

Henry George Farmer and the First International Congress of Arab Music
(Cairo 1932)

Islamic History and Civilization

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FRONTISPIECE *Henry George Farmer (1882–1965) (Passport photo 1932)*
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Henry George Farmer and the First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo 1932)

By

Israel J. Katz

with the Collaboration of

Sheila M. Craik

and a Foreword by

Amnon Shiloah



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Cover illustration: Iraqi musicians, 5 April 1932. This group was lauded as the best performance group at the Congress.

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*Dedicated to the memory of
Lois Ibsen al-Faruqī (b. 1927),
a dear friend and fervent humanist who
succumbed to a tragic death on May 27, 1986,
leaving a vast legacy of scholarly writings
that explored the nature and intricacies
of music throughout the Moslem World.*



N.B. During the final stage of publication, we received, with great sorrow, the news of **Amnon Shiloah's** passing in Jerusalem on July 11, 2014. We are most grateful for his continued encouragement and constructive criticism, which inspired every phrase of this crucial undertaking. Both Farmer and the Cairo Congress were subjects very close to his heart.

Amnon and I shared a very special friendship over the course of five decades, beginning in Jerusalem in September of 1959. May his memory be blessed.

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Foreword

In my earlier “Assessment of Farmer’s importance and influence in the field of Arab music” (xxi–vi) that was published in *Henry George Farmer: A bibliography*, Glasgow 1999, by Carl Cowl and Sheila M. Craik, I wrote that “the issue of sources was in a certain way the cause of my first acquaintance with Farmer, whom I consider my spiritual tutor” (p. xxvi). Indeed his suggestion to work on the extensive treatise *Kitāb kamāl adab al-ghinā’* (*The book of perfection of musical knowledge*) by the eleventh-century theorist al-Ḥasan ibn Aḥmad ‘Alī al-Kātib stimulated my involvement in the research of Arab and Jewish music and the adoption of my global approach to the study of Eastern musical cultures.

Therefore, I am pleased and honored to welcome the appearance of this new monograph, *Henry George Farmer and The First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo 1932)*, by my old friend and colleague Israel J. Katz, written with the collaboration of Sheila M. Craik. This fascinating study, based on Farmer’s unedited-typewritten documents and conceived with perspicacity, provides, as well, the contextual background of Farmer’s musical and linguistic interests that led to his rapid ascendance as an international specialist of Arab music and a recognized founding father of a discipline dealing, to a large extent, with its history and cultural foundations. It will also acquaint the readership with the leading Western music scholars who were invited by the Egyptian authorities to take part in the Cairo Congress on the eve of the deplorable advent of Nazism and the dramatic events that led to the Second World War.

1 The Two Jewish Genizah Fragments on Music

From the impressive list of Farmer’s writings encompassing the cultural, historical, and musical dimensions of the ancient Oriental civilizations (Mesopotamian, Persian, and Hebrew), as well as the variegated musics and musical practices in the world of Islam under its various aspects, I was particularly fascinated by Farmer’s publications devoted to Jewish music. Therefore, I shall focus my attention on his lesser-known Hebraic studies, which he undertook at a time when scientific studies concerning this Oriental civilization were rather rare.

As we shall see in his Cairo journal entry for the afternoon of March 21, 1932, a few days preceding the convening of the Congress, Farmer and his revered Arab colleague Fu’ād Mughabghab were escorted to the site of the old Ben

Ezra Jewish Synagogue in Fustāt by a wealthy Jew, a Greek by nationality. This fellow, Farmer wrote, “[who] gave me a small crude oil lamp of terracotta of the 12th century . . . was delighted when I suggested that it might have been in the hands of Maimonides.” Farmer was, of course, most enthusiastic about his visit to the ancient synagogue, located near the Coptic Museum. Having also taken the initiative to visit the synagogue’s famous *genizah* (Heb. store room) strongly suggests his deep curiosity concerning the question of Jewish music and the role Jewish musicians played in the realm of Arab music.

Interestingly, in February of 1933, about a year after the Congress, Farmer received a letter from Professor Richard J.H. Gottheil (1862–1936), Professor of Semitic Studies at Columbia University (New York), who sought his advice regarding two *genizah* fragments dealing with music that he was then examining. Both were Arabic fragments, transliterated in Hebrew script, which contained technical musical terms that needed clarification.

In an article entitled “Two *genizah* fragments on music,”¹ Farmer devoted its initial pages to a discussion on generalities concerning Jewish music and its eventual contribution to the realm of the Arab science of music. Following his discussion, Farmer wrote: “Now we come to the *genizah* fragments and you will all know the significance of that word, and the importance of their discovery . . .” (p. 54).²

Upon examining each fragment, Farmer identified the first (the older) as “a portion of the *Risāla fī ‘ilm al-mūsīqī* (*Tract on music*)”, which appeared in the *Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (10th cent.) (p. 55).³ He emphasized that the passage preceding that mentioned in the *genizah* fragment deals with the tuning of the lute (*‘ūd*); this he described, following it with a description of the contents from Professor Gottheil’s letter. As to the longer second fragment, Farmer was able to inform Professor Gottheil that it belonged to *Al-durr al-naẓīm fī aḥwāl al-‘ulūm wa l-ta’līm* (*The well-arranged pearls in the realms of the sciences*

1 *TGVOS* 9 (1961–2 [1963]), 52–62. This was reissued as a booklet under the Hinrichsen Edition imprint and published by E.J. Brill (Leiden 1964), with the revised title: Jewish *genizah* fragments on music 22–32, preceded by The Oriental musical influence 7–21.

2 *Genizah* refers to a repository for wornout sacred manuscripts and ritual objects. The *genizah* in the Ben Ezra Synagogue of Cairo was discovered in 1896. Since then some 100,000 fragments from liturgical, legal, and literary documents have been retrieved.

3 The encyclopedic compilation consists of fifty-two epistles by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ (The Brethren of Purity). The portion from the *Risāla*, which Gottheil sent him came from the first volume of the *Kitāb Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*, ed. by Aḥmad ibn ‘Abdallāh (Bombay 1306/1877). See my translation (in French) of the Epistle on music, in *REI* 32 (1965), 125–62 and 34 (1967), 159–93. I also prepared an English translation with the collaboration of M. Reich: *The epistle on music of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (*Baghdad, 10th century*), Tel Aviv 1978.

and teaching), an Arabic encyclopedic entry attributed to Shams al-Dīn ibn al-Akfānī (d. 1348) (p. 57), from which he transcribed a large portion.

Farmer's findings had originally been destined to be published in a later issue of the *Jewish quarterly review*, but Gottheil's untimely death in 1935 intervened. Neither did another plan to publish the texts in 1948 materialize, because, as Farmer explained, "more cogent Arabic studies had claimed my attention and the genizah fragments were laid until this moment" (p. 58). This was in 1961, when in September of that year he delivered a paper on the topic at a meeting of the Glasgow University Oriental Society, some four years before his death. It is worthwhile mentioning that neither text belongs to the realm of Jewish music.

The opening lines of "Two genizah fragments on music" (p. 52), as well as those from his later study, "The Jewish debt to Arabic writers on music" (p. 59),⁴ as Farmer pointed out in the latter article, came from the famous distich of the Jewish-Italian poet Immanuel ben Solomon [ha-Rōmi] (1261-after 1330), which reads:

What saith the science of music [among the Christians]?
'I was assuredly stolen out of the land of the Hebrews.'

That the phrase "among the Christians" was missing in the former article is odd. Even there his earlier comment regarding the distich is slightly varied. It should be noted, however, that the quoted distich was used in a debate between Immanuel and a Provençal poet concerning the question: to whom should be awarded incumbent merits and excellence, the Spanish-Provençal Hebrew poetry or the Italian? Immanuel, who defended Italian poetry, agreed to subject himself to a disputation covering various areas of knowledge, which included the aforementioned question. Thus Farmer's intent in citing the distich was to reject the idea behind the saying, which, in the original version is soft, but harsher in "The Jewish debt" (p. 59), wherein he wrote:

Whether it is the art or the science of music to which Immanuel ben Solomon (d. ca. 732 A.H./1330 C.E.) refers in his *Maḥabarot* (*Book of poems*), there is little concrete evidence that the Christians stole or borrowed either from the Jews . . . Yet perhaps we ought to consider the lines of the Jewish fabulist as a mere poetic license rather than a racial vaunt and be sufficiently indulgent to view the statement in the light that the Jewish author was more concerned with pleasing a generous patron with

4 IC 15 (1941), 59–63.

a reminiscence of *Genesis* 40:15 than with veracity. [As a kind of parallelism, Farmer cited the statement from *Genesis*, “For indeed I was stolen away out of the land of the Hebrews,”⁵ pronounced by Biblical Joseph while imprisoned.]

I am afraid that Farmer’s interpretation is misleading, because Immanuel’s distich was not “poetic license.” Not only did Immanuel refer to the origin of the science of music in his commentary on *Genesis* IV:21, attributed to Yuval,⁶ but, culturally speaking, his statement represents a broader theoretical view that was held and defended by several authors of the time who believed that the science and art of music originated and attained their apex in the art of the Levites, who served as musicians in the Temple of Jerusalem. This, of course, does not entirely denigrate Farmer’s interpretation expressed here and several other times in articles devoted to Jewish music or music of the Jews, that: “during the early Middle Ages, the Jews derived all that they knew in the *quadrivium* or *mathesis* from Arabic writers” (“The Jewish debt”, 59). In turn, Farmer extolled the great interest of the Jews in the science of music and its integration in their teaching and intellectual pursuits. Among the famous Arabic treatises utilized by Jewish authors, Farmer mentioned al-Fārābī’s *Kitāb Iḥṣā’ al-‘ulūm* (*Classification of the sciences*), Ibn Sīnā’s *Qānūn fī l-ṭibb* (*The canon on medicine*), the Brethren of Purity’s *Epistle on music*, and Ḥunayn ibn Ishāq’s *Kitāb adab al-falāsifa* (*Book of aphorisms of the philosophers*).

In this and other surveys concerning medieval Jewish writers on music, Farmer expressed great admiration and particular esteem for a disciple of Maimonides, the philosopher physician and poet Yūsuf ibn ‘Aqnīn (ca. 1150–1226). Referring to a specific passage dedicated to him in his article “Two genizah fragments on music”, Farmer reiterated his exalted praise of this author in another article, “Mediaeval Jewish writers on music”.⁷ In each case, Ibn ‘Aqnīn is mentioned as a model to illustrate Farmer’s claim that “in all these sciences the Jews depended on Arabic treatises for the greater part, and how deeply they were indebted in this respect is clearly demonstrated by Ibn ‘Aqnīn in his *Ṭabb al-nufūs* (*Enlightenment of souls*)” (see “Mediaeval Jewish” 184), which had wide circulation in the East and wherein he referred to arithmetic, geometry, optics, astronomy, and music as compulsory subjects for

5 Jewish genizah fragments 52.

6 A. Shiloah, “A passage by Immanuel ha-Rōmi on the science of music”, in *Italia* 10 (Jerusalem 1993), 9; repr. in A. Shiloah, *Music and its virtues*, in *Islamic and Judaic writings* (Valerium Collected Studies, Series CS875), Aldershot 2007.

7 *The music review* 3 (1942), 183–9.

educating students. Farmer was correct in stating that Chapter XXVII of the *Tibb* contains the longest exposition on music, a substantial part of which “is a verbatim reproduction of the entire chapter on the subject from al-Fārābī’s *Iḥṣā’ al-‘ulūm* (see “Mediaeval Jewish”, 184). In this respect, it should be noted that Farmer insisted repeatedly on using the term *Ṭabb*, translated by him as “enlightenment”, instead of the original term *Tibb*, used by Ibn ‘Aqnīn and his followers, which means “medicine” or “hygiene”. The latter term suits perfectly the full Arabic title given by the author: *Ṭibb al-nufūs al-salīma wa-mu‘ālaġat al-nufūs al-alīma* (*The medicine of the healthy souls and the therapy of the suffering souls*). Furthermore, there exists a Hebrew translation of the work, which is entitled *Marpē ha-nefashôt* (*The medicine of the souls*).⁸ The term “medicine” or “hygiene” also corresponds to the concept Ibn ‘Aqnīn developed in both his commentaries on the Mishnah *Treatise of the fathers* and *The medicine of the souls*. In both cases, Ibn ‘Aqnīn stated that a human being is expected to devote all his deeds to heaven. For this purpose, one must keep oneself fit, both physically and mentally. Indeed, in using his skill as a physician, he attributed to music the power of remedying mental illness, as reported in an article by Menachem Ben Sasson:⁹

In the case of melancholy . . . [when the sick person] cannot see things as They are and he is afraid of things of which he has no reason to be afraid [of].

This is a bad disease. He can cure it by listening to the performance of Instrumentalists and to the singing of poems accompanied by these five Instruments: *kinnorim* and *nevalim* [‘lyres’], *man’amim* [perhaps *mena’-ne’im*, ‘rattles’], *metzalzelim* [‘cymbals’], and *‘uggavim* [‘winds’].

Thus, while the first part of Ibn ‘Aqnīn’s treatise is based on theoretical Arabic sources, one should bear in mind that more than half of the chapter’s second part differs in that it deals essentially with the importance of music in Judaism. Like several of his predecessors, Ibn ‘Aqnīn referred to Biblical and Talmudic citations claiming that the Bible makes the study and practice of this art (vocal and instrumental) obligatory for performance by the Levites in the Temple. He then turned to the influence of music on prophetic inspiration and its therapeutic power and concluded with strict instructions: Musical practice should

8 See I. Adler, *Hebrew writings concerning music*, Munich 1975, no. 300.

9 “Originalité et plagiat dans l’œuvre musicale d’ibn ‘Aqnīn”, in M. Abitol (ed.), *Relations Judéo-musulmans au Maroc: Perceptions et réalités*, Paris 1997, 309–15.

precede any theoretical study, which was an idea borrowed from al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqā*.

Five years later, in 1968, I published a critical edition and annotated French translation of the two genizah fragments.¹⁰ Interestingly, the fragment representing the *Epistle* of the Ikhwān that I found in Ms. Berlin, Or. 8350 (fols. 28b–30b) differed in length and content from the British Museum's Or. 5565 C fragment that was examined by Farmer and published by Gottheil in the *Jewish quarterly review*.¹¹ The Berlin passage comprises two parts, the first of which refers to Pythagorean-ethical ideas: the theory of the influence of music on the soul and the relationship between celestial and terrestrial music. The second part includes definitions found in another treatise of the Ikhwān encyclopedia, which concerns proportions. A possible explanation of this apparent discrepancy could be that the folios of the same work found their way to the genizah and were later absorbed in different manuscripts. Farmer was correct in presuming that the entire *Risāla* on music had been copied.

The second fragment from the British Museum manuscript examined by Gottheil was in very poor condition. Its beginning is illegible and several lines are missing at the bottom of the page. With that which Gottheil was able to decipher, and with Farmer's familiarity with the literature of the Arab science of music, it was possible to identify its text as part of a section from the aforementioned encyclopedia *al-Durr al-naẓīm*, whose major sources were al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, and Ṣafī al-Dīn. This relatively late work in Hebrew script was included only in the manuscript of the British Museum. Following Farmer's identification of this work and the detailed summary he offered, it seemed worthwhile to examine other manuscripts of the same work that I found in Vienna [N.F. 12 (cat. Fl. 16)] and Leiden [no. 17, according to Farmer] in order to provide a critical text and to publish it as a French translation, together with the first fragment. While accomplishing this task, it became clearer to me that the Berlin Ms. should have been much earlier than that from the British Museum, which is posterior to the time of Ibn al-Akfānī.

10 "Deux textes arabes inédits sur la musique", in *Yuval: Studies of the Jewish Music Research Center* 1, Jerusalem 1968, 221–48.

11 "A genizah fragment of a treatise on the sciences in general", *Jewish quarterly review*, New series 23 (2) (1932), 163–80.

2 Sa'adiah Gaon and the Passage on Music in His *Kitāb al-amānāt*

Paragraph 18 from the tenth treatise of *Kitāb al-amānāt wa-l-i'tiqādāt* (*Book of beliefs and opinions*), a treatise on religious philosophy written (in 933) in Arabic with Hebrew script, deals with the then known eight rhythmic modes. Sa'adiah Gaon (892–942), the major figure of thought during the Geonic period (late 6th to 11th cents.), devoted his tenth treatise to ethical matters, which included the musical passage, and gave its title as: Concerning the most proper way for man to conduct himself in this world. The predominant approach in the treatise reflects, for the most part, the prevailing doctrine of *Ēthos*, which emphasizes the importance of harmony, in its broadest sense, as an equilibrating force. Sa'adiah thus argued that man should strive to attain an ideal equilibrium and harmony in all his activities, experiences, and desires.

The theory concerning the ways to attain this ideal equilibrium is based on the principle of postulating the superiority of the compound (wherein two powers hold one another in check) over the single (wherein no such balance can be established). In dealing with the sense of hearing, as one of the effects produced by the five senses, Sa'adiah maintained that the repetition of single sounds or beats creates monotony and may harm the soul, whereas a combination of diversely patterned sounds or beats produces an agreeable effect. This illustration refers to the rhythmic modes in vogue at that time.

This passage and its three medieval Hebrew translations, as well as five other quotations of the musical passages,¹² were the subject of a major study in the book of 109 pages that Farmer wrote and published during the Second World War upon the millennium of Sa'adiah Gaon. It appeared under the title *Sa'adyah Gaon on the influence of music*, London 1943. If one wonders how the few pages in *Kitāb al-amānāt* grew to 109 pages, the chosen title speaks for itself as an indication of the influence of music, in its broadest sense, in time and space. The opening sentence in the preface reads:

I have known the section on the influence of music in Sa'adyah's *Kitāb al-amānāt [wa-l-i'tiqādāt]* (*The book of beliefs [and opinions]*) for many years. In my brochure, *The Arabian influence on musical theory* (1925 [p. 12]), I said that 'as early as Sa'adyah, the Jews had borrowed their musical science from the Arabs'. I again mentioned the subject in my *History of Arabian music* (1929 [pp. 174–8]), where, speaking at Sa'adyah's passage on music, I commented on its 'considerable affinity with Arabian notions' [pp. 174–5].

12 These are described in Adler, *Hebrew writings* 289.

Farmer's preface is followed by an Introduction entitled Jewish interest in the theory of music, which appears as a kind of *idée fixe* each time he discusses Jewish music. There follow ten chapters, the first of which deals with the Doctrine of the influence of music.

Without delving into further details, I am convinced that the great merit of Farmer, in this case, was his enthusiastic praise of this early Jewish source on music and his discovery of the fact that Sa'adiyah's peculiar terminology referred to rhythmic modes, as well as the eventual source from which he derived his theory concerning the rhythmic modes and their influence on the soul, *e.g.*, from al-Kindī's treatise, *Risāla fī ajzā' khabariyya fī l-mūsīqī* (*Treatise imparting concise information on music*).

A comparison between the passage on music in Sa'adiyah's *Kitāb al-amānāt* and al-Kindī's *Risāla* (mentioned above) indeed reveals a striking similarity between them concerning the rhythmic modes and that of the doctrine of the influence of music on the soul. Thus, it is most probable that al-Kindī's *Risāla* was indeed Sa'adiyah's major source. The comparison also shows that Sa'adiyah's passage was not merely a compilation, but that it contained significant differences and deviations with respect to al-Kindī. I will argue that by using the material he found in al-Kindī's *Risāla*, Sa'adiyah adapted it in accordance with his own needs and purposes.

For one thing, the terminological variants suggest that al-Kindī may not have been the only source from which Sa'adiyah drew his musical passages, and that he made deliberate choices in his theoretical terminology. Furthermore, it should be noted that Sa'adiyah did not mention the proper names of the eight rhythmic modes by which they were commonly known, not only in theoretical writings, but also in the musical practice. Unlike al-Kindī and other theorists of that epoch, Sa'adiyah refrained from referring to the *'ūd* and its symbolical links to the doctrine of *Êthos*, an approach that was current during his time.

Al-Kindī described the fundamental structures of the eight known rhythmic modes (*iqā'āt*) in the musical practice, indicating their current names in contemporary writings. The technical terms used by al-Kindī and Sa'adiyah should also be noted. Sa'adiyah employed the term *alḥān* (pl. of *lahn* 'melody'), whereas al-Kindī used *iqā'* (the term usually employed to denote rhythmic modes); *naghma* (note) instead of *naqra* (beat); and the term *tanghīm* (intonation), an uncommon word in music theory, as a derivative of *naghma* (which probably refers here, together with *maqādīr* [pl. of *miqdār* 'measures'], to a combination of beats of different time values).

Contrary to al-Kindī, Sa'adiyah's obvious intention was not to deal with music as such, but rather to draw on musical theory to illustrate the idea of harmony, in its broadest sense, and the doctrine of influence then in vogue.

Sa'adiah, moreover, wrote as a religious authority and modified the material he borrowed from al-Kindī's *Risāla* to suit his needs. Specifically, he avoided all references to musical theory and practice, which is why he omitted the names of the eight modes. It also accounts for the absence of the *ūd* from Sa'adiah's passage. Independent of its significance in philosophical and cosmological speculations, the *ūd* was the principal instrument of the blossoming art of music. As such, Muslim theologians regarded it as the very symbol of the life of pleasure leading to depravity and directed their vehement attacks against it. There can be little doubt that Sa'adiah was aware of their attitude. Therefore, I suggest that this was the reason why he chose to express his adherence to the general philosophical ideas regarding harmony, while avoiding allusions to any religiously objectionable ideas or practices. My interpretation is contrary to that offered by Farmer (p. 12).

3 Maimonides on Music

In October of 1933, Farmer published in *JRAS* a study entitled "Maimonides on listening to music" (867–88). The Arabic term *samā'*, which doubtless belies its translation as "listening", was chosen by Farmer to indicate common traits characterizing Judaic and Islamic religious attitudes regarding the permissibility of music. The term *samā'*, as it is widely used in Arabic literature, designates both "hearing music" and "music that is heard". It inspired a rich and variegated literature, essentially polemical in character, which concerned sacred and religious music. This parallelism found concrete expression in the article's initial sentences wherein Farmer wrote: "In all ages there have been puritans who have looked upon 'wine, women and song' as things to be avoided . . . a Trinity of joys" (3). Farmer then proceeded to provide examples from Jewish sources against secular music, leading to Maimonides' text that corresponded to the object of his scrutiny. The text in question was his response to a query addressed to him concerning the singing of Arab *muwashshahāt* (strophic poems). The manuscript of this Arabic text (in Hebrew script) was in the possession of the chief Rabbi Bernstein in The Hague and had been published by the erudite scholar Ignaz Goldziher in 1873.¹³ Maimonides published this work with commentary omitting the name of the person or group that made the request, including the year it was made. For the omitted information, Farmer benefited from the help of the Oxford scholar David S. Margoliouth (1858–1940).

13 "Das Gutachten des Maimonides über Gesang und Musik", in *Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums* 22 (1873), 174–80.

In 1941, Farmer published a revised version of the same work as the first in his series, *Medieval Jewish tracts on music*,¹⁴ which he dedicated to James Robson, author of *Tracts on listening to music*.¹⁵ In this version, he also omitted the identification of the anonymous inquirers, who were later identified as Jews from Aleppo, who formulated their inquiry as follows: “Is it lawful to listen to the singing of Arabic *muwashshahāt* (sing. *muwashshah*) and to the *zamr*?” The *muwashshah*, according to the eminent Spanish scholar Emilio Garcia Gómez, was the most original genre among the Spanish Umayyad’s cultural achievements.¹⁶ It is said to have been invented by the blind poet Muqaddam ibn Mu‘āfa at the end of the ninth or beginning of the tenth century.

The addition of the term *zamr* in the question is somewhat problematic. Farmer and others understood it as a “reed-pipe”, which is usually designated by the term *mizmār*. This interpretation is implausible, because *zamr* is a verbal noun and the sophisticated form of the *muwashshah* belonged essentially to art music, whereas the *mizmār* was, in all cases, an instrument used to accompany folk music and which had been categorically banished by Muslim legists. By direct reference to Maimonides’ response, it seems possible that he interpreted *mizmār* as the “blowing of instruments” or “instrumental music”. At the outset of his response, Maimonides argued that it is well known that the *zamr* and the rhythmic modes (*iqā‘āt*) are by themselves forbidden, even if nothing had been said about them. Therefore, what Maimonides intended was the prohibition of secular music as a whole, without distinguishing between vocal and instrumental, because “Israel is required to be a sacred nation,” adding that he had already explained this prohibition in his Commentary on *Abot* 1:16 (the Mishna treatise of the Fathers), wherein he argued that “there is no difference whether the language of the sung poem is Hebrew or Arabic; only such are prohibited and permitted in accordance with the meaning inherent in the words.”

The aforementioned reference to his commentary on the Mishnah treatise deals with the general theme “speech and silence,” which has been linked by reference to a statement made by Rabbi Shimeon, the son of Rabban Gamliel: “During my entire life, I was raised among sages and have not found anything better for the body than silence.” In his long discourse concerning that statement, Maimonides began his argument with a corresponding quotation from Proverbs 10:19: “When words are many, transgression is not lacking . . .” Then

14 Here, published as a 21-page booklet by Farmer (Bearsden, Scotland), it bore the subtitle: *From the responsa of Moses ben Maimon (d. 1204)*.

15 Full title: *Tracts on listening to music: Being ‘Dhamm al-malāhi’ by Ibn abī-l-Dunyā [823–94] and ‘Bawāriq al-ilmā’ by Majd al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī al-Ghazālī*, London 1938.

16 “Sobre el nombre y la patria del autor de la ‘*muwaššaha*’”, in *Al-Andalus* 2 (1934), 215–22.

he proceeded to classify speech into five categories: 1) imposed or inevitable; 2) prohibited; 3) coarse; 4) preferable; and 5) permitted. The fourth category, 'preferable', is the one in which Maimonides dealt with singing. In connection with the pejorative third category 'coarse', Maimonides continued his response as follows: "And in reality it is listening to folly that is prohibited, even when the words are in dispersed order [*nathr*, which Maimonides interpreted as prose, meaning ordinary speech]. Yet when such texts are set to melodies, the number of prohibitions will be three: the first of which is listening to folly and coarseness [the latter in Hebrew is *nibbul pe*]; the second is listening to *ghinā'* (music), *i.e.*, mouth singing; and the third is listening to the playing [accompaniment] of stringed instruments." If the singing occurred in a place of wine drinking, there would be a fourth prohibition, according to the saying of Him Most High: "The *kinnor* and *nevel* (lyres), the *tof* (tambourine) and *halil* (pipe) and wine are in their feasts" (Isaiah 5:12). And if the singer is a woman, then the number of prohibitions will be five, according to the Talmudic saying: "The voice of a woman is shameful."

This graduated list is reminiscent of a similar list of prohibitions compiled by the theologian jurist and mystic Abū Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) in his *Iḥyā' ulūm al-dīn* (*The revival of religious sciences*). Farmer, in the last paragraph of his study, asked: "Did Maimonides know the *Iḥyā' al-dīn* of Al-Ghazālī?" (p. 21). Some of his arguments suggest that he did.

It should also be noted that, in addition to being a great legist, Maimonides was a renowned philosopher and physician. It is therefore interesting to make a brief acquaintance with an example from his medical writings, namely the epistle he wrote to Prince al-Afḍal, the eldest son of Saladin who suffered from bouts of melancholia. The detailed regimen he prescribed therein included dietary and fitness regimens, as well as instructions of a psychological nature. Wine and music are among the things he proposed. Wine, as a good soporific, helps to purify the blood, eliminates the vapors caused by the black bile, and ensures a pleasant sleep. Maimonides further urged that naps in the afternoon and sleep at night should be induced by singing and music. A singer accompanied by a stringed instrument should render the performance. The singer should gradually decrease the volume of his voice and the instrumentalist should attenuate the sound of the strings so that it becomes mere whispering; both should cease completely when the patient falls asleep.

If somewhere in my foregoing presentation some readers may have felt signs of divergence, my frank views should be understood solely as remarks addressed

to Farmer's tendency toward absolutism in defining repeatedly his radical opinions concerning the identity of Arab music that often appear as a kind of *idée fixe*. What I meant, in all such cases, is that when examining two works that obviously contain identical material and ideas, one should look beyond their similarities for the differences between them, with a view toward establishing their particularities.

There are also one or two additional matters, which have frequently caused me to wonder, without altering my warm appreciation for Farmer's huge contributions. My cautious concern reflects my impression that Farmer did not show more consideration for his predecessors, who contributed to the study of Arab music, whether on good terms or otherwise. In this regard, I refer to the studies made by A. Christianowitch, M.X. Collangettes, R.G. Kiesewetter, J.-B. de La Borde, J. Rouanet, and G.A. Villoteau. The latter, in particular, accompanied Napoleon Bonaparte to Egypt, along with other specialists, and during his almost three-year sojourn, gathered important material for two of the volumes that were published in the multi-volume series *Description de l'Égypte*. His first volume, entitled *De l'état actuel de l'art musical en Égypte*, Paris 1826, covered, in addition to Arab music, that of several minorities who then lived in Egypt. His second, entitled *Description historique, technique et littéraire des instruments de musique des Orientaux*, Paris 1823, was devoted to innumerable instruments. This latter work should have served as an important reference tool for Farmer, who contributed numerous studies to musical instruments. It is therefore surprising that, considering his deep interest in the organology of the Arabs, he did not refer to or evaluate this important work, nor even the former volume. Another interesting point is that Farmer abstained from dealing with living music, whether belonging to the realm of the art or folk tradition.

Last, but not least, as a researcher having pursued the multiple paths that Farmer opened in his investigations, I consider the foregoing observations as a token of my personal tribute to his precious contributions.

Amnon Shiloah

Jerusalem, January 2012

Preface

After I began working in the library of the University of Glasgow, in August 1955, as an assistant at the Issue Desk, I very occasionally had to ask Dr. Farmer, the elderly music librarian, for help with a reader's inquiry. The only other contact with him, as far as I can recall, was when we chanced to travel together on a bus going to the University. Little did I know then what a significant role Henry George Farmer was to play later in my life.

Dr. Farmer died in 1965; in 1969, following the resignation of his successor, I was asked if I would take on this position. With no formal qualification in either music or librarianship, this was a somewhat daunting undertaking for me, but with the help of colleagues and members of the Music Department (now part of the School of Culture and Creative Arts), I went ahead.

As occasional enquiries arose concerning Henry Farmer and the collection of books, scores, and manuscripts he had donated to the library, I soon discovered what an outstanding scholar he had been, what an unusual life he had led, and what an amazing variety of subjects he had covered in his writings. In 1976 my interest increased with the visit to the library by the Chilean harpsichordist and scholar, Ruby Reid Thompson, to study Farmer's unpublished material, and my involvement then gave me the opportunity to learn more about him. As the centenary of his birth approached, it was decided to hold an exhibition in the Special Collections Department to mark this anniversary in the autumn of 1982.

Participating in the preparation for this event proved to be both a challenging and rewarding experience. Another significant event at this period was my meeting with Carl Cowl, when he first visited the library with the idea of compiling a bibliography of Farmer's Arabic writings. The background to this plan is described fully in the introductory chapter; suffice it for me to say that by late 1983, when Mr. Cowl decided to enlarge the scope of the bibliography, during his second visit to Glasgow, I realized that unless he were to leave his home in New York and take up residence in Glasgow, he would be likely to need assistance with his project.

Even though I had no knowledge of the history or theory of Arab music and instruments, my interest in Farmer made it seem appropriate that I should offer to help. Thus began the 14-year collaboration with Carl which comprised dozens of lengthy letters and lists (no e-mails at this time!), telephone calls, discussions during his occasional spells in Glasgow and one meeting in Oxford when I visited him during his attendance at a Yiddish conference. Carl Cowl

unfortunately died in 1997 while the work was in progress, and I carried on until it was eventually published in 1999.

In the first few years of working on the bibliography I was aware that Carl had received a great deal of help, advice, and guidance from Prof. Katz, but after 1989 their collaboration ceased. It was only some time after I began to collaborate on the present publication and after re-reading Carl's correspondence that I realized how thoroughly Prof. Katz had been involved with the crucial initial stages of the project. The omission of his name from the acknowledgements in the Farmer bibliography was a serious oversight, and I am now pleased—albeit very belatedly, and not least because he was the inspiration behind Carl's project—to record my gratitude to him.

From the time I received Prof. Katz's first letter in the spring of 2000, sent after he learned of the publication of the Farmer bibliography, we corresponded intermittently. In 2002 we met when he visited Glasgow in pursuit of his plan to prepare for publication the journal which Dr. Farmer had compiled relating to the Cairo conference. Thereafter I was able to respond to his queries in this connection from time to time. In late 2009 the project gathered momentum and from then until the work was completed in the early autumn of 2013 our collaboration spanning our respective sides of the Atlantic was regular and, at times, intensive. For me it has been an education to observe the progress of the monograph from its inception; it has also been a stimulating experience to participate in a work which, we hope, will be of great interest not only to Arabic and Western musicians, musicologists, and ethnomusicologists, but possibly also to a wider circle of readers.

Dr. Farmer has considerably enriched my life. He has also given me several enduring friendships, and I like to think that somewhere there might be a scholar who would be curious to find out about his life after the Cairo conference and be inspired to write a full biography of this remarkable man. Step forward!

I wish to record my gratitude to the staff of the Special Collections Department, who, over many years, provided the materials I requested from the Farmer Collection. My special thanks go to David Weston for general advice and Niki Russell for her assistance in arranging for the photographing of material in the collection.

Sheila M. Craik

Glasgow

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The entire manuscript was read by my long-time colleagues Mary Frances Dunham, Prof. Jozef Pacholczyk (Emeritus, Univ. of Maryland at College Park), Prof. George Sawa (Independent scholar), and Prof. Amnon Shiloah (Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem), each of whom made substantial contributions to its contents. Among the many colleagues and friends, who most graciously answered my queries or provided pertinent items of information, I wish to thank: Denise Anderson (Center for Research Collections, Univ. of Edinburgh); Dr. Nicolas J. Bell (Music collections, The British Library); the late Dr. James B. Coover (d. 2004) (State Univ. of New York at Buffalo); Prof. Ruth Davis (Cambridge Univ.); Prof. Stephen Erdely (Emeritus, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Cambridge, MA); Prof. Francesco Giannattasio (Univ. di Roma "La Sapienza"); Elaine Grogan (Art historian, Dublin, Ireland); Dr. Scheherazade Qassim Hassan (School of Oriental and African Studies, Univ. of London); Dr. Patrick Lenaghan (Curator, Hispanic Society of America, New York); Dr. Stephen Luttmann (Music Librarian, Univ. of North Carolina); Prof. Mervyn McLean (Emeritus, Univ. of Auckland, New Zealand); Dr. Azza Madian 'Abd-al-Hamid (Research Librarian, Bibliotheca Alexandrina, Chalby, Alexandria, Egypt); Jermy Montagu (former Curator of the Bate Collection of Musical Instruments, Oxford Univ.); Dr. Karol Mullaney-Dignam (Natl. Univ. of Maynooth, Ireland); Dr. Eckhard Neubauer (Institut für Geschichte der Arabisch-Islamischen Wissenschaften, Johann Wolfgang Goethe-Univ., Frankfurt a/Main); Jeannette van de Kruijff (Amsterdam, Holland); Karen Olson (Arts Administrative Group, Univ. of California at Davis); Dr. John Oneill (Hispanic Society of America, New York, NY); Mr. William Arnold Reeves (Thorton Heath, Surrey, UK); Dr. Luithgard Schader (Hindemith-Institut, Frankfurt a/Main); Dr. Salwa el-Shawan Castelo-Branco (Provost, Univ. Nova, Lisbon); Dr. Heinz-Jürgen Winkler (Hindemith-Inst., Frankfurt a/Main); Dr. Suzanne Ziegler (Berliner Phonogramm-Archiv, Humboldt Univ.); and Prof. Joseba Zulaika (Center for Basque Studies, Univ. of Nevada, Reno). Among my various colleagues who

were kind enough to send me materials that I requested, I wish to thank: Prof. Stephen Blum (Graduate School, CUNY); Dr. Gila Flam (Director, National Sound Archives, Israel National Library, Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem); Prof. David Josephson (Brown Univ., Providence, RI); Prof. Mark Kligman (Hebrew Union College, NY); Prof. Arbie Orenstein (Queens College, CUNY); Dr. Judith Pinnolis (Librarian, Brandeis Univ., Waltham, MA); Dr. Faḥī Saleh (Director, Center for Documentation of Cultural and Natural Heritage, Cairo, Egypt); Prof. William Shank (Emeritus, Graduate School, CUNY), and Laura Stokes (Performing Arts Librarian, Orwig Music Library, Brown Univ., Providence, RI). Prof. Abdul-Moren al-Mashat of the Cultural and Educational Bureau at the Embassy of the Arab Republic of Egypt (Washington, D.C.) was most kind in providing me with a copy of *Musique arabe: Le Congrès du Caire de 1932*.

In her brilliant and painstaking study, *The Lachmann problem* Jerusalem 2003, Dr. Ruth Katz (Professor emerita of the Music Dept., Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem), included translations of all the letters Robert Lachmann sent to his parents in Berlin during the course of the Congress. These proved most useful for the factual and corroborative information they provided. Lachmann's unfortunate dismissal (in 1935) from his librarian position in Berlin, and the trials and tribulations he faced in Jerusalem (Palestine) during the last four years of his life are well documented in her book.

Our thanks are also due to the following copyright holders for permission to use unpublished material: Ms. Sheila Hughes (granddaughter of H.G. Farmer); Hugh Lionel Gould (grand-nephew of A.H. Fox Strangways); and Jeanne and François Dolmetsch (granddaughter and grandson of Mabel Dolmetsch).¹

Finally, with the help and encouragement we received from E.J. Brill's Kathy van Vliet, Acquisitions Editor, Middle East and Islamic Studies, and her able assistant Nienke Brien-Moolenaar, prior to and following the acceptance of our work for publication, we could not have asked for a more competent team. And to Laylan Saadaldin, Brill's copy editor, we are most grateful for her scrupulous care and linguistic assistance.

It was through Carl Cowl's initial endeavor that I was lured into this project. May his memory be blessed.

Finally, I shall always be grateful to my loving wife Marcia who, with patient endurance and encouraging support, awaited the completion of this project.

1 Every effort has been made to trace possible copyright holders and obtain permission for the use of copyright material.

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Abbreviations

<i>AM</i>	<i>Asian music</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Asiatische studien</i>
<i>BEO</i>	<i>Bulletin d'études orientales de l'Institut Français de Damas</i>
<i>BGA</i>	<i>Bibliotheca geographorum arabicorum</i>
<i>BSOAS</i>	<i>Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>Encyclopædia of Islam</i>
<i>IC</i>	<i>Islamic culture</i>
<i>IS</i>	<i>Islamic studies</i>
<i>IOS</i>	<i>Israel oriental studies</i>
<i>JA</i>	<i>Journal asiatique</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
<i>JRAS</i>	<i>Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society</i>
<i>MESAB</i>	<i>Middle East Studies Association Bulletin</i>
<i>PMA</i>	<i>Proceedings of the Musical Association</i>
<i>REI</i>	<i>Revue des études islamiques</i>
<i>SIMG</i>	<i>Sammelbände der Internationalen Musikgesellschaft</i>
<i>TGUOS</i>	<i>Transactions of the Glasgow University Oriental Society</i>
<i>ZGAIW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Geschichte der Arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaften</i>
<i>ZMW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft</i>
<i>ZvMW</i>	<i>Zeitschrift für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft</i>

N.B. The University of Glasgow has for long been informally known as Glasgow University, and for the ease of reference is cited thus here. Similarly its Library is referred to as Glasgow University Library, or abbreviated to GUL where appropriate.

Readers who wish to obtain further details of cited works in the Farmer Collection (FC) should refer to the Library's website at: [www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections/](http://www.gla.ac.uk/services/specialcollections)

Dr. Farmer's orthography (names, terms, etc.) and his use of diacritics in the titles of his articles and especially in Chapter 4.2 and Chapters 5.2 and 5.3 have been retained throughout this work. However, transliterations cited from sources employing an outdated system (such as those in Chap. 4.3: Schindler photos) have been edited to reflect modern transliteration practices.

The Genesis of the Farmer Project

Henry George Farmer (1882–1965) first came to the attention of Orientalists in 1925, when, shortly after he was awarded a Master’s degree at Glasgow University, his primal essay “Clues for the Arabian influence on European musical theory” appeared in the January issue of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. By the time his 1926 doctoral thesis was revised and published under the title “A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century”, London 1929,¹ he had already contributed fourteen noteworthy articles on various historical and theoretical aspects dealing with this subject,² thus establishing himself as a revered scholar in European and North American musicological circles.

In recognition of his penetrating researches, Farmer was invited to participate at the First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo, 1932). It was at this historic meeting that he came in contact with other renowned specialists from Europe and the Arabic-speaking world and during which he maintained a journal recording his daily activities, interactions with fellow delegates and dignitaries, and varied perambulations throughout the city. Curiously, his journal, along with the detailed minutes he kept for his Commission on History and Manuscripts, were never published. Both documents, presented here, reveal aspects and inner workings of the Congress that have hitherto remained unknown.

Yet, as he continued to accrue international recognition during the seven-year period prior to his attendance at the Congress, hardly anything was known of his private and professional life up through the time of his Cairene sojourn. To fill this void, we have highlighted the stages of Farmer’s career from his birth in Ireland and early musical life as a military bandsman—including his prolific articles and essays as a free thinker and his authoritative writings on military and Scottish music—through his undergraduate and graduate education at Glasgow University, during which he supported his family as a music hall conductor, and culminating with his memorable visit to Cairo. It is a remarkable

1 According to E. Neubauer, *Henry George Farmer* i, xi, it was this well-balanced masterpiece that brought Farmer international fame as the most prominent connoisseur of Arab music of his day.

2 Eight additional publications, including two books, followed through 1931. At the time of the Congress, three more articles were then in press.

story, given the fact that he had only begun to study Arabic, in 1918, at the age of thirty-six.

Indeed it was eighty-three years ago that Henry George Farmer participated in the First International Congress of Arab Music, which convened in Cairo, Egypt—from March 14 through April 3, 1932—under the ternary patronage of King Fuʿād I, the Egyptian Ministry of Education, and the Royal Institute of Oriental Music. As the sole delegate representing Great Britain, he interacted with other noted European, North African, and Middle Eastern musicologists, composers, musicians, and music critics³ to address problems and exchange ideas of mutual interest from both Eastern and Western perspectives in what then proved to be a most significant event in the musicological world.⁴

On January 17th, two months before the Congress, Farmer celebrated his fiftieth birthday. At this juncture in life, he had enjoyed a multi-faceted career as musician, music hall and orchestral conductor, journalist (essayist), musicians' union arbitrator, bibliophile, editor, lexicographer, musicologist (medievalist), organologist, and Orientalist (Arabist). Early on, his writings on the history of military music and bands were highly praised, as was his more recent excursion into medieval Scottish music. Yet more widely recognized were his persistent prolific and wide-ranging scholarly publications concerning medieval Arab music theory and organology, which firmly established his reputation in academic musicological circles throughout Europe and North America.⁵ No wonder then that the organizers of the Congress had deemed his participation most essential.

Surprisingly, Farmer's personal account of his month-long sojourn in Cairo would have remained unknown had it not been for a crucial footnote that had for long been overlooked. In 1965, several months prior to his death,

3 For the participating countries and their respective delegates, see App. 4.

4 Nicolas Slonimsky, who considered it among the musicological landmarks of the twentieth century, cited the Congress under March 14, 1932 (its opening date) in his descriptive chronology entitled *Music since 1900*, New York 1949³, 345, adding that “the discussion [centered] on the problem of establishing a standard scale.” To be sure, it was but one of several crucial issues that were discussed and debated at the Congress, yet the proposed adoption of the twenty-four quarter-tone equal-tempered scale had provoked such vehement arguments that no consensus was reached.

Slonimsky envisioned his descriptive chronology as “a sort of newsreel reflecting the ‘inner headlines’ of musical events that may not be at the moment of their occurrence of any seeming importance, but do contain elements of evolutionary power that subtly but surely influence the entire future of music” (p. vii).

5 For the full bibliographic citations of his scholarly publications to 1932, see App. 1.

there appeared E.J. Brill's publication of Farmer's *The sources of Arabian music*, which was, in essence, a revised and augmented edition of his earlier 1940 annotated bibliography of Arabic manuscripts.⁶ Dedicated to the memory of his parents, it was among the last of his published works and quite possibly his swan song. In its lengthy introduction, he began with an appeal for comprehensive bibliographies, then explained how he had compiled, ordered, and annotated the 353 citations contained therein, including the pitfalls he encountered during his searches in British and foreign libraries. The remaining discourse concerned his Arab influence thesis, whose main arguments he had developed and propounded for the past four decades and whose supporters and "uninformed" critics he openly acknowledged. All told, it comprises a useful summary.

Among the citations included in *Sources* were those taken from a short list of important Arabic manuscripts that Farmer itemized for the plenary session at the close of the Congress,⁷ but which, regrettably, was not incorporated in the report of his Commission that was published in both the Arabic and French *Proceedings*.⁸ Owing to this omission, *Sources* then became the vehicle for its inclusion. Nonetheless, it was only in Brill's 1965 edition that Farmer added the crucial footnote (p. viii) revealing that the substance of his "short list" was contained in his typescript diary of the Congress that was eventually deposited in the Farmer Collection (FC) at Glasgow University Library (GUL).⁹ This revelation is startling considering the countless hands through which the

6 It initially appeared in the *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society* 13 (1939), xvi, 97 pp., and was republished privately in Bearsden [Glasgow] the following year under the author's imprint. It was the latter publication for which he was awarded an honorary D. Litt. degree by Glasgow University in 1941 and which Farmer referred to as his "second doctoral thesis . . . Only 150 numbered copies were issued . . . [but] a demand for the book ran into hundreds before the year was out" (FC 43.3, 306).

7 The list was one of the tasks assigned to his Commission on Music History and Manuscripts. It was compiled to identify and locate manuscripts of musical importance, including those that were published. See Chap. 5, 245–7.

8 Hereafter referred to as *KMM'A* and the *Recueil*, resp. Both were published in Cairo and issued in 1933 and 1934, resp. In the *Recueil*, Farmer's commission report can be found on pp. 639–46. For an abridged version of the former, see the *Mūjaz kitāb mu'tamar al-mūsiqā al-'arabīyya al-maṣmūl bi-rī'āyat ḥaḍrat ṣāhib al-jalāla al-malik Fu'ād al-awwal al-mun'aqid bi-madīnat al-Qāhira fī sanat 1350 H.* (1932), Cairo 1934.

9 The Collection comprises Farmer's private papers, correspondence, and all the books he donated to the Library between 1930 and 1965.

Brill edition had passed, and that, to date, no attempt had been made to study this *particularly curious and inviting* document.¹⁰

With the recovery of the “typescript diary,” a new dimension, based on personal observations and conversations, can now be added to the fundamental reference works concerning the administrative and technical aspects of the Congress which include the *Regulations*¹¹ and both the Arabic and French proceedings.¹² What makes the so-called “diary” an item of extreme importance is its intrinsic value as a subsidiary document, wherein Farmer inscribed his personal thoughts, involvement, and the associations he made during the course of the Congress, including his spare time activities in Cairo and its environs. And, whereas each of the Congress’s seven Commissions chose a recording secretary, it appears that Farmer, apart from his Commission’s secretary, maintained his own minutes of the working sessions, over which he presided. It was also from these minutes that he prepared and delivered the general report of his Commission’s discussions and recommendations before the general assembly during the concluding Plenary Sessions.¹³

Thus, the centerpiece of our study constitutes the unpublished “transcript diary” or “Itinerary of visit to Cairo” (as it was subsequently called), the minutes of his Commission’s meetings, and his general report. In each, it will be seen that his participation was highly praised by his Arabic-speaking counterparts, who admired him as a Western pioneer in Arab music, and that his stewardship of the Commission on History and Manuscripts was exemplary.¹⁴ It was, in fact, the only Commission whose minutes were duly recorded for posterity.

10 In that same note, Farmer failed to mention that the “short list” was included in the second (FC 504) of his two scrapbooks relating to the Congress, whereas the “typescript diary” was placed in the first (FC 503). See Chap. 4.2.

11 For the sixteen articles outlining the plans and responsibilities of the Organizing Committee, the funds provided for the various activities, the proposed Commissions and their constituents, the designated times of their preliminary and plenary meetings, and assigned topics for discussion, see App. 5.

12 For the contents of the French *Proceedings (Recueil)* that closely followed the original Arabic, see App. 8.

13 Farmer’s general report, discussed in Chap. 5.3, is the final and fullest version of that published in the *Recueil* 639–46. Farmer had also prepared a lecture, “A short history of the Arabian scale,” whose French translation was included in the *Recueil* 647–56. See App. 9.

14 In a commendatory letter to Farmer (dated July 3, 1932), Baron Rodolphe d’Erlanger wrote: “Your reports upon the Congress of Arabic Music have interested me to the highest degree: if all those attending the Congress had worked to the same extent, the various committees would have achieved something really worthwhile” (FC 503).

Oddly enough, no definitive biography concerning Farmer's life and works has been attempted to date. The scattered entries on Farmer in various dictionaries and encyclopedias available at most research and academic libraries,¹⁵ and the more developed sketches of his life (both published and unpublished),¹⁶ including Farmer's own,¹⁷ comprise the most basic, albeit skeletal sources. In 1982, Sheila Craik, the then music librarian at GUL,¹⁸ and her colleague David Weston of the Special Collections Department, produced an informative twenty-three page catalog, *Tunic–tinsel–toga*,¹⁹ for an exhibition that was held in the library (from Oct. 11th to Nov. 27th) to commemorate Farmer's centenary. In 1986, thanks to the effort of Eckhard Neubauer, there appeared his magnificent two-volume collection of most of Farmer's writings on Oriental music²⁰—reproduced in their reprint form—to make them more

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- 15 *Grove's dictionary* iii, London 1954⁵, 29–30; *Die Musik* iii, Kassel 1954, cols. 1,832–3; *Encyclopédie de la musique*, ii, Paris 1959, 25; *Riemann Musiklexikon*, Mainz 1959¹², *Personenteil A-K* 389–90, and *Who was who*, London 1972, 365; *Riemann Musiklexikon*, Mainz 1972, *Ergänzungsband. Personenteil A-K* 342; *The new Grove dictionary* vi, London 1980, 400–1; *The new Grove dictionary* viii, London, 2001², 571–3; and *Die Musik* vi, Kassel, 2001², *Personenteil* cols. 740–2. Additional entries are listed in FC 218.
- 16 R.B. Serjeant, “A celebrated British scholar”, in *The Arabic listener* (July 7th, 1943), 9 pp.; Unpublished: E.M. McLeod [Farmer's daughter], A British musicologist (several typed drafts, bet. ca. 1943 and 1951), located in FC 319, upon which Serjeant based his article; and R. Dalley-Scarlett, From musical comedy to Arabic mss: Some notes on Henry George Farmer (typescript of an Australian National Programme Broadcast, Apr., 1945, 4 pp.) (FC 243).
- 17 “Living in Scotland. Dr. Henry George Farmer. Researcher in Scottish and Oriental music”, in *Scottish field* 107 (Apr., 1960), 29–30 (FC 135. p. 6); Unpublished: *Ernest Newman as I saw him* includes several typescript drafts of the last two chapters which contain detailed information; FC 44 constitutes a bound copy; and Dr. Henry George Farmer (autobiographical memoir), comprises a carefully edited ten-page ms. (FC 320. 2).
- 18 She served in that capacity from 1969 to 1992.
- 19 In her preface (p. xii), Ms. Craik explained that it “was [Farmer's] intention to write an autobiography which was to be divided into three sections to represent the three main phases of his life: *tunic*, telling of his years with the Royal Artillery Band; *tinsel*, describing the years of his theatrical career; and *toga*, covering what he called his ‘musico-literary career’. The autobiography was never written, but it seemed appropriate to build the exhibition round these three headings, albeit loosely, since there were many overlappings and interconnections in his long and varied life.” An edited version of a talk with the same title [*Tunic–tinsel–toga*], given by Ms. Craik before the Friends of GUL in Oct. 1982 (at the time of the exhibition), was published in *College courant* no. 70 (Glasgow, Mar. 1983), 24–7.
- 20 Here it follows the German usage, *orientalisch* (the adjective meaning ‘eastern’), which E. Neubauer was quick to qualify as “Oriental, mostly Arabic, music . . .” in referring to Farmer's publications (vol. i, xii). Moreover, A.J. Racy (*Making music* 7, n. 17, explained

readily accessible.²¹ Two years later, Eckhard and Elsbeth Neubauer published *Henry George Farmer on Oriental music: An annotated bibliography*.²²

The long-awaited *Henry George Farmer: A bibliography* Glasgow 1999, now fifteen years in print, has yet to inspire a full-fledged biographical study. Comprising the most complete listing of Farmer's published and unpublished works (numbering 922 citations, with annotations), its compilation was undertaken by the late Carl Cowl (1902–97), a retired American literary agent and aficionado of Near Eastern music, and Sheila Craik, who, after Cowl's death, organized its contents, together with a most useful index, and prepared the final manuscript for publication.²³ Of importance here is Ms. Craik's biographical note on Farmer (pp. vi–xiv), which is by far the most extensive and informative piece we possess to date. Following Cowl's suggestion, she invited Profs. Trevor Herbert and Amnon Shiloah to participate by providing short essays on Farmer's contribution to the study of military music and an assessment of his importance and influence in the field of Arab music (pp. xv–xxi and xxii–xxvi, resp.), which added depth to their collaborative endeavor. Years later (Dec., 2005), in GUL's website "Book of the Month" series,²⁴ there appeared Julie Gardham's edited version of a lecture on Farmer that was prepared by

that "the concept of 'Near East,' or, for that matter 'Orient' is obviously Eurocentric, or Western conceived. Essentially [he utilized] such familiar and rather convenient concepts as the 'Eastern' or 'Near-Eastern' Arab world to differentiate this area from other Arab areas, particularly North Africa."

- 21 *Henry George Farmer: Studies in Oriental music*, Frankfurt am/Main 1986, i: History and theory (contains articles which appeared between 1925–66); ii: Instruments and military music (from 1925–69). In a letter to me (dated Feb. 2, 1987), Prof. Neubauer explained that the publication "was not intended to give all the titles covering the subject; more recent or available titles such as *The sources* (1965 ed.) and "Islam", in *Musikgeschichte in Bildern*, or the older, but reprinted *History* and *historical facts* are not included. What [he did] regret is, that the articles from *The musical standard* (1925–6) [were] not included, due to the fact that [he was] unable to get appropriate printing material from the journal in time." Neubauer's introduction in vol. i, xi–xv, contains some biographical notes.
- 22 ZGAIW, 4 (1987–8), 219–66. They also cited translations that were made of Farmer's works.
- 23 Its carefully prepared "Introduction" (pp. 1–10) explains not only how the arrangement of the bibliography had been decided upon, but also the scope of the Farmer Collection and its vast holdings of correspondence reflecting his "involvement in a multitude of interests. Unfortunately . . . [it contains] manuscript or carbon copies of only a fairly small number of his own letters . . . [thus] this aspect of his output is poorly represented" (p. 5). In the early preparatory stage of the bibliography, Craik, on behalf of GUL, sent notices to the *AMS newsletter*, 13(2) (1983), 5 and to the editors of *Music and letters*, 64 (1–2) (1983), 145, about the Collection's holdings, adding that "the library would be interested to learn of the existence of letters" that Farmer himself sent.
- 24 URL: <http://special.lib.gla.ac.uk/exhibns/month/dec2005.html>

Ms. Craik to illustrate the varied stages of his professional life, and in July of 2007, the series featured “Dr. Henry Farmer’s Scrap Book,” with a text provided by Zoé Durrant. It featured documents, photos, and miscellaneous programs covering the years 1911 to 1940 from the Farmer Collection. Moreover, Mervyn McLean, a highly respected ethnomusicologist, included a brief biographical sketch of Farmer in his more recently published *Pioneers of ethnomusicology*, Tamarac, FL 2006, 139–40.

It is fair to say that my eventual involvement with Farmer began unwittingly on May 19, 1976, several days after my return from an academic year in Spain under the auspices of the John Simon Guggenheim Foundation, when Carl Cowl, a former non-registered student who had audited several of my classes at Columbia University, came to our Morningside Heights apartment to seek advice on a musicological project. Elderly in appearance (yes, a septuagenarian), tall, broad-shouldered, raspy voiced, and the spitting image of Karl Marx, he expressed an interest in Henry George Farmer’s Arab music research, but could not decide on any particular aspect. Impressively knowledgeable about Middle Eastern music and culture, he possessed a basic reading knowledge of Arabic, and had, a decade earlier, published a partial translation of al-Kindī’s *Risāla fī khubr ta’līf al-alḥān*,²⁵ a photocopy of which I already possessed (see Bibliography).

His only acquaintance with Farmer was what he had learned from Eric Blom’s entry in the fifth edition of *Grove’s dictionary of music and musicians*, London 1954. In the course of our conversation, I also learned that he had obtained a B.A. degree in music from New York University and that during his working days he earned a living as a seafarer and literary agent. I had already known he was an avowed Marxist and a respected Yiddish scholar. In 1970, he had applied to the Hebrew University (Jerusalem) to work on a Master’s degree in music, but, having been accepted as a “probationary student,” he could not apply for funding in that capacity. Fortunately, I owned the paperback edition of *Grove’s*⁵; so together we reviewed Blom’s compressed text, which included innumerable titles of Farmer’s publications and their respective dates.²⁶ Since my copy of *Sources* was also well in reach, my instilling Carl with Farmer’s

25 Published in the British journal, *The consort*, 25 (1966), 129–66. In the early 1960s, Cowl examined the treatise in the British Museum’s Oriental Manuscript Room, where it is included in Ms. no. 2361, along with eight other treatises on music. Cowl’s partial translation of fols. 165r0–168r0 is preceded by his comments on al-Kindī and the treatise’s text.

26 Blom suggested that a “critical summary of Farmer’s musicographical works could be found in R. Waterman’s, et al., “Bibliography of Asiatic music”, in *Notes* (1949) and “A celebrated British scholar”, in *The Arabic listener*, no. 7 (London 1943).

plea for compiling bibliographies before undertaking a given project was well heeded. Carl admittedly possessed poor bibliographic skills; thus it was agreed that he begin by completing all the Farmer citations listed in *Grove's*, as well as in Jaap Kunst's *Ethnomusicology*.²⁷

There followed an additional six meetings for the balance of 1976, with substantial progress. Inasmuch as many of the citations in Kunst were difficult to locate, he began adding other publications bearing Farmer's authorship and had even begun to itemize the iconography included in all the works he perused. Until June 4, 1981, there was no word from Carl. (Addicted to *wanderlust*, his constant peregrinations found him either visiting his offsprings and friends scattered throughout the U.S. and the world, or attending and/or lecturing at Socialist meetings here and abroad.) On that day, he shared with me the material he had accumulated to date, referring to it as his "Farmerabilia, which was then considerable, and which included interesting facts relating to Farmer's life and works.

From Oxford on the 1st of September 1982, after having completed a month of intensive Yiddish language studies at the university, he reported that he was on his way to Glasgow to continue the "Farmer saga." His first visit to the university library occurred from September 8th to 10th; his second from November 16th to 18th. Between his visits he was involved with lectures that supported his UK sojourn. In my November 8th letter, addressed to Carl at the library, I expressed an interest in Farmer's Cairo "diary," for which he obtained a microfilmed copy (bearing the entire contents of FC 503 and 504), but it was not until the end of February that I received it. Fatigued from the Glasgow trip, he returned to New York on the 19th of February (1983), yet somehow mustered the strength to pay me a visit two days later. There was much to discuss.

The last of our three meetings in April occurred on the 29th, before his flight to London on the following day. Scheduled for lectures for the Socialist Workers Party throughout southern England, from May 11th to July 18th, he managed to read a paper (on July 10th) before the Second International Conference on Research in Yiddish Language and Literature (Oxford Univ.). On the 1st of September, he made his third visit to Glasgow, where, having previously corresponded with Sheila Craik, a workstation was arranged for him in the Special Collections Room. On the third day, Carl received my three-page guide concerning bibliographic citations, work plan, and the manner of making critical

27 3rd ed., The Hague 1959, nos. 1156–210, ordered chronologically, and dealing mainly with Farmer's publications on North African, Middle Eastern, and Asian music.

assessments (being a summation of what we had previously discussed during our April meetings). By the 11th, he sent me a postcard stating:

Turning up more and more items as I go through the collection. The number of unpublished items alone is enormous. To pinpoint date, provenance is terribly time consuming, requiring consulting the actual publications. Iconography another big job. The files of letters alone, containing important ethnomusicological data, will take more time than I have. Looks like I will have to come back later in the year. Have no time to see persons still alive who knew him. Everything necessary for a biography is here. I wish I were a writer! I have only three working days left before returning to London. Your plan was useful. Console me! [Carl left for London on the 17th.]

From London, Carl continued in a postcard (dated Sept. 18):

Had to leave Glasgow with the job half done. Humiliating! The size of the finished bibliography, just in terms of volume of cards will be far over three times the number I started with. The number of ms. items alone will almost equal the augmented number of published items. I did not begin to seek out and talk to people who knew HGF, because what's the use? before the bibliog. is finished. But I will stay on this side, *mirts ha-Shem* ['God willing'], until its finished. I'll work around England a while, get a quickie to Israel, then Glasgow. May not get back to NY till after the New Year. I need a friendly word of encouragement.

To which I answered on September 26:

I know too well your need for "a word of encouragement", yet, I also know of your innate enthusiasm while submerged in the collection itself—how distracted you become when attempting to give certain items more than a peripheral assessment. Mind you! No one has given Farmer his due appreciation. Just think of how many future studies could be generated based on facets of his long and intense career. Those letters, which you had the pleasure of holding in your hands, and the material contained therein . . . In all, your letter was barometric; it measured the sense of the impending work. As before, I continue to believe that such an undertaking will prove monumental. It is only a shame, at this juncture, to forestall those interviews with both his surviving relatives and friends. This must

be done above all else. And we must continue to pay our deepest appreciation to Sheila Craik for her part in this important project.

In the first of two lengthy letters from London (dated Oct. 5th and 25th, resp.), detailing in numbered paragraphs what he had accomplished to date, he raised the rhetorical question:

Is this bibliography of Farmer the ethnomusicologist or Farmer the man? Because half of my present collection is non-musical. My feeling is: We have no right to exclude any of his work. We are dealing with a genius with several careers and areas of interest. Posterity will ridicule any decision to exclude nonmusical or other works, AS ALL BIBLIOGRAPHIES ON FARMER HAVE DONE TO DATE! [Concerning the matter of marginalia, Carl pointed out that] most of Farmer's published books in Special Collections are widely "corrected" and "improved" by marginal comments. Many of his source books are profusely written in. How does [one] itemize that sort of thing?

In response to Carl's letter to Sheila Craik inquiring about Glasgow's library's hours at the end of December and early January, one can sense her appreciation for Carl's drive and determination (as he was now an octogenarian) and how overwhelming his task had become. On November 3rd, 1983, she wrote:

As you will realize, there is only a certain amount of work I can do to assist you in my normal course of duty. I imagine that as your work progresses you may need to do quite a bit of checking of sources and details, and if you would find it helpful, I would be prepared to do some work of this type in the evening. I do not have a lot of free time, but I could probably manage 2–3 hours a week. Having got involved with the Farmer Collection over the years, I would be pleased to be further involved by helping with your project. When you come up here later on this month, perhaps you could let me know what you think of this idea.

To Carl her reply was like a shot of adrenalin. He returned to Glasgow for his fourth and extended sojourn where, on Monday, November 21st, 1983, he began his first twelve-hour day session (9:00 A.M. to 9:00 P.M.) at the library. From his rather detailed letter, written that evening, I learned that he met with Ms. Craik at 2:30 P.M. for an hour and a half. During that strategic meeting, the project focused on a plan that differed greatly from our original scheme. Thereafter,

the final bibliography would be divided (tentatively) into Farmer's distinct areas of interest: Oriental music, Western music, Military music, Scottish music, Theatre, Musicians Union, and Free thought (each bearing chronological orderings by books, articles, etc., plus unpublished manuscripts). Carl had meanwhile "uncovered a fantastic lode of iconography . . . which alone is worth the project." Appended to his letter was a copy of their "Tentative Plan."

Working ceaselessly until December 23rd (the closing of the library for Christmas holidays), including daily meetings with Craik, their plan again underwent numerous revisions. Carl's continued obsession with Farmer's correspondence—especially with prominent musical figures—intervened periodically as a diversion from his intensive bibliographic work. In an earlier letter (dated Dec. 5th), he confessed to having just finished reading

the eight-year correspondence between HGF and Eric Blom, showing the detailed editorial production of *Grove 5* in which [Farmer] was as much or more the architect than Blom. Immensely gratifying! . . . He doesn't let Eric get away with a thing." [Carl also continued to itemize the] iconography (prints, slides, plates, etc.) that [Farmer] did not include in his publications and unpublished texts, calling the lot "fantastic" [and assessing that] perhaps [Farmer's] greatest gift was an ability to communicate his enthusiasm in his various areas of interest to a widely varied audience.

Carl returned to New York in the latter part of February 1984, after concluding numerous visits in Europe, bringing home more than 2,000 cards. Back in the city, he was now under medical care for exhaustion. In April, he informed Craik about his condition, adding that he had begun to transfer his material to index cards. But time had lapsed to such an extent that, only on November 20th, was he able to send Ms. Craik his most recent and modified "Topical plan for the Farmer bibliography," being, as he described, the latest arrangement, subject, of course, to additional refinements. With an eye on its final form, Carl added:

Your promise to consult with colleagues is encouraging and welcome, especially since the use of the bibliography will have as its centerpiece the Farmer Collection at Glasgow University. Your opinion and that of your associates will enrich our work from a viewpoint we musicologists may not always know.

We are of course, aware of the affect our bibliography will have on the inevitable emergence of a definitive life of Farmer. Our Plan therefore will include relevant material of biographical significance.

In January of 1985, I returned to Spain under the auspices of a Fulbright grant. By late July (the 23rd), I again heard from Carl (then recuperating from sinusitis on Sutton Island in Maine). He had been corresponding with Sheila Craik and had come to depend on the “basic work” she had done and “would now rely on [her] collaboration for [the bibliography’s] completion.” In his letter of August 24th to Sheila, he mentioned having collected over 4,000 entries (*i.e.*, one concisely abbreviated line per entry),²⁸ whose distribution he outlined in an enclosed Table of Contents. Sheila’s replies of October 4th and November 11th, fraught with questions concerning Carl’s highly abbreviated citations and the numerous categories he suggested, appeared to be veering toward the more conventional citation form. In additional responses during the following year (Feb. 10 and May 22, 1986), mustering whatever time she could devote to the project, she continued to check Carl’s citations from the fifth draft.

On a postcard mailed from Oxford on August 26, 1988, Carl related that he had just returned from a week’s visit [his fifth] to Glasgow, where he and Sheila “straightened out a number of technical matters and agreed upon a plan for going ahead full steam.” After his return to New York in early September, the only suitable place and time we could meet was at his apartment in Brooklyn Heights on Wednesday, October 26th. He was then physically tired and most distraught, having received a notice of eviction from his landlord. A week earlier he had sent Sheila the remaining entries Farmer contributed to *Grove’s dictionary of music and musicians* (1954⁵)²⁹ and to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* (1st ed., 1913–34), including the 1938 Supplement and new edition, 1960–5, through vol. 2, plus an additional forty citations of scattered articles bearing Farmer’s authorship. In spite of the awkwardness of that meeting, he assured me that the project was progressing. Yet, for whatever reason, it was the very last time I saw him. There was only one further written communication from

28 These included published works in chronological order (by title, arranged alphabetically), unpublished works (typescripts, autobiographical writings, poetry, musical compositions and arrangements, and iconography), plus appendices (containing biographical information, etc.). At this point, Carl advanced their “Topical plan” to Draft v.

29 Of Farmer’s entries in the 1954⁵ edition of *Grove’s*, Theodore Levin, in his review of the 1980 edition, wrote:

“one curious bibliographic exclusion should be noted: there is virtually no mention of Farmer’s articles . . . While one could say that these articles have been superseded by those in the current *Grove* edition, the former unquestionably offer valuable insight into the history and evolution of our discipline. If, as hermeneutics claims, the historian’s work must be considered a part of history, then we could do worse than to pay our respects to the erudition of an earlier era” (*Ethnomusicology*, 29/1 [1985], 159).

him (dated Jan. 17, 1989).³⁰ Of his health, the problems he had yet to face and their resolution, as well as the state of the bibliography project would thereafter remain a mystery to me.

Eleven years later, when I reunited with my dear friend Amnon Shiloah on April 3, 2000, at Lincoln Center, during his short visit to New York City, I not only learned that the bibliography was now in print, but that Carl had died three years earlier (astoundingly, on the exact same day, April 3, 1997). It was indeed a blow to receive such belated and astonishing news. Two days later, I wrote to Sheila Craik at GUL, seeking the procurement of a copy.³¹ Inasmuch as I was scheduled to fly to Madrid on the 18th, having received a two-month grant from the Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores (Madrid), it was not until my return on June 15th that I was able to see the copy that was awaiting me. In the concluding paragraph on p. iv, "In Memoriam: Carl Cowl," was inscribed (in her words):

Unfortunately Mr. Cowl's health gradually deteriorated and he died before the work was completed. I am responsible for the arrangement of the bibliography, the introduction, index, biographical note and all editing, expansion and revision.

Thus, what began as a mere suggestion in May of 1976 and which years later developed as a collaborative endeavor involving the participation of Sheila M. Craik, ultimately resulted in the publication of the bibliography, in 1999, under the imprint of GUL. Having undergone innumerable and painstaking decisions, revisions, and refinements, its final form, supervised by Ms. Craik, provided the most complete view of Farmer's lifelong interests, vis-à-vis his scholarly and sundry contributions. This long-awaited reference tool, to which Carl devoted the last twenty-one years of his life, constitutes a fundamental stepping-stone towards a full-fledged biography of a remarkable man, musician, and scholar.

As I was already involved in several ongoing projects, such an undertaking was out of the question. But after perusing the bibliography I had second

30 In August of 1994, we moved from Manhattan to Teaneck, NJ, which thenceforth resulted in occasional visits to the city.

31 At the same time I sent an email to Vicki Levine, the then Book Review Editor of *Ethnomusicology*, asking if she had received, by chance, a review copy of the bibliography. Replying that it was noted briefly, she sent me its full citation, which I relayed to Dr. Stanley Sadie's office at *Grove's* (Macmillan) so that it would be incorporated in my entry on Farmer for the 2001 edition of the dictionary.

thoughts. I already possessed the microfilms of the *Recueil des travaux du Congrès de musique arabe* and Farmer's Scrapbooks, so that it was now a matter of obtaining information regarding Farmer's life, particularly his professional career and education up through his participation in the Cairo Congress. At the suggestion of Sheila Craik, I contacted Farmer's granddaughter, Ms Sheila Hughes, in Lanark, Scotland for her permission to publish his "Itinerary," along with other items in the *Scrapbooks* pertaining to the Congress. With her positive reply (dated July 18, 2000), I then wrote a letter to David Weston, Keeper of the Special Collections Department at GUL, to inquire if anyone had expressed interest in Farmer's Cairo material. In his response (dated Aug. 24th), he confirmed that "no one else has shown interest in this material," but, insofar as "he could not restrict access . . . should it be requested [in the reading room]," he would attach notes to both *Scrapbooks* that I was currently consulting them. I was also made aware of the inventory of the Farmer Collection, which is accessible online.

In January of 2001, through Ms. Craik, I ordered the first batch of photocopied manuscripts from the Collection, and had begun to seek information from the Archivist at Glasgow University concerning Farmer's academic records. The material, received at the end of January, looked promising, but hardly scratched the surface. To progress further, it was necessary to work at GUL. Taking advantage of the time at hand, the only feasible procedural solution was to create computer files for Farmer's "Itinerary," the minutes of his Commission, and the report he prepared for the Plenary Session, wherein I could insert comments and questions pertaining to aspects that begged clarification. A prior commitment squelched a summer visit to Glasgow, followed by the catastrophic event of 9/11, which caused uncertainty concerning immediate travel abroad. Meanwhile Ms. Craik and I maintained correspondence, focusing primarily on Farmer's studies at the university and his professional life in Scotland.

In May of 2002, my wife and I decided to join a tour to Scotland and Ireland that was scheduled to begin in Glasgow on Tuesday, July 23rd. Our plan was to spend the previous week in Glasgow, where I would have access to the Farmer Collection. I had already applied to the Director of Library Services for a visitor's pass that allowed me to use the library's facilities and to consult documents of interest during our stay.

Our week in Glasgow proved most rewarding, particularly our initial and my subsequent meetings with Sheila Craik. At GUL's Special Collections Room, with the assistance of its professional staff, I was able to examine a wide variety of documents and correspondence (from and to Farmer), from which I ordered photocopies, including his dealings with the Carnegie Trust. Other items

included unpublished typescripts of lectures, pertinent articles and clippings from local periodicals, various versions of his *curriculum vitae*, and Chapters 8 and 9 of his unpublished biography, *Ernest Newman as I saw him*, which contained autobiographical material for the years 1905–19 and 1919–59, respectively. From my daily perusals, there was virtually little information of value concerning Farmer's personal and family life, thus confirming that he was indeed a private person.

Sheila was now retired from GUL, but, as an ex-member of staff, she still had access to the Farmer Collection, as well as the library's reference materials. Understanding my needs for the project and envisioning the problems I had yet to face, she graciously offered her full collaboration.

Prior to our scheduled tour, she had also escorted us to Farmer's varied residences in Glasgow, and on a dreary and rainy Sunday afternoon, she drove us to Kelvingrove Park to see what was left of the bandstand where he conducted the free summer concerts (see Chap. 2, n. 32). Thereafter we continued to Bearsden to see his penultimate residence at 50 Stirling Drive, called 'Dar-es-Salaam.' This was one of the various areas in which he lived during his many years in and around Glasgow. His final home was in Law, near Carlisle in Lanarkshire.

Returning home on Saturday, August 3rd, after a memorable two-week guided tour, life proceeded as usual. The photocopies from Glasgow were awaiting me, and soon after I began logging their contents, again in computer files. After resuming correspondence with Sheila, we had hoped to complete the project by 2012, thereby commemorating the eightieth year of the Cairo Congress. True, we had a decade at our disposal, but I was still involved in a number of scholarly commitments. Meanwhile, I began to accumulate reading material pertaining to the project's historical and cultural backgrounds, and with Sheila's help, I continued to fill in the gaps concerning Farmer's early life and university years. E. Neubauer's two-volume edition of Farmer's writings enabled me to summarize, chronologically, the contents of most of his Arab music contributions up through 1932.

By December of 2009, we had already agreed upon its final outline, including the appendices. Thereafter it was a matter of preparing and editing the drafts of each chapter and the appendices, as well as corroborating the information, quoted material, and bibliographic citations inserted therein. During a visit to Jerusalem in December of 2010, I met several times with Amnon Shiloah, who graciously consented to write the Foreword.

Without Sheila Craik's collaboration, this work would not have been possible. Sheila not only acted as my official link to GUL, but also scrutinized every aspect of the ongoing project, insuring that the material cited from the Farmer Collection was accurate, suggesting additional archival documents that should

be included, and correcting each of my drafts. Her access to and familiarity with the Collection was most essential. Undoubtedly the most knowledgeable person concerning Farmer's life, her wise counsel and bibliographical and research skills pervaded every aspect of our endeavor.

Here, at last, we are both pleased and proud to submit this work as it evolved from the earlier Cowl/Craik bibliography. It has been a labor of devotion, both as a homage to Henry George Farmer and to the historic First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo, 1932).

Henry George Farmer: His Life and Works to His Fiftieth Birthday

2.1 Farmer's Early Years (1882–1903)

Henry George Farmer was born on January 17, 1882, in the Crinkle Military Barracks, situated one mile south from the village of Birr, Offaly (then known as King's County), Ireland,¹ where his father, Henry George Farmer (1848–1900),² served with the First Battalion of the Prince of Wales' Leinster Regiment (FC 120.1). Raised in a military environment and in an Anglo-Irish community, under the watchful eye of his father, his subsequent lifetime achievements can be appreciated in relation to such a disciplined upbringing. His family belonged to the Berkshire Farmers who were indirectly connected with Henry Farmer (1818–91) of Nottingham,³ the composer of the well-known Protestant *Mass in B-flat* and other works, and owner of a music warehouse, whom the young Farmer was taken to see in 1888. In a letter (dated Apr. 11, 1956), Farmer alluded

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- 1 Birr, a gentrified estate town with its then authentic Georgian landscape, is situated in the Irish Midlands Region, facing the border of the uppermost section of Tipperary. In the early 1930s, when Farmer applied for a library position, he stated in his application that he was born in Parsonstown, King's County, Ireland (FC 320.1). His actual birthplace, the Crinkle Military Barracks—whose three-year construction began in 1809—served as the Depot of the Leinster Regiment until it was set on fire on Friday night, July 14, 1922, by a faction of the Irish Republican Army that was against the Anglo-Irish Peace Treaty. A photo of the destroyed barracks can be found in FC 120. For the citizens of Birr (commonly referred to as “the Navel of Ireland”), it was a tragic event, having “suffered a serious loss of prestige, whilst the unfortunate village of Crinkle [was] practically deprived of its justification for existence” (*King's County chronicle* [July 20, 1922]; FC 326). The Depot is variously given as “Crinkle” and “Crinkill” (the more current spelling), after the original Irish *Críonchoil*.
 - 2 His birth and death certificates indicate that he was born in Reading, Berkshire, Oct. 11, 1848, to William Farmer, a millwright, and Martha Farmer (née Creed). He died on Apr. 9, 1900, in Boscastle, County of Cornwall.
 - 3 Henry, a member of the Nottingham group, “was the author of some extremely popular publications of the ‘tutor’ class and a composer of concertos, etc.” He was the teacher of the violin virtuoso George Alfred Gibson and served as one of the conductors of Nottingham's Sacred Harmonic [Choral] Society, established in 1845. See P. Scholes, *The mirror of music*, Oxford 1947, i, 41 and 341, and FC 179.25.

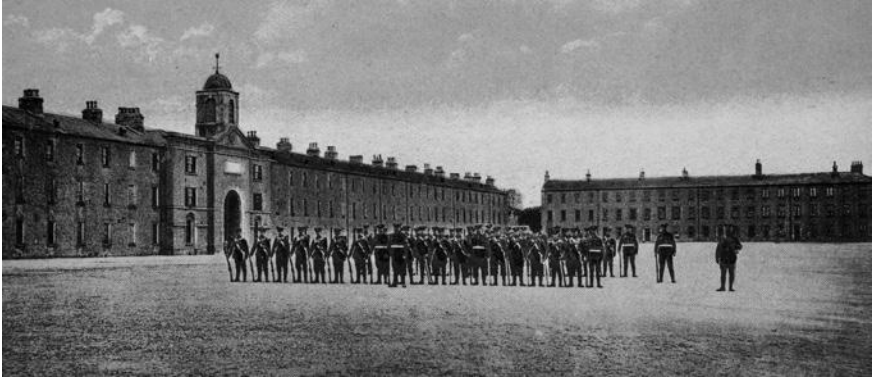


FIGURE 2.A From a postcard of Birr Barracks (Farmer's birthplace, King's County, Ireland) (FC 327.1.18).

to the music teacher, organist, and composer John Farmer (1836–1901),⁴ who was a nephew of the Nottingham Henry Farmer (FC 179.23). As to his maternal grandparents, they can be traced remotely to the Afflecks and Allans of Scotland.⁵ His mother, Mary Ann (née Harling) (b. 1850), died on March 1st, 1907 in hospital in Woolwich, London.

For the greater part of his professional life, Henry George Farmer was, first and foremost, a musician. As his chosen career, it furnished his main source of livelihood. In Birr, he began his general education at the Regimental School and his musical education, at the age of seven, under the skillful tutelage of Vincent Sykes,⁶ with whom he studied piano, choral singing, and harmony.

4 John received his musical training in Leipzig (at the Conservatory) and later in the Bavarian town of Coburg, prior to teaching music in Zurich, Switzerland. From 1862 to 1885, he was associated with Harrow, the renowned boys' public school located in Middlesex, England. Thereafter he was appointed organist at Oxford University's Balliol College, a post he held for sixteen years, and where he initiated the Sunday Evening Concerts. He was an intimate friend of Brahms and Joachim, among other renowned continental musicians. One of his outstanding students was Sir Donald Francis Tovey. His compositions included the widely performed children's oratorio *Christ and his soldiers* (premiered at Harrow in the spring of 1878), several cantatas, church and chamber music, plus school songs for Harrow, and part-songs, hymns, and tunes for other public schools. His two operas, *Cinderella* and *The pied piper* were premiered in 1883 and 1884, resp.

5 "A link which may be no more than a grain of sand in Sahara," Farmer stated in the series "Living in Scotland" published in the *Scottish field*, 107(688) (Apr., 1960), 29 (FC 320.4).

6 Sykes, born in Morley, Yorkshire, England on Dec. 21, 1851, was an organist of prominence. He earned his Licentiate of Music from Trinity College (London). As choirmaster and organist at St. Brendan's Church, his "organ recitals were the 'highlights' of Birr's musical activities.

Two years later, he decided to switch to the violin (under the same master), after hearing a violin soloist (Miss Bruce) perform at Oxmantown Hall (considered Birr's "haut ton" in the entertainment world). There followed clarinet and cornet lessons supervised by army bandmasters. Both Henry and his sister Mattie [Martha],⁷ who also studied piano and who later became an excellent pianist, were coached by Sykes for the Intermediate Certificate of Trinity College of Music (Dublin branch), located in Molesworth Hall.⁸ Together they gave concerts, which received favorable reviews, and they were regularly invited to perform at social functions.⁹ In October of 1894, young Henry was granted admission to the College of Music, where he earned a Pupil's Certificate (Junior status) in violin playing and theory, and where, in the following year, he achieved both the intermediate and honours status in theory. In London, he also studied privately with the English composer Mark Andrews (1875–1939) and simultaneously with the English organist, violinist, and composer, Henry Charles Tonking (1863–1926), for whom Farmer, a half century later, contributed an entry to *Grove's Dictionary of music and musicians*, London 1954⁵. Andrews was known for his song cycles based on texts by Robert Louis Stevenson and Sara Teasdale, among others.

1895 was a pivotal year, during which the Farmers, anxious to improve the musical education of Henry and Mattie, took them to Dublin to hear

He was also the conductor of St. Brendan's Musical Society" (*Midland tribune* [Birr, June 17, 1961], 53; FC 235). Young Farmer was a chorister at St. Brendan's. Sykes died on April 16, 1902.

- 7 Information concerning Mattie is sparse. She was born in London in 1878. At the time of the 1901 census, she was living with her mother and brother in London, with the occupation of army schoolmistress. By 1911, she was residing as a boarder with a family in Surrey, still described as an army schoolmistress. According to a letter (FC 322.2), Mattie retired in 1926 at the age of 48. She died in Bristol, England on Feb. 2, 1934. A note inserted in an Empire Theatre program for the week beginning Feb. 5, 1934, mentioned that Farmer "was away at [his] sister's funeral this week" (FC 28).
- 8 Henry, not quite twelve years old, was already considered "little short of prodigy" by a local reporter who heard him perform Charles-Auguste de Bériot's *Carnival of Venice* during the second half of a concert at Oxmantown Hall. He was, in fact, the youngest student enrolled in this celebrated music college (*Midland tribune* [June 17, 1961], 54; FC 235). Furthermore, "his outstanding ability [as a violinist] brought him the patronage of the Dowager Countess of Huntingdon and other[s] of the Irish nobility" (FC 320.2).
- 9 Their regular performing venues included the Sharavogue House (in Birr), Leap Castles, St. John's Mall, and many other private homes at which they usually received generous fees (*Midland tribune*, 49). Decades later (in 1946), in a letter Farmer addressed to Lord [George Francis Hugh] Cambridge, he recalled an incident that occurred at one of those performances (FC 120.2).

William Vincent Wallace's opera *Maritana*.¹⁰ In autumn, during their holidays in London, they heard the best music available. There, Henry and his father "attended a Sunday afternoon concert at Albert Hall, where [they] heard Zaverthal's famous orchestra of eighty performers for the first time. [Henry] was completely entranced by the performance which made so deep an impression that [he] gave his parents no peace until [he] was permitted to join the ranks of that famous orchestra" (FC 574).

In March of the following year, at the age of fourteen, Henry left the Emerald Island and headed directly to London, where he proved himself proficient enough to become a back stand second violinist and later clarinetist with the Royal Artillery Band and Symphony Orchestra under the direction of Cavaliere Ladislao J.P. Zaverthal.¹¹ Settling into the routine of rehearsing, practicing, and performing, he also studied and mastered harmony. From his continued exposure to the highest caliber of military band and orchestral music, he acquired a fundamental grounding in orchestration and became adept at arranging.¹² Concerning this period, he wrote:

Within months of my entrance into [the Royal Artillery Band], my parents suddenly made up their minds to join me in London, ostensibly to make a home for me, but actually to turn me from the path of music into that of religion; my father having set his mind on my taking Holy Orders. To that end I was placed in the hands of [an Anglo-Catholic] clergyman who was to train me, and also to tutor me for the London B.A. degree, those appended letters having appeared to my dear father as the very pinnacle of fame. Whilst all that went on, I was still pursuing my musical vocation. In 1900, both my father and my tutor died, and being left to my own resources, music reclaimed me. I soon began to realize that

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- 10 Wallace (1812–65), an Irish-born composer and internationally renowned concert violinist, premiered the opera at Drury Lane (London) on Nov. 15, 1845.
- 11 Known as the Band of the Royal Regiment of Artillery, founded in 1762 and headquartered at Woolwich on the eastern boundary of London, it was purported to be the oldest permanent musical organization in England. It functioned both as a military band and full orchestra. After the Italian-born composer and conductor Zaverthal settled in Glasgow (in 1871), where he was affiliated with the Glasgow Amateur Orchestral Society, the Pollokshields Musical Association, and the Hillhead Musical Association, he succeeded (in 1881) James Smyth (1818–1915) as conductor of the Royal Artillery Band at Woolwich. Under Zaverthal, the Band's Sunday concerts, which were usually performed at the Royal Albert, St. James's, or at Queen's Halls, were among the major music events in London between 1895 and 1905.
- 12 During his tenure, Farmer performed under the bandmasters Zaverthal until 1907 and thereafter under Major E.C. Stretton, M.V.O.



FIGURE 2.B *The royal artillery band (London, 1901) (FC 105).*

my chances of promotion among the thirty-odd violinists in Zaverthal's orchestra were definitely *rallentando*.¹³

Dissatisfied with his slow advancement in the string and woodwind sections, he studied French horn privately with Emil Borsdorf,¹⁴ thereafter securing the position of principal hornist in 1902—his twentieth year. Concurrent with his military duties, he also performed with other local London and suburban theater orchestras.

2.2 1903–13 (including His Resignation from The Royal Artillery Band)

Following the publication of his first article, “Sketch of the Leinster Regiment”,¹⁵ he was able to obtain a Reader's Ticket at the British Museum. There he spent

13 “Living in Scotland”, 29.

14 Emil, a leading London hornist, was the son of the eminent German hornist, Friedrich Adolf Borsdorf (1854–1923), who immigrated to England in 1879. Emil's brothers, Oskar, who immigrated to the United States, and Francis Bradley, who settled in London, each held prominent orchestral positions as hornists. Friedrich's famed pupils included Alfred and Aubrey Brain (father of Dennis) and Frank Probyn.

15 He was nineteen years old when it appeared in the *King's County chronicle* as two installments in the Nov. 21 [p. 4] and 28 [p. 4], 1901 issues (FC 592.1). Although this was considered to be Farmer's debut article, its appearance in the chronicle was primarily for local consumption. At this time, according to the 1901 census, Farmer was living with his mother and sister at 49 Samuel St., East Plumstead, Woolwich.

much of his leisure time gathering information for his earliest monographs: *Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band: Its origin, history and progress*, London 1904¹⁶ and *The rise and development of military music*, London 1912¹⁷ issued the year after his resignation.

On January 27, 1904, from 18 Hathwood Gardens, Charlton, Henry wrote the following lines to his mother:

... On the 7th February we go to Glasgow for a week and I am not sorry for we have had such a bad season. Tomorrow I will hear whether the Band Committee will publish my book [*Memoirs...*] or not! I shall be very pleased to get it off my hands. Then I set to work in earnest for Kneller Hall and I hope to be there in a few years.¹⁸ At any rate before my “twelve years” (I have got 8 years service in next month) (FC 343.4).

16 Here Farmer launched his career as an author. For its publication, he exhausted his entire savings. Some years earlier *The musical times* had called for a “much needed history of British military music,” to which Farmer replied in his Preface

“[that his] book makes no pretence whatever to supply the want, but merely claims to be a history of *one* of the famous bands in the service... [whose] records date as far back as 1762, when it was formed... I doubt if there is another band in the army with a continuous history for so long a period. It was the first regimental band to be officially recognized and provided for in the Army Estimates, and may therefore justly claim to be the pioneer band of the British Army, whilst its history may fairly be stated to represent the growth of the military band in this country (p. 1).”

In 1954, as a result of a commission, an updated and expanded version of this work appeared as the *History of the Royal Artillery Band, 1762–1953*, published in London by the Royal Artillery Institution.

17 It was Farmer who early in 1912 persuaded William Reeves III to publish it (FC 43.3, 274). From his daughter (FC 319.6.6), we learn that this “was but an epitome of a carefully documented work, ten times as large, for which [her father] could not find a publisher, notwithstanding the fact that so eminent a writer as J.A. Fuller Maitland had given it his imprimatur. Indeed it was only accepted by the late William Reeves, the music publisher, on condition that it was drastically shortened [to one-fourth of its size], and [that Reeves] himself suggested which cuts should be made. It was in this truncated form that it was published, yet in spite of this, the reviewers received it kindly.”

18 Kneller Hall is the home of the Royal Military School of Music, located near the town of Twickenham, about ten miles southwest from Central London. Built in 1709, it was originally the country home of the German-born court painter Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723). At the instigation of the then Duke of Cambridge, following the close of the Crimean War (1853–6), it officially opened on Mar. 3, 1857. It appears that Farmer did not attend the school, judging from a letter he sent years later [ca. 1912] to Arthur A. Clappé in London concerning errors he found in the latter's newly published *The wind-band and its instruments*, London 1912 (FC 49). What is interesting, according to page 3 of

In November of 1911, at the age of twenty-nine, Farmer resigned from the Royal Artillery Band¹⁹ to embark on a career of conducting. During the previous year he had already secured the position of musical director (*chef d'orchestre*) at the Broadway Theatre, at New Cross, Deptford (known for its famous shipbuilding dockyard in southeast London).²⁰ To broaden his conducting experiences, he founded the Imperial Irish Orchestra, which performed at the National Sunday League Concerts in the West-End suburbs of London,²¹ while concurrently

the letter, are Farmer's remarks that "on two occasions [I] ought to have entered Kneller Hall as Bandmaster . . . but the idea of spending two years as a student . . . always deterred me . . ." Even more astounding is the fact that Farmer also enquired about the possibility for a military bandmastership in the United States. Although Clappé's book was issued the previous year under the imprint Henry Holt & Co. (New York), it is more likely that Farmer perused the Reeves edition. This curious revelation in Farmer's inquiry may have stemmed from the fact that he heard about the collaboration, in 1911, of Clappé, a former graduate of Kneller Hall, and Frank Damrosch, director of the Institute of Musical Art (which later became The Juilliard School of Music), to establish a school for Army bandmasters at Fort Jay on New York City's Governors Island. For an excellent survey of Kneller Hall, see the article "The Royal Military School of Music", in *The musical times and singing-class circular*, 41(690), (Aug. 1, 1900), 513–22, as well as H.G. Farmer, "Royal Military School of Music", 277–8.

- 19 Owing to a severe inguinal hernia, resulting from the dreadfully long march in the funeral procession (May 20, 1910) of the late King Edward VII (commencing from Cannon St. to Westminster and to Paddington Station, where the band boarded the train for its return to Woolwich), Farmer's rupture thereafter had progressively worsened while blowing the horn. On Mar. 11, 1911, his condition was certified by a doctor (Dr. Walsh) stating that he "was suffering from a rupture and is unable to blow instruments until an operation is due" (FC 112.1.1). In view of this condition, he was ordered to return to the violin section. At the date of his discharge (Nov. 24, 1911), he had attained the rank of 2nd Corporal, earning £150 per annum (FC 112.1.6).
- 20 The theatre was built in 1897. It was then located on Deptford High St., in the Borough of Deptford (established in 1900), which in 1965 was incorporated in the newly created Borough of Lewisham. For the theatre, he was required to provide orchestral selections between acts that would meet with the public's approval. The orchestra comprised twelve instrumentalists (FC 43.3, 290–1).
- 21 The orchestra consisted predominantly of Irish musicians who resided in London. Their performances took place at the Woolwich Hippodrome and the Broadway Theatre at New Cross. Among the Irish composers whose works were performed were Michael William Balfe, John Field, Norman O'Neill, and Villiers Stanford. As Farmer later recalled: "The orchestra was 'short-lived' due to a better position in the 'North Country', so [he] bade adieu to London in 1912." Almost fifty years later, he was able to remember the names of the Irish musicians and the instruments they played (*Midland tribune* [June 17, 1961], 53) (FC 235.54).

teaching music at various county council schools. The League concerts proved so successful that he was offered the musical directorship of the Empire Theatre (in Leeds), being one of several theatres that belonged to the Moss Empires Ltd.²² Upon commencing his work at the theater in September of 1912, he again found ample time to return to his literary pursuits. But, as the fierce winter in Leeds proved detrimental to his health, he accepted a theatrical tour with the musical revue *What ho! Ragtime* that took him to milder climates at seaside resorts and several industrial towns.

Farmer's first visit to Scotland occurred in 1901, when the Royal Artillery Band performed at the International Exhibition (May 2nd to Nov. 4th) in Kelvingrove Park, Glasgow (FC 105). The band's programs included works by Scottish composers, including arrangements of Scottish folksongs, which the audiences enjoyed. One of Zaverthal's arrangements of Scots medleys, notably *Scotch pebbles*, had so greatly impressed Farmer that during this initial visit he purchased a copy of George Farquhar Graham's three-volume edition of *The songs of Scotland*, Edinburgh 1848–9, at a local second hand book store. As it was his custom, wherever he traveled, to seek out books pertaining to his vast interests, he now added to his acquisition list titles on Scottish music. A defining moment came a decade later, in Edinburgh while touring with *What ho! Ragtime*, when he came upon John Glen's *Early Scottish melodies*, Edinburgh 1900. His fascination with this collection destined him to study the history of Scottish music and to become an ardent collector and student of the "auld Scots sangs." From then on he sought out every item in Glen's bibliography, discovering, at the same time, many other rarities, the scrutiny of which formed the basis of his future contributions to this musical realm.²³

His impressions of those initial visits to Scotland were especially favorable. He found the Scots most hospitable, and he also was quick to realize that life there would best suit his musical interests, particularly in a region where there

22 Poor health intervened, thus he decided to forgo the position in order to seek a change from the varied professional commitments he had simultaneously undertaken. Sir Edward Moss, in reply, presented him with the option of conducting Leopold Fall's newly composed comic operetta *The eternal waltz*, which was scheduled to tour the principal cities of Great Britain during the summer of 1912 and again in 1913. To this Farmer agreed. The premier performance, however, being the most ambitious production that Moss had ever attempted, took place in London on Dec. 11, 1911, under Fall's direction. Fall (1873–1925), a noted Austrian composer who was then visiting England, extended his sojourn through the following year. Coincidentally, Fall played violin in the 50th Austrian Infantry Regiment Band, alongside the famed operetta composer Franz Lehár (1870–1948), under the direction of Franz Lehár senior.

23 "Living in Scotland", 29.

were opportunities for his professional growth and where he could begin a new life with his family in what he felt was an amicable environment. In his words:

Tired of touring . . . I [longed] to settle down in Scotland, where I could study the material I had amassed. I wrote to Moss Enterprises asking to be remembered should a vacancy occur for a conductor in Scotland. Imagine my delight when I received a telegram to start at the Coliseum Theatre, Glasgow in January, 1914.²⁴

2.3 Beginnings in Glasgow (1914–18)

Thereupon his Scottish adventure began in Scotland's largest city, which was bustling with industry and commerce and much admired as an educational and cultural center. It was here where he settled with Gladys Mary Gwendoline (née Donald)²⁵ and infant daughter Eileen Mary (who would later marry Hugh McLeod),²⁶ and where Farmer had recovered from his poor health.

At the beginning of 1914, Farmer worked at the Coliseum Theatre, then, in August, transferred to the Empire Theatre (where he would remain until his retirement in February, 1947,²⁷ continuing thereafter as honorary musical

²⁴ "Living in Scotland", 29.

²⁵ She was born in Swansea, Wales, on Jan. 20, 1888. Her father, Louis Donald, was a tea merchant; her mother was Mary Ellen Armitage. Gladys Mary died (age 87) at the Law Hospital, Carluke, Lanarkshire on May 9, 1975, shortly after her daughter Eileen Mary's death on Mar. 18th. Hugh McLeod also died later that year. It was indeed a terrible year for their daughter, Sheila. These details were obtained from the statutory records in the National Records of Scotland in Edinburgh.

²⁶ Eileen Mary was born on Nov. 20th, 1913 in Fulham (at 302 Fulham Palace Rd.), a district in southwest London, which, in 1997, became Hammersmith and Fulham.

²⁷ When he had reached the age of sixty-five. The Empire was located at 31–35 Sauchiehall Street, between West Nile and Renfield Streets, across from the Lyric Theatre. It occupied the former site of the Gaiety Theatre, "home of the legitimate stage" which opened in 1874 under the management of Charles Bernard. In 1897, the Gaiety was purchased by Moss, Thornton, and Kirk (Moss Enterprises, Ltd.). The company enlarged it and reopened it as the Empire Palace, which became familiarly known as the Empire. From 1903, it featured two evening performances at 6:45 and 8:50 resp. (commencing at 9:00 in 1925), with a matinee each Tues. at 2:30, but which ceased after Jan. 1922. At the time Farmer assumed its musical directorship, the program always began with an orchestral overture, whereas additional music was provided as needed. Audience prices ranged from 6 pence (Gallery), 1 shilling (Stalls), 2 shillings (Grand Circle), to two shillings and six-pence (Fauteuils), and from 10 to 15 shillings (for Private Boxes), with extra seats at two shillings and sixpence

advisor for which he would receive a small allowance). As its musical director, he partook in the planning of its programs, rehearsed and conducted its orchestra, hired musicians, and provided the music as well as arrangements for the artists who performed there. His own musical works, composed between 1900 and 1915, were performed on occasion by the theater's orchestra and other musical organizations (FC 466).²⁸

each. All seats except the gallery were reserved. Farmer's salary during his early years there was £7 per week. Lamentably, the landmark theater, which closed its doors on Mar. 31, 1963, was demolished two years before Farmer's death, but until that time it had continued to be Glasgow's most popular variety venue. Sauchiehall St. was then destined to be remodeled as a pedestrian and commercial walkway, with store entrances on each side. Farmer's collection of autographed photographs of performers at the Empire Theatre and its programmes from 1920 to 1947 can be found in FC 25 and 26–32, resp. For an idea of their popularity and the personalities who performed in English music halls, see: D.F. Cheshire, *Music hall in Britain*, Newton Abbot 1974; R. Busby, *British music hall: An illustrated who's who from 1850 to the present*, London 1976; R. Hudd, *Music hall*, London 1976; P. Bailey (ed.), *Music hall: The business of pleasure*, Milton Keynes 1985; J.F. Bratton (ed.), *Music hall: Performance and style*, Milton Keynes 1986; B. Green (ed.), *The last empires: A music hall companion*, London 1986; P. Maloney, *Scotland and the music hall 1850–1914*, Manchester 2003; and J. Earl, *British theatres and music halls*, Princes Risborough 2005. For Glasgow, one may wish to consult the *Records of the Metropole and Empire Theatres* in the Scottish Theatre Archive in the Special Collections Dept., GUL (GB 0247 STA Ae–Af) and M.H. Hay, *Glasgow theatres and music halls: A guide* (Typescript ms.) Glasgow 1980. An earlier and classic study is C.D. Stuart and A.J. Park: *The variety stage: A history of the music halls from the earliest period to the present time*, London 1895.

- 28 His compositions during this period included: a *Quartet for strings* in E-flat major “By the Camcor”, Op. 1; ca. 1900; two military marches: 1) *L'Internationale* and 2) *Seli*, Op. 2; 1908–9; *Thoughts: Three pastels for piano*, London 1908–9; incidental music to *Arrah na Pogue*, and a *Fantasy for piano and orchestra: Autumn leaves*, both listed as Op. 3; 1909; incidental music to *Rich & poor of London*, Op. 4; n.d.; *Elégie for cor anglais and orchestra, Le Mur des Fédérés, mai 1871*, Op. 5; 1910 (FC 507.1); incidental music to *Trilby*, Op. 6; n.d.; *Three “Danses arabes”*, Op. 7; 1911; Song “A mother's grave,” renamed “A soldier's grave”, Op. 8; 1910; music for *Dick Whittington*, a pantomime formed into a suite of five numbers, Op. 9; 1911; music to an unfinished comic opera, *The Duke of Moranca*, commissioned by Edward Laurie, Op. 10; 1911; *From the Slieve Bloom: 3 Songs*: “Lullaby” (Sigerson), “Eileen Aroon” (Griffin), and “Liquor of life (D'Alton), Op. 11: 1912? (FC 11); the same title was later given to a piano suite (also orchestrated) (1915). Additional unnumbered works included: *Elegy: for male voices and orchestra* (n.d.) (FC 507.2); *An Arabian night* for stringed instruments [3 violins, viola, cello, and bass] (1904) (FC 507.2); incidental music to the plays *Colleen Bawn* (1910), *The Shaughran* (1910), and *The sleeping beauty* (1912); and music to an unstaged operetta, *The Duke of Plazatora* (1912), commissioned by Edward Laurie; *G.W.F. march* (in honor of G.W. Foote; 1911) (pasted into FC 321.7); *Gate of dreams*, music for a production at the London Coliseum Theatre (1911); *The leprechaun* (a ballet) (1912);



FIGURE 2.C *Empire Theatre orchestra (Glasgow, 1915). Farmer is seated in the front row (fourth from the left) (FC Photo B1/9).*

A year after the outbreak of the First World War (1914–18), Farmer attempted to enlist in the Seaforth Highlanders,²⁹ hoping that he could serve as a clerk. But, to his misfortune, the resulting medical examination, given on November 6, 1915, rendered him “unfit.” Meanwhile, continuing his work at the Empire Theatre, the orchestra raised funds for various national philanthropical and war related causes, including variety shows performed at Stobhill Hospital and

two overtures: *Il Compagnia della morte* (n.d.) and *A song before sunrise* (1912); *Marche orientale* [for orchestra], originally titled *Marche Erin* (1912); and a four-movement piano suite, *On Brosna's banks: Suite for pianoforte* [Brosna, Birt, New Bridge, and Friar's Island] (1910) (later orchestrated; 1915) (FC 625). He also made arrangements of the following works: John Reid's *Solo no. 6 for flute and piano*; David Foulis' *Violin sonata, no. 3* (1937); Robert Carver's *Motet: O bone Jesu* (a6); orchestrated four of John Field's piano *nocturnes*; and made numerous musical transcriptions of vocal works. For additional information concerning his compositions, see Sheila Craik's annotations in Cowl/Craik, *Henry George Farmer*, 115–7.

29 The name of this renowned Scottish regiment dates from 1881, when the Duke of Albany's 72nd Highlands united with the 78th (or Rosshire Buffs) and assumed the kilt bearing the MacKenzie tartan, along with the motto “Cuidich'n righ” (Help the King). The Regiment played a vital role during the South African Boer War (1899–1902). During ww1 it consisted of nineteen battalions, which experienced heavy action in Europe, Macedonia, Syria, and Palestine.



FIGURE 2.D *Glasgow's Empire Theatre in the 1950s.*

the Glasgow Eye Infirmary to entertain wounded servicemen. Eventually he was drafted in 1917, but was again discharged as “permanently and totally disabled for service.”

In Glasgow, where he became increasingly involved in the city’s cultural (mainly musical) life, he confronted new challenges that added considerably to his professional and familial commitments. The Glasgow Branch of Amalgamated Musicians’ Union was quick to find in his membership an effective voice for the plight of musicians regarding unemployment, pensions, and hiring practices.³⁰ At that time there was an ongoing controversy concerning the contracting of military rather than civilian bands. In 1917, he was elected to serve on the union’s governing board and soon afterward became president of its Glasgow branch. He had also become a life member of the Scottish

30 Farmer had already involved the participation of Granville Bantock during the previous year, as confirmed in a letter from Bantock (dated Apr. 13, 1916), which read:

“...It is with much pleasure that I accept your invitation to occupy the office of first Honorary Vice President of the Musical Directors’ Section of the Amalgamated Musicians’ Union, Glasgow. I consider you are doing good work in organising these unions and I wish you every success in the work (FC 302.6).”

Theatrical and Variety Artists and of the W.F. Frame Benevolent Funds. During the following year, he instigated the founding of the Scottish Musicians' Home and Orphanage Fund.³¹

In 1918, following the pattern of the Imperial Irish Orchestra, he founded the Glasgow Symphony Orchestra, whose Sunday "Symphony Concerts for the People" he conducted (till the 1940s).³² For each of the concerts, he also wrote the program notes. Through its performances, the orchestra raised money for the Musicians' Benevolent Fund.

Farmer was no ordinary musician. The breadth and scope of his humanistic interests were astonishing, given his wide-ranging intellectual curiosity. He was a voracious reader, who took copious notes on such diverse subjects as art, history, literature, music, philosophy, politics, and theology, and was drawn into the webs of freethought, rationalism, secularism, and socialism through his



FIGURE 2.E *Amalgamated Musicians' Union (Glasgow Branch; Farmer is standing in the last row, fourth from the right) (FC 67.31).*

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- 31 In 1918 it became the Scottish Musicians' Benevolent Fund, which continued to provide assistance. Thereafter it incorporated with the UK Musicians' Benevolent Fund, after dropping its Scottish designation. It still continues to function.
- 32 He was the first to establish Sunday music concerts in Glasgow (see his note about their origin in FC 33). The concerts were given mainly at Kelvingrove Park during the summer and at Winter Gardens during the fall and winter. Along with the orchestra, he also founded (in Feb. of 1928) "Dr. Farmer's Sax Band", which featured saxophones along with other instruments developed by the French instrument maker and inventor Adolphe Sax (1814–94).



FIGURE 2.F *Music in the Parks: The first Sunday Concert at Kelvingrove (1918) conducted by H.G. Farmer (FC 616).*



FIGURE 2.G *Remains of the Kelvingrove bandstand (2002). It was restored to its original status (2014).*

early encounter with George William Foote (1850–1915),³³ the then President of the National Secular Society and founding editor of *The freethinker*, with whom he corresponded from 1905 to 1913.³⁴ These views would remain with him throughout his life. Admired as an articulate communicator, Farmer was equally at ease in expressing his opinions and ideas in writing. His debut as a writer for Foote's journal occurred in 1907 with a short piece entitled "Art and pessimism,"³⁵ criticizing those who find modern music distasteful. Yet, in his second contribution, "A phase of art perversion," he divulged his personal dislike for oratorios.

