A History of Muslim Philosophy

the Allepans were "fond of music," and in their performances the instruments generally were well in tune, and ... kept excellent time."

Chapter LVIII
MUSIC (Continued)

C

THE MUSIC THEORISTS

"There is one and the same principle which, if prevailing in the attempered particles of the elements, is equiponent of temperament; if produced in tones is pure and delightful interval; if apparent in gestures is grace; if observable in languages is rhythmic and eloquence; if created in the limbs is beauty; if in the mental faculties is equity."

Jalāl al-Dīn Dawānī: ʿAṣṣābāʾ-i Jalālī
di

In addition to those who conceived music to be "like a far" on a sultry day were those to whom it was "like medicine," as we have heard in the opening fanfare to this chapter. That was precisely how the Pythagoreans viewed music, and it was from them that the notions of the "theory of numbers," the "harmony of the spheres," and the "doctrines of the chaos (tūtēšr)" were handed down to Muslim peoples as methodological systems, although the history of the Semitic and Aryan races in pre-Islamic days teems with these beliefs. In fact, the Greeks derived their theses on those matters from the ancient Semites of Babylonia-Assyria, as shown elsewhere. 1 Iamblichus affirms that Pythagoras learnt those secrets from the Chaldeans of Babylon, 2 and books on music and arithmetic by Pythagoras were known in Arabic, 3 as were the works of his disciples Iamblichus, Porphyry, Proclus, and Nicomachus. 4 Perhaps the first impact came through that pseudo-Aristotelian production known as the "Book of Government" (Kitāb al-Siyâsah), said to have been translated into Arabic, via Syriac, by ʿUthman ibn ʿAbī Rihat (d. 200/815), 5 and this is what we read therein on the influence of music and the harmony of the spheres. Mental diseases are amenable to cure by means of musical instruments which convey to the soul the harmonic sounds which are (ultimately) due to the motions of the spheres in their natural movements. When those

2 Iamblichus, De sphaera Pythagorae, iv.
3 Ibn al-Qiftī, p. 359.
5 British Museum MS., Or. 3118, ff. 22v–23.
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Pythagorean interval (298 cents), and it was these alien intervals which both al-Ishfakai and ibn ‘Abdi Rabbihi blame for the decadence of the pure Arabian music in the third/ninth century. There were many earlier theorists of music, notably Yūnis al-Kāthib (d. c. 148766) who wrote a “Book of Melody” (Kitāb al-Najāf). That was also the title of a book by al-Khaddāl (d. 175701), who also compiled a “Book of Rhythm” (Kitāb al-Ighā). He was the “father of prosody.” A more important treatise appears to have been the “Book of Melody and Rhythm” by Ishaq ibn-Mawwali (d. 226980), and that was accomplished, says al-Ishfakai, without the author’s knowing an iota of the work of Eudocia. None of those works have come down to us, but we know precisely what al-Mawsili’s theoretical principles were from the Risālāh of his disciple ibn al-Munajjam (d. 300912).

In the mid-third/ninth century a new world dawned for those interested in that group of sciences known as the Quadrivium, i.e., the “al-ālim rīfā’im,” which included the theory of music. At the “House of Learning” (Bait al-Ilmā), in Baghdad were scholars who had translated the great Greek writers on music into Arabic, including Aristotle, Aristoxyrear, Eudocia, Ptolemy, and probably Aristeides Quintilianus. The first to avail himself of the new al-Kindi was “of his works on the subject have been preserved. The entire gamut of the science of music is covered by him in his several extant works, two of which have been translated or extracted. He not only appreciated music as a science for mathematicians and a joy to auditors, but as a prescription for physicians to administer to the afflicted and blind. As de Boer says, al-Kindi applied mathematics to medicine in his theory of compound remedies, like the effect of music on geometrical proportions. Everything within the entire macrocosm was linked together. Each note on a lute was connected with melodic mode (jāfār), rhythm, and sentiment. These, in turn, were combined with the planets, seasons, elements, humans, airs, and perfumes.

In his minute description of the lute—the earliest which we possess—the “four-fold things” dominated all else. There were four strings, strings in fourths, and four frets. The strings from the lowest to the highest were figured by three, two, one, and one. His disciples, the Ikhwan al-Asafa (fourth/tenth century), followed him in most things, but made the strings compounded

Music (Continued)
of 64, 48, 36, and 27 strands respectively. They assigned to every melodic and rhythmic mode a specific influence (kabār), a doctrine which held sway in Islamic lands up to the fourteenth/twentieth century. His most illustrious pupil was al-Saraḥṣi (d. c. 268900), but his five books on music have not survived. Ishaq ibn Qurṣah (d. 288901) is credited with eight treatises on music, yet not a page has come down to us. Other theorists were Maṣūr ibn Talhah (d. c. 299910), a follower of al-Kindi, ibn Tahir al-Khunti (d. 300913), one of the most learned in the philosophy of music, ibn al-Munajjam (d. 300912) whose “Treatise on Music” (Risālah fī al-Mazāgh) still exists, Quṣaṣ ibn Lūǧa (d. c. 300912), and abu Bakr al-Rāzī (d. 313925) who penned a “Book of the Summings-up of Music” (Kūfī fī al-Ma‘ārif). The fame of all these was swept aside on the emergence of the “Second Master” (i.e., second only to Aristotle) whose name became known in Europe as AlFarabi. Al-Farabi (Alfarabius) was a Turkaman, although educated in Iraq. Celebrated chiefly as a philosopher, he also takes front rank as a music theorist, being known especially for his “Major Book on Music” (Kitāb al-Ma‘ārif al-Kuldar) which was the greatest contribution to the subject up to his time. He tells us that almost all the Greek works on music had been translated into Arabic. Most of those he studied, although he mentions no one by name, save Themistius. Unlike the latter, who was not a practitioner in music, al-Farabi was an instrumental performer, and whilst most of his theoretical discussion was based on Greek authors, on the practical side he supplied original material not to be found elsewhere, especially in his description of the existing instruments of music among the Arabs. Being a good mathematician and physician, he was fully equipped to deal with speculative theory (‘ilm al-nasā‘i). Although indebted to the Greeks, he avoided their errors in that he did not agree that sound is heard in water in a less degree than in air, nor that wool when struck produces no sound, as Aristotle tells us. Neither did al-Farabi repeat the blunder of Nicomachus that Pythagoras discovered the consonances by comparing the weight of the hammers in the blacksmith’s shop, a legend repeated by Guntherius and Boehm. His treatment of the influence (kabār) of music leaves the Greeks and Al-Kindi far behind, as one would readily see from a naturalistic philosopher.
Further east was Muhammad ibn Ahmad al-Khwārizmī (d. c. 370/980) who was in the service of the vizier of the Sāmānids, Prince Nuh II. He compiled an encyclopedic *Keys to the Sciences* (Maḥfūẓ al-Ulūm), one key of which unlocked the door of music. Another scientist, Abu al-Walī (d. 385/996), penned a *Compendium on the Science of Rhythm* (Maḥkāmat fī Fann al-İqāʿ). while in distant Muslim Spain a "Treatise on the Composition of Melodies" (Riḍālāt fī Tāḥlīl al-Abās) was produced by 'All ibn Sa'īd al-andalusī (fourteenth century). The contemporary 'Abd al-Sāla was employed in the service of the Mughal emperor, and his treatise on the science of music was much sought after. The *Khwārizmī al-Safa* has been translated into English by H. O. Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music*, p. 117.

