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MODAL HARMONY IN ANDALUSIAN, EASTERN EUROPEAN, AND TURKISH SYNCRETIC MUSICS

by Peter Manuel

This article examines, in a cursory form, the standardized ways of harmonizing predominantly modal melodies in the contexts of a set of interrelated urban folk and popular musics of the Mediterranean area. Insofar as these musics employ a harmonic-melodic system qualitatively distinct from that of Western common practice, they are worthy of scholarly attention in themselves. This article further seeks to revive the spirit of "Comparative Musicology" and to suggest ways in which cross-cultural comparison of selected musical parameters may reveal new sorts of pan-regional music areas.

Analytical descriptions of modal musical systems have played an important role in ethnomusicology since the inception of the field. From d'Erlanger to Densmore, early ethnomusicologists took special interest in documenting the modal practices of traditional non-Western music cultures. The scholarly concentration on traditional modal systems (and Western art music) has nevertheless left significant gaps in our analytical descriptions of world musics. In particular, it has entailed a neglect of the syncretic musical systems that have arisen, especially in the last two centuries, as products of the confluence of modal traditions with Western chordal harmony.

This article employs the potentially ambiguous terms "mode" and "modal harmony," whose meaning as employed herein should be clarified. While these terms have become woefully broad, diverse, and ambiguous in their applications, they are retained in this article to denote forms of musical organization different from (although not incompatible with) chordal harmony. "Mode" is used herein to denote a linear melodic construct based on scale or scale-type, with a tonic note, and in many but not all cases, more specific melodic features like pitch hierarchy and characteristic phrases. One may further distinguish between "modal polyphony" (where each melodic line is governed by linear rather than harmonic principles), "chordal harmony," of which Western common practice harmony is a special case, and forms of what we are here describing as "modal harmony" which combine aspects of these two.

From the appearance of parallel organum in the ninth century to the advent of common-practice harmony in the 1600s, Western art music exhibited a gradual process of evolution from melodic to harmonic principles of organization. Until the late sixteenth century, the dominant theoretical conception remained that of the linear melody, with the use of polyphony in cadences, transpositions, imitative passages, and the like governed primarily by linear modal principles—hence the use of the term "modal harmony" to describe the appearance of vertical sonorities which remained conditioned by modal conceptions. Chordal harmonic organization emerged over a period of several centuries as a result of the growth

of new hierarchies of chordally structural pitches and non-structural passing-tones, appoggiaturas, and suspensions (see Powers 1980: 417).

The uses of modal harmony in Renaissance art music differed in their organizational principles from those of the musics discussed in this article. In the latter, chordal structures were not used to control the polyphonic superimposition of linear modal melodies. Rather, in each case, the basic chordal types—i.e., major and minor triads—appear to have been borrowed from existing Western practice and employed to accompany a solo, predominantly modal melody, albeit often in manners quite distinct from common practice harmony. The overall texture and principle could thus be called "monodic", in the sense that it consists of melody with chordal accompaniment.

In this syncretic monody, melody retains a modal character. First, it generally employs scales deriving from a purely modal tradition, as opposed to the Western major and minor scales. Accordingly, the chordal vocabularies—i.e., the specific repertoire of major and minor triads—as well as their characteristic progressions, are not rooted in Western common practice tonality, but rather in the potentialities and idiosyncracies of the mode in use. Consequently, for most of the music discussed in this article, the chordal accompaniment, although significant and expressive, tends not to play a structural role, in the sense that it does in common practice harmony. In Western tonality, the musical import often arises as much from the harmony as from the melody, such that the latter is often inexpressive, if not unintelligible without the former; by contrast, in the modal harmony discussed here, triads are often used primarily for color, or for sonority, or in the context of a simple oscillation between two chords. Chords may be limited to this decorative function even when (as in ex. 5 below) the melody has evidently been composed with specific chordal progressions in mind. The term "modal harmony" is thus employed in this article to describe such standardized applications of chordal accompaniment in otherwise modal musics.

The confluence of Turko-Arab and Eastern European musics with Western music has generated a number of syncretic hybrids over the last several centuries. In the eastern Mediterranean, acculturated urban musics synthesizing features of regional and Western traditions have arisen in Turkey, Greece, and the Balkans, and have come to be firmly established in the twentieth century as contemporary popular styles. In southern Spain, flamenco and other forms of Andalusian folk music (especially the *fandango*) can be seen to derive from similar acculturative processes, and indeed bear remarkable affinities with eastern Mediterranean hybrids in terms of melodic-harmonic principles.

Andalusian Phrygian Tonality

The synthesis of Arab and European musics in southern Spain appears to have started during the extended period of Moorish rule commencing in A.D. 711. During this epoch, Arab and Berber modal musics flourished in southern Spain, both on aristocratic and folk levels, as did the modal liturgical musics of the Christian and Sephardic Jewish communities, who

coexisted with those of the Muslims. The fall of Granada in 1492 and the expulsion of many Moors a few decades later did not signal the end of Arab influence on Andalusian music, for many converted Moors (*moriscos*) remained in Spain, and by this time most Andalusian music may be presumed to have been heavily, if not overwhelmingly Moorish in character. Much of Andalusian folk music retains Arab/Mediterranean elements in the form of melismatic vocal style and, more visibly, in the distinctive modal-harmonic system which is occasionally referred to as "Phrygian tonality."

This Phrygian tonality is most probably a syncretic product of the modal traditions of pre-Moorish Spain, Arab modal musics, and Western common-practice tonality. While very little is known about Moorish folk musics, it may be assumed that they bore some relation to Moorish art musics; documentation of the latter can be found in contemporary sources and, in a more oblique fashion, in the continuance of Moorish Andalusian art music traditions in North Africa. Contemporary descriptions and current survivals suggest that such music, like traditional Arab urban musics in general, was sophisticated, monophonic, and based on a set of modes (*māqāmāt*, s. *maqām*), some of the most important of which appear to have resembled those in use in Arab musics today.

Andalusian Phrygian tonality reflects certain affinities with two *māqāmāt*—*Bayati* and *Hijaz*. The scales of these modes, which have been for several centuries among the most popular *māqāmāt* in Arab urban musics, are given below:

Bayati: E F# G A B C D E D C B A G F# E

Hijaz: E F G# A B C# D E D C# B A G# F E

In both of these modes, the fourth degree (here, A) functions as a secondary tonic and as a relatively stable resting pitch.

In Andalusian Phrygian tonality, chordal accompaniment plays an important role, but the triadic vocabulary is drawn primarily from the pitch resources of the Phrygian and, to some extent, the *Hijaz* modal configurations. Thus, the Phrygian key, taking E as "tonic," would employ minor triads on the fourth and seventh degrees (A and D), and major ones on the second, third, and sixth degrees (F, G, and C). The standard use of a major tonic triad (i.e., E major) rather than a minor one suggests affinities with the *Hijaz* mode insofar as it occasions the use of the raised third in some contexts, affording the characteristic augmented second interval of *Hijaz*. Chords built on the fifth degree are avoided. Rather, the role of the "dominant" (i.e., that chord which most strongly demands resolution to the tonic) is played by chords on the lower and, more importantly, the upper leading-tones to the tonic (*viz.*, Dm and F). The most characteristic chord progression—also incorporating this Phrygian "dominant-tonic" pattern—would be Am-G-F-E. This progression functions not only as a cadential figure, but indeed as the basis of Andalusian folk music employing Phrygian tonality. In Western terms this progression might be analyzed as i-VII-VI-V, but in the Andalusian context it should be seen as iv-III-II-I; while the iv (Am) chord may

constitute a relatively stable resting point, it remains subsidiary to the E chord, which functions as a tonic and finalis.