Through the National Secular Society, Farmer became acquainted with many of its leading public figures, including Ernest Newman,³⁶ the famed

33 Foote was a flag bearer for the humanist tradition. With little formal education, he managed to work as a librarian and later as a writer and publisher. He progressed from Anglicanism to Secularism, which today is known as Humanism. His blasphemous anti-Christian articles were published in *The freethinker*, the British secular humanist journal, which he founded in 1881. His worldview was expressed in *Secularism, the true philosophy of life: An exposition and a defence*, London 1879. Additional biographical information can be found in M.H. Judge, "A lover of freedom: George William Foote, 1850–1915", in *The freethinker* (Oct. 31, 1915) and J. Marsh, *Word crimes: Blasphemy, culture, and literature in nineteenth-century England*, Chicago 1998.

34 Farmer joined the Society in 1903. The following year he established a branch in Woolwich, naming himself secretary (Craik, "Henry George Farmer", vii).

35 *The freethinker* 27 (Mar., 1907), 154–5.

36 How Farmer became acquainted with Newman is revealed in the following anecdote (see FC 43.3, 260–3). In 1905, while awaiting an appointment with Foote and browsing among the bookshelves of the old Hall of Science Library on the fourth-floor of the building on Newcastle Street, off Barrington Street, where Foote maintained his office on the floor below, Farmer "came across a book entitled *Pseudo-Philosophy at the end of the nineteenth century*, vol. 1: *An irrationalist trio: Kidd-Drummond-Balfour* [London 1897] by Hugh Mortimer Cecil (FC43.3, 260). Later, when Farmer enquired about Cecil, Foote revealed that it was a pseudonym for Ernest Newman (1868–1959) [né William Roberts], whom he had met years earlier in Liverpool. The following summer, after Farmer had acquired and read Cecil's book, he visited the secularist author Chapman Cohen (1868–1954) in South Woodford, where at his home he met Ms. Daisey Woollett, Newman's sister-in-law. Taking advantage of this meeting and after having read Newman's *Musical studies*, London 1905, Farmer sent Newman a note of appreciation for his book, together with Cohen's note and a copy of his *Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band*. After a week, Newman acknowledged receipt of the book, but Farmer did not meet Newman until the spring of 1907 (in London). Thereafter they continued to meet and to correspond. Newman was indeed a special friend, about whose life Farmer kept detailed files. From the year preceding Newman's death till 1961, Farmer maintained extensive correspondence with his second wife Vera [née Hands], from whom he obtained valuable biographical data

music critic and prolific author, and Sidney Grew (1879–1946), a writer on music and music critic of the *Daily mail* (London). Both shared Farmer's humanistic interests.

When he was eighteen years old, he read Newman's *Gluck and the opera. A study in musical history*, London 1895, and *A study of Wagner*, London 1899, both of which impressed him greatly for Newman's superb handling of the intellectual conditions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Thereafter, Newman's writings would serve, in Farmer's words, as a guide to the

history of art in general, and that of music in particular, adjusted as it should be, to the focus of existing intellectual factors. More quickening to me was the urge to read some of his authorities—Lessing, Winckelmann, Algarotti, Vernon Lee, and one other—James Harris, who may one day reach the pages of *Grove*. Here too I found [Gustave Le Brissoys] Desnoiresterres and Romain Rolland, whose respective works, *La musique française au XVIII^e siècle*, [Paris] 1879²; and the *Histoire de l'opéra en Europe avant Lully et Scarlatti*: [*Les origines du theatre lyrique moderne*] [Paris] 1895, should have been considered indispensable to students, although *Grove's Dictionary of music* (1904–10) had not heard of them.

Meanwhile, that emotional temperament of mine, which my father thought was a 'spiritual prompting', had found its outlet in another direction. Instead of the urge to rescue souls from perdition hereafter, came the impulse to save human minds and bodies here and now, and very soon I found myself interested in all sorts of reform movements. The vegetarian restaurant of Eustace Miles³⁷ found me an occasional visitor; I was introduced to Tom Shore the secretary of the Land Nationalisation League; became interested in the old Radical *Reynolds Newspaper*; gravitated to

(FC 47). In 1962, he completed a book-length homage to Newman, entitled *Newman as I saw him*, but had great difficulty in finding a publisher (FC 46). For *Die Musik in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, he was invited to write the entry on Newman [ix, 1961, 1,419–21] (FC 48), and in the same year he contributed an article on Newman's secularist beliefs to *The freethinker* 81, 191–2. It should also be mentioned that Farmer's *The minstrelsy of 'The Arabian nights'*, Bearsden 1945, published under his imprint, was dedicated to Newman with the words "in memory of the days that are past."

37 The restaurant of Eustace Miles (1868–1948), the sportsman, writer, and food reformer, was located on Chandos Street in Charing Cross Boat Sport.

excursions with the 'Clarion Scouts'; attended Fabian Society lectures; as well as those of the Social Democratic Federation at Chandos Hall: and rarely missed the Queen's Hall lectures of G.W. Foote, the secularist orator (FC 43.3, 259–60).

There ensued, in the following years, Farmer's one- and two-page articles in such periodicals and journals as:

Borough of Woolwich pioneer: "Christianity and socialism" (Feb. 23, 1906), 10;

Kentish independent: "Atheism or agnosticism" (Aug. 31, 1906), 9, and (Sept. 14), 10;

The regiment (London): "Army bandsmen v. civil musicians", 25 (1908), 242;

The freethinker: "Beethoven and the revolution", 27 (1907), 490–2; "Musical genius and religion", 28 (1908), 53–4, a review of Robert Turnbull's book; "A note on religion in the army", 33 (1913), 203, opposing the requirement that soldiers declare their religious affiliation; "Freethought and the army", 34 (1914), 657–8; "The great liberator", 34 (1914), 795–6, concerning Abraham Lincoln as a free thinker; "The rights of freethinkers", 35 (1915), 749; "The religion of Beethoven", 36 (1916), 570–1, 580–1, 596–7, 612–3, and 628–30; "The musical scale in primitive culture", 37 (1917), 314: repr. in *The musical standard*, New illus. series, x (July 14, 1917), 29–30; "Arrigo Boito", 1842–1918, 39 (1919), 415–6, whom Farmer lauded as an important protagonist of *verismo*; "Some thoughts from the Arabs", 40 (1920), 223, about Arabic influences on Western civilization; and "Christianity and intellectual progress", 41 (1921), 10–11, a negative view. A series of articles from *The freethinker* (1914) was reprinted in a thirty-two-page booklet, *Heresy in art: The religious opinions of famous artists and musicians*, London 1918.

The social-democrat: "Salvador-Daniel, musician and communard", 13 (1909), 469–74; "Intellectual life in the Paris Commune: Education, art and artisans, music and theatre, and literature", 15 (1911), 294–308, 351–63, 390–402, and 449–61; and the

Orchestral gazette: "Salvador-Daniel, musician and communard", no. 129 (1910), 84–6.

In the *Ardrossan and Saltcoats herald* (Ardrossan [Ayrshire]), from September 28, 1917 through January 11, 1918, there appeared a series of letters to the editor which included a discussion between Farmer

and Mr. W. McNeil Biggam, a clergyman, again concerning Beethoven's religious beliefs.³⁸

Purely speculative, but plausible, Farmer's non-conventional views may have ultimately led to his departure from the Royal Artillery Band.³⁹ In addition, his views also provoked vexation with the Irish Orchestra and his superiors at the Broadway Theatre.

Shortly after the appearance of *The rise and development of military music*, London 1912, which received praiseworthy notices, and possibly after having read Farmer's earlier brief sketch on Francisco Salvador-Daniel,⁴⁰ the London publisher William Reeves III (1853–1937) asked Farmer to translate Salvador-Daniel's *La musique arabe, ses rapports avec la musique grecque et le chant*

38 The call number for the published correspondence is FC 594, while the incomplete typescript (18 pp.) of this discussion can be found in FC 273.1.

39 A hint of this was found in a letter (dated Dec. 19, 1962) addressed to Hector Hawton (1901–75), the English author, humanist, and then managing editor of the Rationalist Press Association, wherein Farmer related:

“I was an old member of the R.P.A. and the N.S.S. [National Secular Society] since 1903, but after leaving London in 1912—due mainly to victimisation on account of my freethought propaganda—I lost touch with those movements, although later I contributed a great deal to the *Freethinker* on art and music, and my brochure on *Heresy and art*, published by Pioneer Press, soon sold out. In later years the same Press asked me to bring it up-to-date, but I never found the leisure being slowed up with Oriental studies. . . . (FC 46.21). [The secularists of the R.P.A. advocated nationalism, whereas the N.S.S. preached secularism. Furthermore Ernest Newman had earlier warned Farmer to be cautious about his personal politics and contributions to socialist journals” (FC 43.3, 269 and 273, resp.).]

40 Or possibly from its reappearance in the *Orchestral gazette*, no. 129 (1910), 84–6. As Farmer himself explained (FC 319.3, 3):

“In 1913–14, whilst collaborating on a *Dictionary of writers on music* edited by André de Ternant, which was never published, and a projected work entitled *The intellectuals of the Paris Commune of 1871*, in which such men as Walter Crane and [Ernest] Belfort Bax were interested, I became intrigued by a book *La musique arabe* (1863) by F. Salvador-Daniel who had been director of the Paris Conservatoire of Music under the Commune. At the suggestion of William Reeves, who had published my *Rise and development of military music* (1912), I translated Salvador's book into English. [N.B. It was not until after he settled in Glasgow, in 1914, that he prepared an in-depth documented study of *The intellectuals* . . . , which he completed in 1916. The sole publishing house George Allen & Unwin praised the manuscript, but did not publish it. Thereafter Farmer did not attempt to find others” (FC 43.3, 288).]

grégorien, Algiers 1863; 1879² (confirmed in FC 320.4).⁴¹ Reeves' request could not have come at a more opportune moment. Farmer had fully regained his health and now had ample time to resume his literary work after having just settled in his new position at the Coliseum Theatre. He undertook and completed the translation by the late spring of 1914, but Reeves was not entirely satisfied. Because it was "slender in bulk, [and] would not be a profitable

41 Reprinted in 1986 (Paris) as *Musique et instruments de musique du Maghreb*, which includes *La musique arabe* and other papers. Farmer's translation was published under the title, *The music and musical instruments of the Arab, with introduction on how to appreciate Arab music by Francesco Salvador-Daniel*, London 1915. He claimed that "it was the first book on Arab music, published in the English language" (p. 37). Salvador-Daniel's study first appeared in installments in *Revue africaine*, 6(31) (1862), 32–45; 6(32) (1862), 106–15; 6(33) (1862), 195–202; 6(34) (1862), 284–97; 6(35) (1862), 349–52; 6(36) (1862), 416–23; and 6(37–8) (1863), 96–101, prior to its publication as a book, which included his "Essai sur l'origine et les transformations de quelques instruments", from the journal *Revue africaine*, 7(40) (1863), 266–78, being a translation of his earlier Spanish article "Sobre el origen y transformación de algunos instrumentos", in *La España artística*, nos. 38, 40, 44, and 45 (Madrid, 1858). The short-lived *La España artística* (Oct. 1857–58) was the immediate predecessor of the periodical *La zarzuela*.

Born in Bourges (France) in 1831, but of Spanish descent, Salvador-Daniel became an accomplished violinist. He studied composition and theory at the Paris Conservatoire. In 1853, he went to Algiers, where he directed a choral society and taught music at the École Arabe. During his four-year Tunisian sojourn, he collected folk tunes in various villages, and years later undertook additional journeys to Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Spain, and Portugal for the same purpose. On his return to Paris, in 1865, he gave lectures on Arab music. Wounded during the Siege of the Paris Commune, the working-class insurgency that briefly ruled the French capital from Oct., 1870 to May, 1871 (after having just replaced Daniel-F.-E. Auber [1782–1871] as the director of the Conservatoire), he was ultimately assassinated because of his political alliances. Ambroise Thomas (1811–96) succeeded him as director. His collection of some 400 Arabic songs, which he translated into French and for which he provided piano accompaniments, has, for the most part, remained unpublished (except for *Album de chansons arabes, mauresques et kabiles*, Paris ca. 1870). Moreover, Farmer, in his "Memoir" (from his translation of *The music and musical instruments of the Arab*), claimed that Salvador-Daniel "was devoted heart and soul to the communal cause . . . , [but] was never a member of the Commune" (pp. 24 and 36, resp.). Additional details can be found in María Sanhuesa Fonseca's article, "Sidi Mahaboul: Vida y obra de Francisco Salvador Daniel (1831–1871)", in *Cuadernos de arte de la Universidad de Granada*, no. 26 (1995), 207–17, and in her entry on "Francisco Salvador [Daniel]" in the *Diccionario de la música española e hispanoamericana*, Madrid 1999, iv, 356–7. Both the 1980 and 2001 editions of *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians* cite his entry under "Daniel, Francisco Salvador." Farmer, throughout his "Memoir," referred to him as Salvador.

publication" (FC 319.6, 3), Reeves requested, in addition, a short biography of Salvador-Daniel, plus a concluding chapter consisting of explanatory notes on Arab music that would elucidate the author's text.⁴² Farmer answered that he was "totally ignorant of the subject, except what [he] had learned [from the translation]." Still Reeves continued to prod Farmer, who ultimately acquiesced. Thus "setting off to the [Glasgow] University Library, where, armed with a letter of introduction, [he] was graciously permitted to consult [the works of] two recognized authorities—A.G. Villoteau and J.-F. Fétis—from whose writings [he] cribbed some notes [that were] considered relevant to [the] subject."⁴³ In spite of the numerous contradictions he encountered in his readings, he was determined to seek their resolution.⁴⁴ One must consider this a major achievement, *i.e.*, taking into consideration his initial ignorance of the subject. For all his effort, which at times proved utterly grueling, he "decided to learn Arabic to be able to read the old treatises and form [his] own opinions on Arabian music."⁴⁵

Many years later Farmer recollected that he became rather skeptical of the value of that book on Arabian music. "Firstly, it conflicted with the opinions of the German [R.G.] Kiesewetter [*Die Musik der Araber*] and the French authors Fétis [*Histoire générale de la musique*], Villoteau ["De l'état actuel"], and [A.] Christianowitsch [*Esquisse historique*], and secondly, none of the latter agreed among themselves to the verity of Arabian music . . ."⁴⁶

It appears that Reeves' request became, in fact, the genesis of Farmer's initiation into Arab music. For Farmer it was virgin territory, whose primary sources

42 Farmer ultimately furnished the preliminary biographical "Memoir" (pp. 1–36), based, for the most part, on his earlier essay: "Salvador-Daniel, musician and communalist." He also obliged Reeves with the requested "Notes on Arab music and musical instruments", which tallied fifty subsections (169–260). A year before his death, Farmer completed the final draft (Introduction and six chapters) of his proposed book, *Genius in bondage: A study of the literature, art, music and the stage during the Paris Commune of 1871* (FC 53).

43 "Living in Scotland", 30.

44 Years later, when Farmer referred embarrassingly to Ernest Newman's reviews in *The new witness*, 7(165) (Dec. 30, 1915), 254 and 256; 7(166) (Jan. 6, 1916), 286 and 288, and Francis Woollett's in *The freethinker*, Feb. 6, 1916—both of whom praised his "valuable and learned notes"—he felt that their remarks were as "empty as a church poorbox . . . [which] ought to be a warning to others not to meddle with things beyond their ken, even as [he] was in supplying those "Notes" (FC 43.3, 279). An additional positive review by Joseph Reider appeared in the *Jewish quarterly review*, 7(4) (1917), 640–4.

45 "Living in Scotland", 30.

46 From a letter (dated July 28, 1961) to John R. Peddie (FC 344.7).

demanded a reading fluency in Arabic, and, as he later realized, a familiarity with Persian. Yet, it is curious to learn from a later autobiographical sketch (FC 320.2) that, before he was born, his parents “had lived for many years in the East [and that] his father [spoke] both Arabic and Hindustani fluently. As a result of this, [he] became imbued at an early age with interest in and sympathy for the Islamic East and its peoples.”

Upon completing the entire project, Farmer decided to dedicate it to the English composer, Granville Bantock (1868–1946), whom he first met during his earlier 1914 touring days in Birmingham. Bantock was then principal of the Birmingham and Midland Institute School of Music, a position he had held since September of 1900. During Farmer’s initial visits there, he learned that the composer had also conducted for the theater and that their musical and literary tastes were quite compatible. Even Bantock’s musical compositions, during this period, were inspired by Oriental and Middle Eastern styles and motifs. Moreover, he expressed his admiration for Farmer’s undertaking the translation of Salvador-Daniel’s book. In a letter dated May 2nd, wherein Farmer informed Bantock of the book’s dedication as a gesture of appreciation for their developing friendship, the composer’s reply (dated May 5, 1914), addressed to Farmer at the Coliseum Theatre in Glasgow, read:

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I much appreciate the kind suggestion contained in your letter of May 2nd, which I have just received, and am very gratified that you should think of dedicating your book to me.

I have derived much valuable help from Daniel’s *La Musique arabe*, the French edition of which has been in my possession for the last twenty years. I am glad to think that at last it will be accessible to English readers through your translation, which is thus rendering a valuable service. The biographical memoir will add further interest to the book and I hope it will have the success to which its merit entitles it.

I suppose you are acquainted with the volume of *Chansons arabes*, transcribed by Daniel, with pianoforte accompaniment, containing “O my gazelle”, “Zohra”, and other Kabyle and Moorish melodies. They have a fascination quite unique, and difficult to describe.

If you will kindly let me know as soon as the book is published, I will order copies for the University and School of Music Libraries.

With all good wishes for the success of the book and with many thanks for the dedication.

Believe me, Yours very truly (FC 302.2)

The book appeared in November of 1915. However, two letters addressed to Farmer, written three days apart, must have provoked mixed reactions when he read them (presumably at the same time) after New Year's Day. The first, from Ernest Newman, read:

Casalini, Moseley, Birmingham
Dec. 30, 1915

Dear Mr. Farmer,

I am writing apropos of Salvador's book in next Thursday's *New witness*, and the number of the following Thursday [see n. 44 *supra*]. You will see that the article is not so much a review of the book as a discussion of Oriental and Western music. Perhaps my views on Oriental music will not commend themselves to you. My own feeling about it is that it is always very interesting, but quite primitive. I am afraid you will be disappointed with my opinion of Salvador's arrangement of the Arab melodies. Some of them are quite good; but now and then he seems to me to have made pure nonsense of the melodies, owing to the mixing of major and minor harmonic notions with the modal melodies.

With best wishes for the New Year (FC 47)

The second letter (dated Jan. 1, 1916) came from Bantock, who again thanked Farmer "for the volume on Arabic music, and for the dedication which [he] much appreciate[d] . . . [adding that] "the section of notes shows how carefully [Farmer had] studied the subject and [that] the book should prove to be a much-needed valuable contribution to the literature of music."

When Bantock visited Glasgow on February 1, 1916, to attend the Scottish Orchestra's premiere performance of his single-movement *Hebridean Symphony* (based on Gaelic folksongs from the western Scottish islands), he called on Farmer at the Empire Theatre. There, following Farmer's matinee performance, they chatted over tea. Farmer later recalled:

Bantock begged me to renounce theatrical life, saying that I ought to be doing something better. Yet I was extremely happy in the music hall where I met many nice people and some real friends. Further, my employers appreciated my services. Those several musicians—including Bantock—who thought I should be elsewhere, did not appreciate the great leisure which the music hall afforded me. I was only engaged each evening from 7 p.m. until 11 p.m. which meant—except for Monday

morning rehearsal—I could devote my mornings and afternoons to literary work. Bantock told me all about his own experiences as touring conductor of light opera and musical comedy, and concluded by saying: ‘When I finished my last tour of theatres I made a firm resolve never to put my foot inside a theatre again professionally, and I never did. What I did, you can do’.

I demurred for two reasons—a wife and family. Yet we continued to be friends and corresponded frequently. We had much in common—philosophically and politically—and I admired him greatly (FC 43.3, 283–4).⁴⁷

2.4 Glasgow University Years (1918–26)

During these mid-war years, as has been shown, Farmer was quite occupied with commitments regarding the Musicians’ Union and fundraising concerts at various venues, which may explain why it was not until three years after the publication of *The music and musical instruments of the Arab* that he enrolled, at the age of thirty-six, as an external student at the state-supported University of Glasgow (founded in 1451). Here he began his studies solely as a student of Arabic, working primarily under Thomas Hunter Weir (1865–1928), a renowned Orientalist who was then lecturer in Arabic.⁴⁸ Farmer attended Weir’s classes

47 When Farmer mentioned his conversation with Bantock in a letter to Ernest Newman, a devoted fan and champion of the music hall, the famed music critic retorted that Farmer “was jolly lucky to have the opportunity of hearing bad music that was known to be bad,” whereas he “had to listen to bad music that was supposed to be good” (FC 43.3, 284). Two years later, in a letter to Farmer (dated Apr. 17, 1918), he wrote: “Don’t blaspheme against the music hall. It’s a great and holy institution. The great regret of my present life is that I never get time to go and perform my devotions there” (FC 43.3, 285).

Many years later, replying humorously to a 1943 letter wherein Farmer stated that he was still associated with a music hall [Glasgow’s Empire Theatre], Newman wrote:

“I didn’t know that any music hall existed now, apart from the ‘Argyle, Birkenhead’, but I imagine that they are only the shadow of what they once were. They were great institutions for the education of youth: there was more honour in being chucked out of the ‘Empire’ in the good old days than being chucked into the Order of the British Empire today. The decline of the music hall and the rise of the B.B.C. variety entertainment are the prime causes of the youth of today being the dull dogs they are (dated July 15, 1943)” (FC 43.3, 286–7).

48 Weir’s long association with the university dates from his birth at the Old College, where his father, the Rev. Duncan Harkness Weir (1822–76), a renowned Hebrew scholar, served as Prof. of Oriental Languages and Literature (from 1850 until his death). After graduating

(both Elementary and Ordinary) from August 1918 until 1920, including the Summer Session of 1919 after having been awarded a prize in the Arabic class. As Farmer explained, decades later, in a letter (dated July 28, 1961) to John R. Peddie, Secretary, Carnegie Trust for the Universities of Scotland:

Strangely enough, Weir—before he took me as an external student (of course I had to matriculate) wanted to know my cultural background. I told him that I had the Irish ‘Intermediate’—which I suppose was equivalent to the Scottish ‘Leaving certificate’, and must have told him also that I had studied at my father’s wish for the church and the London B.A. My father’s death put paid to the latter.

In 1920, I was given a “Research Studentship” under Weir and Dr. H.J. Watt (Psychology) to prosecute the study of Arabian Music. I usually worked in the G[lasgow] U[niversity L[ibrary]. One morning Weir—who usually came in to see how I was progressing said to me: ‘Seeing that you are here every morning and afternoon, why not take two classes each year for three years, which would enable you to sit for the M.A. exams?’ I replied that I was not interested in a degree. He then made a remark which altered the whole course of my life. It was a thrust which pierced my innermost soul. He said, ‘But didn’t you tell me that your taking a degree was your father’s wish.’ As I walked down the University Avenue

in Arts and Divinity, in 1889, with earned distinction in his Hebrew and Arabic classes, Thomas taught at the mission school of Kingairloch in Argyllshire and thereafter in Australia. In 1893, he was appointed assistant to Prof. James Robertson, then chair of Oriental languages at Glasgow Univ. He spent his summers in the Near East to acquire fluency in colloquial forms of modern Arabic. At the turn of the century, with the establishment of a new department of Semitic Languages, the young Weir was chosen as its first lecturer in Hebrew and Arabic (in 1902). His important publications include: *A short history of the Hebrew text of the Old Testament*, London 1899; a translation of Ibn ‘Asākar’s (d. 1578) *The shaikhs of Morocco in the XVth century*, Edinburgh 1904; “Catalogue of the Oriental mss. Arabic, Syriac, and Hebrew in the Hunterian Library of Glasgow Univ.,” in *JRAS* (Oct., 1899), 739–56; *Persian and Turkish manuscripts in the Hunterian Library of Glasgow Univ.*, London 1906; *Arabic prose composition*, Cambridge 1910; *Some results of archaeology in Palestine*, Glasgow 1911; *The variants in the Gospel reports* (a syllabus, Paisley 1920); a translation of *Omar Khayyām, the poet*, London 1926; *The Masoretic texts of the Old Testament* (a handbook); a new and revised edition of William Muir’s *The life of Mohammad from original sources*, Edinburgh 1912; and *The caliphate, its rise, decline, and fall: From original sources*, Edinburgh 1915. He also contributed to the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Leiden 1913–38² and the *Dictionary of religion and ethics*, London 1921. See his obituary in the *Glasgow herald* (May 8, 1928) (FC 500).

I pondered deeply over that remark, and a few days later I climbed the stairs to the Arts Adv[is]or's office and matriculated for the M.A. course' (FC 344. 7.2).

Between 1919 and 1921, under the auspices of a research studentship at the university, Farmer returned to those unresolved matters that lingered on from his earlier translation of Salvador-Daniel's book. As European scholars were defining particular elements of Arabic culture that influenced European art, literature (and poetry), philosophy, and science, and because nothing of equal import had been ventured in the realm of music, this became a tantalizing challenge. Passing references in early musicological literature were made for such claims, but proved to be vague and unsubstantiated. Thus Farmer decided to tackle this matter by testing his own theories. Under the guidance of Drs. Thomas Weir and Henry Jackson Watt,⁴⁹ Farmer chose as his subject "The art and science of Arabian music in the Middle Ages."⁵⁰ As part of the work achieved during this period, he wrote a paper entitled "The Arab influence on musical theory." Possibly under the advisement of Weir, he submitted

49 Watt (1879–1925) was a noted psychologist and acoustician. In 1908, he was appointed Lecturer in Experimental Psychology at Glasgow Univ., where "music became the subject of his investigations in working out a comparative method of analysis of sensory experience." He served as Farmer's adviser on musicological matters. Farmer equated Watt as the British equivalent of the German scholars Carl Stumpf and Erich M. von Hornbostel. For additional data, see Farmer's entry on Watt in *Grove's dictionary* (1954⁵) ix, 191.

50 Earlier, in the Apr. 4, 1920 issue of *The freethinker* Farmer had already shown an interest in this subject. In his article entitled "Some thoughts from the Arabs", he wrote:

"What European civilization owes to the Arabs has yet to be written. No matter where we direct our gaze, whether in *belles lettres*, music, astronomy, chemistry, architecture, medicine, surgery, botany, natural history, mathematics, and philosophy, there we find the influence of the Arab. In philosophy alone, it was their great teachers al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Massara al-Jabalī, and Ibn Sīnā (Avicenna), who were the illustrious predecessors of Ibn Bājja (Avenpace) and Ibn al-Turfayī, the guide and master respectively of the famous Ibn Rushd (Averroes), who in making matter, as an external principle, coexistent and identical with the Deity, shook the whole of the scholastic theories of the Middle Ages. These reflections have come to me in reading the *Rasā'il* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (Brotherhood of Purity), who wrote in the tenth century. These people compiled a collection of fifty-[two] treatises, which comprises the whole summation of Arab science and philosophy, and an excellent edition of these wonderful tracts has been issued in Bombay (p. 223)."

it to Prof. David Samuel Margoliouth of Oxford University,⁵¹ who suggested that it should be published in the *JRAS*.⁵²

By this time Farmer had made remarkable academic progress. In the fall of 1921, he began studying for his Master's degree. The courses he completed that first year included History (under Prof. Dudley Medley) and Geology (with Prof. John Walker Gregory). During the ensuing academic year (1922–3), he received a prize in the Arabic class (under Thomas Weir), as well as a Certificate of Distinction in Scottish History and Literature for his high placement in a class of ninety-six under the instructorship of Robert Rait, who remarked that Farmer's "essay work showed wide knowledge and high powers of research." He not only obtained a First Class Certificate in Higher History, being fourth in the class, but also enrolled in British History and Higher Scottish History, from which he had to withdraw because of poor health. Again due to medical problems, after taking the Honours History Class in his final year, he was unable to take the final exams for the Honours Degree. (It should be noted that he failed the examination in Rait's course, but passed his resit.) Yet, he was awarded a Second Class Certificate in both Moral Philosophy (under Prof. Alexander Lindsay and lecturers Alexander White and Alexander MacBeath). From 1923 to 1924, he completed a course in Education (with lecturer William Boyd) and continued with Arabic (under Weir). On the fourth of July, 1924, he received his Master of Arts degree, for which he received lofty praise as an historian and researcher in Arabic.

Among other papers Farmer wrote as a research student was one inspired by an article from a recent issue of *The musical times*, wherein several theories concerning the origin of jazz were discussed.⁵³ It was published two months

51 Margoliouth (1858–1940), a distinguished Orientalist, was then the Laudian Professor of Arabic at Oxford Univ. As an ordained Anglican cleric, he served briefly with the Church of England. His father converted from Judaism to Anglicism. Among his notable publications were: *The origin of the 'original Hebrew' of Ecclesiasticus*, London 1899; *Mohammed and the rise of Islam*, New York 1905; (trans.) *Umayyads and 'Abbasids: Being the fourth part of Jurji Zaydan's history of Islamic civilization*, Leiden 1907; *The early development of Mohammedanism*, London 1914; *The eclipse of the 'Abbasid Caliphate: Original chronicles of the fourth Islamic century*, Oxford 1920–1; and *The relations between Arabs and Israelites prior to the rise of Islam*, London 1924.

52 On Apr. 13, 1921, he had been elected non-resident member of the Society, but later, in 1924, he became a *bona fide* member. On Jan. 10th of the former year, he was also appointed Fellow of the National Museum of Antiquities (Edinburgh) and on Nov. 21, he was elected a member of the Glasgow Univ. Oriental Society.

53 Farmer was referring to the short section on p. 799 of the Sept. 1, 1924 [65(979)] issue, which addressed the origin and meaning of 'jazz' proposed by Lafcadio Hearn (1850–1904),

later, with revisions, as “The Arab influence on music in the Western Soudan: Including references to jazz.”⁵⁴ Directed especially to those interested in Oriental music, he focused “on [the] music and musical instruments in the Western Soudan, through whose portals Islamic culture filtered to the various West and Central African peoples, from whom America obtained not only the word *jazz*, but much of what it stands for” (p. 158). In his view, it derived from the Arabic word *jazʿ*, “a term used in the oldest Arabic works on prosody and music. [It] meant ‘the cutting off,’ ‘the apocopation.’”⁵⁵

Along with other Arabic musical terms, names of musical instruments, and customs, the word *jazʿ* was ‘borrowed’ by inhabitants along the [upper] West Coast of Africa for whom the Western Sudan was their nearest point of contact with civilization—and subsequently passed on to America. Citing several documents in Arabic (some with French translations) that were published in Paris by the École des Langues Orientales, Farmer explained that Islam’s almost total cultural contact with Western Sudan began as early as the years 1009–10. Moreover, Al-Shaqundī (d. 1231), the Spanish Arab historian, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭā (1304–68/69), the Berber Muslim scholar who visited the Sudan region, had each mentioned the Arabic names of Sudanese musical instruments . . .

From [Farmer’s] brief *résumé* of the musical history of the Western Soudan, together with our present knowledge of the political, social, and cultural conditions, one can safely hazard the opinion that a fairly advanced state of musical culture obtained from the fourteenth century, a date given by Clément Huart [*A history of Arabic literature*, London 1903, 391] for the intellectual awakening of the Western Soudan after the Arab contact. It produced some well-known writers on law and history, and the colleges were not insignificant. Up to the sixteenth century, the Western Soudan was a cultural offspring of Egypt. After the Moorish occupation it is Morocco that determines the intellectual world of the Soudanese (“Arab Influence in Western Soudan”, 158).

A careful perusal of this short article will yield a wide array of Arab musical instruments and other important Arabic terms. It may have also provided the springboard for the larger question concerning Arab influences that was germinating in his mind.

Vincent López (1895–1975), and Paul Whiteman (1890–1967) citing the “March King,” John Philip Sousa (1854–1932).

54 *The musical standard* (Nov. 15, 1924), 158–9.

55 The Arabic *ṣajʿ* (rhymed prose) would also apply.

Previously, in the fall of 1923, encouraged by Prof. Margoliouth's positive assessment of his earlier paper, he decided to present it as a lecture at the October 1st meeting of the Glasgow University Oriental Society under the slightly revised title "The Arabian influence in European music." This venue provided a "testing ground," whose feedback would help him refine his manuscript for publication. For him it was a crucial step academically. Unfortunately, he had to postpone its preparation until the fall of 1924, when he submitted the manuscript in an extended form to the *JRAS*. It was readily accepted and published the following year, now under the title "Clues for the Arabian influence on European musical theory."⁵⁶

Here Farmer dealt with the diffusion of Arab musical sciences throughout Western Europe,⁵⁷ where in England it was accorded an important role. It occurred in two phases: 1) through *popular* [*folk*] *music* that was transmitted orally "by mere *political contact*," beginning in the eighth century; and 2) *artistic music* [*and music theory*] "brought about by the *literary and intellectual contact*," commencing in the tenth-eleventh century. During the first phase, the Arabic influence was spread by wandering minstrels (*jongleurs*), whose wide variety of musical instruments, performance practices, and medieval song and dance forms included numerous prototypes and terms (hocket, in particular) that could be traced to the Arabs and the regions they inhabited. The second was "a far more important cultural contact," whose earliest protagonists in England could be linked to the scholastic philosopher Adelard

56 *JRAS* (Jan, 1925), 61–80. It was later republished as a twenty-two-page booklet under the title *The Arabian influence on musical theory*, London 1925. A much later version, appearing under the title, "The Arabian influence on European music," in *TGVOS*, 19 (1961–2), 1–15, presented a much clearer discussion of the varied categories of "Clues" (instruments, discant, harmony, consonances, syllables of solfeggio, and tablature) and provided additional information gleaned from his post-1930 publications. The original article, in the words of his daughter, Eileen Mary McLeod,

"upset orthodox views. [It] demonstrated that, in addition to the admitted borrowings of Europe from the Islamic east in the domain of instruments of music, there was a definite influence in the theory of music, [which] he proved by quotations from the works of Latin authors on music [that] were based on Arabic originals. His outstanding claim however, which we believe he has substantiated, was that we owe the promptings for mensural music in the Middle Ages to the Arabs, and that the Mediaeval music term hoquet was derived from the Arabic *īqā'āl*" (FC 319.7, 8).

57 By sciences, Farmer was referring to the medieval *quadrivium*, which included arithmetic, astronomy, geometry, and music. The diffusion and influence of the last-named, he claimed, had not yet been dealt with by scholars.

of Bath (1075–1160),⁵⁸ and the distinguished Spanish-Jewish scholar, Abraham [ben Me'ir] ibn Ezra (1089–1164),⁵⁹ both trained by teachers who studied theory under Arabic masters. They, like others who followed, introduced the science of music to Western Europe. In his summation, Farmer wrote:

What then was the total gain to Western Europe from the Arabian culture contact? Through the political *contact* Europe seems to have come in contact with *discant*, *organum*, and *instrumental tablature*, and possibly *solfeggio*. I need not repeat what is already acknowledged in Europe's indebtedness to the Arabs for many of [their] *musical instruments*. Through the *literary and intellectual* contact Europe may have got its first idea of a *definite pitch notation* (*vide* Herman[us] Contractus [1013–54]). It certainly took partly, if not wholly, its system of *mensural music* from the Arabs. Finally, Europe owed its revision of the *laws of consonances* to the Arabs (p. 80).⁶⁰

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- 58 Adelard, who studied at the cathedral school in Tours, France, was also a proficient citharist. He belonged to the Toledan School of Translators, which spread Arabic teachings in Latin translation during the 12th century. According to Farmer “there is no direct evidence that [Adelard] studied at Toledo (p. 70, n. 1) . . . [or] in Andalus, but [rather] in Carthage (Tunis) and Babylon (Baghdad or Cairo)” (p. 69, n.2). See also the following: C.H. Haskins, “Adelard of Bath” and “The reception of Arabic science in England”, in *English historical review*, 26 (1911), 491–8 and 30 (1915), 56–69, resp.; C.H. Burnett, *Adelard of Bath: An English scientist and Arabist of the early twelfth century*, London 1987; and L. Cochrane, *Adelard of Bath: The first English scientist*, London 1994.
- 59 A poet (in the Hispano-Hebraic tradition), renowned Biblical exegete, Hebrew grammarian, philosopher, mathematician, and astronomer/astrologist, Ibn Ezra was, in essence, an itinerant scholar. Most likely he studied at the Univ. of Córdoba. He fled from Spain in 1140 and thereafter undertook a mission as a wandering propagator of Judaism in various communities of North Africa and in Italy, France, and England. Cf. M. Friedländer, “Ibn Ezra in England”, in *Jewish quarterly review*, 8(1) (1895), 140–54. See also C.S.F. Burnett, *The introduction of Arabic learning into England*, London 1997 and S. Sela and G. Freudenthal, “Abraham Ibn Ezra's scholarly writings: A chronological listing”, in *Aleph*, no. 6 (2006), 13–55.
- 60 The thrust of “Clues” appeared five years later as the introductory chapter of *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930, 1–38, this time enriching the ‘political’ and ‘literary and intellectual’ contacts with far greater, yet concise historical material, along with Arabic, Persian, Turkish and Syrian terms—musical and otherwise—which penetrated numerous realms of European culture and languages through diplomatic relations and the cultural outreach of the Muslim civilization. Farmer also provided the names of theorists, teachers, and translators who played prominent roles in disseminating what the Arabs contributed to the science of music.

Surprisingly, “Clues” received more international attention among Orientalists than musicologists. However, in the ensuing May 2nd and 16th issues of *The musical standard*, a newspaper published biweekly by William Reeves for professional and amateur musicians,⁶¹ the noted Irish Classical scholar Kathleen Schlesinger (1862–1953), then a Fellow at Liverpool University’s Institute of Archaeology, challenged Farmer’s views.⁶² With Farmer’s reply in

61 W. Reeves III ceased its publication in 1933, after a lengthy and continuous run of seventy-two years. The periodical, founded in 1862 by A.W. Hammond, who shared its editorship with William Joseph Westbrook and John Crowdy, opened each issue with a controversial topic of the day. It appears that its initial publication was undertaken by William Dobson Reeves (1825–1907), a partner in the antiquarian firm of Reeves and Turner and father of William Reeves III. Other musical serials included *The Strad*, *The orchestra*, and *Reeves’ musical directory*. In 1895, the latter Reeves took over the branch bookshop belonging to his father on 185 Fleet St. (London), where he ventured into the field of publishing, taking particular interest in social and political subjects. Among his more courageous publications was the first limited edition of *The Communist manifesto* and an early edition of *Das Kapital*, whose editor Friedrich Engels was a frequent visitor at the bookshop. He installed his printing press in Norbury, delegating its supervision to his youngest son Frank Arnold (d. 1958). Early in the summer of 1900, he relocated his firm to 83 Charing Cross Road. There it remained till 1953, when he withdrew from general book selling to specialize in music literature. Besides his huge catalog of books, he also published about a dozen periodicals and musical journals. William Harold (1880–1960), his eldest son who also became an independent bookseller (in Bournemouth), specialized in music literature, and issued publications, from 1919 on, under the imprint Harold Reeves. A most informative overview of the Reeves multi-generation publishing firm can be found in J.B. Coover, “The bookseller and publisher, William Reeves”, in D. Hunter (ed.): *Music publishing and collecting: Essays in honor of Donald W. Krummel*, Urbana 1994, 39–67. An interesting piece on W.D. Reeves can be found in *The publishers’ circular and the publisher & bookseller* (London, Mar. 2, 1935), 235. Concerning the Reeves publishing firm and antiquarian music trade, consult *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, London 2001².

62 She launched her criticism in vol. 26 under the title “The question of an Arabic influence on musical theory”, 148–50 and 160–2, resp. Schlesinger was primarily an organologist, whose early published contributions included: “Researches into the origin of the organs of the ancients”, in *SIMG*, 2 (1901), 167–202; *The instruments of the modern orchestra and early records of the precursors of the violin family*, 2 vols., London 1910; “The Utrecht Psalter and its bearing on the history of musical instruments”, in *The musical antiquarian*, 2 (1910), 18–33; *A bibliography of musical instruments and archaeology*, London 1912; *The precursors of the violin family*, London 1914, and “The significance of musical instruments in the evolution of music”, in P.C. Buck (ed.): *Oxford history of music*, London 1929, i, 85–116. She also contributed over a hundred entries on musical instruments to the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1900–11¹¹). After her polemical encounters with Farmer, she published “Further notes on Aristoxenus and musical intervals”, in *The classical quarterly*, 27 (1933), 88–96, followed years later by her major study on *The Greek aulos. A study of its mechanism and of its relation to the modal system of ancient Greek music*, London 1939,

the December 26th (1925) and January 9th (1926) issues, there commenced a polemic between them that continued well into August, in almost successive installments of approximately two pages in length.⁶³

Still, a sentence in “Clues” (p. 63), which read “the Arabian *qānūn* or zither became the European *canon*, whilst the European instrument known as the *eschaquiel* or *exaquir* was surely derived from the Arabian *mishqar* or *al-shaqira*,” evoked the following comments from the English musicologist and critic A.H. Fox Strangways (1859–1948):

To say the *qānūn* ‘became’ the *canon*, a name, which Euclid gave to the monochord about 300 B.C., assigns a rather early date for Arabian influence. In the second statement ‘surely’ seems to suggest a mere philological guess, but the idea may be worth investigating.⁶⁴

some of whose findings were refuted by Farmer, Francis W. Galpin, and other prominent classical scholars. One may also add her article concerning “The harmoniai”, in *The music review*, 5(1) (1944), 7–39 and 5(2) (1944), 119–41.

63 Forty years later in *Sources* (Leiden 1965), Farmer assessed the actual impact of “Clues”, as follows:

“Outside *The Times literary supplement*, the article [“Clues”] raised no interest whatever among musicographers; it passed them by like the ‘idle wind’ which they respected not; with one exception, the scholarly A.H. Fox-Strangways. On the other hand it aroused interest of Orientalists the world over; but it took fifteen years for musicographers to notice it, and that was when Gustave Reese gave it a nod of recognition in his *Music of the Middle Ages* [New York] 1940. Some critics fathered me with claims that were either not mine or were not made by anyone. Therefore it is of some importance that we should know what I actually did claim” (pp. xiv–xv).

Yet, Shai Burstyn (“The ‘Arabian influence’”), who lauded Farmer as the “most knowledgeable and effective advocate of the ‘Arabian Influence,’ [opined that the] obvious strengths of his writings [up through 1965] are their grounding in medieval Arabic written sources of music theory, and their coverage of pertinent Latin sources. But [he continued], for all his usual caution, his strong convictions sometimes led him to read more into the evidence than was warranted. Indeed some of his less credible ‘facts’ seem to result from excessive zeal to show derivations at all costs. Despite his diligent spadework and sharp intuition, Farmer’s writings remain the work of a maverick who failed to leave an indelible mark on medieval musical scholarship. [For Farmer] to have argued his thesis more convincingly . . . , he would have had to construct his arguments on information and methodology which were not fully available to him [nor even presently. Furthermore, Burstyn proposed the four] most troublesome issues that must be sorted out prior to [a] meaningful investigation of the topic” (“The ‘Arabian influence’”, 120–1). A. Shiloah (“The Arab confrontation”) approached this subject from a different viewpoint.

64 Here Farmer inadvertently cited p. 150, instead of 151, referring to Fox Strangways’ editorial insertion in W.H. Grattan Flood’s article “The eschequier virginal: An English

Farmer's response to Fox Strangways resulted in the article "The canon and the eschaquiel of the Arabs", which appeared the following year.⁶⁵ It was not clear to Farmer whether Fox Strangways' initial objection concerning the *qānūn* was made on philological or musical grounds (p. 239); but, regarding the second, he countered that "much good philological work is based on guesswork at the start" (p. 252). Still, Farmer found the critic's passing comments worth pursuing.⁶⁶

After perusing a wide range of writings by such authors as Ptolemy (*Harmonik* [2nd cent.]), Julius Pollux (*Onomasticon* [2nd cent.]), the Syrian-born Nicomachus (*Encheiridion harmonikês* [2nd cent.]), Adenet Le Roi (*Le roman de Cléomadès* [13th cent.]), and Guillaume de Machaut's poems (*La prise d'Alexandrie, ou Chronique du roi Pierre I^{er} de Lusignan* and [*Le*] *Temps Pasteur* [14th cent.]), including pertinent brief entries from various dictionaries and encyclopedias, Farmer learned that "there was a wide difference between the monochord-pandore which the Greek mathematicians called the *kanôn* [the monochord-psaltery type from the Middle Ages, which was not a *canon*, but rather a *monochord*] and the psaltery named by the Arabs the *qānūn*, [and that he was able to provide (emphatically)] a "rather early date for Arabian influence [from the aforementioned] Julius Pollux reference." Furthermore, he claimed that "Babylonia-Assyria possessed the psaltery type, [but doubted] whether the Greeks possessed [it, even though their generic term *psalterium* applied to musical instruments that were] played with the fingers" (pp. 240–1).

One example, from the many written responses Farmer must have received concerning "Clues", is the following from D.B. Macdonald, which even today would provoke discussion regarding his terminology:

20 February, 1925

Dear Mr. Farmer,

Very many thanks for the copy of your article ["Clues"]. I have now drawn the attention of three scholars to it: W.S. Pratt, my colleague,

invention", in *Music and letters*, 6(2) (1925), 151–3. Fox Strangways was then the editor of this renowned Oxford-based musicological journal.

65 *JRAS* (Apr., 1926), 239–56. Here, Farmer admitted in his second footnote (p. 239) that "the term *zither*, which is a modern descendent of the *psaltery*, is likely to be misleading," preferring, instead, the "mediaeval name of *psaltery*" which he adopted for the remainder of the article.

66 Years later, in his article "The mediaeval psaltery in the Orient" [1931], which will be discussed further on, Farmer again returned to Fox-Strangways' remarks concerning the *qānūn*. And three decades later, Farmer recalled several other criticisms directed at "Clues" in his *Sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, xiv–xxi.

whom you will know in connection with the history of music; Dr. George Sarton of Harvard and the Carnegie Institute [*sic* Institution] who is at work on an introduction to the history of science and who like you has been compelled by his subject to study Arabic; Dr. J. Dyneley Prince, the author of the article in *Hastings*, now U.S. Minister to Denmark.

*And let me entreat you to get rid entirely of the terms "Arabs" and "Arabian" in connection with the Muslim civilization. They are hopelessly misleading as there was never any "Arab" or "Arabian" science or art, except creative art in language, and, even there, in a very narrowly limited way [italics mine].*⁶⁷

A footnote about "Arabic-speaking peoples" will not undo the mischief. For what you will say will be quoted without the footnote and will confirm people in the delusion, already so inveterate, that all this science and art of music came out of the Arabian peninsula and from the brain of the Arab race.

Beyond this appeal I am not in the least competent to criticize your article. But I think that my brother, Norman Macdonald, 9 Colebrooke Terrace, Hillhead [Glasgow], who is a musician, would be greatly interested in your studies.

Yours faithfully,
Duncan B. Macdonald (FC 371)

After "Clues", there followed a brief piece, "Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century",⁶⁸ wherein Farmer interpreted a passage concerning the musical instruments mentioned in the treatise *Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma'ādīn al-jawāhir* by the Arab historian and geographer 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn

67 More than a half-century later, L.I. al-Faruqi (*An annotated glossary*, xiv) explained her usage of the terms 'Arab' and 'Arabian'

"for the musical phenomena of all the Arabic-speaking peoples, regardless of the racial background of the practitioners or theorists, or the location of their homelands. Prior to the seventh century of the Christian era, these terms referred to the peoples of the Arabian Peninsula. In later times they were applied to all the people of the Fertile Crescent region. Still later, these terms were considered applicable to the peoples in a wide region stretching from as far as the Iberian Peninsula and the Atlantic coast of Africa in the West, across North Africa and the Near East to Central Asia in the East. Today the relevance for these two terms has shrunk to an area bordered by Morocco in the West and 'Iraq in the East."

68 *JRAS* (Apr., 1925), 299–304.

al-Mas‘ūdī (d. 956).⁶⁹ The passage in question was actually a citation from Ibn Khurdādhbih’s oration on music, which he delivered in the presence of Caliph al-Mu‘tamid (870–93).⁷⁰ Taken in context, the passage names contemporary Byzantine musical instruments (mainly chordophones) that were known among the Arabs. These included the *urghan* (harp-like, with sixteen strings), *salbāq* (a twenty-four stringed triangular harp), *lūrā* (a five-stringed *rebāb*), *qīthāra* (a lyre type, with twelve strings), and *salinj* (a harp, with a calf-skin base). There was, in addition, the *urghanum*, which referred either to a multi-stringed instrument or to a mechanical aerophone, perhaps a hydraulic organ. Here Farmer suggested several emendations to the earlier edition and translation of Ibn Khurdādhbih’s lecture by Charles A.C. Barbier de Meynard (*Les prairies d’or* [Paris, 1861–77], viii, 417–9).

In a later companion article, “Ibn Khurdādhbih on musical instruments”,⁷¹ Farmer returned to his oration, but now provided more substantial arguments for his credence concerning the existence and description of the instruments he mentioned, even though Ibn Khurdādhbih’s information was challenged earlier by the Arab historian, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (897–967) in his *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Suggesting a newly revised translation of the oration,⁷² Farmer urged that the need was “all the more pressing” given that Ibn Khurdādhbih’s treatise *Kitāb al-lahw wa-l-malāhī* had been discovered in 1920 (citing its disclosure in the Lebanese journal *Al-Hilāl*, 28 [1920], 214).⁷³ Farmer also contributed his own translation (pp. 511–8) of the “fragment on musical instruments obviously based on” Ibn Khurdādhbih’s, which he discovered in the somewhat late copy (1688 C.E.) of *Kitāb al-lahw* . . . (MS. Pm. 173, fol. 1) housed in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek, which “deserves attention on account of its variants from the MSS. used by Barbier de Meynard.” He also included comparisons with instruments mentioned in other sources. To Farmer, the importance

69 Concerning these instruments and their iconography, see A. Shiloah, “Andalusian instruments” and *The theory of music* [1979] 377–81, resp.

70 Abū l-[Ibn ‘Abdallāh] Ibn Khurdādhbih (c. 820–912) was a disciple of Iṣḥāq al-Mawṣilī (767–850), the most renowned musician (lutenist) of the Abbasid period who also wrote treatises on music.

71 *JRAS* (July, 1928), 509–18.

72 A later French translation of the treatise by C.A.C. Barbier de Meynard and A.P. de Courteille, with corrections by C. Pellat, appeared as *Les prairies d’or*, Paris 1962, i, 88–99.

73 Its ms. can be found in the private collection of the late Ḥabīb al-Zayyāt which has been transferred from Alexandria to Beirut. A. Shiloah (*The theory of music* [1979], no. 125) was able to examine Abdo Khalifé Ignatius’s description in his edition of Ibn Khurdādhbih’s *Mukhtār min kitāb al-lahw* . . . in *Al-Mashriq* 54 (1960), 122–55. See also Shiloah, “Music in the pre-Islamic period”, 112–6.

of Khurdādhbih's lies in the fact that it preserved "one of the earliest extant accounts of the musical instruments of the Arabs and their neighbours" (p. 509). The article was republished verbatim under the revised title "Ninth-century musical instruments."⁷⁴

Prior to Farmer's aforementioned reply to Fox Strangways, there appeared in the October 1925 issue of *JRAS* his article "Arabic music manuscripts in the Bodleian Library,"⁷⁵ wherein he compiled a short yet detailed list of seventeen Arabic musical manuscripts that he examined at Oxford University during his research studentship. These related to six of the library's most important treatises: 1) Hunt 296 and Marsh 189: the *Risāla fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī* by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (10th cent.); 2) Pocock 109 and 250: the *Maqāla* (discourse) on music from the *Kitāb al-shifā'* of Ibn Sīnā (11th cent.); 3) Marsh 521 and 161: the tract on music from the *Kitāb al-najāt* of the same author; 4) Marsh 115 and 521: the *Risāla al-sharafīyya [fī al-nisab al-ta'rifīyya]* (13th cent.) of Ṣafī al-Dīn al-Urmawī; 5) Marsh 521 and 161: the *Kitāb al-adwār* (13th cent.) by the same author; and 6) Marsh 82, MS Arab. C. 40, Ouesley, 102, 102/2, and 106:⁷⁶ *Kitāb yustakhraj minhu al-anghām* (16th cent.) by Shams al-Dīn al-Saidāwī al-Dhahabī. Farmer acknowledged J.P.N. Land's perusal of the same manuscripts some forty years earlier.

In all, 1925 had been indeed a very busy year. Apart from his engagements at the Empire Theatre, Farmer, while deeply immersed in his doctoral thesis and course work,⁷⁷ had managed to visit several other European libraries (in Paris and Berlin) in search of Arabic treatises on music. He also presented a paper before the Glasgow University Oriental Society entitled "The evolution of the tanbūr or pandore."⁷⁸ And, in the fall, he was invited to give a lecture before

74 In *Studies in Oriental musical instruments* (First series), London 1931, [51]-62.

75 *JRAS* (Oct., 1926), 639-54.

76 Mss. Ouesley 102 and 102/2 actually refer to the *Kitāb fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī wa ma'rifat al-anghām* (by Muḥammad b. Muḥammad . . . al-Dhahabī) and the anonymous treatise, *Kitāb al-mīzān fī 'ilm al-adwār wa l-awzān*, resp.

77 From his second undergraduate year through the attainment of his Ph.D. (1919-26), Farmer held a university research studentship, under the recommendations of Dr. Weir and Prof. William Barron Stevenson (Prof. of Hebrew and Semitic languages). While writing his thesis, he profited greatly from the former's guidance on linguistic and historical matters. As a gesture of his gratefulness, Farmer dedicated his *History of Arabian music*, London 1929, "to the Memory of [his] *Mu'allim* the late Rev. Dr. T.H. Weir."

78 See the résumé in *TGUOS*, 5 (1923-28)[1930], 26-8. During his presentation, he exhibited seven specimens to show how the instrument developed through successive stages.

the Musical Association (in London),⁷⁹ but had to postpone it until April 27th of the following year.

Meanwhile he had completed, for the January 1926 issue of *JRAS*, two brief communications, “Some musical mss. identified” and “The old Persian musical modes.” In the first, he identified portions from two treatises belonging to Ms. Ar. 2685 of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris): the *Kitāb al-adwār* by Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min al-Urmawī (d. 1294) and the anonymous [sixteenth-century] *Risāla [al-Muqaddimah] fī ‘ilm al-anghām*, which, in his view, bore a relationship to a work of Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī. With regard to the Preussische Staatsbibliothek (Berlin),⁸⁰ he suggested that two “imperfect” treatises (cat. Ahlw. 5530, fols. 25–31 and 5531, fols. 22–4, resp., belonging to Ms. We. 1240) contained material prior to al-Fārābī. He also claimed that the style and method of the former was similar to that of al-Kindī (d. 874), perhaps from his *Kitāb tarīb al-nagham . . .* or *Risāla fī l-madkhal ila šinā‘at al-mūsīqī*. The latter exhibited an affinity to al-Kindī’s *Mukhtaṣar al-mūsīqī fī ta’līf al-nagham wa šinā‘at al-‘ūd*. A third unidentified work, Ms. Pm 400 (cat. Ahlw. 5533) also from the Preussische Staatsbibliothek, contained, according to Farmer, the *fihrist* and part of the first *faṣl* of Ṣafī al-Dīn’s *Kitāb al-adwār*. Farmer concluded by mentioning that he could not find the *Traité de musique pour le chant et pour les instruments dont joue avec la bouche et avec les doigts* by the Persian theorist Abū l-Wafā’ ibn Saḥid (Sa‘īd?) at the British Museum which was frequently quoted as being there.⁸¹

In his communication to the Royal Asiatic Society, “The old Persian musical modes”, Farmer cited their ancient names: seven from Ibn Khurdādhbih’s brief account; thirty from the celebrated Persian minstrel Bārhud or Bārbād from the Persian dictionary, *Burhān-i-Qātī*?⁸² a reference to “root modes” mentioned probably by al-Kindī from the Berlin source (Ahlw. 5530, fol. 30; noted above); and references to Persian *dastānāt* from folio 233 of Ms. Or. 2361 from the British Museum.⁸³

79 In 1944, it became the Royal Musical Association, whose annual *Proceedings* continued the series established by the original Association that was founded in May of 1874.

80 In “The influence of music”, in *PMA*, 52 (1926), 100, Farmer mentioned that when he visited the library in 1925, he discovered the Ms. Ahlw. 5530, which he believed to be al-Kindī’s.

81 The treatise, mentioned by the English traveler Sir J. Chardin in *Voyages en Perse, et autres lieux de l’Orient*, Amsterdam 1711, iii, 158, was reported by Fétis, Mitjana, and Rouanet as being there.

82 Cited from E.G. Browne, *A literary history of Persia*, i. *From the earliest times until Firdawsī*, London 1902, 14–6 and *JRAS* (Jan. 1899), 37–69.

83 *Kitāb al-kāfi fī l-mūsīqī* by al-Ḥusain ibn Zaila (d. 1143).

Although the preparation for his lecture before the Musical Association—scheduled for April 27, 1926—created an additional burden, he was able to produce a fine paper based on material he collected for his almost completed doctoral thesis. It dealt with “The influence of music: from Arabic sources”,⁸⁴ for which he relied on original documents and published translations. Among them were the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Kitāb al-siyāsa* (9th cent.), which he attributed to a Sabaeen or Syrian source, al-Kindī’s *Risāla fi ajzā’ khabarīya fi l-mūsīqī* (9th cent.), the *Risāla fi ‘ilm al-mūsīqī* of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ and Ibn ‘Abd Rabbihī’s *Al-‘iqd al-farīd* (10th cent.), the Persian al-Hujwiri’s *Kashf al-mahjūb* and al-Ḥusain Ibn Zaila’s *Kitāb al-kāfi fi l-mūsīqī* (11th cent.), al-Ghazālī’s *Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī’s *Jāmi’ al-‘ulūm* (12th cent.), and Ṣafī al-Dīn’s *Kitāb al-adwār* (13th cent.).

The Arabs, according to Farmer, recognized two aspects of the ‘influence’: the *subjective* and the *objective*. Dealing briefly with the first, he formulated a composite definition taken from the Muslim writers Avicenna (981–1037) and Ibn Zaila (d. 1048), who believed in the validity of the *objective*:

Sound produces an influence in the soul in two directions. One of them is on account of its special composition (*i.e.*, musical), and the other is on account of its being similar to the soul (*i.e.*, spiritual) (p. 90).⁸⁵

Among the protagonists of the *subjective* aspect, al-Hujwiri (d. ca. 1072) and the Sufi theologian and mystic al-Ghazālī (d. 1111) distinguished two classes of people by the way they are influenced by music: “1) those who hear the *spiritual meaning* [*i.e.*, the music itself, devoid of isolated tones (*naghāmāt*), rhythm (*īqā’*), meter (*durūb*), and modes (*maqāmāt*), etc.] and 2) those who hear the *material sound*—the musical composition.” Al-Hujwiri stated that, in order to listen correctly, one must hear “everything as it is in quality and predicament,” a view which conformed to the Sufi doctrine, wherein “music becomes a means of ‘revelation’ attained through ecstasy” (p. 91).

Along with the Sufi doctrine, the Arabs held very strong views about the much older *objective* aspect of the influence of music, as formulated in the

84 It later appeared in *PMA*, 52 (1926), 89–114. Farmer’s paper was read in his stead by a Mr. Baker. Tipped in Farmer’s copy (FC 450) is a letter from William Reeves, which reads:

“I made use of your ticket for the Musical Association through some one else, and regret that you were not at the Meeting to read your paper. Between ourselves I understand that it was not delivered as one would have liked it to have been: though no doubt the elderly gentleman did his best. Miss. Schl. was there taking notes.”

85 British Museum MS. Or. 2361 (fol. 220vo.).

aforementioned series of beliefs (magical, cosmological, etc.), which Farmer discussed under the following chronological headings:

1. *Pagan Times*: This was the period when Arabs firmly believed in the intimate connection between music and magic, as well as between celestial objects and the sublunary world. “What the Arabs appear to have particularly borrowed from the Sabaeans was the cosmical-musical doctrine which was bound up with judicial astrology, whilst it was more likely the Syrians who were responsible for the passing on of the notion of the Harmony of the Spheres⁸⁶ and the doctrine of the *Êthos*” (p. 92).⁸⁷

Earlier practices leading to these doctrines came from ancient Babylonia-Assyria, Egypt, and other Semitic regions, where all mundane changes were attributed to the influence of celestial bodies and where astrological computations linked numbers with sound. It was in Greece, however, that the concept of the more subtle and refined tenets of the Harmony of the Spheres and the Doctrine of the *Êthos* were idealized. “Yet, it [was] not until the days of Islām, when the Arabs [came] into contact with Chaldaean and Greek lore, transmitted by the Sabaeans and Syrians, that . . . we have the aesthetic Doctrine of the *Êthos* and scientific principles on the theory of sound existing side by side with the cruder cosmomusical dogmas and the notion of the Harmony of the Spheres” (p. 95).

86 Interesting perspectives can be obtained from J. Pacholczyk (“Music and Astronomy”) and S.H. Nasr, *An introduction to Islamic cosmological doctrines: Conceptions of nature and methods used for its study by the Ikhwān al-Safā, Al-Bīrūnī, and Ibn Sīnā*, Albany 1993. For extended views, see J. Godwin, *Harmonies of heaven and earth: The spiritual dimension of music from antiquity to the avant-garde*, Rochester 1985 and *The harmony of the spheres: A sourcebook of the Pythagorean tradition in music*, Rochester 1993. Other recent publications include J. James, *The music of the spheres: Music, science, and the natural order of the universe*, New York 1993. For a succinct explanation, see O. Kinkeldey, “The music of the spheres”, in *Bulletin of the American Musicological Society*, nos. 11–13 (Sept, 1948), 30–2.

87 Farmer acknowledged the doctrine’s origins in magic as expressed by J. Combarieu’s in *La musique et la magie. Étude sur les origines populaires de l’art musical, son influence et sa fonction dans les sociétés*, Paris 1909, 220–33. Just nine months before Farmer died, there appeared his short contribution “The *êthos* of Antiquity”, in *IS* (Mar, 1965), 25–30, wherein he returned to the subject and pointed out its relationship to the Harmony of the Spheres. His concluding remarks began: “In the Muslim East today, as in times long ago, the doctrine of the *êthos* (*ta’t’hīr*) still prevails, as [he had] shown in his various . . . books and articles, most notably in [the work under discussion]” (p. 28).

II. The *Kitāb al-siyāsa* (*Book of the government*) (8th cent.). This early treatise, which attracted the attention of the Arabs concerning some of the aforementioned beliefs, was purported to have been written by Aristotle for Alexander the Great. Inasmuch as its preface claimed that it was translated from Greek, via Syriac, into Arabic, Robert Steele, in his edition of Roger Bacon's (c. 1214–94) Latin translation, doubted its Greek origin.⁸⁸ Farmer, however, surmised that it was either “a Sabaeian or Syrian production.” Nonetheless, he provided short excerpts from the treatise that shed light “on the question of the Pythagorean notion of the Harmony of the Spheres, and musical therapeutics” (p. 95), in which numbers played an important role in explaining cosmic order.

III. *Al-Kindī* (ca. 790–874): Like his Pythagorean predecessors, al-Kindī was also concerned with numbers. He treated music not only as an art to be enjoyed and as a mathematical science, but also as a means for physicians to administer to the needs of diseased minds and bodies. His system was macrocosmic:

Each note on a string of the lute had its relation to a mode, rhythm and sentiment. These in turn, were connected with spatial spheres, geographical spheres, planets, constellations, horizon and meridian, winds, seasons, months, days, hours, elements, humour, periods of life, the faculties of the soul and body, actions, colours, perfumes, etc. (p. 97).⁸⁹

IV. The *Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (10th cent.): This society of ultra-Shi'ite philosophers, who were well grounded in Pythagorean philosophy, “believed that ‘celestial harmony’ [*i.e.*, ‘Harmony of the Spheres’] was the cause of music in the world of ‘generation and corruption.’” Like the Greeks, they explained celestial relationships mathematically by ratios, although their values differed. In their treatise, *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'*, one can find equivalences with the musico-therapeutic system practiced by al-Kindī, including cosmic relationships to tones and rhythms, as with Plato, concerning the use of music for

88 *Secretum secretorum cum glossis et notulis: Tractatus brevis et utilis ad declarandum quedam obscure dicta Fratris Rogeri. Nunc primum edidit Robert Steele. Accedunt versio anglicana ex arabico edita per A.S. Fulton; versio vetusta anglo-normanica nunc primum edita*, Oxford 1920, x.

89 For a visual understanding of these interrelationships, Farmer reproduced charts from al-Kindī's *Risāla fī ajzā' khabariyya fī l-mūsīqī* and the *Rasā'il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā'* (pp. 98 and 105, resp.). From this and other al-Kindī treatises, Farmer provided additional prose excerpts concerning these relationships, as well as al-Kindī's close proximity to the Greek conceptions of the ‘influence’ of music, in terms of rhythm, modes, etc.

moral purposes. It also contains stories about the varied ‘influences’ of music, which have their parallels in the writings of Boethius and Plutarch.⁹⁰

v. *10th through 17th Century*: During the first half of the tenth century, especially under the influence of al-Fārābī (c. 870–950), Pythagorean philosophy was, for a while, supplanted by Aristotelian thought. Even the notion of the Harmony of the Spheres was falling into disrepute. “Yet the Arabs still clung to the belief in the therapeutical value of music and its cosmological paraphernalia . . . [whereas] the Doctrine of Êthos, and the more rational attributes to the influence of music, gradually came into general acceptance, owing to the wide adoption of the theories of Greek writers” (p. 108). For the remainder of this section, Farmer provided numerous excerpts from Arabic writers concerning the question of the influence of music.

vi. *Modern Times*: Although the present day Arab world continues to maintain strong views on this matter, there are particular locations where such medieval doctrines are not accepted. An example, taken from the treatise *Risālat al-shihābīyya* of the Syrian writer and theorist Mikhā’il Mishāqa (1800–88), reads:

We may mention what the musicians of old have taught concerning the melodies (*alhān*) which were remedies against disease . . . What I think about this subject is that man is affected by hearing a melody to which his nature inclines. *And this is not from temperament, but from force of habit* (p. 114).⁹¹

Farmer’s doctoral thesis, “A musical history of the Arabs in the Middle Ages”, followed the conventional chronological approach that he utilized earlier in “The influence of music: From Arabic sources” (1926) to best suit his presentation. In this manner he was able to demonstrate how culture stood in relation to the social and political regimen. Thus, he divided each chapter into three sections: in the *first* he dealt with the social and political factors that determined the general musical culture; in the *second*, he described the musical life of the period, together with details of the theory and practice of music, thereby freeing himself from technicalities that he had hoped to deal with in greater detail, from an historical perspective in a companion volume; and he devoted

90 See A. Shiloah’s introduction to his study and translation of the *The epistle on music of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’*, Tel Aviv 1978, 5–11.

91 Taken from the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale*, Beirut 1913, iv, 114.

the *third* to biographies of celebrated composers, singers, instrumentalists, theorists, scientists, and *littérateurs*.⁹²

Farmer's chapter headings comprised:

1. The days of idolatry (1st to 6th cent., C.E.); 2. Islām and music; 3. The orthodox khalifs (632–661); 4. The Umayyads (661–750); 5. The 'Abbāsids (The Golden Age, 750–847); 6. The 'Abbāsids (The decline, 847–945); and 7. The 'Abbāsids (The fall, 945–1258).

In the second chapter, concerning the attitudes of Islam and Muḥammad's views concerning music, Farmer provided pertinent textual quotations from the sources he studied. Inasmuch as the Qur'an contains scant allusions to situations, physical activities (whistling, handclapping, etc.), and condemnations that appear to be contextually linked to music, the question as to whether "listening to music (*al-samā'*)" is considered lawful or not has persisted until our day. Following Muḥammad's death, Muslim clerics continued to be highly critical of music, due primarily to the poetry associated with it. Their strictures also included singing to the accompaniment of instruments (wind, stringed, and percussion), singing for sensual pleasure, and listening to instrumental music, each of which were looked upon as activities that distracted from religious thought. Music was included among the "forbidden pleasures (*malāhī*).⁹³ Yet, throughout the centuries, Muslim legists (*fuqahā'*) and exegetes have continued to examine the Qur'an, *ḥādīth* ('tradition,' the sayings, stories, and deeds attributed to Muḥammad, *i.e.*, the Prophet's own discourse, being second in authority to the Qur'an), and the *ṣaḥābīs* (sayings attributed to Muḥammad's companions) to argue the pros and cons concerning the censure of listening to music.⁹³ Farmer also discussed, albeit briefly, the *adhān* (call to prayer), *tatrīb* (cantillation of the Qur'an), music

92 From the preface of the published version, London 1929, ix.

93 A. Shiloah (*Music in the world of Islam*, 31–44 and "Music and religion") addressed the ambivalent views (legal, theological, and mystic) of Islamic authorities toward music and dance dating from the ninth to the eighteenth century. M.L. Roy-Choudhury, *Music in Islam*, not only provided additional textual quotations from the Qur'an, *ḥādīth*, and *ṣaḥābīs*, but also from the discourses (*al-fiqh*) of renowned Sunni lawgivers, the interpretations of the sages (*ulamā'*), and Sufis. See also: J. Robson, *Tracts on listening*, and "Muslim controversy"; J.M.S. Baljon, *Muslimse ambivalentie*; Bedford, "The interdiction of music"; Ph.V. Bohlman, "Folk music", 96–9; M. Braune, "Die Stellung des Islams"; E. Neubauer and V. Doubleday, "Islamic religious music" (which includes an excellent bibliography); I.R. Saoud, "The Arab contribution"; A. Shiloah, "L'Islam et la musique"; and especially L.I. al-Faruqi, "Unity and variety".

for the pilgrimage, war songs, elegies, wailing, music connected with the life cycle, and the spiritual effects of music.⁹⁴ In the words of the Sufi Dhu l-Nūn al-Misrī: “Listening to music is a divine influence which stirs the heart to seek Allāh, and those who listen to it spiritually attain to Allāh, and those who listen to it sensually fall into heresy” (Farmer, “The influence of music”, 91).⁹⁵

His thesis, whose examiners were unanimous in their enthusiasm and praise, was accepted without reservations.⁹⁶ On June 23, 1926, at the university’s graduation ceremony, he was capped Ph.D. Now liberated from the pressures of academia, Farmer could henceforth explore new vistas. To continue his scholarly researches during the 1927–8 academic year, he turned to the Carnegie Trust for financial assistance.

2.5 Post-Doctoral Years (1926–32)

This period, culminating with his invitation to participate at the First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo) during the months of March and April 1932, was not, by any shade of imagination, less strenuous. Laden with research and publication commitments beyond his duties at the Empire Theatre, he remained active with the Musicians’ Union. In 1928 he was elected to serve on its executive committee,⁹⁷ and for the years 1929 to early 1933, he assumed the editorship of its quarterly, *Musicians’ journal*, to which he contributed editorials and numerous articles under his name and various pseudonyms.⁹⁸

94 Concerning this latter aspect, see D.B. Macdonald’s translation (“Emotional religion of Islām”) of the musical portion of *Ihyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn* by the Sūfī author Imām Abu Ḥāmid al-Ghazālī (1058–1111).

95 See A.E.S. Leoni, *Mas’ala fi l-samā’*.

96 His examiners included Profs. William Barron Stevenson, Herbert Smith, and Dr. Thomas Weir. A fourth examiner, either Francis Crawford Burkitt, from Cambridge Univ., or Sir E. Denison Ross, from the London School of Oriental Studies, was contacted (though it was not recorded who was ultimately appointed). The thesis, housed in GUL, can be found under the call mark Thesis (Old) 4.26. We are grateful to Moira Rankin, Senior Archivist, at Glasgow Univ. Archive Services for providing us with this information.

97 A year later, he visited Dublin, where he delivered a most persuasive speech to establish an Irish branch (see App. 14).

98 His invented pseudonyms included Gerald Barry, Abe Beeseer, Bibliakos, Stan Brunton, Padraig Krinkill, Montague L’Estrange, Haydn O’Donnell, and Evan Williams. Here his

For an immediate change of pace, following his graduation, he rekindled his interest in Scottish music. Revisiting his notes from Prof. Robert Rait's inspiring course (during the 1922–23 academic year) on the History of Scotland, Farmer again grasped the immensely significant role that song and dance played. Inspired by the topic, he prepared the lecture "Music in Mediaeval Scotland", which he gave before the Philosophical Society of Glasgow on February 23, 1927.⁹⁹ An abstract was published in the Society's *Proceedings* in 1927 (pp. 75–8); its full text appeared in the 1930 volume of the *PMA*.¹⁰⁰

During the 1927–28 academic year, under the auspices of a Carnegie Research Grant,¹⁰¹ Farmer continued his investigations and searches for Arabic manuscripts and musical instruments at libraries and museums in England and abroad which included the Bodleian Library and Indian Institute (Oxford), the British Museum, Royal Asiatic Society Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, Imperial Institute, and the Royal College of Music (London), the John Rylands Library (Manchester), the Bibliothèque Nationale and Conservatoire de Musique (Paris), the Conservatoire de Musique (Brussels), the Musée du Congo (Terveuren, Belgium), the Bibliothek de Rijksuniversiteit and Ethnological Museum (Leiden), the Staatsbibliothek [then the Prussian State Library] and Kaiser Friedrich Museum (Berlin), and the Biblioteca Ambrosiana (Milan). At each, except the Ambrosiana, he was able to examine and have photographic copies made of rare manuscripts, whereas at the museums he made scientific measurements of pertinent musical instruments.

penchant for conciseness continued from his earlier writings. His one- and two-page contributions were devoted, for the most part, to union matters (the rights of union musicians, health benefits, wages, the effect of sound films on employment, the need to employ British rather than foreign musicians, and anti-capitalism, hardships caused by high taxes, etc.). In Glasgow, in 1930, the *Evening news* (Apr. 4) reported that 300 musicians had lost their jobs "as a result of the triumph of the talkies" and the *Sunday mail* (Mar. 30) confirmed that "many cinemas [had] dispensed with [their] orchestras." Farmer also discussed the unsuitability of films for youngsters and the exploitation of women who were employed at the cinemas. Among his brief musicological offerings were: "A Nietzschean tone poet", N.S. no. 2 (1929), 12–3, concerning Richard Strauss; "Beethoven and politics", N.S. no. 3 (1929), 17; and "Mozart and freemasonry", N.S. no. 10 (1931), 6–7.

99 A report of that paper was printed in the *Glasgow herald* (the Feb. 24th issue).

100 56 (1930), 69–90. It was republished as a 23-page booklet, London 1930 (FC 351) and it also served as the text for a broadcast on the BBC (FC 206, unpublished typescript of 7 fols.).

101 Farmer's dealings with The Carnegie Trust, including his application for the research grant for the year 1927–8, can be found in FC 491.

Farmer's report to the Carnegie Trust summarizing his expenditures, accomplishments, and problems encountered during the 1927 and 1928 periods covered by the grant, reads as follows:

(letter undated)

DR. HENRY FARMER
2 BLYTHSWOOD DRIVE,
GLASGOW, C. 4.

Carnegie Trust Research Scheme

Sir,

I have the honour to enclose herewith (1) Details of Itinerary & Work, and (2) Statement of Expenses in connection with the grant kindly made by your Executive Committee under the above research scheme.

You agreed to allow me a sum not exceeding £40 for travelling expenses & photographs. I have already incurred an expenditure of £26-16-6, which leaves a balance of £13-3-6. As I have been unable for business and health reasons to complete my proposed line of research, I will esteem it a favour if the Executive Committee will allow this balance to be carried forward to enable me to carry my programme further, as well as to settle some outstanding commitments as follows:—

1. I still require a number of photographs or rotographs from various libraries. Two are at present on order.

2. I am particularly anxious to visit Leyden again so as to carry out the scheme suggested by Professor Snouck Hurgronje as outlined in my "Details of Itinerary & Work" (See *infra*).

3. I have not yet been able to do the work suggested at Oxford. I was appointed a Delegate to the recent International Congress of Orientalists at Oxford by the Glasgow University Oriental Society, and I had planned to do the necessary work there during this visit. Unfortunately, I was prevented from attending the Congress owing to business.

I enclose the two articles referred to in my "Details of Itinerary & Work." I regret that I overlooked the point of mentioning the Carnegie Trust in these articles, but as both these articles will appear in a work entitled STUDIES IN ORIENTAL MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS, which will contain my present studies at length, I will see that the Carnegie Trust is duly acknowledged. In November my HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC will be published, and I am making reference to the Trust in the Preface.

I also enclose vouchers for photographs & rotographs from Leyden, Berlin & Munich. I have no vouchers for those obtained from Madrid or London, as they were obtained through friends.

I trust that this report is in order.

With my respects,
Yours faithfully,

DETAILS OF ITINERARY & WORK

DR. HENRY FARMER

1927

At Brussels Conservatoire de Musique, although the Museum was closed for summer vacation, I was favoured by M. [*sic* Ernest] Closson, the Curator, with permission to work there. The galleries were opened specially for my benefit, and I was able to examine and take measurements & photographs of the musical instruments without hindrance. Comparisons made here were helpful to me in my recent article ["A North African folk instrument"] in the *JRAS* (Jan. 1928).

At the Musée du Congo at Terveuren, the Director, M. Schoeteten, placed his personal service at my disposal. Numerous specimens of musical instruments, not publicly exhibited were brought from the stores for my examination. A set of charts on the musical instruments of the Congo were [*sic*] presented to me, and I was able to secure another set for Glasgow University Library. I propose to deal with the question of the musical instruments of the Congo in a separate paper, with special reference to the Arabian influence.

At Leyden University, thanks to Professor Dr. Snouck Hurgronje¹⁰² and Professor Van Arendonk [*sic*],¹⁰³ I secured entry to the Library, although

102 Hurgronje (1857–1936), a prominent Dutch orientalist, was fluent in Arabic. He was known for his in-depth studies of Islamic mysticism, which he claimed essential to Islam, but later found it stifling and limited. Granted permission to join the pilgrimage to Mecca in 1885, he converted to Islam. Concerning an important aspect of his research, see J. Brugman, "Snouck Hurgronje's study of Islamic law", in W. Otterspeak (ed.): *Leiden Oriental connections 1850–1940*, Leiden 1989, 82–114.

103 Cornelis van Arendonk (1881–1946) studied theology at the Univ. of Utrecht, but thereafter became interested in Semitic languages (Hebrew and Arabic, studying the latter under Hurgronje) and the history of Islam. He contributed to the *EI*.

it was vacation time. Here I was able to look into the MSS of al-Fārābī, Ibn Ghaibī, the *Kanz al-Tuhaf*, and others, which was part of my plan of study. At the Museum for Ethnology, I took measurements of a number of musical instruments, and made a particular study of the Snouck Hurgronje Collection, which will form the basis of an article on “Mekkan Musical Instruments” to be written shortly.¹⁰⁴

Professor Snouck Hurgronje showed me his collection of phonographic records of Arabian music, recorded thirty years ago. The professor has invited me to transcribe and edit these, and I hope to be able to undertake this in the near future.

At Berlin, I became a reader at the Staatsbibliothek. I made a special study of the MSS. of al-Kindī, which I had identified in 1925 (see *JRAS*, Jan. 1926). I have also been able to identify a fragment from Ibn Khurdādhbih [825–911], and have edited this MS. in an article entitled “Ibn Khurdādhbih on Musical Instruments” in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (July, '28).

At Milan, where I had hoped to compare the Ambrosian MS. of al-Fārābī with the Leyden exemplar, I was unfortunate. Although I had made arrangements for my visit with the Ambrosiana, I found on my arrival that the keys containing the precious MS. were in the possession of the Prefect, who was on his way to Rome and Brussels. As I was unable to wait for his return a week later, I could only content myself with making the best of my opportunity of examining other treasures in the famous library.

1928

At the British Museum, I spent many days searching Arabic & Persian MSS. for illustrations of musical instruments, with some success. I also took the opportunity of perusing the MSS. at the Royal Asiatic Society's library for the same purpose. At the Royal College of Music, with the assistance of the Honorary Curator of the Museum, Mr. A.H. Wensinck, I made an examination of their collection of Oriental musical instruments and took measurements & photographs.

104 It appeared as “Meccan musical instruments”, in *JRAS* (July, 1929), 489–505.

Statement of Expenses

Glasgow – Brussels return (3rd class)	£05-15-04
Excess fare on boat (saloon)	00-04-10
Excess fare 2nd cl. Ostend-Brussels	00-04-00
Brussels – Terveuren	00-05-00
Brussels – Leyden (2nd).....	00-11-00
The Hague – Berlin.....	03-00-00 (36 fl.).
Berlin – Milan (2nd)	04-00-00 (80 mks.).
Milan – Brussels (2nd)	03-02-00 (272-45 lr.).
Excess fare on boat (saloon).....	00-04-10
Brussels – Ostend	00-04-00
Sundry travel expenses, fees, gratuities, &c.....	01-00-00
Photographs Berlin Staatsbibliothek	00-04-06
Photographs Leyden University	01-11-06
Photographs Ethnological Museum	00-13-06
Photographs Munich Staatsbibliothek.....	00-06-06
Photographs Madrid National Library.....	<u>00-05-00</u>
	£21-12-00
Glasgow – London	05-00-00
	R.C.M. <u>00-04-06</u>
	£26-16-06

One can see that Farmer was now veering more seriously toward organological research. His personal data bank comprising both lists and photostats of the musical iconography in the Arabic and Persian manuscripts he examined, as well as musical instruments whose measurements he recorded, had grown substantially. He also began to make extensive enquiries among his fellow Arabists about musical instruments, including correspondence with museums concerning North African and Near Eastern instruments that might be in their collections. Unfortunately, as it so often happened, we lack copies of his letters, yet some responses give clues as to their content. In every instance, the respondents furnished important organological data. Here, for example, is Professor Hurgronje's reply to a letter Farmer wrote:

Leiden, Rapenburg 61, December 14, 1927

Dear Dr. Farmer,

I thank you most cordially for your most interesting lecture on "The Influence of Music: f[rom] A[rabic] S[ources]," which accompanied your letter of 20/11.

I am very sorry that I am not able to answer satisfactorily most of your questions. Let me remind you that, while living in Mekka as a student of sacred law, etc. I was obliged to keep aloof from anything like musical entertainments and even from showing interest in such things. In my work *Mekka* [The Hague, 1888–9], ii: 54–5, I mentioned the *qabūs* (قَبُوسٌ) and the *qanūn* as instruments used by some pilgrims to Sittanā Maymūnah and p. 61 the *ṭablah* and the *ṭār* as used by ladies at Shyteh Mahmūd (where you may see, that you rightly supposed the tambourine to be the *ṭār*), but besides that I did not gather data on the way in which Meccans indulged in the forbidden art. The instruments were not gathered by myself, but sent to me by the intermediary of a Jeddah friend, without the explanation necessary for scientific registering.

Music as well as musical instruments are imported into Mekka from Egypt (+ Syria) and Yemen, and the instruments have and keep their names from their country of origin. There is no special Mekkan tradition in these things, I never heard of *duff*'s, *mazhar*'s or *dā'ira*'s in Mekka, but that doesn't have much meaning. I think I met with the term *ghirbāl* in the *Ihyā'*, but that may have been a quotation from the *ḥadīth* to which you allude. The pipe with double reed was called, if I am not mistaken, *zummārah* (corrupted from *zammārah*). I never heard of *santīr*'s being used, and I was frequently told that Circassian slave girls were appreciated for well playing the *qanūn*.

I did not hear Bedouin instrumental music, only a recital of poems by *vox humana*.

In the last years of my stay in Netherl, India (1889–1906), I got hold of an Edison phonograph, and recorded some songs of Ḥaḍramīs with and without instrumental accompaniment. They call the luth *qambūs* perhaps dissolved from *qabbūs*. *Ūd* is understood by them, but used only in poetry.

It is that same Ḥaḍramī music on which [Carlo von] Landberg wrote an article in his *Critica arabica*, no. 3,¹⁰⁵ which is since long out of print, but of which the publisher has a copy in his antiquaries, to be sold for 6 guilders. In his other works there are now and then notes on music of Southern Arabia, but I did not tell you, Landberg gave any information on Mekka. All his works were printed at E.J. Brill's at Leiden, and I enclose a

105 Leiden 1886–98; 5 parts in 2 vols. Part 3 concerns: Der Dialect von Hadramūt: Les métiers de Hadramūt.

leaf from a catalogue which will show you which are still to be had from the publishers.

I should be glad if you would make up your mind to revisit Leiden, in order that I might show you my small collection of musical data concerning Arabia and the Far East, and perhaps induce you to make them useful to the public, which I am unable to do by myself.¹⁰⁶

If my health permits me the extravagancy, I hope to come to the Oxford Congress of 1928 and to meet you and many colleagues there. In the meantime I will always gladly avail myself of an opportunity of giving you any information of which I dispose. I regret to say that in musical matters this will hardly ever be possible.

With kindest regards

Yours sincerely

C. Snouck Hurgronje (FC 310.7.1)

It is easy to forget that in the midst of all his scholarly activity, Farmer was also busy for long spells each year with his twice-nightly conducting post at the Empire Theatre, not to mention his scheduled seasonal concerts with the Glasgow Symphony Orchestra. Nonetheless, an opportunity to bring these two strands of his professional life together led to the following event.

At the Winter Gardens, on Christmas Day (Sunday) 1927, Farmer and the Glasgow Symphony Orchestra presented "A historical Oriental concert: When East meets West," consisting of Western compositions that, in his opinion, conveyed the exoticism of Oriental music. Selecting each work and arranging the program in an almost chronological order (from Mozart to Ketèlbey), he simply reinforced the appeal that such popular orchestral compositions had among audiences in concert halls throughout the Western world. Here, Farmer, being the consummate and enterprising showman, was subtly "foisting" his basic "Eastern influences in Western music" thesis before a popular audience.¹⁰⁷

106 Farmer, who was then on leave from the Empire Theatre because of renovations, did return to Leiden in 1931 to attend the Congress of Orientalists which convened from Sept. 7th through the 12th. He did not present a paper, but there he met Fritz Krenkow (1872–1953), the renowned Orientalist who was then Prof. of Arabic, Persian, and Islamic Studies at Bonn Univ., Germany. Farmer must have also reunited with Prof. Snouck Hurgronje. This information was found on an untitled typescript page, wherein Farmer provided a biographical sketch of Krenkow (FC 457.86). There are 85 letters from Krenkow to Farmer covering the years 1928–52 (FC 453.1–85).

107 The concert was reviewed by A.G.B. [?] in *The musical standard* (Jan. 14, 1928) (FC 321). Thirty-six years later, Farmer discussed both the objective and subjective influences of the Orient on Western composers. Among his examples, he included several compositions

The program comprised:

Mozart: *Overture to Die Entführung aus dem Serail (Abduction from the Seraglio)* (1782)

Beethoven: *Turkish March* from *Die Ruinen von Athen (The Ruins of Athens)* (1812)

Félicien David: “Chant du muezzin” and “Dance des Almées” from his symphonic ode *Le Désert* (1843)¹⁰⁸

Michael Ivanovich Glinka: *Overture to Russlan and Ludmilla* (1842)

from the Winter Gardens concert. See Farmer, “The Oriental impingement on European music”, in *Islamic studies*, 2 (1963), 337–42.

Most of the works in Farmer’s program fit conveniently into the category of compositions discussed by R.P. Locke, in his thought-provoking article: “Cut-throats and casbah dancers, muezzins and timeless sands: Musical images of the Middle East”, in *19th-century music*, 22(1) (1998), 20–53. Here Locke explored the “varied and well-established images that Western composers have employed in evoking a single if often ill-defined region [as] the Middle East” (p. 20). In the spring of 2010, Sabanci Univ. (Istanbul), in conjunction with Harvard Univ., offered a course on “Orientalism in Western classical music” which addressed this issue. It studied orchestral works from the sixteenth- through the early twentieth century. Its syllabus and recommended readings are worth perusing: <http://summer.sabanciuniv.edu/sabanci/wpcontent/.../05/hum414syllabus.doc>. A much earlier dissertation entitled *Exoticism in dramatic music 1600–1800* (Indiana Univ. 1958), written by Miriam Karpilow Whaples under the supervision of Paul Nettl, brought to the fore numerous late baroque and classical examples.

In Alexandria, in 1929, the Turkish-born composer Alberto Hemsî (1896–1975) established the firm Édition Orientale de Musique (ÉOM) which published “Oriental works by composers who are familiar with the life, manners, languages, sciences and arts of the Oriental peoples and which bear the stamp of unequalled Orientalism... insuring an effect that is both agreeable and captivating” (H.G. Davidson, “Recent musical progress”, 38). Along with Hemsî, the other composers included the Bohemian Josef Hüttel (1893–1951), the Belgian Gaston Knosp (1874–1942), and the Austrian-born Hungarian Jenő von Takács (1902–2005), each of whom spent many years in Egypt. Hemsî’s ideas about art music were expressed in the latter two of ten articles previously published in the Alexandrian periodical *La réforme* (1928–9) and republished in his *La musique orientale en Égypte*, Alexandria 1930. See A. Shiloah, “Status of traditional art music”, 42.

108 The selections from *Le Désert* were based on authentic melodies which David collected and notated during his sojourns in Turkey and Egypt between the years 1833 and 1835. For a description of its movements and public reception, see P. Gradenwitz, “Félicien David (1810–76)” and “French romantic Orientalism”, in *The musical quarterly*, 63(4) (1976), 471–506, and J.-P. Bartoli, “La musique Française et l’Orient: à propos du *Désert* de Félicien David”, in *Revue internationale de musique française*, no.6 (1981), 29–36; See also Gradenwitz’s *Musik zwischen Orient und Okzident: Eine Kulturgeschichte der*

Theodor Michaelis: *The Turkish Patrol* (ca. 1856)

Anton Rubinstein: "Dances of the Bayarderes" from his opera *Feramors* (1863)

Camille Saint-Saëns: *Suite algérienne* (1880)

Alexander Porfirievitch Borodin: *Steppes of Central Asia* (1880)

Alexandre Luigini: An excerpt from his *Ballet égyptien* (1875)

Nikolay A. Rimsky-Korsakov: "Scena e canto gitano" from his suite *Capriccio Espagnol* (1887) and "Chanson indoue" from his opera *Sadko* (1896)

Albert William Ketèlbey: *In a Persian market* (1921)¹⁰⁹

In 1929, at the request of Dr. Arent Wensinck (Leiden), Farmer began writing entries for the *Encyclopædia of Islam*.¹¹⁰ In that same year, Luzac published his doctoral thesis under the title *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, autographed copies of which he sent to Profs. Robert S. Rait and Erich M. von Hornbostel. The following letters expressed their gratitude:

30 May 1929

Dear Dr. Farmer,

I have waited until lectures were over to read your *History of Arabian Music*, which you so kindly sent me a few weeks ago. I have now read the book with great admiration for your learning and for the skill with which you have contrived to tell the story in a form which even I can to some extent understand and appreciate.

I wish we had a chair or lectureship on the History of Music for I am sure that you would fill it with great distinction, and we could then be sure of the History of Scottish Music (a small province in so wide a field) which I trust you will some day complete.

Meanwhile I congratulate you upon what I feel sure is a great achievement. I have no right to use such words, or any words, about a book on

Wechselbeziehungen, Wilhelmshaven/Hamburg 1977, wherein he provided an historical account of Oriental influences on Western music.

109 Ketèlby wrote a rather miffed reply to a criticism of his work in *The musical times* (Jan. 1, 1927), 63.

110 These included: *Mi'zaf; Mizmār; Rabāb; 'Ūd; Mūsīqī; Ma'bad, Abū 'Abbād Ma'bad b. Wahb; Mālik al-Ṭā'i, Abū Walīd Mālik b. Abi l-Samḥ; Tuwais, Abū 'Abd al-Mun'im 'Isā b. 'Abd Allāh al-Dhā'ib; Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā b. Abī Maṣṣūr al-Munajjim; and Yūnus al-Kātib or al-Mughannī. Destined for the third and fourth volumes, they were published in 1934 and 1936, resp.*

this topic, but all my instinct tells me that you have laid sure foundations and that it is a wise master builder who is building on them. I am amazed by the industry which has accomplished so much original investigation in the leisure hours of a busy life, but I am sure that industry alone could never have produced a book like this, and that insight is here as well.

I earnestly trust that the book will bring you the wide recognition which it deserves. The small number of those who are qualified to speak have not been backward in paying their tribute, and the large circle of those whose interest should be aroused and inspired by your book, will, I hope, have their attention drawn to so remarkable a work of scholarship.

With kind regards and many thanks, I am yours sincerely

Robert S. Rait¹¹¹

C.B.E., M.A., LL.D

Professor of Scottish History,
Glasgow University (FC 362)

Berlin-Steglitz
Arndtstrasse 40
Tel: Steglitz 3422
July 23, 1929

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Take my best thanks for your kind letter. I have read your *Music in Arabian History* [sic] and I have much learned from it. I gladly will do what I can for its profusion, but I don't feel competent to review this book as I am neither an Arabist nor a Historian. I am very anxious to see your papers on Instruments and Theory and shall be greatly obliged for the favour of getting offprints.

I am sorry to say I don't see any opportunity to go to England. I wished I could do it one day and have the pleasure to meet you and talk over with you all the many things which interest both of us. With kindest regards, very sincerely yours,

Erich Hornbostel¹¹²

111 Rait (1874–1936) served as Professor of Scottish History and Literature from 1913–30 and as Principal of the University from 1929 until his death.

112 Although Farmer mentioned that he met Hornbostel in Berlin in 1927 (FC 43.3, 307), Hornbostel's letter, oddly enough, appears oblivious to that fact. At that time Hornbostel was a physicist and psychologist who assisted Karl Stumpf at Berlin Univ. His interest in music was chiefly scientific; for instance his study of musical scales "was expressed in the

In late August of 1928, Farmer's lecture "Greek theorists in Arabic translation" was given in his absence before the Islamic Section of the 17th International Congress of Orientalists (Oxford Univ.). But, it was not until 1930 that it was published in the American scholarly journal *Isis*.¹¹³

Its opening paragraphs read:

It is worthy of notice that whilst Western Europe of the Middle Ages was almost entirely ignorant of the works of the Greek musical theorists (save what could be gleaned from MARITIANUS CAPELLA, BOËTHIUS, CASSIODORUS and ISIDORE of SEVILLE), the Arabs were conversant with the treatise[s] of ARISTOXENUS, ARISTOTLE, EUCLID, NICOMACHUS, and PTOLEMY. The information that has been preserved in Arabic works concerning the Greek writers enables us to throw fresh light on some of their works. Further, it is highly probable that when the works of the Arab theorists (1),¹¹⁴ who borrowed considerably from the Greeks, have been edited with a substantial *apparatus criticus*, many a debatable word or passage in the Greek treatises may be cleared up.

To deal with this question within the limits of a short paper it is perhaps best that it should be approached under two headings—(a) the Greek theorists, and (b) the Arab theorists (p. 325).

Among both the Greeks [whom Farmer referred to as the 'Ancients'] and Arabs, Pythagoras was venerated as the founder of the theory of music, but, like Hermes, was better known for his views concerning the moral influence of music than on the theoretical aspects he is purported to have expounded. According to Farmer, "all that we know of Plato's (427–347 B.C.E.) writings on music is contained in his treatise *Timaeus* [c. 360 B.C.E.],¹¹⁵ which was

fretting of stringed instruments, the digit holes in the woodwind, and the dimensions of xylophone slabs, etc. . . . being of considerable value" (FC 44: Chap. 9, 246–8).

113 13(2) (Feb., 1930), 325–33.

114 In his footnote, Farmer remarked: "I use the term 'Arab' advisedly, just as I would use the word 'English', at the same time implying the Scots, Irish, & Welsh. 'Islamic' or 'Muslim' will not serve, because Magians, Jews, & Christians contributed to this 'Arabian culture'. 'Saracenic' is equally undesirable, because it includes the 'Uthmānī Turks, & further, it is meaningless in the Orient." Apparently Farmer did not heed the earlier advice of Duncan B. Macdonald (see p. 49 *supra*).

115 It was written in the form of a Socratic dialogue (35–6, 47, and 67). Plato also discussed music in his *Republic* (c. 370 B.C.E.), excerpts of which can be found in O. Strunk, *Source readings in music history. From classical antiquity through the romantic era*, New York 1950, 3–12.

translated into Arabic in the ninth century by Yūḥannā ibn al-Baṭrīq (d. 815) and again by Ḥunain ibn Ishāq [808–873].” Translations of Aristotle’s writings on the speculative theory of music comprised: the *Kitāb al-masā’il* (*Problemata*; section 19), *Kitāb fī l-naḥs* (*De Anima*; particularly the chapter on sound), and the *Kitāb [fī tanāsul] al-ḥayawān* (*Historia animalium*). Commentaries on *De anima* by the Greek writers (Alexander Aphrodisiensis, Simplicius, and Themistius) also appeared in Arabic, the first and last by Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, who also translated Galen’s *De voce* (*Kitāb al-sandaut*) (p. 412).

Concerning Ibn al-Nadim’s tenth-century catalog *Kitāb al-fihrist* and inasmuch as other Greek writers such as Aristoxenus, Euclid, and Nicomachus were known from Arabic sources, Farmer remarked that “not a solitary exemplar of [their] works [has] been preserved in Arabic” (p. 328). Yet he mentioned four renowned Arabic translators: Ḥunain ibn Ishāq (d. 873), al-Kindī (d. 874), Thābit ibn Kurra (d. 901), and Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (d. 932), who, because of their interest in music, may have been responsible for some of the translations from the Greek.

Of the Arab theorists who had first or second hand knowledge of Greek music, Farmer included al-Kindī, al-Fārābī (d. ca. 950), the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ (10th cent.), Abū Abdallah Muḥammad al-Khwārizmī (10th cent.), Ibn Sīnā (d. 1037), Ibn Zaila (d. 1048), Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min (d. 1294), and al-Shīrāzī (d. 1310). While he also cited the Greek theorists who were indeed familiar to them, he reminded us of the sixteenth century Mughāl invasions, during which many of the great libraries in the Islamic East were entirely destroyed and that the earlier vandalisms of both the Muslims and Christians in Spain “robbed us of most of the works of the Greeks on music in Arabic,” [although] some (which he cited on p. 332) appear to have survived.

Farmer’s continued correspondence in pursuit of organological data yielded other interesting replies, as attested to in the following letters:

January 6, 1930

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Many thanks for your letter, which tells me exactly what I hoped to get from you.

The derivation of “al-būq” from “buccina” is very interesting and *buccina* itself comes from “buccinum”, the name of a shell fish.

I think, however, that the statement that finger holes were added to the “būq” in Spain is not exactly correct. The real case must be the other way round: *i.e.*, the name “būq” was applied in Spain to a far older instrument which had long had finger holes. For the “alboka”, pibcorn, or horn-pipe is

found all the way from Anglesey to India and Ceylon, and is characteristic of the Mediterranean race who built the megalithic monuments.

I have just had an interesting interview with the Basque dancers and players on the pipe and tabor who have come over for the Folk Dance Festival. The alboka is now only played by the shepherds in the Ategorrieta Mountain district; and there is now only one man who makes it. They have promised to send me one. I have also got to the bottom of the names of the pipe and tabor.¹¹⁶

The pipe is called “chirula” only by the French Basques. The Spanish Basques call it “Chistu” [*sic* Txistu], and never play it with the dulcimer called by the French “tambourin de Béarn” and by the French Basques “thun-thun”, but always with the “tombor”. Exactly the same as the English tabor.

It is interesting to note that in India the aboriginal tribes have the “tuntuni”,¹¹⁷ a plucked instrument held in precisely the peculiar way in which the French Basques hold the “thun-thun”.

The word therefore seems to be of great antiquity, and in fact [goes] back to the megalithic race. The history of the pibcorns is very fascinating.

With best New Year’s wishes,

Yours sincerely

Arthur H. Frere¹¹⁸ (FC 465.1)

And, in the following two letters from Mabel Dolmetsch,¹¹⁹ after Farmer expressed an interest in visiting Morocco:

116 The historical context of the pipe [*Txistu*] and tabor has been well researched in S. Bikandi, *Alejandro Aldekoa: Master of pipe and tabor dance music in the Basque country*, Reno 2009, 89–112.

117 Confirmed in Curt Sachs, *Die Musikinstrumente Indiens und Indonesiens*, Berlin 1923².

118 Frere (1860–1931), who died on March 6th, was the Honorary Keeper of the Collection of Instruments at the Royal College of Music. His obituary appeared in *The musical times*, 72 (April, 1931), 367.

119 She was the third wife of the famous instrument maker, restorer of vintage instruments, and instrumentalist Arnold Dolmetsch (1858–1940). In addition to her performance career (specializing in the bass viol), she made in-depth researches of 16th- through 18th-century court dances. Her two most revered studies are: *Dances of England and France from 1450 to 1600, with their music and authentic manner of performance*, London 1949 and *Dances of Spain and Italy from 1400 to 1500*, London 1954.

“Jesses”
 Haslemere
 Surrey
 April 20th–30

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Thank you for your letter which I was most pleased to receive. No, you had not written previously. Will you let us know some time or other when your latest work *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence* is being published so that we may order it?

The friend with whom we stayed in Morocco,¹²⁰ has decided to come to England at the time of our next Festival (Aug. 25th-to Sept. 6th). She has owned many precious Arab instruments, but presented her collection to the great mosque in Paris some few years ago. So now she has only a few left. One, which she has, is a curious instrument which they call locally the “gou-gui.” It is in effect a tenor rebec, but with a more slender neck than the ordinary “rebab” & with a scroll head and four strings. She is writing a book on Arab music (as she found it in Morocco) & all that she has been able to find relating to the traditional Andalusian songs. She has been engaged on this for a long time & her book is full of beautiful ornamentation in the appropriate style. I wonder whether she will ever finish it! With kind regards from Mr. Dolmetsch, I am yours sincerely,

Mabel Dolmetsch (FC 304.1.1)

The second:

“Jesses”
 Haslemere
 Surrey
 Feb. 5th/31

Dear Prof. Farmer,

I have been a long time in thanking your for your kind present of your book on Scottish music & replying to your questions about the Irish sculpture. We have now found the letter of Dr. Lee which gives a whole lot of details which we had entirely forgotten. As you will see the figure is quite small! Although Dr. Lee could not see a bridge, there must have

120 The unidentified friend was Marie-Thérèse de Lens, whose researches in Morocco yielded the following publications: “Ce que nous savons de la musique et les instruments de musique du Maroc”, in *Bulletin de l’Institut des Hautes Études Marocaines* (Dec. 1920) and “Sur le chant des moueddin et sur les chants chez les femmes à Meknès”, in *Revue de musicologie*, 5(12) (1924), 152–60.

been some fixed point of departure for the strings sufficiently raised to allow for the action of the bow. These things cannot be shown in refined detail in a stone sculpture. When you go to Morocco we should be glad to give you an introductory letter to Mad^{selle} de Lens at Meknès. She could help you to come into contact with native musicians & also introduce you to the Shereef (husband of the Sultan's cousin) who has a wonderful library. He showed it to Mr. Dolmetsch & Carl, but of course they could only admire it without being able to tell the nature of the M.S.S. and the Shereef could not speak French.

Actually for music & musicians you will find that the best are collected at Fez, owing to the Sultan's having taken up his residence there. In Meknès you must go on Friday with Mad^{selle} de Lens & stand outside the mosque (out of sight in a side alley) and listen to the extraordinary singing. The inhabitants are more religiously exclusive than is the case in countries of longer European occupation, & one may not even pause before the open door of a mosque. The violin is gaining rapidly in Morocco in place of the rebab, but they treat it very much like a rebab. There are only three strings used:—these are very thick & are tuned down about a third below our pitch. They hold the instrument downwards on the knee & play with a stiffly arched bow. In their ornamentation they use intermediate intervals. We brought back a native oboe—an instrument of intense brilliance. With kind remembrances from Mr. Dolmetsch, I am yours sincerely,

Mabel Dolmetsch (FC 304.1.1)

In between Dolmetsch's first and second letters, there arrived the following from an old colleague residing in Egypt:

Government Secondary School
Benha¹²¹
Nov. 20th, 1930

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Thanks very much for your interesting article. I had already seen it and read it in the Journal, but I am glad to have it to add to my collection of your works. I have come across one in the two references to music which may be unknown to you, though I doubt it. Still there is no harm done in letting you know.

(1) A Hemsî. *La musique de la Torah* (Alexandrie, Édition Orientale de Musique, 1929)

121 A town located forty kilometers north of Cairo.

(2) “ ”. *La musique orientale en Egypte* (1930)

Both of these are in the Khedivial Library and I can consult them for you if you need it.

(3) V. Loret in MM.AF, vol. 1.2. *Quelques documents relatifs à la litter. et la musique populaire de la Haute Égypte* (1885)

(4) [Alfred] von Kremer in his *Aegypten* ii, 295 pp., mentions a work in Arabic by Shitāb al-Dīn (1786–1858) which contains a number of موالى or *Sangweisen*. He writes, of it ‘kein ähnliches Werk über arabische Musik und Sangkunst bekannt geworden ist’ (ii, 298). No doubt it will be of little use for your purpose as I expect it deals with modern popular ditties.

I suppose you know of the musical instrument called *al-khalitīyya* after the infant son of the famous Shajjara-al-Duor? The name was new, of course, to me.

I have just received the first batch and rough proofs from Gardner, so I am busy these days. I have also been visiting the library a lot. I am now able to borrow three books at a time. The system is too funny for words.

When are you going on your trip to the East? I trust you and yours are all well. Remember me to Mrs. Farmer.

تفضلوا بقبول فائق الاحترام (Yours respectfully)

John Walker (FC 465.3)

Farmer had been able to carry forward his Carnegie Fellowship into the 1928–29 session. However, having been forewarned by the Empire management that the theatre would be temporarily closed for renovation and extension as a “talkie” theatre from August 1930 to September 1931 and that his reappointment as its musical director was assured, the opportunity to enjoy a sabbatical year (with or without compensation?) was indeed a blessing. Again he sought a renewal for the 1930–31 session which was awarded, as shown in the following letter:

The Carnegie Trust Offices

The Merchants’ Hall,
EDINBURGH
8th July 1930

CARNEGIE TRUST RESEARCH SCHEME

Sir,

I am instructed to inform you that the Executive Committee have agreed to offer you a Research Fellowship of £300 for the academic year

1930–31 (*i.e.*, the year from 1st October 1930), under the conditions laid down in their Regulations for Fellowships.

They have also agreed to offer you a Grant not exceeding £45 to meet the expenses of your research. I enclose a copy of the Conditions of payment.

Please let me know, by return if you accept this offer.