From Turkestan there came the work of 'Abd al-Hațim (d. 430/1040) that we do find a "Commentary on the Canon of Ebu" (Sharh Qadın Uşlahid), together with a "Discourse on the Commentary on the Harmonics" (Mugdāhāt fī Sharh al-Aşhrāmāsī), the latter being probably the *Introduction to Harmonics* of Chladni. The *Khwārizmī al-Safa* says: "Smooth sounds give smooth sounds whilst rough objects give rough sounds." His treatment of the theory of music is different from that of al-Fārābī, possibly because what was practised in Buğdār, Hamadan, and Iṣfahān was alien to that in Syria. The fretting of the lute was certainly dissimilar, the first semitone fret (ma'yūnab) being the diatonic interval (112 cents), whereas elsewhere the semitone was the temsār (90 cents), whilst the Zalzalin neutral third was slightly flatter (343 cents). He gives the notation of a few of the melodic modes, and from that one sees that the Persians were retaining their fanciful names for them, such as Sulmā, Nūzā, etc. Three Persian terms crept into the Arabic language early in the nineth century, at first where their scales agreed with those of the Arab "finger modes" (qabāl), but later indiscriminately. All the old Arabian instruments are mentioned together with a few others, viz., the 'usūr, the 'abās, the soundboxy (the Aramaic shadda), and the qabāl or qabāl, seemingly the Chinese metalophone. Ibn Sīnā also introduced a chapter on music in a shorter work entitled "The Deliverer" (al-Nuyāt) which was translated into Arabic as the *Dīnār al-Ma'ānī*—by his pupil Abu Úbaíd al-Juzā'ī. Another of his disciples was Abu Masūr ibn Zallāh (d. 440/1048), whose "Book of Sufficiency on Music" (Kūšī al-Kārī fī al-Maṣīḥi) is even more valuable than the above treatises of Ibn Sīnā. Although Baron d'Érlanger thought otherwise, it contains much material not to be found elsewhere, especially on the practical art of music, and also passages from a treatise by al-Kināla which has not been known hitherto. Strange to say, al-Kināla had written a work entitled "The Book on the Division of the Canon" (Riḍālāt fī Qimāt al-Qadār), which might have been a commentary on Ebu'd's *Sectio Canonis* since we know that he was acquainted with that book. Yet it was not until the emergence of the scientific thought of Ibn al-Hațim (d. 430/1040) that we do find a "Commentary on the Canon of Ebu" (Sharh Qadın Uşlahid), together with a "Discourse on the Commentary on the Harmonics" (Mugdāhāt fī Sharh al-Aşhrāmāsī), the latter being probably the *Introduction to Harmonics* of Chladni. A far more remarkable book was Ibn al-Hațim's "Treatise on the Influence of Melodies on the Souls of Animals" (Riḍālāt fī Tāḥlīl al-Rișāl fī al-Maṣīḥi-yāt al-Nuyāt al-Ḥayānīyāt). Unfortunately, we do not know its scope of inquiry because the ruthless hand of time seems to have erased it. Yet it dealt with a set of phenomena which had long enticed the minds of Muslim peoples—the phenomena that the camel's pace could be hastened or retarded by music's power; that horses could be persuaded to drink by its usage; that

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Music (Continued)

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regales could be cherished and stilled; and that birds could be lured by its potency.\(^{64}\) Nor should we forget the Andalusi lexicographer Ibn Sidah (d. 458/1066) whose Kitab al-Mukhtasar contains several sections on music and musical instruments.\(^{46}\) There were other famous men of Muslim Spain who "hit the mark"—as the Arabs say—in the science of music, although some of them, owing to the intolerance of the Berber overlords, sought other lands where their gifts were appreciated. One of these was Abu al-Sa‘d Umayyah al-Andalusi (d. 639/1243) who went to Egypt. He not only excelled as a music theorist but as a practical musician as well.\(^{65}\) His "Treatise on Music" (Risālah fi al-Ma‘ṣūr)\(^{66}\) must have been an important work since it was translated into Hebrew\(^ {49}\), and quoted by Profeš Duran.\(^ {49}\) An outline of its contents has been given in English.\(^ {50}\) His compositions appear to have had some influence in North Africa.\(^ {51}\) The learned philosopher Ibn Bājah (d. 533/1138) compiled a "Book of Music" (Kitab al-Ma‘ṣūr)\(^ {52}\) which, says ibn Sa‘d al-Maghrībi, was as famed in Western Islamic lands as was al-Fārisī’s book in Eastern Islamic lands.\(^ {53}\) He also composed a "Book of the Soul" (Kitab al-Nafs), doubtless a commentary on Aristotle’s De Anima, which deals with the sense of hearing (al-su‘ur) and the physical bases of sound (nās).\(^ {54}\) Another Andalusi savant was ibn al-Haddād (d. 602/1206). He wrote a work, entitled Csirri as Musicus Disciplina, without giving the Arabic equivalent.\(^ {55}\) Better known was ibn Bazzāl (d. 593/1198) famed in European books as a philosopher and commentator. In his "Commentary on Aristotle’s De Anima" (Sherh fi al-Nafs li Aristotle\(^ {56}\) ) he naturally treats of the spherical propagation of sound, which was not touched upon by European writers until Michael Scot translated it into Latin which version was printed in 1177/1472.

In the Near and Middle East, the names of theorists of music crop up in the pages of cultural history. Abu al-Hakam al-Bāhālī (d. 1206/1155) was highly esteemed as a mathematician and scientist at Baghdād and Damascus. His work on music was "well known."\(^ {57}\) More renowned was ibn al-Naqīb al-Baghdādī (d. 674/1275).\(^ {58}\) In "al-su‘ur" he was the tutor of Yabhā

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Music (Continued)

al-Bayādī who was in the service of the Ayyūbīd Sultān Shāh al-Dīn (d. 591/1193).\(^ {59}\) Muhammad ibn abu al-Hakam (d. 576/1180), a son of Bāhālī, too "had knowledge of the science of music," in addition to being a good practitioner in it.\(^ {60}\) At the Niṣapurīyāt College at Baghdād was Kamsal al-Dīn ibn Man‘aḥ (d. 501/1106); he was "without a rival" in astronomy, music, and menenation.\(^ {61}\) Then there was ‘Alam al-Dīn Qasīdār (d. 649/1251), the "great master of the age in all the mathematical sciences," a pupil of Kamsal al-Dīn. Hassan ibn ‘Umar says that ‘Alam al-Dīn was particularly distinguished for his profound knowledge of music.\(^ {62}\) Further East there arose Fakhr al-Dīn Kāzī (d. 606/1209), whose "Assembling of the Sciences" (Jāmi‘ al-‘Ulām), an extremely useful encyclopedia, contains a chapter in nine sections on the theory of music. In some respects he was quite an original thinker.\(^ {63}\) There is also a small tract on music by Najr al-Dīn al-Tūnī (d. 672/1274) preserved at Paris, which, however, contains only the elements of the theory of music.\(^ {64}\) A really important work is one by al-Hasan ibn Ahmad ibn ‘Ali al-Khitī (b. 696/1283) entitled "The Portion of Knowledge in Music" (Kamsal al-Aḥd al-‘‘Anwā‘); the solitary manuscript copy of which is to be found in Constantinople. It contains forty sections (abush) and covers the entire field of music.\(^ {65}\) Finally came the famous ‘Ud al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min al-Urmawī al-Baghdādī (d. 693/1294). He was the author of "The Book of Musical Modes" (Kitab al-Audsār) and "The Sharafān Treatise on Musical Proportion" (Risālah al-‘Sharafayyāq fī al-Nīqāl al-Tālīfayyāq), which revolutionized the science of music in the Near and Middle East.\(^ {66}\) He took the scale of the old Khorasanian pandora (sūnūr, Khorāsān) and used its intervallo progression of līna, līma, comma, i.e., 90, 90, 180 cents, as the basis for what came to be called the "Systematist" theory. The German savant Kesswetter called him the "Zeolith of the Orient,"\(^ {67}\) whilst the English musicologist Sir Hubert Parry considered the new scale to be "the most perfect ever devised."\(^ {68}\) Riemann, the music historian,\(^ {69}\) shows that it gives consonances purer than those of the European tempered scale, whilst Helmholtz, the physicist, considered that the theories were "note-worthy in the history of the development of music."\(^ {70}\) It spread far and wide, and was accepted by Qush al-Dīn al-Širāzī (d. 710/1310), the author of the

