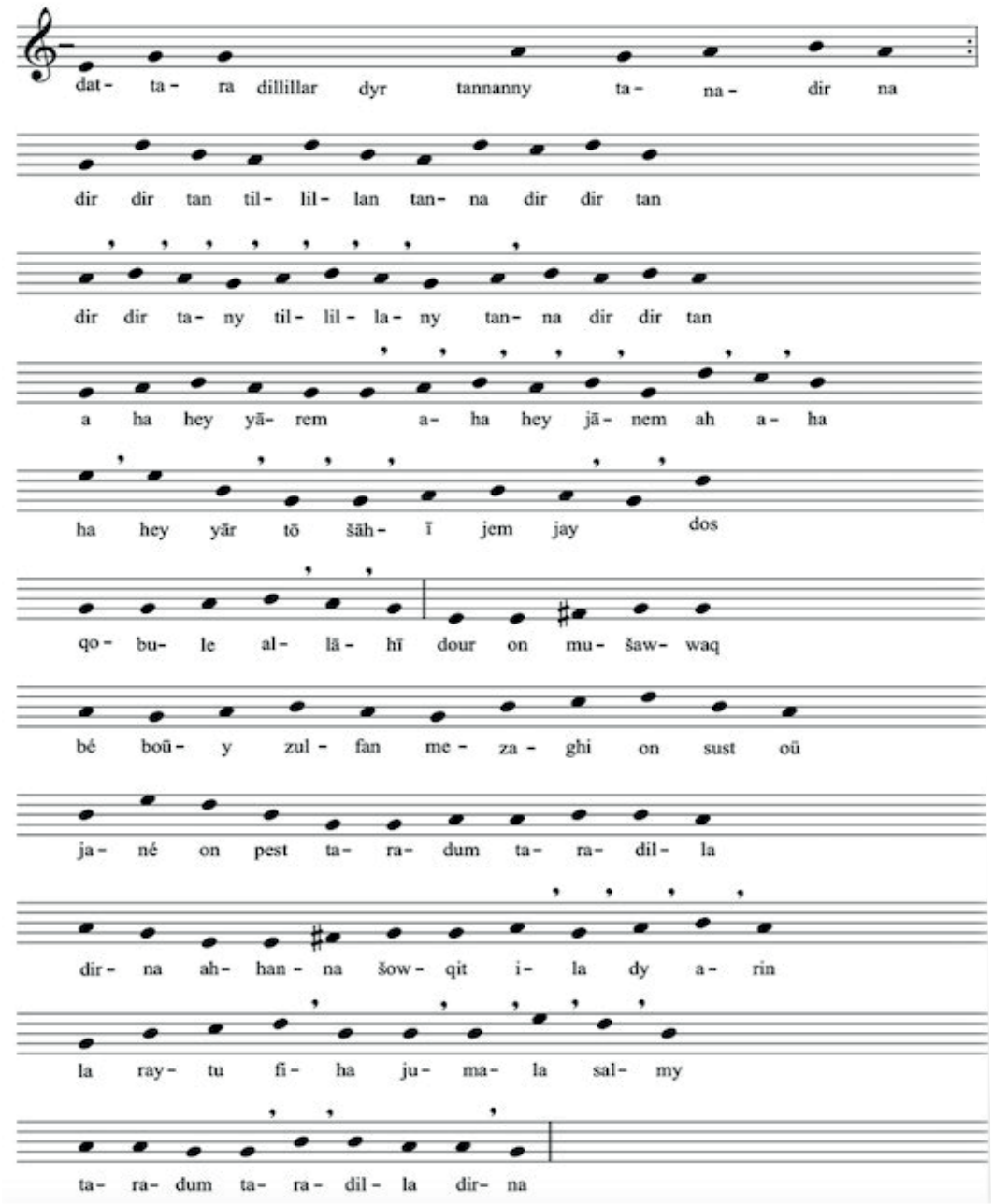

Figure 10
(The text here is hybrid, making only selected changes to the original.)

could have added to an increasing if still slender body of published material that, in parallel to the 'Hindoostani airs' and other available examples of Indian music in notation, might have enabled the beginnings of a comparative stylistic analysis of Middle Eastern idioms.[100] However, as De la Borde failed to undertake the necessary preliminary task of transnotating them in their entirety they remained condemned to obscurity and irrelevance. There is something one might think unintentionally appropriate about him ending his chapter not with further exploration of these

notations but, rather, with a fragment of the theoretical literature that deals if not with mistaken identity then at least with ambiguity. To this may be related the general theme of what was heard or misheard, how it was interpreted, how accurately verbalized, and how received by an educated readership that could only place it approximately in relation to known idioms and ideas, ideas that would also readily accommodate the generalized racial stereotypes within which the major sources frame their accounts. Kaempfer, for example, includes an incidental and somewhat formulaic comparison between Persians and Turks: the latter take primacy in valour and warfare, the former in more peaceful pursuits,[101] while Chardin makes the contrast more blatant: the latter have a brutal ferocity, the former are sensitive and civilized.[102] He can, indeed, be quite savage in his sweeping generalizations,[103] but for the Persians steers towards a set of contrasts that could be summarized as innate ability and civilized values ultimately vitiated by overindulgence. It is therefore not surprising to find, within his observations of social behaviour, that, associated with dance, music is confined within a moral matrix of lasciviousness and prostitution, and with the kind of theoretical knowledge expected of art-music practitioners restricted to a mere handful of court musicians. This is hardly the kind of picture to tempt a European readership to explore further, and in any case his chapter on theory could hardly whet any nascent curiosity. Set against the breadth and vividness of the first-hand descriptive material encountered elsewhere, it is something of a disappointment, dealing with an area that he is quite open about finding obscure: whether or not the confession is thought disarming in its frankness, it still leaves the reader at a loss. Despite evidence being given of a wide range of instruments in use, the overriding impression is of music as a despised profession with very few expert performers, and as he finds the one example of its theoretical literature available to him for the most part impenetrable, the idiom of Persian music is also represented as complicated and poorly understood, with only confused and inconsistent information being conveyed. He does, though, make the crucial observation of what he considers a vital deficiency, the lack of multipart harmony, a leitmotif touched upon, as has been seen, by all major witnesses, if with differing degrees of emphasis.

