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REVIVING MESOPOTAMIA:
GENOCIDE AND THE PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE NATIONALIST MUSIC OF WILLIAM DANIEL (1903-1988)

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the School of Music and Dance

San José State University

In Partial Fulfillment

of the Requirements for the Degree

Master of Arts

by

Rashel Pakbaz

May 2015

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The Designated Thesis Committee Approves the Thesis Titled

REVIVING MESOPOTAMIA:
GENOCIDE AND THE PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE NATIONALIST MUSIC OF WILLIAM DANIEL (1903-1988)

by

Rashel Pakbaz

APPROVED FOR THE SCHOOL OF MUSIC AND DANCE

SAN JOSÉ STATE UNIVERSITY

May 2015

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ABSTRACT

REVIVING MESOPOTAMIA:
GENOCIDE AND THE PRESERVATION OF CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE NATIONALIST MUSIC OF WILLIAM DANIEL (1903-1988)

by Rashel Pakbaz

Once an illiterate Christian community suppressed by its Muslim neighbors, the Mesopotamian population in Persia benefitted from the American missionaries establishing schools and hospitals that helped their culture and language flourish in the late 1800s. Their survival as a people and a culture was threatened, however, when the Muslim Ottoman Empire began the Christian Genocide in Eastern Anatolia during World War I. As a survivor of these horrific events, composer William Daniel (1903-1988) felt the need to preserve and promote Mesopotamian culture through music, and as a Western trained musician, he successfully developed a nationalist style of music based on a combination of Mesopotamian folk music elements, which he called the "Mesopotamian timbre," and Western European art music techniques.

To better understand Daniel's compositions, this study first situates Daniel within the history of the Mesopotamian people and of the Middle East and provides an explanation of Mesopotamian musical characteristics in contrast to their Muslim neighbors. This study concludes with the analyses of five of Daniel's songs for voice and piano, "Shahrah" [Festival], "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" [Memories of Fatherland], "Shooshane d'Raghoole" [Lilly of the Valley], "Marganeeta" [Pearl], and "Ninveh" [Nineveh], showing how Daniel expressed and represented the social and political situation of the Mesopotamian people in his compositions.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Among the twentieth-century Mesopotamian composers William Daniel (1903-88), Nebu Issabey (1930-2014), and Polus Khofri (1923-2000), William Daniel is the pioneer of the Mesopotamian nationalist composers. Daniel was only eleven years old when he witnessed the Christian Genocide (1914-18) in Asia Minor by the Moslem Ottoman Empire. The Genocide greatly influenced his compositions, compelling him to incorporate Mesopotamian folk music as a means to preserve the endangered existence of the Mesopotamian heritage of his people and culture.

Although the Mesopotamian composers have widely used art music as a means of cultural communication, promotion, and protection between Mesopotamians in the homeland and Mesopotamians in the diaspora, and despite the fact that their music continues to be performed both in Iran and the United States, no scholarly studies have been done in regards to their music—and William Daniel's music is no exception. In order to help the Mesopotamian and non-Mesopotamian performers and listeners gain a better understanding of Daniel's music, I will trace the events of Daniel's life, explore a selection of his compositions, and examine the impact the Christian Genocide had on his music. William Daniel was born in Persia in 1903, and was a young boy when he experienced the Christian Genocide by the Islamic Ottoman Empire, which began in 1914. His own father, sisters, and community were among the victims of the Genocide, which eventually became the central impetus to his body of work. Daniel became a pioneer of a nationalist style for twentieth-century Mesopotamian composers, and

following the style of European nationalist composers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, he incorporated the Mesopotamian folk music into his compositions.

In this study, I examine Daniel's nationalist musical style and Mesopotamian history and everyday life in the texts of his vocal works. To better understand Daniel's music, I will first examine the history of Mesopotamia and Mesopotamians, to know who the Mesopotamians are, where they lived, and what the main characteristics of this ethnic and cultural group are. To provide this information, I will trace the history of Mesopotamia from antiquity, explaining the political structure of its governments and social and religious life of the Mesopotamians in addition to their language and writing system through which their knowledge has been passed down to us.

While understanding the ancient history of the Mesopotamians is important to understanding the place and its people, modern Mesopotamian history and the traumatic events of World War I are the main foci of this research: during this time, Mesopotamians experienced an ethnic and religious cleansing and lost two thirds of their entire population, leading to a series of immigrations to the Western countries after the Christian Genocide. While many Mesopotamians stayed in their ancestral lands, fear of extinction as a people and culture led many Mesopotamians to leave the Middle East and created the Mesopotamian diaspora. These events laid the groundwork for Daniel's creation of a Mesopotamian nationalist style of music. To investigate Daniel's nationalist style of composition, I will examine five songs from *William Daniel's Creations*: "Shahrah" [Festival], a song based on a Mesopotamian folk tune for which Daniel wrote the text and arranged the melody using European music traditions; "Dkhari d'Vaadaan"

[Memories of Fatherland], a song that Daniel composed in praise of nature and the countryside of his birthplace; “Shooshane d’Raaghoole” [Lily of the Valley], a song about an unfortunate love between two lovers that at the same time symbolizes the love of and separation from one’s homeland; “Marganeeta” [Pearl], a love song demonstrating the battle between personal desire and communal self-control; and “Ninveh” [Nineveh], a tribute to the ancient capital of Mesopotamia, Nineveh. I will explore the metaphors of the formal structure, melodic and harmonic materials, rhythm, and instrumentation to demonstrate how Daniel combined folk and Western musical elements to create a Mesopotamian nationalist style of music. Furthermore, I will examine the music of the Mesopotamians’ neighboring ethnic groups, including the Arabs, Turks, Persians, and Kurds. In doing so, I will study the different melodic and rhythmic characteristics of each group and how they differ from the Mesopotamian melodies and rhythms.

CHAPTER TWO

WILLIAM DANIEL, THE HISTORY OF MESOPOTAMIA AND MESOPOTAMIAN PEOPLE

In order to better understand William Daniel's music, it is important to understand his life and philosophy and the Mesopotamian cultural and religious values, all of which were influenced and shaped by the circumstances in which he lived. Daniel experienced the traumatic events of the Christian Genocide of World War I during his teen years, and his future life and music were influenced by the events and outcomes of the Genocide. As a member of a community whose existence was threatened by the Muslim Kurds and Ottomans in the early twentieth century, Daniel used music and language as the means to preserve the culture and history of the Mesopotamian people. Therefore, to understand the condition of Daniel, his people, and the society in which he was raised, I trace the events of modern Mesopotamian history. To understand the modern history of the Mesopotamians, however, individuals must understand the origins and history of the Mesopotamian people—now a people without a nation—and their relations with the many peoples of the Middle East who had a part in their history.

Mesopotamian Antiquity (4000 – 539 BCE)

Mesopotamia and Egypt, the two earliest civilizations that have formed the cultural foundations of the modern West, both emerged by the fourth millennium BCE. Both had settled political systems, Mesopotamia in the form of independent city-states and a central dominion in Egypt. Accounts of the Mesopotamian and Egyptian political

states were recorded with the rise of writing by the third millennium BCE.[1] "Mesopotamia" is an ancient Greek translation of its Syriac counterpart *Beth Nahrin*, meaning "the land between rivers."[2] It refers to the area that is located between and around the Tigris and Euphrates Rivers, and includes modern Iraq, northeastern Syria, southern Turkey, and northwestern Iran (fig. 2-1).

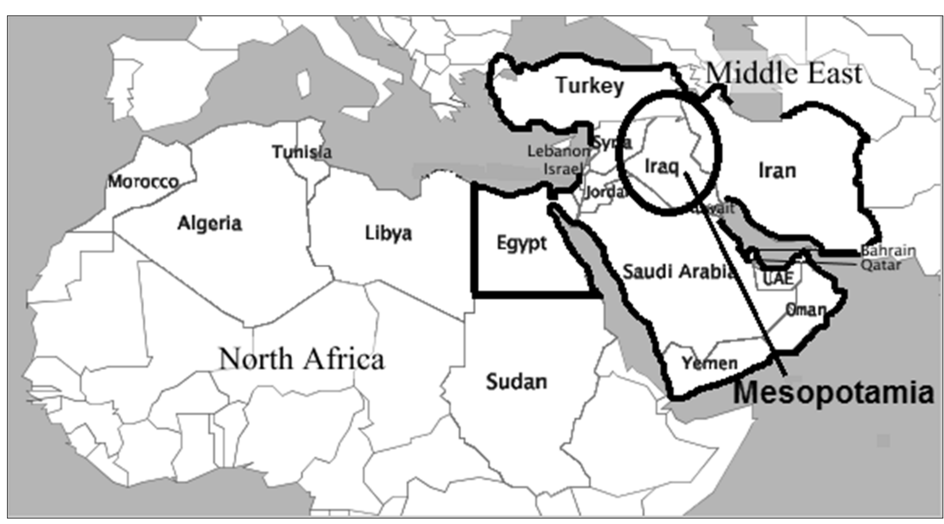

Figure 2-1. Map of the Middle East (outlined) and Mesopotamia (circled). (Map from U.S. Emergency Information Administration, http://www.eia.gov/countries/mena/.)

Ancient Mesopotamia was inhabited by two different ethnic groups, the Sumerians and Sematic Akkadians. These two groups settled in southern Mesopotamia, known as Babylonia in many Western scholarly writings. The Sumerians occupied the

[1] Samuel Noah Kramer, *The Sumerians: Their History, Culture, and Character* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), 302.
[2] "Geography," *The British Museum*, accessed November 28, 2012, http://www.mesopotamia.co.uk/geography/home_set.html.

region close to the Persian Gulf and its western surroundings—southern Babylonia—while the Akkadians settled to the north of the Sumerians (fig. 2-2).[3]

Figure 2-2. Sumerian, Akkadian, and Assyrian territories in Mesopotamia (Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png," used under CC BY-SA 2.5., http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/User:Kmusser.)

The racial origins of the Sumerians are still unknown.[4] Some historians link the Sumerians to the Egyptians in the West, while other ethnologists connect them to the Indians in the East.[5] Some researchers have examined these racial origins by seeking common cultural traits between the groups, such as the musical instruments used by both the Sumerians and other contemporaneous ethnic groups.[6] Music historian Francis

[3] Edwyn Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers* (Chicago: Argonaut Publishers, 1968), 20.
[4] Francis William Galpin, *The Music of Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors, the Babylonians and the Assyrians* (Baden-Baden, Germany: Valentin Koerner, 1972), 71.
[5] Galpin, *The Music of Sumerians*, 71, 75.
[6] Galpin, *The Music of Sumerians*, 76.

Galpin provides a detailed account of the origins of instruments used by the Sumerians in *The Music of Sumerians and Their Immediate Successors, the Babylonians and the Assyrians*, and demonstrates that Sumerians used instruments originating in eastern Asia, Central Asia, and North African regions as well as Mesopotamia itself.[7] Another idea proposed by historians is that the Sumerians came from the neighboring highlands of Zagros Mountains in Iran.[8] Tablets discovered at Chogha Mish on the eastern side of the Zagros Mountains in Iran show people playing the same instruments that appear on tablets belonging to people living in Mesopotamia.[9] What historians know so far is that the Sumerians belonged to a race of undefined roots that occupied the southern parts of Mesopotamia. The language they spoke was different from that of their Semitic Akkadian neighbors in the north, but they used the same writing system of cuneiform, which was common among the people of Mesopotamia and Persia at the time.[10] Not only did the Mesopotamians write on the materials mentioned above, they also engraved images of their religious rituals, banquets, and everyday life, which became an invaluable source of research for the archeologists, linguists, and historians.[11]

The Sumerian political structure was based on the city-state system, and each city had a patron deity; therefore, the religious and political systems had a direct influence on each other.[12] Some of the well known cities of the Sumerians are Ur, Uruk, and Babil. Ur was founded by 4000 BCE and eventually became one of the most prosperous city-

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[7] Galpin, *The Music of Sumerians*, 76-77.
[8] Galpin, *The Music of Sumerians*, 75.
[9] Galpin, *The Music of Sumerians*, 71-73.
[10] Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 4.
[11] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 21.
[12] Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 72.

states of Sumer. It was the home of Abraham in the Bible and Nanna was its patron deity.[13] Uruk was the largest city of Sumer and an important religious center. It was home of the legend of Gilgamish and its patron deity was Inanna.[14] Babil, better known as Babylon, was another Sumerian city that remained one of the main centers of economy and culture in the Middle East for centuries until the invasion of the Mongols in the thirteenth century. Marduk was its patron deity.[15]

The Akkadians, the other main group that inhabited the southern lands of Mesopotamia, located their cities to the north of the Sumerians. The Akkadians were Semitic in origin and spoke the Semitic Akkadian language but used the same cuneiform writing system originally invented by the Sumerians.[16] The Akkadians used the same political system as the Sumerians, each city having its own independent state system. Like the Sumerian cities in the south, each Akkadian city was ruled by a king under the patronage of a deity, believing the king was chosen by the god of the city, and therefore, was also a deity. Among the most important Akkadian cities was Akkad, with the patron deity of Ishtar, which became the first Mesopotamian capital in 2350 BCE and the first main center for politics, economy, and culture in the East.[17] Even though political influence and power shifted back and forth between the city-states of the Sumerians and

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[13] Associated Press, "Ancient Site Unearthed in Biblical Home of Abraham," *Fox News*, published April 4, 2013, http://www.foxnews.com/science/2013/04/04/ancient-site-unearthed-in-biblical-home-abraham/.
[14] Kramer, *The Sumerians*, 141.
[15] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 34.
[16] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 21.
[17] Anne Kilmer, "Mesopotamia," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2011, accessed September 25, 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/18485.

the Akkadians, these two groups influenced each other in several ways and maintained a relatively peaceful relationship until the third millennium BCE. The Sumerians derived the appearances of their gods and their names from the Akkadians, and the Akkadians adapted the Sumerians' writing system.[18]

The northern Semitic Akkadian conquered the Sumerians when Sargon, the king of Akkad, decided to unify the Sumerian and Akkadian political systems in 2350 BCE and created a united Mesopotamian kingdom.[19] During the Akkadian dynasty, art, science, and trading expanded, and trading routes were developed and improved and reached far places such as India. The Mesopotamians continued documenting their scientific and artistic findings as well as their business and political activities in a more organized fashion. Many historians refer to this era of political and economic growth and stability in Mesopotamia as "Babylonian," since the Mesopotamian city of Babylon was the largest center of economic, politics, and culture during this time.[20] The Babylonians succeeded the Akkadians during the second millennium, and the city of Babylon was the main center of culture and economics in the world, with trade routes from east and west passing through Babylon that enabled the transfer of the cultural and economic wealth to other parts of the world.[21]

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[18] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 21.
[19] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."
[20] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia." It is worth mentioning that the names of Mesopotamian dynasties are based on either the name of the most important city that became the center of political and economic activities during their reign, such as the Akkadian and Babylonian dynasties named after the cities of Akkad and Babylon, or the tribe that established the dynasty, such as the Assyrian and Chaldean dynasties.
[21] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."

By 1100 BCE, the Assyrians of the north took over the Land Between Two Rivers.[22] It was during the period of the Assyrian Empire that the Mesopotamian kings expanded their kingdom beyond their traditional borders, conquering Elam—the lands of the Elamites on the eastern side of Zagros Mountains—Eastern Anatolia, modern Syria, Palestine, and Lebanon (fig. 2-3).[23]

Figure 2-3. Map of the Assyrian Expansion in Elam, Anatolia, and the Near East (Map courtesy of Bible History Online, http://www.bible-history.com/maps/assyrian_expansion.html.)

The Semitic Assyrians settled in these lands during the first millennium BCE, introducing their culture, language, writing system, religion, and socio-economic structure. Northern Mesopotamia became the Assyrians' main domain, and they built

[22] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."
[23] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 46. In the book of Genesis, Elam is the son of Shem who is the son of Noah, thus categorizing Elamites as a Semitic people. Shem's other sons are Asshur, Arphaxad, Lud, and Aram. Gen. 10:22 (KJV).

Nineveh as their capital city. The Mesopotamian Empire grew larger and so did its achievements in the arts, economics, science, and the military. During the Assyrian reign, large groups of people were relocated from their conquered homelands.[24] The Assyrians used this displacement strategy to weaken local powers and prevent rebellion against the central government.[25] They also used this strategy as a way to bring in a large workforce to Mesopotamia.[26] The Aramites or Arameans were among such groups that were brought to Mesopotamia as workers and craftsmen from what is now modern Syria. Soon the Aramean's language, Semitic Aramaic, became the commercial language of Mesopotamia, and by 752 BCE, Aramaic was made an official state language alongside Akkadian and later replacing it.[27] By the eighth century BCE, Aramaic became the *lingua franca* of the entire Middle East and was spoken throughout the region, except in the Persian plateau.[28]

During the seventh century BCE, the power of the Land of Two Rivers shifted from north to south when southern Mesopotamian tribes allied with the Aryan Medes, a tribe from Persian Plateau, and overthrew the Assyrians. As a result, the Semitic Chaldeans came to power in 612 BCE.[29]

The Chaldeans made Babylon their capital, and it continued to be the cultural and economic center of Mesopotamia. Babylon was also the connecting point between the

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[24] Hans J. Nissen and Peter Hein, *From Mesopotamia to Iraq: A Concise History*, trans. Hans J. Nissen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 39.
[25] Nissen and Hein, *From Mesopotamia to Iraq*, 39.
[26] Nissen and Hein, *From Mesopotamia to Iraq*, 39.
[27] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 48.
[28] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 48.
[29] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."

Far East and Egypt in the west, and therefore, an important center not only in Mesopotamia but in the greater Middle East, a position it maintained until the thirteenth century CE. In 539 BCE, centuries of native Mesopotamian rule of the Land of the Two Rivers came to an end when the Persian army defeated the Chaldeans, permanently ending native Mesopotamian rule over the Land Between Two Rivers.[30]

Under Foreign Rule: Persia, Macedonia, and Rome (539 BCE-100 CE)

Even though Mesopotamia came under the control of the Persian Empire when King Cyrus the Great (c. 600-530 BCE) and the Persian Army marched into Babylon in 539 BCE, Cyrus's Achaemid Empire sustained Mesopotamia's major cities, especially the capital Babylon, and they still remained major centers of culture and trade.[31] When Alexander the Great of Macedonia (356-23 BCE) conquered the Persian Empire in 331 BCE, he made Mesopotamia the center of Macedonian Empire.[32] After Alexander's premature death in 323 BC, this empire was ruled by Perdiccas (?-c.320 BCE), one of Alexander's generals, in regency for Alexander's sons, Philip III (359-17 BCE) and Alexander IV (323-11 BCE). Perdiccas assigned generals and satraps to control different regions of the empire,[33] but these generals soon revolted against him, and Alexander's empire was partitioned into three major parts, each named after the general who became

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[30] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."
[31] Nissen and Hein, *From Mesopotamia to Iraq*, 113.
[32] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."
[33] Joseph Roisman, *Alexander's Veterans and the Early Wars of the Successors* (Austin: University of Texas Press, May 2012), 78.

its ruler.[34] The satrap Seleucus (c. 358-281 BCE) became the ruler of Mesopotamia, Persia, and India in 321 BCE establishing the Seleucid Empire,[35] Ptolemy I (c. 367-c. 283 BCE) became the ruler of Egypt in 320 BCE establishing the Ptolemaic Kingdom,[36] and Antigonus I (382-301 BCE), the ruler of Asia Minor and Syria in 319 BCE establishing the Antigonid Dynasty (fig. 2-4).[37]

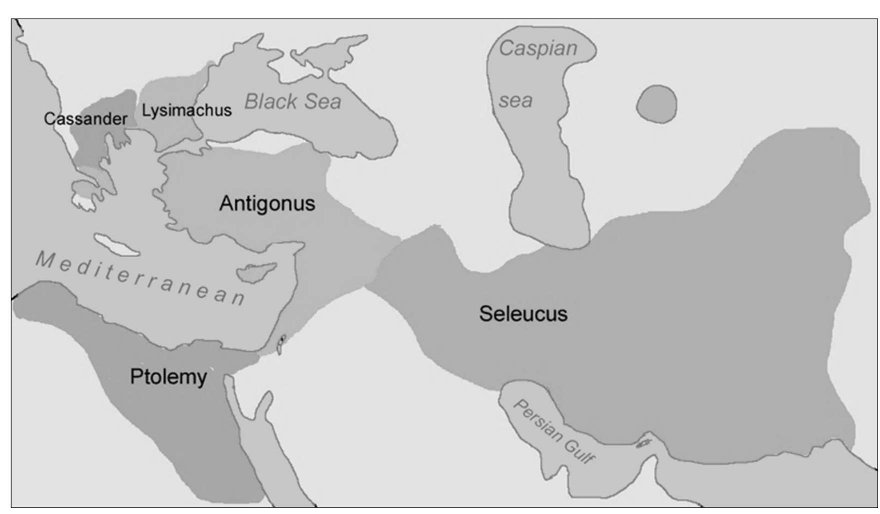

Figure 2-4. Alexander the Great's empire divided into three kingdoms after his death in 323 BCE (Map from jniemenmaa, "The Kingdoms of the Diadochi," used under CC BY-SA 3.0, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Diadochi.png.)