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\(^{46}\) Ibn Khaldūn, *op. cit.*, iii, pp. 467–68.  
\(^{48}\) H. G. Farnoux, *Sources*, p. 45.  
\(^{49}\) Fara Mīr, *Arabic*, 2466.  
\(^{50}\) H. G. Farmer, *Sources*, p. 46.  
\(^{54}\) Hugo Riemann, *Cabinet of Musical History*, London, 1892, i, p. 65.  
had greatly influenced Turkey, which was by this time beginning its political domination of the Near East, Arabic culture still held literary sway in Syria, Egypt, and Iraq. A Turkish writer, Kha'ir ibn 'Abd Allah, had written a treatise on the "Musical Modes" (Asab-i Mu'āfqi) for Sultan Murad II, in which he mentions al-Farābī, 'Abd al-Mu'min, PoIemy, Nicomachus and a certain 'Abd al-'Azīz al-Kirmānī as his authorities, while another Turkish author, Ahmad Oghū Shāhir Allah compiled a book based on the Persian "Treasure-House of Rarities" (Kanz al-Tufaṣṣ) written in the previous century.44 Al-Lūṭfiṣi (d. 900/1494) dedicated his Arabic "Treatise on the Conquest on Music" (Risālah al-Fātihah al-Mustafī) to the Turkish Sultan Bayezid II.45 Meanwhile ibn Khalīfīn (d. 808/1406) had written in the famous "Introduction" (Mupādiqmā) to his universal history the "Book of Examples" (Kāfāh al-Jabarī) with its chapter on music. More important, to the theory and practice of music, was a treatise by al-Muṣawirīn (d. 908/1406) called the "Introduction to the Theory and Canons of Melodies" (Mupādiqāmāt al-Tawqīfīn al-Muṣawirīn). The same writer published a "Commentary on RUṣūm in the Melodic Modes" (RUṣūm al-Jabarti).46 In fact, verse had become a popular—although not a perspicuous—medium for that subject. More satisfying was an anonymous treatise entitled "The Advantage in the Arrangement of the Melodies upon the Times and the Zodiac" (FUṣūḥ al-Tawqīfīn al-Abūn al-Burāq), which reveals that the old concept in the influence (SHU) of the heavenly spheres was still as strong as ever.47 This is also more apparent from the "Treatise Concerning the Knowledge of the Melodies" (Risālah al-Imām al-Shāhī) by Shāhī al-Dīn al-Aṣāmī (nineteenth century).48 On the purely instrumental side is a "Survey of the Concerns and Anxieties in the Explanation of the Instruments of Music" (Harfūl-al-Rahmān w-al-Karshī al-Sahāb al-‘Alī al-Tunab), a most important treatise on music and instruments in the nineteenth-century Egypt, quoting many unknown authorities—Taqī al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Jaṣṣa al-Fārābī (or Fārābī), Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb al-Khwārizmī, and others. The only MS. available of this book is in Constantinople.48 The names quoted reveal men of Turkish origin. Two others of that stirps who were music theorists were Sa‘d al-Dīn Kamārī (nineteenth century) who wrote a book on the harp (žūr) in the form of a dialogue between master and pupil, and a Fāqṣ al-Dīn al-Khunṣaṣ (tenth/sixteenth century) who penned a clever criticism (Mukāfah) of Sa‘d al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min.

44 J. G. L. Kosegarten, Alli Tephamonea Liber Consiliorum, Gripevolda, 1846, p. 36.
46 B. d’Erlanger, op. cit., iv, p. 239.
48 H. G. Farmer, Sources, p. 56.
49 Ibd., p. 58.
50 W. Aikewech, op. cit., 5534.
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Pearl in the Art of Music" (Durr al-Naqi fi Fanun al-Ma‘qif). The last was by Ahmad al-Muslim al-Masjili (d. 1150/1737), but it was in Arabic, having been derived from the Persian work of ‘Abd al-Mu’tin al-Balij. In Muslim India where Persian, Khurasanian, and Turkomansian musicians were favoured side by side with those of India, it is obvious that the former musicians, trained in an art that was in many respects different from that of the Aryan peoples of India, took direction from such books on the theory of music as were known in Persian, just as the Indian musicians turned to Sanskrit sources of information. We know of two Persian books on music theory that were dedicated to the Emperor Akbar (d. 1041/1636). They were the “Excellents of the Modes” (Tahqat al-A‘ada) by ‘Iraqiy Allah ibn Mir Haji al-Banawi, and the “Treatise on the Science of Music” (Risalah dar ‘Ilmi al-Ma‘qif) by Qasim ibn ‘Adr ‘Ali al-Balij. An Amir at the Court of Aurangzeb named Shah Qulib ibn ‘Abd al-Jalil al-Hariti, called Dyunat Khun, caused a collection to be made of Arabic and Persian treatises on music of such authors as al-Kindi, ibn al-Munajjim, al-Fazhbi, ibn Sina, ibn Zalab, Safi al-Din ‘Abd al-Mu’tin, and also of many later writers, whose works he himself had collected. Two Persian writers appear to have made translations or adaptations from Sanskrit treatises. One was entitled ‘Ikky Darpas issued by a certain Faqir Allah in about the year 1728/1802. Another was Khud Parizi Sangi, written by Mirza Husein Zami (d. 1090/1680), praised by Shah Khun Loqui. A third book was the “Excellent Thing of Hindustan” (Tahqat al-Hinds) by Mirza Khan Muhannad ibn Faqir al-Din and was dated 1090/1680. Tahm Muhammad Khun wrote about playing the lute in his Risalah dar ‘Amal ibn wa ‘Iqrah al-Ragha’, while Abu al-Hassan Qasir contributed a book called “The Knowledge of the Melodies” (Ma‘ruf al-Naghams).184

D INFLUENCE

“My neighbour is thy teacher.”

An Arabic Proverb.

As mentioned elsewhere, the ancient Near and Middle East had been influencing Greece and Rome from time immemorial. With the dawn of Islam, this stimulation from the Orient increased by leaps and bounds, as the Muslims were on European soil from the second/eighth century in the Iberian Peninsula, and from the ninth/tenth century in the Balkans. Culturally,
the former impact was a widespread blossoming, not only to Spain and Portugal but also to the rest of Europe. The Arabs and Moors comprised some one-tenth of the population of the Iberian Peninsula, and its learned classes were facies priscæ in all that concerned art, literature, and sciences. It is not at all surprising that this newly imposed civilization from the East should have captivated all eyes, ears, and minds. What we owe to Arabic authors in literature, science, and philosophy, and to Islamic artisans in architecture and the minor arts has been detailed at some length elsewhere in the present work. Europe’s indebtedness to music in Muslim Spain and Portugal has been the favourable theme of the present writer for many years.108 Of its more general diffusion, a further endeavour should be made to indicate the primum mobile which induced other lands to take this exotic art to their hearts.

To the peoples of Islam, music was not merely a diversion of the privileged classes, but the heritage of all, and was, therefore, part and parcel of the social life of the whole community, as the Europeans and Greeks had thought it. That was what the peoples of the Iberian peninsula found to be the case with the Moors. Of the music of this land before the Muslim invasion in 91–93/710–712 we know very little. It is true that we read of Idris of Seville (d.1056) whose influence on medieval culture has been lauded to the skies,109 but what Idris tells us about music in his Origines nivis Etymologiarum does not enlighten us on contemporary music, since almost everything that he has collected under that heading is derived from alien and earlier sources, as Migne has shown.110 In the “Codex Toletanus” (second/eighth century) of Idris’s Etymologies, we have marginalia in Arabic. One may ask why?

The answer is that the educated classes in Christian Spain found that the acquisition of that language opened up a new world to them in the arts, sciences, and literature, and in the year 188/804, Arabic was in official use in charters and canonical decrees.111 That Bishop Alvarus of Cordova (third/ninth century) was lamenting the spread of Arabic culture and learning to the detriment of the Christian Scriptures, shows which way the wind was blowing.112 It is in iconography, perhaps, that the earliest Moorish influence in music may be espied as, for example, in the S. Michel Evangeliarum second/eighth century, the Psalterium Aureum (third/ninth century),113 and in the miniatures

117 C. Casal, San Idris, exposicion de sus ... influencia en la civilizacion espanola, Seville, 1897.
119 H. G. Forunner, Historical Facts ... , p. 173.
120 España Sagrada, 23a Edic., Madrid, 1775, xi, 274.
121 K. Schlössner, The Precursors of the Violin Family, London, 1800, pp. 72–74. This writer states very definitely that those instruments were “derived from the Arabs, either by way of Spain or through Sicily or Southern Italy.”