Theoretical statements are absent from Kaempfer's descriptions, but the same deficiency is certainly noted on more than one occasion. However, in one passage there is actually compensatory praise, for as a counterbalance to the lack of polyphony (the melody moves only in unison and at the octave, he notes), he is at pains to acknowledge a seemingly instinctive knowledge of rhythmic complexities that in the West require lengthy study to master. Another such passage deserves more detailed exploration. It deals with the musical component of the reception of an ambassador, where there are fifteen musicians in two groups, including wind, strings, and percussion as well as a singer, and the description juxtaposes positives and negatives to produce an uneasy equilibrium. The initial statement that they performed together a strange melody (*peregrinum consonabant melos*), with delicate (*levi compuncta digito*) drumming and intermittent vocal passages is followed by a response to the rhetorical offer of an assessment (*De concentu si judicium expectas?*). It begins with the roundly dismissive: it was more din than concord, subject to no rules of harmony (*Strepitus potiùs quàm concentus erat, nullis harmoniæ regulis adstrictus*). Yet at the same time it was neither inelegant nor disagreeable (*non inconditus tamen & ingratus*); the singing voice excepted, it was actually quite pleasant and gentle (*sat suavis, & submissus*) and, in a final

backhanded compliment, conversation was not disturbed.[104] The passage then compacts these contrasts as it moves from the earlier rejection to a grudging acceptance, conceding that these different strange sounds might yet sweetly caress ears and minds (*aures & animos demulceret*).[105]

With instruments, in contrast, we enter the more factual world of material culture: they are measurable objects made of specific materials, allowing accurate description without, however, excluding value judgments. Precision is certainly provided by some observers but, it is worth remarking, highly selectively: various types of percussion and brass instruments receive detailed attention, with exact dimensions given and other particulars of structure noted together, in one or two cases, with remarks about playing technique, the physical difficulty involved, and the impact of the sound. Kaempfer's reaction to the ceremonial band is of a piece with those of earlier travellers hearing its Ottoman equivalent: it is, for him, an infernal racket, and his valuable and wide-ranging survey of instruments is marred by its initial derogatory comments about the shawm. Elsewhere the amount of information diminishes rapidly. The European names of various wind instruments are simply given as equivalents by both Chardin and Kaempfer, yielding little beyond a basic distinction between the double-reed shawm and end-blown flutes: there is no attempt to characterize sound or discuss aspects of technique in this area. Flute types, it may be noted, are conspicuously absent from Kaempfer's etching, so that it is only later, with Fonton and De Blainville, that we arrive at accurate depictions, the latter representing a set of five Turkish *ney* of different sizes, from *davudi* to *girift*.[106] A similar reticence attends Kaempfer's treatment of string instruments, subserviently huddled together at the bottom of his graphic assemblage and in some cases rather incompletely or impressionistically rendered, while the corresponding text again has nothing on materials, construction, tuning systems, and technique. In the absence of even the slightest comparative approximation, the idiom remains unfathomable. Beyond the unpleasant din of the military band instruments, the silence is pierced by little more than occasional recognition of the pleasingly discreet sounds string instruments could produce, by castanets and finger clicking, and sundry remarks from Chardin on tuned bowls and voice quality.

Overall, despite differences in approach and narrative technique, the information Kaempfer conveys is largely congruent with that supplied by Chardin, and the reactions of Olearius and Le Brun are likewise similar to theirs, the general tone being coloured by a preponderance of negative assessments over positive. The basic message conveyed is that in Persia music is neither held in high regard nor, with few exceptions, performed with skill: it may sometimes please, but is, by comparison with the norms of Western art-music, deficient. The curiosity of the general reader is hardly whetted, while for the specialist the impression is created of an idiom that is at best less sophisticated, even if the only dimly perceived theoretical framework underpinning it might be of potential comparative or historical interest.

For a more substantial response to any such interest, however, more than a century needs to pass. With access to Fonton's unpublished account of the Ottoman tradition restricted, European scholars had to wait until the publication of the general historical surveys by De Blainville (in 1767) and De la Borde (in 1780). The former need not detain us, and in any case has nothing specifically on Persia.[107] *De la musique des Persans et des Turcs*, in contrast, despite the various and often serious

interpretative difficulties with which it confronts the reader, does begin to shed some light on hitherto unexplored aspects of theory, whatever the awkwardness of the presentation. In his parallel chapter on Arab music, De la Borde assumes that the Arab modal repertoire is indebted to the Persian, so that it is rather surprising that the sources available to him regarding the former were not drawn upon to flesh out his rather sketchy account of the latter, but he was clearly content to present them separately with no attempt at integration, the result being that the two chapters are interestingly contrasted in content and character, and are usefully read in combination, even if, the modes apart, there is no indication of the extent to which the content of one might also be valid for the other. Considered in isolation, *De la musique des Persans et des Turcs* is oddly unbalanced in its coverage, and while, perhaps inevitably, not yet free of preconceptions about progress and comparative short-fallings, it does deal factually with tuning systems and makes a determined attempt to tackle an area that only Fonton among previous scholars had, unbeknownst to him, explored in depth.[108] In so doing, it succeeds in providing information not hitherto available, sketching in theoretical aspects relevant to the understanding of musical practice, and supplementing them with examples of notation. Nevertheless, in that the former are difficult to disentangle and the latter largely impenetrable they are forceful reminders of the perennial and almost insurmountable problem of engaging in any profound way with a distant and unfamiliar idiom.[109]

Among the various seventeenth-century eyewitnesses it is Chardin and Kaempfer who stand out. The richness of their observations of Safavid society and manners has not been surpassed, and if their evaluations of Persian musicianship are less than dispassionate it would be captious to expect them not to reflect the assumptions of superiority ineradicably present in the prejudices of their time. De la Borde's contribution, if not as substantial, is still a valuable complement to their descriptions of the social contexts within which musical activity took place. However tentative its exploration of the textual tradition, his account can justly be regarded a precursor to the nineteenth-century musicological exploration of Middle Eastern sources that includes, for the Persian tradition, Kiesewetter.[110] It begins, though, with Villoteau in Egypt and his more strenuous attempt to tackle not just theory but also the various performance traditions he encountered, for an evaluation of which we may now refer to Martin Stokes.[111]

Bibliography

Thérèse B. Antar, 'Traduction et commentaire d'un traité de musique arabe; livre de la connaissance des tons et leur explication de l'auteur Shams al-Dîn Muhammad al-Saydâwî al-Dimashqî', thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1979.

Cem Behar, 18. yüzyılda türk müziği: Charles Fonton, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1987.

Ambrogio Bembo, Viaggio e giornale per parte dell'Asia di quattro anni incirca fatto da me Ambrogio Bembo nobile Veneto, ed. Antonio Invernizzi, Turin: CESMEO, 2005.

[Charles-Henri] De Blainville, Histoire générale, critique et philologique de la musique, Paris: Pissot, 1767.

Philip V. Bohlman, 'The European discovery of music in the Islamic World and the "Non-Western" in 19th-century music history', The Journal of Musicology 5/2, 1987: 147-163.

