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Sources of Music in Ancient Israel / Palestine

8/ 2003

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urn:nbn:de:gbv:3:5-95435/fragment/page=00000003

Herausgeber:
Orientwissenschaftliches Zentrum
der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg
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Druck: Druckerei der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg, Kröllwitzer Str. 44, 06120 Halle (Saale), 2002.
Printed in Germany
ISSN 1617–2469

Universitäts- und Landesbibliothek Sachsen-Anhalt
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Orientwissenschaftliche Hefte
Heft 8/2003

Sources of Music in Ancient Israel/Palestine

edited by

Regina Randhofer

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The four papers presented in this volume approach the music history of Ancient Israel/Palestine from different angles. They were prepared for, and first presented within the framework of a panel at the 36th World Conference of the *International Council of Traditional Music* (ICTM) in Rio de Janeiro, July 2001, and were elaborated for this edition; a fifth paper of the panel could not be considered here.

As a prelude, Theodore W. Burgh, the organiser and chair of the panel, gives an introduction to the discipline of archaeomusicology, i. e. the investigation of artifacts and texts providing information on the musical activities of past cultures. Burgh discusses the discipline's orientation as regards content. Taking Ancient Israel/Palestine as an example he puts this in concrete terms. A survey of research into the archaeomusicology of Ancient Israel/Palestine from its inception up to the present day reveals the development of the discipline, beginning its life as a subdiscipline of Biblical studies and evolving into a fully-fledged member of cultural and social studies. Burgh's discussion of sources, by means of specific examples, points to future tasks of the discipline, which should primarily focus on the development of methodology and the interdisciplinary dialogue.

An archaeologist's view is taken by William G. Dever. In his contribution, he highlights the importance of a comparative approach to archaeology, i. e. the cross-cultural comparison of archaeological assemblages. Dever defines the possibilities and limitations of the comparative method which has largely been accepted in general archaeology, but is still hardly accepted in biblical and Syro-Palestinian archaeology, respectively. Until today, Syro-Palestinian archaeology is encumbered with theological dogmas, and the comparative approach is one of its greatest desiderata. The world of Ancient Israel/Palestine and Syria, Dever claims, has to be compared not only with other past cultures, but also with living societies such as the modern Arab population of the region (ethno-Archaeology). Furthermore, the comparative method should not only be applied to artifacts, monuments and other remains to construct a picture of the Syro-Palestinian civilisation's material past, but also to the broad field of music (archaeology and ethnomusicology).

In the narrowest sense of the word, music is the subject Regina Randhofer's paper deals with. It is based on ethnomusicological fieldwork she conducted in Jerusalem and Cairo, initiated by the old and widespread scientific interest in synagogal songs, as they are accredited with having preserved the music of the Bible and that of early Christians. After a survey of the past research in this

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field and critical methodological reflections, Randhofer presents results of her own research on the psalm repertoire in its most important Jewish and Christian transmissions. Although structural analyses fail to yield evidence of a transmission of unchanged melodies, the oft attempted derivation of Christian chant from the Jewish on the basis of melodic parallels proves untenable. Together with features of oral and written transmission and patterns of dissemination, on a structural level, however, commonalities are evident in the case of specific transmission groups. These commonalities point to organising principles whose origins and age refer to the ancient Near East.

Hugh R. Page, who acted as respondent on the panel, concludes the collection of papers with a philologist's and Bible scholar's notions on the topic. Page underlines the inherent interdisciplinary character of research on the musical culture of the peoples of the Ancient Near East, emphasising the need for methodological pluralism as one of its main tasks. Taking the different contributions as a basis for his own reflections, he addresses the four crucial questions which will arise in the course of future research on Ancient Near Eastern music: the possible research agenda, the possibilities and limitations of comparative work, the development of methodology with regard to the methods of other disciplines, and the goals, parameters, and guidelines of such an interdisciplinary endeavour in the third millennium.

Halle, April 2003 Regina Randhofer

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"Ancient Music of Israel/Palestine: What are the Sources, and How Should We Treat Them?" Moving from the Specific to the General and Back Again

Theodore W. Burgh

Music is a vital part of all cultures past and present. This unique form of communication conveys instruction, facilitates rituals and religious ceremonies, and entertains. Artifacts and ancient texts reveal that peoples from most historical periods have woven music into nearly every aspect of social life. Ancient and modern peoples have employed music in the commemoration of annual festivals, in the celebration of victories in war, for entertainment, and in other settings for a variety of purposes. Musical usage provides a useful lens through which to view daily life in both antiquity and the present because it often reflects aspects of the larger society (e. g., sex/gender roles, instrument selection, and societal status). Moreover, there are cultural elements that can be known only from an investigation of musical practice and performance (e. g., musical terminology and spatial usage). Studying the music of extinct cultures is a very important, though difficult, task as data are limited and not easily accessed. One of the greatest continuing challenges for scholars is to identify musical sources and determine how to analyze them.

These issues are the foundation for the session entitled *"Ancient Music of Israel/Palestine: What are the Sources and How Should We Treat Them?" Moving from the Specific to the General and Back Again*. The session, presented at the 36th World Conference of ICTM in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, discussed methodology regarding how archaeomusicology might identify and utilize sources in research. These concerns will prove to be important to archaeomusicology in the new millennium.

Archaeomusicology, also known as music archaeology, is the study of past cultures and societies through the research of artifacts and texts discussing

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musical activity. A sister discipline of ethnomusicology and archaeology, archaeomusicology is the subject of scholarly research throughout the world. Although the ICTM session focused on the area of Israel/Palestine, it is important to note that archaeomusicology extends well beyond this region. To illustrate, the archaeomusicology of China,[1] the ethnoarchaeomusicology of South America, a term created by ethnomusicologist Dale Olsen,[2] and the archaeomusicology of the Near East[3] are a few examples of this type of work conducted on various continents.[4] If archaeologists and others who investigate the past are to assess and understand previous cultures and societies holistically, music cannot be excluded.[5]

A major contribution of archaeomusicological exploration is that the discipline can reveal aspects of previous cultures and societies that some research cannot. Selected instruments and their use in cultural contexts, for instance, may provide insight into ethnic and regional characteristics, cultural relationships, and geographical distinctions.[6] Instrument utilization may explain possible musical hierarchies or performance systems. Moreover, specifically structured or designed musical organizations may mirror societal structures.

Brief Overview of the Archaeomusicology in Israel/Palestine

While it is true that archaeomusicology is a part of research agendas throughout the world, a brief overview of its development in Israel/Palestine is in order. Early studies of music and instrumentation in the Ancient Near East and Israel/Palestine began in the 17th century.[7] While these works were concerned mostly with textual analysis, primarily the biblical text, they were nonetheless the embryos of Israel/Palestine archaeomusicology. Like early archaeology, researchers sought to classify musical systems, instruments via geographical re-

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1 Kuttner, *Archaeology of Music.*
2 Olsen, *Music.*
3 Kilmer, "Musical Instruments", and Rimmer, *Ancient Musical Instruments.*
4 See Olsen, *Music,* 22–31.
5 In addition to the study of past cultures and societies, we can also consider that archaeomusicology is what archaeomusicologists do. See Ellis / Bochner, *Composing Ethnography,* 16.
6 For further discussion and examples, see Braun, *Musikkultur.*
7 Some examples include Portaleone, *Shilte ha-gibborim,* and Kircher, *Musurgia Universalis.*

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gions and cultures, etc. These studies were very strong in terms of descriptive analysis. Archaeological data were not a major part of these sources; yet, these pioneering scholars established a solid foundation for the field.

Classic works in the 18th and 19th centuries built on the advances of early pioneers and combined literary, ethnological, and some archaeological research.[8] This new move toward interdisciplinary studies set the stage for subsequent developments. The 20th century witnessed further growth in the use of interdisciplinary methodologies by scholars in the field of Israel/Palestine archaeomusicology and others. These contributions took the discipline to another level.[9]

Archaeomusicology in Israel/Palestine continues to have an interdisciplinary focus in the 21st century. In addition to sound archaeological description and analysis, the field is becoming more theoretical in orientation and more open to the employment of anthropological models and ethnographic data. Scholars researching various regions are developing an assortment of cross-cultural strategies.

What Are the Sources?

There are essentially three categorical sources for Israel/Palestine archaeomusicology: artifacts, texts, and ethnographic data. Under the division of artifacts there are two typologies: iconography and figurines. Both sources have additional subdivisions but they fall under the divisions of the tripartite system. Iconographic depictions are typically line drawings of figures and/or musical instruments. Representations may appear on vessels, sherds, stones, or other surfaces. Figurines are typically depictions of persons or animals, and some are represented with instruments. There are primarily two basic figurine forms: plaque or mold made and figurines in the round. Artists creating figurines in the round may use molds to complete parts of the figurine (e. g., body, head), while plaque figurines are made entirely from molds. Texts often describe musical instruments, musical activity, and musicians. Descriptions may also

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8 Examples include Burney, *History*, and Engels, *Music*.

9 Examples include Sachs, *History*; Bayer, *Relics*; Sendrey, *Music*; Braun, "Musical Instruments"; *id.*, *Musikkultur*.

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present musical terminology, notation, and instruction. Ethnographic data from various cultures and their musical practices over time and space are employed to conduct cross-cultural studies of the past and present.

The Treatment of Archaeomusicological Sources and the Necessity of Interdisciplinarity

Music, ancient and modern, have some universals that are important to research. Consider the following commonalities: 1) Music is a form of learned behavior. In addition, music is a specialized craft. There is a demand, production, and supply of this commodity in many segments of past and present societies.[10] 2) Music is generated by human production through the creation and/or use of sound tools.[11] 3) Archaeomusicological resources are also the products of human activity. It is here that the members of the panel contribute to the discussion of methodology regarding how we should treat archaeomusicological data. Each scholar focused on the following questions regarding theory and method in archaeomusicological research:

1. What should the research agenda for the history of music in the Ancient Near East in general, and ancient Israel/Palestine in particular, be in the future?
2. What are the strengths and limitations of various kinds of interdisciplinary comparison (e. g., historical, cross-cultural, textual, artifactual, or ethnological), and what is gained and/or lost in the comparative process?
3. What are the potentials of research "moving from the specific to the general and back again" in this field?
4. What goals, parameters, and guidelines should be established for such interdisciplinary endeavors?

One specific question is the basis of each inquiry: what do we want to know about music in past cultures? What we desire to learn about previous music shapes research agendas and queries, which in turn, affects methodology. Archaeomusicological methodology continues to incorporate artifact description

[10] Costin, *Archaeological Method*, 1–56.
[11] Braun, "Musical Instruments", 70–78.

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and assess musical activity described in texts, but it also seeks to investigate as many aspects of past music and its connections with the larger socio-culture. Because archaeomusicological objects are the result of human production, methodological development is essential. Approaches to the data will continue to evolve as researchers present new questions.

As the study of archaeomusicology in general, and Israel/Palestine in particular moves forward, methodological procedures have to be addressed critically, and inquiries like those mentioned above are imperative to quality research. Questions force researchers to examine specifics and generalities, all of which help to form the larger picture of past culture.

Because of the developing intricacies of research questions, it is imperative to establish interdisciplinary dialogue. Scholars from neighboring and foreign disciplines view the data from angles that may be obscure to others, and these perspectives provide necessary data and insight for research and study. For this reason, I assembled an interdisciplinary panel of scholar with varying areas of expertise to stimulate discussion regarding how to treat archaeomusicological sources. The members include the following persons:

- William G. Dever, University of Arizona, USA. William Dever is one of the world's most prominent Near Eastern archaeologists. He has excavated extensively in Israel/Palestine, and contributed numerous publications on artifacts and sites throughout the country. Dever presents an archaeological perspective of the data to the discussion.
- Joachim Braun, Bar-Ilan University, Israel. Joachim Braun is a musicologist and leading archaeomusicologist in the area of Israel/Palestine. Braun contributes organological and musicological approaches to the research.
- Regina Randhofer, University of Halle-Wittenberg, Germany. Regina Randhofer is a musicologist with expertise in the area of both Near Eastern oral tradition and early written liturgical music of the Mediterranean and Middle East/Ancient Near East sources. She has conducted extensive fieldwork in these areas. Randhofer provides expertise in the perspective of music and liturgy.
- Hugh Page, Jr., University of Notre Dame, USA. Hugh Page is an authority in Semitic languages, Hebrew Bible, and Ancient Near Eastern literatures. Page provides expertise in the area of textual interpretation.