Music (Continued)

(fourteenth century) reproduced by M. Serrano Fatagui,114 all of which show long-necked pandores and other instruments, including large and small rebecs. Some of these necked instruments, such as the lute and pandore, had frets (daniłąs) on the finger-board, which fixed the Arabo-Fytagorean scale with absolute precision. Prior to that, European musicians had to depend on their ears alone while tuning strings and “stooping” notes. Here is a list of Spanish instruments with their Moorish originals named in parentheses: atambor (al-tambûr), land (al-lînd), rabe (rabâb), canon (qanûn), axabha (al-ţhabah), albogon (al-bûgîn), annâní (al-nâfîn), sonajás de azafar (fumâj al-fûhar), and atambal (al-ţabal). All of these instruments may be seen in the miniatures of the Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alfonso el Sabio (d. 882/1294), whilst the Libro de Buen Amor de Juan Ruiz (d. c. 782/1290) makes distinction between Spanish and Moorish instruments such as the guitarron morisco and the guitarras latina.115 One is, therefore, not surprised to find Rafael Mitjana, the greatest Spanish of the Christian civilization, so rich and so exuberant ... imprimis an indebted mark on so many examples of Spanish art, and more especially upon music.”116

The Spanish population, seeing how universal and attractive Moorish music and song were among its people, soon became as ardent auditors and practitioners as the Muslims themselves, and gathered to the “leila” (Ar. lîlā) and “zambra” (Ar. zamârâ) of the latter to hear their “caña” (gânîyaq), “bând” (Ar. bând), and “ansârî” (Ar. ansârî) tunes and the “mournica” tempted their feet. So ravished by enthusiasm were the Spaniards with such displays that they were led in excitement to cry “algazara” or “alarico” in admiration. These words are but the Arabic al-gazârah (roaring) and al-wârij (amplitude). One may still hear cries of “Old, Old” (Allah, Allah), punctuating the performance of a “cante hondo” in modern Spain, when an audience is carried away by the clever ornamentation (Ar. tâbûrin) or the melody by a singer or a player.117 As Professor J. B. Trend says, “this tendency to profuse ornamentation is seen in every form of art, whether cultivated or popular, and it . . . undoubtedly goes back to the time of the Moors.”118 Among the dances the “mourincas” was much fancied by the Spaniards and the Portuguese, and in the sports and pastimes of the latter the Moorish influence is quite patent.119 Joy as well as thanksgiving was at its height during the great Muslim festivities, and

114 Miniaturas de codices espaiola, Madrid, 1910.
115 A. Lavigne, op. cit., p. 1928.
119 J. B. Trend, Manuel de Folk ... New York, 1929, p. 35.
121 A. Lavigne, op. cit., p. 2402.
that the dance was given recognition on such occasions seems very probable because the Portuguese had a dance called the “mushchim,” which may be the Arabic musayyina, the name of the six Islamic festivals, as we know from Ibn Battutah and al-Masqati. On the other hand, Pedro de Alcâia (911-1500)[125] gives a word wazaqjika the plural of which is wazaqjikah (masquerado con carasila), which Doyz and Engelmann link up with “los machachines,” a troop of four, six, or eight persons who performed a clownish dance. This word is claimed to be derived from the Arabic masamayjakan (masked people). That leads us to the Spanish words “mascar” (actor) and “zabarron” (merry andrew), which are the Arabic masqarah (cause of laughter) and saquraah (snicker). Another figure of entertainment was the Spanish “coharrachone,” who was no other than the Moorish kaharaja (buffoon). It was the arts of these people which captivated the Moors and the Iberians alike[126] and their influence spread abroad at the hands of the wandering minstrels.

It was these minstrels who were the real disseminators of music during the Middle Ages, for, as Nounain says, they were carrying new themes from one people to another, as well as many “an original and singular rhythm.”[127] This latter would have far-reaching effect, as we shall see presently. Even the Aragaces de Hita (eighth/nineteenth century) realised that it was not the bowed instruments which typified the exotic Moorish rhythms, but the plucked-struck lute and pandore. The other feature of that Oriental art was the mellisma or embroidery of the melody by Muslim singers and players, which Professor Trend has well compared with the arabesque in Mudjar art.[128] The Spanish Courts were well supplied with Muslim players and singers, as the official records testify; even their names have been registered. That the wandering minstrel classes contained a fair sprinkling of Moors, there is some evidence. It is probable that the long hair, painted faces, and gaudy raiment were prompted by Oriental minstrels, and the Spanish “morusca,” already mentioned, with gredos on the dancer’s legs, and the “obby horse,” both borrowed from the Moors, invigorated the ears and eyes of audiences. The

125 Voyages: Ibn Battutah, texte arabe... traduction par C. Defrémery et B. R. Sanguinetti, Paris, 1803-09.
127 P. de Alcâia, Vocabulario arrico en letra castellana, Granada, 1005 e.v.
128 Glossaire des mots espagnols et portugais d’arabe, Brill Leiden, 1869, p. 309.
129 Ibid., pp. 304-60.
132 Juan Ruiz, Libro de Buen Amor, pp. 1516-17.
134 H. Miranda Pidal, op. cit., pp. 457 et seq.

Music (Continued)

kura or hobby-horse of the Moors and its impediments of bells (jungut) are mentioned as far back as Jarf (d. 110/728) and have also been described by Ibn Khaldûn. Let us turn to the diffusion of these arts.

Some of the external features of the music of the Basques reveal a Moorish tinge. Their “mutchikoa,” which was danced by young men armed with batons, immediately suggests that the original was the Arabic masqarah (bristling with arms). In Catalonian, there was a dance which specialized the water flagon called “alsamara,” which was the Moorish al-miṣaṣḥah. That feature was dropped about 1215/1800. The Basque “zortizco,” also common in Spain, has a time measure of “five-eight,” which immediately reminds one of the Moorish miṣhkuṭ rhythm. P. Dominus assures us that the “zortizco” “does not represent the musical basis of the Basque people.” In other words, it is an exotic plant, reared among the Moors. Among the most popular of the Basque folk instruments are the “alboka” and “stalubak,” the originals of which are to be sought in ibd-al-fr and al-rad of the Moors. Cleaver still is the Moorish influence in the Basque “zamalan” to which the people still skip about, little suspecting that it is the Arabic zimil al-sa’in (gala limping horse), the English “hobby-horse.”

All of these notoriety devices soon spread over the Spanish and Portuguese borders, as the French, Italian, and English languages and customs reveal; some of them are to be found even today in Pyrenean provinces in some striking akin to their pristine character. One recalls that the tambourine made its entry into Western Europe as the “tambour de Basques” and “tambour de Biscaie.” Joan Poushe, in his entrancing book on the Chansons populaires des Paysans français, shows how the popular song of some regions in France has been influenced by the Oriental art, and in his own particular sphere of research he hears and sees quite definitely the Moorish pattern. Among his numerous examples is the “mouchoioun” of Bearn, which is the warlike Basque dance “mutchikoa.” One of the Pyrenean song-dances is a kind of “bradle” called the “ramolek,” which had its origin in Toulouse in the sixteenth/seventeenth century. There it fell into desuetude, although it may still be heard in the mountains of Foix. Could these binary measured song-dances owe their name to the Moorish rual? Yet the inherent wandering propensity of folk music is notorious, and one example of this is the Bulgarian rhythm “aškeh,” which is to be found in a Basque instrumental tune.[130] Its paternity is traceable to the Turkish aşı, a “drum” movement.

