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Hanoch Avenary

STUDIES IN THE HEBREW, SYRIAN AND GREEK LITURGICAL RECITATIVE

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THE subject of this paper is the new musical idiom that came to life early in the first millenium of modern times. Among all the radical changes of musical form and style whichever presented themselves in the course of history as an *Ars Nova,* this is by far the earliest innovation that we can hope to define and classify precisely. Our concern is the phenomenon of oratorical chant, the stylized imitation of the rise and fall of voice in speech. The *lectiones* and psalmodies of the church and synagogue are the best known and most conspicuous forms of this style of song. The amalgamation of idea, word and chant achieved by it, was strange and new in the context of Hellenistic-Roman music; its appearance has been designated as "a new primary phenomenon in art *(ein neues künstlerisches Urphänomen*—Besseler 1931:31).

The new Eastern style of chant spread with the church over the Mediterranean countries to Europe and initiated an art music which overshadowed, and even replaced, native singing practices. It was a collectivistic art from its very beginnings, an antithesis to the highly professional and individualistic shape of late Hellenistic music. A simple, but forceful melodic line supplanted the splendour of virtuoso techniques, and the colourful plethora of instruments and performers; even the subtle accompanied song (citharody) fell into disuse.

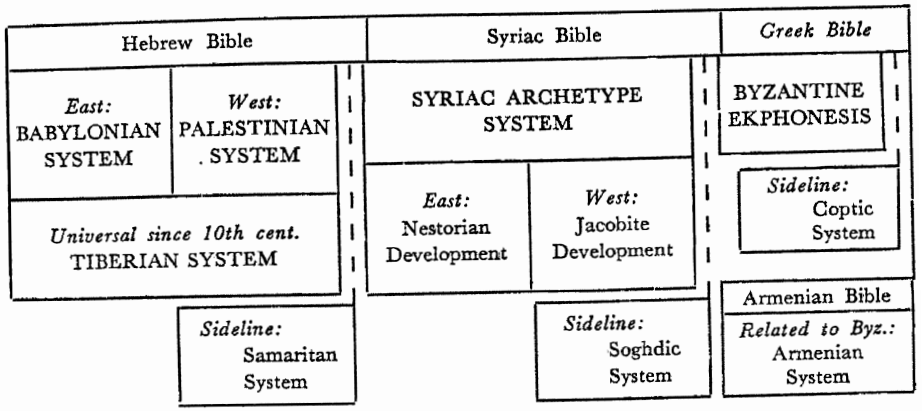
Hellenistic music had abandoned the Platonic ideal—if it ever strove after it—that the word and its *logos* should master melody and rhythm (Republ. III 398d); his aims were "not at a music which is pleasing, but at one which is right" (Laws II 668a). These postulations of the ancient philosopher should find a late, but congenial fulfilment in the melodic reading of the Bible and in psalmodic chant. The combined forces of Jewish and Christian ideas put an end to the instrumental trend in music, and advanced the prevalence of the word and its message.

The melodious reading of scriptural texts forms an integral part of both Christian and Jewish service as well as of Jewish religious instruction. It was accepted, shaped and cultivated by all monotheist communities and sects of the East. Its various branches are shown in Table 1.

Three of them stand out in historical importance, and have also been elucidated by modern research in the last decades: the Byzantine, the Jewish, and the Syro-Christian (Syriac). Their individual profiles can now be distinguished quite clearly. Therefore, it may be timely to clear the ground for a joint evaluation and a tentative coordination of facts in order to approach the understanding of a style which became significant in the general development of music.—

Table 1

Chart of Eastern Accent Systems



The three main branches of Bible chant came into being under almost identical circumstances. They arose, or became historically manifest, within the same period and with the same geographical, ethnic and political background (i.e., in the Syrian provinces of either the Byzantine or the Neo-Persian empires with their prevailing Semitic population); they were applied to the same object, and to the same end—public proclamation of the Bible. Finally, their written forms were based on a common system—graphic symbols (accents) placed between the lines of the text.

These conditions seem to be most favourable to the setting up of relations of mutual interdependence and of influence; there have been, indeed, several conflicting theories in this connection. The detailed information which has accrued during the last decades, enables us to formulate the problem more precisely.

Admitting that the written accents in the three main branches of chant are quite similar by nature, the attention should be focused on the manner in which they were arranged into systems, and on the kind of aural message that the different systems intended to express. When considering the strained relations between church and synagogue and the schisms inside the church herself, it cannot be taken for granted that there was much room left for mutual dependence and imitation.

Our approach starts with outlining the principal stages of development, and determining the nature and structure of the specific musical script produced by the three main traditions. In addition, we shall use the written sources as a means of understanding the principle of Bible reading which was indeed the aim of the different accentual systems. Finally, the spiritual trends and musical styles of this vocal art shall be explained in the light of its bearing on European music.

I

The declamatory style of the liturgical lesson and of psalmody created one of the dominant musical forms of the first millenium. Within this vast era, two principal stages of development can be distinguished. An earlier period of popular custom and usage, relying on oral tradition alone, and a later stage characterized by a systematically organized art of intonation in which melodic formulae are expressed by written symbols.

1. The Question of Heathen Precedents

The tendency to emphasize a certain utterance by changing the sound of normal speech in order to give it a more profound meaning and a special efficiency, is deply rooted in prehistoric times. The priests and sorcerers of primitive societies usually cast their spells or imitate the voices of spirits with a disguised vocal sound which takes the form of a high-pitched speech and is close to singing. The significance of this aboriginal habit as a model for reciting holy texts has recently been demonstrated (Gerson-Kiwi 1961: 64–67), and this is very valuable for the understanding of related musical forms from all over the world. However, a wide gap of human evolution separates primitive magical practices from the highly spiritualized religion of late antiquity, and one cannot expect to find a direct connection between them.

The search for possible historical relations induced scholars to consider also the phonetic and rhetorical trends in Hellenistic grammar. Greek as well as Roman writers liked to emphasize the melodic elements in normal speech (Wagner 1912:16 note 2; 18. Wagner 1921:19 note 1; 22. Hoeg 1935:152. Wellesz 1961:250). However, there is no indication that the natural course of the voice in speech was ever intentionally transformed into musical steps and cadences, and cast into conventional melodic formulae.

The very transition from a free flow of speech to the formal features of an art was supposed by some scholars to originate in the Alexandrine "prosodies" (Idelsohn 1917:29–30, following F. Praetorius; strongly opposed by Hoeg 1935:43; 140 note 2; 141). These precursors of the familiar accents in our Greek texts have been presented as potential prototypes of the accents in Byzantine as well as Syriac or even Hebrew Bible texts. However, there exist basic differences which have not

been sufficiently accounted for. The prosodies refer always to single vowels, to single syllables or, at most, to the phonetic relations between two neighbouring words (cf. the list of prosodies given by Wellesz 1961:250); but they do not—and by their very nature they can not—convey any information about the sentence or verse as a whole—its tonal heights and depths, its division into logical or rhythmic sections.

The graphic forms and the names of some of the Byzantine accents are identical with those of some of the Alexandrine prosodies—a fact that fascinated former research-workers. The signs in the Greek Bible manuscripts, however, serve a different task. Any pair of Byzantine accents encloses a certain section of the verse; it divides the latter into small logical units which can be uttered in one breath: See Table 2. However, similarity of graphical signs and nomenclature has proven to be superficial evidence which may become meaningful only in connection with functional and other substantial characteristics—but never alone.

To conclude, research has not succeeded in proving the preexistence, in pagan antiquity, of reading or declamation to melodic formulas, nor of accentual systems associated with them. All signs point to the fact that they were evolved together with, and as an outcome of, the acceptance of he Bible and its diffusion among the peoples of the Eastern Mediterranean lands.

2. First Period: Unwritten Practice of Bible Reading

The direct documentation of Biblical chant, i.e., accent-entries in manuscripts and treatises which explain the accentuation, provide the most substantial evidence for the historian. Assuming reliable chronological classification, the earliest preserved manuscripts of that kind come from the Syrian church and date from the 5th century. They represent an already developed scientific stage of this art.

However, in Jewish sources whose chronology is well-defined [1], there is plenty of evidence which indicates an earlier stage of melodic Bible reading based exclusively on oral tradition. Talmudic teachers of the 2nd and 3rd centuries mention not only a traditional division of the Bible text into verses *(p'suqim)*, but also a further subdivision into clauses. The correct division and subdivision of the verse *(pisuq t'amim)* was regarded as the key to its understanding; the word-groups of these subdivisions were called *t'amim*, as were later the written accents.

The correct delimitation of the clauses was taught in elementary schools (bN'darim 37b—3rd cent.). We are even told, how pupils were trained in the unwritten rules of accentuation: Teachers used the old Eastern method of *cheironomy*, i.e., the representation of accents by means of conventional swaying movements and gestures

[1] The *Mishnah* (concluded ab. 200 C.E.); the Palestinian and the Babylonian *G'mara* (concluded in the 3rd resp. the close of the 6th centuries). These books form the most authoritative legal works of post-Biblical times—the two Thalmuds.

Table 2

I. Byzantine Ekphonetic Accents

cf. Wellesz 1932; Hoëg 1935; 36–37.

1. Óxeia pros oxeiân
   Óxeiai diplâi
   Óxeia kai—

2. Teleia +

3. Bàriai bariài
   Diplai Bariài

4. Kathistai kathistai

5. Syrmatike (kai Teleia +)

6. Paraklitike (kai Teleia +)

7. }Hypokrisis}
   }Hypokrisis hypokrisis}

8. Kremastai kremastai

9. Apeso exo

10. Kentemata kentemata

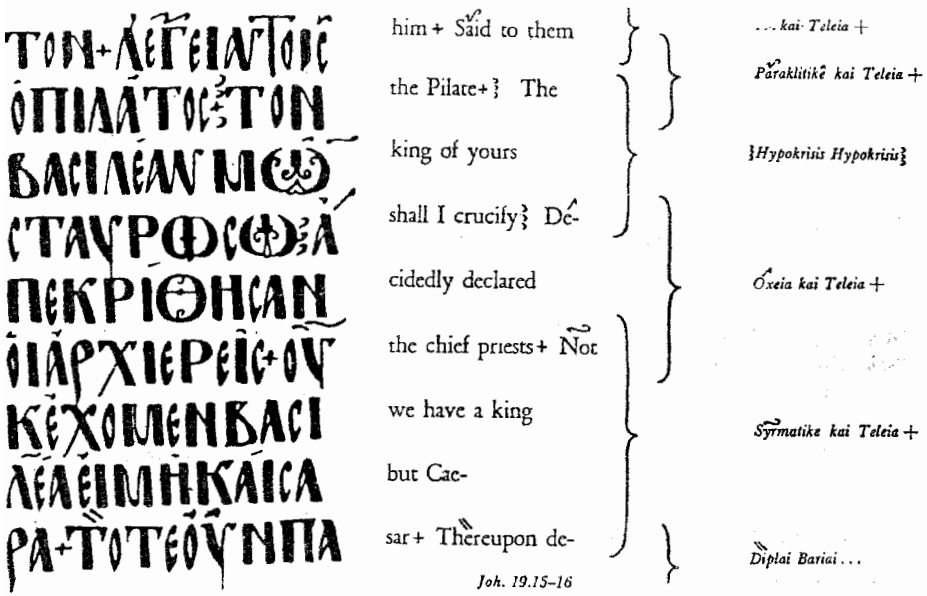
11. Apostrophos
    Apostrophos apostrophos
    Kentematâ kai Apostrophoi + +

12. Synemba (kai Teleia +)

II. Part of a Column from an Evangeliarium (11th Cent.)

Ms. Vienna National Library, Cod. suppl. graec. 122, fol. 4a

(Wellesz 1930: 394–497)



of the hands and fingers. Cheironomy remained in use, side by side with the written accents, down to the 12th century [2].

In the Thalmudic period, chanting characterized not only the public recitation of the Bible. To the famous Rabbi Aqiva (martyrized in 135), the daily study of the Law was equivalent to "singing" *(zamer*—bSanhedrin 99a). It must be kept in mind that melodic intonation was not regarded as a mere ornament, but as a vehicle of understanding. Indeed Rabi Yohanan (d. 279), eminent authority of the Palestinian G'mara, expressed in rather strict terms his prescription for reading and studying with chant *(n'imah*—bM'gilah 32a).