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Future of Archaeomusicology

These scholarly contributions regarding how to treat the sources will enhance theory and method and take archaeomusicology in Israel/Palestine to new heights. Personally, I would like to thank each of the participants for their support, time, effort, and well-crafted thoughts and ideas for this session. It is my hope that this is the beginning of interdisciplinary dialogue in this realm of academia. Now is the time to build bridges and establish connections between the disciplines, permitting archaeomusicology and other disciplines a healthy venue to exchange ideas for continual development.

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Some Observations on Comparative Method and Ancient Music in Near Eastern Archaeology

William G. Dever

Introduction

Near Eastern archaeology is one of the oldest branches of archaeology, almost as venerable as Classical archaeology. Its origins lie in the early 19th century rediscovery of the lands around the eastern Mediterranean – "Cradle of Civilization" from which the European (and New World) or "Western" cultural tradition sprang.

From the beginning of more deliberate exploration in the mid-19th century, and then with the first systematic excavation in the late 19th century, Near Eastern archaeology focused in large part on the recovery of the long-lost "world of the bible", not only in Egypt, Mesopotamia (now Iraq), and Syria, but also and especially in Palestine. Thus was born the unique branch of archaeology that by the early 20th century became widely known as "Biblical archaeology". Particularly in America, it dominated the scene until about 1970; and although it is now defunct as a *professional* approach, "Biblical archaeology" still fascinates the general public.

Elsewhere I have dealt in detail with the history, methods, and results of "Biblical archaeology", or, as the discipline has been more recently called, Syro-Palestinian archaeology, but new increasingly described as "the archaeology of the Southern Levant".

In this paper, I intend to treat only one aspect of the larger discipline, namely its use of comparative method, with particular reference to ethno-archaeology, since that bears on the topic at hand, archaeology data and ethnomusicology. I wish to thank my former student, Dr. Theodore Burgh, as well as Notre Dame University, for inviting me to participate.

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1. A Survey of Comparative Method in General Archaeology

1.1. Some Definitions

Let me begin with two definitions. By "comparative method" I mean an approach to the analysis of any archaeological assemblage that compares it with other assemblages. And by "assemblage" I mean a consistently patterned group of contemporary artifacts from a particular time and place. The goal of the comparison is to explain the cultural phenomena that the primary assemblage reflects by looking at other assemblages and their cultures, in contexts that may range from near to far, from the familiar to the exotic.

The fundamental working assumption of comparative method is, of course, that no individual culture is unique and thus susceptible to explanation only on its own "inner logic", as for instance through its canonical scriptures or other written remains, which may be more fiction than fact. Comparative method thus appeals to universals in order to comprehend particulars, in the belief (1) that the human species worldwide is singular; and (2) that there are certain basic, timeless principles of cultural adaptation and evolution, which although not "laws" in the full sense of the natural sciences, can nevertheless be utilized to analyze, to explain, and even to predict individual cultural configurations.

1.2. Toward a Realistic Methodology

The logic of all comparative approaches is that of *analogy*. In order to comprehend the unknown, we turn naturally to that which is known (or presumed to be known). The analogue that is selected for comparison may be an extinct culture, known only through its artifactual and textual remains; or it may be a contemporary culture thought suitable for comparison and known either first-hand or through detailed ethnographic studies.

As obvious and promising as comparative method would seem to be in archaeology, where the target culture is not self-explanatory, the method has often been neglected; and even when it has been employed, it has been misunderstood or abused.

In particular, the limitations of the comparative approach must be kept in mind, most due to inadequate methodology.

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1. Often one is comparing "apples and oranges", which does nothing to identify either, since at best they are not really comparable, and at worst they may be mutually exclusive. For instance, ancient Israel may be closely comparable to ancient Egypt or Mesopotamia, since all three shared similar environmental conditions that helped to shape their respective cultures. It may be partly comparable to the culture of the Anasazi Indians of the American southwest, who also had to contend with a semi-arid environment. But it is scarcely comparable at all with modern, Western industrial societies where capitalism replaces the "domestic mode of production", and technology becomes the overriding factor in determining economic and socio-cultural reality.
2. In some cases, there may be other societies that could provide suitable comparanda, but they are too few to give a statistically reliable sample. If the goal of comparison is *universal* explanations of culture and culture changes, then by definition one or two "case-studies" will be insufficient to yield the desired larger picture. The apparent "similarities" may simply be coincidental, and thus they prove nothing.
3. In still other cases, even a valid comparison of a number of societies that would appear to provide a sort of cultural "covering law" can be illusory, since the so-called "explanation" may be in fact little more that a description of variables, and it may even reflect nothing more than the ideology of the analyst. Genuine explanations of *cause* in history, anthropology, or archaeology are uncommon; and some would say that they are unlikely on principle. For instance, post-modernist theoreticians claim with Michel Foucault, that "all history-writing is fiction". But if that were true, Foucault was a charlatan, and we here today are all fools. I content that there are *some* explanations of socio-cultural phenomena that in the end commend themselves to the majority of thoughtful, well-informed observers. That is as close to socio-cultural "facts" as we shall get; but it is close enough to provide an explanation of proximate, if not of final causes.
4. Finally, we must address the inherent limitations of all arguments based on analogy, as comparative explanations are. Simply put, similar is not equivalent; and even demonstrably close similarities may reveal only superficial aspects of the societies and cultures being compared. In particular, similar cultural adaptations, even in nearly identical environments, may not stem from the same historical, cultural, or ideological factors. Analogies are suggestive; they stimulate creative thinking; and they may provide relevant and

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often illuminating "case-studies". But analogies in themselves are rarely definitive.

2. Comparative Method in Syro-Palestinian Archaeology

Comparative method is so fundamental to New World, and even to much of Old World, archaeology, both prehistoric and historical, that it has been taken for granted almost from the beginning. Indeed, comparative method has sometimes been over-indulged, resulting in what has been called "parallelomania". In the archaeology of ancient Syria-Palestine, however, comparative method has typically been neglected or even rejected. There are, I believe, several reasons for this conspicuous lack that are peculiar to our branch of archaeology.

For one thing, Syro-Palestinian archaeology and its offshoot "Biblical archaeology" have been parochial disciplines, isolated from mainstream archaeology until the last two decades or so. This isolation resulted from many factors, among them the size of the field, with only a handful of full-time workers until recently; fieldwork that concentrated on small, marginal areas such as Palestine, later Israel and Jordan; the amateur status of the field in general; the lack of professional training of those engaged; the dearth of publications, especially those that would read by any scholars outside the field; the conspicuous absence of the anthropological and theoretical orientation that characterize other branches of archaeology; and the inability to compete for public funds. Above all, there is the fact that this field of inquiry has been not really a branch of archaeology at all but a "handmaiden" of Biblical studies (as a former generation put it). Its aims, methods, and results were not so much archaeological as theological, with all the naivete and biases that one might expect. Thus my wordplay "parochial" – not only restricted in scope, but deliberately exclusive.

Happily, "Biblical archaeology" of the classic style is now dead, and I and others wrote its obituary some 20 years ago. Yet the "new archaeology" being practiced in Israel and Jordan today, while vastly more interdisciplinary, and certainly more sophisticated in analytical method, is still not visibly committed to broad comparative method. The reason, I believe, is that for all our secular orientation, we have not yet outgrown one of "Biblical archaeology's" cherished notions, namely that ancient Israel was "unique", and therefore, by definition, incomparable.

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That proposition is derived, of course, from the Hebrew Bible; and has always been basic to the faith of early Israel, later Judaism, and the "New Israel", the Christian church. Such theological dogmas, however, should have no place in an objective, dispassionate investigation of the *reality* of life in ancient Israel, which was far from the idealistic and tendentious portrait of the writers and editors of the Hebrew Bible (as we shall see presently). Ancient Israel may have been "different"; but it was hardly unique. Yet even today, fiercely secular "post-Zionist" Israeli archaeologists are reluctant to compare ancient Israel even with its nearest neighbors, much less with European or New World societies at similar stages of cultural evolution. Only a handful of younger Israeli archaeologists, more theoretically inclined, are aware of the lost opportunities and are beginning to embrace broad comparative methods.

Closely related to the mistaken notion of ancient Israel as a "unique" – and similarly Biblically-derived – is the contention that the comparative method's basic goal of seeking universal, timeless "laws of the cultural process" is not only improper, but is perverse. There *are* no such "laws"; nor can there be, because it is individual free will and action that shape history, not any immutable "process" that we think we can discern. There is, of course, something to be said for this view, since it is profoundly humanistic, and since it rightly opposes all reductionist and determinist philosophies of history, not to mention the new historicism and scientism that are in vogue today. But in the end, the emphasis on the sheer contingency of human behaviour and the arbitrariness of historical events militates against any organismic philosophy of history. And if pursued rigorously, such an approach would undermine all the social sciences, including archaeology and anthropology, since they depend upon the assumption that culture is "patterned", and that the patterns may be discerned, at least partially.

3. Comparative Method and Ethno-Archaeology

One aspect of comparative method, when it involves contemporary living societies, is ethnography, or in combination with archaeological questions, "ethno-archaeology", a major sub-discipline of archaeology today. Once again, however, Syro-Palestinian and "Biblical" archaeologists have rarely shown any interest in this aspect of comparative method, even in investigating the life-

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styles of the modern Arab population of the region. Yet these are the direct descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the Biblical world, who until recently preserved many aspects of daily life unchanged over the centuries that could potentially be powerfully illuminating. Why the neglect of such an obvious source of information about the past?

Part of the reason is that the 19th and even the early-mid 20th century exploration of the "Lands of the Bible" was largely a reflex of Colonialism – a form of cultural imperialism in which the great European powers (and America, too, in some cases) imposed their "superior" cultural traditions upon the backward peoples of the Levant. It was acknowledged, of course, that the *ancient* Near East, especially the Judaic and Christian cultures, had laid the foundations of the Western cultural tradition. But it was presumed that the *modern* Arab peasants of the region were so degenerate that they had nothing to teach enlightened Westerners. So despised were the local lifestyles that it did not occur to most bemused European observers that they might preserve unique clues to ancient lifestyles.

I recall that on my first field season in 1962 at Biblical Shechem, near Nablos in the West Bank, we excavated a *ṭabūn*, or courtyard oven, and were perplexed as to how it had worked. The learned theologians, all seminary professors, who made up the Staff, were debating the issue hotly. One of the Arab workmen who knew some English looked on with growing amusement, until finally he remarked: "Come to my house this afternoon, and my wife will show you our *ṭabūn* – exactly like this one; you can see how it works, and enjoy some hot, fresh bread as well." We should have inquired of the Arab villager in the first place.

The fact is that one can point only to a handful of 19th–20th century ethnographic studies of the various peoples of Syria-Palestine that might be helpful to archaeologists. For Syria the work of Alois Musil, *The Manners and Customs of the Rwala Bedouins* (1928), is important. And for the larger region, one may consult his earlier *Arabia Petraea* (3 vols.; 1908), as well as Charles M. Doughty's *Travels in Arabia Deserta* (1921).

From Ottoman period and British Mandatory Palestine (up to 1948), there are only a few significant ethnographic works. In the 1920's, a Danish folklorist, Hilma Granqvist, spent some time in the village of Artas, south of Bethlehem, and left an account of village life, *Marriage Conditions in A Palestinian Village* (1931–35). More systematic was the multi-volume work of the German Biblical scholar Gustav Dalman, *Arbeit und Sitte in Palästina*, published in

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1928–1942, which provided a well documented and illustrated account of village and Bedouin life in Palestine between the two World Wars. But Dalman, for all his enterprise, was neither an Arabist nor a trained ethnographer.

Since 1948 and the creation of the modern states of Israel and Jordan, there have been few published full-scale ethnographic studies of the indigenous Arab population at any level of society. A Palestinian, Aref el-Aref, produced a work on the Beersheba Bedouin tribes in 1934, but it is published only in Hebrew. And an Israeli scholar of American extraction, Emanuel Marx, has published a helpful work, *Bedouin of the Negev* (1967). There are also a few amateur folklorists who have carried out unsystematic studies; some archaeological projects have attempted to build an ethnographic component into their research design; and a few small, local ethnographic museums have sprung up. But one has the overwhelming impression that neither Israel nor Jordan cares much about preserving its ethnographic heritage; and in any case, rapid modern development has made serious ethnographic studies impossible. It is too late; lifestyles that had persisted almost unchanged for two or three thousand years have disappeared forever in a generation or two, and they are tragically unrecorded. That is the price of "progress".

Fortunately, in the larger picture of Near Eastern archaeology, there have a few modern, sophisticated ethnographic studies, notably those of Iran by Patty Jo Watson and my Arizona colleague Carol O. Kramer, both published in 1979. Both studies profited from the fact that the authors were not only trained anthropologists, but Near Eastern archaeologists as well.