The juxtaposition of the G# of the E major chord with the G of this progression can be seen in terms of the use of *Hijaz* and Phrygian scales, respectively. One interesting "resolution" of the incompatibility of these pitches is the frequent vocal intonation of the third degree in a neutral, half-flat manner. The use of secondary dominants preceding one or more of the chords in this progression reflects European influence.

Andalusian folk musics include Europeanized sub-genres like the *pasodobles* and *tangos* of Cádiz Carnival music, in which Phrygian tonality is less common. Other genres may be seen as representing confluences of Phrygian tonality and common practice harmony. This synthesis is most obvious in the *fandango*, which, in its numerous regional varieties, constitutes perhaps the single most representative and popular Andalusian folk song-type. Most *fandangos* alternate sung verses (*coplas*) accompanied by I-IV-V harmonies, with instrumental (especially guitar) *ostinati* (*falsetas*) consisting primarily of reiterated and/or ornamented iv-III-II-I progressions. Thus, simple common-practice harmony is employed in the verses, and Phrygian tonality in the *falsetas*. The pattern may be schematized as follows (proceeding from left to right):

<i>falseta</i>	<i>copla</i>	<i>falseta</i>
(chords:) : Am G F E:	C F C G7 C F	: E Am G F E: (etc.)
E Phryg : iv III II I:	II	: I iv III II I:
C major: I IV I V7 I IV		

Example 1:

The musical score for Example 1 is written in 6/8 time. It features a guitar accompaniment and a vocal melody. The guitar part starts with a 'Guitar: E7' chord and follows a progression of Am, G, F, E7, and then repeats. The vocal melody is in Phrygian tonality, with lyrics in Spanish. The score includes a 'repeat ad lib' section and a 'Guitar vamp as before' section.

Example 1, a traditional and familiar *fandango de Huelva*, illustrates this juxtaposition of common-practice and Phrygian tonalities.¹ Note how the vocal melody adheres to the C major scale (which corresponds to the E Phrygian scale). The transition to Phrygian tonality at the end of the *copla* is the dramatic climax of the pattern, and is generally intensified either by prolonged melisma or, as, in this case, by the melodic peak.

"Pure" Phrygian tonality—including what we are referring to as modal harmony—is more marked in flamenco, which constitutes a distinct kind of Andalusian folk music, emerging in the early nineteenth century among settled, primarily urban gypsies of Seville and Cádiz provinces. Flamenco exhibits many of Andalusian music's most markedly Moorish features, which the gypsies, since their arrival via the north from the late 1400s, evidently absorbed from *moriscos* and from Andalusian music in general. Flamenco comprises some two dozen basic *cantes*, or song-types distinguished by meter, tempo, harmony, and melody. These include forms derived from Andalusian folk music—such as the numerous varieties of *fandango*—as well as *cantes* specifically associated with the gypsy community.² The latter, the most important of which are *bulerías*, *soleares*, and *siguiriyas*, exhibit considerably more modal flavor than the non-gypsy *cantes*, and also include other affinities with Arab musics, notably, additive meters and an ornamented, melismatic vocal style.

While flamenco is perhaps best known outside Spain for its guitar and dance styles, the genre is originally and primarily a vocal music, with or without guitar accompaniment. Several archaic genres (e.g., *martinete*, *toná*) are sung without guitar accompaniment. In these *cantes*, vocal melodies are entirely modal in character, adhering closely to the Phrygian scale, with some occasional usage of the raised or neutral third degree reminiscent of *Hijaz*. All the gypsy-derived *cantes* may still be performed without guitar accompaniment. In these *cantes* (as well as in the popular *tientos* and *tangos* of uncertain derivation), the guitar accompaniment, where present, invariably consists of an ornamented oscillation between two chords—usually, the tonic and flat supertonic—with occasional forays in the minor fourth chord, thence descending to the tonic via the familiar iv-III-II-I pattern. Individual chords are frequently enriched with appoggiaturas, suspensions, and other non-triadic notes taken from the Phrygian scale; the voicings make considerable use of open strings on the guitar and thus reflect the important role that that instrument has played in the evolution of the chordal vocabulary (see Manuel 1986).

Example 2:

los o-jos de mi ca-ra se me te-ni-an que ha-ber sar-ta-o

los o-ji-tos de mi ca-ra se me te-ni-a que ha-ber sar-ta-o

cuan-do pu-se mi sen-ti-o en quie-en mal pa-go (me) ha-da-(d) o

cuan-do pu-se mi sen-ti-o en quie-en mal pa-go ni(c) a da(d)

Example 2, showing one stanza of a typical *soleares*, exhibits the features described above, notably: the Phrygian modal melody, with occasional use of the neutral third degree; the oscillation between tonic E and "dominant" F chords; the ascent to iv (Am, in m. 4), and subsequent Am-G-F-E descent; and, finally, the evanescent suggestion of simple European common practice harmony in the modulations to C major (mm. 6, 8), which then resolve to E Phrygian in the following measures.³

Modal Harmony in Greece, Turkey, and Eastern Europe

The musical practices of Eastern Europe and the northeastern Mediterranean are generally regarded as too diverse in style and form to constitute a single musical area. Yet an examination of certain, primarily urban musics in these countries illustrates that they do share aspects of a distinctive harmonic system employing standardized harmonizations of predominantly modal melodies. The relative continuity of this system justifies our grouping together here several countries whose musics in other respects are quite heterogeneous. Further, as we shall discuss below, the affinities of this harmonic system with Andalusian Phrygian tonality might even enable one to speak of a "Mediterranean tonality" characterized by this particular type of triadic harmonizations. Variants of the *Hijaz* mode discussed above, with its characteristic augmented second between the second and third scalar degrees, figure predominantly in this syncretic system, as do other chromatic and diatonic non-Western modes.

The related development of modal harmonic systems themselves must be seen as a product of several musical and broader cultural affinities throughout the area of this study. First, in all of the countries discussed in this section, there exist important categories of secular, modal, monophonic or heterophonic folk songs which consist of discrete formal sections in different modes and often using different tonic ground-notes. This type of additive formal structure is particularly common in dance tunes (or genres derived from them), in which the musicians can spontaneously extend pieces *ad libitum*, in accordance with the dancers' mood, by stringing together separate melodies, riffs, or improvisation sections, in contrasting modes and/or tonics. It is common in such pieces for some sort of instrument to provide the moveable drones or even tonic dyads or triads, following the modal modulations signalled by the melody instrument(s). Since such practices are common in, for example, traditional Turkish folk music, we should not necessarily regard them as reflecting Western influence. It is our argument here, however, that they do in themselves establish a sort of predisposition to the incorporation of some form of harmony insofar as the shifting drones may occasionally take the form of hierarchically related chordal progressions.

Secondly, the use of a relatively consistent modal harmonic system in the countries in question may be seen as a product of shared historical and cultural ties within the area. The entire Mediterranean area shares, in varying degrees, the musical heritage of the Byzantine Church, although the extent to which this tradition influenced secular music remains unclear.