As to written accents, the Thalmudic literature is silent. Relying to this *argumentum ex silentio,* it may be inferred that Jewish accentual systems were not developed before the year 500. Apparently the deeply rooted oral tradition could do without a written support for so long a time.

There existed, to be sure, a very old tradition of putting "extraordinary points" *(n'qudoth sofrim)* over certain words of the Bible text. They were no more unequivocally interpreted in the 2nd century, but are obviously not connected with reading or singing (Ginsburg 1897:183 seq. Hirschfeld 1919:154 seq.). The first traces of reading signs are sporadic dots found in Hebrew fragments of the Psalter (Murtonen 1958:24–25; 34–35); apparently they were put there as warning signs wherever the normal course of lecture would yield senseless phrases.

Thus the melodic intonation of the Hebrew Bible was a well-established custom as early as the 2nd century [3]. As a matter of fact, no serious obstacle prevents us from assuming that it even antedated the Christian period.

In the Eastern Churches, an official obligation to chant the lessons has not yet been proven from the sources. A vague hint at diacritical points (not necessarely accents) in the Syriac Bible is supposed to originate from the 3rd or 4th century. The earliest Syriac accents (see Table 3) are found in a manuscript written in 411; the accents, however, may have been added later, as was a common habit (Segal 1953:11–12. Wellesz 1930:391).

As to the date of the Byzantine Ekphonetic accents, there are ambiguous opinions. Scholarly theories shift their origin from the end of the 4th to the 7th or 8th centuries. At any rate the entire tradition of Christian Bible chant belongs to a later, the "scientific" stage of development.

[2] In the so-called Ben Asher Treatise (Ginsburg 1897:985–986. Kahle 1901:171–173. Idelsohn 1917:23; 26–27); Rashi's commentary in B'rachoth 62a; P'thahyah of Ratisbonne, Book of Travels (on the Bagdad community, ab. 1175–1190).

[3] It was also witnessed by Jerome during his stay at Bethlehem ab. 400 C.E.: In Isaiam 58.2 (Migne PL:24 col. 561): "Libros Prophetarum ac Moysi memoriter revolventes, decantant divina mandata" ("rolling up, by memory, the books of Prophecy and of Moses, they chant the divine commands").

Table 3

I. Syriac Accents (5th to 6th Century)
According to Segal 1953:64

1. m'sha'lana	מ̇שאלנא	interrogative
2. paqoda	פ̇קודא	commanding
3. ezyana	עצינא̇	resisting, compelling
4. thachsa	תכסא̇	reproaching
(E) zoga elaya	זוגא עליא̇	upper pair
5. rahta	רהטא̈	running
6. methdamrana	מ̣תדמרנא	wondering
7. m'nahtha	מ̣נחתא	causing to descend
8. samka	סמכא̣	support
9. pasoqa	פסוקא.	breaking off
10. elaya	עליא.	upper
11. thahthaya	תחתיא̣.	lower
12. shwaya	שויא:	level
(E) zoga	זוגא.	pair

Probably belonging to this period:

a. m'zalyana	מ̇צלינא̣	praying
b. methkashfana	מ̇תכשפנא̣	supplicating

(E) marks East-Syriac equivalents of Western accent names.
Syriac letters replaced by Hebrew letters.

II. Examples of Syriac Accentuation (7th to 10th Cent.)
The numbers refer to the related accents in the above table.

East

(Segal 1953: 86 & 115; 89; 118)

What-is the-offence of-Jacob * is-it not Samaria. (*Michah 1.5*)
1 8 9

How are-fallen the-mighty. (*2 Sam. 1.19*)
6 10

Nay my-lord man of-God (do not lie unto thine handmaid.) (*2 Kings 4.16*)
2 5 var. a

* M'qimana (*Causing to stand*), a late combination of 3 and 8.

West

Segal 1953:124; 135; 140)

And-God said Let-there-be light (*Gen. 1.3*)
2

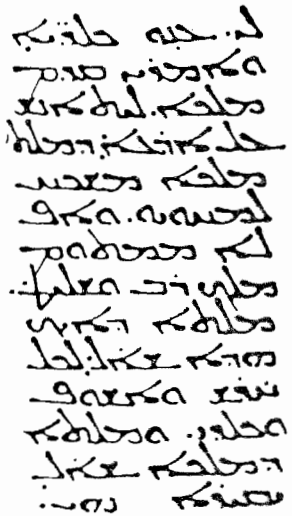
For-things like-these shall-I-not visit saith the-Lord; (and-for-a nation as-this . . .) (*Jer. 5.9*)
4 12

And-Jacob said. O-God of-my-father Abraham. God of-my-father Isaac. (*Gen. 32.9*)
** **

** M'vachyana (*Causing to weep*) is found since the late 7th century.

Table 3 (continued)

III. Part of a Column from the book Daniel, written in 532 C.E.
British Museum, MS. Add. 14445, fol. 6a. (Segal 1953: Plate II.)



to me. The Chaldeans answered	*Pasoqa.*	*Samka*
and said before		
the king. No man	*Pasoqa.*	
upon the earth. can say	*Elaya.*	
the king forgotten		
things. And even	*Pasoqa.*	
there was no lord		
king nor ruler.	*Elaya.*	
who such things		
asked. at any	*Elaya.*	
magician or astrologer		
or Chaldean. And the thing	*Pasoqa.*	
that the king requires		
is rare.	*Pasoqa.*	

Dan. 2.10–11

Remark: The points not explained in the margin, are diacritical points of merely phonetic value.

3. Second Period: "Scholarly Art" of Bible Chant

With the introduction of accents, written in the text according to a fixed plan and system, the Eastern art of chanted reading enters the spotlights of history. The practice of accentuation is now evident from preserved manuscripts or fragments; its theory (often an elaborate one) becomes known from treatises or synoptic tables of accents.

Within the orbit of the Semitic languages (Hebrew and Syriac), accentuation is part and parcel of a more comprehensive doctrine, the *Masorah* [4]. The latter comprises the rules for the vocalization of the purely consonantal Semitic script, the phonetics of the consonants, grammar and sometimes bits of textual exegesis. Thus the accentuation of chanted reading is organically connected with the correct and meaningful utterance of the words; it forms a real link between speech and song. This closeness of linguistics, phonetics and chant is lacking in Byzantine accentuation.

[4] or *Masoreth*, as some orientalists (H. Hirschfeld) prefer to read, i.e., the "binding down" of the text.

Any elaborate disposition of a sentence or a verse demands analytical thought. A faculty of organization and systematization is also a prerequesite in classifying accents and determining their relations and functions. The doctrine of accents is connected, by force of its ties with grammar and phonetics, with the Arts of the Quadrivium. In short, the reduction of Biblical chant to a system of accents ranks among the sciences.

This course of development resulted in a certain apartness from the reality of common practice and traditional use. According to a basic tendency characteristic of analytical thinking, simple conceptions grew intricate, the grouping of words was carried on to its most subtle ramifications and, finally, the possibilities of vocal performance were neglected. Ultimately, this tendency caused a collapse of the complicated Byzantine and Syriac accentuations. They vanished from living use and had to be rediscovered by modern research (Segal 1953:143. Wellesz 1932). Also Jewish accentuation is not entirely free of the consequences of this development: The Biblical chant in the synagogues today pretends to follow the accents of the Tiberian school of Masoretes; but actually, the readers simplify the prescribed accentation. In particular the Sefardic custom clings to less complex pre-Tiberian rules of chant (Avenary 1961:56–58).

The scientific period in the development of Bible reading came to an end in the second half of the millenium.

We have still to mention a characteristic line of thought which was followed by Jewish as well as Christian theorists of accentuation. Every community was endeavoured to augment the authority of their accentual systems by connecting them symbolically with cosmic numbers. Reference to the number of the planets, the zodiac, or the elements was instrumental in giving a "natural" foundation to abstract conceptions; this was an heritage of Neo-Pythagorean as well as older Eastern ideas [5]. In a similar way the vowels, the musical scale and modes were adapted to a cosmological system. This tendency is also conspicuous in the ancient book of Jewish Qabalah, the *Sefer Y'zirah,* composed sometimes between the 3rd and the 6th century (Kahle 1947:106. Farmer 1943:7).

The relations of the Hebrew accentual system to astrological-cosmic numbers are explicitly mentioned in the so-called Ben Asher-Treatise and other sources (Kahle 1901:171; para. 16–18; 169). Specialists may be able to contribute similar instances in Syro-Christian or Byzantine literature: For it is hardly accidental that the earlier Syriac systems are composed of 7 or 12 accents (Segal 1953:64–66. See also Table 3), and the Byzantine designate theirs by 12 accent names (see Table 2). The Hebrew-Babylonian and Palestinian systems prescribe 12 disjunctive signs, whereto the Tiberian scholars added 7 conjunctives.

[5] cf. Vincent F. Hopper, Medieval number symbolism. Its sources, etc. New York, 1938.

Those speculations, as abstruse as they may appear, indicate to the historian that accentuation was then regarded as belonging to the sphere of science and philosophy. The rules of melodic reading—once simply transmitted by the finger tips—were now learnt, taught and developed with the aid of the book. Chant had entered the sphere of a "Scholarly Art".

II

Comparison of the graphic shape of accents in Syriac, Byzantine and Hebrew manuscripts was regarded as challenging task of research. Unfortunately, it turned out to be rather a stumbling block. Dots, strokes and hooks resemble one another everywhere: Therefore, any resemblance of form and figure alone is not sufficient to establish historical relationship. A serious approach to the problem has to consider each accent as a symbol of an imagined structure of the text, as a sign for the correct presentation of a preconceived idea and finally as the expression of a musical style.

1. Nature and Principles of Notation

Expressing a melodic line by means of accents or neumes contrasts, by its very nature, sharply with the principle of the musical notation evolved by the Greeks. The latter demands the analysis of a given tune, and its reduction to single constituent notes. Each note is written as a letter or a detached graphic sign, according to its place in a pre-established scale. The performer of Greek written music has to mentally join detached notes in order to reproduce the original tune.

Eastern notations, however, have the nature of neumes. The shape of each written sign is understood as indicating a certain melodic figure (motive, cadence)—not a single note. The mental process underlying this method of writing music has been explained by modern *Gestaltpsychologie* (Grove's 3, p. 611–618): Eastern musicians are trained to absorb and to store in their memories short musical motives (configurations, *Gestalten)*. The sight of a neume or accent evokes the memory of the musical motive with which it is traditionally associated.

The three Eastern accentual systems were based on these common intellectual conceptions. The manner in which the synagogue and the Churches met the challenge of inventing a musical script may now be compared.

At this point we have to take into consideration two forerunners of the Hebrew Tiberian accentual system (see Table 4). Thus we shall have to deal with five systems of musical script: The Syriac (disregarding the differences of its Eastern and Western branch), the Byzantine and, in addition to the Jewish-Tiberian, also the so-called "Palestinian" and the "Babylonian" systems (Kahle 1902. Kahle 1913. Kahle 1927. Kahle 1947. Murtonen 1958. Strack 1876).

Table 4

Comparison of the Three Hebrew Accentual Systems

Applied to Jer. 1.17

Pal.	W'athah the'zor mothnéycha	w'qamtha w'dibartha· aleyhem
Tib.	W'athah the'zor mothnéycha	w'qamtha w'dibartha aleyhem
Babl.	W'athah the'zor mothnéycha	w'qamtha dibartha aleyhem
Pal.	eth kol·asher anochi atzawecha	al·thehath mipnéyhem
Tib.	eth kol-asher anochi atzawecha	al-thehath mipneyhem
Babl.	eth kol-asher anochi atzawecha	al thehath mipneyhem
Pal.	pen·ahithcha lifneyhem:	*(Kahle 1927:27)*
Tib.	pen-ahithcha lifneyhem:	*(Textus receptus)*
Babl.	pen ahithcha lifneyhem	*(Strack 1876:54a)*
Thou-therefore gird-up-thy-loins all that I command-thee: lest I-confound-thee before-them.		and-arise, and speak unto-them be-not dismayed at-their-faces,

Having set the historico-regional stage, we shall now compare, step by step, the solutions of the notational problem as they are represented in the above mentioned five forms of Biblical chant (see Table 5).