In the wider Near Eastern world, especially in Iran and Turkey, there do exist a number of excellent general ethnographic works, but few have had any direct application in the archaeology of the region, much less in the study of Bronze and Iron Age Palestine. And many have been restricted more to Bedouin life than to village life.

4. Comparative Method and Ethnomusicology

I now turn to the specific topic of this symposium, music in ancient Israel; and I will seek to show how and why comparative method may be relevant and illuminating. Assuming, as we saw above, that ancient Israel was not in fact

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"unique", what is the rationale of comparing its music with that of its neighbors, and what can we learn from such comparisons?

Let me note first Israel's neighbor to the east, Mesopotamia, or ancient Assyria and Babylonia. Here a comparison is not only valid, but necessary, because Israel's cultural roots lay in Mesopotamia, as the Biblical writers correctly remembered. Mesopotamian influences upon ancient Israel would include: the Creation and Flood stories borrowed and preserved in Genesis; the formative tradition of the migration of Abraham from southern Mesopotamia to Canaan, probably as part of movements of the "Amorites", or Western Semitic pastoral nomads, and their gradual settlement in Canaan, now well known from the cuneiform sources of the 3rd–2nd millennia B.C.; the bulk of the Mosaic laws, obviously borrowed directly from the Code of Hammurabi and later Mesopotamian laws; many aspects of religion and cult; the literary canons of much of the Hebrew Bible; and even the Hebrew language itself, which is closely related to the Akkadian dialects of Mesopotamia.

As for Israel's nearest neighbor to the west, Egypt, the relationship is almost as close, and more contemporary. For instance, the Hebrew Bible derives the ancestors of early Israel directly from Egypt. Later, in the period of the Israelite monarchy, Egypt supplies to Israel many luxury items; the symbols on the so-called Royal Stamped Jarhandles; much of the iconography of the ubiquitous stamp seals; and even the numerical system on the late Judaean shekel-weights.

Even closer to Israel in geographical proximity, as well as in cultural affinities, is ancient Phoenicia, the coastal area to the north, or what is now Lebanon. Both the Hebrew Bible and archaeology attest to the importation and adoption of Phoenician architecture, art, iconography, and cultic practices during the monarchy, as well as perhaps the basic form of the petty state.

Farther afield, ancient Israel had far more in common with mainland Greece than scholars have recognized until recently. Even their literary traditions demonstrate common features that are astonishing. The age of the Deuteronomistic historians, who shaped Israel's great national epic in the Biblical books of Joshua through Kings, is almost exactly contemporary with the "Age of Homer" as finally reduced to writing in the 8th–7th cents. B.C.

If ancient Israel was not *sui generis*, as I have argued above, then comparisons with ancient Mesopotamia, Egypt, Phoenicia, and even Greece are not only proper, they are imperative. Without utilizing such comparative analyses, we rob ourselves of a major source of illumination of all aspects of ancient Israe-

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lite life and times – the larger *context* that alone gives meaning to culture and cultural expressions. In archaeology, context is *everything*.

It is not only geographical proximity and cultural affinity that make comparative method possible where ancient Israel is concerned, but also the fact that there are cultural features involved that are universal and thus directly comparable. For instance, there are only so many kinds of musical instruments that can and do exist, and they are universal: percussive, wind, and string. Similarly, basic notations and rhythms are limited, yet universal. And, of course, the human in its range, timbre, and tone is the same.

Some will ask, however, why we *need* to resort to such external parallels, even when they may be obvious, since we have a rich source of information in the texts of the Hebrew Bible – the most extensive corpus of literature to survive intact from the Mediterranean world in the Iron Age. The answer is that the Hebrew Bible, despite its venerable status, is *not* an adequate source for writing a satisfactory history of ancient Israel, even of its religious history. Virtually all scholars and many laypeople today recognize that the Hebrew Bible's characteristic "stories" are written long after the events that they purport to describe; that these stories, like all ancient history-writing, do not hesitate to exaggerate, embellish, and even to freely invent. Thus the Bible is more "myth" than history; it reflects an elite and idealistic literary tradition, a minority viewpoint, rather than reflecting real life. Above all, the Bible in its final form represents the theocratic and nationalistic outlook of the orthodox religious parties that shaped later Judaism.

To put it simply, the writers and editors of the Hebrew Bible were not interested in ordinary folk or the daily life of the masses. Only *archaeology* can give back to these anonymous folk of the past, those who "sleep in the dust" (Dan. 12:2), their long-lost voice, enabling them to speak to us today about how life really was in ancient Israel. And it is in the dialogue *between* artifacts and texts that the best hope of reconstructing those lifeways lies – each source of history-writing supplementing and correcting the other in order to provide a fully-fleshed out and believable portrait of an extinct civilization.

A vital part of ancient Israelite life was certainly musical expression, as it has been in every known culture from earliest times. Yet the Hebrew Bible scarcely mentions music, except incidentally, usually in describing religious rituals, mostly in reference to the Jerusalem Temple. The place of music in everyday life is virtually ignored in the Bible. And this is where ethno-archaeology becomes relevant. A brief time spent living in an Arab village will drive home

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the point that music is everywhere – exactly as it must have been in Biblical times and ever since. I lived in several such primitive villages in the West Bank for various periods in the 1960's and 1970's. The day began with the muezzin chanting the call to prayer from the minaret, then women singing alone or in groups while carrying out their early morning chores. The day continued with men singing at work in our excavation trenches, often with loud rhythms and great collective enthusiasm. Later in the day, there were other sung calls to prayer. At dusk, the shepherds would lead their flocks back to the village, the soft sounds of their pipes wafting sweetly on the evening air. Later still, one could hear folk songs accompanied by handdrums and flutes from the nearby darkened houses.

One night, at a wedding feast where I was an honored guest, an old blind musician from a neighboring village, a well-known local minstrel, played on a crude one-stringed fiddle for the entertainment of the whole gathering. He would ask me for a fact about my personal life; and then he would freely improvise a rhythmic verse or two, and sing and play it on his fiddle, the crowd clapping and enjoying it immensely. I was a bit embarrassed, but it was a memorable experience.

So it must have been in the villages of ancient Israel three thousand years ago. In fact, we know that some of the oldest poems in the Hebrew Bible, like the Song of Miriam in Exodus, or the Song of Deborah in Judges, must have originally been free oral compositions, in poetic form, and sung around campfires for centuries until they were finally reduced to writing during the Monarchy. Similarly, most of the Psalms would originally have been recited in song, accompanied by various musical instruments; and here the Bible does acknowledge these practices. But there must have been a great deal more music in ancient Israel, of which few traces are preserved in the Hebrew Bible, given its preoccupation with theological issues.

Here is where the archaeological element in ethno-archaeology comes in. Archaeology, and archaeology alone, can provide the rich data on everyday life that the canonical texts overlook or depreciate, and which may not be attested even in comparable contemporary societies. In particular, excavations can recover fragments of many types of musical instruments, some perhaps extinct, as well as reconstructing aspects of the larger cultural system of which they were a part and the context in which performers played them. It *may* even be possible to reconstruct something of the sounds and rhythms of the music itself, as Dr. Braun's and Dr. Burgh's paper will show. And little of this would

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be possible apart from the discovery of the actual remains of ancient musical instruments. One of the most exciting developments of the recent discipline of archaeomusicology is the probability that trained musicologists may help archaeologists to recognize and identify many fragments of ancient instruments that without an expert eye would have been discarded or relegated to the basements of museums, there to languish forever.

Conclusion

In field and analytical archaeology, we see only what we are *sensitized* to see; and musicologists can sharpen our senses and thus aid in the future recovery of far more evidence than we now have for ancient music, in ancient Israel and elsewhere. That is the challenge of truly inter-disciplinary research – full of risks, yet full of rich rewards.

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From the Present to the Past. A New Approach to Music in Jewish and Christian Ritual

Regina Randhofer

Introduction

Throughout history, the birth of Christianity in the lap of Judaism and the gradual differentiation between Jewish and Christian identity has led to a critical appraisal of historical roots. This includes a critical appraisal of the *musica sacra* of the Bible. Since the times of the Church Fathers, attempts have never ceased to be made to recover the music of the Bible and prove the continuity between Temple or synagogue music and church music. A preoccupation with concrete melodies became evident no later than with the advent of Humanism – a period in which a general interest was aroused in the languages, writings, and testimonies of antiquity and the restoration of their primary form. This interest also included the Hebrew language and its literary monuments.[1]

In the early period, ideas pertaining to the nature of the relationship between Jewish and Christian chant were only vague. They were primarily connected with King David who was accredited with having introduced the psalms to the Temple. Up to the present day, early Christian music has been associated with the ancient Temple music.

Since the Renaissance an intensive search has been underway to find objective proof of the relationship between the music of both religions. In particular, this search has focused on the Tiberian accents with which the Hebrew text of

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[1] Detailed bibliographies on the history of research are to be found mainly in Sendrey, *Bibliography*; Wohlenberg, *Kultmusik*; Adler, *Study*.

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the Bible is furnished (see example 1).[2] A number of scholars from the age of Humanism and the Renaissance from all over Europe addressed themselves to the question of the relevance of these accents. For many of them, they preserved the music of the ancient Temple, and, up to the present day, efforts have continued to be made to decipher these accents and, thus, reconstruct the biblical melodies.

EXAMPLE 1. Hebrew accentuation, Ps 1

English	Hebrew	
1. Blessed is the man who does not walk in the counsel of the wicked	אשרי־האיש אשר לא הלך בעצת רשעים	1.
or stand in the way of sinners	ובדרך חטאים לא עמד	
or sit in the seat of mockers.	ובמושב לצים לא ישב:	
2. But his delight is in the law of the Lord,	כי אם בתורת יהוה חפצו	2.
and on his law he meditates day and night.	ובתורתו יהגה יומם ולילה:	
3. He is like a tree planted by streams of water,	והיה כעץ שתול על־פלגי מים	3.
which yields its fruit in season and whose leaf does not wither.	אשר פריו יתן בעתו ועלהו לא־יבול	
Whatever he does prospers.	בכל אשר־יעשה יצליח:	
4. Not so the wicked!	לא־כן הרשעים	4.
They are like chaff that the wind blows away.	כי אם כמץ אשר־תדפנו רוח:	
5. Therefore the wicked will not stand in the judgment,	על־כן לא־יקמו רשעים במשפט	5.
nor sinners in the assembly of the righteous.	וחטאים בעדת צדיקים:	
6. For the Lord watches over the way of the righteous,	כי־יודע יהוה דרך צדיקים	6.
but the way of the wicked will perish.	ודרך רשעים תאבד:	

[2] For a long time, Hebrew accents have been a riddle as far as researchers are concerned. The starting point was the need to process the scriptures under consideration of philological aspects, and to, thus, permanently fix and preserve the Hebrew language as it had, indeed, played an important role since the 5th century but as a liturgical language. Having elaborated the first drafts of an accentuation in Palestine and Babylon, between 750 and 1000 ACE, scholarly schools in Tiberias developed a system of over 20 accents which have prevailed as a binding system up to today. – Nearly every single word of the Hebrew Bible text has an accent. Today we know that the accents have three main functions: 1) They fix the stress on the words. 2) They act as some sort of punctuation and indicate the subdivision of a sentence, i. e. they indicate the middle and end of a sentence, and where a word or part of a sentence is of specific importance and ought to be distinguished from something, etc. 3) Thus, the accents also serve as rules for the sung performance, i. e. the structured text, is reproduced by the singing voice.

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One of the first in a long line of Christian scholars was the German Humanist and founder of Hebrew linguistics, Johannes Reuchlin. Reuchlin published Jewish cantillations of the Holy Scriptures as well as motifs for the most common accent combinations which had been transcribed by his assistant, Johannes Böschenstein.[3] His source was the chants of Franconian and Upper Bavarian Jews of Western Ashkenasi tradition. In doing so, for the first time, Reuchlin correlated the living ethnological sources to the written accents. Reuchlin's interpretation, however, tends to reflect the musical norms of his epoch rather than reality, as he notes down each accent in four voices (see figure 1).

At the same time, the first attempts were made to compare Jewish with Christian chants. In Poland, Jerzy Liban compared the modes of the Church's musical system to the Hebrew accents.[4] In Italy, the German Jesuit, Athanasius Kircher, tried to reconstruct the ancient Hebrew melodies based on the melodic formulas for the accents of the Sephardi tradition.[5]

In England, above all, Arthur Bedford emphasised the relationship between Gregorian and Hebrew chants, and defended the purity of monodic Jewish psalmody against the influence of modern trends.[6]

Moreover, literary sources from the time of the Church Fathers were investigated to prove an affinity between Jewish and Christian chant. Manuel Gerbert, Abbot of St. Blasien, compiled the first detailed description of music in the Patristic era and its relation to Hebrew chant, based on the writings of Latin and Greek Church Fathers.[7] Up to the 20th century it was an important source for many authors after him.