In France, iconography supplies the clearest evidence of the Moorish and Saracen influence in musical instruments,[131] whilst its literature clinches that
companion), and adab (scholar). There can be little doubt that the Moorish suwarzhahan and azal, which were popular verse forms as old as the fourth/ tenth century, were the mold from which much of the poetry of the troubadours sprang, as Ribera has claimed. Even the scenes and dramatic personae of that poetry took with the Orient. If they could borrow those features, why could not the melodies which enhanced that verse be also copied? In truth, they were almost inseparable. Even if the troubadours could not grasp the significance of the Arabic language they could at least seize the prosodical structure, the melody of which would be transfused in their ears with certainty. In any case, they had their “jugar” who attended them ostensibly for that purpose. Some of the later works of that early troubadour, Guillaume IX (d. sixteenth century), “can be explained only by moushaz, shaah, and azal.” As Nyki insists, and he says of the later Marcabru that his two corneled (Ar. zarur) were, “in all likelihood, made upon an Arabo-Islamic Arabic melody.” What we do know for certainty is that the Spanish “estribil,” and “alabanza” equates precisely with the Moorish mursik and baht. What is stranger still is the literal identity between the Latin musical term “con ductus” and the Arabic majn, although we may not at present be able to pin the likeness down to precise identity of usage. Concerning the famous Cantigas de Santa Maria of Alphonso X (d. 1284), the miniatures of which present us with delineations of many Moorish instruments, Julian Ribera has made wide claims for the Moorish influence in both the melodic and in the rhythmic structure of that work. As his interpretation of the latter does not agree with the Arabian rhythms of the fifth/ tenth to the fifth/eleventh-century examples known to us, that part of his elucidation is suspect, whilst his transcription of the melodies has been disputed by many. On the other hand, the literary material which he amassed is extremely valuable to all who are interested in the problem. Yet the failure of Ribera, in the circumstances mentioned, does not validate the sweeping statement of Higini Angiol that there is not the slightest trace of an Arabian (Moorish) influence in the melodies of the Cantigas. Others of the anti-Moorish influence party are more guarded in their utterances, since they admit that because there is no contemporary Moorish music available there can be no absolute proof either “for” or “against” that thesis. They evidently know the reason why there was no written contemporary Moorish music,
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seeing that the pious Cardinal Ximenes, according to his biographer Robles, committed a million Arabic manuscripts to the flames,18 believing, as the late Reynold A. Nicholson has said, that he could "annihilate the record of seven centuries of Muhammadan culture in a single day."19 Spanish composers of the standing of Pedrell and Fallas are outstanding opponents of the claims for a Moorish influence. The former asserts that Spanish music "owes nothing essential" to the Moors,20 but takes care not to define what he means by "essential." He prefers to acknowledge a Byzantine influence but does not quote documentary evidence which he and others demand the pre-Moorish advocates should exhibit. In fact, there are no Byzantine documents of the pre-Moorish days that authenticate his contention. Fallas makes a different approach. He acknowledges the Oriental strain in fresh ideas of modal music. Previously they only used trumpets (tubas, lietas) and horns (corni, bucinae), whereas the Saracens were equipped not only with trumpets (asfîr, karîdâ) and horns (kîbdâl), but also with large (liisâl), medium (nagúnâl), and small (qâlât) kettle-drums, togeth-pr, with gozgârs (sannâl), cymbals (zawdâl), and bells (yaqîs), which were used not merely for signalling but to create fear and dismay among the Christian army.21 It is generally believed that the cylindrical bore "trump" of Richard Coeur de Lion, first heard of in 587/1191, was borrowed from the Saracens.22 With the latter the military band was a distinct unit known as the jubûsi or "Drum House" which was drawn up with the standards away from the actual conflict; where it played incessantly during the battle for tactical purposes. In times of peace it was the function of the jubûs to perform the five-fold jubûsah for the Caliph and the three-fold jubûsah for princes or governors. Generals, according to their rank, were allotted a specific number of players, although only the highest of the Amirs were allowed kettle-drums.23 Europe adopted all these customs, and up to the thirteenth/nineteenth century the various ranks of European generals could be determined by observing the musical honours bestowed on them.24

In Britain we observe the Oriental current flowing, presumably via France, as one sees in the word "mattachin," the dance in which a duel was fought with wooden swords typifying the struggle between the Christians and the

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"Sarsen" minstrels and dancing-girls.25 A glance at medieval documents enables one to note the frequent appearance of Italian minstrels at Spanish Courts and vice versa,26 all of which conduces towards the interchange of alien ideas in music, including that of the Moors, which was poles awander from that of Europe proper. The Sicilian instruments of the period are displayed on woodwork screens of the sixth/seventh century at Palermo, while those delineated by Pra Angelica, Bellini, and Montagna (ninth/tenth century) are quite revealing of the Oriental influence in their ornamentation as well as in their shape.27 It was here that the mounted men-at-arms of the English condottiere, Sir John Hawkwood (d. 706/1304), were using a macarino which was, of course, the Arabic naggûnâ. Meanwhile the Crusaders had returned from Palestine with music of a purely Arabian strain and whose scribes in the Iberian peninsula so far back as 94-95/1212-1213, without including the countless Mozárabes, Mudéjares, and Moriscos, who had adopted the Arabic and Moorish mode of life. The fact is that Spain is compelled to face the question of the Oriental strain in her national music as exhibited in the "cante hondo" and "flamenco," but dare not acknowledge the influence of Islamic peoples. Jean Berret says of the "cante hondo" that it "is certainly of Oriental origin,"28 while Raoul Laffargue states that the "very special mentalité of the flamenco" goes back, according to the hypothesis most justified, to the domination of the Moors.29 Fortunately, there have been and are men of the stature of Menéndez Pelayo,30 Mitjana Gordon,31 Menéndez Pidal,32 Ribera,33 and Nyél34 who recognize clearly the Moorish influence as they would the sun at noonday. The Moorish influence spread quite naturally to Italy, where such instruments as the "hinto," "rebeca," "canone," "tambura," "tablao," and "nacchera," as well as such terms as "masachera" and "matacciona" reveal their ancestry. Of course, the definitely Oriental Courts of Frederick II (d. 1250) and Manfred (d. 665/1266) at Palermo and Naples had their quota of

189 E. de Robles, . . . Viñas y fuentes del Cardenal Ximenes, Toledo, 1894, p. 104.
191 Concierto musical popular español, Valladolid, 1919, i, pp. 60, 64.
194 A. Lavigne, op. cit., p. 59.
195 Análisis de postales leones, Madrid, 1903, ii, p. 68.
197 Juego flamenco y flamenco, Madrid, 1927.
198 La Música árabe medieval en su influencia en la Eslovena, Madrid, 1927.
200 B. Dozy and W. H. Engelsman, Glossaire des mots cypriotes et portugais d’origine leboe, Leyde, 1869.
201 A. P. von Schack, Prosaí y arte de los árabes en España y Sicilia, Madrid, ii, pp. 310-12.
207 C. James, The Regimental Companion, London, 1796, p. 197. It is possible that the term for a drummer of trumpets, "tambour," is but a metathesis of the Arabic asfîr (trumpet).
Moorish. Here it was dubbed the “Morris Dance,” but, as Brand points out, “the genuine morisco was very different from the European Morris.” Each of the performers being a “masker” (Ar. mas'her), they painted their faces and wore masks. A folk-song and dance authority of today, Maxa Karpelos, dismisses the Moorish origin of the British “Morris Dance” by saying it “is now discredited”—by whom, we are not told. Such English authorities as Thomas Byam, Joseph Strutt, and John Brand had no doubts about its Oriental origin, and anyone who has seen the “hobby-horse” and knows its history will scarcely be convinced by the latest heresy. “Moor’s garments” are specified in English documents as early as 914/1008 just as “Turk’s garments” for kettle-drums were mentioned a century later, the reason being obvious in both cases. With the general infiltration of Moors into Britain, the names the “lute,” “rebek,” “ribbe,” “tabor,” “naker,” and they did not necessarily intrude into France, since both English and Scottish minstrels were welcomed at the Spanish Courts, where not only Moorish instruments were in common use, but Moorish minstrels were playing them. In the East there came the Turkish eruption into Europe during the ninth/eleventh century, when the whole of the Balkan Peninsula was conquered. That the music of the latter was influenced by that of the Turks can scarcely be denied, however much collectors of folk and national music may strive to minimize that persuation. The Oriental strain exists to the present day, more especially in Bulgaria, Albania, and Yugoslavia. According to Rains Katarzyna, the Turkish rule only left “indiscreet” traces in Bulgarian folk music. Yet among those insensibly small vestiges are many irregular Oriental rhythms from 9/8 through odd numbers up to 11/5. Further, did those instruments of a definite Oriental prompting contribute something— if but the nearest fraction—to those “indiscreet” traces? Those instruments include the “tamboura,” “kemençe,” “kavl,” “djaras,” “leleboukas” all adopted from the Turks. In Yugoslavia the Oriental impact is deeper, since many of their melodies are acknowledged to be of Turkish or Arabic origin. The “tamburica” is common to the Yugoslavs together with its cousins the “saz” and “shargy.” The Arabo-Turkish lute (“fid”) is known in Macedonia as the “cout.” Among Balkan wind instruments, the “duduk,” “urna,” “drumma,” and “kore,” as well as the percussion groups, are used. The “hajat,” “gusli,” “dari,” and “zambukas” all tell the story.