During the Seleucid dynasty, many Greek merchants, doctors, scientists, artists, musicians, and politicians immigrated to Mesopotamia, and as a result, Hellenistic philosophy and culture were introduced into Mesopotamia.[38] Conversely, Mesopotamian

[34] Roisman, *Alexander's Veterans*, 81.
[35] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."
[36] Roisman, *Alexander's Veterans*, 96.
[37] Roisman, *Alexander's Veterans*, 175.
[38] Kilmer, "Mesopotamia."

arts, sciences, and music were transported to Greece.[39] Seleucid Mesopotamia remained a main Macedonian province for three centuries until the "new" Persian Empire, now ruled by the Parthians, conquered the Seleucids in 129 BCE. Mesopotamia became a province of the Parthian Empire and stayed thus for another four centuries.[40] During the reign and invasion of the Parthians, the rest of the Seleucid Empire disintegrated into smaller kingdoms ruled by either Persian princes or native rulers. Eventually, the Roman Empire took over these smaller kingdoms during the last century of the Common Era. By the second century CE, the Romans had reached the frontiers of Mesopotamia, the Parthian's main domain. For the next four centuries, Mesopotamia became contested ground between Romans and Parthians.[41]

Mesopotamians and the Conversion to Christianity (100-638 CE)

Mesopotamians were among the first people to convert to Christianity.[42] Christianity was well established among Mesopotamians by the end of the first century when the last worshippers of the old Mesopotamian gods converted to Christianity, making the Mesopotamians one of the main Christian ethnic groups in the region. There are still debates about the exact date when Mesopotamians converted to Christianity.[43]

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[39] K Marie Stolba, *The Development of Western Music: A History*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill College, October, 1979), 8.
[40] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 87.
[41] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 103.
[42] Leslie William Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa During the First Two Centuries A.D.," *Vigiliae Christianae* 22, no. 3 (September 1968): 175.
[43] See Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 161-75, and Albertus F. J. Klijn, "Christianity in Edessa and the Gospel of Thomas," *Novum Testamentum* 14, no. 1 (January 1972): 70-77.

Popular tradition suggests that Saint Thomas the Apostle, also known as Doubting Thomas, brought Christianity to Mesopotamia when he was on a mission to preach the Christian faith in the East.[44] Documents found in the Mesopotamian city of Edessa demonstrate that Christianity existed in this city as early as the first century CE (fig. 2-5).[45]

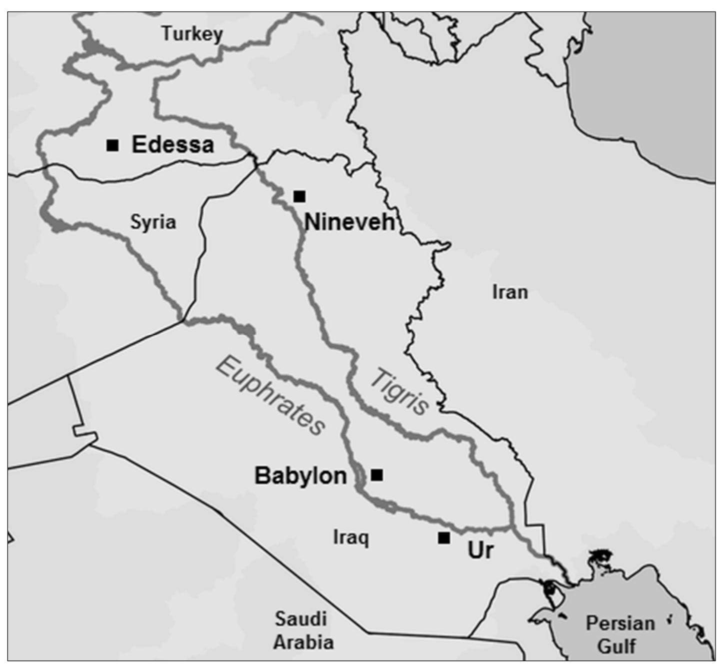

Figure 2-5. The city of Edessa[46]

Some Syriac Christian historical documents belonging to the first two centuries CE have been discovered in Edessa, such as *Gospel of Thomas*, *Diatessaron*, and *Odes of*

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[44] Shak Bernard Hanish, "The Chaldean Assyrian Syriac People of Iraq: An Ethnic Identity Problem," *Digest of Middle East Studies* 17, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 35.
[45] Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 162.
[46] Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."

Solomon. Scholarly research on these historical documents confirms the establishment of Christianity in Edessa and Mesopotamia during the first two centuries.[47]

Edessa was the capital city of the ancient kingdom of Osrhoene, which gained independence after the fall of the Seleucid Empire. Located east of the Euphrates River in Northern Mesopotamia, it contained main trade routes to the East through the Syrian Desert to the south and the Armenian Mountains to the north. Edessa is also historically important because it became a key center of the early Church in the East and is considered the birthplace of Christianity in Mesopotamia—as important as Antioch and Alexandria in Church history.[48] A legend was recorded in one of the ancient Edessene documents called the *Doctrine of Addai*, which documents a story about King Abgar IX (179-86 CE) of Edessa. According to this legend, Addai—one of the seventy-two disciples of Jesus—came to Edessa in response to a letter that King Abgar sent to Jesus asking him to come and heal him, thus making him the first Christian king of Edessa. Edessa was an important center for culture, literature, science, and Christianity long before the rise of Christianity in Palestine.[49]

There were many Jewish communities in the kingdom of Osrhoene, and unlike the western territories of the Roman Empire, Jews were welcomed and respected by the locals in Osrhoene kingdom. Some historians suggest that the first Christian converts in Edessa belonged to the Jewish community and that the Christian traditions of Edessa

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[47] Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 166.
[48] Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 161.
[49] Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 161.

were highly influenced by Jewish philosophies.[50] The official spoken language of Edessa was Eastern Aramaic, which scholars refer to as Syriac, and it is one of the oldest known dialects of Aramaic.[51]

In the early centuries after the rise of Christianity, the institutional church system soon adopted the role of a state when the Roman Empire converted to Christianity in the third century CE. As a stateless nation, the Mesopotamian Christians gathered behind their patriarchs and religious leaders, and the church became not only the spiritual authority, but a political guardian of Mesopotamian culture, tradition, and language. Thus, nationality and the Christian religion became the two inseparable cultural elements in the history of the Mesopotamian people.[52] Consequently, what differentiated the Mesopotamians from the other ethnicities in the eastern parts of the Middle East was their religion and, after the rise of Islam and the Arabization of most of the Middle East, their language.

Mesopotamians: Names, Dialects, and Denominations

In the majority of Western writing, such as the travel accounts of the Western archeologists, diplomats, and missionaries to the Middle East as well as modern historians, the Mesopotamians have been bewilderingly referred to as "Nestorians," "Syrians," "Syriacs," "Jacobites," and "Chaldeans" after their conversion to

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[50] Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 165, 163.
[51] Barnard, "The Origins and Emergence of the Church in Edessa," 161.
[52] Efrem Yildiz, "The Assyrians: A Historical and Current Reality," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Studies* 13, no. 1 (April 1999): 22.

Christianity.[53] Inhabitants of the heartland Mesopotamia, for instance, were called "Nestorians" when the Church of the East declared that the teachings of Nestorius were in agreement with the teachings of this church in 451 after Nestorius's death in the same year.[54] While Nestorius was not ethnically Mesopotamian, Western travelers and scholars to the Middle East have used the term "Nestorian" to refer to all Mesopotamians.[55] In addition to the Christian Mesopotamians, Persian Christians have been confusingly referred to as "Nestorians" in many historical and modern documents. Likewise, in some modern documents, the Mesopotamian Christians have been called "Persian Christians" since the Land Between Two Rivers has been consequently falling under the rule of the Persian Empire.[56]

"Jacobite" is a term used to point to the Mesopotamian Christians of Eastern Syria who are also called "Syriac" Christians.[57] "Syriac" and "Syrian" are two other terms that are used to refer to the Mesopotamians of the eastern part of Syria, with the origin of the word "Syria" or "Syriac" being derived from the word "Assyria," with the initial "A" having been dropped as the Aramaic language changed over centuries.[58] "Syriac" can also refer to a dialect of the Aramaic language spoken mostly by the Mesopotamians of

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[53] Yildiz, "The Assyrians," 21.
[54] "History of the Nestorian Church," *Nestorian.org*, accessed June 28, 2013, http://www.nestorian.org/history_of_the_nestorian_churc.html.
[55] "History of the Nestorian Church," *Nestorian.org*. Kenneth Scot Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, vol. 1, *Beginnings to A.D. 1500* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1975), 166-172. John Nestorius was from the city of Antioch and also the Patriarch of Constantinople from 428 to 431 CE. In 431, the third Ecumenical Council of Ephesus misleadingly condemned Nestorius as a heretic in a dispute over the unity of the human and the divine nature in Christ. Nestorius died in exile in Egypt in 451 CE.
[56] Yildiz, "The Assyrians," 24.
[57] Yildiz, "The Assyrians," 23.
[58] Yildiz, "The Assyrians," 24.

modern Syria.[59] As mentioned earlier, the Aramaic language became the official language of the Assyrian Empire in the eighth century BCE, as well as being the common commercial language of the entire Middle East, with the exception of Persia. The two main dialects of Aramaic are Western Aramaic and Eastern Aramaic, and each contains numerous regional dialects and accents. The Western dialect is mainly spoken by Mesopotamians in the Near East, including present-day Palestine, Lebanon, and parts of Syria, whereas the Eastern dialect is spoken among the Mesopotamians of eastern Syria, Iraq, and Iran. The Eastern Aramaic dialect underwent changes over time, and the dialect spoken today is called "New Aramaic," and Western linguists and scholars refer to the old Syriac dialect as "Old Aramaic." Thus, the terms "Syrian" and "Syriac" can confusingly refer to the Eastern Church with its old Aramaic liturgy, the Jacobites, the Old Aramaic language, and a certain dialect of New Aramaic that is spoken by the Mesopotamians who live in modern Syria.

Another important term is "Chaldean" Christians. Just like the term Syriac, the term "Chaldean" refers to both a Christian denomination and a specific dialect of New Aramaic. When Roman Catholic missionaries came to Mesopotamia in the sixteenth century CE and established Catholicism in Mesopotamia, they called the newly established Eastern branch of the Roman Catholic Church "the Chaldean Catholic Church."[60] The term "Chaldean" also refers to a specific New Aramaic dialect spoken by Mesopotamians who mostly live in Iraq. Many Mesopotamian Christians who spoke

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[59] Yildiz, "The Assyrians," 24.

[60] Yildiz, "The Assyrians," 24. Thomas Alexander Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archeological Survey*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 1989), 338.

other Aramaic dialects, however, also became members of the Roman Catholic Church over the last five centuries: to call the members of the Mesopotamian Catholic Church by the term "Chaldean" is misleading, confusing, and incorrect.

The terms "Nestorians," "Syrians," "Syriacs," "Jacobites," and "Chaldeans" refer to the different linguistic dialects and religious beliefs as Christianity became an important factor in the historical life of the Mesopotamians after the political fall of their empire. What is important in the historical study of the Mesopotamians is that the events that took place after the fall of their empire in 539 BCE—and specifically after their conversion to Christianity in the first century CE—identified and influenced this ethnic group as a whole, regardless of their doctrinal and linguistic differences (fig. 2-6).

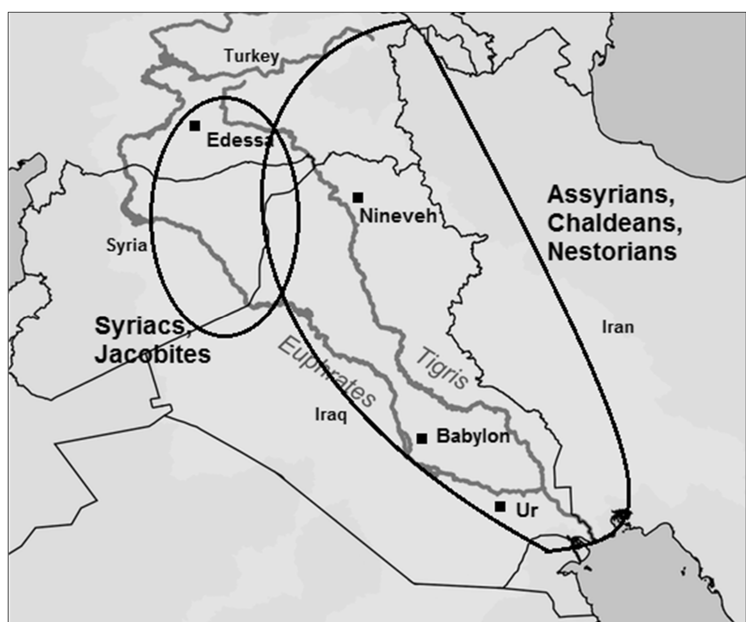

Figure 2-6. Territorial distribution of the Eastern Church[61]

[61] Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."

Mesopotamia Between Foreign Rulers: Persia and Rome (116-638 CE)

In 116 CE, the Roman Emperor Trajan (53-117 CE) conquered the land of Old Assyria from the Persian Parthian Empire, and marched south down to the Persian Gulf to conquer the Seleucia and the Persian Mesopotamian capital of Ctesiphon.[62] During the reign of the next Roman Emperor, Hadrian (117-38 CE), the Persian Parthians took Mesopotamia back, but Ctesiphon fell again to the Romans in 165 CE.[63] During the reign of Emperor Marcus Aurelius (161-80 CE), the Romans managed to keep only Western Mesopotamia. In 199 CE, Emperor Septimius Severus (193-211 CE) made all of Mesopotamia, except for Babylonia, a Roman province again.[64] In 217 CE, the Parthian King, Artabanus V (Ardevan) (ruled c. 216-24 CE) defeated the Romans at the Battle of Nisibis.[65]

Subsequent fights over the succession to the throne threw the Parthian Empire into turmoil, and it became politically weak, with Artabanus V being defeated by Ardashir I (180-242 CE). Consequently, the Romans had less trouble advancing eastward and taking back the lost Mesopotamian lands. The Land of Two Rivers remained a Roman province until the new Sasanian dynasty in Persia under Adashir I came to power. Under the Sassanid rulers (224-651 CE), Mesopotamia was gained and lost by the Persians from the Romans until 296 CE, when the Romans built a frontier

[62] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 105.
[63] Homa Katouzian, *The Persians: Ancient, Medieval, and Modern Iran* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 44.
[64] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 106.
[65] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 44.

position in modern Diarbekr on the Tigris River to prevent the Persians from conquering Mesopotamia again.[66]

Until the third century both the Roman and Persian governments tried to suppress the spread of Christianity in their territories. Romans considered Christianity dangerous to the state, and the Persians deemed it an enemy to their Zoroastrian religion. When Christianity became the state religion of the Roman Empire under Emperor Constantine (272-337 CE) in 306 CE, the conflicts between the Romans and Persians took on a religious flavor. Since the Mesopotamians had already converted to Christianity during this time, Mesopotamia became the dividing ground between a world that accepted Jesus from a world that regarded Zoroaster as the great prophet. In 540 CE, the new King of Persia, Khosrau I (501-79 CE), invaded Mesopotamia and Syria. He gave the Christians the right to worship if they did not proselytize.[67] Mesopotamia remained under mostly Persian rule until 627 CE, when the Eastern Roman Emperor Heraclius (610-41 CE) recaptured the Mesopotamian lands to the west of Euphrates and recreated it as a Roman frontier province.[68] Western Mesopotamia remained a territory of the Roman Empire, and Eastern Mesopotamia remained a territory of the Persian Empire. Consequently, the super powers of the time, the Romans and the Persians, would take any opportunity to bring the major cities and ports under their own control to benefit from the economic and commercial advantages these cities and ports would offer. As expected, the eastern parts

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[66] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 108.
[67] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 59.
[68] Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium: 600-1025* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 81. At this time, the Roman Empire had split into two spheres, the Western Roman Empire and the Eastern Roman Empire with Constantinople (modern Istanbul) as its capital.

of the Arabian Peninsula would usually be under the control of the Persians and the western parts under the control of the Roman Empire.[69] Jews inhabited the eastern parts under Persian control, while Christians lived in the western parts under the control of the Roman Empire (fig. 2-7).[70]

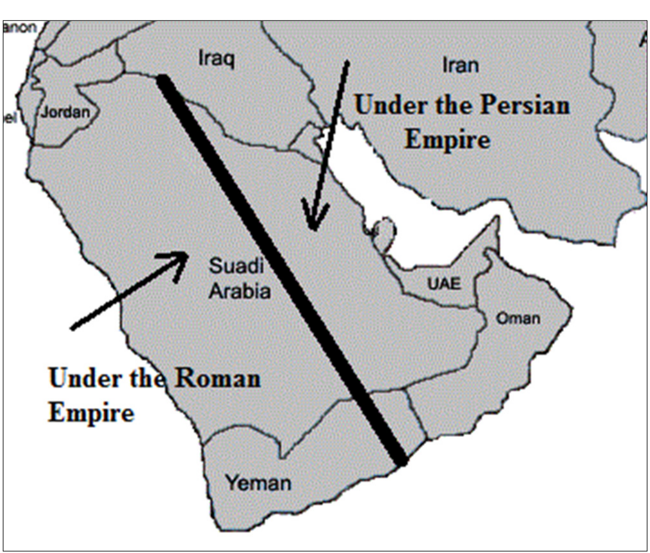

Figure 2-7. Division of the Arabian Peninsula between the Persian and Roman Empires (Map adapted by permission from Silkworth.net, "Middle East," http://silkworth.net/image_map/MiddleEast.html.)

The two empires never ceased fighting over the southwestern part of the Peninsula for its trading importance, and since each represented a different religious authority, emergence

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[69] Mahmood Ibrahim, "Social and Economic Conditions in Pre-Islamic Mecca," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 14, no.3 (August 1982): 349. Piney Kesting, "Well of Good Fortune," *Saudi Aramco World* 52, no. 3 (May/June 2001): 14.
[70] Yosef Tobi, "The Orthography of Pre-Saadianic Judaeo-Arabic Compared With the Orthography of the Inscriptions of Pre-Islamic Arabia," *Proceedings of the Seminar for Arabian Studies* 34 (2004): 344. Irfan Shahid, "Byzantium on South Arabia," *Dumbarton Oaks Papers* 33 (1979): 51. Latourette, *A History of Christianity*, 104.

of a new religion in the Peninsula would mean an independence of the Arabian kingdoms from the control of the Jews, the Persians, and the Christian Romans.