At the turn of the 20th century attempts were made to investigate the musical-liturgical traditions of the entire Mediterranean. The rather idealistic, historicistical views of the Renaissance were by now obsolete. Using modern technologies, scholars tried to put research on a new, positivistic basis. The most important tool was the phonograph, and the Lithuanian cantor, Abraham Zwi Idelsohn, was one of the first people to employ it.

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3 Reuchlin, *De Accentibus.*
4 Liban, *De Accentuum.*
5 Kircher, *Musurgia.*
6 Bedford, *Temple Musick.*
7 Gerbert, *De cantu et musica.*

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FIGURE 1. Johannes Reuchlin, Ashkenasi accent motifs (16th century)

From: *De accentibus et orthographia linguae Hebraicae libri tres*, Hagenau 1518

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Idelsohn did pioneering work. With the help of the phonograph, he collected and transcribed hundreds of Jewish songs from the Jewish communities scattered all over the world. Idelsohn's systematic work brought Jewish songs within the reach of comparative musicology and paved the way for a quest for Jewish-Christian connections on a broad scale.[8] Idelsohn himself made the first contribution, for instance, with his discovery of melody parallels in Hebrew and Gregorian chant.[9]

Idelsohn may be considered the Nestor who firmly established Jewish musicology on a scientific basis. His work sparked off a wave of interest and inspired a series of successors, particularly Jewish scholars. An important milestone in comparative research after Idelsohn was the work of Eric Werner. Werner mainly refers to Gregorian, but also to Syrian, Byzantine, and Armenian chant. He compares the most important forms and the phenomena of liturgical practice in the synagogue and the Church – psalms, hymns, reading tones, modal systems, notations –, and in numerous publications he affirms the Jewish origin of Christian chant.[10]

Among Christians, the search for the Jewish roots of church songs intensified, too. In particular, Peter Wagner and Amédé Gastoué should be mentioned here in connection with the chants of the Roman Church. At first, Wagner was seeking an answer to the question of the relationship between Jewish and Gregorian chants on a historical level. On the basis of Idelsohn's investigations, he later proved a series of formulas and techniques in Gregorian chant, originating in the practice of the synagogue.[11] Gastoué correlated accents in Hebrew psalms to the corresponding Gregorian and Ambrosian melodies and discovered Jewish motifs in Christian melodies. For Jewish musical practice he revealed an eight-mode system analogous to the Roman Octoechos.[12]

Egon Wellesz revealed that there were, indeed, Jewish influences on the Byzantine repertoire. Some of the chants he accredited with being remnants of the Temple liturgy, or the liturgy of the early synagogue.[13] The investigator of By-

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[8] Idelsohn, *Melodienschatz.*
[9] Idelsohn, "Parallelen".
[10] His main publication is *The Sacred Bridge*, 1959.
[11] Wagner, *Einführung.*
[12] Gastoué, *L'origine*; *id.*, "Chant juif".
[13] Wellesz, *Eastern Elements*; *id.*, *History.*

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zantine notation, Carsten Høeg, made an attempt to correlate Hebrew to Byzantine lesson tones.[14]

Even though the methods changed and the wealth of sources increased more and more in the course of the time, motifs and goals remained unchanged: Scholars either tried to reconstruct biblical melodies or they tried to find parallels between Jewish and Christian songs, explaining them by means of genealogical derivation. Only the assumed place of origin of these phenomena, namely the liturgy of the Temple or the synagogue, was still worthy of discussion.

1. Problems of Research

Only in recent times, over 70 years after Idelsohn's first publications and 30 years after Werner's broad-based study, have studies been published on a larger scale which took up the cause of the comparative theme.[15] Meanwhile, it was high time that Jewish-Christian comparative music research was resumed, all the more so as research on Jewish history, Jewish music, and accentuation had made great progress in the last few decades, and had come up with results which challenged many conventional views. More recent research could be distinguished from older research, in particular, in two respects: 1. As for the relationship between the Temple and synagogue and their significance for the early Church, a new awareness of problems had emerged. 2. Research, initiated by Idelsohn, was continued, but was put on a new, methodological footing. Both points can be further illustrated as follows.

1.1. Temple, Synagogue, and Early Church

A precondition for any comparative research on Jewish and Christian music has always been the assumption of the existence of a direct line from synagogue to church, and from Temple to church, respectively. The Temple or

[14] Høeg, *Notation.*
[15] Flender, *Sprechgesang*, and Randhofer, *Psalmen.*

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synagogue were traditionally considered to be important sources of church music. Only in recent times has new insight been gained, which has shed new light on the relationship between Temple, synagogue, and the early Church.[16]

The Temple, built by King Solomon c. 1000 BC in Jerusalem, was the centre of the veneration of God by the people of Israel up to its final destruction by the Romans in 70 AD. Music played an important role in the Temple cult: According to biblical testimonies, it comprised a hierarchically structured, rigidly organised Temple music system with professional choirs as well as orchestras with a vast number of instruments. The Temple service culminated in an animal sacrifice which took place daily in the morning and evening. Here, the singing of psalms in the Temple is proven by diverse literary testimonies: during the liturgical act of animal sacrifice, the Temple choir sang a psalm accompanied by instruments. According to the Talmud, each day of the week required its own particular psalm.[17]

The final destruction of the Temple led to the dispersion of the Jewish people throughout the world, and the missing Temple was replaced by the synagogue. However, the origins of the synagogue, which were long associated with Babylonian exile, are – according to new insights – to be sought in later times instead. Although, the synagogue is referred to in the New Testament as a fixed institution, it represents a contrast to the Temple, at least in its contemporary form, and, thus, can hardly be a descendant of the Temple, but rather a new creation. The destruction of the Temple was a trauma that initiated a change in religious perception.[18] This change also found its expression in liturgical celebration: the professional, hierarchically structured Temple cult with its vast array of singers and instrumentalists, gave way to the purely vocal laymen's service of the synagogue. Centuries passed until a synagogue service with a fixed order became established; however, the ancient structures of the Temple service are lost forever. Thus, the music of the synagogue cannot be regarded as a continuation of the music of the Temple.

Given the dubiety of the synagogue in early Christian times, the synagogue as a source of Christian chants must be rather dubious as well: it was only over the centuries, after the destruction of the Temple, that a synagogal liturgy with

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[16] For background information on the following discussion, see McKinnon, "The Question of Psalmody".

[17] Talmud: Mishna Tamid VII,4.

[18] See Bultmann, *Urchristentum*, 70ff.

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a fixed order was established. As for the psalm, which had its fixed place in the Temple service but cannot be found in the synagogue before the 6th century, its role in the early period remains entirely unclear.[19] The same holds for Christian psalm usage: although the New Testament gives some hints on the performance of psalms, as they are part of the living creed of early Christian communities, an institutionalised usage of psalms only emerges in the course of the development of the Christian liturgy. As such, there is no evidence of the psalm before the 4th century. Thus, there is little proof of a direct correlation between the liturgy of the synagogue and the Church, in fact, just as little as the validity of the assumption of "Psalmengesang, der aus der synagogalen Praxis übernommen wurde" (singing of psalms taken from the synagogal practice).[20] Whoever wants to compare the psalm of the synagogue with that of the Church, should always be aware of the genesis of both institutions.[21]

1.2. Methodological Considerations

This paper is a new approach to a comparison of Jewish and Christian music, epitomising my large-scale study[22] based on fieldwork and research on the most important Christian and Jewish traditions. However, in contrast to older research, based on the widespread assumption that Christian music is the inheritor of ancient Jewish tradition, I have chosen to adopt a different approach:

1. In the past, the existence of parallels between Jewish and Christian songs was taken for granted. However, this is only one possible result; it cannot and must not simply be assumed. The historical existence of a Jewish-Christian connection must not necessarily hold for music, and particularly orally transmitted music is governed by factors far beyond historical dimensions.

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[19] See McKinnon, "The Question of Psalmody", and Smith, "First-Century Christian Singing".
[20] Scharnagl, *Einführung*, 28.
[21] This does not mean that, in the field of music, streams of transmission from Judaism to Christianity cannot possibly have existed; however, they are likely to be found outside the liturgy rather than in the field of institutionalised liturgy.
[22] Randhofer, *Psalmen.*

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2. Older research mostly haphazardly sought melodic parallels, relying heavily on the assumption that melodies must have migrated. The melodic element, however, is an unstable element, far more so than in oral traditions.[23] This is shown best by the Jewish traditions themselves: there are a large number of traditions today, not just one tradition; in the widely dispersed diaspora traditions the melodies are extremely divergent, and if there has ever been a primal tradition, then it is now completely beyond recognition. The same applies to Christianity which has, in the course of history, spread over a vast geographic area, split up into different churches, and conquered a multitude of cultures and languages. In addition to this is the complexity of religious musical practice, which has permeated the diverse liturgical and paraliturgical times and places and even enriched the plethora of musical phenomena. That, given this broad and differentiated spectrum, not a haphazard search, but only systematic investigation can yield significant results, was never respected in the past (see figure 2).

   Whether and how a relationship between Jewish and Christian chant can be proven in the light of the considerations mentioned above, can be substantiated in a convincing manner, at least methodologically. In any case, the analysis of a melody corpus of representative Jewish and Christian samples shows that melodies are, indeed, subject to change, that is, if they are comparable at all. The underlying structures, however, indicate relative stability. Therefore, comparisons are best made on a structural level, revealing the internal organisation of melodies.

3. The central aim of a comparative study should not be to discover parallels at all, but to first find an appropriate context for comparison and strictly define the means of comparison. Thus, I restricted my study to the music itself, i. e. mainly to ethnomusicological sources and, unlike older research, did not intermingle the different categories of sources, such as musical notations, oral transmissions, literary documents, and so on. I examined the melodies using purely musical criteria and structural analysis, first without paying attention to external factors such as the text or accents, and only

[23] A further sign of the relative instability of melodies was brought to light through Robert Lachmann's fieldwork among the Jews of the island of Djerba. The melodies seemed to change scale once they were sung at a different pitch. Someone belonging to the Western musical tradition would probably not hesitate to classify a change of scale as a decisive melodic transformation (Lachmann, "Gesänge", 46ff.).

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trying to correlate the musical material with text and accents in a subsequent step.

FIGURE 2. Jewish and Christian traditions

The Jewish Diaspora

Palestine

- *Ashkenasi communities of Western and Eastern Europe*
- *some communities in Italy*
- *community of Corfu*

Babylonia

Oriental communities
- Djerba
- Yemen
- Iraq
- Kurdistan
- India
- Ethiopia
- Persia and its provinces
  - o Bukhara
  - o Daghestan
  - o Azerbaijan
  - o Caucasia
  - o Afghanistan

Spanish-Sephardi communities
- Italy
- France
- Greece
- Balkan countries
- North Africa
- Turkey
- Syria
- Israel
- Amsterdam
- London

The Major Christian Churches

The nonChalcedonian Churches

Patriarchate of Antioch
- *Syrian churches*

Patriarchate of Alexandria
- *Coptic church*
- *Ethiopian church*

Armenian church

Byzantium

Patriarchate of Constantinople
- *Byzantine churches*

Rome

Patriarchate of Rome
- *Roman church*

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When creating a corpus of melodies, I considered two important aspects which were never considered in the past – namely restriction and systematics. As for restriction, I focused on the common denominator of Jewish and Christian repertories, i. e. the psalms. With regard to systematics, I collected psalms from the most important Jewish and Christian transmission groups: Jewish communities from Morocco, Tunesia, Djerba, Yemen, Iraq, Aserbeidjan, Italqim, Italy, and from Kurdish and several Sephardi and Ashkenasi transmission groups; and the Christian traditions of the Syrian Orthodox, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopian, Greek Orthodox, and Roman Church. In addition, I attached great importance to collecting psalms from different liturgical places and psalms rendered for different occasions.

I cannot go into detail about my choice of pieces and my method of analysis.[24] Therefore, I shall confine myself to presenting some representative samples as well as the main results of my investigation, starting with Jewish psalms, and then continuing with psalms in Christian traditions, and finally drawing some conclusions about the relationship or lack of a relationship between Jewish and Christian psalmody.