Yours faithfully,

J. Robb
Secretary (FC 491)

Meanwhile, William Reeves III, whose loyalty and confidence in Farmer had not altered one iota during the Schlesinger debacle, had decided to republish “Facts concerning the Arabian musical influence”, but this time in book form under the title *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*. Reeves allowed Farmer to emend his original text, as well as to add some forty-six appendices that would strengthen his arguments against Schlesinger’s earlier criticisms.¹²²

The scheduled closing of the Empire Theatre (from Aug. 1930 to Sept. 1931), allowed Farmer to return to what he called his *magnum opus*, *A history of Arabian musical instruments*, the project on which he “laboured intermittently”

122 On Jan. 31, 1930, prior to Reeves’ decision, H.A. Dean, Manager of the *Musical standard* (83 Charing Cross Rd.), wrote a letter to the then ailing Reeves immediately following Dr. Schlesinger’s visit to his office, where she demanded the withdrawal of *Facts*:

“I have seen Miss Schlesinger on the matter of the Farmer book. She takes a very serious view of the matter as she says it is so damaging to her reputation which she has [made] after so many years of hard & conscientious work. She does not wish to do anything drastic after so long a time of friendship with us, but she sees no other course than that the book should be withdrawn entirely, possibly the first portion which is the facts—might be issued but certainly not the appendices. It is not only that she complains that it is a personal attack on her, but that Dr. Farmer is saying what is not true and she cannot let it go out to the world like that, as she has no means to refute it being a book; a paper would be different as that would get into the same hands and so the readers would get both sides. I have promised that all copies sent out for review shall be recalled (I told her there were not many) and that nothing more would be done until you were back again & able to make some proposition in regard to the matter. So the matter stands in abeyance. I left her quite eniely [?]” (FC 487.1).

The matter was confirmed by Farmer (FC 43.3, 302) who wrote:

“My criticism of Kathleen Schlesinger was so severe, that she attempted to have the book suppressed. William Reeves the publisher stood firm, but to please him I consented to soften my vocabulary on two pages of that book, although that necessitated the recall of books in the hands of booksellers, when two fresh pages, shorn of ‘severities’, were inserted at the publisher’s expense.”

for some twenty years.¹²³ He also produced several articles, prepared lectures, and had begun working on the first volume of his series entitled, *Studies in oriental musical instruments*, comprising already published articles, some with slight revisions. Three additional articles dealing with instruments were in progress: “Reciprocal influences in music ’twixt the Far and Middle East”; “A Maghribi work on musical instruments” and “Turkish instruments of music in the seventeenth century”.¹²⁴

The appearance of *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930, engendered a lively exchange between A.H. Fox Strangways and Farmer (see App. 3).¹²⁵ The exchange began on August 17, 1930 with the former’s short letter, plus fourteen additional pages of notes. Their heretofore unpublished correspondence is worth perusing, since here we have Fox Strangways’ astute and detailed criticism, exhibiting both his knowledge of medieval music theory, its theoreticians, and Greek and Latin terminologies. Farmer’s lengthy response and forthright objections to many of the points raised by his learned critic are equally revealing.

In “The origin of the Arabian lute and rebec”,¹²⁶ we again find Farmer contradicting Kathleen Schlesinger’s earlier statements regarding their genesis. Earlier, in her *Precursors of the violin family* (London 1910) and in various entries in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed., 1900–11), she pointed out that—with

123 For its description, see Cowl/Craik, *Henry George Farmer*, 3–4. This fully documented history of Arabian musical instruments, was to include [three] sections, [two] dealing with percussion and wind instruments, respectively, and [the third], ‘the most important of all, [with] stringed instruments.’

124 These appeared years later in following issues of the *JRAS*: (Apr., 1934), 327–42; (Apr., 1935), 339–53; and (Jan., 1936), 1–43, resp.

125 It should be noted that Fox Strangways was quite knowledgeable about Asian and medieval music. During a visit to India in the winter of 1904, he became interested in Indian music, returning there in the winter of 1910 for a nine-month sojourn to undertake field-work. Both trips resulted in three publications: “The Hindu scale”, in *SIMG*, 9(4) (1908), 449–511; “Indian music and harmoniums”, in *The dawn and Dawn Society’s magazine*, Old series, 15/7, New Series, 8(7) (Calcutta, July, 1911), which he co-authored with A.K. Coomaraswamy; and his best known work, *The music of Hindostan*, Oxford 1914; repr. New Delhi 1975. The latter dealt with the songs and specimens of Indian drumming he collected and studied from the Indus and Ganges basin. He subsequently contributed additional scholarly articles and encyclopedic entries on Indian music. Since 1908, he had been an active member of the English Folk Song Society, where he met Cecil Sharp (d. 1924), one of its founding members. With the collaboration of Maud Karpeles, he later produced the biography *Cecil Sharp*, Oxford 1933. He also founded and edited the quarterly journal, *Music and letters*, from 1920 to 1937.

126 *JRAS* (Oct., 1930), 767–83.

respect to the musical instruments for which medieval Europe was indebted to the Arabs—it was chiefly the lute and the rebab that “were only introduced by the Arabs, not invented by them [as Farmer implied]; they themselves indeed acknowledged their indebtedness to Persia in this respect.”¹²⁷

Farmer denied that he suggested they were invented by the Arabs, but clarified that by their names and construction their origin could be divulged (*The Arabian influence...* [1925], 4). Inasmuch as the Arabs were responsible for introducing both instruments to Western Europe, he disagreed with Schlesinger about acknowledging Persia as their provenience, especially the lute. She mentioned that the Arab musician, al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith was sent to Persia at the end of the sixth century “to learn to sing and play the lute; [and that] through him the lute was brought to Mecca.” Neglecting to reveal her source, Farmer not only found that she took it from Carl Engel, *viz a viz* Raphael G. Kiesewetter, but that she also misconstrued the original Arabic version,¹²⁸ wherein Arabs are not mentioned at all nor even King Khusrau Parwīz, whom the Arab musician was to visit as a member of a deputation. It was the Quraish (Sunni tribes) of Mecca who adopted al-Nadr’s ‘ūd, which was not identified as Persian, nor was it stated that he was sent to learn or to play it in Persia.

According to Farmer, the lute utilized in Mecca ca. 684 by Ibn Suraij was fashioned upon Persian lutes. He was the first to play Arab music on the instrument. The lute introduced eighty years earlier by al-Naḍr must have been an Iraqi instrument. The Baghdadi lutenist Manṣūr Zalzal (d. 791) introduced a newer instrument, the ‘ūd *al-shabbūt*, while another Baghdadian, Ziriyab [Abu l-Ḥassan ‘Ali ibn Nāfi’] (d. 860), who studied under the famous musician Ishāq al-Mawṣilī (d. 850), made improvements on the instrument while serving at the Baghdadian court of Hārūn al-Rashīd (ruled 786–809) and later in Córdoba under the Amīr ‘Abd al-Rahman II (ruled 822–52). Ziriyab’s improvements included the addition of a fifth string, the construction of a heavier instrument than that currently used, replacing the silk for gut on the lower strings, and the use of a quill instead of the popular wooden plectrum. Farmer cited al-Kindī’s *Risāla fī al-nagham* (9th cent.) and the *Rasā’il* [*fī l-mūsīqī*] of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’ (10th cent.) for information concerning the lute’s measurements and construction. This was the Baghdadian instrument, with a separate neck that

127 *The musical standard*, 25(461) (May 16, 1925), 160.

128 C. Engel, *A descriptive catalogue of the musical instruments in the South Kensington Museum*, London 1874, 60; R.G. Kiesewetter (*Die Musik der Araber*, 9); and al-Mas‘ūdī, *Murūj al-dhahab* (trans. by C.A.C. Barbier de Meynard and A.P. de Courteille in *Les prairies d’or*, Paris 1861–77, viii, 88–90.

became the parent of the European lute. Persian authors still call it the *barbaṭ*,¹²⁹ which, like the *‘ūd*, comprises the generic term for all types of lutes.

The old three-stringed pear-shaped *barbaṭ* and the nine-stringed *‘ūd* were still popular in thirteenth-century Spain as witnessed by their inclusion in the miniatures adorning the *Cantigas de Loor* (from the Escorial J.b.2 ms., fols. 54 and 104, resp.) of the Galician-Portuguese *Cantigas de Santa Maria* (CSM).¹³⁰ Schlesinger claimed that the Moors in Spain continued to use *barbaṭ* as the name of one of their instruments, but the source [*Enumeration of Arab music instruments*], from which she obtained the *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wa l-intifā‘*, could not be verified by Farmer.¹³¹

The rebec (*rabāb*) was a different matter. In her *Precursors . . .* and her *EB* entry on the Rebab, Schlesinger informed that the Arabs obtained it from the Persians and possibly, at the same time, the fiddlebow, and that the Arabic name for the bow (*‘kaman’*) was also derived from Persian. Again, Farmer alluded to Engel (*A descriptive catalogue*, 63) as her unmentioned source. Citing such tenth-century authors as Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Khwārizmī, al-Fārābī, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā‘, who stated that the instrument was known in Persia, Syria, and Mesopotamia, Farmer named sources to point out that it was also known among the Arabs in pre-Islamic times (as maintained in their oral legends) which appears to confirm that it was an Arab instrument.¹³² Even the word *rewāwa*, upon which the Persians are said to have derived *rabāb*, does not appear, according to Farmer, in any Persian works on music, nor was *rebāb* noted as an Arabicized word. The Arab root *rabba* may have likely been the “parent word” since it implied the application of the bow to a stringed

129 So named because it either resembled “the breast of the duck,” or “because the player . . . [placed] it against his breast” (p. 771; Farmer cited their sources). See H.G. Farmer, “Barbaṭ”.

130 The nine-stringed *‘ūd* (CSM, fol. 162) represented Ziryab’s addition, *i.e.*, a five-course lute [four double strings, plus a single lowest string], whereas the eight-stringed lute (fol. 54) represented the four-course pre-Ziryab form. The twelve-stringed *‘ūd* (also in fol. 54) could have been a five-course instrument or was inaccurately depicted (clarified after consulting Jeremy Montagu).

131 The cited “Enumeration. . . xiv, c.” is, in fact, an index in the second volume of G. Battista Doni’s (d. 1647) posthumous *Lyra barberina. Aggiuntovi un Lessico delle voci musiche, e l’indice generale, per opera e studio del Maestro . . .* (Bibliotheca Musica Bononiensis, Sex. 2, 151), Florence 1763; repr. Bologna 1974. A later edition by C.V. Palisca appeared as *Lyra barberina: Commentary and iconographical study*. Facs. ed. with critical notes, Bologna 1981.

132 Leiden, ms. Or. 651 (fol. 80). Farmer’s succinct distinctions between the instruments can be found in his *Grove’s* entries *Rabāb* and *Rebec*.

instrument that ‘collected, arranged, assembled together’ a number of short notes into one long note, a point which accords with the terminology of the Arab theorists.

The *rabāb* was not, strictly speaking, an instrument of a particular shape or construction, but was essentially ‘played with a bow’, in much the same way as the Persian *kamāncha* was, except that the latter bore out this fact more clearly in its name. It was the application of the bow that caused the flat-chested guitar, the boat-shaped lute, and the pear-shaped lute to be named the *rabāb* (“The origin of the Arabian”, 776–7).

Furthermore, Farmer provided quotes from the works of three Arabic theorists (al-Fārābī, the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’, and Ibn Zaila) which proved that the bow existed among the Arabs in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and probably much earlier. And, although Schlesinger (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxii, 948) contended that the thirteenth-century Arab scholar al-Shaqundī stated “that the *rebāb* had been known for centuries in Spain . . .,” again she neglected to cite Engel as her source. However, she acknowledged the antiquity of both the boat-shaped and pear-shaped *rabāb*, but could not prove that of the flat-chested *rabāb al-shā’ir*, as it is currently known, nor if it was ever introduced into Spain. As proof, Farmer cited the eighth-century frescoes of the Jordanian desert castle Quṣair ‘Amra which showed that the Umayyad Arabs were acquainted with it, but not as a bowed instrument.

Contesting Schlesinger’s claim that, according to al-Fārābī, “the *rebāb* was also known as the *lyra*,” Farmer turned to Kosegarten’s translation of al-Fārābī’s *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* as the probable source wherein the substitution occurred. Yet, in the eleventh-century *Glossarium Latino Arabicum*, “the *rebāb* is called the *lyra dicta*” (p. 783).

To conclude, Farmer adduced from the foregoing evidence that “we have good reason for acknowledging the antiquity of the flat-chested instrument with the Arabs, and its existence with them in Spain, which would give it a place in the ancestry of the modern guitar and violin” (p. 783).

For the 1931 volume entitled *The legacy of Islam*, which formed part of the Legacy Series published by Oxford University’s Clarendon Press,¹³³ Farmer contributed the essay on “Music” (356–75). Other invited distinguished contributors to this volume included: Sir T.[W]. Arnold (Islamic art); E. Barker

133 It was the fifth companion volume to the already published *The legacy of Greece* (1921), *The legacy of Rome* (1923), *The legacy of the Middle Ages* (1926), and *The legacy of Israel* (1927).

(The Crusades); M.[S]. Briggs (Architecture); the Baron [B.] Carra de Vaux (Astronomy and mathematics); [A].H. Christie (Islamic minor arts); H.A.R. Gibb (Literature); A. Guillaume (Philosophy and theology); J.H. Kramers (Geography and commerce); M. Meyerhof (Science and medicine); R.A. Nicholson (Mysticism); D. Santillana (Law and society); and J.B. Trend (Spain and Portugal). Inasmuch as Sir Thomas Arnold and Alfred Guillaume planned the volume and served as its co-editors, the former succumbed shortly after reading most of the articles in proof. It should be mentioned that the contributing authors were asked to render “an account of those elements in the culture of Europe which are derived from the Islamic world” (p. v). For Farmer it was familiar ground, drawing his material from his earlier publications.

For the Historical Association of Scotland (West Scotland Branch), Farmer lectured on “Early Saracenic cannon and the Siege of Constantinople” on December 10, 1930, which included lantern illustrations.¹³⁴ On February 12, 1931, for the 1930–1 Lecture Series of the Glasgow Egypt Society, held in the Biblical Criticism Class Room at Glasgow University, Farmer spoke on “Ancient Egyptian instruments of music.”¹³⁵ He repeated the same lecture before the Edinburgh Egypt Society at the Royal Scottish Geographical Society Rooms on March 30th. And on April 13th, he read a paper “An old Scottish violin tutor,” based on James Gillespie’s unedited *Collection of the best and most favourite tunes for the violin*, Perth 1768.¹³⁶ It was later published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 65 (vol. 5, 6th ser.) (1931), 398–407.

134 The lecture was summarized in *TGUOS*, 6 (1934), 9–14. The manuscript (19 fols.) can be found in FC 456.1.

135 A résumé was published in *TGUOS*, 6 (1934), 30–4.

136 Farmer’s subsequent contributions to the realm of Scottish music included his participation in several BBC broadcasts, in collaboration with Dr. Ian Whyte on Music from the Scottish past and the monographs *History of music in Scotland*, London 1947, and *Music making in the olden days: The story of the Aberdeen concerts, 1748–1805*, London 1957. He also wrote additional articles and contributed numerous entries on Scottish composers to *Grove’s dictionary of music and musicians*, London 1954⁵; see Cowl/Craik, *Henry George Farmer*, 62–75. In 1928, in recognition for his varied musical achievements during his first fourteen years of residence in Glasgow, his arbitrations between the Musicians’ Union and BBC, and for his researches on Scottish music, he was invited by Sir John C.W. Reith (1889–1971), then Director General of the BBC, to become a member of the Advisory Board of its Scottish branch. Also serving on the board were Profs. Donald Francis Tovey (1875–1940), Reid Professor of Music, Univ. of Edinburgh, and William Gillies Whittaker (1876–1944), Gardiner Professor of Music at Glasgow Univ. In 1938, Reith terminated his position with the BBC, after having served sixteen years with the corporation. He then undertook, at the request of Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, the stewardship of Britain’s Imperial Airways, the precursor of British Overseas Airways Corporation.

A further request for a Carnegie Trust Fellowship shows that his concentration on organological pursuits had become even more intense, as illustrated in his letter:

[undated; probably later than March 1931]

The Treasurer
The Carnegie Trust
Edinburgh

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to request a renewal of my Fellowship to enable me to complete my researches into the HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS and their influence on the music and musical instruments of Western Europe.

I already outlined in my original application (March 1930) that it was part of my scheme of research to spend part of the second year in Morocco, so as to compare modern instrumental methods with the Mediæval. For this purpose the Executive Committee were good enough to grant a sum of £45.

The greater part of my work has been carried out in the Library of the University of Glasgow, although I have had to visit the British Museum, the India Office Library, and the Royal Asiatic Society Library. The India Office, however, has now deposited a MS. on loan to the University of Glasgow for my benefit, and it is prepared to extend to me this privilege with any other MSS that I may desire. Whilst I do not work under any immediate personal supervision, the Professor of Semitic Languages in our University, Dr. W.B. Stevenson, is in close touch with my work. I send under separate cover my latest work, THE ORGAN OF THE ANCIENTS: FROM EASTERN SOURCES (HEBREW, SYRIAC, AND ARABIC), which is to be published shortly. I have used the title "Carnegie Research Fellow" on the title page, and I have made an acknowledgment of the Carnegie Trust's beneficence to me as a Grantee, on p. xxiii of the Introduction.

I remain,
Your obedient servant,

As a staunch advocate of Scottish music and composers, Farmer was instrumental in obtaining for Glasgow University's Library most of the autograph scores of Learmont Drysdale (1866–1909), Frederic Lamond (1868–1948), John Blackwood McEwen (1869–1948), Hamish MacCunn (1868–1916), et al.

The response was positive:

The Carnegie Trust Offices

The Merchants' Hall,
EDINBURGH

30 June 1931

CARNEGIE TRUST RESEARCH SCHEME

Sir,

I am instructed to inform you that the Executive Committee have agreed to offer you a Research Fellowship of £300 for the academic year 1931–32 (*i.e.*, the year from 1st October 1931), under the conditions laid down in their Regulations for Fellowships.

Please let me know, by return if you accept this offer.

Yours faithfully,

J. Robb

Secretary (FC 491)

During these Carnegie Trust support years, leading up to and indeed beyond the Cairo Congress, yet another strand in Farmer's life emerged. Farmer had begun to contemplate a change of pace as he was approaching his fiftieth year. Insofar as his position at the Empire Theatre was secure, his thoughts were now turning toward an academic appointment that would best suit his interests. Teaching was an option, but he was not prepared to take on this responsibility, nor would it afford him the leisure time to pursue his researches. Age was also a factor. Although he lacked a degree in librarianship, the discipline appealed to his temperament and intellect. Securing a position at an academic institution would not only enhance his career, but would place him conveniently in the center of university life, where he would have immediate access to academic resources and reference materials essential to his work.

How and when he launched inquiries concerning library positions is difficult to determine. Surely there were listings in periodicals and trade journals. His own quests through correspondence with trusted colleagues may have revealed openings. Meanwhile, in mid-February of 1930, Farmer received a letter from Robert Lachmann calling attention to a Congress of Arab Music that was being planned for the following year. While the news was assuredly welcome, it did not deter him from his current intentions. In May 1930, with splendid references from Principal Rait and William Ross Cunningham, Librarian of GUL (since 1925), he applied for the position of librarian at Queen's University (Belfast), but was unsuccessful, even though he reached the short

list of three.¹³⁷ With additional letters from referees to whom he apparently wrote for advice, there is evidence of his interest in other academic library posts, including that of University College Nottingham in the summer of 1931 (FC 227), but, as usual, the lack of two-way correspondence makes it difficult to ascertain just how many applications were actually made.

It seems possible, or probable, that such intentions would for the time being be placed on the back burner as of June of 1931, when he received the official invitation to the Congress to be held in Cairo in the following spring. Nonetheless, the invitation had arrived at a most crucial moment. Farmer had come to a crossroad concerning his dual career as musician and scholar. The fact that he was seeking a post as an academic librarian meant that he was seriously considering the latter, even if it had meant returning to his native Ireland or other locations. If there were other underlying reasons, or motives for that matter, they were not divulged in Farmer's writings and correspondence. Now with the impending Congress taking precedence, his thoughts and energy were converging in a new direction. He could not afford to ignore this lifetime opportunity, which would place him among his scholarly peers in the cultural capital of the Arab world. This was a defining moment in the modern history of Arab music, and he was both proud and ready to serve as a contributing participant.¹³⁸

137 A bound volume of documents relating to Farmer's candidature for an appointment for the librarianship at Queen's Univ., Belfast, can be found in FC 335. In his accompanying three-page *curriculum vitae* entitled "Academic and Literary Career", he mentioned among his library experiences (FC 320.1, 3) that

"library and administration [had] always interested [him], and [he] never neglected to observe the methods and systems which obtain in the various libraries in which [he] has worked; [that] his many years as the Hon. Secretary of the Scottish Musical Directors' Association, [acquainted him] with the duties attached to a secretarial post, and with accounts; [that] on the administrative side of library work, [his] experience dates back to 1900, when he was Assistant Librarian in the Music Library of the Commendatore Zaverthal, M.V.O., the largest of its kind in London, and whilst [he] was in the Army (Royal Artillery) [he] also acted as Librarian to a small library and reading room at Woolwich; at [GUL], he had library experience on a much larger scale, [where], under the control of the Librarian, and the instruction of the Sub-Librarian, [he] worked as a volunteer cataloguer, indexer, and placer of books and manuscripts; for many years most, if not all, of the books in Oriental founts . . . passed through [his] hands, whilst several entire collections have been catalogued and indexed by [him], as the Librarian has testified, including a collection of Mozart [relics; see Chap. 6, n. 11]; and other MSS. each item of which has been appropriately collated; [and that his] 'Arabic musical mss. in the Bodleian Library' [is] an example of [his] knowledge of bibliography."

138 For the background leading to Farmer's involvement in the Congress, see Chap. 3.4.

The First International Congress of Arab Music (Cairo, 1932)

3.1 Historical and Political Background

On February 28, 1922, precisely a decade prior to the convening of the First International Congress of Arab Music, Great Britain concluded its eight-year protectorate status of Egypt, thus declaring Egypt's independence, albeit with limited sovereignty.¹ A fortnight later, on March 15th, the fifty-five year old Aḥmed Fu'ād Pāshā, who had ruled as Sultan of Egypt and the Sudan since October of 1917, now proclaimed himself King Fu'ād I of Egypt. He was the grandson of the first Khedive Moḥammad 'Alī (d. 1849) and youngest son of the fifth Khedive Ismā'īl Pāshā (d. 1879).

More than a century had passed since the French attempted to colonize Ottoman Egypt.² Inasmuch as their primary intentions were to secure trade interests, hinder Britain's overland access to India, and spread French culture consistent with the trends of the Enlightenment, they, nonetheless, made noteworthy improvements to Cairo's infrastructure during their brief occupation, known as the Egyptian Campaign (1798–1801).³ Having antagonized both the Sublime Porte and Western rivals by their abrupt yet determined incursion, the French were successfully ousted by Turkish armies, with the support of British and Russian troops. Whereas the Turks regained control of their so-called

1 The declaration achieved "little change in Egypt's *de facto* status" (Sicker, "The British Protectorate", 107).

2 Mameluke Egypt had become an integral part of the Ottoman Empire in 1517, when it was conquered by the Turks under Sultan Selim I. Thenceforth the defeated Egyptian Mamelukes were subjugated as vassals of the Sublime Porte and were held responsible for managing the land, collecting taxes, and paying tribute to the Sultanate.

3 A.J. Racy ("Music in nineteenth-century Egypt", 164) explained how their brief occupation affected the Egyptians and particularly their Ottoman overlords, as a turning point in the history of the Islamic Near East:

"Besides arousing [their] resentment, the occupation triggered their interest in self-analysis and eventually led them to question their own self-image [while arousing] their curiosity about the cultural values, social institutions and political ideas of Europe. It also led them to borrow some of Europe's material achievements and cultural traits."

Ottoman province, the British remained in Egypt until 1803, thus ending their first period of occupation.

For the following two years, Egypt was in a state of anarchy, particularly in Cairo, where a group of restless officers from the occupying Turkish army were vying for power. Among them was the young Albanian-born Moḥammad ‘Alī Pāshā (1769–1849), who had distinguished himself militarily. Through a series of self-promoting intrigues and political alliances, he became the commander of Egypt’s Ottoman army. In 1805, he seized control of the government and established a dynasty of Ottoman khedives who would rule Egypt as an independent state until December of 1914, four months after the outbreak of the First World War.⁴ Moḥammad ‘Alī’s reign brought vast improvements to the country through such vital domestic projects as industrialization, irrigation canals, railways, the cultivation of cotton, and a flourishing publishing industry (particularly guide books to attract tourists). He also renovated the country’s system of education, its urban centers, and the military to meet European standards. With these achievements, undertaken with responsible fiscal management, he ushered Egypt into an era of Westernization and modernization, thereby encouraging the first mass wave of European immigration and tourism. Although he attempted to secure political and economic independence for Egypt, he chose not to sever relations with his Ottoman superiors.

The succeeding reigns of Ibrāhīm (1848), ‘Abbās Ḥilmī I (1849–54), and Moḥammed Sa’īd (1854–63) could not match that of the ambitious, French-educated Ismā’īl Pāshā (1863–79). His wish to control the entire Nile Valley as far as Tanzania was ultimately placed in the hands of the British. Irresponsible and somewhat naïve, he not only approved the financing of the Suez Canal project, but actively monitored its construction. In anticipation of its grand opening in November of 1869, he had squandered millions from the Egyptian treasury to modernize Cairo. For that occasion, he ordered the construction of new palaces, Parisian-like boulevards, luxurious hotels, and even an opera

4 Moḥammad ‘Alī reigned until Aug. 2, 1848. From Sept. 1 to Nov. 10, 1848, the brief period of his incapacitation, his eldest son, Ibrāhīm Pāshā ruled. Then followed the reigns of ‘Abbās Ḥilmī I, grandson of Moḥammad ‘Alī (1848–54); Moḥammed Sa’īd I, son of Moḥammad ‘Alī (1854–63); Ismā’īl Pāshā, son of Ibrāhīm Pāshā (1863–79); Moḥammed Tawfiq Pāshā, son of Ismā’īl (1879–92); and ‘Abbās Ḥilmī II, son of Tawfiq (1892–1914). It should be noted that the first five were *wālīs* who declared themselves khedives (see Hunter, *Egypt under the khedives*).

house (the Dār-al-Ūbirā)⁵ and other elegant establishments for the entertainment of his invited guests and foreign dignitaries.⁶

By the mid-point of Ismāʿīl's lavish reign,⁷ the country's staggering debt had increased to such proportions that the British and French governments petitioned the Ottoman Sultan, ʿAbdulḥamīd II, to depose him. Ismāʿīl's replacement by his eldest son Tawfiq Pāshā, on June 26, 1879, was coupled with the simultaneous intrusion of the rivaling British and French, who installed their respective ministers to stabilize the bankrupt economy and safeguard Tawfiq's governance. Ruling under Dual Control during the turbulent years 1879 to 1882, Egypt's finances were principally in their hands, yielding immense profits through their unscrupulous banking practices, construction, and communication enterprises,⁸ and from whatever other institutions that fell under their jurisdiction. Moreover, their incessant meddling in the country's internal and external affairs precipitated even greater public hostility, thus widening the rift

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- 5 Ruth Bereson (*The operatic state*, 173–4) examined, among similar institutions, the Cairo Opera House. Exploring three aspects of the concept opera, the third of which she distinguished as 'political,' she demonstrated the way political aesthetics served Ismāʿīl as a means of Westernization during the British occupation. Verdi's *Rigoletto* was performed on Nov. 1, 1869 to commemorate the opening of the canal, followed (on Dec. 24, 1871) by the world premiere of *Aida*, which was originally commissioned, but was not completed as promised. Verdi, who dreaded ocean voyages, did not attend. For the genesis of Verdi's creation, see Codignola/Santis, *Aida al Cairo*.
- 6 With the disruption of cotton imports from the United States to Europe during the American Civil War, Britain's hold on the Egyptian cotton trade brought new opportunities for investments and other entrepreneurial schemes. And, immediately following the opening of the Suez Canal, Europeans were flocking *en masse* to Egypt, for business and pleasure. These were booming times for theaters, music halls, Western-style night clubs, and other forms of musical entertainment.
- 7 At that time, James Aldridge (*Cairo*, 195) tells us, there were 300,000 inhabitants in Cairo, 85,000 of whom were non-Egyptians. Of these, 25,000 were Europeans, who had settled there, and another two or three thousand who were "passing through." About three decades earlier, E.W. Lane (*Account* [1842³] 24) computed about 240,000 inhabitants, among whom were 190,000 Egyptian Muslims, about 10,000 Copts, 3,000 or 4,000 Jews, and the rest strangers from various countries.
- 8 Among their most important contributions during this khedival era were: the steamship service between Egypt and Britain that began on a regular basis in 1836; the Suez Canal, which was constructed during the decade 1859–69 by the French Compagnie Universelle du Canal Maritime de Suez (founded by the developer Ferdinand de Lesseps); the construction of the Egyptian railway between Cairo and Alexandria in 1852 (under the supervision of the British civil engineer Robert Stephenson); and the telecommunications network installed by the British which linked Cairo with Alexandria and the Suez Canal that was operating as early as 1856, followed by a later link to India.

between the discontented populace and the government. Clearly a national revolt was taking shape.

In July of 1882, at the behest of Tawfīq Pāshā, British troops, with naval support—including the initial participation of the French—invaded Egypt to quell what was developing into a civil war between the forces of Tawfīq, whose authority was restricted to British-controlled Alexandria and the Suez region,⁹ and the mutinous forces of Colonel Aḥmad Urabi, the anti-imperialist spokesman for the oppressed, who ruled over Cairo and the provinces. At the decisive battle of Tel-el-Kebīr (situated in the triangle formed by Alexandria, the Suez Canal, and Cairo) on September 13th, the British defeated Urabi's army, forcing the Colonel into exile (to the then British colony of Ceylon, now Sri Lanka). Egypt, of course, continued to remain under *de jure* Ottoman rule, whereas Britain, which sought to protect its strategic interests (the Suez Canal, the Nile's tributaries in the Sudan and Ethiopia, the cotton trade, etc.), now ensconced itself with a substantial military presence. The British invasion henceforth became known as the 1882 Anglo-Egyptian War.¹⁰

Cairo, during Tawfīq's ineffectual reign, had borne witness to a continuous influx of Europeans, especially their infiltration into positions of leadership in the military, civil service, and commerce. Whereas Ismā'īl's earlier Europeanization policies were now held in abeyance, Tawfīq could not appease the city's disenchanting native population, whose growing exposure to cultural changes and social habits were alien to them, and among whom the middle class merchants, educated *fellāḥīn*, and ruling pāshās were profiting greatly from the presence of foreigners and their financial and commercial enterprises. More astoundingly, foreign residents were exempt from taxes, while at the same time enjoying legal protection under the jurisdiction of their respective consulates, following the system—known as capitulations—of the Ottoman sultans, who granted special privileges to citizens of foreign governments. As Tawfīq's

9 Alexandria's importance as a port city was enhanced in 1820 with the completion of the Mahmoudiya Canal, which linked it with the Nile. It was through this canal that Egyptian agricultural products were brought to Alexandria to be exported abroad. Cotton, then referred to as "white gold," became one of the greatest staples of Egypt's economy. The port city grew from a village of about 4,000 (at the time of Napoleon's Egyptian Campaign) to 150,000 inhabitants (at the conclusion of Moḥammed 'Alī's reign in 1848) (Haag, *The time line*, 245).

10 Thereafter, under the virtual dictatorship of the British Consul-General, Lord Cromer [Sir Evelyn Baring] (1884–1907), it was solely the British who exerted *de facto* control. His administration coincided with the last eight years of Tawfīq's reign and the first fifteen of 'Abbās Ḥilmī 11's. There followed in succession, Elson Gorst (1907–11) and Herbert Kitchener (1911–4) until the outbreak of the First World War.

rule became increasingly insubordinate to the British, Egypt's economy and security again became matters of prime concern.¹¹ Tawfiq's untimely death on January 7, 1892, at the winter resort of Helwan (south of Cairo), brought to the throne his almost eighteen-year-old son, 'Abbās Ḥilmī II. Educated in Switzerland and Vienna, he spoke Turkish, German, French, and English, but no Arabic (Mansfield, *The British*, 150).

Under Ḥilmī's reign (1892–1914), the country recovered from its economic debts and had begun to revitalize its industrial sector. Yet public opinion demanding independence from foreign rule was gaining even greater momentum. Early in his reign, Ḥilmī was virulently pro-French, but after the signing of the Entente Cordiale by the United Kingdom and the French Third Republic in London on April 8, 1904,¹² he formally recognized Britain's position in Egypt, hoping that the agreement would insure a period of peaceful coexistence. Little did he realize that Britain would exert even greater control.¹³ Meanwhile tourism had increased exponentially, introducing native Cairenes to fin-de-siècle and early twentieth-century European cuisine, dress, cultural trends, and entertainments that were affecting the city's traditional life.

At the outbreak of World War I in August of 1914, while 'Abbās Ḥilmī was in Istanbul recovering from an attempted assassination, Great Britain, on August 4th, declared war against Germany because it refused to withdraw from Belgium. When the Turks entered the conflict on October 2nd as an ally of Germany, both Britain and France waged war on Turkey the following week.

11 By 1895, under the watchful eye of Lord Cromer, the country had achieved national solvency, resulting from his energetic reforms. He was totally resentful of the inroads French culture had made on Egyptian society. However, at the close of his administration, he "recommended to his successors that a greater degree of self-administration be granted to the Egyptians" (Harari, "Egypt", 58).

12 Among the articles in the Entente Cordiale, Britain declared: that it had no intention of altering the political status of Egypt (Article 1); agreed that a French savant would continue as Director-General of Antiquities in Egypt and that French education would continue (Article 2); that France and Britain would not interfere with Egypt's commercial practices (customs duties, transportation fares) (Article 3); and that Britain had the right to grant concessions for roads, railways, ports, etc., as well as to maintain its authority over such undertakings (Article 4).

13 The prominent French-educated lawyer Muṣṭafā Kāmil (1874–1908) had for long been aware of Britain's machinations. In Dec. of 1907, he founded the Nationalist Party (Hizb al-Watani), which refused to negotiate with the British until they withdrew from the country. His efforts were short-lived as he died two months later. Thereafter Moḥammed Farīd (1868–1919), a respected Egyptian political figure, led the party until his exile in Mar. of 1912.

Turkey's alliance with Germany served both as the pretext for severing Egypt's ties with the Ottoman Empire and the reason for Ḥilmī's deposition.¹⁴ Thus four centuries of Ottoman rule had officially ended on December 18, 1914, which also marked the initial date of the British Protectorate and its declaration of martial law.¹⁵

On the following day, Prince Hussein Kāmil (b. 1853), the eldest surviving male of Muḥammad 'Alī's family was installed as the Sultan of Egypt. While Kamil ruled during a period of uncontrolled unrest, he fully cooperated with the British. By the fall of 1917, his health had so deteriorated that he died in Cairo on October 9th. The line of succession fell to his son, Prince Kamāl al-Dīn Ḥusain, who adamantly declined. Therefore his brother, Prince Aḥmed Fu'ād (b. 1868), became the ninth ruler of the khedival dynasty, bearing the title Sultan of Egypt and the Sudan.

Born in Cairo, but educated in Geneva and later in Italy, where his father Ismā'īl was then living in exile, Fu'ād returned to Egypt during the 1880s. He served briefly with the Egyptian army as aide-de-camp to his nephew 'Abbās Ḥilmī II. A decade prior to his ascension to the throne, he played an active role in upgrading the quality of Egyptian life through varied philanthropic enterprises (educational, social, cultural, and scientific), thus earning the respect and trust of his countrymen. With his brother's death and the world war still in progress, he found himself in an awkward position. Having now become the country's supreme leader, he had little choice but to side with the allies. At the war's conclusion, nationalism again became the rallying cry. Because of Fu'ād's inability to negotiate independence with Sir Reginald Wingate, the British High Commissioner in Egypt, huge demonstrations were held throughout the country. Several factions threatened additional violent agitation. Meanwhile prominent English diplomats and military men, as well as Egyptian "stooges," had been assassinated.

As the situation grew more volatile, Viscount Edmund Allenby, Wingate's successor, appealed to his government to send a commission of inquiry to

14 Although Ḥilmī's attempts to restore his title were unsuccessful, he ultimately abdicated on May 31, 1931. During the war he was granted refuge in Switzerland, where he plotted unsuccessful uprisings against the British and tried to have his son, Muḥammad 'Abdul Mun'im (1899–1979), succeed him to the throne.

15 From the beginning of the First World War to the end of the Protectorate, the following four British High Commissioners served as administrators: Sir Milne Cheetham (1914–5), Sir Henry McMahon (1914–6), Sir Francis Reginald Wingate (1917–9), and Viscount Edmund Allenby (1919–25).

determine the outcome of the Protectorate. Meanwhile, as he was outwardly exhibiting good faith, Allenby inwardly held firm to the position that its termination was not negotiable. Until the so-called Milner Commission, headed by Lord Alfred Milner, concluded its meetings in Cairo (where its sessions were held from December 7, 1919 to March 1920 in the presence of Fu'ād and his ministers), its recommendations, to Allenby's surprise, laid the foundation for a unilateral declaration to abolish the Protectorate. For the next two years, formal negotiations between Britain and Egypt remained in abeyance due to the sought for Egyptian concessions that Britain was reluctant to accept. Even Lord George Curzon's attempt, in July of 1921, to resume negotiations proved futile, because Britain wanted to retain its forces wherever it deemed essential in the country. As it also wished to exert its authority concerning Egypt's external affairs, civic condemnations and yearnings for independence again invoked mass public demonstrations and strikes throughout the country. Likewise, the persistent meetings between the unyielding Egyptian nationalist delegates and British authorities had aroused such consternation that Allenby finally agreed to an imminent solution. Having convinced the British House of Lords, a declaration was ultimately issued on February 28, 1922 to end the Protectorate, to recognize Egypt's independence, and to install Sultan Fu'ād as its first king.¹⁶ The British, however, were still permitted to provide such governmental services as: finding jobs for the newly educated Egyptians; furnishing affordable housing; extending the city's transportation routes to suburban areas; and, as in the past, maintaining the country's vital infrastructures (*e.g.*, the on going construction of the Aswān Dam, irrigation canals, and bridges across the Nile). For reasons of security, its forces were relegated solely to the Suez Canal Zone.

On March 15, 1922, when Fu'ād ascended the throne, Cairo's population numbered more than one million inhabitants, ninety percent of whom were Arabic (Sunni) Muslims.¹⁷ The remaining ten percent included Circassians, Christian Copts, Europeans, and Turks, who inhabited distinct sections, whereas the Armenians and Jews (Oriental and Sephardic) were firmly established in the

16 The declaration insured that: 1) Britain's communication networks with Egypt would remain intact; 2) Britain would defend Egypt against foreign aggression; 3) Britain would protect its foreign interests, including Egypt's minorities; and 4) that the Sudan would remain under its administrative control. It also assured the King's authority in Egypt.

17 To obtain a sense of the socio-political situation in Cairo during the decade 1917–27, one should read the first and second episodes (*Palace walk [Bein el-Qasrein]* and *Palace of desire [Qsar el-Shawq]*, resp.) of *The Cairo trilogy*, New York 1991, by the Egyptian novelist and Nobel Prize recipient Naguib Mahfouz. Both works, whose titles bear the street names of the sections of Cairo where Mahfouz was raised, describe the life of a Cairene family during World War I and continuing through the years of the Protectorate.

middle of the city (*i.e.*, Midān Taḥrīr) among the middle-class Arab-Egyptian merchants and artisans. The older Jewish community remained in Fustāṭ.¹⁸ The prosperous European section (the Ismailia quarter), bordering on the Nile's eastern bank and boxed in (to the north) by the Egyptian Museum and (to the east) by Midān Taḥrīr, embodied the elegant shopping district with its fine department stores, along with the various consulates and fashionable hotels, and, by extension, the Ksar ed-Dubāra quarter, now known as Garden City, and Gezira, where the British were the most conspicuous. Garden City comprised the center of government, from whose focal point the British controlled the country's political and economic life, as well as tourism. The suburb of Heliopolis, to the northeast of the city, was developed (beginning in 1906) as a spacious residential section for British officers and officials, and later for thriving Egyptians and Europeans, with a metro railway to transport them to the city. Muslim peasants, along with Nubians and Ethiopians who were brought to Egypt from adjacent lands to the south, comprised the city's unskilled labor force. Their living conditions in the city's poorest sections were deplorable and their existence miserable.

The year 1923 heralded Egypt's liberal age (which was to last until 1952, the year of the Egyptian Revolution). At its outset, the competing political ideologies of the King, the Residency, and the various individuals who opposed them, gave rise to a spectrum of political parties (national, monarchial, religious, etc.). Some of the most notable political personalities of this period included: Sa'ad Zaghlūl (1859–1927; representing the Wafd Party); 'Adli Yakan (1864–1933) and Abdel Khāliq Sarwat (1873–1926), who formed the anti-Wafd Liberal Constitutional Party; Ismā'īl Ṣidqī (1875–1950; the Liberal Constitutional Party); Muṣṭafā Naḥās (1879–1965; the Wafd Party), and Ḥassan al-Banna (1906–49), who initiated the Muslim Brotherhood).

Marking the beginning of a somewhat turbulent decade, which included the planning of the Arab music Congress and its destined occurrence in the Spring of 1932, Egypt's elite continued to rule the country under the guise of a European-styled constitutionalism, whereas the varied political camps sought social and economic reforms that would conform to their respective ideologies (secularism, monarchism, Islamic fundamentalism, Marxism, liberalism, etc.). Still, with all their differences, their united goal was to rid the country of the British. Nonetheless, the struggle for statehood continued, stressing Egypt's

18 For the roots of their community, see E. Bereket, *Fustat on the Nile: The Jewish elite in Medieval Egypt*, Leiden 1999. See also W.B. Kubiak, *Al-Fustāṭ, its foundation and early urban development*, Cairo 1987.

problem as an Egyptian and not pan-Arabic one, and seeking its role as a participating member of the greater Mediterranean society.¹⁹

3.2 Egypt's Musical Life, Especially Cairo's from 1800 to 1932

For almost three centuries (1516–1798) Egypt was controlled by the Ottoman Turks through a succession of Mameluke viceroys (*pāshās*) who cared little about the manners, customs, and language of the country's inhabitants. Yet they continued, albeit on a much lesser scale, to support the fine and performing arts dating from the reign of the Ottoman sultan, Murād II (1421–51).²⁰ And, inasmuch as the viceroys and district governors (*beys*) possessed their own retinues of Turkish-trained instrumentalists and female singers to provide musical entertainment for the stately banquets and special festivities that were held at their courts, private dwellings, and makeshift pavilions, they also maintained military bands (Ottoman *mehters*)²¹ to perform exclusively for their royal processions and lavish outdoor ceremonies (*mawākib*). Concomitantly, the wealthy Turkish bourgeoisie and Arab merchant and professional classes, including military and court officials of lesser rank, hired smaller ensembles to perform for their private parties and other social occasions.

During the same era, the musical activities of Egypt's urban and rural populations continued along traditional lines, conforming to the needs of their

19 The period from Egypt's independence (1922) to the death of King Fu'ād on Apr. 28, 1936, has been lucidly summarized by P. Mansfield (*The British*, 245–64). S. Botman ("The liberal age") examined Egypt's struggle for independence as a secular nationalist movement seeking to break away from Ottoman and British control.

20 By the onset of the seventeenth century, Turkish had taken precedence over Persian and the lesser used Arabic as the preferred language for poetry and song. It also marked the transition toward an established Ottoman style, emanating from Istanbul which reflected a consensus concerning modes (*makāmāt*), rhythmic cycles (*uṣūl*), musical forms, and instruments, and which permeated every realm of Ottoman-Turkish music (secular, classical, military, religious, urban, and instrumental). Istanbul represented the last center in the culmination of this traditional musical style (B. Askoy, "Ottoman music"). W. Feldman (*Music of the Ottoman court*) studied the foundations of contemporary Ottoman-Turkish music, which paralleled Western Europe's Baroque period (1600–1750). O. Wright's overview ("Arab Music, §I. 5") of art music during the Ottoman age (1517–1918) also provides a worthy counterpart to the historical background. Yet for the 14th to the 20th century, see Farmer's various entries in *Grove's dictionary of music and musicians* [1954⁵] viz. "Arabian", "Egyptian", "Iraqian and Mesopotamian", "Maghribi", "Moorish", and "Syrian" music, as well as his *Sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965.

21 They enjoyed perpetuation since the fourteenth century.

religious, ethnic, and transient communities. Islam, being the dominant faith, held particular sway—both as a religious and cultural force—with its proscription of specific musical and poetic genres, practices, and even certain classes of musicians.²²

The indigenous populations situated in Egypt's fertile lower and upper rural Nile regions,²³ including their counterparts throughout the Arabic-speaking world, had accumulated an extraordinary wealth of folk music and traditional dances to celebrate the varied stages of the life cycle, religious observances, and tribal and public festivals. Group singing, in particular, enabled those engaged in communal labor to mitigate the tediousness of their daily and seasonal chores.

In his concise overview of Arab folk music throughout the Near East, Amnon Shiloah ("Arab music §11", 528–35) focused mainly on its rural settings, with occasional references to urban practices and with minimal comparisons to art music—sharing such common features as: oral transmission; the predominance of vocal over instrumental music; a predilection for distinct types of vocal production and subtleties of intonation; a fondness for poetry; and improvisation.²⁴ Poetry, to which the rural communities attached special significance at every level of their social existence,

was not looked upon primarily [as] a mode of literary expression, but rather [as] an accompaniment to ceremonies and daily work. Its language varies from near-classical to completely colloquial, but its principles of prosody, forms and the method of composition are consistent. The number of forms and genres of sung folk poetry is impressive and greater than that of classical art songs; and the folk poet-musician has a distinguished

22 Ph.V. Bohlman ("Folk music", 96–9) discussed the impact of Islam and its attitudes toward music throughout the Middle East.

23 These include the nomadic and semi-nomadic Bedouin tribes, as well as the *fellāḥīn*, or peasant farmers, in rural villages and towns. For Egypt, J. Pacholczyk ("Folk music in Egypt", 18–9) delimited several distinct cultural areas: Lower Egypt, primarily the Nile Delta, Upper Egypt, the Nile Valley south of el-Gīza, Nubia, and the Eastern and Western deserts, attributing the musical differences in their folk music to ethnic and linguistic divisions.

24 As early as the fourteenth century, as inscribed in the initial volume *Muqaddimah* (*Prolegomenon*) of his *Kitāb al-ibar* (*Book of examples*), the Arab historian Ibn Khaldūn (1332–1406) distinguished between art and folk music. The former, "based on well established rules and conventions and consequently skill, [was] acquired through long training, [whereas] the latter [was] simple and spontaneously created without special instruction" (Shiloah, "Arab music §11", 528).

position as the narrator and translator of events and the spokesman for the moods and aspirations of his fellow men (p. 529).

True, the vast literature dealing with the theory and musical practices of Arab art music, spanning from the ninth to the beginning of the twentieth century, had almost totally ignored folk music.²⁵ Even Shiloah, who spoke of Arab art music as “having a single large tradition, in spite of all the differences of local styles, [claimed that] no such generalizations can be made about the folk tradition . . . Among the present countries of the Near East, there is hardly one with a homogeneous folklore” (p. 528). Nonetheless, he called attention to the impressive variety of ethnic groups throughout the entire region²⁶ and offered constructive parameters within the major divisions of vocal and instrumental music to compartmentalize their musical folklore.

The oldest strata of folk music among the rural communities consisted of communal singing and dancing, whose attendant music and songs were limited in range, rendered metrically without embellishments, and usually accompanied either by hand-clapping or simple membranophones. While contacts among the rural nomadic and sedentary communities may have influenced each other’s folk traditions, they, nonetheless, remained hermetically sealed from Ottoman and European musical influences up until the early twentieth century.

It was the French, during their brief occupation of Egypt (1798–1801), who ushered in Egypt’s modern period. Along with their military personnel, they brought varied contingents of musicians to suit the martial and entertainment needs of their troops and dignitaries. And, inasmuch as their music and instrumentation were introduced to Egyptian audiences for the first time, and for whatever occasion, such musical fare would have only been heard among

25 This is especially true in E. Neubauer’s bibliographic survey (“Arabic writings”) of Arab music from the ninth to the nineteenth century. Even V.L. Danielson’s and A.J. Fischer’s survey (“History of scholarship”) pertaining to Middle Eastern music bears but a few pertinent citations concerning Arabic folk music. Three earlier articles dealing with Egyptian folk music and which appear to have gone unnoticed are V. Loret (“Quelques documents”), N.G. Maurès (*Contribution*), and A. and J. Baillet (“La chanson chez les Égyptiens”). More recent contributions include publications by J. Elsner (“Observations”), A. Kamel (“Interprètes”), J. Pacholczyk (“Egypt §11”), and A. Simon (*Studien zur ägyptischen Volksmusik* and “Some aspects of tonal structure”).

26 He also singled out the music of the Bedouins as “probably the oldest part of the entire repertory [since their] way of life helps to perpetuate many archaic features” (p. 529). A.J. Racy (Heroes, lovers, and poet-singers) also investigated their music, concentrating on their sung poetry.

certain segments of Egyptian society, particularly in Cairo and Alexandria. French officers and troops, however, enjoyed the entertainments (both musical and dramatic) that were provided for them in their respective coffee houses, clubs, and gardens.²⁷

What we know of the rural (indigenous) and urban musical practices during the French occupation of Egypt can be gleaned from the lengthy essays of Guillaume André Villoteau (1759–1839), based on the material he gathered *in situ* while serving as a member of the Institut de l'Égypte. Founded in Cairo in August of 1798,²⁸ the Institut was commissioned by the French government to serve as an important wing of Napoleon's military expedition. Its purpose was to collect historical and scientific data for a comprehensive study of ancient and modern Egypt, together with its natural history.²⁹ Villoteau, an ordained priest who later forsook his vows and who had earlier studied philosophy at the Sorbonne, was primarily a singer (tenor) by profession. He last worked at the French Opera, where he served as leader of the chorus, prior to his departure for Egypt, in 1798, to join the Institut.

The first of his two extended essays (“De l'état actuel”), pertaining to the music of Egypt's incipient Modern Period, comprises a two-part study containing noteworthy musical specimens that he collected among Cairo's Arab population and other ethnic communities. In the first part, he described the current musical practices of Egyptian Arabs, explaining their modal system (*maqāmāt*)

27 In 1800, the French theater La Comédie, constructed in Ezbekiya Garden, was designated as an evening social hall to provide plays that would last up to four hours (Le Gassick, “Arabic theatre”, 173). N. Barbour (“The Arabic theatre”, 173), however, claimed that the Comedia (the same as the earlier French?) was actually Egypt's second theater, preceded by the Opera House (constructed in 1869 in the Ezbekiya Gardens). It was also a court-theater, built in the same area, shortly thereafter. French theater would subsequently influence the Egyptian, as explained by Atia Abul Naga in her study *Les sources françaises du théâtre égyptien (1870–1939)*, Algiers n.d.

28 It was modeled on the Parisian Institut de France (created in Oct. of 1795). In Cairo, under the orders of Napoleon (in late Aug. of 1798), it was housed in the Palace of the Mameluke Amīr Ḥassan Kashif, located in the Nasiriya quarter. There, under the supervision of its designated President, the renowned mathematician Gaspard Monge (1746–1818), the first team of eighteen scholars—which eventually grew to 160—used the palace as their base of operations. For information on the Institut, see M. Byrd (“The Napoleonic Institute”) and L. Laus de Boisy (“The Institute of Egypt”).

29 The Institut ultimately published the twenty-three volume editions of *Description de l'Égypte ou Recueil des observations et des recherches qui ont été faites en Égypte pendant l'expédition de l'armée française*, Paris 1809–26, which included both of Villoteau's major essays. [N.B. FC f23 comprises a bound collection of Villoteau's contributions to the *Description de l'Égypte*, with additional items pasted in.]

in a rather detailed manner. The seventeen modes, whose scales he notated in an ascending order, were, as he claimed, made known to him by knowledgeable instrumentalists.³⁰ Exhibiting his musical competence, he made occasional comparisons with ancient Greek modes and with Turkish *mākamāt* that were studied earlier by the Moldavian prince Démétrius Cantemir (1673–1723).³¹

Villoteau's musical transcriptions included the song and dance melodies he notated among urban professional singers and dancers (*ālātīyya* and *ʿawālim*, resp.), public dancers (*ghawāzī*), and minstrels. Additional specimens comprised martial tunes and secular songs (some with instrumental accompaniment), religious chants, funerary and mourning songs and dances, mystical hymns and dances from the Sufi *dhikr* (or *zikr*) ceremony, songs rendered by a fraternal group of musicians (*foqarā*), recitations from the Qur'an and other spiritual hymns, chants preserved from ancient times, declaimed chant, improvised and narrative poetry, and the rhythmic calls of the *musahher*, who, during the dawn hours of Ramadan, strolls through a particular neighborhood, beating a large drum to awaken its inhabitants so that they could eat and drink prior to fasting the entire day. Villoteau was particularly impressed by both the Egyptians' natural inclination for music and singing and the importance they attached to it.

The songs and dances he collected from among the several African communities that had settled in Cairo and its environs represented those of the Berbers (who were brought to Egypt as slaves in earlier times and who inhabited the region near Aswān), the Dongolese tribesmen and women from northern Sudan, and informants from Senegal and the Gorée Island (which played a prominent role in the West African slave trade). A section on Ethiopian music included musical examples of Abyssinian liturgical chant based, in part, on the *Musurgia universalis* . . . Rome 1650, by the Jesuit archeologist Athanasius Kircher (1602–80). Finally, Villoteau discussed the music of Egypt's Coptic community,³² the oldest native Christian group whose language, now extinct, resembled that of the Egyptians in early Christian times, and whose liturgy is similar to that practiced in the Abyssinian Church. The Coptic language

30 According to Farmer ("Egyptian music", 895), Villoteau's description of the Egyptian scale was erroneous, thereby spoiling "his notation of seventeen of the modes he recorded."

31 Cantemir's studies of Turkish *makāmāt* have been discussed by E. Popescu-Judetz ("Dimitrie Cantemir" and *Dimitrie Cantimir*) and O. Wright (*Demetrius Cantemir*).

32 One may also refer to the following sources: E. Newlandsmith (*The ancient music*); N.M. Erian ("Coptic music"); R. Moftah (*The Coptic orthodox liturgy*); M. Robertson-Wilson ("Coptic church music"), and S. el-Shawan ("An annotated bibliography"). A. Vovk ("A European in Egypt") discussed a late Byzantine-Sinaitic singing tradition encountered by Villoteau.

employs Greek characters. Interestingly, his final chapter dealt exclusively with the music of the Jewish communities of Cairo and Alexandria, whose synagogues he visited. He also notated specimens of Biblical cantillation and provided notational equivalents for the varied tropal accents (*te'amim*), together with eighteen additional melodic examples.

In the second part, he dealt with the music of Egypt's Asian and European communities, commenting briefly on the material he collected from the Persian and Turkish quarters of Cairo, and from the Syrian communities of Alexandria, Rosetta, and Cairo, including selected notated examples of their chant. For deciphering the notated liturgical chants of the Armenian Church, he relied heavily on the *Thesaurus linguae armenicae, antiquae et hodiernae*, Amsterdam 1711, by the German Orientalist, Johann Joachim Schröder (1680–1756). Villoteau based his treatment of Modern Greek music on a manuscript (dated 1614) he obtained from a resident in Alexandria. With the help of a Greek music teacher, who then served as the principal singer of the Greek Church in Fustāṭ (Old Cairo), he was able to decipher and transcribe its chironomical signs into modern notation. In a short addendum, he presented a discussion of Greek modes (both authentic and plagal) in the form of a question and answer dialogue. Both parts of his initial study are replete with explicative notes.³³

In his second study ("Description historique"), Villoteau contributed an historical, technical, and literary description of the musical instruments he examined in Egypt. His collected instrumentarium, for which he provided numerous illustrations and copious critical notes, comprises a virtual mini-encyclopedia.³⁴

33 S.A.E. Leoni ("Western Middle-East music imagery", 180) mentioned that inasmuch as "Villoteau collected several Arab music treatises and jotted down a number of popular tunes over three years. . . . [upon his return] to France, he lost a great many songs notated during his stay. When the *Description* was published, at public expense, [he] was not allowed to reproduce or to translate the ancient treatises, nor to refer to the connections between music and society, nor to describe the effects of music on the human body. His report had to concentrate on generalities."

34 J. Jenkins' and P.R. Olsen's booklet (*Music and musical instruments*), written in conjunction with the exhibition "Music and musical instruments in the world of Islam" at London's Horniman Museum, contains numerous comparative photos and drawings, together with an excellent bibliography of musical instruments throughout the Islamic world. See also: T. Alexandru ("Les instruments musicaux"); P. Bec (*Les instruments de musique d'origine arabe*); G. Braune ("Mizmār"); J. Elsner ("Rabab"); L. Fattallah ("Instruments à cordes"); M. Fathī ("L'introduction"); H. Hickmann (*Terminologie arabe*); A. Laffarge (*La musique arabe*); M.S. al-Mahdi (*La musique arabe*); J. Robson and H.G. Farmer (*Ancient Arabic musical instruments*); A. Simon ("Zur Oboen"); H.H. Touma (*The music of the Arabs*, 109–41); and Farmer's studies on musical instruments (see App. 1).

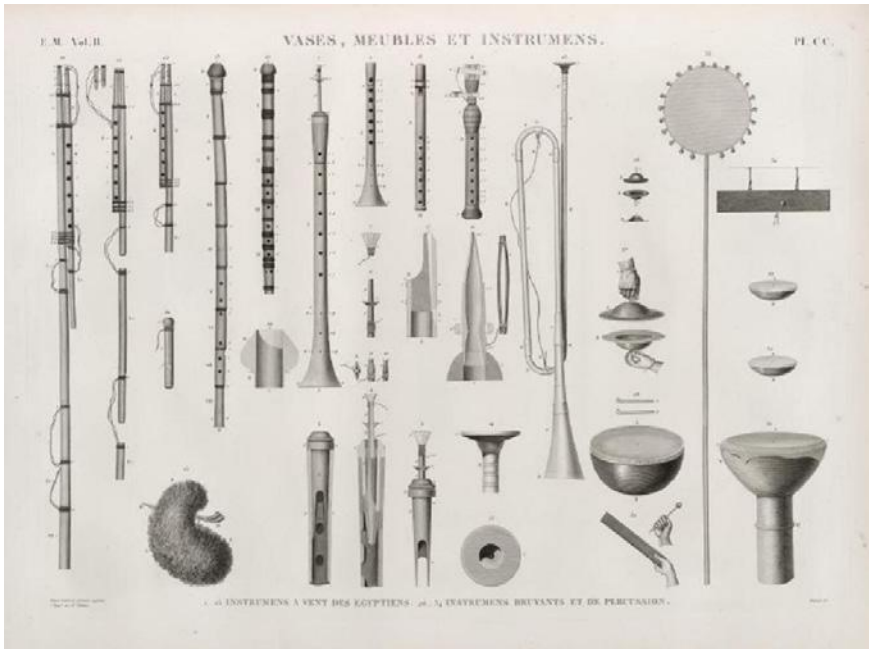


FIGURE 3.A Plate CC from Villoteau's "Description historique" (Paris 1826).

With the defeat of the French in 1801, the Mamelukes again regained power in Egypt under Moḥammed 'Alī Pāshā, who established a dynasty of rulers and named himself the first khedive. Although the title was not officially recognized by the Ottoman rulers until 1867, they also conferred upon him the title of Viceroy. Regarding Egypt's musical life during Moḥammed 'Alī's reign, we have the observations of Edward William Lane (1801–76).³⁵ Lane, who later achieved renown as a British Orientalist, translator, and lexicographer, traveled to Egypt in September of 1825 while recovering from tuberculosis.³⁶ Already fluent in Arabic, he sought to improve his verbal skills. During his initial

35 Even Farmer ("Egyptian music", 895) provided some interesting facts concerning music during Muḥammad 'Alī's reign. During the decade 1824–34, five music schools, primarily military (in Cairo and Alexandria), were established to provide wind and percussion bands that could perform "Western military and Arab music adapted for these ensembles" (El-Shawan, "Western music", 143–4). For their continuance during the reign of Khedive Ismā'īl, see H. Hickmann ("Commentaires sur le musique militaire").

36 Information on Lane's life and works can be found in S. Lane Poole (*Life of Edward William Lane*), L. Ahmed (*Edward W. Lane*), and J. Thompson (*Edward William Lane*). The parceled articles on Lane's Egyptian travels by J. Thompson (see Bibliography) are also worth perusing for their interesting details and insights.

three-year sojourn, he lived in Old Cairo near the old railroad station Bab al-Hadīd (Gate of Iron).³⁷ Taking advantage of its surrounding urban environment, he donned himself solely in Egyptian attire, addressed himself as Maṣṣūr Effendi, and behaved in every way like a Muslim so that he could mingle, almost exclusively, among the city's Arab inhabitants. In this manner, he gained first-hand knowledge of Egyptian society, focusing primarily on their domestic, civic, and religious life, their public and religious institutions, and material culture. To ensure that his observations were accurate and that his ethnographic and linguistic researches would progress without hindrance, he hired two professors—one of Arabic and the other of religion and law—to serve as his tutors. Among his intellectual Egyptian friends, he sought the help and constant companionship of a middle-aged dervish *shaykh* and bookseller named Aḥmad. To increase his knowledge of the country, he undertook two excursions up the Nile River, visiting the villages and towns of the ancient Nubian Kingdom located along its banks.

Departing from Egypt on April 7, 1828, he returned to London in late June.³⁸ There, ensconced in his private study, he reviewed the material from his personal diaries and vast compilation of ethnographic notes that were destined for his originally planned *Description of Egypt*,³⁹ doubtless inspired by the French Institut's *opus magnum*. But, after having shown a working draft of its chapters concerning the manners and customs of the modern Egyptians to members of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge, he was urged to return to Egypt so that he could confirm particular facts that appeared questionable, and thereafter expand and contemplate its final form.

During his second trip to Egypt (from Dec. 1833 to mid-1835), he not only revisited his former sites in Cairo, but also toured upper Egypt. When he returned to London, in the late fall of 1835, he had already completed the preface. He then spent almost an entire year preparing the final manuscript for publication. Because it was originally promised to the Society, the publisher Charles Knight printed the first edition in December of 1836, under the Society's imprint, but with the revised title *An account of the manners and customs of the modern*

37 This section known as Musr is located in the northeastern corner of the city, not far from present-day Ramses Square.

38 Lane returned home with his eight-year-old Greek captive (named Nefeeseh), whom he or a friend purchased from the Cairo slave market. Placed under his mother's care, he later married her in 1840, after having finished his translation of the *Arabian nights*. She, along with his sister Sophie and her two sons, accompanied Lane to Egypt for his final trip.

39 For the difficulties he faced concerning his cherished, albeit unpublished study, see J. Thompson ("Edward William Lane's *Description of Egypt*").

Egyptians. Appearing in two volumes, and widely publicized as an appealing and exotic work for the English readership, every copy was purchased within a fortnight by British booksellers.

It was mainly in his second volume that he fully addressed the events and entertainments for which music and dance played important roles and for which he provided numerous illustrations.⁴⁰ In Chapter XVIII, entitled “Music,” he, like Villoteau, discussed Egyptian attitudes and their natural inclination toward music. Here, he also described the roles of the professional male instrumentalists (*ālātīyya*) and female singers (*‘awālim*), and the musical instruments that were commonly used for private and public performances.⁴¹ He also furnished musical transcriptions for four Arabic songs (together with their underlaid texts), a muezzin’s call to prayer, and the chanting of the first *sūrah* (the *fātiḥa*) from the Qur’an.

His XIXth chapter, “Public Dancers,” dealt with dancing girls (*ghawāzī*),⁴² who performed unveiled on public streets or in the courtyard of homes, etc., to the accompaniment of chordophones and membranophones, usually rendered by members from their respective tribes. Lane also commented on their social standing, immodest manner of dress, supposed origin, and even the decorum they displayed in their dances—ranging from acceptable to lascivious gyrations, depending upon the audiences before whom they appeared. Their young male counterparts, known as *khawals*, dressed in an effeminate manner that marked their distinctive character.

40 These were included among all the illustrations he himself provided with aid of a camera lucida, whose optical device enabled him to trace on paper the images of his subjects or objects.

41 Such as the *arghūl*, *kamanjah*, *nāy*, *qānūn*, *rabāb*, *‘ūd*, *zummārah*, plus the membranophones *bāz*, *darabukka*, *naqqarāt*, and *ṭār*, and the metalophone *ṣāgāt*.

42 K. van Nieuwkerk (“A trade”), who undertook an indepth ethnographic study of the Egyptian female singers (*‘awālim*) and dancers (*ghawāzī*)—including belly dancing (*raqs sharqī*) from the lower and middle classes—sought to explain their condemnation by the Egyptian society. M.A.A.G. Saleh, who documented seventeen extant regional urban, rural, and tribal dances (in her “A documentation”) and who later studied the *almées* [*almehs*] (“Les danses”), felt that *‘awālim* and *ghawāzī* referred to professional classes of public entertainers. Both authors, however, provided far greater information than Villoteau and Lane concerning their evolution in early nineteenth-century Egypt and their continued existence to present times. See also Nieuwkerk’s studies: *Female entertainment*; An hour for God; and Changing images. Furthermore, D. Henni-Chebra (“Égypte”) challenged Villoteau’s and Lane’s views concerning the *raqs sharqī* and its origins, whereas C. Poché (“La danse arabe”) examined a text in al-Mas‘ūdi’s *Murūj al-dhahab* (10th cent. treatise), deducing that dance among the Arabs suited three categories: sacred, semi-sacred, and secular, the last of which included the *raqs sharqī*.



FIGURE 3.B Lane's drawing of two dancing girls (London 1836, vol. II, p. 95).

Chapters XXI through XXIII, entitled “Public Recitations of Romances,” were each devoted to specific classes of bards (reciters of epic poems), who provided entertainment in the principal coffee shops (*qahwehs*). Each class was known for its distinct repertoires. The first and most numerous were the *shu‘arā’* (‘poets’; sing. *shā‘ir*), who narrated particular episodes from the popular folk epic, *Sirat Banu Hilāl*, relating to the exploits of the eleventh-century tribal leader, Abū Zayd al-Hilāl;⁴³ the second class of story tellers (*muḥaddithīn*) specialized in narrating portions from the *Sirat Eẓ-Zāhir*,⁴⁴ an epic based on the history of the thirteenth-century Mameluke Sultan Eẓ-Zāhir Beybars and his contemporaries; and the third class of reciters, called *‘anātireh* or *‘anteriyeh*, derived their name from another thirteenth-century epic *Sirat ‘Antar*, which dealt with the Black warrior and poet ‘Antar ibn Shaddād.⁴⁵ Lane provided rather substantial textual portions from their respective narrations.

43 Four excellent studies pertaining to this epic can be found in B. Connelly (*Arab folk epic*), M. Galley (*Taghriba*), D.F. Reynolds (“Musical dimensions”) and S. Slyomovics (*The merchant of art*). The first compares three performances of its opening episode, the second is the result of many studies on this epic, the third concerns its extant performances, and the fourth examines an episode rendered and commented upon by the Egyptian poet ‘Awaḍallāh ‘Abd al-Jalil ‘Alī.

44 See H. Wangelin, *Das arabische Volksbuch vom König Azzahir Baibars*, Stuttgart 1936.

45 A partial translation by T. Hamilton can be found in *Antar, a Bedouen romance*, London 1819. See also P. Heath, *The thirsty sword: Sirat Antar and the Arabic popular ballad*, Salt Lake City 1996.

Each of the three chapters entitled “Periodical Public Festivals, etc.” (XXIV through XXVI) were devoted to the celebrations commemorating the first three months of the Muslim lunar year, the fourth and following months, and the Solar year, respectively. Lane included descriptions of the varied dervish performances of the *dhikr* and street processions, which, in the latter case, usually included the *zūrṅā* (double-reed aerophone), along with the *ṭār* (small drum) and *bāz* (small kettle drum), and occasional dancing.

For private festivities and gatherings (Chapter XVII), female singers (*‘awālim*) and dancers (*ghawāzī*) were frequently hired to amuse the guests, and instrumental music was often included. Instrumentalists were also hired for special occasions, such as weddings, births, and circumcisions, to lead and perform in the midst of the joyous processions.

Lane undertook his third and final trip to Cairo on July 1, 1842 solely to compile an Arabic-English lexicon. Within the span of seven years, he worked ceaselessly with his language mentor Shaykh Ibrahim al-Desuqi, taking breaks only for meals and for exercising. Adhering to his vigorous schedule, he only allowed occasional visitors and rarely spent time revisiting the city. When he returned to England in 1849, he ultimately settled in Worthing, a seaside town on the southern coast. There he continued his characteristically reclusive existence, deeply absorbed in his lexicographical project, except on Sundays, during which he devoted time to reading Hebrew scripture. He died on August 10, 1876, while working on his sixth volume. The remaining two were completed by his great-nephew Stanley Lane Poole (1854–1931).⁴⁶

The importance of Villoteau’s and Lane’s contributions lies in the detailed descriptions of the varied musical events and traditions they observed during their respective sojourns. For each, it was a time when the pristine communities were not yet visibly affected by Western culture. In a country dominated by the strictures of Islam, they each understood the basic dichotomy between cultured (learned, trained) and uncultured (indigenous, untrained) attitudes toward music and the manner in which music was absorbed and preserved within each of the traditions they confronted. In Villoteau’s case, it was expressly his mission to collect as much musical and contextual information

46 See A.J. Arberry (“The lexicographer”). I should mention here that when my colleague Lois Ibsen al-Faruqi (d. 1986) presented me with a copy of her newly published *Annotated glossary of Arabic musical terms* in Oct. of 1981, she explained how she tried in vain to obtain Villoteau’s essays. And, inasmuch as she included terms from Lane’s *Manners and customs. . .*, she did not see his *Arab-English lexicon*, London 1863–93, nor any of its subsequent editions.

as possible.⁴⁷ In Lane's, music was not his primary interest. As he adapted himself to the city's cultural and religious life, he was drawn to its allure at private homes, public gatherings (indoor and outdoor; secular and sacred), commercial establishments, and religious institutions, where he meticulously noted the varied roles music played in each. We know nothing of Lane's musical background, nor can we deduce from the few musical notations inserted in his *An Account* . . . that they were indeed his own, as he appears to have claimed. Unlike Villoteau, Lane was virtually a socio-cultural anthropologist ('participant observer') whose knowledge of the Arabic language endeared him to each of the situations he witnessed, thereby enabling him to delve more deeply into their significance. And, whereas both observers reported the low esteem in which the music profession was held, they each attested to the emotional interaction between performers and their audiences during the private concerts of professional musicians and vocalists.⁴⁸

Oddly enough, almost a century had passed since Lane's death (in 1876) when contemporary scholars returned to the subject of music in nineteenth-century Egypt.⁴⁹ Four among them merit special attention for their broad and divergent views: Habib H. Touma, 'Ali Jihad Racy, Philip V. Bohlman, and Gabriele Braune.

Touma ("Die Musik der Araber") (1973) surveyed the century within the broader geographical domain stretching from the Maghrib through Egypt to the Mashriq, emphasizing the musical and poetic genres that were perpetuated from Muslim Spain, Syria, Iraq, Turkey, and Persia. He discussed the reawakening

47 For a critical view of Villoteau's 'ethnomusicological' undertaking, see S.A.E. Leoni ("Western Middle-East music imagery").

48 They were referring to the aesthetic concept *ṭarab*, i.e., how music affects the listener. This concept is clearly expressed in the following works: A.J. Racy ("Making music", 1–4); J. Shannon ("Emotion"); F. Lagrange (*Al-Tarab*); and J. Berque (*The Arabs*, 21–9) who examined *ṭaraba* and other closely related concepts.

49 And, by extension, the pan-Arab and Muslim Middle East, whose coverage included the music traditions (urban/rural, sacred/secular, art/folk, and transnational/national/sub-regional/local/tribal divisions) of the Maghribi, Persian, and Turkish peoples. Ph.V. Bohlman intricately addressed these divisions in his *Grove's* entry ("Middle East"), but in his bibliography cited *only five items* pertaining to the Arabic-speaking Middle East which included Farmer's *Historical facts for the Arabian influence*. V.J. Danielson and A.J. Fisher ("History of scholarship") surveyed the major scholarly studies of the twentieth century that deal with Middle Eastern music, whereas J. Elsner ("Listening to Arab music") and S. Blum ("Hearing the music") pointed to the complexities involved in hearing and appreciating its varied musics.

(*nahḍa*) of Arab music,⁵⁰ brought about by concerned musicians, singers, and their accompanying ensembles which became the focal points of musical activity. He also discussed oral tradition, basing his observations on recordings from the first two decades of the twentieth century.

A decade later, Racy (“Music in nineteenth-century Egypt”) (1983) provided what should be considered the first useful chronological guide, commencing with the contributions of Villoteau and Lane and proceeding thereafter to a discussion of Cairo’s musical life and the significant changes it underwent in the second half of the century since Khedive Ismā’il’s reign (1863–79).⁵¹ By the end of the century, the social and economic status of highly revered singers and instrumentalists improved greatly, due particularly to royal patronage and wealthy sponsors. Certain Western instruments were replacing traditional ones, and musical elements from Syria, Iraq, and Turkey, as well as Europe, were being assimilated. The *waṣlah* (pl. *waṣlāt*)⁵² and its closing *dawr* were already established forms late in the century, as was the *takht* instrumental ensemble.⁵³

50 F. Lagrange (“Musiciens et poètes”) devoted his dissertation to the musicians and poets who were active during this period. See also N. Abū Mrad (*Musique et nahḍa en Égypte et Tradition musicale*). In his “Formes vocales”, he differentiated between the unmeasured and measured forms as they evolved in the same period. For the literary perspective, see P.E. Pormann (“The Arab ‘cultural awakening’”).

51 Farmer (“Egyptian music”, 895) tells us that Ismā’il “did not appreciate the native Egyptian music, [but] took greater delight in the purely Turkish art which then predominated in Syria and Iraq.” Still, with regard to the first half, Racy (“Music in”, 158) explained that “while manifesting a tenuous theoretical and scholarly link with the Islamic or Arabian past, Cairo’s . . . music appeared to have been cultivated primarily as a practical art.”

52 A compound form comprising instrumental and vocal pieces (instrumental prelude; improvisations [*taqāsīm*; sing. *taqsīm*]; and metric vocal poems [*muwashshahāt*]; two improvisatory songs [*layālī* and *mawwāl*]); and concluding with the tripartite metric and partly improvised *dawr* for solo and chorus. Comparable to the Maghribian *nauba*, it was more popular in Egypt prior to the First World War. A detailed study of the *waṣlah* can be found in A.J. Racy (“The *waṣlah*”).

53 Comprising three to five male instrumentalists, this ensemble accompanied a male singer (*muṭrib*), and a three- or four-member supporting chorus (*sannīdah*). Its female counterpart, called *takht al’awālīm*, performed solely for women. Racy’s fine study (“Sound and society”) of this late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century ensemble, which became the backbone of Cairo’s secular music just beyond the 1920s, covers the musicians and their roles, the ensemble as social unit, its social patterns and instruments, heterophony, and musical hierarchies and provides a musical analysis of a *taḥmilah* (‘a traditional instrumental piece’ of five to ten minutes duration). Renowned performers such as Sāmī el-Shawā (virtuoso violinist), Muḥammad al-Qasabgī (*ūd* player), and ‘Alī al-Rashīdī (virtuoso *qānūn* player) were mentioned.

Moreover, the transition from the early classical to the more popular musical theater enhanced change in significant ways, inspiring “new musical genres, musical techniques and aesthetic criteria.” In closing, he wrote:

music and musical life [in nineteenth-century Egypt] exhibited strong patterns of both continuity and change. Earlier [in] the century, the musical culture was a by-product of an Ottoman Islamic society, but with traits that were peculiarly Egyptian. As such, this culture persisted throughout the middle and a good portion of the late nineteenth century. Some of its facets are probably still in existence. Yet, by the closing years of the nineteenth century, Egypt’s musical and social structures had already been touched by potent forces of modernization and Westernization, a phenomenon that paved the way for the boisterous advent of the twentieth century (p. 174).

Philip V. Bohlman (“The European discovery”) (1986) examined “the discovery and portrayal of non-Western music [*i.e.*, music in the Islamic world] by musical scholars of the nineteenth century in light of its seminal role in the transformation of historical thought” (p. 148). Following Villoteau and Lane’s “initial phase in the discovery of Middle Eastern Music” (p. 150), there appeared such prominent scholars as Johann Nicolaus Forkel (1749–1818), Raphael Georg Kiesewetter (1773–1850), François-Joseph Fétis (1784–1871), August Wilhlem Ambros (1816–76), and Guido Adler (1855–1941). It was Bohlman’s stated purpose to claim that

just as the consideration of non-Western music had broadened the nature of music history, so too was historical perspective inseparable from [its] consideration The music of a past era, for example, medieval Islam, is interpreted as a means of bringing criticism to bear on the present, for example the Middle East in the nineteenth century; and, of course, virtually any musical culture may progress in evolutionary fashion. To the extent that non-Western music was subject to historical treatment by musical scholars at the end of the nineteenth century, it was readily counted among the other objects of musicological study. Ethnomusicological thought at this time may be described as fundamentally historical. . . (p. 161).

Lastly, Gabriele Braune (“Orientalischer Exotismus”) (1998) carefully reviewed the reciprocal musical influences exported from the Arabic world to Europe, and simultaneously from the Western world to the Middle East during the course of the nineteenth century.

To these studies one should add the underlying Islamic worldview (*tawhīd*), which permeated Muslim culture since the seventh century C.E. In the words of Lois Ibsen al-Faruqi (“Unity and variety”, 175–7).

One of the cultural aspects significantly influenced by [the religio-ideological core *tawhīd*] is the music of the Muslim peoples, [which] in fact... cannot be properly understood without reference to certain religiously based facts which have played a powerful role in shaping the essence and use of the musical arts. Two of these facts need clarification before we can show the influence of *tawhīd* on the musical characteristics per se... The first [is the] ongoing controversy in Muslim society over the nature and legitimacy of music...⁵⁴ [The] second... deals with terminology.

In her companion article (“Factors of continuity”), which included Egyptian music within the vast cultural complex of the Muslim world, she focused on several “salient musical features of this culture [to] describe [how] we may speak of continuity in the musical arts of the Muslims despite their national, geographic and ethnic differences” (p. 1). She then discussed the core characteristics of Quranic chant (monophony, improvisation, segmentation, etc.), which permeated (similarly or to a lesser degree) other vocal and instrumental genres within the geographical domains of the Muslim world.

From the late-nineteenth to the turn of the twentieth century, Cairo—the hub of Egypt’s urban culture, as well as its administrative, economic, educational, political, and religious center—was slowly but surely becoming a thriving musical oasis, not only for its indigenous amateur and professional musicians and entertainers (singers, actors, instrumentalists, and dancers), but also for its Maghribian, Middle Eastern (mainly Mashriqian), and European counterparts who sought a livelihood as members of touring groups or as transient performers, many of whom eventually settled there.⁵⁵ Visibly active, yet

54 For other treatments concerning this issue, see Chap. 2, n. 93.

55 Whereas European musicians were welcomed much earlier by the French than they were during Moḥammad ‘Alī’s reign, their numbers increased substantially as the British established a firmer stronghold throughout the country and as tourism became a vital part of its economy. In Cairo, where the varied European communities grew to sizeable enclaves and where its wealthy Arab families had become exposed to Western musical currents during their extended visits to Europe, they, along with the constant influx of European tourists, created ever increasing demands for musical entertainment to suit their social and cultural needs. In the words of S. el-Shawan:

“With urban areas, especially in Cairo and Alexandria, Western art music has maintained a presence since the early 19th century. Its impact on Arab music theory and practice has been particularly apparent since the early 20th century. The conceptual-

provoking controversy among the Muslim stalwarts, they provided the city's rapidly increasing native and foreign populations with the most diversified forms of public and private entertainment. And, while little has been written about Cairo's musical and theatrical life by contemporaries during the latter half of the nineteenth century, there is no question that by the early decades of the twentieth century, when European musical trends and styles were catering specifically to the tastes of the city's wealthy residents, foreign inhabitants, and tourists, concern among the city's amateur and professional Arab musicians, in contrast to some of the leading Arab intellectuals and politicians, had proliferated to such an extent that their combined indignation was receiving increased coverage in the Egyptian press. The debates between the so-called 'traditionalists' and 'modernists,' *i.e.* those who supported the old time-honored repertory (*al-qadīm*) in opposition to those who supported the new (*al-jadīd*, which assimilated the harmonic, stylistic, and performance practices of European music), had progressed without achieving a suitable resolution.⁵⁶

Among those who studied Cairo's musical life from the late nineteenth-century through the early 1930s, we turn to 'Alī Jihād Racy, Salwa el-Shawān Castelo-Branco, and Virginia L. Danielson, whose cumulative first-hand data was gathered through interviews, archival research, and personal observations.

ization of Western art music by cultural politicians and Western-trained Egyptian musicians as 'world music' (*mūsīqā 'ālamīyya*) and the association of Western culture with modernity has legitimized a steady investment in the institutionalization of Western music since the 1930s. It has also fostered the development by Egyptian composers of contemporary Egyptian musical idioms modelled on selected 19th- and 20th-century Western styles" ("Egypt §11", 8).

56 Both S. Awwād ("La musique égyptienne") and S.Q. Hassan ("Le cas de la musique arabe") also addressed this matter. Moreover, in the initial subsection "The Qadīm: the 'old' or 'organic' from his first chapter, J. Berque (*The Arabs*, 26–7) distinguished the 'old' from the 'new' in the following manner:

"To the Arabs the *qadīm*, the old, so violently abused by the partisans of the *jadīd*, the new, implies the 'organic'. Traditionalists are wont to contrast living traditions with decayed traditions; we may define the *qadīm* as the reverse side, now decayed, of something that might be called archetypal. Something which was once great, and which many of us feel to lie at the base of Arab attitudes, as many Arabs cultivate it within themselves. Whence the strange attraction they exercise over us. . . ."

"The Arabs have spoken much ill of their *qadīm*, such as four centuries of the rule of Sultans had made it. They had to admit its continuity with a metaphysical tradition. The old system was guilty, in the last resort, of having 'deserved' colonization and compacted with it to some extent, and has therefore earned accumulated blame due to the Arab people's reaction not only against those who had subjugated them but against that part of themselves that had submitted. A more balanced judgment will consider the verdict."

Racy, the Lebanese-born ethnomusicologist, performer, and composer, undertook two consecutive summers of fieldwork in Cairo (1972 and 1973) to study the Egyptian commercial recording industry. This resulted in two articles (“Recording industry” and “The impact of commercial recording”) and a dissertation (“Musical change and commercial recording”) covering its business practices, changing technologies, and the complex musical role it played in Egyptian musical life from its beginnings in 1904 to 1932, the year recordings were superseded in popularity by sound-bearing musical films.⁵⁷ To illustrate the significance and usefulness of the recordings, he analyzed fifty renditions of the *qaṣīdah* (pl. *qaṣāʿid*), a widely popular monorhymed vocal genre, to observe the changes in its form and musical components (melody, rhythm, pitch, and texture), as well as its accompanying instrumentation. In addition, he traced the country’s underlying social and urban musical innovations.

In his “Music in contemporary Cairo”, Racy presented an interesting and informative description of *the interaction between the varied peripheral domains* comprising: 1) pre-1919 music (what is referred to as *turāth* ‘heritage’); 2) Islamic religious music; 3) European art music and its Egyptian derivatives; 4) European popular musical idioms; and 5) Cairo’s indigenous folk music, *and the multi-faceted central domain* associated with professional singers and instrumentalists whose core instruments included the *ʿud*, *nāy*, *qānūn*, *violin*, *and riqq*. Its repertoire and inclusive musical genres, referred to as *mūsīqā sharqīyyah* (‘Oriental’ or ‘Middle Eastern music’), tended to exclude the second, third, and fifth domains. The first, representing “the historical ancestor of the central domain, existed primarily before World War I and was associated with the *takht* ensemble.” The fifth domain, which affected a large segment of Cairo’s population, was linked musically with the Nile communities from Upper Egypt to the Delta region (14–9 *passim*). These involved interrelationships exhibit a vibrant account of the internal and external musical influences that permeated Cairo’s musical scene up through the eighth decade of the twentieth century.

The Cairo-born ethnomusicologist Salwa el-Shawān Castelo-Branco, is most familiar with the city’s musical life.⁵⁸ In her doctoral dissertation (“Al-mūsīqā al-ʿarabīyya”), which focused on Egyptian urban secular music as it was practiced in Cairo from 1927 to 1977, she examined the “musical idioms [*al-mūsīqā*

57 See also V. Shafik (“Egyptian cinema”) for an overview.

58 She earned a degree in piano from the Cairo Conservatory. Her father, ʿAzīz el-Shawān (1916–93) was a prominent Egyptian composer of classical music, who turned to composition after studying economics. He attended the Moscow Conservatory of Music, where Aram Khachaturian was one of his principal mentors.

al-ʿarabīyya] composed and performed by Arabs that adhere to the norms of Arab music style as perceived by native musicians and audiences. It replaced the term *al-mūsīqā al-sharqīyya* (oriental music) (“Egypt §11”, 7). Like Racy, she discussed its socio-political context (1980) and the role its mediators played in its transmission (1982). In her article, “Western music and its practitioners in Egypt” (1985), she: 1) documented the institutions that enabled Western music to establish a stronghold in Egyptian musical life; 2) characterized Egyptian practitioners of Western music in terms of their social-cultural, educational, and musical backgrounds; and 3) assessed their impact on urban musical life. Her assessment was further articulated in her article “Western music and urban musical life in Egypt” (1991). Moreover, the art of improvisation, as displayed in renditions of the *layālī* and *taqāsīm* (sing. *taqsīm*; ‘unmeasured vocal and instrumental improvisations,’ resp.) in urban secular music (*al-mūsīqā al-ʿarabīyya*), formed the basis of her “Aspects de l’improvisation” (1987).

Danielson’s impeccably researched doctoral dissertation on Umm Kulthūm (1898–1975), the most renowned female singer in the Arab world, was subsequently published as *The voice of Egypt* in 1997. During her more than five years of fieldwork in Egypt, gathering material for her dissertation, she also examined the role of music, musicians, and singers in Cairo, Alexandria, and al-Minyā (in Upper Egypt). Her earliest publication concerning popular music in the Arab Middle East (1988) focused on its dissemination through the mass media, its popular styles, and regional differences. As Western musical innovations were making inroads in Cairo at the turn of the century, the city’s indigeneous populations, unlike the wealthy elite, were more attuned to traditional performances, singers, and storytellers. Musical theater was thriving throughout the first two decades of the twentieth century, during which theatergoers enjoyed the voguish presentations that the various touring companies brought back to Egypt. It was also the period of the rising popularity of male and female singers who sang at theaters and music halls (*ṣālāt*; sing. *ṣālā*), accompanied by their own instrumental consorts (*takhts*).⁵⁹ Several of her shorter publications

59 In her brief and informative section concerning music in Cairo during the 1920s (*The voice of Egypt*, 42–56), she discussed public commercial entertainment (theatrical productions, musical plays, and music halls), together with their prominent artists. J. Elsner (“Die Musikkultur Ägyptens”) also touched upon musical life in Cairo and other localities by distinguishing their urban musical styles and practices from those in the rural areas, pointing out the influences of Western music and dance, the coexisting dichotomy of classical and folk traditions, and music for religious observances, among other distinctions. Two biographical studies concerning the famous singer and composer Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1907–91) by N. al-Salihi (“Die neuere Musik”) and N.S. Azzam (“Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb”), resp., and a third (*Asmahan’s secrets*) written by S. Zuhur about the

include the pan-Arab relationship between secular and religious music (1988), and her 1989 and 1990–91 studies concerning the distinctly Egyptian *mashāyikh* (sing. *shaykh*) (pious learned men), who were expert chanters of the Qur'an and who comprised the most pervasive class of performers. Highly regarded for their musicality and wide repertoire of sacred and secular poetry, they were called upon to perform at varied venues ranging from village celebrations to wealthy salons. In the latter study, she explained Egyptian views regarding the great Arab art music tradition.⁶⁰ Her companion 1981 article on female singers also contains interesting details.

The aforementioned contributions have provided more than a glimpse of Cairo's vibrant musical life and offerings prior to the 1932 Congress. At the time of the Congress, the European delegates and non-participating foreign attendees had ample opportunities to hear and observe—beyond the scheduled afternoon and evening concerts at the Institute for Oriental Music and Congress sponsored receptions—other kinds of musical activities throughout the city. The same could be said for the thousands of pan-European tourists who were vacationing or working there. Live and recorded musics emanating from the varied cafés, restaurants, and commercial establishments were aimed at seeking clientele. During a leisurely stroll, one would surely hear one or more of the daily calls to prayer (*adhān*) from the minarets of any of the 4,000 mosques scattered throughout the city, as well as observe street musicians and dancers, peddlers hawking their wares, and especially the blind who chanted their petitions in front of mosques and whom Adolfo Salazar (“En el siglo XIV”) referred to as “an indispensable ally of the musicologists.” The city's exotic night life, with its attendant musical fare, was a welcome and joyous retreat from the sultry hot days, and where one could savor Middle Eastern cuisine. Besides the varied cultural, historical, and religious institutions and sites (museums, monuments, mosques, etc.), there were numerous theaters and music halls that furnished professional entertainment. Inasmuch as the Egyptian cinemas were still functioning without sound,⁶¹ those who had access to radios could hear, among

Syrian-Druze singer and actress Āmāl al-Atrash (1912–44), known by the name Asmahān and considered to be Umm Kulthūm's chief rival, provide interesting contextual material surrounding the activities of the Congress.

- 60 Umm Kulthūm herself was raised in this tradition as her father was a revered *shaykh*. See also Danielson's articles “Cultural authenticity” and “*Min al-mashāyikh*”.
- 61 It should be noted that the first sound musical film *Unshūdat al-Fu'ād* (*A song from the heart*), produced and filmed in Paris, was premiered in Cairo on Apr. 14, 1932, just eleven days after the formal closure of the Congress. According to A. Elnaccash (“Egyptian cinema”, 54), its shortcomings were caused by the “handling of the songs [which] were long and repetitive. . . . the camera remained static for entire musical sequences. . . [the film

other transmitted programs, live performances and commercial recordings featuring revered singers and musicians, as well as Qur'an recitations.⁶² Music was indeed a vital and sustaining element of Cairo's cultural life, as it was, perhaps to a lesser degree, in other major cities of the Arab-speaking world.

Westernization had established its foothold, thus creating a schism between the native traditionalists and modernists. Concern that this would not evolve into a permanent situation led to the creation of the Congress, for which it was necessary to invite prominent European musicians and musicologists to explore and help resolve this dilemma.

3.3 The Cairo Congress: Its Genesis and Preparation

Under the subheading "S.M. Le Roi Fouad 1^{er}" (pp. 15–7) in his introduction to the *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe*, Cairo 1934,⁶³ Maḥmūd Aḥmed el-Ḥefnī provided a concise overview concerning when and how the Cairo Congress was conceived and the preparations that ensued toward its realization. The date and place of its official announcement, if not its virtual inception, was December 26, 1929 at the inaugural ceremony of the Royal Institute of Oriental Music (*al-Ma'had al-malakī li-l-mūsīqā al-sharqīyya*). In his address to the audience in attendance, King Fu'ād, a staunch supporter of the arts and sciences, expressed his desire to

convene a Congress of Arab Music in Egypt wherein Western musicologists would participate with the aim of exploring ways to perfect Arab

lacked] dynamism and movement. . . , the visual element being static. . . ." See also V. Shafik (Egyptian cinema) for an overview.

62 This was the first, the amateur phase, of Egyptian radio, which covered the years 1923 to 1934. During this decade there were more than a hundred amateur stations in Cairo, Alexandria, and Port Sa'īd, which also transmitted "commercials, personal messages, and political propaganda." Owing to "the potential uses of this new mass medium," the Egyptian State Radio Broadcast Station was "officially inaugurated on May 31, 1934" (el-Shawan, "Radio and musical life", 1,230). M. Fathī ("L'introduction", 14) wrote that amateur radio "enhanced the sales of commercial recordings and daily newspapers," but el-Shawan remarked that there were no numerical figures to support this. For another, albeit condensed view, of the impact of the media on Egyptian music, particularly the phonograph and radio up to the opening of the Congress, see W. Armbrust ("The impact", 233–6).

63 The French version of *كممأ*, the Congress's Arabic *Proceedings* that was issued the previous year.

music, to provide it with indisputable scientific rules, and to spread its teaching.⁶⁴

In February of the following year, the Institute's Board of Directors, after securing the approval of the Minister of Education (*Ministre de l'Instruction Publique*), invited Curt Sachs from the University of Berlin (then known as Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität) to Cairo to answer its queries regarding Egyptian music and to advise on matters pertaining to the Congress.⁶⁵ Sachs later presented the Minister with a detailed report of his findings, including his whole-hearted endorsement of the proposed event.

In January of 1931, Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, a respected authority on Arab music, was summoned to Cairo at the invitation of King Fu'ād to discuss the planning of the Congress with members of the Institute of Oriental Music. On April 21 of the same year [printed inadvertently as 1933], at the King's command, el-Ḥefnī,⁶⁶ who then served as Inspector of Music Education at the Ministry of Education (*Ministère de l'Instruction Publique*), as well as the designated Secretary General of the Congress, departed for the Maghrib after having drafted the regulations relating to its organization. In Tunis, he consulted Baron d'Erlanger about its finite details and sought his recommendations concerning the chairmanships of the proposed commissions, the participants, and the varied performing ensembles to be invited.

When these matters were finalized, the directors of the Institute asked the King to issue a Royal Decree (*Rescrit Royal* no. 9) fixing the official date of the Congress. Made public on January 20, 1932, the decree named the members of the Organizing Committee,⁶⁷ among whom Moḥammed Ḥilmī 'Isā,⁶⁸ Minister

64 Original text: "... convoquer en Egypte un Congrès de musique arabe auquel prendraient part les musicologues de l'Occident avec mission d'étudier les moyens de perfectionner la musique arabe, de lui donner des règles scientifiques indiscutables et d'en diffuser l'enseignement" (*Recueil* 16).

65 Sachs was already familiar with ancient Egyptian music. His early publications on the subject include: "Die Namen der altägyptischen Musikinstrumente", in *Zeitschrift für Musikwissenschaft*, 1 (1919), 265–74; "Die altägyptische Namen der Harfe", in G. Adler (ed.): *Festschrift Hermann Kretzchmar*, Leipzig 1918, 127; "Altägyptische Musikinstrumente", in *Der alte Orient*, 21(3–4) (1920), 1; "Die Tonkunst der alten Ägypter", in *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 2 (1920), 9–17; *Die Musikinstrumente des alten Ägyptens*, Berlin 1921; *Musik des Altertums*, Breslau 1924; and *Die Musik der Antike*, Potsdam 1928.

66 For information concerning his role as Minister of Education and Secretary General of the Congress, see *Musique arabe*, 276–8.

67 See Articles I and V of the *Regulations* in App. 5.

68 Biographical information on Ḥilmī 'Isā can be found in Y. Labib Rizq ("Minister of Tradition"). For additional data see *Musique arabe*, 273–5.

of Education, was designated as its President. The Congress was to be held under the King's eminent patronage.

The invited participants included Arab, Turkish, and renowned European musicologists, musicians, music educators, music critics, and composers, together with North African and Middle Eastern musical ensembles. The format of the Congress was divided in two parts: the first comprised the daily meetings of the various Commissions, whose deliberations and resulting reports would be presented at the Plenary Sessions; the second consisted of the performance groups. Selected samples from their respective repertoires, chosen by the Commission of Recordings (*Commission de l'enregistrement*), were to be recorded and archived for future scientific study. The Congress would restrict itself solely to the technical issues previously agreed upon.⁶⁹



FIGURE 3.C *King Fu'ād, M. Riḍā Bey, and M.A. Ḥefnī* (FC f85, from the *Recueil*).

El-Ḥefnī's report in the *Recueil*, of course, provided the bare facts. Yet, given the vast literature pertaining to the Congress since its inception, we still lack extensive and detailed information concerning: 1) the successive stages of planning and the key figures who formulated its aims and procedures, including the original crucial issues that were to be discussed and debated; 2) the proposed calendar of the Congress's daily activities, including the opening ceremony,

69 The issues addressed concerned: a) enhancing the 'evolution' of Arab music; b) establishing a fixed musical scale; c) adopting specific symbols for transcribing Arab music; d) systematically organizing Arab compositions; e) investigating musical instruments and assessing their appropriateness; f) organizing music education; g) recording indigenous music from various localities; and h) discussing relevant general and scholarly works in both printed and manuscript forms (Racy, "Historical world", 70; compare with el-Shawan, "Change in Arab music", 71).

cloture, and gala concert; 3) the criteria involving the choice of participants and performing ensembles; 4) the diplomatic obstacles which each of the foreign delegations confronted; 5) the archived correspondence, press clippings, and photos; and, most particularly, 6) the historical context viewed from the perspectives of the political and cultural currents that emerged during the decade preceding the daily Commission meetings of the Congress which began on Tuesday, March 15, 1932.⁷⁰

The role of the Institute of Oriental Music was not only crucial to both its conception and realization but, from the outset, it served as the Congress's ideological and administrative center. Its roots began in 1913,⁷¹ when a small group of amateur musicians from Cairene families gathered at the private residence of Muṣṭafā Riḍā to hold its weekly musical soirées. What the group perceived as a serious threat was the continuous encroachment of musical attitudes, concepts, styles, and trends from European sources (musicians, music teachers, and the then recent surge of commercial phonograph recordings) that was affecting traditional Arabic vocal and instrumental genres.⁷² Prolonged discussions concerning the preservation of their native musical heritage led initially to the establishment of the Oriental Music Club (*Nādī al-mūsīqā al-sharqīyya*),⁷³

70 Confirmed in the French-Egyptian Daily, *La bourse égyptienne* (Mar. 15th); the preceding day was planned as a reception for the delegates. These daily meetings would continue until Sat., Mar. 26th. Monday the 28th marked the official opening of the Congress.

71 Earlier in 1906, according to S. el-Shawan ("Egypt §11", 11), the first school in Cairo to teach Arab and European music was founded by the prominent musicians Mansūr 'Awāḍ and Sāmī al-Shawā. Thereafter the latter allied himself with the Institute, yet both participated in the 1932 Congress.

72 A.J. Racy ("Historical world", 81–3) provided a much broader, yet succinct explanation of how "Egyptian views of music history were deeply influenced by the West" since the Napoleonic invasion.

73 Concerning the group's beginnings, see F. Ḥassan ("The word") and an article written by Rizqallah Shehata that appeared months prior to the Congress, which Y. Labib Rizq revisited in *Al-Ahrām weekly online* (2003). A more recent and concise description of its evolution was made by A.E. Thomas ("Intervention and reform", 1–2):

"In the early 20th century there emerged a generation of educated Egyptians, primarily of Ottoman heritage, referred to collectively as the *effendīyya*. From this group, a class of gentlemen musicians, or *hawwīn* emerged. These elite amateur musicians published instrumental method books and self-study manuals on music theory and notation. It was members of this group that founded *Nādī al-Mūsīqā al-Sharqīyya* (The Oriental Music Club) in 1914 [*sic* 1913], which eventually developed into *al-Ma'had al-Maliki li-l-Mūsīqā al-Sharqīyya*, the Royal Oriental Music Institute. . . that hosted the 1932 Conference; the gentlemen musicians that formed its staff comprised the 'local arrangements committee' . . ."

where musicians could perform authentic Arab music, drawing from its vast traditional repertoire under the instruction of respected Arab musicians.⁷⁴ It was also here that the idea emerged to create an Egyptian music institute. Meeting successively at various private homes during the course of almost two decades, the club's final sessions took place in a room in the Mu'ayyad Building, which it leased from the British-owned Gramophone Records. The building, located on a plot of land that was granted by the Egyptian government and presently known as Ramses Square, became the official site of the Institute of Oriental Music.⁷⁵ Its board of directors included Muṣṭafā Riḍā, the acknowledged founder of the Institute who served as its Chairman.⁷⁶

"[They] had an uneasy relationship with the professional musicians who made their living playing for social events, in concert halls and, since the 1910s, in Egypt's popular musical theaters. The professional musicians, who were now organized as a 'Syndicate' that replaced the earlier guilds, were unschooled, played 'vulgar' music, and continued to be held in moral suspicion."

Interestingly, Moḥammad Faṭḥī, when interviewed by S. el-Shawan ("Data on", 6), referred to the music club as a 'Society,' but credited Ḥassan Walī as its founder. Besides himself, he named three other early members: Sāmī al-Shawā, Ṣafar 'Alī, and Ḥassan el-Mamlouk. For information concerning the conflicts that arose between members of the 'Syndicate' and those of the Institute, as well as the complaints from members of the 'Syndicate' for not having been invited to the Congress, see *Musique arabe*, 230–2 and 286–8, resp.).

74 The club promoted its activities through benefit concerts, such as the one, mentioned by N.S. 'Azzām ("Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb", 26), that was performed in Alexandria in 1925. Even M. 'Abd al-Wahhāb himself profited greatly from his involvement with the club, both musically and socially, as he gradually earned acceptance into the circle of the social elite (*ibid.*, 30).

75 The title of the Institute has been bandied about continuously in subsequent publications. Scholars familiar with the literature will agree that it has been referred to variously as the Institute of Oriental Music, Oriental Music Institute, Royal Institute for Oriental Music, National Academy of Music, and as the King Fu'ād Conservatory of Music. It was at the inaugural ceremony, however, that the *Nādi al-Mūsīqā al-Sharqīyya* "officially became *Al-Ma'had al-mūsīqā al-'arabīyya* (The Oriental Music Institute)" (N. S. 'Azzām, "Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb", 36). A brief history of the Institute, written by Ḥusni el-Shantanawi, Editor of *Al-Ahrām weekly*, was purported to have been published in the early 1930s. An unseen article by C. Narbaraoui ("Le conservatoire") may also contain important information. Additional information about the Institute can be found in A.S. Abū 'Uf (*Al-Ma'had al-mūsīqā*), M.A. Dhaki ("Al-Ma'had al-malakī"), S.A. el-Kholy (*The Institute of Music*), and from local Cairene press releases in *Musique arabe*, 261–73.

76 Other members of the board included: Naguib Māḍī (Cultural Director); [Maḥmūd] Ḥamīd (Administrative Assistant); Ḥassan Anwar [Amin] (Treasurer); and 'Abd al-Khālīq 'Ayyād. Ṣafar 'Alī was cited as Technical Vice-President according to an article in *al-Ṣabāḥ*, no. 282 (Feb. 19, 1932), 6. S. El-Shawan, ("The socio-political", 117, n. 11) mentioned additional

It was indeed at the Institute's inaugural ceremony on Thursday afternoon, December 26, 1929, that King Fu'ād expressed, before the gala audience in attendance,⁷⁷ his desire to sponsor a Congress on Arab Music. Inasmuch as this appears to have been the first public announcement of the event, Christian Poché, in his introduction to Volume I of the reprinted edition of d'Erlanger's *La musique arabe*, Paris 2001, 13, disclosed that, earlier that year, the king had already mentioned the proposed Congress to Filippo Tommaso Marinetti,⁷⁸ who, after their private meeting, recorded the king's words in his *Il fascino dell'Egitto*, Milan 1933, 33:

Next winter I will organize here in Cairo and will personally preside over the first great Congress of Arab music. All the composers, foreign musicians, and performing artists of Islam will be summoned, together with their instruments to debate the best way to develop the musical genius of our ancestry and to preserve our ancient artistic traditions, thus arousing new creative artists.⁷⁹

The idea of a Congress, however, which had already been germinating among several members of the Oriental Music Club, may have been communicated to the king as early as the Spring of 1929. And, inasmuch as Maḥmūd Aḥmed el-Ḥefnī had then been living in Germany for almost two decades under the

members such as Al-Shikh Muḥammad 'Abd al-Muṭṭilib, Muḥammad Zakī Sirrī, and Muḥammad Ḥamdī. The late Fayza Ḥassan (d. 2008), a founding member of *Al-Ahrām weekly*, contributed a short piece ("The word") about the Institute wherein she named, in addition to the former group, Moḥamed Tawfīq Omrān (Secretary), Ḥassan Murād el-Mulla (Deputy Secretary), and the Board Member Aḥmed Sadeq.

77 A short notice of the event, printed in *The sphinx* (Dec. 28, 1929), reported that the King was accompanied by his Prime Minister, Twefik Nessim Pāshā, and that the audience comprised "a large gathering of Ministers, heads of religious bodies, and prominent personalities in the world of art, including the poet Aḥmed Shawqī Bey, who had composed an ode for the occasion; the king himself gave vigorous proof of his interest in the Fine Arts by presenting the new institution with a thousand valuable books."

78 Marinetti (1876–1944), the Egyptian-born Italian writer, novelist, playwright, and poet, was one of the main founders of the Futurist movement, for which, in 1908, he wrote its Manifesto. In 1918, he established the Italian Futurist Political Party (*Partido Politico Futurista*), which was later absorbed by Mussolini's Fascist Party.

79 Original text: Nell'inverno prossimo organizzerò e presiederò lo stesso, qui al Cairo, il primo grande congresso di musica araba. Tutti i compositori, tutti i musicisti girovaghi e tutti gli improvvisatori dell'Islam saranno convocati coi loro strumenti. Discuteremo sul modo migliori di sviluppare il genio musicale delle nostre razze, conservando le vecchie tradizioni artistiche e insieme suscitando nuove originalità creatrici.

partial auspices of the Egyptian Ministry of Education, M. Riḍā, the Club's spokesman, had contacted him to inquire about a European musicologist who could be consulted concerning the technical issues involved. Following el-Ḥefnī's advice, Riḍā sent a letter to Curt Sachs during the month of July 1929, seeking answers to the following questions:

1. How can Oriental [Arab] music be modernized in a beneficial manner, taking into account the fundamental technical principles of Western music?;
2. What modifications should be made on Arabic musical instruments to produce the greatest variety of tone?;
3. How can a comprehensive curriculum of music education be developed in Egypt, with regard to retaining its essential modal and rhythmic characteristics?;
4. How can a museum for musical instruments be realized (perhaps even organizing one for Oriental and another for Western music)?;
- and 5. What is the best way to collect, collate, and classify Egyptian folksongs?⁸⁰

In addition, he sought Sachs' advice concerning the organization of the congress on music, subject, of course, to the king's approval.

Within a fortnight following the inauguration of the Institute, Riḍā sought the approval of Murād Sayad Aḥmed, the then Minister of Education, to invite Prof. Curt Sachs to study and report on the state of music in Egypt, following the guidelines of the music club's earlier questionnaire of July 1929. The request was granted. But, it was not until February 20 of the following year that Sachs left for Egypt, accompanied by el-Ḥefnī.⁸¹ Sachs would remain in Egypt

80 By the time the Congress convened, the questions served as the subjects that were to be discussed and deliberated upon by the participating body. Translating directly from the *KMM'A* (p. 24), S. el-Shawan ("Change in Arab music", 71–2) itemized them as: a) recording and documenting a sample of musical compositions reflecting the current state of music in participant countries; b) surveying, systematizing, analyzing, and comparing the *maqām*, *iqā'*, instruments, and vocal forms in Egypt and other Middle Eastern countries; c) measuring the intervals of the Arab music scale and assessing their influence on music styles; d) determining the most appropriate notations for Arab music; e) surveying Arab musical instruments, and recommending the exclusion of those that are 'inappropriate'; f) evaluating music education in Egypt and proposing plans for its future; and g) surveying early music manuscripts and extant publications on Arab music history.