Evidence suggests that there has been considerable mutual influence between Greek Byzantine music and secular Ottoman music, as well as other musical genres.⁴ We may certainly assume, at any rate, that Byzantine modal traditions had some impact on the evolution of music outside the church, and that this influence constituted one unifying element throughout the areas under its domain.

We can state with much greater certainty that the extended Ottoman Turkish rule in the countries in question exerted considerable musical impact and served as a culturally unifying force. At different periods and in different regions, Ottoman domination took distinct forms, ranging from direct colonial rule, to nominal suzerainty, to rule through foreign intermediaries. Yet despite these differences, Turkish music appears to have influenced secular musical practices to some degree throughout the areas under Ottoman control. Among the various aspects of Turkish musical influence, the most relevant here is the use of *makam* (Turk. p. *makamlar*). Turkish *makam* theory and practice, and many of the *makams* themselves, bear close affinities with Arab counterparts, and, indeed, their evolutions were closely linked for centuries. Thus, for example, the Turkish *makam Hicaz* (*Humayun* sub-category) closely resembles its Arab namesake (*Hijaz*); as we shall see, this mode has played an important role in the development of modal harmony in the areas considered here. It is also significant that modulation—involving either change of scale type or transposition of tonic, or both—is a central feature in Turkish performance practice, whether of art music, gypsy urban popular music, or many *makam*-informed folk styles. The practice of such modulation reflects an important affinity with the sectional, additive formal structure of the folk dance pieces we have mentioned above.

The third musical influence common to the areas considered is, of course, that of Western European music. While Eastern Europe and the Balkans were never totally isolated from cultural developments in the West, it appears to have been only in the early nineteenth century that Western music, including common practice harmony, became widely familiar in urban bourgeois music circles of the Balkans. As we shall suggest, it was in this period that syncretic harmonic practices may have first developed.

Most of the musics to be discussed below synthesized features of regional folk musics with Ottoman and Western musics. Shifting geopolitical spheres of interest naturally facilitated transmission of musical practices throughout the area. The existence of transnational ethnic groups also promoted musical homogeneity. For example, the Ottomans chose to rule Rumania through a Greek elite transplanted from Constantinople, which appears to have exerted considerable influence on musical life until the Rumanian revolution of 1821. Meanwhile, Greek communities in Smyrna (Izmir) and Constantinople played important roles in cultural life until their expulsion in 1922.

The presence of Jewish professional secular musicians (*klezmerim*) throughout Eastern Europe also appears to have functioned as an agent of musical homogeneity. Jews constituted an international community present in all the countries in question here, and Jewish musicians tended

to serve as conduits for the transmission of stylistic features and musical genres (e.g., the Rumanian *doina*) across international borders.

However, by far the most significant ethnic group in the transmission of musical practices was the gypsy community. By the eighteenth century, gypsies figured prominently in and in many cases dominated professional secular music performance throughout the area considered. Many sedentary as well as nomadic gypsies appear to have maintained strong ties with their brethren in neighboring countries. Gypsy musicians from diverse regions were retained as slaves by Ottoman and Eastern European nobles. Further, many gypsy musicians traditionally specialized in offering their clientele a varied mixture of "exotic" and novel-sounding musics from different areas. Most importantly, in Eastern Europe as in Andalusia, gypsies, for whatever reasons, have tended to preserve and perpetuate older—in this case Turkish—musical practices (Garfias 1981), synthesizing them with modern, generally more Western styles, and thereby playing important roles in the evolution of a system of modal harmony which, in many respects, is common to the entire region.

The gradual dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire, the subsequent "Balkanization" of its former European domain, and the increasing hegemony of Western European culture served in some respects to weaken the perpetuation of the acculturated musics which had evolved by 1900. In the twentieth century, however, the advent of the mass media has provided a new and unprecedented vehicle for the transmission and sharing of syncretic musics, now in the form of urban commercial genres. Thus, for example, we find that Turkish and Greek pop musics come to constitute new musical *linguas francas* throughout much of the Balkans as well as in their homelands.

The uses of modal harmony in the areas discussed here do exhibit considerable variety, in accordance with the distinct musical traditions of the regions involved. Nevertheless, certain conventions are employed throughout most of the area. Today these include some use of major and minor scales, with essentially European chordal harmonization. Of greater interest to us here, however, are the standardized harmonizations of non-Western scales, including variants of modes employing Aeolian- and Dorian-type scales, the scale (to be discussed below) which is sometimes referred to as the "raised-fourth scale," and above all, *Hicaz*-type scales.

The most distinctive feature recurrent throughout the area is the use of modes employing an augmented second between the flat second degree and the natural third degree, a configuration which, as we have noted, is the trademark of the *Hicaz* mode. In many cases, although the structure of the lower tetrachord of a mode used corresponds to that of *Hicaz*, it may be improper to speak of the mode as *Hicaz* per se. Many folk songs using this tetrachord may have restricted ranges which do not reach above the fifth degree; in other songs, the intonation of the sixth and seventh degrees may vary considerably. Further, the concept of *makam* extends well beyond the simple notion of scale, and many melodies employing the *Hijaz* scale may not follow the characteristic patterns of the *makam* itself. Thus, our discussion here focusses on the recurrence of scalar types

and non-Western musical conceptions which we are referring to as "modal," whether or not they embody the same subtleties inherent in the notion of *makam*.

Hicaz-type scales are generally harmonized in ways similar to those employed in Andalusian harmony. The major chord on the flat second degree functions essentially as a dominant, with the minor chord on the flat seventh degree as an important lower neighbor. The minor iv chord serves as an important secondary tonal center, paralleling the importance of that pitch in the *makam Hicaz* itself.

It may be noted that *Hicaz* and related modes accommodate chordal harmonies more easily than do most of the other basic Turko-Arab modes. Neutral intervals play more structural and indispensable roles in several of the latter (e.g., *Rast*, *Bayati*, and *Huzzam*) than does the ascending neutral sixth degree of Arab *Hijaz*, and the neutral second degree used in the *Hicaz* of Turkish art music; neutral intervals naturally resist incorporation into major and minor chords, and thus the modes in which these are seen as indispensable are avoided in acculturated musics.

In Turkish art music, the term *Hicaz* actually denotes four related but different *makams*. Of these, *Hicaz* proper has a raised sixth degree, while the *Humayun* sub-mode features the lowered sixth corresponding to Arab *Hijaz* and the scale discussed in this article. The *Humayun* variant, indeed, is far more widespread in urban and folk musics throughout the areas considered here. Its greater popularity in acculturated musics may derive partly from the fact that, with its lowered sixth degree affording a major II chord, it accommodates chordal accompaniment far better than *Hicaz* proper. In the syncretic musics discussed here, the neutral intervals employed in *Hicaz* and other traditional modes are generally adjusted to more diatonic pitches when combined with major-minor harmonies.

Another common scale throughout much of the area in consideration here has the following structure: D E F G# A B C D. Slobin (1980: 314-17) and Beregovski (1967: 549-59) have summarized some aspects of the distribution of this scale throughout Eastern Europe, noting that it is common in Rumania (especially Moldavia), the Ukraine, and in traditional Yiddish folksong. (The scale also forms the basis of the Turkish *makam Nikriz*, although that mode differs in its characteristic melodic patterns.) We shall note further uses of this scale below. Scholars have variously labeled the scale "Ukrainian Dorian" (Idelsohn 1967: 185) and "altered Dorian" (Beregovski 1967: 549ff); Greek and Yiddish musicians, meanwhile, refer to it as *piraiotiko minore* and *misheberakh*, respectively. Here we shall follow the practice of Slobin and refer to it as the "raised-fourth scale."