The Rise of Islam (610-1258 CE)

During the reign of the Assyrian kings over Mesopotamia, many of the inhabitants of the Arabian Peninsula migrated to the Fertile Crescent in the north settling down in the Mesopotamian cities. Before the rise of Islam, the coasts of the Arabian Peninsula, which had excellent climatic conditions, had become important centers for the trading ships carrying goods between India and the West. Some major cities had developed around the costs of the Arabian Peninsula such as Medina and Mecca (fig. 2-8).[71]

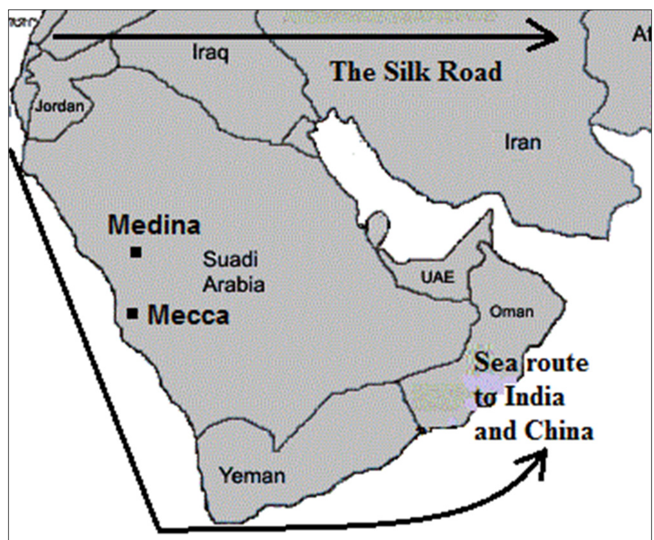

Figure 2-8. Arabian Peninsula trade routes at the time of Mohammad[72]

[71] Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 35.
[72] Adapted by permission from Silkworth.net, "Middle East."

In 570 CE, Mohammad was born in the city of Mecca into the Hashim clan of the great Quraish tribe.[73] He declared himself the prophet of God in 610 CE and began to spread Islam among the Arabs of the Peninsula.[74] The Arabs were receptive to the new religion, perhaps because it contained a mixture of Jewish civil laws and Judeo-Christian monotheistic beliefs that were already known concepts among the people of that region. In addition, the new religion gave the successors of Mohammad, the Umayyad Dynasty (661-750 CE) an opportunity to unite under the name of a religion and pursue independence from the ruling powers of the Persian and Roman Empires. Soon after, these successors began expanding their territories. As a result, the Arabs began moving northward toward Mesopotamia with the excuse of bringing the message of the new religion. Many Arabs already lived in Mesopotamia, and many other Arab tribes at the border of Arabian Desert and Mesopotamia had close ties with the Roman Empire. The Roman Empire gave these Arab groups semi-autonomous authority in the region in order to maintain peace at the border between the Fertile Crescent and Arabia.[75]

Before Emperor Heraclius's reclamation of Mesopotamia, the Arabs in Mesopotamia enjoyed the absence of Roman imperial authority for two decades, and were consequently primed to pursue independence when the Arabs from the south marched north. In addition, the nomad Arabs' fighting skills, such as horsemanship, excellent sword fighting techniques, "irregular" warfare in the form of hit-and-run strategies and surprise arracks, and the physical strength that they developed to cope with

[73] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 62.
[74] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 63.
[75] Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 52.

the demands of the dessert life, were different than those of the soldiers in the armies of the Persians and the Romans, making them formidable military opponents.[76] They were able to easily conquer the cities they attacked, and they soon defeated the Persian army to the east and conquered the Persian plateau (651 CE), and to the north and west, invaded Mesopotamia (637 CE), Syria (635 CE), Palestine (634 CE), and North Africa by the end of the seventh century.[77]

Although some geographical obstacles in Anatolia delayed the fall of the Roman Empire, the Islamic army eventually invaded the Byzantine Empire's capital city, Constantinople, in 1453 CE, and thus, ending the Christian reign in the Middle East and North Africa to this day.[78] After the rise of Islam in the seventh century, a Christian government never again ruled Mesopotamia, and the Muslim governments have ruled the Christian Mesopotamians since the Muslims conquered the Land of Two Rivers in 638 CE.[79]

Muslim warriors not only introduced Islam in the lands they conquered, but they also introduced the Arabic language—the language of the Quran. In many places, new religious laws and the Arabic language replaced the local laws and language.[80] Until

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[76] Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 22, 87. Richard H. Shultz and Andrea J. Dew, *Insurgents, Terrorists, and Militias: The Warriors of Contemporary Combat* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006), 205.

[77] David Morgan, *Medieval Persia 1040-1797: A History of the Near East* (New York: Routledge, 1988), 13. John L. Esposito, *The Oxford History of Islam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), 12. Russ Burns, *Damascus: A History* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 99.

[78] James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 24.

[79] Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, xv.

[80] Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 13-14.

then, Aramaic was not only the language of Mesopotamia since the ancient Akkadian kingdom, but it was the language of the greater Middle East from the Tigris River to the Mediterranean Sea. When the Arabs conquered the entire Middle East, North Africa, and Spain, they spread the Arabic language. Arabic is Semitic in origin, and it was simple for the majority of the inhabitants of these lands who already spoke Aramaic to shift to the newly introduced language. It is worth mentioning that Persians, however, were among the very few people under Arab rule who continued to speak their native language. Although the Arabs made a lot of effort to change the language of the Persians to Arabic, the major linguistic differences of the two languages and the fact that the Zagros mountains created a natural geological barrier between the Arabs and Persians, prevented the Arabs from gaining full control over the cultural life of the Persian people, and helped Persia to remain a non-Arabic speaking Muslim country in the Middle East to this day.[81]

The other two ethnic groups that were able to preserve their languages were the Mesopotamians and the Armenians. Like the Persians, the Mesopotamians and Armenians preserved their language, but they also maintained their Christianity. While Arabic became the "language of the educated," vernacular languages, such as Aramaic, survived in some parts of the territories conquered by the Arabs preserving sources in Mesopotamian accounts of their own history after the seventh century until more recent times. In addition, there still exist some large communities of the Arab-speaking Christians who never converted to Islam in what is modern-day Syria, Palestine,

[81] Morgan, *Medieval Persia*, 14.

Lebanon, Egypt, and some other North African countries.[82] Christians and Jews in these communities had to pay some special extra tax called *jazia* to be able to live under the Muslim rule.[83] The Christian Mesopotamians—now a conquered people under the rule of a non-Christian power—found the church and their religious leaders as guardians of their language, religion, and culture. The Mesopotamian church, the Assyrian Church of the East, became very active in the 600s CE and expanded eastward toward India and eventually to China.

The Mongol Invasions of the Middle East (1258 CE)

Under the Muslim rule of the Arabs, Mesopotamians remained in their homeland, speaking Aramaic and practicing their Christian belief, and Mesopotamia continued to be a center for scientific, cultural, and economic developments until the invasion of the Mongols in 1258 under the Mongol ruler Hulagu Khan (c. 1218-65).[84] The nomad Mongols were skilled horse riders and archers like the Arabs, but unlike the Arabs they devastated everything on their campaign to the west, leaving the cities burned down, major cultural centers destroyed, and civilians slaughtered as they made their way through the Middle East to Egypt and the Mediterranean coast (fig. 2-9).[85]

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[82] Walid Phares, "Arab Christians: An Introduction," *Arabic Bible Outreach Ministry*, accessed September 28, 2011, http://www.arabicbible.com/for-christians/christians/1396-arab-christians-introduction.html.
[83] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 66.
[84] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 100.
[85] Katouzian, *The Persians*, 100.

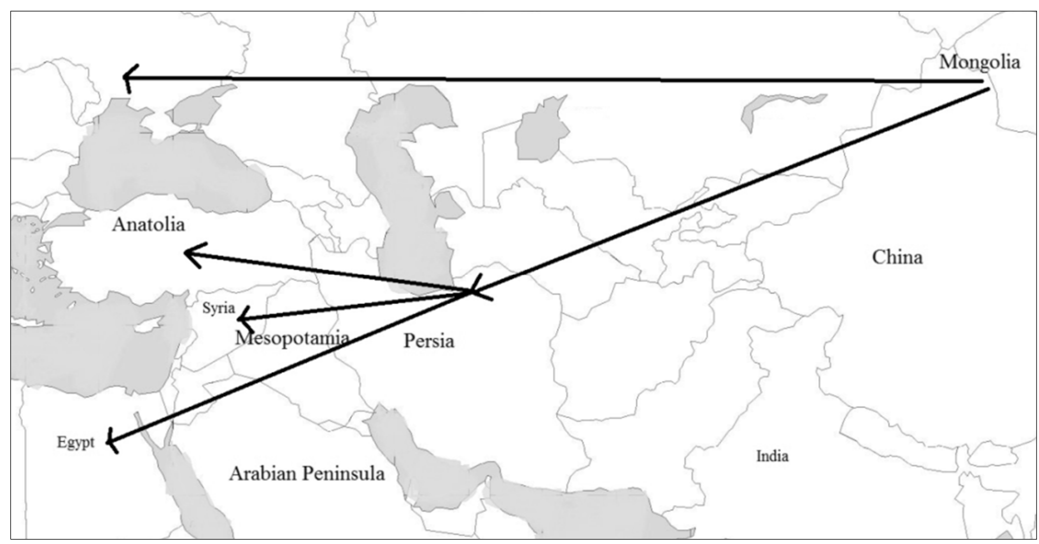

Figure 2-9. Mongolian invasion routes (Adapted by permission from “Central Asian Countries,” Cartographic Research Laboratory. © 2015 University of Alabama.)

The successive attacks by the Mongols under Hulagu and later Tamerlane (d.1405) not only destroyed Persian and Arab cities and their cultural heritages, but also damaged the Assyrian Church of the East and its branches during the fourteenth century.[86] Mesopotamians fled to the Hakkari Mountains in Northern Mesopotamia which is now present-day eastern Turkey and the plains of Lake Urmia in Iran, and gradually built villages in the mountainous region, thinking it would be safer to live in mountains as an Aramaic speaking Christian people (fig. 2-10).[87]

[86] Collin Hansen, “Iraqi Christians’ Path of Persecution,” *Christianity Today*, last modified August 8, 2008, http://www.christianitytoday.com/ch/news/2003/mar7.html?start=2.
[87] Bevan, *The Land of the Two Rivers*, 124. Ronald Sempill Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press LLC, 2006), 18. Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey*, 338.

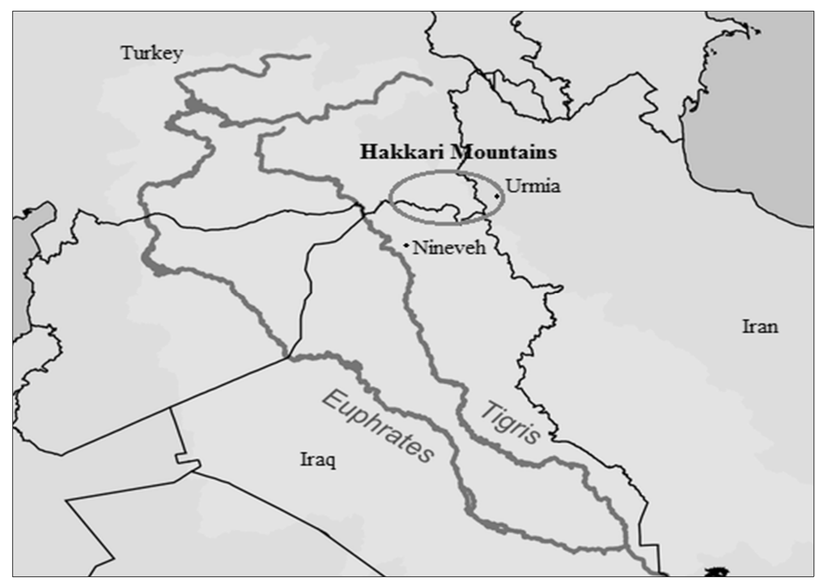

Figure 2-10. Hakkari Mountains in Northern Mesopotamia (circled)[88]

Mesopotamians still lived in their homeland, a land that was now occupied by the Muslim Arabs and ruled by Muslim Mongol kings, and later by the Turkish Ottomans who came into power in 1299. After the great destruction of the Mongol invasions of the Middle East, the religious segregation grew tighter under the Islamic rulers as time passed; therefore, the Mesopotamian communities of Hakkari Mountains' main focus became survival because they had no social or economic status under the Islamic rule to grow culturally, politically, and economically.

Invisibility and *Seyfo*: Mesopotamians under the Ottoman Empire (1299-1923 CE)

After the establishment of the Ottoman Empire in the fourteenth century, Mesopotamians still remained scattered in their ancestral lands (modern Iraq,

[88] Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."

northwestern Iran, northeastern Syria, and southern Turkey), but under the Ottoman Empire. No historical evidence documents any outstanding political or social incidents in regards to the Mesopotamians between the fourteenth and nineteenth century. Mesopotamians simply continued to live in their villages in the mountainous region of Hakkari. The hardships of the Mesopotamians, however, accelerated in the nineteenth century, and the isolation of the Mesopotamians continued for so long that European scholars believed that the Mesopotamians had become extinct, until they undertook travels to the Middle East.[89] In William Ainsworth's essay written in 1841, "An Account of a Visit to the Chaldeans, Inhabiting Central Kurdistán; And of an Ascent of the Peak of Rowándiz (Ṭúr Sheïkhíwá) in Summer in 1840," he reported his visit to Mesopotamia (present-day northern Iraq) where he met Christian Mesopotamians living among their Muslim neighbors, still speaking in Aramaic and worshiping in their churches and preserving their own cultural traditions.[90]

During the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century, a systematic ethnic and religious cleansing by the Kurdish settlers of modern Turkey and Muslim Ottoman

[89] "The Rediscovery of Assyria," *The Metropolitan Museum of Art*, published October 2004, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/rdas/hd_rdas.htm. "Rediscovery of Mesopotamia," *The British Museum's Website on Mesopotamia*, accessed September 30, 2014, http://www.mesopotamia.co.uk/staff/resources/background/bg15/home.html. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 20. John Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East: A History of Their Encounter with Western Christian Missions, Archaeologists, and Colonial Powers* (Boston: Brill, 2000), 73.

[90] William Ainsworth, "An Account of a Visit to the Chaldeans, Inhabiting Central Kurdistán; And of an Ascent of the Peak of Rowándiz (Ṭúr Sheïkhíwá) in Summer in 1840," *Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 11 (1841): 21.

Empire began to take place against the Christian Mesopotamians.[91] In the 1800s, the Ottoman Empire was challenged with some complications within its territories. In Egypt, an Ottoman Empire province at the time, Mohammad Ali revolted and successively took control of the other Ottoman Empire provinces until he reached and conquered Syria.[92] This was a good reason for some Kurdish Emirs in Anatolia to take advantage of the situation and pursue independence. A struggle of succession erupted between the Kurdish Emirs of the Hakkari region,[93] and the Mesopotamians of Hakkari Mountains in Eastern Anatolia were forced to take sides in the Kurdish succession dispute. This struggle resulted in the massacre of the Mesopotamians of Hakkari in 1843 and the Kurdish hostility toward Christians in general.[94] The Kurds again asked for the support of the Mesopotamians when they allied against the Ottoman Vali of Mosul, but this time, the Mesopotamians refused to take sides making the Kurdish Emirs unhappy and providing a convenient reason to impose their power on the Christians.[95] The Kurds asked the Ottoman Vali of Mosul for permission to suppress the Christians: the permission was granted, and Badr Khan (c. 1800-68), who led the first massacre of the

[91] David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 3rd ed. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 52.
[92] Peter Colvin, "Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the School of Oriental and African Studies Library," *Libraries & Culture* 33, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 250.
[93] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 52. Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East*, 73-74.
[94] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 47. Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East*, 76. Resat Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire: Ottoman Nomads, Migrants, and Refugees* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2009), 127.
[95] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 47.

Mesopotamians in 1843, once again attacked the Mesopotamians of Hakkari in 1846.[96] Many Mesopotamians were killed or sold in the slave markets of the Middle East, and the rest were divided between the Ottomans and Kurds as war booty.[97] The continuous massacre of the Christian Mesopotamians by the Kurds resulted in the intervention of European countries, and eventually, an Ottoman army was sent to punish the Kurds in 1847, after more than 10,000 Mesopotamians had already been killed by the Kurds.[98]

A great genocide against the Christians of Anatolia took place in the early twentieth century when the idea of pan-Islamism was introduced by the Ottoman king Abdol Hamid II at the end of the nineteenth century.[99] The massacre of the Christians began in southeast of modern Turkey in 1895 and soon after spread through the rest of the Ottoman Empire.[100] Abdol Hamid was overthrown by the Young Turks party in 1908, who introduced a new ideology, "Pan-Turkism."[101] The Young Turks' main goal in this new ideology was to "Turkify" the empire's non-Turkish states. In regards to the Christian population under their rule, they thought the easiest solution was to wipe them out.[102] The Ottoman ethnic and religious cleansing continued as the Ottoman Empire

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[96] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 47. Joseph, *The Modern Assyrians of the Middle East*, 86.
[97] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 47.
[98] Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 19. Kasaba, *A Moveable Empire*, *127.*
[99] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 57. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 19.
[100] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 61.
[101] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 63.
[102] Anahit Khosroeva, "Assyrian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey and Adjacent Turkish Territories," *Assyrian International News Agency*, accessed July 24, 2013, http://www.aina.org/articles/amitaatt.htm.

engaged in war with Britain, France, and Russia, which increased the rate of Christian slaughtering.[103] The Ottoman soldiers destroyed the Armenian and Mesopotamian villages in Bitlis, Diyarbekir, Erzerum, Kharberd, Sivas, and Van and killed their inhabitants.[104]

In 1915 the genocide of the Mesopotamians, or *Seyfo*, and the genocide of the Armenians, the *Meds Yeghern*, began in the Eastern Anatolia.[105] Soon after demolishing the Armenian and Mesopotamian villages of Anatolia, the Ottoman Army began assaulting the northwestern regions of Persia, which had a great population of Christian Mesopotamians living near the western banks of Lake Urmia at the borders of Persia and Ottoman Anatolia. Even though some Mesopotamians under the command of the Mesopotamian Persian General, Agha Petros, were able to fight back the Ottomans at the Persian border, the Ottomans eventually broke through and began a fresh mass killing of the Mesopotamians on Persian soil. The Russian Army, which was present in the north western provinces of Persia at that time, and which had supported and protected the Christians until that time, decided to return to Russia due to the revolution of 1917.[106] The Christian Mesopotamians in Persia were greatly influenced by the loss of their

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[103] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 104. Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia During the Great War," *Iran Chamber Society*, last modified March 18, 2013, http://www.iranchamber.com/religions/articles/american_presbyterian_missionaries_zirinsky.pdf, 5.

[104] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 61.

[105] Mesopotamian genocide is also known as *Seyfo* or "Assyrian Genocide." The word "Seyfo" means "sword" in the original Aramaic language. The Armenian Genocide is also known as *Meds Yeghern* meaning "great crime" in Armenian.

[106] H. L., "The Assyrian Minority in 'Iraq," *Bulletin of International News* 10, no. 5 (August 1933): 3.