81 By this time, through the coordinated efforts of Riḍā and M. Sayad Aḥmed, the Ministry of Education had assumed an active role in realizing the Congress. Sachs' trip to Egypt on Feb. 20th was confirmed in Lachmann's letter (written from Berlin on Feb. 19, 1930) to H.G. Farmer (FC 467.53; see p. 129 *infra*). Months later, when Sachs completed his report, it was translated into Arabic (for the Ministry) by el-Ḥefnī and relayed to the king.

for two or more months,⁸² and, inasmuch as he later provided answers to the aforementioned queries in a twenty-seven page report, we learn from Poché (Le Baron Rodolphe 15) that

it was never published and it presently remains unknown whether it has been preserved or lost. Its contents, however, were made known to the local press, which criticized it vehemently.⁸³ In the August 28, 1931 issue of *Al-Rādiū*, Sachs' positions on matters, which in the eyes of Egyptians did not concern music, were denounced, particularly his omission of the very spirit of modernism.⁸⁴

82 In Lachmann's same letter to Farmer, Sachs' return date is confusing. In his fourth sentence, Lachmann stated that it was "two months" after his departure; but in his fifth, he cited "May." El-Ḥefnī, however, did not return to Berlin as Lachmann intimated. Even Sachs himself vaguely described the duration of his Egyptian sojourn as "einen mehrmonatigen Aufenthalt" ("Kongress", 448), implying more than a month. Poché wrote that Sachs "foulera le sol d'Alexandrie le 25 février et résidera au Caire près d'un mois" ("Le Baron Rodolphe", 15), and in an interview the Dutch musicologist Julius Hijman conducted with Sachs, four months was mentioned ("Egypte spant", 162).

83 The only source I've been able to locate concerning Sachs' 1930 report is from Y. Labib Rizq (Plaintive strains), who obtained his information from an article in *Al-Ahrām* that appeared several months before the Congress. Its title, "Plaintive strains in Arab and Western music", written by the Egyptian composer Rizqallah Shehata, informs that the general content of Sachs' report, entitled "Oriental music in Egypt," was based on el-Ḥefnī's Arabic translation. Quoting from Labib Rizq:

"The study categorised Egyptian music into the religious: Qur'anic recitation, the call to prayer, dervish music and Coptic liturgical chants; and secular folk songs, worker and boatmen chants, tribal music, police and military music, coffeehouse and theatre music, and concert music. In [Sachs'] opinion. . . Egyptian music is deeply ingrained in the Egyptian soul. Therefore [quoting Sachs], 'we must be extremely cautious not to neglect it in a blind rush to embrace other music that would be incomprehensible here.' In the interests of preserving Egypt's musical heritage, [Sachs] proposed creating a national archive of popular songs which would collect music that had not been registered on phonograph, 'such as the songs sung by the elderly, troubadour narratives, worker chants, calls to prayer, Sufi music, village *tabla* and reed flute troupes, and Bedouin, Nubian, and Sudanese tribal music.'"

Dāwūd Ḥusnī, a member of the musicians' Syndicate who either saw the report or got wind of it, sent a rather harsh criticism to the periodical *Al-Rādiū*, no. 24 (Aug. 8, 1932; repr. in *Musique arabe*, 279–81). He claimed that the Syndicate was not informed of Sachs' visit and that attempts to meet him were in vain.

84 Original text: "est demeuré inédit et l'on ignore à l'heure actuelle, s'il est conservé ou définitivement perdu. Son contenu a du certes parvenir à la presse locale qui s'en fait largement l'écho et le dénigre avec véhémence, comme le souligne le magazine *al-Rādiū*

During his lengthy residence in Berlin, el-Ḥefnī had studied at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität,⁸⁵ where, under the supervision of Prof. Curt Sachs, and with the help of Dr. Robert Lachmann, he completed his doctoral dissertation,⁸⁶ being a German translation of the section on music from Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Najāt*. In addition, his critical edition of al-Kindī's *Risāla fī khubr ta'līf al-alḥān* (in collaboration with Lachmann) was almost completed.⁸⁷ Upon his return to Cairo, with his German wife and two infant daughters, the Minister of Education appointed him to the post of Inspector of Music Education. There he was put in charge of the music curriculum for the Egyptian public school system and was also assigned to matters pertaining to the Congress, for which he was later named Secretary General of its Organizing Committee.⁸⁸ Although

(Aug. 28, 1931) qui dénonce la prise de position de particulièrement penché sur des domaines qui aux yeux des Égyptiens, ne relèvent aucunement de musique et surtout par l'occultation faite par le musicologue allemand envers tout esprit de modernisme." The entire text from *Al-Rādīū*, which can be found in *Musique arabe* 279–81, bears revealing information concerning Sachs' Egyptian sojourn.

- 85 Prior to his studies at the Universität, according to A. Berner ("Dr. Maḥmud Aḥmed El-Ḥefny", 70), el-Ḥefnī went to Berlin in 1916, at the age of twenty, for the sole intention of studying medicine, but later enrolled in the Berliner Staatliche Hochschule für Musik, where he studied flute with Emil Prill (1867–1940). At Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, he studied musicology under Profs. Sachs and Hornbostel, earning his Dr. Phil. degree in 1930. According to A.E. Thomas ("Developing Arab music", 78–9), who obtained her information from al-Ḥefnī's daughter's recollections of her father (*Abi wa ustādhi*, 37), he was sent to Berlin by his father in 1920 to study medicine, but two and a half years later switched to musical studies (flute at the Hochschule, graduating in 1925), and in 1928 began studies in musicology at Berlin Univ. under a fellowship from the Egyptian government. In Berlin he lived with the Berners, a musical family, whose daughter Gertrud he married.
- 86 Although he defended his dissertation in Nov. 1930, it was officially submitted to the University on May 19, 1931.
- 87 Both his dissertation and collaborative edition, published under the auspices of the newly founded (1930) Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Musik des Orients [GEMO] (Society for Oriental Music Research), were subsequently printed by the publishing house Hellwig (Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1931) and by Fr. Kistner and C.F.W. Siegel (Leipzig 1931), resp. The Society was directed by Dr. Johannes Wolf, Professor of Music at the Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, and Director of the Music Dept. at the National Library (Staatsbibliothek). The Society was later renamed the Gesellschaft für vergleichende Musikwissenschaft, for which Lachmann launched the *ZvMW* a year after the Congress.
- 88 According to Y. Labib Rizq ("Plaintive strains"), citing information from the Ministry of Education that was hosting the conference, [it] first created a nine-member planning committee that included the Minister of Education along with such public figures as Naguib el-Hilali Bey, Dr. Maḥmūd el-Ḥanaḥī (*sic* Ḥefnī), and such literary and intellectual figures as Aḥmed Shawqī, Ragheb Mouftah, Ṣafar 'Alī, Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥajjāj, Maḥmūd 'Alī



FIGURE 3.D *Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger* (FC 504, title page).

el-Ḥefnī did not have an immediate hand in conceiving the Congress, as intimated by A.J. Racy (“Historical world”, 60), his ascendancy to Secretary General began soon after he served as an advisor to both Muṣṭafā Riḏā and the Minister of Education.

Whereas Baron d'Erlanger's assumed role in initiating the Congress has not been fully clarified, his early involvement had indeed been most essential. During the month of January 1931, almost a year after Sachs' visit, the Board of Directors at the Institute brought the Baron's name to the attention of King Fu'ād, who, in turn, invited the Baron to serve as Technical Vice-President of the Organizing Committee.⁸⁹

Faḏlī, and Naḡhīb Naḡās.” This differs somewhat from the membership listed in Article v of the *Regulations* (see App. 5).

89 For the letter (dated Jan. 26, 1932) proposing his nomination to the Organizing Committee, see the *Recueil* 25. For some unknown administrative reason, according to C. Poché (“Le Baron Rodolphe”, 16), the final document [*Rescrit Royal*, no. 10] naming d'Erlanger as Technical Vice-President was not signed until Jan. 28, 1932. It appears that his nomination caused a rift between the Ministry of Education and members of the Institute of Oriental Music, who wished to retain their exclusive technical and artistic control. This ‘silent war,’ which continued for more than a year and which dominated the Egyptian press, delayed the opening of the Congress. For other important issues relating to the rift, see *Musique arabe*, 230–2. It was, however, King Fu'ād's original intention that the Congress would convene during the winter of 1931.

Born in Boulogne-sur-Seine, a Gothic village in the southwestern suburb of Paris in 1872 to a prominent family of Jewish bankers,⁹⁰ Rodolphe displayed a natural inclination toward the fine arts and music. In Paris, at the Académie Julian, he studied painting under Jules Joseph Lefebvre (1836–1911) and Tony Robert-Fleury (1837–1912). He was particularly interested in oriental portraiture and landscapes. Knowledge concerning his early musical education is wanting. However, his oldest brother Frédéric Alfred (1868–1943),⁹¹ who became a lesser known composer, studied music in Paris under Anselm Ehmant (1832–95).⁹² Frédéric later joined the family's banking establishment in London. It was also in London (on June 19, 1897), where Rodolphe married Elisabetta (Bettina) Barbiellini-Amedei (1875–1961), daughter of the Italian aristocrat Count D'Amidei Francesco Barbiellini l'Elmi (born in Perugia, ca. 1841) and his American wife, Harriet Hallam Lewis (from New London, Connecticut). Because of Rodolphe's acute bronchial and pulmonary condition, the couple was advised by his doctors to seek drier climate. Initially they traveled to Egypt (for a six month sojourn, from Nov. 1904 to Apr. 1905), then to Tunis (in 1909),⁹³ where Rodolphe purchased property at Sidi-bou-Saïd,⁹⁴ upon which he subsequently built his palatial home, Nejma Ezzorra (Star of Venus).⁹⁵ Its construction lasted a decade (from 1912 to 1922).

90 The youngest of three sons, born to Baron Frédéric Emile d'Erlanger (1832–1911) and the American-born Marguerite Mathilde d'Erlanger (née Sidell) (1832–1927), he was raised according to the Catholic faith.

91 Born in Paris, he became a British citizen in his early twenties. Among his compositions are three operas (*Jehan de Saintré*, Aix-les-Bains 1893, *Ines Mendo*, London 1897, which he wrote under the pseudonym Frédéric Régnal and renamed *Das Erbe*, and *Tess*, Naples 1906), orchestral works (which include a *Suite symphonique*, 1895, a Violin Concerto [performed by Fritz Kreisler in 1909]), and a requiem mass. Two ballets composed in his later London years were *Les cent baisers* and *Cendrillon*.

92 The German-born Ehmant studied under Moritz Hauptmann and Ignaz Moscheles at the Leipzig Conservatory. In 1855, he immigrated to Paris, where, until 1870, he directed two male-voice choirs. He was highly revered as a teacher of piano and composition. See *The musical times* (Mar. 1, 1895) 189.

93 Tunisia had officially been a "protectorate" of France since 1881.

94 Located twenty kilometers northeast of Tunis and overlooking the Bay of Tunis, this village (*olim* Jabal el-Menar) was renamed after the Muslim saint Abī Sa'īd ibn Khalīf ibn Yahia el-Beji (1156–1231), who was born and buried there.

95 Interesting facts about the Baron's life there can be found in 'Alī Louati's *Le Baron d'Erlanger et son Palais Ennejma Ezzahra à Sidi-bou-Saïd*, Tunis 1995. See also R. Davis ("Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger"). A most recent article, "Visiting the Baron's palace" by David Tresilian in *Al-Ahram weekly online*, no. 1112 (Aug. 30–Sept. 5, 2012), furnishes details about the Baron's dedication to Arab music, architecture, and painting.

As he became more proficient in Arabic, the Baron absorbed himself in the study of Islamic civilization and had become a generous patron of Arab music. His circle of friends included well-known musicians. Manifesting an interest in the *qanūn*, he studied under the renowned Tunisian *qanūn* player, Mardīkh (Mardocheé) Salāmah (1870–1942).⁹⁶ In 1922, upon the completion of his palatial home, he began the first of his projected series of translations dealing with medieval Arabic treatises on music. Seeking competent translators, he enlisted the aid of Sidī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, an authority on Tunisian and Arab music, and for a limited time, ‘Abdel ‘Aziz Bakkouch, the Baron’s first secretary. He also sought advice from his close friend Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb,⁹⁷ the Tunisian historian and Governor of Mahdia, concerning historical and cultural matters. For his yet unpublished volumes (11 through VI), he relied mainly on the collaboration of Al-Sanūsī. D’Erlanger also maintained correspondence with the French Orientalist, Baron Bernard Carra de Vaux, whom he asked to read the final manuscript of his first volume and to write its preface. Soon after its appearance (Paris 1930), Bakkouch was replaced by al-Sanūsī as the Baron’s personal secretary.

During Baron d’Erlanger’s three-week stay in Cairo in January of 1931, he spent considerable time at the Institute discussing matters pertaining to the Congress. There he met ‘Alī al-Darwīsh, the Aleppo-born Egyptian composer, virtuoso *nāy* player, and instructor of music theory who had been living in Cairo since 1927.⁹⁸ Impressed with al-Darwīsh’s musical competence,

96 Salāmah was introduced to the Baron in 1917 and shortly thereafter moved from his home in Tunis to La Marsa, a coastal town slightly northwest of Sidi-bou-Saïd, so that he could acquaint the Baron with the *qanūn* and other musical matters. Together they organized private concerts. Poché (“Le Baron Rodolphe”, 7) tells us that d’Erlanger’s first music tutor was Aḥmad al-Wāfī (1850–1921), a member of the Sufi order Ṣadhilyah and a great authority on Hispano-Arab music. Aḥmad initiated the Baron into the mysteries of his art and introduced him to the music of the varied Sufi gatherings that proliferated in Tunis. It was he who also suggested to the Baron the project of translations. For additional biographical material, see d’Erlanger’s *La musique arabe*, v, 381–2.

97 Already known for his important publication, “Le développement de la musique arabe en Orient, Espagne et Tunisie”, in *Revue tunisienne* 25 (1918), 106–17, ‘Abd al-Wahhāb showered praises on the Baron and Lachmann for their pioneering contributions to Tunisia’s musical life at the beginning of the twentieth century. He would later serve as head of the Tunisian delegation at the Cairo Congress, before which he delivered the opening and closing speeches (Poché, “Le Baron Rodolphe”, 9–10).

98 Al-Sanūsī accompanied the Baron when they first met ‘Alī al-Darwīsh at the Mevlevi *tekké* in Cairo (see d’Erlanger’s *La musique arabe*, v, 381). Al-Darwīsh was already an active member of the Sufi orders in Aleppo and Cairo.

d'Erlanger obtained permission from King Fu'ād to release him from his contractual duties at the Institute so that he could spend six months (Oct. 1931 to Mar. 1932) at Sidi-bou-Saïd to assist him in classifying the modes and rhythms in current use. Alexandre Chalfoun (1881–1934), the Lebanese-born Egyptian and knowledgeable theorist on the Arab modal system, also assisted. His views of the modal system were of considerable help to the participants at the Cairo Congress during their discussions concerning the definition of mode. Among his published works was *Kitāb al-alāmāt al-mūsīqīyya* (*The book of musical notation*) (Cairo 1926).

In mid-April, three months after the Baron's visit to Cairo, el-Ḥefnī, under orders from King Fu'ād, departed for the Maghrib. He had just completed the latest draft of the regulations regarding the organization and technical agenda of the Congress. In Tunis, he met with the Baron (on Apr. 21) at Sidi-bou-Saïd, where, after several days, they finalized the regulations, reviewed Sachs' report, discussed other important aspects of the Congress's program, and decided which delegations should be invited, along with their performing troupes.⁹⁹ From there he traveled to Algeria and Morocco to consult with the heads of their respective delegations.¹⁰⁰

On June 10, 1931, Moḥammed Ḥilmī 'Isā, a loyal supporter of King Fu'ād, had replaced Murad Sayed Aḥmed as Minister of Education (Labīb Rizq, "Plaintive strains"). Ḥilmī 'Isā's tenure was to be short-lived, lasting until November of the following year, but of sufficient duration to oversee the direction of the Congress. As a seasoned jurist and former head of the Ministries of Interior, Transportation, and Religious Endowments,¹⁰¹ he wielded considerable power and judgment, and rightly so, having been designated chief liaison officer to the King. Consequently, upon el-Ḥefnī's return from the Maghrib, all present and future matters would be reported to Ḥilmī 'Isā, who ultimately, and in consort with el-Ḥefnī and members of the Organizing Committee, met with the King to fix the Congress's official opening and closing dates.

In October of 1931, six months after el-Ḥefnī's visit to Sidi-bou-Saïd, al-Darwīsh arrived there as previously planned. He had already made an extensive study of Arabic modes, musical forms, and their adaption to Western musical

99 Poché ("Le Baron Rodolphe", 15) wrote: Elles ne sont rien d'autres qu'une variante de celles adressées auparavant à Curt Sachs et loin des préoccupations envoyées à l'éditeur parisien Paul Geuthner et reproduites dans son *Catalogue général des livres de 1931*.

100 If one should wonder why scholars and musicians from Libya and Saudi Arabia were not invited to the Congress, M.S. el-Mahdi ("A few notes", 11) reminds us that their fascist colonial authorities did not permit their participation.

101 As a traditionalist, Ḥilmī 'Isā frowned upon coeducation.

notation. His six-month collaboration with the Baron proved most fruitful, not only for Tunisia's theoretical presentation at the Congress, which was partially discussed in the Arabic and French proceedings, but for its expanded version in volumes v and vi of d'Erlanger's *La musique arabe*.¹⁰²

When al-Darwish returned to Cairo in mid-March 1932 for the official opening of the Congress, d'Erlanger, following the advice of his doctors, had been lingering for a short while in the drier climate of Kairouan, some 120 kilometers south of Tunis. By this time his health had so deteriorated that he was unable to travel to Cairo.¹⁰³ Prior to his death on October 29, he entrusted al-Sanūsī

102 Based on their collaborative research at Sidi-bou-Saïd, the "expanded version" dealt expressly and elaborately with the classification of the modal system (d'Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, v, Livre II, Chaps. 1–5), the melodic modes in current use in the Near East and their corresponding *taqāsīm* (sing. *taqsīm*) (following Chap. 5 in Livre II), and rhythms (vi, Livre I, Chaps. 1–3) in current use throughout the Middle East, the classical rhythms of the Tunisian *nauba* (pl. *naubāt*) from the Andalusian tradition (vi, Livre I, Chap. 4), and the varied artistic forms of Maghribian vocal (v, Livre II, Chaps. 1–4) and instrumental (vi, Livre II, Chap. 5) music from pre-Islamic times to the present. Vol. vi also included two *albums* (compendiums), the first of which comprised 111 melodic examples of Arab rhythmic patterns (*awzān*) (sing. *wazn*), plus musical transcriptions of selected songs and instrumental preludes (with French translations of their Arabic texts), whereas the second included diverse classical forms of artistic compositions in the modern Arab tradition, including thirty transcriptions of vocal and instrumental pieces (also with French translations of their Arabic texts). Vol. v, Livre I, concerned the concept of scale and its divisions in modern Arab music. Al-Darwish drew upon the modal and rhythmic material for his discussions in the commission dealing with modes, rhythms, and composition under the chairmanship of Ra'ouf Yekta Bey. For further details concerning the presentation of this material at the Congress, see R. Davis (*Ma'luf*, 45–50). Dr. Youssef Shawqī, the prominent Egyptian musician, geologist, and physicist, explained to S. el-Shawan (Data on 11) that, although Baron d'Erlanger was credited at that commission with the presentation on the classification of the *maqāmāt*, "the truth is that d'Erlanger bought the work from . . . al-Darwish, who did not care much for scientific truth and added many Turkish *makāmāt* to our Arabic ones." His statement bears relevance, considering that al-Darwish's early musical training was at the Darulelhan Music Conservatory in Istanbul. How d'Erlanger was influenced by the Aleppine *maqām* practice espoused by al-Darwish was brought out in L. Lino's article ("Inheriting"). Still, one may wish to seek comparisons in Karl L. Signell's *Makām: Modal practice in Turkish music*, Seattle 1977, as well as examine J.-Cl.C. Chabrier's entry "Makām" (1991) concerning the Arabo-Irano-Turkish and assimilated modes that are still in current use.

103 Lamentably, the speech, which he had prepared to deliver at the Congress, was not read. It was purported to have been printed under the title "La musique arabe*", in *La revue musicale*, 13(128) (1932), 118–23, bearing the editor's note [*] "Nous sommes heureux de donner à nos lecteurs le texte du discours prononcé par le Baron R. d'Erlanger à l'inauguration

with the editing, supervision, and printing of the posthumous volumes (II through VI) of *La musique arabe*.

3.4 How Farmer Became Involved with the Congress

In the Fall of 1923, when Farmer (then forty-one years old) began the third year of his Master's Degree program at Glasgow University, he had already completed four years of Arabic under the masterful tutelage of Thomas Weir. His motivation to learn Arabic occurred less than a decade earlier while he was translating Francisco Salvador-Daniel's *La musique arabe . . .*, and for which his publisher requested additional explanatory notes. For Farmer the translation was both a difficult and unsatisfying task, having realized that the French (Christianowitsch, Fétis, Land, and Parisot) and the German (Kiesewetter) sources from which he obtained information were insufficient, and that he must examine the original Arabic manuscripts. Nonetheless, he completed the work for the London publisher William Reeves, who commissioned the work and had it printed in 1915. Since then, the only other essays Farmer wrote on Arab music were those he submitted as a graduate research student. But on Monday, October 1st 1923, shortly before the start of the fall term when the Glasgow University Oriental Society convened the second of its biannual meetings, Farmer made his debut before a scholarly body, presenting his lecture on "The Arabian influence on European music."¹⁰⁴

For Farmer, the ensuing Christmas holidays were enjoyable, despite his professional work and studies.¹⁰⁵ Apart from the gifts and cards he received from his family, Musicians' Union, theatrical, and university friends, as well as from his Empire Theatre admirers, there was among them a letter from Berlin (dated Dec. 22, 1923) from Robert Lachmann,¹⁰⁶ who had written to introduce himself. Lachmann mentioned that he had purchased a copy of Farmer's

du Congrès de musique arabe du Caire." See C. Poché's comments ("Le Baron Rodolphe", 16–7).

104 Not only was it a slightly revised version of an earlier essay entitled "The Arab influence on musical theory", but it appeared two years later as his emblematic "Clues for the Arabian influence on European musical theory", in *JRAS* (Jan., 1925), 61–80.

105 Contractually, he was committed to three performances (matinee and two nightly) on Christmas and New Year's day.

106 The correspondence between Lachmann and Farmer can be found in FC 467. We are preparing for publication their entire correspondence (between 1923 and 1938). Ten years Farmer's junior, Lachmann had already earned his Ph.D. degree in Musicology and Arabic in 1922. He also held a degree in librarianship and, like Farmer, had studied the violin.

translation of Salvador-Daniel and briefly commented upon Jules Rouanet's entry in the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du conservatoire* (1922).¹⁰⁷ In addition, he enclosed an offprint of his first publication (actually a redaction of his doctoral dissertation), "Die Musik in den tünisischen Städten", from the *Archiv für Musikwissenschaft*, 5 (1923). In his second letter (dated Feb. 15, 1924), Lachmann wrote that he had photographs of different fragments from al-Kindī's treatise, *Risāla fī khubr ta'rif al-alḥān*, which he intended to publish with translations, but if Farmer had already done so and was about to make them public, he would not take the trouble. In his fourth letter (dated Aug. 8, 1924) and again in the second of two postcards (from Kiel, dated Sept. 12) he asked Farmer if there was a chance of meeting him in London in September. What undoubtedly confounded Farmer, who was still a graduate student, was Lachmann's query (in an unrecovered letter written sometime in Mar. or Apr. of 1925) about the possibility of getting an appointment in Britain because of prejudice against Jews in Germany. Although we have no record of Farmer's full reply, we can gather from a note he typed (sometime after World War II) on the verso side of a brief letter he received from Prof. David Samuel Margoliouth, that he did make inquiries on Lachmann's behalf.¹⁰⁸ Again from Kiel (dated Apr. 20, 1926), Lachmann divulged that he was working on a monograph entitled *Musik des Orients* and asked if Farmer had encountered difficulties with Ṣafi-ad-Dīn. In his postscript he added comments about organum and polyphony. Two months later (on June 23), Farmer was capped Ph.D. during the graduation

107 See n. 115 *infra*. He may have noticed that Farmer, in his preface, acknowledged the personal information he received from Rouanet.

108 In his letter (dated Apr. 22, 1925), Margoliouth agreed to read Farmer's typescript manuscript on the *Organ of the Ancients* and also made reference to Lachmann's situation.

Farmer's post-ww II note read:

"There is a great deal of correspondence missing here (and indeed elsewhere). Lachmann wrote me about the prejudices against him in Germany. His parents, both charming people who I met in Germany [in 1927], were Jews. Both were liquidated during world-war no. 2."

"Robert wrote me about March 1925, asking if there was any possibility of an appointment in Britain. I said that a position in Scotland was unlikely, but there might be a chance in England. I wrote several people. Professor Margoliouth suggested [in his next letter] that Lachmann should call on him at Oxford [Univ.]. This Lachmann neglected to do. Indeed he seemed to think that Margoliouth should go to London to see him."

"I was amazed at this foolish attitude. Margoliouth wrote me later asking when he was coming for the interview, to which I had to reply, 'Don't bother any further'. H.G.F." (FC 467).

ceremony at Glasgow University, but there was no letter from Lachmann that indicated his awareness of this achievement.

It was during Farmer's first subvented Carnegie Trust trip to Berlin in September of 1927 that he finally met Lachmann, who was about to be elevated to a permanent position in the Music Section of the Prussian State Library.¹⁰⁹ At the time of his visit, both he and Lachmann had already exchanged more than a dozen letters. While in Berlin, Farmer also took the opportunity to meet Erich M. von Hornbostel (FC 43.3, 302).¹¹⁰

Lachmann was then assisting Maḥmūd A. el-Ḥefnī with his doctoral thesis dealing with the sections on music from Ibn Sīnā's *Kitāb al-Najāt*. Possibly at Lachmann's suggestion, el-Ḥefnī wrote a letter to Farmer (dated July 7, 1928)¹¹¹ in which he introduced himself as a doctoral student at Berlin University. He sought Farmer's advice about the condition of the two Ibn Sīnā MSS (Oxford Bodleian Library's Marsh 161 and Marsh 521) that Farmer discussed in his 1925 article "Arabic musical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library." He also wished to obtain photostats of both. There followed Farmer's detailed reply (dated July 9th), and el-Ḥefnī's grateful acknowledgment of July 12th. A year later (Sept. 2, 1929), el-Ḥefnī again wrote for advice concerning the clearest copies of the Ṣafī-al-Dīn and al-Fārābī MSS that he was commissioned to secure for the Institute of Oriental Music (Cairo).

The first of Lachmann's three letters to Farmer, from July 7th through December 26th, 1928, responded to Farmer's question concerning a Hebrew version of the treatise *Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifa* by Ḥunain ibn Ishāq, together with a request for photographs. He also divulged that he had completed his monograph, and that he was preparing an essay on Die Musik der aussereuropäischen Natur- und Kulturvölker for the multivolume *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft* under Ernst Bücken's editorship. In the second letter (dated Aug. 20th), he asked if William Reeves might be willing to publish an English translation of his monograph, and in the third, he mentioned that he was preparing an article dealing with the comparison between Bedouin and Ancient Greek instrumental music for the *Festschrift* honoring Johannes Wolf. He also included an advanced copy of his *Musik des Orients*, for which he sought Farmer's opinion.

The ten letters from Lachmann (dating from Jan. 2 through Nov. 1, 1929), including two postcards from Tunis (dated Mar. 25 and Apr. 20, resp.), were again filled with interesting details. Responding in his usual manner to Farmer's

109 On a postcard from Berlin (dated Nov. 17, 1927), Lachmann confirmed that he obtained the position.

110 See Chap. 2, n. 112.

111 The correspondence between el-Ḥefnī and Farmer can be found in FC q490.

enquiries, he mentioned (May 26th) that he had accumulated a good deal of Bedouin music and that he had a conversation with Baron d'Erlanger in Tunis, doubting that the Baron "will be capable of issuing a critical text of his publication of al-Fārābī and Ṣafī-al-Dīn." In his letter of July 26th, he discussed at length (eight pages long) his dissatisfaction with Eugène Borrel's review of *Musik des Orients*,¹¹² plus an additional seven pages answering Farmer's query about what he considered to be his contribution to the subject. In his next letter (of Aug. 19th), Lachmann continued to criticize Borrel and his latest publication, expressing, in the same letter, his thoughts about the Egyptians being unable to separate scholarship from nationalism. Lachmann's confidence in Farmer's Arabic researches is attested to in his letter of August 31st, wherein he suggested that both he and Farmer collaborate on the translation of al-Kindī, unless Farmer objected.

Since his return from Berlin in 1927, Farmer had contributed the following articles to the *JRAS*: "A North African folk instrument" (Jan., 1928); "Ibn Khurdādhbih on musical instruments" (July, 1928); "A note on the mizmār and nāy" (Jan., 1929); "Meccan musical instruments" (July, 1929), and the brief communication "Virgilius Cordubensis" (July, 1929). For the 1927 *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, he furnished "Music in Mediaeval Scotland." His dissertation, published under the revised title *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, was in print by early spring 1929, a copy of which Lachmann received (and acknowledged in his letter of May 26th *supra*).¹¹³ Lachmann was previously asked to review it for the *JRAS*, but divulged in his letter of February 2, 1930 that he had already reviewed it for the Berlin-based *Orientalische Literaturzeitung*. But why, in that same letter, did Lachmann fail to mention King Fu'ād's announcement of the convening of a Congress on Arab Music before an august body of political, artistic, and literary personalities that took place at the Cairo's Institute of Oriental Music five weeks earlier (on Dec. 26th)? Lachmann certainly knew it, as revealed in his very next letter, wherein he acknowledged receiving Farmer's offprint entitled "Greek theorists in Arabic translation" that had just appeared in the February 1930 issue of *Isis*:

112 See Farmer's review of *Musik des Orients* (*JRAS*, Oct. 1929, 940–2), wherein he sides with Lachmann's complaint about Borrel's opinions.

113 In response to a letter that Lachmann had posted on Jan. 2, 1929, Farmer explained that the *History of Arabian music*. . . will be the basis of his future writings, dealing with "theory incidentally. . . and that a *History of the theory of Arabian music* will be its companion volume" (dated Jan. 5, 1929).

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19.2.30

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Many thanks for the paper on "Greek theorists"; it is most instructive and I did not know of its existence. Could you spare a copy for Prof. v. Hornbostel (Berlin-Steglitz, Arndtstr. 40)? The second copy you sent me was just in time to be handed to Prof. Sachs who leaves for Egypt tomorrow, lucky chap! He will spend two months there on request of the Egyptian government in order to found a museum of instruments, and advise them with regard to musical school education. El-Ḥefny, my collaborator in the al-Kindī treatise, goes with him; they both return in May.

El-Ḥefny tells me that there will be a congress of Arab music at Cairo next year and that on this occasion all the European scholars who are interested in the music of the Near East are to be invited by the Egyptian government. He seemed to think that there were crowds of them, and asked me to make up a list. But I could give him only 6 or 7 names: yourself, Hornbostel, Sachs, d'Erlanger, myself, Ribera,¹¹⁴ and Rouanet.¹¹⁵ The

114 Julián Ribera y Tarragó (1858–1934) was at the time failing in health. His Arabic theories were deeply contested in Spain by Higinio Anglés and in Germany by Hans Spanke and Marius Schneider. Known particularly for his *La música de las Cantigas de Santa María*, Madrid 1922, Ribera's musical transcriptions were vigorously challenged, as was his *Historia de la música árabe medieval y su influencia en la española*, Madrid 1927. Ribera served as Professor of Arabic at the universities of Zaragoza and Madrid. Interestingly, in Spain, prior to Ribera's latter work, there appeared: F. López Añón's two-part, "La música árabe y su influencia en la música española", in *Música*, 1(5) (Buenos Aires, 1906), 65–8 and 1(6) (1906), 87–9; A. Noguera Balguer's "Influencia árabe en la música popular mallorquina", in his *Ensayos de crítica musical*, Palma de Mallorca 1908, 81–6; R. Mitjana's "L'orientalisme musical et la musique arabe", in *Le monde oriental*, 1 (1906), 184–221 [Rpt. Uppsala 1907] and his later five-part Castilian version "El orientalismo musical y la música árabe", in *Revista musical Bilbao*, 1(8) (1909), 181–6, 1(9) (1909), 209–12, 1(10) (1909), 223–9, 1(11) (1909), 247–51, and 1(12) (1909), 276–9, the latter being his commentary on "La 'carta' del Padre Juan Andrés sobre la música árabe"; and F. Gascue's forty-nine page booklet, *Influencia de la música árabe en la música castellana*, Bilbao 1917, each of which, interestingly, predated Farmer's "Clues". Also of great interest was Ribera's "Origen árabe de voces románicas relacionadas con la música", in his *Disertaciones y opúsculos*, Madrid 1928, ii, 133–49.

115 Jules Rouanet (fl. bet. 1880–1925) was known for the following works: "La chanson populaire arabe en Algérie", in *La Revue Musicale*, 5 (1905), 161–9; "La musique arabe", in *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de l'Alger et de l'Afrique du Nord*, 9 (1905), 304–37; "Esquisse pour une histoire de la musique arabe en Algérie", in *Le mercure musicale* (Dec. 1, 1905, and

pleasure of seeing Rouanet will be rather doubtful, all the more I should be pleased to meet you in such delightful surroundings. What do you think of it? Have you any additional names to suggest?

At any rate please consider the information as strictly confidential. Personally I should take this congress as an opportunity to go on from Cairo to some part of Arabia and try to settle the question of Bedouin music.

Kindest regards

Yours sincerely, Robert Lachmann (FC 467.53)

P.S. Do you happen to know why negroes who dance in Maghrebī streets in fanciful apparel (animal skin, a bird's head on their cap, amulets hanging round their waist) and sing little songs begging money are called *bū sa'dīyya* (بوسعدية)? I must own that I have not exhausted the dictionaries; but the word is not in Beaussier. Nicola [*sic!* Nicolas] (Tunisian dictionary) gives only a description of the person it signifies, but no explanation of its origin.¹¹⁶

One can imagine what was running through Farmer's mind. In his writings and correspondence, he had never expressed a desire to visit Cairo. But, here, exposed by Lachmann in an aura of confidentiality, it was indeed Farmer's initial indication of a possible Egyptian-sponsored Congress on Arab music. He sensed that el-Ḥefnī was involved, but what was even more reassuring was that steps in that direction were already underway.

Unfortunately, we lack Farmer's immediate response.¹¹⁷ Yet, we can infer from Lachmann's succeeding letter (*infra*) that Farmer must have mentioned his current project, *Historical facts for the Arabian music influence*, which involved expanding the articles he published earlier in *The musical standard*

Aug. 15 and Sept. 15, 1905); "Les visages de la musique musulmane", in *La revue musicale* (Nov. 1923), [34]-58; "La suite dans la musique musulmane", in *Revue musicale* (June 1, 1927); and his entries "La musique arabe" and "La musique arabe dans le Maghreb", in the *Encyclopédie de la musique et dictionnaire du Conservatoire*, i(v), Paris 1922, [2,676]-812 and [2,813]-944, resp.; trans. into Arabic [*al-Mūsīqā al-'arabīyya*] by A. Chalfoun (Cairo 1927). He also directed the series *Répertoire de musique arabe et maure. Collection de mélodies, ouvertures, noubet, chansons, preludes, etc.*, Algiers 1905-27 (29 fascicles, in total).

116 M. Beaussier, *Dictionnaire pratique arabe-français*, Algiers 1871, in the Algerian dialect. It was reprinted in 1931 (Algiers). Alfred Nicolas, *Dictionnaire français-arabe: Idiome tunisien*, Tunis 1920².

117 Having contacted the Dept. of Music of the Jewish National and Univ. Library, Jerusalem, Israel, we learned that Farmer's correspondence was not included among the letters in the Lachmann files.

(1925–26) that provoked his ongoing polemic with Kathleen Schlesinger. It was an issue between them that was still lingering, if not seething, in his mind. Surely Farmer expressed interest in the forthcoming Congress, judging from his concern about the financial arrangements. But with regard to Lachmann's query, seeking names of additional invitees whom Farmer might suggest, one can only guess that he chose to remain intentionally silent since this was a difficult matter to address at such an inopportune moment. The mere thought of suggesting 'additional invitees,' especially from the British Isles alone, would later become a contentious issue for Farmer after having learned that the German and French delegations had each comprised more than a half-dozen delegates.

26.2.30

Berlin, NW 97

Altonaer Str. 4

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Re Miss Schl. I can only tell you that I have never heard of anything of the kind and that I am simply disgusted at what she is doing. How did she come to know what your book contains about her? And, above all, how can your publisher listen to, or be influenced by, what she says or does? Would not a few words from you stating the situation and published in some journal, musical or other, put a stop to her counteractions, and at the same time make everybody know what kind of person she is?

As to the congress, I think and hope that you are mistaken about the financial conditions. I understand that whoever is invited will have their travelling expenses paid by the Egyptian Government. I do not think that any of us, with the exception of d'Erlanger, could afford the trip out of their own purse. But you are right: first let us wait and see if we are invited at all.

Hoping that your book will be issued soon in spite of those intrigues. I remain,

Yours sincerely, Robert Lachmann

An additional eight exchanges followed (from May 12th to Dec. 27th, 1930) and another three (from May 19th to June 24th, 1931) and still no word from Lachmann concerning the Congress.¹¹⁸ Meanwhile, in mid-June, Farmer

¹¹⁸ The reason being, as we learned in a letter (dated Cairo, June 12, 1931) from el-Ḥefnī to Erich v. Hornbostel, that the invitations to the Congress were mailed two days earlier (not the previous day as stated). The letter is housed at the Phonogramm-Archiv, Berlin.

received the awaited invitation (see p. 138 *infra*) from the Institute of Oriental Music (dated June 10, 1931) (FC 503, 1).

Farmer could only reply weeks later, after securing permission, undoubtedly with some difficulty, from the management of the Empire Theatre regarding such a long period of absence. The theater's year-long renovation was then in the final stage of completion and its expected opening was scheduled for September 28, 1931. Thus, expecting Farmer to carry out his duties there during the following spring created a logistics problem in terms of a suitable replacement. That Farmer was able to persuade the management of the importance of his participation at the Cairo Congress as Britain's sole delegate, and how it would benefit them, is explained in his penultimate paragraph.

11 July 1931

Muṣṭafā Riḍā Bey,
President of the Institute of Oriental Music,
Shāri' Malaka Nazlī,
CAIRO

Dear Sir,

I was both delighted and honoured to receive your letter of June 10 inviting me to attend the Congress of Oriental Music to be held in Cairo in March, 1932.

It gives me deep pleasure to accept the invitation to participate in the Congress and to contribute, so far as I can, to further its worthy objects which, as you know, are of deep interest to me. From the programme of the sessions of the Congress which you sent me,¹¹⁹ it would seem that Egypt is making a noteworthy contribution to the revival of one of those precious Islamic arts which played so considerable a part in the civilization and culture of Western Europe.

I regret I have not been able to reply until now, but the delay has been due to the fact that I could not ascertain until now whether I would be at liberty at that time.

I remain, my dear Sir, Yours faithfully, H.G. FARMER (FC 503, 2)

P.S. Re your enquiry as to my expenses, I find that it would cost me £125.

The Institute's acknowledgment to Farmer's letter of acceptance confirmed the funds he sought for his journey and lodging during the course of the Congress:

¹¹⁹ This comprised the *Regulations* [Section 1 of Scrapbook 1 (FC 503, i–xxi)]. See App. 5.

INSTITUT
DE
MUSIQUE ORIENTALE
- ◆ ◆ ◆ -
SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE
DE
S.M. LE ROI
RUE DE LA REINE NAZLI
Tel. 49–83 Medina

Le Caire, le 28 Août 1931

Monsieur le Docteur,

Nous avons l'honneur de vous accuser réception de votre lettre du 11 Juillet 1931 et vous exprimons notre vive gratitude pour votre acceptation de participer au Congrès de Musique Arabe qu'il est proposé de tenir au Caire au mois de Mars 1932. Nous acceptons le chiffre de £. Eg. 125¹²⁰ (Cent Vingt Cinq livres égyptiennes) que vous fixez pour couvrir tous vos frais de voyage, de séjour et autres, du chef de cette participation, et aussitôt que le Rescrit Royal formant le Comité d'Organisation aura été rendu, le Président du dit Comité vous confirmera officiellement et en temps utile l'invitation que nous vous avons déjà adressée ainsi que notre acceptation de montant que vous avez fixé pour vos frais.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Docteur, les assurances renouvelées de notre considération la plus distinguée.

LE PRESIDENT, *Dr. M. El Hefny*

LE SECRETAIRE GENERAL, *Moustaphā Ridā* (FC 503, 3)

Raouf Yekta, the distinguished Turkish musicologist, had also received the Institute's letter of invitation. He had also been corresponding with Farmer since October 4, 1930. In his initial letter, he requested a copy of Farmer's *A history of Arabian music* for Istanbul's new Conservatory library, offering, at the same time, to review it in the monthly Turkish journal *Revue Muhit*. In their subsequent exchanges (eleven letters of which bore Yekta's signature, dating from Nov. 8 of that year to Nov. 27, 1931), they covered such topics as their mutual publications, the copying of a Turkish manuscript Farmer requested from the Bibliothèque Kuprili [Istanbul], information concerning the works and musical transcriptions of the prolific Moldavian Prince Démétrius

120 The current conversion rate would be equal to ca. £6,249 and \$10,194 (US dollars).

Cantemir, including Yekta's translation in French of Cantemir's short treatise [*Introduction à la musique turque*], information concerning the *nauba turc*, etc. And just days after Farmer received the invitation from the Institute, he again heard from Yekta who, among other matters, wrote:

Constantinople, le 11/7/31

Très cher ami,

... Vous savez peut-être qu'un Congrès de musique arabe sera tenu au Caire dans la 2^e quinzaine du mois de mars 1932. Je suis invité a ce Congrès que durera, dit-on, trois semaine[s] environ.

Vu votre haute compétence en fait de musique arabe, j'espère bien que vous êtes aussi déjà invité à ce Congrès; dans ce cas, j'é serai très heureux de vous connaître de plus près. Si on a oublié de vous envoyer une invitation, je me ferai, si vous le désirez, un devoir de rappeler aux organisateurs du Congrès tant le fruit que l'Egypte recueillera de votre précieuse participation.

En attendant le plaisir de vous lire, agréez, très cher ami, mes salutations les plus empressées.

Raouf Yekta (FC 465.2)

Professeur au Conservatoire

Beylerbeyi (Bosphore) Constantinople

Perhaps it was Prof. Yekta's curiosity that prompted him to broach the matter of the Congress. From his next letter, after receiving Farmer's reply, one can understand his concern:

Istanbul, 27/11/931

Très cher Docteur,

Je suis assez retardé à vous accuser reception de votre lettre du 16/10/931; excusez-moi, j'étais très occupé dans ces derniers jours. Je suis vraiment intéressé de votre explication sur le mot (چڭانڭه). Quant à *الاحان جامع* [*Encyclopedia of Music*] by 'Abd al-Qādir Marāghi], je l'ai traduit en turc avec beaucoup de notes, tout entier; mais il est resté à l'état de manuscrit faute de trouver un éditeur.

Je crois que les arabes ont invité pour le Congrès du Caire de l'Allemagne: Hornbostel, Lachmann et Curt Sachs; de la France: Borel [*sic* Borrel].¹²¹ Je ne sais pas les noms des invités des autres pays. De ma part, je vous écris confidentiellement les lignes suivantes:

121 Eugène Borrel may have been invited, although the *Recueil* bears no mention of him. Lachmann, via el-Ḥefnī, may have opposed his participation. Up to the time of the

On m'a demandé que je fixe moi-même la somme que je crois nécessaire pour couvrir mes frais de voyage et de séjour de 25 jours au Caire. Avant de répondre j'ai voulu vous consulter; parce que je désire que je touche la même somme qu'on paye aux invités des nations occidentales. En effet, j'ai une place toute indiquée dans ce congrès et mes rapports sur toutes les questions formeront au moins un volume de 200 pages. Je désire donc savoir la quantité de la somme proposée à vous par M. Riḍā Bey pour que je fixe la même somme. Il va sans dire que je ne soufflerai mot de ce que j'ai appris de votre part la quantité de cette somme.

J'attends votre réponse par le retours du courrier à cette adresse:

Rauf Yekta Bey
Çamlica caddesi 77, (Beylerbeyi)
Constantinople (Turquie)

Agréez, très cher Docteur, mes salutations empressées. (FC 465.2)

Farmer heard again from Lachmann either in late December 1931 or in early January 1932. Apparently Lachmann was aware of the rift between the Ministry of Education and the Institute of Oriental Music (alluded to in n. 89 *supra*), which caused the delay of the Congress (originally scheduled for the winter of 1931). Ultimately March 1932 was agreed upon. Lachmann knew that the official invitation from the Egyptian Government was yet to be dispatched, but was uncertain as to its precise date. In an undated letter to Farmer, he wrote:

Dear Dr. Farmer,

I am glad to hear that you like my Al-Kindī [Leipzig 1931]. Please correct two silly misprints in your copy:

p. 12, line 15: Geschlecht must be Geflecht

p. 14, line 33: Nesychastikon " " Hēsychastikon

Congress, Borrel was active as a violinist, organist, musicologist, and journalist. He taught violin at the Schola Cantorum (Paris, 1911–34) and contributed articles to its journal *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*. He also served as organist at St. François Xavier (Paris) in 1910. While sojourning with his parents in Turkey (during the decade 1890–1900), he became interested in the country's music and later published "La question de la polyphonie en Orient", in *Tribune de Saint-Gervais*, 28 (1921), 57–64, plus a three-part article on "La musique turque", in *Revue de musicologie*, 3(4) (1922), 149–61, 4(5) (1923), 26–32, and 4(6) (1923) 60–70; "Mélodies israélites. Recueillies à Salonique", in *Revue de musicologie*, 8(12) (1924), 164–8; and for the *REI*, "Contribution à la bibliographie de la musique turque au xx^e siècle", 2 (1928), 513–27.

I shall be very grateful to you for kindly telling me why you are intrigued at my graphic figures. I must confess that I am particularly proud of them. They seem to me to explain such terms as *laulabī*, *dafr* and so on which, as far as I can see, cannot be accounted for otherwise. All the more it would interest me to hear what you have to say against them. In what way are they disproved by the corresponding passages in Al-Fārābī and Ibn Sīnā to which you allude. I shall very much appreciate an answer to this.

I am looking forward to your Maghrebi texts in the JRAS.¹²² I am not going, however, to issue another theorist either for the GEMO¹²³ or outside. English editions will be quite sufficient for German readers as well; besides, this is really your field of activity. I think the members of the GEMO will expect to read about musical practice next time.

... I have not heard ~~any more~~ about the Cairo Congress any more than yourself. I think this is very much like them. Whether anything will become of it at all? I wonder [italics mine].

My next output will be, as I think I told you before, on the music of the Kabyles, but certainly not before another 6 months.

Can you get the Glasgow Library to buy my Al-Kindī? We hoped that the Egyptian Government would pay the printing expenses, but till now they have not stirred and therefore the sale has become important for the expenses of the GEMO.

With best wishes for a happy New Year, I remain
Yours sincerely,
Robert Lachmann

Finally, by the first weekend of February, 1932, Farmer received the following letter stating the preliminary and official opening dates of the Congress:

ROYAL EGYPTIAN LEGATION
LONDON

75, South Audley Street, W.1

Ref: 164/3/30

2nd February 1932

Dear Sir,

I have the honour to inform you that I have received a cable from the Egyptian Minister of Foreign Affairs asking me to extend to you an invitation to take part in the Congress of Oriental Music which is to be held in

¹²² Lachmann had probably read the first installment of Farmer's "An old Moorish lute tutor", which appeared in *JRAS* (April, 1931) and had not yet received the second one from the Jan. 1932 issue.

¹²³ See n. 87 *supra*.

Cairo from the 14th March of this year. The official Opening will be on the 28th of the same month, and I am also notified that the official invitation to you is coming by post, when I shall have much pleasure in forwarding it to you.

Yours faithfully,

A. W. Dawool

Chargé d'Affaires (FC 503, 5)

2, Woodlands Drive,
Glasgow, C.4.
Scotland

On the same day, there arrived at Farmer's home, a telegram from the Minister of Education, President of the Organizing Committee:

PARU RESCRIT ROYAL CONVOQUANT CONGRES MUSIQUE
OUVERTURE 14 MARS DUREE TROIS SEMAINES [STOP] VEUILLEZ
VOUS APPRETER ARRIVER INVITATION OFFICIELLE PAR POSTE.
(FC 503, 6)

followed days later by the renewed official invitation:

THE KINGDOM OF EGYPT

—————
Congress of Arabic Music to be held under the
Patronage of H.M. King Fu'ād the First

(undated)

Sir,

Acting on the Royal desire of H.M. the King of Egypt, the Egyptian Government has decided to hold a Congress of Arabic Music in Cairo. Its meetings will begin on the 14th March, 1932, and will continue for three weeks. The first two weeks will be devoted to the preparatory work of the various committees, while the official proceedings of the Congress will take place during the third week. Invitations are being issued to persons of eminence in the realm of music throughout the world. You have already been good enough to express your willingness to join in the labours of the Congress, and it is with a full sense of the value of your collaboration that as President of the Organising Committee I invite you to attend its meetings. It is hoped that you will arrive in Cairo before the 14th March, 1932.

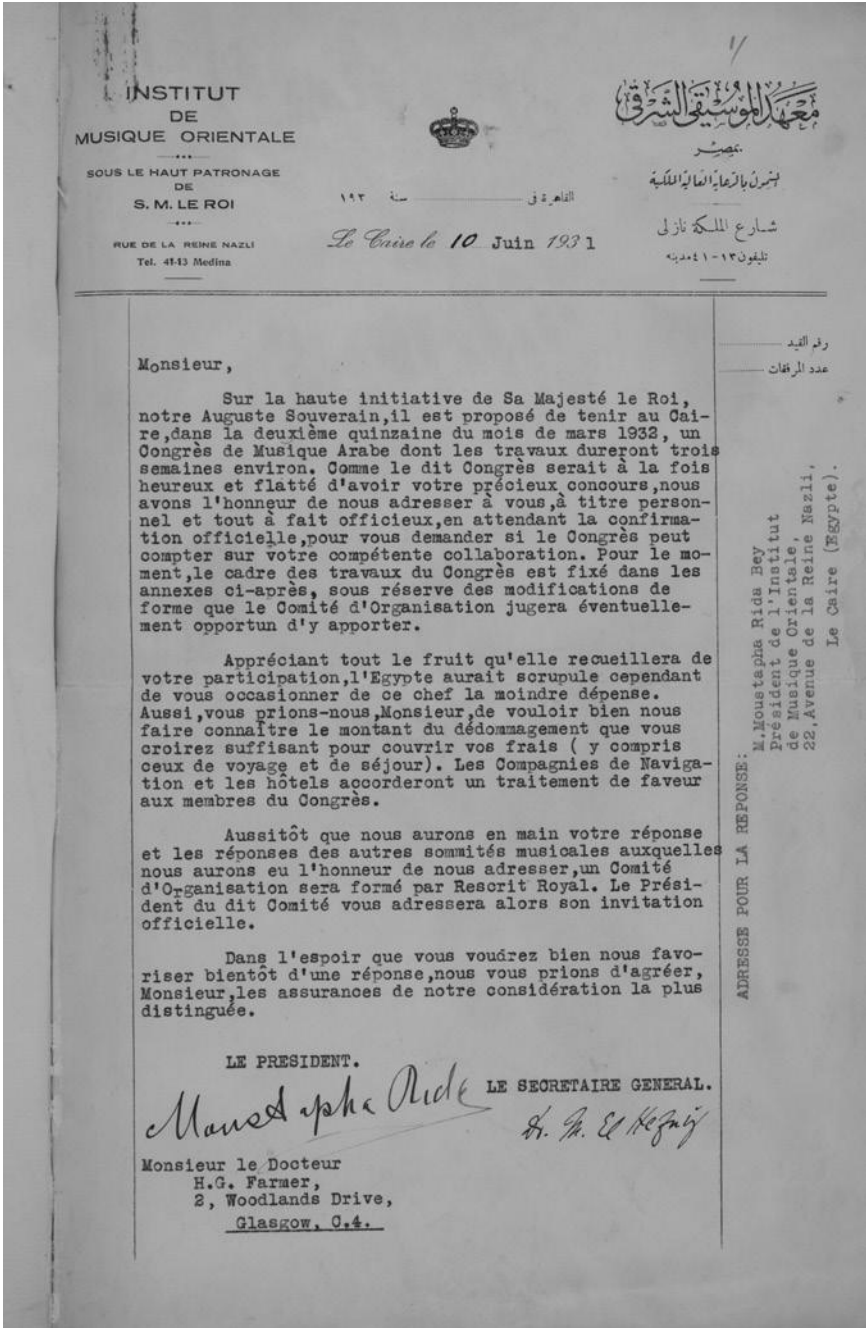


FIGURE 3.E Formal invitation to the Congress (dated June 10, 1931).

Full details of the proposed work of the Congress will be sent to you shortly; meanwhile a synopsis of the official proceedings is enclosed with this invitation.¹²⁴

Sir,

Your obedient servant,

Ḥelmy ʿIsā

Minister of Education

President of the Organising Committee (FC 503, 7)

On Saturday morning, February 27th, Farmer left Glasgow for London.¹²⁵ On the following Thursday, March 3rd, he crossed the channel to Calais, continuing to Paris, where he boarded a train to Marseilles (arriving there at 10 a.m. the following morning). At 5 p.m. he embarked on the Japanese ship (the *Suwa Maru*) for Naples,¹²⁶ where, on the 6th of March there was time for a short visit to Pompeii before the ship continued to Port Saʿīd. Upon arriving there on March 10th, he was met by Egyptian government officials from the Congress and on that same day was welcomed by a deputation from both the Ministry of Education and Institute of Oriental Music to the city of Cairo.

124 Ḥelmī ʿIsā was referring to the *Regulations* (see App. 5, i–xxi).

125 Prior to his departure, there already appeared two local press notices concerning his invitation to the Congress (Anonymous, “Glasgow Empire conductor” and “An honour for Glasgow”).

126 It should be noted that the on day before his departure from Glasgow, the passenger liner *Suwa Maru* had already sailed from London. Farmer had planned to meet up with the ship in Marseilles after his five-day visit in London. The ship, which belonged to the Nippon Yusen Kalasha Line, was destined for Yokohama via the Suez Canal.

Farmer's "Itinerary of Visit to Cairo"

4.1 Introduction

It appears that only two of the Congress's delegates—Farmer and Alexis Chottin—maintained handwritten journals during their respective Egyptian sojourns in 1932.¹ Farmer's, entitled "Itinerary of Visit to Cairo," was included in the first of two scrapbooks relating to the Congress (FC 503 and 504, resp.).²

In the preface to the first, he wrote that the contents of both were

compiled from original documents and [from his] diary. . . for the purpose of reference and also [as] a work of interest, perhaps as entertainment for other people. With the exception of the Report of the Commission of History & Manuscripts, nothing in these volumes has been published in the *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès*, Cairo 1934, and even the French, as well as the Arabic translations of this Report, is not strictly correct.

The first scrapbook comprises the following sections:

1.	Rules and Committees of the Congress [<i>i.e.</i> , <i>Regulations</i>] ³	i
2.	Letters of Invitation from the Egyptian Government.....	1
3.	Minutes of the Commission of History and Manuscripts ⁴	15
4.	Report of the Commission of History and Manuscripts ⁵	49
5.	Valedictory address of Dr. Farmer at the Closing of the Congress ⁶	64

1 Farmer's typewritten ms. can be found in FC 503, 83–114. In a letter to Farmer (dated Apr. 11, 1933) from the Baron Carra de Vaux (in Paris), the Baron mentioned that "au Maroc, M. Chottin a publié un intéressant compte-rendu du Congrès, en arabe, principalement destiné aux musiciens et amateurs marocaines" (FC 306). The Arabic version of Chottin's ("Relation") undertaken by 'Abd el-Dirm Bouallou and published as *Errihla-tu-fiya ila-diari-l-micriya*, Rabat 1932, appears to have preceded the publication of the original report in French.

2 To facilitate their perusal, he presented the material in two well-organized scrapbooks, replete with official documents (both original and retyped), correspondence, photographs, calling cards, invitations, and news clippings.

3 For the complete text of the Regulations, see App. 5.

4 See Chap. 5.2.

5 See Chap. 5.3.

6 See App. 11.

6.	Shorthand report by Fu'ād Eff. Mughabghab of the Congratulatory Meeting held in Honour of Dr. Farmer at the Close of the Congress ⁷	66
7.	Correspondence between the High Commissioner & Dr. Farmer on the question of the delegates to the Congress from Europe ⁸	75
8.	Itinerary of Visit to Cairo	83
9.	Newspaper Cuttings.....	115

The second scrapbook concerns the history of the Arabian scale, with bibliographical lists and other reports:

1.	Short History of the Arabian musical scale ⁹	1
2.	Note on Andalusian music as [still] practised in Morocco.....	12
3.	Bibliography of books & Manuscripts in the Egyptian National Library List supplied by the Egyptian National Library. For the Arabic list see p. 42.....	16
4.	List of European Printed Books in the Egyptian National Library....	28
5.	List of manuscripts drawn up by the Commission of History and Manuscripts, but I drew up a separate list of those suitable for editing and publishing for the Congress, which is given in my Report (vol. 1) [but] not printed in the <i>Recueil des Travaux</i>	33
6.	List supplied by Col. Pisenti [<i>i.e.</i> , Pesenti]	37
7.	Arabic original of no. 3.....	42
8.	Arabic version of no. 4.....	51
9.	List supplied by Dr. George Saman.....	62
10.	Lectures offered by Members of the Institut de Phonétique of the University of Paris	66

Upon closer scrutiny, we shall see that "Itinerary", together with "Minutes of the Commission on History and Manuscripts", from Farmer's first scrapbook, are both extraordinary personal documents, not only for their revelations concerning the inner workings of the Congress, but also for his candid observations about the people with whom he came in contact, including certain situations which he found disturbing. It is particularly obvious from "Itinerary. . ." that he relished the respect and constant attention lavished upon him during his weeks in Cairo—borne out quite unabashedly both here and in

7 A description of the meeting can be found in App. 10.

8 See App. 13.

9 For its full text, see App. 9.

the letters he sent to his family. In all, both documents provide us with a rare, albeit condensed memoir of the professional and leisure activities of one of the Congress's main participants.

Still, the fact that Farmer mentioned a 'diary' is somewhat puzzling. In essence, it was his "Itinerary", to which he was referring. In the second edition of *Sources* (p. viii), which appeared shortly before his death in 1965, he again referred to it as the 'typescript' diary of the Congress. He also alluded to a diary in his unedited manuscript of *Ernest Newman as I saw him*, wherein he described his brief visit on Saturday afternoon, April 20, 1912, with Newman and his wife, Kate Woollett, at their new home 'Casalini' in the affluent Birmingham suburb of Moseley. Here he wrote: "My diary records that our conversation covered Spenser's theory of the origin of music, in which I strongly disagreed with Newman."¹⁰

Lamentably no such diary had been deposited among the published and unpublished manuscripts, papers, scores, programs, photographs, correspondence, and miscellanea in the Farmer Collection, nor has my correspondence with his granddaughter revealed that such a treasured document existed.¹¹ That he was able to realize his life-long musical, literary, and scholarly pursuits was due in great part to his compulsiveness as a meticulous archivist, who saved everything, including copious notes and memos.¹² He knew instinctively where to find information when needed. Maintaining a diary or journal, as exemplified in "Itinerary", suited his personality and temperament. It would always serve to facilitate recollections concerning his cherished Egyptian adventure.

Still, from what source did the 'typescript' version of "Itinerary" evolve? Was it, in fact, from his original handwritten journal that it was eventually retyped verbatim, or was it redacted thereafter to serve as the final copy? Both pristine texts of the "Minutes" and "Report" of his "Commission on History and Manuscripts," plus his "Valedictory address" were also converted from handwritten to typewritten form, without any indication as to when this was done following his return to Glasgow. The final appearance of "Itinerary" in the first scrapbook, with its pasted-in photos, calling cards, newsclippings, auto-graphed postcards, and handwritten invitations and notes, is proof enough

10 From Chap. 8: Some Personal Notes (1906–19) (FC 43.3, 275). Moreover, FC 317 contains ten of Farmer's appointment diaries from 1934, 1947, 1948, 1949, 1950, 1951, 1952, 1953, 1958/9, and 1959–60, the latter two of which were catalogued as his Univ. of Glasgow diaries.

11 From correspondence dated June 16, 2002.

12 Carl Cowl, in a letter from Glasgow (dated Nov. 29, 1983), stated that "HGF was trained by his parents to keep a record of everything, I mean everything!"

that these items were inserted after his return. Even the fact that he mentioned the *Recueil* in two instances, under his entries for March 29th and April 2nd, indicates that it was typed sometime in 1934, after he received a copy of the French version of the Proceedings.¹³

Nonetheless, apart from its being the only accessible journal describing his day to day activities at the Congress, "Itinerary" begs questions particularly for those familiar with his highly detailed writings, both sundry and scholarly. If it was indeed intended to serve as his final version, why was its information presented in such a skeletal manner? Hardly anything of interest is mentioned concerning his sea voyages to and from Egypt, other than references to a few of his seaborne passengers. His welcome at Port Sa'īd and final departure from Cairo, including events at which he was honored, are duly noted. Moreover, he did not properly identify many of the people with whom he associated, nor did he fully describe the sites and localities he visited in Cairo and its adjacent suburbs.

In the second of four letters to his family, Farmer mentioned that, since the commencement of the Congress, "there has been a concert [each evening] in the Concert Hall at the Institute, where we have heard Arab bands from Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, etc."¹⁴ Still we lack the exact dates of their respective performances. For Farmer, a professional musician with decades of additional experience as an orchestral and music hall conductor, to have left us bereft of his personal impressions concerning the varied performances of the North African and Middle Eastern ensembles, even though their instruments were most familiar to him, is particularly wanting.¹⁵ Also startling, apart from

13 For the contents of the *Recueil*, see App. 8.

14 See his letter (dated Sat., Mar. 26, 1932) in App. 12. His actual attendance, registered in his "Itinerary," indicates that he heard all but three: 1) on Friday evening, Mar. 19th, when he and his friend David Williams attended the concert, but left soon after because "Williams could not stand the music any longer"; 2) for the evening concert on Tuesday, Mar. 22nd, he left early, because he was "quite tired"; and 3) on Friday evening, Mar. 25th, he skipped the concert to have supper with Rabino at the Shepherd's Hotel. Yet, on Fri. afternoon (Mar. 11th), he attended, along with Lachmann, a performance of the Mevlevi dervishes.

15 However, in his article "An old Moorish Lute Tutor (cont.)", in *JRAS* (Oct., 1932), 897-904 (being an addendum to the three earlier installments bearing the same title), Farmer specifically mentioned the "best native" Moroccan, Algerian, and Tunisian ensembles, whose "repertoires [included] old Maghriban melodies from the *tubū'*, *naubāt*, or *ṣan'āt*. At these auditions, and from conversations with the musicians, but more especially through information obtained from [the Tunisians] Sidī Ḥasan Ḥusni 'Abd al-Wahhāb... and Muḥammad al-Manūbi al-Sanūsi, [Farmer] had confirmation by eye and ear of that which hitherto had only been known to [him] by script" (p. 897).

his visits to the various cafés and other nightly entertainments, one wonders whether he attempted to visit at least one of the music halls located in the vicinity of the Ezbekiya Gardens, within walking distance of the Institute.¹⁶

Apart from the daily meetings he held with members of his Commission on History and Manuscripts,¹⁷ and his presence at other officially planned afternoon and evening gatherings, he spent little of his leisure time with fellow European delegates, except for Robert Lachmann.¹⁸ He felt more at ease

16 V.L. Danielson (*The voice of Egypt*, 42–51) vividly describes the types of musical entertainment that were available to the varied classes of Cairene society (upper, middle, and working) during the 1920s and early 1930s. The theater district near the Ezbekiya Gardens was then considered the commercial music center of Cairo, where many of the indoor and outdoor music halls (*ṣālāt*) and entertainment ‘kiosks’, including the opera house, were located. Among the famous existing music halls were the Alhambra, Alf Layla, El Dorado, Kawkab al-Sharq, Luxembourg, Nuzhat al-Nufūs, and Ṣālat Ilyās (*ibid.*, 215, n. 10). She also discussed a typical music hall program (p. 67).

N. Barbour (“The Arabic theatre”, 179–80) named several theaters that were still functioning at the time of the Congress: the Opera House (at the Midān al-Opera), Ezbekiya Theatre and the Dār at-Tamthil al-‘Arabi (located in the Ezbekiya Gardens), the Ramses, Ar-Riḥāni, Printania, and Majestic Theatres (on Shāri‘ ‘Imād ad-Dīn), and the Bosphore Theatre (at Midān Bāb al-Ḥadīd). Of the music halls or *ṣālāt*, he mentioned the Badī‘a Maṣabnī (also on Shāri‘ ‘Imād al-Dīn).

17 All the Commission meetings were scheduled from 9 to 11 in the morning and from 4 to 7 in the afternoon. The evening concerts began at 9:30.

18 Lachmann, who had been corresponding with Farmer since Dec. 1923, was then associated with the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv and the Music Section of the Staatsbibliothek, where he worked as an Assistant Librarian since 1927. Born in Berlin to well-educated parents (his mother was English-born), he studied English and French at the Univ. of London and pursued musicology (under Carl Stumpf and Johannes Wolf), and Arab linguistic studies at the Univ. of Berlin, under the renowned German Orientalist Eugene Mittwoch (1876–1942). He undertook fieldwork in the Maghreb (1925), Tripoli (now part of Libya, 1925), and Algeria and Tunisia (1927). After the Congress, he visited various parts of Egypt and the Sinai Peninsula. His publications, prior to and of interest to the Congress, included: his doctoral dissertation, “Die Musik in den tunisischen Städten” (Berlin Univ., 1922), which was published in the *ZMW*, 5 (1923), 136–71; “Muhammedan music”, co-authored with A.H. Fox-Strangways in *Grove’s dictionary of music and musicians*, iii, London 1927³, 575–9; “Zur aussereuropäischen Mehrstimmigkeit”, in *Kongressbericht der Beethoven-Zentenarfeier*, Vienna 1927, 321–5; *Musik des Orients*, Breslau-Leipzig, 1929 (Spanish trans. by A. Ribera y Maneja, *Música de Oriente*, Barcelona 1931); “Die Musik der aussereuropäischen Natur- und Kulturvölker”, in E. Bücken (ed.): *Handbuch der Musikwissenschaft*, Wildpark-Potsdam 1929, xii; “Die Weise vom Löwen und der pythische Nomos”, in W. Lott, H. Osthoff, and W.J. Wolfleim (eds.): *Musikwissenschaftliche Beiträge. Festschrift für Johannes Wolf zu seinem sechzigsten Geburtstag*, Berlin 1929, 97–106; an autobiographical sketch, “Briefe unsere Autoren über ihre Werke”, in *Hirts Literaturbericht*, nos. 66–7, Breslau/Leipzig 1929, 941–2; “Musikalische Forschungsaufgaben im vorderen Orients”, in *Bericht*

with the British Consul, Hyacinth Louis Rabino [de Borgomale],¹⁹ Prof. David P. Williams,²⁰ and certain members of the Congress's Egyptian, Tunisian, and Turkish delegations.²¹ Though he mostly enjoyed the company of English speakers, his brief meeting with Sir Percy Loraine, the British High Commissioner for Egypt and the Sudan (having paid him a courtesy call on the morning of March 22) and his luncheon invitation at the Residency with the Commissioner and his wife on April 1st proved rather humdrum. About his private meetings with Muḥammad Ḥilmī 'Isā Pāshā, the Egyptian Minister of Education, and Maḥmud Aḥmad el-Ḥefnī, the Congress's Secretary General, nothing of interest was divulged.

Throughout his Egyptian sojourn, Farmer immersed himself in the affairs of the Congress and restricted his sightseeing to Cairo and its neighboring suburbs. At the Congress, he maintained a respectful and professional demeanor, although his personal animus toward certain individuals or groups (the Germans, in particular) was emphatically, if not intentionally inscribed. And, while he carried out his assigned duties most responsibly, he was also quick to criticize, even openly, those who were blatantly irresponsible (in

über die 1. Sitzung der Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Musik des Orients am 27. April 1930 (Berlin 1930), 3–21; "Von der Kunstmusik der vorderen Orients", in *Kultur und Schallplatte*, 2 (1931), 164; and (with M. el-Ḥefnī) *Ja'qūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī: Risāla fī ḥubr ta'liḥ al-alḥān* ('Über die Komposition der Melodien'), Leipzig 1931. In press was his "Asiatische Parallelen zur Berbermusik", in *ZvMW* [1 (1933), 4–11] (with E.M. von Hornbostel). Farmer's entry on Lachmann in *Grove's* (1954⁵) constitutes a succinct tribute. For more indepth biographical information, see E. Gerson-Kiwi, "Robert Lachman", 100–8 and R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*.

- 19 Rabino (1877–1950), Esq., O.B.E., was also a noted Persian scholar, whose scholarly writings included: *Persia. Report on the trade and general condition of the city and province of Kermanshah*, London 1903; *Coins of the shahs of Persia: Quelques pièces curieuses persanes*, London 1908; Paris 1914; "Les provinces caspiennes de la Perse: Le Guilan", in *REMM*, 32 (1915), 3–110; 34 (1916–7), 1–283; republished as a book (Paris 1917); *Les tribus du Lowistan. Médailles de Qādījārs*, Paris 1916; *Māzandarān and Astarābād* (E.J.W. Gibb Memorial Series, New Series, 7), London 1928. After the Congress, there appeared his: *Le monastère de Sainte-Catherine du Mont Sinaï: Souvenirs épigraphiques des anciens pèlerins*, Cairo 1935 (FC q395); *The Rabino Family and Borgomale*, Cairo, 1937; and *Coins, medals, and seals of the Shāhs of Iran, 1500–1941*, Hertford 1945. See also *Bibliographie. H.L. Rabino et Joseph Rabino*, Cairo 1937 and n. 32 in App. 2.
- 20 A Welshman who was then associated with the Government Secondary School at Benha, located about 60 kilometers north of Cairo on the eastern shore of the eastern tributary of the Nile River.
- 21 Among the Egyptians (Fu'ād Mughabghab, Dr. M.A. el-Ḥefnī, Muḥammad Faṭḥī, and Moḥammad Zakī 'Ali), Lebanese (Wadī' Sabrā), Tunisians (Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī and Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb), and the Turk (Ra'ūf Yektā).

particular, Col. Gustavo Pesenti from Italy, and, surprisingly, Béla Bartók).²² Thus, given the vast literature about the Congress that has been published to date, Farmer's personal documents reveal aspects concerning the Congress that have hitherto remained untold.

If he expressed an interest in current events from the European Continent or even made an effort to obtain news from available English dailies or from the Arab press, it was not mentioned. Events in Europe were surely on the minds of the other European participants, particularly the Germans whose homeland was in a state of political flux.

Fortunately, we have been able to corroborate many important facts, including additional information concerning the Congress and its activities from the private correspondence of Robert Lachmann²³ and Béla Bartók.²⁴ The latter's

22 In response to a letter from David Clegg (writing from Lichfield, Staffordshire, UK), who inquired about Farmer's recollections of Bartók during the Cairo Congress, Farmer wrote (on Sept. 21, 1962):

"I was introduced to Bartók by Dr. Robert Lachmann—an old friend of mine—during one of the recording sessions. Lachmann was president of the Commission of Recordings, which, incidentally was [undertaken] by H.M.V., and not by the Germans, who dominated—numerically—at the Congress. Bartók was a member of that 'Commission de l'Enregistrement,' but took little part in the deliberations. The few times that we had any [conversation], I found him to be a very reserved man, although he and Hindemith were usually found together. He was only interested in me because I was the author of the *History of Arabian Music*, a subject of which he was entirely ignorant, and certainly knew no more of the subject than that which he had picked up during a holiday in Biskra in Algeria, [about] which [he wrote] in a German journal for Musikwissenschaft [?]. If only Hornbostel were alive he could tell you more, yet there must be some people in Cambridge, England, who could put you on the track of Hornbostel's papers. I suppose you have already contacted Wellesz at Oxford? I remember taking a snapshot of Bartók and Johannes Wolf together against the railings of the Conservatoire of Music in Cairo, but Bartók moved at the moment of the snapshot, and I cut him out of the print leaving Wolf as 'solo'" (FC 494). [Farmer inserted that photo in Chap. 5, p. 225 (28), but we decided not to do so.]

23 During his Egyptian sojourn, Lachmann managed to maintain correspondence with his parents who resided in Berlin. Of the fourteen letters he wrote from Egypt (dating from Mar. 5th to May 1st, 1932 and translated from the German by R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 303–27), nine (whose dates extend through Apr. 8th) concerned his activities during the course of the Congress. Like Farmer, he also provided candid and interesting tidbits concerning fellow participants, especially his colleagues from the German delegation.

24 See the English translation of Bartók's letter ("Travel reports", 213–6). Comprising the fifth item of correspondence relating to his Egyptian trip, it was preceded by postcards from Salonika and Athens, a letter from Alexandria, and a postcard mailed upon his arrival in Cairo that yet remains to be published. His remarks ("Zum Kongress", 46–8) on the work

rather lengthy letter to his second wife Ditta (née Pásztor), written on Saturday, March 19th, four days after his arrival,²⁵ includes an amusing description of his being welcomed at Alexandria,²⁶ together with his initial impressions of Cairo. Most revealing, although perceptively premature, were his remarks concerning his and other commissions just days after the Congress had begun—and, most particularly, because this observation was not borne out by Farmer:

of the Recording Commission are worth reading. Still, for whatever reason, he did not mention Lachmann, who served as its chairman.

According to V. Lampert ("Bartók and the Berlin School", 401), it is not known who was responsible for soliciting Bartók's participation at the Congress, "but it had to be either Sachs, Hornbostel, or Lachmann who recommended him on the basis of his study of the music of the Arabs of the Biskra region [of Algeria in June of 1913] and also because of his expertise in collecting and researching folk music in general." Bartók met Hornbostel and Lachmann during his two- or three-day visit to Berlin in June of 1912 (*ibid.*, 385). It appears more likely that Lachmann, who maintained correspondence with Bartók and who was later named Chairman of the Congress's Commission de l'Enregistrement, recommended Bartók's participation. Information concerning Bartók's journey to Biskra can be found in Bartók ("Die Volksmusik"), J. Kárpáti ("Bartók in North Africa"), and K.K. Riggs ("Bartók in the desert"). For Bartók's relationship with members of the Berlin School of Ethnomusicology, see Lampert (*ibid.*).

25 Upon his arrival in Cairo on Tues., Mar. 15th, he was met by Maḥmud el-Ḥefnī and Jenő Takács, the noted Hungarian-Austrian composer, who was then teaching piano at one of the city's conservatories. Takács had lived in Cairo since 1927. His interest in Arabic music, inspired by Bartók (whom he first met in 1926), yielded several compositions, the earliest of which is the *Suite arabe für zwei zu vier Händen*, Op. 15 (1931). His experiences in Egypt can be found in W. Suppan ("Jenő Takács"), and in J. v. Takács ("Arabische Musik"). It was at the Congress where he began his close friendship with Paul Hindemith.

At 6:00p.m, el-Ḥefnī escorted Bartók to the Institute, where the first working session of his recording commission was in progress and where the Iraqi ensemble, composed of six Jewish musicians and a Muslim vocalist [Muḥammad al-Qubbāndjī], was about to perform. One of its members, Ezra Aaron (then known as Azouri Haroun), was a versatile composer, 'ūd player, violinist, and singer. He was asked by the Iraqi authorities to lead the group at the Congress. Two years later he settled in Jerusalem (Palestine). See A. Shiloah, "The musical traditions", 21–2 and "The song of Israel", 69–81. In 1935, Lachmann met Haroun again in Jerusalem, where he made additional recordings of his 'ūd playing.

26 Lachmann also arrived in Alexandria on Sun., Mar. 6th, a week prior to the official opening of the Congress to help el-Ḥefnī with final matters concerning its program. Manūbī al-Sanūsī, whom Lachmann knew from an earlier visit at the estate of Baron d'Eranger in Sidi-bou-Saïd, had also arrived on the same day. Prior to boarding the train for Cairo, they were accompanied by two teachers who escorted them to the distinguished Ras el-Tin School (Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 306–7).

In our group there are a lot of debates, but in some of the other subcommittees they've nearly come to blows. *The Arabs want to modernize everything, and the Europeans (with a few exceptions) want to preserve the old* [italics mine]. The discussions are led in a rather confused way; all this chaos is enough to give you a headache. . . .

Two additional sources must be mentioned: The Spanish music critic Adolfo Salazar contributed seven newsworthy items dealing with his participation in the Congress that provide interesting details concerning the workings of several commissions, as well as his impressions of fellow delegates.²⁷ Salwa el-Shawan, during her summer visit to Egypt in 1973, was able to contact and interview prominent Egyptian musicians and scholars in both Cairo and Alexandria who had either participated in the 1932 Congress or who claimed that they heard about the Congress from participants long deceased.²⁸ El-Shawan also identified the musicians and instruments depicted in seventeen of the photographic plates in the *Recueil*, including important facts that had remained undisclosed to date. Together with their remarks and the reminiscences of Lachmann and others, the collated information has been inserted among the footnotes, where appropriate, to enrich the comments and observations Farmer made in his daily entries.

Finally we possess ninety-five photographs which Kurt Schindler,²⁹ the Berlin-born American composer, choral conductor, and founder of the New York Schola Cantorum, took during his visit to Cairo in late March and early

27 These appeared in the Madrid daily, *El sol*, in his customary column entitled "La vida musical" [1932]. He was a member of Farmer's Commission on Music History and Manuscripts, and both he and Farmer shared passage on the same ship at the conclusion of the Congress.

28 It was early during the 1973 fall semester at Columbia Univ., after she returned from a summer visit to Egypt, that she graciously provided me with a copy of her typed-manuscript, for which I am most grateful.

29 Schindler (1882–1935) visited Cairo expressly to attend the activities of the Congress and to continue thereafter to Palestine for a short visit. Prior to his Egyptian visit he was being considered for the music chairmanship at the newly established Bennington College in Vermont. Several months earlier he had returned from his third visit to Spain and Portugal, where he collected and recorded folk music in various provinces under a subvention from Columbia University. For his lifelong activities as a consummate musician, see I.J. Katz, "Kurt Schindler: La aventura individual y colectiva de un cancionero", in I.J. Katz, and M. Mansano Alonso (eds.): *Kurt Schindler. Música y poesía popular de España y Portugal*. Facs. ed., Salamanca-New York 1991, 11–43 and his entry on Schindler in *The new Grove dictionary of music and musicians*, xxii, London, 2001², 510–11.

April 1932. These confirm the dates of particular excursions and afternoon performances by the varied invited ensembles.³⁰

4.2 Travel Journal "Itinerary"

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1932.

FEB. 27 [Sat.]. Left Glasgow for London.

" **28** [Sun.]. To British Museum.

" **29** [Mon.]. To School of Oriental Studies to see Prof. Gibb³¹ about lecture which he had arranged for me to give to his honours students on the *Kitāb al-aghānī*.³²

MAR. 3 [Thurs.]. Left Victoria (11 a.m.).—Dover—Calais—Paris: Had to wait here three hours.

³⁰ **Mar. 20th** (photos of an excursion to Saqqāra and Gīza to see the pyramids, nos. 1–7); **Mar. 23rd** (an excursion to Old Cairo, visiting the Coptic Church "El-Mu'allāqa" [The Hanging Church], Coptic Museum, and tower walls, nos. 9–12); **Mar. 24th** (the Mosque of Ibn Tūlūn, nos. 13–6); **Mar. 25th** (the garden performances at the Institute of Oriental Music, nos. 17–24; and the front and side views of the Institute, nos. 25–6); **Mar. 26th** (the audition room in the Institute, no. 27; and the afternoon performances in the garden of the Institute, nos. 28–37); **Mar. 27th** (visiting the pyramids at Gīza: at the fifth pyramid, nos. 38, 40–5; and in front of the Pyramid of Khafre [Chephren]), no. 39); **Mar. 28th** (activities at the portal of the Institute, nos. 46–51); **Mar. 29th** (excursion to the Barrages, nos. 52–7); **Apr. 1st** (excursions to: Luxor, nos. 58–67; Karnak, nos. 68–75); **Apr. 2nd** (Thebes and return to Luxor, nos. 76–83); **Apr. 4th** (garden performances at the Institute, nos. 84–7); and **Apr. 5th** (musicians before the portal and inside the Institute, nos. 88–95). Schindler's Cairo photo collection is housed at the Hispanic Society of America (New York).

³¹ The Egyptian-born Sir Hamilton A.R. Gibb (1895–1971), who then taught Arabic at London University's School of Oriental Studies, was a prolific author on Islamic subjects. He also served as one of the editors of the abridged *EI*, Leiden 1953 and the *EI²*, especially the first volume [A–B], Leiden 1960.

³² '*The great book of songs*' by the Persian-born historian, Abū l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī (897–967). In June of 1920, Farmer purchased eight-volumes of the Būlāq edition (1868–9) from Luzac & Co., 46 Great Russell St., London (the invoice can be found in FC q585.1).

“ 4 [Fri.]. Arrived Marseilles 10 a.m. and sailed at 5 p.m. (*)³³ and had a large party of 89 passengers from Morocco most of who[m] were doing the pilgrimage to Mecca. Became friendly with several of them who were interested in the reason for my journey. One of them, Muḥammed Zebdī of Rabat, a well-educated man, interested in poetry, spent much time with me, and we talked about Moroccan music. They had their own *mu'adhdhin* who called them to prayer on the highest part of their deck.

[Insertion: Photo of Moḥammed Zebdī]

MAR. 5 [Sat.]. Rain. Passed Corsica.

“ 6 [Sun.]. Reached Naples at 7 a.m. At 9 a.m. went to Pompeia. Sailed at 4 p.m., with Charlie Chaplin and his brother Syd,³⁴ who joined at Naples. He was going to Yokohama.

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FIGURE 4.A *On board the Suwa Maru, while docked in Naples. Front row (left to right): Captain Enya, Charlie Chaplin, Syd Chaplin; second row; Toraichi Komo (Charlie's personal secretary and body guard); and an unidentified ship officer* (FC 503, 84).

33 (*) A faint penciled note at the foot of p. 83: “When I left Marseille I found that I had already spent £50 and there was still my stay in Cairo & journey back”.

34 Charlie's younger half-brother Syd had arranged for Charlie and Toraichi Komo to accompany him to the Orient. They reunited in Marseilles, where they boarded, on Mar. 6th, the same Japanese ship (the *Suwa Maru*) bound for Port Sa'īd.

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MAR. 10 [Thurs.]. Arrived at Port Sa'īd at 6:30 a.m. Before I was dressed [*penned insert: and*] packed, two gentlemen, sent by the Egyptian Government, the Commander of the Port and another, were at my cabin door. They took charge of everything, luggage included, and took me to the saloon and introduced me to the customs and passport officials. Although there were twenty or thirty people waiting for their clearances, I was passed through first, and then left the ship. A special launch was there to take me ashore where I was met by the Principal of the Secondary School of Port Sa'īd, who informed me that he had been instructed by the Ministry of Education to entertain me until my train left for Cairo. On the journey from Port Sa'īd to Cairo, I had a most interesting fellow passenger, a Doctor Lagrange,³⁵ who was interested in Oriental music, and most of the time was spent in discussions on this subject.

[Insertion: Calling card of Docteur E. Lagrange,
Conseil Quarantenaire, Alexandrie]

On my arrival in Cairo I was met by a deputation from the Ministry of Education and the Institute of Oriental Music, and others, including Muṣṭafa Riḍā [Reda] Bey,³⁶ Dr. M. al-Ḥafnī,³⁷ Muḥammed Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj,

35 This was Émile Lagrange, a Belgian biologist (fl. first half of the twentieth cent.), who at that time was serving as Conseil Quarantenaire and Directeur de Laboratoire bactériologique quarantenaire in Alexandria (1928–34). His articles, "Étude bactériologique de la bousa (bière indigène d'Égypte)" and "Une nouvelle maladie des poules à virus filtrable, observée en Égypte", appeared in the *Bulletin de la Société de Pathologie Exotique* (July 11, 1928 and Feb. 13, 1929, resp.). He returned to France in 1935 to become Directeur de Laboratoire de bactériologie in Chartres. In 1938, he published a biography of Robert Koch (1843–1910), the German physician and Nobel Prize laureate (awarded 1905) who led a German Commission in Egypt to study the outbreak of cholera.

36 Director of the Institute of Oriental Music and noted *qānūn* player, Muṣṭafa signed his name as Mustapha Reda on his non-Arabic correspondence. There is a fine photo of him in plate 23 of the *KMM'A* and the *Recueil*, resp.

37 Maḥmud 'Aḥmad al-Ḥefnī was then Secretary General of the Congress and Music inspector for the Egyptian Ministry of Education. He usually signed his non-Arabic correspondence as M. al-Hefny.

Dr. Lachmann,³⁸ Muḥammad Bey Fathī,³⁹ and Zakī ‘Alī Bey.⁴⁰ Lachmann wanted me to stay in his hotel with the other German delegates,⁴¹ but as I had been invited to a hotel where a number of British were staying, including many teachers of English under the Education authority, I decided on Killiney House in the Shāri‘ Abu l-Sabā’ [no. 22],⁴² where I was most hospitably received by D[avid] P. Williams,⁴³ a professeur of English, who was a friend of my own

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- 38 Lachmann, in a letter to his parents written on the following day (dated Mar. 11, 1932), confirmed that he was a member of the deputation that welcomed Farmer. He also remarked that “in spite of [Farmer’s] thorough knowledge of Arabic, to which [his] is altogether incomparable, [Farmer] speaks only English and is, as a matter of fact, dependent on [him]” (Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 308).
- 39 Fathī was a musician (tanbourist) and one of the founders of the Institute of Oriental Music. Until he was appointed director of the Arabic Music Institute (from 1950–62), he was a practicing psychiatrist. During the Congress, he served on three Commissions: the Musical Scale, Musical Instruments, and General Issues. In his interview with Salwa el-Shawan (Data on 4) at his summer home in Alexandria (August, 1973), he claimed that his “main role... [in] the musical instruments committee... [concerned] a proposal ‘to eliminate all Western instruments from the Arabic music ensemble’”. He personally felt “that all the instruments ‘*a ton libre*’ such as the violin, viola, cello and bass can be utilized in the Arabic music ensemble, because they render all the subtleties of the *maqāmāt*.” Although Farmer agreed with Fathī, Sachs opposed. The matter remained unresolved, even though a special committee—consisting of musicians and physicists—was proposed to examine this issue.
- 40 A lawyer and amateur musician, who was one of the early members of the Institute. His name at times appeared as Maḥmūd or Moḥammad Zakī ‘Alī, with appended titles Eff., Pasha, or Bey. Fluent in English, and particularly communicative with Farmer during the course of the Congress, he was later appointed to the Egyptian Court of Appeals, where he served as Judge.
- 41 The Germans (Heinitz, Hindemith, Hornbostel, Sachs, Wolf), who arrived days later, reserved rooms at the Metropolitan Hotel (located in the Cairo Bourse, the Stock Exchange section, at the intersections of Qasr al-Nil, Sherif, and Sabrī Abu Alam Streets). The hotel was inaugurated just four years earlier. It is presently known as the Cosmopolitan Hotel. It was in Genoa, where Hindemith, Hornbostel, Sachs, and Wolf (see the last page of the Collage of Kurt Schindler’s photos) linked up with Hába, Heinitz, and Wellesz (Sachs, “Der arabische Musikkongress”, 189).
- 42 This modest hotel, which took its name from the Irish town situated in southern littoral outskirts of County Dublin, was popular among Cairo’s British inhabitants and tourists. The name derives from the Celtic *Cill-Iníon-Léinín* (Church of the Daughters of Léinín).
- 43 A newspaper cutting pasted on back of the letter (p. 97), mentions Williams as a native of Aberdare, a graduate of the Univ. of Wales, and a member of the Egyptian Education Service.

friend John Walker (*),⁴⁴ who was a fellow student in my time in the Arabic class at Glasgow University.

I then went to the Institute of Oriental Music,⁴⁵ as arranged, and was introduced to everyone of importance. From there we went to the Abdīn Palace⁴⁶ so as to sign the visitors' book, and then back again to the Institute where I met some of the German delegates. The next day King Fu'ād's secretary called at Killiney House and left his card.

[Insertion: Calling card: Joseph Philippe Gelat Bey
Directeur de la Section Européenne
au Cabinet de S. M. Le Roi
 Abdīn Palace, Cairo]

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MAR. 11 [Fri.],⁴⁷ Called on H.B.M. Consul General, Mr. Rabino, and told [him] about [the] disproportionate representation of delegates. He advised the

44 [(*) Afterwards he worked in the Coins and Medals Department of the British Museum.] It should be mentioned that Edward William Lane's nephew, Reginald Stuart Poole (1832–1895), who became a noted Egyptologist and a founder of the Egypt Exploration Society, also served as Keeper of Coins and Medals at the British Museum from 1870–93.

45 This was the official site of the Congress and focal point for its activities, located at 22 Shāri' Reine Nazli (presently called Shāri' Ramses) in the Ezbekiya district of downtown Cairo. In 1935, it officially became known as the *Al-Ma'had al-Malikī lil-Mūsīqā al-'Arabīyya* (National/Royal Institute of Arab Music). Many authors have substituted the title Academy for Institute. From 1995 onwards, the Institute was renovated to become the Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb Museum. It officially opened on May 3, 2001 to commemorate the tenth anniversary of his death.

'Abd al-Wahhāb became one of Egypt's most acclaimed singers and composers. According to N. el-Aref ("Strains of East and West"), he sang at the Institute's 1929 inaugural ceremony. Moreover, Moḥammad Fatḥī explained that although 'Abd al-Wahhāb was listed as a member of the Commission on Musical Instruments (as confirmed in the *Recueil* 37 and 42, resp.), he was too embarrassed to attend the Congress, because it was known that he "literally stole themes from Western art music" (el-Shawan, "Data on", 6).

46 Located in the 'Abdīn district of Old Cairo, it was then the residence of King Fu'ād. In the early 1860s, Khedive Ismā'īl moved the seat of government from the Citadel—situated at the foot of the Muqattam Hills—to his newly built Abdīn Palace, which was officially inaugurated in 1874. Situated near the Bab el-Khalq (Gate of the Creation), it now houses various museums, primarily on the first floor.

47 For some reason, Farmer attached a letter from Rabino to page 110, which could only apply to this date. It read:

High Commissioner being informed. [*penned in:* With] Dr. Lachmann, Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī (the Secretary of Baron D'Erlanger),⁴⁸ and a third party,⁴⁹ went to Fustāṭ (Old Cairo), saw the mosque of 'Amr (not inside),⁵⁰ and visited the Old Coptic Church,⁵¹ which were thoroughly explored. Had lunch and then went to the mosque of the *Maulawīyya* [Mevlevi] dervishes⁵² and witnessed a

Dear Dr. Farmer,

If you have nothing better to do on Sunday, we might go to Ma'adi [to] have tea with friends of mine the Sidleys then go on to Mrs. Devonshire and have dinner at the Consulate.

If this suits you come to the Consulate about 4 p.m. on Sunday.

Yours sincerely, H.L. Rabino.

48 Farmer provided additional information about this day's activities in his first letter to his family (see App. 12). Lachmann, in his letter of Mar. 11, 1932 (Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 309–10), confirmed that together with el-Hefny's brother-in-law and al-Sanūsī, they spent the entire day together, first driving to the part of the city bordering on the Nile, where they observed the natives singing while unloading cargo from anchored boats. They then continued to Fustāṭ to visit the Coptic Church, then, after lunch, to the area of the Citadel, where, in the domed hall of a mosque [the Blue Mosque], they attended the Friday ceremony of the Whirling Dervishes. Afterwards, they walked to the bazaars north of the El-Azhar Mosque.

49 This was Maḥmūd el-Ḥefnī's brother-in-law, Alfred Berner (1910–70), who, in 1935, obtained his doctorate at Friedrich-Wilhelms-Univ. (Berlin). There he studied art history, musicology, and philosophy. His dissertation, written under the guidance of Profs. Georg Schünemann and Arnold Schering, was later published as *Studien zur arabischen Musik auf Grund der gegenwärtigen Theorie und Praxis in Ägypten*, Leipzig 1937. Berner spent two years in Cairo (1931–3), where he studied Arabic and Arab music while gathering information for his dissertation.

50 Fustāṭ, which includes the Coptic section, is part of Old Cairo. 'Amr ibn al-Ās (c. 573–664), known as the first Arab conqueror of Egypt, chose Fustāṭ (*Misr al-Fustāṭ* 'City of the Tents') as the site of his new capital (in 641). It is here where Islamic Cairo began. Until 1168, it remained the economic and administrative center of Egypt.

The Mosque of 'Amr ibn al-Ās was constructed in 642, on the edge of Fustāṭ, north of the Coptic Convent of St. George on Shāri' Mari Gergis. Considered the oldest mosque in Egypt, it became a center of learning long before the El-Azhar mosque was erected. Destroyed during the Crusades in 1175, it was rebuilt by Saladin in 1179. It was later demolished and reconstructed by the Mameluk Muḥammad Bey Murād (ca. 1750–1801) in 1796, and was ultimately restored by Khedive Abbas Ḥelmī II in 1906.

51 Also known as the Hanging Church (*El-Mu'allaqa*), because its foundation was jammed into the adjacent wall of an old Roman fortress's water gate.

52 Although Farmer did not name the mosque where they witnessed the Whirling Dervishes, it was indeed the Blue Mosque, located just north of the Citadel (see n. 75 *infra*). The Maulawīyya Order (the 'dancing Dervishes'), known in the Ottoman Empire as the Mevlevi Dervishes, was established by disciples of the Afghan-born Persian philosopher and Sufi mystical poet Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī (1207–73).

dhikr.⁵³ Was introduced to the *shaikh* of the order and had coffee with him in his drawing room. We sat in the gallery during the *dhikr*, next to the musicians, one of whom, the *nāy* (flute) player was the teacher of the instrument at the Institute.⁵⁴ Then went to the Citadel,⁵⁵ but could not go into the mosque of Muḥammad 'Ali,⁵⁶ because it was undergoing repair. From here we took a walk th[r]ough the quarter of the tombs of the caliphs and sultans, and to the native

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- 53 For Lachmann's brief description of the ceremony, see his letter of Mar. 11, 1932 (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 309). The performance of the Whirling Dervishes, based on the *samā'* (mystical dance) created by Rūmī, was initiated in Konya (Anatolia) and later diffused throughout Turkey, Syria, and Egypt. M.A. Frishkopf ("Sufism, ritual") studied the varied Sufi orders and ritual performances that gained increased popularity from the twelfth to the nineteenth century, thereafter declining in scope and influence. The *samā'* evolved into a choreographed worship ceremony, wherein the participating dancers achieved close communion with God through their ecstatic dancing. They were accompanied by an ensemble usually comprising a male vocalist, a *nāy* (flute), *rebāb* (spiked fiddle), *kūdrum* (small, copper kettledrums), *halile* (a pair of hand cymbals), perhaps also a *bendir* (large tambourine with snares), and a male choir. Their continuous whirling (counterclockwise) symbolized the Earth orbiting the Sun. The ceremony always concludes with a *dhikr* (Turkish, *zīkr*), a 'prayer' focusing on the remembrance of God, followed by a procession. Detailed historical information can be found in: I.S. Friedlander, *The Whirling Dervishes; being an account of the Sufi order, known as the Mevlevis, and its founder, the poet and mystic, Mevlana Jalalu'ddin Rumi*, London 1975, whose section on music was contributed by N. Uzel; and L.M.J. Garnett, *Mysticism and magic in Turkey: An account of the religious doctrines, monastic organization, and ecstatic powers of the dervish orders*, New York 1912; I. Markoff's short article, "Introduction to Süfi music and ritual in Turkey", in *MESAB*, 30(2) (1995), 157–60, is also useful. Moreover, fine accounts of the dance can be found in H. Ritter, "Der Reigen der "Tanzen den Derwische"", in *ZvMW*, 1 (1933), 28–40 and F. Meier, "Der Derwisch tanz", *AS*, 7 (1954), 107–36. E. Popescu-Judetzu devoted a chapter to the music of the Mevlevi Dervishes in *Dimitrie Cantemir*, Bucharest 1973, 44–52. V.A. Vicente's doctoral dissertation, "The aesthetics of motion in musics for the Mevlana Celal ed-Dīn Rumi", College Park 2007, contains an excellent bibliography. See also H.G. Farmer, "Şūfī and Darwīsh Music" 163–4; L. Gardet's entry "Dhikr", in *IE²*, Leiden-London 1965, ii, 223–7, and C. Poché, "Zīkr and Musicology", in *The world of music*, 20(1) (1978), 59–73.
- 54 The *nāy* player, then unbeknownst to Farmer, was 'Ali al-Darwīsh, who, during the Congress, served as a prominent member of the Commission on Melodic and Rhythmic Modes. He was then associated with the Institute of Oriental Music, where he also taught theory.
- 55 This walled medieval acropolis, erected between 1176 and 1183 (during the reign of Saladin [Salāḥ al-Dīn]) was fortified to protect the city from the Crusaders. It is located on the western side of the Muqattam Hills, whose limestone was used for its construction.
- 56 The 'Byzantine' tomb mosque of Moḥammad 'Ali Pāshā (ruled from 1805–49), considered the founder of modern Egypt, was built during his reign on the site of the Citadel grounds where old Mameluke palaces were located.

quarter. I completed the day at the Institute, where I had an appointment with the Secretary of the Congress [Maḥmūd al-Ḥafnī].



FIGURE 4.B *Wadī' Sabrā* (FC 503, 86).

Mar. 12 [Sat.]. Wadī' Sabrā, the Principal of the Beyrout Conservatoire of Music and myself, together with Dr. Al-Ḥafnī, were taken to the Ministry of Education,⁵⁷ where we were met by the Chief Secretary [*penned in margin*: Muḥammad Ashmawī Bey]. Then to the cabinet of the Vice Minister, 'Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī Pāshā, a most delightful personality, who spoke perfect English. I had a very animated conversation with him on Arabian music, and found that he was acquainted with my writings. Finally, we were presented to the Minister, Muḥammad Ḥilmī 'Isā Pāshā.⁵⁸ Went back to the Institute where I had an appointment with Dr. Lachmann. Had lunch [with Lachmann] and [we] set off for the El-Azhar Mosque.⁵⁹ Went inside and saw the students sitting in a circle around their professors, as of old. Saw more of Old Cairo and the bazaars.

57 Then located at 12 12 Shāri' el-Falaky. Two decades later, Farmer provided an entry on Wadī' Sabrā for *Grove's dictionary* (1954⁵), vii, 344–5.

58 A life-long Egyptian politician and founding member of the Ittihad Party who became the Minister of Education on June 10 of the preceding year.

59 This mosque, whose seminary is considered one of the world's oldest, was erected by the Fatimids ca. 972. It exhibits an unusual double-pointed minaret and possesses a fine marble courtyard. The Fatimids named it after the prophet Muḥammad's daughter, Fāṭima Az-Zahra. Representing Egypt's supreme Islamic authority, it is situated on Shāri' el-Azhar, just to the west of El-Azhar Univ. Tourist tickets were required for visiting the mosques.

MAR. 13 [Sun.].⁶⁰ Had an appointment at the Egyptian National Library to see some of the manuscript treasures on music.⁶¹ M. Barrāda Bey received me and was very courteous. Was taken to the MS. dept. and was shown everything of interest. Went to the Residency,⁶² where the High Commissioner lives, so as to sign the visitors' book. The compliment was returned the following day by an official from Sir Percy Loraine,⁶³ leaving the latter's card.

[Insertion: Calling card: Sir Percy Loraine Bt
*His Britannic Majesty's High Commissioner
 for Egypt and the Sudan*]

Went with Mr. Rabino to friends at Maadi [*sic* Ma'ādī]⁶⁴ to Tea. Ought to have called on Mrs. Devonshire,⁶⁵ but no time. Had dinner at Consulate-General with Mr. Rabino.

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- 60 According to Lachmann's letter of Mar. 16 (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 310), the Germans arrived at noon. Hornbostel was ecstatic about his first encounter with the city, but Wolf felt uncomfortable.
- 61 Modeled upon the style of the Bibliothèque Nationale (Paris), it was founded by Khedive Ismā'īl Pāshā in 1870 as the Dār al-Kutub. Originally situated on the Shāri' Darb el-Gamamiz, it was relocated in 1904 to Midān Bab el-Khalq, where it occupies the second floor of the Arabic Museum. See M. Spater Mag, "The Egyptian Library", in *The library quarterly* 16(4) (1946), 341-4.
- 62 Now known as the British Embassy and official office of the British Consulate General. It was erected in the 1890s on the old palace grounds of the Kasr el Doubara, situated in Garden City at 19 Shāri' Gami Charbass, parallel with the eastern bank of the Nile. This is where Mr. Rabino's office was located.
- 63 Sir Percy Lyham Loraine (1880-1961), who succeeded Lord George Lloyd, served as the High Commissioner in Egypt from Aug. 1929 to Dec. 1933.
- 64 This Cairene suburb, located about fifteen kms. to the south, was created in 1907 by the British Delta Land and Investment Company as a British colonial paradise. Life in Ma'ādī was disrupted during the First World War, but returned to its pristine English-style garden setting shortly thereafter. From Ma'ādī one had to head west across the Nile to reach Gīza. For a fascinating history of the community, see S. Waḥid Ra'afat, *Ma'ādī 1904-1962: Society & history in a Cairo suburb*, Cairo 1994.
- 65 The meeting with Mrs. Devonshire to which Rabino alluded in his note to Farmer on Fri., Mar. 11th did not occur. The French-born Henriette Caroline Devonshire (née Vulliamy) (1864-1949), was a prolific author and translator of French classics into English. Married to the British lawyer Robert Llewellyn Devonshire (1861-1919), she wrote under the name of Mrs. R.L. Devonshire. She first settled in the Cairene suburb of Ma'ādī (in 1913), where she was later known as 'the grande dame of Ma'ādī'. Her first Egyptian publication, *Rambles in Cairo*, Cairo, 1917, was based on dozens of letters written by an anonymous British soldier that appeared in *The sphinx* (during the winter of 1916-7) under the title "A convalescent

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[Insertion: Postcard photos of: 1) Coptic Church, Fuṣṭāṭ; 2) Mosque of Muḥammad ‘Alī; 3) Tombs of the Caliphs; 4) Mosque of Al-Azhar; and 5) The Citadel]

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MAR. 14 [Mon.]. Attended the Institute of Oriental Music for the official reception of the delegates.⁶⁶ The Minister of Education, H.E.M. Ḥilmī ‘Isā Pāshā, presided, with the Vice Minister, ‘Abd al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī Pāshā. I had a long conversation with the Minister and the Vice Minister, when I emphasized the point that although the British Empire was greater than all the possessions of France, Germany and Italy put together, I was the sole representative from Britain, whilst the countries named had sixteen delegates between them. He smiled and said it was quality not quantity that counted (quoting an Arabic proverb). It was small satisfaction to me to receive flattery in the place of an explanation, yet I did not tell him that I would make a formal protest to the proper quarter.

We were shown over the Institute, its fine concert hall, museum, library, and the refectory. Then went into the gardens where tea was served. The pressmen surged around us, taking notes. Photos were taken and the Minister asked me to stand beside him for the purpose of the photo. I did so but Von Hornbostel’s wife, a Jewess, stepped in front of me, so I had to give way. In fact, the Germans pushed themselves everywhere, and Prof. Sachs, who was known at the

in Cairo.” Each letter described an excursion taken by a group of wounded infantrymen to one of the many historical and religious monuments in Cairo. This initial venture, written for the benefit of British soldiers stationed there, plus her experiences as the first woman guide for the Islamic sites of Egypt, led her to produce several travel books about Cairo. They included: *Some Cairo mosques, and their founders*, Cairo 1921 and *Eighty mosques and other Islamic monuments in Cairo*, Paris 1930; enlarged from the French edition. The renowned Arabist, K.A.C. Creswell, besides being one of her disciples, also served as her photographer.

66 Lachmann described the reception as an official tea party which took place in the garden of the Institute to honor all the participants. He also mentioned a concert, given the preceding day by a Mesopotamian [*sic.* Iraqi] ensemble, whose vocalist [Mohamed el-Qabbanji] earned a tumultuous applause. For Lachmann it was one of his deepest musical experiences (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 310).

Institute having been invited there on a reorganizing job, some time earlier, seemed to be, or at least to act, *persona grata* with all and sundry.

The French delegates had not arrived in Cairo, and when they did, they created (or at least Rabaud did) a great deal of fuss because the whole of Cairo did not turn out, King and Government, to welcome them.⁶⁷

MAR. 15 [Tues.]. This saw the first [*penned insert*: of the] meetings of the various Commissions. I was down for three of these,—History and Manuscripts, Instruments, and the Musical Scale. Later I was placed on another Commission, that of General Questions. This was created specially to find a prominent position for Baron Carra de Vaux,⁶⁸ who, I believe, had been pushed aside deliberately by the Germans, who pulled the strings in the Congress. Maḥmūd al-Ḥafnī, the Secretary of the Congress, had been educated in Berlin, and was a pupil of Sachs,⁶⁹ Wolf, and Von Hornbostel. I was immensely glad to see this great Arabist, Baron Carra de Vaux, at whose feet I would have willingly sat, recognized in this way. I had most interest in History & MSS, so I attended

67 Henry Benjamin Rabaud was the head of the French delegation. At the time of the Congress, he was Director of the Paris Conservatory. As a composer, he won the *Prix de Rome* in 1896. His compositions included nine operas, a cantata (*Daphné*), an oratorio (*Job*), and various symphonic works. He was formerly chief conductor at the Paris Opera (1908–18) and succeeded Carl Muck at the Boston Symphony Orchestra (1918–9).

68 Bernard Carra de Vaux, French orientalist, translator, and musicologist, studied oriental sciences and mathematics at the École Polytechnique in Paris. He was Professor of Arabic at the Institut Catholique de Paris. Among his translations of Arabic treatises, the most noteworthy are al-Mas'ūdī's *Kitāb al-tanbīh* and Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min's *Risālat al-Sharafīyya*. His books on Islamic culture, particularly *Le Mahométisme: Le génie sémitique et le génie aryen dans l'Islam*, Paris 1897, *Avicenne*, Paris 1900, and the series *Les penseurs de l'Islam*, Paris 1914–21, are still revered as basic contributions. His scientific interests included monographs on Galileo, Leibnitz, Isaac Newton, and Leonardo da Vinci, as well as the philosophy of science and the history of the hydraulis. It was Carra de Vaux to whom the Baron d'Erlanger confided his plans concerning projected volumes of *La musique arabe*, and who was later entrusted with the reading of the manuscript and final revision of volume I, for which he was also invited to write its preface. See also H.G. Farmer, "Carra de Vaux", 92–3.