Jean-Benjamin de la Borde, Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne (Vol. 1, ch. XX 'De la musique des Persans et des Turcs'), Paris: Ph.-D. Pierres, 1780.

Sonja Brentjes, 'Early modern Western European travellers in the Middle East and their reports about the sciences', Sciences,

techniques et instruments dans le monde iranien (Xe-XIXe siècle) (Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Téhéran, 7-9 Juin 1998), Tehran, 2004, pp. 379-420.

Katherine Brown [Schofield], 'Reading Indian music: the interpretation of seventeenth-century European travel-writing in the (re)construction of Indian music history', British Journal of Ethnomusicology 9/2, 2000: 1-34.

Cornelius le Brun, Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales, Amsterdam: Freres Wetstein, 1718.

Demetrius Cantemir, The collection of notations, i: text. Transcribed and annotated by O. Wright (SOAS Musicology Series, 1), London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992.

Jean Chardin, Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'orient ... : enrichi d'un grand nombre de belles figures .. , Amsterdam: Jean Louis de Lorme, 1711; Paris: Le Normant, 1811.

Jeanne Chaybany, Les voyages en Perse et la pensée française au XVIIIe siècle, Tehran: Ministère de l'information, 1971.

Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (eds), Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1790s–1940s: portrayal of the East (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009).

Costumes turcs, I, School of Oriental and African Studies MS 60368.

Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, 'Not just any usul: semai in pre-nineteenth-century performance practice', in Rachel Harris and Martin Stokes (eds), Theory and practice in the music of the Islamic world, London and New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 42-72.

Walter Feldman, Music of the Ottoman court: makam, composition and the early Ottoman instrumental repertoire (Intercultural Music Studies, 10), Berlin: VWB - Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1996.

Marchese Febvre [da Novì], Teatro della Turchia, Venice: Steffano Curti, 1684.

Matthew Head, 'Musicology on safari: Orientalism and the spectre of postcolonial theory', Music Analysis 22/1-2, 2003: 211-230.

Gholamali Homayoun, 'Iran in europäischen Bildzeugnissen vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis ins achtzehnte Jahrhundert', doctoral dissertation, Cologne University, 1967.

Angelika Jung, Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadschiken Mittelasiens (Beiträge zur Ethnomusikologie 23), Hamburg: Verlag der Musikalienhandlung Karl Dieter Wagner, 1989.

Engelbert Kaempfer, Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum Fasciculi V, Quibus continentur Variae Relationes, Observationes et Descriptiones Rerum persicarum & ulterioris Asiae, multâ attentione, in peregrinationibus per universum Orientum, collectae, ab Auctore Engelberto Kaempfero, D. Lemgoviae [= Lemgo], Typis & Impensis Henrici Wilhelmi Meyeri, Aulae Lippiacae Typographi, 1712.

——— Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs 1684-1685, hrsg. Walter Hinz, Tübingen, Basel: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1977.

——— Exotic attractions in Persia, 1684-1688. Travels and observations, translated and annotated by Willem Floor & Colette Ouahes, Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2018.

Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, Die Musik der Araber nach Originalquellen dargestellt, Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1842, repr. in facsimile, Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig oHG, 1968.

Sebastian Klotz, 'Tartini the Indian: perspectives on world music in the Enlightenment', in Philip V. Bohlman (ed.), The Cambridge history of world music, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 277-97.

T.C. Levin, 'Music in modern Uzbekistan: the convergence of Marxist aesthetics and Central Asian tradition', Asian Music 12/1, 1979: 149-63.

Ciro Lo Muzio, 'The Persian 'snap': Iranian dancers in Gandhāra', in Reinhard Strohm (ed.), The music road. Coherence and diversity in music from the Mediterranean

to India (Proceedings of the British Academy 233), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 71-86.
Marāġi, jāmi‘ al-alhān, ed. Bābak Ḫaẓrā’i, Tehran: farhangestān-e honar-e jomhuri-ye eslāmi-ye Irān, 1387/2009.
Michele Membré, Relazione di Persia (1542): Ms. Inedito dell’Archivio di Stato di Venezia/pubblicato da Giogio R. Cardona, Naples: Instituto universitario orientale, 1969.
Eckhard Neubauer, ‘Der Essai sur la Musique Orientale von Charles Fonton mit Zeichnungen von Adanson’, Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 2, 1985: 277-324; 3, 1986: 335-76.
M.R. Obelkevich, ‘Turkish affect in the land of the Sun King’, The Musical Quarterly, 63/3, 1977: 367-389.
Adam Olearius, Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse. Schleswig, 1656, Neudruck Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971.
Charles Perrault, Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences…, Paris, 1688.
C.D. Rouillard, The Turk in French history, thought, and literature (1520-1660), Paris: Boivin, 1938.
al-Ṣaydāwī, kitāb fī ma‘rifat al-anġām wašarḥihā → Antar.
S. Schuster-Walser, Das Safavidische Persien im Spiegel europäischer Reiseberichte (1502-1722), Baden-Baden: Grimm; Hamburg, Buske in Komm, 1970.
Bertold Spuler, ‘Fremde Augen: Überlegungen zu Engelbert Kämpfers Reisebeschreibung’, Materialia Turcica 7/8, 1981-2: 325-35.
Martin Stokes, ‘The Middle East in music history: an ethnomusicological perspective’, in Reinhard Strohm (ed.), The music road. Coherence and diversity in music from the Mediterranean to India (Proceedings of the British Academy 233), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 21-38.
William Sumits, ‘The evolution of the maqām tradition in Central Asia: from the theory of 12 maqām to the practice of shashmaqām’, London University PhD thesis, 2011.
Julien Tiersot, Notes d’ethnographie musicale, Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1905.
al-Urmawī, kitāb al-adwār, ed. Hāšim Muḥammad al-Rajab, Baghdad: manšūrāt wazārat al-ṯaqāfa wa-’l-’i‘lām, 1980.
Pietro della Valle, Viaggi di Pietro della Valle e il pellegrinaggio descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari all’erudito suo amico Mario Schipano divisi in tre parte cioè: la Turchia, la Persia e l’India, vol. 1, Brighton: Garcia, 1843.
Guillaume André Villoteau, De l’état actuel de l’art musicale en Égypte, ou relation historique et descriptive des recherches et observations faites sur la musique en ce pays, Paris: Panckoucke, 1826.
Owen Wright, Demetrius Cantemir, The collection of notations, ii: commentary. (SOAS Musicology Series), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000.
——— ‘Turning a deaf ear’, in Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (eds), The Renaissance and the Ottoman world, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 143-65.
Rauf Yekta Bey, ‘La musique turque’, in Encyclopédie de la musique (Lavignac), vol. I, Paris: C. Delagrave, 1922.