3. Psalms in Jewish Traditions

Two kinds of psalmody can be distinguished in present-day Jewish practices:

A series of psalms are bound to liturgy, thus holding a fixed place in the synagogue service, i. e. in the weekly obligatory prayer, at feasts, or on days of fasting and mourning. In the diverse communities the liturgical nexus may differ with regard to the psalms and the occasions. However, there are characteristic psalms or groups of psalms, obligatory in most of the communities, such as the group of *hallel* psalms Pss 114–119.[25]

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[24] The presentation of the examples below is a conclusion in itself; however, it does not show how this conclusion was drawn. For details on the analysis and its method see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 55–68. For information on the problem of melodic analysis, in general, see, above all, Arom, "Essaie"; *id.*, "Eléments"; *id.*, "New Perspectives"; Lortat-Jacob, "Quelques problèmes"; Ruwet, "Méthodes d'analyse".

[25] The numbering of all Jewish psalms in this article refers to the Masoretic numbering.

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Outside the synagogue, a cursory reading of the five books of the psalms is common practice. This is performed for private reasons, e. g. at somebody's sickbed, on the occasion of somebody's death, in times of distress and calamity, at new moon, in old people's day-care centres, and so on. This extraliturgical psalmody is cultivated in almost all Jewish communities.

The following four examples belong to the Iraqi, Yemenite, Kurdish, and Italo-Sephardi tradition, the Iraqi and Yemenite example representing the extraliturgical psalmody, and the other two the liturgical psalm of the synagogue. They should serve the purpose of briefly demonstrating the basic principles of Jewish psalmody.

3.1. The Yemenite Tradition

The Yemenite Jews do not distinguish between liturgical and extraliturgical psalmody. However, they practice a kind of weekday psalmody which, in terms of rank, corresponds to the extraliturgical psalmody. In its simplest form, the melody of this weekday tune merely consists of a single-part formula – not much more than an axis on one pitch with scanty ornamentation and a succinct final cadence – which, in accordance with the syntax of the verse, is applied to the psalmodic text until it has been sung to an end (see example 2).[26] Consequently, the *parallelismus membrorum*[27] of the verses is not reflected on the melody level: The single-part formula is laid upon the text in stereotypical fashion and may accompany a half verse (V.2.5.6) just as well as a third of the verse (V.1.3); even a whole verse, irrespective of the manner of its subdivision,

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[26] The example is based on a recording by Reinhard Flender, June 6, 1980. The informant is Efra'im Yaqub from the Hudjariya region of South Yemen (tape Y 1592 of the *National Sound Archives* Jerusalem). – In this, as well as in the following Jewish examples, the structure of the text is portrayed in a graphically simplified form. The end of each verse is marked with the sign ::, the subdivision into half verses with +, and the additional separation of a third with *. The melodic formula is scaled down to one single line which, in the rendition, slightly differs in each repetition, and is noted above the textual scheme. For a more detailed transcription and analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* I, 120; II, 68–71.

[27] The poetic form of the psalms is governed by a particular "thought-rhyme" in which two semantically related thoughts which resemble, complement, contrast, etc. with one another, are paired (e. g. Ps 1, 6: *For the Lord watches over the way of the righteous, but the way of*

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may be resumed under such a formula (V.4). An influence, on the part of the accents, is indiscernible.

EXAMPLE 2. Ps 1, Yemenite; weekday psalmody

1. ———— *
———— +
———— ::

2. ———— +
———— ::

3. ———— *
———— +
———— ::

4. ———— + ———— ::

5. ———— +
———— ::

6. ———— +
———— ::

3.2. The Iraqi Tradition

In contrast to the Yemenite example, the Iraqi psalmody has quite a stirring melody consisting of a number of melodic motifs or formulas, based on a dichotomous formula (see example 3).[28] This feature can be traced back to the influence of the accents.

The basic unit is the verse which is broken up into segments and structured in accordance with syntactic-poetic principles. The basic division follows the *parallelismus membrorum* which has two standard patterns, the dichotomous

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the wicked will perish). Metre in a strict sense, i. e. patterns of long and short syllables, is not used in psalms, but a line often has three to four stresses.

[28] The example is based on a recording by Solomon Rosowsky in 1934. The informant is Yehezkel Batat from Baghdad, Irak (tape Y 268 of the *National Sound Archives* Jerusalem). For a detailed analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 69–74; II, 8–11.

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and the trichotomous verse. The segmentation and structuring is determined by the hierarchically organised system of accents. The dividing and distinguishing function of the accents can be reproduced by voice flections based on a corresponding pool of melodic motifs and phrases. Each tradition has its own way of performing the accents musically. Some traditions know melodic motifs for a large number of accents, other traditions implement only two or three accents, or no accent at all, such as the Yemenite tradition. Of all the traditions, the Iraqi tradition implements the largest number of accents.

EXAMPLE 3. Ps 1, The Iraqi tradition; extraliturgical

1. * + ::
2. + ::
3. * + ::
4. + ::
5. + ::
6. + ::

3.3. The Kurdish Tradition

The example presented here is the beginning of Ps 24, as it is performed in the liturgy of *rōš ha-šanah*, the Jewish New Year (see example 4).[29] Again, the tune is based on a single-part formula, this time a slightly curved one which culminates in a final melisma. The textual perception corresponds to that of the Yemenite psalm: the single-part formula is applied to the text in a stereotype

[29] The example is based on a recording by Reinhard Flender, March 27, 1979. The informant is Yusuf Asuri from Bokan, Iran (tape Y 3253 of the *National Sound Archives* Jerusalem). For a detailed analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 137f.; II, 100–103.

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way, which means that the parallelism of the verse is not realised. Thus, irregularities may well occur: in v.1, for example, the formula does not coincide with the first third of the verse, but overlaps it, ending in the second third. In v. 2, in turn, the second half verse is divided once more by the repetition of the formula.

EXAMPLE 4. Ps 24, 1–5, Kurdish/Iran; *rōš ha-šanah* service

3.4. The Sephardi Tradition of Italy

Ps 92 is performed at the beginning of the Shabbat service.[30] This time, the psalm tone model of the Italo-Sephardi example (see example 5) consists of two formulas A–B, which are applied to the text following a regular pattern.[31]

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[30] Ps 92 has been proven to be used in the Temple liturgy, occupying the same place and having the same function (Elbogen, *Gottesdienst*, 108f. 112f.).

[31] The example is based on a recording by Leo Levi from 1954. The informant is Fernando Belgrado who represents the Sephardi tradition of Florence (tape Y 140 of the *National Sound Archives* Jerusalem). For a detailed analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 126f.; II, 82f.

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Here, too, the poetic parallelism is by no means respected; apparently the formula can only be applied to the verses up to a certain point depending on the text: though text level and melody level are congruent in most cases due to the predominant dichotomy of the verses, the two-part formula A–B also serves to realise three-part verses as it may be shortened and applied to the first third of the verse (V.8.10).

EXAMPLE 5. Ps 92, 4–10, Sephardi/Florence; Shabbat service

4. ________ + ________ ::

5. ________ + ________ ::

6. ________ + ________ ::

7. ________ + ________ ::

8. ____________________ *
________ + ________ ::

9. ________ + ________ ::

10. ____________________ *
________ + ________ ::

3.5. Results

One of the first results concerns the reference to the accents: structural analysis proves that some of the psalms – the psalms in the synagogue service, represented in this paper by the Kurdish and the Sephardi psalm – obviously do not refer to the accents; their melodies are purely based on oral transmission. The other psalms – psalms outside the liturgy for private occasions – in general make reference to the accentuation, as seen in the Iraqi psalm, even though the different communities differ considerably with regard to the number of accents

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performed, and the way of performing them.[32] The Iraqi tradition employs the highest number of accents, whereas in the Yemenite psalm, presented here, the accents are not respected at all.

An examination of both liturgical and extraliturgical psalms, using purely musical criteria, shows that they do not differ in their basic musical essence – a simple model underlays both of them which consists, in general, of no more than one or two musical units.

In the liturgical psalm this model emerges in the purest form. It is continually repeated, and is loosely connected to the syntax of the text, but is not necessarily bound to the parallelism of the verses as indicated by the accents. The model corresponds to the basic units of the psalm, i. e. the verse and the dichotomy, but does not necessarily coincide with them. Text and melody constitute two different levels which basically function independently of one another. Each individual model is connected to a psalm or a small group of psalms intended for a strictly defined place and occasion in worship.

In the extraliturgical psalm, however, a simple model is incorporated, but seems to be superposed by the accents. All of the additional material used for performing the accents can be deduced from the material of this underlying model, and all the material coincides with the verse and its subdivisions. The extraliturgical psalmody is a technique of singing all 150 psalms with the help of the accents.

The technique can be derived from the model, but not vice versa. This suggests that the model represents an older type of psalmody, and the technique of singing according to accents is a more recent practice. Therefore, the accents cannot be a descriptive notation serving to preserve old melodies, as is often assumed, but rather a prescriptive notation which, among other things, helps structure the text. This assumption is further supported by extramusical facts, for example, Tiberian accentuation came into being much later – between 600 and 900 AD. At this time, the awareness of the irreversibility of the loss of the Temple and that of Israel's national existence led to people turning to the scriptures and, as a consequence, to their codification and philological editing, the accents being part of it. Singing according to the accents, however, never really penetrated the psalms in the synagogue, but remained confined to the private sphere. The psalmody of the synagogue preserves the older melody models.

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[32] For a discussion of this issue in greater detail see Randhofer, "Psalmen", 51ff.

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Furthermore, the psalm-bound model is in conformity with psalm titles which seem to refer to melody models.[33] Similar indications of melodies are to be found in Babylonian cuneiform texts,[34] the oldest manuscripts being of Syrian Christian hymns.[35]

The dichotomous verse form, characteristic of the psalm, is likewise a phenomenon which raises questions, for it is the undivided single-part formula and not the two-part formula which seems to represent an archetype:

1. In most traditions, dichotomous formulas can be traced back to single-part formulas that have been expanded and turned into dichotomy, e. g. by doubling a simple formula using two different final notes for each part.
2. Significantly, the single-part model prevails in peripheral areas and retreat areas, such as Yemen and the Kurdish areas of Iraq and Iran. The Kurdish Jews have settled – since the days of Babylonian captivity in "Kurdistan" – in a mountain area populated by Kurdish tribes, where nowadays the corners of five countries meet: Turkey, Syria, Iraq, Iran, and Russia. The inaccessability of the mountains made the region an area of cultural regression; thus the Kurdish Jews have been able to preserve, among other things, the Aramaic language which was spoken in Babylon at the time of Babylonian exile.[36] The Jewish colonisation of Yemen has yet to be settled. The Yemenite Jews can trace themselves back to a Jewish community which had migrated to Yemen even before the days of Babylonian exile. It is a fact that the Yemenite Jewish tradition has preserved a series of archaic features. For example, only in Yemen are female choirs to be found which have preserved the art of antiphonal singing;[37] in addition the Yemenite Jews have

[33] Nearly all of the Hebrew psalms have a title. Often the titles provide information on the type of composition and also indicate a musical direction. Some titles seem to refer directly to the melody to which a particular psalm was to be sung, such as "according to *The Hind of the Dawn*" (Ps 22); "according to *Lilies*" (Ps 45.69), "according to *The Dove on Far-off Terebinths*" (Ps 56), or "according to *Do Not Destroy*" (Ps 57–59.75).

[34] In Babylonian hymns musical information is given by means of headings and colophons (Kilmer, "Mesopotamien", 137ff.).

[35] In the oldest manuscripts, the hymns by Ephrem the Syrian are indicated by a stichon similar to the Hebrew psalm titles, such as "according to *The Flock of Bardaisan*" (Beck, "Ephräms des Syrers Hymnik", 349).

[36] For the music of the Kurdish Jews see Gerson-Kiwi, "Music of the Kurdistan Jews", 59–72. A unique ethnological/anthropological study of the Kurdish Jews was provided by Brauer, *Jews of Kurdistan*.

[37] The singing in an antiphonal style, carried out by two groups alternating with each other, is an archaic performance practice which has already been proven to have been used by the

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retained specific vocal aesthetics which is also to be found in the singing of other archaic cultures such as the religious chants of the Samaritans, or the Vedic chants of the Indian Hindu priests.