The above synopsis reveals the lack of uniformity in the historical picture. Any unbroken line of similarity, dependency, or imitation is impossible to demonstrate. On the contrary, the regional churches and synagogues appear to have found and preferred their own individual solutions.

When we question the nomenclature for its meaning, even strong dissimilarities of conception and development become apparent: References of pre-literal cheironomy, e.g., are preserved by the Tiberian Masorah exclusively [6]. As to Syriac nomenclature, its outstanding feature is the preponderance of accents which have an

[6] Ben Asher (Kahle 1901:171–173) indicates explicitly the cheironomical movements for *Nagdah, Thavrah, Zaqef, Teres.* In addition, the names of certain other accents may be understood, although not unequivocally, as directions for hand and finger movements: *Tipha, N'tuyah, Pashta.*—Byzantine cheironomy is relatively late (early 8th cent.), and ascribed to Palestino-Syrian scholars (Wellesz 1961:287 seq.).

Table 5

Accentual System—Synopsis of Elements

	Syriac		*Byz.*	*Pal.*	*Babl.*	*Tib.*
Graphic Form of Accents						
Dots, exclusively	*					
Dots, mostly				*		
Letters, mostly					*	
Dots, strokes, hooks			*			
Dots, strokes, hooks, circles						*
Position of Accents						
Above, below, on the line	*					
Above, below, within, on the edge of letters				*		
Above line, exclusively					*	
Above & below line, mostly			*			*
Nomenclature of Accents * *derived from:*	Early	Late		U		
Visual form or position	20%	10%	50%	n	50%	40%
Function	30%	30%	30%	k	50%	40%
Melodic value	15%	12%	20%	n	—	—
Expressive value	35%	48%	—	o	—	—
Cheironomy	—	—	—	w	—	20%
* Approximate calculation.				n		

emotional significance (evocation of lament, reproach, wondering, praying, weeping, etc.)—a feature not found in any other system.

The comparison of the musical script and its nomenclature may be temporarely summed up as follows: Although the three traditions are based upon quite similar principles, and use the same means of graphic expression, they hardly conform.

Archaic relics (pre-literary cheironomy) are found in the Hebrew tradition alone. Its three branches also have an old sign for the half-clause in common, the angle-shaped ∧; it breaks the uniformity of the Babylonian letter-and the Palestinian dot-accents, and appears to be an ancient sign of verse division.

The Syrian system, on the other hand, presents the most uniform solution of the problem: this very fact points to its being an "invention" which was intentionally put into service at a particular time: actually an individual, Yosef Huzaya of Nisibis (ab. 530) was credited with the invention of 7 basic accents (Segal 1953:65–66).

Likewise the Byzantine Ekphonetic signs show no backward connections to an oral "prehistory" of Biblical chant. Curiously enough, there is here no continuation of Greek rhetorical tradition; it was the Syrian Monophysite Church that endeavoured to revive this ancient art (Segal 1953:120–122). Therefore, it was not the

historical connections of any branch of tradition which gave Biblical chant shape and direction, but its spiritual attitude toward holy text. Me may hope to substantiate this thesis by means of stylistic and structural analysis. Meanwhile we are already able to claim, by pure historical evidence, seniority for Hebrew Biblical chant.

2. Diction, Syntax and Accentuation

The accents came into being by virtue of the special character of the Bible: it is a written record of living speech, not a book for reading (Rosenzweig 1936:76–79—a beautiful exposition). The Hebrew Bible has continued until today to exist as a spoken message, and that not as a consequence of illiteracy in its audience: The original Hebrew text follows the pattern of rhetoric periods, maintains the word-grouping, the breathing rests, and the natural rhythm of living speech. It is always studied, even by one person in a secluded chamber, by audible pronounciation of the words. The *Bible* rather meant *Word* of God than Holy *Scripture*.

Ancient manuscripts were written without punctuation, and sometimes the words are not separated one from another (see Table 2). The accents came to fill the need for an easily legible text. The earliest Hebrew and Syriac accents are of a basically pausal or separating function (the names often reflect this feature). Their disjunctive power is usually graded; thus the Tiberian *Masorah* distinguishes first-, second-, third-and fourth grade disjunctive accents.

The word "separating" has to be understood in a relative sense. Disjunctive accents of a low grade have an actual separating function in a language whose words are normally pronounced in a slurred or *legato* manner. Such languages are Spanish, Russian and, to a certain degree, English; examples of *staccato*-languages are German and Bulgarian. Hebrew must have been a *legato*-language in the early 1st millenium. This is testified by a Baraytha in the Babylonian Thalmud (B'rachoth 15b) demanding the insertion of a pause *(rewah)* between words that may "stick together": For example, the verses from Deuteronomy forming the *Shma Yissrael*-prayer should be kept intellegible by the separate pronounciation of words which are likely to be slurred together, such as *al l'vavecha, esseb b'ssadecha, waa'vad'them m'herah,* etc. Mutilation of the sense by merging final and initial consonants is thus avoided.

The same principle comes into operation with entire sentences or verses. Whoever has heard any *ex officio* reading, e.g., the clerk of a court reading a judicial sentence, will clearly understand why Y'hudah haLewi called any written matter "dead speech" (Kuzari II 72). The living word is kept alive by organizing the sentences in meaningful word-groups; as to the Hebrew original, these groups coincide with those dictated by the natural rhythm of breath. Different grades of separating accents check any urge to read in cursory manner. One of the strongest accents divides, in general, the sentence in balanced halves and is called half-clause (Hebr.-Aram. *Ath-nah*= Sign of rest).

It occurred only to an uninspired, bookish mentality to disregard living chanting practices and to interpret the accents as merely pauses of different duration (Spanier 1927:114). In every part of the world sacred texts are chanted—not read. Chant is characterized by melodic cadences by which the tune is directed to different points of rest. It is the specific cadential note at the end of a phrase that marks the temporary suspension of reading, and not a gap in the melody. Hebrew chant has usually a common final note for the two or three strong disjunctive accents, and another note *(co-finalis)* for the weaker separations (see Ex. 5b as analyzed in Chap. 2 below).

The method of dividing a sentence according to word groups stands out in the Byzantine mode of liturgical lesson. Each section is enclosed by a pair of accents, most often two identical signs, or a stereotyped sequence of accents (see Table 2). In this manner, both the beginning and the end of a phrase is clearly marked. Paul Kahle in one of his early papers (Kahle 1902:49) exaggerated when he ascribed the same feature to the Hebrew-Babylonian accents. Actually, the latter represent a sequence of melodic motives which form a typical, but not necessarely uniform pattern of chant (see Table 4).

The Hebrew doctrine of accentuation renders prominent two signs which are called "Kings": *Sof pasuq* (or *Siluq)* and *Etnahtha* (or *Athnah)*—the full-clause and the half-clause. The *Athnah* constitutes the axis and often the center of the period. By dividing every sentence into an antecedent and a subsequent clause (symmetrically, whenever feasible), the Masorets expressed a formal principle of Biblical style: the balance and frequent parallelism of members. In the case of very short sentences, they joined two or more of them to form a full period (=two half clauses). In this manner, Gen. 1.3.

And God said: let there be light! And there was light.

(three disconnected sentences in Byzantine accentuation) was made a normal two-part verse:

And God said: let there be light—and there was light.

Likewise, the subsequent two sentences of Byzantine lesson (Hoeg 1935: 32–34) were united by the Masoretes (Gen. 1.4):

And God saw the light that it was good—
and God divided the light from the darkness.

(See also our Ex. 9 below.) Accordingly we can speak of a "Law of Full Periods" that ruled the Masoretic formation of the Biblical text.

III

With this above-mentioned capacity of accentuation of giving form to the text and of transmitting to us the ancient idea of how the Word should be conceived, we have entered the realm of style and artistic form.

1. Style

The Hebrew-Tiberian system of Biblical accents seems to resort to the responsorial and antiphonal structure of ancient poetry. Most sentences of the Scripture are treated, as it were, like a "verse"; if necessary, they are touched up to approach the ideal pattern of balanced half-clauses.

The Byzantine approach the problem of accentuation from another direction. No gradation of their accents is known to us. The clear formation of half-clauses as well as any other intentional stylization, cannot be discerned. Appearently the informative or meditative contents of the text were paramount. They conceived the Greek Bible as a prose text, and its public reading meant no more than a well-arranged oration; thus the text is displayed in a relatively cool, logical and unpretentious manner.

These two styles of chanting the Bible are supplemented by the Syrian expressiveness, the display of human emotions in their readings, and a lively, even dramatic demonstration of events and manners of speech.

Some Syriac accents of the 5th and 6th centuries already bore names like *wondering, praying, supplicating* (see Table 3); *calling, persuasive, laudatory, weeping, warning* and the like were added later. Accordingly, Syrian chant underlined the text with a reproduction of emotions which enabled it to be understood in a sensual manner, and not by mere intellect. Perhaps this feature means more than the endeavour to impress a primitive, illiterate audience. Syrian plastic art had been, from its very beginnings, an expressive art always stressing what was characteristic; it even resorted to exaggerations without fear of their being taken for caricature (Rice 1954:47 seq.). This tendency was continued in Syro-Christian miniatures, and even affected European illuminated manuscripts modelled after Syrian patterns.

Parallels between music and the other arts are not seldom helpful in elucidating the primary motives and the emotional background of artistic styles. Realizing the statuesque tranquillity and ceremonious stiffness of Byzantine mosaics and paintings,

we understand the deliberate, reserved style of Greek Bible reading. Perhaps, its melismas originally had a decorative meaning like the heavy adornment of painted Byzantine emperors and saints.

Expressive accents similar to the Syrian are also found, as any expert certainly will notice, in the *Sidrey miqratha* (Reading Order) of the Samaritans (Kahle 1956:167–179). Nobody has yet assumed that there was influence or exchange of customs between the Syrian Church and that isolated community, nor claimed outward sources for Samaritan accents like *devotion, invocation, wondering, praying, reproach, prescription.* We have been warned against proclaiming indiscriminately any parallelism as a sign of exerted "influences"; for both sides may have drawn from unknown sources of old Eastern tradition. Samaritan chant represents, in no lesser degree than the Syrian, conceptions foreign to the Jewish mode of Bible reading.

Hebrew Bible chant strives to achieve the proper proclamation of an intellectual message. This goal is mentioned in several sources ranging from the Thalmudic period to the Tiberian Masorah [7]. It is based upon an attitude which views the Bible (and esp. the Pentateuch) as a "teaching" *(thorah)* requiring investigation "day and night" (Ps. 1.2). To the Jewish community, reading the Pentateuch meant instruction in the law, and guidance *(halachah)* in daily life—sheer reality, not religious edification alone. Therefore, it had to be conceived and understood in the correct way: The accents were the means which provided a clear and sober presentation of the text. Any personal, subjective attitude is avoided; even an interrogative accent (corresponding to the question mark) is missing. Everything is left for the reception and assimilation of the intellect.

Accentuation forms part of grammar and phonetics; it still bears the mark of Thalmudic thought—keenness, consistency, and averseness to any mysticism.

The accents given to sentences such as Deut. 4.39 "*... that He is God in the heaven above and on the earth below—nobody else!*" make no attempt at graphic or melodic symbolism in order to emphasize the antithesis *Above-below.* But the accentuation excludes the absurd, blasphemous reading "... He is God in the heaven above—and on the earth below no longer" (Example given by M'nahem de Lonzano, Derech Hayim ed. M. Wander, p. 78. Lwow, 1901).

In a similar manner, verses like Isaiah 40.3.

A voice proclaims:
In the desert clear His way,
in the wilderness pave a road for our God!

are prevented, by virtue of the accents, from undergoing any exegetical interpretation which disregards the *parallelismus membrorum* (e.g., *The voice of him that crieth in the wilderness ...).*

[7] bM'gilah 3a (jM'gilah IV 1); bM'gilah 32a.—Colophon in Mosheh ben Asher's Codex of the Prophets dated 895 (Kahle 1947:111–112).