Endnotes

1. See e.g. Matthew Head,‘Musicology on safari: Orientalism and the spectre of postcolonial theory’, Music Analysis 22/1-2, 2003: 211-230. For nineteenth-century scholarship see Philip V. Bohlman, ‘The European discovery of music in the Islamic World and the “Non-Western” in 19th-century music history’, The Journal of Musicology 5/2,1987: 147-163,and, to venture a little further afield, for Central Asia see e.g. T.C. Levin, ‘Music in modern Uzbekistan: the convergence of Marxist aesthetics and Central Asian tradition’, Asian Music 12/1, 1979: 149-63.
2. Said himself, interestingly, although having much to say in problematizing Lane’s Modern Egyptians, passes over in silence its substantial treatment of music.
3. Guillaume André Villoteau, De l’état actuel de

l'art musicale en Égypte, ou relation historique et descriptive des recherches et observations faites sur la musique en ce pays (Paris: Panckoucke, 1826).

4. See e.g. Katherine Brown [Schofield],'Reading Indian music: the interpretation of seventeenth-century European travel-writing in the (re) construction of Indian music history', British Journal of Ethnomusicology 9/2, 2000: 1-34, Martin Clayton and Bennett Zon (eds), Music and Orientalism in the British Empire, 1790s-1940s: portrayal of the East, Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009.
5. See e.g. M.R. Obelkevich, 'Turkish affect in the land of the Sun King', The Musical Quarterly, 63/3, 1977: 367-389, C.D. Rouillard, The Turk in French history, thought, and literature (1520-1660), Paris: Boivin, 1938, and Owen Wright, 'Turning a deaf ear', in Anna Contadini and Claire Norton (eds), The Renaissance and the Ottoman world, Farnham: Ashgate, 2013, pp. 143-65.
6. For general comparative background see Sonja Brentjes, 'Early modern Western European travellers in the Middle East and their reports about the sciences', Sciences, techniques et instruments dans le monde iranien (Xe-XIXe siècle) (Actes du colloque tenu à l'Université de Téhéran, 7-9 Juin 1998), Tehran, 2004, pp. 379-420.
7. Cem Behar, 18. yüzyılda türk müziği: Charles Fonton, Istanbul: Pan Yayıncılık, 1987, Eckhard Neubauer, 'Der Essai sur la Musique Orientale von Charles Fonton mit Zeichnungen von Adanson', Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, 2, 1985, 277-324; 3, 1986, 335-76. On the relationship between Fonton and Enlightenment thought see Sebastian Klotz, 'Tartini the Indian: perspectives on world music in the Enlightenment', in Philip V. Bohlman (ed.), The Cambridge history of world music, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013, pp. 277-97.
8. A view by no means confined to musicologists: a representative formulation is that of Louis-Mathieu Langlès (1763-1824) commenting on the music of the *Orientaux: un art qui paroît, à la vérité, condamné, dans toute l'Asie, à une éternelle enfance. Au reste, il me semble que les Arabes et les Persans nous ont conservé la musique des anciens Grecs et Romains … Toute idée de semiton, d'accompagnement, et conséquemment d'harmonie, étoit inconnue, je crois, aux Anciens, comme elle l'est aux Orientaux modernes* (in a footnote to Jean Chardin, Voyages du chevalier Chardin en Perse et autres lieux de l'orient ... : enrichi d'un grand nombre de belles figures .., vol. IV, pp. 300-1 (Paris: Le Normant, 1811).
9. Julien Tiersot provides a classic example of turn-of-the-century imperial arrogance, asserting dogmatically *Que ces arts soient inférieurs au nôtre, concédons-le, ou plutôt affirmons-le*, and that European music has acquired *une supériorité à laquelle n'ont pu atteindre les peuples des autre parties du monde* (Notes d'ethnographie musicale, Paris: Librairie Fischbacher, 1905, vol. I, p. 1). Indicative also is that the New Oxford History of Music of 1957 yokes together 'ancient and oriental' in its first volume, which begins, further, with a chapter on 'primitive music'.
10. In particular Pietro della Valle (1586-1652), who comments: *quei flauti, che chiamano nai … non si può creder quanto dolce suono rendano*. (Viaggi di Pietro della Valle e il pellegrinaggio descritti da lui medesimo in lettere familiari all'erudito suo amico Mario Schipano divisi in tre parte cioè: la Turchia, la Persia e l'India, vol. 1, Brighton: Garcia, 1843, pp. 47-50.)
11. With Postel (1510-81), Schweigger (1551-1622), Praetorius (1571-1621), Caus (1576-1626) and Thévenot (1633-67).
12. Teatro della Turchia, Venice: Steffano Curti, 1684, its tone set by its subtitle: La potenza degli Ottomani sopragrande, le loro tirannie, gli insulti, e perfidie tanto contra li stranieri, quanto verso i suoi popoli. The passage in question is in Cap. XIX, Art.III Dell' ignoranza de' Turchi circa l'arti, p. 189.
13. Charles Perrault, Parallèle des Anciens et des Modernes en ce qui regarde les arts et les sciences…, Paris, 1688, pp. 258-74.
14. Except, predictably, with regard to harmony (Neubauer, 'Der Essai', pp. 292-3). He also (p. 296) regards the lack of a system of notation as a grave disadvantage.
15. For a comprehensive list see Jeanne Chaybany, Les voyages en Perse et la pensée française au XVIIIe siècle, Tehran: Ministère de l'information, 1971. Further general surveys are Gholamali Homayoun, "Iran in europäischen Bildzeugnissen vom Ausgang des Mittelalters bis ins achtzehnte Jahrhundert", doctoral dissertation, Cologne University, 1967, and S. Schuster-Walser, Das Safavidische Persien im Spiegel europäischer Reiseberichte (1502-1722).
16. Also known as Sir John Chardin, having settled in London and being knighted by Charles II in 1681.
17. Chardin's Voyages were first published in part in 1686. References here are, though, to the ten-volume 1811 edition (see fn. 8).
18. Amoenitatum exoticarum politico-physico-medicarum Fasciculi V, Quibus continentur Variae Relationes, Observationes et Descriptiones Rerum persicarum & ulterioris Asiae, multâ attentione, in peregrinationibus per universum Orientum, collectae, ab Auctore Engelberto Kaempfero, D. Lemgoviae [= Lemgo], Typis & Impensis Henrici Wilhelmi Meyeri, Aulae Lippiacae Typographi, 1712. Of its more than 900 pages a little over half are devoted to Persia. They have recently been translated into English: Engelbert Kaempfer, Exotic attractions in Persia, 1684-1688. Travels and observations, translated and annotated by Willem Floor & Colette Ouahes, Washington DC: Mage Publishers, 2018.There is

also a German translation of the first fascicule: Engelbert Kaempfer, Am Hofe des persischen Großkönigs 1684-1685, hrsg. Walter Hinz, Tübingen, Basel: Horst Erdmann Verlag, 1977. For general contextualization see Bertold Spuler, 'Fremde Augen: Überlegungen zu Engelbert Kämpfers Reisebeschreibung', Materialia Turcica 7/8, 1981-2: 325-35.