179 For an explanation of these spellings against the Moorish rabab, see Grove’s Dictionary of Music, vii, pp. 69, 152.

of their parentage. Albania used a host of Turkish instruments, including pandores of the “ycyphark” and “paraduzen” class. Even Rumana and Russia were influenced by the Turkish zobor in their “kobos” and “uebas,” while the latter adopted the Arabic al-talat, nasab, and jab-ja’ dib in the tenth/sixteenth-century “litari,” “nasab,” and “tulumba” respectively for their military bands. Perhaps the greatest of all the “borrowings” from the Turks was made by European military bands. It began about 1198/1235 when the Turkish Sultan presented the ruler of Poland with a complete military band instrumented after the Turkish fashion. The craze soon spread to Russia, Austria, Prussia, France, and Britain. The predominant feature of this Turkish music was the use of the bass drum, cymbals, triangle, tambourine, and “Janizary bells.” These not only helped precision in marching for the army, but the new tonal colour attracted the attention of the orchestra, and very soon Mozart (1790/1781) and Haydn (1800/1794) were scoring for such instruments in their instrumental works, the former using them in his opera I Senfoni. Indeed, the Orient became the source for countless librettos. Beethoven’s ‘Ruin of Athens’ Rossini’s ‘Turks in Italy’ Weber’s ‘Abu Hassan’ Boieldieu’s ‘Caliph of Baghdad’ David’s ‘Lilla Ross’ Bizet’s ‘Djamileh’ Massenet’s ‘King of Lakres’ Banstock’s ‘Pearl of Iran,’ and so on. What would the annual pantomime productions in Britain be without Altidire? Sindbad, and ‘The Forty Thieves,’ all from the Arabian Nights, although some of us may be amused at the pseudo-Oriental music which accompanies them. The musical influence of Islamic peoples is not confined to the West. South of the Maghrib and Egypt we find the tál, gŭstāb, bandār, and gŭshghay in the Sudanese languages as the “tabula,” “tambú,” or “tubal,” “alghay,” “bander,” “banda” or “benteer,” “seigeone” or “sassesaka.” The “sazamir” or troubadours of Abyssinia may have derived their name from the Arabic al-samir, meaning people who gather together to make music. Their “insazir” is clearly the Arabic insazib. The neighboring Somalis use the Egyptian zummarab as the “zumari,” just as they do in Zanzibar, although it becomes the “anazomari” of Madagascar. The late-like gusbis of the Arabs and Turks became the “kabos’u” of Somaliland and the “グラ” in Zanzibar. Turning to the west coast of Africa one recognizes the Arabic al-talat and al-gusbis, as well as the Turkish fordo in the “tablul” of Senegal and the “a-tabul” of the Gold Coast, the “alginas” of the Hausa, and the “buro” of the Gold Coast. Returning to the east coast, it should be noted

184 C. Sachs, Realizczn der Musikinstrumenten, Berlin, 1913, s.v.

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that, in spite of Sanskrit influence on the Malagasy language and the cultural pressure of Indianized Srivatsams, we do not find a solitary musical instrument of Indian or Indonesian origin. That statement takes us to Indi itself, where the Islamic cultural influences are as potent as the noonday sun.

A recent writer on Indian music avers that "the stories that tell how the various styles of North Indian music were invented by musicians of the Muhammadan period, have probably no basis in reality." So far as the "forms," the method of performance, the actual instruments, and the technical nomenclature of that music is concerned, the above statement is a distortion. That some "styles" came via the "musicians of the Muhammadan period" must surely be allowed, and among them are the gauāl, gāhāl, tārubāk, and fīru dāghī. One recalls that Amir Khusrau (d. 755/1355) has been actually cenured by the patriarch of the old Indian school of music for his Islamic concessions, and the presupposition is that the above among them were ever played with a bow. The antiquity of the remains was claimed by Félix, who was foolishly influenced by the mythical rāsūmān of Sonnerat, who terraformed imagination, as was his indication of a manuscript at Viena, dating from the days of the first Caliph (first/seventeenth century), supposed to delineate a bow.134 The Félix design of a rāsūmān and the so-called rāsūmān and oromanti are actually of Chinese provenance, it was his Indian jāmbourak.135 The fact is that the earliest account of the function of the bow is given by al-Fakhrī.136 Passing to wind instruments—the aūr, alakhan, mokhēr, nafir, and karsa—are their very names confirm their origin, as do those of the percussion group—the kōnah, kābir, maghrīb, dūfida, and dāfūr, however much some of these names may have been altered.137

The music of the peoples of the Malay Archipelago was also influenced by India, especially Muslim India, on the instrumental side. The bowed rābād, or spike-footed violin, which spread with the adoption of Islam, is known in the various islands as the "rebāb," "rebāb," "ebāb," and "arabāb." The lute-like gāhāl and gāharī and the Turkish gūzāp appear as the "gam-bus," "gabbus," and "kabūs," whereas the sarū and sarūndy becomes the "sūru-nul," "sūrnu," "surū," and "sūrūn."138 Further north, when the Moghul became masters of China (610-770/1213-1388), the instruments of Islamic peoples began to influence that land. Khubilai Kāshf introduced an organ called the heeng-lung-shing into China; it being expressly mentioned as coming

136 P. Sonnerat, Voyages aux Indes orientales et a la Chine, Paris, 1782.
from the "Muslim kingdoms" of the "lands of the West."129 The armies of the Yavan rulers comprised large contingents from Turkestān, and a number of their Court officials were Persians. Was it any wonder that bands and orchestras of Muslim musicians should find favor at Chinese Courts? There were to be heard such instruments as the "tan-pu-la" (Turki čemâr), "sai-t'o-erh" (šišir), "hüu-pu-an" (gùpçu), "lah-pu-pu" (rahhãh), "ha-erh-chs-k'o" (ghâjjâk), "k'o-erh-nai" (şeqâvān), "sa-erh-nai" (şarvânj), "pa-la-man" (balâ-}

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Music (Continued)

This is not a biased picture by a Muslim. The facts can be proved up to the hilt by Christian historians who had the ṣipasima verbs of the Fathers of the Church before their very eyes. Tertullian (c. 240 A.D.) decried Pagan literature,126 i.e., the literature of Greek and Latin philosophers, which was in strict accord with the authoritative Apostolic Constitutions which laid down: "Hold aloof from Pagan books entirely." Saint Jerome (c. 440 A.D.) was warned not to dabble in heathen literature,127 although he actually lamented that so few knew of Plato and Aristotle.128 Even Saint Augustine (c. 430 A.D.) pandered to his readers saying, "Heaven is for the ignorant."129 Cassian (c. 480 A.D.) reveals that the decrees against Pagan literature were still being observed.130 Even sixty years later Saint Benedict (c. 544 A.D.) recommends only the Bible and expositions thereon to be read by the Catholic Fathers.131 It has been admitted that "at no time have the general mass of Benedictines been learned."132 Under such conditions one can readily appreciate the total neglect of the works of the great Greek theorists of music. Europe knew of them only through fragments—often mistranslated as Roger Bacon attributed—offered by Mar-

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127 As already shown in section C.
128 Even the productions of those who followed immediately, the Venerable Bede, Alcuin, and Hrabanus Maurus, are more platitudes, forgeqs, or patchworks. See H. G. Farmer, Historical Facts . . . pp. 214-28.
129 H. H. G. Farmer, "Greek Theorists of Music in Arabic Translation," Jts, xvii, 1930. Roger Bacon deplored that the scientific works of Aristotle and others were unknown in Latin, Opus Tertium, p. 53.
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mora-rhyme in Arabic,\textsuperscript{177} while the ignorance of his clergy was deplorable.\textsuperscript{218} At the centre of Europe's intellectual culture—the Carolingian Empire—learning had so declined that studies had almost ceased, whilst at Cluny the subjects of the quadrivium were but little studied.\textsuperscript{219} The Monks of Angoulême admits that "there existed in Gaul scarcely a trace of the liberal arts" before the days of Charlemagne, and it was no better in Rome, the very centre of Christianity.\textsuperscript{178} In Muslim Spain the cultural atmosphere was far different. Sā'īd ibn Ahmad al-Qurtubi (d. 462/1070) writes of that land thus: "The learned of al-Andalus exerted themselves in the cultivation of science, and laboured in it with assiduity."\textsuperscript{219} Ibn al-Bīja‘ī (d. 500/1104) testifies that under the Umayyad regime in al-Andalus (second-fifth/eighth—eleventh centuries) "students from all parts of the world flocked . . . to learn the sciences of which Cordova was the most noble repository, to derive knowledge from the mouths of the doctors and `salam` who swarmed in it."\textsuperscript{220} What was taught specifically of the theory of music we do not know. The treatises of al-Fārābī, the Ḥikāwān al-Safa, Ibn Sina, and others were all in Arabic. Ibn Bīja‘ī, Ibn Rushd and Ibn Rushd were both available to all, most of these authors being known by their Europeanized names as Alphardus, Avenampe, and Averroes. (See H. Atrott, Musikanachwiegung des Mittelalters. Halle, 1905, pp. 143, 169.) In spite of the destruction of Arabic manuscripts by Cardinal Ximenes in 998/1492 et seq., a few manuscripts on music theory have survived, notably that of al-Fārābī, the "Major Book on Music" (Kitāb al-Maṣādi' al-Kabīr), now preserved at Madrid, being a sixth/seventh-century copy made for a pupil of Ḥikāwān al-Safi (Avenampe).\textsuperscript{220} Al-Fārābī's treatment of the physical bases of sound, also dealt with by al-Ḥikāwān al-Safi, was a notable advance in that particular sphere.\textsuperscript{221} His description of the musical instruments of his day stands unique in the history of music. European theorists seem not to have considered the subject worthwhile. His minute account of the acco- durance of reckon stringed instruments, the scales of harp-like instruments, and the compass and digits holes of the wood-wind family were subjects unheard of before his time;\textsuperscript{222} although al-Kindī had dealt with the lute in that fashion a century earlier.\textsuperscript{223} In a Persian treatise, the "Treasure-House of Music (Continued)