Russian guardians, and became an easier target for the Ottoman army incursions over the border. Mesopotamian men were killed, women raped, and thousands of young women and girls were kidnapped.[107] Many Mesopotamians fled to the north to Russia, and the rest escaped south and took refuge in Iraq and Syria. Thousands of Mesopotamians died from the spread of disease, hunger, and cold on the way. In total, 1,500,000 Armenians, 750,000 Assyrians, and 250,000 Greeks were killed in the religious cleansings by the Ottomans during World War I.[108]

After World War I, the Mesopotamian refugees from Turkey's Hakkari region who had fled to Iraq, were terrified that the tragedies of the war could be repeated, since the new government in Turkey refused to let the Hakkari Mesopotamians return to their homes, and the Mesopotamians once again found themselves a religious minority group among the Arab and Kurdish Muslims of Iraq.[109] By the year 1930, there were still Mesopotamians refugees who had not been found permanent homes.[110] Insecure and discontented, the Mesopotamian refugees drew closer to the British, an outside Western Christian power, present in Iraq during the British mandate (1914-32), and created more hostility towards the Mesopotamian population from the Arab Iraqis.[111] The Mesopotamian leaders and patriarch persistently asked the British and the League of Nations if they could be granted an autonomous region. Their hopes were dashed,

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[107] Joel E. Werda, *The Flickering Light of Asia: Or the Assyrian Nation and Church* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press LLC, July 2012), 55.
[108] Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 68.
[109] H. L., "The Assyrian Minority in 'Iraq," 129.
[110] Khaldun S. Husry, "The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (I)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no.2 (April 1974): 162.
[111] Husry, "The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (I)," 165.

however, when the League of Nations concluded the British mandate in Iraq in 1932. The Mesopotamians quest for obtaining a piece of land was ignored by the League of Nations, claiming that there was no land in the region available that would be suitable and large enough to be given to the Mesopotamians. In addition, any assignment of land to the Mesopotamians would have meant that the Arabs or Kurds would have had to be relocated—an impossible maneuver.[112] Eventually, the Mesopotamians were asked to become a legally recognized religious and ethnic minority in the newly created Iraq by the League of Nations, even as they were living in their own ancestral homeland. Mesopotamian leaders and patriarch sent several petitions to the League of Nations in regard to providing the Mesopotamians with their own secured region under the rule of one of the Western countries, but they were asked to simply become a part of an Iraqi minority group.[113] Suffering from continued assaults from the Arabs and Kurds, the Mesopotamians resisted the idea. As the punishment for resisting this idea, the Iraqi Army raided the Mesopotamian city of Simele and its surroundings on August 7, 1933 leaving 3,000 people dead. Those who survived were mostly women and children (fig. 2-11).[114]

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[112] H. L., "The Assyrian Minority in 'Iraq," 132.
[113] H. L., "The Assyrian Minority in 'Iraq," 7.
[114] Husry, "The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (I)," 353.

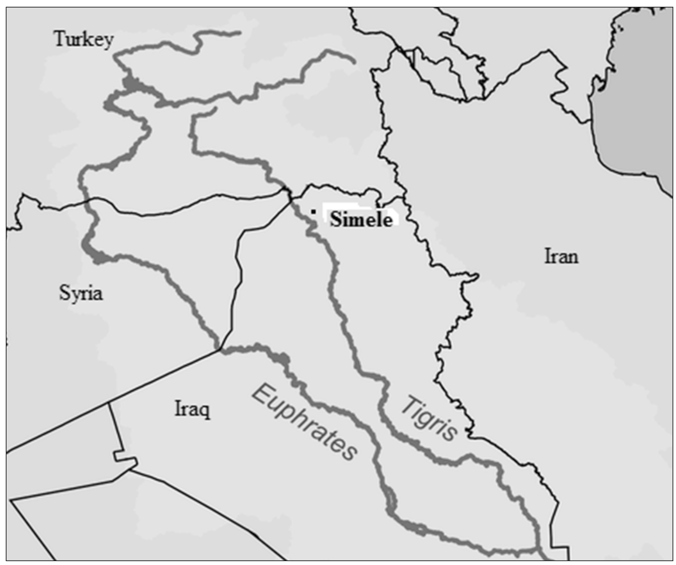

Figure 2-11. City of Simele in Northern Mesopotamia[115]

The Mesopotamians: Homeland and Diaspora

As the outcome of the violent events that took place in the first three decades of the twentieth century, Mesopotamians began immigrating to the West, and found refuge in Western Europe, North America, and Australia.[116] The immigration of this "nation without a country" grew after the establishment of the Islamic government in Iran in 1979, and more recently after the political changes in the Arab political world gave Islamic groups more political powers, such as the 2003 overthrow of Saddam Hussein in Iraq by the U.S. military, which lead to new waves of Christians being killed.[117] Since the invasion of Nineveh Plain in Iraq and eastern parts of Syria by the Islamic group ISIS

[115] Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."
[116] Greg Gow, "Watching Saddam Fall: Assyrian Refugees in Sydney and the Imagining of a New Iraq," *Social Analysis* 48, no. 3 (Fall 2004): 12.
[117] Daniel Williams, "Christianity in Iraq Is Finished," *The Washington Post*, published September 19, 2014, http://www.washingtonpost.com/opinions/christianity-in-iraq-is-finished/2014/09/19/21feaa7c-3f2f-11e4-b0ea-8141703bbf6f_story.html.

(Islamic States of Iraq and Syria (Levant)) in June of 2014, Christian Mesopotamians have been kidnaped and killed in Syria, forced to convert to Islam, pay *jazia*, or evacuate their homes in Iraq, which has brought about the mass exodus of the Mesopotamian population from the Nineveh Plain in north of Iraq and Mosul, the second largest city in northern Iraq with the largest Christian Mesopotamian population in the country.[118] The Christian populations of Mosul and the Nineveh Plain have taken refuge in Kurdish region of Northern Iraq, leaving the Mesopotamians in the Middle East facing an uncertain future, both as a people and a culture.[119]

As much as the existence of the Mesopotamians as a people has depended on the political decisions of the major international councils and powers, like that of the League of Nations during 1930s, the fate of the Mesopotamians as a culture has depended on the members of the Mesopotamian community and their loyalty to their Mesopotamian identity and preserving their language, traditions, and arts. Knowing the six-thousand-year history of the Mesopotamian people and their fight for survival after the fall of their political state, one can have a better understanding of William Daniel's efforts to establish a nationalist style of music based on the Mesopotamian ancient music, folk traditions, and language. Daniel witnessed the horrific events of the Christian Genocide,

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[118] Alissa J. Rubin, "ISIS Forces Last Iraqi Christians to Flee Mosul," *The New York Times*, last modified July 18, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/19/world/middleeast/isis-forces-last-iraqi-christians-to-flee-mosul.html?_r=0. Mariano Castillo, "ISIS Overtakes Iraq's Largest Christian City," *CNNWorld*, last modified August 8, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/07/world/meast/iraq-isis-christian-city/.

[119] Sam Jones and Own Bowcott, "Religious Leaders Say Isis Persecution of Iraqi Christians Has Become Genocide," *The Guardian*, last modified August 9, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/08/isis-persecution-iraqi-christians-genocide-asylum.

the Simele massacre, and the cultural assimilation of the younger Mesopotamian generation in the diaspora, and was eager to preserve and promote the endangered culture of his people by means of music and poetry, and the fruit of his efforts were the establishment of the Mesopotamian nationalist music.

CHAPTER THREE

WILLIAM DANIEL'S LIFE:
IN THE MIDST OF MESOPOTAMIAN CULTURE AND POLITICS

William Daniel was born on March 17, 1903 in Savouj-Boulāgh— present-day Mahābād. Mahābād is the fifth largest Kurdish city in Iran and is located in the southern part of the West Azerbaijan province and southeast of the province's capital of Urmia (fig. 3-1).[120]

Figure 3-1. Map of Urmia and the city of Mahābād, present-day Iran (Adapted from Uwe Dedering, "Location Map of Iran," used under CC BY-SA 3.0, http://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Iran_location_map.svg.)

The city of Mahābād is surrounded by mountains and thus is very green. Recalling his childhood, Daniel especially remembered Mahābād's beautiful nature, gardens, and

[120] "William Daniel," *Zinda Magazine* 3, no. 5 (March 17, 1997): 3.

vineyards, calling it the "paradise" in a letter to his friend.[121]

> Our home was a veritable paradise. . . . The early hours used to be spent in the balcony that gave unto the big and vast garden. And beyond the river, the gardens and vineyards gradually sloped upward, to the foothills. It was a lovely view. We didn't realize then what a heaven we were living in.[122]

Daniel's father, David Sayad Daniel, was a physician who graduated from the American Missionaries' Medical College in Urmia and practiced in Mahābād. Daniel's paternal grandparents, his grandfather Mughdussi Sayad and grandmother Inssaf, were among the Mesopotamian mountaineers who eventually settled in the village of Gūytapa on the Urmia plain with their four daughters, Sonia, Elishwa, Shakar, Asyad and their two sons, including David (the name of David's brother is unknown). His grandfather lived to be 130 years old.[123] Daniel was the fourth child of six siblings—his three sisters, Keti, Asli, Adeena, and two brothers, including Yoav and another brother whose name is not given.[124] Daniel's mother, Asli, died when he was four years old,[125] and soon after the death of their mother, the children were sent to live with their uncle's family in Urmia for school.[126]

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[121] Arianne Ishaya, "Commemorating the Centennial Birthday of an Assyrian Legend: William Daniel," *Nineveh* 26, no.1 (Spring 2003): 5.
[122] Ishaya, "Commemorating the Centennial Birthday," *Nineveh* 26, no.1 (Spring 2003): 5.
[123] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.
[124] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.
[125] William Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara: A William Daniel's Legacy," *Christians of Iraq*, accessed November 11, 2013, http://christiansofiraq.com/Assyrianpoems.html.
[126] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.

William Daniel completed his primary education in the American missionary school in Urmia.[127] This school, the Boys' Seminary, provided education for the Mesopotamian boys of Urmia and the surrounding villages. Rev. Justin Perkins opened the first American Missionary School in Urmia in January 1836 with the help of a Mesopotamian clergy member, Rev. Auraham [Abraham].[128]

American Missionaries in Urmia (1834-1918 CE)

The history of American Protestant missionaries in Urmia is an important part of the history of the Christian Mesopotamians, and studying the history of the American missionaries' activities in Urmia helps to better understand William Daniel since he and his family lived during the presence of the American missionaries in Urmia. The missionaries raised the social status of the politically suppressed Mesopotamians, and in the fields of language and education, helped revive the Aramaic language as well as develop a modern writing system for the modern Aramaic. By the beginning of World War I, the missionaries had helped improve the literacy rate of the Mesopotamians from a low of 5% to a high of 88%.[129] This educational shift gave the Mesopotamians a new sense of identity, patriotism, and self-esteem which became an influential factor in improving their socio-economic status among the majority Muslim population.

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[127] Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara."

[128] Heleen Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants: The Role of Assyrians in the Development of Written Urmia Aramaic," *Journal of the Assyrian Academic Society* 10, no. 2 (1996): 12.

[129] Nicholas Al-Jeloo, "Assyrians Today: Between Homeland and Diaspora," (presentation, Assyrian American Association of San José Lecture Series, San José, CA, September 22, 2013).

Among the Muslim and Christian populations of the region, American missionaries were welcomed by the Christian Mesopotamians and given an opportunity to open schools and hospitals in remote Mesopotamian villages. The main goal of the missionaries was to educate the Mesopotamian population and provide them with efficient medical services, since they witnessed the deprivation of the Christian population under Persian Muslim rule. James Lyman Merrick came to Persia in 1832 to examine the possible missionary field in the country.[130] He soon realized that proselytizing to the majority Persian population was impossible at the time because Muslim Persians were not receptive to Christians and Christianity. However, he did meet with some of the minority Christian populations of Persia, the Armenians and the Mesopotamians, and suggested that the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions consider opening a mission among the Mesopotamians of Urmia northwest of Persia. That same year the Board sent two missionaries, Rev. Harrison Gray Otis Dwight and Rev. Eli Smith to meet with the people and clergy, study the possibility of the missionary work among the Mesopotamians, and provide a report on their status.[131] Henry Perkins described the state of the Mesopotamian Christians in his book *Life of Rev. Justin Perkins, D.D.: Pioneer Missionary to Persia*.

> They number 140,000, and reside chiefly in the mountains of Koordistan, and the adjacent plain of Oroomiah. Reduced in numbers, poor and oppressed, living in a state of semi-serfdom to the Mohammedan master, they have yet attracted much thought and sympathy since the early part of

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[130] Peyman Rahbari-Hagh, "Study of the Cultural Diplomacy of the U.S. in Iran: From the Beginning to the Islamic Revolution," *Rajanews*, November 30, 2012, http://www.598.ir/.

[131] Rahbari-Hagh, "Study of the Cultural Diplomacy."

> the present century, and with reason. For, though surrounded by the gross darkness of Mohammedanism, it was found they had clung to some of the forms of a pure Christianity. . . . Their creed was what they recognized as the *Nicene.*[132]

When Revs. Dwight and Smith returned to the United States, they considered the objectives of the mission in Urmia along with the secretary of the board, Rufus Anderson. They found the Christian Mesopotamians generally illiterate, except for the 5% of the clergy who were able to read and write the liturgical language of Old Aramaic. The missionaries concluded that the goal of the new mission should focus on providing education for the Mesopotamians so that they could read the Bible, and that the new mission should dedicate its efforts in providing books and improving the literacy of the Mesopotamians through which their knowledge of the Bible would be renewed. More importantly, the missionaries clearly noted that their goal was not to establish a Protestant Church among Mesopotamians, but help the existing Assyrian Church of the East regain its former glory.[133] After many careful examinations, they approached Dr. Justin Perkins as the suitable missionary for the Mesopotamians of Urmia (fig. 3-2).

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[132] Henry Martyn Perkins, *Life of Rev. Justin Perkins, D. D.: Pioneer Missionary to Persia* (Chicago: Woman's Presbyterian Board of Missions of the Northwest, 1887), 15.
[133] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 5. Thomas Alexander Sinclair, *Eastern Turkey: An Architectural and Archeological Survey*, vol. 1 (London: Pindar Press, 1989), 340.

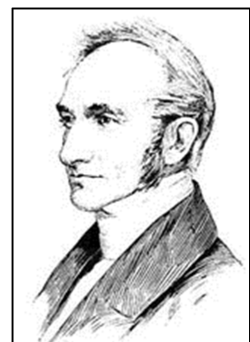

Figure 3-2. Rev. Justin Perkins (Reproduced from Laurel O'Donnell, "Rev. Justin Perkins," *Holyoke, Mass*, January 17, 2007, http://holyokemass.com/2007/01/17/rev-justin-perkins/.)

Rev. Justin Perkins was born in 1805 in Springfield, Massachusetts. He completed his primary education in his hometown, and in 1825 was admitted to Amherst College. He graduated with honors in 1829, and entered the Andover Theological Seminary in Newton, Massachusetts, the oldest theological school and the first graduate institute in the United States.[134] He had been accepted as a tutor at Amherst College when he received the commission from the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in January 1833 to work as a missionary among the Mesopotamians in Persia. He accepted the commission and left the United States for Persia along with his wife, Charlotte Bass, in September of the same year, and arrived in Persia in August 1834 after a long, troublesome journey through the remote mountains of eastern Anatolia.[135]

Rev. Perkins met with the young Mesopotamian bishop, Mar Yohannan of Gavalan village,[136] who accompanied Rev. Perkins in his visits to Mesopotamian villages

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[134] "Keys to Andover Newton History," *Andover Newton Theological School*, accessed August 15, 2013, http://www.ants.edu/history/.
[135] Perkins, *Life of Rev. Justin Perkins*, 17.
[136] The honorific title *Mar* [lord] is used for patriarchs, bishops, and saints in New Aramaic.

and helped him get familiar with the situation of Urmia and its people. The Mesopotamian people and clergy cordially received Rev. Perkins. Mar Yohannan also introduced Rev. Perkins to Rev. Auraham who helped Mar Yohannan in teaching Rev. Perkins Aramaic and the local languages, and preparing books for the proposed schools. Additionally, another American missionary couple, physician Dr. Asahel Grant (1807-1844) and his wife Judith, were sent to Persia to help Dr. Perkins and his wife in their mission (fig. 3-3).

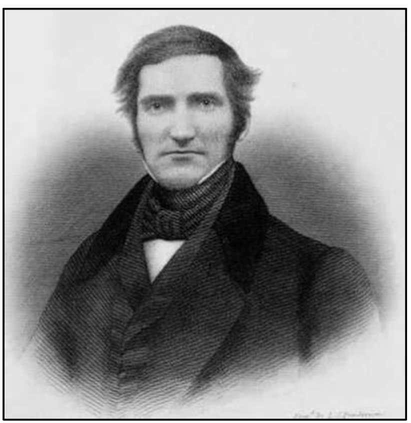

Figure 3-3. Dr. Asahel Grant (Reproduced by permission from “Grant House,” *Consulate General of the United States Erbil*, accessed March 20, 2015, http://erbil.usconsulate.gov/grant_house.html.)

Rev. Perkins prepared a room in the basement of his house in Urmia and the first American Missionary School, the Boys’ Seminary, was opened in Persia in January 1835. At the beginning, seven Mesopotamian boys were admitted to the school, but after a while, the number of students grew to fifty. The Boys’ Seminary was transferred to the Mesopotamian village of Sire in the southern mountains of Urmia in search of a better

climate to better accommodate the ailing health of the missionaries. Seeing the success of the school, the city officials of Urmia asked Rev. Perkins to open similar schools for the Muslim population, and in 1840, Dr. Grant opened another school in Urmia based on the educational model of the Christian Boys' Seminary.[137] Along with Rev. Auraham, locals from the Mesopotamian Assyrian Church of the East clergy helped Rev. Perkins run the school because of their literacy in Old Aramaic.[138]

The curriculum of the Boys' Seminary included Old Aramaic and English languages, as well as Persian literature. One of the major obstacles Rev. Perkins faced, however, was that the everyday spoken language among the Mesopotamians, New Aramaic, did not have a writing system. The only literate people among the Mesopotamians were the clergy who could read and write the liturgical language of Old Aramaic. The spoken language of New Aramaic was never written down since most Mesopotamians were illiterate and had never developed a writing system for the spoken language. Rev. Perkins and Rev. Auraham began translating the New Testament from Old Aramaic into New Aramaic. The work started by translating the New Testament from an Old Aramaic version called *Pshitā*.[139] Another American physician missionary, Austin Wright, assisted Rev. Perkins in revising of the translation.[140] The local Mesopotamian clergy were the main helpers since they both were the literate and native speakers of the language. Rev. Denkha of Tiary, who helped with the New Testament

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[137] Sa'eideh Soltani-Moghadam, "Foreign Schools at the Time of Ghajar King, Mohamad Shah," *Bagher Al'Olum Research Center*, accessed August 10, 2013, http://www.pajoohe.com/FA/index.php?Page=definition&UID=35619.
[138] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 4.
[139] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 13.
[140] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 7.

translation from 1837 to 1846,[141] and deacon Eshoo of Gawara (d. 1845) were the translators who worked with Rev. Perkins.[142] Later, Deacons Yousep of Degala (d. 1846) and Yonan of Ada, graduates of the Boys' Seminary, joined them and also provided commentaries for the new Bible version.[143]

Eventually, the first version of The New Testament in New Aramaic was published and distributed among the Mesopotamians in 1846.[144] As soon as the New Testament was translated from the Old Aramaic into New Aramaic, the New Aramaic language became part of the curriculum with the translated New Aramaic New Testament acting as a textbook in the Boys' and Fiske Seminary.[145] Later, the Old Testament was translated, and sometime in the eighties, a new revision of the Bible was done by a committee that was comprised almost entirely of Mesopotamians who were by then able to do the work of revision by themselves.[146] The committee supervised by Rev. Benjamin W. Labaree, who worked in Urmia from 1860 to 1906, sent the revised Bible in New Aramaic to the American Bible Society in New York, and it was printed in 1893 and then distributed among the Mesopotamians.[147] This version is still in use among the Mesopotamians in the Middle East and in the West.