19. Vermehrte Newe Beschreibung Der Muscowitischen und Persischen Reyse, Schleswig, 1656, Neudruck Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag, 1971.
20. Voyages de Corneille le Brun par la Moscovie, en Perse, et aux Indes Orientales, Amsterdam: Freres Wetstein, 1718. Like others, he was interested in ancient remains, and called both Chardin and Kaempfer to task for inaccuracies in their descriptions of Persepolis.
21. Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne, Paris, 1780.
22. Kaempfer (Fasc. 1, §IV, p. 130) notes that the ensemble plays in the sovereign's honour at sunset and two hours before dawn, to which Olearius (Beschreibung, p. 555) adds that it sounds daily at sunset throughout the country for provincial governors and grandees (*chanen und grosse Herren*). Kaempfer states further that the salaries of the forty musicians concerned are paid out of revenues from the *qavvāl*, people associated with brothels, including flute players as well as prostitutes (*Hoc vocabulum significat voluptuarium genus hominum, veluti scorta, choraulas & quoscunque facientes quæstum in lupanariis*).
23. As clearly expressed by Chardin: *les timbales, les cors et les trompettes font retentir l'air de leurs sons* (Voyages, vol. II, 267).
24. We thus have *horrendo sonitu dissonos boatu & clangores edunt* (Fasc. 1, Relatio II §3, p. 39); *aures humanas satiant clangore intolerabili* (Fasc. 1, Relatio V §2, pp. 76); and *incondito strepitu* (Fasc.1, Relatio IX §4, p. 130). Allied to sheer volume, then, is the lack of perceptible order, expressed explicitly in *Nullam illi sonorum concordiam edere edocti sunt* (Fasc. 1,Relatio V §2, p. 75), while the sound of particular instruments is characterized in negative terms: *his illi edunt boatum vastum, inconditum & tremulum; illis screatum, instar rudentium asinorum* (ibid.).
25. Voyages, vol. I, p. 151: *leurs* Karamas *ou trompettes, qui …font une mélodie fort desagréable à mon gré.*
26. Voyages, vol.III, p. 267: *avec des danses, des feux et des comedies*. Exactly what forms of entertainment are intended by *comedies* is not clear.
27. Relazione di Persia (1542): Ms. Inedito dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia/pubblicato da Giogio R. Cardona, Naples: Instituto universitario orientale, 1969, p. 42.
28. The first fascicule is entitled Relationes de Aulæ Persicæ statu hodierno.
29. Fasc. 1, Relatio VI, p. 87. Kaempfer provides the original Persian terms of these offices, but sometimes a little distorted, in this case چاهچي باشي, transliterated as *tʃjahehtʃji baʃji*.
30. Ibid. *saltatrices, cantatrices, lusores, recitatores historiarum, actores, Poëtæ, histriones, luctatores*.
31. Relazione, pp. 43-4: *In la sua tavola aveva instrumenti, cioè tambura e psaltir e flauti, tambuchi, e una liretta, e uno zovene molto bello, che cantava con li instrumenti molto bene*.
32. Voyages,vol. II, pp. 202-5.
33. Amœnitatum, Fasc. IV, Relatio IX §2, pp. 738-9. The context is his later stay in Bandar Abbas and the need to escape from the unendurable summer climate and various unpleasant illnesses and to survive the accompanying afflictions of the journey (heat, brackish water, scorpions, spiders, flies). The passage rises rhapsodically to *ô felices & frugales hospites!* Such abstinence was, however, by no means the norm: Membré, for example, mentions guests slumped in a stupor, and that he occasioned surprise by not getting drunk himself (Relazione, p. 44). Kaempfer appears to be elaborating an Arcadian vision of rural sobriety as against urban indulgence.
34. A declamation of the romance of Leyli and Majnun in a strongly rhythmic manner *(arguto rhythmo)*, presumably with emphasis on the scansion of the verse; a story-teller (*qeṣṣa-ḫʷān*) recounting the deeds of ancient Persian heroes such as Rustam and Bahram; and a *darviš* telling of the marvellous attributes of 'Ali and other Imams or execrating 'Omar's usurpation of the caliphate. In the absence of such narrators, a village elder may eulogize famous men or narrate wars and prominent events in the province. Then a religious scholar willtake apophthegms from texts such as Sa'di's *golestān* or Hafez's *divān* as subjects for silent reflection.
35. The gratuitous-seeming comment is added that they come from inland towns (*mediterraneis egressi urbibus*). Physicality is also stressed by Olearius as part of the entertainment accompanying a banquet (Beschreibung, p. 426): *Unter wärender Mahlzeit wurde musiciret mit Lauten/Geigen/Handpaucken und singender Stimme/ welches eine frembde und wilde Harmonie gab/ darbey etliche seltsam Täntze von den zween Knaben/ auch sonst allerhand Lust und Kurtzweil getrieben wurde*.
36. *hem, quàm peregrina est! quam gratè dissonans & instrumentorum varietate delectabilis!* (Fasc. IV, Relatio IX §2, p. 740), where *dissonans* could mean no more than 'differently sounding', but in context presumably implies a lack of harmony.
37. *Primas inter instrumenta tribuimus tibiis gingrinis* سرنای *Surnaì*.
38. *Quæ gruniente sono præ ceteris aures affatim implent*.