Adequately differentiated grades of accents maintain, or even deepen, subtle nuances of diction or style.

The text of Joshua 1.2 "*... to the land which I give you, the Sons of Israel*" has not the usual *ani* for "I", but the emphatic form *anochi.* The Masoretes distinguished this word by a weak separating accent *(th'vir).* Thus one is caused to read with a stress suggesting "*... to the land which Myself! gives you ...*": God is giving, and his gift means assignment, means a command for occupation.

There is no more need of a special imperative accent, like the Syriac *paqoda* or the Samaritan *thuru;* such an accent would too coarse an expression, as this is not an outspoken, but an implicit command.

This cursory survey of the expressive possibilities inherent the Tiberian system may be concluded with an example of a Biblical monition (Deut. 4.9):

"*Just take care of yourself, and guard your soul ...*" The "Just" is given the weak separating accent *pazer* which possesses a fairly long melisma in almost any branch of melodical tradition. Thus by means of the stop in the flow of the words, a state of suspense in created, and the subsequent warning is rendered prominent. The Syrians might have marked such a phrase with their admonitory *m'zahrana* accent, or the like.

Our analysis of the accents and their applications has revealed three basic types of Bible reading: (a) The rhetorical, prosaic and sober Byzantine conception; (b) the sensual-dramatic Syrian trend; (c) the impersonal, lucid, primarily syntacto-stylistic reproduction of the text by the fully developed Hebrew-Tiberian accentuation. These features have parallels in the spiritual and artistic trends fostered by the different nations.

2. Aesthetical Elements

Having been made aware of the strict principles of Hebrew Bible accentuation, one may be induced to conclude that a feeling of austerity would hamper its musical interpretation. In the case of the Syrian mode of reading with its dramatic touch, we are not tempted to do so; the compatible Samaritan expressive accents sound today like very strained, sometimes atonal outbursts of the voice (Idelsohn Sam: 118–119). The Byzantine Bible tune, as recorded in Cod. Sin. 8 (text: 10th to 11th, music: 12th cent.—Hoeg 1935:26 seq.), comprises the interval of about a Fifth and melismas of two to three notes. Its melody was probably not always so simple, and not identical on all ecclesiastical occasions. A double set of chanting tunes, *cantus ferialis* and *cantus sollemnis,* is used, e.g., for the Gregorian lesson of the Epistles (MGG 3:1445 seq.). Although the cadences of such an ornate chant are rather melodious and melismatic, the basic principles of liturgical recitation remain untouched.

In the same way, certain aesthetical elements are peculiar to current Jewish Biblical chant. The *Midrash* requires that the tongue of the reader should utter the

words of the Thorah in all their beauty (Rabi Lewi of Tiberias, ending 3rd cent.) [8]. This requirement is realized by present practice, in particular by Oriental-Sefardic readers who are accustomed to adorn the melodic line with many delicate turns, inflections of the voice, microtonal deviations, and transition into tender *Falsetto*. On the other hand, the same readers also have a simpler mode of chant on minor feasts and for teaching purposes. In a less obvious manner, other Jewish communities as well distinguish between a "tone of learning" and a more solemn chant, as do the Yemenites [9]. The Ashkenazim of former Central Europe divided, as early as about the year 1400 [10], the melodic-execution of chant into two classes: *Shul-Trop (tropos* of the synagogue), and *Shtuben-Trop (tropos* of the chamber). Until the middle of the 19th century, records of Ashkenazic Bible chant show rich coloraturas. Since then, reformative efforts of various kinds have reduced the ornamentation.

The distinction between plain and solemn variants in Biblical chant is due to extra-musical factors, but the basic musical structure remains unaffected. In the following paragraphs we will endeavour to detect differences of musical structure which may shed light on musical developments in general.

[8] Shir haShirim Rabah IV. 11: "Rabi Lewi said: Whoever reads the Bible with its delightful tone and tune (*b'inugo uv'niguno*), of him is said (Cant. 4. 11): Honey and milk under his tongue."

[9] Presented by Dr. Sh. Morag (Hebrew University) in a Radio lecture.—On the Sefards: A. Herzog (Isr. Inst. for Religious Music) in a paper read to the 3rd Congress of Jewish Studies (Jerusalem, 1961).

[10] Yaakov Moelln (Maharil), ab. 1135–1427, in: Sefer Maharil, ed. Lemberg (1860), fol. 66b.—The earlier hypothesis that *Shtuben-Trop* meant the tune of the Thalmud students (Avenary 1960:187–198), cannot be maintained.

IV

The relations between the Tiberian accent system and the actually performed chant have been subject to scholarly observation for a rather prolonged period [11]. As early as the close of the 15th century, Rabi Shimon Duran maintained that, in his native Spain, less than two thirds of the accents had their own musical motive. Similar remarks come from the early 16th century. A very restricted amount of musical material was recorded by Bartoloccius in the 17th century. Modern Sefardic chant has been examined by Idelsohn (1917:40) and R. Lachmann (1940:29; 32; 44; 49–50) with the same result. The latter author demonstrated the complete disregard of written accents in psalmody; no more than a melodic half- and full-clause suffice to constitute a Hebrew psalm-tone. This important observation also holds good for European Jewry *(Ashkenazim)*, as maintained by F. Delitzsch (1868:48) a hundred years ago.

If so, the domination of the Tiberian system of accents, theoretically undisputed, in actual practice did not exercise its authority on all parts of the Bible, nor on all communities to the same degree. The historian has to face this fact. The indifference or forgetfulness of the Bible readers must be excluded as an explanation of this situation because it is always the same accents which are neglected, as the present author has demonstrated earlier (Avenary 1961). In reality, two different styles of Bible chant are still used in the synagogues. One of them is the more or less faithful reproduction of the audible form created by the Tiberian or Babylonian Masoretes: the other follows a different, primitive and aboriginal pattern. Both strains of chant exist side by side (and are occasionally mixed-up) in the various communities.

1. Melodic Punctuation Style

The accentuation of the Psalter and the other "Poetic Books" (Job, Proverbs) is arranged according to special principles, although the same graphic signs are used as in the rest of the Bible. As far as we can see, it has never been realized

[11] Shimon ben Zemah Duran, Magen Avoth fol. 55b-56a. Leghorn, 1785.—Calo Calonymus, in: Avraham de Balmes, Miqneh Avram, Appendix. Venice, 1523.—Elia Levita, Tuv Taam, Chap. 2. Venice, 1538.—Julius Bartoloccius, Bibliotheca magna rabbinica, Pars 4, p. 439 seq. Rome, 1693.—Cf. Avenary 1961.

musically. The psalms were sung either in the specific recitative form of psalmody or, more often, in a free, hymnodical way.

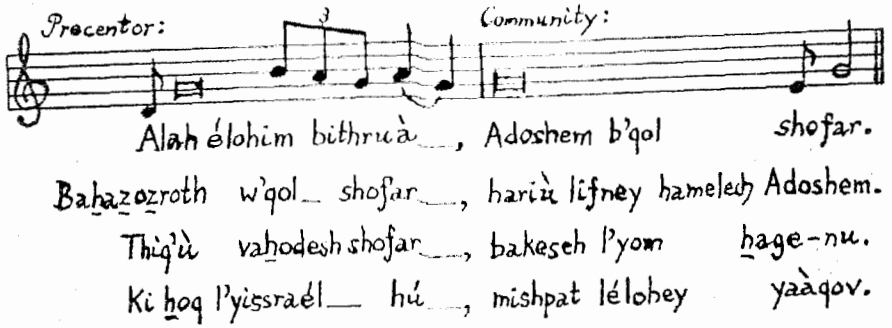
It is the recitative style of Jewish psalmody, that may become the key for understanding the formal structure of what we shall call further a melodic "Punctuation Style". This musical form is an immediate outcome of Biblical verse construction: The majority of psalm verses are composed of two, nearly equal halves with a caesura in between. The melodic declamation of such a verse is built according to the same pattern, and consists of two half-clauses ending in different cadences. A short initial phrase may be added, but the rest is declaimed on one and the same pitch, the current "reading note" *(tonus currens, tenor, tuba)*.

The latter may be either identical in the half-clauses, or of different pitch. An early Jewish source, the Sofrim Treatise (Mueller 1878: 172–173), mentions three melodic constituents of psalmodic chant with these terms: *P'thihah* (Opening), *Athnahya* (Sign of Rest), and *Sof pasuq* (Close of verse). The steady reading-pitch is paralleled in Hebrew terminology by the accent-name *munah* (lying, resting) or *shofar* (the Gregorian term *tuba* appears to be a translation of this latter name).

In general, Jewish psalmody has initial motives at the beginnings of the half-clauses, while they are not obligatory in Roman chant. This peculiarity may be based upon the prevalent anapaestic or iambic rhythm of Hebrew words which reach the reading-level only with the first stressed syllable. Jewish psalms are often recited on two different reading pitches (multiple *tenor*).

The following examples may elucidate the structural peculiarities of this style.

Example 1
Responsorial Psalmody



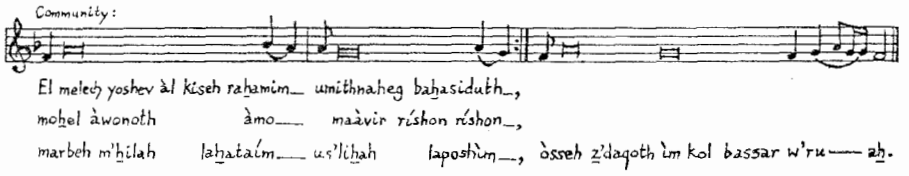
Example 1 shows a rare piece of Jewish responsorial psalmody, recorded in an oriental Sefardic synagogue (Idelsohn Thes. IV: No. 244). The text is a medley of psalm verses, sung before the sounding of the *Shofar* on New Year's Day.

Alternate singing of hemistiches was already known to Thalmudic sources of the 3rd and 4th centuries (Avenary 1953:5). Nowadays it has become rare.

The melody itself is archaic in comparison to that of other Jewish psalm tones. The reading-pitch remains unchanged, and a second initial motive is missing. The cadence of the half-clause is represented by a venerable formula of ancient lineage. It turns up already in the Oxyrhynchos hymn (late 3rd cent.), in Gregorian chant (Apel 1958:37), in the chant of the Jacobites (Idelsohn Jak: Ex. 4; 6), and in the Jewish Pentateuch Mode recorded by Reuchlin in 1518. see also Ex. 3d below.

Quite similar pieces from Fez (Marocco) were recorded by Idelsohn Thes. II: Nos. 194; 196.

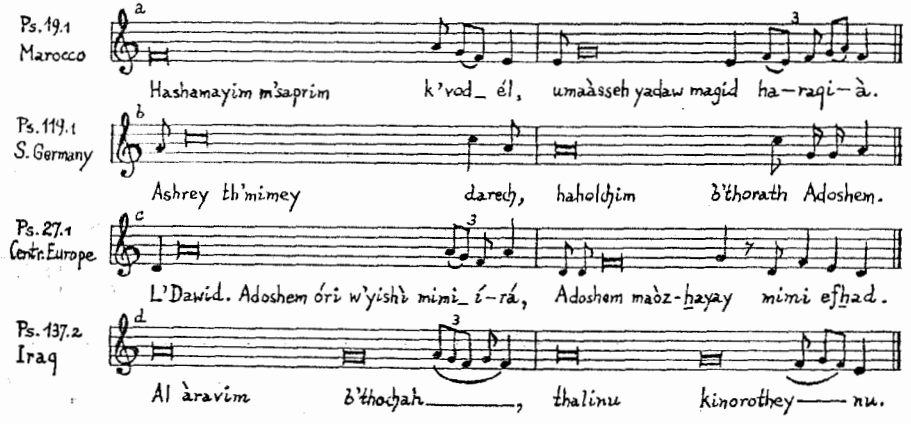
Example 2
Choir Psalmody



Example 2 demonstrates a simple choral psalmody of the Jews from Iran (Idelsohn Thes. III: No. 25). It is applied to the words of a very old penitential prayer *(s'lihah)* written in free rhythm. As in the present case, the psalmodic style serves as an archetype for the hymn tunes of Jewish communities in all regions (and also for the Nestorian Church. see Ex. 7b below).