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[141] Justin Perkins et al., *Nestorian Biography: Being Sketches of Pious Nestorians Who Have Died at Oroomiah, Persia* (Boston: Massachusetts Sabbath School Society, 1857), 110.
[142] Perkins et al., *Nestorian Biography*, 28.
[143] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 8.
[144] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 14.
[145] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 12.
[146] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 14.
[147] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 7.

From the very beginning, the missionaries also stressed the need for girls' education. In his trip back to the United States in 1843 to raise money for the mission in Urmia, Rev. Perkins visited the Mount Holyoke College in Hadley, Massachusetts, and was able to persuade Fidelia Fiske to go to Urmia and open a school for girls.[148] Fiske arrived in Urmia in 1843 and opened the first missionary boarding school for girls, which was called the Female Seminary (also known as the Fiske Seminary among the Mesopotamians), in the same year after learning the Aramaic language (fig. 3-4).

Figure 3-4. Miss Fidelia Fiske (Reproduced by permission from "Fidelia Fiske," *Mount Holyoke*, accessed March 20, 2015, https://www.mtholyoke.edu/175/gallery/fidelia-fiske.)

Fidelia Fiske was born in 1816 in Shelburne, Massachusetts and completed her primary education in her hometown, and at the age of seventeen, she began teaching in

[148] Eleanor Harvey Tejirian and Reeva S. Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversation: Two Thousand Years of Christian Missions in the Middle East* (New York: Colombia University Press, 2012), 111.

the Shelburne schools.[149] In 1839, she began studying at Mount Holyoke Seminary, one of the first permanent schools providing higher education for women in the United States. Fiske graduated from Mount Holyoke Seminary in 1842 and became a teacher at the college for one year before she left for Urmia. Fiske modeled the Female Seminary in Urmia based on Mount Holyoke Seminary, and the curriculum was similar to that of the Boys' Seminary in Urmia. The first two students admitted to Fiske's school were the two daughters of Mar Yokhanan, the Assyrian Church of the East's bishop.[150] By the year 1858, about forty Mesopotamian girls from Urmia and the surrounding villages were studying at the Female Seminary.[151] Fiske returned to the United States in 1858 due to health problems. She was offered the position of principal of Mount Holyoke Seminary, which she did not accept because she was planning to return to Urmia. However, while back in the United States, her health did not improve, and she passed away in her hometown in 1864. Other graduates of Mount Holyoke went to Urmia to teach at the Fiske Seminary until the school was closed in 1933 by the order of the Persian King, Rezakhan.[152]

Following the openings of these missionary schools in Urmia, Mesopotamian priests and deacons opened schools in other villages of Urmia.[153] The American missionaries helped these individuals by paying them a small salary, and by providing the newly established schools with the textbooks prepared by Rev. Perkins and Rev.

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[149] "Fidelia Fiske," *175 Mount Holyoke College*, accessed August 8, 2013, https://www.mtholyoke.edu/175/gallery/fidelia-fiske.
[150] Tejirian and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversation*, 110.
[151] "Fidelia Fiske."
[152] Tejirian and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversation*, 111.
[153] Tejirian and Simon, *Conflict, Conquest, and Conversation*, 110.

Auraham.[154] While American missionaries, with the help of the local bishop, supervised the educational process of these schools, locals ran the schools themselves.[155] Many of the students of the American Missionary Boys' School and Fiske Seminary in Urmia became teachers in these village schools upon their graduation. Among them were two of Daniel's aunts, Shakar who became a teacher in Fiske Seminary in Urmia, and Asyad who became a teacher in the village school of Gulpashan.[156]

The village schools educated boys, girls, and adults who wanted to learn how to read and write. The main focus of these schools was to teach the Mesopotamian community to read the Bible, and raise awareness of new improvements in agriculture, health, and social matters, and thus improve the cultural status of the Mesopotamians. In the following years, more missionaries were sent to Persia, and the mission was expanded to other cities, such as Tehran in 1872, Tabriz in 1873, Hamedan in 1880, Rasht and Qhazvin in 1906, Kermanshah in 1910, and Mashad in 1911 (fig. 3-5).[157]

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[154] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 11.
[155] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 12.
[156] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.
[157] Michael Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia During the Great War," *Iran Chamber Society*, last modified March 18, 2013, http://www.iranchamber.com/religions/articles/american_presbyterian_missionaries_zirinsky.pdf.

Figure 3-5. Cities in which missionary centers were opened by 1911, present-day Iran[158]

In almost every city that the American missionaries entered, a school and a hospital were opened to help and educate the Christian Mesopotamians, and later the Muslim Persian population. This missionary work continued until 1933, when King Reza Pahlavi (1877-1944) tried to limit the presence and influence of foreigners in his country.[159] Missionary work in Persia was resumed under the King's son's reign, Mohamad Reza Pahlavi (1919-80), and continued until the 1979 revolution and the establishment of an Islamic regime in Iran that ended any type of the foreign-sponsored activities in the country.

Like the other Mesopotamian boys who went to the Boys' Seminary, William Daniel learned how to read and write his native language, New Aramaic, as well as English, Persian, and Turkish. Daniel described that:

[158] Adapted from Uwe Dedering, "Location Map of Iran."
[159] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 11.

> Immediately after mother's death, my sister Adeena, who was my senior by two or three years, was asked to take me to school. In spite of my crying, Adeena would hold me by the hand and drag me to school. That was kindergarten. Three years later, Adeena and I were in the same class and poor girl used to ask me to help her with her lessons. During my school days, I jumped classes 4 times. The teachers wanted to push me further up. But I refused to part from school-mates that I had made although all much older than myself. My nickname was "William Daygha [shorty]."[160]

Daniel learned how to play *shabeeba* [flute] from the Kurdish singers in his father's garden. Daniel recalls, "We had one cock-eyed *dimbak* [drum] player named Towfeek. Another used to play *shabeeba*. Occasionally, I would borrow his *shabeeba* and try to play. I could hardly make it whistle. Some of those songs [Kurdish tunes] are deeply imprinted in my memory."[161] Daniel learned to play the violin when he won a violin as a prize in a school lottery.[162]

The "Development" of New Aramaic Literature (1840-61 CE)

American missionaries worked on preparing additional textbooks to be used in schools other than the Bible. David Tappan Stoddard, who worked in Urmia from 1843 to 1857, was first to make a grammar book of New Aramaic in 1855, and the book gained wide popularity among linguists in the United States and Europe. He also arranged grammar and spelling books for schools, together with several other publications in New Aramaic, such as *Ktava d-Teloghia* [Outline of Theology] that was published in 1857.

[160] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.
[161] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.
[162] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 5.

He died in Urmia in the same year.[163] Among the local Mesopotamians who contributed to the press were Sara, daughter of Rev. Auraham, who translated English books into Aramaic for the press, Baba d-Kosi who compiled a lengthy dictionary of New Aramaic,[164] and Deacon Eshoo of Gawar who worked as a corrector and calligrapher at the press.[165]

The other influential cultural development made by the American missionaries among the Mesopotamians of Urmia was the establishment of the missionary magazines *Zāhrire d-Bāhrā* [Rays of Light] and *Kokhva* [Star], and according to Maure-van den Berg, it was Rev. Perkins who took the initiative to establish *Zāhrire d-Bāhrā*.[166] This New Aramaic magazine was first published and distributed among the Mesopotamians in 1849, and was the first magazine in any language published in Persia. An influential force in the publishing of the magazine was Dr. William Ambrose Shedd, another American missionary who worked as editor of the magazine and helped to standardize the spelling of the New Aramaic, and also worked as a teacher at the Medical College in Urmia.[167] He was born to an American missionary couple in Sire village of Urmia in 1865 and died in Sain Ghala near Hamedan in 1918 when the Mesopotamians were fleeing from the Ottoman army attacks in Urmia. A year after, his wife, Mary Lewis, transferred his body to Tabriz (fig. 3-6).[168]

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[163] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 6.
[164] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 10.
[165] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 8.
[166] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 6.
[167] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 7.
[168] Mary Lewis Shedd, *The Measure of a Man: The Life of William Ambrose Shedd, Missionary to Persia* (New York: George H. Doran Company, 1922), 270.

Figure 3-6. Dr. William Ambrose Shedd's family (Photograph courtesy of Gorgia Press.)

At first, the American missionaries wrote the magazine articles with the help of the local Mesopotamians. As more Mesopotamians became literate, however, they started contributing to the content of the magazine. Shmuel Badal of Gūytapa (1865-1908) was the Mesopotamian editor of *Zāhrire d-Bāhrā* from 1895 to 1905.[169] The topics of the articles published in this magazine included subjects such as religion, education, science, juvenile matters, and poetry. As a feeling of nationalism began to grow among the Mesopotamians, a new magazine, *Kokhva* [Star], was established in 1906 to appeal to Mesopotamians from both the Assyrian Church of the East and the Catholic Church.[170] The missionaries encouraged the printing of the magazine, and allowed the use of their printing press even though the magazine was not religious. *Kokhva* was entirely run and edited by the Mesopotamians who were now able to read,

[169] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 10.
[170] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 16.

write, and edit in their own language seventy years after the arrival of American missionaries in Persia and their founding of educational services among the Mesopotamians.

Meanwhile, another American missionary by the name Edward Breath (d. 1861) arrived in Urmia in 1840. He brought a printing press along, which revolutionized the cultural developments among the Mesopotamians of Urmia by cutting Aramaic fonts himself and launching a press.[171] Two of the local Mesopotamians worked with Breath at the press, Yonan of Charbash, a graduate of the Boys' Seminary,[172] and Ismail of Urmia. Ismail (d. 1847) also worked as a carpenter, and was an expert in type founding matters, punch cutting, and correcting the proof sheets.[173]

The American Missionaries' Medical College in Urmia (1878-1905 CE)

David Sayad Daniel, William Daniel's father, studied at the American Missionaries' Medical College in Urmia. The American Missionaries' Medical College, the first medical school in the country, was founded in 1878 by a group of American Presbyterian missionaries and physicians under the direction of Dr. Joseph Plumb Cochran (fig. 3-7).

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[171] Murre-van den Berg, "The Missionaries' Assistants," 7.
[172] Perkins et al., *Nestorian Biography*, 53.
[173] Perkins et al., *Nestorian Biography*, 65.

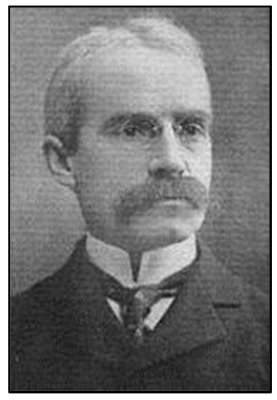

Figure 3-7. Dr. Joseph Cochran (Reproduced from Robert E. Speer, *"The Hakim Sahib,"The Foreign Doctor; A Biography of Joseph Plumb Cochran, M.D., of Persia* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Company, 1911), 4.)

Dr. Cochran was an American Physician and a Presbyterian missionary who was born in Urmia to missionary parents in 1855. Growing up as a child in Urmia, he learned the local languages, New Aramaic, Turkish, Kurdish, and Persian. He left for the United States as a teenager in 1868. Cochran completed his primary education in the U.S. and entered the New York Medical College from which he graduated in 1876.

Dr. Cochran returned to Urmia in 1878 as a missionary physician and realized the need of a medical facility in Urmia since the already established government medical clinic was not sufficient for the needs of the town. Therefore, The Board of Missionaries in Urmia purchased a fifteen-hectare garden in southwest Urmia and began the construction of the hundred-bed hospital. The Westminster Hospital opened in 1879 with two operating rooms, ten smaller isolation rooms, a pharmacy, and contained a morgue and a dissecting room in the basement (fig. 3-8).

Figure 3-8. Dr. Cochran in hospital, Urmia (Photograph courtesy of Mr. Esmail Yourdshahian. Any reference to this material requires official permission from Mr. Yourdshahian, http://yourdshahian.com/book10.asp.)

Soon after, a training facility with a laboratory was built next to the hospital where Dr. Cochran and his four missionary physician colleagues, Drs. Wright, Homlz, van Nourdon, and Miller, could instruct new doctors and medical staff. This newly launched medical school was the first modern medical school established in Persia to train the new doctors in English and Persian, medical laws, ethics, and basic medical sciences such as anatomy, physiology, physics, biochemistry, and clinical sciences such as gynecology, pathology, and contagious diseases.

Until the death of Dr. Cochran, five cohorts of doctors graduated from the Missionary Medical College of Urmia with diplomas signed by Mozafaredin Mirza (1896-1907), the crown prince of Persia at the time.[174] Dr. Joseph Cochran passed away at the age of fifty in 1905 of typhoid fever after twenty-seven years of educational and

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[174] "Launching the First Medical College in Urmia, Iran," *MehrNews.com*, published October 8, 2011, http://www.mehrnews.com/detail/News/1714383.

academic service as a missionary physician in Persia.[175] The Medical College of Urmia was closed upon Dr. Cochran's death in 1905, but was reopened over seventy years later in 1977.[176]

Since the fall of the last great Mesopotamian kingdom in the sixth century BCE, the Mesopotamians had lived in their homeland as a minority group under the foreign rules, surviving as a people and a culture through isolation to preserve their language and religion. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, and the arrival of American missionaries, the political situation was looking up for the Mesopotamians. As Professor Hamid Algar writes,

> Among the non-Muslim minorities in Iran, the Christians, both Armenians and Assyrians, were able to attain a new position of prominence in government and commerce during the Qajar period. Thanks to the missionaries, Christians in Persia became the most educated, modern segment of society. Christians often served as linguistic and diplomatic intermediaries with the political representatives of Britain and Russia.[177]

However, the shifting political situation of the Middle East would tragically change these Christian minority groups' world forever.

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[175] Royal G. Wilder, Delavan L. Pierson, and Arthur T. Pierson, *The Missionary Review of the World*, vol. 29 (Charleston: Nabu Press, 2012), 102.

[176] Esmail Yourdshahian, Ghavam, Farrokh, and Mohhamad-Hassan Ansari, "Life of Dr. Joseph Plumb Cochran, Founder of Iran's First Contemporary Medical College," *Archives of Iranian Medicine*, accessed August 9, 2013, http://www.ams.ac.ir/AIM/0252/0252127.htm.

[177] A. Christian Van Gorder, *Christianity in Persia and the Status of Non-Muslims in Modern Iran* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2010), 72.

The Kurdish Problem

The Mesopotamians shared the region of what is now southeastern Turkey and northern Iraq with Christian Armenians and Muslim Kurds (fig. 3-9).

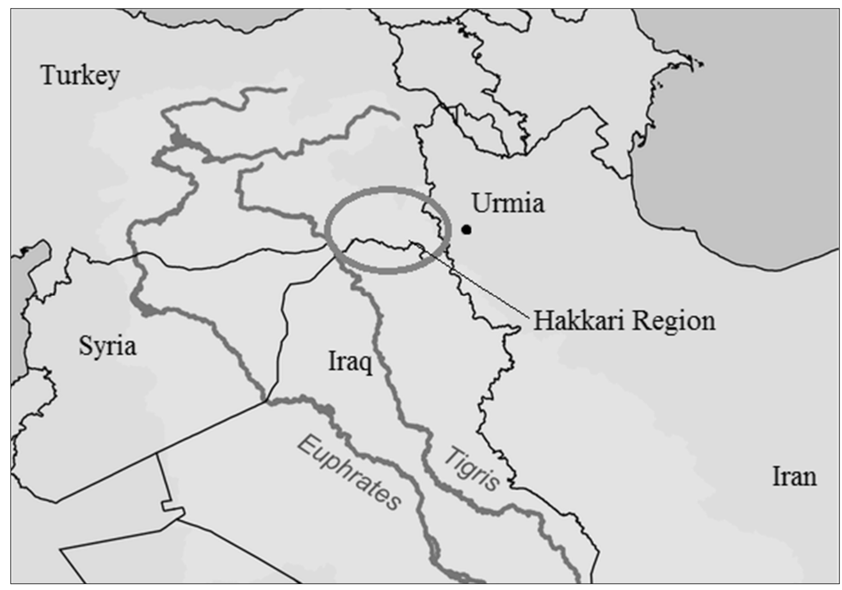

Figure 3-9. The Hakkari region, home of the Kurds, Mesopotamians, and Armenians of the Eastern Anatolia during the Ottoman rule[178]

The Kurds viewed the Mesopotamian and Armenian Christians as a threat to their own political achievements as an ethnic minority under the Ottomans,[179] and constantly attacked the Mesopotamian and Armenian villages, burning their houses, plundering their harvest, and forcing them to leave their villages.

More serious attacks from the Kurds against the Christian Mesopotamians in southeastern Turkey took place in the 1800s when the Ottoman Empire faced internal

178 Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."
179 David McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 3rd ed. (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), 52.

difficulties within its territories. A commanding Ottoman officer in Egypt, Mohammad Ali (1770- 1849) revolted against the Ottoman Sultan, Selim III (ruled 1789-1807) and was able to take control of Syria in the Egyptian-Ottoman war of 1831.[180] During the Second Egyptian-Ottoman War in 1839-41, Mohammad Ali defeated the Ottoman Army in 1839 in Battle of Nizip, a city in southeastern Turkey.

Several Kurdish Emirs took advantage of Mohammad Ali's rebellions and pursued their own independence from the Ottomans. The conflict between the successors of the Kurdish Emir in Bash Qal'a in the Hakkari region spread among the Kurds in 1839, and two kinsmen—Nur Allah, brother of the former Emir, and Sulayman his nephew—fought over the leadership of the Hakkari region. Nur Allah was able to replace Sulayman and became the chief.[181] The Christian Mesopotamians, who at this time had a large population living in the Hakkari Mountains of Turkey, were forced to take sides in this dispute, and the Mesopotamian Patriarch of the time, Mar Shimun XVII Auraham, chose Sulayman. Nur Allah asked a neighboring chief, Badr Khan (1803-68), for help.[182]

A Kurd, Badr Khan had been granted an official army rank by the Ottomans with the power to mobilize his tribes' men against the Egyptian army during Mohammad Ali's revolt. After the Battle of Nizip and the defeat of the Ottoman Army, Badr Khan began

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[180] Peter Colvin, "Muhammad Ali Pasha, the Great Exhibition of 1851, and the School of Oriental and African Studies Library," *Libraries & Culture* 33, no. 3 (Summer 1998): 250.
[181] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 45. Wadi Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement: It's Origins and Development* (New York: Syracuse University Press, 2006), 69.
[182] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 45.

extending his power and influence in the region, and was attracted to the Hakkari region where conflicts between the chiefdoms seemed to provide a suitable state for independence.[183] When Nur Allah asked Badr Khan for help in punishing the Christian Mesopotamians for siding with Sulayman and with the encouragement of some Kurdish Muslim spiritual leaders, Badr Khan gathered seventy thousand men and marched through the Mesopotamian villages in Hakkari in 1843.[184] The outcome was the Kurdish massacre of the Mesopotamians of southeast Turkey and hostility toward Christians in general. Badr Khan's army massacred the inhabitants of the villages and sold the survivors as slaves.[185]

When Kurdish groups allied against the Ottoman governor of Mosul in northern Iraq, they asked for the support from the Mesopotamians, but Mesopotamians refused to take sides this time.[186] The Kurdish chiefs, along with Badr Khan, asked for permission from the Ottoman governor of Mosul to suppress the Christians, and permission was granted. Badr Khan attacked the remaining Mesopotamian villages in Hakkari that had been spared during the first attacks in 1846.[187] Many Mesopotamians were killed, and the survivors once again sold into slavery, as well as being divided between the Ottoman and Kurd commanders as war booty. The series of massacres by Badr Khan against the Christian Mesopotamians finally resulted in the intervention of European countries, with

[183] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 45.
[184] Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 69, 72.
[185] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 47. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 72.
[186] Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 68.
[187] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 47.