39. Voyages, vol. II, pp.206-7. Again, the suppleness of the dancers is praised: *elles ont une agilité de corps incomparable …Elles dansent sur une main et sur un genou en cadence, et elles entremêlent leur danse de cent tours d'agilité surprenans*. Musicians and dancers are *les mimes ou les comédiens des Orientaux, ou pour mieux dire, ce sont leur* opera (because they sing only verse texts).
40. *grands festins qu'on appelle* megelez (= *majles*).
41. Olearius, Beschreibung, p. 607. Ambrogio Bembo, Viaggio e giornale per parte dell'Asia di quattro anni incirca fatto da me Ambrogio Bembo nobile Veneto, ed. Antonio Invernizzi, Turin: CESMEO, 2005, p. 347.
42. Not that he was alone in this: Olearius (Beschreibung, p. 594) remarks on dance as erotic stimulant: *sie erfordern in ihren Gelagen Täntzer und Täntzerinnen/ welche mit gar leichtfertigen geilen Geberden tanzen/ und ihnen Appetit erwecken müssen*.
43. They earn well but spend too lavishly to remain rich, and so: *il ne leur reste de tout ce gain déshonnête qu'unrepentir de l'acquisition, lequel est plus grand que le regret de l'avoir dissipé*. Even if unconvincing, this is sufficiently lapidary in formulation to recall La Rochefoucauld, for example the more mordant: *Les viellards aiment à donner de bons préceptes, pour se consoler de n'être plus en état de donner de mauvais exemples*.
44. Voyages, vol. 1, p. 199.
45. Aemonitates, Fasc.1, Relatio XIV §2, p. 204: *Aliæ canere, chordas tangere, tripudiare*.
46. Voyages, vol. 1, pp. 218-9.
47. Kaempfer (Amœnitatum, Fasc.1, Relatio XI §3, p. 159) also refers to these mourning ceremonies, but mentions only dancing.
48. Essai, pp. 168-9. No source is given for this account.
49. Persian *naqqāra*, Turkish *kudüm*, not named but described as two small copper drums, a foot in diameter, with a parchment skin. In the Persian and Turkish art-music traditions the singer no longer takes on the additional rôle as percussionist but, using a frame drum, does maintain this function in the Azeri tradition.
50. *Il en donne le signal en faisant un chant composé tout de suite, sur les sept notes du mode sur lequel il veut que l'on joue. Il faut cependant qu'il appuie principalement sur la premiere, sur la dominante & sur la finale*.
51. To which he adds the comment *Comme on représente le chant dorien*, presumably a reference to the supposed character of this mode.
52. Taking *luth et viole* to be generic rather than referring specifically to *'ud* and *kamanja*.
53. Voyages, Vol. 1, p. 200.
54. *Le* karama, *qui approche de la trompette*.
55. Beschreibung, pp. 424-5. *Da sahe und hörte man frembde Feld-spiel und Music. Ihrer 4. … bliesen Instrumente/ so von Kupffer als Scalmeyen formiret, bey 4. Elen lang/ deren Außgang im diametro bey einer Elen/ werde Kerrenai genannt. Diese hielten sie im blasen gen Himmel/ und machten mehr ein grausam Gebrülle/ als einen anmuthigen Thon. Neben diesen waren auch Surnatzi oder gemeine Schalmeyer. Item viel Heerpäuker/ so die Paucken als länglichte Töpffe vor sich über die Pferde hangen hatten. Item etlich mit langen Krumhörnern/ Handpauken und dergleichen… Als wir zur Stadtmaur naheten/ stunden auff derselben auch viel Heerpaucker/Schalmayer und Trompeter/ welche neben andern Sengern ein solch Jubelgeschrey macheten/ daß man kaum sein eigen Wort hören kunte*.
56. Voyages, vol. IV, pp. 305-8.
57. An illustration of the Ottoman equivalent of the camel-mounted types appears in Costumes turcs, I, fol. 70, School of Oriental and African Studies MS 60368.
58. Le Brun (Voyages, vol. I, p. 279) has a separate brief paragraph on the *trompete persane*, unhelpfully described as of the same form as the *trompete hebraïque* but about twice the size, and also to be found near the Ganges in the kingdom of Maduré (which, though, is rather far from the Ganges).
59. *Mais il s'en faut beacoup qu'ils en jouent avec tant d'harmonie qu'on fait chez nous*, probably indicative of an unrealistic expectation of polyphonic interaction.
60. On which he comments: *Les danseuses mettent à la main des os, dont elles se servent, comme les Bohémiennes font des castagnettes, qui rendent un son clair et fort ; je pense que les castagnettes ont été faites sur ces os-là*.
61. Called *ṭāsāt* (M), they are an element of Marāġi's inventory of instruments (jāmi' al-alhān, ed. Bābak Ḫażrā'i, Tehran: farhangestān-e honar-e jomhuri-ye eslāmi-ye Irān, 1387/2009, p. 226).
62. But defined by Rauf Yekta Bey as an ancient bowed spike-fiddle with two strings tuned a fifth apart ('La musique turque' in Encyclopédie de la musique (Lavignac), vol. I, Paris: C. Delagrave, 1922, p. 3012b). It is not mentioned in Mohammad Reżā Darviši, dāyerat al-ma'āref-e sāzhā-ye irān, vol. 1, Tehran: mo'assasa-ye farhangi-honari-ye māhur, 1380/2001, which covers chordophones. The *kamanja* type of spike fiddle, as illustrated below by Kaempfer, was more resilient in the Persian tradition than in the Turkish, where it yielded to various imports, one illustrated by de Blainville (reproduced by Feldman, who discusses the various mutations in Music of the Ottoman court: makam, composition and the early Ottoman instrumental repertoire (Intercultural Music Studies, 10), Berlin: VWB - Verlag für Wissenschaft und Bildung, 1996, pp.128-33).
63. Amœnitatum, Fasc. IV, Relatio IX §2, pp. 740-5).
64. The degree of specificity is best judged by

quoting the whole passage: *levis structurae, cocta ex argillâ, figurâ & capacitate ollarum fictilium, nisi quòd fundus in brevem appendicem producitur, quâ pulsantis axillam gestate replent, oris verò hiatus vesicâ vel membranulâ tensâ obducto. Hôc vel solo genere, quasi ruricolis vernaculo, festivitates suas celebrant palmicolae, sociatis plausibus & volarum collisionibus, quibus concinentes convivae saltantium in scenâ vigorem & metra promovent. Civili symphoniae interdum subsonat cithara tetrachordoides* چارتار *Tsjaartaar, vel sola, vel aliis organis polychordoidibus conspirans*.