69 Under whose guidance el-Ḥefnī wrote his doctoral dissertation, *Ibn Sina's Musiklehre, hauptsächlich an seinem 'Nagāt' erläutert. Nebst Übersetzung und Herausgabe des Musikabschnittes des 'Nagāt* (Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität [Berlin], 1931). In the same year, together with Lachmann, he prepared al-Kindī's *Risāla fi hubr ta'līf al-alḥān* (*On the composition of melodies*) for publication (Leipzig), based upon the British Museum's Ms. Mus. Or. 2361.

this Commission, and was honoured by being appointed President, although I would have preferred to have seen Baron Carra de Vaux there.

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RECEPTION AND TEA AT THE INSTITUTE OF
ORIENTAL MUSIC AT CAIRO
OF THE INAUGURATION OF
THE CONGRESS.
14th March,
1932.



FIGURE 4.C From left to right: *Prof. E.M. von Hornbostel (Berlin); Prof. W. Heinitz (Hamburg); P. Hindemith (Berlin); Prof. J. Wolf (Berlin); R. Yekta Bey (Istanbul); Frau von Hornbostel; Dr. H.G. Farmer (Glasgow); M. Djemil Bey (Istanbul); the Minister for Education [M. Hülmî 'Isā Pasha]; Prof. E. Wellesz (Vienna); the wife of the Minister of Education; unidentified person; and the Vice Minister for Education [Abd al-Fattāḥ Şabri Pasha] (FC 503, 89).*

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FIGURE 4.D Mainly front row from left to right: *M. Cantoni (Cairo); unidentified person; N. Naḥās; M.A. el-Ḥefnū (wearing eyeglasses); Père X.M. Collangettes (Beirut); the Minister M. Ḥilmī 'Isā Pasha; W. Sabrā (Beirut); the Vice Minister of Education, and an unidentified person (FC 503, 90).*



FIGURE 4.E Front row: *R. Yekta Bey; M. Ḥilmī 'Isā Pasha; M. Djemil Bey; and A. al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī Pasha. Back row: É. 'Arian (extreme right) (FC 503, 90).*

MAR. 16 [Wed.]. A long and interesting Commission meeting. Had lunch with the Governor of Mahdia,⁷⁰ Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, a member of my Commission and a leading authority on Tunisian music. He could not speak English, but we managed with French and Arabic, and when not understood, Fu’ād Muḡhabḡhab, the Assist. Sec., who was also invited, who spoke perfect English, helped us both out of difficulties. He paid a high tribute to the work being done by Baron d’Erlanger for Tunisian music and said that his absence from the Congress was a calamity.⁷¹ He showed me a very fine copy of the verses for the *naubāt* or *tuba’* edited by Al-Ḥā’ik.⁷² It was quite a recent manuscript, but as it seemed interesting, he loaned it to me, when I took the opportunity of having one page (with all the modes shown in a tree with branches) photographed.⁷³ In the afternoon, I went once more to the native quarter with Lachmann and, in the dusk we lost our way. In enquiring we found that our informant was a school teacher and on making ourselves known to him, was

70 A city on the eastern coast, situated 200 kms. below the Tunisian capital.

71 It was the Baron to whom the distinguished Tunisian historian ‘Abd al-Wahhāb dedicated his article “Le développement de la musique arabe en Orient, Espagne et Tunisie”, which was published in *Revue tunisienne*, 25 (1918), 106–17; repr. in *Revue al-Fikr*, 4(9) (1959), 816–22. In vol. II of his history of Tunis, *Waraqāt ‘an al-hazārah al-arabīyyah bi-lfrīqīyyah al-Tūnisīyyah* (Tunis 1966), he praised the efforts of the Baron and Lachmann on behalf of Tunisian music and devoted many pages to the conditions of music in his country.

72 If this was a copy of the original manuscript by the so-called eighteenth-century Moroccan poet, Al-Ḥā’ik, that has been purported to be lost, then it would have indeed been incredible. A reproduction of the 1931 manuscript, which may be that formerly owned by ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, was published as *Kunnāsh (Cancionero) al-Ḥā’ik* by Muḡammad b. al-Ḥusayn al-Ḥā’ik al-Tiṭwānī al-Andalusi, Granada 2003, with a thirty-five-page introduction by M. Cortés García. Earlier editions of the poet’s surviving eleven *naubāt* can be found in: E.N. Yafil, *Al-Ḥā’ik, Majmū’ al-aghāni wa al-alḡān min kalām al-Andalus* (‘*Al-Ḥā’ik, Anthology of songs and melodies from Al-Andalus*’), Algiers 1904; F. Valderrama Martínez’s *El cancionero de al-Ḥā’ik*, Tetuán 1954; and more recently in M. Bannūna (ed.), *Kunnāsh al-Ḥā’ik*, Rabat 1999). C. Poché (“Estce que al-Ḥā’ik”) doubted that he ever existed. Moreover, a description of the *Kunnāsh*, including an entry on al-Tadili al-Ribati, who was involved with developing Al-Ḥā’ik’s information concerning the *nūba*, as well as an entry on al-Tifasi, can be found in A. Shiloah (*The theory of music* [2003]: nos. 028–044, 114, 122, and 162–5). An additional two dozen bibliographic references concerning Al-Ḥā’ik and his *Kunnāsh* can be found in H. Heijkoop and O. Zwartjes (comps.), *Muwašṣaḡ, zajal, kharja*, Leiden 2004, 353.

73 For a reproduction of this page, see p. 189.

[sic] invited into his house (*).⁷⁴ It was in a dingy courtyard, a poor exterior and an even worse interior. Yet he gave us a hearty welcome in his best room. The only accommodation [sic] for sitting was on a *dīwān* [divan?], which surrounded the room against the wall. He brought two candles for illumination and then some coffee. In the evening we went to the Institute where, in the magnificent concert hall, we heard native music.

MAR. 17 [Thurs.]. A subcommittee consisting of myself and three others went to the National Library. I surprised Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb in showing that some of the books (MSS) in the library were attributed to wrong authors. One[,] which was entitled the *Madkhal* of al-Fārābī, was actually the complete *Kitāb al-mūsīqī*. I had an appointment with Ra'ūf Yektā Bey in the afternoon. He wished to see some photostats of Turkish MSS. on music which I had brought with me. One from the Rylands Library at Manchester he borrowed and it was only after continual requests and having to send Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab with him to his hotel, that I was able to salvage it. In the evening I had tea with Mr. Rabino, and finished at the usual concert at the Institute.

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MAR. 18 [Fri.]. Had an informal meeting with two new members of the Commission,—Col. Piseni, a most voluble Italian who talked incessantly about his musical experiences in Africa and his book, and Señor Salazar, a quiet Spaniard, with whom I got on very well. The two of [them] were quite ignorant of the questions they were supposed to discuss. [*penned insert*: The Colonel] told me that he could only stay a day or two as he had to be back in Italy for the annual army manoeuvres. On the 23rd inst. he told the Commission that he had just received notice recalling him to Italy. The Congress officials were annoyed at this, after spending money to bring him to Cairo (what for I don't know). If I had told them that Piseni knew before he left Italy that he could not stay, I am sure that there would have been something said.

In the afternoon, having had lunch with Sidī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, we went to see the famous Blue Mosque,⁷⁵ where we gained admittance. Was much

74 [*Penned insert at bottom of page*: (*) His name was Aḡmad Sa'īd Thābit. He taught at Mansi Obligatory School.]

75 Also known as the Aqsunqur Mosque, situated north of the Citadel on Shāri' Bab el-Wazir. Farmer and al-Sanūsī missed the 3:00–5:00 p.m. performance of the Whirling Dervishes, which Bartók mentioned in his letter of the following day as an official event of the Congress ("Travel reports", 215).

impressed by this beautiful edifice. Visited more bazaars, and then to the Mosque of Saghrībardī [*sic* Taghri Bardi],⁷⁶ another fine building, and managed to get inside. Then to fulfil an invitation at 9–30.⁷⁷ Left soon after.

Prof. Williams, my friend at Killiney House, and myself spent the evening together, at the Institute concert, but had to leave because Williams could not stand the music any longer.

[*Insertion: Invitation from "AL DIAFA"*

CERCLE DE LECTURE ET DE CONFÉRENCES

7, RUE EL FADL

Le Cercle Al-Diafa recevra le grand compositeur

M. Reynaldo Hahn

le Vendredi 18 Mars à 9:30 p.m.

Vous êtes cordialement invité à assister à cette reunion]

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MAR. 19 [Sat.]. Commission meeting at 10–30. Had to agree to this late start to oblige some members. It was a long, but fruitful meeting. I was asked to assess the value of Najīb Naḥās's collection*.⁷⁸ This myself and the Secretary did, and taking into consideration that the photos were made twenty years ago, when prices were cheaper, we suggested that £50 would be a reasonable offer. Before reporting this to the Commission, I saw the owner, who said that he would prefer to keep the volumes.

76 Located in Midān El-Sayyida Zaynab in the old Islamic district of Cairo, it is a walking distance from the Blue Mosque. It was named after the Emir Taghri Bardi el-Rumy, a Circassian Mameluke, who built the complex consisting of a mosque, *madrassa*, mausoleum, and a Sufi convent in 1440.

77 Hahn, the Venezuelan-born French composer, conductor, and author, was undoubtedly familiar with several members of the French delegation. A graduate of the Paris Conservatory, he composed numerous art songs and piano works, piano and violin concertos, ballets, two operas (*L'île du rêve* [1898] and *La Carmélite* [1902]), the popular three-act operetta *Ciboulette* (1923), and was working on a light operatic version of Shakespeare's *Merchant of Venice*, which was performed in 1935. During the Dreyfus affair in the late 1890s, Hahn and his closest friends Marcel Proust and Sarah Bernhardt become ardent Dreyfusards. It is not known how long he remained in Cairo, but he did accompany a group of delegates to the pyramids on Mar. 20th (as seen in K. Schindler's photos, nos. 5 and 6).

78 [*Penned insert at bottom of page: *Photostats of Arabic manuscripts on music. There were ten volumes.*]

Prof. Wolf and I had lunch together at my hotel. I found him, all that I had expected, a fine scholar. So different from the loud and pushing Sachs, who wore a fez throughout the whole of the Congress. He begged me to continue my researches into the Arabian influence on European theory. We discussed the likely Arabian origin of the sol-fa, but I told him there [is] little precise evidence.⁷⁹ Concert at Institute.

[*Insertion*: Postcard photos of the Blue Mosque and the Saghrībardī Mosque]

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MAR. 20 [Sun.]. Went, with three other[s], including Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, Col. Pisenti, and Señor Salazar to the Armenian Church, which is noted for its music. I saw Wellecz [*sic* Wellesz] there,⁸⁰ when he asked me if I would give him information about any references to Byzantine music in Arabic documents. I gave him several references offhand and promised more later. He discussed this point with me several times during the Congress.

Back to lunch at my hotel and at three p.m., Williams and myself went to Gīza to see the pyramids.⁸¹ We (at the Congress) were going there [*penned insert*: another] day, at the invitation of the Ministry, but I wanted to spend some time on the pyramids and tombs alone. We arrived home late, "dead beat", but went out later to see something of Cairene night life at one of the best cafes.

[*Insertion*: Two photos of pyramids at Gīza; Farmer is standing in front of the lower one]

79 Apparently Farmer did not join other participants to hear a Greek-Orthodox service arranged especially for the participants, as Lachmann reported in his letter of Mar. 20th (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 211). The group later walked along the fringe of the desert to witness the glorious sunset.

80 The Viennese-born Wellesz was invited to the Congress because of his comparative studies in Eastern and Western chant, whose elements he traced to Syria. He was also a respected composer, having been tutored and influenced by Arnold Schoenberg. In 1908, he earned his doctorate at the Univ. of Vienna, where he studied with Hugo Adler and specialized in Baroque opera. At the time of the Congress, he was Prof. of Musicology at the Univ. of Vienna, had already taught at the Vienna Conservatory (1913–15), and had served as lecturer at the university (1913–30).

81 Gīza, the desert plateau located 13 kms. southeast of Cairo, contains the pyramid-tombs of three fourth-dynasty pharaohs: Menakare (Mycerinus); Khafre (Chephren); and Khufu (Cheops). The latter site is considered one of the Seven Wonders of the Ancient World.

MAR. 21 [Mon.]. Commission sat at 9:30 to 12 noon. Baron Carra de Vaux invited me to lunch, but I told him that I had promised to [*penned insert*: lunch] with H.B.M. [Handwritten: Consul General], so I got on the phone and the three of us [*penned insert*: lunched] at the Baron's hotel. In the afternoon I had arranged to see some more mosques, as well as to see the site of the old Jewish synagogue at Fustāt.⁸² Visited the mosques of Qait Bey⁸³ and Ibn Tūlūn⁸⁴ which are poles asunder in their architecture, the former ornate, the

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- 82 This ancient synagogue, located near the Coptic Museum in Fustāt, was purchased from the Copts in 882 C.E by the community's Jewish inhabitants for 20,000 dinars after the Copts had converted it from a Roman basilica to a church. It bears the name of Abraham ben Ezra [see Chap. 2, n. 59], a Rabbi from Jerusalem who, during his visit to Fustāt in 1115, was responsible for converting the church into a synagogue. In the mid-1880s, its *genizah* (store room) was discovered by the Jewish traveler Jacob Saphir. It was not until 1896, however, when Solomon Schechter (1847–1915), the Romanian-born English Rabbi and scholar, removed more than 100,000 documents and manuscripts from the *genizah* that he managed to send to Cambridge Univ. Library, where it is known as the Taylor-Schechter Collection. For a bibliography of the *genizah* collection, see <http://www.lib.cam.ac.uk/Taylor-Schechter/Collection.html>. H. Bentwich, in his *Solomon Schechter: A biography*, Philadelphia 1948, included a most illuminating chapter on “The Cairo geniza”, 136–63. Notable studies based on its material include: S.D. Goitein's six-volume study, *A Mediterranean society: The Jewish communities of the Arab world as portrayed in the documents of the Cairo geniza*, Berkeley 1967–93; a revised and abridged one-volume ed. was edited by J. Lassner (Berkeley 1999); P. Kahle, *The Cairo geniza* Oxford 1959². Interestingly, decades later Farmer commented on two fragments from manuscripts that were discovered at the Cairo *geniza* (“Two *genizah* fragments on music”, in *TGVOS*, 19 [1963], 52–62, repr. as *Jewish genizah fragments on music* in a pamphlet entitled *Oriental musical influence*, London 1964, 22–32). Both fragments, transliterated from Arabic (written in Hebrew script), were identified by Farmer as belonging to the *Risālā fi 'ilm al-mūsīqī* by the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā' (10th century) and *Al-durr al naẓīm fi aḥwāl al 'ulūm wa-l-ta'lim*, an Arabic encyclopedic entry attributed to Ibn al-Akfānī (d. 1348). Information about the synagogue can be found in C.J. Cohen, *Ben Ezra Synagogue: Courte notice sur la plus ancienne synagogue de l'Égypte*, Cairo 1954. For the most recent and engaging study of the discovery of the *geniza* manuscripts and the cadre of scholars who have studied its treasures, see A. Hoffman and P. Cole, *Sacred trash: The lost and found world of the Cairo geniza*, New York 2010. A concise overview of the earliest Jewish settlements in Fustāt can be found under the entry “Cairo” in the *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, iv, Jerusalem 2007², 342–6.
- 83 Named after a child slave who ruthlessly managed to become a sultan, the tomb-mosque of Qait Bey was completed in 1472. Located in the suburb of mausoleums known as the Tombs of the Caliphs (in the Eastern Cemetery), it also contains those of his four wives.
- 84 The Baghdadi-born Aḥmad ibn Tūlūn (835–84), who designated himself as the first independent ruler of Egypt, moved the capital of Egypt from Fustāt to Madinat al-Qatta'i.

latter plain. A wealthy Jew, a Greek by nationality, who escorted me and Fu'ād Mughabghab (who usually accompanied me) on the afternoon's expedition, then took us to Fustāṭ. He spoke English very badly and Fu'ād said that his Arabic was worse, although, strange to say, I understood him. He seemed to have learned by heart all about Jewish antiquities in Fustāṭ. He gave me a small cruse oil lamp of terracotta of the 12th century. He was delighted when I suggested that it might have been in the hands of Maimonides. Went to his house at Giza for tea, and then to the Institute for the 9–30 concert.

[*Insertion: Postcard photos of the Mosques of Qait Bey and Ibn Tūlūn*]

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Called on Sir Percy Loraine re my complaint.⁸⁵

MAR. 22 [Tues.]. No Commission sitting this day. Instead, the subcommittee was to visit the Arab Museum to search industrial art exhibits for designs of instruments of music.⁸⁶ The Secretary could not come at the last moment, so Fu'ād and myself went alone. Was able to identify quite a number of instruments other than what had already been published, especially on a very fine

Of all the monuments he commissioned, only the mosque, whose construction on Gebel Yashkur (Hill of Thanksgiving) was completed in 879, remained after the city was destroyed in the year 905. It is located in and is considered to be the largest mosque in Cairo.

85 Farmer was greatly perturbed about his being the sole participant from Britain. It appeared to him, after having discussed the matter with several officials from the Congress, that "Britain was being deliberately slighted, possibly because of the political situation." When he explained the matter to H.L. Rabino, the British Consul-General, he was advised to file a formal complaint with Sir Percy Loraine which he did that morning. Sir Percy asked Farmer "if Britain was in a position to send suitable delegates?" Farmer "mentioned several names, promising to send him precise details" (FC 503, 75). Concerning the correspondence that ensued, see App. 13.

86 This was the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities, commonly known as the Egyptian Museum, which contains the most extensive collection of ancient Egyptian antiquities in the world (more than 120,000 items, a representative amount of which is on display, the remainder is kept in storerooms). Not only did it house the world's largest collection of Pharaonic antiquities, but also included many treasures of King Tutankhamen. Its hundreds of ancient artifacts attest to the manner in which the ancient Egyptians lived along the Great Nile River. Built in 1835, the Egyptian government situated the museum near the Ezbekiya Gardens. Thereafter it was relocated several times until 1902, when it was ultimately moved to its current location to the north of the Qaṣr-al-Nīl Bridge and Taḥrīr (Liberation) Square.

brass tray, which had escaped the notice of the curators. I did not see Ḥasan M. al-Hawarī, the Assistant curator, who I was supposed to have met, and as the official whom I came in contact with was not too helpful, I decided on another visit. Fu'ād suggested that I should ring up the Ministry and tell them that I was not seeing all that I wanted, but I considered it best to await another visit.

Fu'ād came with me for lunch. In the afternoon, feeling very tired, I had to rest. Had tea in my own room, where Williams joined me. Did some writing up of the Congress reports and a summary of the day's result at the museum. Concert at the Institute, but came away, as I wished to get to bed early.

MAR. 23 [Wed.]. Commission 9–30 to 12 noon. Was invited to see the Azhar Mosque. We had already seen it as most people do, but the Vice Minister of Education arranged a personal visit for me. Accompanied by Fu'ād, I went in the afternoon and was introduced to the *shaikh al-jāmi* Muḥammad al-Aḥmad al-Zawahri and another *shaikh*, the former being the *shāfi'i* leader and the latter the *ḥanafī*. We were told that there were 300 teachers under the control of the Azhar. In the library, according to Fu'ād, there were 100,000 works, but the *shaikhs* said 60,000. [*penned insert*: Fu'ād went home.] Went to Mrs. Eric Titherington's [*i.e.*, Titterington's] house for tea. She had seen me about an article for THE SPHINX,⁸⁷ for which she writes. Her husband is the Private Chemist to King Fu'ād. Gossip says that he tests all the food the King eats. Met a crowd of interesting people here, most of whom extended me invitations, but it is impossible to say yes to all. There is no time.

“ 24 [Thurs.]. No Commission this day. Ought to have visited the Arab Museum the previous day, but the Azhar mosque invitation spoiled that. So I set this day apart for another search at the Museum. Rabino had seen the Assistant Curator, and had been in touch with the Curator, so all was set for a successful visit this time.⁸⁸ Ḥasan M. al-Hawarī was there to meet me, and he was most kind. He obtained [*penned*

87 An English society illustrated weekly which was inaugurated in 1893. The two popular English dailies, published in Cairo, were the *Egyptian gazette* and the *Egyptian mail*, the latter founded in 1880. Mrs. Titterington was most likely the author of the anonymous 1932 item in *The sphinx* concerning Farmer. Her husband, Eric Titterington (1892–1947) was an army major and pharmacist.

88 Rabino, in fact, left a note (dated the previous day) which read:

“I just managed to step out of the Consulate to go to the Arabic Museum. The Head Keeper was not there but I saw his deputy who is to show you over the Museum this

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[*Insertion*: Calling card: Hassan M. el-Hawary
 Licencié en Droit
 Conservateur adjoint du Musée de l'Art Arabe
 Bab-el-Khalk, 20-47 Medina]



FIGURE 4.F *Festival on the Muqattam Hills (FC 503, 96).*

insert: for me] a number of pieces of pottery of the 11th to 14th cent. which had been in the Museum, but as they now had better examples they could dispose of the others. With his help I made a complete list of every exhibit which contained the design of a musician and instrument, and was promised photos of any of these.

afternoon. You had better not put off your visit, but if tomorrow I can be of any assistance to you please let me know in time for me to make a further appointment with him or the Head Keeper.

He told me that he would do "le possible et l'impossible" to give you satisfaction.

How did your visit with Residency go off? I forgot to mention to you when you meet H.E. to keep the conversation going. He is of the silent type of men and I believe likes his caller to assist with the conversation. This of course is for your personal information. Yours truly, H.L. Rabino.

The Arabic Museum is closed 1) on Fridays. 2) It is also closed on next Saturday (King's Birthday). You might ask whether you should not sign the book at the palace; 3) and on Monday afternoon. With great haste."

Had promised to have lunch with Zakī ‘Alī Bey so had cut short my visit here. In the afternoon I went out to the Muqattam Hills,⁸⁹ which overlook the city, and came back through the native quarter and saw some remarkable buildings with the old doors and some interesting iron window grids, but the stench in some places was dreadful. Fu’ād who is about six feet high, had an altercation with a beggar who was very persistent, a small crowd gathered, and I was glad to get out of a really filthy courtyard, into a narrow lane, leading to a street.

Went with Fu’ād to a native café near the [Ezbekiya] Gardens, as I wished to see what they were like. He said that only the lowest class vis[i]ted such places, but I was determined to see one of these places. I did not regret it. Concert at the Institute.

Mar. 25 [Fri.]. Commission 10–30 to 11–30 a.m. And then went to the Commission of Musical Instruments as there was to be an important discussion that day, in which I was interested. Early in the morning, when I arrived at the Institute to do some writing, Fu’ād told me that Dr. Lachmann had been made a grant to enable him to make a trip into the desert to make some records of native music. As this was news to me, [*penned insert*: I asked him how he received this information]. He told me that the German delegates met among themselves every morning in the Secretary’s room, and, according to Fu’ād, arranged the affairs of the Congress! I had seen Lachmann every day, and he did not mention his trip to the desert. Fu’ād told me that if I went down to the Secretary’s office I would find the Germans there at the moment. I did so. It was a surprise to them, but here I learned that the question of the introduction of the piano-forte into Egyptian music was to be discussed in the Commission of Musical Instruments that day. The Germans thought the proposal was absurd, and they tried to win me over to their point of view. I listened to all that they had to say, but kept my peace. It was for this

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reason that I wanted to atten[d] the Commission of Musical Instruments. When the proposal was submitted that the piano was not suitable to Arabic music, the Germans voted solidly—Sachs, Hindemith, and Von Hornbostel—for this, and managed to get Wadī‘ Sabrā (Beyrout) and Mas‘ūd Jamīl (Stambūl) on their side. On my part, I argued for the [*penned insert*: admission of the] quarter-tone piano, and had the support of Cantoni (the opera house conductor), Hába (Prague), Muḥammad Fathī, Najīb Naḥās & Aḥmad Amīn al-Dīk.

89 The hills, located east of the city behind the Citadel, are rich in limestone.

We had a majority of one. The Germans were disappointed at the result, especially Sachs, who thought that his authority and opinion ought not to have been questioned.

Had lunch with Rabino and then went to inspect the Bab Zuwaila (City Gate)⁹⁰ and the remains of the old wall. Called on friends of his for tea, and back to the Consulate-General. In the evening, Rabino had dinner with me at Shepherds,⁹¹ where everyone seemed to know him. Did not go to the Institute that evening.

MAR. 26 [Sat.]. Commission 10 to 11–30. I had already done most of the work of the Commission myself, and now I was asked to draw up a report on the history of the Arabian musical scale. Considering the way in which the members of the Commission neglected their duties, I felt inclined to [*penned in*: not] do any more but, for the sake of my own reputation, and I wanted to make my Commission a success, I agreed. At 11–30 the Presidents of the various Commissions and other European delegates went to the Abdin Palace to sign the King's Birthday Book, this being the anniversary of his birthday. Here, I met the Officer of the King's Guard, who, knowing that I came from Glasgow, begged me to seek out his young brother who was at Anderson's College of Medicine (x).⁹² In the evening, Fu'ād [*penned insert*; my secretary] had arranged a party in my honour at his house, 57, Shāri' Dawādīn. Sāmī el-Shawā, the distinguished Egyptian violinist was present and played for us. One of his melodies reminded me, [*penned insert*: as I told them] of an old Irish jig, and to demonstrate my point, I played it on his violin, although I had not handled a violin for years. I also had an interesting conversation with a relation of [*penned insert*: Fu'ād's]

90 One of the three extant portals that adorn the old Fatimid's walled city. Bab Zuweila marked the southern boundary of the Fatimid metropolis. Through this gate, at the intersection of Shāri' el-Mu'izz and Shāri' Darb el-Aḥmar, one can proceed north on the latter thoroughfare to the "medieval bazaars" of Khan al-Khalili, a main tourist attraction. It was also from this gate where the caravans left for the annual pilgrimage.

91 The original Shepherds Hotel, founded in 1841, no longer exists. The new Shepherds, completely rebuilt in 1891 and enlarged in 1924, was ultimately destroyed, along with other Colonial landmarks on Jan. 16, 1952, during the "Black Saturday" riots against the British, thus ending the Egyptian Revolution with the exile of King Farouk. It faced the western side of the Ezbekiya Gardens—created by Khedive Ismā'īl in 1872 as a French botanical pleasure garden—and was known for its social life, particularly among British and American tourists. It has been reported that the government building in which Napoleon established his headquarters during his short visit in July of 1798 was, in fact, located on the grounds that eventually became the site of the original hotel.

92 [(x) [The name of the officer's young brother was 'Abd al-'Azīz 'Alī Mazīn.]

who was a Syrian Protestant minister. He believed that Arabian music at the time of the early caliphs was the same as Syrian church music of today.

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[Insertion: Le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique a l'honneur de prier Monsieur le D^r Farmer de vouloir bien prendre part, le Dimanche 27 Mars 1932, à 4 h. 30 p.m. à la visite des fouilles que dirige l'Université Égyptienne dans le voisinage des Pyramides de Guizeh. Cette visite sera suivi d'un thé à l'Hôtel Mena House à 6 heures du soir.]

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FIGURE 4.G *Baron Carra de Vaux (wearing straw hat); C. Sachs (facing camera); and W. Sabrā (standing at top right) on paved road to the Temple of the Sphinx (FC 503, 100).*

[Insertion: Two additional photos: 1) Discovery of a paved road or path to the Temple of the Sphinx; and 2) The fifth pyramid recently discovered.]

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[*Insertion*: A photo of a page from a Maghribī manuscript on music
(see p. 189, for a full description)]

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MAR. 27 [Easter Sun.].⁹³ Went with Sidī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī to the mosque of Barqūq,⁹⁴ but having met Dr. Lachmann on the way, he came with us. Having put off our shoes we entered. I liked this mosque better than most for its style. One [M]uslim was reciting the noonday prayer, when Lachmann began saying the *fātiḥa*, the opening verse of the Qur'an, in a loud tone, but al-Manūbī and myself stopped him, because it was likely to call too much attention to ourselves.

I liked Lachmann, but like most of the Germans, he would always talk and act double forte. I remember being with him on the top of a tramcar in Berlin, when, (so deeply engaged in an argument) forgetting that I was in Germany, I asked the Conductor for "two penny fares". Lachmann roared with laughter and almost shouted,—“You're not in Glasgow now”. Naturally, we were the centre of attraction until we alighted.

In the afternoon, we went to Gīza to see the antiquities, having been invited there by the Ministry of Education. The Minister introduced us to the officials of the Department of Antiquities. Here we saw the newly discovered fifth pyramid and the tombs recently unearthed, as well as the Temple of the Sphinx. I actually saw the uncovering of a pathway, which eventually turned out to be the passage way to the temple. The museum was full of the recently discovered treasures.

We were then entertained to tea at the Mīna Hotel,⁹⁵ where there were more speeches and introductions.

93 Farmer appears to have ignored the fact that it was Easter Sunday. Lachmann (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 313) corroborated the trip to Gīza, but instead opted to visit the interior of the Cheops pyramid, along with Alexis Chottin. Later they joined the former group for the Official Tea on the verandah of the Mena House, from which, looking south and southeast, they could view the pyramids at Gīza.

94 Located in the suburb of mausoleums known as the Tombs of the Caliphs, the Mosque is located near the old southwestern wall of Cairo, above the Qait Bey Mosque.

95 It was actually named the Mena House, a stately hotel located on the Oberoi Pyramids Road in the Gīza district. This palatial setting, surrounded by spacious gardens with its view of the great pyramids, has hosted royalty, foreign heads of state, and world renowned celebrities. In former days it served as the royal lodge of Khedive Ismā'īl. In 1869, when the

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[*Insertion*: Visiting Card of Jean David-Weill (1898–1972)
 Diplômé de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes
 Attaché à l'Institut Français de l'Archéologie Orientale
 Attaché à la Conservation du Musée du Louvre
 Docteur en Droit]

[*Insertion*: Photo taken at Saqqāra with Gertrud and P. Hindemith,
 J. Takács and B. Bartók]⁹⁶

[*Insertion*: A photo of the entrance to the Mosque of Barqūq]

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MAR. 28 [Mon.].⁹⁷ The official opening of Congress. King Fu'ād, to everybody's disappointment, did not perform the opening ceremony. He was indisposed,

Suez Canal was officially inaugurated, it was enlarged so as to provide lodging for official visitors in the proximity of the pyramids. In 1883, Frederick and Jessie Head purchased the khedival hunting lodge and sold it to Dame Ethel and Sir Hugh Fortescue Locke-King (1848–1926), the British entrepreneur who constructed a hotel adjacent to it. Completed in 1887, it was named after Menes, the quasi-mythological founder of the First Dynasty. Menes is listed as the first of seventy-six kings on the Tablet of Abydos, located in the Temple of Seti I (Luxor).

96 See Schindler photo no. 1. Farmer erroneously noted its location as Luxor. This and several others from the Schindler collection appeared in other publications, without the photographer's attribution.

97 The inaugural ceremonies began in the morning in the large hall of the Institute, where the large audience consisted of Europeans (mainly French and Germans) and Arab dignitaries representing the countries of the Maghreb and the Middle East. This day also marked the beginning of the plenary sessions, at which the presidents of each commission would read their final reports before the entire assembly. Thereafter the sessions would continue each successive morning until every report was presented. The final session on Sun., Apr. 3rd, concluded with the sole meeting of the Commission on General Issues, which, under the chairmanship of Bernard Carra de Vaux, addressed the major questions yet to be resolved, discussed recommendations for future study, and formulated resolutions that were unanimously approved. The usual evening concerts were curtailed during this period; but, according to A.J. Racy:

“the plenary session[s] took place concurrently with a series of concerts by various local and visiting groups. Extending from Mar. 15th to Apr. 2nd, the concerts were arranged by the Recording Committee [quoting J. Wolf (“Die Tagung”, 122)] and

but that did not prevent the Germans whispering a canard that owing to political troubles he was afraid to appear in open public. The 'square heads' knew everything. What they didn't know, they invented. Sidī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī said that they were a plague, bringing trouble wherever they went. He detested Sachs and Lachmann because, he said, they were Jews. He was very much annoyed at the German canard and said that he would tell Baron D'Erlanger.

H.E. Ismā'il Ṣidqī Pāshā,⁹⁸ President of the Council of Ministers, deputized for the King, and formally opened the Congress. Baron Carra de Vaux replied on behalf of the European delegates and the Saiyid Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb replied for those of Arab countries.⁹⁹ M. Rabaud, the Director of the Paris Conservatoire, who had been indignant that he had not been received in Cairo with greater honour, and who had not been given the Presidency of a Commission, had to be placated (so Zakī 'Alī Bey told me), so they called on him to say a few words. The Germans, who know about Rabaud's te[t]chinese over his dignity, had a good laugh, and Lachmann, rather good humouredly suggested to me that my Commission ought to send Rabaud a letter of commiseration [*sic*].

Each day from now on was set aside for the reports of the Commissions. This day was for the Commission of Registration. Lachmann was in the chair [see the *Recueil*, 89–98]. We started at 4 and finished at 5–30. The Germans mustered in full strength to support their fellow countryman Lachmann, but M. Rabaud and his secretary were absent. Yet Stern and others from the Institut de Phonétique of the University of Paris were there, and rightly so.¹⁰⁰

In the rush I nearly forgot that I was due to dine with Professor Cresswell [*sic*], the Professor of Architecture or Islamic Fine Arts at the University of Egypt.¹⁰¹ He showed me the proofs of his great work on Islamic architecture, and his wonderful collection of photos.

attended by the public as well as by members of this committee. Members of other committees did not attend, reportedly because they were too busy holding discussions and writing their reports [*KMM'A* 1993:443] ("Historical world views", 81)."

98 Ṣidqī was then serving as Egypt's Prime Minister (from June 1930 to Sept. 1933).

99 'Abd al-Wahhāb, who served as head of the Tunisian delegation, was the only participant to deliver both the opening and concluding speeches at the Congress.

100 Philippe Stern was primarily an historian of Asian art and sculpture. A year after the Congress, at his instigation as Assistant Curator, the Musée Guimet established its Music Department. His early publications on music included *La musique indoue. Les Ragas*, Abbeville 1923, and with Hubert Pernot he edited the five-volume *Bibliothèque musicale du Musée de la Parole et du Musée Guimet*, Paris 1930–7.

101 He is referring to Sir Keppel A[rchibald] C[ameron] Creswell (1879–1974), who in that year published his *Early Muslim architecture: Ummayyads, Early Abbāsids and Tūlūnids*, Oxford.

We had a heated and lengthy debate on my use of the term Arabian music, which, he insisted should be Islamic music.¹⁰² I replied as I had done to Prof. D. Macdonald of Hertford [*sic* Hartford, CT], U.S.A.,¹⁰³ that Islamic music could only refer to such music as the call of the *mu'adhdhin*, the chanting of the *Qur'an*, the *dhikhr* of the dervishes, etc. Neither of us convinced our opponent. Lost my way home, and the night was dark.

MAR. 29 [Tues.]. Congress at 10 a.m. to hear the report of the Commission on the modes (*maqāmāt*), rhythm (*īqā'ī*),¹⁰⁴ and composition (*ta'līf*). Ra'ūf Yekta Bey in the chair [see the *Recueil*, 131–6].¹⁰⁵ It was agreed that two weeks work was insufficient to get through the work proposed and involved. The reports of Baron d'Erlanger published in the *Recueil* [pp. 176–592] were most valuable. Dr. Ragheb Moftaḥ,¹⁰⁶ a wellread and wealthy Copt, took Hába¹⁰⁷ and a very

A 2nd edition appeared in 1969. He later published the two-volume *Muslim architecture of Egypt*, Oxford 1952–9.

- 102 Interestingly, L.I al-Faruqī (Factors of continuity 1) questioned the “legitimacy of the expression ‘Islamic music’ or ‘music in Islamic culture,’ and whether the sound-art creations of the Muslim peoples reveal any underlying identity.”
- 103 See Macdonald’s letter to Farmer in Chap. 2, 48–9. Duncan B. Macdonald (1863–1943), who also studied at the Univ. of Glasgow, was Prof. of Semitic languages at Hartford Theological Seminary, Connecticut. His article (“Emotional religion of Islām”), appeared more than a decade prior to Farmer’s involvement with Arabic music.
- 104 Actually the melodic and rhythmic modes (*maqāmāt* and *īqā'āt*, resp.). O. Wright (“Arab Music, §I. 5”, 813–4) presents some interesting facts about mode and modality as discussed at the Cairo Congress.
- 105 For Yekta’s role in the Congress, see I.B. Sürelsan (“Ra’ūf Yektā Bey”).
- 106 Born in Cairo in 1898, he studied agriculture at the Univ. of Bonn, along with piano and music theory in the Music Departments of the Universities of Bonn and Munich in the early 1920s. His early friendship with Cecil Sharp inspired him to collect and record traditional Coptic music. At the Cairo Congress, where he discussed Coptic music, he met Bartók, who was intrigued by his work and had even offered his assistance, but it came to naught. Between 1999 and 2001, his entire collection of Orthodox Coptic liturgical chants and hymns was donated to the Library of Congress, together with fourteen volumes of Coptic music transcribed by Ernest Newlandsmith, with whom he collaborated from 1927 to 1936. Information on his collection can be obtained from <http://lcweb2.loc.gov/servicemusic/eadxmlmusic/eadpdfmusic/mu004008x.pdf>. Moftaḥ died in 2001.
- 107 Hába, the Czech-born composer and theoretician, established a department of microtonal music at the Prague Conservatory of Music about the time of the Congress. He was invited to the Congress, together with his assistant, the composer and pianist Karel Reiner, to give lectures and demonstrations on quarter-tone music. During his years at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik (1920–2), he designed quarter-tone instruments that were

interesting German-American named Kurt Schindler,¹⁰⁸ with myself, to his beautiful house at Heliopolis,¹⁰⁹ where we heard Coptic church music from the singers at the Fustāṭ Church.¹¹⁰ We had MS. copies of this music in our hands whilst the singer was performing, and Hába was annoyed because the singer did not conform strictly to what was written. I pointed out that most of the variations occurred when the singer ornamented the long notes, but Hába was not satisfied.

Had an appointment to dine with Neville [*sic* Nevill] Barbour¹¹¹ at Ma'ādī, and was late in getting there. Spent a very pleasant evening and met the Professor of English at the University.

MAR. 30 [Wed.]. Congress 10 to 12 noon. Report of the Commission on the Musical Scale. Père Collangettes in the chair [see the *Recueil*, 593–603]. A stormy meeting, most of the debate being with extra Europeans.¹¹²

Went with Mr. Rabino to Ma'ādī to lunch with Miss Ruth L. Deyo,¹¹³ an American, who was busy writing a music drama with the subject taken from

later built in Prague. One of his quarter-tone pianos was shipped to Cairo for use during his demonstrations.

108 Schindler's fluency in English, German, French, and Spanish, together with his extraordinary pianistic talent and wide interest in classical and traditional folk music endeared him to all wherever he traveled. According to Philippe Stern ("Le Congrès de Musique", 421), Schindler collaborated during the sessions of Lachmann's Commission on Recordings. At the Congress, Schindler had befriended the German and French delegates, especially Hornbostel, Lachmann, Sachs, and Wolf.

109 One of Egypt's ancient cities (a.k.a. City of the Sun), it is situated about eight kilometers northeast of Cairo. It occupies the suburbs of Tel Hisn and Matariya. Rich in history, it was venerated as a center for learning and theology.

110 Here Farmer was alluding to the singers from the famous Coptic Hanging Church (El-Mu'allaqa) in Fustāṭ. He did not mention that Lachmann, who also corroborated the earlier service in Fustāṭ (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 313), was also present at Dr. Moftah's home.

111 Barbour (1895–1961), an authority on North West Africa (the Maghrib) and vocal observer of the Palestine controversy, later worked with the BBC Arabic Service (London). He was also an avid and respected reviewer of scholarly works pertaining to North Africa and the Middle East. His edition, *A survey of north west Africa (the Maghrib)*, London 1959, issued as a factual survey under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, was lauded as an important reference guide. It is possible that Farmer and Barbour discussed, among other things, Arabic theater which the latter was then investigating. Two years later Barbour published a series of articles on the Arabic theatre in Egypt.

112 This was discussed in Y. Shawqī's *Qiyās al-sullam al-mūsīqī*.

113 A pianist and composer (1884–1960), who studied with Edward MacDowell and who specialized in his music. Her music drama, which she called *The Diadem of Stars*, was

ancient Egypt. I was bored intensely with the conversation which always ve[e]red round to her music, but I met a number of other interesting people. Miss Deyo's fiancé, Mr. Charles Dalton, was one of them. He was writing the libretto for the music drama.

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[*Insertion: Invitation from the LÉGATION DE FRANCE;*
A l'occasion du Congrès de Musique Arabe
le Ministre de France et Madame Henri Gaillard vous
prient de leur faire l'honneur de venir passer la soirée
à la Légation, le Mercredi 30 Mars à 10 heures. R.S.V.P.¹¹⁴

[*Insertion: Sir Percy and Lady Loraine request the pleasure of*
Dr. H.G. Farmer's Company at Luncheon on Friday the
1st April at 1 p.m. R.S.V.P. to the Private Secretary]

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[*Insertion: ROYAUME D'ÉGYPTE*
CONGRÈS DE MUSIQUE ARABE
SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE
de
S.M. LE ROI
Le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Président de
Comité d'Organisation du Congrès de Musique Arabe,

composed between 1925 and 1932. It deals with Pharaoh Akhenaten (fl. during the 18th dynasty of ancient Egypt) and with concepts of monotheism and pacifism. All the materials dealing with this work can be found at the Gebbie Archives at Wheaton College, MA, along with Charles Dalton's contribution. Deyo and Dalton were married on Tuesday, July 5, 1932. See the 32-page booklet, *An American composer looks at Egypt: Ruth Lynda Deyo and the "Diadem of Stars,"* Norton, MA 1999, compiled by K. Dann et al. See also A. Sears, "An American composer answers the call to Egypt", in *Sonneck Society for American Music bulletin*, 33(1) (1997). It should be noted that Philip Glass also wrote an opera on the same subject. See P.J. Frandsen, "Philip Glass's *Akhnaten*", in *The musical quarterly*, 77(2) (1993), 241-67 and J. Richardson, *Singing archaeology: Philip Glass's 'Akhnaten'*, Middletown 1999.

114 It appears that Farmer was not invited or perhaps he ignored the invitation to attend the Soirée at the French Embassy on Wednesday evening, Mar, 30th at 10:00pm. According to Lachmann's letter of Apr. 2nd (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 316), "it was a glittering affair; the Tunisians, Moroccans and Algerians who participated in the Congress as musicians, provided their music." Several Germans, including himself, were also invited.

a l'honneur d'inviter M. Farmer
à l'Inauguration Officielle du Congrès, le Lundi 28 Mars
1932, à 10 heures a.m., à l'Institut de Musique
Orientale, 22 Avenue de la Reine Nazli]

[Insertion: ROYAUME D'ÉGYPTE
 CONGRÈS DE MUSIQUE ARABE
 SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE

de

S.M. LE ROI

Le Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, Président de
Comité d'Organisation du Congrès de Musique Arabe,
a l'honneur d'inviter M. Farmer
à la Clôture Officielle du Congrès le Dimanche
3 Avril 1932 à 4h. 30 p.m. à l'Institut de Musique
*Orientale, 22 Avenue de la Reine Nazli]*¹¹⁵

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[Insertion: Two photos from the magazine, *THE SPHINX*, April 2, 1932; THE ORIENTAL MUSIC CONGRESS. Delegates from Algeria, Tunis and Morocco leaving the Institute of Oriental Music after the inaugural ceremony.

The second photo: Mr. and Mrs. [Charles] Dalton, with [Sir Clifford Heathcote-Smith] H.B.M. Consul-General; Mrs. and the Misses Heathcote-Smith, photographed at the British Consulate General, Alexandria, after the wedding ceremony. Taken from the July 9th, 1932 issue.]

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MAR. 31 [Thurs.]. Congress at 9. Finished at 10–30. Commission of Education made its report, with Dr. al-Ḥafnī in the chair [see the *Recueil*, 607–17]. Mr. Rabino had made arrangements for me to hear Egyptian military music at the barracks. Here I was met by the Egyptian Army Director of Music, an Englishman named Major Goodrid. I was surprised to find that no attempt had been made to introduce instruments that would register the Arabian scale, and I explained to him how, in brass instruments a fourth valve manipulated by the left hand, would give the three-quarter tone.

¹¹⁵ Both official invitations were originally inserted on p. 60 of the "Itinerary".

I almost forgot to mention that at 11–30 all the Presidents of the Commissions and their delegates from abroad went to the Abdin Palace to be presented to H.M. King Fu'ād. I was called aside, on our arrival, by the Minister of Education [Muḥammed Ḥilmī 'Isā], who introduced me to Sa'īd Dhu'l-Fikar, the Grand Chamberlain of the Royal Household, who informed me that H.M. would be pleased if I would deliver a discourse at the reception of the delegates. I could speak in either French or Italian if I so wished. To my great regret I was compelled to decline this honour because my French was bad, and I knew not Italian.¹¹⁶

Père Collangettes delivered the discourse and was followed by Zakī 'Alī Bey.

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APR. 1 [Fri.]. Congress at 10 a.m. Finished at 12 noon. This was for my Report on the Commission of History and Manuscripts [see the *Recueil*, 639–46]. Many of the Germans, Hindemith, Von Hornbostel, Wellecz [*sic*], as well as Bartók and others had gone to Luxor sightseeing.¹¹⁷ Indeed, I do not think that Bartók came to one of the Congress meetings, and I only met him in the Commission

116 Lachmann mentioned that, at that reception, “the King gave a short address in French, saying that he hoped in a few years to renew the Congress, if in a more modest composition” (letter dated Apr. 2nd; R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 316).

117 In his fourth undated letter, Farmer divulged to his family that he declined to go, because “it would have cost about £10” (see App. 12). The group that decided to go to Luxor had boarded the overnight train in order to enjoy the day visiting its famous antiquities. The distance from Cairo was 471 kilometers and took approximately ten hours, with a scheduled arrival at half past seven the following morning. Luxor, situated on the Nile's eastern and western banks, occupies the ancient city of Thebes. The sites and monuments, extending from each bank, have been “characterized as the world's greatest open air museum.” These include (to the west): The Valley of the Kings; the Tombs of the Kings (including that of Tutankhamen) and of the Nobles; the Valley of the Queens; the Temple of Hatshepsut (1472–58 B.C.E.); the Ramesseum; the Mortuary Temple of Seti I (1306–1290 B.C.E.); the Ptolmeic Temple (*Deir el Medina*); and the two Colossi of Memnon; and (to the east): the Roman ruins and the Temple of Luxor, which contains the Court and the Pylons of Ramesses II (1290–124 B.C.E.); the oo (1391–53 B.C.E.) and its existing colonnade; and the Hypo-style Hall; the more than mile long avenue (*dromos*) of the human-headed sphinxes; and the famous Temple of Karnak, located three kilometers to the north on the eastern bank. For in-depth information on both the east and west banks, see J.A. West, *A traveller's key*, 236–78 and 279–380, resp. Kurt Schindler, who joined the excursion, took twenty-nine photos of the delegates and sites during their visits to Luxor, Karnac, and Thebes.

of Registration. So much was the inattention to business at Congress that it was suggested privately that the Ministry be asked to refuse to pay the expenses allowed the delinquents.

Before the meeting began, Zakī 'Alī Bey asked me whether I would care to pronounce the discourse in the name of the Congress at the Opera House on April 3rd. I replied that the proper person to do this was Baron Carra de Vaux, who was the doyen of the European delegates to [the] Congress. He said that Congress would probably vote on the question, and that it would be decided that morning.

When I took the chair for my meeting, I raised the matter and proposed Baron Carra de Vaux personally for the discourse to be addressed to H.M. the King on the 3rd inst. Prof. Sachs' name was then also mentioned, much to my surprise because I had thought that it was merely a matter of course in proposing the name of Baron Carra de Vaux. The vote went in favour of Prof. Sachs. I learned afterwards that the Egyptians had been solicited to vote for Sachs. Had I have known this, I would have whipped up sufficient support for the Baron. The Germans were organized.

It was a great pleasure however to be thanked officially, by a motion, for my many years work on behalf of Arabian music. I think that I was the only President thanked officially.

Went to the Residency to lunch at the invitation of Sir Percy Lorraine [*sic* Loraine]. Rabino had warned me that he was a bad conversationalist, and that I would have to keep the talk going. Fortunately, I did not have to talk much, as I found more interest in some of his henchmen. The supercilious mercies bestowed by his wife on me amused me immensely. I was glad to say adieu as I felt a pain in my intellectual spine in stooping to the trivialities of their conversation.

In the evening, Williams and myself went to a café chantant, where fourth-rate artistes were greeted

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[*Insertion*: An invitation to lunch, dated Cairo, 29/3/32:

Dear Dr. Farmer.

Lunch at Judge Crabitès on Saturday next, April 2nd at 1.30 p.m. If you call at the Consulate at 12.45 or 1, we could go there by bus or tram. Herewith one copy of *Hesperis*.

Yours sincerely, H.L. Rabino]

with éclat. In Scotland, such poor talent would only find an audience in the variety theatres of the small towns. The artistes were mostly French or German.

APR. 2 [Sat.]. Congress from 10 a.m. to 1 p.m. to hear the report of the Commission of Instruments under Prof. Sachs [see the *Recueil*, 659–64]. Except for Dr. Lachmann, the Germans were absent on their sightseeing expeditions. It was an unusually lively meeting and the longest we have had. The Qādī Muḥammad Faṭḥī opened with a lengthy speech which practically coincided with my own views, especially on the question of the use of the piano in Oriental music.¹¹⁸ Better to admit the quarter-tone piano, than be forced to lose the identity of Arabian music by being circumvented by the European half-tone piano. This I stated. I also pointed out that by adopting the quarter-tone piano Arabian music would safeguard the scale and the modes (*maqāmāt*) from change, but this remark has not been registered in the *Recueil*. However, the principles for which I stood won the day, although my assessors Hába and Cantoni did not put in an appearance. The Germans lost this encounter.¹¹⁹

Met Mr. Rabino immediately after Congress and motored to a friend, Judge Crabitès,¹²⁰ to lunch. I spent a delightful afternoon. Having been invited by

118 Three decades later, Farmer recalled that

“in Egypt, in 1932, I heard a quarter-tone pianoforte tuned to the accepted scale of the Islamic Near East: and in that scale, only the Pythagorean whole-tone, fourth, fifth, and seventh, were *just* intervals, whereas the third and sixth were not. Therefore, any harmonisation—as we in Europe understand the term—would be unacceptable to Western ears. On the same occasion I also heard a quarter-tone pianoforte made by Förster [see *Musique arabe*, figs. 13–14]. It was constructed specially for Alois Hába, who played it at the Congress of Arabian Music. His instrument was tuned to the modern tempered scale, and his compositions were—to me—wholly acceptable in his own harmonic system. Where is all this going to lead us? I can only say, as Muslims themselves would express it,—‘*Allāh alone knows*’” (“The Oriental impingement”, 342).

119 For discussions concerning this heated debate, see the *Recueil*, 662–3, M. Faṭḥī (“Idmāj al-ālāt”), A.J. Racy (“Historical worldviews”, 76–9), and especially M. Thorn (“Conflating instruments”). Photos of several of the pianos used at the Congress can be seen in *Musique arabe*, figs. 1–24, preceded by commentary (pp. 347–54).

120 Pierre Crabitès (1877–1943), born in the French Quarter of New Orleans, was commissioned by President Taft to sit on the Mixed Courts in Cairo in 1911, a position he maintained until 1936. He was also a noted historian, who harbored anti-British sentiments. Among his books dealing with Egyptian history that were published years after the Congress were: *Ismaïl: The maligned Khedive*, London 1933, *The winning of the Sudan*, London 1934, and *Ibrahim of Egypt*, London 1935. See the recent dissertation of Brian R.

Maḥmūd Eff. ‘Alī Faḍlī to a party which he had arranged in my honour,¹²¹ I took my friend Rabino with me. I was greatly impressed to find so many people present and with the warmth of their feelings towards me. Among them were the Qādī Muḥammad Fathī, Aḥmad Eff. Amīn al-Dīk (the author of books on the theory of music), Muṣṭafā Riḍā Bey (Director of the Institute of Music), Wadī‘ Sabrā (Director of the Conservatoire of Music at Beyrout), Ra’uf Yekta Bey (Conservatoire of Stambül), Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj, and others. Aḥmad Amīn al-Dīk was quite concerned over Prof. Sachs having contradicted him at the Congress in the morning. Sachs said *the old Arabian lute was not fretted*. Aḥmad asked me if this was true. I said certainly not. He then asked me why I had not challenged Sachs on the point. I said that the meeting was already late and I had an appointment, and if I had intervened it would probably have led to a half-hour debate. I promised to answer Sachs in print (x).¹²²

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I spent a most enjoyable evening. Wadī‘ Sabrā played some of his own compositions. Ra’uf Yekta Bey wanted to discuss the scale with me and the Qādī Muḥammad, so we got into a corner away from the others, but soon everybody joined in. I said that it looked as though the Congress was going to start over again. Everyone laughed and the discussion stopped.

APR. 3 [Sun.]. Congress 10 till 12:30 p.m., for the Report of the Commission on General Questions, with Baron Carra de Vaux in the Chair [see the *Recueil*, 701–10]. Ra’uf Yekta Bey and Dr. Lachmann had prepared written speeches for the occasion, and read them. I had considerable agreement with their views. Had lu[n]ch by MYSELF.

At 4–30 went to the Institute for the Official Closing ceremony. H.E. Ismā‘īl Şidqī Pāshā, and the Ministers of the Cabinet, arrived for the ceremony. Again we were disappointed at the nonappearance of the King.¹²³ As I was one,

Parkinson, "Judge Pierre Crabitès; A Bourbon democrat in Egypt, 1877–1943" (Florida State Univ., 2005).

121 In Farmer's first scrapbook (p. 66), the party was reported as a "private congratulatory meeting," which took place at the Institute on Apr. 3rd (*sic*). For a description of the gathering, see App. 10.

122 [Typewritten insert at bottom of page: (x) I devoted a chapter to it in my *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, Ser. 2 (pp. 93–107).] As promised, Farmer later addressed this issue in "Was the Arabian and Persian lute fretted?", in *JRAS* (July, 1937), 453–60.

123 Following the closing ceremony, the presidents of each of the seven commissions were escorted to the Palace to have an audience with King Fu'ād (Farmer, "The Congress of Arabian music", 67).

with Baron Carra de Vaux, the Saīyid Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, and Prof. Zampieri, nominated to deliver valedictory addresses, I was on the platform.¹²⁴

Went to the Consulate General for dinner with Mr. Rabino. We then went to the [Royal] Opera House where a special soirée musicale had been organized for the Congress delegates.¹²⁵ We nearly had an accident when our car was run into, from the rear, by a taxi, but after escaping from the police and crowd, Rabino’s identity acting like magic, we arrived at the Opera, where huge crowds were awaiting the arrival of the “high heid yuns.”¹²⁶ The audience inside was confined to the King and the Royal Household, the Ministers of State, the Diplomatic Corps, and the Delegates of Congress. I was in the box with Dr. Lachman [*sic*] and Prof. Von Hornbostel, but soon changed so as to be with Rabino.

Prof. Sachs pronounced the official greeting to King Fu’ād, a position which he and Dr. al-Ḥafnī his pupil had very astutely manoeuvred [*sic*]. Orchestras from Irāq, Tunis, Morocco, Syria, Algeria and Egypt performed, as well as the

124 The speech delivered by Ḥilmi ‘Isā summed up the accomplishments of the various Commissions.

125 Presented before a huge audience comprising, as Farmer described, the King, his household, the Premier and Cabinet, the entire diplomatic corps, and the Congress’s participants, the elaborate gala concert opened and concluded with the Egyptian *Hymne Royal*. After Curt Sachs presented a short devotional speech to King Fu’ād, there followed a diverse and extensive musical program, which began with the Egyptian *El-Aqqād el-Kabir* ensemble, from the Institute of Oriental Music, performing three selections. Then followed the performances of the national music ensembles from Iraq (four selections), Tunisia (four), Morocco (two; performing while seated on carpets), and Syria (three, one of which featured its principal vocalist, Sālih Effendi Muhabbik, singing the “Ode to Dark Eyes”). The Turkish virtuoso, Messoud Djemil, who rendered three extraordinary *tanbūr* solos, concluded the first half. After a brief intermission Egypt’s ‘Prince of Poets,’ Aḥmed Shawqī Bey, recited a dedicatory poem to King Fu’ād, followed by Umm Kulthūm, who appeared on center stage. Her accompanying ensemble performed a *samā’ī*, listed as *Samā’i tatiouss* (an instrumental overture composed possibly by Tatiouss Effendi), after which she sang Shaykh Muḥammed Abū l-Ilā’s amorous *qaṣīdah* “Afdīhi in Ḥafiz al-Hawa (I would sacrifice all if he remains true to love).” Her ensemble included Moḥammad al-Qasabgī (*ūd* player) and Ismā’īl el-Aqqād (violinist). The program concluded with excerpts from two plays by Aḥmed Shawqī Bey: Act IV of *Majmūn Leila* and Act II of *Cambiz, King of Persia* performed by the Troupes Fatima Rushdi and Youssef Whabi with Amina Rizq, resp. Between the dramatic presentations, the Algerian ensemble played two selections and the virtuoso violinist Sāmī el-Shawwā offered three pieces. The program printed in the *Recueil* 69–70, is a revised version.

126 A Scottish expression meaning ‘upper management personnel.’

famous singer Umm Kulthūm [Ibrāhīm],¹²⁷ the pandorist Mas'ūd Jamīl¹²⁸ and the violinist Sāmī el-Shawā.¹²⁹ Excerpts from two plays by Ahmad Shawqī were also performed. He was Egypt's greatest living

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poet and dramatist.¹³⁰ He was a very agreeable man and he gave me copies of the two plays performed on this occasion,—*Majnūn Laila* [*The Madman of Layla*] and *Qamba'iz* [*Cambyses II*] (d. 522 B.C.E.), son of Cyrus the Great].

127 At this stage in her life, she was almost twenty-eight years old and had already achieved national recognition from her performances at public concerts. Born, on May 4, 1904, in the village of Tammāy al-Zahāyra, situated to the south of Cairo on the Nile Delta, her early musical talent was recognized by her father, a revered *shaykh* and imam at a local mosque, as well as a musician. Singing in her father's ensemble, local audiences became so impressed by her voice and repertoire, that, in 1923, her family moved to Cairo, where she undertook further musical training and vocal lessons under professional teachers, and where her professional career was launched. From her modest beginnings, she became one of the wealthiest women in Egypt, and her fame spread throughout the entire Middle East. Still, with her fascination for the style of Western popular music of her time, she was firmly rooted in traditional classical Arab music. In Egypt, her career was inextricably linked with its political life. She died in Cairo on Feb. 3, 1975 and her funeral was attended by four million mourners. For an excellent biography, see V.L. Danielson (*The voice of Egypt*).

128 Masut [Messoud] Djemil [Çemil] was the son of Tanburi Çemil Bey (1873–1916), the celebrated Turkish composer and *tanbūr* and *kemençe* virtuoso, from whom he began lessons on the three-stringed *kemençe*. At the death of his father, he studied the *tanbūr* under the guidance of his father's students Ka'id Fu'āt Effendi, Suphi Ezgi, and Refik Fersan. He attended the Mevlevi Dervish convents of Yenikapi and Galata. During the late 1920s, he studied cello under Hugo Becker at the Berlin Hochschule für Musik, where he may have first met el-Ḥefnī.

129 El-Shawā came from a family of skilled violinists dating from early eighteenth century. Although born in Cairo, he studied the violin in his parent's native city of Aleppo, becoming a virtuoso in his early teens. Shortly thereafter he returned to Cairo, where, under the guidance of his father's friend, Maṣṣūr 'Awād, he launched a brilliant career as one of the country's most admired musicians.

130 Shawqī, who came from an aristocratic Egyptian family of Kurdish and Turkish descent, attended law school and the school of translation. After spending a year at the court of Abbas II, he went to France, at the expense of the khedive, to study law at both the Universities of Montpellier and Paris. In Paris, he became infatuated with French drama, especially the works of Molière and Racine. He returned to Egypt in 1896. Owing to an incendiary anticolonial poem he delivered in London in 1920, he was exiled by the British to Spain, where he lived for three years in Barcelona and in Andalusia. He not

APR. 4 [Mon.]. Met the Qādī Muḥammad Fathī and went to his court to hear some of his cases. Sat on the bench with him and was much impressed with his intensely human outlook. Met Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab and did some shopping. After lunch, did more shopping with Mr. Rabino's *bawwāb*, including the purchase of an oriental lamp, trays, and such like. Had an appointment at the Institute where Muṣṭafā Eff. al-'Aqqād, the teacher of *īqā'* [at] the Institute, had promised to sell me one of the instruments of his father the late Muḥammad al-'Aqqād, the greatest *qānūn* performer of his day. Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab had already presented me with a very artistic *duff* (tambourine). What with my lute, and other instruments, I was heavily laden for my return journey.¹³¹

In the evening I had dinner with the Qādī Muḥammad Fathī, who had prepared some special native dishes for me, at my request. He played on the *ṭunbūr* [*sic ṭanbūr*] *sharqī*¹³² and on the *ūd* for me. His library contained a fine section on psychoanalysis, a subject in which he, as a legal man, was deeply interested. Saw Rabino later.

APR. 5 [Tues.]. Spent the morning shopping. Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab took me to the quarter where I could see and buy musical instruments. Here I bought two long reedpipes (*arāḡhīl*, sing. *arḡhūl*). Then went to the Shāri' Muḥammad 'Alī¹³³ to one of the best Egyptian lute makers Maḡmūd 'Alī, where, after much bargaining and threats by Fu'ād, I purchased a nice instrument.

only excelled in poetry, but also wrote lyrics for such revered singers as Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb and Umm Kulthūm, among others. Named Egypt's Poet Laureate, he died six months after the close of Congress on Oct. 23, six days prior to d'Erlanger's death.

131 Stuck in the spine margin at p. (111), Farmer added the sentence: "I purchased many other instruments during my Cairo visit, all of which are now in the Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum."

132 The Turkish fretted long-necked lute, with three to five strings. Fathī said it was "the long-necked lute of the Ancient Egyptians. From Egypt it went to Persia, to the Arabs, and with the rise of the Ottoman Empire it became popular in Turkey." He also mentioned that, at the gala concert, Messout Djemil's performance on the *ṭanbūr* so impressed the Western scholars that they recommended "its use in the performance of all the different types of Arabic music." It has a range of two and a half octaves, and its moveable frets "can be adjusted according to [any] *maqām* [since] it can render twenty-two tones in each octave" (S. el-shawan, "Data on", 5). Even Lachmann raved about one of Djemil's earlier performances on the *ṭanbūr*, which R. Katz, in her translation (*The Lachmann problem*, 315), misconstrued as being a drum.

133 Presently called Shāri' al-Qal'ah, a long and wide street which extends from the Midān Sāleḡ el-Dīn (in the vicinity of the Citadel) northward to Midān Aṭaba (just below the Ezbekiya Gardens). The musical significance of Shāri' Muḥammad 'Alī and its current activities has been studied by N. Puig ("Le long siècle" and "Egypt's pop music").



FIGURE 4.H *Aboard a steamship to the Barrages; Unidentified recording engineer from His Majesty's Voice, Dr. H.G. Farmer, and M. 'Awād ('ud player from the Dhikr Laythī ensemble) (FC 503, 114).*

Took Fu'ād back to my hotel for lunch, and then to the Rôd al-Faraj, where we set off for an excursion to the Barrages¹³⁴ at the invitation of Sāmī el-Shawā and the Ministry of Education.¹³⁵ On board I met some new people, including a son of Jurjī Zaidan, the editor of *Al-Hilāl*, with whom I had correspon[den]ce many years ago.

134 Rôd el-Faraj is located in upper Cairo on the eastern bank of the Nile, facing Būlāq (to the south) and Shubra (to the east). As a grain port, it also served as a large commercial fruit and vegetable market. It was accessible by bus or taxi. From there one could take a train or travel downstream by steamboat to visit the barrages (*Al-Kanater* 'reservoirs'), about 15 kilometers to the north—at the confluence of the Damietta and Rosetta Rivers—where the flood waters of the Nile are stored. It is said that Moḥammad 'Alī built the original barrage at the suggestion of Napoleon; a second one was built in the early twentieth century. The barrages are wonderful tourist attractions with their bridges, spacious parks, and lovely public gardens; most ideal for family picnics.

135 It is not known on which date Farmer received the following invitation to join his fellow delegates on an excursion to the Barrages. The original date for the event was given as Apr. 1st, but was altered by hand to the 5th, without changing the day of the week. It was planned by Sāmī el-Shawā, whose invitation (originally inserted on p. 113) read:

Sami el-Chawa, a l'honneur d'inviter **Monsieur**
le Docteur Henry Farmer
 de bien vouloir prendre part à une promenade aux
 Barrages, le Vendredi 5 Avril 1932, sous le
 patronage de S.E. le Ministre de l'Instruction
 Publique et président du Congrès.
 Cette promenade sera suivie d'un thé.

At the Barrages, where we had tea, I sat at the principal table with the Minister. Baron Carra de Vaux [*penned in:* and Madame Umm Khulthūm (*sic*)] was on his left. I sat opposite, with Sachs on my right and Lachmann on my left.



FIGURE 4.1 Tea at the Barrages as Farmer described (FC 503, 114).

Had an appointment at the Museum of Antiquities.¹³⁶ Saw the superb Tutankhamen relics. Noted music exhibits.

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APR. 6 [Wed.]. Went with Mr. Rabino to the Zoo and Botanic Gardens. Had lunch together. In the afternoon, tried to do some packing, but was disturbed by visitors who wished to bid me adieu. Williams and I spent the evening together.

“ 7 [Thurs.]. Found that I had more shopping to do. When I arrived back at my hotel, I found that several visitors had left their cards saying adieu. Heard from Glasgow saying that I had won the Weir Memorial Prize, which was to be presented at a University graduation on the 17th. Off to the railway station with Rabino and Fu’ād Mughabghab for the 6 p.m. for Suez. My luggage was

¹³⁶ See n. 86 *supra*.

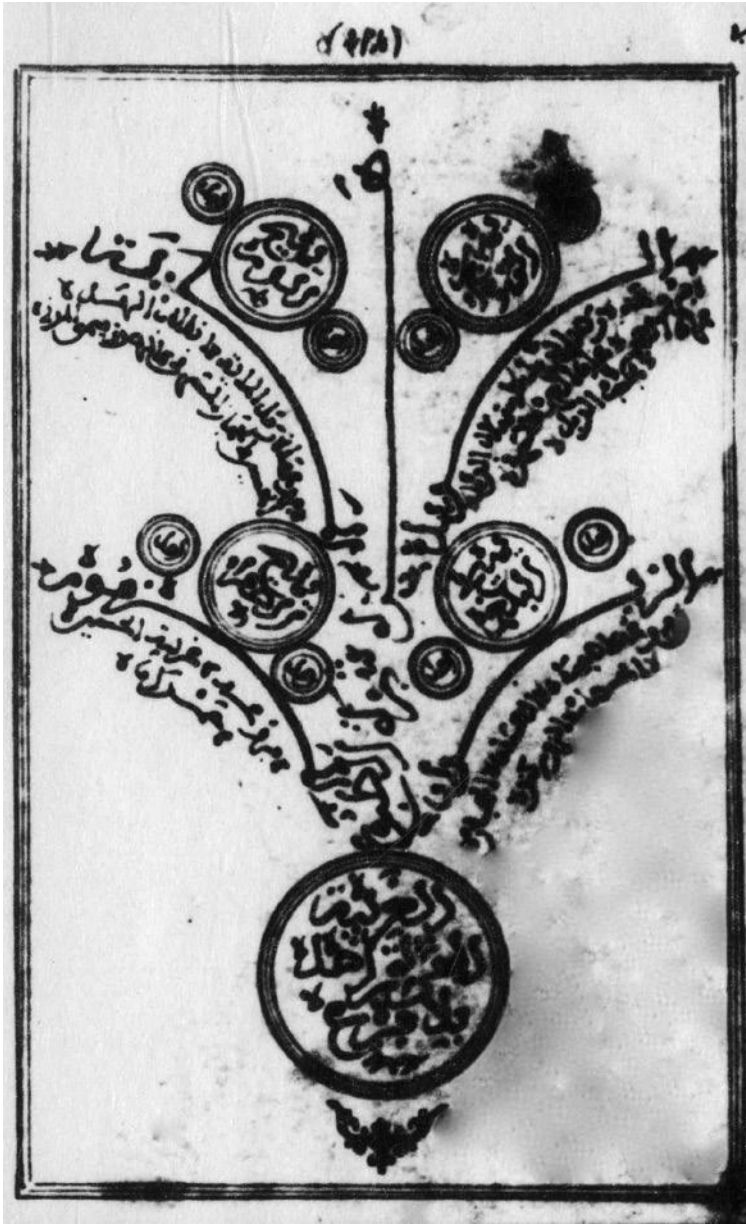


FIGURE 4.J A page from a Maghribi manuscript on music in the possession of Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the Governor of Mahdia, Tunisia. It depicts the five root (uṣūl) modes and branch (furu') modes (FC 503, 100a).

a nuisance. At the station, nearly all my Cairo Egyptian friends had put in an appearance to wish me farewell. The Qādī Muḥamad Fathī, Muṣṭafā Bey Riḍā, Zakī Bey Alī, and others. Saying goodbye to some of these was rather trying.¹³⁷ At Port Saʿīd, stayed at a rather noisy hotel, but went out immediately. On my return I met a number of Sudan officials, one from Glasgow, who recognized the University badge on my blazer.

“ 8 [Fri.]. Sailed at 11 a.m. [from Port Saʿīd on the Dutch passenger steamship, *S.S. Salamat*]. A glorious day. Salazar was a passenger, and his company made the journey to Marseilles very pleasant. I learned much from him about Spanish music and politics.

137 For more information about Farmer's last days in Cairo, see H.L. Rabino's letter (dated May 20, 1932) in App. 13.

4.3 The Photos Taken by Kurt Schindler during the Course of the Congress (see nn. 29–30, *supra*)



- 1 *(Mar 20th, Saqqāra): Standing from right to left are: Bartók, Takács, Hindemith and his wife (Gertrud), and in the background is the 197 ft. step Pyramid, which was then considered the oldest pyramid discovered and the earliest large structure of stone in the whole world. The necropolis of Saqqāra was an ancient burial ground. It is located three-and-a-half miles west of the ancient metropolis of Memphis and about twenty miles south of Giza.*



- 2 *(Mar. 20th, Saqqāra): at the Serapeum, next to the rest house: Wellesz, Hindemith, and von Hornbostel; camels are resting at the extreme right.*



- 3 *(Mar. 20th, in the rest house at Saqqāra): Hornbostel explaining a recently discovered mural painting which depicted, among other items, a hippopotamus and a crocodile.*



- 4 *(Mar. 20th, at Saqqāra near the step Pyramid): Takács, Bartók, and Hornbostel examining a scarabaeid.*



- 5 (Mar. 20th, in the rest house): to the right Hornbostel and Hindemith are looking eastward at the pyramid complex of Zoser; at the left are Bartók, Takács, Frau von Takács (smoking), the back of Heinitz, an unidentified elderly woman, and Vittorio Rieti leaning forward on a table.



- 6 (Mar. 20th, in the rest house): Facing the camera from left to right: Rieti, Heinitz, an unidentified elderly woman, Frau von Takács, Takács (kneeling), Gertrud Hindemith, Hornbostel, Frau Hornbostel, Hindemith, Frau Wellesz, and Wellesz.



- 7 (Mar 20th, at Giza): A view of the Sphinx. Three Congress participants can be seen at the extreme left.



- 9 (Mar, 23rd, in Old Coptic Cairo near the Roman wall of the Coptic Church Al-Mu'allaqa): At the extreme left: P. Ricard speaking with Wellesz; and von Hornbostel conversing with M. Djemil and his wife.



10 (Mar. 23rd, same location): from left to right: Ricard conversing with Wellesz; von Hornbostel's profile can be seen behind Lachmann (facing the wall); P. Stern conversing with R. Muftāḥ; and Takács standing near Bartók.



11 (Mar. 23rd, in the vestibule of Al-Mu'allaqa): von Hornbostel engaged in conversation with Lachmann; and Stern conversing with Wellesz.



12 *(Mar. 23rd, at the entrance of the Coptic Museum): Wellesz with the niece of Rāghib Muftāḥ.*



16 *(Mar. 24th): Ricard taking notes at one of the walls of the Mosque of Ibn Ṭulūn.*



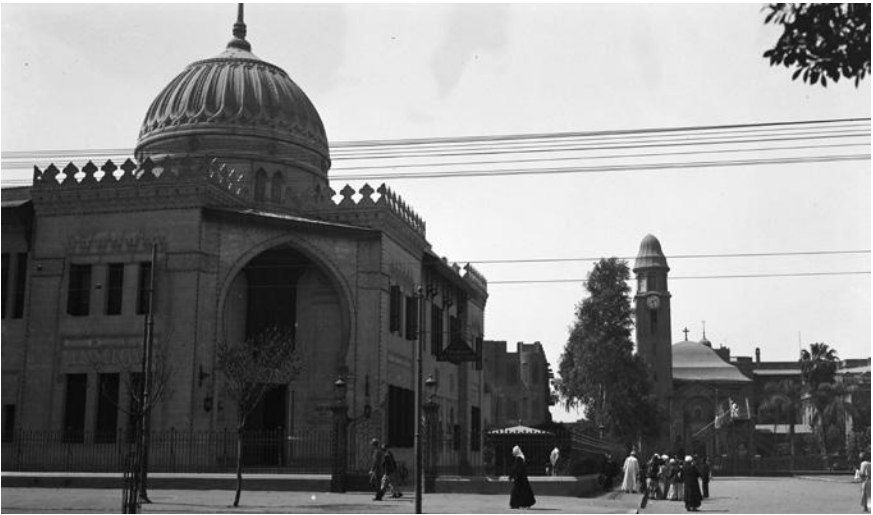
17 (Mar. 25th, in the Garden of the Institute): The Egyptian Ĥājj Ṭāhā Abū Mandūr ensemble performing.



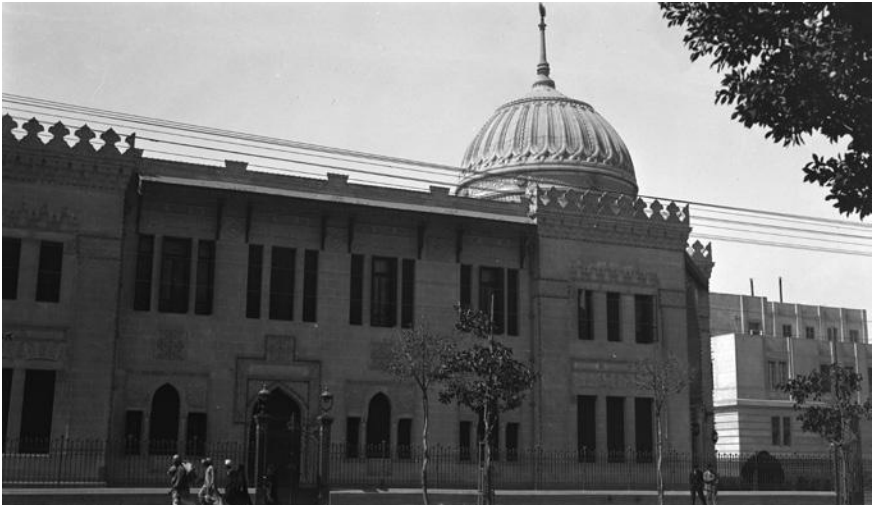
20 (Mar. 25th, same location): The Moroccan ensemble.



23 (Mar. 25th, same location): *The Egyptian Ḥājj Ṭāhā Abū Manḍūr ensemble performing, with P. Ricard observing.*



25 (Mar. 25th, Institute of Oriental Music): *Corner view and entrance, located at 22 Shāri' Reine Nazli.*



26 (Mar. 25th, Institute of Oriental Music): Side view, running parallel with Shāri' Reine Nazli.



27 (Mar. 26th, in the audition room of the Institute): A recording session in progress with the fallāhūn musicians from Fayyūm.



29 (Mar. 26th): *The fallāhūn musicians from Fayyūm posing in the garden of the Institute.*



31 (Mar. 26th, same location): *Shaykh Larbi ben Seri and three musicians from Tlemcen.*



30 (Mar. 26th, same location): *Shaykh Larbi ben Seri*, chief musician from Tlemcen.



32 (Mar. 26th, Garden of the Institute): *The Egyptian Firqat Al-'Aqqād al-Kabir*.



34 (Mar. 26th, same location): *The Sudanese ensemble from Bahr el-Selin.*



36 (Mar. 26th): *Same ensemble.*



37 (Mar. 26th): Leader of Sudanese ensemble holding a bowl lyre.



38 (Mar. 27th, at Giza in front of the uncompleted fifth pyramid): Bartók, with Mme. Humbert-Lavergne and H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb.



39 (Mar. 27th, at Giza in front of the Pyramid of Chephren):
Mme. Humbert-Lavergne, R. Muftāḥ, and Mme. Hercher-Clément.



44 (Mar. 27th, at Giza, at the entrance to the Fourth Pyramid): from left to right: the first person could not be identified, H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhāb, M. Humbert-Lavergne, S. el-Shawā, W. Ṣabrā, H.G. Farmer, and von Hornbostel.



46 *(Mar. 28th, at the entrance to the Institute after the formal opening ceremony of the Congress): Only three persons can be identified: Mme. Hercher-Clément, Jean Chantavoine, and the bearded Père Collangettes (from Lebanon).*



47 *(Mar. 28th, same location): The doorkeeper of the Institute standing with his cane.*



48 (Mar. 28th, same location): Schindler identified Chantavoine, descending the stairs, with Mme. Hercher-Clément's head appearing above his left shoulder, and S. el-Shawā standing to his left.



50 (Mar. 28th, same location): The Tlemcen delegation posing on the steps.



54 (Mar. 29th, at the Barrages); Frau and E. Wellesz and R. Muftāḥ sitting at the extreme right.



80 (Apr. 2nd, at Thebes, at the Valley of the Kings): Wolf, Schindler, von Hornbostel, and Frau von Hornbostel.



- 84 (Apr. 4th, in the Garden of the Institute): *The Iraqi ensemble: from left to right: N.M. Shamash (interpreter for the group); Y.M. Shammāsī (daff and dombra); E. [Azzuzi] Hārūn Shashīr (‘ūd) M. el-Kabāngui [M. al-Qubbāndjī] (singer); [J. Effendi Meir] (santūr); S. Shemuel (kamān-jōza) Y. Zarūr; and Y. Petaw-Shummél [J.H. Patave].*



- 86 (Apr. 4th, same location): *Iraqi musician: The ‘ūd player, E. [Azzuzi] Hārūn Shashīr.*



87 (Apr. 4th, same location):
Iraqi musicians: Moḥamed
el-Kabangui [M. al-Qubbāndjī]
and the ʿūd player.



89 (Apr. 5th, in one of the Institute's
rooms): Iraqi musician:
Y. Petaw-Shumêl, the santūr
player.



90 *(Apr. 5th, same location): Iraqi musician: Y. Zarūr, known under the name al-Ṣaghīr, the qānūn player.*



91 *(Apr. 5th, same location): Iraqi musician: S. Shummêl (kamān-jōza, 'a four-stringed spike fiddle whose sound box consists of a coconut shell').*



92 (Apr. 5th, same location): Iraqi musician: Y.M. Shamash (daff and dumbak).



93 (Apr. 5th, on the roof of the Institute): Iraqi musicians: Y. Effendi Me'ir (qanūn); Y. Hogi Patawe (santūr); S. Shemuel (kamān-jōza), and Y.M. Shamash (daff).



95 (Apr. 5th, in front of the entrance to the Institute): R. Yekta Bey, M. Djemil (tanburist; Société Radio, Istanbul), his wife, and H.H. 'Abd al-Wahhâb standing behind them.



95A Sachs, Hornbostel, Hindemith, and Wolf aboard the S.S. Ausonia, en route to Port Saïd. Photo taken in Genoa (courtesy of Mrs. Irene Sachs).

The Commission of History and Manuscripts

5.1 Introduction

Under Article 11 of the Regulations,¹ formulated by the Congress's Organizing Committee, special committees were to be formed to discuss the following matters (paraphrased from the original):

1. Seeking the best approach toward understanding the evolution of Arab music;
2. Analyzing the modes (*maqāmāt*) and rhythms (*īqā'āt*), and formulating a provisional ordering of instrumental and vocal compositions;
3. Establishing the musical scale and determining the musical symbols or notes that would best suit the notation of melodies;
4. Examining [and classifying] musical instruments;
5. Collecting and archiving national airs and songs in Egypt and other Arab countries;
6. Organizing the teaching of music [*i.e.*, music education]; and
7. Studying the history of Arab music, its literature, and manuscripts (published and unpublished).²

For their investigation and discussion, seven Committees or Commissions (as they were referred to at the Congress) were established: 1) General Issues; 2) Melodic and Rhythmic Modes and Composition; 3) Musical Scale; 4) Musical Instruments; 5) Recordings; 6) Music Education; and 7) Music History and Manuscripts.³ Their meetings were to commence on Tuesday morning, March 15th, and continue for two weeks, with afternoon sessions if necessary, until March 28th, at which date the entire membership of the Congress would convene at the Institute of Oriental Music during the final week to hear

* The Minutes and the Final Report of Farmer's Commission can be found in the first of his Cairo scrapbooks (FC 503, 15–48 and 49–63, resp.).

1 See App. 5.

2 Compare these with the questions Muṣṭafā Riḍā posed to Curt Sachs prior to the latter's visit to Cairo commencing Feb. 20th 1930 (see Chap. 3, 117).

3 For a listing of the assigned Commissions and their respective members, see App. 6 and the *Recueil* 41–3.

and to discuss the reports of each commission, delivered by their respective Presidents.⁴

According to Article VIII, all the reports were to be submitted to Maḥmud Aḥmad al-Ḥefnī,⁵ the Secretary General, prior to the close of the Congress, together with the accumulated minutes of their meetings.⁶ Unlike “Itinerary”, whose final typewritten version was prepared after the appearance of the *Recueil* in 1934, Farmer’s typewritten “Minutes of the Commission of History and Manuscripts” was based on the handwritten version he made in consultation with members of his subcommittee,⁷ and which he used, again with their help, for his final report.⁸

Farmer’s “Minutes” allows us to view the discussions and deliberations that occurred during the working sessions of his Commission, which, to our knowledge, is the only such document that exists among the designated Commissions. Although written in the third person, one will immediately recognize Farmer’s candid and descriptive style, exhibiting his authority and command of the material, his guidance in covering the eight topics, or “questions”—as he referred to them—stipulated under (7) of the “Programme

4 Their full or partial reports, printed in the *Recueil*, comprised those that were presented by: S. ‘Alī (“Genres de composition musicale arabe”, 166–70); B. Carra de Vaux (“General issues”, 701–10); X.M. Collangettes (“Musical scale”, 593–603); H.G. Farmer (“Music history and manuscripts”, 639–46); A. el-Garem (“Composition”, 171–5); M.A. el-Ḥefnī (“Music education”, 633–6); R. Lachmann (“Recordings”, 89–125); C. Sachs (“Musical instruments”, 659–64); and R. Yekta (“Modes, rhythm, and composition”, 131–6). Additional reports were delivered by: Al-Darwīsh (“Maqamates employés en Egypte”, 539–81); Baron d’Erlanger’s report in Arabic (read by Al-Darwīsh), 176–398; and M. Faṭḥī (“L’introduction des instruments occidentaux”, 690–6).

5 These were published later in the *KMM’A* and *Recueil*, whose editorship was entrusted to M.A. al-Ḥefnī.

6 From Lachmann’s letter to his parents, dated Mar. 29, 1932, we learn that the reports of the Commissions “had to be written in French” (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 313). Arabic, however, was designated as the official language of the Congress, although English, French, and German “could also be used in conjunction with Arabic... at the discretion of the Congress.” See App. 5, Article IX.

7 Farmer’s was the only Commission that had two secretaries: Muḥammad Kāmil Ḥajjāj and Fu’ād Effendi Mughabghab. The latter, referred to either as recording or assistant secretary, was not officially assigned to this Commission. Most probably Farmer had invited Mughabghab to serve because of their close friendship and his fluency in English. Although Farmer was proficient in reading French, it is not known who made the required French translation.

8 As Farmer explained in his brief communication in *TGOUS*, 6 (1929–33), 67.

of the Work of the Committees” in the *Regulations*,⁹ and his personal opinions and criticisms concerning matters that required immediate decisions and clarification.

Like many of the Congress’s key participants, who were assigned to two or more Commissions, Farmer also served as a member of the Commissions on General Issues, on the Musical Scale, and on Musical Instruments, for which he was called upon to vote on crucial issues when his presence was needed. Moreover, according to Farmer’s tabulated accounting of his Commission’s attendance, the multiple absences of ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Salazar, Wellesz, and Wolf indicate that they may have participated in other concurrently held Commissions. What is strange is that Giusto Zampieri, who represented the Society of Italian Musicians, was not assigned to any other Commission, but only attended the fourth session of Farmer’s. Baron d’Erlanger’s absence, because of illness, was profoundly felt. Lachmann was totally absorbed as President of his Commission on Recordings, and while Carra de Vaux’s responsibility as President of General Issues assumed greater importance toward the close of the Congress, he may have rescheduled its sessions for the afternoon so that he could participate in Farmer’s Commission.¹⁰ Nonetheless, Farmer expressed his disapproval of the absentees, especially the abrupt departure of Col. Pesenti.

As to the membership of the Commission on History and Manuscripts, like that of the other Commissions, it is not known whether the participants were given an opportunity to state their preference or preferences beforehand, or whether the Organizing Committee made its selection based on information gathered by its members. It would appear that Farmer’s Commission would have required a reading knowledge of Arabic, which several of its members lacked (Salazar, Wellesz, Wolf, and Zampieri). Pesenti probably had sufficient knowledge of the language, because of his military experience in Somalia. If by choice, Wellesz, Wolf, and Zampieri’s interest in Arabic manuscripts may have motivated their attendance. Like the Arabic members of Farmer’s Commission (‘Abd al-Wahhāb, Kāmil Ḥajjāj, and Mughabghab), the Frenchman Carra de Vaux was also fluent in Arabic. Lachmann and al-Ḥefnī’s presence would have proven most rewarding. Zakī ‘Alī Bey, a member of the Organising Committee, was present only at the initial session. And while it was suggested, during the same session, that d’Erlanger’s secretary, Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, should be invited, nothing came of that.

9 This was included in the technical material following Article xiv.

10 From Poché (“Le Baron”, 8), we learn that d’Erlanger had asked Carra de Vaux to serve as his replacement for presiding over the Commission concerning general questions.

In sum, the committee met for eight regular, plus four additional subcommittee sessions. A careful reading of the minutes will reveal that, apart from Farmer's input, certain members made worthy contributions—leading to specific resolutions that were voted upon and adopted—and that their overall discussions produced important bits of information, particularly the mention of important manuscripts, their correct attribution, existence, and value—that would have otherwise remained neglected.

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5.2 Minutes of the Commission of History and Manuscripts

President: Dr. Henry G. Farmer [Great Britain]

Secretary: Muḥammad Effendī Kāmil Ḥajjāj [Egypt]

Committee: Baron [Bernard] Carra de Vaux [France]

Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger [Tunisia]

The Sayyid Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb [Tunisia]

Dr. Robert Lachmann [Germany]

Dr. Egon Wellesz [Austria]

Prof. Dr. Johannes Wolf [Germany]

Prof. Giusto Zampieri [Italy]

Col. Gustavo Pesenti [Italy]¹¹

Señor Adolfo Salazar [Spain]

Recording [Asst.] Secretary: Fu'ād Effendī Muḡhabḡhab [Egypt]

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BRIEF BIOGRAPHICAL NOTICES OF MEMBERS OF THE COMMISSION

FARMER, Henry George, M.A., Ph.D. Carnegie Fellow in the University of Glasgow; Conductor of the Glasgow Symphony Orchestra. Author of *A history of Arabian music* (1929), *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence* (1930), *The organ of the Ancients: From Eastern sources* (1931), *Studies in Oriental musical instruments* (1931), etc.

¹¹ Although Farmer wrote both Pesenti and Pisenti throughout the minutes, the former spelling is correct and will be used consistently.

ḤAJJĀJ, Eff., Muḥammad Kāmīl, Ministry of Agriculture, Cairo. Author of *Balahat al-gharb* (19-- & 1922), *Khawāṭir al-khayāl* (1934), and *Al-mūsiqā al-sharqīyya* (1924).

CARRA DE VAUX, Baron [Bernard]. Member of the Sorbonne. Author of *Le traité des rapports musicaux... par Ṣafī ed Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min al-Baghdādī* (1891), *Le livre des appareils pneumatiques... par Philon de Byzance* (1902), etc.

D'ERLANGER, Baron Rodolphe. Author of *La musique arabe* (vol. 1) (1930).

LACHMANN, Robert, Ph.D. Assistant Librarian at the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin. Author of *Musik des Orients* (1929), etc.

'ABD AL-WAHHĀB, Ḥasan Ḥusnī. Governor of Mahdia, Tunisia. Author of *Le développement de la musique arabe en Orient, Espagne et Tunisie* (1918), etc.

WELLESZ, Egon, Lecturer in the University of Vienna [and author of several books on Byzantine music]

WOLF, Johannes, Ph.D., Professor in the University of Berlin. Author of the *Handbuch der Notationskunde* (1918 [sic 1913–18]), etc.

ZAMPIERI, Giusto, Professor in the University of Pavia.

PESENTI, Gustavo, Colonel.¹² Author of *Canti sacri e profani danzi e ritmi degli arabi dei Somali e dei Suhaili* (1929).

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Report on attendances of members at meetings

Names	Meetings								
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	A. ¹³	B. ¹⁴
Farmer	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Ḥajjāj	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Carra de Vaux	X	X	-	X	-	-	X		
D'erlanger ¹⁵									

12 Pesenti's book was based on three of his earlier articles: "Canti e ritmi arabici, somalici e suahili", in *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 47(12) (1910), 1,409–32; "Di alcuni canti arabici e somalici", in *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 49(1) (1912), 58–63; and "I canti del *Dikir*", in *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana*, 53(8) (1916), 673–84.

13 HGF: This was a sub committee meeting.

14 HGF: An informal meeting held specially for Messrs Pesenti and Salazar to acquaint them with the previous sessions.

15 HGF: Baron d'Erlanger was ill and could not attend the Congress.

(cont.)

Names	Meetings									
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	A.	B.	
Lachmann ¹⁶										
'Abd Al-Wahhāb	-	X	X	-	-	-	-	X		
Wellesz	X									
Wolf	X	X	X							
Zampieri	-	-	-	X						
Pesenti	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-		X
Salazar	-	-	X	X	-	-	-	-		X
[Mughabghab ¹⁷		X				X	X			

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FIGURE 5.A *Fu'ād Mughabghab (Asst. Secretary), Maḥmūd 'Alī Faḍlī (a member of the Musical Scale Commission), and Dr. Henry George Farmer (President). This photo was taken on board a steamer going to the Barrages (FC 503, 18).*

- 16 HGF: Dr. Lachmann was President of the Commission of Registration, the times of whose meetings clashed with those of the Commission of History and Manuscripts.
- 17 Farmer did not indicate Mughabghab's attendance, but referred to him in the Minutes as his Assistant Secretary. Inasmuch as they developed an extraordinarily close friendship, it is more likely that he was present at each session.



FIGURE 5.B *Muḥammad Kāmīl al-Ḥajjāj*
(Secretary) (FC 503, 18).

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FIRST MEETING

[Tues.] 15th March, 1932, at 11 a.m.

The Minister for Education, with Zakī ‘Alī Bey and others, together with Baron Carra de Vaux, Dr. Henry G. Farmer, Prof. Dr. Johannes Wolf, Prof. Dr. Egon Wellesz, and Muḥammad Eff. Kamīl Ḥajjāj were present.

The commission proceeded to elect its chairman and secretary and it was proposed that Dr. Henry G. Farmer should fill the former position and Muḥammad Eff. Kāmīl Ḥajjāj the latter. Dr. Farmer wished to withdraw from the nomination and proposed Baron Carra de Vaux, but after a lengthy speech [penned in: by the latter] in favour of Dr. Farmer, and the persuasion of Zakī ‘Alī Bey, Dr. Farmer consented to the proposal and was duly elected with the proposed Secretary.

The working hours of the Commission were fixed from 9 to 12 a.m. daily, it being considered unnecessary to hold afternoon meetings. Articles 1 and 4 of the programme [*Regulations*]¹⁸ were adopted, at the chairman's suggestion, for the work of the next meeting.

Baron Carra de Vaux proposed that lists of European and Oriental writers on Arabian music should be prepared, when it was agreed that Dr. Farmer should prepare the former and the Secretary the latter.

18 N.B. Articles 1 and 4, to which Farmer is referring, should be coordinated with items (i) and (iv) of (7) Committee for the History of Music and MSS, listed under the Programme of the Work of the Committees in *Regulations* (FC 503, viii–ix; see App. 5).

It was mentioned that Baron d'Erlanger had prepared full data for the Commission, but, owing to illness, was unable to

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attend [the] Congress. The Chairman suggested that the Baron's Secretary, Sidi al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, should be invited to assist this Commission. Agreed.

Baron Carra de Vaux asked whether the Institute of Oriental Music or the Congress intended to publish the work of the Congress. The Secretary replied to him in the affirmative.¹⁹

The meeting was adjourned at 12 noon.

SECOND MEETING

[Wed.] 16th March, 1932

The Commission met at 9–30 a.m. under the Chairmanship of Dr. Farmer. Members present: Prof. Wolf and Secretary. The minute of the previous meeting was read and adopted. The Secretary presented a list of Arabic authors and same was read.

Chairman stated that several authors had been omitted and that he would supply the names to the secretary. The two MSS. in the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale attributed to Muḥammad b. Zakarīyya al-Rāzī (d. ca. 932) were not by him. One was part of the *Kitāb al-adwār* by Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1294) and the other a portion of the *Risāla fi 'ilm al-anghām* by Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Ajamī (15th cent.). These corrections, said the chairman, had already been pointed out in the *Journal [of the] Royal Asiatic Society*. There was a genuine work on music by al-Rāzī, the *Kitāb fi jumal al-mūsīqī*, mentioned by Ibn Abī Uṣaybī'a, but it has not been preserved.

The chairman stated that Persian and Turkish treatises on music of the Middle Ages were of importance in considering the history of Arabian music. Such works as the *Durrat al tāj* of al-Shīrāzī (d. 1312) and the *Nafa'is al-funūn* of al-Amūlī (14th cent.), as well as the *Kanz al-tuḥaf* (14th cent.), and the treatises of Ibn Ghaibī (d. 1435), all in Persian, were of great value to the student of Arabian music of the past.

At this point Baron Carra de Vaux arrived, and he agreed with the chairman that Turkish works were helpful in the question at issue. The Baron said he often wondered if there were any Hebrew treatises that would throw light on

19 The Secretary's unclear answer should have stipulated the Congress.

the subject. The Chairman said that there were very few in existence and that he had photographic copies of some of them. Some he said had been printed in Hebrew. He knew of one at least that was clearly derived from an Arabic work. There was also another dealing with Euclid's *Canon*. Biographies of musicians were mentioned.

Dr. Wolf suggested that MSS. on the theory of music and those on history should be taken and discussed separately. The same procedure to be adopted with manuscript and printed books. The chairman explained that most of the writings on music dealt with theory, and that a knowledge of the theory of music and its writers was necessary for the study of the history of music.

Hasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb of Tunis took his place on the Commission at this point.

Article (v) of [Article (7) of] the programme [*Regulations*] was then proposed for discussion

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and Prof. Wolf pointed out that a society had been established in Germany, the *Gesellschaft zur Erforschung der Musik des Orients*, to edit and publish old Arabic MSS on music, and that it had already issued the *Risāla fī khubr* of al-Kindī. It would proceed to publish other works as its finances allowed. He expressed the wish and hope that other countries would do their share in this connection. It might be desirable that this commission should earmark books or manuscripts, the publication and translation of which the commission considers advisable.

The Chairman stated that in his country, the Royal Asiatic Society had given great encouragement to such research work, as the many articles from his pen in its journal would testify. Indeed, he had just issued the first volume of the *Collection of Oriental writers on music*, which contained the texts of three short Maghribi Arabic MSS, with translations and commentaries. He pointed out that the Carnegie Fellowship, which he held at the University of Glasgow, was for research work in Arabic music of the past. The Chairman admitted that the German society was doing very creditable work and that the al-Kindī work mentioned had been edited and translated by Dr. Lachmann and Dr. al-Ḥafnī, who were prominent[ly] connected with this Congress, was of great value, as was also Dr. al-Ḥafnī's recent book (text and German translation) on the *Kitāb al-naḡāt* of Ibn Sīnā[.]

The Chairman mentioned, however, that if more than one person edited the treatises [*penned insert*: proposed for publication], which are full of textual as well as technical difficulties, errors could be materially reduced. He was asked

if there were errors in the editing of the books just mentioned. He replied, with due respect, in the affirmative.

The Secretary pointed out that Baron d'Erlanger's secretary Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī had showed him a very difficult passage in the *Shifa* of Ibn Sīnā which he and the Baron were editing, which neither he nor anyone else could clarify. It was shown to Dr. Farmer, who pointed out that the mysterious words were due to a copyist's ignorance, and produced the proper passage in a work by a pupil of Ibn Sīnā, known as Ibn Zaila.

Ḥassan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb expressed the view that the treatise of al-Kindī was not of particular importance. The Chairman said that he did not agree with that statement and said that he felt that the learned critic was probably influenced by a similar view which had been expressed by Baron d'Erlanger. The writings of al-Kindī were the third in order before al-Fārābī (d. ca. 950), the two other[s] being Yaḥyā b. 'Alī b. Yaḥyā (d. 912) and Ibn Khurdādhbih (d. ca. 912). Al-Kindī (d. ca. 870) was the first Arabic writer on music to be influenced by the Greeks. One of his music books was written for Aḥmad b. al-Mu'taṣim. Al-Kindī was the earliest writer on music theory in Arabic who[se] works had come down to us.

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The Secretary said that al-Khalīl (d. ca. 791) was an earlier writer. The Chairman said that this was quite true, but that [*penned in*: his] works had not been preserved. The Secretary said that Maṣṣūr Awād, the well known Cairene professor of music, has stated that he possesses the works of al-Khalīl in two volumes and that he had promised to bring them before the Commission.

Chairman stated that he was overjoyed to learn that the works of al-Khalīl were in existence, but felt that the news was too good to be true, yet he looked forward with interest if not impatience to peruse these works.

Prof. Wolf suggested that the Egyptian Government should be advised to procure a complete collection of manuscripts or photographs thereof. This was supported by the Secretary and Ḥassan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, the former pointing out that the *Dār al-kutub* (National Egyptian Library) had already amassed a very substantial collection of manuscripts and photographs of manuscripts in other libraries.

The Chairman asked what would be the best method to adopt to enable the publication of these MSS. other than those already mentioned by himself and Prof. Wolf. The Secretary stated that so far as Egypt is concerned it was the lack of funds. The funds being available, he said, all else would be easy.

The Chairman said that the Egyptian Government was already publishing through the National Printing Office such an important work [as] the *Kitāb al-aghānī*, in a very fine and carefully edited text, and he said that he felt that although the work would have a far greater sale than a purely theoretical treatise, the latter would attract the attention of scholars and libraries throughout the world and would cover the cost [*penned in*: of its publication]. He certainly thought that the Egyptian Government should follow up the *Kitāb al-aghānī* with the *Risāla fi l-mūsīqī* of Yaḥyā b. ‘Alī b. Yaḥyā, already mentioned, without which the technical musical nomenclature of the *Kitāb al-aghānī* was scarcely understandable. The Commission agreed with these remarks.

Hasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb suggested that the Institute of Oriental Music should issue a periodical dealing with Arabian music and its development, in which a section would be devoted to history and manuscripts. The Chairman and Baron Carra de Vaux agreed that this would be very desirable, but that such an undertaking would entail considerable expense. Considering the present condition of music and musicians in the East it was thought that such a venture would not cover expenses.

The Chairman intimated that the question had been given fair consideration and proposed that some member of the Commission move a resolution on the following lines:

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1. That a representative committee be formed to take upon itself the duty of attending to the various MSS, and suggest the publication of those considered useful.
2. That the Institute of Oriental Music should have the supervision of the MSS selected and that they examine them further and advise the Government in the matter of publication.
3. That the Government be petitioned to provide the funds necessary for the publications.

This resolution was adopted unanimously.

The Commission [then] proceeded to consider Article (vi) of [Article (7) of] the programme. The Chairman stated that we were bound to consider the likely benefits to be derived from the publication of the works recommended. We had to persuade the Government what these benefits were.

Prof. Wolf stated that everybody knew what great influence Arabian music had on the music of the Middle Ages, and it was essential to understand

Arabian music before one could properly understand the [Western] music of the Middle Ages. We had to recognize that the value of these publications was not confined to the peoples of the Orient, but to the Occident as well. The publication of these MSS. would facilitate the understanding of music of all periods and countries.

Baron Carra de Vaux said that the Arabian fine arts had great influence on all Muslim peoples. The most important of these arts was that of music. In view of the high regard given to this art by Muslim scientists in former times, and in

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view of the fact that Arabian music cannot properly develop & improve unless its past is properly known through the publication of important MSS on the subject, he is of [the] opinion that these publications are most essential and that the importance of such an undertaking cannot be overestimated.

Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb asked whether books on *tartīl* [‘cantillation’] and *tajwīd* [‘technical science of proper cantillation’] of the Holy *Qur’ān* were of sufficient importance to Arabian music to justify their publication and study. Both the Chairman and Baron Carra de Vaux replied in the affirmative.

Muḥammad Kāmil Eff. Ḥajjāj, the Secretary, speaking about the importance of these publications, said that their value was unquestionable. By this means we would be able to learn the stages through which Oriental music has passed in its development. It would also enable us to know the state of music in its days of glory at the time of Hārūn al-Rashīd. It would further help us to solve the musical problems of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Finally, the scale of music could not be properly understood unless it be studied in the writings of al-Khalīl, al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min, Ibn Ghaibī, etc.

The Chairman closed the debate by emphasizing the points raised by Prof. Wolf on the Arabian influence. He pointed out that he had dealt with this phase of the question in two books. It was certainly common knowledge that we owed many instruments

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of music to the Arabs, but few people realised that we owed much in the theory of music to them. The Arabs knew Aristoxenus, Aristotle, Ptolemy, Euclid, and Nicomachus in Arabic, centuries before Western Europe. They possessed an instrumental tablature, mensural music, and many other novelties, long before Christian Europe. He said that it was his discovery that the very word *hocket*

was simply a mispronunciation of the Arabic *īqā'āt* ['rhythmic modes']. All these things, said the Chairman, he had developed in two of his books.

The Commission decided that a Sub-Committee, comprising the Chairman, the Secretary, and any other member should visit the Egyptian National Library to examine the music MSS. and rotographs there on the morning of the 17th March, and that Dr. Wolf should be free to collect information that he desired to further his proposals. Owing to this and to the fact that Friday was a general holiday, the next meeting would be held on Saturday morning the 19th March.

The meeting adjourned at 12 noon.

[*Handwritten note*: I took this snapshot of Prof. Joh. Wolf.]
(not shown)

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SUB COMMITTEE MEETING

[Thurs.] 17th March, 1932

The sub committee comprising the President, the Secretary, Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, and Fu'ād Mughabghab, assembled at 9 a.m. and proceeded to the National Library, where it was received by the Director, M. Barrāda Bey. The sub committee adjourned to the Department of MSS, where it was found that the department had already prepared a valuable list of the Arabic MSS. dealing with music, together with a complementary list of printed works, and was informed that both these lists were being printed in booklet form in honour of the Congress of Arabian Music.²⁰

The sub committee then proceeded to examine the most important MSS in this collection, many of which, such as those of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, were copies dating from soon after the death of the author. A photographic copy of a MS. of al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* was dated 1256, and was of extreme interest. Several MSS, however, were wrongly labelled, the Chairman and Secretary of the Sub Committee pointing out to the custodian the proper author and title of the MSS.

20 This was the *Nashra* that was compiled by M. 'Abd al-Rasūl and M. Jābr for the participants at the Congress. See E. Neubauer, "Manuscrits de musique arabe", 181-2.

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INFORMAL MEETING

[Fri.] 18th March, 1932

This meeting was specially convened so as to make two new members of the Committee, Colonel Gustavo Pesenti and Señor Adolfo Salazar, fully acquainted with the past activities of the Committee. The Chairman, Secretary, and Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab were present.

After having read the preceding minutes and explained various points raised, the meeting adjourned. Thanks were accorded the Chairman for his consideration in giving the new members the opportunity of being fully informed of the activities of the Committee.



FIGURE 5.C *Col. G. Pesenti (Italy), N. Naḡās (Egypt), and A. Salazar (Spain) (FC 503, 74).*

THIRD MEETING

[Sat.] 19th March, 1932

The Committee met at 10:30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr. Farmer. Members present: Prof. Wolf, the Secretary, Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Waḡḡāb, Col. Pesenti, Señor Salazar and Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab.

The minute of the previous meeting was read and adopted.

Najīb Eff. Naḡās, having obtained permission, presented himself at the meeting so as to bring to the notice of the

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members his collection, in ten volumes, of photographic copies of Arabic MSS on the theory of music which he had secured from various libraries. He suggested that the Committee should examine these works and, if considered advisable, recommend the Government to print the same, in view of the fact that most of these had been translated into other languages. [*Penned insertion*: See later comment.].

The Committee thanked Najīb Naḥās for his kindness, when he withdrew.

It was agreed that this collection should have the immediate attention of the Committee. The Secretary suggested that the Chairman should take the works, one by one, and state his opinion for the benefit of the members.

Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb spoke of the importance of a complete collection of MSS., or copies of them, being in the possession of the Institute of Oriental Music or the National Library.

Prof. Wolf said this collection of Najīb Naḥās had better be in the National Library where many MSS were already housed.

The Chairman stated that before discussing further it would be advisable for a report on the Sub Committee's visit to the National Library be made. This was agreed, and the Secretary read the Minute of the Sub Committee of 17th March. Carbon copies of the lists of MSS and printed books on music in the

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National Library were then handed to the members of the Committee.

The Chairman then pointed out that he had carefully perused these lists and would like to emphasize the fact that many of the works in Najīb Naḥās's collection were not in the National Library. He would like, however, to correct a statement made by Najīb Naḥās that most of the works in his collection had been translated. Certainly not more than two or three had been translated into European languages.

The chairman further stated that he had asked the owner of the collection whether he would be willing to part with it, and he understood from him that he would have no objection to this. It was therefore possible to purchase the collection if the Committee agreed and the price were a reasonable one. It would have to be remembered that the copies were made twenty years ago when photographic costs were much lower than they are now.

Col Pesenti said that he agreed with the Chairman's statement.

The Chairman then proceeded to examine the books, making the following remarks on each:

VOL. 1. a) *Risāla fī khubr* of al-Kindī. This had already been edited and translated by Dr. Lachmann and Dr. al-Ḥafnī.

b) *Dar ʿilm-i mūsīqī* from the *Dānish nāma* of Ibn Sīnā. An important Persian book which would help to control the editing of the text of the *Najāṭ* of which it was a literal translation. The Arabic text of the *Najāṭ* had been issued with a German translation by Dr. al-Ḥafnī.