Britain and France pressuring the Ottomans to protect the Christians.[188] In 1847, the Ottoman Army defeated the Kurds, Nur Allah was sent into exile to the island of Candia, Crete,[189] and Badr Khan was captured and sent into exile in Crete in 1850, but not before more than 10,000 Mesopotamian inhabitants of Hakkari were killed.[190]

Even though the Kurdish revolt was eventually suppressed by the Ottoman government, the religious conflict between the Muslim Kurdish tribes and the Christian Mesopotamians and Armenians persisted, and Mesopotamian and Armenian villagers continued to be harassed, kidnapped, and killed by the Kurds.[191] Consequently, many Mesopotamians in southeastern Turkey left their homes to take refuge in the eastern parts of ancient Assyria, especially Urmia and its surrounding villages in northwestern Persia and northern parts of present day Iraq.[192]

Pan-Islamism and "Turkification"

The Ottomans considered the Christian Mesopotamians and Armenians a threat because of their religious connections with the Christian European powers, especially nearby Russia (fig. 3-10).[193]

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[188] Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 72.
[189] Austin Henry Layard, *Discoveries Among the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1853), 330.
[190] Eugene L. Rogan, *Frontiers of the State in the Late Ottoman Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 10.
[191] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 50.
[192] Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 72.
[193] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 56.

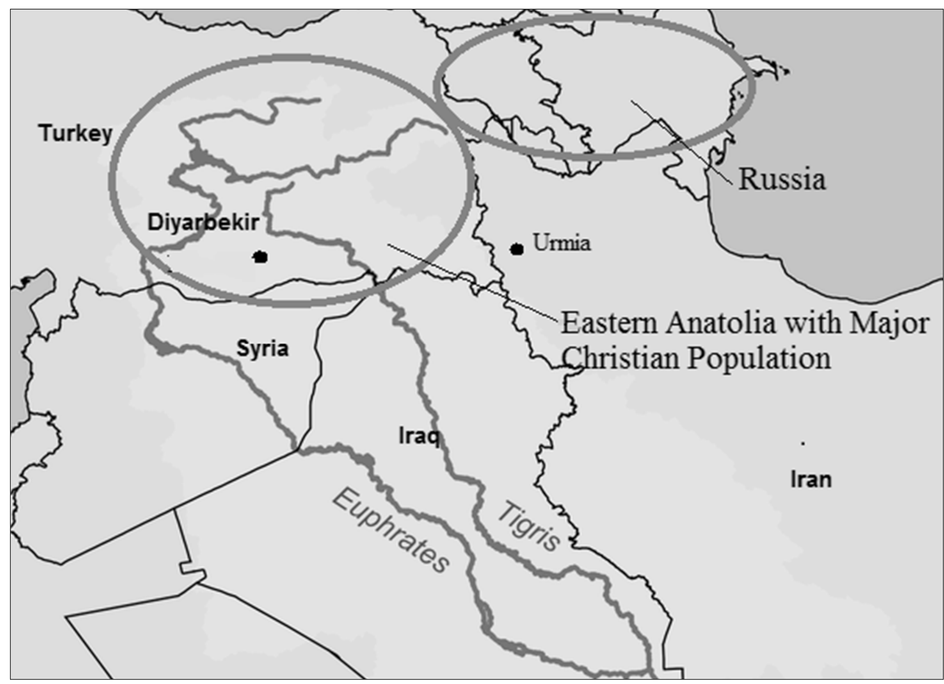

Figure 3-10. Eastern Anatolia and its proximity to Russia[194]

Both the Kurds and the Ottomans were in constant fear that Russia, which was geographically close to the Eastern Anatolia and the main settlements of the Christian Mesopotamians and Armenians, would either encourage the Christian population to side with them during any possible Ottoman-Russian conflict, or that Russia, along with other European powers, would support the Christians should they seek an independent state.[195]

These fears of Russia and the Christian population were heightened by the ideology of "Pan-Islamism" introduced by the Ottoman King, Abdul Hamid II (reigned 1876-1909), and encouraged by the Kurdish religious leader Sheikh Ubayd Allah (d. 1883). The Pan-Islamic movement served as the starting point for the killing of the

[194] Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."
[195] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 56. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 83.

indigenous Christians in the Ottoman Empire during the last two decades of the nineteenth century,[196] and the massacres began in Diyarbekir (fig. 3-10) in southeast Turkey in 1895, and soon after spread through the rest of the empire.[197] In 1909 the "Young Turks" party came to power, and their new ideology—"Pan-Turkism"—became popular among the rulers of the Empire.[198] This new ideology contained the plan to "Turkify" (*Osmanlilik*) the Ottoman Empire's non-Turkish tributary nations, and "cleanse" the Ottoman Empire of its Christian population, and it was considered easier to make the Ottoman Muslim tributary populations learn Turkish than it was to convert the Christians to Islam, in addition to making them abandon their languages.[199]

By the end of the nineteenth century, the Ottoman Empire faced political conflicts with its own administrative measures. The desire to modernize, establish efficient regional governments, and introduce the European economic methods and techniques in running the Empire conflicted with the fear of losing control of its own Islamic traditions and principles.[200] Islam was a dominant presence in everyday life, uniting the city and folk culture of the Empire.[201] Islam's significance for the people and for the leaders was significant to the point that it was called not only a religion, but a nationality.[202]

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[196] James L. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East: A History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 144.
[197] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 61.
[198] Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 147.
[199] Anahit Khosroeva, "Assyrian Massacres in Ottoman Turkey and Adjacent Turkish Territories," *Assyrian International News Agency*, accessed July 24, 2013, http://www.aina.org/articles/amitaatt.htm.
[200] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 87. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 106.
[201] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 91.
[202] Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 145.

However, the Young Turks party was the supporter of liberalism and modernization at the dawn of its formation in 1890s.[203] The Young Turks party took a more secular path toward the reformation of the political system when they came in power in 1908, and under the new constitution, non-Muslim peoples of the Ottoman Empire were to be considered as Ottoman citizens with rights equal to Muslim Turks, Arabs, and Kurds.[204] Meanwhile, the nationalist Young Turks, a more religious faction of the Young Turks party, were able to attract more supporters as the religious frustration increased among the Muslims.

By the end of the nineteenth century, ethnic identity strengthened among the non-Muslim communities, such as the Armenians and Greeks, while Turkish immigrants from Russia encouraged the same ethnic ideas among the Ottoman Turks.[205] Consequently, other Muslim communities, such as the Kurds, became more ethnically aware, and political organizations based on ethnic identities were established.[206] When Austria captured Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Ottoman Empire in 1908 and Bulgaria declared independence, the nationalist Young Turks took full control. They drove away the liberal faction of the Young Turks party, and banned any political group based on ethnic identity.[207] The nationalist wing of the Young Turks party then began promoting a

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[203] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 91. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 102.
[204] Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 147, 79.
[205] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 92. Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 145.
[206] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 92. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 104.
[207] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 94. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 103.

new concept, the Turkish brotherhood, which soon took on a flavor of prejudice. Turkifying the Empire became a real strategy.[208]

On the eve of World War I, the Ottoman Empire finally declared war against Russia, and in October 1914 the Ottomans raided the Russian forces occupying Azerbaijan, the northwestern province of Persia since 1907, to force Ottomans, who had assaulted the Persian borderlands, to leave the Persian territories.[209] The Russians responded by driving out the Ottomans, as well as all Kurds and Sunni Muslims around Urmia. The Ottomans, in return, drove out the Armenians from its borders in the midst of the ethnic and religious cleansing that had already begun during this time.[210] In January of 1915, the Ottoman troops marched into Azerbaijan again to confront the Russians.[211] Russians retreated to the northwest and many Armenians and Mesopotamians followed the Russian Army for fear of being killed by the Ottomans.[212] Those who eventually made it to the Russian borders took refuge in the Caucasus, but many died of exposure (fig. 3-11).[213]

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[208] Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 147. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 104.
[209] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 2, 5.
[210] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 103.
[211] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 8.
[212] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 8. Ronald Sempill Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press LLC, 2006), 24.
[213] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 11.

Figure 3-11. Modern Caucasus countries where the Christians of Urmia settled in 1915 (Adapted from Kbh3d, "Political Map of the Countries in the Caucasus Region," used under CC BY-SA 3.0.)

Many of those who remained in Urmia, which was under the control of the Turkish and Kurdish soldiers of the Ottoman Army, suffered "all manner of atrocities" that were perpetrated against the Christian populations of the region.[214] Fifteen thousand Christians who had been stripped of their valuables took refuge with the American missionaries;[215] they not only gave refuge to the indigenous Christians, but also negotiated with the Muslims to let the Christians walk away from the siege.[216] Dr. Harry P. Packard (b. 1874), a physician from The University of Denver, convinced the Kurdish leader who was besieging the large Christian village of Gūytapa to let the Christian Mesopotamians

[214] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 103. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 25.
[215] Shedd, *The Measure of a Man*, 143. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 25.
[216] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 12.

walk away.[217] In addition to the relief work offered to the Christian refugees in the mission complexes, the missionaries bought back many of the Christians, especially the young women, who had been abducted by the Ottomans.[218]

In eastern Ottoman Anatolia, the Ottoman soldiers and the Kurdish tribesmen killed the majority of the inhabitants of the Mesopotamian and Armenian villages in Bitlis, Erzurum, Mush, Sason, Zeytun, Van, and Cicilia (fig. 3-12).[219]

Figure 3-12. Christian settlements in Eastern Anatolia attacked during WWI[220]

In a letter to missionary board members, Dr. Barton Grace Knapp, who was one of the Mount Holyoke College graduates teaching in Van district in Eastern Anatolia in 1915 wrote, "soldiers and their wild allies, the Kurds, were sweeping the countryside,

[217] Shedd, *The Measure of a Man*, 143.
[218] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 13.
[219] McDowall, *A Modern History of the Kurds*, 104.
[220] Adapted from Kmusser, "Tigr-euph.png."

massacring men, women, and children, and burning their homes. Babies were shot in their mother's arms, small children were horribly mutilated, and women stripped and beaten."[221] In some areas, the Christians, especially women and young girls, were taken as prisoners, and later forced to convert to Islam.[222]

In May of 1915, the Russians retook Azerbaijan, and the Russian Army led the war in eastern Ottoman Anatolia.[223] The Russian Army organized and armed several Armenian and Mesopotamian forces, especially in Hakkari.[224] By the time of the Russian Revolution in late 1917, the weakened Russian Army retreated from Azerbaijan, leaving the Christian Armenian and Mesopotamians of Urmia in Persia and Hakkari in Ottoman Anatolia to defend themselves without their help.[225] Forty thousand Mesopotamians, who had fled the Ottomans and the Kurds into the Hakkari Mountains, were forced by the approaching winter to evacuate and reach the Urmia region on the Persian side, a region already struck by famine due to the constant passage of armies through the area.[226]

During the Qajar dynasty (1785-1925), Persia had been divided by the two European super powers, with the British in the south and Russia in the north.[227] Each

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[221] Arnold Toynbee, *The Treatment of Armenians in the Ottoman Empire: Documents Presented to Viscount Grey of Fallodon* (Hachette, UK: Hodder and Stoughton, 2009), 36.
[222] Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 35.
[223] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 8.
[224] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 9. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 25.
[225] Van Gorder, *Christianity in Persia*, 72. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 24.
[226] *Annual Reports, Volumes 82-83* (Ney York: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A. Board of Foreign Missions, 1919), 55. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 26.
[227] Hooshang Amirahmadi, *The Political Economy of Iran Under the Qajars: Society, Politics, Economics, and Foreign Relations 1796-1926* (New York: I. B. Tauris, 2012), 227. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 24.

tried to maintain their presence in these strategic regions for economic and political reasons: the Russians for access to trade through the Persian Gulf, and the British to control the oil industry in Mesopotamia and southern Persia, as well as to protect their Indian colonial holdings.[228] The Persian rule spent its efforts in satisfying the political demands of the British and Russians, and as a result, was weakened internally.[229] Consequently, the Persians neglected their army and the central power did not have control over its territories, and when the Russians retreated from the northwestern provinces, the weakened Persian Army could not defend its territory, and failed to push the Ottomans back from its borders.[230]

In February of 1918, Urmia was under the control of the Mesopotamian armed forces under leadership of general Agha Petros (1880-1932), when Simko (1887-1930), the Kurdish leader of the Persian Shikkak Kurdish tribe, murdered the Mesopotamian Patriarch, Mar Shimun XVII Auraham (1887-1918) (fig. 3-13).[231]

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[228] Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, 204. Jwaideh, *The Kurdish National Movement*, 96, 99. Van Gorder, *Christianity in Persia*, 71.
[229] Vahid Rashidvash, "The Qajar Dynasty in Iran: The Most Occurrence Evented in the Qajars Monarchy," *International Journal of Business and Social Science* 3, no. 12 (June 2012): 182-183. Van Gorder, *Christianity in Persia*, 71.
[230] Rashidvash, "The Qajar Dynasty in Iran," 183. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 24.
[231] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 9. Van Gorder, *Christianity in Persia*, 71. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 226-27.

Figure 3-13. Mar Shimun XVII Auraham (Reproduced by permission from Shamasha Gewargis Atoraya Bit-Simon, "His Holiness, Mar Benyamin Shimun XXI (1887-1918)," *Assyrian Information Management*, April 05, 2010, http://www.atour.com/people/20100405a.html#Photograph.)

The Armenian and Mesopotamian forces defended the Azerbaijan borders until July of 1918. The delay of promised help by the British forces eventually led the Ottomans to break through the Persian borders and occupy the Urmia region until armistice was signed on October 22, 1918 at Modrus.[232]

When the Ottoman Army entered Persia, the majority of the Christian population fled Urmia in panic toward southern cities, including Hamedan and Ghazvin in west and central Persia and Bāqubāh, northeast of Baghdad in Mesopotamia, where they were taken into refugee camps prepared by British army authorities.[233] Many died of exposure, hunger, and from a cholera epidemic. Dr. Shedd, the American missionary who accompanied them in hope of providing safety on their way to south, also died of

[232] *Annual Reports*, 46. Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 16. Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 28.
[233] *Annual Reports*, 47.

cholera.[234] A large number of those who stayed in Urmia took refuge in the American and French missionary walled complexes, but the French complex was attacked, and six hundred people were killed and the mission was stripped.[235] Mesopotamian villages were destroyed. People were taken out of the villages and either shot in groups or tied by ropes, put on the ground, and their throats cut by a knife.[236] Women were raped and thousands of young Mesopotamian women and girls were taken to the Ottomans and Kurds harems,[237] as it was the custom in Islamic law for the Muslim soldiers to take the non-Muslim women as war booty.[238]

American missionaries continued with their relief work in the American hospital and mission compounds until the Ottoman Army forced the American missionaries to leave Urmia.[239]

> On October 8th, however, with only two hours' notice, the whole station was ordered to leave for Tabriz. They were sent away with only the few possessions which they could carry, without adequate food and with some of their number sick. . . . Some of them had been threatened when the city was taken and Mr. Pflaumer was killed. Other of the missionaries narrowly escaped murder or outrage and hundreds of the Syrian people, including some of the noblest men of the nation, were slain.[240]

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[234] Shedd, *The Measure of a Man*, 270.

[235] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 10. Van Gorder, *Christianity in Persia*, 72.

[236] Joel E. Werda, *The Flickering Light of Asia: Or the Assyrian Nation and Church* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press LLC, July 2012).

[237] Werda, *The Flickering Light of Asia*.

[238] Ishaya, "Commemorating," 6. "Also forbidden are women who are married, except those whom your right hand possesses (as war captives)" (Qur'an 4:24, translated by Seyed Vickar Ahamed).

[239] *Annual Reports*, 47. Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 9. Shedd, *The Measure of a Man*, 273-274.

[240] *Annual Reports*, 47.

The American missionaries were held in Tabriz until the end of the war.

As for those who could not escape Urmia, despite the missionaries' relief efforts to provide sanitation and health care to the refugees, nearly 3,000 people, including American missionaries, died due to dysentery, typhus, cholera, and typhoid fever.[241] Several American and French missionaries were killed by the Ottomans or died of diseases while caring for the sick in the mission hospitals and complexes.

Christian Mesopotamians had no choice other than to leave everything behind and flee their homes, and thousands of Mesopotamians died from the spread of disease, hunger, and cold when escaping.[242] The number of the indigenous Christians of the Ottoman Empire and Persia, who lost their lives during the religious cleansing, sums up to 1,500,000 Armenians, 750,000 Mesopotamians, and 250,000 Greek.[243]

The Daniel Family

William Daniel's family did not escape the calamitous events of the Mesopotamians during the Christian Genocide of WWI. As the Daniel family was fleeing, the Ottoman army abducted Daniel's eldest sister, one of thousands of young Mesopotamian women kidnapped during this time. Daniel's father nursed and fostered the sick Mesopotamians in the over-crowded refugee camps in the missionary compounds, and died of an illness while attending his patients.[244] With the help of the

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[241] Zirinsky, "American Presbyterian Missionaries at Urmia," 13.
[242] Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 33. *Annual Reports*, 47. Shedd, *The Measure of a Man*, 270, 272.
[243] Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians*, 68.
[244] Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara."

British Army, which was present in the region at the time controlling the oil industry in the south, the majority of the Christian Mesopotamians in Persia, including Daniel, were transferred to Mesopotamia where British army officials provided well-equipped refugee camps for the Mesopotamians. Many others were taken to refugee camps in western and central cities of Persia such as Hamedan and Ghazvin where the missionaries provided relief care for the Christian refugees.

After the war ended, a number of Mesopotamians in Bāqubāh decided to stay in Mesopotamia, while others decided to return to their homes and villages in Urmia. On their return, a large number of Mesopotamians decided to move on to other cities that already had a Mesopotamian population created by the occupation of Urmia by the Ottomans in 1918. These cities included Hamedan and Kermanshah in western Persia.[245] William Daniel's family was among those Mesopotamians who settled in Hamedan, the ancient Persian capital southwest of the capital city of Tehran (fig. 3-5).[246] There, he continued his high school education, as well as studying New Aramaic. He also began studying violin, and became a skilled violinist. To advance his Western musical education, he traveled to Switzerland in his early thirties and studied music at the Basel Music Academy,[247] and as an accomplished violinist, he played in symphonic orchestras in France and Switzerland.[248] He also continued his studies of New Aramaic and began

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[245] *Annual Reports*, 260-261,
[246] "William Daniel," 3.
[247] "Literator," *Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation*, accessed November 4, 2013, http://www.auaf.us/Who%20is%20who/Literator/Literator.htm.
[248] "Who Was William Daniel?," *The Mesopotamian-Night.Org*, published May 2, 2009, http://www.mesopotamian-night.org/2009/05/tribute-to-our-heroes-william-daniel.html.

translating Edmond Rostand's play *Cyrano de Bergerac* from French into New Aramaic during his stay in Europe (fig. 3-14).[249]

Figure 3-14. William Daniel and his violin (Reproduced by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

Daniel returned to Hamedan in 1937 when many Mesopotamians who had emigrated to the west had chosen not to return to Persia for fear of experiencing further tragedies because of their Christian faith.[250] Daniel's fear, however, was focused on the possibility of the extinction of his people and culture, which had survived for six thousand years until the disasters of the early twentieth century. He was determined to save the Mesopotamian culture and language to the best of his ability because he believed

[249] "William Daniel," 3.
[250] "William Daniel," 3.

that a nation is dead when their language and art are dead.[251] He was hired as a music instructor in Pahlavi Public High School when he returned to Hamedan.[252] In the 1940s, he moved to the capital, Tehran, and in the summer of 1943 he began working at the national radio as the head of the musical production of the Assyrian Radio, for which he composed most of the songs for the weekly program.[253] In the preface to the collection *William Daniel's Creations*, Daniel explained how he began composing songs for the weekly Assyrian Radio that was being broadcasted from Tehran.