Initial formula and multiple reading-note are evident here. The last verse is treated in a special manner.

Example 3
Various Psalmodic Patterns



Example 3—the classical scheme of Jewish psalmody, is practised in the East as well as in Europe. The melodic contour of the cadences may slightly change in the repetitions, and the reading-note may fluctuate between neighbouring notes.

Sources: (a) Idelsohn Thes. II: No. 17. Other psalms in the same tone: Nos. 18; 135; 192, etc.—(b) I. Lachmann, Awaudass Jissroeil, No. 154. Huerben, 1899.—(c) A. Baer, Baal Th'filah 2nd ed., No. 154. Goeteborg, 1883.—(d) Idelsohn Thes. II: No. 27: *Super flumina Babylonis,* as sung by the Babylonian Jews during the *S'lihoth* (Penitential Night Services).

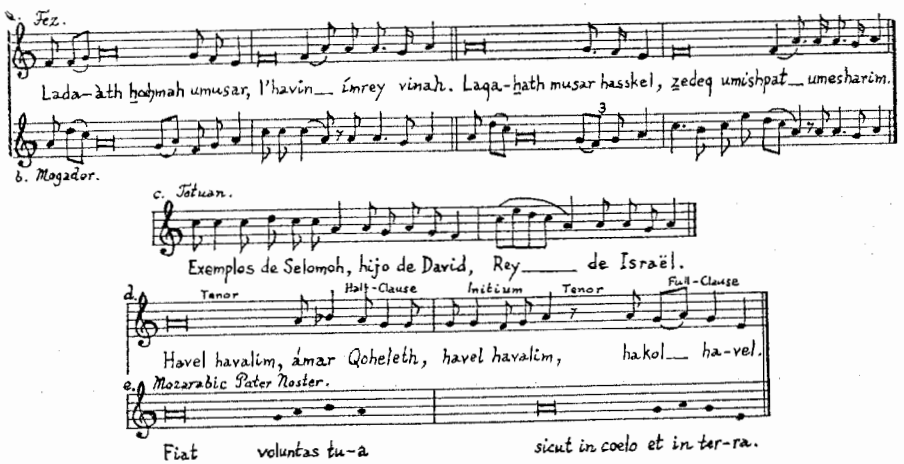
Note the similarity of the mediant-cadence with the *Punctus versus* and the *Aleph, Beth* etc. of the Gregorian *Lamentationes Jeremiae* (Apel 1958:206). The same tone also serves for singing a post-Biblical *S'lihoth-hymn* (Idelsohn Thes. II: No. 29).

Additional examples see Gerson-Kiwi 1956:fig. 587–588. Gerson-Kiwi 1962:43–49. Idelsohn 1922:519–521.

A glance cast on a punctuated page of the Hebrew Psalter shows that each word is provided with an accent. Likewise, the former Babylonian letter-accentuation, although more concisely constructed, had the verses arranged in several subdivisions (Kahle 1902:90; 92). Actual singing, however, disregards any written accentuation, as evident from the above examples. The classical melodic Punctuation Style does not need more than two accents which mark the end of both half-clauses *(Athnah* and *Sof pasuq).* Consequently, this musical style is independent of the Masoretic accents and of the "scholarly art" they represent. Its genuiness is confirmed by its wide diffusion throughout Iran, Marocco, Germany, and other areas of the Jewish diaspora.

Acquaintance with the elements of the psalmodic style renders possible its recognition in the other Biblical "Poetic Books" as well as in the rest of the Hagiographa.

Example 4
Punctuation Style

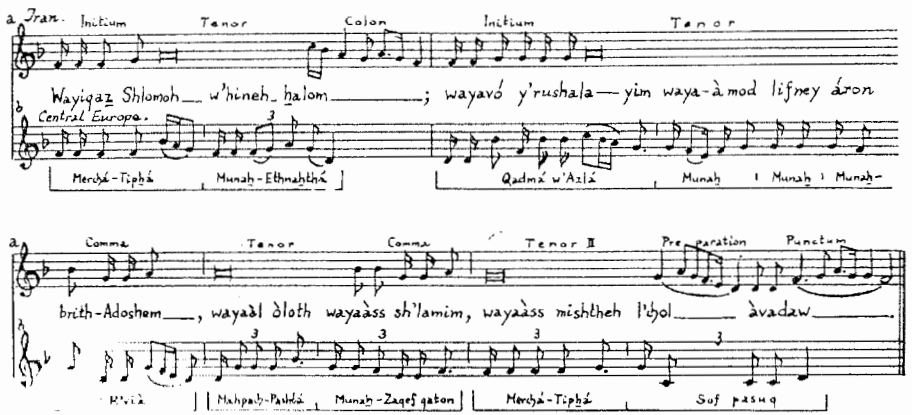


Example 4a-b demonstrates different versions of the Book of Proverbs-lesson from Marocco (Idelsohn Thes. V. Nos. 293–294). The ornate version shows melodic variations of the initial formula, while the reading-pitch is but cursorily touched because of the shortness of verses.—The third version is in the *Ladino* vernacular of the Sefardic Jews (Larrea Palacin 1954:238).

Example 4d contains the lesson of Ecclesiastes from the same region (Idelsohn Thes. V:No. 284). Its melodic line is similar to that of the Mozarabic *Pater noster* (Angles 1955:82)—a fact that shows the stylistic closeness of Jewish and Latin melodic Punctuation Style (perhaps also a similarity of Spanish-Jewish and Spanish-Mozarabic speech cadences).

It is a heavy blow to the reputation of the Tiberian system as the sole authority that free Punctuation Melodics are found also outside the Hagiographa. While one could claim that this is due to their being relatively seldom read (with the exception of the Psalter), this is not true of the Pentateuch and Prophets which are constantly read in public services. However, in spite of the frequent use of these latter books, remnants of their chant in free Punctuation Style have been preserved in Iran and elsewhere in the East.

Example 5
Punctuation- and Group-Style



Example 5 compares the Punctuation Style of synagogal chant (1 Kings 3.15) with the more usual Group Style.

The Persian tune of Ex. 5a (Idelsohn Thes. III:No. 138) introduces an additional element into melodic punctuation, i.e., a third cadence, weaker than that of the half-clause. This musical arrangement is largely similar to the reading-tones of the Roman Church with its three clauses *(posituraе):* Comma, Colon, Punctus versus [12]. The Jews of Iran still add an

[12] Equivalent nomenclature: *Punctus circumflexus, P. elevatus, P. versus; Metrum, Membrum, Punctus; Subdistinctio, Media distinctio, Ultima distinctio.* —*Cf.* Isidorus Hispalensis, Etymologiae Lib. I. 20 (Migne PL: 82, col. 95–96).—Wagner 1912:83.

initial formula, wherever demanded by the rhythm of Hebrew diction; moreover, they add a preparatory motive that announces the full-clause, according to a common Eastern habit.

For further examples of the Punctuation Style see: Rural Pentateuch Mode and Prophecy Mode from Iran (Idelsohn Thes. III:Nos. 8; 111); Prophecy Mode from Buchara (Ibid., No. 138); Esther Mode from Yemen (Idelsohn Thes. I:No. 126). See also Ex. 6 below.

The normal structure of psalmody is enriched here by the introduction of a Comma cadence. This enables the reader to reproduce sentences that are more complicated than the usual two-part psalm verse, with an appropriate subdivision of the syntactical members. We shall have to dwell later on the historical importance of this mode of lesson. Its features will appear more profilic after comparison with the current style of Bible reading.

2. Group Style

Whenever the tune of Hebrew accents is transscribed into music, it is generally taken for granted (and thus seldom sufficiently stressed) that single, detached accents are practically non-existant. Certain exceptions conceded, they are but constituents of fixed groups formed by two or more accents in a certain variable regulation. The frequent appearance of the Babylonian accents in fixed sequences already foreshadowed this peculiarity. The typical association of accents was made paramount in the fully developed Tiberian system, where every word was given its own accent. In this manner, accentuation held sway over the whole gamut of principal and subsidiary words. And furthermore: In any sentence of normal speech, the words have to be uttered in coherent groups, according to their syntactic and logical relation. The Masoretes of Tiberias answered this demand by creating two categories of accents: Disjunctives or *Masters,* and Conjunctives or *Servants,* grouped together in units according to need. In this way, a group of words uttered in one breath has its equivalent in a Group of Servants and Masters, e.g.: Master-Servant-Master, Servant-Master-Servant-Master, Servant-Master-Master, according to the number of words. Any of these groups is sung as one coherent melodic phrase. As the written accent-groups evoke corresponding tone-groups, the verse sounds like a chain of melodic phrases. This style of singing is absolutely dissimilar to that of musical punctuation, as may be easily realized from a comparison of Ex. 5a with 5b.

Ex. 5b quotes a melodic reading of verses from the Prophets as chanted by the Ashkenazim in Central Europe. The melodic groups have been marked by means of full, half and quarter bars, the relative length of which indicates the separating power of the accent. Furthermore, brackets below the text, with the accent names added, make the groups more conspicuous.

The tonal axis of this tune is the note G. The resting points occur on various pitches: the Finalis (=1st grade disjunctive accents) on D [13], the Co-Finalis (2nd grade disjunctives) on F; weaker disjunctives reach the G or B-flat.

[13] *R'via,* theoretically reckoned as a 2nd grade disjunctive accent, occasionally turns out to be stronger than the rest of the 2nd graders. If often marks out sharp syntactic caesuras.

Having thus demonstrated the formal principle of this style, we may forego the production of additional examples; for the Group Accent Style is the best-known way of chanting the Hebrew Bible, and is thus exemplified in most books dealing with the music of the synagogue.

3. Distribution of Styles

The previous paragraphs have demonstrated the concordances as well as the discrepancies which exist between written Tiberian accentuation and synagogal performance of Bible chant. The instances where the singers went, and continue to go, their own way, are earmarked to form clues of historical interest. They are unevenly distributed throughout the various Jewish communities.

The style of melodic punctation is disseminated all over the Jewish diaspora. Its use in daily prayer as well as the custom of reciting the Psalter on many occasions of daily life, made psalmody the real stronghold of this style. The chanting of other books in this way is limited to communities on the fringes of the Eastern Jewish settlement: Iran, Western North Africa, and (as we shall see) the Yemen.

Its antithesis, the Group Accent Style, reached full development with the Ashkenazim of Europe and in the ancient Jewish centres of Iraq (Babylonian community). With the Sefardim, a certain reluctancy is felt when it comes to the realization in chant of the full-fledged Tiberian system.

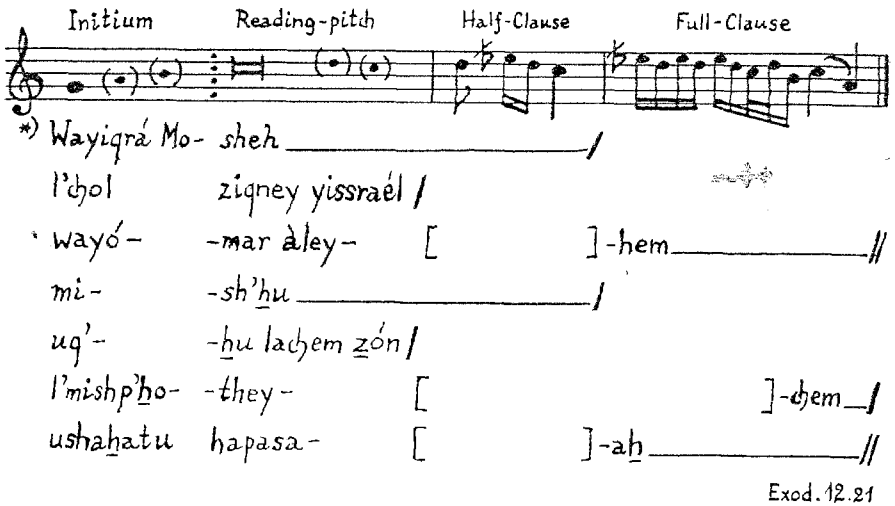
An instructive example of the conflict of the different styles may be found in the Pentateuch Mode of Yemen, as recorded both by Idelsohn and Gerson-Kiwi (Idelsohn Thes. I: Nos. 202–203. Idelsohn 1917:Nos. 1161–1162. Gerson-Kiwi 1956: fig. 595a).