The textual and melodic levels of the psalms are not necessarily coincident, and musical dichotomy, or parallelism, seems to be a secondary phenomenon which often occurs without direct reference to textual parallelism. A series of arguments speak in favour of the single-part formula being older than the two-part one. This finding leads to the assumption that at one time an "epic" rather than a "psalmodic" style underlay the recitation of the psalms – the original perception of the psalmodic text is one of a text to be read.[38]

4. Psalms in Christian Traditions

While in the Western Church psalmody had been systematically expanded, the psalms in the Eastern Churches had been abandoned in the course of the time and replaced by a rich and differentiated repertoire of hymns. Nevertheless, none of these churches wanted to entirely abandon psalms, and – particularly in

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choirs of Greek as well as Jewish antiquity, and also for the chant in the Temple of Jerusalem (see Nowacki, "Antiphon", 637f.). Judaism itself has abandoned antiphonal singing; out of all of the Jewish traditions it has been cultivated until today solely by the Yemenite woman (for the songs of the Yemenite women see Gerson-Kiwi, "Women's Songs").

[38] Investigations show that not only liturgical psalms are based on single-part formulas, but that, in most cases, the extraliturgical psalmody, which is generally based on the dichotomic formula, can also be traced back to the single-part formula (for a survey of the psalm tune models of the most important Jewish traditions see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 140–148). The myth of the double tenor, distributed over two half verses, thus incarnating the psalmodic pattern par excellence – time and again was adduced to prove Christian adoptions from Jewish repertoire – is put into perspective by this observation (the double tenor, for example, is to be found in archaic psalm tunes of the Roman Church, as well as in Ps 113 *In exitu Israel* [numbering according to LXX] at Easter. Here it is designated by the term *tonus peregrinus* [for a detailed study on *tonus peregrinus* see Erbacher, *Tonus Peregrinus*]). The musical parallelism seems, on the contrary, to be a secondary phenomenon which may have emerged under the influence of the poetic structure of the text. However, in many cases, it occurs independently of the text (for the double tenor see Gerbert, *De cantu et musica*, 3. 5; Gastoué, *L'origine*, 114; Werner, *Sacred Bridge*, 419. 430, annot. 30. 466. 485, annot. 21–22. 502; Gerson-Kiwi, "Justus ut palma", 70; Herzog/Hajdu, "A la recherche", 194–203. supplement, 1–15).

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the monastic hours – psalms could still hold their ground despite all of the restrictions.

An analysis of the Christian psalms cannot be discussed in greater detail here owing to a lack of space.[39] Besides, each of the Christian traditions are very individual, and the impression of independent and self-contained traditions prevails, by far, over that of possible commonalities. There is also no evidence of unchanged Jewish melodies being transmitted to Christians. Nonetheless, some Christian traditions have a certain affinity with Jewish traditions on a general, formal level. In the following, I intend to expose specific features of Christian psalm tunes using three examples which are representative of numerous other possible examples. They are taken from the West Syrian, Greek Orthodox, and Coptic repertoire.

4.1. The West Syrian Church of Antioch

The Syrian Christians originate in one of the neighbouring cultures of Ancient Israel, namely the Aramaeans. Their church language is based on Aramaic which was, from the 4th century BCE, the international *lingua franca* of the Ancient Near East and was spoken by both the Jews and Jesus.

In the past, the Syrian Church was the most important and influential of all Christian religious bodies. Its patriarchate, Antioch, was the first refuge of the early Judeo-Christian communities when fleeing Jerusalem, and the apostolic seat on the authority of St. Peter. The first missionary journeys to the East and West started out from Antioch. In the early Christian centuries, the Syrian Church conquered a vast administrative area stretching from Egypt to India and China. Later, however, it lost a considerable amount of territory. In addition to this, it broke away from the early Church community at an early stage as well as experiencing a series of smaller schisms. Only a small branch of the Syrian Church, namely the West Syrian Church, has abided by Antioch until today.[40]

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[39] For a detailed survey see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 149ff.; II, 108ff.

[40] In the 6th century the West Syrian Church was reorganised by Jacob Burdono (Baradai) of Edessa and named the "Jacobite Church" after him – a term, however, which is not used by the church itself.

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Due to the missionary activities and the expansion of this supranational church, the Syrian Church played an important role as a mediator between Asia and Europe – between the East and West. Also of special interest is its Primary Christian, Semitic character which has been preserved especially by the West Syrian tradition. With regard to their music, until this very day; according to tradition, the liturgical melodies have been transmitted orally, as is the case in Judaism.

The type of psalmody that we encounter in the West Syrian Church will be introduced in the next example: Ps 4, sung at the close of the day in the compline service on Sundays in Lent (see example 6).[41]

EXAMPLE 6. Ps 4, West Syrian (compline on Sundays in Lent)

This example, clearly exhibits the characteristics of nearly all West Syrian psalm tunes, namely the arch-shaped melody, here – at its apex – divided into two parts by a caesura. The convexity of the melodic curve may be to a greater or lesser extent pronounced, the melody somewhat embellished, and the middle cadence somewhat pronounced – the principle remains the same.

A West Syrian psalm tune is applied to the text in the same way as in the Jewish liturgical psalms: mechanically, not necessarily observing the parallelism, and without paying strict respect to the boundaries of the verse. Of all Christian psalm tunes, only the Syrian tune observes this concept of textual perception which is epic rather than poetic, and is also to be found in the Jewish psalms. In particular, the Syrian psalm corresponds with the Kurdish Jewish psalm and its curved melodic shape. This similarity need not necessarily be the result of a borrowing, but may be explained in terms of a shared cultural milieu: both Kurdish Jews and Syrian Christians are settled in the northern Mesopotamian area and share, what is more, the same language traceable back to an Aramaic

[41] The example is based on my own recording, made in Jerusalem on November 22, 1994. The informant is Reverend Shemun Can of St. Mark's Monastery in Jerusalem. He represents the West Syrian tradition of Turabdin in South-east Turkey. For a detailed analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* I, 157–159; II, 112f.

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dialect. The arch-like formula may also be explained as the vestige of an ancient Mesopotamian melody model.

4.2. The Greek Orthodox Church

Though Byzantium, later Constantinople and the centre of the East Roman Empire, it was not the oldest patriarchate. It soon became the most powerful patriarchate in the East and pushed Antioch into the background. Nonetheless, the Byzantine transmission itself is fundamentally influenced by the Syrian one. These influences have been proven in terms of liturgy and poetry, but they may apply to the music as well.

Like the Roman Church, the Byzantine Church proceeded to write down its melodies. However, in the course of history, the transmission of its repertoire was twice disrupted. The first disruption in the 8th century was as a result of iconoclasm. The prohibition of a visual representation of deity and saints led to the destruction of numerous illuminated manuscripts with dramatic consequences not only for Christian art but for music as well. The earliest musical notations known to us date from the 9th/10th century.[42] The second disruption took place with the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 AD, which led to the collapse of the millennial Byzantine Empire.

After the fall of the Empire the Church had to reorganise itself. The post-Byzantine era witnessed the growth of new centres on Mount Athos, Crete, the Ionian Islands, and Thessaloniki. There, the liturgical chant flourished once more; the melodies, however, are no longer the traditional ones, even though they are often based on the old repertoire. Now they are predominately new compositions and are frequently anonymous.[43] Today, in Greek Orthodox churches and monasteries, music is to be heard from the post-Byzantine period because the melodies of the old Byzantine repertoire declined after the collapse of the empire.

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[42] Written notations of the psalmodic melodies are not to be found until much later, namely in manuscripts from the 14th century. From this, it may be concluded that, before that, psalms were performed according to simple models which did not require written codification.

[43] For a detailed discussion of this topic see Conomos, "Change", and Dragoumis, "Survival".

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The following example is a part of Ps 51 (50) in the 8th mode. The psalm is one of the psalms for the *commune sanctorum* (Common of the Saints) and is sung in the Greek as well as in the Roman and Syrian Church at the beginning of the *orthros*, the monastic morning prayer, performed by a choir of monks (see example 7).[44]

While the examples presented so far show a recurring psalm tune formula, the Greek psalm presents a completely different picture. On closer inspection, one gains the impression of three or four underlying two-part formulas, once more being broken into four parts and, in each line, combined in a different manner, so that we have, if we consider the psalm as a whole, several initial motifs, several final cadences, etc. Each of the melodic lines, that have thus emerged, accompanies one verse – this time text and melody are strictly related to one another, in contrast to the liturgical Jewish and Syrian Christian psalms.

But the possibilities of a combination of the fragments are not entirely free and arbitrary – they do, in fact, follow their own rules. There are, for example, preferential combinations, but also non-combinations: relative freedom of combination is predominant among the inner fragments, which may also change place with each other; stabilising elements, however, are attached to positions – for instance, final cadences are always in final position and cannot occupy an initial position. Greek hymns, for example, have abandoned this attachment to positions in favour of free combinations. In this regard, the Greek psalm is conservative and still keeps the subliminal oral model as we know it from Jewish and Syrian Christian tradition.

Several melodic units have a function or position in a psalm. This is a novelty which has not emerged in the examples presented so far. This fragmentation of structure is not to be found in oral traditions and may be explained by the penetration of writing into a primarily oral tradition. Oral thinking is inextricably linked to economy, whereas written codification may lead to an uneconomic transformation of the oral laws of form. In the case of Greek psalms, writ-

[44] The transcription is based on a recording of a solemn *Orthros* (morning service) in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem by Uri Epstein in 1982. The *Orthros* took place on the occasion of the anniversary of the enthronement of the Greek-Orthodox patriarch (tape Yc 1911 of the *National Sound Archives* Jerusalem). The practice of *Ison* has not been respected in the transcription. Corresponding melodic material is marked with corresponding frames. For a detailed analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 219–223.

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ten codification leads to a gradual disengagement from the traditional, orally transmitted models, paving the way for free and individual compositions.

EXAMPLE 7. Ps 52, Greek-Orthodox, 8th mode

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καὶ ἡ ἁμαρτία μου — ἐνώπιόν μού ἐστιν διὰ παντός

ὅπως ἂν δικαιωθῇς ἐν τοῖς λόγοις σου — καὶ νικήσῃς ἐν τῷ κρίνεσθαί σε

καὶ ἐν ἁμαρτί- αις — ἐκίσσησέν με ἡ μήτηρ μου

τὰ ἄδηλα καὶ τὰ κρύφια — τῆς σοφίας σου ἐδήλωσάς μοι

πλυνεῖς με — καὶ ὑπὲρ χιόνα λευκανθήσομαι

ἀγαλλιάσονται ὀστῆ- α — τεταπεινωμέ- να

καὶ πά- σας — τὰς ἀνομίας μου ἐξάλειψον

καὶ πνεῦ- μα — εὐθὲς ἐγκαίνισον ἐν τοῖς ἐγκά- τοις μου

καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα σου τὸ ἅγιον μή — ἀντανέλῃς ἀπ' ἐμοῦ

καὶ πνεύ- ματι — ἡγεμονικῷ στήριξόν με

καὶ ἀσεβεῖς — ἐπὶ σὲ ἐπιστρέψουσιν

With some modifications, this characteristic of the Greek psalm is shared by the psalms of the Roman Church.[45] Like the Byzantine Church, the latter proceeded to write down its chants. Besides the above-mentioned normal relation between text and melody, both Greek and Roman chant show a reflexion and interpretation of the text through music. Likewise, this is not typical of oral traditions; it presupposes written codification. Written codification creates the distance which ultimately gives rise to reflections.[46] In conjunction with this, another methodological mistake made by earlier researchers should be mentioned here: the unawareness of the fundamental differences between orality and literacy and their implications. Basically, the different Jewish as well as Christian traditions must have handed down their melodies in a rather indistinct form – via oral transmission. Some of the traditions, however, took the form of written codification. Which consequences this may have for the melodies, has never been taken into consideration in past comparisons of Jewish and Christian chants.

* * * *

Here is an appropriate place to summarise the different types of psalms we have encountered up until now. The examples given here come from the Jewish, Syrian Christian, and Greek Byzantine area; the Gregorian psalm falls into the same category, and in a way the Armenian psalm, too.[47] All these examples belong to a transmission area which comprises Asia and Europe, and which I wish to refer to as the *Panasian transmission group* in the following section. For all these transmissions, it holds true that the musical form finds its equivalent in the text even though these equivalents vary depending on whether we are dealing with oral or literal transmission.

Orally transmitted psalm tunes, such as the liturgical psalm of the synagogue and the psalm of the Syrian Church, show formal correspondences between the textual and musical level – in terms of form, the unit of verse corres-

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[45] This does not mean the standardised psalm tune formulas, but the complex "compositions", such as tracts, graduals, etc.

[46] For the relationship between orality and literacy see, in particular, Assmann/Hardmeier, *Schrift und Gedächtnis*, and Assmann, "Schrift, Tradition und Kultur".

[47] Space does not permit the incorporation of an example of the Armenian tradition. For this, see Randhofer, *Psalmen* I, 168ff.; II, 126ff.