65. See on this Ciro Lo Muzio, 'The Persian 'snap': Iranian dancers in Gandhāra', in Reinhard Strohm (ed.), The music road. Coherence and diversity in music from the Mediterranean to India (Proceedings of the British Academy 233), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 71-86.
66. Instead of *setār*, Kaempfer opts for Greek, calling it τρίχορδος.
67. No name is given, but despite the length of the fingerboard as drawn it is likely that this is the short-necked lute, '*ud*.
68. Omitted from the 1811 edition but to be found in the 1711 edition (Amsterdam: Jean Louis de Lorme), vol. II, pl. 26, after p. 114.
69. This suggests a form of notation analogous to that developed by Qotb al-Din Širāzi (but not adopted by his Systematist successors) in which the number of columns is the number of time units in the rhythmic cycle. For 306, however, the most likely factors are 9x34 and 18x17, neither of which would readily fit with a notational grid of this type. It is difficult to relate the various specifics of this whole passage about diagrammatic representation to any known treatise.
70. The first statement is uncontroversial, as city and province names (e.g. *esfahān*, '*erāq*) are frequent, but the other two are baffling. Chardin refers here to '*notes de musique*', but rather than discrete pitches it seems from the context (*une grande* Table *en figure de* Globe, *divisé en* quatre cercles, *coupez par* quarante lignes, *ce qui fait* cent soixante Notes) that mode names are intended. As the total of 160 is far in excess of the number found in other treatises, it may be assumed that the four circles are cosmologically grounded (representing the seasons and humours) and that mode names will recur in different positions. In schematic terms, it is reminiscent of the mode circle in the kitāb fī ma'rifat al-anġām wa-šarḥihā by al-Ṣaydāwī (Thérèse B. Antar, 'Traduction et commentaire d'un traité de musique arabe; livre de la connaissance des tons et leur explication de l'auteur Shams al-Dîn Muhammad al-Saydâwî al-Dimashqî', thèse de doctorat, Université de Paris Sorbonne, 1979), a work known to De la Borde.
71. *Une disposition de sons séparés par intervales agréables à l'oreille*.
72. *Soumis aux mouvemens des tymbales ou du tambour*, to which latter term is appended a footnote defining it as a form of tambourine (*tambour de basque*) used to mark the rhythmic cycle (*mesure*).
73. *Ce sont ces ouvrages qui sont venus jusqu'à nous*.
74. For example, the inclusion of examples of notation hardly tallies with the skimpy treatment of the modes; and the account of scale, largely absent from Safavid treatises, is derived from earlier Systematist models, while the description of the rhythmic cycles clearly reflects seventeenth- to eighteenth-century norms.
75. The one text known to have been translated, by Petis de la La Croix le père, is Marāġi's maqāṣid al-alhān.
76. The reason for the dissatisfaction, a comma discrepancy, is spelled out in a lengthy and not exactly user-friendly footnote attached to the detailed following account of how the intervals are arrived at. This is done, exactly as in Systematist texts, by octave, fifth, fourth and whole-tone steps. The coverage of intervals is completed by showing the method of subtracting one from another.
77. One would have expected rather 'mother' (*umm*), this being the term used for primary entities, although usually, in relation to the modes, designating just one or a small subset rather than the whole group of twelve.
78. Presumably corresponding to *jawānib*. From De la Borde's seemingly contradictory statements one might conclude that the source is is a text like the taqsīm al-naġamāt wa-bayān al-daraj wa-'l-šu'ab wa-'l-maqāmāt, in which the *maqām* and the two modes derived from it are placed at the head of a modulatory sequence.
79. See e.g. Angelika Jung, Quellen der traditionellen Kunstmusik der Usbeken und Tadschiken Mittelasiens (Beiträge zur Ethnomusikologie 23), Hamburg 1989 and William Sumits, 'The evolution of the *maqām* tradition in Central Asia: from the theory of 12 *maqām* to the practice of *shashmaqām*', London University PhD thesis, 2011.
80. kitāb al-adwār, ed. Hāšim Muḥammad al-Rajab, Baghdad: manšūrāt wazārat al-ṯaqāfa wa-'l-'i'lām, 1980, p. 157.
81. The characterization of al-Urmawī's first group is similar. It contained, though, *busalik* in place of *rāst*, and the change is indicative of the primacy increasingly accorded to *rāst*, normally the first mode to be introduced in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature.
82. With the added comment that they were preferred to all others by Ḥosayn Bāyqarā.
83. A title recorded in the late seventeenth-century Persian and Ottoman repertoires (by Gorgi and in Süleymaniye MS Bağdatlı Vehbi Efendi 1002). Their versions are related but, unfortunately,

neither notes the identity of the mode, so that there is nothing to indicate how likely they are to be later versions of the same composition.

84. The same total, interestingly, is given by Sulzer (Neubauer, 'Der Essai', p. 270), but without mentioning a source.

85. Accepting as an error the substitution of a crochet for the two quavers in the first iteration.

86. A hypothetical reconstruction. For the various forms of *semai* and the complex relationship between them see Mehmet Uğur Ekinci, 'Not just any *usul: semai* in pre-nineteenth-century performance practice', in Rachel Harris and Martin Stokes (eds), Theory and practice in the music of the Islamic world, London and New York: Routledge, 2018, pp. 42-72.

87. The transnotation, with crotchets and minims, corresponds exactly, but the final attempt at a classical (*chez les Grecs*) restatement in prosodic terms looks odd at first sight: 2 iamb + 2 trochee + spondee + 2 iamb + cesura. Nevertheless, it corresponds well enough to three iterations if the final caesura is equated with the final quarter of the cycle, so that we have:

∪ — / ∪ — / — ∪ / — ∪ /
düm tek Ø tek düm Ø tek Ø / düm tek Ø tek
— — / ∪ — / ∪ — //
düm Ø tek Ø/ düm tek Ø tek düm Ø tek Ø/

88. The classical (*chez les Grecs*) equivalent is in this case rather cursory: 2 anapaest + dactyl + cesura, etc. This yields ∪∪ — /∪∪ — / — ∪∪ / + ? so that the latter part of the cycle is unclear: the two anapaests correspond to the repeated semiquaver + semiquaver + quaver of the transnotation, but the dactyl is hardly a precise rendition of the following crotchet, and how '*une césure, &c.*' might relate to the following two quavers and crotchet is a mystery.

89. See, for all these versions, Neubauer, 'Der Essai', p. 270.

90. kitāb al-adwār, p. 60: if one hears first c then G it is as if hearing c then g.

91. Omitted from the 1811 edition, it is to be found in the 1711 three-volume edition (Amsterdam: Jean Louis de Lorme, vol. II, p. 114).

92. Assuming that the (presumably phrase initial) rest sign 5 has the value of one time unit. The other symbols in the middle of the second stave are probably repeat signs.

93. As with other aspects of De la Borde's chapter, the source from which they derive remains a mystery: the rare examples included in Timurid Systematist texts (those by Marāġi and Banā'i) are articulated differently, and the extant Safavid literature is devoid of notations.

94. Examples are nos. 65, 66, 70 and 221 in Demetrius Cantemir, The collection of notations, i: text. Transcribed and annotated by O. Wright (SOAS Musicology Series, 1), London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 1992, and see the discussion on p. 138.

95. On which see Owen Wright, Demetrius Cantemir, The collection of notations, ii: commentary. (SOAS Musicology Series), Aldershot: Ashgate, 2000, pp. 237-56.