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c) *Kitāb al-kāfi fī l-mūsīqī* by Ibn Zaila, the pupil of Ibn Sīnā. It is an important work on theory and does not confine itself to this only, but with the practical art as well. It mentions what authors say and what musicians practised. It is the only work that repeats what al-Kindī says on the subject of rhythm (*īqāʿ*).

d) A work dedicated to the Sultan Muḥammad b. Murād of Turkey. A useful treatise helpful in controlling the Persian writer Ibn Ghaibī.

e) An anonymous work, written in the 16th century, on the subject of *al-anḡām* ['melody'] and *al-durūb* ['rhythm or meter']. It is important because Villoteau copied from it, although he did not thoroughly understand it.

VOL. 2. *Kanz al-tuḡāf*. A Persian book from the Leyden Library. It is beautifully written, but some of the designs of the instruments are missing. These are to be found in the British Museum copy of which Najīb Naḡās has a copy.

VOL. 3. A collection of Persian MSS. from the British Museum, including two on the legality of *al-samāʿ* ['listening to music']. This volume contains the *Kanz al-tuḡāf* mentioned already.

VOL. 4. *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʿmin from the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. It is important that we should have as many copies as possible of this work so as to enable editors to correct the errors which exist in most manuscripts.

VOL. 5. A Persian work on the *maqāmāt* ['melodic modes'] from the Paris Bibliothèque.

VOL. 6. *Kitāb al mūsīqī al-kabīr* by Al-Fārābī from the Leyden Library. This was not a good copy of this famous work, but it was useful for the sake of comparison. The Escorial copy was much better, but it was in disorder.

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VOL. 7. The *Sharafīyya* of Ṣafī of al Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min from the Paris Bibliothèque Nationale. The Chairman stated that Najīb Naḥās also possessed a manuscript (not a photo) of this work, which was used by Baron Carra de Vaux when he made his translation of this work.²¹ The owner may be persuaded to dispose of this also.

VOL. 8. A work by Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaidāwī al-Dimishqī, also called Al-Dhahabī al-Dimishqī in some MSS. The MSS. of this author are under different titles in the various libraries, whilst some have no title at all. In this work we find the first attempt of the Arabs to use a stave for the purpose of notation.

VOL. 9. *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu’min from the British Museum, together with a commentary by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Khujandī.

VOL. 10. A collection of *muwashshahāt*.

The Chairman having been thanked for his criticism and evaluation of the contents of the works, it was proposed that a sub committee be appointed to count the pages and assess the approximate cost of these volumes. The committee elected the Chairman and Secretary to undertake this work, which was agreed.

Señor Salazar [mentioned] that he had in his possession a list of MSS. existing in the Escorial and Madrid Libraries and that the Spanish Government was prepared to present the Egyptian Government with photographic copies of those which the Committee might consider useful. He promised to present this list to the Chairman on Monday, 21st March.²² On the motion of Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb

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the Committee adopted a vote of thanks to Señor Salazar and the Spanish Government for their offer, which was duly carried.

Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb called the attention of the Committee to MSS. existing in Tunisia, Algeria and Morocco, some of which deal with music and others contain *muwashshahāt*, etc. He deemed it advisable that the National Library should have a collection of the same. He produced for the inspection of the Committee a MS. of al-Ḥā’ik, containing *muwashshahāt*, etc. He said

21 HGF: Baron Carra de Vaux told the Chairman later that this MS. was his property, and that he had only loaned it to Najīb Naḥās.

22 HGF: This list was not handed to the Chairman.

that the last Moorish refugees left Spain and settled in the different towns of Algeria, Tunisia and Morocco, [where] they brought with them their songs and melodies which were called *Al-gharnata*. Al-Ḥā'ik, who was a Tunisian, went to Tetuán in Morocco and composed his book of *muwashahaḥāt*; which is known in Tunis as *al-ḥā'ik* and in Morocco as *al-safīna*.²³

The Chairman said that he agreed with what the previous speaker had said about the MSS. of the Maghrib and stated that those on the theory of music are very few. He himself had published both text and translation of three of these in his *Collections of Oriental writers on music* (Fasc. 1). He added that there was a MS. on *al-samā'* by Ibn Zaghdūn, who, he thought, belonged to Tunis, which was in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.

Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb said that he knew of a similar work in a private library in Tunis entitled *Mut'at al-samā' fi 'ilm al-samā'* by Aḥmād b. Yūsuf al-Tifāshī (fl. 751 A. H.).

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Colonel Pesenti presented the Committee with his book *Canti sacri e profani danzi e ritmi degli arabi dei Somali e die Suahili* (1929). A vote of thanks was moved for the Colonel. Señor Salazar proposed that the Committee should recommend the copying and publication of the tunes that were in this book. The chairman pointed out that the Committee could scarcely consider this, as the Colonel's book did not deal specifically with Arabian music. It could, however, recommend that this book be included in the list of authors called for under Article (i) [of Article (7) of the Programme], and that the Committee could present the book itself to the Congress. This proposal of the Chairman was confirmed and the meeting adjourned at 12 noon.

FOURTH MEETING

[Mon.] 21st March, 1932

The Commission met at 9:30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr. Farmer. Members present: Baron Carra de Vaux, Col. Pesenti, Prof. Zampieri, Señor Salazar, and the Secretary. The minute of the previous meeting was read and adopted.

Professor Salazar submitted a list of MSS. in Arabic on music existing in the Escorial and Madrid libraries.

²³ See Chap. 4, n. 72.

The Chairman asked if Señor Salazar knew of any other Spanish libraries which possessed similar MSS. It was most

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important that we should ascertain this, as so little was known of other libraries, whereas the contents of the Escorial and Madrid libraries had been generally known owing to the catalogues of Casiri and Robles.²⁴ Indeed, he himself, had photos of most of the Escorial and Madrid MSS. on music in Arabic, and he had edited and published two of them.

Señor Salazar said that, not being an Arabist, he was not *au fait* with the subject, to the same degree as the chairman, but that he would make special enquiries on his return to Spain.

The Chairman said that he asked the question particularly, because Spain was, in the early Middle Ages, the very hub of European civilisation, and although the Inquisition [had] destroyed hundreds of thousands of Arabic MSS., and the fanatical Berbers had done the same previously, he felt that some valuable MSS. must turn up eventually in out of the way collections in Spain. He said that he had tried to trace the whereabouts of a MS. by a Spanish Arab named 'Alī b. Sa'īd al-Andalusī, possibly tenth century. It was in the British Isles, but where? It had also be[en] stated in an English journal devoted to music . . . , that a work by the famous Andalusian musician Ziryāb still existed in Spain, in Toledo,²⁵ but he (the Chairman) had failed to trace it. He begged Señor Salazar to do his utmost to run this MS. to earth.

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Prof. Zampieri stated that the Society of Italian Musicians was prepared to submit lists of books and MSS. on Arabian music in the Vatican Library. The

24 M. Casiri, *Bibliotheca arabico-hispana escorialensis sive librorum omnium Mss. quos arabice ab auctoribus magnam partem arabo-hispanis compositos Bibliotheca Coenobii Escorialensis complectitur crecensio et explanatio opera et studio Michaelis Casiri* . . . 2 vols., Madrid 1760–70; repr. Osnabrück 1969; and F. Guillén Robles, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Madrid 1889.

25 Farmer's recollection was incorrect. The brief single-column article he alluded to was J.B. Trend's "The performance of music in Spain", in *The musical times*, 70 (1929), 364, which only mentioned Ziryāb's teaching method for his vocal students, but no specific work that existed in Toledo.

Commission expressed its gratitude at this gesture and begged the Professor to convey their thanks to the people concerned.

The Secretary stated that a collection of at least fifteen MSS. was to be found in the library of the late Aḥmad Taimūr Pāshā. He said that he would endeavor to arrange with the son of the late Pāshā to enable the Commission to see some of these treasures.

The Chairman spoke of the existence of an important MS. by Ibn Khurdādhbih entitled *Kitāb al-lahw wa-l-malāhī*, which was in the possession of Ḥabīb Eff. al-Zaiyāt of Alexandria. He considered it advisable for the Commission to get into touch with the owner. The Chairman mentioned that they were still waiting for Maṣṣūr Awāḍ to give them particulars of the works of al-Khalīl in his possession or better still, to allow them to be examined by the Commission.

The Chairman was asked whether the sub committee could report on the collection made by Najīb Naḥās. He replied that the Secretary and himself had gone very carefully into the question and had assessed the probable cost, but that before making a report he would prefer to consult the owner.

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Baron Carra de Vaux again raised the question of the lists of published works on Arabian music which the Commission were requested to compile. He said that articles which have appeared in various periodicals on Arabian music ought to be included. The chairman stated that he understood from the very beginning that this would be done, because it was in this field that the best and most considerable work was done, whereas if we confined ourself [*sic*] to books, these could be counted on the fingers.

Col. Pesenti presented lists of books in the Paris Bibl. Nationale and the Victor Emmanuel Library at Rome. The Commission recorded its thanks.

The Chairman was asked whether he had yet compiled the list of printed books and articles as asked for at the first meeting. He replied that there had been no time to do this, as the work of the Congress had taken up his entire leisure. Such an undertaking could not be done hurriedly. He thought that a better plan would be to allow this to remain until the Congress was finished, and that every member of the Commission contribute to this compilation. Their lists could be sent to the General Secretary of the Congress. This was considered a good plan and was adopted.²⁶

26 HGF: Outside of the list which I drew up and presented to the plenary congress meeting, nothing was done.

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Baron Carra de Vaux mentioned that Baron d'Erlanger had already translated the *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, and that it would shortly be published.

The Chairman suggested that since the history of Arabian music had to be considered as well as manuscripts that it would not be out of the way for a day to be set aside for a visit to the Arab Museum so as to see what it contained in connection with the history of music. It was proposed that this visit be made by a sub committee, the chairman, secretary, and another member who would feel inclined to volunteer, be asked to undertake this. Agreed.

The Commission adjourned at 12 noon, the next meeting being settled for Wednesday the 23rd March at 9 a.m.

FIFTH MEETING

[Wed.] 23rd March, 1932

The Commission met at 9:30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr. Farmer. Members present: Prof. Zampieri, Señor Salazar, Col. Pesenti, and the Secretary.

The Secretary reported that the library of the late Aḥmad Taimūr Pāshā had been sealed since his death, and there was little likelihood of its being open for inspection whilst the Congress is sitting. The Chairman suggested that the Sec.-General of the Congress be communicated with so that a petition be made by the Minister of Education to have the seals removed so as to assist the Commission in [its] work.

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The Chairman stated that, owing to a mistake in the time of meeting, the Secretary was unable to accompany him to the Arab Museum. He was, however, accompanied by Fu'ād Mughabghab, the Assistant Secretary. After enquiring from the Curators for exhibits of musical interest, he was informed that there was nothing that they could show him. He asked to see and closely examine the exhibits of pottery, metal work, woodwork, etc., and found many designs of musicians, many dating from the 11th, 12th and 13th centuries. In view of this, he asked the Commission to adopt the following resolution:

As exhibits of industrial art, i.e., of metal work, glass, pottery, ivories, friezes, woodwork & tapestries, in museums and art collections frequently

contain figures of musicians and musical instruments, that photographic copies of these be obtained as they are of great importance to the study of the history of Arabian music.

The resolution was adopted.

Señor Salazar stated that he had already informed Prof. Sachs, and should have informed this Commission, that there are in Spain miniatures of musicians as well as pictures of musicians and instruments in churches, and that he was willing to obtain photographs of these and present them to the Congress.

The Chairman said that he doubted whether any of these represented Moorish or Arab musicians, but if these miniatures did represent these, and they already knew of those which had been unearthed by Riaño²⁷ and Ribera,²⁸ they would be welcomed by

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all musicographers, whether Orientalists or otherwise.

A vote of thanks was accorded Señor Salazar, at the suggestion of the chairman, for his gracious offer. (Ξ)²⁹

The Secretary asked the Chairman whether he had made notes of the exhibits in the Arab Museum which contained the musical representations mentioned by him. He replied in the affirmative and said that he had handed

27 J.F. Riaño y Montero's *Critical and bibliographical notes on early Spanish music*, London 1887, repr. New York 1971. See the appendix containing figures of musical instruments in the 13th century (pp. 110–21). For sources concerning the music, miniatures, instruments of the thirteenth-century *Cantigas de Santa Maria*, including the controversies surrounding the collection, see I.J. Katz, "Music, Art, and Poetry in the CSM: A Selective Bibliography", in R. Tinnell (ed.), *Essays in Homage to John Esten Keller*, Newark, DE 2010, 139–79, and "Alfonso X, el Sabio . . . Musical Instruments of [the] *Cantigas*", in E.M. Gerli (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Medieval Iberia*, New York 2003, 68–9, for the identity of the thirty-five musical instruments depicted in the miniatures.

28 J. Ribera y Tarragó, *La música de las Cantigas. Estudio sobre su origen y naturaleza con reproducciones fotográficas del texto y transcripción moderna*, Madrid 1922. For an abridged translation, see E. Hague and M. Leffingwell, *Music in ancient Arabia and Spain*, Palo Alto 1928. See also Ribera's *Historia de la música árabe medieval y su influencia en la española*. (Colección de Manuales Hispania, 1), Madrid 1927, repr. with revised title *La música árabe y su influencia en la española. Revisión, prólogo y semblanza biográfica por E. García Gómez*, Madrid 1985.

29 HGF: [(Ξ) *Penned marginal comment*: Like other promises by members of the Congress this was not kept.]

the curator of the museum a list of these in order to obtain, if possible, the necessary photographs. He said that he was visiting the museum again that afternoon.

The Chairman said that he was able to report on the al-Khalīl books which, it was said, were in the possession of Maṣṣūr 'Awāḍ. Maṣṣūr 'Awāḍ has not been able to find the book(s) of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad among[s]t his collection as he previously believed that he could. Surprise was expressed by the Commission at this turn of events. The Secretary said that it had always been understood by both musicians and savants in Cairo that Maṣṣūr 'Awāḍ possessed these books, and that the news came as a great surprise to him.

The Chairman pointed out that we must not jump to hasty conclusions, but rather consider two other possibilities. He [Maṣṣūr 'Awāḍ] may not possess them, but there is always the possibility that the works may have been attributed to al-Khalīl when he acquired them, but that since then he has found that they were written by some other author. The Chairman said

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that the Institute of Oriental Music claimed to possess a manuscript by Ibn Sab'īn, but when he and the Secretary examined it they found that it was by Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min. The same thing could easily happen with the supposed work of Al-Khalīl. Secondly, it was possible that Maṣṣūr 'Awāḍ did actually possess these works, but, like many others who have rare MSS., is afraid that too much publicity of this fact may be a danger, and so prefers to allow it to be thought that he cannot find them or does not possess them. All that this Commission can say is that we deeply regret that we could not see the earliest known work on the theory of Arabian music.³⁰

The Secretary raised the question of MSS. of poetry composed especially for singing. The Chairman said that he knew of many MSS. of this sort and that one, in the British Museum, was attached to a copy of the *Kitāb al adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, although the compilers of the catalogue thought that it was part of this latter work. Each poem is rubriced with the name of the mode to which it is sung.

The Chairman also drew attention to Maghribi MSS. of poetry written for the *suite des pieces* known as the *Nauba*.³¹

30 Farmer later recalled this incident in his addendum to "An old Moorish lute tutor", in *JRAS* (Oct. 1932), 901.

31 Most popularly known throughout the Maghrib.

Further, seeing how much music has been adopted in domestic circles in Egypt and elsewhere, he thought that it was advisable to seek out some of the old poetry which dealt with other themes than those of love and wine. Obviously, young ladies who were now learning singing, as well as young men, would

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feel much more at ease with songs dealing with historical episodes, the beauties of nature, and such like. We people of the West may think this question a small matter, but in the East it is of some importance. In view of this, the Chairman believed that the Commission would do well to recommend the publication of such poetry which would place at the disposal of the composer verses other than amorous ones. He therefore suggested the following resolution:

As many of the old Arabic verse contains much of a non-erotic tendency, that such verse be collected, edited and published. This proceeding would supply the modern composer with material to set to music which would have a far wider approval, and would remove one of the objections to vocal music that it is mainly amorous.

The Secretary stated that all the old books of Arabic poetry had been published. The Chairman said that he had in mind much that was written for the *naubāt* and *tubūʿ* in the Maghrib, but that it was advisable to publish suitable non-amorous verse, even if it had already been published, in a special volume.

Col. Pesenti said that he had included in his book many war songs.

The Chairman stated that the Commission's time was drawing to a close, and in view of this, he urged that the Commission should prepare itself for the study of the history of the scale. He said that he hoped that this question would be dealt with at the next meeting on the 25th March.

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Col. Pesenti expressed his regret that, owing to the fact that he had been called by the Ministry of War to take part in the Alpine Manoeuvres, he would have to leave for Italy on the morning of the 24th March. He stated that with regard to the future work of the Commission, he was in perfect agreement [with] the Chairman.

The meeting adjourned at 11 a.m.

SIXTH MEETING

[Fri.] 25th March, 1932

The Commission met at 10:30 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr. Farmer. Members present: Señor Salazar and the Secretary.

The minute of the former meeting was read and duly adopted.

The Chairman and Secretary made a statement of the progress made in preparing lists of manuscripts and printed books dealing with Arabian music.

The Chairman stated that contributions on the history of the Arabian scale had been received from Dr. Muḥammad Salīm of Damascus and Aḥmad Eff. Amīn al-Dīk of Cairo, but as the Commission could hardly be said to be a representative one seeing that there was only one member present with the Chairman and Secretary, the question of the history of the scale, the above communications, as well as a paper on the history of

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singing by ‘Abd al-Rahīm Eff. Ismā‘īl of Cairo,³² would be referred to the coming meeting.

The Chairman being called to a meeting of the Commission of Musical Instruments, the meeting adjourned at 11:30.

SEVENTH MEETING

[Sat.] 26th March, 1932

The Commission met at 10 a.m. under the chairmanship of Dr. Farmer. Members present: Baron Carra de Vaux, Señor Salazar, and the Secretary.

The minute of the previous meeting was read and duly adopted.

Chairman pointed out that this was the final meeting of the Commission and that the report to be submitted to Congress had still to be drawn up. He said that, with the exception of Article (iii) [i.e., item iii under (7) of the Programme of the work of the Committees] on the history of the scale, he had prepared a report. This, if it were agreeable, he would submit, and ask the Commission's approval. The report, covering Articles (i), (ii), (iv), (v) and (vi), were read, discussed briefly, and approved.

32 In the following meeting, Farmer referred to him as ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Eff. Ismā‘īl.

The Secretary read the communications from Dr. Muḥammad Salīm of Damascus on the history of the scale, and from ‘Abd al-Ḥalīm Eff. Ismā‘īl of Cairo on the history of singing. Neither of these contributions were considered of much assistance to the Commission, but it was moved and agreed

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that the thanks of the Commission be conveyed to the authors of both communications.

The communication of Aḥmad Eff. Amīn al-Dīk on the history of the scale was considered to be of a different category, but this, in spite of its value, was considered to be too elaborate to be embodied in the report.

The Chairman pointed out that Article (iii) called for a detailed treatment of the question and suggested that Baron Carra de Vaux undertake this duty. The Baron declined first of all, because he did not have the necessary data with him in Cairo to deal with the question satisfactorily, and, secondly, because he had read the article “Mūsīqī” in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* by Dr. Farmer,³³ which contained so much information relative to the subject, that he had no hesitation in saying that the Chairman would, in the present circumstance, be the most proper person to undertake this subject. The Chairman agreed, but pointed out that he would be unable to submit his report to the Commission as this was its last meeting. He agreed and suggested that he would call an informal meeting of such members that were available before the Congress meeting to submit his report for their approval.

This was agreed and the meeting adjourned at 11:30 so as to allow the Chairman and members to proceed to the Royal Palace on the occasion of the Birthday celebrations of H.M. King Fu’ād.

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The meeting re-assembled at 12 noon when Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb joined with those previously present. The report on the history of the scale was further discussed and the meeting closed with Baron Carra de Vaux proposing a vote of thanks to the Chairman. In reply the Chairman expressed his

33 The Baron could not have read Farmer’s entry from the *EI*, since it was published years later (1936) in its third volume [pp. 749–55]. The fact is that Farmer brought the draft copy of his entry to the Congress to show several fellow delegates, the Baron among them, for their comments and suggestions. It was, undoubtedly, from this draft that he prepared his report on the history of the Arabian scale.

appreciation of the Baron's tribute. He in turn would take the opportunity of paying a high tribute to the Secretary Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj for his devotion and courtesy. To the Assistant Secretary Fu'ād Muḡhabḡhab he owed a deep debt of gratitude for his steadfast work for the Commission, for the great assistance that he had given him personally, and above all for his friendship. At the same time he felt that it was his duty to place on record his disapproval, to use a very mild term, of the flagrant way in which the members absented themselves from the meetings, a proceeding which, he had been assured, had been noted by the Ministry of Education, as well as the Congress officers. It may be true, said the Chairman, that there were the interests of other Commissions, but it was no excuse to absent oneself from one's bounden duties, to indulge in sightseeing. He regretted to have to close the meeting on a discordant note, so he would modulate into something concordant by saying that, in spite of absentees, he already had the assurance of the Congress officers, that they considered the work accomplished by the Commission of History and Manuscripts as noteworthy. The meeting dispersed at 12:45.

END OF THE MINUTES OF MEETING

5.3 Report of the Commission on History and Manuscripts Submitted to the Plenary Session of the Congress of Arabian Music 1st April, 1932³⁴

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The Commission of History and Manuscripts had the following question[s] set for consideration:

34 In his brief communication concerning the Congress (referred to in n. 9 *supra*), Farmer wrote that in spite of the absence of Baron d'Erlanger and Robert Lachmann, who were originally assigned to his commission,

“the result was that with the exception of Baron Carra de Vaux and the two Arab savants none of the other commissioners were competent to deal with the technical Arabic side of the questions to be discussed. The upshot was that practically everything was thrown on my shoulders and almost every section of the report was drawn up by me. Indeed, the report on the history of the Arabian music scale, comprising about twenty folios, was compiled entirely by me (“The Congress of Arabian Music”, 67).

It would be from this draft of the report on scale that Farmer drew the information for his report: “A short history of the Arabian musical scale” (see App. 9).

- (i) To compile a list of Occidental and Oriental works which treat of Arabian music.
- (ii) What are the best means for encouraging (the publication of) works in Arabic of the scientific study of the various periods of the history of Arabian music?
- (iii) To prepare a report comprising a history of the scale of Arabian music and its evolution in the different periods.
- (iv) To prepare statistics of the most important Arabic manuscripts which treat of music, showing those that have been published and those which have been translated into another language with notes or explanations thereon.
- (v) Which are the manuscripts which have not been published and by what means can they be published?
- (vi) How far can the country profit by the publication of these manuscripts[?]

MEETINGS [Plenary]

In its first meeting the Commission unanimously elected Dr. Henry Farmer and Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj as President and Secretary respectively.

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Eight³⁵ general meetings and six³⁶ sub committee meetings were held and the Commission has pleasure in submitting the following Report:

QUESTION I

This question is one which has received very serious consideration by the Commission. At the outset it was found necessary to visit the National Library, for which purpose a sub committee, comprising Dr. Farmer, Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj, and Sīdī Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, was appointed. Here both books and MSS. were consulted and books were lent to the Institute of Oriental Music for the purpose of further consultation by the Commission. Arrangements were also made for a complete list of books dealing with Arabian

35 HGF: The meeting which reassembled on 26th March being counted.

36 HGF: The four other sub committee meetings were for drawing up the report, assessing the cost of the Najīb Naḥās Mss., and two further visits to the National Library and Museum.

music, which exist in the Library, to be supplied to the Commission. This has been received and has been helpful to the work of the Commission.

Lists of printed books were also compiled by Dr. Farmer, Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj and Col. Pesenti. Taking all these lists into consideration, the Commission feels that it is incumbent upon it to recommend as follows:

(a) The Commission is of opinion that more comprehensive lists can be drawn up by Members of this Commission after they have returned home and are in position to consult their books and papers. These members have been asked to compile annotated lists of printed books. Those in European languages are to be sent to the President of the Commission, Dr. Farmer, and those in Arabic to be sent to the Secretary of the Commission Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj. These two gentlemen are asked to compile final lists of Occidental and Oriental books respectively, and forward same to the Secretary General of the Congress.

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(b) The commission realises that some books, the names of which have been submitted, are either out of date or are erroneous in their conception of Arabian music or its history. At the same time the Commission feels that all books ought to be included, as they show the progress made by musicologists in this field of study. It is for this reason that the Commission recommends critically annotated lists.

QUESTION II

The Commission has found it necessary to take into consideration a rather wide field to be studied by those interested in the history of Arabian music. It realises that it is not merely literary documents that must be studied, but also iconography, as well as specimens of musical instruments which have been preserved in our museums. The literary documents, i.e., manuscripts, will be dealt with specifically under Question III [*sic* IV]. Iconography is of great importance to the study of history, because in this sphere we often find pictorial evidence of the progress of Arabian music which sometimes confirm the written documents.

The Commission therefore appointed Dr. Farmer to visit the Arab Museum with Fu'ād Effendī Mughabghab, the Assistant Secretary, to study this question. Two visits were made, as well as a visit to the Museum of Egyptian Antiquities. About twelve pictorial designs, from the 4th century A.H. onwards,

of musicians and musical instruments were found on exhibits of industrial art, including the famous woodwork frieze of the Fatimid period, a replica of which is in the Museum of the Institute of Oriental Music. Photographic copies of the others have

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been ordered.

In view of this the Commission reports:

(a) That as iconography is of such importance for the proper study of the history of music, it is recommended that historic exhibits of industrial arts, i.e., metal work, glass, pottery, ivories, friezes, woodwork and tapestries, in other museums should be studied and photographs obtained of musical instruments and musicians contained therein which should be indexed and placed in the National Library.

(b) That illustrated MSS. be also studied for the same purpose.

The question of the best means for encouraging (the publication of) works in Arabic for the scientific study of the various periods of the history of Arabian music was given consideration, and the following recommendations were made:

(a) One way to encourage the production of works in Arabic on this question is to issue an Arabic translation of Dr. Farmer's book *A history of Arabian music* (London 1929). This is the only comprehensive book as yet written on the subject, and a work [of] which Prof. Dr. Sachs said "nobody but Dr. Farmer could have written".³⁷

37 This opinion, although slightly paraphrased in the Commission report, had been expressed by Prof. C. Sachs in his review of Farmer's *History of Arabian music*, in *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 50 (1929), 1,447–8, as follows:

Befähigt durch musikalisches und arabistisches Wissen, bestens ausgewiesen durch eine ganze Reihe von Arbeiten zur arabischen Musikgeschichte, ist Farmer der einzige, der es wagen durfte . . . ' (HGF's translation of this relevant section was pasted into his own annotated copy of the *History* . . ., [FC 362], which read: 'Qualified by musical and Arabistic knowledge, extremely well known by a whole series of treatises on the history of Arabian music, Farmer is the only man who could undertake it.')

(b) The Commission recommends that the *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-sharqīyya* by Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj (Alexandria 1924) should be adopted as a textbook on the subject until such times as a larger work is available.

(c) The Commission considers it advisable that a work be compiled from the *Kitāb al-aghānī* of Abu l-Faraj al-Iṣfahānī and the *Fihrist* of Ibn al-Nadīm which would deal with the history of the art of music up to the 3rd century A.H., including short biographies of the singers, instrumentalists, composers and writers on music during the Golden Age of Arabian music. Such a work, showing the glorious past of Arabian music would, perhaps, encourage the present generation to emulate their illustrious forebears.

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(d) The Commission takes note that under Question VIII of the Commission of Instruments of Music, a museum of Instruments of Music is suggested. As our Commission has been set up specially to deal with the question of the history of Arabian music and manuscripts, and as some of our members have made a special study of the history of Arabian instruments of music, the Commission recommends that a close liason [*sic*] is maintained between the two Commissions on the question.

(e) The Commission recommends that the history of Oriental music, and of Arabian music in particular, be included in the curriculum of the Institute of Oriental Music and all similar colleges.

QUESTION III

The communications of Dr. Muḥamm[a]d Salīm of Damascus and Aḥmad Eff. Amīn al-Dīk of Cairo on the history of the Arabian scale were submitted to the Commission. The former was considered too general in its treatment to be of much value to our discussion, although the author was thanked for his assistance. The latter was found to be quite an admirable paper but, being for the most part made up of mathematical tables, without any or much historical explanation, the Commission regretted that it was unable to use it in this report, but, at the same time, thanked the author for his essay.

Dr. Farmer, the Chairman, agreed to outline a report on the history of the Arabian scale for submission to the Congress. This report is appended (see App. 9).

QUESTION IV

During the meeting of the Commission, lists of MSS. in various libraries were submitted by Dr. Farmer, Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj, Señor Salazar, and Col. Pesenti. Other MSS.

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were brought to the notice of the Commission by Baron Carra de Vaux, Sidī Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and Prof. Zampieri. These lists were examined and discussed. Professor Salazar stated that the Spanish Government was prepared to present photographic copies to the Egyptian Government of any MSS. in Spanish libraries that the Commission considered useful. Professor Zampieri said that the Society of Italian Musicians was prepared to submit a list of books and MSS. in the Vatican Library. An excellent collection of photographic reproductions of MSS. was submitted by Maitre Najīb Naḥās, for which the Commission offers its best thanks for his kindness.

The visits of the Sub Committee to the National Library, already mentioned, were fruitful in this sphere, and the library has now become good enough to present a list of its MSS., which are at the disposal of the Commission for examination. The sub committee was able to identify some MSS. at the National Library which had been attributed wrongly to the wrong authors. Dr. Farmer, the Chairman, gave instances where similar mistakes had been made in European libraries, notably two works at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris, which were attributed to Muḥammad b. Zakarīyya al-Rāzī, whereas they were part of the *Kitāb al-adwār* of Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min and part of the *Risāla fī ‘ilm al-anghām* of Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī. Similarly Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj pointed out that the *Kitāb al-adwār* in the National Library and the Institute of Oriental Music attributed to Ibn Sa‘bīn was actually by Ṣafī al-Dīn.

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The Commission also desires to draw attention to the fact that the two works of al-Khalīl b. Aḥmad, the oldest Arabic writer on the theory of music, which have so long been thought to be in the possession of a musician of Cairo, do not exist.³⁸

The following resolutions were adopted by the Commission:

38 HGF: My own words were—"cou[l]d not be found", but the sub committee preferred the brutal truth—"do not exist".

(a) That although a list has already been drawn up, a more comprehensive list is desirable, and that this can best be done when more material is available. Dr. Farmer and Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj were asked and have agreed to compile, after the Congress has terminated, a chronological and critical list of MSS. for submission to the Secretary General of the Congress.

(b) The MSS. which have already been published are but few. These are as follows:

1. Ṣafi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min: *Risālat al-Sharafiyya*. A résumé of this, equal to, if not better than a translation, has been published in French by Baron Carra de Vaux, but without the text. See list of printed books.
2. Al-Fārābī: *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*. This has been translated into French with a commentary by Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, but without the text. See list of printed books.
3. Al-Kindī: *Risāla fi khubr ta'lif al-alḥān*. This has been translated into German by Drs. Lachmann and al-Ḥafnī, together with a commentary, text and facsimile. See list of printed books.
4. Ibn Sīnā: Section on music from the *Kitāb al-naḡāt*. This has been translated into German by Dr. al-Ḥafnī, with a commentary and text. See list of printed books.
5. Lisān al-Dīn ibn al-Khaṭīb: An attributed tract on music with other Maghribī tracts on music. These have been translated into English by Dr. Farmer, with texts and commentaries under the title of *An old Moorish lute tutor*. See list of printed books.

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(c) The Commission recommends that photographic copies of all the important Arabic MSS. on music be obtained and deposited [*sic*] in the National Library or/and in the Library of the Institute of Oriental Music.

(d) The Commission recommends that photographs of certain Persian and Turkish MSS. on music be also obtained, because, after the period of Ṣafi al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min, these works are necessary for the proper appreciation of the development of Arabian music theory.

QUESTION V

The MSS. that have not been published, those not mentioned in our answer to Question IV, are too numerous to mention in this report, but the most important are those given below:

- (a) Al-Kindī: Three works in the Staatsbibliothek which are attribute[d] to him, viz, the *Mukhtaṣar al-mūsīqī* written for his pupil Aḥmad b. al-Mu‘taṣim, the *Risāla fī ajzā’ khabarīyya al-mūsīqī* extracts from which have been published by Dr. Farmer, and the *Risāla fī tartīb al-naghm* (the probable title).
- (b) Aristotle: *Kitāb al-naḥs* (section of the sense of hearing) in the Escorial Library.
- (c) Yahyā b. ‘Alī b. Yahyā: *Risāla fī l-mūsīqī* in the British Museum Library.
- (d) Ibn Khurdādhbih: *Kitāb al-laḥw*, which is claimed to be in the library of the late Ḥa[b]īb al Zaiyat of Alexandria.
- (e) Ibn Sīnā: The section on music from the *Shifā*.
- (f) Ibn Zaila: The *Kitāb al-kāfi fī l-mūsīqī* in the British Museum. A valuable treatise.
- (g) Ibn Rushd: *Sharḥ fī l-naḥs* in the Madrid Library.
- (h) Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī. The section on music in his *Jāmi‘ al-‘ulūm* in the Nūr-i ‘Uthmāniyya Library.

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- (i) Ibn Bājja: *Kitāb fī l-naḥs* in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.
- (j) Al-Mufaḍḍal ibn Salāma: *Kitāb al-‘ūd wa l-malahī* in the Egyptian National Library.
- (k) Al-Ḥasan b. Aḥmad b. al-Kāṭib: *Kamāl adab al-ghinā’* in the Töp Qapü Serai Library, Stambül.
- (l) Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī: a short tract on intervals in the Bibl. Nat., Paris.
- (m) Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min: *Kitāb al-adwār* and *Risālat al-sharafīyya*. See Question IV.
- (n) Al-Sahlāhī: *Kitāb al-imtā‘ wa l-intifā‘* in the National Library at Madrid. Although this deals with the legality of *al-samā‘*, it is important for the history of Arabian instruments of music.
- (o) Qutb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī: The section on music in the *Durrat al-tāj*. It is in the Koprulusāde Mehmed Pāshā Library, Stambül, and is probably a translation from the Persian.
- (p) Al-Khaṭīb al-Īrbilī: *Jawāhir al-nizām* at Beyrout and Berlin. Text was published in *Al-Mashriq*, but there is no translation.
- (q) Al-Akfānī: The section on music in *Al-durr al-nazīm*. Vienna.
- (r) Al-Dhahabī: *Kitāb fī ma‘rifat al-anḡām* in the Bodleian Library and at Paris.

- (s) Ibn-Ṣabbāḥ: *Kitāb fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī* in the Bodleian Library.³⁹
- (t) Anonymous: *Kitāb al-mīzān* in the Bodleian Library.
- (u) Ibn al-Ṭaḥān: *Hāwī al-funūn* in the Egyptian Nat. Library.
- (v) Anonymous: *Sharḥ al-adwār* in the British Museum.
- (w) Al-Khujandī: An *ḥāshīyya* on the *Kitāb al-adwār* in the British Museum.
- (x) Al-Māridīnī: *Muqaddīma fī 'ilm qawānīn al-anḡhām* at Gotha and another (?) work at the Egyptian National Library.

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- (y) Al-Jurjānī (?): *Sharḥ Maulānā Mubārak Shāh* in the British Museum. A masterly work.
- (z) Al-Lādhiqī: *Risālat al-fathīyya* in the Egyptian National Library as well as another work.
- (aa) Shihāb al-Dīn al-'Ajāmī: *Risāla fī 'ilm al-anḡhām* at Beyrout and Berlin.
- (bb) Anonymous: *Kashf al-ḡumūm* in the Egyptian National Library. An important work on instruments.
- (cc) Anonymous: A treatise dedicated to Sulṭān Muḡammad ibn Murād in the British Museum. Important.
- (dd) Al-Ḥaṣkafī al-Mūsīqī: *Risālat al-kāshif* in Rylands Library at Manchester.
- (ee) Nāṣir al-Dīn ibn al-'Ajāmī: *Urjūza fī l-anḡhām* in the Egyptian National Library.
- (ff) Al-Qādirī: *Fī dhikr al-anḡhām* in the Berlin Staatsbibl.
- (gg) Al-Qādirī ('Askar al-Ḥalabī): *Rāh al-jām* in the Gotha Library.
- (hh) Anonymous: *Al-shajara dhāt al-akmām* in the British Museum.
- (ii) 'Abd al-Raḡmān al-Fāsī: *Al-jumū' fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī* in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek. Part of this, text and translation, was given by Dr. Farmer in his *Old Moorish lute tutor*.

NOTE. . . . [Although some of these works] are noteworthy because of their influence on European theorists, . . . that of Ibn Rushd [(g) the *Sharḥ fī l-nafs*], translated into Latin by Johannes Scotus, became a text book.

39 Items (r) and (s) were bracketed together in red in the margin of the manuscript, for which Farmer added the note: Probably by the same author.

After serious consideration the following resolutions were adopted:

(a) The Commission recommends that a Publications Committee be formed to select, supervise, edit and translate into English and French the most important MSS. on music for publication.

(b) That each text selected for publication, when only one MS. is available, be accompanied by a facsimile, together with a commentary and a translation.

(c) That the Government be asked to provide a fund to establish a complete corpus of Arabic works on the theory of music, and/or assist any society or individual who is publishing such works.

(d) The Commission recommends that MSS. of poetry specially written for the *naubāt tubū'* and other musical art forms of classical importance should be considered for publication, especially such works as contain a wide variety of subjects and not merely love songs. It is considered necessary that modern composers should have other themes besides amorous ones to set to music.

(e) Works dealing with the lawfulness of *al-samā'* and on the chanting of the Holy Qur'an are also recommended for publication where such works are of value to the history of music in Islām.

QUESTION VI

Dr. Farmer stated that this question,—‘How far can the country (Egypt) profit by the publication of these manuscripts’,—could best be answered on the lines of political policy. Egypt, under the glorious lead of His August Majesty King Fu'ād, was now assuming its ancient and rightful place, not only in the East, but amongst the nations of the world. It was for Egypt to show, by the publications of these works on music, in the same way as it was demonstrating by encouraging the fine arts and literature, how great was its historic past in the art and

[The two pasted-in cards inserted here were reinserted on p. 105b of Farmer's travel journal "Itinerary" (see Chap. 4.2).]

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science of music, as he (Dr. Farmer) had conclusively shown in his several books on Arabian music.⁴⁰

Baron Carra de Vaux states that the Arabian fine arts [are] of the utmost importance and have a great influence on all Arabic speaking peoples. Foremost in these arts is the art of music. In view of the importance given to this art by Muslim scientists in former ages, and in view of the fact that Arabian music cannot take its share of development and progress unless its past is properly known through the publication of important MSS. on the subject, he therefore considers that the publication of such old Arabic MSS. is most essential and that its importance cannot be overestimated.

Dr. Wolf observes that everyone knows what great influence Arabian music had on the music of the Middle Ages in Western Europe, and that it is essential to understand Arabian music so as to appreciate the music of the Middle Ages in Europe. In short, the value of this work of editing and translating Arabic works on the theory of music is not only of value to facilitate the understanding of Oriental music, but that of the music of all periods and in all countries.

Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj says that the value of these old MSS. is unquestionable, as they enable us to know the stages through which Arabic music theory has passed in its development up to the present day. It enables us also to know what Arabian music was like in its times of glory during the reign of Hārūn al-Rashīd, and also enables us to solve some of the problems

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of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*. Further, the scale of music could not be properly understood unless music is studied from the days of al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad, al-Kindī, al-Fārābī, Ibn Sīnā, Ṣafī al-Dīn, Ibn Ghaibī, and others.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion the Chairman, Dr. Farmer, begs to thank the members of the Commission of History and Manuscripts for their collaboration and desires to place on record his appreciation of the services of the Assistant Secretary, officially termed the Clerk, Fu'ād Eff. Mughabghab, who has been most helpful.

40 HFG: This passage concerning Dr. Farmer, was cancelled at his own request in the report submitted to the plenary sitting of the congress, which is published in the *Recueil*.

The work of the Commission is bound to bear fruit, not only as the direct outcome of its deliberations and recommendations which, we hope, will be unanimously adopted, but indirectly through the activities of its members.

Without claiming too much for our Commission, we feel that we can confidently assert that almost every other Commission must look to us ultimately for some sort of help, because their very foundation depends on history. To understand the *maqāmāt* and *ḍurūb*, their *history* must be known. To appreciate the meaning of the scale, *history* must be consulted. To know adequately the instruments of music, you are bound to appeal to *history*. Our Commission is therefore the *alpha* of all the other Commissions.

It is the fervent hope of our Commission that the publication of a complete *corpus* [of] Arabic musical documents

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will be the result of our labours. If the Commission of Registration gives you the living voice of Arabian music in the admirable records of "His Master's Voice", then our Commission hopes to give you, in a series of scholarly tomes, the voices of the past.

Egypt owes this to herself. It was Egypt that produced those song collectors of the 5th century A.H. in al-Ḥusain ibn 'Alī al-Maghribī and al-Masabbihī. It was in Egypt that the world famous astronomer Ibn Yūnūs wrote his appreciation of music in his *Kitāb al-'uqūd wa l-su'ūd fī awṣāf al-'ūd*. A noteworthy commentator of the *Canon* and *Harmonics* of Euclid, we refer to [as] Ibn al-Hiathamī, came from this land. It was here that the scientist Abu l-Ṣalt Umayya lived. His *Risāla fī l-mūsīqī* was one of such importance as to be translated into Hebrew. Al-Bayāsī, a favourite of the victorious Salaḥ al-Dīn, was a musician of no mean order, whilst his contemporary 'Alam al-Dīn Qaiṣar was the greatest theorist of music of his age. All of these great masters lived before the 7th century of the Hijra.

Today, with the memory of the last three weeks vividly before us, we feel that Egypt is once again going to take a foremost place in the firmament of the Islamic arts. We hope that eventually this place [*penned insert: will be*] *the foremost*.

Signed HENRY FARMER, Ph.D. President
M. KĀMIL ḤAJJĀJ Secretary

Afterthoughts and Follow-Up

For all that was said and done, the Congress concluded as it began: full of exuberance and promise, in spite of the hotly debated exchanges that occurred during several of the plenary sessions; yet with questions and issues that remained unresolved. It was indeed a unique event in the annals of music history, a virtual East-West encounter that brought together many illustrious delegates from Europe, North Africa, and the Middle East. Local press coverage, often polemical and, at times, downright contemptuous of its creation, controversial topics, activities, and especially foreign intrusion, appeared primarily in Arabic¹ and French-Egyptian² periodicals. The planned performances at the Institute of Oriental Music and the gala concert (at the Opera House) included renowned singers and ensembles from the participating Arab (Algerian, Egyptian, Iraqi, Moroccan, Syrian, and Tunisian) and Turkish delegations, plus a group of Egyptian *fallāḥūn* musicians from Fayyūm and a Sudanese ensemble from Baḥr el-Selin (which included two female percussionists). It was from this variety of musical traditions that the Commission on Recordings selected and recorded over three hundred items during its daily sessions and

1 *Al-Akḥbār*, *Al-Balāgh*, *Al-Fukāḥa*, *Al-Ittiḥād*, *Al-Kashkūl al-Muṣawwar*, *Al-Rādiū*, *Al-Ṣabāḥ*, *Al-Sīyyāsa* (the organ of the Liberal Constitutional Party), *Al-Uṣbūʿiyya*, *Goha*, *Kawkab al-Sharq*, *Koll-e-shīʿ wa-l-ʿālam*, *Rawdat al-Balābil*, and *Rôz al-Yūsuf*. The pro-French *La bourse égyptienne* and *Al-Ahrām* (*The pyramid*; founded in 1875 by Syrian Christian immigrants) maintained extensive coverage prior to and during the Congress, including its planned recreational activities. One may also include *Al-Mūsīqā*, which was founded in 1935 and edited by Maḥmud A. al-Ḥifnī. It was later renamed *Al-Majalla al-mūsīqīyya*.

Philippe Vigreux (“Le Congrès”, [223]–342), French author, translator, and ethnomusicologist, compiled an impressive selection of press releases taken from Arabic periodicals—translated, with annotations in French—pertaining to such facets of the Congress as: discussions about the musical scale (232, 237–61); the Institute of Oriental Music (261–73); Ḥilmī Pāshā ʿIsā, the Minister of Education (273–5), and al-Ḥifnī (*sic* Ḥifnī) Effendī, Secretary General of the Congress (276–8); reports from and interviews with participants (279–305); Critics of the Congress (305–11); the varied foreign delegations (311–7); commentaries concerning the recordings (317–26); an historical note dealing with Arab music (326–7); sundry facts (327–9); and items from the Franco-Egyptian press concerning several of the participants (329–42). An interesting review by Y. Labib Risq (“Plaintive strains”) of an article published prior to the Congress brings to light some of the earlier debates.

2 *La bourse égyptienne* and *Le progrès égyptien*.

at various scheduled public and private performances.³ The Commission also heard and recorded portions of a Mevlevi ‘Whirling Dervish’ ceremony, a Laythī *dhikr* ritual, and an Egyptian Coptic Mass.⁴ This may well have been the first international gathering of its kind to inject an aural component, for which a special commission was formed to select, record, and document specific performances for future study.

Farmer returned to Glasgow hoping to attend the university’s graduation on Saturday, April 16th, at which he was to receive the first Thomas Hunter Weir Memorial Prize.⁵ His journey home was somewhat strenuous, requiring a week

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- 3 For the work undertaken in Robert Lachmann’s Commission on Recordings, see the *Recueil* 89–136. Bartók, who also served on the same Commission and who felt that its activities were much closer in contact with Arab life than the other Commissions, expressed his own feelings about the recordings (“Zum Kongress”, 46–8). A. Salazar (“Más gente”) vividly described what occurred during his attendance at the Commission’s plenary session that was held in the Institute’s auditorium. M.A. al-Hefnī (“Hadīth ‘an mu’tamar”) discussed the recordings made at the Congress. Of the 360 performances that were recorded, the Gramophone Company issued about 160 78-rpm discs (*i.e.*, 320 sides, approximately three minutes each). Alfred Berner (*Studien*) transcribed *taqsīms* from selected recordings for his doctoral dissertation. Shortly after the Congress, King Fu’ād, most probably, in compliance with a request from Philippe Stern, contributed two complete copies of the Commission’s recordings to the Musée Guimet (Paris) and the Musée de la Parole (Univ. de Paris). A commemorative issue of the recordings was edited by C. Poché and B. Moussali (*Congrès du Caire 1932*). The BBC Arabic Programme also possessed a complete set of the Congress’s recordings. For an inventory of all the selections that were recorded, see the Arabic *Katāluġ al-alḥān*, Cairo 1934. P. Bois’ review article (“Archives”) should also be consulted. H. Mammeri (“Musique et folklore”) discussed the Cairo collection of discs as part of the vast North African collection of recordings at the Phonothèque Nationale (Paris).
- 4 Among the Egyptian items recorded at the Congress, A.J. Racy (“Musicologues comparatistes”, 116) itemized the following: Indigenous or popular songs (*balādī*) sung by Muḥammad al-‘Arabī and his ensemble (3 discs); popular songs sung by ‘awālim (2 discs); popular dances (5 discs); music of Bedouins [actually *fallāḥūn*] from the region of Fayyūm (3 discs); songs recorded at a women’s exorcism ceremony (*zar*) (2 discs); Mevlevi Sufi music (8 discs); the *dhikr* ritual of the Laythī Brotherhood (5 discs); and music from the Coptic church (9 discs). A. Kamel (“Interprètes”, 105–8) compiled a list of the musical forms, their modes, and their Egyptian performers that were recorded at the Congress, and A. Simon (“Les enregistrements”, 155–61) discussed the recordings made of Egyptian popular music. A list of the selections chosen by the Commission on Recordings for His Master’s Voice Co., can be found in the *Recueil* 109–25. Of the seventy-two 78-rpm recordings made, fourteen represented Algeria, twenty-three Egypt, fifteen Morocco, and twenty Tunisia.
- 5 This could not be confirmed. However, to compete for the prize, Farmer had submitted (on Sept. 16, 1931) his essay “The influence of Al-Fārābī’s *Iḥṣā’ al-‘ulum* (*De scientiis*) on the writers on music in western Europe” [confirming that this was Dr. F’s use of diacritics]

to recuperate. On April 25th, he resumed his duties at the Empire Theatre, and again assumed the routine schedule to which he was accustomed, dividing his time between his familial obligations and professional and scholarly pursuits. There was still the unresolved matter concerning his being the sole representative from Great Britain, which he had discussed weeks earlier in Cairo with Sir Percy Loraine, the British High Commissioner.⁶

Now with memories of the Congress behind him and grateful for having made many new acquaintances, among whom he would thereafter exchange correspondence about matters of mutual interest, his confidence was bolstered concerning subsequent research projects. To recoup his momentum, he applied for and received a two-year Research Fellowship from the Leverhulme Trust to support further studies of Arabic manuscripts for the 1933–5 period.⁷ He also managed, during the early months of 1934, to prepare and deliver two courses of lectures for Glasgow University's prestigious Cramb Music Lectureship.⁸ For the first, entitled "Music of the Orient", he covered six topics,⁹ which he handily organized from his own publications, and for which he provided ample visual and audio examples utilizing lantern slides and gramophone recordings (those which he received from the Congress).¹⁰ For the second course, "New Light on Mozart," he had already laid the groundwork (in 1931) for a book concerning the Mozartian documents that had been in the possession of Ladislao

to the university's Clerk of the Senate for adjudication by that academic body. It was later published in the *JRAS* (July, 1932), 561–92.

6 For the correspondence pertaining to this matter, see App. 13.

7 The trust was founded in 1923 by William Hesketh Lever (1851/7–1925), the First Viscount Leverhulme, to provide scholarships for research and education.

8 The series was established in 1911 by Miss Susan Cramb of Helensburgh, Patron of the Cramb Trusteeship. Each year a distinguished musician, musicologist, composer, singer, or critic—mainly from academic and conservatory circles—was invited to lecture under the auspices of the Trusteeship. Farmer's lectures were advertised in the *The Times* (London) of January 11, 1934, p. 12, under 'University news':

"Glasgow, Jan. 10. Mr Henry George Farmer, M.A., Ph.D, who has been appointed Cramb Music Lecturer for 1934, will deliver two courses of lectures in the Botany Lecture Room on Saturdays at 3:00 pm. The first course, entitled "The music of the Orient" will begin on January 13 and end on February 17; the second entitled "New light on Mozart" will begin on February 24 and end on March 17."

9 The topics focused on: 1) The bases of Oriental music; 2) The theoretical structure of Oriental music; 3) Oriental music in practice; 4) The occult in Oriental music; 5) The Oriental influence on the theory and practice of music in the Middle Ages; and 6) Modern music and the Oriental idiom.

10 For information concerning the 78-rpm Arabic discs Farmer used for his lectures, see FC 524.

Zavertal,¹¹ under whom he performed during his early years with the Royal Artillery Band.

The world situation in the early 1930s was unsettling, owing to the economic upheaval of the great American depression of October 1929 that spread rapidly to Europe and the Middle East. Its dire consequences had affected not only political and commercial spheres, but also the cultural. In Britain, the economic situation (compounded by the debts it incurred from the First World War) affected the entire kingdom, in some regions less drastic than others.¹² In 1933, Glasgow alone had suffered a thirty percent rise in unemployment, with steadily declining manufacturing activity. Even its long cherished shipbuilding industry was almost entirely devastated.

Likewise, an ominous cloud hovering over Europe had lingered without abatement till the end of the decade, which closed with the onset of the Second World War. Yet, to date, no one has mentioned the extraordinary coincidence between the timing of the Congress and the germinating events in Europe that led to the fall of the Weimar Republic and, consequently, war.

Sunday, March 13th, 1932, the day prior to the preliminary opening of the Congress,¹³ was very much on Robert Lachmann's mind. At the conclusion of

11 It was, in fact, through Farmer's efforts that these precious Mozartian relics were acquired by Glasgow Univ. in 1928. These included: 1) Leopold Mozart's formal complaint (*Species facti*) against the rumors that his ten-year-old son could not have composed the opera buffa, *La finta semplice*, whose librettist was Marco Coltellini; 2) a portrait of Mozart's wife, Konstanze Weber (1763–1842), painted by Josef Lange in 1782; 3) Mozart's Masonic Cantata, *Dir, Seele des Weltalls* (K. 429); 4) Mozart's penultimate letter to his wife (Oct., 1791) [For many years this letter was believed to be the last written to his wife, but it has since been established that there was a later one. See W.A. Mozart, *Briefe und Aufzeichnungen*, Kassel-London 1962–75.]; and 5) the portrait of Mozart's eldest son, Karl Thomas (1784–1858), painted ca. 1812.

Based on the aforementioned relics, Farmer arranged his lectures in the following order: 1) Mozart in Britain; 2) Mozart's first enemies; 3) Konstanze Weber; and 4) Mozart and Freemasonry. The material was later incorporated in Farmer and H. Smith's *New Mozartiana: The Mozart relics in the Zavertal Collection at the University of Glasgow*, Glasgow 1935. Co-author Smith served as Prof. of German at the university from 1919 to 1951.

12 For a classic study on Britain's depression, see P. Fearon's *The origins and nature of the great slump, 1929–1932*, London-New York 1979, which was funded by the Economic History Society (Bognor Regis, UK).

13 Monday marked the official reception of the delegates who met at the Institute. After welcoming speeches by the Minister and Vice-Minister of Education, the delegates were taken on a tour throughout the Institute, ending in the garden where tea was served. Photos were taken by the visiting press. The meetings of the various commissions began the following morning.

a letter (dated Wed., Mar. 16th) to his parents in Berlin, he inquired about the outcome of that Sunday's election, hoping it was favorable.¹⁴ He was referring to the presidential election, in which the incumbent and ailing President Paul von Hindenburg,¹⁵ running against Theodor Duesterberg (representing the German National People's Party), Adolf Hitler (the Nazi Party),¹⁶ and Ernst Thälmann (the Communist Party), was seeking a second term. Von Hindenburg, unfortunately, did not receive the majority votes (more than fifty percent) needed to remain in office. In the runoff election on April 10th, exactly a week following the closure of the Congress, he achieved fifty-three percent of the votes, thereby enabling him to continue his presidency for an additional seven years. This, of course, was welcome news to the Congress's German delegation, most of whom were already home.¹⁷ The German economy was also in dire straits. Unemployment since early 1930 had increased to almost forty percent, whereas manufacturing had decreased to roughly forty-two percent.

Unlike Farmer's resumption of his normal schedule, the returning German delegates had no inkling of the impending situation that was soon to unfold. Months after their return, there occurred the last of the democratic elections (July 2nd and Nov. 6th). Until January 1933, the German Weimar Republic had lived under a succession of appointed administrative chancellors (the last three of whom were Heinrich Brüning (from 1930 to 1932), Franz von Papen (1932), and Kurt von Schleicher (1932 to 1933)). Through the conspiratorial efforts of a clique of aristocratic nationalists and powerful industrialists, von Hindenburg was prevailed upon to replace Schleicher by Hitler on January 30. Feigning deep respect for the ailing von Hindenburg, Hitler had managed to exact (on Mar. 23, 1933) his signature on the Enabling Act (*Gesetz zur Behebung der Not von Volk und Reich*), thereby obtaining full dictatorial power to legislate by decree, without the Reichstag's (Parliament's) consent. This incomprehensible yet astounding turn of events brought to an end the Weimar Republic (1919–33). The following year, upon von Hindenburg's death on August 2, 1934,

14 R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 311.

15 He was then eighty-four years old, in poor health, on the verge of senility, and most reluctant to undertake a second term. Fearing defeat by the Nazi party, he was persuaded to run for reelection.

16 The Austrian-born Hitler, who founded the Nationalist Socialist Party in Munich (in 1920), had become a German citizen in 1932 in order to vie for the presidency.

17 Lachmann, however, remained in Egypt for an additional month to engage in fieldwork among the Bedouin tribal regions of the Kharga Oasis and the Province of Fayyūm, located three hours south of Cairo. For a succinct description of Lachmann's post-Congress fieldwork, see the anonymous report (Forschungsreisen 18), as well as his own account in the *Recueil* 127–30, which was reprinted as "Voyage en Égypte pour les recherches musicales", in *Al-Mūsīqī*, no. 4 (1935), 51–3.

Hitler became both chancellor and president, naming himself Führer and calling his new regime the Third Reich (following the earlier examples of Otto the Great, in 962, and Bismarck, in 1871).

Hitler's racial views and political ideology, as expressed in his earlier two-volume quasi-autobiographical *Mein Kampf*, Munich 1925–6, extolled the excellence of the Aryan race, embodying the essence of the German people, whom he destined to become the world's foremost population. He regarded Poles, Slavs, and especially Jews as racially inferior, stating that their presence had deteriorating effects wherever they settled. To him, Communism and Judaism were equally abhorrent. Shortly after his ascension to power, the persecution of the Jews became official Nazi policy.

Lachmann and Sachs, the Jewish members of the German delegation, were summarily dismissed from their respective posts under the German Law for the Restoration of Professional Civil Service (*Gesetz zur Wiederherstellung des Berufsbeamtentums*) that went into effect on April 7, 1933.¹⁸ Lachmann was “retired” on September 19th from his position as Assistant Music Librarian at the Prussian State Library (the Staatsbibliothek),¹⁹ where he had worked under Johannes Wolf, Director of its Music Department.²⁰ Sachs, who held

18 This law, issued on Apr. 7, 1933, was enacted specifically to purge the civil service administration, courts, and schools of “alien elements”, meaning Jews and others who were considered opponents of Nazism.

19 He subsequently settled in Jerusalem, Palestine (in 1935), where he died on May 8, 1939. For the travails he experienced there, including his subsequent research activities, see R. Katz (*The Lachmann problem*) and R. Davis (“Ethnomusicology”). His musicological research and posthumous writings have also been ably covered by E. Gerson-Kiwi (“Robert Lachmann” and *Robert Lachmann*). Lachmann's last letter to Farmer was dated Apr. 11, 1938. Several decades later, Farmer learned from a letter (dated [Tel Aviv] May 5, 1964) written by Hanoeh Avenary, an Israeli musicologist, that:

“The phonogrammes and manuscripts of the late Dr. Robert Lachmann have been recovered from their ‘captivity’ on Mt. Scopus, thanks to the efforts of Dr. E. Gerson-Kiwi. They will be catalogued this fall and kept at the new Music Dept. of the National Library in Jerusalem. It may be hoped that some material will be published” (FC 494.12).

20 Wolf officially retired the following year at the age of sixty-five. However, at the close of the Congress, he traveled together with Kurt Schindler to Palestine, where, in Jerusalem, they parted ways, but each made the acquaintance of Judah L. Magnes, the first Chancellor of the nascent Univ. of the Jewish People. A year later, upon the enactment of the April 7th law and realizing how it would affect Lachmann, Wolf sent a letter (dated Aug. 29th, exactly three weeks prior to Lachmann's “retirement”), to the Hebrew Univ. extolling Lachmann's experience as a musicologist and Arabist. In his second letter (dated Feb. 4, 1934) addressed to Magnes, he recommended Lachmann for the position of comparative musicologist that was being considered (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 61–5).

prestigious academic posts at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv, the Staatliche Instrumentensammlung (then attached to the Staatliche Akademie Hochschule für Musik), and Berlin University, was deprived of each.²¹ Soon after, even Hindemith²² and Hornbostel²³ were implicated. And, it was not

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- 21 Sachs, however, through a grant from the American Rockefeller Foundation, managed to secure a temporary position with the Musée de l'Homme (Paris; then the Musée Trocadéro), where he directed the project "L'Anthologie Sonore", involving a series of a hundred recordings dealing with the history of music. By late summer, 1937, he immigrated to New York, where he successively held various prestigious academic and museum positions (New York Public Library, New York Univ., Columbia Univ., and the Metropolitan Museum of Art), and where he died on Feb. 5, 1959. See C. Sprague Smith's personal and succinct account ("Curt Sachs") of how Sachs was contacted in Paris to continue his professional life in New York. It should be mentioned that, by Feb. 1934, Sachs and Lachmann were each being considered as prospective candidates for developing a Dept. of Music at the Univ. of the Jewish People (Jerusalem), but Lachmann's command of Arabic and field of research proved more appealing (R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 65–72).
- 22 Hindemith, who was born in a Protestant family, experienced difficulties with the Nazi regime due to his close association with Jewish musicians, his marriage to the daughter of Ludwig Rottenberg, conductor of the Frankfurt Opera Orchestra (in which he served as concertmaster), his satirical compositions mocking Wagner, and his anti-Nazi views. Returning to Berlin after the Congress, he continued to teach at the Musikhochschule, where he had previously experimented with film music and, as a violist and violinist, with the study and performance of Renaissance and Baroque instruments. By Jan. of 1933, his compositions were referred to as "cultural Bolshevism," thus the Nazis incrementally banned their performances. Finding it increasingly difficult to remain in Germany, he requested indefinite leave from his teaching position in Feb. 1935. In April, he accepted an invitation from the Turkish Government to organize the musical education curriculum for all its music related institutions. Working primarily in Ankara, he also played an important role in developing the country's musical life during his lengthy sojourns through 1937. He officially resigned from the Hochschule in Mar. 1937 and left for the United States; returning there again in 1938 and the following year. Immigrating to Switzerland in Sept. of 1939, he again found no solace since his works were also "outlawed". Finally, in February of 1940, he immigrated to the United States, teaching at various colleges, universities, and at Tanglewood, wherefrom he ultimately accepted a position at Yale Univ. (New Haven). His untimely death occurred in Frankfurt, Germany, on Dec. 28, 1963.
- 23 Never mind that his father was a well-to-do and distinguished jurist, his mother Helen Magnus, the renowned soprano, was Jewish. Already plagued with a deteriorating coronary condition, he moved to New York, where he accepted a lectureship in Comparative Musicology at the New School of Social Research (then also known as the University in Exile). During the following year (1934), he immigrated to London, and soon after moved to Cambridge, where, at the university's Psychological Institute, he spent his last months researching a collection of "primitive recordings". He died on Nov. 29, 1935.

long after his return to Vienna that Wellesz,²⁴ the gifted Austrian composer and musicologist, had to confront the censorship of his stage works.

The Hungarian Bartók, another prominent casualty of the emerging political situation, had not yet sensed the danger upon his immediate return home.²⁵ But, sooner or later, he and his returning fellow European (non-German) delegates eventually faced uncertainties in their respective professional realms.²⁶

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- 24 The Viennese-born Wellesz (1885–1974), of Jewish lineage, was raised as a Protestant, but had later converted to Catholicism. In May, after his return from Cairo, he was invited to receive an honorary doctorate from Oxford Univ. Reuniting with Edward J. Dent, whom he met during his earlier 1906 summer sojourn at Cambridge Univ., plans may have been made for possible teaching opportunities in England. That, however, was realized shortly after Germany's annexation of Austria in Mar. of 1938, when Wellesz joined the Music Dept. at Oxford Univ.
- 25 In the summer of 1936, Bartók achieved a full-time position in ethnomusicology at the Budapest Academy of Music. Thereafter he transferred to the Academy of Sciences, where, together with Zoltán Kodály, he undertook a project concerning Hungarian music. His completed manuscripts on Romanian and Turkish folk music had remained unpublished until 1940 and 1976, resp. His fieldwork in Anatolia (in 1936) may have concurred with Hindemith's visit, since each was advising the Turkish government on musical matters. Throughout these years he still managed to compose prodigiously. Even so, his growing antagonism towards the encroaching fascist regime was affecting his career. When Germany annexed Austria in March of 1938, he became most distressed. At this time, his ethnomusicological studies and publications were looked upon unfavorably in both Hungary and Romania. Reluctant to leave Hungary until his mother died in Dec. of 1939, he undertook a brief concert and lecture tour in the United States in the late spring of 1940 (which included such prime venues as Harvard and Columbia Universities, where he met Albert B. Lord and George Herzog, resp.), returning temporarily to Hungary in late May to secure his personal writings and compositions. Thereupon he immigrated with his wife to America in late Oct. His appointment as Visiting Associate in Music at Columbia Univ. began on Mar. 27, 1941. There he had agreed to transcribe and study the Serbo-Croatian folk epics from the Albert Lord and Milman Parry collection that were on loan from Harvard Univ. For information concerning Bartók's involvement in the project see B. Suchoff's, "Bartók and Serbo-Croatian Folk Music", in *The musical quarterly* 58(1), 557–71. Published posthumously in 1951, Bartók's *Serbo-Croatian folk songs* (New York 1951) was undertaken with the collaboration of A.B. Lord and with an introduction by G. Herzog, in whose concluding paragraph stated that it "represented an important addition to the study of South Slavic Folklore, and to the knowledge of the rural culture of south eastern Europe," calling it but "a modest memorial to a great artist and a sympathetic scholar" (p. xiv). For Bartók's last years in America, see T. Tallián, "Bartók's reception in America 1940–1945", in P. Laki, (ed. and trans.): *Bartók and his world*, Princeton 1995, 101–8.
- 26 Alois Hába returned to Prague, where he offered courses at the Conservatory in quarter-tone music, leading gradually to the development of a Dept. of Microtonal Music. For his progressive musical ideas he too was persecuted during the Second World War. After

Within the year following the close of the Congress, it was still possible to submit reports and register opinions to various European (mainly German and French) musicological periodicals and journals. Contributing to the German were B. Bartók (“Zum Kongress”), M. Djemil (“Zum Kongress”), A. Hába (“Kongress”), W. Heinitz (“Bericht”),²⁷ E.M. von Hornbostel (“Zum Kongress”), P. Ricard (“Zum Kongress”; writing in French), C. Sachs (“Kongress”; “Der arabischer”; and “Zum Kongress”), and J. Wolf (“Die Tagung”). Contributing to the French were Mme. M. Humbert-Lavergne (“Le Congrès”), P. Stern (“Le Congrès”), and É. Vuillermoz (“La motoculture”). A. Chottin (“Relation”) published his travel journal in the Moroccan *Bulletin de l'enseignement public au Maroc*. Of the observers, E. Borrel (“Le Congrès”)²⁸ contributed a long paragraph to *Le monde musicale*, whereas A. Lamazière (“Article illustré”), the French authoress, included a piece on the Congress in the Parisian theatrical periodical, *La rampe*. In Spanish, a series of amusing yet informative columns were written expressly for the Madrid daily, *El sol*, by its music critic A. Salazar under his usual rubric “La vida musical”. The sole English report, destined as promised for the Glasgow University Oriental Society, was read by Farmer at its meeting on October 2, 1933.²⁹ Unlike the reports of his European counterparts, who expressed their personal impressions or discussed issues that were debated, Farmer’s, surprisingly, provided the barest essentials (listing the participants, the seven Commissions, and their assigned tasks), drawing attention to his own Commission and concluding by mentioning that he was one of four delegates chosen to deliver the valedictorian addresses (see App. 11).

the war he resumed his teaching position at the Conservatory. His assistant Karel Reiner completed his degree in law at the German Univ. (in Prague) in 1933, and studied musicology at the Univ. of Prague. He remained loyal to Hába, under whom he studied microtonal music at the Conservatory. During the war he was interred in a Nazi concentration camp. Surviving the war years, he returned to his native city, where he took an active part in its musical life as composer and pianist.

27 The year before the Congress, Heinitz had completed his Habilitation at the Univ. of Hamburg. While not considered an official member among the Berlin-based comparative musicologists, he managed to establish a Dept. of Comparative Musicology at the university’s Colonial Institute, remaining there until his retirement in 1949. He earned his doctorate in Psychology at the Univ. of Kiel in 1920. At the Institute, he studied African and Polynesian phonetics, the former yielding *Phonographische Sprachaufnahmen aus dem ägyptischen Sudan: Ein Versuch zur Bewertung der phonographischen Methode für die Linguistik*, Hamburg 1917. His earlier interest in Arab music resulted in the publication “Ein Materialbeitrag zur Kenntnis der arabischen Musik”, in *ZMW* 4 (1922), 193–8.

28 See Chap. 3, n. 121.

29 Summarized in Farmer (“The Congress”).

Concurrently, among the Arab delegates, the Lebanese Wadīʿ Sabrā (“Au congrès”; *Étude détaillée*; and “Le congrès”) contributed summaries of the debates and conclusions of the Congress’s plenary sessions.

Finally, the awaited proceedings of the Congress were published. El-Ḥefnī, the Congress’s Secretary-General, undertook the immense task of editing both the Arabic (كممأ) and French (*Recueil*) versions,³⁰ which appeared in 1933 and 1934, respectively. It is not known how many copies of each were printed. Distributed primarily among the participants, extra copies were made available to interested parties and institutions throughout the Arabic-speaking and Western worlds. Their parallel contents comprised details of the Congress’s administrative and technical divisions, the former division dealing with its creation, organization, and planning, while the latter provided full reports as well as summaries of the working sessions and deliberations based on the official minutes of its seven commissions, whose predetermined topics were strictly adhered to. One would think that the published proceedings would have stimulated a flurry of reviews, but this was not the case. Following their appearance, there were merely four articles (in Arabic) that focused on opinions about the Congress, as well as its shortcomings, penned by the Turkish delegate R. Yekta (“Mutālaʿāt wa ʿarā”), the Egyptians M. Fathī (“Idmāj al-alāt”), M.A. el-Ḥefnī (“Hadīth ʿan muʿtamar”), and the music critic and biographer, Q. Rizq (“Arāʾ ʿaḍāʾ al-muʿtamar”). Until the end of the decade, no other Congress-related items of importance were published.

A plausible reason for the cessation of post-Congressional activities could have been that its royal supporter, King Fuʿād, died on April 25, 1936, at the age of 58, in Cairo’s Qubbah Palace.³¹ Having already shown signs of poor health during the Congress, his condition worsened, causing him to be under strict medical supervision from October 1934 on. Ḥilmi ʿIsā, a loyal member of the King’s inner circle, was no longer Minister of Education, and although el-Ḥefnī continued his position as Music Inspector for the Ministry of Education, there no longer existed a liaison to the palace. Fuʿād’s death was a decisive blow to the stalwart promoters of modern Egyptian culture who found him receptive to their progressive ideas. Fuʿād was succeeded by his sixteen year-old son, who

30 For its contents, see App. 8.

31 In a news clipping from the *Glasgow evening news* (Sat., Apr. 25, 1936), which Farmer pasted in his first scrapbook on the page facing the *Regulations*, it was rumored that the King died. The news communicated by phone from the Palace to the Egyptian Legation (London), informed that the King was still alive at 11.35 a.m. (London time). Nonetheless, the date was correct; he passed on shortly after the evening edition. The cause was infectious stomatitis (an inflammation of the mouth), which brought about severe hemorrhaging.

was crowned Farouk I of Egypt (the tenth in the succession of Muḥammed ‘Ali’s dynasty).

Farouk was not as worldly in the arts and sciences as his father, nor was he particularly interested in urban and traditional music. Pursuing a lavish lifestyle, his popularity plummeted as his governance became increasingly corrupt and ineffective. As interest waned concerning the Congress, or even future ones, the country was suffering not only from internal problems, but also from external events that led to the war, during which Egypt maintained its neutrality until the final year. At the war’s end, there were still problems with Britain’s continued military presence, soon after which Egypt became embroiled in hostilities caused by the establishment of the State of Israel in May of 1948. The Anglo-Egyptian conflicts that persisted in strategic locations throughout the country culminated in the riots and street battles in Cairo during the early 1950s. Farouk’s inept leadership, economic woes, and resultant political unrest brought about his downfall. On July 23, 1952, his government was overthrown by a coup d’état organized by Lieutenant-Colonel Gamal Abdel Nasser and several fellow officers. Three days later Farouk was forced to abdicate.

Under Nasser’s presidency, the country’s economy, health services, social programs, and education had slowly but surely improved; even literature and the performing arts (including the film industry and national and public theaters) flourished. Regionally, however, Nasser’s attempts to nationalize the Suez Canal brought about the Suez Crisis in October of 1956, which involved Britain, France, and Israel. Nasser’s short-lived merger with Syria, resulting in the United Arab Republic on February 1, 1958, came to an end in September of 1961. And, the devastating Six Day War with Israel (in early June 1967) and its aftermath led to his undoing. Yet, not until the winter of 1969,—almost a year prior to his death on Sept. 28, 1970 (*i.e.*, two months after the completion of the Aswan Dam)—did there convene a Second International Congress of Arab Music (in Cairo), presided over by el-Ḥefnī, who was now Under-secretary of the Egyptian Ministry of Culture. While it constituted one of many events that were organized to commemorate the millennium year of Cairo’s founding,³² its realization, surprisingly, had not been widely reported in Western musical publications.³³

32 See A. Berner (“Dr. Maḥmud Aḥmed El Ḥefney”). Originally it was planned to be held in Fez (Morocco) from the 8th to 18th of April, under the sponsorship of the League of Arab States, with the collaboration of Morocco, but its King refused at the last moment (*Musique arabe*, 431). M.S. el-Mahdi (“A few notes on the history of Arab music”) stated that a Second Congress was held in Baghdad (in 1964) and a Third in Morocco (in 1969), under the patronage of the Arab League.

33 El-Ḥefnī (Al-nāhiya) discussed the popular aspects of both the 1932 and 1969 Congresses.

During the 1980s, the only publications of significance that dealt with the 1932 Congress comprised a Master's thesis completed at the University of Paris (B. Moussali, "Le Congrès de Musique Arabe") and a carefully researched booklet accompanying two CDs bearing selected performances from the Congress (Poché/Moussali, *Congrès du Caire 1932*).

Again in Cairo, two decades after the Second Congress (May 25–9, 1989), the Centre d'Études et de Documentation Économique, Juridique et Sociale (CEDEJ), under the aegis of Fārūq Hosnī, the Egyptian Minister of Culture, convened a conference dealing with "The Documents of the First Congress of Arab Music (Cairo, 1932)". Organized by Prof. Shéhérazade Qassim Hassan,³⁴ in coordination with Jean-Claude Vatin (Director of the CEDEJ),³⁵ the invited conferees included music specialists from Europe, the United States, and mainly from Arab-speaking countries that had sent delegates to the First International Congress. Two former participants, the then almost 91-year-old authority on Coptic hymns, Dr. Ragheb Mouftaḥ, who was secretary of the Commission on Recordings, and Mustafa Kamil, a *qānūn* player and early member of the Egyptian El-'Aqqād el-Kabir ensemble, were invited as guests to discuss and answer questions about aspects that were not clarified in the 1933 proceedings. Much earlier, Prof. Hassan was fortunate enough to hold a series of private interviews (in Baghdad) with another former participant, the talented singer and head of the Iraqi delegation, Moḥammed al-Qubbāndji, the last of which occurred in late January of 1989, prior to his death in April.

The sixteen papers, which were read in the course of five sessions, were later published in the first part of *La musique arabe: Le Congrès du Caire de 1932*, Cairo, 1992, edited by S.Q. Hassan and realized under the imprint of the CEDEJ to coincide with the Congress's sixtieth anniversary.³⁶ The second part, contributed by Philippe Vigreux, comprised a wide selection of journalistic articles, which he painstakingly compiled from French and Arabic periodicals issued prior to and during the Congress, plus original photos of instruments and of important musical figures (see n. 1 *supra*). Vigreux also translated (into French) all the Arabic articles, as well as the Arabic and English presentations

34 See S.Q. Hassan's initial report of the conference ("Un récent colloque").

35 J.-C. Vatin later provided an introduction ("Prologue", 13–22) for the publication of the Conference's papers. See J. Lambert's assessment ("Retour") of this conference, which she used as a backdrop for her edition of a posthumous work by Bernard Moussali concerning the 1932 Cairo Congress.

36 Critical reviews of the publication by V. Danielson and G.D. Sawa can be found in the *Yearbook of traditional music* 26 (1994), 132–6 and *The world of music* 35(3) (1993), 107–11, resp.

in the first part. As the Conference's agenda centered on the reinterpretation (critical evaluation) of earlier documents (both aural and written—particularly the 1932 recordings and the 1933 proceedings, resp.), it concluded with a plea to the Egyptian authorities to help locate reports and communications that were not included in the original proceedings. Moreover, it promoted renewed interest in the First Congress.

Of the aforementioned sixteen presentations published in *Musique arabe* (1992), eight analyzed and discussed the recordings made in Cairo of the invited musical ensembles from: Algeria (N. Bouzar-Kasabdji, J. Elsner, and N. Mecheri-Saada); Egypt (M. Kamel, M. Roy [concerning the Coptic examples], and A. Simon); Iraq (S.Q. Hassan); and Tunisia (M. Guettat). In one of the seminars, a group of eminent contemporary Egyptian musicians was invited to express their views on the earlier recordings in terms of current local practices. Five other papers dealt with topics such as: the seeming lack of participation by the Syrian delegation during the plenary discussions and performances (J.-F. Belleface); the Congress's recommendations concerning the piano and stringed instruments (L. Fathallah); Arab rhythms in terms of notation as a teaching device (I. al-Mallah); music education in Egypt (M. Roy); and the concepts and issues of musical change and how they were discussed in the Congress's proceedings and subsequently in articles by Egyptian scholars (S. el-Shawan; repr. in 1994).

The two remaining papers, which barely touched upon Farmer's participation, included Ali Jihad Racy's description ("Musicologues comparatistes", 109–21) of the important roles the comparative musicologists (Bartók, Hornbostel, Lachmann, and Sachs) played as its central figures. It was later enlarged and developed into what can be considered the best English overview to date of the first Congress. His approach to this most unique East-West encounter centered on his "interest in both the history of ethnomusicology and the history of musical attitudes in the Arab World, [with an aim] to observe ideologies as they [were] expressed and applied" ("Historical world views", 68). In addition to his cogent descriptions of the issues and deliberations, he explained the historical premises of the Orient-Occident dichotomy and distinguished between the comparativists and the classicists, *i.e.*, the Arabists and philologists, among whom Farmer, Carra de Vaux, and Collangettes were the outstanding figures. Inasmuch as Racy extracted his information from the Arabic proceedings (ككما), his lengthy and interpretive article, whose concluding section contains an excellent summation, merits careful reading.

In the second paper, Eckhard Neubauer ("Manuscripts") divulged an extremely useful eighty-page catalog of published works, manuscripts, and microfilms preserved at the National Library (*Dār el-kutub*):

Nashra bi-asmā' kutub al-mūsīqā wa-l-ghinā' wa-mu'allifihā al-mahfūza bi-dār al-kutub asdarathā ad-dār bi-munāsabat in'iqād mu'tamar al-mūsīqā al-'arabīyya bi-l-qāhira fī shahr mārs sanat 1932. Le Caire: Matb'at dār al-kutub al-misrīyya bi-l-Qāhira 1350/1932 (= Dār al-kutub al-misrīyya, Qism al-fahāris al-'arabīyya).

Compiled by Muḥammad 'Abd al-Rasūl and Muḥammad Jābr (from Cairo's National Library), it was printed after the Congress adjourned. Neubauer mentioned the list of manuscripts drawn up by the members of Farmer's Commission that was not published in the proceedings, but took care to discuss its relationship to the *Nashra*. He also cited Farmer's important bibliographical contributions, along with subsequent catalogs covering Arab music that were printed in Baghdad, Casablanca, Damascus, Mosul, and Tunis.

It should be mentioned that, since 1988, Congresses on Arab music have been held annually during the fall season at the Cairo Opera House. Here musicians and scholars throughout the Arab world have gathered to perform and discuss specific topics. These were initiated by Ratibah el-Ḥefnī, who has continued to serve as its chairperson. Born in Cairo in 1931 to Maḥmud Aḥmed and Gertrud el-Ḥefnī, she too devoted her life to music, becoming not only a proficient pianist, but equally versatile as a *qānūn*-ist, and *'ud* player. But for her, singing was far more challenging, as was her deep interest in Arab music. Her musical activities as an educator led to her becoming Rector of the Institute of Arab Music in the early 1950s and its Dean, in 1962, when it became the Higher Institute of Arab Music. She was also a prominent figure in Egyptian radio and television. With her vocal training in Munich and Berlin, she was equally adept in both Western (with extensive engagements in operatic and concert performances) and Arab music. In addition, she held the office of President of the Arab Society of Music. Since we have not encountered any publications regarding the annual Congresses that have taken place under her supervision, we are bereft of certain topics that may have dealt with the 1932 Cairo Congress.

More recent interest in the First International Congress has produced dissertations and articles dealing with topics such as: the Congress itself, utilizing updated criteria to reevaluate the concepts upon which it was based. At the Congrès des musiques dans le monde de l'Islam (held in Assilah, Morocco, August 8–13, 2007),³⁷ three participants read papers dealing with the Cairo Congress: A. Beyhom ("Arabité et modernité"); J. Lambert ("Retour sur le Congrès") and A.E. Thomas ("Intervention and reform"). Earlier contributions

37 For information on the Congress, see M. Guignard's informative report ("Les musiques dans le monde de l'Islam").

were made by A. Madian (“The protection and promotion”), who, like J.H. Shannon (*Among the jasmine trees*, 71–3) and A.E. Thomas, discussed issues that were left unresolved; J. Elsner (“Darstellung”) analyzed and documented the Algerian recordings; R. Davis (“Tunisia”) described Baron d’Erlanger’s role; A. Ghrab (“The music of others”) presented a theoretical discussion concerning intervals; and V. Sahhab (*Mu’tamar al-mūsīqā*) which appears to be a more recent Arabic work devoted to the Congress.

In addition, several articles from *Al-Ahrām weekly*, an online Cairine independent English-language periodical, bear out other aspects such as: F. Hassan’s recollections (“The word”) of the beginnings of the Institute of Oriental Music; A-K. Farouq’s review (“Music”) of Farag el-Antari’s book, *The Zionist plunder of Arabic music*, Cairo 1997; 2001², which dealt expressly with the 1932 Congress; Y. Labib Rizq’s commentary (“Plaintive strains”) on the Egyptian composer Rizqallah Shehata’s pre-1932 Congress article entitled “Plaintive strains in Arab and Western music”; and N. el-Aref’s sketch (“Strains”) concerning the life and times of the composer and singer Moḥammed ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and his role in the Institute of Oriental Music.³⁸ Upon closer scrutiny, one will see that the material contained in Sheheta’s article and in El-Antari’s book is both controversial and highly exaggerated.³⁹

The contributions devoted to Arab music research up to 1932 are but a mere fraction of what has been achieved to date. Even the decade between Farmer’s 1915 translation of Francisco Salvador-Daniel’s *La musique arabe, ses*

38 See also N.S. ‘Azzam, “Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Wahhāb”.

39 To cite two examples: El-Antari was critical of Prime Minister Ismā‘il Ṣadqī’s sponsorship of the Congress, particularly for doing all “he could to facilitate the tasks of its organizers, notably the Zionist musicologist Robert Lachmann.” It should be noted that at the time of the Congress, Lachmann had nothing to do with the Zionist movement, nor did he, as El-Antari implied, bring the collection of recordings made under his and his Commission’s supervision directly to Jerusalem. Only after Lachmann was discharged from his German librarian position in September of 1933, did he begin to think of relocating to a safer haven. When the possibility of a musicological position at the nascent University of the Jewish People (Jerusalem) was being considered, he had then wished to obtain copies of the recordings made in Cairo. In a letter (dated July 14, 1935) to the then Chancellor of the University, Judah L. Magnes, Lachmann related that Dr. el-Ḥefnī had told him that the Ministry of Education would be happy to contact the University in Jerusalem and “send their series of about 160 double-faced discs recorded by His Master’s Voice in 1932 in exchange for” recordings that Lachmann had brought to Cairo. Lachmann returned to Cairo shortly thereafter, but confronted difficulties with customs officials. He remained in Cairo for three days before continuing to Berlin (see R. Katz, *The Lachmann problem*, 124–5 and 131). It is not known exactly when the Cairo recordings were received in Jerusalem.

rappports avec la musique grecque et le chant grégorien, Algiers 1863 and 1879², and “Clues” (1925) had hardly registered a dent of progress. “Clues” became the springboard for his varied investigations, which he refined and developed in successive publications, and from which he moved to the broader historical scope of Arab music, its theoretical foundations (scales and modes), relationships with the occult (magic, cosmos, music of the spheres, medicine, and religion), and concurrent research in organology.

By the time he began his undergraduate studies at Glasgow University (in 1921), military, popular, theatrical, and classical music had dominated his musical tastes. And while he left us deprived of any additional information concerning his exposure to Arab traditional music, he did not even express a curiosity when he first undertook the translation of Salvador-Daniel’s book. Still, with his performance experiences as a violinist, clarinetist, and hornist in England’s most famous military orchestra and band, his later involvement in a novelty consort of saxophonists, and his decades-long experiences as a music hall and symphonic conductor and orchestrator, he became quite knowledgeable about orchestral instruments. But when he turned his attention to the study of Oriental (North African and Middle Eastern) instruments soon after he completed his doctorate, he did not attempt to study (as a performer) one or more of their regional instruments under the tutelage of native musicians, as many students of non-Western music have done. Instead he began to measure many of their extant instruments and to examine their underlying acoustical properties. Regarding their traditional construction, historical lineage and nomenclature, and relationships to other instruments (local and regional), he relied, as he did in all his publications, on ancient literary and theoretical sources (particularly Arabic treatises, dating as far back as the ninth century). Much of what he described or deciphered was mostly philological.

The fact that post-Congress literature hardly mentions Farmer’s role is not because others overshadowed his, but that the major issues, debates, and resolutions were of greater concern. With “Itinerary” and the minutes Farmer maintained for each of the meetings of his Commission of History and Manuscripts, we have presented two heretofore unpublished documents that attest to his active, attentive, and responsible participation throughout the preliminary and plenary sessions of the Congress,⁴⁰ as well as the vibrant and cordial interaction he enjoyed with fellow delegates and others (dignitaries and foreign emissaries). Even when present at the plenary sessions, where heated discussions

40 Farmer sent Baron d’Erlanger a copy of the report he read during his Commission’s Plenary Session, to which d’Erlanger’s praiseworthy response (dated July 3, 1932, from Sidi-bou-Saïd) began:

sought input from the floor, Farmer would not hesitate to voice his opinion. In all instances, he would speak with authority in an amicable and respectful manner, injecting humor, when necessary, to ease the tension. In both the "Itinerary" and in his "Minutes," the record is clear: his role was most vital. Up to the time of the Congress, he was widely known through his publications. In Cairo he had virtually proven himself a scholar of international repute, sharing this status with several other prominent delegates in the select congressional milieu of renowned musical figures from Europe and the Arab-speaking world.

Farmer considered his participation at the 1932 Congress as one of the great milestones in his life. In spite of being a British subject while Egypt was still encountering problems with Britain's military presence following the cessation of the Second World War, he was offered a position as Visiting Professor of Music at Cairo University, commencing in February of 1946. Inasmuch as he expressed a deep interest in the position, he had to decline.⁴¹ Nonetheless, he continued to maintain contact with his Egyptian colleagues through correspondence up through the decade of his death. Had he returned to Egypt, one can only venture a guess concerning the course of his future researches into Arab music, given his wide musical background and reading proficiency in the Arabic language.

"Your reports upon the Congress of Arabic Music have interested me to the highest degree: if all those attending the Congress had worked to the same extent, the various committees would have achieved something really worthwhile.

I am awaiting with impatience such of your published works as I have not as yet read: viz *The musical and musical instruments of the Arab*, *The Influence of music: From Arabic sources*, *An old Moorish lute tutor*.

I am unfortunately still ill in bed and unable to work and that is why I am only able to dictate these lines to you.

A great number of newspaper cuttings has reached me from many different countries, including some long articles dealing with the Congress, but nothing so far from England. Has there not been any commentary on the subject whatsoever and have you yourself published nothing in regard thereto in the press?" (FC 503).

41 The appointment was coordinated by Zakī 'Alī Pāshā, a friend of Farmer's from the Congress who was then a judge with strong connections to the university. According to C. Cowl's interview, on April 2, 1975 at Columbia Univ., with Prof. D[ouglas] M[orton] Dunlop, an Orientalist and former acquaintance of Farmer at Glasgow Univ. (until 1946), Farmer "turned it down when Mrs. Farmer refused to accompany him, an indication of his regard for her." Twenty-seven letters (dating from 1945 to 1956) relating to this position can be found in FC 505.

Appendix 1

Farmer's Publications on Music to 1934 (Military, Arab, and Scottish)

[N.B. The following citations were taken from Cowl/Craik, *Henry George Farmer: A bibliography*, Glasgow 1999. Many of Farmer's articles on Arab music were reprinted in E. Neubauer, *Henry George Farmer, Studies in Oriental music*, 2 vols., Frankfurt a/Main 1986. In a 14-page unpublished typescript manuscript entitled "A British musicologist," Eileen Mary McLeod (Farmer's daughter) cited the reviews and opinions of noted authorities concerning her father's books and articles (FC 319.6).]

1) Military Music

Memoirs of the Royal Artillery Band: Its origin, history and progress: An account of the rise of military music in England. With 14 illustrations. London: Boosey, 1904. [4], 189, [8] pp.; repr. Whitefish, MT: Kessinger Publishing Co., 2001. 232 pp. (Farmer's corrected copies can be found in 105 and 106.)

"Famous military bands", in *Regiment*, 24 (1907), 206–7, 230–1, 254–5, 279–80, 302, 326–7, 350–1, 364–5, 386–7, and 420–1 (FC 101 includes five letters.)

The rise and development of military music. With illustrations of early instruments and musical examples, and short biographical notices of the staff bandmasters. Preface by Lieut. Albert Williams. London: William Reeves, 1912. xxi, 156 pp.; repr. Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1970. (Farmer's corrected copy can be found in FC 93–4.)

2) Arabic Music

The music and musical instruments of the Arab, with introduction on how to appreciate Arab music by Francesco Salvador-Daniel. Edited with notes, memoir, bibliography, and thirty examples and illustrations by Henry George Farmer. London: William Reeves/New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915. xii, 272 pp.; repr. Portland, ME: Longwood Press, 1973 and 1976. There exists a French trans. of Farmer's Memoir of F. Salvador-Daniel, in *Musique et instruments de musique du Maghreb*. Présentation par Ouahami Ould-Braham, Paris 1986. (Farmer's corrected copy, together with related correspondence, from A. Friedlander, W. Reeves, E.W. Naylor, and F. Woollet, can be found in FC 375. For reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368.)

[**Contents:**¹ **Memoir of Francesco Salvador-Daniel** [by HGF] (1–36). **Preface** [by HGF], 37–9. **Introduction.** How to appreciate Arab music, 43–57. **Chaps. I.** The theory of Arab music, 61–70; **II.** The character of Arab music, 73–89; **III.** The diatonic modes of the Arabs, 93–104; **IV.** Arab musical instruments, 107–31; **v.** The rhythm of Arab music, 135–40; **VI.** The chromatic modes of the Arabs, 143–54; **Conclusion.** [Arab] influence on European music, 157–66; **Notes on Arab music and musical instruments** [by HGF]: 1. [No science of music with Arabs today] Science of Arab music, 169–70; 2. [Similarity of Arab music with modern Catholic church music] Similarity to Catholic chant, 170–1; 3. [The music and poetry of the Arabs passed on to the troubadours] The troubadours, 171–2; 4. [Survivals of Arab music in Spain] Arab influence in Spain, 172–3; 5. [Musical history, in theory and practice, of the Arabs] History of Arab music, 173–86; 6. [Arab music unappreciated by Europeans] European views of Arab music, 186–8; 7. [The rhythm of the Arabs] Rhythm, 188–90; 8. [The “gloss” or embellishments, a reason for the difficulty in understanding Arab music] The “gloss”, 190; 9. The “gloss”, 190–4; 10. [The *Nouba* or Arab symphony] The “*Nouba*”, 194–201; 11. [*Bécheraf*, or prelude] The “*Bécheraf*”, 201–2; 12. [The use of “circles” in Arab music] The “*Circles*”, 202–3; 13. [Preludes] The preludes, 203; 14. [The tonic in the third or fourth degrees of the scale] The tonic, 203; 15. [The nasal method of singing and the *portamento* in playing, an essential among the Arabs] The Drawled scale, 204–5; 16. The *Iraq* mode, 205–7; 17. The *Mezmoum* mode, 207–8; 18. The *Edzeil* mode, 209–10; 19. The *Djorka* mode, 210–2; 20. [The minor scale among the Arabs] The minor scale in Arab music, 212–3; 21. The *L’Saïn* mode, 213–4; 22. The *Saïka* mode, 215–6; 23. The *Meïa* mode, 216–8; 24. The *Râsd-Edzeil* mode, 218–9; 25. [The *Taar* or tambourine] The “*Taar*”, 219–20; 26. [The *Gosba* and *Djaouak* (flutes)] The “*Gosba*” and “*Djaouak*”, 220–1; 27. [The *Dof* or square drum] The “*Dof*”, 221–2; 28. [The *Kanoun* or harp] The “*Kanoun*”, 222–4; 29. [The lowest note on the *Kanoun*] The “*Kanoun*” scale, 224; 30. [The *Gaita* or oboe in Spain] The “*Raita*” or “*Saïka*”, 224; 31. [The *Atabal* and *Nacquaires* (kettledrums)] The “*Atabal*” and “*Nakákeer*”, 224–5; 32. [An Arab military band] The military band, 226; 33. [The *Atambor* or sidedrum] The “*Atambor*”, 226–7; 34. The *Derbouka*, 227–8; 35. The *Bendair*, 229; 36. [The *Rebab* and *Kemendjah*] The “*Rebab*”, 229–38; 37. The *Kouitra*, 239–41; 38. [The names of the notes in Arabic] The musical alphabet, 241–2; 39. The *Gunibry*, 242–3; 40. [An Arab orchestra] The Arab orchestra, 243–4; 41. [Avicenna on Arab music] Avicenna on music, 244; 42. [Influence of Arab music on the natives] Influence of music upon

1 It should be noted that many of headings for the subsections under **Notes on Arabic music and musical instruments** bear slight to more elaborate differences from those listed in the Contents (pp. ix–x). The bracketed headings represent those from the Contents, followed by the abridged headings under **Notes**. Where discrepancies do not exist, the headings under **Notes** are given.

the Arabs, 244–6; 43. The *Rummel-Meia* mode, 246–7; 44. The *L'Saïn-Sebah* mode, 247–8; 45. The *Zeidan* mode, 248–9; 46. The *Asbein* mode, 250–1; 47. [Arab modes not mentioned by Salvador] Other Arab modes, 252–5; 47a. Invention of notes, 255; 48. Harmony unknown to Arabs, 256–9; 49. Félicien David and Arab music, 259–60; and 50. The origin of the Moors, 260. **Bibliog.**, 261–3; **Index**, 265–72.]

“The Arabian influence on Spanish music”, in *The musical times* (Oct. 1919), 554. A reply to Leigh Henry’s article, “The new direction of Spanish music”, in *The musical times* (Aug.–Sept., 1919).

“The Arabic influence on music in the Western Soudan. Including references to modern jazz”, in *The musical standard*, New illus. series, 24 (Nov. 15, 1924), 158–9 (see FC 52, 49.)

“Clues for the Arabian musical influence on European musical theory”, in *JRAS* (Jan., 1925), 61–80; repr. as a 22-page pamphlet under the title *The Arabian influence on musical theory*, London: Harold Reeves, 1925; repr. in E. Neubauer, i, 271–90. Only 250 copies were issued. A later version, “Arabian Musical Influence”, in *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London: William Reeves, 1930, 1–38. (Farmer’s corrections and additions, along with letters of appreciation, can be found in FC 371; copies of the pamphlet can be found in FC 443; for reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368.)²

[See Kathleen Schlesinger’s *Is European musical theory indebted to the Arabs? Reply to “The Arabian influence on musical theory” by H.G. Farmer*, London: Harold Reeves, 1925. 20 pp., with considerable additions and corrections from *The musical standard*, 25 (460) (May 2, 1925), 148–50 and 25 (461) (May 16, 1925), 160–2, where it bears the title: “The question of an Arabian influence on musical theory” (see FC 483).]

“Byzantine musical instruments in the ninth century”, in *JRAS* (Apr., 1925), 299–304; repr. as a 7-page pamphlet. London: Harold Reeves, 1925; repr. in Neubauer, i, 535–9. Edition limited to 200 copies. (FC 438 comprises the corrections made in Farmer’s copy.)

2 In his later publication, “The Arabian influence on European music”, in *TGVOS*, 19 (1961–62), 1–15, Farmer not only challenged subsequent criticisms of his earlier article, but also laid to rest claims that he made and those advanced by others. Republished as a pamphlet entitled *The Oriental musical influence*, London: Hinrichsen Edition, 1964, 7–21. Two typescript copies entitled: “The Arabian musical influence”, plus a third copy “The Arabian influence on European music” can be found in FC 443.1–3.

“Arabic musical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library”, in *JRAS* (Oct., 1925), 639–54; repr. in the same year as an 18-page pamphlet by William Reeves, with the subtitle: *A descriptive catalogue with illustrations of musical instruments*. Also repr. in Neubauer, i, 371–88. See the condensed Arabic translation under the title: *Al-Mūsīqā al-‘arabīyya*, in *Al-Muqtataf*, 67 (1925), 512–4. (For Farmer’s handwritten corrections and related correspondence, see FC 361; for reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368.)

“Facts concerning the Arabian musical influence”, in *The musical standard*, New illus. series, 26(477) (Dec. 26, 1925), 215–6; 27(478) (Jan. 9, 1926), 9–10; 27(479) (Jan. 23, 1926), 29–31; 27(480) (Feb. 6, 1926), 43–4; 27(481) (Feb. 20, 1926), 61–2; 27(482) (Mar. 6, 1926), 75–6; 27(483) (Mar. 20, 1926), 98–9; 27(484) (Apr. 3, 1926), 113–4; 27(485) (Apr. 17, 1926), 132–4; 27(487) (May 22, 1926), 161–2; 27(488) (June 3, 1926), 175; 27(489) (June 19, 1926), 196–97. Republished in an expanded version as *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London: William Reeves, 1930. xii, 376 pp. N.B. Not included in Neubauer.

[See Kathleen Schlesinger: “The Greek foundations of the theory of music (Reply by Kathleen Schlesinger to Mr. H.G. Farmer’s articles in the issues of Dec. 26, 1925 and Jan. 9, 1926)”, in *The musical standard*, 27(479) (Jan. 23, 1926), 23–4; 27(480) (Feb. 6, 1926), 44–6; 27(481) (Feb. 20, 1926), 62–3; 27(483) (Mar. 20, 1926), 96–8; 27(484) (Apr. 3, 1926), 109–10; 27(485) (Apr. 17, 1926), 134–6; 27(487) (May 22, 1926), 162–4; 27(488) (June 3, 1926), 177–8; 27(489) (June 19, 1926), 197–8; and 27(490) (July 3, 1926), 208–9; Recapitulation, 27(492) (July 31, 1926), 31–2; 27(493) (Aug. 14, 1926), 44–5. Also republished as a pamphlet in 1926.]

“Communication: Some musical mss. identified”, in *JRAS* (Jan., 1926), 91–3; repr. in Neubauer, i, 389–91. (For Farmer’s corrected copy, see FC 438.)

“Communication: The old Persian musical modes”, in *JRAS* (Jan., 1926), 93–5; repr. in Neubauer, i, 426–32).

“The canon and eschaquiel of the Arabs”, in *JRAS*, (Apr., 1926), 239–56, repr. as two separate articles in Farmer’s *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, each with altered titles: the first, “The mediæval psalter in the Orient”, 3–16, and the second “The origin of the eschaquiel”, 19–23, representing pp. 239–52 and 252–6, resp., from the original.³ Both retained their original texts (*verbatim*), except the latter, wherein an entirely new paragraph was inserted

3 Farmer’s corrected copy can be found in FC 386.

between the original initial and second paragraph (on p. 20); repr. as “The mediæval psaltery” and “The origin of the eschaquiel”, in Neubauer, i, [9]–24 and [27]–31, resp.

“The organ of the Muslim kingdoms”, in *JRAS* (July, 1926), 495–9. Revised and incorporated in “Two Eastern organs”, in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*, First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [25]–35; repr. in Neubauer, ii, [33]–43. (Farmer’s corrected copy, together with related correspondence, can be found in FC 380).

“The horn of Alexander the Great”, in *JRAS* (July, 1926), 500–3. Revised and incorporated in the article “Two Eastern organs”, in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [25]–35; repr. in Neubauer, ii, [33]–43.

“The influence of music: From Arabic sources”, in *PMA*, 52 (1926), 89–114; discussion, 114–24; repr. in E. Neubauer, i, 291–326 (see Farmer’s corrected copy in FC 450; for reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368). This was previously a lecture that was read in his absence before the Musical Association by a Mr. Baker; repr. in the same year as a 29-page pamphlet by Harold Reeves, with the extension “A lecture delivered before the Musical Association, London, 27th April, 1926”. Dr. T[homas] H[enry] Yorke Trotter, the Chairman of that meeting, thanked Dr. Farmer “for his learned Paper, and to Mr. Baker for reading it” (p. 116).

A musical history of the Arabs from the days of idolatry to the time of the Buwaihids. Ph.D. thesis.⁴ Glasgow Univ., 1926. x, 218 fols. It formed the basis of his *A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century*, London 1929. Sp. Coll. (Theses); Call mark: Thesis (old) 4.26.

[**Prefatory note** (p. 1): The following plan has been adopted in these pages, with the exception of Chap. II. Each chapter is divided into three sections. The first deals with the social and political forces which determined the general musical culture. The second describes the musical life of the period, together with the details of the theory and practice of music. It has been kept as free as possible from technicalities, but it is the intention of the writer to publish this thesis with an appendix containing a full treatment of the musical theory of the Arabs of this period. The third section is devoted to biographies of the famous composers, singers, instrumentalists, music theorists and littérateurs. **Bibliog.** (lists [141] mss. consulted on the question

4 The examiners for Farmer’s thesis were Profs. William Barron Stevenson, Herbert Smith, and Dr. Thomas H. Weir. An additional examiner may have been either Francis Crawford Burkitt or Sir Denison Ross (though it was not recorded who was finally appointed). The degree was conferred on June 23, 1926.

of the theory of music of the Arabs, ii–x). **Chaps: I.** The days of idolatry (2nd to 6th century), 1–21; **II.** Islam and music, 24–45; **III.** The orthodox khalifs (632–61), 46–69; **IV.** The Umayyads (661–750), 70–89; **V.** The ‘Abbāsids (‘The Golden Age’) (750–847), 90–169; and **VI.** The ‘Abbāsids. The first decline (847–945), 170–218.]

“A North African folk instrument”, in *JRAS* (Jan., 1928), 25–34; repr. in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [37]–49 and in Neubauer, ii, 45–60.

“Ibn Khurdādhbih on musical instruments”, in *JRAS* (July, 1928), 509–18; repr. verbatim as “Ninth-century musical instruments”, in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [51]–62; repr. in Neubauer, ii, [61]–72.

“A note on the mizmār and nāy”, in *JRAS* (Jan., 1929), 119–21; repr. in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [63]–7 and in Neubauer, ii, [73]–7.⁵

“Meccan musical instruments”, in *JRAS* (July, 1929), 489–505; repr. in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [69]–87 and in Neubauer, ii, 79–100.

“Virgilius Cordubensis”, in *JRAS* (July, 1929), 599–603. [On his *Philosophia* and its uncertain origins and authenticity (FC 238.3).]

A history of Arabian music to the XIIIth century, London: Luzac, 1929. xv, 264 pp., plus three plates; repr. by Luzac in 1967, 1973, and 1994. Additional reprintings: Toronto, Totowa, NJ: Rowan and Littlefield, 1973; Mystic, CT: Verry, 1973; New York: Arno, 1978; and New Delhi: Goodword Books, 2001 and 2002. An Arabic translation by Jirjis Fath Alla Muḥāmī was published in Beirut: Dār Maktabat al-Hayah, in the 1970s. An unauthorized Arabic translation was published in Cairo in 1956. Extensive corrections and annotations can be found in Farmer’s copy, together with important letters, in FC 362; for reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368.

[**Preface**, vii–viii; **Introduction**, xi–xv; **Chaps: I.** The days of idolatry (From the first to the sixth century), 1–19; **II.** Islām and music, 20–38; **III.** The orthodox khalifs (A.D. 632–61), 39–58; **IV.** The Umayyads (A.D. 661–750), 59–89; **V.** The ‘Abbāsids (The golden age, 750–847), 90–136; **VI.** The ‘Abbāsids (The decline, 847–945), 137–77;

5 For a recent study on the development and diffusion of both instruments throughout the Middle East and their survival in Egypt, see M. Braune, “Mizmār und Surnāy”.

vii. The ‘Abbāsids (The fall, 945–1258), 178–230;⁶ **Bibliog.**, 231–47); Index to persons, 249–57; Subject and geographical index, 258–64.]

Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence, London: William Reeves, 1930. xii, 376 pp. [Index of persons and works, 359–66, and subject and geographical indices, 367–74].⁷ (Studies in the music of the Middle Ages), 1964²; repr. Hildesheim: G. Olms, 1970; New York: Benjamin Blom, 1971 and 1974; New York: British Book Center, 1974; New York: Arno Press, 1978,⁸ and Salem, NH: Ayer Publ. Co., n.d. Farmer’s corrected copy can be seen in FC 363; for reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368.

[Chap. I was essentially written as an introduction; Chaps. II through VIII concern the “Facts” as they originally appeared in *The musical standard*, 25(477) (1925) through 27(489) (1926), but with slight revisions and corrected typographical errors. The 48 appendices deal with Kathleen Schlesinger’s counter-reply, except for her article “The question of consonances”, in *The musical standard*, 27 (488) (June 3, 1926), 177–8, which Farmer omitted.

Foreword, v–ix); **Chaps:** I. The Arabian influence: i. The political contact, 1–19; ii. The literary and intellectual contact, 20–38; II. The true historical perspective, 39–47; III. The old Arabian musical theory, 48–62; IV. The Greek scholiasts, 63–71; v. The syllables of solfeggio, 72–82; VI. New data for notation origins, 83–96; VII. Arabian influence in instrumental tablature, 97–101; VIII. The rise of organum, 102–12. **Apps:** 1. The Pan-Grecian conceit, 117–29; 2. The Greek sciences in pre-Islamic times, 130–1; 3. The Arabian contribution to the *quadrivium*, 132–5; 4. Arabian

6 A. Shiloah (“Techniques”, 85, n. 1) reminds us that Farmer’s explanation about concluding this work with the year 1258 was that “significant theoretical writings after that date were rare.” Yet, he also remarked that “the alleged absence of such writings has also been cited as an explanation for the decline of the music itself.” Among the hundred speculative theoretical treatises he listed in his *Theory of music in Arabic writings*, Munich 1979, eighty “were written between the thirteenth and nineteenth centuries.”

7 For whatever reason, “Facts concerning...”, was not included in Neubauer’s collection, doubtless due to its length; nor were the short, albeit informative, appendices listed in the Cowl/Craik bibliography.