Ex. 6 shows a style of chant which is based upon the elements of the Punctuation Style: Initial formula, fixed reading-pitch, cadences of half- and full-clause. Starting with that limited material, an attempt is made to reproduce the complicated division and subdivision of the sentence according to the demands of the Tiberian accentuation: Two cadences are, rather inconsistently, used to express five Tiberian disjunctive accents of different strength.

Yemenite readers of former times, used to the simple cadences of the Punctuation Style, faced the requirement of chanting according to the Tiberian rules which claimed exclusive authority. They found a compromise by dissolving the given order of the psalmodic cadences, and using them freely in conformance with Tiberian disjunctive accents; the conjunctives were neglected.

In an earlier paper (Avenary 1946:27–33), the present author delt with the isolated phenomenon of pentatonic chant fostered by West-Ashkenazic readers. He concluded that the communities near the Rhine, when asked (ab. the 10th cent.) to use exclusively the Tiberian accents, remodelled their melodic style of Biblical chant in the pentatonic idiom of their environment. The Yemenites, however, reacted in a half-hearted manner by a mere shifting of the old cadential formulae.

Example 6
Hybrid Lesson Style



In general, the distribution of cultural traits in time and space seems to follow a certain rule: New trends are developed and accepted in the centres of a certain culture, while antiquated elements are retained, and often stubbornly preserved, in the remote border regions. When this rule is applied to our subject, the Punctuation Style appears as the prior, receding style of Bible intonation: it later became outmoded, and was largely superseded by chant based upon groups of accents.

In our case, the relations of center and peripheric regions are somewhat intricate. As a matter of fact, there were two rival centers during the decisive period. The original spiritual center in the land of Israel declined in importance under the harsh Byzantine rule (395–638). Leadership passed over to the Babylonian community in the Neo-Persian empire; it still endured under the early Khalifs until the 8th century, when Palestinian teachers gradually regained spiritual authority.

The Old Palestinian accents were obviously created during the period of restricted activity, for they have been but faintly preserved. Tiberian accentuation, on the other hand, is the product of the restored Palestinian leadership: Developed since ab. 775, it became practically finished ab. 900 and completely replaced, in the succeeding period, all other systems. Its rival, the Babylonian accentuation, had been completed during the late Sassanian and early Arabic period; but, in the end, it surrendered to the Tiberians by accepting their conjunctive accents, and was finally abandoned with the declining influence of the Babylonian Jewish community.

These events in the East influenced the more or less remote diaspora in quite

different ways. The connection with the homeland was maintained by receiving therefrom *apostoli,* school-masters, Rabbis, and books. Legal and ritual questions arising in any diaspora community were submitted for decision to the *G'onim* of Babel and Israel. The diaspora in Spain, North Africa, Iran and Yemen fostered close connections with the Babylonian center. In these regions the accentual system of Tiberias was either accepted with reservations, as is Spain, or simply disregarded in singing practice, as was done by some of the other communities which were spiritually dependant on Babel. On the other hand, the Jewish settlements near the Rhine and the Danube as well as in Northern Italy, obtained education and instruction from the Palestinian authorities (Baron 1942:242. Rashi, Comment in B'rachoth 62a). Hence they accepted, and willingly performed, the Tiberian accent rules.

The former center of learning in Babylonia itself had lost its independence to such degree that it relinquished its achievements in the field of Bible accentuation altogether. Thus the Biblical chant of Baghdad follows closely the line of Tiberian rule today. But, again, the Babylonian center accepted and digested the new traits, while the outskirts fell behind and retained former styles of singing with persistance. Iran, Yemen and Marocco have preserved, down to our time, the key to an ancient mode of Jewish chant which would have been lost otherwise.

V

A new vocal style became manifest at the dawn of the first millenium. It was primarely an art of melodic lesson or recitation designed to give transparency to the text of the Bible. It may be said that music served the word in its faculty of bearing a spiritual message; this genre of art did not strive to give sensual pleasure, but spiritual delight.

The pattern of this style had been modelled after the cadences of natural speech; yet it never became really "speechlike", since the inflections of normal speech were mannered and stylized as to become musical cadences. This process concurred with a strong bias towards typification: When set to music, the free and uncontrolled cadences of spoken clauses were reduced to a small stock of fixed melodic formulae. Composing music evolved into an art of operating with pre-cast melodic formulas or typical motives. Combination of melodic formulae became an outstanding feature of vocal composition during the whole first millenium.

This procedure of musical composition may well be compared with similar phenomena in other fields of spiritual creativeness of the same period. One may recall, for instance, objects of ornamental art, where the same typical elements recur repeatedly in ever changing combinations. One may also be reminded of scientific compendia like Isidore Hispalensis' "Etymologiae" (ab. 600) which are but a continuous chain of quotations, i.e., pre-cast matter from earlier authors (Fontaine 1959:3 seq.). There was a general trend in the first millenium to replace or, at least, to disguise original creation by a composite of previously formed, authoritative material. The ability to assemble bits of knowledge or artistic motives like a string of beads, became also the main task of the composer of music.

1. Consolidation in the East

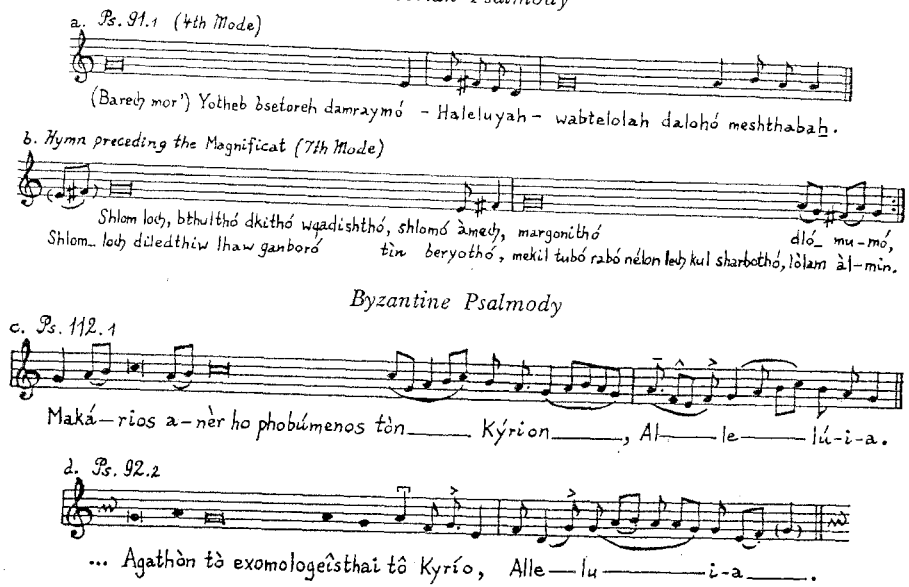
Originally, the standard melodic formula had an outspoken functional meaning: it represented either the beginning, the half-clause, or the end of a spoken sentence. Hence standard motives could be called by names which described their structural function, or later, when their number increased, also by fancy names. When the names were written over a line of text—possibly as initials (Babylonian accents) or conventional graphical signs—a kind of musical script was achieved. It was basically different from the Greek system of recording single notes, but it fitted well the new

way of thinking in terms of fixed motives and formulas. (The medieval neumes originated in a similar attitude.)

The basic form of functional-formula technique is represented by psalmody: the main pauses in the verse are the sole concern of the composer, while the intermediate parts are filled out in an arbitrary manner, or even by monotonic declamation. In performance, this style may be enriched and become more elaborate (changing pitches of the *tenor*, variation of cadential formulae, melismatic ornamentation); but it never loses its characteristic gravitation toward the concluding cadence, where all musical intensity gathers and accumulates.

The Nestorian Church of Syria has preserved the most sober form of psalmody up to now. Its clear punctuation style follows the familiar scheme of synagogal and Gregorian psalmody (Ex. 7a). The reading pitch may sometimes fluctuate between neighbouring notes, as in the so-called *Quqlion* psalms (Jeannin 1924:Nos. 474–482); but the basic outline is not touched.

Example 7
Nestorian Psalmody



Example 7a: Ps. 91 as sung at Compline (Jeannin 1924:No. 873; cf. 870–877). A *Haleluyah* is interpolated after each half-clause. As an old Jewish custom this has already been approved by the Mishnah (Avenary 1953:5), and is still carried on by the Yemen communities (Gerson-Kiwi 1962:46). It yielded the Roman *Psalmus cum alleluia*, and also became part and parcel of Nestorian psalmody.

Example 7b: One of the *Ma'urbé* hymns which precede the *Magnificat* (Jeannin 1924: No. 758).

Syrian choristers also use functional psalmodic formulae for singing hymns (Ex. 7b). This technique is applied in particular to their *Enyoné* which had developed from psalm antiphones.

The example reprinted by Besseler (1931:34) shows clearly the psalmodic tenor-cadence-pattern. It represents a widly diffused type of *Enyoné* in the 6th Syrian mode (compare Jeannin 1924:Nos. 686–690; 694; 697; 716).

Moreover, the simple psalmodic style is also applied to Nestorian *Qolé* hymns (like Jeannin 1924:No. 242) and others, although they lack any connection whatsoever with psalm-singing.

The psalmody of the Byzantine has become an object of research but recently (Wellesz 1961:341 seq.). The extant sources are relatively late (14th cent.), and what has been published, are half-verses of psalms with affixed *Alleluia,* used as antiphones. Nevertheless, the genuine psalmodic structure of these songs is obvious (Ex. 7c–d).

Ex. 7c: Ps. 112, from a Grottaferrata codex (Wellesz 1961:343–344). The rigid adherence to the reading-note has been relaxed here:

The reading-pitch is approached twice, by repeating the initial formula. This feature is also found in the Jewish psalmody of Yemen (Idelsohn Thes. I:No. 16; also Wellesz 1961:36–37). —Furthermore, long notes are dissolved into ornamental melisms, as at the word *(kyri)on* and, in Ex. 7d, *(Alle)lu(ia)*.

Ex. 7d: Ps. 92.2 from a 14th cent. codex of Thessalonica (Wellesz 1961:344–345).

A typical feature of *tenor*-pitches of the Greek Church is the marking of the accentuated syllables of the words by a higher note. Although sometimes occuring also in Roman and Jewish chant, the "tonic accent" is strictly observed in Greek psalmody and recitation, even in present-day liturgical lesson (see the example Hoeg 1935:128; also Wellesz 1961:257; Rebours 1906:85).

The whole repertoire of ornamental enrichment, fluctuating or accentuated *tenors,* and variation of cadences contains only accessory elements, and does not alter the basic structure of the punctuation style. A step forward towards as continuous, real melody was achieved when the motivic formulae accompanied all the words of the text, and chant was transformed into an uninterrupted flow of musical motives. This evolution is most conspicuous in Jewish-Tiberian accentuation and its melodic configurations, but also Byzantine and Syrian lesson must have taken part in it. The picture of the two Christian traditions is blurred by the retrograde evolution which took place early in the second millenium: Syrian accentuation was smothered in uncontrolled over-development (Segal 1953:1–2); the Greek-Orthodox Church returned to a reading style which featured a more or less fixed *tenor* and sparingly used cadential melismas (example quoted above). Yet the style of chained motives is found in Byzantine hymn tunes of the early Middle Ages.

In this manner, only the Jewish Biblical Chant has remained as an example of the connection between melodic reading on the one hand, and hymn tunes built like chains or mosaics of musical motives on the other. The motivic chain is the musical counterpart of the continuous Tiberian accentuation, as may be seen from Examples 5b and 9b-c, or any other piece of synagogal Group Accent Style. In the motivic chain resulting thereof, the main functional motives *(Masters)* are not properly welded together as to form a really continuous phrase. There remain points of weaker intensity, "soldering spots" of the melodic line. This particular feature is also found in Byzantine hymns as well as in the so-called "neumatic style" of Gregorian Introits and Communions, as we shall see later.