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ponds to the single-part formula, and the parallelistic two-part verse to the dichotomous formula. Both levels, however, represent independent items which are adjusted to one another in a secondary reference.

The fragmentation of an oral model and the orientation towards the text and its interpretation can be recognised in the Byzantine and Roman repertoire. In both cases, writing has found access to the oral transmission, picking up oral transmission, but at the same time elaborating on it, proceeding with it – "literalising" it. This results in a break in tradition whereby the boundaries of oral culture are being transgressed. However, the typical structure of oral thinking remains, quasi in the form of a substrate, evident under the surface of literacy.

It is mainly this characteristic organising form which interconnects Christian and Jewish traditions. We may assume that the Jewish people and owners of the scriptures are at least one of the factors giving momentum to the Christian psalmodic chant. From this source emanations went out, spreading all over the Panasian group of traditions. Whether these emanations always took the direct route, cannot be determined precisely. Historically, the relationship of the Syrian Church to the Byzantium empire and Rome has also been authenticated, and it is highly likely that an Oriental psalm tune model found its way to the Byzantium empire and Europe via the Syrian Church.

4.3. The Coptic Church

That psalmodic text and psalmodic chant appear to correspond on a formal level, may sound banal. However, the fact that this cannot be taken for granted and that entirely different concepts are possible as well, is attested by our last example, a Coptic psalm.

The existence of the Christians along the Nile may be traced back to the Ancient Egyptians, Christianised by the apostle St. Mark. Their patriarchate, Alexandria, is the oldest patriarchate apart from Antioch. The term "Copts" is the Arabised form of *aigyptos*, the Greek name for the Egyptians (= arab. *al-Qibṭ*), and their church language, Coptic, is a continuation of Ancient Egyptian.

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Evidence of Ancient Egyptian influence is to be found in sacral art and cult symbolism.[48]

The example, presented here, is an Easter psalm which is sung throughout Holy Week in the 6th and 12th hour before the Gospel reading, every day with a different text. The tune of the psalm is named *laḥn 'idrībī* and is considered to be an expression of grief over Jesus' death on the cross; it is also used on burial grounds (see example 8).[49]

EXAMPLE 8. Coptic Easter psalm – *'laḥn 'idrībī'*

	1st complex						
	I a b	II a b	III	IV	V	VI	VII
A1	O ______ ___	ogmakario_ ____	os pe	piromi ___ ______	____ ______	______ ______	______ ______
A2	epso ___ ___	očni ente ___ ___	enia	sebis ___ ______	______ ______	______ ______	______ ______
B 1							
B 2							
A3	ogde ___ ___	ompefhemsi he__	etkathe	dera ente _ ______	______ ______	______ ______	______ ______

[48] Hammerschmidt, *Symbolik*, 174ff.

[49] The example is based on my own recording made in Cairo on June 24, 1994. The informant is Malak Ayad, Coptic Patriarchate in Cairo. For a detailed analysis see Randhofer, *Psalmen* I, 186–194f. Owing to a lack of space, a reproduction of the transcription of the melody was impossible. For the full transcription see Randhofer, *Psalmen* II, 146–159.

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The concept represented by the tune of this psalm is quite unique, at least among Jewish and Christian psalmodic traditions. If at all, the Ethiopian psalm is comparable to it, though the latter is of much smaller dimensions.[50] The transmission of Coptic music is purely oral. However, in contrast to the familiar, simple oral psalm tune model, the Coptic Easter psalm has a monumental and architectonically complex form, operating with techniques such as the addition of formulas, segmentations, symmetries, repetitions, partial repetitions, the structuring of tonal space, melody and rhythm, specific forms of melodic ornamentation, overlappings, mnemotechnical means, and so on.

2nd complex					3rd complex		
VIII	IX	X	XI	XII	XIII a b	XIV	XV
ente empe __	____	____	___ efse χen psočni	Allelouia			
ogde empef _	____	____	___ ohi eratf	Allelouia	hi ___		
					— —		
					—	____	___ efmoit ente
					ni ___		
					—	______	___ refernobi
niloimos alla _	____	____	___ ere pefgoš	Allelouia.			

[50] An example of the Ethiopian tradition could not be included here as well; for this, see Randhofer, *Psalmen* 1, 201–212.; II, 162–169.

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Each psalmodic text is a short passage, merely consisting of a few words whereas the sung passage lasts for over 10 minutes. This is due to the large number of supplementary syllables – *a*, *owo*, *e*, or *eye* depending on the phonetic environment – being strung together and inserted between the text syllables themselves. We are familiar with the phenomenon of supplementary, or nonsense syllables from other archaic cultures, such as the Samaritans or the Vedic songs of the Hindus. The underlying meaning of this well-intended textual interference has been demonstrated in a comparative study, carried out by Edith Gerson-Kiwi: it is all about the attempt to destroy the logical order of the text and return to pure emotion, which is carried by the melody. The liberation of the music from the literal sphere is the pivotal step into the world of the sacral, of the non-intelligible, of that which eludes meaning – into the realms of mystery as it was experienced in primeval times.[51] By this alone – not by turning towards God through the prism of the word, but by the destruction of the word, by experiencing this mystery in an irrational way, devoid of words – the Copt experiences an encounter with God.

Musical forms such as the Coptic Easter psalm represent a totally different kind of orality – a most elaborate form of orality, entirely uncoupled from the text and obviously of purely musical origin.[52] A search for the possible sources of such an orally organised form leads us to the Ancient Egyptian ground on which the Coptic tradition grew up. For the comparative liturgy, Anton Baumstark has established "das Gesetz von der Erhaltung des Alten in liturgisch hochwertiger Zeit" (the law of the preservation of older features in times of liturgically higher dignity).[53] This law has often been uncritically applied to sacred music by musicologists; in particular the relation between paschal music and its presumable roots in the synagogue has often been rather strained. It is safe to say, however, that the Coptic *laḥn 'idrībī* represents an Easter psalm which has not been modelled along the lines of Jewish psalms. If we still wish to apply Baumstark's law we may presume, in tunes like *laḥn 'idrībī,* the existence of a stratum of Ancient Egyptian music. This is all the more likely as there is evidence of the return of Coptic culture to Pharaonic sources at least in

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[51] Gerson-Kiwi, "Der Sinn des Sinnlosen".

[52] A form such as the one presented here can be explained by the high dignity of its place in liturgy. Coptic psalms of a low liturgical rank have much simpler forms.

[53] Baumstark, "Das Gesetz der Erhaltung des Alten".

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some areas. However, finding conclusive proof of this music is very difficult, as little research has been done on the Coptic repertoire so far.

Conclusion

This short overview of Jewish and Christian psalms suffices to prove that it is not possible to unconditionally presume a certain continuity from Jewish to Christian psalms. Nothing can be found which connects every Jewish and Christian psalm tradition, and it is quite obvious that, regardless of the historical context, a series of factors must have come together ensuring that Jewish seed could not be propagated incessantly, and that it bore new fruits of different shapes. In some cases, relationships between Jewish and Christian chant may well exist, even though they might seem rather sublime. In others, above all, the impression of strangeness prevails due to the diversity of the musical manifestations. This raises some new questions, leading us to think over many an old answer.

For example, according to current research, the transfer of Jewish psalmody to Christians via the synagogue is unlikely today; the role of the synagogue is viewed in a far more differentiated light than in the past, and similarly the "Sitz im Leben" of Jewish psalmody itself is too differentiated to justify a continuity between Jewish and Christian chant on the basis of random comparisons. On the contrary, more attention should be paid to the fact that Christianity penetrated into various linguistic and cultural areas and, consequently, could develop specific peculiarities. In any case, it must be assumed that every Christian tradition is also rooted in the underlying cultural ground – Ancient Egyptian, Mesopotamian, Hellenistic, etc. – and is based on already existent traditions.

One factor, which has never been taken into consideration before but which – in the light of modern research – is now coming more and more to the fore, is the question of orality and literacy as well as their interrelationship. It has been proven that oral transmissions are, indeed, subject to change, but – as a rule – change takes place gradually and in accordance with the oral laws of form. Written codification, however, can lead to the fragmentation of what were originally oral models and, consequently, to radical transformations. In neither of the two cases can we expect the melodies to reflect the earliest stages of trans-

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mission; therefore, a search for the survival of melodies from biblical times is likely to be in vain.

In contrast, internal structures – models – are stable. In this field we can ascertain, as the examples presented here suggest, commonalities over a large area in Jewish as well as in Christian traditions. In accordance with their internal structures they may be divided in two major groups: a Panasiatic and an African transmission group. The Panasiatic group incorporates all of the Jewish traditions and the Syrian-Christian, Armenian, Greek, and Latin tradition; the African group consists of the Coptic and Ethiopian tradition. Both transmission groups transmit their melodies orally, at least they did originally, but differ in their mode of oral organisation.

1. The Panasiatic group is characterised by some sort of orality which seems to be shaped by the text itself, and which I, therefore, wish to call *secondary orality*: The basic forms of poetical and syntactical verse structure, i. e. the verse and parallelism, also shape the musical form and are equivalent in single-part or dichotomous melodic structures.

   Pure and oral melody models seem to be older. The single-part formula, not the dichotomous formula, seems to be the archetype among them, and proves the existence of an originally epic perception of the psalmodic text. Models can often be traced back to single-part formulas. Pure single-part formulas are to be found in sequestered and inaccessible areas such as Yemen and the Kurdish regions, but also in the psalms of the Syrian-Christians who originate in the Kurdish area. In addition, Syrian-Christian and Kurdish psalms are interconnected through further commonalities in melodic shape; of all the Jewish and Christian traditions, they are most closely related to one another.

   In Jewish repertoire such individual models are connected with liturgical psalms, but they are also hidden in extraliturgical psalmody. Here, however, they are structurally bound to the accents. Among the Christian psalms, only the Syrian psalms are based on pure models and therefore do not differ from the Jewish liturgical psalms in terms of structure. These pure models are to be found as a primary layer in Greek and Latin psalms, being covered by a secondary layer of literal processing.

   Since these organising principles, on the one hand, delimitate themselves from the African group, but, on the other hand, are interconnected over large spacial as well as temporal distances – notwithstanding their mode of

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transmission – depending on their age and geographic origin, they point to the eastern part of the Ancient Orient, i. e. to Ancient Israel and the surrounding area.

2. The African group, with the Ethiopian and the Coptic tradition, is characterised by an entirely different kind of orality which I would like to label *primary orality*. Ethiopian and Coptic psalms manifest what was obviously originally musical orality, uncoupled from the text and having highly complex forms whose architecture has no connection at all with the text. On the contrary, it deliberately interferes with the text, and – in the case of Coptic solemn psalms – no longer requires a text at all.

   Since this concept characterises both the Ethiopian and the Coptic tradition and is not shared by the Panasiatic group, the question arises as to whether or not it originates in Ancient Egypt and its surroundings.

The division of the traditions into two transmission groups with regard to their oral mode of transmission indicates the existence of a very old culture-bond. Instead of melodic parallels or chanting marks, layers of transmission from the Ancient Near East seem to have survived in the form of these characteristic organising structures – in some cases, they might be from Ancient Egypt, in others they are certainly from Ancient Israel.

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Blending Particularism, Comparativism, and Synthesis – A Philologist's Musings on Near Eastern Archaeomusicology and Its Tasks

Hugh R. Page, Jr.

It was a pleasure to be part of the panel discussion on archaeomusicology held at the 2001 ICTM conference in Rio de Janeiro, particularly given the importance of the subject matter and its bearing on the study of the ancient Near East. I am sure that more than a few of my colleagues in Theology, biblical studies, Ugaritology, and Assyriology, might be inclined to ask, "Just what exactly is Near Eastern archaeomusicology?" Even after having been given the concise definition provided by Dr. Burgh at the beginning of this session's proceedings, I suspect that their general sense just might be that this is a tangential rather than a mainstream endeavor – i. e., one that does not have the implicit value of research firmly grounded in either the study of texts or physical artifacts. This opinion would be quite wrong because, as the three papers presented at this groundbreaking colloquy make abundantly clear, Near Eastern archaeomusicology is not a marginal, "orphaned" sub-discipline of archaeology, musicology, or biblical studies. It is an example of the creative reconfiguration of disciplinary boundaries that has for some time now been part of the Humanities and Social Sciences.[1] It is one of many new and emerging meta-fields whose methodological foundation is an amalgam made up of resources drawn from

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[1] For illuminating discussions of changes that have expanded the boundaries and altered the configuration of one discipline – anthropology – see Bernard, *Handbook*; Ellis / Bochner, "Talking"; Denzin, *Interpretive Ethnography*; and Goodall, *Writing*. See Jones' ethnographic notes on women's music in an alternative venue for an example of recent trajectories in social scientific inquiry and reporting (*Kaleidoscope Notes*). Kuznar offers an apologia for incorporating these transgressive approaches within an anthropological enterprise that retains its rigor and scientific focus (*Reclaiming*).