The raised-fourth scale lends itself less well to harmonization than does the *Hicaz*-type scale (see, e.g., Sapoznik and Sokolow 1987: 21). Hence melodies employing this scale often tend to be more strongly modal in character, and are frequently accompanied only by tonic drones (see, e.g., Beregovski 1982: 582). A major chord on the second degree often appears in the function of secondary dominant, preceding a dominant chord which, however, requires the introduction of the raised seventh. Similarly, major

or minor subdominant chords are fairly common, although both require lowering of the sharp fourth degree.

The raised-fourth scale, as the reader may note, is intervallically equivalent to that of *Hijaz*, differing only in the placement of the tonic (i.e., raised-fourth scale from D resembles *Hijaz* from E). Hence, in many of the musics discussed below, modal modulations between these two scales frequently exploit this congruity.

A thorough and detailed treatment of harmonic and modal practice in the diverse regions considered is beyond the scope of a single article. Nevertheless, in the following pages we shall briefly sketch some of the uses of chordal accompaniment in conjunction with these other modes.

Greece

The question of modal harmony in Greek folk music cannot be treated satisfactorily in such a limited space, both because of the extraordinary richness and diversity of the music as well as the dearth of extant musicological research. The studies on mode available to this author either distort the modes by relying on inaccurate transcriptions (e.g., Rosantonaki 1947), or focus only on specific regions (e.g., Chianis 1967); most importantly for our purposes, they do not discuss the incorporation of chordal accompaniment—a feature which has been standard in most genres for several decades at least.

The study of modal practice in Greek folk music, and of the incorporation of chordal accompaniment therein, ultimately involves attempting to reconstruct the manner in which diverse foreign musical influences have interacted in the Greek communities which flourished in several parts of the Ottoman empire. We have mentioned the initial uncertainty regarding the historical relationships between the modes used in contemporary Greek secular music, in Byzantine church music, and in Ottoman Turkish musics. Modality in general can be said to have been strengthened by the Byzantine Church, and by Ottoman rule of Greece, which lasted roughly from 1456 until 1829. The large and influential Greek merchant communities in Constantinople—the true center of Greek church music—and Smyrna also fostered secular musics which were heavily Turkish-influenced. (Athens was a relatively provincial, Albanian-dominated town until the late nineteenth century). At the same time, Greek culture (especially in Greece itself) had been subject to strong European, and especially Italian influence since the sixteenth century, if not earlier. Some of the Greek islands, particularly those serving as seaports, fostered highly cosmopolitan cultures. Syra, for example, with its important port of Hermoupolis, hosted an opera house from the 1820s. Greek merchant communities, from Paris to Moscow, also maintained ties with relatives and associates in Greece itself, further promoting European culture. By the nineteenth century, Italian light songs (*cantades*) were popular throughout much of the mainland as well as many islands.⁵ Other islands, meanwhile, remained provincial outposts.

In spite of the strength of European influence, much of Greek folk music remains modal in character. However, many folk melodies, as we shall

discuss below, strongly suggest simple chord progressions, especially, for instance, an oscillation between tonic and subtonic chords. Unfortunately, it may be impossible to ascertain the age of such chordally-suggestive melodies, most of which are now rendered with chordal guitar and/or *lauto* accompaniment.

Evidence suggests that in some urban genres, the practice of harmonizing modal melodies was in vogue as early as the first decades of the nineteenth century. The most significant documents in this regard are the Pann and Rouschitzky collections of piano pieces based on contemporary Rumanian urban dance pieces, compiled in the early 1830s.⁶ These contain at least one allegedly Greek piece, evidently deriving from the Greek Phanariot elite representing the Orthodox Patriarchate and serving as surrogate rulers for the Ottomans until 1821. The piece does not differ in style from the syncretic Rumanian pieces in the same manuscript. These will be discussed below; at this point, it may suffice to note that the piece consists of a series of sections in scales corresponding to the *Hijaz*, *Hijaz Kar*, and *piraiotiko* modes, with static Alberti-style chordal accompaniments in the left hand.

It may be difficult, however, to establish any relationship between the modal harmony of the Rumanian manuscripts and similar practices in *rebetika*, the major twentieth century Greek urban popular music, and, for that matter, in Greek folk music, as it is possible that the incorporation of harmony in these genres may have been an early twentieth-century development. Nevertheless, modal practices in several rural genres illustrate features which, as we have suggested above, foreshadow and certainly facilitated the introduction of chordal accompaniment.⁷

Particularly significant for our purposes here is the aforementioned practice of structuring dance pieces and other songs by stringing together discrete sections consisting of melodies or improvisations using different modes and tonic ground-notes. In many genres of Greek folk music, the *lauto*, a plucked lute, would strum the root and fifth as a drone accompaniment during these sections; the occasional addition of the third degree would render the accompaniment triadic. Traditionally, this accompaniment would constitute static drones in autonomous sections rather than chords in hierarchically related progressions. Yet when the sections are short, the relationship between the ground-notes of the discrete sections naturally acquires some hierarchic flavor, and the dyads or triads begin to acquire the character of chord progressions.⁸

Even more important in Greek modes, is the subtonic (or "hypotonic"), i.e. the tone below the tonic—usually the flat seventh or, less often, the sixth—which functions in certain passages as a secondary ground-note, temporarily replacing the tonic as a modal reference point. Thus, for example, scales roughly corresponding to the Dorian are common in Greece, in which the flat seventh degree serves as the subtonic; sections of pieces in such modes may then appear to modulate to a major-type scale on that degree. Very often, the "modulations" between tonic and subtonic are regular and rapid enough to resemble chordal oscillations, in this case between minor tonic and major subtonic chords. This usage of the subtonic appears to be traditional in Greek and western Yugoslavian

modal practice, and indeed is one of the fundamental characteristics of Greek folk music. It is of interest here insofar as it represents what may be an incipient form of triadic movement, which lends itself naturally to syncretic chordal accompaniment, such as is frequently provided today on *lauto* and/or guitar. The oscillation of minor tonic and major subtonic chords is illustrated in the following excerpt of a strophic Roumeli *kalamatiano* (folk dance in 3+4 meter):⁹

Example 3:

In this piece the simple VII-i chordal accompaniment (arpeggiated by a *lauto*), could be seen as latent in the melody itself, as in the suggestion of G major triads in mm. 3-5 and 10-11.