8 On an inserted page in his corrected copy (FC 363), Farmer wrote: “This was only the first volume of the book. A second volume was planned and started, but as the sale of the present volume did not please the publisher, the idea was dropped.” Yet for the 14th to the 20th century, see Farmer’s various entries in *Grove’s dictionary of music and musicians* [1954⁵] viz. Arabian, Egyptian, Iraqlan, Mesopotamian, and Syrian music, as well as his *Sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965.

influence on musical instruments, 136–45; 5. [Juan] Andrés and [Louis] Viardot on the Arabian musical influence, 146; 6. Mr. J.B. Trend and Professor Julián Ribera on the Arabian musical influence, 147–8; 7. Oriental influences in Carolingian art, 149–52; 8. The minstrel class in the Middle Ages, 153–61; 9. Pre-Islamic Oriental influences, 162–4; 10. Islamic schools and colleges, 165–71; 11. The Arabic language in Spain, 172–3; 12. The first Arabic-Latin translations, 174–6; 13. [Martin] Gerbert and the Arabian contact, 177–86; 14. The study of the theory of music in the Middle Ages, 187–9; 15. The Roman theorists of music, 190–6; 16. The survival of Greek theory, 197–200; 17. The church and culture, 201–2; 18. The Arabs and Monte Cassino, 203–7; 19. The Carolingian schools, 208–13; 20. The pre-Aurelian theorists of music, 214–8; 21. The Arabs of old, 229–31; 22. The *Tanbūr al-baghdādi* scale, 232–5; 23. Ibn Mišjah and his inventions, 236–9; 24. The accordatura of the Arabian lute, 240–6; 25. Ishāq al-Mausilī, 247–55; 26. The Berlin Al-Kindī MSS, 256–7; 27. Arabic treatises on musical instruments, 258–66; 28. [Guillaume André] Villoteau and the Arabian musical influence, 267–71; 29. The Arabic translations from the Greek, 272–8; 30. The Mūristus MSS, 279; 31. Yahyā ibn ‘Alī ibn Yahyā, 280–85; 32. Al-Fārābī and Aristoxenos, 286–9; 33. The Arabs and the speculative art, 290–4; 34. The revival of the hydraulis, 295–7; 35. The value of the Arabic musical documents, 298–301; 36. The musical notation of the Greeks, 302–3; 37. The Yahyā ibn ‘Alī notation, 304–6; 38. The *Ma’rifat al-naghamāt al-thamān* notation, 307–11; 39. The al-Kindī notation, 312–3; 40. The al-Fārābī notation, 315–6; 41. The notation in *De harmonica institutione*, 317–20; 42. The early notations of Western Europe, 321–2; 43. The Shams al-Dīn al-Saidāwī notation, 323–6; 44. The meaning of *organum*, 327–8; 45. Al-Kindī, ibn Sīnā, and *organum*, 329–32; 46. Virgilius Cordubensis, 333–45; 47. Harmony in Oriental music, 346–7; and 48. John Scotus and *organum*, 348–58.]

[*A history of Arabian musical instruments*. This unpublished work in the making, begun in 1930, was intended to be Farmer’s *magnum opus* (See FC 383–92; for a description of its scope and plan, see Cowl/Craik, *Henry George Farmer*, 3–5 and no. 845).

“Greek theorists of music in Arabic translation”, in *Isis*, 13(2) (Feb., 1930), [325]–33; repr. in Neubauer, i, 411–9. (For Farmer’s corrected reprint and related letters, see FC 437.)

“The evolution of the tanbūr or pandore”, in *TGVOS*, 5 (1923–28) [1930], 26–8. Résumé of a paper Farmer read in 1925; repr. in Neubauer, i, 540–3.

“The origin of the Arabian lute and rebec”, in *JRAS* (Oct., 1930), 767–83; repr. in *Studies in Oriental musical instruments*. First Series, London: Harold Reeves, 1931, [89]–107 and in Neubauer, ii, [101]–20. The offprint bears the subtitle “A paper read before the 17th International Congress of Orientalists, Oxford University, 1928.”

“Music”, in T. Arnold and A. Guillaume (eds.): *The legacy of Islam*, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931, 356–75; repr. in Neubauer, i, 129–50. (Farmer’s corrected copy, plus enclosures can be found in FC 432.)

[Introduction, 356–7; The practice of music, 357–60; Musical instruments, 360–2; Writers on music, 362–3; Theorists, 363–7; Value of Arab theorists, 367–8; The legacy of Arabian music, 368–72; and The practical art, 372–5.]

Studies in Oriental musical instruments. First series. London: Harold Reeves, 1931. 107 pp.; Limited edition of 225 copies. Dedicated to William Barron Stevenson, *D. Litt., D.D. Prof. of Hebrew and Semitic Languages in the University of Glasgow, WHO HAS ENCOURAGED THESE STUDIES*; repr. in Neubauer, ii, 1–120. (For Farmer’s handwritten typescript, and Arabic corrections, see FC 367; for reviews and corrigenda, see FC 368.)

[A collection of eight articles that were published earlier in the *JRAS*: 1. “The mediæval psaltery in the Orient” (being a revision of pp. 239–51 from “The canon and eschaquiel of the Arabs” [1926], [1]–16; 2. “The origin of the eschaquiel” (being a revision of pp. 252–6 from “The canon and eschaquiel of the Arabs” [1926], [17]–23; 3. “Two Eastern organs” (being a revision of “The organ of the Muslim Kingdoms” [1926] and “The horn of Alexander the Great” [1926], [25]–35); 4. “A North African folk instrument” [1928], [37]–49; 5. “Ninth-century musical instruments” (being a verbatim republication of “Ibn Khurdādhbih on musical instruments” [1928], [51]–62); 6. “A note on the mizmār and nāy” [1929], [63]–7; 7. “Meccan musical instruments” [1929], [69]–87; and 8. “The origin of the Arabian lute and rebec” [1930], [89]–107.]

The organ of the ancients from Eastern sources (Hebrew, Syriac and Arabic). With a Foreword by the Rev. Canon F.W. Galpin. London: William Reeves, 1931. xxiii, 185 pp., plus 16 plates. Dedicated to Robert Sangster Rait, C.B.E., M.A., LL. D., the Principal and Vice-Chancellor of the University of Glasgow.

[N.B. Farmer’s manuscript, *Organ of the ancients*, was completed in 1924 and presented to William Reeves for publication in 1925, shortly after “Clues” appeared. When Farmer received a letter from Dr. Eilhard Wiedemann congratulating him on “Clues” and learning that he and Dr. Friedrich Hauser had published German translations of the same Banu Mūsa⁹ and Mūristus treatises that Farmer had translated

9 In *Über Musikautomaten bei den Arabern*, Palermo 1909, which also appeared in Salvo Cozzo, G., *Centenario della nascita di Michele Amari; Scritti di filologia e storia araba; di geografia, storia, diritto della Sicilia medievale*, ii, Palermo 1910, 164–85; repr. in Girke, D., *Eilhard Wiedemann*.

for *Organ of the ancients*, Farmer became hesitant about its publication. In 1926, just as the work was destined for the press, he decided to withdraw the manuscript, but, upon closer investigation, he saw that Wiedemann and Hauser had worked with manuscripts whose texts were faulty and that their translation was not complete. Coming upon a copy in the British Museum which hitherto had not been used, he then produced a full translation and resubmitted the final manuscript for publication in 1930, with substantial revisions and additional material; repr. in Neubauer, ii, [319]–533. (Farmer's corrected copy can be found in FC 380.)¹⁰

Foreword, vii–xi; Introduction, xvii–xxiii; **Chaps:** I. The term “organ”, 1–6; II. The invention of the organ, 7–20; III. The organ from Hebrew sources, 21–44; IV. The organ from Syriac sources, 45–53; V. The organ from Arabic sources (The pneumatic organ), 54–78; VI. The organ from Arabic sources (Hydraulic organs), 79–118; VII. The organ from Arabic sources (The hydraulis), 119–38; and VIII. The Arabian organ in Europe, 139–57; **Apps:** I. Scale of the Arabic measurements used in the present work, 158; II. Heron's hydraulis, 159–64; III. [Athanasius] Kircher's automatic hydraulic organ, 165–7; **Bibliog.**, 168–75; Index to persons and works (pp. 177–81; Index to musical instruments and technical terms, 182–4.]

“An old Moorish lute tutor”, in *JRAS* (Apr., 1931), 349–66; (Jan., 1932), 99–109; (Apr., 1932), 379–89; (Oct., 1932), 897–904 (FC 244.1.2); plus supplementary material (Jan., 1937), 117–20, the information for which he obtained during his participation at the Cairo Conference.

[The first two installments concern the description, translation, and text of the Arabic treatise Ms 334/2 from the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid. A revised version of the 1931 and 1932 installments was republished as a book, *An old Moorish lute tutor: Being four Arabic texts from unique manuscripts in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid (no. 334) and the Staatsbibliothek, Berlin (Lbg. 516)*. Edited, with translations, Commentary and an Appendix. (Collection of Oriental writers on music, 1),

Gesammelte Schriften zur arabisch-islamischen Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Frankfurt a/Main 1984; and with F. Hauser, “Byzantinische und arabische akustische Instrumente”, in *Archiv für die Geschichte der Naturwissenschaften und der Technik*, 8(1–3) (1918), 140–66. See also F. Hauser, *Über das Kitāb al hijal—das Werk über die sinnreichen Anordnungen—der Benū Mūsā*, Erlangen 1922.

10 In Farmer's copy (FC 380), there is a typed title page (dated Apr. 1925) bearing the note “Keep for date”. In his introduction to the book, he wrote “completed 1924,” followed by the above long explanation. A letter from A.L.P. Norrington (dated Nov. 10, 1925, from Clarendon Press, Oxford) stated that the manuscript was “too restricted for them to publish” (FC 380). F. Galpin's letter to Farmer (dated July 26, 1930) displays his pleasure to write the Foreword. He mailed his draft on Aug. 19, 1930.

Glasgow: Civic Press, 1933. [13], 40, [16]; repr. in Neubauer, ii, [545]–603. Extensive annotations in Farmer's copy can be found in FC 379, together with reviews and corrigenda.]

"The influence of al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (*De scientiis*) on the writers on music in Western Europe", in *JRAS* (July, 1932), 561–92.

[Based on his prize essay submitted to Glasgow University, session 1931–2.¹¹ A revision was later published in the booklet *Al-Fārābī's Arabic Latin writings on music*, which comprised the *Kitāb Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm* (Escorial Library, Madrid, no. 646), *De scientiis* (British Museum, Cott. MS. Vesp. B.X., and Bibl. Nat., Paris, no. 9335), and *De ortu scientiarum* (Bibl. Nat., Paris, no. 6298, and Bodleian Library, Oxford, no. 3623), etc.; the texts edited, with translations and commentaries. (Collection of Oriental writers on music, 2), Glasgow: Civic Press, 1934. viii, 65 pp.]

"A further Arabic-Latin writing on music", in *JRAS* (Apr., 1933), 307–22. [On *De ortu scientiarum* and its doubtful ascription to al-Fārābī.]

"Ancient Egyptian instruments of music", in *TGUOS*, 6 (1929–33) [1934], 30–4; repr. in the 15-page booklet, *Three papers on Oriental subjects*, Glasgow: Author, 1934, which included two other articles from the same volume: "Turkish artillery at the fall of Constantinople", and "The Congress of Arabian Music".

"Mūsīkī", in *EI*, iii (Leiden 1936), 749–55. [Farmer brought to the Congress the draft of his entry, from which he drew the information for his presentation before the Plenary Session on "A short history of the Arabian scale" (see Appendix 9).]

3) Scottish Music

"Music in mediaeval Scotland", in *Proceedings of the Royal Philosophical Society of Glasgow*, 55 (1927), 75–8.

[Printed here as an abstract of his February 23rd lecture before the Royal Philosophical Society, the original lecture was amplified and published in *PMA*, 56 (1930), 69–90, including the discussion that followed his presentation. Farmer's corrected copy can be found in FC 191. It should be noted that the article was developed from essays he wrote during his undergraduate years. In 1930, it was also

11 This 39-folio typescript manuscript, located in Glasgow University's Archives, was awarded the first Thomas Hunter Weir Memorial Prize at the close of the aforementioned session.

republished as a 23-page pamphlet by William Reeves of London, with an introduction by Sir Richard R. Terry.]

“An old Scottish violin tutor”, in *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland*, 65 (6th series, vol. 5) (1931), 398–407.

4) Publications Pertaining to the Congress

“Traduction du Discours du Dr. Henri Farmer à la Séance de Clôture du Congrès”, in the *Recueil*, 65–6; repr. in Neubauer, i, 718–9. Also published in Arabic as “Tarğamat ħitāb ġanāb . . .”, in *KMMʿA*, 68–9 (FC f85).

“Rapport général sur les travaux de la Commission d’histoire et des Manuscrits [Le Caire, 1932]”, in the *Recueil*, 639–46; repr. in Neubauer, i, 701–8). Also published in Arabic as “Lağnat tāriḥ al-mūsīqī . . .”, in *KMMʿA*, 375–82 (FC f85).

“Histoire abrégée de l’échelle de la musique arabe [Le Caire, 1932]”, in the *Recueil*, 647–55; repr. in Neubauer, i, 709–17. Also published in Arabic as “Tāriḥ muḥtaṣar li-s-sullam al-mūsīqī al-ʿarabī”, in *KMMʿA*, 383–92 (FC f85). (For the typescript of the original English text, see FC 504, 1–11; see also Appendix 9.)

“The Congress of Arabian Music: Cairo, 1932”, in *TGVOS*, 6 (1929–33)[1934], 64–7. Republished in the 15-page booklet, *Three papers on Oriental subjects*, Glasgow 1934; repr. in Neubauer, i, 697–700 (see FC 441).

Appendix 2

Arabic and Persian Manuscripts Examined by Farmer (to 1932)

In his final bibliographical study, *The sources of Arabian music*, Leiden 1965, Farmer wrote that

it is not only to treatises devoted solely to music that we must turn for information. The whole range of history, biography, law, and religion, as well as the belles lettres and encyclopaedias, have to be scrutinized, and it is on that account that so many works in those domains of intellectual activity have been included in this bibliography (p. ix).

Of the 353 Arabic manuscripts cited therein, Farmer had, by the year 1932, already examined fifty-one. Following his chronological ordering by centuries (although the precise dating for many remains questionable), we have listed them alphabetically by title and with their respective authors (known or attributed). While Farmer provided additional information concerning each item, he could not specify the exact source for over sixty percent of his citations (listing them as NCK = no copy known). On the other hand, Amnon Shiloah, in *The theory of music* [1979],¹ went into greater length concerning their descriptions, contents, authors, and sources, and provided a vast bibliographical apparatus relating to many of the manuscripts, plus contextual material. Thus, after each citation, we've indicated, where possible, the corresponding number in Farmer's and Shiloah's compilations to which they apply.

Also, in Farmer's earlier publication *History of Arabian music*, London 1929, 245–7, the forty-nine Arabic manuscripts he cited from British, Dutch, French, German, and Spanish sources represent, in actuality, thirty-three treatises. Among them nos. 8, 24, 27 and 28 could not be identified. From this publication, he also listed the Persian manuscripts he examined.

[N.B. It is advised that E. Neubauer's guide ("Arabic writings") be consulted for its concise purview of Arabic music literature, particularly his sectional divisions regarding "the main aspects of music theory and practice." The following studies can also be consulted: V.L. Danielson/A.J. Fisher ("History of scholarship"); S. Ehrenkretz ("Medieval Arabic"); G.D. Sawa ("Editing and translating" and *Rhythmic theories and practices*); F. Shehadi ("The influence"); and A. Shiloah ("Music in pre-Islamic period", "Techniques

1 Shiloah's companion volume was published under the same title: *The theory of music*, Munich 2003.

of scholarship”, and “Notions d’esthétique”). *The treatises listed below follow for the most part Farmer’s orthography.*]

9th Century

Al-‘alat attatī tuzammir bi nafsihā (*The self-performing instrument*) by the **Banū Mūsā ibn Shākir** (three brothers who flourished during the 9th cent.) [Farmer, no. 43; Shiloah, no. 022]

Kitāb adab al-falāsifa (*Book of the maxims of the philosophers*)² by **Abū Zayd Ḥunain ibn Ishāq al-‘Ibādī** (808–73) [Farmer, no. 44; Shiloah, no. 078]

Kitāb al-mahāsīn wa’l-aḍḍād (*Book of laudable actions and their anti-theses*) by **Al-Jāhīz** (**abū ‘Uthmān ‘Amr. b. Baḥr**) (776–868/9) [Farmer, no. 39; Shiloah, no. 042]

Kitāb al-nafs (*Book of the soul*);³ a translation of Aristotle’s *De Anima* [Farmer, no. 87; Shiloah, no. 309]

Kitāb al-siyāsa tadbīr al-rīāsa or *Sirr al-asrār* (*Book of government or Secret of secrets*). Pseudo-Aristotelian, translated by **Yuḥannā ibn al-Baṭrīq** (d. 815) [Farmer, no. 7; Shiloah, no. 267]

Kitāb sā’at ālāt al-mā’ (*sic*) (*Book on the construction of the clepsydras*)⁴ attributed to **Archimedes** [Farmer, no. 109; Shiloah, no. 015]

Kitāb fī l-madkhal ilā šinā’at al-mūsīqī (*Treatise on the introduction to the art of music*) by **al-Kindī** (**Ya’qūb ibn Ishāq**) (ca. 801–ca. 866) [Farmer, no. 47]

Maqāla fī l-mūsīqī (*Discourse about music*)⁵ by **Thābit ibn Qurra** (836–901) [Farmer, no. 129; Shiloah, no. 254]

Mukhtaṣar al-mūsīqī fī ta’līf al-nagham wa šan’at al-‘ūd (*Compendium concerning the composition of melodies and the structure of the lute*)⁶ by **al-Kindī** [Farmer, no. 49; Shiloah, no. 177]

Risāla fī ajzā’ khabarīyya fī l-mūsīqī (*Treatise on the important divisions [in the theory] of music*)⁷ by **al-Kindī** [Farmer, no. 53bis; Shiloah, no. 174]

2 A Hebrew translation, *Muserey hafilosofim*, was made by J. b. Solomon al-Harizi (1170–1235). It was also researched in the Master’s thesis by A. Shiloah: “Nawādir al-falāsifa fī al-mūsīqī: Mēmerôt ha-filôsofīm ‘al ha-mūsīqah” (Hebrew Univ., Jerusalem 1958). See I. Adler, *Hebrew writings concerning music*, Munich 1975, 145–7. K. Merkle also contributed the study *Die Sittensprüche der Philosophen ‘Kitāb ādāb al-falāsifa’ von Honein ibn Ishāq*, Leipzig 1921.

3 Ms Escorial 649/3 (fols. 212b–13b). Hebrew trans. by Sarahya b. Issac was completed 1284 (from Ms Turin 157). Under no. 309, Shiloah provides the prefix [Talkhiṣ].

4 Cited as *Kitāb fī ‘amal al-bankāmāt* by Shiloah.

5 Shiloah gives its title as *Mas’ala fī l mūsīkī*. Unless the work was discovered posthumously, one wonders why Farmer consigned it to the tenth century.

6 Annotated French trans. by A. Shiloah, “Un ancien traité sur le ‘ūd d’Abū Yūsuf al-Kindī”, in *IOS*, 4 (1974), 179–205.

7 See Z. Yūsuf, *Mu’allafā al-Kindī*, Baghdad 1962. Partial English trans. by H.G. Farmer, “Al-Kindī on the ‘ethos’ of rhythm, colour, and perfume”, in *TGUVOS*, 16 (1957), 29–38.

Risāla fī khubr ta'rif al-alḥān (Treatise concerning inner knowledge on the composition of melodies)⁸ by **al-Kindī** [Farmer, no. 53; Shiloah, no. 175]

Risāla fī tartīb al-naghm al-dāllat 'alā ṭabā'ir (Treatise on the arrangement of pleasing melody according to the sublime corporeal natures)⁹ by **al-Kindī** [Farmer, no. 50]

Risāla ṣan'at al-juljul (Treatise on the construction of the chime). Attributed to **Mūristūs** (fl. 9th cent.) [Farmer, no. 115; Shiloah, no. 202]

Risāla ṣan'at al-urghūn al-būqī (Treatise on the construction of the flu-pipe organ). Attributed to **Mūristūs**¹⁰ [Farmer, no. 114; Shiloah, no. 200]

Risāla ṣan'at al-urghūn al-zamrī (Construction of the reed-pipe organ); attributed to **Mūristūs** [Farmer, no. 113; Shiloah, no. 201]

Ṣan'at al-zāmīr (On the construction of the automatic wind instrument). Arab translation of Archimedes' *Automatic wind-instrumentalist*. Attributed to **Abūlūniūs al-Nadjdjār al-Handasī** (Apollonius of Perga, 262-ca. 190 B.C.E.) [Farmer, no. 112; Shiloah, no. 002]

10th Century

Kitāb adab al-sam'ā' (Book of the propriety in listening to music) by **Ibn Khurdādhbih** (**abū'l Qāsim 'Ubaidalāh b. 'Abdallāh**) (820/5–911) [Farmer, no. 148]

Kitāb al-aghānī al-kabīr (Grand book of songs)¹¹ by **al-Iṣfahānī** (**abū'l-Faradj 'Alī b. al-Husain b. Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Qurashī**) (897–967). The latest reproduction of

8 German trans. and edition by R. Lachmann and M.A. el-Ḥefnī, *Ja'qūb ibn Iṣḥāq al-Kindī: Risāla fī khubr ta'rif al-alḥān. Über die Komposition der Melodien*, Leipzig 1931. An edition prepared with a partial English trans. was contributed by C. Cowl in *The consort: Annual journal of the Dolmetsch Foundation*, 23 (Haslemere, Surrey 1966), 129–66. See also Y. Shawqī (*Qiyās al-sullam*).

9 Shiloah cited this as *Risāla fī l-luḥūn wa'l-naghām* (Treatise on the melodies and notes).

10 See B. Carra de Vaux, "Notes d'histoire des sciences I. Muristos, inventeur des orgues", in *JA*, XI^e série, 10 (1917), 449–51.

11 An edition was published in Cairo 1868–9, suppl. Leiden 1888, 1905–6², and 1927–74³ and by Al-Shankīti (Cairo 1905). H.G. Farmer discussed its modes in "The song captions in the *Kitāb al-aghānī al-kabūr*", in *TGVS*, 15 (1953–4 [1955]), 1–10. G.D. Sawa, who examined this anthology, wrote that "written in anecdotal form, [it] covers, in approximately ten thousand pages, poetical and musical practices, as well as social and cultural history from the fifth to the tenth cent. in Arabia, Persia, Syria, and Iraq. Among the many musical practices described [therein, he discussed] the processes of oral transmission . . . [emphasizing that] the oral medium was by far the most popular" ("Oral transmission in Arabic music", 254). See also L. Zolondek, "An approach to the problem of the sources of the *K. al-aghānī*", in *JNES*, 19 (1960), 217–34 and "The sources of the *Kitāb al-aghānī*", in *Arabica*, 8(3) (1961), 294–308; and M. Stigelbauer, "Die Sängerrinnen am Abbasidenhof um die Zeit des Kalifen al-Mutawakkil: Nach dem *Kitāb al-aghānī* des Abu-l-Farağ al-Iṣbahānī und anderen Quellen dargestellt", Ph.D. diss. (Univ. of Vienna 1975). G.D. Sawa contributed three additional studies concerning the treatise: 1) "*Kitāb al-aghānī li-Abi al-Faraj al-Iṣbahānī*:"

- the Būlāk edition was published by Dār al-Kutub, Cairo 1963–74⁴. 24 vols. [Farmer, no. 175; Shiloah, no. 156]
- Kitāb al-fihrist (Book of the index [to Arabic literature])*¹² compiled by **Ibn al-Nadīm** (abū'l Faraj Muḥammad b. 'Alī Ya'qūb Iṣḥāq al-War-rāq al-Baghdādī) (d. 995/98) [Farmer, no. 188; Shiloah, no. 132]
- Kitāb al-īqā'āt (Book of rhythms)*¹³ by **al-Fārābī** (abū Naṣr Muḥammad) (Alpharabius) (ca. 872–950) [Farmer, no. 161; Shiloah, no. 054]
- Kitāb al-īqd al-farīd (The priceless necklace)*¹⁴ by **Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī** (abū 'Umar Aḥmad b. Muḥammad) (d. 940) [Farmer, no. 158; Shiloah, no. 082]
- Kitāb iḥṣā' al-'ulūm (Classification of the sciences)*¹⁵ by **al-Fārābī** [Farmer, no. 167; Shiloah, no. 055]

Fa-wa'iduhu al-mūsīqīyya wa al-ijtimā'īyya wa al-thaqāfiyya wa al-iqtisādīyya", in *Majallat al-baḥth al-mūsīqī... 1*(1) (2001), 81–92; 2) "*Kitāb al-aghānī li-Abi al-Faraj al-Isbahānī*: Mashru' Fahrasatihi", in *Majallat al-baḥth al-mūsīqī... 1*(1) (2001), 92–104; and 3) "Life-story: Performers from *Kitāb al-aghānī (Book of Songs)*", in *Garland encyclopedia of world music*, vi (2006), 351–6. Further insights can be obtained in H. Kilpatrick, "Mawālī and music", in M. Bernards and J. Nawas (eds.): *Patronate and patronage in early and classical Islam*, Leiden 2005, 326–48. Partial French trans: E.M. Quatremère, "Mémoire sur l'ouvrage intitulé *Kitāb al-agānī*, c'est-à-dire 'Recueil de chansons'", in *JA*, 2nd ser. 16 (1835), 385–419 and 487–545, and 3rd ser. 16 (1838), 465–526; and J. Berque, *Musiques sur le fleuve: Les belles pages du 'Kitāb al-aghānī'*, Paris 1995. A useful guide can be found in I. Guidi and R.-E. Brünnow, *Tables alphabétiques du Kitāb al-aghānī* (Leiden 1895–1900).

- 12 See H.G. Farmer's "Tenth-century Arabic books on music: As contained in *Kitāb al-fihrist* of Abu'l-Faraj Muḥammad ibn al-Nadīm", in *Annual of Leeds University Oriental Society*, 2 (1959–61), 37–47, esp. his "Note on the *Fihrist*" (p. 47). See also B. Dodge (ed. and trans.): *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm: A tenth-century survey of Muslim culture*. 2 vols., New York-London 1970.
- 13 German trans: "Die Theorie vom īqā'āt", in i. Übersetzung des Kitāb al-īqā'āt von Abū Naṣr al-Fārābī", by E. Neubauer in *Oriens*, 21–2 (1968–9), 196–232. The Manisa MS 1705 (ff. 59a–81b and 88a–9b) is discussed in A. Shiloah, "Les sept traités dans le manuscrit 1705 de Manisa", *IOS*, 1 (1979), 303–15. About other Arabic sources, see G.D. Sawa, *Rhythmic theories and practices in Arabic writings*, Ottawa 2009.
- 14 The section on music was later translated by H.G. Farmer in "Music: The priceless jewel", in *JRAS* (Jan., 1941) 22–30 and (Apr., 1941), 127–44; repr. Bearsden 1942 ("Collection of Oriental writers on music"), and in "The minstrels of the golden age of Islam", in *IC*, 17(3) (1943), 273–87, and 18(1) (1944), 53–61. See also Ibn 'Abd Rabbihī' Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, *Al-īqd al-farīd*, Cairo 1997, iii, 176–209. Also discussed in 'A. al-'Azzāwī (ed.), *Al-mūsīqā al-'iraqīyya malāhī*, Baghdad 1951. M. Shāfi's *Analytical indices to the 'Kitāb al-īqd al-farīd of Ahmad ibn Mohammad, ibn 'Abd Rabbihī* (Calcutta 1935–37) is a useful research tool.
- 15 See in Appendix 1 the annotation under H.G. Farmer's 1932 article, "The influence of al-Fārābī's *Iḥṣā' al-'ulūm (De scientiis)* on the writers on music in western Europe". D.M. Randel ("Al-Fārābī") has attempted to clarify al-Fārābī's section on the classification of

- Kitāb al-lahw wa-l-malāhī* (*Book of diversion and musical instruments*)¹⁶ by **Ibn Khurdādhbih** (820/25–911) [Farmer, no. 147; Shiloah, no. 125]
- Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* (*General treatise on music*)¹⁷ by **al-Fārābī** (**abū Nasr Muḥammad**) (Alpharabius) (ca. 872–950) [Farmer, no. 159; Shiloah, no. 057]
- Madkhal al-mūsīqī* (*Introduction to the theory of music*) by **al-Fārābī**. It is actually the first part of his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr* [Farmer, no. 160; Shiloah, no. 058]
- Mafātīḥ al-‘ulūm* (*Keys to the sciences*)¹⁸ by **al-Khwārizmī** (**abū ‘Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Yūsuf**) (d. 997) [Farmer, no. 186; Shiloah, no. 170]
- Murūj al-dhahab wa-ma‘ādin al-jawāhir* (*Meadows of gold and mines of gems*)¹⁹ by the Arab historian **al-Mas‘ūdī** (**abū’l-Ḥasan ‘Ali ibn al-Ḥusain**) (345/6–956) [Farmer, no. 170; Shiloah, no. 195]
- Rasā’il Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’* (*Treatises of the brothers of sincerity*)²⁰ by the **Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’**, (fl. second half 10th cent.) [Farmer, no. 192; Shiloah, no. 154 and 185]

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- music as outlined in his *Kitāb al-mūsīqī al-kabīr*, its influence on European theorists of the Middle Ages, and suggested corrections in Farmer’s translation. E.A. Beichert’s dissertation, “Die Wissenschaft der Musik bei Fārābī” (Regensburg 1931), deals with this work; it was republished in the *Kirchenmusikalisches Jahrbuch*, 27 (1932), 9–48. See also Á. González Palencia’s edition and Castilian translation of al-Fārābī’s *Iḥṣā’ al-‘ulūm* in his *Catálogo de las ciencias*, Madrid 1932/1953² and the edition of U. Amīn (Cairo 1931, 1948²).
- 16 Published as *Mukhtaṣar al-lahw wa l-malāhī* by Father A. Khalifé Ignatius in *Al-Mashriq* (Mar.–Apr. 1960), 129–67. Farmer translated Ibn Khurdādhbih’s oration from the fragment in Ms. *Pm.* 173, fol. 1 of the Berlin Staatsbibliothek.
- 17 Trans. by Baron R. d’Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, Paris, i, 1930, 1–306, and ii, 1935, 1–101; See M. Soriano Fuertes y Piqueras, *Música árabe-española y conexión de la música con la astronomía, medicina y arquitectura*, Barcelona 1853, which treated al-Fārābī’s treatise housed at the Biblioteca Nacional (Madrid) (Ms. *Res* 241; *olim Ms.* 69 of the *Biblioteca Real de El Escorial*). E. Neubauer (ed.), Frankfurt a/Main 1998 (Comprehensive Series, C-61). A critical edition by A.M.K. al-Ghaṭṭās appeared in 1967 (Cairo).
- 18 See G. van Vloten’s edition, *Liber mafātīh al-olūm: explicans vocabula technica scientiarum tam Arabum quam peregrinorum*, Leiden 1895/Leiden 1968. See also H.G. Farmer, “The science of music in the *Mafātīh al-‘ulūm*”, in *TGVOS*, 17 (1957–8) [1959], 1–9; repr. separately as a 9-page pamphlet, Glasgow 1959, and the German trans. of the section on music by E. Wiedemann in *Sitz. der physikalisch-medizinischen Sozietät in Erlangen*, 56 (1922).
- 19 French trans. by C.A.C. Barbier de Meynard and A.P. de Courteille, with corrections by C. Pellat, *Les prairies d’or*, Paris 1962–71.
- 20 Listed as *Risāla fi l-mūsīqī* (*Treatise on music*) by A. Shiloah. An encyclopedic collection of fifty-two treatises dealing with the whole gamut of science and philosophy of the Arabs in that century. The tract on music comprises fifteen sections. German trans. by F. Dietrich, *Die Propaedeutik der Araber im zehnten Jahrhundert*, Berlin 1865/R, 100–53; French trans. A. Shiloah, “L’épître sur la musique des Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’”, in *REI*, 32 (1964), 125–62; and 34 (1966), 159–93. English trans. A. Shiloah, “The epistle on music of the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā’”, in

Risāla fī l-mūsīqī (*Treatise on music*)²¹ by **Ibn al-Munajjim** (abū Aḥmad Yahyā b. ‘Alī b. Yahyā) (d. 912) [Farmer, no. 143; Shiloah, no. 131]

Risāla fī ta’līf al-alḥān (*Treatise on the composition of melodies*) by ‘Alī ibn Sa‘īd al-Andalusī [Farmer, no. 191]

*n*th Century

Kitāb al-kāfī fī l-mūsīqī (*Book of sufficiency on music*)²² by **Ibn Zaila** (abū Maṣṣūr al-Ḥusain b. Muḥammad b. ‘Umar) (d. 1048) [Farmer, no. 210; Shiloah, no. 152]

Kitāb al-najāt (*Book of deliverance*)²³ by **Ibn Sīnā** (Avicenna) (980–1037) [Farmer, no. 203; Shiloah, no. 139]

Kitāb al-shifā’ (*Book of healing*)²⁴ by **Ibn Sīnā** [Farmer, no. 202; Shiloah, no. 142]

Madkhal ilā ṣinā‘at al-mūsīqī (*Introduction to the art of music*) (Ibn Sīnā) [Farmer, no. 205]

Risāla taqāsīm al-ḥikma wa’l-‘ulūm (*Treatise on the divisions of knowledge and the sciences*) by **Ibn Sīnā** [Farmer, no. 207; Shiloah, no. 137]

*12*th Century

Iḥyā’ ‘ulūm al-dīn (*Revival of the religious sciences*)²⁵ by **al-Ghazālī** (abū Ḥāmid Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ṭūsī) (1058–1111) [Farmer, no. 218; Shiloah, no. 061]

The dimension of music in Islamic and Jewish culture, Aldershot, 1993 and O. Wright (ed.) *The epistle of the Brethren of Purity on music*, Oxford 2010.

- 21 See the edition of Z. Yūsuf, Baghdad 1964. See also Y. Shawqī, *Risalat Ibn al-Munajjim fī l-mūsīqī* (Cairo 1976); O. Wright, “Ibn al-Munajjim and early Arabian modes”, in *The Galpin Society journal*, 19 (1966), 26–48. German trans: “Die acht ‘Wege’ der Musiklehre und der Oktoechos”, by E. Neubauer in *ZGAW*, 9 (1994), 373–414. Material relating to Yahyā b. ‘Alī, plus letters and a photocopy of the British Museum’s Arabic text can be found in FC 417.
- 22 See the edition of Z. Yūsuf, Cairo 1964.
- 23 See M.A. el-Ḥefnī’s German trans., *Ibn Sīnā’s Musiklehre hauptsächlich an seinem ‘Nağāt’ erläutert*, Berlin 1931, and M.A. el-Tawil, “Ibn Sīnā and medieval music: A new edition of the musical section of *Kitāb al-shifā* and *Kitāb al-najāt*, plus a comprehensive study of his life and works on music”, Ph.D. diss. (Univ. of Exeter 1992).
- 24 French trans. by R. d’Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, Paris 1935, ii, 105–245. See also M. Cruz Hernández, “La teoría musical de Ibn Sīnā en el *Kitāb al-shifā*”, in ‘Abd al-Raḥman Badawī, et al. (eds.): *Milenario de Avicenna*, Madrid 1981, and E.J. Holmyard (ed. and trans.): *Avicennae de congelatione et conglutinatione lapidum; Being sections of the ‘Kitāb al-shifā’*, Paris 1927. It was also translated in Persian, as *Dānish nāma: dar ‘ilm mūsīqī*, by Abū ‘Ubaid al-Juzajānī, a disciple of Ibn Sīnā. M.A. al-Ḥefnī and R. Lachmann translated the passages pertaining to music in their *Ja’kūb Ibn Ishāq al-Kindī: Risāla fī ḥubr ta’līf al-alḥān*, Leipzig 1931. See also the editions S.M. Mashkūt and N.A. Taqwā (Teheran 1939–46) and Z. Yūsuf (Cairo 1956).
- 25 See D.B. MacDonald (“Emotional religion”). See also G.-H. Bousquet, *Iḥyā’ ‘ouloum ed-dīn ou Vivification des sciences de la foi / Analyse et index*, Paris 1955.

13th Century

Kitāb al-adwār (*Book of the modes [of music]*)²⁶ by Ṣafī al-Dīn (‘Abd al-Mu‘min ibn Yūsuf ibn Fakhir al-Urmawī al-Baghdādī) (1230–94) [Farmer, no. 252; Shiloah, no. 222]

Risāla al-Sharafīyya fī l-nisab al-ta’līfīyya (*The Sharfian treatise on musical conformities in composition*)²⁷ of Ṣafī al-Dīn (d. 1294).²⁸ Dedicated to Sharaf al-Dīn [Farmer, no. 253; Shiloah, no. 224]

Risāla fī ‘ilm al-mūsīqī (*Treatise on the theory of music*) by al-Ṭūsī (Naṣīr al-Dīn abū Ja‘far) (1201–74) [Farmer, no. 246; Shiloah, no. 259]

‘Uyūn al-anbā’ fī ṭabaqāt al-aṭṭibā’ (*Sources of information on the lives of physicians*) by Ibn ‘Abī Uṣaibi‘a (Muwaffak al-Dīn abū l-‘Abbās Aḥmad b. al-Qāsīm b. Khalifa b. Yūnus al-Khazrajī) (1203–70) [Farmer, no. 244; Shiloah, no. 085]

14th Century

Durrat al-ṭāj (*Pearl of the crown*)²⁹ by Quṭb al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī (1236–1311) [Farmer, no. 261; Shiloah, no. 236]

Fā’ida fī tawallud al-anghām ba‘ḍahā ‘an ba‘ḍ wa tartībihā ‘alā al-burūj (*The advantage of composing melodies according to the zodiac*) by Ibn Qaiyim al-Jauziyya (d. 1350) [Farmer, no. 279]

*Kitāb al-an‘ām bi ma’rifat al-anghām*³⁰ (*Book on the serious consideration of the nature of melodies*) by historian and theologian Shams al-Dīn al-Ṣaidāwī al-Dhahabī (1274–1358). Mentioned in Farmer, “Arabic musical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library”, in *JRAS* (Oct., 1925), 651–3, where he referred to it earlier (p. 640) by its

26 Facs. ed., Frankfurt a/Main 1984, ser. C, VI; French trans: R. d’Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, iii, Paris 1938, 185–565. See also O. Wright, “A preliminary version of the *Kitāb al-adwār*”, in *BSOAS*, 58 (1995), 455–78. See also the editions of A. Maḥfūz (Baghdad 1961) and H.M. al-Rajab (Baghdad 1980). Shiloah (no. 329) cites an anonymous work *Sharḥ al-adwār*, which is a commentary on Ṣafī al-Dīn’s treatise. Farmer (no. 303) cited the same title *Sharḥ al-adwār* (*Commentary on the modes*) by Ibn Ghaibī. Both Farmer (no. 295) and Shiloah (n. 330) also cited the anonymous fifteenth-century treatise *Sharḥ Maulānā Mubārak Shāh* as a commentary on the *Kitāb al-adwār*. The *Sharḥ Maulānā*... was trans. in R. d’Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, ii, Paris 1938, 185–565, with an introduction by Farmer.

27 Facs. ed., Frankfurt a/Main 1984, ser. C, VI; French trans. by B. Carra de Vaux, “Le traité des rapports musicaux ou l’Épître à Scharaf ed-Dīn, par Ṣafī ed-Dīn ‘Abd el-Mu‘min Albaghdādī”, in *JA*, 8^e ser., no. 18 (1891), 279–355, and by R. d’Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, iii, Paris 1938, 3–182.

28 Farmer’s 18-page typescript essay on Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mu‘min (ibn Yūsuf) can be found in FC 415.

29 See the edition of S.M. Mashkūt and N.A. Taqwā, Tehran 1939–46.

30 It is also known under the titles: *Kanz al-ṭarab wa ghāyat al-ṭarab* (*Treasure of musical emotion*); *Kitāb yustakhrāj minhu al-anghām* (*Book of the derivation of melodies*); *Risāla fī l-mūsīqī* (*Epistle on music*); and *Risāla fī ‘ilm al-mūsīqī* (*Epistle on music*).

other title, *Kitāb yustakhrāj minku al-anghām* and cited its date as the 16th century [Shiloah, no. 035]

Kitāb al-imtā' wa'l'intifā' fī mas'alat samā' al-samā' (*Book of joy and profit in listening to music*) by **Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Shalaḥī** (14th cent.) [Farmer, no. 259; Shiloah, no. 232]

Kitāb al-mizān fī 'ilm al-adwār wa'l-awzān (*Book of precision in the theory of the musical modes and rhythms*) an anonymous treatise [Farmer, no. 288; Shiloah, no. 302]

15th Century

Kashf al-humūm wa'l-kurab fī sharḥ 'ālāt al-ṭarab (*The unveiling grief and sorrow in commenting on the instruments of music*) an anonymous treatise [Farmer, no. 319; Shiloah, no. 285]

Kitāb fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī (*Book on the theory of music*)³¹ an anonymous treatise. [Farmer, no. 335; Shiloah, n. 295]

Kitāb li Muḥammad ibn Murād fī'l-mūsīqī (*Book of the Sultan Muḥammad ibn Murād on music*) an anonymous treatise [Farmer, no. 320; Shiloah, no. 239]

Risāla fī 'ilm al-anghām (*Treatise on the science of melodies*)³² by **al-'Ajāmī (Shihāb al-Dīn)** [Farmer, Chap. 5, 220; Shiloah, no. 005]

16th Century

Kitāb fī 'ilm al-mūsīqī wa ma'rīfat al-anghām (*Book on the science of music and the knowledge of melodies*) by the musician and poet **Muḥammad b. Muḥammad [ibn Aḥmad] al-Dhahabī** (16th cent.), *a.k.a.* in al-Jazira as **ibn al-Ṣabāh** [Shiloah, no. 033]. Mentioned [as *Ma'rīfat al-naghāmāt al-thamān*] in Farmer's "Arabic musical manuscripts in the Bodleian Library", in *JRAS* (Oct., 1925), 653, where he referred to it earlier (p. 640) by its other title, *Kitāb yustakhrāj minku al-anghām* and cited its date as the 16th century.

Risāla fī'l ṭabā'ī wa'l-ṭubū wa'l-uṣūl (*On the natures, elements, and modes*)³³ by **Al-Salmānī ibn al-Khaṭīb (abū 'Abd Allah . . .)** (fl. late 13th cent.) [Farmer, no. 326; Shiloah, no. 227]

Risālat al-faṭḥīyya fī'l-mūsīqī (*Epistle on profit concerning music*)³⁴ by **al-Lādhikī (Muḥammad b. 'Abd)** [Farmer, no. 317; Shiloah, no. 182]

31 Cited by Shiloah as *Madjmū 'a fī al-mūsīkī* (*A collection concerning the science of music*).

32 Shiloah gave its approximate date as 1494.

33 Trans. in Farmer, *An old Moorish lute tutor*, Glasgow 1933.

34 French trans. by the Baron d'Erlanger and M. al-Manūbi al-Sanūsi, *La musique arabe*, iv, Paris 1939, 257–498. Also edited by Hāshim Muhammad al-Rajab (Kuwait 1986).

17th Century

al-Jumūʿ fi ʿilm al-mūsīqī waʿl-ṭubūʿ (*The gatherings in the theory of music and the musical modes*)³⁵ by ʿAbd al-Raḥmān al-Fāsī (1631–85) [Farmer, no. 350; Shiloah, no. 059]

18th Century

Majmūʿat nawbāt = Kunnash (*A collection of nawbāt*) by al-Ḥāʾik (fl. 18th cent.) [Farmer, *Sources*, First ed., no. 235; Shiloah, no. 067]

Undated³⁶

al-Rawḍat al-ʿanāʾ fi uṣūl al-ghinā (*The garden of the profit in learning the element of music*)³⁷ an anonymous treatise. [Shiloah, no. 314]

Risāla fiʿl-ūd (*Treatise on the lute*), which Farmer called *Maʿrifat al-naghāmāt al-thamān* (*Knowledge of the eight notes*). Trans. by Farmer in *An old Moorish lute tutor*, Glasgow 1933. He surmised that it may have been copied (from the original) in the second half of the sixteenth century [Shiloah, no. 325]

Persian Treatises**12th Century**

Jāmiʿ al-ulūm (*Compendium of melodies*) by Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī (1149–1209)³⁸ [Mentioned in Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 246, no. 33; Shiloah, no. 100]

13th Century

[*Risāla fi ʿilm al-mūsīqī*] *bahjat al-ruh* (*Gladness of the soul*)³⁹ by Ṣafī al-Dīn ʿAbd al-Muʾmīn ibn Yūsuf Urmawī [Mentioned in Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 245, no. 1]

35 Edited by H.G. Farmer, *Collection of oriental writers on music*, Glasgow 1933.

36 Listed in F. Guillén, *Catálogo de los manuscritos árabes existentes en la Biblioteca Nacional de Madrid*, Madrid 1889, no. 334.

37 Trans. in Farmer, *An old Moorish lute tutor*, Glasgow 1933.

38 Farmer examined Brit. Mus. MSS Or. 2972 and 3308. See the edition of T. Binish (Teheran 1987).

39 According to E. Zonis, *Classical Persian music: An introduction*, Cambridge 1973, 34, n. 49, “[This] important but problematic [Persian] treatise on music... [is] signed with the name of Safī al-Dīn... In 1937, Henry Farmer asked the Persian specialist Rabino de Borgomale to edit and to translate the two manuscripts of this work that are in the British Museum and Bodleian Libraries [MS 14766.d, 13; dated 1345 and MS. Ouesley 177, resp.]. In the process of this work, Bergomale [concluded that not only was it written by]

14th Century

Kanz al-tuḥaf (*Casket of 'musical' rarities*) (ca. 1350)⁴⁰ by **Amīr Khidr Mālī al-Qaramānī** (fl. 14th cent.) [Farmer, no. 277]

Nafā'is al-funūn fi'ara'is al-'uyun (*Encyclopedia on the classification of knowledge*)⁴¹ by **Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Amūlī** (fl. mid-14th cent.) [Mentioned in Farmer, *A history of Arabian music*, London 1929, 245, no. 2.]

a lesser writer masking his own work under the name of the celebrated theorist [but that he] and other Persian advisers, on the basis of internal evidence, assigned this work to the opening of the early seventeenth century. This, in fact, makes it a more interesting document, as we have very few Persian sources from this later period." See H.L. Rabino de Borgomale's edition, Tehran 1967.

40 According to Farmer, "it is also an encyclopaedia in Iranian, with an article devoted to music, and especially its instruments, which are described quite minutely, together with designs of most of them." It is strange that Farmer had attributed this recurrently cited anonymous and unrecovered treatise to Amīr Khidr Mālī al-Qaramānī. Inasmuch as it contains a valuable section on musical instruments, it was also purported to include some notated musical composition by the Persian minstrel-scholar Ibn Ghaibi (d. 1435). Although S.A.E. Leoni alludes to the title in his article "*Kanz al-Tuḥaf* (Al-Musiqi)", he, nonetheless, provided an interesting comparison between Western medieval with Arabic music treatises to enable us to appreciate the specifics of the latter. His view of "Arab influence on Christian Western culture within musical practice [centered] primarily and circumstantially in the fields of organology and form" (p. 168).

41 British Museum MS. *Add. 16827* (fols. 429–45).

Appendix 3

Fox Strangways—Farmer Exchanges

The following exchange of correspondence between Fox Strangways and Farmer was initiated by the former in his lengthy letter of August 17, 1930 regarding Farmer's *Historical facts for the Arabian musical influence*, London 1930. Seventeen days later there appeared in the *Times literary supplement (T.L.S.)* (Thurs., Sept. 4, 1930), 694, his unsigned single-column review of the same work under the title: "The birth of harmony".

Herewith is Fox Strangways' initial letter:

38 Lansdowne Crescent

W11
17.8.30

Dear Sir,

I have been reading your 'Historical Facts' etc, and I send some notes in case they interest you. I should like these back at your leisure.

Yours very truly,
A.H. Fox Strangways

[Appended notes:]

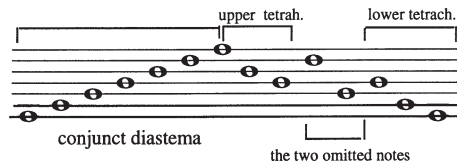
1.

The two examples of V. Galilei: [i in *Historical facts* [p. 324] was taken from *Dialogo della musica antica et della moderna*, Florence 1581, 36]:

i		ii	
H	_____	d	_____
Λ	_____	c	_____
M	_____	b	_____
Π	_____	a	_____
T	_____	G	_____
Φ	_____	F	_____
Ω	_____	E	_____

Galilei I have not seen, but I gather from inspection that [J.] Hawkins [*Hist. of Music*, i, 429]¹ copied from him more correctly than [A.] Kircher [*Musurgia Universalis*, i, 213],² and that at any rate there were (as you say) seven lines (not eight) and that the notes placed on them were identical.

As to these notes, [H.] Riemann (*Gesch. d. Notenschrift*, 157)³ seems to think that the highest note was added by mistake in ii; I am inclined to think it was omitted by mistake in i (on a comparison with Hawkins ch. xxxv.) I read the two examples thus:



2.

From the tetrachord being given in that particular way I gather that the sounds of both are similar within their own example; but we have not enough evidence to say whether the sounds of the two examples are identical or not. Taking them individually:

- i. The Dorian scale of Alypius being $\Omega\psi\text{TIIM}\Lambda\text{H}$, Galilei's authority, by substituting ϕ for ψ , has definitely named the Hypodorian (A-a)
- ii. On the assumption (perhaps not excessive) that this is post-Odonian, then, if the tetrachords are similar, the b is b^b (not b [natural])

If we allow ii. to have an extra note below its tonic, the order of tones and semitones becomes the same as in i. though the functions of the notes would differ. The scales then are:

-
- 1 *A general history of the science and practice of music*, London 1776. 5 vols.; facsimile ed., with a new introduction by C. Cudworth (New York 1963), 2 vols.
 - 2 *Musurgia universalis sive ars magna consoni et dissoni in X. libros digesta*, Rome 1650. For the recent facs. eds., see U. Scharlau (Foreword), Hildesheim (2006) and T. Pangrazi (ed.) (Florence 2008). Several articles may prove useful: J. Fletcher, "Athanasius Kircher and his *Musurgia universalis* (1650)", in *Musicology*, 7 (1982), 73–83; E. Knoblich, "Rapports historiques entre musique, mathématique et cosmologie", in *Quadrivium: Musique et sciences* (1992), 123–67; G. Lubrichon (ed. and trans.), "Musurgie universelle ou grand art des sons consonants et dissonants", in *Les cahiers de l'IRCAM: Recherche et musique*, no. 6 (1994), 13–21.
 - 3 The actual title is *Studien zur Geschichte der Notenschrift*, Leipzig 1878.

[*N.B. in Hawkins the reading is actually $\chi\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}$.]



Not knowing what the examples are examples of, that is as far as I can get. This

3.

result differs in i. from both Kircher and Hawkins; in ii. it agrees with Hawkins and differs from Kircher. Riemann speaks of them (*loc. cit.*) as a diatonic and a Dorian scale. Neither of them is (for me) Dorian, and I don't know what he means by diatonic; aren't all these scales diatonic? He says the Φ is 'undeutlich' in Kircher: it is perfectly clear in my copy; thus ϕ .

iii. As to Kircher, p. 213, if my diagnosis is correct, it is later than the others. We may write out his diagram thus:



In the absence of leger lines, he left the notes where I have put queries to be understood. If we supply those, the whole falls into six tetrachords (+ 3 notes). An octave, however, has

4.

seven, and the missing one is the tritone. That means that he has written out the hexachord in two positions, C and G, and if we supply the soprano clef above, we get



The Greek below is a wonderful instance of the frailty of composers. I give (a) Kircher's (b) Hawkins's (c) the 'copy' they presumably composed from

- a. Παρθέ νι η μέ γα χάρε θωσ δό τε δωτόρ εαων μητερ απομο σϋνης (two accents misplaced, one accent and two letters omitted)
- b. Παρθέ σι η μέγα χαρè [*] θωσδότε δωτόρ εαων μητερ απομο- σϋνης (Kircher's mistakes + 3 more)

5.

c. Παρθενίη μέγα χαίρει θεόσδοτε δῶτορ ἐάων μήτηρ ἀπημοσύνης

This is a hexameter and a half,—

'Maidenhood, hail, all hail, thou god-given giver of good things,
Mother of freedom from woe'.

It appears to be imitation—old—παρθενίη (Pindar); μέγα χαίρει and δῶτορ ἐάων (Homer); θεόσδοτε (Hesiod); ἀπημοσύνη (Theognis).

Who, or why anybody, set these words to these notes, heaven knows; but in order to do so, he added the three notes at the end (bar 7), which in my copy stray into the margin of the page, though that may be [an] accident. And now, if you write it out lengthening the notes for the long syllables, you get a quite respectable tune, but one much nearer the 17th than the 10th century.

Παρ-θε-νι-η μέ-γα χαί-ρει θε-ός-δο-τε δῶ-τορ 'ε-ά-ων
μή-τηρ 'α-πη-μο-σύ-νηζ

6.

We have had the scale, then, named in two different ways:

(1)	A	B	C	D	E	F etc
(2)			A	B	C	D

Both of these occur in [Hucbald's] *De Harmon. Inst.* (1)⁴ at p. 147 (b) and (2) on p. 118 etc. I don't find any clear instance of the major hexachord in that book, but there are several indications that tunes in general stopped normally at six notes, if authentic (if plagal, at less).

4 *De harmonica institutione*. First published in M. Gerber (ed.), *Scriptores ecclesiastici de musica sacra potissimum*, St. Blasien 1784, I, 103–25; reprint eds. Hildesheim and Bloomington, IN 1995.

Of the three notations one would guess the order to be ii, i, iii, and would place them all between 900 (if Hucbald wrote before he was quite old) and 1000 (to give time for the hexachord to be somewhat established before Guido adapted it, since he didn't invent it). This does not differ materially from what Galilei and the Maltese monk respectively named as dates.

7.

I don't quite understand your appendix 43. You put (p. 323) the *Shams al-Dīn* at, say, 1250, and then add (p. 326) as compared with these (say 950), 'which was the forerunner is difficult to decide': but I expect there's something I've missed.

I understand your Arabo-Persian numbers from their likeness to Sanskrit, but what are the letters? symbols of numbers? or symbols of notes? any reason for the sequence of them? [These are on p. 324.]

p. 351[n. 19]—I'm not sure about your 'organicum' and 'naturalem'; and I think 'per singulos tropos' goes definitely with 'coaptantur', not with 'regulas'. This would be my translation [of Migne].

8.

Patr. Lat., cxxii, 637.d.

Accordingly, the beauty of the whole ordered world of things, like and unlike, consists in a wonderful harmony, which welds all the various species and forms, in their several categories of essence and accident, into a unity which is beyond our powers of expression. For instance, a musical melody is compact of notes that vary both in timbre and pitch, and as long as we feel these separately and individually, they stand apart from one another by reason of their different degrees of high and low; but as soon as they cohere in accordance with the various tropi by definite and intelligible rules of the musical art, they yield us their sweetness after their kind. And in the same way, however different and even contradictory the subdivisions of Nature, which is one, when they are examined out of connexion, yet the universe [which is many] is brought into harmony in the presence of the single will of its maker.

9.

'Organicus' seems to be reasonably good Latin for 'a musician'; and I think a layman (as Scotus appears from the general drift of this passage to be) would rather naturally speak of 'musical' melody to distinguish it from what was a more everyday thing to him, the melody 'of words'. Essence and accident are purely philosophical terms.

Quantitatibus, surely number of inches to the string, not of voices to a harmony. Naturalem in accordance with their individual nature, not with Nature in general.

These are not to correct you, but to bring out your meaning more clearly, and I quite agree with it. An author ought to be read whole; it is a most unscholarly proceeding to clutch at and force particular words. The language of this passage is quite untechnical, except when he gets to his own particular branch of knowledge, with 'categories'. It would not be decent for a philosopher to be talking about 'rules of the modes' and perhaps as a layman he felt enough

10.

about music to be sure that, if there were any rules, the essence of art is to break them.

I'm not sure that I quite get your argument that organum possibly (or probably,—which?) came from the Arabs. You place Avicenna & Verg[ilius] Cord[ubensis] (circ. 1020) beside *Mus. Enchir.* (circ. 980?). The dates are too vague to prove anything: but such indication as they give is in favour of Europe. Then, Avicenna's *tarkib* involves at most successive and simultaneous fourths, and from the nature of *tarkib* they seem to be ornaments occasionally introduced, as they are now in India, in the course of a melody. And all that Verg. Cord. says is 'music, that art which is called organum', but my impression is that the name 'organum', which is a regular postclassical word, may have been in common use long before it was pinned down to the special meaning of concurrent sounds at

11.

established intervals, which is its meaning in *Mus. Enchir.* That is, I don't feel that either Avicenna or Vergilius are necessarily speaking of anything so definite as what we call organum. You probably agree, and the next step is,—Do the things they hint at lead to the simultaneous organum? and that seems to be a vital question—what is it that is the causa causans of harmony? I think it is a roof in more than a few cases, not always; and a roof habitually lived under. The Maoris when they were over here spoke to me of their harmony coming down (from a roof?). The Icelanders have sung in fifths since the eleventh century, and it is too cold for much open air singing there. The Hindus lived perhaps, worshipped certainly, in caves in the eighth century, but there are no records of their music then; but since then their music has been generally in the open. About the Arabs you know and I don't. The whole musical

12.

life of a European monk was under a highly resonant reverberating roof. It is true that the early Britons and Welsh, and the negroes, evolved a harmony in thirds, and they had nothing much in the way of a roof. But a major third (and the minor, as a consonance, is a result of this) is not one of the harmonics of the voice, but is of a long string (as in a harp), and can be heard (or not) by the player independently of any reverberation. The Greek theatre was in the open air, except their Odeion [‘a roofed concert hall’] which held only 200 people; they ought to have heard fifth harmonics in their temples, but I don’t know whether they sang much there; their *νόμοι* [‘virtuosic instrumental performances’] were chiefly at Olympic games. I don’t say all this proves anything, and I daresay there are instances on the other side I haven’t thought of; but it is to me an indication of where to look for the beginnings of harmony.

13.

As to ‘organum’, by the bye, Hucbald or Otker⁵ (I forget which—perhaps both) insists that organum and diaphony are the same, but implies that organum is the popular and diaphony the scientific word: this looks as if there was a good deal of miscellaneous concerted music before it could be reduced to anything like order. I get the impression that Otker in *Mus. Enchir.* is talking of what has been coming in gradually during his lifetime or his father’s, and he is only tabulating it, like any other theorist.

I have considerable doubt whether Europe learned much that was vital about music from the Arabs. I’m sure you’re right about the great number of words and [dodges?] and actual instruments we stole from them, but the question with all these is what use you make of them. From all I could gather from Lachmann, who seems

14.

to know most about it, the things they think important in time and tune are just the things we don’t do. Would it be much of a parody of your argument to say that the French taught us the art of war and the Dutch of navigation, since most military terms are French, and most naval, Dutch? Or to say that we won the

5 Otker [Otgerus] (fl. early 10th cent.), a.k.a. Hoger [Hogerus], the Count of Laon and Benedictine Abbot of St. Amand-sur-Elmon (near Tournai) was accredited, along with Hucbald and others, as the possible author of *Musica Enchiriadis* (c. 900). Interestingly Fox Strangways attempted to identify him in his article: “A tenth-century manual”, in *Music and letters*, 13(2) (1932), 183–93, published at the time of the Cairo Congress.

great war owing to our having adopted a good deal of the German uniform and accoutrements?

However, in his unsigned *T.L.S.* review, whose opening sentences give the impression that it was directed to Farmer's "Clues," Fox Strangways offered a more condensed criticism of *Historical facts*. Finding Farmer's copious European references to sources of information "decidedly thorough," and taking the Arabic references "on trust," he commented on Farmer's points of influence regarding solfeggio, notation, tablature, organum, and consonances. Concerning the first three, he felt that "they do not prove much about music," whereas he found the latter two questionable and the dates of their "Arabian primogeniture" unconvincing.⁶ Still he found that Farmer's claim for its embodied consonances were worth pursuing in terms of seeking how Europe came to "hit upon the idea of harmonizing, when it had occurred to no other people on the face of the earth?" Here he turned to Hope Bagenal's suggestion [theory] that harmony in Europe occurred under a roof.⁷



After Farmer had absorbed both Fox Strangways' notes and the *T.L.S.* review, it became clear to him that he was also the anonymous author of the latter.

6 That organum (harmonizing in fourths) was heard in Europe around 980 and that Arab grace-notes, mentioned by Avicenna (d. 1037), wherein the fourth appeared both in "quick succession and actually simultaneously," was countered by Farmer (in his retort "Organum and the Arabs" published in *TLS* [Sept. 11, 1930, 980]), who claimed that the anonymous reviewer overlooked his important reference to the Arab *tarkib*, the forerunner of European *organum*, in Al-Kindī, which predated the European. Moreover, Farmer's more elaborate answer can be found in his Sept. 5th letter to Fox Strangways at the paragraph beginning with "I have just had the *T.L.S.* shown me . . ."

7 [Philip] Hope Edward Bagenal (1888–1979), an acoustic consultant who specialized in classical (Greek and Roman) architecture, responded to the anonymous reviewer (published two weeks later in the in the Sept. 18th issue of *T.L.S.*, p. 735, under the same title "Birth of harmony"). He explained that the theory, originally Helmholtz's, was elaborated by W.C. Sabine in an article "Melody and the origins of the musical scale" that first appeared in *Science magazine* (May 29, 1908), 841–7. Inasmuch as Fox Strangways did not divulge where he came upon Bagenal's suggestion, he alluded to acoustical conditions under vaulted roofs that gave rise to harmony. Bagenal's classical theory was later explained by Alan Powers in F. Salmon (ed.): *The persistence of the classical: Essays on architecture presented to David Watkin*, London 2008, 40–55.

5-9-30

Mr. A.H. Fox-Strangways
 38 Lansdowne Crescent
 London, W. 11

Dear Sir,

I am extremely obliged for yours of the 17th Aug., which I found awaiting my return from holiday. It is indeed good of you to take so much trouble to pen those notes, but I am afraid that having to catch up arrears of work I shall be unable at the moment to do justice to all the interesting points raised by you.

Starting at your coda, which appears to be a *sforzando* statement of your *leit motif* (general scepticism of a vital Arabian influence in music), may I say that your remark is not even a parody: it is quite a misstatement. The correct statement would be:—Since we find Arabic words in the art of music of Western Europe, it is evident that Europe was influenced by the Arabian contact. Just as we might agree that since “some” (not “most”) military terms are French, and a “very few” (not “most”) naval terms are Dutch, it can reasonably be argued that a French and Dutch influence can be traced respectively.

You have considerable doubt whether Europe learned much that was VITAL about music from the Arabs. Of course it all depends what you consider VITAL. Have you read Baron d'Erlanger's translation of al-Fārābī's *Kitāb al-mūsīqī* [Paris 1930], just published in French? If so, is there anything comparable to it in contemporary Europe, or for many centuries after? Indeed are there any Greeks who have written so illuminating a work?

Al-Fārābī was VITAL enough for European theorists to quote. He was translated into Hebrew and the Introduction to the above work was actually one of the textbooks in Jewish Colleges in Spain in the 12th cent. I hope to edit some of the Latin MSS. (translations from the Arabic) of al-Fārābī, and I actually have some of these in hand at present.

If you can get hold of the Padua or Venice (Juntas) editions of the works of Averroes, and turn up his *Commentary on De anima*, I feel sure that you will find something VITAL on the question of the physical bases of sound.

You mention my good friend Lachmann. He knows infinitely more than I do about PRESENT-DAY Arab music, but as for the MIDDLE AGES, I can say—well ask Lachmann himself.

Now about ORGANUM. I am glad that you agree about Johannes Scotus. If I have done nothing else, it is something to have exploded that hoary fable, which copyist after copyist has passed on *ad nauseam*, without ever troubling to look at the original or even thinking for himself. I make a similar claim for

acknowledgment in having disposed of the other reputed musical THEORISTS—Bede, Alcuin, and Rhaban Maur.

I have just had the T.L.S. shown me and I intend to write a line to the editor to say that your review (which is scarcely a review, but rather an attempt to postulate your own theories) is scarcely just on the question of ORGANUM. You have missed al-Kindī (d. 874), from whom I actually gave examples of organum. He died a century before your first European reference ca. 980. By the way, it was Harold Reeves, not Wm. Reeves, who reissued my *Arabian Influence on Musical Theory* (1925).

That you give a moment's credence to this "roof theory" in the origin of harmony, amazes me. A daft musician once solemnly assured me that counterpoint had its origin in the "chatter chorus" such as one hears sometimes in the modern Music Hall. Your "roof" theory, with all due respect to its originator, is one better (or worse). Why stop at HARMONY? Why not go a step further and add that CANON had its origin in the echo of the aisle from the choir? Then we have COUNTERPOINT being prompted by the florid embellishments of the architectural straight lines. Three part and four part HARMONY was even due to reverence for the Trinity or the Four Apostles. And so on.

Let us for the moment return to *terra firma*. Could there be a more reasonable "prompting" for the earliest form of ORGANUM than the adornment of the melody (which the Greeks practised) by means of the *tarkīb*, such as we find with the Arabs as early as the 9th cent.?

By the way, you mention HARMONY IN THIRDS by the ANCIENT BRITONS. What is your authority? Surely not Bede or Gerald Barry?

ORGANUM (the word) is not post-classical. Telestes and Plato use it (organon) when referring to a musical instrument. Now how are we to account for ORGANUM in reference to primitive harmony? Let us look at the Arabic word *tarkīb* for a moment. The verb *tarākab* means 'to be accumulated,' hence *tarkīb* means that which is "compounded, or composed". Is it not strange that we should have both these meanings in nouns & verbs in Latin (*sub* ORGANUM)?

Your translation of Migne (cxxii, 637.D) re Johannes Scotus is interesting. Of course one could make several readings, but I feel certain, that I would not give the reading that has, up to the present been given it.

I would also like to go into your most illuminating discussion of Kircher,⁸ Galilei, & Shams al-Dīn al-Saidāwī, but alas, it would take too long for my

8 Athanasius Kircher (1602–80), German Jesuit scholar and music theorist, was noted especially for his treatise *Musurgia universalis* which influenced German musical theory well into the eighteenth century.

convenience just now. Moreover, I should prefer to consult Kircher, which I do not possess.

The Arabo-Persian names for the numerals are given their equivalents in the Arabic alphabet, which like the other Semitic letters of the alphabet had a numerical significance. The Arabs used this alphabet in its numerical sequence as a musical notation for A, B, C, D, etc.

I am keeping your notes for a few days in the hope that I may find time to delve into your Kircher points, which are most intriguing,





Yours faithfully, (FC 488.3)

There followed Fox Strangways' response a week later:

38 Lansdowne Crescent
London, W. 11
16.9.30

Dear Sir,

Back from holiday. Yours of 5.9.30. Taking it as it comes ____.

By 'vital' I mean definitely 'musical'. If there had been real musical influence, Europⁿ music would now be much more like Arabic than it is. But the Arab: is still in modes, and added (not multiplied) times, and melodic (not harmonic), and to be classed with all other extra-Europⁿ (India, China). Your examples, as I read them, really show that they got fairly near harmony (the Maori's and Negroes got nearer) but stopped short just before it. Your *tarkib* as I understand is a grace note. Now the step from  to  is very slight and any melodic nation may take it (Indian vina-players not infrequently do) but that is very different from valuing  as such, and going on from that to  etc.

The Negroes write whole melodies principally in thirds (also in other intervals); the Icelanders long melodies in pure fifths; the Maori's four-part harmony of a sort. All these are musically much nearer Europe than the Arab grace notes. If you don't think 'vital' is the right [word] for this, I'll gladly adopt any other you can suggest: but that is the thing I mean, and only that.

I omitted reference to al-Kindi because (pp. 103, etc.) you say 'what I believe to be', 'I believe it can be shown', and I thought you meant it only as corroborative evidence, not proof. As I said, I don't think it proves harmony. For the Muristus M.S.S. you say 'we may assume' and 'for the 10th, prob. the 9th'. However, granting the fact as stated for the 9th it still does not show any clear feeling for

harmony, such as the Icelanders are said to have had in the 11th—and nobody has suggested that Iceland ‘influenced’ Europe: and even their fifths do not give the effect of harmony, only of a more interesting kind of melody.

Harmony proper—I don’t mean advanced, but quite elementary—is of a different nature altogether. It is first the feeling for a special colour given to a particular note by its simultaneity with some other (as far as that the Arabs probably got—according to your account—I know no other) and second the feeling that this committed them to something that followed next, the most elementary step being that to contrary motion, as in Iceland, and it is just possible (from one interpretation of Plut[arch] *de Mus[ica]*) the Greeks. Sometimes the sense of contrary motion comes alone without any sense of euphony (as in Siam); sometimes that sense is satisfied by rhythm only, as with the Bantu drumming and partly the Hindu, though that is more contrapuntal.

And now if I am right in thinking harmony a thing per se, doesn’t it seem to you an extraordinary thing that it should only have come in Europe? Putting aside for the moment the idea of its being developed from ‘grace’, not as wrong but merely as debatable, how would you account for its taking root and developing enormously only in the Europⁿ civilisation. You laugh at my idea of ‘a roof’, but perhaps you think I am talking out of my hat about the harmonics in the rafters. Oh, no—they are very real, and I’m not the only one who has heard them. If you get a lusty choir of Czechoslovaks or Don Cossacks under a favourable roof (high in proportion to its length and breadth) they are almost deafening: and having heard them once so, you can’t not hear them every time a resonant male voice sings. However, you needn’t accept my roof if you don’t like it, but then the onus is with you of showing how harmony, in my sense, could have arisen here and nowhere else. I quite think that the Arabs may have been one of the many contributories to harmony in your sense.

I wonder why you say that what I wrote in the T.L.S. is ‘not a review’. How would you review a book? Wouldn’t you describe what it contained, and then discuss its principal thesis in such terms as your readers would be likely to understand, and (which is just as important) to read? And what else have I done? Do you think the readers of the T.L.S. (a literary, not a specifically musical paper) would not turn the page quickly if they were presented with nice calculations of the amount of credence to be given to an argument from a MS. in a language they couldn’t read by a man they had never heard of? I didn’t; and so I enlisted their interest in a fundamental point they could understand, the rise of harmony, and gave them both your view and mine. I don’t see how you can expect more, except from a specialist paper, linguistic rather than musical; for the argument alone, without musical examples, would not interest any musician—and you see I refrained from saying that.

I may gently protest that the argument for the roof is not made ridiculous by quoting other absurd theories which neither I nor any sensible man agrees with. If you think it's wrong you ought either to refute it or leave it alone.

When I said 'organum' was post-classical I meant in the sense of 'music' (and 'organicus' of 'musician'): is there any word in Greek for 'instrument' except organon? It is not clear to me what the 9th or 10th century meant by 'organum', but, I imagine, merely 'music' or possibly 'accompaniment'—but not, I should imagine, harmony as a felt relation of simultaneities. I don't see that *tarkīb* = 'that which is compounded' throws any light on organum: τὸ ἡρμωσμένον meant that which is put together, but nobody supposes it meant even elementary harmony.

Thirds of ancient Britons, I argue from (1) the fact that Welsh folk songs are constructed largely on thirds, and that Welsh schoolboys on a holiday drop into thirds on the railway platform, and the like, and (2) from the Irish and Welsh forms of notation mentioned in O. Fleischer's *Neumen-studien*⁹ "vol. ii, pp. 67 seq." I know nothing of Bede and Alcuin, and should never have thought of basing a technical musical detail on anything two divines said; and nobody knows, do they, what Barry's B^b meant? It is the folksongs I rely on most, because, the world over, though particular melodies will travel (and be mutilated) freely, 'the way of singing', i.e., the grammar or structure, is absolutely indigenous and, in principle, never changes, or very slightly. What I mean is that the Welsh, let us say, would quite readily take an English tune with its leaps of fourths and octaves, or an Irish with its bagpipe oscillations and its drag on the high note, etc., and turn them both equally into a series of smooth flowing thirds like 'The Ash Grove'. (I heard a Breton tune handled in that sort of way at Pondicherry.)

I believe the main difference between us is that to you the written word, if possible with a date, and to me the dateless musical instinct, is important. So now I will speak in favour of your written word. I feel pretty sure that, before you wrote, no one had more than a vague idea that the Arabs knew a great deal about music. They may have guessed it from the (complete) *Arabian Nights*, and they may have known from books like George Sarton's *Introduction to the Hist. of Science* ([Baltimore] 1927) that the Arabs taught us almost everything else. Now they know that a whole heap of musical ideas were transmitted from Greece to Arabia, and from Arabia to Europe—and a few from Europe to Arabia (as I think you mentioned somewhere) such as the gathering of the 17-note scale into a 7-note, under the influence of the Church modes. I am certain that if we had anything like the necessary data for reconstructing the mind of the 10th century,

9 *I.e.*, O.R. Fleischer, *Neumen-studien. Abhandlungen über mittelalterliche Gesangs-Tonschriften*, 3 vols., Leipzig 1895–1904.

the Arabs w^o prove to have been our chief creditors, particularly in the matter of instruments (of wh. we know very little, and they interest Dante scholars).

But the great—the insuperable—hitch is that there are (as practically with the ancient Greeks) no musical examples, and, short of those, anything may be anything. For music does not consist in this mode, or that phrase, or chord, but in what you do with them. I learnt that in India. They have a precise system both of mode and time, but their actual songs disobey both, at the will of the singer. It may be said that the art of music is simply the art of breaking rules—just, in fact, like language. There is never one origin for a musical phenomenon of any kind; that phenomenon is just the upshot of countless instances, and will generate countless more. That doesn't mean that music is vague or chaotic; it means only that it addresses itself to another set of facts than the historical, scientific, or linguistic. Your book has nothing to do with music, still less with the effect of Arab upon European music, but it has everything to do with a historical and linguistic survey of the Middle Ages. I wish I knew more about these, but life is short, and my actuarial prospects are very limited, so like a heap of interesting things I shall have to pursue them, if at all, in a future life.

I shall be glad to hear what you make of Kircher, when you have opportunity.

Yours v. truly

A.H. Fox-Strangways (fc 307.25)

It is unfortunate that we lack Farmer's response.¹⁰

10 One can gain further insights concerning the philological versus musical arguments from Farmer's retort to yet another Fox Strangways criticism of *The Arabian influence on musical theory*, by reading Farmer's article "The canon and the eschaquiel of the Arabs", in *JRAS* (Apr., 1926), 239–56.

Appendix 4

Participating Countries and Their Delegates

[N.B. Cairene press releases comprising interviews with many of the delegates, can be found in *Musique arabe*, 329–42.]

Algeria (then French-held territory): Represented by Moḥammed ben ‘Abdallah (Consul General and Financial Delegate from Tlemcen, situated in the northwestern part).

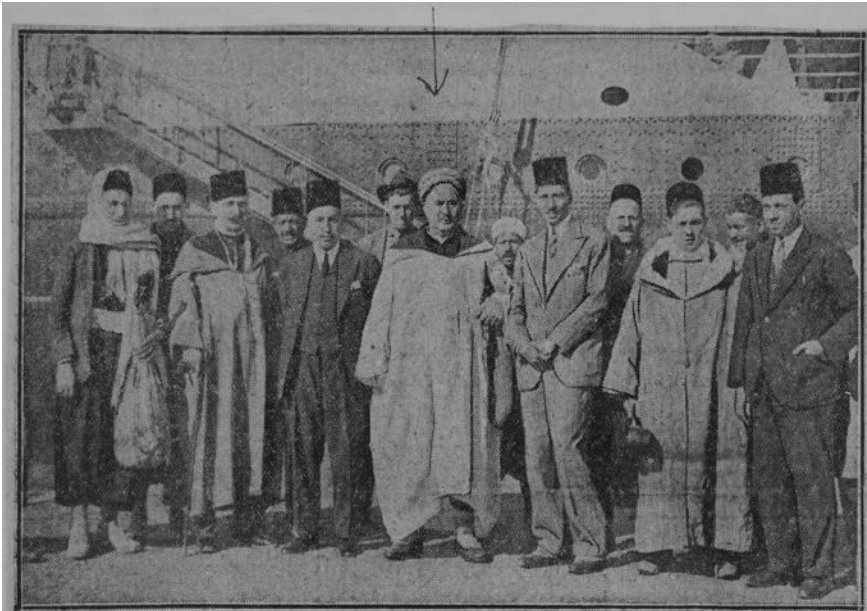


FIGURE A4.A *The Algerian delegation arriving in Alexandria. Shaykh Larbi ben Seri is standing in the center of the group (taken from Al-Ahrām, Mar. 16, 1932) (FC 503, 116).*

Austria: Egon Wellesz (1885–1974; composer; Univ. of Vienna).¹

Czechoslovakia: Alois Hába (1893–1973; composer; Conservatory of Music, Prague)² and his collaborator Karel Reiner (1910–79).

¹ *Musique arabe*, 329–30.

² *Musique arabe*, 334–5.

France: Baron Bernard Carra de Vaux (1867–1953; Orientalist/Arabist);³ Jean Chantavoine (1877–1952; General Secretary, Paris Conservatory of Music);⁴ Mme. Jeanne Hercher-Clément (d. 1941; Phonetic Institute of the Univ. of Sorbonne);⁵ Mme. Mady Humbert-Lavergne (Phonetic Institute of the Univ. of Sorbonne); Henri Benjamin Rabaud (1873–1949; Director of the Paris Conservatory of Music); Philippe Stern (1895–1979; Adjunct Archivist, Musée Guimet); and Émile Vuillermoz (1878–1960; music critic and composer). From its protectorate zone in Morocco: Alexis Chottin (1891–1975)⁶ and Prosper Ricard (1874–1952), both from the Bureau of National Arts, Rabat.



FIGURE A4.B *This photo, taken from La Bourse (Apr. 1932) shows several French delegates [seated at a banquet from left to right]: Si Kaddour ben Ghabrit (from Morocco), Mme. J. Hercher-Clément, P. Stern and Mme. M. Humbert-Lavergne (France), M. Hilmi 'Isâ Pâshâ (Egypt), H.Ĥ. 'Abd al-Wahhâb (from Tunisia), and of the remaining four, J. Chantavoine and A. Chottin (France) are seated second and fourth from the right, respectively (FC 503, 121).*

3 Baron Carra de Vaux and Alexis Chottin were the only members of the French delegation who were experts on Arab music. Prosper Ricard, an Arabist of scholarly bent and a French government official, specialized in Moroccan carpets. He was assigned to Morocco to encourage the manufacture and sale of the protectorate's arts and crafts. Earlier he contributed a booklet on *Essai d'action sur la musique et le théâtre populaire marocains* that was published by the Service des arts indigènes, Rabat 1928, and in collaboration with A. Chottin, there appeared the first two fascicles of *Corpus de la musique marocaine*, Rabat 1931–2.

4 *Musique arabe*, 336–8.

5 *Musique arabe*, 335–6.

6 *Musique arabe*, 332–3.

Germany: Wilhelm Heinitz (1883–1963; Univ. of Hamburg); Paul Hindemith (1895–1963; composer);⁷ Erich M. von Hornbostel (1877–1935; Psychologische Institut of the Univ. of Berlin and Director of the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv since 1905); Robert Lachmann (1892–1939; Berlin Staatsbibliothek); Curt Sachs (1881–1959; Univ. of Berlin and Director of the Museum of Musical Instruments);⁸ and Johannes Wolf (1859–1947; Univ. of Berlin and Director of the Department of Music at the Staatsbibliothek).



FIGURE A4.C *Arrival of German delegation [From left to right] R. Lachmann, E.M. von Hornbostel, W. Heinitz, P. Hindemith, J. Wolf, and Frau von Hornbostel. A. Hába (from Czechoslovakia) can be seen at the extreme left (FC 503, 117).*

7 Georg Schünemann, a member of the Berlin circle of comparative musicologists, was also invited, but was then on the verge of succeeding the Austrian-born Franz Schreker as Director of the prestigious Berlin Hochschule für Musik. Therefore, Schünemann chose Hindemith, a personal friend and fellow faculty member at the Hochschule, to represent him at the Congress. Schreker, also a prominent composer of operas, was forced to resign in June 1932 by the Nazis, because he was Jewish.

8 *Musique arabe*, 331–2.

Great Britain: Henry George Farmer (1882–1965; from Glasgow Univ.).⁹

Hungary: Béla Bartók (1881–1945; composer; Academy of Music, Budapest).

Iraq: Represented only by its music ensemble and an accompanying interpreter.¹⁰

Italy: Colonel Gustavo Pesenti (1878–1960; Orientalist) and Giusto Zampieri (1879–1950; Conservatory of Music, Milan).¹¹

Lebanon: Père Xavier Maurice Collangettes (1860–1943; Official Delegate; Prof. of Physics at the Faculty of Medicine, Saint-Joseph Univ., Beirut);¹² Wadī' Šabrā (d. 1952; French-trained composer and Director of the National Conservatory of Music, Beirut); Biehara Ferzan; and Edouard Kadahghi.¹³

Morocco: Si Kaddour ben Ghabrit (Minister Plenipotentiary of the *Sharif* and Director of the Institut Musulman, Paris) and his brother, Moḥammed ben Ghabrit (musician and Chief of the Delegation), both of Algerian origin, from Nedroma near Tlemcen.¹⁴

Spain: Adolfo Salazar [Palacios] (1890–1958; music critic, musicologist, and composer).

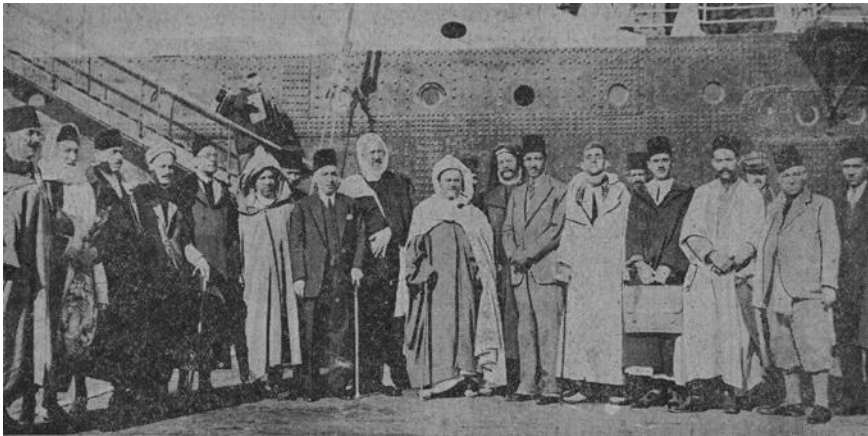


FIGURE A4.D *Arrival of the Moroccan delegates (taken from Al-Ahrām, Mar. 16, 1932) (FC 503, 115).*

9 *Musique arabe*, 330–1.

10 For additional information see *Musique arabe*, 313–5.

11 *Musique arabe*, 339–40.

12 Farmer later contributed the entry on Collangettes in *Grove's Dictionary*, London 19545.

13 Only the latter three were listed as delegates in the *Recueil* 40.

14 For their respective views about the Congress, see *Musique arabe*, 296–9 and 340–2.

Syria: Chafik Chakib; Aḥmed el Ibari; Elia Diba; Faouzi Kaltacgi, Nassouh Kilani; and Osman Kotrieh.¹⁵ A second Syrian delegation comprised Dr. Sālin Bey, Sālim al-Hanafī, Tawfiq Sabbāgh (a renowned *ʿud* player and theorist, who decades later wrote *Al-anḡām al-sharqīyya* (*The Eastern modes*, Aleppo 1954), Hamdī Bābīl, and Ibrāhīm Sāmī.¹⁶

Tunisia (French protectorate): Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger (1872–1932; due to illness, he was represented by his secretary Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī [1901–66]); Ḥasan

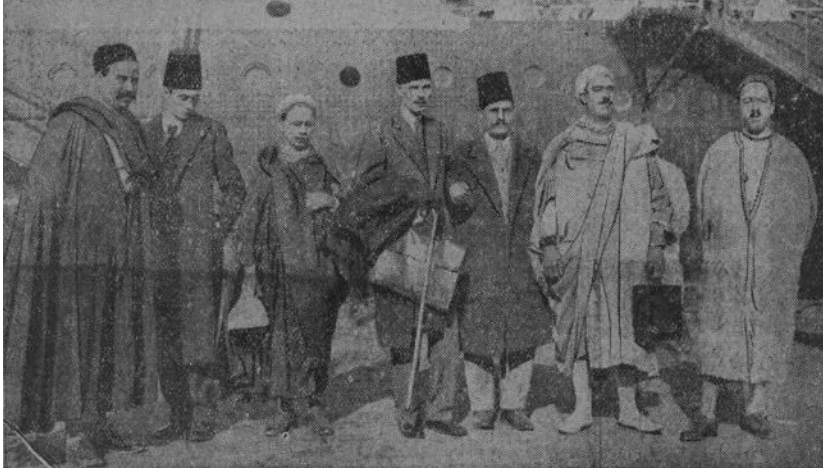


FIGURE A4.E *Arrival of the Tunisian delegation at Alexandria: From left to right: Khamais Tarnān; Sīdī al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī [?]; Muḥammad Ghānīm; Ḥasan Ḥusnī ʿAbd al-Wahhāb; Shaykh ʿAlī al-Darwish [?]; ʿAlī ibn ʿArafa; and Khamais al-ʿAtī (Taken from Al-Ahrām, Mar. 16, 1932) (FC 503, 116).*

15 J.-F. Belleface (“La Syrie”) discusses the matter of the Syrian delegates which was not fully clarified in the *Recueil*. In his report, Farmer (“The Congress”, 65) stated that X.M. Collangettes and W. Ṣabra represented Syria; whereas Racy (“Historical world”, 71), cited Collangettes (under Syria) and Ṣabra (under Lebanon). Under the secret Sykes-Picot Agreement, concluded on May 16, 1916 between France and Britain, Syria and Lebanon were ceded to the French. In May of 1919, The League of Nations awarded France a mandate over both areas. From September 1920, however, Lebanon was administered separately. At the time of the Cairo Congress, French influence still remained strong. The zone comprising Beirut was under direct French control, while Damascus and Aleppo were under French influence. Moreover, two items in the periodical *Al-Sabāh* [nos. 287 (Mar. 25, 1932), 23, and 288 (Apr. 4, 1932), 18] comprise, respectively, a matter that necessitated the sending of a second delegation, and a complaint sent by a musician that named many talented musicians in Syria who should have been invited to the Congress, but that the attending delegation did not include them (see *Musique arabe*, 312–3).

16 *Musique arabe*, 313.

Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb (1884–1968; Chief of the Delegation, historian, and Governor of Mahdia [al-Mahdiyya]); and Hassūna ben ‘Ammār al-Muhāmī.¹⁷ The Syrian Shaykh ‘Ali al-Darwish accompanied the ensemble during their voyage to Egypt.

Turkey: Ra’uf Yekta (1871–1935; Co-director of the Music Conservatory, Istanbul); and Masud Djemil [Mesut Çemil] (1902–63; virtuoso tanburist; Société Radio, Istanbul).¹⁸

The **Egyptian** delegation, comprising distinguished professional and amateur musicians, scholars, and playwrights, included: Moḥammed ‘Abd el-Wahhāb (1901–91; well-known singer and composer);¹⁹ Yaqub ‘Abd al-Wahhāb; Moḥammad Zakī ‘Alī (amateur musician and advocate); Safar ‘Ali (an ‘ud player and noted reformer of Arab music);²⁰ Aḥmad Amīn al-Dīk (noted theorist); Émile ‘Arian (engineer and theorist); Manṣūr ‘Awād (‘ud player, theorist, and Director of Egypt’s Gramophone Records); F. Cantoni (Conductor and General Manager of Cairo’s Opera House); Gamil Eweiss; Moḥammed Ezzat; Maḥmūd ‘Ali Fadli; Muḥammad Faṭḥī; ‘Alī el-Garem; Shaykh Darwish al-Ḥarīrī (1881–1957; noted theorist);²¹ Maḥmūd Aḥmed el-Ḥefnī (1896–1973; Director of Music Education and Secretary General of the Congress); Dawūd Ḥusnī (1870/71–1937; Jewish composer and ‘ud player);²² Ibrahim Khalil Anis; Muḥammad Kāmīl Ḥajjāj (amateur musician and author of the book *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-sharqīyya*, Alexandria 1924); Muḥammad Kāmīl al-Khulaī (1880/81–1938; noted theorist and author of the *Kitāb al-mūsīqā al-sharqī*, Cairo 1904); Maḥmūd Ḥilmī Khourchid; Sheik Hassan el-Mamlouk; Ragheb Mouftah (1898–2001; a noted Copt musicologist who recorded and studied Coptic hymns); Fu’ād Mughabghab; Aḥmed Naghib al-Ḥellali; Naghib Naḥās (amateur musician, who introduced the tempered quarter-tone piano); Muṣṭafa Riḍā (1899–ca. 1950; Director of the Institute of Oriental Music); Samī el-Shawā (1889–1965; virtuoso violinist); Aḥmed Shawqī (1868–1932; celebrated poet and playwright); and Moḥammed Zakī Sirri. Among them were two Syrian-born members: ‘Alī al-Darwish (1872–1952; Aleppo-born Dervish musician)²³ and Jamīl ‘Uways (1890–1955), each of whom were attached to the Institute.

One must also include the government officials and journalists from several of the participant Arabic countries, and especially the musical ensembles from Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Morocco, Syria, and Tunisia (see App. 7).

17 Listed in M. Guettat, “La Tunisie”, 70–1.

18 A news item welcoming the Turkish delegates by the Cairo Turkish community can be found in *Musique arabe*, 316.

19 He answered questions about the Congress in *Musique arabe*, 302–4.

20 There is a photo of him in plate 10 of the *KMM^aA* and the *Recueil*, resp.

21 *Musique arabe*, 289–90.

22 See his photo in *Musique arabe*, fig. [29].

23 Biographical data can be found in d’Erlanger, *La musique arabe*, v, 380–1.

Finally, it should also be mentioned that when Ḥasan Ḥusnī ‘Abd al-Wahhāb, head of the Tunisian delegation, arrived in Haifa on his way home from the Congress, he met with the President of the Palestinian *Club de Musique* from whom he learned—with great dismay—that a Palestinian delegation was not invited to the Congress for the following reason:

Comme vous le savez, la Palestine ne possède d'autre organisme musical officiel que notre Club. Or ce club a-t-il à lui assez d'influence pour déléguer des personnes représentant la Palestine toute entière. Ne serait-il pas blâmé par certaines instances s'il le faisait? Et puis notre gouvernement n'est pas un gouvernement populaire, soucieux de nous et de notre musique comme c'est le cas chez vous (*Musique arabe*, 316).

[N.B. Mention should also be made of several noted figures in the music world who attended the Congress, but were not invited officially: Eugène Borrel (1876–1962; musicologist and violinist from France);²⁴ Maurice Emmanuel (1862–1938; composer from France);²⁵ Reynaldo Hahn (1874–1947; composer from France);²⁶ Hans Helfritz (1902–95; musicologist and composer from Germany);²⁷ Julius Hijman (1901–67; musicologist and pianist from the Netherlands);²⁸ Vittorio Rieti (1898–1994; the Egyptian-born composer from Italy);²⁹ Kurt Schindler (1882–1935; German-born choral conductor, pianist, and composer from the United States);³⁰ and Jenő von Takács (1902–2005; Hungarian-

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- 24 His short report of the Congress was printed in *Le monde musical* 43(7) (July 31, 1932), 230.
- 25 In an item published in Spain prior to the Congress, Adolfo Salazar (“La vida” [Mar. 6], 8) mentioned that Maurice Emmanuel, the French composer and scholar on ancient Greek music, would be present, but apparently was not invited to participate.
- 26 When Hahn lectured in Cairo on Fri., Mar. 18th, he must have spent time with members of the French delegation.
- 27 In a letter, housed at the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv and that was written by M.A. el-Ḥefnī (from Cairo, on Aug. 8, 1931) to Herr Professor [either Hornbostel or Sachs], mention is made of Hans Helfritz’s need for financial support to attend the Congress. Reporting limited funds from the Institute [of Oriental Music], el-Ḥefnī wrote that he would do his best to help Mr. Helfritz.
- 28 J. Hijman (“Egypte” and “Een musicus”) later published his respective interviews with Curt Sachs and Hans Helfritz, proving that indeed the latter was in attendance.
- 29 Not mentioned in the literature I’ve perused pertaining to the Congress, Rieti, curiously enough, appeared in two photos (nos. 5 and 6) taken by Kurt Schindler on Mar. 20th in the Rest House at Saqqara, where a group of the participants were relaxing from the heat.
- 30 According to Philippe Stern (“Le Congrès”), Schindler assisted during the sessions of Lachmann’s Commission on Recordings. However, it should be mentioned that on Mon. evening, Feb. 8, 1932, Schindler lectured at the Casa Hispánica at Columbia Univ. (New York) concerning his three year sojourn in Spain studying its folk music and literature.



FIGURE A4.F *This precious photo, duplicated from the Recueil (bet. pp. 38 and 39) depicts the major participants at the Congress.*

First row (left to right): N. Naḥās; M. Riḍā; H.B. Rabaud; X.A. al-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī; Shaykh L. ben Seri; M. Ḥilmī ‘Isā; Baron B. Carra de Vaux; H.G. Farmer; C. Sachs; unidentified person; M.A. el-Ḥefnī; and an unidentified person.

Second row: Mme. M. Humbert-Lavergne; two unidentified persons, R. Yekta Bey, S. el-Shawā, G. Zampieri, W. Ṣabrā, unidentified person; J. Chantavoine; P. Hindemith; E.M. von Hornbostel and A. Salazar are standing behind Sachs and el-Ḥefnī, resp.;

Third row: M. Cantoni, unidentified person; Mme. J. Hercher-Clément; E. Wellesz; R. Lachmann; M. Djemil; two unidentified persons; H.H. ‘Abd al-Wahhāb and W. Heinitz can be seen behind Lachmann; and K. Schindler had placed himself in the upper right corner.

Last row: M. Kāmil Ḥajjāj and W. Heinitz.

In his letter (dated Feb. 15th) to Robert E. Leigh, Esq., President of Bennington College (Vermont), in which he expressed his gratefulness for being under consideration for the music chairmanship at the College, he explained that he had made plans to travel and would possibly return in the fall. In his last paragraph, he wrote:

“As to the date of my sailing, I am trying to postpone it a few months. But it depends upon the answer to a cable which I sent to Cairo regarding the opening date of the ‘Congress of Oriental Music,’ which was vaguely announced as taking place in the middle of March. The answer might arrive tomorrow at the latest, and if the opening should be on the 15th of March, I should have no alternative than to sail either on the 25th or the 27th of the month.”

born Austrian composer).³¹ There is no evidence that the then young Hans Hickmann (1906–68), had attended the Congress. He first met al-Ḥefnī during his student years at Berlin University, where he studied under Sachs, Hornbostel, Wolf, Arnold Schering, and George Schünemann. In the fall of 1932, and again in 1933, together with Brigitte Schiffer (his first wife), he undertook a recording expedition to the Siwa Oasis for the Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv. Because of the political situation in Germany, he settled in Cairo in 1933 where he established a music conservatory called *Musica Viva*, located at 1 Sekl el Fadl.]

31 The Berlin Phonogramm-Archiv possesses two letters written by al-Ḥefnī to Hornbostel (dated Cairo Feb. 27, and June 6, 1931, resp.) which attest to the loan of a phonograph and cylinders to Jenő Takács for the purpose of recording chants from the Coptic Church. It appears that these were not made because the priests were forbidden to participate in such recordings.

Appendix 5

Regulations for the Arab Music Congress under [the] Patronage of H.M. the King¹

[N.B. The Regulations Farmer received from Cairo (weeks prior to his participation) comprised three sections: 1) Articles, 2) the technical questions and work programme of the seven Commissions, and 3) the constituent members of each Commission. In the Table of Contents for his First Scrapbook, Farmer placed the three sections under the title 'Rules and Committees of the Congress,' scrawling their page numbers consecutively (in red-inked Roman numerals) from i through xviii. Appendix 5 comprises Articles (pp. i–iii) and technical questions and work programme, (pp. iv–ix) whose original pagination was [-1-] through -3-, and (1) through (6), respectively.

App. 6 contains the memberships of the respective Commissions (pp. x–xviii).]

-1- [i]

Article I.

An Arabic Music Congress will be held in Cairo for three weeks and will commence on 14th March, 1932.

Article II.

The subjects for discussion will involve the following: the proper means leading to the evolution of Arabic music, and the analysis of the *makāmāt* & rhythms, regularising of the musical & vocal Composition, and establishing the musical scale and fixing the musical symbols or notes used for writing down the tunes, to examine the musical instruments and register national airs and songs in Egypt and other Arab countries; to organise the teaching of music and finally to make a study of the History of Arabic Music and works on the same whether printed or in mss. A special Committee will be formed for each of these questions.

1 The *Regulations* can be found in Scrapbook 1 (FC 503, i–ix). The final form of the *Regulations* evolved from the preliminary meeting between Maḥmūd Aḥmed el-Ḥefnī and Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger at the latter's palatial home in Sidi-bou-Saïd (Tunis) in mid April of 1931.

Article III.

The work of the Congress will comprise two parts, firstly the preliminary technical investigations by the Committees lasting for two weeks, and secondly, consideration of the reports submitted by these Committees during one week and issuing of the decisions arrived at.

Article IV.

H.E. the Minister of Education will preside over the Congress and Mr. Maḥmūd Aḥmed el-Ḥefnī Eff., Inspector of Music in the Ministry of Education will be the General Secretary.

Article V.

The Congress Organising Committee will be composed as follows:²

The Minister of Education [Muḥammad Ḥilmī 'Īsā]	President
The Under-Secretary of [Education] [‘Abd el-Fattāḥ Ṣabrī Pāshā] ³	Vice-President
Baron [Rodolphe] D’Erlanger	Vice-President ⁴
Aḥmed Naguib el-Ḥelali Bey	Technical Vice-President
Muṣṭafā Riḍā Bey	
Moḥammed Zaki ‘Ali Bey	
Yaqub ‘Abd el-Wahhāb Bey	
Dr. Maḥmūd Aḥmed el-Ḥefnī, Effendi	Secretary General
Mr. F. Cantoni, Director of the Royal Opera House.	

2 According to Rizqalla Shehata, as reported by Y. Labib Rizq (“Plaintive strains”), the original committee was to consist of the Minister of Education [then Murād Sayad Aḥmed], Aḥmed Naguib el-Ḥelali, Dr. Maḥmūd el-Ḥefnī, and such literary and intellectual figures as Ahmed Shawqi, Ragheb Moftah, Safar ‘Ali, Mohamed Kāmil Ḥajjāj, Maḥmūd ‘Ali Faḍli and Naguib Naḥas. Shehata also discussed the proposed committees and their duties. Faṭḥī Saleh (“The 1932 Arabic Music”), in his brief overview of the Congress, confirmed the membership of the Organizing Committee as printed in the *Regulations*.

3 El-Fattāḥ Sabrī represented the Oriental Music Institute.

4 D’Erlanger was actually named Technical Artistic Vice-President.

-2- [ii]

Article VI.

The following will be paid for from the credit provided for the Congress:

- (1) To make a collection of photographs copied from the most important Mss. of old and new works on Arabic music kept at the different Libraries of Europe, of which Mss. no similar copy is to be found in Egypt.
- (2) To acquire the most important old and new works on Arabic Music (or those which may help to inquire into it such as works on Oriental Music in general, Latin, Byzantine and Christian Hymns).
- (3) To obtain the chief musical instruments of the West, which were originally Oriental instruments and have been modified, in order to know how the evolution in its different stages has taken place.
- (4) A collection of works of value on music which have been printed in the different Oriental countries.
- (5) A collection of the most important phonographic discs in vogue in Arabian Countries recording the typical music of these Countries.
- (6) Registration by the Gramophone Co. of musical pieces as the special Committee may choose.
- (7) The publications which may be required for the work of the Congress.

The Congress Organising Committee may decide indemnities in case of members coming from abroad, for their transport and sojourn.

Article VII.

The names of the members of the Congress are shown on the accompanying list and they will be detailed to the seven Committees. Each Committee will be assisted by number of experts.

Article VIII.

Each Committee will select from amongst its members at the first meeting a President and a Secretary, and fix the dates for the meetings of the Committee. At all deliberations minutes should be kept and signed by the President & Secretary. Such minutes should be submitted to the Congress with full reports thereon.

-3- [iii]

Article ix.

The Arabic Language will be the Official medium through which discussions by the members will be carried on; but the English, French or German languages may, at the discretion of the Congress, also be used in conjunction with Arabic.

Article x.

The subjects for enquiry by each Committee are shown in a separate supplement.

Article xi.

The General Secretary of the Congress will act as a member of each Committee in virtue of his position as the intermediary between the Committees and the Congress.

Article xii.

The General Secretary will provide each Committee with clerks and translators as may be found necessary.

Article xiii.

The members of the Congress will hold an unofficial meeting at 4:30 p.m. on Monday 14th March, 1932 at the Institute of Oriental Music where they will take tea. The Committees will begin work on Tuesday morning, 15th March, 1932.

Article xiv.

The President of the Congress will inaugurate the first meeting at 10 o'clock on the morning of 28th March, 1932, by an opening address, then the Technical Vice-President will preside over the meeting which will proceed to select the member who will act as Chairman at each meeting so that he will be the same for all the meetings assigned for one subject.

[iiia]

It is understood that discussions in each subject will be completed within the time limit shown in Appendix No.—[no number]. The Congress will in the same meeting

fix the order of the meetings to come. The minutes of the Congress will be signed by the President of the meeting and the General Secretary.

The Minister of Education shall conclude the meetings of the Congress at 4.30 p.m. on 4th April, 1932.

Article xv.

Each Committee will choose from amongst the matters submitted to it for enquiry those which will be of advantage to publish with the sanction of the members of the Congress at their meeting.

Article xvi.

After the termination of the work of the Congress, the Organising Committee will form a Technical Committee which will be entrusted with submitting a general report on the work undertaken by the Congress and the decisions taken and the principles laid down and agreed upon, which report the Organising Committee will publish for submission to H.M. the King.

[1] – [iv]

CONGRESS OF ARABIC MUSIC
UNDER THE PATRONAGE OF H.M. THE KING

Technical questions for consideration by the Committees of the Congress.

The following questions will be inquired into in this order:

- (1) General Problems: Each member of the Congress is expected to reply in writing whenever he has an opinion to express.
- (2) As to the questions for the Committees, it is expected that the members of each Committee should be concerned with the question under review.
- (3) All communications and views which members deem advisable to submit for discussion should be sent to the Secretariat of the Congress at the Institute of Oriental Music, Sharia Reine Nazli, before 7th March 1932.
- (4) Members of each Committee have the right to submit for discussion all supplementary questions coming within the province of each Committee.
- (5) A list should be submitted to the Registration Committee of all the pieces which instrumentalists and vocalists offer, for selection therefrom after being heard with a view to their being recommended for registration.

- (6) Each of the seven Committees should use the same technical nomenclature in their reports, however they may differ in the different Countries in order to enable a unified musical vocabulary to be made.

[2] – [v]

Programme of the Work of the Committees

(1) **Committee of the General Questions**

What is the best means to insure the organisation and development of Arabic music and its adaptability to answer all the purposes aimed at in music in general, without losing sight of its distinctive characteristics and style?

(2) **Committee for considering the *makāmāt* (modes), rhythms and composition**

- (i) To make a list of the *makāmāt* employed in Egypt.
- (ii) To classify these *makāmāt* according to their keynotes.
- (iii) To analyse the different *makāmāt* according to genera from which they are formed, and to classify them according to their fundamental scale.
- (iv) To compare the musical modes in vogue here with those of other Arabic Musical Communities, noting in particular the variations existing in regard to:
- (a) their splitting up into genera
- (b) use of musical modes
- (c) their nomenclature or denomination.
- (v) To adhere to the modes is to limit the freedom of the musical composer. Is it not possible to remedy this, and by what means should a modification or change effect the rules underlying the musical modes?

[3] – [vi]

- (vi) Rhythm.
- (1) To detail the kinds of rhythm used in Egypt, and in other Arabic Musical centres, showing their respective accents.
- (2) To analyse each rhythm, and illustrate it, as far as possible, by a model rhythm.

(vii) Composition.

- (1) What are the different kinds of vocal compositions used in Egypt (*Qaṣeeda* [*sic Qaṣīdah*] or poem, *door* [*daūr*, written in margin] var. of *dawr*] or stanza or ballad, and *tawshesh* [added penned correction *tawshih*] or double rhymed poem, etc.)?
- (2) What are the characteristics of each of these kinds of vocal music?
- (3) Which of these are used in the other countries of Arabic Music, and under what name?
- (4) What are the forms of Arabic music prevailing in other countries of which no similar types are found in Egypt?
- (5) Is it possible to create other kinds of vocal music? As these are intimately allied with prosody, should there be created new forms of musical rhythms and what will these be?
- (6) What are the different kinds of instrumental music practised in Egypt and prevailing in other countries of Arabic music (*dolab*, *samā'i*, *peshrav*, etc.)?
- (7) What are the characteristics of each, and how are they related to the various forms of rhythm?

(3) Musical Scale Committee

- (i) To inquire into the experimental results obtained to prove the distances existing between the 7 intervals of the basic scale, and to determine the value of the 24 tones of which the general Arabic musical scale is composed.
- (ii) If the Octave were divided into 24 equal distances owing to there being a fixed relation between them, would the sounds of the musical modes be changed to an extent that would make them lose their distinctive character?
- (iii) Would it not be possible to find an easier nomenclature for the sounds forming the Arabic musical Octave?
- (iv) What is the best method for the notation of Arabic music, taking into account that its most important element is the rhythm?

[4] – [vii]

(4) Musical Instruments Committee

- (i) To make a list of the instruments used in Arabic Music in Egypt.
- (ii) To examine them from a point of view of their answering the purpose? What will be the means requisite to affect any amelioration or improvement?

- (iii) Are there any oriental instruments not used in Egypt which can be properly used in Arabic music, and what are these?
- (iv) Should soloists and orchestras avoid the use of European instruments in Arabic music, or should some of these be used, and if so what are these instruments and should they be taken as they are or should they be modified?
- (v) After forming an opinion on this matter, what are the instruments of which Arabic music orchestras or bands should be formed?
- (vi) What are the Western instruments of Eastern origin which have been modified and how did the evolution take place?
- (vii) What is the best way to procure specimens of such instruments in their various stages of evolution?
- (viii) How can a collection of Oriental instruments be formed?

(5) Registration Committee: (by Phonograph)

- (i) The Committee should hear such pieces as it chooses from the list given by candidates, and recommend those which it deems to be of technical advantage to register.
- (ii) The Committee will determine the pieces that are of particular importance and worthy of registration and of which two records should be taken, and insured.
- (iii) What will be the best method to arrange the discs for preservation?
- (iv) What is the best way to study the discs?
- (v) In what way should phonograph discs be kept?

[5] – [viii]

(6) Committee for the Teaching of Music

- (i) To look into the statistics offered for:
 - (1) Oriental and Occidental musical Societies in Egypt (Institutes, Clubs, Special Schools, Associations, etc.).
 - (2) Students who receive musical training in these schools.
 - (3) The number of those who learn Occidental music, and those who receive training in Arabic music.
- (ii) Should musical culture be developed in Egypt and at what age and for what purpose and by what means?
- (iii) What are the kinds of musical institutions which should be created in Egypt and under what regulations and syllabuses?