Raritan" (Kanz al-Takāf), dating from the eighth/fourteenth century, we have another example of the thoroughness of Islamic music theorists. In this we have not merely the musical gamut of an instrument described, but recommendations as to the style of facture, the best types of wood for use, an elaborate account of the manufacture of silk and gut strings, devices for amplifying the tone by means of sympathetic strings—the first account of its kind—as well as the sprinkling of powdered glass on a glue-covered interior of an instrument so as to improve the tone. The earliest mention of that device in Britain is a patent (No. 7454) taken out in 1283/1387. Ibn Sa‘īd al-Maghribī (d. c. 690/1290) says that books on "the various instruments and the art of making them are common among us," while in the days of Ibn Rushd and al-Shaqqūnī (d. 1230/1231) Seville was the centre for the manufac- ture of musical instruments, and had an export trade. How much of the Arabic material recorded above was translated into Latin we have no record. Yet seeing that Arabic was not only spoken by the Arabs and Moors, but also by the Mājdīs and Mūshābāhs, who were, respectively, the Muslims who remained in the reconquered Christian Spain, and the Spaniards and Portugal who lived under Muslim rule, much would have been passed on orally. One outstanding man in the former group was Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Rūqī, who, when the Christian armies took Murcia in 640/1242, was retained by the Christian king to teach in his schools, he himself being famed as a music theorist and mathematician.\textsuperscript{227} That some of it was passed on via the Latin tongue or script we know from Anthony P Wood who says that when Roger Bacon lectured at Oxford, using faulty Latin translations, he was ridiculed by Spanish students, who may have known the Arabic original. According to Bacon, there were few mathematicians among the Latins, and both he and Aelred of Bath strongly advised students to abandon European schools and seek the fountain-head in Muslim Spain.\textsuperscript{228} Two Arabic tractates on the sciences which contained a section on music were translated into Latin, viz., al-Fārābī's "Register of the Sciences" (Ikbāl al-Ulūm) and an anonymous "On the Rise of the Sciences" (De ortu scientiarum), both of which became formal text-books in European schools. Neither was of much value per se, since each merely outlined the bases of study.\textsuperscript{229} Yet they were quoted by Gundissalve, Magister Lambertus Pseudo-Aristoteles, Vincent de Beauvais, Roger Bacon, Jerome of Moravia, Walter of Oxford, and others.\textsuperscript{230}

The Islamic impact on musical instruments has already been shown,

\textsuperscript{227} M. Cosner, op. cit., pp. 8-32.
\textsuperscript{228} J. S. Brewer, P. Roger Bacon: Opera quaedam hactenus inedita. London, 1859, i. pp. ix-xlvii.
\textsuperscript{230} H. G. Farmer, Al-Fārābī's Arabic-Latin Writings on Music, Glasgow, 1934, pp. 31-34.
and since he shows that the hydraulis had died out by that time among the Greeks, the greater probability rests with the Syrians as the revivers.²³³

Returning to the question of the frets on the necks of stringed instruments, the Arab theorists used an alphabetic notation to designate the notes produced on those frets as we see in the "Treatise on Music" (Risālah fī al-Maṣāfi‘) of Ibn al-Munajjim (d. 300/912),²³⁴ which the author specifically stated is based on the system of 'Isāq ibn al-Maṣūq (d. 225/840) who was the teacher of Ziyādh (d. 228/843), the famous musician of Moorish Spain. Europe, however, possessed no definite and practical notation of that sort. In its church music, neumes were used as a means of registering the melodic outline, but they did not convey any precise intervallic sense. By the time of Hucbald (fourth/tenth century), we find an alphabetic notation on very much the same lines as that of the Arab system, giving a major diatonic scale.²³⁵ No wonder that the latter has been attributed even to the Arabs,²³⁶ or to the Semitic Orient.²³⁷ It may also be pointed out that the instrumentality of the minaret class possessed a practical knowledge of music theory (ad delectandos audientia artis raionale tempore), whereas the church singers did not. This was stated by pseudo-Hucbald.²³⁸ Later, the Arabic influence on an alphabetic tablature for stringed instruments is openly admitted in a Latin manuscript entitled Ars de pulsatone lamberti²³⁹ et aliorum similium instrumentorum (902–903/1490–1497) in which the tablature is said to have been "invented" by a "Moor of the Kingdom of Granada."²⁴⁰ Conde de Murphy said that Spanish lute tablature was "probably of Oriental origin," whilst his helper, Garea, more positively asserted that the Castilians and Aragonese "elaborated their tablature in imitation of that of the Mussulmans."²⁴¹ Some other strange coincidences crop up in history. In his section on the "Eight Tones," Odo of Cluny (d. 930/942) attached names to the chordes which have more than casual interest because three of them are Arabic, viz., "scheneb" (ṣamāh), "coemeter" (qamar), and "mar" (madr).²⁴² This terminology belongs to the doctrine of the ethos (kräfte), as generally believed in by Islamic peoples up to the present day.²⁴³ The general influence of Islamic culture on Gerbert of Aurillac (d. 394/1003) and Constantine the African (d. 480/1087) is not

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²²⁶ J. Jeunius, Mililios logiontrophes atriopneus at chaldeones, p. 107.
²²⁷ M. Gerbert, op. cit., l, p. 213.
²²⁸ Probably sambeus (a flute).
²²⁹ J. Villemus, Viaje literario a las Islas de Espana, Valencia, 1921, xi.
³⁰⁰ Murphy, Los Luthiers españoles del XVII, p. 650, pp. xvi, xvii.
³⁰¹ M. Gerbert, op. cit., i, pp. 249–50.

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especially in the stringed variety with their frets. These latter were fixed according to the old Arab system of ibn Mijāb (d. c. 97/710), which was based on Pythagorean tuning, a circumstance which completely dispels the erroneous assumption of the Director of the "Museum-Librario de Musica Marroqui" at Tetuan, Dr. P. Patriccino García Barruso, that the music of Morocco, Algeria, and Tunis is not "Arabian music."²²² As H. G. Farmer has been demonstrating for many decades, the "musica hispano-musulmana," which he believes originated in Spain, was actually the old Arab system of ibn Mijāb, Ishaq al-Mansūrī, Ziyādh, ibn al-Munajjim, al-Kindī, and al-Fārābī, a "sistema model disonico y cromatico," as he terms the present Moroccan music. According to him—and his book has received the "Imprimatur" of the Roman Church—those "eminent musicologists" who have studied Moorish music have approached the subject with "prejudice, lack of knowledge, and impropriety of nomenclature," when they have dubbed "Spanish-Muslim music" as "Arabian music."²²³ It may also be pointed out that the instrumentality of the minaret class possessed a practical knowledge of music theory (ad delectandos audientia artis raionale tempore), whereas the church singers did not. This was stated by pseudo-Hucbald.²³⁸ Later, the Arabic influence on an alphabetic tablature for stringed instruments is openly admitted in a Latin manuscript entitled Ars de pulsatione lamberti²³⁹ et aliorum similium instrumentorum (902–903/1490–1497) in which the tablature is said to have been "invented" by a "Moor of the Kingdom of Granada."²⁴⁰ Conde de Murphy said that Spanish lute tablature was "probably of Oriental origin," whilst his helper, Garea, more positively asserted that the Castilians and Aragonese "elaborated their tablature in imitation of that of the Mussulmans."²⁴¹ Some other strange coincidences crop up in history. In his section on the "Eight Tones," Odo of Cluny (d. 930/942) attached names to the chordes which have more than casual interest because three of them are Arabic, viz., "scheneb" (ṣamāh), "coemeter" (qamar), and "mar" (madr).²⁴² This terminology belongs to the doctrine of the ethos (kräfte), as generally believed in by Islamic peoples up to the present day.²⁴³ The general influence of Islamic culture on Gerbert of Aurillac (d. 394/1003) and Constantine the African (d. 480/1087) is not
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unworthy of notice. The former studied the mathematical sciences (mathe- matics) at Barcelona, and that included music, which had been neglected in France. Indeed, he had been dubbed “Gerbert the Musician.” Constantine was born at Tunis (Carthage), then held by the Muslim zajidites. He spent thirty-nine years in the East among the Chaldeans, Arabs, Persians, and Egyptians, and studied their sciences, including music. Because of his settling in Sicily and at Monte Cassino in Italy, his writings had considerable influence on European culture. One theorist who used him was Aegidius Zamoerensis (ninthteenth century), a prolegomen of the Arabophile Alphonso X elSabio, but a recent writer, Gerhard Pietzsch, does not perceive any “Arabic influence” in his writings. Aegidius could scarcely have avoided the “Arabic influence” since we read in the incipit to his Ars musicae that he learnt “chiefly from Chaldean and Egyptian books.”