The functional use of melodic cadences in the Group Accent Style yielded a musical stucture of linked short motives. This principle of composition, once consolidated, was transferred to free composition of hymns and poetry. The motives, however, gradually lost their functional meaning [14] and acquired a, probably, more ornamental character. The "soldering spots" could be neutralized so as to provide for a smooth pasage from one motive to another; but the catenated structure of the melodic phrase remained an outstanding characteristic of e.g., Byzantine hymn tunes (Wellesz 1961: 326 seq. Wellesz 1955: 43–44).

A word on the manner of analyzing such tunes has to be inserted here. It has become usual in both Byzantine and Gregorian research to reckon with units of whole melodic phrases (melody-lines, corresponding to textual lines): the return and alternation of such "standard phrases" was made the vantage point of showing the chained structure of Stichera, Hirmi, Graduals or Tracts, and serves this purpose well. However, when the standard phrases themselves are scrutinized, they turn out to be a combination of still smaller standard motives [15]. We are obliged to resort to this more penetrating (although somewhat cumbersome) analysis, and to consider the internal structure of the standard phrases as well. This is a precondition for our aim of envisaging Byzantine and Gregorian styles against the background of motivic functionalism.

The chain-technique of Byzantine Stichera (i.e. monostrophic hymns connected

[14] "The same formulas can be used at the beginning, in the middle, and at the end of a melody" (Wellesz 1955:44).

[15] a. Byzantine hymns. See Wellesz 1961: Appendix V (p. 417–427)—Tables of Formulae of the Hirmi of the First Mode. In Series A, e.g., the formulae No. 1–10 and 20 are constructed of the motives a+b (with occasional variations, or with transitional passages); Nos. 11–12 have c+b; Nos. 13–14 d+b'; No. 15 c+b+c; No. 17 c+a+c+b+a+transitional passage.

b. Gregorian Chant. In the Tracts of the 8th Mode (Apel 1958:320), e.g., the Standard phrase G 2 consists of the motives d+b+e+f; long verses have d+b'+e+e+e+f. The initial phrase Ga contains the motives a+half-b+half-c'+b, and so on.

with psalm verses) has been examplified by Wellesz (1947: 103–104) with the Troparion "Hote tô stavrô". Its 7th-century poetry consists of 12 double lines, separated by a short line in the very middle of the stanza. The line is constructed of 5 melodic motives, 4 of which are repeated in an irregular sequence, while the 5th closes the first part of the poem. The 12 double lines are sung in this manner:

a–b a–b b–c d–b d–c e
d–b d–b d–b c–b b–c c'–a.

We see that motive *a* serves as an initial formula and as a concluding cadence as well; the motives *b* and *c* may open or may close a musical phrase. This distribution is arbitrary from a functional point of view. What remains is a patchwork, joined, as we may guess, according to purely artistic considerations: a mosaic of (what may have been supposed to be) precious gems, assembled into an attractive combination.

Regarding the Hirmus of the first "Anastaseôs heméra"-Ode, our analysis deviates from that given by Wellesz (1961: 326–327). When considering his table of most frequent formulae (ibid.: 328–329), it becomes evident that the formula is a composite by itself: halves and other fractions of it are used—namely, the motives they consist of. We compare here the two approaches to an analysis (the abbreviation *tr* means *transitional notes):*

Poetical and musical lines (Wellesz)		*Formulae (Wellesz)*	*Motives*
I, II	Part A	No. 4+*tr*	a+b+*tr*
III, IV, V	Part B	No. 7+*tr*	c+a'+*tr*
		¾ of No. 2	d
VI	Part C	1st half of No. 3	e
VII		1st half of No. 4, twice	a+a+*tr*
VIII		2nd half of No. 4	b

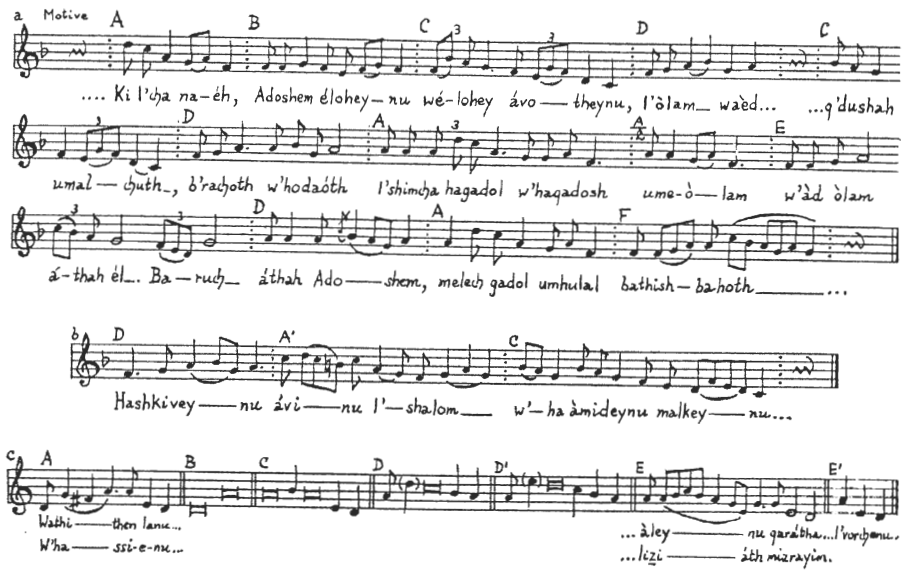
The analysis according to formulae shows an overlapping of the poetical and musical lines in Part B—a peculiar phenomenon which we shall observe also in Gregorian and Jewish mosaically constructed melodies. When the tune is broken up into motives, a structure is revealed that is more complicated, exuberant and "oriental" than that we are used to in the clearly disposed "architectonics" of classical forms.

Like ancient classical philosophy as a whole, also the idea of artistic form has a background of geometrical conceptions. The ancients found aesthetical pleasure—

and so did Europe until recently—in a broad-minded simplicity of structure, clear and understandable to the analytical mind, and well-detached from the perplexing multiplicity of nature. Eastern form, on the contrary, is an abstraction of natural growth, of plant, tree and mountain; it is enjoyed by following its contours and lines, and not by contemplating a well-disposed whole. One has only to compare the rectangular design of a Hellenistic or Roman town with the clusters of Eastern homes nestling in the landscape, in order to feel that difference of conceptions.

Such reflections may be helpful in understanding the irregularity and often bewildering combinatory principles which govern compositions in the mosaic technique. As to Plainchant, it has been meticulously examined, and designated either as an art of "migrating phrases" (P. Wagner), "centonized melodies" (Ferretti), "mosaic composition" (Anglès), or "standard phrases" (Apel). Already Peter Wagner called this procedure an inheritance from the Jewish East. This conclusion which he could formulate then in but a vague manner, can be substantiated now thanks to more recent collections of Oriental Jewish chant. Convincing examples of mosaic technique are found, among others, with the Jews of Marocco (Ex. 8a, b).

Example 8
Motive Mosaic



Example 8a is a section from *Yishthabah Shimcha* in the morning prayer (Idelsohn Thes. V: No. 29). The same motives are reiterated in a completely irregular manner throughout

the tune (notwithstanding its transition from free to measured rhythm and vice versa). According to a general rule in synagogal chant, the recurrence of motives is connected with constant variation, but their identity is always preserved.

The motivic structure of the tune is designed as follows (the sections reproduced in Ex. 8a are marked by asterisks):

(Free rhythm:) A B C D—* A B C D *
(Rhythm 3/4 4/4:) Half-A half-A C half-D A' half-C.
(Free rhythm:) * C D A half-A E D A F *
D D' D A F C A E.

Example 8b shows the beginning of *Hashkivenu* in the evening prayer (Ibid. No. 63). It it built from the same motives as Ex. 8a; but it is sung by the congregation, which may have caused a certain regularity in the sequence of motives:

D A' C E'—D A' C E'—D A' C E—x D A' C E'.

The motives *A* and *D* are identical with functional cadences in the Maroccan recitation of Proverbs (see Ex. 4 above). This fact may be taken as an evidence for our hypothesis that the ornamental use of motives developed from a more original functionalism.

In an intermediate stage, standard motives are used with a certain degree of freedom, but still a touch of functionalism is retained. The Askenazic *Th'filah* Mode for holidays and New Moon may serve as an example (see Ex. 8c).

Example 8c presents the motives of the tune which was recorded by S. Naumbourg, Z'miroth Yissrael, No. 140. Paris, 1847. See also H. Weintraub, Shirey Adonay, No. 116. Koenigsberg, 1859 (more florid and modulating); I. Lachmann, Awaudass Jisroeil, No. 121–123. Leipzig, 1899.

A rudimentary regularity is preserved in this Ashkenazic tune by the more frequent appearance of motives *A, B, C* in the first, and *D, E* in the second half of the texts. Motive *A* is an initial phrase, but *B, C* and even *D* may serve the same purpose. *E* is the conclusion, but *E'* forms also part of *A* and *C*. The outlay of, e.g., the section *Athah v'charthanu* is as follows: A' C B — D D D' E; *W'hassienu* is sung as A B — D D' E'. On the other hand, *Qadshenu* begins with D C B' C . . ., and *L'dor wador* with B D D D . . . Thus also this tune largely approaches a mosaic of non-functional motives.

A further example of mosaic technique is the oriental Sefardic melody of Psalm 1 (Idelsohn Thes. IV: No. 322). Having excluded any possible influence of the Tiberian accents on the texture of this tune, we are able to establish the following irregular motivic structure of the 6 verses:

A B C A
1. Ashrey haish asher lo halach b'azath r'shaim
D E
uv'derech hataim lo amad uv'moshav lezim lo yashav.

E' F E' '
2. Ki im b'thorath Adoshem hefzo uv'thoratho yehgeh yomam walaylah.
B G A
3. W'hayah k'ez shatul al-palgey mayim
B A H
asher priyo yithen b'itho w'alehu lo-yibol
half-E'
w'chol asher-yaasseh yazliah.
H' E' '
4. Lo-chen har'shaim ki im-kamoz asher-thidfehu ruah.
G F C
5. Al-ken lo-yaqumu r'shaim bamishpat w'hataim baadath zadiqim.
H' ' C
6. Ki-yodea Adoshem derech zadiqim w'derech r'shaim thoved.

It may be instructive to compare already at this stage the mosaic structure of a Gregorian tune for Psalm 22, as it is intoned in the Tracts (Apel 1958: 325, with his *sigla):*

Da 8 C 1 D 11
2. Deus, Deus meus, respice in me, quare me derelexisti?
D 1 C 1 f 1 D 12
Longe salute mea verba delictorum meorum.
C 1 F 1 D 13
5. In te speraverunt patres nostri: speraverunt, et liberasti eos.

If one puts aside the melodic differences between the Jewish and the Christian chant, the basic conception of musical structure is absolutely identical.

Western influence cannot be claimed for the Oriental synagogues, nor can an extraneous model be imagined for the European mode of this most important holiday prayer (Ex. 8c). There can be hardly any doubt that the mosaic technique in Eastern and Western synagogues is a common heritage, a continuation of a singing style that flourished in first-millenium Eastern music.—

If we gaze in retrospect on the evolution of the dominant vocal style of that period, we see that the entire East (as far as our information goes) took part in it. Out of a sober melodic heightening of a prose text grew an elaborate system which entwined the syntactical and logical structure of speech in a network of functional musical cadences and formulae. A "neumatic" or group style was formed, consisting of loosely interlinked motives. When the consciousness of the syntactic-logical meaning of cadences faded, the group style with its mosaic of—now ornamental—formulae became an independent principle of composition, most conspicuous in Byzantine hymn tunes. While much of Eastern church music has been lost, or is not sufficiently accessible to the present author, synagogal tradition the world over proves to have preserved almost every step in this evolution. It still draws extensively from the

sources of that Eastern musical style which once was inaugurated by the chant of the Bible.