Variants of the Dorian-type scale used in this example appear to be the single most common mode-type in Greek folk music.¹⁰ In many cases, however, the second degree of this scale is intoned half-flat, especially when sung, or played on fiddle or clarinet; typical melodic patterns in such cases lend the mode further affinities to the Turkish *makam Uşşak*. As in the example above, a sustained or stressed second degree in the melody often is accompanied by the subtonic chord. The neutral intonation of the second degree may clash with the chordal accompaniment, especially since the *lauto* and guitar may "adjust" their own accompaniment by playing, in succession, a major subtonic, followed by a minor subtonic chord; or the two instruments may even play both chords simultaneously.¹¹

Consistent use of either raised or lowered second by the vocalist or melodic instrument does not pose such problems of intonation. Thus, when the second is flat throughout the piece, the chordal accompaniment generally accords with the tonal resources of the Phrygian scale, stressing such progressions as i iv III II vii i. The following excerpt of a strophic *syrtos* illustrates the use of such patterns. The melody here is played by a violin, with chords provided by *lauto* and guitar; a bass—obviously a modern accretion—outlines the harmonies, which are at any rate compatible with, if not latent in the melody.¹²

Example 4:

The *Hijaz*-type scale, which, as we have noted, figures prominently in Greek church music, is also quite common in Greek folk music, occurring in roughly eleven percent of one large sample of folk songs (Rosantonaki 1947: 55ff). Its usage is fairly widespread in mainland genres such as *kalamatianos*, klephtic ballads, *tsamiko*, and *rebetika*. Here the lowered seventh degree functions as the subtonic (Chianis 1967: 82), and the chordal accompaniment follows the patterns discussed above in connection with this mode, that is, with *vii* and *II* chords serving as "dominant" neighbors, and the *iv* chord as an important subdominant.

The raised-fourth scale discussed above is also common in the same genres. It is generally harmonized in the manner outlined in our previous discussion of this scale, occasionally with the addition of coloristic diminished seventh chords consisting of the tonic, third, fourth, and sixth degrees. Sectional modulations frequently exploit the enharmonic equivalence between this mode and the *Hijaz*-type scale built on the second degree.

It is not possible to reconstruct with precision the historical process of incorporation of chordal accompaniment into Greek folk music. Some early recordings of rural genres (e.g., of clarinetist Karakosta, dating from the 1930s) do feature triadic figures rendered on the *lauto* accompaniment, suggesting that the practice was by no means unknown. Further, as we have observed, chordal successions even if not explicitly articulated by an accompanying instrument, seem to be strongly implicit in many traditional melodies, although as in any orally transmitted art, "tradition" may well extend no more than a generation back.

We can trace with much greater accuracy the incorporation of harmony into the urban popular music that evolved in the Athens and Piraeus slums and waterfront areas in the early twentieth century, when these twin cities were flooded with over a million refugees. This music, called *rebetika*, was a product of the lumpen proletarian subculture that emerged during this dramatic urbanization process. While some of the migrants were dispossessed peasants from the Greek countryside, the majority were former inhabitants of Smyrna and Istanbul expelled in 1922. These latter brought with them their own Turkish-influenced urban musics, which eventually evolved into a commercial Greek popular music in conjunction with the rise of the mass media.

The earliest *rebetika* recordings, and especially those in the Smyrna style, are rooted in *makam* (Greek *dromos*) and strongly Turkish in character and style. Accordingly, they make very little use of chords. Moreover,

the *makamlar* employed include modes with prominent neutral intervals and chromatic scales (e.g., *Saba*, *Segah*) which do not lend themselves to accompaniment with major and minor triads. Subsequent recordings in the more mainstream *rebetika* style reflect the decline of such modes, and the correspondingly greater use of chordal accompaniments and modulations. *Rebetika* pieces, in accordance with their emergence as a commercial popular genre, soon began to acquire the character of structured songs, with verses, refrains, and definitive cadences, rather than simply constituting loose aggregates of discrete sections in different modes. Hence chordal progressions acquired increasing importance, and soon came to reflect more genuinely structural design and function than did, for example, the simple, static modulations of Balkan dance tunes. The chords were generally accommodated to the prevailing scales used in *rebetika*: Western major and minor; Mixolydian, Phrygian, and Aeolian scales, and the raised-fourth and *Hijaz*-type scales. The latter two scales were invariably harmonized more or less in the manner discussed above, although with frequent and increasingly sophisticated modulations. Modal "Mediterranean" harmony thus coexisted with Western common practice, although not in such a predictable and formalized manner as in the Andalusian *fandango*.

From the 1940s on, particularly under the influence of Vassilis Tsitsanis, European influence increased, with even more emphasis on harmony. The traditional modes came to be used essentially as mere scales,—and interest in and familiarity with Turkish-derived modal theory among practicing musicians dwindled. As much of the lumpen proletariat that fostered *rebetika* became assimilated into the urban working classes and bourgeoisie, *rebetika* itself lost its underworld associations and evolved into a commercial popular music (generally referred to as *bouzouki* music) enjoyed by all classes of Greeks (except *rebetika* purists).

Commercial as mainstream *bouzouki* music may be, it remains strongly Greek in vocal style and general character; moreover, many songs continue to use, whether systematically or not, the *Hijaz*-type and raised-fourth scales, with traditional harmonization patterns. The excerpt on p. 84, in the 9-beat *zebekiko* meter, illustrates a typical usage of the *Hijaz*-type scale. Note the use of *IIb* and subtonic *vii* chords as dominant neighbors to the tonic, and the progression to the major, then minor subdominant, which itself parallels the standard *Hicaz* introduction of the raised sixth degree (*evc*) followed by its lowered form.¹³

Turkey

Turkey holds a special importance in the study of modal practice in the eastern Mediterranean and Balkan regions, since it is the main source of the Oriental musical influences pervading all these areas. While coexisting with regional Eastern European traditions, Turkish music, promoted both by Ottoman political hegemony and its own sophistication and complexity, constituted a musical *lingua franca* influencing urban musics throughout the area and lending them a cohesion which enables us to treat the entire region as a distinct, if internally diverse entity.

Example 5:

Example 5 is a musical score for a song. It consists of a melody line and an accompaniment line. The melody line is written in G major (one sharp) and 4/4 time. The accompaniment line is written in G major and 4/4 time. The lyrics are in Turkish and are written below the melody line. The score includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and accidentals. The lyrics are: a - thi - ka kha - ri kar - te ris, ke - ton ge - ro - so kha - nis, o - so i - par - khi to kra - si, ko - roi - tho then me pia - nis, an then ste - rep - sun ta - kras - ia kian then - ta ka to - sti - so, then me si - ko - nes akh kha - re pi - so bam - be - si pi - so.

As suggested above, the *Hicaz*-type scale is of particular relevance here, as it achieved such popularity in the urban folk and acculturated popular musics of the areas discussed here. Details of the early evolution of the *makam* itself are unclear, especially since similar modes are used in Byzantine and Ashkenazic Hebrew chant; in Arab musics, the mode appears to have been extant in some form by the thirteenth century.¹⁴ Although not widely used in Turkish music before the eighteenth century,¹⁵ by the early nineteenth century *Hicaz* had become widespread in Turkish classical music and related genres, especially modern Turkish popular music and urban gypsy music. Thus, while the scale may have been employed in various Balkan and Eastern Mediterranean musics before the Ottoman period, its usage and popularity were strongly reinforced by its prominence in Turkish music from the turn of the nineteenth century on.

Chordal harmonizations of melodies were adopted later in Turkey than in its former European colonies, largely, no doubt, because until its last decades Ottoman Turkey was not subject to the same Western European influences as were the Balkans. Indeed, while the sultans hosted European composers in Istanbul from the 1820s on, it was not until the modernization and Westernization programs inaugurated by Kemal Atatürk (governed 1923-38) that European music was introduced throughout the country. Nevertheless, both traditional Turkish art and folk musics feature the practice of modal modulations that, as we have argued above, could facilitate the incorporation of chordal accompaniment.