96. As this is the only occurrence of *yf* in the whole piece one would wish to regard it as an error, but it is difficult to see it as a misprint for either *yg* (= 4♯) or *ye* (= 4).

97. Nor, almost certainly, did Tiersot a century later. His dismissal of De la Borde's notations as being *dans la catégorie des chose négligeables* (Notes, p. 83), is in consequence unlikely to stem from any serious consideration of these two examples.

98. The beginning can be identified as توشاه جمجاه 'you, imperial majesty' and the ending of the first line as آن مشوق ببوی زلفان 'he who is enamoured of the scent of [your] curls', but the intervening passage is unclear, despite some words being obvious, and what follows, transcribed as *mezaghi on Sust oü dgane' on pest*, is even more obscure.

99. Transcribed as *ahhanna Schougit ila Djāvin Lacaytou fiha dgumala Sālmy*, it can be readily identified with: أحن شوقا إلى ديار لقيت فيها جمال سلمى 'I yearn for the places where I encountered Salma's beauty' (which is semantically linked to what precedes through the pair *mušawwaq/ šawq*, with the root sense of 'longing'). Settings of this hemistich, but as the first text to be set, also appear in an Ottoman composition and in another in the modern Arab repertoire. One is also, by an odd coincidence, bilingual, switching thereafter to Persian; the other is a *muwaššaḥ*, and by an equally odd coincidence both, in full or in part, are attributed to Marāġi. However, the two are quite different in structure and style; and in neither case can the melody be related to that recorded by De la Borde. Nor is there any trace of a corresponding composition among the Marāġi materials in earlier song-text collections, although the *muwaššaḥ* does, nevertheless, creep into the august pages of *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart* as one of the only two compositions by Marāġi recognized there. I am grateful to Saeid Kordmafi for drawing may attention to this piece and supplying me with notations (as well as, and especially, for kindly setting figs 8 and 10) and for his suggestions with regard to the Persian text.

100. In addition to Donado, contributions were made on the Ottoman side by Chabert (who actually supplies an accompanying bass line for a Mevlevi composition), and Toderini. De la Borde includes in his Greek chapter a typically Ottoman *aksak semai*, and also provides Arab examples, while De Blainville (mis)copies a song in *saba* from Fonton and gives a variant of his *dance grecque*, including a *mehter* march section.

101. The full list (pp. 76-7) gives the Persians superiority in spheres of knowledge, manners, dress and physique: *Turcis autem Persæ*

fortitudine & arte bellicâ cedunt, superant eos prudentiâ civili, scientiis, morum humanitate, decore vestium & corporis elegantiâ.

102. Chardin broadly concurs with Kaempfer, adding other refined qualities: *Les Perses ont de l'esprit, de la vivacité, de la finesse, du jugement et de la prudence … leurs mœurs son douces et civiles, et leur esprit a de la capacité et de la lumière*. (Voyages, vol. IX, 385). Indeed, he devotes much of a chapter (Voyages, vol. III, ch.11 Du naturel des Persans, de leurs mœurs et de leurs coutumes) to expatiating on their positive and negative attributes.

103. Notably in his characterization of the Mingrelians, which amounts to condemning them as indulging in every vice imaginable and possessing no redeeming features whatsoever (Voyages, vol. I, pp. 170-1). Its tone is doubtless explained in large part by him having been robbed while passing through Mingrelian territory.

104. A point also made by Pietro della Valle of a similar event: *vi fu sempre continua musica, di strumenti e di voci, che, senza impedire il parlar della conversazione, cantavano e sonavano bassamente* (Viaggi, p. 315). The reticent nature of such *Tafelmusik* is also remarked upon by Olearius.

105. Fasc. 1, XVI §4, p. 229.

106. [Charles-Henri] De Blainville, Histoire générale, critique et philologique de la musique, Paris: Pissot, 1767, pl. XVI, after p. 64.

107. It does, though, contain a chapter on the music of the Turks. This begins with the off-putting *La Musique des Turcs n'est qu'un reste informe de celle des anciens Grecs*, which give a sufficient indication of his general attitude, maintained despite his awareness of Fonton, to whose manuscript he had access, even borrowing from his music examples (for further details see Behar 1987, pp. 34-5, and Neubauer 1999, pp. viii-ix, 308-9, also for the publication history of the Essai). It is a pity that he did not make better use of it.

108. Pétis de la Croix le père, translator of Marāġi, is also credited with having written an essay on Persian music. This, though, appears to be lost, and there is no evidence that De la Borde had access to it.

109. One that had been succinctly expressed some nine hundred years before by Ishāq al-Mawṣilī: *kayf yubṣir al-ġinā' man naša' bi-ḫurāsān lā yasma' min al-ġinā' al-'arabī illā mā lā yafhamuh* ('How can someone conceive of [Arab] music who grew up in Khorasan, unable to understand whatever he heard of it?'), kitāb al-aġānī, Cairo: dār al-kutub, vol. 10, p. 120.

110. Even if, ironically, under the Arab flag: Raphael Georg Kiesewetter, Die Musik der Araber nach Originalquellen dargestellt, Leipzig: Breitkopf und Härtel, 1842, repr. in facsimile, Wiesbaden: Dr. Martin Sändig oHG, 1968.

111. 'The Middle East in music history: an ethnomusicological perspective', in Reinhard Strohm (ed.), The music road. Coherence and diversity in music from the Mediterranean to India (Proceedings of the British Academy 233), Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019, pp. 21-38.

İran bakış açıları: Chardin, De la Borde, Kaempfer

Özet

Osmanlı müzik pratiği hakkında Batılı gözlemciler tarafından sağlanan materyallerden daha az araştırılsa da, Safevi Devleti ile ilgili gözlemciler tarafından sağlanan bilgiler, materyaller, hem müziği bir sosyal aktivite olarak ele alması, özellikle İsfahanda kullanılan enstrümanları göstermesi ve hem de gözlemcilerin tavırlarını ortaya çıkarması açısından bilgilendirici mahiyettedir. Bu makalede, 17. Yüzyılda yukarıda bahsedilen hususta en çok katkısı bulunan gözlemcilerden ikisinin çalışmaları, bir 18. yy ansiklopedi yazarının İran müzik teorisi kaynaklarını anlama uğraşısı, aydınlama dönemi düşünürlerininin yerel teoriyle ilgilenmeye başlaması ve başka toplumların müziklerine duydukları ilginin gelişmesiyle beraber Avrupanın müzikal açıdan üstünlüğe sahip olduğunu varsayarak daha özgüvenli olmaları, hususlarıyla birlikte incelenmektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler

iran müziği, tarihsel müzikoloji, etnomüzikoloji, oryantalizm