> It was then, in the summer of 1943, that I was asked to manage our radio program from the city of Tehran; the music section was laid under my management, and the news section under Mr. William Emrahimi, who became our first [Mesopotamian] representative in the Iranian Parliament after 15 years. With this activity, I became associated with the [Assyrian Radio] committee under the leadership of Mr. Shidrack Eivaz-zadeh. It was a pleasure to be able to share my knowledge of music, and the rest of the visual arts with the [Mesopotamian] sons and daughters of my nation, for it would satisfy the entertainment of our entire nation [Mesopotamia], and all the other nations living in the country [Iran]. Also, this is a reason for us to be proud in the eyes of the government and all those who live in Iran, because until then, we had not been considered to have knowledge in the field of art.[254]

Daniel considered this project to be a huge step in Mesopotamian cultural and artistic growth. At the same time, Daniel felt that the responsibility was also problematic due to

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[251] William Daniel, *Who Are Assyrians* (San José: Assyrian American Association of San José). William Daniel, *Rays of Art* (Tehran, 1944), 5r.
[252] "Who Was William Daniel?"
[253] "Who Was William Daniel?"
[254] William Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations* (Chicago: Alpha Graphic Printing and Lithograph, 1978), 98. By "nation" Daniel meant what we might consider "ethnicity," and by "other nations living in the country," Daniel was referring to other ethnicities living in Iran, such as the Kurds, Turks, Armenians, and others.

the lack of musical materials and musicians, and he mentioned that in the preface to *William Daniel's Creations*.

> Since this matter was completely new for us [the Assyrian Radio Committee], for we never had any kind of preparation for managing such a cultural project before, which required songs, singers, and musicians. The reader can imagine the difficult situation I was in when I was asked to run this weekly program, and when the first program was to be aired a week after my assignment to this position.[255]

As for musical materials for his compositions, Daniel complained the most about the supposedly "Mesopotamian" music, which he felt had been influenced by the music of neighboring ethnicities.

> The difficulty for creating music for the radio program was not limited to composing a new song—along with harmonization and orchestration—each week, but composing songs that contained the original nature of our own music. By this, I mean for them to have the properties and the musical color that would differentiate them from the music of other nations, far or near. This was a difficult responsibility, for where was I to search for our special component? . . . Our songs had all fallen under the influence of the music of the nations surrounding us, and under the influence of the liturgy they [Protestant Mesopotamians] had learned in the churches of the Western denominations. During the last 25 or 30 years, Georgian, Armenian, and Turkish tunes had found their ways into our secular songs.[256]

Since Daniel felt that there was no "authentic" material close at hand as source material to compose his songs with the Mesopotamian "flavor," he began looking for materials for his songs among the Mesopotamian folk tunes and Mesopotamian liturgical

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[255] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 97.
[256] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 95.

chants of the Assyrian Church of the East. He explained in the preface to his book of songs,

> I realized that if I was to look for the ingredients of [our] artistic culture, if I was to find those sound waves that gave the original characteristics to our ancient music, I needed to look into the sea of the Assyrian Church of the East, or into the fields of our mountaineers where our folklore has been preserved so faithfully: these two territories had never been conquered by the Western missionaries.[257]

Before Daniel began his activity as the head of the music program for the Assyrian Radio, he had already written three songs, "Peghkha d'Mesha" [Waldblume] (1938), "Deme d'Mookhebta" [Tears of the Beloved] (1939), and "Ninveh" (1939).[258] He was looking for ethnic "authenticity" for his songs. Among the songs that Daniel composed during his work at the radio, he specifically mentioned three songs.

> I was looking for authenticity. In "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" [Memories of Fatherland], composed in 1942, the melodic nature of our authentic music began to blossom. In "Shooshane d'Raghoole" [Lily of the Valley], composed during the first half of 1942, the special nature of our music was in the process of nearing completion.[259]

At the same time, he assembled the first Mesopotamian choir and dance group in Tehran performing his compositions and traditional Mesopotamian dances.[260] He organized plays and concerts which promoted Mesopotamian culture and history along with teaching New Aramaic and Mesopotamian literature. The main reason for Daniel to

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[257] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.
[258] The New Aramaic and the German title of the song "Waldblume" translates to "Forest Flower." Daniel translated the title from New Aramaic into German instead of English, demonstrating the Euro-Germanic influences of his higher education and musical work in Europe.
[259] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.
[260] Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara."

begin such activities among his people was to get them accustomed and involved into what he regarded as the "deeper" arts and literature, in contrast to their experiences of art and literature as "entertainment," such as the dance music performed at weddings and festivals.[261] As Daniel put it,

> Nowadays, anywhere in the world where Mesopotamians live, more than anything else they play entertaining music at their banquets and concerts. Our musicians do not have the ability to read and write music. . . . If a musician once in a while incorporates more weighty feelings into his compositions, his voice would not be heard.[262]

Daniel explained that one of the main reasons why he composed less than he could have in the preface to *William Daniel's Creations* stating:

> I had to put music aside many times in my life due to the obstacles that had been put in my way: this, and two other difficulties: 1) the absence of cooperation from our musicians; 2) the lack of receptiveness in our nation towards listening to music which is "deeper"—and not just music based on dance and entertaining rhythms.[263]

One of Daniel's main literary accomplishments was the epic of *Ghādeeni Gābārā* [Ghādeeni the Great] written over a period of four years from 1961 to 1965, which comprised of more than 7000 verses in New Aramaic. The story belongs to a legend passed on amongst the Mesopotamian mountaineers of Hakkari about the hardships of a nation under attack of the Kurds, Turks, and Arabs, and their hope for a savior who would restore their homeland, a homeland that will grant them protection and survival.[264]

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[261] By "deeper" arts or music Daniel meant art music—instrumental or with the voice—that is meant to be just listened to.
[262] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 89.
[263] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 89.
[264] Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara."

He collected different versions of the story from the Mesopotamian mountaineers and combined different versions into his epic.

Daniel's first book of songs with illustrations, *Zāhreere d'Oomanoota* [Rays of Art] was published in 1944, and the Assyrian Youth Cultural Society published his other first literary and musical works in Tehran.[265] The Assyrian Youth Cultural Society of Tehran was officially founded in 1950 and was the first cultural organization in Iran dedicated to promoting Mesopotamian culture, and published the first volume of Daniel's *Ghādeeni Gābārā* in 1961 and a children's verse book titled *Rāmeenā Patanta* [Rāmeenā the Naughty] in 1967. The organization still continues its mission, but its heyday came to an end with the great emigrations of Mesopotamian populations from Iran during the late 90s and early 2000s when the American government began granting visa to religious refugees from Iran.

William Daniel in the U.S.A.: Chicago and San José

As the result of an unsuccessful marriage, Daniel immigrated to the United States in 1952, and settled in Chicago, which at the time had the largest population of Iraqi Mesopotamians in the United States. While in Chicago, Daniel continued his activities as a Mesopotamian scholar, organizing plays and choirs, teaching New Aramaic, giving lectures at various functions, and writing articles for various Mesopotamian magazines. He became the editor of a Mesopotamian periodical called *Mhadyana* [The Guide] in 1960, and held the position for the rest of the decade (fig. 3-15).

[265] "William Daniel," 3.

Figure 3-15. William Daniel[266]

In 1970, Daniel published his *Juvenile Suite*, and in the same year, the second volume of his epic *Ghādeeni Gābārā*, and the bilingual treatise *Assyrians of Today: Their Problems and a Solution.* In 1971, Daniel received the *Medāle Homayuni* [Royal Medal] — awarded by the Iranian King, Mohamad Reza Pahlavi, for the most important contributions in science and art—for an impressively embellished volume of poetry in both New Aramaic and English for the celebration of "2500-year" history of the Persian monarchy.[267] In 1978, he published his book of songs called *William Daniel's Creations*, a collection that contains the songs that he composed for the Assyrian Radio in Tehran.

During the late seventies the Islamic clergy, the urban shopkeepers (*bāzāreez*), workers, and students in Persia began to resist the rule of the Pahlavis, a dynasty of rulers put in place by the British and had ruled over Persia since the end of WWI. The Pahlavis were overthrown in 1979 by the Iranian Revolution; Mohamad Reza Pahlavi went into

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[266] Reproduced by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.
[267] "Who Was William Daniel?"

exile, and a new government, the Islamic Republic of Iran led by the Islamic clergy took over in the same year and established the Iranian Constitution based on Sharia, or Islamic Law.[268] As a result of the revolution, many Iranians who were still loyal to the Pahlavis, as well as those who held communist and secular beliefs, fled the country and took refuge in Europe and in the United States, mainly in Southern California.

Under the new Islamic constitution, the religious minorities lost many of their previous rights. For example, all women, regardless of religious belief, were forced to wear the hijab. Even though the Mesopotamians continued to enjoy a great deal of security and stability—as well as freedom of worship under the new Islamic constitution—for many Christian Mesopotamians the new Islamic laws were a reason to leave their homeland. Consequently, many Iranian Mesopotamians immigrated to the United States, settling in Chicago and with a large number of immigrants settling in California. Many of the Iranian Mesopotamians who had settled in Chicago began moving to California as its Iranian Mesopotamian community grew larger, especially in the central and northern California cities of Turlock, Modesto, and San José. Among those who moved from Chicago to California was William Daniel.

While in San José, Daniel became the editor of another Mesopotamian magazine called *Kokhva d'Atur* [Assyrian Star] published by the Assyrian American National Federation and for which he wrote numerous articles, poems, and musical compositions.[269] In 1983, he published the third volume of *Ghādeeni Gābārā,* and recorded the first two volumes of the epic on cassette tape. In 1988, he published his

[268] The above summary is derived from: Gelvin, *The Modern Middle East*, chapter 19.
[269] "William Daniel," 4.

bilingual play *Ghismat* [Destiny] written in 1967, which depicts the widening generation gap between the Mesopotamian youth born in the United States and their parents born in the Middle East.[270] In December of 1988, William Daniel was run over by a car in San José, and he died shortly after on December 18 and was buried in San José in the Oak Hill Cemetery (fig. 3-16).

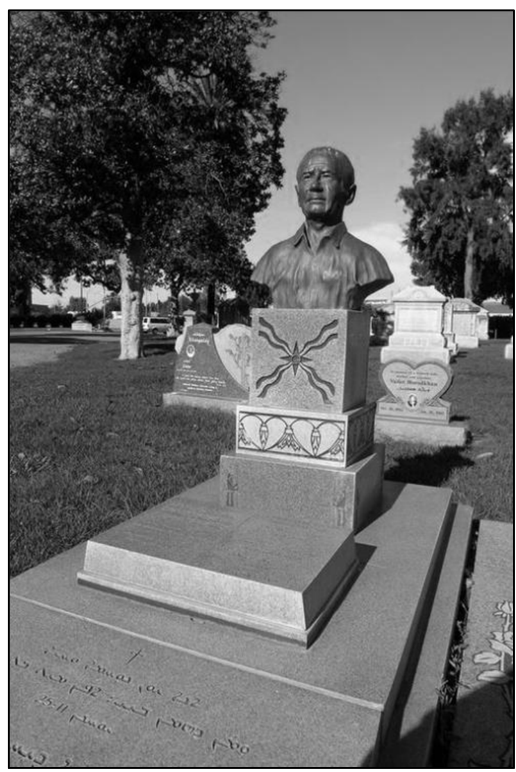

Figure 3-16. William Daniel's grave in Oak Hill Cemetery, San José, California (Photograph by Elizabeth Fox. Reproduced by permission.)

In 1992 Daniel's supporters, readers, and the regular performers of his music in San José collected his previously unpublished poems in New Aramaic and English and

[270] "William Daniel," 4.

created an illustrated full-color book titled *Leghde'd Reghshe* [Tapestry] which was published by the Assyrian American Association of San José.[271]

[271] "Literator," *Assyrian Universal Alliance Foundation.*

CHAPTER FOUR

ART MUSIC IN THE MIDDLE EAST

The people of the Middle East recognize music as one of the most important means through which they can represent and identify themselves ethnically and culturally. They consider music, such as narrative songs, ceremonial dances, and religious hymns, to be representative of their specific culture and traditions that have been passed down from one generation to the next; therefore, they take great pride in the cultural uniqueness of their individual musics. At the same time, the histories of the great Middle Eastern empires from antiquity through to World War I are the stories of nation states in which various ethnic groups with distinctive cultures and traditions were in close contact with each other. Consequently, culturally separate traditions have influenced each other over the course of history, and many shared musical traits can be found in different Middle Eastern musics.

Mesopotamians have lived among numerous ethnic groups after the fall of Mesopotamia, and their various Middle Eastern neighbors have influenced them culturally. Music is obviously one of the many cultural aspects that have been influenced by their close contact with the Arabs, Persians, Turks, and Kurds. Because of these many influences, it is helpful and important to study and differentiate the music of Mesopotamia's neighbors to better understand the unique sound of Mesopotamian music. Whereas each of the above mentioned Middle Eastern ethnic groups have their own folk music traditions, the Arabs, Persians, and Ottoman Turks have also developed quite

complicated art music traditions, and in the case of the Persian art music, practices that go far back in history.

While the art music traditions of the Arabs, Persians, and Ottoman Turks are very different, these musics have influenced each other over the course of their histories due to the Arab conquests of the Middle East after rise of Islam in the seventh century and its geographic expansion. The Arabization of the Middle East and conversion to Islam resulted in the interaction of these three regional cultures and their art musics. Persian art music, for instance, was adopted by the Ottomans, and was considered an important activity in the Ottoman courts by the sixteenth century.[272] Consequently, while these three musics are distinct from one another, they have many aspects in common.

One of the common Middle Eastern compositional traits is the use of regional folk music as the basis of composition, with the cultural differences of these distinct ethnic groups being represented in the folk source material. These folk source materials add a distinct ethnic flavor and color through their basic musical materials of pitch, different tonal systems, and rhythms. Another common trait among the regional folk music traditions of the Middle East is the use of microtones in addition to diatonic whole and half step divisions, and what makes each of these folk traditions distinct from one another are the different tonal division systems that generate microtones, and are distinct to each folk tradition, and consequently to each art music tradition. It is worth mentioning that the use of the augmented second interval is common among all the Middle Eastern

[272] Philip V. Bohlman. "Middle East," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 5, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/19659.

traditions, and the frequent use of the augmented second interval in the melodic modes of the Middle Eastern musics is audibly recognizable as "Middle Eastern" to both Middle Eastern and Western ears.[273]

Working in this Middle Eastern art music compositional tradition, Daniel turned to folk melodies and dance rhythms as the basis of his Mesopotamian compositions. As a trained musician in the Western Classical music style, Daniel was also influenced by the Western developments of nationalistic compositional styles of the Romantic period in Western and Northern Europe. William Daniel had a thorough understanding of Middle Eastern folk and art musics, especially the musics of those people he lived among—the Kurds, Ottoman Turks, Persians, and Arabs. He was therefore able to identify these musical "foreign" traits which found their way in the Mesopotamian melodies, and to look for a "pure" Mesopotamian sound among the folk melodies of the Mesopotamians of the Hakkari mountaineers. Knowing the difference between the sounds and timbres of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turk art musics and Kurdish folk rhythms and tunes, Daniel was able to create a sound in his compositions that was distinctly Mesopotamian by using Mesopotamian traits and folk source material. To understand what Daniel was listening for, as the pioneer of Mesopotamian nationalistic art music, a brief description of the tonal and rhythmic systems of Arabic, Persian, and Ottoman Turk art musics, and Kurdish and Mesopotamian folk musics is provided below.

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[273] The augmented second interval in the Middle Eastern music sounds slightly different than the augmented second interval played on equal tempered Western instruments. This interval falls in half way between a major second and an augmented second, depending on the modal scale.

Arabic Music

Arabic art music developed among the professional musicians of the courts of Umayyad and early Abbasid periods from seventh to ninth centuries CE.[274] The basis of this music can be traced back to the pre-Islamic times in Hijaz, southwestern Arabia, where a tradition of songs and entertainment music are found in poetry and textual evidence.[275] The expansion of the Arab Empire after the rise of Islam not only introduced Arabic music to the lands conquered by the Arabs, but also introduced other musics into Arabic music, with Arab music adopting musical elements from other cultures, such as Persia and Christian Byzantium. Even though the center of Arab power shifted to Damascus during the first Umayyad caliphate, the nexus of Arab musical development remained in the urban centers of Hijaz.[276] After the establishment of the Abbasid caliphates in 750 CE and the shift of capital to Baghdad, the center of musical activities transferred to that capital and the caliphs' courts.

In general, Arabic music can be divided into two groups, Western and Eastern Arabic music. Western Arabic music is the music of Algeria, Morocco, and Tunisia, while the Eastern Music is the music of Egypt, Lebanon, Syria, and Iraq.[277] Western Arabic music borrowed some aspects of Andalusian music, and Eastern Arabic music

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[274] Owen Wright, Christian Poché, and Amnon Shiloah, "Arab Music: Art Music," *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 5, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/01139pg1.
[275] Wright, "Arab Music: Art Music."
[276] Wright, "Arab Music: Art Music."
[277] Wright, "Arab Music: Art Music."

was influenced by the Persian, and later by the Turkish (Ottoman) music. However, they all maintained the unifying characteristics described below.

Arabic Modal Theory

Arabic music is based on a modal system called *maghām* [rank]. Each *maghām* is a modal scale and is constructed on one of the seven degrees of a basic mode called *rāst* that was originally notated in the key of G and then transposed to the key of C in the twentieth century. The Arab seven-pitch modal scale is divided into smaller units or *ajnās* (singular *jins*) that are in fact trichords, tetrachords, or in some instances pentachords, similar to the octave divisions of Western Medieval music. Sometimes, the *maghām* expands over an octave depending on the number of *ajnās* of which it is constructed. The interval between the pitches of a *jins* include whole tones, half tones, quarter tones, and three-quarter tones. The intervallic divisions are based on the Pythagorean whole tone at 204 cents and semitones of Limma at 90 cents and Apotome at 114 cents, and more recently, Egyptian theorists have suggested an equal quartertone temperament.[278] The size of quarter tones or three-quarter tones might differ from one

[278] Wright, "Arab Music: Art Music." In 1906, the Arab theorist Kamil al'Khulai introduced the concept of dividing a whole tone into four equal quarter tones. At the Congress of Cairo in 1932, the concept of equal quarter tone division was opposed by Syrian and Turk theorists. By the second half of the twentieth century, Arab musicians found more interest in practical theory than pure theoretical studies, which influenced the nature of the microtones in Arabic music, making the occurrence of the three quarter tones more frequent.

maghām to another, depending on the modal and melodic setting, regional tuning practices, and the performer's preference.[279]

To notate the pitches and intervals, ancient Arabic music theorists used letters of the alphabet, which also carried numerical values. The introduction of the European military and brass bands in the Middle East during the early twentieth century introduced the Western notation system, which was also used by the European missionaries who transcribed the Eastern Church's hymnodies and chants. Arab musicians and scholars using the Western system created new signs in addition to conventional sharp and flat signs to indicate the microtonal intervals in the Arabic music (table 4-1).