- (iv) What are the best methods and syllabuses to be adopted for the teaching of music, and how long need the students spend in their training?
- (v) How can efficient instructors in music be turned out in as short a time as possible, and what should be done to encourage specialists to write books on the Art and how it should be taught and to modulate by sound musical pieces and canticles which promote taste in the young generation?
- (vi) What is the method by which the schools, clubs and societies where music is taught should be controlled and the efficiency of the instruction can be insured?
- (vii) How can the standard of musicians who teach music at present be raised?

(7) **Committee for the History of Music and MSS**

- (i) To make a list of Occidental and Oriental works which treat of Arabic music.
- (ii) What is the best means for encouraging works in Arabic of the scientific study of the various periods of the History of Arabic Music?
- (iii) To prepare a report comprising the History of the Arabic Music Scale and its evolution in the different periods.

[6] – [ix]

- (iv) To make statistics of the most important Arabic MSS. which treat of music, showing those that have been published, and those which have been translated into another language with notes or explanations therein.
- (v) What are the mss. which have not been published and by what means can they be published?
- (vi) How far can the Country profit by the publication of these MSS.?

Appendix 6

The Seven Commissions (Cairo, 1932)

[N.B. These pages comprise the continuation of App. 5, bearing Farmer's red-inked Roman numeration. This section was originally sent with the pagination [-1-] to [9]. All the names appear as printed in the original document.]

-1- [x]

MINISTÈRE DE L'INSTRUCTION PUBLIQUE

CONGRÈS DE MUSIQUE ARABE
SOUS LE HAUT PATRONAGE DE SA MAJESTÉ LE ROI

ANNEXE IV

COMMISSIONS TECHNIQUES¹
NOMS DE MESSIEURS LES MEMBRES

-2- [xi]

[Bears same headings as previous page]

NOTE: a) Les noms de Messieurs les Membres des Commissions sont groupé par ordre alphabétique.

b) Chaque Commission a élu parmi ses Membres, un Président et un Secrétaire, en sa première Séance que s'est tenue le Mardi matin, 15 Mars 1932.

-3- [xii]

1.- COMMISSION DES QUESTIONS GÉNÉRALES:

M.M. [NOMS DE MESSIEURS LES MEMBRES]

Le Baron Carra de Vaux

PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION

Moḥamed Faṭḥī Eff.

SECRÉTAIRE

Docteur Henry Farmer

Professeur Docteur von Hornbostel

1 The original can be found in Scrapbook 1 (Annexe 4) (FC 503, x-xxi).

Docteur R. Lachmann
 Professeur Docteur C. Sachs
 Safar 'Ali Eff.
 Moḥamed Zakī 'Alī Bey
 Maḥmud Ḥilmī Khourchid Eff.
 Moustapha Riḍā Bey

-4- [xiii]

2.- COMMISSION DES MODES DES RYTHMES ET DE LA COMPOSITION

R[aul] Yekta Bey	PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION
Safar 'Ali Eff.	SECRÉTAIRE
M[asud] Djemil Bey	
Le Baron R. d'Erlanger	
Professeur [Alois] Hába	
Madame Lavergne	
Professeur [Adolfo] Salazar	
Aḥmed Shawky Bey	
Gamil Eweiss Eff.	
El Cheikh Hassan el-Mamlouk	
Daoud Hosny Eff.	
Cheikh Darwiche el-Hariri	
Kamel el-Kholay Eff.	
Moustapha Riḍā Bey	
Mansour Awād Eff.	

-5- [xiv]

3.- COMMISSION DE L'ÉCHELLE MUSICALE:

R. Père Collangettes	PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION
Émile Erian Eff.	SECRÉTAIRE
Baron Carra de Vaux	
M. Djemil Bey	
Docteur H. Farmer	
Professeur Docteur E. von Hornbostel	
Professeur Docteur Wolf	
R. Yekta Bey	
Ibrahim Khalil Anis Eff.	

Ahmed Amin el-Dik Eff.
 Moḥamed Faṭḥī Eff.
 Maḥmoud 'Alī Faḍli Eff.
 Moustapha Riḍā Bey
 Mansour Awād Eff.
 Naguib Naḥas Eff.
 Wadi' Sabrā Eff.

-6- [xv]

4- COMMISSION DES INSTRUMENTS:

C. Sachs	PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION
Naguib Naḥas Eff.	SECRÉTAIRE
M. Djemil Bey	
Docteur H. Farmer	
Professeur Hába	
Docteur Heinitz	
Professeur Hindemith	
Professeur Docteur E. von Hornbostel	
Ahmed Amin el-Dik Eff.	
F. Cantoni	
Muḥammad 'Abd al-Wahhāb Eff.	
Moḥamed Ezzat Bey	
Moḥamed Faṭḥī Eff.	
Wadi' Sabrā Eff.	

-7- [xvi]

5- COMMISSION DE L'ENREGISTREMENT:

Docteur R. Lachmann	PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION
Mouftah Eff.	SECRÉTAIRE
Hassan 'Abd al-Ouahab (<i>sic</i> Wahhāb)	
Professeur B. Bartók	
Professeur A. Chottin	
M. Djemil Bey	
Docteur Heinitz	
Madame Hercher Clément	
Professeur Docteur E. von Hornbostel	

Madame Lavergne
 P. Ricard
 P. Stern
 Moustapha Riḍā Bey
 Mansour Awād Eff.
 Hassan Abdel Ouahab (*sic* ‘Abd al-Wahhāb)

-8- [xvii]

6.- COMMISSION DE L'ENSEIGNEMENT MUSICAL.²

Docteur Maḥmūd Aḥmed El Hefny,	PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION
G. Costakis ³	SECRÉTAIRE
J. Chantavoine	
[Aloïs Hába]	
Professeur [Paul] Hindemith	
Professeur [Henri] Rabaud	
Professeur Docteur C[urt] Sachs	
Professeur Egon Wellesz	
Docteur [Johannes] Wolf	
R. Yekta Bey	
‘Aḥmed Amin el-Dīk Eff.	
F. Cantoni	
Safar ‘Alī Eff.	
Maḥmūd Zakī Eff.	
Moustapha Riḍā Bey	

2 See M. Roy's ("L'éducation musicale", 33) listing of its members.

3 During the Congress Costakis was replaced by Ragheb Mouftāh.

-9- [xviii]

7.- COMMISSION D'HISTOIRE ET DES MANUSCRITS

Docteur H[enry] Farmer

PRÉSIDENT DE LA COMMISSION

Mohamed Kamel Hajja Eff.

SECRETÉAIRE

Hassan Abdel Quahāb ['Abd al-Wahhāb]

Baron [Bernard] Carra de Vaux

Baron R[odolphe] d'Erlanger

Docteur R[obert] Lachmann

Professeur Docteur E[gon] Wellesz

Professeur Doctor [Johannes] Wolf

Professeur [Gustavo] Zampieri

Appendix 7

Invited Musical Ensembles (Cairo, 1932)

[N.B. Inasmuch as the *Recueil* (p. 40) bore only the names of the constituent members from each of the respective musical ensembles representing Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Morocco, Syria, and Tunisia, one will find variant spellings, as well as differences in their memberships in other published contributions regarding the Congress.]

Algerian (the Ben Sari ensemble from Tlemcen):¹ Shaykh Hadj Larbi ben Sari (1883–1965; *rebāb*; leader of the ensemble) and his sons Radouan Sari (b. 1914) and Moḥammed ben Sari (alias Staline; *kamanja* ‘spiked fiddle’), Ahmed ben Sari (*snitra* ‘mandolin’ and solo vocalist), Moḥamed ben Sari (*tār*), Moḥammed ben Sari (cousin of Labri; *kamanja* ‘spiked fiddle’), Khalid Ould Sidi Aissa (whose real name is Abdallah ben Mansour; *derbūka*), Abdelhamid Settouti (*nāy*), and Omar Bekhchi (*kwitra* ‘small unfretted’ *ūd*). Members of the ensemble can be seen in Schindler’s photos (nos. 30–1 and 49).



A7.A *The Algerian ensemble (taken from the album edited by C. Poché and Moussali, Congrès du Caire 1932, 60).*

¹ Listed in N. Mecheri-Saads (“Les documents”, 52). N. Bouzar-Kasabdji (“L’Algérie musicale”, 92) named additional musicians in ben Sari’s ensemble.

Egyptian:² 1) *Firqat Umm Kulthūm*: Ibrāhīm ‘Afifī (‘*iqā* ‘rhythm’), Ibrāhīm al-Sayyid al-Baltāgī (her father), Khālid Ibrāhīm (her brother; an accompanying singer (*mazhabgi*), Muḥammad al-Qasabgī (1892–1966: ‘*ūd* player and composer),³ Ibrāhīm al-Ariyān (*qānūn* ‘plucked dulcimer’), Muḥammad Kerayyem (*kamān* ‘violin’), Girgis Sa‘ad (al-Arif) (*nāy* player and Coptic deacon), and Al-Hāgg Yūsuf Mitwallī (cello).

2) *Firqat El-Aqqād al-Kabir*: Mustafā el-‘Aqqād (1886–1942; *riqq* ‘small frame drum’; artistic director of the ensemble, and one of the founders of the Institute),⁴ Muḥammad Aḥmād (*rabāb*), Moḥammad el-‘Aqqād al-Saghīr (1851–1932[?]; principal *qānūn* player); Mustafā Kāmil (*qānūn*); Maḥmud el-‘Aqqād (*qānūn*), Ismā‘īl el-‘Aqqād (*kamān* ‘violin’ and soloist), Mustafā ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (*kamān*), ‘Abd al-Fattāh Sabrī (‘*ūd*), Ḥasan Gharīb (‘*ūd*), ‘Abd al-Mum‘im ‘Arafa (‘*ūd*), Fahmī al-Madbūli (*nāy*), and Al-Hāgg Yūsuf Mitwallī (cello). Additional members were Sidi Moḥammad (second principal *qānūn* player) and Hanafī Ḥasan al-Hinnāwī (*nāy*). See *ibid.*, 379. See Schindler’s photo (no. 32).

2 The photos of both ensembles (Plates 1 and 2) were printed in the final sections of the *KMM‘A* and the *Recueil*, resp., under the title PHOTOGRAPHIES PRISES À L’OCCASION DU CONGRÈS DE MUSIQUE ARABE. Their names and instruments have been identified in *Musique arabe*, 385. The first plate depicts Umm Kulthūm’s personal ensemble which accompanied her presentation at the Congress’s gala concert at the Royal Opera House on Sunday evening, Apr. 3 (see Chap. 4, n. 125), and the second, comprises the official Egyptian ensemble. Plate 1 from the *Recueil* can also be found in A.J. Racy (“Sound and society”, 149).

“Salwa el-Shawan (Data on 1–2), who examined both plates, noted that, in the first, Umm Kulthūm is seated at the center of her ensemble... [and that] the oud [resting] beside her... might have meant that sometimes she would accompany herself while singing. Moḥammad [al-Qasabgī, seated to her right] is the pedagogue who taught and accompanied her until his death a few years ago. Ismā‘īl [el-‘Aqqād], violinist, [not mentioned in *Musique arabe* is the] third player from the left. [He was] also a member of the [Egyptian] ensemble. [Umm Kulthūm can be seen in Plate 6.]”

The El-‘Aqqād ensemble, in the second plate, took its name from the three brothers Mustafā, Ismā‘īl, and Moḥammed. However, she noted two additional names: Sa‘id Moḥamed, the second *qānūnist*, who sat to the right of the principal *qānūnist*, and Girgis Sa‘ad (from Kulthūm’s ensemble; also shown as soloist in Plate 46) is seen third from the left. Ismā‘īl el-‘Aqqād (seen also as soloist in Plate 28) can be seen at the extreme right. ‘Abd al-Fattāh Sabrī is sitting to the right of the principal *qānūnist*, and Mustafā el-‘Aqqād is in back of the ensemble.

3 Although al-Qasabgī performed at the gala concert, he boycotted the Congress because of his disdain for the foreign musicologists who were invited (Thomas, “Developing Arab music”, 96). For most of his professional career, he was closely associated with Umm Kulthūm, whom he taught composition and instructed her on the ‘*ūd*. He also composed numerous songs for her.

4 Mustafā el-‘Aqqād’s early role with the Institute of Oriental Music and the beginnings of his *firqat* is discussed in *Musique arabe*, 379–80. His photo can be seen in *Musique arabe*, fig. [32].

Iraqi Chalghī al-Baghdadi:⁵ Moḥamed el-Kabangui (Muḥammad al-Qubbāndjī [1901–89]);⁶ lead singer of the ensemble), Ezra Hārūn Shashīr, known under the name ‘Azzūrī (1900–75/1903–95) (*‘ūd*), Yūsuf Za‘rūr, known under the name al-Saghīr (1901–86) (*qānūn*); Sālēh Shummēl (1890–1960) (*Kamān-jōza*, ‘a four-stringed spike fiddle whose sound box consists of a coconut shell’), Yūsuf Petaw-Shummēl (1886–1976) (*santūr* ‘hammered dulcimer’),⁷ Ibrāhīm Sālēh (*daff* ‘frame drum’), and Yehūdā Moshe Shammash (1884–1972) (*dumbak* ‘goblet drum’). All except al-Qubbāndjī were Baghdadi Jews. The interpreter for the group was Naīn M. Shammash. The Prime Minister, Nuri al-Sa‘īd, entrusted Effendi Ezra Hārūn to dress the group in European style and to ensure that they would display appropriate conduct during their stay in Cairo. [In the *Recueil* they were listed as Moḥamed el Kabangui, Azouri Haroun, Yousseph Zaarouri el Saghīr, Saleh Chomaīel, Youssef Beto, Ibrāhīm Saleh, and Yahuda Moucha Chaman. See Schindler’s photos (nos. 84–94).

Moroccan ensemble:⁸ Under the patronage of the King of Morocco and under the direction of Si Umar Fā‘īd al-Juaydi (1873–1952) and Shaykh Muḥammad Shuwayka (c. 1890–1940; vocalist). Members included Fakaeh Matiri, Moḥamed Mebeircou, Hajj Abdel Salam ben Youssef, Osman Tazi, and Moḥamed Dadi. See Schindler’s photo (no. 20).

Syrian:⁹ First ensemble included Sharfiq Shabīb and Ahmad Urabī (*‘ūd* players), Ilyā Dabā‘ī and Massūh Kīlānī (violinists), Fawzī Qaltaqjī, and ‘Uthmān Qatariya (*qānūn* players), plus Sālīh al-Muhabbik (vocalist and *riqq*).

5 According to S.Q. Hassan (“Choix de la musique”, 128). “The Iraqi urban tradition, *al-māqām al-Iraqi* was represented by the celebrated singer from Baghdad, Muḥammad al-Qubbāndjī, accompanied by the traditional ensemble known as *al-Chalgi al-Baghdadi*, [whose] performance revealed a unique melodic repertory, distinct in its formal procedures, performance practice and terminology from the neighbouring ‘Oriental’ traditions of Egypt and Syria” (R. Davis, “Review”, 163). For contextual information concerning the Iraqi ensemble, see Y. Kojaman (*The maqam music*) and A. Shiloah (*The musical traditions*). About Bartók’s impression of the ensemble, see Chap. 4, n. 25. Moreover, the problems encountered concerning the Syrian delegations are explained in *Musique arabe*, 312–3.

6 His photo is in plate 7 of the *KMM’A* and the *Recueil*, resp.

7 Yūsuf replaced his father, Hoogi Pataw, who was then too well-advanced in age to travel.

8 Names listed in the *Recueil*. Curt Sachs (“Zum Kongress”) wrote a short piece on the Moroccan ensemble. For interesting material on the ensemble, instruments, and repertoire, see P. García Barriuso (*La música hispano-musulmana*).

9 Judging from J.-F. Belleface’s article (“La Syrie”), there appear to have been two ensembles. A photo of the ensemble can be seen in Plate 3 of the *KMM’A* and the *Recueil*, resp.

The second ensemble comprised Sālim al-Hanafī (*riqq*), Sālih al-Muhabbik (vocalist and *riqq*), Tawfīq El-Sabbāgh (*‘ud* player), and Ibrāhīm Shāmiya (vocalist). [Listed in the *Recueil* as Selim Hanafi, Tewfik Sabbagh, Dr. Salem, Ibrāhīm Sami, and Hamdy Babel.]

Tunisian:¹⁰ Muḥammad Ghānim (*rābāb*; head of the ensemble); Khemayyis Tarnān (*‘ūd ‘arbī* ‘Maghrebian lute’; artistic director of the group), Khemayyis al-‘Ātī (*naqqarāt*), ‘Alī ibn ‘Arfa (*riqq* or *tār*), Muḥammad Belahsan [‘Marmit’] (*sawt* always ‘falsetto vocalist’), and Moḥammad el Moqrānī (amateur vocalist). [Listed in the *Recueil* as Moḥamed Ghanem, Kanaies Tarnan, Khanaies el-Ati, Aly ben Arafa, Moḥamed ben Ḥassan, and Moḥamed el-Marcarani.]¹¹



A7.B *The Tunisian ma'luf ensemble: From left to right: Muḥammad Belashan [?]; A. al-Arafa; M. Ghānim; K. Tarnān; and K. al-‘Ātī (taken from the album edited by C. Poché and B. Moussali, Congrès du Caire 1932, 74).*

10 Listed in M. Guettat (“La Tunisie”, 71). R. Davis (“Tunisia”, 139–40) named Khemayyis Tarnān as artistic director of the group. Among the musicians, Muḥammad Ghānim, Moḥammed ben Ḥassan, and Moḥammed Cherif were renowned performers. The musicians belonged to Baron d’Erlanger’s personal *ma'luf* ensemble, which disbanded shortly after his death in Oct. of 1932. A photo of the ensemble can be seen in Plate 4 of the *KMM'A* and the *Recueil*, resp.

11 In Farmer’s copy, he inserted “Khumais” in red-ink.

Additional ensembles (which performed and were recorded at the Institute):¹²

Dhikr Laythī: singers and instrumentalists from the Sufi Laythī Order. See photo in *Musique arabe* (section of photos [Fig. 35]), wherein four of its seven members were identified: Mansūr ‘Awād; Shaykh ‘Aḥmad al-Basānūnī, ‘Abd al-Fattāh Husayn, and ‘Aḥmad al-Mahallāwī.

Egyptian Ḥajjī Tāhā Abū Mandūr ensemble; see *Musique arabe* (*ibid.* [Fig. 36]). Musicians unidentified. See Schindler’s photos (nos. 17–9).

Fallāḥūn ensemble from Fayyūm, of which Schindler took two photos (nos. 27 and 29).

Sudanese ensemble from Bahr el-Selin.¹³ See Schindler photos (nos. 34, 36, and 37).

12 A. Salazar (“La Comisión de Registración”) described the large audition room at the Institute of Oriental Music, where the musicians, singers, and instrumental ensembles were interviewed prior to being recorded. He also mentioned dancing dervishes, as well as a group of women exorcists who fell prey to epileptic seizures. There was also a Bedouin storyteller with a tambourine, who sang while being accompanied by a blind *chirimia* player and a half-blind performer on a long *nāy*.

13 Indicated as such on the reverse side of Schindler’s photos (nos. 33–7). Salazar (“La Comisión de Registración”) described the ensemble’s presentation of a ritualistic wedding scene, wherein the groom sings, dances, and asks for gifts to the accompaniment of drums and a five-stringed triangular psaltery.

Appendix 8

Recueil des Travaux du Congrès de Musique Arabe (*Contents*)

[N.B. The orthography and capitalization in the section-, chapter-, and subheadings has been maintained as printed in the *Recueil*. Words and names that have been corrected, or added for the purpose of identification, are enclosed in brackets.]

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¹ Repr. in E. Neubauer, i, 718–9.

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MEMBRES DU COMITÉ D'ORGANISATION DU CONGRÈS

INSIGNE DES MEMBRES DU CONGRÈS

CARTE D'IDENTITÉ PERSONNELLE AUX MEMBRES DU CONGRÈS

MEMBRES DU CONGRÈS

L'INSTITUT DE MUSIQUE ORIENTALE OÙ S'EST REUNI LE CONGRÈS

PHOTOGRAPHIES PRISES À L'OCCASION DU CONGRÈS DE MUSIQUE ARABE³

3 S. el-Shawan ("Data on", 1–3) was able to identify, with the help of previous members of the Congress, seventeen of the more than seventy photographic plates, namely nos. 1–4, 6–7, 10, 12–3, 19, 25–6, 46–7, 53, and 65–6. The identification of several Egyptian musicians can be found in *Musique arabe* (1992: 385–6, along with photographed examples from the *Recueil's* original iconography, pp. [387–426]).

Appendix 9

*A Short History of the Arabian Musical Scale*¹

[**Background:** Farmer was fully cognizant of the Articles listed in the Regulations which he received prior to his embarkation for Egypt. Item iii under (7) of the Programme of the Work of the Committees, called for the “preparation of a report comprising the History of the Arabic Music Scale and its evolution in the different periods.” Fortunately, he must have taken with him the draft copy of his entry on ‘Mūsīkī’ that he had been preparing for the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. At the Congress he was able to show his draft to several of his trusted colleagues, including Baron Carra de Vaux, who approved wholeheartedly of its contents (see Chap. 5, 238).

It was from this draft, focusing primarily on the history of the Arab music scale, that he drew the information for his report. A comparison between the following text (from

1 From Farmer’s second Scrapbook (FC 504, 1–11). On the page preceding his report, he wrote: “NOTE. My own typescript of the History of the Arabian scale was lost, and this [carbon] copy is the one made from the original by Fu’ād Eff. Muḡhabḡhab, the Asst. Secretary, which shows that the French and Arabic versions, as published in the *Recueil des Travaux du Congrès*, 647–55, is [sic] not strictly correct.”

It should be noted that the carbon copy contains many terms in Arabic script which Farmer penciled in. In the majority of cases, Farmer’s Arabic orthography is not clear; therefore, we chose to omit the penciled-in terms.

See E. Neubauer (*Henry George Farmer*, i, 709–17) for the French version: Histoire abrégée de l’échelle de la musique arabe. For commentaries on the musical scale as discussed at the Congress, see A. Beyhom’s (“Arabité et modernité”), A. Ghrab (“Occident and intervals”), A.J. Racy (“Historical worldviews”, 74 and 77–8), A.E. Thomas (“Developing Arab music”, 83–4), and especially Y. Shawqī’s (*Qiyās al-sullam*, 17–135). Additional items from the Egyptian press can be found in *Musique arabe*, 237–61. For complementary articles surveying the history of the Arabic scale, see J.P.N. Land (“Recherches sur l’histoire de la gamme arabe”), E.F.W. Altwein (“Versuch über das arabische Komma”), G. Braune (“Puls und Musik”), L. Manik (*Das arabische Tonsystem*), S.L. Marcus (*Arab music theory*, 69–72, and “The interface between theory and practice”), S. Maalouf (“Mikha’il Mishaqa”), M. Mokhtar/A.M. Mosharrīa (“Modes”), I. Moustapha (“La valeur des intervalles”), G. Sawa (*Music performance practice*, 79, which complements Farmer’s incomplete lute tablature of al-Fārābī), A. Shiloah (*La perfection des connaissances*, 21), and O. Wright (“Ibn al-Munajjim”, and *The modal system*). In 1924, É. ‘Arian (“Preuve irrefutable”), an Egyptian engineer and advocate of equal temperament, presented a lecture at the Institut d’Égypte (in Cairo) before an audience of Egyptians and Europeans, including the city’s musical elite. Here, ‘Arian refuted the division of the Arab scale offered by G.A. Villoteau, I. Moustapha, and the theories propounded by his Egyptian contemporaries N. Naḡās and M. Awād, and the Lebanese W. Ṣabrā.

the second Scrapbook) and the entry that was ultimately published in vol. 3 of the *IE* (Leiden 1936), 749–55 will reveal the abridged presentation of his report, which lacked documentation. Therefore, we have taken the liberty to supply the sources [enclosed in brackets] from the *IE* entry so that the text will appear more informative than its pristine form. One will also notice that some of the scalar examples illustrated here were not included in the *IE* entry.

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The Pre-Islamic Scale

The source of the [*sic*] both Arabian and Persian music is an old Semitic one which had, long before the dawn of Islām, already influenced, if it had not been the actual foundation of Greek music.² Our earliest knowledge of the Arabian scale comes from al-Fārābī (4th century A.H.) who describes a musical instrument, that was still used in his day, known as the *ṭunbūr al-baghdādī* or *ṭunbūr al-mizānī*. The frets [*dasātin*, a Persian term] of this instrument, he says, gave a scale which was used in the days of ignorance.³ It was a quarter-tone scale which was arrived at by dividing a string into forty equal parts.

The system could be traced to Eratosthenes,⁴ but probably was of far greater antiquity.⁵ This instrument of the *jāhiliyya* possessed two strings and five frets, the higher string being tuned in unison with the highest fret of the lower string, and gave the following scale:

	Lower string					Higher string						
<u>Cents:</u> [†]	0	44	89	135	182	231	231	275	320	366	413	462

² Farmer, *Historical facts*, 123.

³ [J.G.L. Kosegarten, *Alii Ispahanensis liber cantilenarum magnus ex codicibus manuscriptis arabice editus adjectaque translatione adnotationibusque Kitāb al-aghānī*, Greifswald 1840, 83; *Mafātiḥ al-'ulūm*.]

⁴ [Ptolemy, *Harmonicorum libri tres*, ed. J. Wallis, Oxford 1682, ii, 14.]

⁵ [Farmer, "Influence of music", in *PMA* (1926), 121.]

[†] HGF: Cents are hundredths of an equal semitone [of the well-tempered scale]; see Helmholtz, *On the sensations of tone as a psychological basis for the theory of music*, London 1885², 446.

Al-Fārābī says that in his day the old songs of the *jāhilīyya* were still played on it.

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If we look at the theoretical division of this scale, it is obvious that, if we were to continue the frets beyond the fifth fret, we can obtain the following scale:

Frets	Nut.	2nd	4th	6th	8th	10th
Cents	0	89	182	281	386	498

Professor J.P.N. Land was of opinion that this gave birth to the Pythagorean scale.

The Old Arabian System

In the first century of the Hijra, we get glimpses of a theory of music being laid down by the musicians of the Hijāz. We read of a certain Ibn Mijsāh who had learned Persian music [*ghinā'*] as well as having had instruction from Byzantine [*rūmī*] barbiton players [*barbatīya*] and theorists [*ustūkhūsīya* = *στοιχειαται*]. From what he had learned abroad, Ibn Mijsāh founded a system of music theory, which became accepted by the musicians of his time.⁶ We are told, however, that Ibn Mijsāh rejected from Persians and Byzantine methods what he found was alien to Arabian music [*ghinā'*]. This would appear to show that these foreign importations did not supersede the national Arabian music theory, but were engrafted upon Arabian principles which had characteristics of their own.⁷

It is rather important that this should be recognized, lest it may be hastily assumed that Arabian music is either Persian or Byzantine. That Arabian, Persian, and Byzantine music were different from each other at this period is attested by several authorities. Al-Kindī in the 2nd century of the Hijra says,—“The teaching of the art of music is of many sorts, that is to say, Arabian, Persian, Byzantine etc. . . .” In the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā,⁸ in the 4th century of the Hijra

6 [*Kitāb al-aghānī* iii, 84.]

7 [J.P.N. Land, “Remarks on the earliest development of Arabic music”, in *Transactions of the 9th International Congress of Orientalists* (London 1892), London 1893, 156.]

8 Here he is referring to their *Risāla fi 'ilm al-mūsīqī* (*Tract on music*).

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[it says] similarly,—“As for other nations like the Persians, Byzantine[s], and ancient Greeks to their melodies and singing are other canons of music different from those of the Arabs”. In the *Iqd al-farīd* of Ibn ‘Abd Rabbiḥī, 4th century of the Hijra, we read that the introduction of Persian notes into Arabian music was objected to. That Ishāq al-Mausilī (2nd century A.H.) was able to detect a Greek melody when he heard it, shows conclusively that it must have been different from [an] Arabian melody.

What was this Old Arabian System of music that succeeded the Pre-Islamic scale? In [a] Maghribī treatise on music, which Dr. Farmer has recently edited under the title of “An Old Moorish lute tutor,” we have a one-octave scale based on the tuning of the four strings of the lute thus:

	<i>Dhīl</i>	<i>Māya</i>	<i>Ramal</i>	<i>Husain</i>
<i>Muṭlaq</i> (open string)	0	204	702	905
<i>Sabbāba</i> (1st Finger)	–	408	–	1110
<i>Khinsir</i> (3rd Finger)	–	498	–	1200

This was an older system than that of Ishāq al-Mausilī (2nd–3rd century A.H.) whose lute (*ūd*) was tuned in fourths, which gave, with a shift, the double octave. When the Arabs actually passed from the older single octave system to that of the double octave, ought not to be difficult to discover. In the time of Ishāq al-Mausilī, al-Kindī, Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā, al-Fārābī, and the Ikhwān al-Ṣafā, the four strings of the lute are called from the highest to the lowest,—*zīr*, *mathnā*, *mathlath*, and *bamm*, the first and last names being Persian. It would be a reasonable assumption that in the older one octave tuning, the highest and lowest strings originally bore Arabic names, just as the two middle strings bore Arabic names (*mathnā* and *mathlath*), but that under Persian influence the

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names of the first two were changed to Persian ones.

Apparently the Persian lute was tuned in fourths thus, A-D-G-c, whilst that of the Arabs was C-D-G-a, as in the Maghribī treatise mentioned above, the difference between the two systems being in the first or highest string and the 4th or lowest string. When the Arabs adopted the Persian tuning, which meant an alteration of the 1st and

4th strings, they adopted the Persian names for them, although they still retained the old Arabic names for the two middle strings.

Here is the scale of the lute according to the *Risāla* of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Ali ibn Yaḥyā al-Manajjim [*sic* Munajjim] which contains the theory of music as known to the musicians of the *Kitāb al-aghāni* of Abūl Fara[j] [al-Iṣfahāni], i.e., from the end of the first to the mid-10th century of the Hijra.⁹

	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zīr</i>
<i>Muṭlaq</i> (Open string)	0	498	996	294
<i>Sabbāba</i> (1st finger)	204	702	1200	498
<i>W[u]stā</i> (2nd finger)	294	792	90	588
<i>Bīnsir</i> (3rd finger)	408	906	204	702
<i>Khīnsir</i> (4th finger)	498	996	294	792

As to the date of this change, we know that Mecca adopted the Persian lute in the second half of the 1st century A.H., and that Ibn Miṣjaḥ introduced his Persian and Byzantine methods about the same time. Long after the Arabs had adopted the Persian two-octave system they still viewed all theory within the bounds of one octave.

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Nevertheless this scale did not satisfy everyone, and not only was there a Persian note at 303 cents introduced, but a neutral third at 355 cents, halfway between the Persian note and the *bīnsir* fret was introduced by a late 2nd century musician named Zalzal. By the time of Iṣḥāq al-Mausilī these additions to the scale had created such confusion that it appears that he recast the scale on[c]e again in its old Pythagorean mould, which, we are told, he did without recourse to a solitary book of the Greeks. His reform was successful in al-‘Irāq and lasted there until the mid-4th century of the Hijra. Elsewhere, however, the Persian and Zalzalian notes continued in favour, as we know from al-Fārābī and the *Mafātīh al-‘ulūm*, although a century later the Persian note was scarcely recognised.

9 [Taken from Brit. Mus. MS., Or. 2361, fol. 237.]

Although we read in the *Risāla* of Yaḥyā ibn ‘Alī ibn Yaḥyā that Ishāq al-Mausilī made his calculations by *hisāb*,¹⁰ yet so far as we know from this treatise, the Old Arabian School fixed the frets on the fingerboard of the lute or *ṭunbūr* by tuning a note with its octave or *ṣ̣ỵyāh* [or *dīf*], as it was sometimes called.

The Greek Scholiasts

By the mid-3rd century of the Hijra, the effect[s] of the writings of the ancient Greeks on music, which had been translated into Arabic, began to be felt.¹¹ The first to take advantage of the newly found treasures was al-Kindī (2nd cent. A.H.). Four of his treatise[s] on music have survived, three at the Berlin National Library and one at the British Museum. In the latter we see the author’s indebtedness to Euclid and Ptolemy. Indeed, he had actually written a *Risāla fī qizmāt al-qānūn*, presumably Euclid’s *Sectio Canonis*. By introducing a fifth string on the lute so as to reach the double octave, without recourse to the shift, he obtained

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the Greek Complete System [*djam’ al-a’zam*] which is Ptolemy’s *Systema Teleion* [σύστημα τέλειον] To accomplish this al-Kindī was compelled to introduce a fret called the *mujannab* which was inserted at 114 cents, i.e., between the *muṭlaq* and the *sabbāba* fret. This created another problem, because this fret on the *bamm*, *mathlath* and *mathnā* strings did not agree with the notes of the *wustā* fret on the *mathnā*, *zīr awwal* and *zīr thānī* strings. This eventually led to another fret being tried at 90 cents, between the *muṭlaq* and *binsir* fret at 384 cents. Here was the germ of the later *limma*, *limma*, *comma* scale of the *ṭunbūr al-khurāsānī*, the forerunner of the scale of the systematist school of Ṣafī al-Dīn.

10 [Ibid., fol. 237vo.]

11 [These included Aristotle’s *Problems* and *De anima*, the commentaries of Themistius and Alexander Aphrodisiensis on the latter, two works by Aristoxenus—including the *στοιχεῖα* . . . the two books on music attributed to Euclid, a treatise by Nicomachus, presumably the lost book, and the *Harmonics* of Ptolemy, all or most of which had been translated by first half of the fourth century A.H. at least, as we know from al-Fārābī (*Fihrist*, 266, 269, 270; Ibn al-Ḳifṭī, *Ta’rīkh al-ḥukamā* 65; Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Maḳḳari, *Analectes sur l’histoire et la littérature des Arabes d’Espagne*, Leiden 1855–61, ii, 87; ‘Iqd al-farid, iii, 186; B.G.A., vii, 128; Rasā’il l-khwān al-Ṣafā, I, 102; and Farmer, “Greek theorists of music . . .”, in *Isis*, 13(2)(1930), 325.]

Strings					
Frets	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zīr awwal</i>	<i>Zir thāni</i>
<i>Muṭlaq</i>	0	498	996	294	792
<i>Mujannab</i> (1)	90	588	1086	384	882
<i>Mujannab</i> (2)	114	612	1110	408	906
<i>Sabbāba</i>	204	702	1200	498	996
<i>Wustā</i> (1)	294	792	90	588	1086
<i>Wustā</i> (2)	384	882	180	678	1176
<i>Binsir</i>	408	906	204	702	1200
<i>Khinsir</i>	498	996	294	792	90

For a discussion of this scale [considered] from another standpoint, see the recent translation of al-Kindī's work by Dr. Lachmann and Dr. al-Hefny.¹²

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By the time of al-Fārābī (4th century A.H.), further additions had been made to the scale. The principle by which the Persian and Zalzalīan *wustā* frets at 303 and 355 had been determined, was also applied to the insertion of corresponding *mudjannab* frets, between the *muṭlaq* and the *sabbāba*, at 145 and 168 cents, with the result that there were now three *mudjannab* frets known respectively as the *Ancient*, *Persian*, and *Zalzalīan*, whilst the one at 114 cents had disappeared. Here is the fretting of the lute in al-Fārābī's day:

Strings					
Frets	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zīr</i>	<i>Hadd</i>
<i>Muṭlaq</i>	0	498	996	294	792
<i>Ancient mudjannab</i>	90	588	1086	384	882
<i>Persian mudjannab</i>	145	643	1141	439	937
<i>Zalzalīan mudjannab</i>	168	666	1164	462	960

12 [Ja'qūb Ishāq al-Kindī: *Risālah fi khubr ta'lif al-alhān* / *Über die Kompositionen der Melodien*, Leipzig 1931.]

(cont.)

Frets	Strings				
	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zir</i>	<i>Hadd</i>
<i>Sabbāba</i>	204	702	1200	498	996
<i>Ancient wustā</i>	294	792	90	588	1086
<i>Persian wustā</i>	303	801	99	597	1095
<i>Zalzalian wustā</i>	355	853	151	649	1147
<i>Binsir</i>	408	906	204	702	1200
<i>Khinsir</i>	498	996	294	792	90

Al-Fārābī also noted the scale of the *ṭunbūr al-khurasani* proceeding by a *limma*, *limma*, *comma*, which doubtless was prompted by al-Kindī's speculations.

By the time of Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila (5th century A.H.) the Persian *wustā* note at 303 cents had disappeared and the *wustā* note at 294 cents was now known as the *Ancient* or *Persian wustā*. The *wustā zal-zal*, says Ibn Sīnā, was placed nearly half way between the *sabbāba* and the *khinsir*, i.e. at about 351 cents, although some people placed it at 343 and 347 cents.

Only two *mudjannab* frets were recognized instead of three.

There was little change in the lute scale until the 7th century A.H., as we know from Nasir al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī and Fakhr al-Dīn al-Rāzī.

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The Systematists School

After Ibn Sīnā and Ibn Zaila, the most thorough exposition of the theory of music, so far as existing documents [show], was made by a musician in the service of the last Caliph of Baghdad, named Ṣafī al-Dīn 'Abd al-Mu'min ben Faḫr, the author of two estimable works: the *Risālat al-sharafīyya* and the *Kitāb al-adwār*, which almost every subsequent writer on music uses as his principal authority.

The Greek scholiasts had done much to stabilize Arabian music theory, yet anomalies still exist. The most notable was the Zalzalian *wustā* note at 355 cents together with its attendant sixth at 853 cents. These did not conform with the scholiasts scale, which

produced a succession of fourths.¹³ It was to remedy this defect, it would seem, that Şafi al-Dīn laid down a new theory of the scale in which the octave was divided into seventeen intervals in the succession of *limma*, *limma*, and *comma*, which enabled him to embrace the fractious [*sic*] Zalzalian notes of 355 and 853 cents by close approximations which worked out at 384 and 882 cents. This scale, which has been considered “the most perfect ever divided” (Parry, *The art of music*, 29) gave consonances purer than our scale of equal temperament can afford us (Riemann, *Catechism of musical history*, i, 65). It is no wonder, therefore, that Helmholtz [*sic!* Helmholtz] (*Sensations*) has considered the theory of the Systematist School so “noteworthy in the history of the development of music” (283).

Here is the scale of Şafi al-Dīn:

Frets	Strings				
	<i>Bamm</i>	<i>Mathlath</i>	<i>Mathnā</i>	<i>Zūr</i>	[<i>Hadd</i>]
<i>Mutlaq</i>	0	498	996	294	792
<i>Zaid</i>	90	588	1086	384	882
<i>Mudjannab</i>	180	678	1176	474	972
<i>Sabbāba</i>	204	702	1200	498	996
<i>Persian wustā</i>	294	792	90	588	1086
<i>Zalzalian wustā</i>	384	882	180	678	1176
<i>Binsir</i>	408	906	204	702	1200
<i>Khinsir</i>	498	996	294	792	90

After the fall of Baghdad [654 = 1256], the hub of culture moved further East; and the writings of the Systematist School have to be sought as much in Persian as in Arabic. Most of the literature has been preserved. Kuṭb al-Dīn al-Shirāzi (7th century A.H.), who devoted a whole *djumla*

13 [Cf. Helmholtz, *Sensations*, 281.]

to the “science of music” in his *Durrat al-tādj*,¹⁴ was the first of these writers in Persian. He was followed by Moḥammed ibn Maḥmūd al-‘Almūli, whose *Nafā’is al-funūn* also has a section on music.¹⁵ Another 7th-century Persian work deserving of mention is the *Kanz al-tuḥaf*.¹⁶ More important were the four works of ‘Abd al-Kadir ibn Ḡhaibi (8th century A.H.) entitled:—the *Djami’ al-alhān* and its two epitomes the *Makasid al-alhān* and the *Mukhtaṣar al-alhān*,¹⁷ and the *Sharḥ al-ad-wār*. A fifth work, the *Kanz al-alhān*, the most precious of all since it contained not[at]ed music, has disappeared. Ibn Ḡhaibi depends on Ṣafī al-Dīn, but is by no means servile. What he adds to our knowledge of the music of his day concerns the practical art. Both his son and grandson were theorists, and their works still exist: the *Nāḳawat al-adwār* and the *Maḳāṣid al-adwār*.¹⁸ They were eclipsed, however, by two Arabic writers: the author of the *Muḥammad b. Murād Treatise*¹⁹ and Muḥammed b. ‘Abd-el-Ḥamid al-Lādhiḳī (9th century A.H.), the author of the *Risālat al-fathḳiyya*.²⁰ Al-Lādhiḳī is the last writer to deal in an appreciable way with the speculative theory of music of the school of Ṣafī al-Dīn.²¹

The Modern School

The chief feature of this school is the so-called quarter-tone system and its most important theorist is Mikḥa’il Muṣḥaka [*sic* Mishāqa (1904–81)]²² (12th century A.H.).

14 [Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 7694.]

15 [Brit. Mus., MS. Add. 16827.]

16 [Brit. Mus., MS., Or. 2361.]

17 [Bodleian MSS., Marsh, N^o. 282, Ouseley, no. 264, 385.]

18 [Nūri ‘Uthmāniya Library, Nrs. 3646, 3649.]

19 [Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 2361.]

20 [Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 6629.]

21 [R.G. Kiesewetter, *Die Musik der Araber*, Leipzig 1842, 89.]

22 [Author of *Al-Risāla al-shihābiyya fī l-ṣina’a al-musiḳiyya* (The Shihabian treatise on the science of music), in *Al-Machriq: Revue catholique orientale bimensuelle*, 2 (1899), 146–51, 218–24, 296–302, 408–15, 561–66, 629–32, 726–31, 883–90, 928–34, 1,018–26, and 1073–82 (edited with footnotes, commentary, and corrigenda by P.L. Ronzevalle. See the English translation by E. Smith (“A treatise”) and S. Maalouf (“Mikḥa’il Mishaqa”).]

In the words of G. Sawa (*Music performance practice*, 79), “the quarter system makes all the modes sound wrong. This system should have been contrasted with the traditional full tone system found in the Syrian *qānūn* with 11 levers (2 types of half-flat, 3 types of natural, 2 types of half-sharp, 2 types of sharp) giving close to 70 divisions of the octave. Some of the ensuing intervals are as small as 10 cents remarkably close to some intervals in al-Fārābī’s lute tablature.”

The system was not invented or introduced by him as [J.] Parisot thought,²³ because Muṣḥaka himself tells us that it existed before his day.²⁴ Nor can we say that the 13th century A.H. was the period of its origin, as Dr. Lachmann suggests,²⁵ since we know that it was practised in the 12th century as both Baron de Tott²⁶ and [G.B.] Toderini²⁷ have shown. Nor can it be traced in a MS mentioned by Villoteau, as Professor Land suggested,²⁸ because the work can be identified with a MS entitled *Al-Shadhara dhāt al-akmām* (Brit. Mus., MS. Or. 1535) in which there is no mention of the quarter-tone theory. How did the system originate? Dr. Lachmann holds that it was due to the needs of transposition.²⁹ On the other hand, Père Collangettes avers that in practice (for the lute is no longer fretted) it is simply the [Systematist] scale of Ṣafī al-Dīn to which several smaller intervals have been added.³⁰ Some of the technical terms used in the

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system are of Persian origin such as those for the quarter-tone, three quarter-tone, and tone: *nīm* ‘araba, *tik* ‘araba, and *barda*. Further, as early as the 9th century A.H., as we know from Ibn Ghāibi, Shihāb al-Dīn al-‘Ajāmī, and the author of [the] Moḥammed ibn Murād Treatise, that intervals finer even than those of the Systematist School were being used in the newly adopted *shu‘ab* or model [*sic* modal] extensions, which were not used in the time of Ṣafī al-Dīn ‘Abd al-Mum‘in, al-though they are part of the earliest Persian system as reflected in the *Bahjat al-rūh* by ‘Abd-al-Mu‘min ibn Ṣafī al-Dīn (in the Bodleian Library [Ms., Ouseley, N^o. 117]). In the 12th century A.H., we have the evidence of [J.B. de] Laborde [*sic* la Borde]³¹ that the octave was divided into twenty-four parts producing a scale comprising three major tones and divided into four quarter-tones, and four minor tones, each divided into three quarter-tones, thus:

<i>Rast</i> ,	<i>Husseini</i> ,
Major tone;	Minor tone;
<i>Dekah</i> ,	<i>Awj</i> ,
Minor tone;	Minor tone

23 [Rapport sur un mission scientifique en Turquie d'Asie (chants orientaux), Paris 1899, 21.]

24 [MFOB, vi, 52, 105.]

25 [Grove's dict. of music, London 1935³, iii, 576.]

26 [J.B. de La Borde, Essai sur la musique, i, 436–9.]

27 [Letteratura turchesca, i, Venice 1787.]

28 [“Over de toonladders der Arabische muziek”, in Verslagen en Mededelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, afdeling Letterkunde, tweede reeks, 9, Amsterdam 1880, 246.]

29 [Grove's dict. of music, London 1935³, iii, 567.]

30 [“Étude sur la musique arabe”, in JA, 4 (1904), 365–422; 8 (1906), 149–90.]

31 [Essai sur la musique ancienne et moderne, Paris 1780, 463–69.]

<i>Sikah,</i>		<i>Kirdan,</i>	
	Minor tone;		Minor tone
<i>Jarkah,</i>		<i>Nawa,</i>	
	Major tone;		Major tone

Muṣḥāka tells us that he was dissatisfied with the theorists of his day in regard to their division of the octave.³² There have certainly been other divisions, and one theorist Moḥammed ibn Ismā'īl Shihāb al-Dīn appears to divide even the minor tones into four parts as well as the major tones, thus giving twenty-eight intervals to the octave, whilst the system of 'Ali Darwīsh al-Halabī has even more. At any rate, Muṣḥāka attempted to lay down a principle that would establish the quarter-tone (*rub'*) system on a regular basis, aiming at a scale of equal temperament.

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Today many players maintain that the quarter-tone system is not a tempered scale, although it is generally agreed that 24 notes comprise the system. This is the problem facing Congress today:

- (a) The number of notes within the octave.
- (b) A tempered or untempered scale.

List of intervals up to the fourth [tabulated in] Cents:³³

44 =	29:	40	150 =	+221:	241
50 =	+239:	246 [approximate]	151 =	11:	12
89 =	19:	20	180 =	59044:	65536
90 =	243:	256	182 =	9:	12
100 =	+84:	89	200 =	+400:	449
112 =	15:	16	204 =	8:	9
114 =	2048:	2187	231 =	7:	8
135 =	37:	40	281 =	17:	20
145 =	149:	162	294 =	27:	32

32 [Cf. Murat's division of the octave into 55 *commas*.]

33 Taken from E. Neubauer's list of "intervalles jusqu'à la quarte," *Henry George Farmer*, i, 717, which was the one printed in the *Recueil*, 655.

300 = +37: 44
303 = 68: 81
316 = 5: 6
350 = +125: 153
355 = 22: 27
384 = 6561: 8192

386 = 4: 5
400 = +50: 63
408 = 64: 81
450 = +27: 35
498 = 3: 4

Appendix 10

A Private Congratulatory Meeting [Held at the Congress in Honor of Farmer] (Cairo, 1932)

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A PRIVATE CONGRATULATORY MEETING
3rd April, 1932 in the Institute (FC 503, 66–70)¹

At the instance of Judge Muḥammed Bey Faṭḥî a private gathering had been arranged to convey to Dr. Farmer the appreciation of some of the Egyptian and other delegates of his work on behalf of Arabian music.



FIGURE A10.A *Muḥammed Faṭḥî*² (FC 503, 73).

- 1 On the contents page of the first of Farmer's scrapbooks, the actual heading reads: "Shorthand report by Fu'ād Eff. Muḥabḡhab of the Congratulatory Meeting held in Honour of Dr. Farmer at the Close of the Congress (3rd April, 1932 [*sic*], in the Institute)." This private event actually took place during the afternoon of the preceding day.
- 2 Faṭḥî had inscribed the photograph at the foot: "To my dear friend, Dr. Henry Farmer". On his calling card, his name was listed as Mohammed Fathi, Judge.

Judge Muḥammed Bey Faṭḥī said that when he first heard that Dr. Farmer was coming to the Congress he was so excited that he counted the days intervening his arrival, and it gave him the greatest pleasure to be one of the official group sent by the Ministry of Education to meet the train which brought him to Cairo.

Since then he had been in constant touch with Dr. Farmer and was proud to say that he was one of his dearest friends. No person, who had not met him and conversed with him could realize his vast knowledge on everything that concerned Arabian music. He confessed that he had been forced to correct many of his own theories after he had been convinced by Dr. Farmer of their falsity.

He felt that it was his duty, quite apart from what the congress would do, to see that Cairo people interested in music conveyed their heartiest thanks for all that he had done.

Zakī Bey 'Alī said that although he had not been invited, he came because he wanted to see what it was about, and having seen the purpose of the meeting, he felt that he has as much right to take part in

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the meeting as anyone else, and that he would not acknowledge that there was anyone who had a higher opinion of Dr. Farmer than he had himself. He would say that Dr. Farmer knew this, since he had frequently consulted him on many delicate points concerning the affairs of the Congress, and had even consulted him on the question of a vague passage in a manuscript which Dr. Farmer immediately solved, much to the amazement of everybody. He looked forward with great interest to his future work on behalf of Arabian music and he would say that Dr. Farmer's work in this field would not only have the praise but also the support of Cairo.

Maḥmūd Eff. 'Alī Faḍlī said that he could only echo what had already been said of Dr. Farmer's high talents. Day after day he watched for his entrance into the Commission of the Music Scale, but he only saw him once, and then only to take part in its deliberations. He felt that, if he had been given the opportunity, he could have cleared the mist of many of the proposals which clouded the air in that Commission. Fortunately, he had been able to meet him on several occasions outside the Congress and had profited greatly from his conversations. He had known of his *History of Arabian Music* for some time, and he felt that such a book ought to be translated into Arabic at once, so that Egypt could know what a magnificent history was to be claimed for

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its music. He begged Dr. Farmer to write a history dealing especially with Egypt. That Dr. Farmer would come again to Cairo was his sincere hope, and he wished him *bon voyage*.

Najīb Naḥās said that he considered it an honour for Cairo to have secured Dr. Farmer for the Congress and, so far as he was concerned, he felt it an honour to consider himself as one of Dr. Farmer's friends. Unlike the majority of the delegates from other countries, Dr. Farmer was an Arabist as well as a musician, and was able therefore to deal with Arabic questions, whereas so many of the delegates, who were only musicians, although eminent as such, were quite unable to deal with technical problems. He [Najīb Naḥās] had made a special study of the theory of music as shown in the old writers, and had made a collection of photographic copies of what he thought was every known Arabic MS. on music, but it was only after he had submitted his volumes to Dr. Farmer that he found that there were many other MSS., the existence of which he was quite ignorant. He thought that Egypt ought to persuade Dr. Farmer to stay here. Such an accomplishment would be a great boon not only to Cairo but to the Near East. We might, for instance, have a Professorship of Music in the University which he could fill,³ or perhaps a Symphony Orchestra, that he could conduct. In giving his thanks for all that Dr. Farmer had done, he had to compliment him on the fact that he saw our way of looking at the problem of the future of our music, not as the other European delegates, who only saw their way.

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Muḥammad Eff. Kāmil Ḥajjāj said that he could speak with some authority about Dr. Farmer, since he was the Secretary of the Commission of History and Manuscripts. He was amazed at Dr. Farmer's wide and complete knowledge of his subject. He knew something of the subject, as they all knew, but it was an education to him to learn with what ease Dr. Farmer could take up and discourse at length any subject on the history of Arabian music, whether it was the biography of an obscure singer at the court of Hārūn al-Rashīd or a point on the theory of music of al-Fārābī.

He could say, as did Najīb Naḥās, that Dr. Farmer was an Arabist as well as a musician, but there was also Dr. Lachmann, as well as Baron Carra de Vaux. [Here Najīb Naḥās interposed with the remark that Dr. Lachmann was certainly an Arabist, but was a librarian and not a professional musician. The Baron Carra de Vaux, a great Arabist no doubt, but not a professional musician.]

Muḥammad continued. His work with Dr. Farmer had been so pleasant and with all respect to others on the Commission he had to say that all, or at any rate most of the work, had been left to Dr. Farmer and himself. He did not wish to blame anybody, but he thought that it ought to be made known that if it had not been for Dr. Farmer there

3 Farmer was eventually invited to serve as a Visiting Professor of Music at Cairo University, but he had to decline. Twenty-seven letters (dating from 1945 to 1956) relating to this position can be found in FC 505.

would have scarcely been a sentence to record of the work of the Commission. He seemed to live at the Institute and even when two new members arrived he

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took the trouble (although there was no meeting that day) to attend the Institute so as to rehearse the two new members in the past, present, and future work of the Commission.

Not only the many lists which were drawn up and edited came from his pen, but the Report of the Commission, as well as the History of the Musical Scale were written by him. I have already mentioned my heartiest thanks to him personally, but I rejoice to have this opportunity of repeating these truths in public.

I also hope that his *History* will be translated into Arabic. It is a duty that would be my first task, but unfortunately I am not proficient in the English language, but I can only hope that before long some worthy person will turn this great book from beautiful English into exquisite Arabic.

Aḥmad Eff. Amīn al-Dīk said that it was not his privilege to speak in a lengthy conversation with Dr. Farmer, because of his ignorance of the English language, and Dr. Farmer's classical Arabic made the conveyance of ideas difficult. Yet he had the benefit of an intermediary on one occasion when he sought information on a subject which perturbed him. Here he found that Dr. Farmer's opinion coincided with his own and he felt that with such an authority on his side he had no doubts about its reliability.

The meeting concluded by Judge Muḥammad Bey Faṭḥī moving a vote of thanks on behalf of Cairo's music lovers to Dr. Farmer.

Appendix 11

*Dr. Farmer's Valedictory Address at the Closing of the Congress*¹

[After H.E. Ismā'īl Pāshā Sidkī, President of the Council of Ministers, representing H.M. The King, had addressed [the] Congress, four of the delegates were chosen to deliver valedictory addresses,—Baron Carra de Vaux, Sīdī Ḥasan Ḥusnī 'Abd al-Wahhāb, Dr. Henry G. Farmer and Prof. G. Zampieri, who spoke in French, Arabic, English, and Latin [*sic*], respectively.]

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It falls to my lot to say a word in conclusion in English. No words of mine can possibly express the feelings of myself and my fellow delegates from abroad at the pleasure which this Congress has given us. Nor can we sufficiently express our deep gratitude to H.M. The King for his gracious patronage of Arabian music and for initiating this Congress.

Further, the practical support which H.E. the Minister for Education and the Organising Committee in facilitating our labours and in making our brief leisure hours pleasant, compel us to offer our most sincere thanks.

Indeed, I desire, on behalf of my fellow delegates, to express our thanks to everyone connected with this Congress for their kind consideration in making our sojourn in Cairo something to be cherished in our memories.

May I say a personal word in conclusion. As I have devoted my life's work to Arabian music, *i.e.* Arabian music of the past, this Congress has been a great pleasure to me.

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It has made the glorious past of Arabian culture live once more. To hear the living music made by the descendants of those musicians about whom I have been writing for so many years, has been a great joy.

Finally, ere I say farewell to the Congress, I crave a word about our task in our Commission of History and in that of the Congress as a whole. In spite of many difficulties, I feel sure that it will bring forth good and abundant fruit. There has been conflict of opinion, but with patience and toleration we shall find a safe path to the future.

1 For a much longer French version, see the *Recueil*, 64–65; repr. in E. Neubauer, i, 718–9.

One thing is certain, Arabian music cannot stand still. That fact is inevitable. Modern civilisation, with its all-absorbing processes, which know no barrier, will eventually compel Arabian music to advance. When it does move, let us see that it takes the path that will preserve its national spirit and endemic character. To lose these would be a calamity.

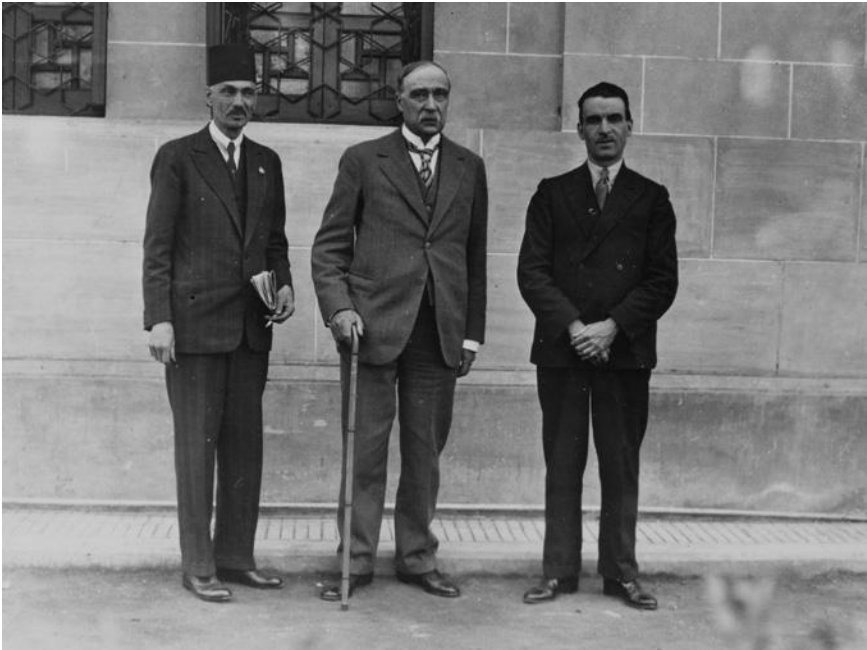


FIGURE A11.A *Ḥ.Ḥ. 'Abd al-Wahhâb, Baron B. Carra de Vaux, and Dr. H.G. Farmer, being three of the four members who delivered the valedictory addresses (FC 503, 65).*

Appendix 12

Dr. Farmer's Letters to His Family (from Cairo)

1) FC 341.1

[Sunday 13th March]

Killiney House
22 Sharia Abu'l-Sebaa
Cairo, Egypt

Darlings,

I wrote you last from Naples, so I can follow up my story from that date. It rained until we arrived in port at Naples, but soon the sun came out and I went on a half-hours journey to Pompeii. It was most delightful because the weather during the previous days had been bad. I went ashore at about 9–30, and was back again at 2–30. We sailed at 4 o'clock for Port Said, with Charlie Chaplin aboard with his brother Syd. He is a real snob. I will tell you more when I come home. From that day (Sunday) until Wed. it rained and the wind was so high that I was upset. Not seasick, but so giddy that Sunday evening, Monday and Tuesday, after breakfast, I had to go to my cabin and get to bed. On Wed. the sun came out, and the wind dropped. That made the boat much steadier and I was able to go on deck, and take my meals. We arrived at Port Said at 6–30 on Thursday morning, and before I was dressed and packed, an officer and a representative of the Ministry of Education was knocking at my door. This was before the ship had berthed. They must have come aboard with the pilot outside the harbour. I felt quite an important person. They took charge of everything. I was the first to leave the ship, everyone else had to have their passports examined. Had a special launch all to myself from the ship to the quayside. When I got there there was the Principal of the Port Said College waiting for me. He had been instructed by the Ministry of Education to see me safely into the train, and to wire Cairo the time of my arrival. The Principal of the Institute of Music, and four others were on the platform at Cairo to meet me including Dr. Lachmann.

Taxi to Lachmann's Hotel then to the above address. Saw Prof. Williams (the friend of Walker). Then had an appointment at the Institute where I was introduced to everybody.

They had the greatest respect and almost veneration to me. We can hear them muttering to one another—Docteur Farmer: and then they all begin to whisper and nod their heads. This occurs everywhere I go. In every room that I went to be

introduced, I had a cup of coffee. This is the custom. I have had hundreds of cups of coffee since I arrived here.

I was then taken in a taxi to the King's Palace, where I signed the visitors' book. Back again to the Institute, and more coffee. Finally to my lodgings and bed.

On Friday Lachmann, myself, and two others—one the Secretary of Baron d'Erlanger, went out to old Cairo (Fustat). Saw the Pyramids in the distance. Then to an old Coptic Church, and to the Mosque of Omar [*sic* Amr ibn al-As] (the oldest in Cairo). Lunch, and then to a *dhikr* at a mosque of the dancing dervishes. It was wonderful. I will tell you all about it on my return. Was introduced to the Head of the Dervish order (the shaikh) and had coffee with him in his magnificent drawing room.

Then out to the old fortress of the sultans of old. Saw some British Tommies there. We saw about a hundred mosques. These seem to be everywhere (about 400 in Cairo). We went into the oldest native quarter in the very narrow streets and bazaars. It was like being back in the days of the Arabian Nights. Then off to the Institute where we had to meet the Secretary.

On Sat. I and a gentleman from Beyrout, were invited to the Ministry of Education. Taxi, of course, and accompanied by the Secretary of the Institute. First we were introduced into the Cabinet of the Chief Secretary for Education. Coffee and chin-wagging. Then the Vice Minister for Education—a Pasha. More coffee and chin-wagging. Finally, the Chief Minister for Education—another Pasha. More coffee and chin-wagging.—Then back to the Institute. Met Lachmann, had lunch and then off to the Azhar Mosque, had slippers put over our boots, and we were allowed inside. Saw the students sitting in a circle around the Professors, being instructed in the law of Islam and the criticism of the Quran.

Saw more bazaars, and back to my lodgings for supper. Today, Sunday, I had an appointment at the National Library to see some Arabic music m.s.s. Here I was introduced to everybody and had coffee with everybody.

They bowed whenever my name was mentioned. The great Dr. Farmer who had written so many books about Arab music. I do wish you had been here. But on the other hand, it is just as well not as I will tell all later.

I am going to wire you now. Love and kisses, to both my darlings.

2) (FC 341.2)

Saturday 26th Mch

Killiney House
22 Sharia Abu'l-Sabaa
Cairo

Darlings,

Another week of real hard work over. Last Sunday Williams and I went out to the Pyramids. It was scorching hot. We left about 3 o'clock and got back about 8-30. We were not allowed near the newly discovered 5th Pyramid, but tomorrow the Congress have been invited to inspect it and to have tea afterwards with the Minister for Education at the Hotel there.

All this week we have been busy from 9 to 12 and 3 to 7. Then at 9-30 each evening there has been a concert in the Concert Hall at the Institute, where we have heard Arab bands from Morocco, Tunis, Algeria, Syria, Iraq, etc. Phonographic records are being taken of all this music.

The British Consul General invited me to lunch with him yesterday, and he and I got on very well together. I complained about the way Britain had been neglected at this Congress, and that Germany and France had 14 delegates between them. He rang up the High Commissioner who represents the British King here in Egypt (Sir Percy Loraine) and I had an interview with him at his gorgeous residence. He was very nice. I will tell you all about it later.

Today being the King's Birthday, the European delegates were taken in taxis to the Palace to sign the King's Birthday Book.

The Commissions complete their work tomorrow, and on Monday we start giving our full reports to the Congress. I have been kept very busy between 12 and 3 and 7 and 9-30, writing daily reports and now I have to prepare a general report of my Commission, of which I am President.

Since we started Congress, I have been nowhere, except last Sunday afternoon to the Pyramids at Giza. There is no time!

I shall be glad to get back to you both. It is a good thing that you did not come, as I do not know what you would have done with yourself here.

My fondest love and kisses to you both.—I am longing to set eyes on you.

Henry

3) (FC 341.3)

Sunday [3rd April]

Darling,

I have been expecting a letter from you, but nothing except the short note about Steele has arrived.

As I told you I was leaving here on the evening of the 7th arriving at Marseilles on the 12th. London on the 13th. I shall ring up our Head office and get an interview if possible. I shall then hurry home as soon as possible.

If there are any letters from America please send them on, c/o [Reg] Reynolds as I may have to do some work in the British Museum before I return home.

Now that the Congress is nearly over, I am overwhelmed with invitations to tea and dinner. I have met some very interesting people this week. I will tell you more when I get home.

I am now getting more used to the weather here, and the only objection that I have is the glare of the sun, but having borrowed some coloured glasses it has not been so bad.

A number of the Germans and French went to Luxor on Thursday and returned today. I could not afford it. It would have cost about £10. This is the place in upper Egypt, where all the ancient monuments and tombs [are].

I am not looking forward to the sea voyage, as I had quite enough of my experience coming out here. I only hope that the weather is better.

Am longing to press you both to my arms once more.

Love and kisses, H.

4) (FC 341.4)

A/B
S.S. "SLAMAT"

[Monday, 11th April]

Darlings,

I left Cairo on Thursday night by the 6 pm. train, and had quite a crowd to see me off, including the British Consul General, who has been very good to me. We sailed from Port Said on Friday at 11a.m. It was a glorious day.

Saturday was rough and I stayed in my cabin all day. I also caught a cold. Sunday was not too good. Today, has been rather nice.—We are supposed to

arrive Marseilles at 6 a.m. tomorrow Tuesday. I do not know what train I catch for Calais until I arrive at Marseilles.

I shall get to London sometime on Wed. and will go straight down to Reg.

On Thursday I shall try and go to our Head Office and home on Friday evening. Will let you know time of arrival later.

You might get out my Ph.D. gown, as I shall go to the graduation on Sat. morning—17th. [i.e. 16th].

There are 4 in my cabin, but the boat is a more comfortable one, and much different from the wretched Jap. boat that I went out in.

Love and kisses to you both. H.

Appendix 13

*Correspondence Relating to the European Delegations at the Congress*¹

I was surprised to find, at the opening of the Congress, that I was the only representative from Britain, whilst other countries were well represented. France sent seven delegates, from Paris alone, two from its colonies and mandated territory, as well as four Moroccans. Germany had six delegates. Austria had one. Italy had ~~one~~ two. Spain had one. Hungary had one. Turkey had two. Czecho-Slovakia had two. Syria had two.

It appeared to me, especially after conversations with some of the officials of the Congress, that Britain was deliberately being slighted, possibly because of the political situation. I considered it advisable to see the British Consul-General [H.L. Rabino] and seek his advice as to some means of making a vigorous protest. He suggested that I should acquaint the High Commissioner, Sir Percy Loraine, with the situation. I had an appointment at the Residency [on the morning of March 22] and there made a formal report. Sir Percy asked me if Britain was in a position to send suitable delegates, when I mentioned several names to him, promising to send him precise details.

The following correspondence ensued:

The Residency,
Cairo
5th April 1932

Dear Dr. Farmer,

In reply to a request of the High Commissioner you recently promised to supply him with the names of British authorities on Oriental Music.

I am writing this letter to enquire whether you are going to let us have these names before you go or after your return to England.

Yours sincerely,
(Signed) W.A. SMART²

¹ The correspondence can be found in FC 503, 75–9.

² Indeed, Farmer received Smart's letter, at his Cairo residence, precisely a fortnight following his meeting with the High Commissioner. Inasmuch as he was then in the midst of preparing for his departure home, there were yet countless tasks to address.

Dr. H.G. Farmer,
Killiney House,
22, Sh. Abou el-Sebas, Cairo

[Six weeks had passed after his return to Scotland when he could again devote attention to this matter that had lingered in his mind ever since Lachmann's letter of February 19, 1930³. Farmer felt duty bound to respond. His detailed reply is telling for its purview of possible British musicological candidates in the early 1930s:]

2, Woodlands Drive,
Glasgow,
17th May 1932

Dear Mr. Smart,

I regret that I have been so long attending to your letter of 5th April, but my health has been indifferent since my return owing to a chill contracted during the voyage.

A list of authorities on Oriental music from Britain would, strictly speaking, be confined to three names:—A.H. Fox Strangways (Indian music), Professor H.J.W. Tillyard (Byzantine music), and myself (Arabian and Persian music).

Yet the delegates to the Congress comprised, besides authorities on Oriental music such as Dr. Lachmann (Arabian music), Père Collangettes (Arabian music), Baron Carra de Vaux (Arabian music), and Prof. Wellesz (Byzantine music), composers of music such as Paul Hindemith, educationists such as M. Rabaud (Paris Conservatoire of Music), and authorities on instruments of music such as Prof. Sachs.

In view of this I have included names of others from Britain who, whilst they cannot be called "authorities on oriental music", have as much right, if not more, to have been included as many of the delegates from other countries.

I regret to have to use the personal equation in this matter, but it is the only way which I can justify the inclusion of these latter names.

If a Paul Hindemith, as a composer, is invited from Germany, there is undoubtedly no reason why Sir Granville Bantock should not be included. Similarly, I am prepared to say that Sir John B. McEwen or Sir Hugh P. Allen are equal to M. Rabaud. In a like manner I feel inclined to place the Rev. Canon Galpin side by side with Professor Sachs.

In view of this, I submit the following list of British representatives as Delegates to a Congress of Oriental or Arabian Music.

3 See Chap. 3, 129–30.

- 1) A.H. Fox Strangways. Editor, *Music and Letters* and music critic to the *Observer*. He is the author of THE MUSIC OF HINDOSTAN and is certainly the leading authority here or on the Continent on Indian music.
Address: 34, Burleigh St., Strand, London.
- 2) H.J.W. Tillyard, D. Litt. Professor of Greek, University of Cardiff. Author of BYZANTINE MUSIC AND HYMNOGRAPHY and many articles on the same subject.
Address: University College, Cardiff.
- 3) Canon F.W. Galpin, M.A. Rector of Faulkbourne, Essex. The best known authority on the history of music in this country, and the author of OLD ENGLISH INSTRUMENTS OF MUSIC and other works.
Address: Faulkbourne Rectory, Essex, England.
- 4) J.B. McEwen, M.A., Mus. Doc. Principal of the Royal Academy of Music and a well known composer.
Address: Royal Academy of Music, Marylebone Rd., London
- 5) Sir Hugh P. Allen, M.A. Mus. Doc. Principal of the Royal College of Music and Professor of Music in the University of Oxford.
Address: R.C.M. Kensington, London.
- 6) Sir Granville Bantock Professor of Music in the University of Birmingham, and composer of "Omar Khayyām", "Egypt", "Rameses II", "Songs of the East", "Songs of the Seraglio", "Songs of Ḥafiz", etc.

Of course, the large number of German delegates at the Congress was due to the Secretary, Dr. Al-Hafnī, who was educated [in music] in Germany, and took his doctorate there, Messrs. Von Hornbostel, Sachs, and Wolf, being his Referenten. They were at the Congress.

That France had even a greater number was occasioned by the fact that many of these delegates were invited because it was through their influence that the bands from Morocco and Algeria were present at the Congress. This I had on the authority of Sîdī Al-Manūbī al-Sanūsī, the Secretary of Baron d'Erlanger.

Señor Salazar of Madrid told me that he was officially approached by his Government to attend the Congress as a delegate. Prof. [Julián] Ribera, the veteran Arabist, and Manoel [*sic* Manuel] de Falla, the composer, had both been

invited but could not attend, and rather than Spain would be without a representative, the Spanish Government asked Señor Salazar.

Before I left Cairo, I had positive proof of anti-British feeling, which I had previously suspected. A high official, one of the leading spirits of the Congress, expressed his strong anti-British views to me, being under the impression (so it appeared from his conversation) that I was an Irish Sinn Feiner. The press had mentioned that I was born in Ireland.

Personally I have nothing to complain about. Everybody was extremely kind and courteous to me and, as you know, I was President of the Commission of History and Manuscripts, and a Member of two other Commissions. Three, to be precise. . . . (The remainder of my copy of this letter has been lost.)

Yours sincerely,
HENRY G. FARMER

W.A. Smart Esq.
The Residency,
Cairo

[The following letter from H.L. Rabino, written days after Farmer posted his letter to Mr. Smart, attests to the fact that the matter of Britain's sole representation was still on his mind as well. It also reaffirmed the respect Farmer received from his Cairo friends.

British Consulate General
Cairo
May 20th 1932

Dear Dr. Farmer,

I must beg of you to excuse me for having delayed so long in answering your kind letter of April 21st.

Departures are always hurried and none of us thought badly of you; in fact when the train left all your friends were singing your praise.

I had tea with the Titheringtons [*sic*] a few days later and saw their novel musical instrument, a sort of square guitar which you also noticed.

I was unable, through a bad cold, to be present at the lecture of our Beyrouth friend [Xavier Maurice Collangettes]; the judge [Pierre Crabitès] never came to see me nor have I met again the person with whom we had tea.

Mrs. Devonshire much regretted not having met you. If you remember we were to call on her the day we went to Maadi, but Mrs. Dale or Doyle kept us late that we only just had time to return to Cairo in time for dinner.

Friends from Glasgow are friends indeed and you were lucky to find one at Folkestone. It would have been absurd to have to pay ad valorem duty of 30% on those native musical instruments.

Ahmed the *cavass* asked me to thank you for the money order you were kind enough to send him. I do hope your daughter is feeling better. As for my son, the doctor at Davos reports slight progress, but we are still very anxious indeed regarding the future.

Have you written to Smart? Let me know whether you hear from the Residency on the matter.

Hoping to have the pleasure to meet you again in Egypt. I dare not say in Glasgow as it is a very long journey for me and thanking you for all your kindness.

Yours sincerely,
H.L. Rabino (FC 503)

It was only when Farmer received the following letter from Baron d'Erlanger just over a fortnight later that he learned from his last paragraph that Fox Strangways had been invited at his suggestion. It was simply too late to explain this matter to the Residency.

Nejma Ezzorra
Sidi-Bou-Saïd
Tunisie

July 3, 1932

Dear Doctor Farmer,

... I had requested originally an invitation for Fox Strangways, but he was going to be unable to absent [*i.e.*, present] himself and asked to be replaced by J.C. Sperrin-Johnson.⁴ I arranged for an invitation to be duly extended to the latter. I am given to understand that the latter did not put in an appearance.

Believe me, dear Dr. Farmer.

Yours sincerely (FC 503)⁵

4 John Charles Sperrin-Johnson (1885–1948) obtained his undergraduate and graduate degrees at the National Univ. of Ireland (Dublin). From 1914–31 he was Prof. of Biology at the Univ. College Auckland [New Zealand]. He then served as a naturalist at the School of Archæology in Cairo (from 1931–32) and returned to Ireland to commence his professorship of biology at University College in the fall of 1932. I am grateful to my colleague Mervyn McLean, who secured the information concerning Sperrin-Johnson from Keith Sinclair's *A history of the University of Auckland 1883–1983* (Auckland 1983), 82, 131–32, and 138.

How Fox Strangways came to meet him is unknown, although he must have been aware of Sperrin-Johnson's musical background (pianist) and that he would be in Cairo at the time of the Congress.

5 For the complete letter from which this portion was extracted, see Chap. 6, n. 40.

One can imagine the anxiety on Farmer's part until he received an answer from W.A. Smart in mid August which read:]

101 bis Rue de la Tombe
Issoire
Paris, 14^o
Aug. 19, 1932

Dear Dr. Farmer,

Your letter was forwarded to me in the Auvergne. . . .

I am much distressed that you should have received no acknowledgement of your two letters regarding British authorities on Oriental music. Being on leave I cannot refer to the dossier but, as far as I can remember, I not only thankfully acknowledged the list of British authorities, but added that it had been communicated to Ḥilmī Issa Pasha, the Minister of Education, who had promised to make any possible use of it for future occasions.

We suggested to him that some of these authorities might be consulted and used in a work which was proposed to carry on by correspondence etc.

Ḥilmī Issa spoke to me about the matter several times and said that the only reason for the disproportion at the Congress of British and Continental authorities was ignorance of the existence of the various British ones.

Anyhow, please accept all my regrets for an office blunder or post office failure, which may be responsible for your not receiving the acknowledgement.

Yours very sincerely,
W.A. SMART

Dr. H.G. Farmer
The University,
Glasgow

[Thus the matter was dropped since there was no need to pursue it any further.

However, other qualified specialists who would have contributed greatly to the Congress, but were not mentioned in the preliminary pre-Congress organizational records, could have included: 1) Alberto Hemsī (1898–1975), the Turkish-born Italian composer and collector/arranger of traditional Judeo-Spanish ballads and songs who had been living in Alexandria (at the time of the Congress), where he had established a music publishing firm (Édition Orientale de Musique; see Chap. 2, n. 107, and 2) Abraham Zvi Idelsohn (1882–1939), the Latvian [then Russian]-born authority on Jewish music who held cantorial posts in Germany (Berlin, Leipzig, and Ratisbon/Regensburg),

South Africa (Johannesburg), Palestine (Jerusalem), and the United States (Cincinnati, where he also held a professorship at Hebrew Union College). In Palestine, as a Turkish subject (during the years 1911 to 1913), he was among the very first to record, for the Vienna *Phonogrammarchiv der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, traditional sacred and secular melodies from among the varied Oriental-Jewish communities. For his phonographic work he sought the advice of Erich M. von Hornbostel. Of his two earlier seminal articles, “Die Makamen in der hebräischen Poesien der orientalischen Juden”, in *Monatschriften für Geschichte und Wissenschaft des Judentums*, 57(N.S. 21) (1913), 314–25 and “Die Maqamen der arabischen Musik”,⁶ in *SIMG*, 15(1) (1913), 1–63, the latter, especially, was known to Farmer and the German participants. Idelsohn survived his first heart attack in 1930, but was permanently incapacitated from 1934 on. He would have been most honored to participate in the Congress, especially to serve on the recording and theoretical commissions.]

6 Reprinted under the title “Der arabische Musik,” in his *Gesänge der orientalischen Sefardim* (Jerusalem-Berlin-Vienna 1923), Chap. 4, 52–112 (vol. IV of the series *Hebräisch-orientalischer Melodienschatz*).

Appendix 14

*Farmer's Union Speech (Dublin, Nov. 17, 1929) (FC 74)*¹

First of all, let me say how extremely gratified I am to see such a fine meeting here today. Indeed, I am particularly gratified, because it is a tribute to my distinguished friends on the platform, who represent the elite of the labour & trade union movement in Ireland. I feel that, if it had not been for their presence here today, this meeting could not possibly have been the success that it has been.

You have heard had the purpose of this meeting explained to you, but I do not want you to be “Misled by appearances”, “Don’t take things for granted”, and “Don’t jump at conclusions”. Which reminds me of an experience that I had a few weeks ago. At the theatre where I happen to be the Musical Director, a charming young lady in a revue approached me in the dim light of the stage one evening, and said to me,—“Are you Dr. Farmer?” “I am, my dear young lady,” said I. And with that we walked upstage so as to be out of earshot. Then, to my amazement, the young lady said,—“I believe that I have strained myself dancing, and I fear that I have ruptured myself. Would you be good enough to come to my dressing room and examine me?” Of course, the poor young lady had heard someone address me as Dr. Farmer, and she very foolishly jumped to the conclusion that I was the medical doctor attached to the theatre. Needless to say, I did not examine her. That only shows you the danger of jumping to conclusions, and I repeat,—“Don’t jump to conclusions”. If you will wait until the close of my speech, or whatever epithet you may care to attach to my talk, I will make it quite clear, why I am here in Dublin. In the meantime, I want to speak about trade unionism in general, and trade unionism as it affects us in particular.

The whole gamut of this question [*inserted: of trade unionism*] has been so admirably covered by my confreres on the platform, that it is with some diffidence that I venture to tread on the ground at all, because they know it far better than I do. Yet I do so, for this reason.

In the musical profession we have all sorts & conditions. We have the class conscious man, and the craft conscious man, and there is a wide difference between their points of view. To the class conscious man I say,—“All that you have heard from the platform by the representatives of the Labour and Trade Union movement in Dublin you can fully appreciate”. But the craft conscious individual is not at all convinced. He

1 Farmer became increasingly active in union affairs after he settled in Glasgow (in 1914). By 1917, he not only held a seat as committee member of the Glasgow branch of the Amalgamated Musicians' Union, but also served as its President. In 1929, as a member of the National Musicians' Union executive board, he visited Dublin to convince the then defunct Irish branch to reinstate their membership. Here we have the text of his speech.

is the individual who objects to "Trade Unionism" because it isn't "respectable", and it is to this type, first of all, that I address a few remarks.

Why be afraid? You are not afraid of political unionism. Why be afraid of ~~indus-~~ ~~trial~~ trade unionism? After all, unionism simply means the principle of combining for mutual benefit and strength. There is surely nothing wrong in that. Unionism is as natural to man as breathing or walking, for the simple reason that man is a gregarious animal, and it is because man is a highly gregarious animal that he became civilized. Every step in civilization, all progress in our social life, reveals the importance of Unionism.

I lay particular stress on this point because I want the ~~utterly~~ [*inserted: individual*] respectable musician [*inserted: to realize*] that this trade unionism is not a new fangled notion of a lot of social revolutionaries, but is, on the contrary, a necessary factor in our social life. Only the other day I was reading a book just published entitled *Wages in theory & practice* written, not by a trade unionist, but by a Professor of Commerce at London University, showing that trade unionism has not been merely a factor in determining wages, but that it has improved methods of production, and has been a stimulus to industrial efficiency. He shows also that the improved technique and organisation [*inserted: brought about by T.U.*] is a matter of importance not only to employers and workers, but to the community at large.

Let me give you some facts concerning music as an art, and the important part played by the Musicians' Union in its progress. Is it not a fact that by controlling the entry of musicians into the profession, and by making the profession so lucrative as to eliminate the necessity of other employment, the Musicians' Union has created a class of artist-musician, who was unheard of in preunion days. Is it not a fact that by enabling a musician to devote his whole time to the art of music, the Musicians' Union has undoubtedly raised the whole [*inserted: standard*] of music? When the M.U. defends the minimum wage, is it not doing a manifest service to art, because it must be obvious that if you lower the social standard you inevitably lower the professional standard?

Is it not a matter for serious thought that both the Lawyers and the Medical men are strongly in favour of unionism, admitted their own type of unionism? Why do you think that a Judge will not permit a mere solicitor to plead at the bar? Because he is not a barrister. He may have the legal erudition & ability of the Lord Chief Justice, but, unless he belongs to that particular class of Unionism known as the Bar, he will not be allowed to plead.

The Medical men are stricter still. If you care to consult the notice boards of the medical faculties in the various universities & colleges, you will invariably find a warning from the B.M.A., forbidding its members from accepting positions as physicians or surgeons at certain hospitals at lower than the rates approved by the B.M.A. Surely that is no more than the much-maligned trade unions do.

Then we hear a great deal about the "Tyranny of Trade Unionism". Personally, I do not mind ~~any kind of~~ tyranny, so long as it is for my ~~good~~ [*inserted: benefit*]. In daily

life we have to submit to all kinds of tyranny for our social good. Policemen hold up the traffic, but surely it is done with a good social purpose. If the policeman were to permit motor cars to rush pell-mell along our streets, there would soon be a few casualties. So you see, that this tyranny of the policeman, is, after all, mere regulation. In the Musicians' Union we are said to be "tyrannical" in the question of wages and conditions, but after all, the M.U. simply does what the policeman is doing when he regulates the traffic. The Union in fixing rates and conditions regulates the [*inserted: conduct of*] the selfish and unprincipled musician, who does not mind running down and trampling on his [*inserted: more conscientious and self respecting fellow musicians.*]

Then again. Surely the musician has as much right to put his services on the market at a fixed & protected rate as, let us say, the Imperial Tobacco Co. has the right to fix the retail price of its tobacco. And, similarly, the M.U. has just as much right to forbid its members from selling their services at less than the fixed rate, as the Imperial Tobacco Co. has the right to penalize its retailers when they sell at less than the agreed price.

Perhaps this analogy of looking upon your profession from a strictly business point of view will appeal to you. Why should you not run your profession on business lines? Here you have in the Musicians' Union an organisation specially devised to further & protect your business interests. Why not take advantage of it.

Let me put it to you in this way. How did you musicians make your way in the professional sphere as instrumentalists? If you happen to be violinists, you did not prod [*sic plod?*] along in a haphazard fashion. Of course not. What you did was to go to the specialists. Perhaps you first took up Henry Farmer's [*inserted: violin*] tutor. ~~He was my uncle.~~ Then you went to Kreutzer, and finally you adopted the Svecik [*i.e. Otakar Ševčík*] method. These were all specialists in their particular line of business and you trusted them. Now, if you will so readily go to the specialists in your professional life, why not go to the specialists in your business life.

The M.U. specialises in organising & protecting your business interests. That is what it was founded for. If you want to be successful in putting your business into the market at a price that is commensurate with your abilities, the Union is at your doorstep, waiting to be invited in to do the job.

But what is the M.U.? There are ~~many~~ some here today, who are members of the M.U. Others are ex-members. But probably the [*penciled in: majority*] only know the M.U. by name, and to them I address these few words. The M.U. has been in existence for the past 35 years. Its founder, J.B. Williams, who died a few months ago, was probably well known to those on the platform today, for he was a member of the General Council of the Trades Union Congress and became, ultimately, its Chairman.

Today, the M.U. has over 100 branches in England, Scotland, Wales, & the North of Ireland. It controls 20,000 members. It employs about 20 full time organizers, [*inserted: secretaries*], & other officials, besides a hundred or so part time secretaries.

Last year its income was over £17,000. It paid out in Funeral Benefits for that year £862, Benevolent Grants £672, and spent nearly £500 in the legal defence of its members. The Union recovered through the courts over £650 for its members from managers who had tried to rob them of their wages. It spent nearly £400 in affiliations to Trades Union Congresses, and other bodies. The Union has a Benevolent Fund, a Sick Fund, an Instrument Insurance Fund, and a Convalescent Home Fund. So much for the M.U. as an [*inserted: internal*] organisation.

Let us now consider what its work has been [*inserted: as an external organization*]. It has instituted the working week and the principle of a fortnight's notice, both of which have been upheld in the courts times out of number. This has meant that matinees, extra rehearsals, overtime, & other calls for extra services, have to be paid for. No longer can a management call upon our services any time that they think fit for the weekly wage. Some of us are old enough to remember when at pantomime or production time, we had to give rehearsals for a week or more, sometimes until 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning, without as much as a penny piece being paid for our services. Those days are over. [*Inserted: The M.U. has obtained the principle of 25% being paid for extras, as well as 25% being paid for "doubling". Double pay for Sundays and Holidays.*] We have compelled agreements being arrived at between ourselves and all the great theatrical & cinema managerial associations. Nowadays, when a manager wants a reduction in wages or a variation of the working conditions, or we in our turn want an increase in wages or a variation of working conditions, the matter goes to a Conciliation Board, which, I must confess, has been great boon to us, whatever it has been to other trades or professions.

At the present time we are carrying on a campaign against Service Bands being engaged to the detriment of civilian musicians. We think that it is iniquitous that these bands, which are supported by us out of the [*inserted: rates &*] taxes, should be allowed to compete with us in our profession. It is something like paying a man to give you a black eye occasionally. What would our friends on the platform say, if a company of soldiers were to be drafted into one of their workshops or offices to the detriment of their union members? I feel sure that they would not tolerate it for a moment.

Then we have the influx of foreign bands. In spite of the law that prevents Alien bands from coming into the country except by a special permit, they still swarm in, and I can quite appreciate the stand being made by Dublin musicians against this evil. Even within the M.U., although it may be very unionistic, we do try even in our branches to discourage the engagement of musicians from other towns, even though they may belong to the union, until we are quite sure that the local unemployed cannot be absorbed.

On the other side of the water we are trying to force the government to bring musicians under the Unemployment & Health Insurance Benefits, which at present are

denied them. We have sent deputations to the responsible minister, and we believe that in time our representations will bear fruit.

One question that I have been particularly interested [in] myself is that of Industrial and Vocational Diseases. [*Inserted: This is also a grave question with us. In the theatre & cinema, few people seem to realise that many ills arise from our vocation,—such as pulmonary complaints and bad eyesight. Bad ventilation gives rise to chest troubles, and bad lighting, or glaring limes are responsible for loss of eyesight. These are questions which, sooner or later, we will have to tackle.*] Which reminds me of a story. At the Scottish Trades' Union Congress this year, we had this question before us, and the discussion happened to be at the end of a session, when most of the delegates were tired, and the result was that little attention was being paid to one of the speakers. One delegate was highly incensed at this and he jumped up and said, Mr. Chairman, I speak on behalf of the Monumental Workers, and I protest against the way this question is being treated. This is a very grave question to us. Of course it was. He represented the Monumental Workers.

In the meantime, our employers, are not even going to let us die of consumption or go blind. They are going to starve us to death, because they find that with the Talkies and Mechanised music, they can dispense with our services, at least for the present. You have scarcely felt this flood of mechanized invasion here in Ireland.

In London, where there are 3000 musicians employed normally in the Cinemas, over 600 have been displaced by the Talkies and Mechanical music. In Glasgow where we have about 600 employed in Cinemas, over 180 have been displaced.

Obviously, if we musicians are desirous of finding a living in music, we will have to meet this menace [*pencil insert: and the only way to meet it is to be organized. The M.U. has tried to get the T.U. Congress support, not with much success, but*] attempted to meet the onslaught by inaugurating an intensive publicity campaign, although personally, I am not at all sanguine of the result. My own opinion is that the public will be the final judges as to what place these types of films will occupy in the entertainment world. So far the Talkies.

[*Inserted phrase: But even when the Talkies have gone, or have been relegated,*] the question of purely mechanical music is far different. In this matter we came to the conclusion that our best plan was to carry the war into the enemies camp. We realised that so long as the producers of mechanical musical films could get musicians to make this mechanical music, we could do absolutely nothing. Obviously, the only remedy was to control the musicians before they made the records for this mechanical music.

The difficulty was, how to do this within the Union itself. Whilst the T.U. Act gave us a number of privileges in one direction, it restrained us in another. We were scarcely able to do much controlling as a T.U. We had to think of another number. And finally we found it.

It was discovered that under the DRAMATIC & MUSICAL PERFORMERS' ACT of 1925, the performer had equal rights of copyright as with the composer. The legal position is this. If I were to make a sound film tomorrow with one of my bands, and the members of my band (even one of them) had assigned their performing copyright to someone else, that sound film could not be made public without a licence from the assignee. This led the M.U. to immediately form a registered company called the M.P.P.A., to which every performer could assign his rights. This association operates in precisely the same way as the P.R.S. operates for composers.

You can see at a glance therefore what a very powerful weapon we have in this new ~~society~~ association, which is part of the M.U. At the present moment we are challenging the publicity of a certain well-known film, because the music was made by our members, whose performing rights are held by our subsidiary ~~society~~ association. We are insisting that before they can use this film with the musical accompaniment, they must obtain our licence. What that licence is to cost, will be determined by several factors. At the moment we are inclined to say to the exhibitors,—“If you employ a permanent orchestra in your cinema, we will grant you a free licence. If you do not employ an orchestra, then we will either withhold the licence, or you must accept [*inserted: whatever*] terms [*we are inclined to impose*]”.

At the moment, we are claiming injunction[s] against a large producer of sound films, and the largest exhibitors in the country, and we are anxiously awaiting the result.

And now it is high time that we got down to “brass tacks” as the Americans say. What does all this information mean to you musicians in Dublin? Are you satisfied with your conditions in Dublin, or are you anxious to gain the benefits which accrue to all workers who are organized?

You know, and I know, that both your wages & working conditions are bad in Dublin. Why should Belfast have fairly decent wages and conditions, and not Dublin? Only the other day, our organiser who controls Belfast, reported that he had made a settlement for a five shillings increase by letter. By letter mark you. Not even a personal visit was necessary. That is the benefit of belonging to a union with a quarter of a century reputation behind it. It is this official contact, spreading over a number of years, that enables us to bring about a stroke of this sort. [*Pencilled addition: I said at the outset that you must not “Jump to conclusions” concerning this meeting and I promised to tell you all about it.*]

The General Office of the Musicians' Union has [*inserted: long*] been asked by certain Dublin musicians to form a branch of the M.U., because there is no protection whatever for musicians in this city, and [*inserted: because*] there was no Irish union. I may say quite frankly, that the E.C. of the M.U. have no particular desire to add to the responsibilities of the Union by extending any further into Ireland. It so happens

however, that I represent Scotland on the E.C., and I happen to be an Irishman. I felt a personal interest in the matter, which was perhaps only natural, and I persuaded the E.C. to permit me at any rate to visit Dublin to ascertain your views on the subject.

I may say, that I have no authority to open a branch here & now, I am only authorised to report back to the E.C. But if you desire that a branch be formed, I promise you that I will fight for it, and I believe that I can promise that I can win.

Personally, I would prefer to see an Irish Union, if I thought that it could be an effective one. But, frankly, I have my doubts, and [*inserted: so far as*] I can see at the moment, the only success that the Dublin musicians can expect to achieve in this direction, is to follow the example of the Railwaymen, the Locomotive Engineers, the Railway Clerks, the Woodworkers, the Engineers, the Furnishing Trades, the Typographical Assoc., and the Life Assurance Workers, by forming a branch of a larger union.

I do ask you to disabuse your minds of the idea that the M.U. is an English union. It is not. We in Scotland, and that is where I am domiciled, strongly repudiate any such suggestion that the M.U. is an English union. It is no more English than it is Scottish, or Welsh, or Irish.

One other word before I tap for coda. My visit here was planned six months ago. This is a fact that can be proved by reference to the platform. Definite plans were made for the ~~visit~~ meeting two months ago, in Sept.

If attempts have been made to form an Irish Union since the knowledge of my visit was made public, well, we thank the instigator of that movement for the compliment, and at the same time give the highest praise to them for their attempts to organize Dublin musicians.

Believe me, if an Irish Union is at all possible, I for one would welcome it. But as I have already said, I have my doubts of its efficacy. I dare say that the managements will be rubbing their hands in glee when they read of a small [*insert: Irish*] union which might muster a few hundred, or at most a couple of thousand throughout Ireland. The managers could crush that morally, and through the cash box, in a week. But to tackle the M.U. [*inserted: with*] its large membership, its substantial exchequer, and [*inserted: fairly compact*] organisation, would not be so easy a matter, especially in view of the connection with the official trade union movement, which our union would always have at its back.

And now to give you the final chord. Like [*inserted: every other*] final chord, remember that it is preceded by another chord which ought to have a "leading note" that requires "resolving". Your "leading note" today is your desire to be an organised force. So when you "resolve" that "leading note", see that it takes its proper progression, and that it end[s] harmoniously on a note which means the [*inserted: establishment of a Branch of the*] MUSICIANS UNION [*added: in Dublin.*]

Friends. I did not want to get entangled in any national question. I was born & bred in Ireland, and I am as proud of it as any man or woman in this room today. I have even

suffered for it on occasions. I remember during the Boer War, being thrown out of a railway carriage in London Bridge Station for daring to say a word in defence of the Irish Brigade.

But [*inserted: in spite of my nationalism*] I can always come down to realities. In the political world, I say "More power to the elbow of those who sense the feeling for Nationalism". But believe me, in the industrial world there is not so much room for Nationalism.

If I were working as a musician in Dublin tomorrow, and I were locked out, what would it profit me to lay the flattering unction to my soul that I was an Irishman, and belonged to an Irish Union. Do you think that the employers would care two straws about that? Of course not. What they want to know is whether I am prepared to work for their mere subsistence wages. Believe me the test for nationalism is the breakfast table, especially when there is no breakfast. [Addition: Then it is not a question of whether you are an Irishman, but are you a Trade Unionist?]

Appendix 15

Farmer's Lecture on the Music of the Hebrews¹ (Glasgow, 1932)

[*Prefatory comments by Amnon Shiloah:* The following lecture, which H.G. Farmer presented eight days prior to his journey to Cairo, constituted the first of a series of important contributions he made to the study of Jewish music. Thereafter, as I have discussed in my Foreword (ix–xx), he focused primarily on treatises that were written by medieval Jewish authors. For this lecture, however, Farmer faced a difficult task. He lacked information about the music and musical practices of the wandering tribes from Mesopotamia who accompanied their patriarch Abraham to the land of Canaan, where they settled. Even the Bible, the major and most available source of knowledge, could not be of great help—as far as music is concerned—if we consider the restrictions imposed by Farmer in the opening paragraph of his lecture (“From the above title . . .” *see infra*). It should be noted, in this respect, that the non-Israelites called the Patriarch and his descendants Hebrews, and that the Israelites used the same designation to identify themselves when dealing with foreigners.

To overcome the aforementioned deficiency, Farmer employed an ingenious idea, wherein he opted to place his discussion on a general level, combining the corresponding development of the Hebrews with the Semites and other groups in the region, and assuming that each group shared fundamental cultural traits. His theoretical approach was, to a large extent, valid: as exhibited in the Mesopotamian religious and cultural concepts (reflected in Biblical cosmogony and primeval history) or in the local Canaanite component of Israelite culture (consisting of the Hebrew language and its rich literary heritage). Some promising material has also come from a neighboring culture, namely that of Ugarit. Nonetheless, concrete evidence about music among the Hebrews during that early period can hardly be found in Biblical sources.

One occasionally finds in Farmer's presentation certain generalisations and unconvincing yet fanciful comparative etymological interpretations of Arabic, Hebrew, and other linguistic terms. He does not define the time period, within which he developed his discussion on the music of the Hebrews. By reference to the Biblical narration, it should coincide with Moses, because the distinctive features of the Israelite religion appeared in his time as during the settlement of the tribes of Israel in Canaan, being events that brought about an essential change.

Concerning Moses, Farmer provided a *concrete* musical example arguing that Moses seems to have become chief of the Israelites by reason of his gifts of eloquence

1 Two copies of the original eight-page typewritten lecture can be found in FC 397.6. It is presumed to be a lecture he gave before the Glasgow Jewish Study Circle on Jan. 9, 1932 (listed in a syllabus in FC 321, 30).

and song, which would heighten his powers of divination and intimacy with the deity. There is nothing comparable in the Old Testament to the irresistible persuasion of that impassioned song of Moses which begins: 'Give ear, O ye heavens' (Deut. 32:1).

To be sure, Biblical scholars are *unanimous* in concluding that the song was not Moses's.²

It is also interesting that around the same time, or possibly earlier, when Farmer delivered his lecture, the Baron Rodolphe d'Erlanger, one of the organizers of the Congress in Cairo who could not attend due to his grave illness, had contributed a manuscript (in Arabic) on the history of Arab music, the last ten pages of which dealt with ancient Jewish Biblical music, particularly the solemn reading of the Pentateuch. His unfinished manuscript, housed in the Tunisian National Library, is described in my RISM volume, ii, 60–1.]



From the above title it is obvious that the music of the temple and the synagogue are outwith our consideration; although this discussion may very well throw some light as to how their music developed from more primitive customs, and so enable us to apprehend Israel's spiritual development in a much clearer light than we can apprehend from other sources. Like every other nation, the music of Israel was determined by the social as well as the religious life of the people, although in primitive times there was really no distinction between what was social and what was religious.

As early as the 4th millen[n]ium B.C., we find that practically the whole of the Arabian peninsula and northwards, and from the Mediterranean Sea to the Zagros Range, was peopled by groups of Semitic peoples known as the Babylonians, Assyrians, Phoenicians, Syrians, Aramaeans, and Arabs, the latter being confined chiefly to the south. Political and commercial ties between these groups, who spoke practically the same tongue, naturally produced a common culture which, although not always at the same level, was of the same origin and trend.

Similarity of racial types provides certain general mental characteristics and artistic promptings which end in similar results. One group, it is true, developed differently from another: but by reason of their ideas having a common physical and psychical origin they are, in spite of their various trends, the result of a common urge in the impulse for expression. Indeed, every aspect of the social life of these Semites points to a pristine culture, and that can be traced especially in the sphere of religion, the most potent force in primitive culture, with which music was so intimately bound up.

2 Y. Avishur, the noted Hebrew and Ancient Semitic language scholar, affirmed that no contemporary Biblical scholar ascribes its writing to Moses. See his *Comparative studies in Biblical and Ugaritic languages and literatures*, Tel Aviv 2007, 208.

Folklore is often as sure and certain a guide as the chiselled or parchment document, and Semitic traditions on the origin of music and its 'inventors' have a philological as well as a historical interest. The Hebrew tradition in Genesis, iv, 21, makes Jubal or Yubal the 'inventor' of instruments of music, whilst the Arabic story says that Lamech invented the lute (*ūd*), Tūbal produced the drum (*ṭabl*), whilst Zillah introduced the tambourine (*duff*). Is it not strange that all of these names should have a musical significance? The grammatical root of the word Jubal—in both Hebrew and Arabic means 'to make a joyful sound.' The verbal root of Tūbal in Arabic—if written with a hard 'ṭ' (*ṭau*)—means 'to beat a drum' (*ṭabl*). The root of Lamaḥ in Arabic means 'to make bright,' and 'brightness' in Semitic languages is generally synonymous with music. The Arabic verb *zahara* means 'to make bright,' hence the name *mizhar*, a tambourine. The name Zillah might easily have been borrowed from the verb *zalat* ('to tremble'), from which we get the Hebrew word *zēlzelīm*, the Hebrew name for cymbals, although it is spelled with a *zāde* and not a *zā'in*. According to a Syriac tradition, it was the daughters of Cain who gave us our first instruments of music, hence the name *qaina* for a female musician, which—of course—is simply 'wishful thinking'. The origin of the latter word may be traced back to ancient Assyria where the singing girl was called *kīnītu*.

In the early history of the music of the Hebrews one has to remember that these people were just emerging from a nomad state to that of a pastoral community, when they were no better nor worse off culturally than other people at the same stage of civilisation. Like other Semitic groups, they held views of the supernatural that we may consider childish, but after all they were at a stage of culture which might reasonably be called the childhood of civilization. In those days almost everything was endowed with some element of the supernatural, including 'sound'. To primitive peoples, music was but the voice or voices of the unseen world. The intimate connection between these two is confirmed by philology. The chanting of the tribal soothsayer or magician, when imitating the voice or voices of the shades of the dead, was termed in Hebrew the *hāqāh*, and that was the name given to the sound of the strings of the *kinnōr* or cithara. Among the Arabs, the voice of the spirit world was known as the *ʿasf*, hence the name of a stringed instrument called the *mīʿzaf*. Thus we can appreciate how—in later times—'God's Holy Spirit' was likened to the cithara in the *Odes of Solomon*, the apparent symbolism having its actual roots deep down in primitive culture.

In Exodus, xix, 16, the voice of Yahveh is likened to the sound of the *shophar*, 'exceeding loud'. Such was the early Hebrews' idea of deity. In time, however, we get a more civilized, a more cultured outlook, as in Isaiah, xvi, 11, where we find that it is the plaintive tones of the *kinnōr* or cithara that has similitude with the voice of Yahveh, whilst in Jeremiah, xlvi, 36, the resemblance becomes actually polite, since it is likened to the soft, alluring tones of the flute or *ḥalīl*. That was nothing new, since the Babylonian

goddess Ishtar bore a name which equated with 'the soft flute'. With deities with such highly sensitive ears one must accept a definite cultural progress.

Yet long before people began to worship a god or gods, they simply propitiated them. The unseen world was feared rather than adored, since it was realized that an unseen world controlled the destinies of the tribe or community, and it was then that there originated the priesthood, ritual, and service. Tribes and communities were certainly ruled by an *amīr*, whose word was law. Yet there arose another individual whose sway could not be ignored. He was the soothsayer, the 'wise man' of the tribe. Among the Arabs, he was known as the *shā'ir*, and his art was called *shī'r*, a term which reminds us of the Hebrew *shīr* or 'song'. The name was hoary with antiquity, since the *sharru* had his place in ancient Babylonia-Assyria, where he was no longer a soothsayer, but a temple precentor.

With all primitive peoples, the tribal sage or soothsayer invariably chanted his conversations with deity, and even accompanied the latter with the sounds of an instrument of music. Nowadays, in common parlance, we often hear of music being 'enchancing' or 'charming': yet people would rarely believe that they were using terms which had that strictly etymological meaning of thousands of years ago. The soothsayer of the Hebrews was the only individual—apparently—who could approach deity or have dealing with the unseen world. The voice of Jahveh, by which the oracles were revealed was called *n'um*. So was the 'Song of David' in ii Samuel, xxiii, 1. So was the 'prophecy of Āgur, and the 'oracles' against which Jeremiah poured out his wrath. The 'root' of this word, in both Hebrew and Arabic, means 'to mutter in a low voice'. Is it any wonder that ghosts are supposed to speak in deep, sepulchral tones? On the other hand, a prophet, in both Hebrew and Arabic, is called a *nabī*, and nowadays the Arabs use the term *nābī* for one who sings with a *falsetto* voice: a most apt term is that Italian word.

Sometimes the chief and soothsayer of the tribes in Arabia were one and the same person: and Moses seems to have become chief of the Israelites by reason of his gifts of eloquence and song, which would heighten his powers of divination and intimacy with deity. There is nothing comparable in the Old Testament to the irresistible persuasion of that impassioned song of Moses which begins: 'Give ear, O ye heavens' (Deut., xxxii).

With the Arabs, so much were poetry and song esteemed, that the selection of a chief depended—sometimes—on his accomplishments in those arts. As Ibn Qutaiba has said,—“It is the tongue of the chief, as much as his spear, that makes him feared”. The name of a chief in Arabic is *amīr*: and in Hebrew we have the word *omer*, which means a poem or hymn. And since both words come from a common root meaning 'to order or command', it will be apparent how this word arose. We have Arab chiefs who[se] very names show that they were gifted with voices that were musical. We find

the same thing in Hebrew, where one chieftain was named *Zimrī*, i.e. 'celebrated in song': whilst another was called *Nashon*, or 'Enchanter'.

A time came in the growing consciousness of the tribe and community, when the people themselves participated in this contact with the unseen world; and that marked a distinct social and religious advance. It gave birth to the festival, as illustrated in Babylonia-Assyria. The festival of yeanning time was to become the festival to the deities of fertilisation in their worship of Ishtar and Bau. With the Hebrews, that rejoicing has been identified with the Passover. The festival of the date harvest has not been traced in Babylonia, but it was the Feast of Tabernacles with the Hebrews; whilst the festival of wailing for the death of vegetation has been coupled with the Babylonian festival of Tammuz: and all festivals—joyous or funereal—was a summons to music to play its part.

Obviously instruments were necessary in this music of the distant, although hallowed past. A great deal of conjecture—one might even say nonsense—has been written about the music of the Hebrews, even to the use of the word 'organ'. But then, that word was often used in its original Latin sense meaning simply 'an instrument'. The excavations and discoveries which have been made during recent decades, notably on the sites of ancient Semitic civilizations, have wrought wondrous changes in our notions of the history of music. This subject, which meant, a half-century ago, a plunge into a tractless desert, with mirages tempting one on every hand, is now full of signposts, which enable us to find our way with comparative ease. Here we see every instrument of music that was handled by the Hebrews, and even many of their very names. In Babylonia-Assyria, music was known as *nigutu* or *ningutu*, both words being derived from the verbs *nagu* or *nangu*, which mean 'to sound' or 'to make a noise'.

In Hebrew we have their equivalents in *nagin* (to play, to beat) hence *negīnah* (a stringed instrument). The Babylonian *tabbalu* (a drum) and *adapa* (a tambourine), became the Aramaic *ṭibela* and the Hebrew *toph*, which survive today in the Arabic *ṭabl* and *duff*. The Babylonian *halhalatu* was the Hebrew *ḥalīl* and the Phoenician *ḥulhīla*. The Babylonian *abbūba* or *anbūba* was the Hebrew *abbūb*, which, as we know from the Targums, was the *ʿugab* of the Bible. Indeed this latter may have changed its form because of [its] use in the Ishtar rites, and could have its origin in the verb meaning 'to love voluptuously'.

In its widest sense, i.e. apart from its connection with religious cults, music meant to the Hebrews,—joy, pleasure and brightness. Indeed, it became so much bound up with the delights and pleasures of this world, that the puritans of Israel—as early as Isaiah—began to condemn it: and that forbid[d]ance lasted until well into the Middle Ages. After that the Jews of both the East and the West became as much addicted to the art as their Christian, Muslim, Buddhist, Confucian, and Secularist fellows.

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