An important category of early twentieth-century urban music was the lively instrumental entertainment music (especially *karşılama*, *cifte telli*, assorted dance pieces, and improvised *taksim*) played by gypsies, in ensembles of clarinet, *kanun*, *oud*, *cümbüş* (lute), and/or violin, and *dombak*. Such musics, and their antecedents played on *zurna* (oboe) and barrel drum, have close affinities with their counterparts, also played by gypsies, throughout Greece and the Balkans. Feldman believes that these gypsy styles of Turkey, Bulgaria, Macedonia; and Rumania exerted considerable mutual influence upon each other throughout their formative periods, and that one can indeed speak of a gypsy international style throughout the area dating from the eighteenth century.¹⁶ As heard today in such places as Istanbul's Sulukuleh and Cicek Paisaje, this music continues to be predominantly modal in character, while featuring tonic modulations and occasional plagal drone shifts, for example, to the fourth degree in passages in *Hicaz*.

Such music is of interest here primarily because of the influence it exerted upon the evolution of mainstream Turkish commercial popular music from 1950 on. The latter period saw the unprecedented urbanization of Turkish society, as rural migrants flooded Turkish cities—especially Istanbul, whose population grew from less than one million in 1950 to over seven million at present. The subsequent "ruralization" of the populations of Istanbul and other Turkish cities resulted in the emergence of new social classes of proletarianized migrants, with new cultural aesthetics, and the subsequent emergence of new forms of commercial popular music.

Some of this new Turkish pop remains closely rooted in rural Anatolian music, particularly *türkü*. Urban versions of this music tend to retain their modal character and make relatively little use of any sort of harmony. However, chordal accompaniment has come to play an important role in much urban popular music of recent decades. Its incorporation has occasioned, or accompanied the same types of changes as in Greek urban music. Thus, neutral intervals, and the modes using them, have been largely replaced by other scales, some of which bear only loose affinities with particular *makamlar*.

The *Hicaz*-type scale, or variants thereof, figures prominently in this music. Chordal accompaniment, whether provided orchestrally or on electric guitar, follows the patterns outlined above in reference to this scale, and requires no further comment here. Also common are songs in a scale roughly corresponding to the Phrygian, occasionally with some usage of the neutral second degree. Scalar patterns in such songs bear some affinities to *Uşşak*, *Hüseyni*, and *Hicazkar Kurdi makamlar*, but often fail to exhibit the characteristic melodic features of those modes. In these cases, as in flamenco, and in the modern Greek *syrtos* and *kalamatianos* using the same scales, the chordal accompaniment derives from the modal resources, affording progressions such as the familiar iv III II i. Example 6 below, a refrain-like ostinato from a contemporary pop song, is typical in this respect.¹⁷

Example 6:

Rumania

Rumania is important in this study not only for its contemporary music, but especially for the role it appears to have played as an early site for the confluence of Western European harmonic practices and non-Western modality. As mentioned above, evidence suggests that Rumanian music may have exerted some influence on Turkish music, as it is known, for example, that Rumanian gypsy musicians figured prominently in Ottoman courts from at least as early as the eighteenth century. Far more extensive, however, was Turkish musical influence on courtly as well as folk music in Rumania, most of which it governed, directly or indirectly, from 1417 to 1877.

Garfias has outlined aspects of the Turkish influence on Rumanian music. Turkish ceremonial and military ensembles were in regular use in Rumania by this time, and Turkish instruments and musical terminology survive to this day in Rumania. Urban gypsy musicians played an important role in preserving Turkish musical characteristics. With the decline of the Ottoman courts, gypsy musicians formerly employed therein dispersed throughout the country as professional entertainers, synthesizing their court musics with indigenous traditions. The *lautareasca* music played by these gypsies retained strong Turkish affinities in its use of additive meters, terminology, and Turkish modes—especially *Nikriz*, *Segah*, and above all, *Hicaz*. These modes were, and still are generally employed in the context of dance pieces consisting of freely added sections in contrasting modes and tonics (Garfias 1981).

The presence of the Greek Phanariot aristocracy in Rumania appears to have further contributed to musical cross-fertilization between Rumania, Ottoman Turkey, and Greece. By the mid-1700s, however, the emerging Rumanian bourgeoisie was beginning to play an increasingly important role in patronage of urban music. The piano was the favored instrument of this growing middle class, which imported family music tutors from Germany and sponsored publication of manuscripts of contemporary popular songs, adapted to piano. The earliest manuscripts in linear notation (the Pann and Rouschitzky, from the 1830s) are of particular interest here for the manner in which chordal accompaniment is adapted therein to chromatic modes of Turkish or Eastern European origin. The manuscripts thus constitute by far the earliest documentation we have of modal harmony in the entire region. Most significant in the Pann manuscript are the assorted "secular songs" (*cîntece de lume*) associated with gypsy musicians. As the introduction to their modern recompilation states, there show most clearly "the fight for supremacy between the Eastern and Western musical cultures" (Union of Composers, 1975: 22).

Aside from some simple pieces in common-practice Western style, the Rumanian pieces in the manuscript are identical in terms of style and texture. Each consists of simple right-hand melody, with Alberti-style chordal-arpeggiated left-hand accompaniment; such a texture suggests imitation of an ensemble of melody and chordal instruments (probably violin and cymbalom (*tambal*) zither, respectively). All pieces are in duple metre, although the phrase lengths are frequently irregular and uneven. The phrases, indeed, often consist of melodies with static chordal drones, and thus are constructed along the same additive, non-directional principle as the aforementioned dance pieces common throughout the region. In some cases, a chord may last only one or two bars, suggesting some sort of incipiently intentional harmonic motion. The melodies themselves are modal, the favorite scales being the following (or transposed equivalents thereof): A Bb C# D E F G# A (corresponding roughly to the scale of the Turkish *makam Hicazkar*); D E F G# A Bb C# (i.e., the same pitches, but from a different tonic, and sharing the lower tetrachord of the aforementioned raised-fourth scale); the major scale; and the major scale with raised fourth and flat seventh.

The excerpt below (example 7), from #28 in the current edition cited, "Cîntec Gresesc Facut de Rusinschi," is entirely typical. As the analysis below illustrates, it consists of a series of discrete sections whose melodies are set in different scales, all of which employ the augmented seconds so characteristic of Rumanian music. The modulations, or chord successions, as the case may be, exploit modal enharmonic equivalencies (e.g., as in the modulation between C *Hicazkar* and G *Hicaz* in m. 10). In some cases, such as the modulation from G *Hicaz* to the altered C minor in m. 13, the sequence resembles a dominant-tonic progression. Nevertheless, there are no definitive cadences, and on the whole, the relationship between the chords, or the static drones, as the case may be, is not functional in the Western sense; the modulations seem meandering rather than teleological. At the same time, however, the chordal movement, while incongruent with Western common practice, does not conform either to the syncretic Mediterranean pattern discussed in this article.