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the toolkit typically employed by anthropologists, ethnomusicologists, cultural historians, archaeologists, philologists, and a host of others.[2] Its subject matter – the musical culture of the peoples of the ancient Near East – demands of all who study it a staggering array of technical proficiencies.[3] Moreover, it requires an ability to formulate hypotheses that enable one to reconstruct plausible visions of ancient societies and the place that music occupied in them from discrete assemblages of texts, artifacts, and iconographic depictions. It is, in sum, a discipline in its own right, one whose universe of discourse is every bit as demanding as that of classical philology or archaeology.

The convener and members of the panel, have each made, either in their presentations at the ICTM session or by means of work done prior to this occasion, noteworthy contributions to this field and are, thereby, setting an ambitious agenda for it in this new millennium. Burgh's investigations of gender roles, spatial usage, and the theological import of instrumentation in biblical texts; Braun's pioneering research on the musical culture of ancient Israel/Palestine; Dever's essay on the role of cross-cultural studies in Near Eastern archaeology; and Randhofer's examination of the ritual use of music in Jewish and Christian liturgical observances illustrate the vitality and diversity characteristic of this field.

If we accept as an essential maxim that philologists, archaeologists, Bible scholars and others with an interest in any aspect of the ancient world must be in some sense *ethnologists of antiquity*, then the holistic and synthetic work undertaken by Near Eastern archaeomusicologists is actually *paradigmatic* and

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[2] Cultural Studies is an excellent example of one of these new meta-fields. For a surprisingly good, at some points irreverent, introduction to this area suitable for popular and specialist audiences, see Sardar / Van Loon, *Introducing*. The disciplinary boundaries of Biblical studies are expanding so rapidly that it is fast becoming a meta-field that includes not just the study of Bible itself, but its use in cultural formation and identity construction as well. Furthermore, the critical analysis of the discipline and its pivotal figures is seen increasingly as a central, rather than secondary, part of the biblical scholar's agenda. See the work of Blount, *Cultural Interpretations*; Kirk-Duggan, *Refiner's Fire*; Long, *Planting*; Segovia, *Decolonizing*; *The Bible and Culture Collective*; and Wimbush, *African Americans* for examples of this new wave of research.

[3] Archaeological *praxis* has, in fact, become a multi-dimensional enterprise that demands investigative skills, hermeneutical sophistication, and an ability to use physical remains, texts, and an assortment of interpretive models to sketch portraits of institutional and daily life in antiquity. Levy's apologia for a contextual archaeology of Syria-Palestine is an excellent example of this new thrust in the discipline (*Archaeology*, xi–xiv).

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central rather than *idiosyncratic* and *marginal*.[4] Furthermore, in their efforts to move "From the General to the Specific and Back Again" – the theme of the 2001 ICTM conference – they encourage all of us whose research focuses on ancient Near Eastern cultural *realia* to deal with the long-standing methodological tension that exists between Boazian particularism and Frazerian comparativism (in its traditional and modified forms).[5]

In the space allotted to me, I will make some brief comments on the four questions that informed the papers read by the presenters at the 2001 ICTM. These are:

1. What should the research agenda for ancient Near Eastern musical history be in the third millennium?
2. What are the strengths and weaknesses of various kinds of comparison (e. g., historical, cross-cultural, textual, artifactual, etc.) and what is lost and/or gained in the comparative process?
3. How can research on the history of Syro-Palestinian music benefit from investigative methods derived from other disciplines and what examples of successes or pitfalls in moving from the specific to the general and back again can be defined?
4. What goals, parameters, and guidelines should be established for such interdisciplinary endeavors? In so doing, I will refer to the aforementioned papers and offer some of my own musings as a Near Eastern philologist and Bible scholar.

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[4] I have alluded to this elsewhere (*Myth*, xi). The late G. P. Murdock argued that comparative anthropologists should include in their sampling universes information about all cultures, ancient and modern, for which there existed sufficient descriptive data (*Atlas*, 6–7). I would argue that those who study ancient languages, texts, and physical remains should do so with an eye toward addressing larger humanistic and social scientific concerns. Such would facilitate the kind of diachronic and synchronic cultural comparison that promotes trans-disciplinary cooperation and synthesis. Archaeomusicology can provide research models that can be adapted for use in linguistic and other forms of ancient Near Eastern research.

[5] The updated editions of two Frazer classics done by Gaster (*New Golden Bough*; *Myth*) and the more recent work of Eilberg-Schwarz (*Savage*) can be cited as examples of what I term *neo-Frazerian* research.

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A Possible Agenda for Ancient Near Eastern Musical History in the Third Millennium

My sense from the presentations is that the agenda for Near Eastern musical history in the current cycle of scholarly activity is virtually wide open. The work of Burgh, Braun, and Randhofer suggests that there is much remaining to be done on areas such as instrumental reconstruction, lexicography and instrument naming, the application of space usage and comparative performance theories to assess site utilization and ancient playing techniques respectively, and the study of ancient Near Eastern texts as *impressionistic* sources that "construct" musical cultural rather than mirror it directly. Randhofer's thought provoking remarks about the possible ancient Near Eastern cultural antecedents of Jewish and Christian musical elements suggests that more nuanced diachronic and comparative studies of ancient Near Eastern genres need to be undertaken. Dever's timely call to increase ethno-archaeological endeavors has far reaching implications for the historical study of Near Eastern music. The controlled use of *ethnographic analogy*, the search for *musical universals*, and, I might add, the use of statistical sampling and theory testing need to become a standard part of the archaeomusicological research agenda. One very interesting outcome of such work might be a clearer understanding of the relative rate of change that certain instruments, genres, and musical practices undergo through time. Such would enable modern researchers to reconstruct more accurately ancient instrumentation and *praxis* from data gathered by field observation. Braun's creative assessment of the probable cause for the disjunction between extant archaeological evidence and biblical depictions of Israel's musical culture during the period from 586 to 168 B. C. E. deserves special mention. It points to one area in which archaeomusicologists can contribute greatly to conversations about Israel's early history. His suggestion that this period witnessed the degeneration of a distinct Bronze and Iron Age musical culture and the genesis of a new social configuration under the impetus of what he terms a "religious and national cultural unification" deserves further consideration. For example, how might this new set of musical norms have related to syncretic and creolizing tendencies that left their mark on Israelite literature and – if our sources be trusted in this regard – on the *cultus* and personnel of the first Temple? Moreover, if we look at musical artifacts dating to the 13th century B.C.E., the period posited by many biblical scholars as that witnessing the emergence of early Israel, do such reflect the transgressive social tendencies

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that one finds expressed in the earliest stratum of poetry in the Hebrew Bible (e. g., Exodus 15, Judges 5, and Psalm 29) and in the hero stories preserved in the book of Judges (minus their late Deuteronomic ideological framing devices)? These questions are crucial because if early Yahwism is an example of a selectively syncretistic "border religion" born in an atmosphere of socio-political crisis, then one would expect the values governing theological speculation, political theory, and musical *praxis* to be congruent.

Strengths, Weaknesses, Losses, and Gains from Cultural Comparison

The issue concerning the specific strengths and weaknesses of cultural comparison take one to the heart of the debate over the existence of identifiable cultural universals. In my opinion there is no need to choose between the particularist and comparativist approaches. Both have their place in ethnological study, whether its focus be the ancient or modern worlds. Attention must be paid to indigenous taxonomies and knowledge systems, i. e., to that realm of study that some anthropologists have labeled the *emic*. One must also arrive at a set of *etic* or meta-categories that enable one to move beyond localized phenomena – musical, poetic, or otherwise – to an understanding of those cultural traits that are shared by the entirety of the human family. Particularist research lacking sensitivity to the comparativist agenda is far too narrow. Comparative work that devalues cultural uniqueness sacrifices specificity for breadth. This is very much akin to the philological dilemma confronted by form and rhetorical critics of the Bible. The former set as their task the identification of literary universals that enable genre classification while the latter are interested in markers of genius that make specific narratives, poems, and other literary works incomparable. In truth, attention to both is needed for one to have a reasonably accurate picture of ancient Israel's literary history. Thus, solid archaeomusicological research now and in the foreseeable future must have *etic* and *emic* vectors along with an overarching synthetic thrust. Such an approach has been modeled by the presentations made by the panel members. Note should be taken of Braun's careful examination of the rattle and lyre as part of the indigenous *instrumentarium* of ancient Israel, Randhofer's well-conceived comparative methodology for the study of multiple Jewish and Christian musical traditions, and Dever's apologia for the use of modern ethnographic data in archaeologi-

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cal research as well as a "dialogue between artifacts and texts" in reconstructing ancient lifeways. The same can be seen in Burgh's as yet unpublished work on performance space in the sanctuary at ancient Arad.

Syro-Palestinian Musical History and the Value of Interdisciplinarity

One hardly needs to offer a vigorous defense of interdisciplinarity in the study of Near Eastern musical history generally and that of Syria-Palestine in particular. The intellectual formation of the scholars on the panel provides a more than sufficient example of its value. All embrace the ideals and objectives of liberal learning and have been shaped by lifelong engagement with the humanities and social sciences. From a disciplinary standpoint, the work of two ethnomusicologists, two Near Eastern archaeologists, and one philologist was featured at the session in Rio de Janeiro. Successful research in each of our respective fields necessitates the ability to classify, read, and interpret primary data. It also requires that we make selective use of theoretical and other tools in our work and exercise caution and modesty in our admittedly imperfect efforts at reconstruction. When we pool our resources and expertise in the study of various aspects of ancient Near Eastern musical culture these same skills are required along with a willingness to see ourselves as involved in a *larger ethnological enterprise* that transcends our individual competencies and compels us to function as a supportive intellectual *ensemble*. Thus, in a very real sense, the ICTM papers "sketch" a coherent map of the current terrain of Near Eastern archaeomusicology. Furthermore, their authors are providing the impulse that will attract others to this rich and rewarding area.

Goals, Parameters, and Guidelines for Archaeomusicology in 2001 and Beyond

If one were to have asked me ten years or so ago what I thought the goals of archaeomusicology, or any other form of social science research, should be, I would have said "to get an objective and factual picture of the past." Right out of graduate school and newly armed with a Ph.D., I felt that a well-trained philologist equipped with a shelf full of lexicons and a few hours time could solve

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any long-standing historical, linguistic, or cultural *crux*. While my confidence in humanistic and social science research has not waned, I am far more appreciative today of the fact that knowledge systems are human constructs and that our research has a *reflexive* component that must be acknowledged. Such awareness I see as good and healthy if it leads us beyond self-absorption and the celebration of pure subjectivity and urges us to reach beyond our personal limitations to form collegial alliances that promote shared research and intellectual enrichment. When I think of the future of Near Eastern archaeomusicology, I believe that at least one of its goals – to echo the sentiments expressed by Dr. Dever – should be to study particular musical artifacts and behaviors in antiquity with an eye to discerning what these particularities tell us about musical universals. In so doing, I think that researchers should be rigorous and "playful" in the application of methodologies and their usage of various media to share their findings with specialist and lay audiences. Music is an expressive genre and there is much to be said for the use of new modes of ethnographic writing such as auto-ethnography and sociopoetics in the creation of evocative accounts that attempt to convey the full measure of music's probable impact on ancient societies. Just as statistical sampling and the utilization of databases like those maintained by *Human Relations Area Files* at Yale University can provide comparative data useful in delimiting the universals that govern human musical *praxis*, we can better appreciate some of the hidden intricacies of musical culture by employing the techniques of what is known today as *insider anthropology* to look at ourselves.[6] By acknowledging the forces that generate the researcher's investigative agenda, we are able to understand the dynamics that drive a discipline's *Forschungsgeschichte* and maintain the empirical trajectory of social scientific research. This is exactly what Lawrence Kuznar advocates in his recent work.[7]

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6 For an overview of the aims of *insider anthropology* see Cerroni-Long's introductory article ("Introduction", 11).

7 Kuznar, *Reclaiming*.

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Closing Thoughts

In sum, Burgh, Braun, Dever, and Randhofer have prepared the way for the emergence of a new era in ancient Near Eastern musical research, one based on the *transdisciplinary* study of physical remains, the cultural norms of living communities, and texts. Embedded within their research is a set of *protocols* that can be used throughout this new millennium to move "From the General to the Specific and Back Again."

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