2. The Road from East to West

The new style of singing arose within a well-defined district of the Eastern Mediterranean world. With the spread of Christianity it became a universal style of sacred chant, and engulfed the European centers in Italy, Spain, and France as well as their cultural provinces throughout the continent. We may concentrate on reviewing here some musical traits of Roman Plainchant which are also found in other Gregorians styles (Anglès 1955).

Melodic recitation is fostered by the Roman Church just as it is in the East, and employed for reading the Scripture and a number of prayers (Offertory, *Pater noster,* Canon, Preface of *Sanctus).* Scriptural lesson during the Mass was witnessed at Rome as early as the middle of the 2nd century; regular reading of the Old Testament was continued down to the 5th century. The text of the Latin Bible was punctuated with the aid of the Roman *positurae* or *pausationes,* the forerunners of modern comma, colon and full-stop, in order to clarify the sense of each sentence [16]. These pause marks were interpreted as signs of appropriate musical cadences. Thus Ecclesiastical lesson was performed on a steady reading note, with cadences added at the places of punctuation (Wagner 1912:83). The result resembled closely the primitive form of the Jewish punctuation style (Ex. 9a).

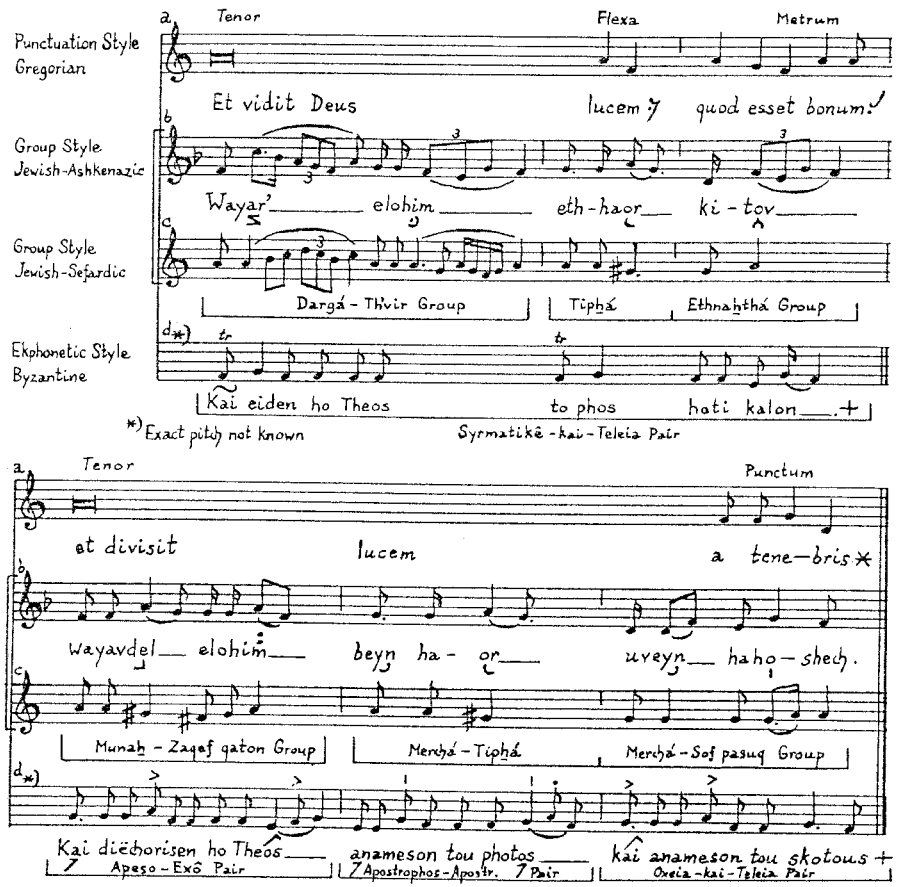
Example 9a shows Gen. 1.4, subdivided by *Flexa* (Comma), and *Metrum* (Colon), and performed according to the 12th century Roman style (Apel 1958: 205). It is compared here with the synagogal Group Style according to the Tiberian accents (Ex. 9b–c), and with a reconstruction of Byzantine *Ekphonesis* in the 12th cent. (Hoeg 1935: 34).

It becomes clear from this example and from the aforesaid (chap. IV) that the Gregorian reading-tone is structurally identical with the early (unwritten) mode of Hebrew Bible reading as is still used by some communities in outlying settlements of the diaspora (Ex. 5 above). We may conclude that the Roman reading-style is a descendant of that early stage, but, unlike its Eastern brothers, it failed to develop. Europe, then a border area of Eastern music, retained that aboriginal style unchanged, because "reading with melody" was foreign to its genuine musical tendencies.

Nevertheless, the basic traits of this Eastern style govern the musical formation of an extensive part in Roman liturgy. (For the following see Apel 1958). Closely related is the style of psalmody with its fixed recitation pitch *(tenor),* and its cadential

[16] Isidore of Seville (ab. 559–636), Etymologiae I 20 (Migne PL 82, col. 95–96): "Positura est figura ad distinguendam sensus per cola et commata et periodos quae, dum ordine suo apponitur, sensum nobis ostendit."

Example 9
Gregorian, Hebrew, and Byzantine Lesson



formulae at the opening, middle and conclusion of the verse. Gregorian psalm tunes may commence either without, or with one or two intonation formulae. The normal use of a single, unchanging *tenor* is enriched in the double-*tenor*-types *(tonus peregrinus,* Introit of the 6th mode, Gt. Responsories of Matins, special tones for Pss. 46 and 50). The *tenor* pitch may also be inflected on accentuated syllables (Gt. Responsories, Invitatory Psalm), or even fluctuate from one note to another (some Gt. Responsories of the 8th mode, Invitatory Ps.). Thus Gregorian psalmody is not as frozen in formulae as often anticipated, and not too far remote from mobile Eastern melodies.

The same holds true with certain formal traits. The structure of, e.g., the *Praefatio*- and *Pater noster*-recitations (MGG 10:1535) is very similar to that of our Example 2 (Iran): several clauses of the text are sung to repetitions of a first theme, and finally concluded by a second theme.

The antiquity of, at least, Gregorian Mass psalmody is proven by the retention of psalm texts according to the obsolete *Itala* version of the 2nd and 3rd centuries (Apel 1958: 62). It was obviously the traditional tunes which possessed stability, and were preserved together with their antiquated texts—a phenomenon not seldom found in musical lore.

Gregorian lesson did not participate in the Eastern development of accent systems and of the melodic group style connected therewith. However, we have already pointed out the transfer of this motive-chain-style to psalm-and hymn tunes and its consolidation as a musical style by itself, without further connection to grouped reading-accents. Many Gregorian Introits and Communions have been found to be composed in such a "neumatic or group style" which has been characterized in this manner: Between motivic groups, single notes of uniform pitch are interspersed "thus introducing a snatch of psalmodic recitative into the melodic motion of the neumes" (Apel 1958: 306–307). We already observed the analogous feature of "soldering spots" between the motives in Jewish Group Style as well as in the structure of Byzantine hymns.

The mosaic of recurrent motives which features our Jewish and Byzantine examples, is not extant in the above mentioned field of Plainchant. There are, however, wide areas in Roman chant where "centonized structure", i.e., the more or less regular combination of fixed motives, is cultivated. The art of joining motives is practized there in different degrees of combinatory freedom. In the Graduals, standard motives or-phrases have retained their functional features as initial, intermediate. or final formulae (Apel 1958: 350). An almost invariable sequence of phrases of punctuative value is observed in the Gt. Responsories (ibid. 334).

On the other hand, free and variegated combination governs the tunes of the Tracts (ibid. 318 seq). These songs for the pre-Easter period are the real domain of mosaic composition in Plainchant. The respective order of motives therein follows purely musical considerations. This may be judged from some cases of disagreement between the textual and the musical division of phrases: a verse or sentence may end in the very middle of a motive (Apel 1958: 273–274; 320 note 6). A similar instance of overruling the text by the flow of melody appears in our example of Jewish-Maroccan mosaic composition (Ex. 8, motive E), as well as in a Byzantine pièce. This discrepancy between word and tone can be regarded as inherent in a musical workmanship which had freed itself from the logical-syntactic dominance of the text. As to this genre of composition, functionalism of motives gave ground to patterns of ornamental nature.

A certain measure of functional thinking, however, was retained, and has been pointed out even in compositions of free melismatic flow. The same is sometimes palpable in secular monody of decidedly Western origin—an imprint left by the universal Eastern style of the first millenium.

AT the dawn of an era in musical history, we see the emergence of psalmody as a new singing style. It rendered the largely personal, "dialogic" (Buber) diction of the psalms by means of an objective musical setting which was, at the same time, the collective product of a community. Still nowadays, this style is cultivated and performed in an absolutely uniform manner in both churches and synagogues of East and West. Many an expert, when confronted with a psalm-tone without text, would hesitate to identify it—were there not certain melodic preferences or idiosyncrasies to guide him (a mediant cadence, for instance, approaching the subsemitone like in Ex. 7b, is hardly found in synagogal psalmody, but not uncommon in the Eastern churches).

Since the days of Peter Wagner, Jewish psalm tones are usually illustrated by examples from the Yemen. This community, it is true, was once far remote from Christian influences; but it is wrong to claim its isolation from the rest of Eastern Jewish centres as well. Actually Yemen took part in each development of Jewish law and in most of the religious movements in Jewish history. It accepted new literature and, last but not least, almost every innovation in hymnology. The reference to Yemen as a "reservation'" of ancient singing habits proves unnecessary, since we can show in our Examples 1 to 3 the diffusion of genuine synagogal psalmody in every region of the world.

Unfortunately P. Wagner's cautious presentation of structural analogy between Yemenite and Roman psalm tones grew into a search for identical melodies common to church and synagogue (Idelsohn 1922; E. Werner). Sometimes wishful thinking hardly avoided a distortion of facts. In opposition to this trend, Apel (1958:35) maintains that "the main argument rests . . . on the identity of the general premises of musical style"—an opinion that is fully confirmed by our findings.

In close relation to psalmody, the melodious chant of prosa texts developed and spread over the whole East. The idea of transforming normal speech into melodic cadences is foreign to the European mind. Though adopted for ecclesiastical lesson, it failed to develop further—and that in striking difference to the fervent evolution witnessed by Eastern accent systems. As examplified by Hebrew Biblical chant, the liturgical lesson was reshaped into chains of melodic motives. Subsequently, the latter became a favorite technique of composition in the East. In the course of this evolution, cadences were stripped of their original functional meaning, and now formed a free mosaic of motives. We have been able to contribute examples for each stage of this evolution from the current stock of synagogal chant. Identical formal

factors are at work in the shaping of Byzantine hymn tunes. This proves that the aforementioned sequence of forms is a universal trait of sacred music in the Eastern world.

Europe persisted meanwhile in the old-fashioned, rigid line of the Punctuation Style in Bible lesson. No inventive thought was ever devoted to a completion of the Latin accentual system and the eventual development of a Group Accent Style in scriptural readings. Thus the technique of motivic chains and motivic mosaic, wherever it is met with in Plainchant, has to be regarded as a relatively late importation from the East, and not as indigenously European musical structure. Needless to say, Europe made the best of the formal and stylistic stimuli that emanated from Eastern sacred song.

When Peter Wagner (1921: 396) called certain compositional techniques extant in Gregorian chant "an inheritance of synagogal psalmody", he was guided by a unique faculty of intuitive foresight. A rich material of synagogal chant has been recorded since that time, and proves to substantiate his thesis. We have seen the emergence of the liturgical recitative as a carrier of the Biblical Word; all circumstances point to a Jewish origin of this compositional principle. Not long afterwards this music style which was devoid of sensual traits was accepted by all followers of the Scripture. Melodious lesson in all its primitiveness harbored the nucleus of further musical developments: the custom of the public recitation of the Bible implanted in the believers in the uplifting message of this book.

In this sense, the liturgical recitative became an important contribution to and a source of inspiration for early Western music. Indeed it is the basis for the yet unwritten story of word-tone relations.

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