The scalar successions, with their Turkish modal counterparts, may be represented as follows:

- mm. 2-9: C Db E F G Ab B (C *Hicazkar*)
 mm. 10-12: G Ab B C D (-) F (G *Hicaz*)
 mm. 13-16: C D Eb F# G Ab-A B

The Pann and Rouschitzky pieces are significant in that they reveal that the confluence of chordal practices and non-Western modality had commenced, however idiosyncratically, by the early 1800s. It is difficult, nevertheless, to trace the relationship between the genres represented in this manuscript—including the "Greek" song discussed above—and modern urban syncretic musics elsewhere in Eastern Europe. We know that gypsy musicians, whose music provided the model for these piano pieces, perpetuated the "secular song" tradition and maintained ties with other gypsy communities throughout the area (Garfias 1981: 102; Union

Example 7:

of Composers 1975?: 21). This song tradition survives today in the aforementioned *lautari* music, which, like the other syncretic musics discussed here, frequently uses *Hicaz* and raised-fourth scales, with chordal accompaniment as described above (see Garfias 1981: 98-106). Also noteworthy is the *doina* (a free-rhythmic song form), which often employs the raised-fourth scale, especially when played by gypsy (and *klezmer*) musicians; harmonies used in the *doina* are simpler and more static than those accompanying, for example, songs set to the *Hicaz*- and *Hicazkar*-type scales. Rumanian gypsy ballads, often of Greek or Balkan origin, also employ the raised-fourth scale and its standard harmonizations.

Hungary

In terms of modal harmony, Hungary lies on the periphery of our field of enquiry. Hungarian urban music has tended to be more Western European in style and orientation than the other musics discussed above. Nevertheless, certain Hungarian genres, and especially those associated with gypsy musicians, do illustrate to some degree the aforementioned "fight for supremacy between the Eastern and Western musical cultures," although the latter had clearly won the battle by the early nineteenth century.

The Ottomans ruled much of Hungary from 1526 until being ousted by the Austrians in 1718. During this period Hungarian gypsy musicians performed in Ottoman courts, and many of them returned to their homeland, bringing their Turkish-informed musics with them. Hence it is not surprising that the *Hijaz*-type scale is found in seventeenth-century Hungarian folksongs (Sarosi 1971: 39, 58, 44). Kodaly (1971: 6) notes that the raised-fourth scale was also popularized by gypsies, who dominated professional music performance from the late eighteenth century on.

Under Viennese influence, European harmony came to dominate most Hungarian urban music such that the *Hijaz* and raised-fourth scales persisted only in gypsy music, rather than in genuine Hungarian folksong per se (Kodaly 1971: 73-4). Gypsy performers were noted for "exoticizing" folksongs and popular tunes with augmented seconds, pedal drones, and

characteristic ornamentation (Sarosi 1971: 96). Such features survive in the *verbunkos*, an nineteenth-century urban song genre composed by known (if musically illiterate) musicians, and in the café music performed by modern gypsy violinists. Still, the harmonies used in these genres are predominantly European (see, e.g., Sarosi 1971: 111).

For a time, some sort of modal harmony appears to have survived in the music of rural gypsy bands. While Kodaly (1971: 5) denounced the gypsies' use of "inappropriate harmonies" in their renditions of Hungarian folk tunes, Sarosi's assessment of the practice (1971: 226) is more appreciative, and is worth quoting in full:

This kind of harmonic thinking is rooted in an age when even in higher composed music harmony was not *functional* but *modal*. This harmonization of archaic character, fresh and beautiful, was not something invented by village people or rural gypsy musicians, but an inheritance handed down from above, in all probability from the musical life of aristocratic residences in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

If Sarosi's hypothesis is correct in principle, the Rumanian piano pieces in the Pann and Rouschitzky mss. discussed above may represent another instance of "inheritance from above", transmitting the use of chordal harmonies from aristocratic to popular realms. Nevertheless, it remains unclear whether such practices emerged from above, or from below, as it is quite possible, for example, that the Rumanian manuscript may represent bourgeois stylizations of pre-existing urban folk traditions.

Klezmer Music

We have mentioned above how Jewish *klezmerim* served as performers of secular instrumental entertainment music throughout Eastern Europe. Playing for both Jewish and non-Jewish weddings and other festivities, *klezmerim* performed a wide variety of musical genres. Aside from the *sher* and *freilach*, the bulk of the *klezmer* repertoire consisted of regional genres such as the *polka*, *quadrille*, *mazurka*, *doina*, *joc* (*zhok*), *bulgar*, and instrumental versions of assorted (and especially Rumanian gypsy) songs. Despite such varied sources, the *klezmer* repertoire varied little from region to region.¹⁸ Thus, because of their co-territoriality with so many other ethnic and regional groups, *klezmerim* often functioned as vehicles for the transmission of regional genres to other areas. In this respect, their role as musical conduits resembled that of gypsies, and, indeed, evidence suggests that the two musician groups often interacted and overlapped.

A detailed overview of modal and harmonic practices in *klezmer* music is beyond the scope of this paper. Much *klezmer* music follows Western conventions of major and minor tonality. Also common, however, is usage of *Hijaz*-type and raised-fourth scales, both of which were familiar to most Ashkenazi Jews from their usage in eastern Hebrew chant.¹⁹ Beregovsky (1982: 295-6) notes that the *Hicaz*-type scale, which Yiddish musicians referred to as *ahava raba* or *freygish* (cf. "Phrygian"?), is found in roughly one quarter of instrumental Yiddish folk tunes, and that the raised-fourth

scale appears in some 12-15% of songs in the same category (especially Jewish *doinas*). In *klezmer* music, these scales are generally harmonized in the same manner as the other acculturated musics discussed in this article.²⁰

Conclusions

It has long been customary to assume that, excluding modern Western innovations and purely percussive musics, only one significant tradition of chordal harmony has appeared since the Renaissance. Most other musical traditions, from American Indian chants to Javanese *gamelan* music, operate under fundamentally modal rather than harmonic principles. With the proliferation of acculturated popular musics in the twentieth century, it has been recognized that many non-Western musics have come to employ some form of simplified common-practice harmony. This article has attempted to demonstrate that at least one other pan-regional form of harmonic usage exists.²¹ Although not entirely unrelated to Western tonality, this tradition is autonomous, widespread, relatively consistent, and clearly distinct from common-practice Western harmony.

The "Mediterranean tonality" described in this article can be regarded as a form of modal harmony in the sense that, first, the vocabulary of chords and progressions employed derives from the tonal resources of non-Western modes, and second, the harmonizations generally play a less structural role than in Western common practice. In all the examples in this essay, the chordal accompaniments consist either of static, non-directional oscillations between a tonic and a secondary chord, or else they function as enhancements of a melody which remains predominantly modal. The ostinato-like binary alternation of two chords, illustrated here in ex. 2-3, is common in many world popular musics, and can be regarded as harmonically functional only in the most qualified sense; when the secondary chord (e.g., IIb in ex. 2, and VIIb in ex. 3) derives from modal rather than major-minor resources, then the modal, rather than common-practice character of the harmony becomes particularly clear. Similarly, flamenco guitar harmonies, rich and sophisticated as they may be, function essentially as ornaments to a fundamentally modal melody; even the Greek *bouzouki* song included here (example 5), while incorporating an extended chordal pattern within the standardized framework of a popular song, uses a melody whose form and character derive primarily from conventions of *Hicaz makam*, as employed by Greek musicians. Such an ornamental, secondary usage of chordal accompaniment is thus qualitatively distinct from common-practice harmony. Naturally, the degree to which a chordal accompaniment is structural rather than the decorative is difficult to assess, and is inherently subjective to some extent. Moreover, many songs or styles may lie in intermediate positions in a continuum between modal harmony and common-practice tonality. Such ambiguities, however, do not negate the fundamental differences in function between these two approaches.