The music practised by the Arabs and Moors also influenced Western Europe in other directions, notably in the melodic arabesque, organum, and the hocket. The melodic or free embellishment of the melody (tahub) was the art in which the Moorish virtuosi excelled. His “excavous” (nawáḥ) —as those melismata were called—were usually vocalized on such words as al or ila, which were introduced even into Spanish songs. (See E. L. Chavarrí, Musica Popular Española, Barcelons, 1927, p. 36.) All sorts of tricks prevailed—el sabtār (staccato), šaṭār (repose), ṣabāḥxa (short), soft note), and the sabrāt (a glottal catch like the coup de glotte). This last may possibly be the device hinted at by Magister Lambert, which Mercellus of Padua calls a “foigned voice.” On the other hand, it may have been the “embellishment” known to the Arabs and Moors as the qibājāh (a whining sound), which was accomplished by the singers making a swift glissando from a low note to its fifth, fifth, or octave. This latter was in partial accord with the instrumental device known as the tarbūkh (to organize), a term which equates with the Latin organum. We see this tarbūkh illustrated by al-Kindi under the name of jass, which meant plucking two late strings with the thumb and forefinger. Umm Sinā gave the name tarbūkh only to the simultaneously struck fourth or fifth, whilst striking with the octave was called the ḫanūf. In 411 Richer and His Times, Paris, 1845.

412 Ibid., ii, p. 42.

413 H. G. Farmer, Historical Facts..., 1920, pp. 177-85.


415 H. G. Farmer, Historical Facts..., pp. 36-37.

416 M. Gerbert, op. cit., ii, p. 369.

417 Ibid., ii, p. 376.


422 H. G. Farmer, Historical Facts..., p. 102.

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other words, he recognized the distinction between “organizing” and “magnifying.” It was that Arabian and Moorish tarbūkh which, most likely, prompted the European “organum,” although with the Muslims the tarbūkh was, at that time, simply an “embellishment.” Today, the music of the Turkoman peoples is an “organum simplex” with the “disparate.”

The most significant influence by the Moors on the music of Western Europe was in mensural music. Neither the Greeks nor Romans were particularly interested in other than prose rhythms. With the Arabs, rhythmic modes (iqâmā) in six, in number, had existed since the firstseventh century; two more were added later. Up to the thirdfourth century the singer and instrumental accompanist observed the same rhythm, but瑚īmūn ibn al-Malkū (d. 224/S90) and his Romantic school introduced schemes whereby a singer and the accompanist used different rhythms. When to that contrary there was added a further diversity in the prosody (ṣawāṣ) of the verse, a performance became more than intriguing, and H. G. Farmer has given an illustration of that in an article on iqâmā in the Urdu Encyclopaedia of Islam and in Grove’s Dictionary of Music (1374/1904). No wonder the Muslims referred to their rhythm as the “heartbeats of Allah,” for its content was infinite and boundless. Islamic music is fundamentally homophonic, and therefore quite different—in that respect—from that of Europe which is harmonic or polyphonic. Yet the Muslim cools his harmony (mas‘āḥ) in the varied rhythmic and prosodic structure of song and in the tonal differences of the rhythmic beats (ṣawāṣ). At first, such disparate things must have appeared to Christian Europe as a Locus a non lucendo.

Yet the time came when the Spanish singer and instrumentalist found themselves imitating the Moorish maqama and maqād in their rhythms. In the very nature of things the beats of the spectrum (midrāb) on the lute or pandore strings, or the taps on the tambourine or drum, often left intermediate silences (nakib), which were the very antitheses of the sustained notes of the melody. It was because of this circumstance that Europe—after it had adopted mensural music—that called the Moorish iqâmā by the name of cantus absconsus: hence Simon of Tunstede’s chapter called De transcendentibus sine loco cantibus. The latter word, “awkward,” “beguited,” or “ochetee,” is simply a phonetic reproduction of the Arabic iqâmā, a fact which European scholars only very tardily acknowledged, although H. G. Farmer had claimed that derivation as far back as 1344/1925. Most of them still adhere to the non-sensical—when it is not actually laughable—derivation from the English


424 Al-Jahiz, op. cit., p. 52.


426 E. de Coussemaker, Scriptores... , Paris, 1884-1916, iv, p. 296.


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St. Gregory, St. Bernard, and the Psalmist, saying: "Inter omnis exercitii sanctitatis cantare melius est."  

BIBLIOGRAPHY


Chapter LIX

MINOR ARTS

Anyone embarking on the study of Muslim arts would, during the course of his investigation and research, have to answer three fundamental questions satisfactorily. (1) What is the reason for the surprising unity of style which we observe in works of art throughout the Muslim countries during a certain period? (2) Why is it that a period of almost hectic artistic activity is followed, sometimes almost immediately, by qualitative decline and technical decadence? (3) What is the reason for the remarkable success achieved by the Muslims in the domain of minor arts?

The answers to the first two questions rest on an appreciation of the relationship which existed between the artists of the Muslim countries and the rulers thereof.

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Minor Arts

The development of Muslim arts—major or minor—is related ineluctably to the rise and fall of powerful dynasties of rulers. Every dynasty invited to its Court craftsmen and artists from all over the land under its sway. If an invitation was not enough, force was sometimes employed to compel their appearance. Under the Umayyads, the 'Abbāsids, and the Fatimids, therefore, artists flocked to Damascus, Baghdis, and Cairo which alternately became centres of artistic activity, learning, and letters. Artistic traditions were developed and techniques perfected under the patronage of the rulers and the aristocracy. The middle class, obviously, had no say in the matter, and the artists kept themselves aloof from the masses.

As a particular dynasty fell from power and another emerged as its successor all the artists flocked to the new centre of patronage, and overnight, as it were, the new dynasty "at one stroke inherited an artistic tradition that had been matured elsewhere." The transport of works of art themselves over great distances also helped to spread style and technique.

This answers more or less the first question. The second question is, perhaps, easier to answer. Since the development of arts was linked primarily with the fortunes of ruling dynasties, as soon as political conditions were disturbed at their centre of activity, the artists deserted it and proceeded to other centres to put their fortunes to the stake. If a new dynasty arose which was capable of patronizing the artists and maintaining the artistic tradition, the artists' activity continued unabated, but if there was a period of chaos or political disturbance spread over a considerably wide area, artistic traditions had a tendency to evaporate into thin air. The artists deprived of royal patronage could not produce great works of art and, thus, in a few years the tradition built up by conditions of stability and prosperity would lose force, and products of art suffer qualitatively. It may be observed that just as the decline of artistic traditions was amazingly swift, the stabilizing of artistic activity was also correspondingly quick. Now for the third question.

The line of demarcation between arts and crafts is admittedly fine. It necessarily follows that it is finer still between major and minor arts.

In the case of Muslim minor arts there is another factor which has to be taken into account, if we are to assess correctly the value and worth of the contribution made by the Muslims in this domain.

On account of certain restrictions imposed upon Fine Arts even where State patronage was available, there existed a lurking suspicion in the mind of the artist that he was working contrary to the precepts of religion. Since religion has always been a living force and a vital factor governing human activity, especially in the East, artists in Muslim countries were forced to adapt themselves to the conditions created by the theological restrictions on Fine Arts and to devote themselves to the minor arts, such as calligraphy, carpet-making, wood-carving, etc. This is why we find that the Muslim peoples have achieved such remarkable success in the minor arts. The inspiration which would have moulded works of Fine Arts was diverted