One might expect that acculturated Arab urban popular music would exhibit some of the same uses of chordal accompaniment as discussed in this article. Arab modal practice, indeed, is very close in style and structure

to that of Turkish art music, and the Arab world has been exposed to many of the same Western influences, from the opening of an opera house in Cairo in 1871 to the present inundation of mass-mediated Western pop. Yet it is significant that a synthesis of modality with chordal accompaniment has not occurred in the realm of Arab urban music. Arab musicians have indeed borrowed heavily from the West, especially in such parameters as orchestration, pedagogical use of notation and sol-fa, and the tendency toward rote ensemble playing rather than traditional heterophony. Yet, except in thoroughly acculturated and lesser genres like the so-called "Franco-Arab" pop, Arab music has eschewed chordal harmony. Arab music thus retains the neutral intervals and chromatic modes that, in the musics discussed above, were generally sacrificed in order to facilitate chordal accompaniment. Evidently Arab musicians and audiences have chosen to regard these features, along with such elements as vocal style, as "central traits" too important to forsake. Such differences between regional syncretic adaptations illustrate how acculturation is often a highly selective process.

It is hoped that this article will inspire further research by individual area experts into broader aspects as well as details of the use of chordal harmony in the regions discussed here. Such research should entail not only further exploration of historical sources (especially manuscripts), but also it must keep up with the constant new developments in the world of acculturated popular musics. These latter, rather than forsaking native traditions in obsequious imitation of the West, are blending old and new, and indigenous and Western elements in syntheses whose constant proliferation promises to provide musicologists with perpetually new fields of inquiry.

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NOTES

1. *Fandango de Alosno*, sung by the Hermanos Toronjo on *Magna antología del cante flamenco* (Hispavox S 66.201, VII: A, 1). The transcription, like others in this article, is transposed. For another *fandango* transcription and analysis, see Manuel 1986.
2. Thus, the *fandango* may be performed either in straightforward Andalusian folk style, or in flamenco style, with characteristic vocal melismas and, frequently, in free rhythm.
3. *Soleares de Triana*, sung by Antonio Mairena; on *Hispavox S/C66.201, VII:A, 3*.
4. Walter Feldman, personal communication. Feldman further notes that Greek Byzantine chant as practiced today employs several non-diatonic modes, including one corresponding to the *Hicaz* scale-type; moreover, certain standard modulation practices in *makam Hicaz* adopted in Turkish art music in the last two centuries are traditional in Greek Byzantine chant. If the latter practices are as old as their performers maintain

- them to be, then Turkish *Hicaz* and other Ottoman musical features may have in fact been strongly influenced by Greek church music, and the usage of *Hicaz*-type modes in Eastern Europe may predate the Ottoman period. Also see the earlier work of Heinrich Husmann, of Greek musicologists such as Michaelides (1948: 9), and the references to recent research by Rudolph Brandl reported in Powers 1988: 214.
5. Angeliki and Charles Keil, personal communication.
 6. The two sets of compilations are: *Versuri muzicisti* ("Musical Verses") and *Poezii de lume sau Cantece de lume* ("Secular Poems or Secular Songs"), by Anton Pann, and *Musique orientale*, 42 *Chansons et danses moldaves, valaques, grecques et turques*, issued at Jassy in 1834, by Fr. Rouschitzky (Rusinschi). These have been recompiled, with an introduction, in *Sources of Romanian Music* (Union of Composers: Bucharest, 1975). I am grateful to Walter Feldman for providing parts of this valuable source to me. Brandl (referred to in Powers 1988: 214) has discussed other contemporary manuscripts which illustrate the extent to which the Phanariots regarded their own modal traditions as essentially cognate with Turkish counterparts.
 7. Polyphony, in the form of parallel fourths and fifths, is also conspicuous in traditional Pontic fiddle (Turkish *kemanche*) music.
 8. See, for example, the *kalamatianos* on "Folk Music of Greece" (Folkways FE 4454: A, 2), or the Peloponnesian dance on "Folk Dances of Greece" (Folkways FE 4467: B, 3).
 9. "Anastasia," from "Songs and Dances of Greece" (Philips PCC213), B, 1. Instruments employed include clarinet, fiddle, and *lauto*. The chord progressions outlined by the latter are rendered more clearly on another recording of the same melody, Coronet TC OLYM 200035: A, 1.
 10. See Baud-Bovy 1958: 75; Rosantonaki 1947: 55, and Chianis 1967: 44ff.
 11. See, e.g., "Thalassina" (Coronet TC-PA 5321), songs A, 4; A, 6; and B, 1, respectively.
 12. "Tis Thalassas ta Kymata," from "Thalassina," A, 4.
 13. Source is "Songs and Dances of Greece" (B, 6). The transcription is transposed, and shows only the chord progression of the instrumental accompaniment, which includes two *bouzoukis*, bass, and drums. The similarity to the *Hicaz* modulation was noted by Walter Feldman. For further discussion of Greek popular music, including another transcription of a typical *rebetika* song showing chordal progressions, see Manuel 1988, ch. 4.
 14. In this period, *maqam Hijazi* was described by Safiuddin, albeit with a scale quite different from its modern namesake; a scale closer to the latter, with an augmented second between the neutral second and raised third degrees, was described by Qutbuddin as occurring in *maqam Uzzal*, out of which may have evolved Turkish *Hicaz*. Owen Wright, however, opines that the *Hicaz*-type scale was already in use by this time, even if theorists of art music were reluctant to acknowledge it (1978: 51-2, 128 ff).
 15. Feldman, personal communication. Feldman further notes that although *Hicaz* is familiar in rural Anatolia in the context of the Arab-derived *azan* (call to prayer), and in *âşik* and Alavi songs, it does not appear to be prominent in Anatolian folk music and is not extant in Central Asian Turkish music. Hence it seems surprising that the *Hicaz*-type scale should come to constitute, or to be regarded as one of the trademarks of Turkish musical influence throughout Eastern Europe.
 16. Personal communication.
 17. From Ferdi Tayfur's "Bizim sokaklar," on "Haram Oldu" (Raks TS 2240: A, 3). The song is in the so-called *arabesk* style, using the typical Arab *baladi* rhythm, rendered on the *dombak* as: dum dum tek tek dum - tek -. for further discussion of Turkish popular music, see Manuel 1988: 161-67.
 18. Feldman, personal communication.
 19. The terms *ahava raba* and *misheberakh* derive from the texts of prayers set to the corresponding modes. Idelsohn (1967: 87) opines that the *ahava raba* scale entered Ashkenazic music via Tartar music, noting that it is common among Jewish communities in areas exposed to Tartaric-Altaic influence, viz., Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, the Balkans, Hungary and Rumania.
 20. See, for example, item A, 1, on "Klezmer Music 1910-1942" (Folkways FSS 34021).
 21. Further attention is also due to the syncretic tonality of the twentieth-century music that has become, at least in terms of pan-regionality and audience size, the most widespread tradition of all, namely, rock (and its related styles of blues, rhythm-and-

blues, rock ballad, etc.). While many rock songs use some form of Western major-minor tonality, most employ harmonies which derive instead from the modal resources of the anhemitonic blues scale (which could be represented in a simplified schematic form as EGABD(E)). Rock harmonies frequently consist of only major chords played on these scalar degrees, affording such distinctly non-common-practice chordal ostinati as E-D-A-E-D-A etc. and E-G-A-E-G-A etc.

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