Table 4-1. Arabic tonal division signs and descriptions using Western notation

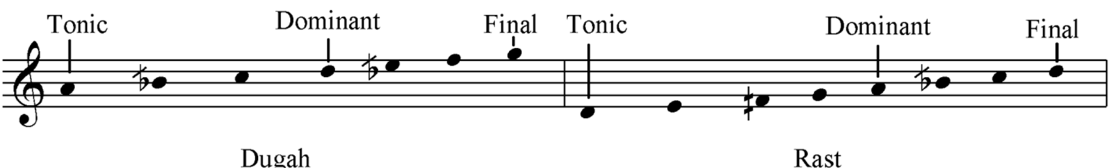
Name	**Sing**	**Description**
Tik	‡	Roughly halfway between a ♮ and a ♯
Sharp	♯	Half a tone
Nim	♭̸	Roughly halfway between a ♮ and a ♭
Flat	♭	Half a tone

The important notes of each *maghām* are the tonic (the primary tonal center of a *maghām*), dominant (the secondary tonal center of a *maghām*), and final tone, which can be different from the initial tonic note, especially when the mode contains more than seven notes. Theoretically, about seven to nine primary *maghām*s can be built by using

[279] Wright, "Arab Music: Art Music."

combinations of different *jins*, and a hundred more secondary *maghām*s could be formed from derivatives of the primary ones. Some of the *maghām*s are used more in some Arab countries than in others: for instance *maghām*s expanding over an octave are used in Egypt and Syria, and those within the range of an octave in countries such as Morocco. Countries of the Arabian Peninsula and Persian Gulf, such as Saudi Arabia and Yemen, mainly use *maghām segāh*, the most popular *maghām* in Arabic music. Each *maghām* has a different character and therefore conveys a specific mood.[280] Two of the major *maghām*s are shown in example 4-1.

Example 4-1. *Maghām*s *Dugāh* and *Rāst*



Maghām as a larger concept extends to formal structure, such as the forms of instrumental *bashraf* [overture], *samāi* [instrumental prelude and interlude], and *ughniya* [song]. Musicians improvise around a succession of three, four, or five main tones of the modal scale, and the movements as a whole are constructed on these tonal units that characterize and differentiate each *maghām*.[281] To set the mode, musicians usually improvise passages that are based on three or four notes of a *jins* at the beginning of the piece, shift to a higher octave, and then back to the original octave. Some of the melodic

[280] Wright, "Arab Music."
[281] Christian Poché, "Arab Music: Developments Since 1918."

motives the musicians use in this process are established conventions, and trained listeners would recognize the *maghām* and the part of a composition as soon as they hear the melodic motives.

Arabic Rhythm and Meter

The Arabic art music has particular rhythmic cycles when performed, and these rhythmic cycles follow the rhythmic patterns based on Arabic poetic meters. The system used by Arabic theorists identifies rhythmic units by signs, and also uses a system of prosodic syllables, such as *ma*, *fā*, *'il* used by the Iraqi grammarian, al-Khalīl ibn Aḥmad (718-86 CE) in his book *Kitāb al-īqā'* [Book of Rhythm], and *ta* and *na* that were introduced by the Persian scientist, Fārābi (d. 590 CE) in his *Kitāb al-musīqī al-kabīr* [Grand Book of Music]. Each syllable indicates one beat: *tan* indicates one sounding beat and *nan* indicates two beats, one sounding and one silent (i.e. a rest).[282] Each rhythmic cycle is divided into smaller time units. The syllables *ta* and *tan* initiate each time unit, *na* is used in the middle, and *nan* ends the time unit as shown in table 4-2.

[282] George Dimitri Sawa, "Theories of Rhythm and Meter in the Medieval Middle East," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 6: The Middle East*, accessed September 22, 2014, http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/View/330266.

Table 4-2. Arabic rhythmic cycles based on prosody system, their Western notation equivalent, and the number of beats in each cycle

Arabic Rhythmic Cycles	Western Notation	Number of Beats
Ta-na-nan ta-nan ta-nan tan	♪♪♪ 𝄾 ♪♪ 𝄾 ♪♪ 𝄾 ♩	4+3+3+2
Ta-nan ta-nan tan ta-na-nan	♪♪ 𝄾 ♪♪ 𝄾 ♩ ♪♪♪ 𝄾	4+3+3+2
Ta-nan ta-nan tan ta-nan ta-nan tan	♪♪ 𝄾 ♪♪ 𝄾 ♩ ♪♪ 𝄾 ♪♪ 𝄾 ♩	3+3+2+3+3+2

Modern-day Arabic musicians also use syllables that represent the low-pitched and high-pitched sound of a drum, *dumm* and *takk*, in place of *ta* and *na*.[283]

Arabic Instruments

In addition to the different pitch materials that help differentiate Middle Eastern musics from one another, each Middle Eastern ensemble creates a distinct instrumental timbre to its music. Some instruments are shared between different musical traditions, but some are used more frequently in specific ensembles, creating an individual sound and timbre. Common Arabic traditional instruments are the *ghānun*, a finger-plucked psaltery, the *ud*, a short-necked plucked lute with five double strings, the *rebāb*, a spike fiddle, and the *ney*, a wind instrument made from cane or reed containing six finger holes and one thumb whole (fig. 4-1).

[283] Scott Marcus, "Rhythmic Modes in Middle Eastern Music," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 6: The Middle East*, accessed September 22, 2014, http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/View/330016.

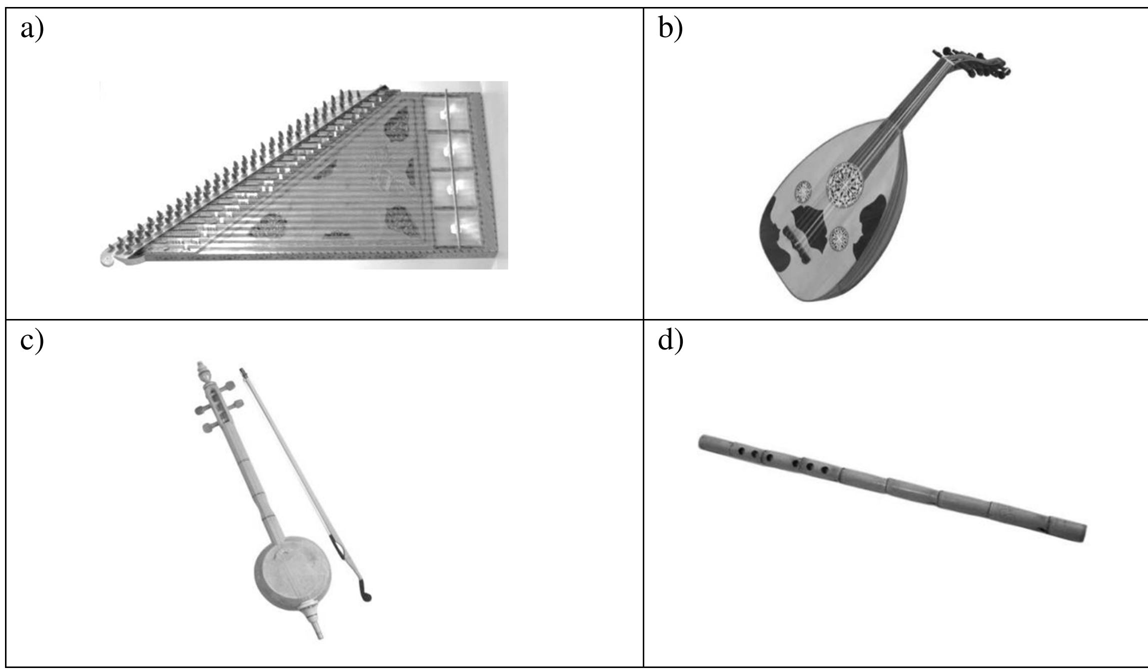


Figure 4-1. Arabic Instruments: a) *ghānūn*, b) *ud*, c) *rebāb* d) *ney* (Photographs reproduced by permission from Godfried-Willem Raes, "<Zi>," *The Logos Foundation*, accessed November 23, 2014, http://www.logosfoundation.org/instrum_gwr/zi.html; Mino, "What Is the Difference Between Arabic and Turkish Ouds," published August 22, 2012, http://www.dalymusic.com/what-is-the-difference-between-arabic-and-turkish-ouds/ (mid-est.com); "Mid-East Turkish Spike Fiddle Large," *The Sound Healing Store*, accessed November 23, 2014, http://www.thesoundhealingstore.com/Mid-East-Turkish-Spike-Fiddle-Large_p_5443.html (mid-east.com); "Adel Fuad Egyptian Ney/Kawala," *Arab Instruments*, published January 18, 2012, http://blog.arabinstruments.com/2012/01/adel-fuad-egyptian-ney-kawala/.)

Turkish (Ottoman) Music

During the eleventh century CE, Turks who originated in north-central Asia began moving westward and settling down in the western lands of the Caspian Sea inhabiting the entire Anatolian.[284] Their conversion to Islam influenced and transformed their

[284] Kurt Reinhard, Martin Stokes, and Ursula Reinhard, "Turkey," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 14, 2014,

culture and social lives as they became a part of the Muslim Middle East, and their close contact with the Arabs and Persians and their interactions between them had a direct influence on their music. Local ethnic groups also influenced Turkish Ottoman music, such as the Armenians, Kurds, Greeks living in Anatolia, and the inhabitants of the Balkans.

Ottoman Turkish music is divided into two categories, folk music and art music. Turkish folk music springs from the music of the Turks' homeland, Central Asia, while Turkish art music developed in the urban areas of the Islamic Ottoman Empire. Turkish art music began to develop sometime between the sixteenth century and mid-seventeenth century CE.[285] In thirteenth century CE, the mystic Celaleddin Rumi (Jalāl Al-din Rumi) founded the Mevlevi order of Sufis in Central Asia—better known as the Whirling Dervishes—and their music became the main foundation for the Turkish art music. Additional influences on Turkish art music also include the musical cultures of Persia and Byzantium.[286]

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http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/44912.

[285] Reinhard and Stokes, "Turkey: I. Introduction." Walter Zev Feldman, "Ottoman Music," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 13, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/52169.

[286] Tamila Djani-zade, "Music of Azerbaijan," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: The Middle East*, *Volume 6*, accessed September 21, 2014, http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/View/330634. For instance, the roots of the urban Ottoman Turkish art music are based on the music of the Mevlevi order of Sufis; the later art music of the Azerbaijani Turks is based on the more Persian-style music theory and treatises of Abdolqādir ibn Gheibi al-Marāghi (d. 1435).

The Turkish court and the elites sponsored art music and patronized professional musicians to compose and perform both vocal and instrumental music, with the emphasis placed on vocal music. Among the musicians, there were non-Muslim and non-Turkish musicians such as Armenians, Greeks, and Greek Orthodox cantors, so Turkish art music emerged as a result of interaction between the Mevlevi dervishes, Byzantine Greeks, and court musicians of different ethnicities. Both Turkish folk and art music follow the same modal and rhythmic systems that will be briefly discussed below.[287]

Turkish Modal Theory

Turkish scales, made of tetrachords and pentachords, are modal and are called *makām*, and resemble the Arabic and Persian *maghām*s. The important structural pitches of the Turkish *makām*s are the beginning note (tonic), a second important note (dominant), which can be a note other than the fifth degree of the scale, and the note before the tonic. To set the mode, recognized phrases and passages are usually played around the important notes of the *makām*.

The heptatonic scales of Turkish music contain more subdivisions than the twelve Western half tones and the twenty-four Arabic quartertones. In Turkish music, a whole tone is divided into nine parts (commas) and thus contains more tones than just whole, half, and quarter tones, and this variety of microtones makes the Turkish music very

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[287] The above summary is driven from the following sources: Reinhard and Stokes, "Turkey." Feldman, "Ottoman Music."

different from other Middle Eastern musics.[288] Consequently, each of these tonal divisions is shown with a specific accidental sign, and normally, a note could be raised or flattened by one ninth of a tone, four ninths of a tone, five ninths of a tone, and eight ninths of a tone. Turkish music scholars have created signs to notate the Turkish microtones, and table 4-3 shows the Turkish accidental signs and their function in the Turkish microtonal system.[289]

Table 4-3. Turkish music microtone notation symbols

Name	Sign	Description
*Diyez*es [sharps]		Raising the tone by one ninth of a tone
	♯	Raising the tone by four ninths of a tone
		Raising the tone by five ninths of a tone
		Raising the tone by eight ninths of a tone
*Bemol*s [flats]		Lowering the tone by one ninth of a tone
		Lowering the tone by four ninths of a tone
	♭	Lowering the tone by five ninths of a tone
		Lowering the tone by eight ninths of a tone

Turkish *makāms* are divided into three groups: simple, combinatory, and transposed. There are twelve simple *makāms*, six of which are similar to Western

[288] Tonal divisions in Turkish music are based on Pythagorean whole tone at 204 cents and semitones of Limma at 90 cents and Apotome at 114 cents. According to this system, Pythagorean whole tone consists of nine commas, each 23.46 cents, and therefore, a Limma equals four commas and Apotome equals five commas. As a result, a heptatonic Turkish scale would consist of 24 unequal intervals.
[289] Reinhard and Stokes, “Turkey.”

diatonic modes, and six which include one or two augmented second intervals that generally characterize Middle Eastern music. The combinatory *makām*s are made up of two seven-note simple *makām*s. In theory, more than a hundred *makām*s could be made from combining any two *makām*s or by combining tetrachords and pentachords of different *makām*s, but in practice, not as many *makām*s are used. Transposed *makām*s are made when either the entire *makām* or a fragment of it is transposed to a different pitch level while maintaining the intervallic structures of the original *makām*, and therefore allowing the new *makām* to acquire a new characteristic. Even though many of the Turkish *makām*s share the same name with Arabic or Persian *maghām*s, they do not necessarily share the same pitches and intervals. Among the shared Middle Eastern *maghām*s, the *Husseini* (sometimes called *Kurdi* or *Shahnāz*) *makām* is one of the most frequently used in Turkish music (ex. 4-2).[290]

Example 4-2. *Makām Husseini*

While the *makām*s of Turkish art music are complicated, the modes used in Turkish folk melodies are mainly heptatonic, and are usually formed around a tetrachord

[290] Reinhard and Stokes, "Turkey." Eno Koço, *Albanian Urban Lyric Song in the 1930s* (Lanham, MD: Scarecrow Press, 2004), 197-198.

called *ayak* [step], with four tetrachords used for folk melodies, some of which include augmented second interval and Turkish microtones.[291]

Turkish Rhythm and Meter

Turkish music follows a system of rhythmic modes called *usul*. Just like the *makāms*, the rhythmic modes patterns can be simple and short containing three to twelve beats, or can contain syncopation and unusual meters, with longer *usul* patterns constructed by combining shorter patterns. None of these patterns repeat once they are part of a combined pattern. As in Arabic and Persian music, syllables are used to define the *ususl* patterns, such as *dum* (a low-pitched beat), *tek* (a high-pitched beat), *dume*, *teke* (or *teka*), and *tahek*, and groupings of these syllables create combinations of low-long and high-short beats.[292] Some examples of a short *usul* are shown in table 4-4.

Table 4-4. Turkish rhythmic cycles based on spoken syllables *dum* and *tek* and their equivalent in Western notations

Turkish Rhythmic Cycle	Western Notation
Dum tek tek	♩ ♩ ♩
Dum tek ka	♩ ♪ ♪

Turkish folk tunes may have fixed rhythms or free rhythms depending on the genre. Songs with long melodies are free in rhythm and include love songs, laments, and

[291] Reinhard and Stokes, "Turkey."
[292] Reinhard and Stokes, "Turkey."

narrative songs with the melodies being ornamental and melismatic. In contrast, dance songs are syllabic with fixed rhythms, and have a smaller melodic range.

Turkish Instruments

Among the main instruments giving Turkish ensembles their particular sound are the *kudum*, a small pair of kettle drums, the *tanbur*, a long-necked lute with 48 gut frets on the neck, and include the Arabic instruments of the *ney*, *rebāb*, *kānūn (ghānūn)*, and *ud* (fig. 4-2).

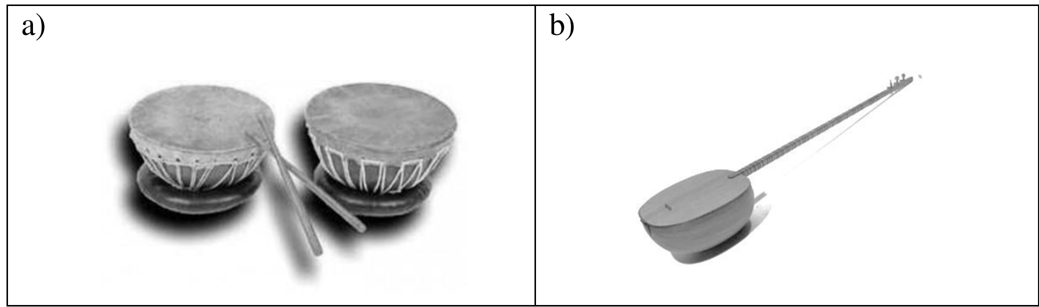

Figure 4-2. Turkish Instruments: a) *kudum*, b) *tanbur* (Photographs reproduced by permission from Chief Guler, "Vurmalı Çalgılar Hangileridir," *Bilgi Dünyası*, published January 23, 2014, http://www.bilgihanemiz.com/2012/08/vurmal-calglar.html; Dave Fossum, "Tanbur," *Virtual Instrument Museum*, last modified March 12, 2009, http://learningobjects.wesleyan.edu/vim/cgi-bin/instrument.cgi?id=149.)

Persian (Iranian) Music

Music in Iran has been performed and depicted in the archaeological artifacts since 3000 BCE. Even though the history of Persian music has not been as documented as ancient Mesopotamian music for scholars to study, archeological evidence shows that

music has played a major role in the religious and court life of the ancient Persians, especially in the form of large ensembles. The creation of "modern" Persian art music can be traced back to the time of Sassanid Dynasty (224-651 CE) when music and musicians possessed a high status in the Persian culture. It was not until their conversion to Islam that the Persian scholars began writing treatises on the music theory as a branch of mathematics. The most important of these treatises belong to Fārābi (d. 590 CE) who explained in detail the tuning of a monochord string and the relations between intervals. Even though the Islamic religious leaders were hostile toward secular music, Persian musicians continued to compose and play music, and following Fārābi's model, Persian scholars began theorizing their Persian music, its intervals, modes, and rhythms.

During the Abbasid Dynasty (750-1258 CE), when the capital of Islamic caliphate moved to Baghdad (762 CE), the Persian music influence on the music of the other Islamic states, such as Arabs and Ottomans, increased. When the nationalistic Safavids came to power in Persia in 1501 CE, the Shi'a branch of Islam became the official religion of Persia, and since the rest of the Muslim world in the Middle East was under the rule of the Sunni Ottomans, Persia became socially and culturally isolated. Religious Persian leaders downplayed music to a great degree, and music making became more of a private activity than a public one. Musical scholarly studies declined, and the formerly large public ensemble performance shifted to more intimate solo and improvisatory forms performed indoors at the private gatherings of the elite.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, music gained importance in the courts again. European musicians were hired to form military bands, and as a result,

Western music and music theory as well as Western music instruments were introduced in Persia, and were welcomed by Persian musicians and their audience. During the Pahlavi reign in the mid-twentieth century, music schools, a music conservatory, a prestigious opera house, and the music department in Tehran University were established where students were and are still taught Western Classical music, as well as Iranian art music.

After 1979 Islamic revolution, the new religious regime tried its best to ban and exclude music from everyday life of the people, but both Western and Persian music had been so well established in the Iranian culture that the regime finally lessened their prohibitions, and musical activities started once more.[293] In order to help the reader differentiate the Persian music from the other Middle Eastern musics, a brief description about the intervallic relations in a scale and instrumentation has been provided bellow.

Persian Modal Theory

As with most other Middle Eastern musics, Persian music is modal and its modal scale is usually a heptatonic scale including whole tones, half tones, and microtones that fall between half and whole tones. Classical and modern Persian music theorists have tried to provide exact measurement of these intervals, but in performance practice, these intervals could be slightly altered depending on the mood of the piece and the performer.

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[293] The above summery is driven from the following source: Bo Lawergren, Hormoz Farhat, and Stephen Blum, "Iran," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 15, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/13895.

In general, both whole and half tones are fixed and unchanging in Persian music, but the two other tones—*sori* and *koron*—intervals between a half tone and a whole tone, are flexible.[294] Moving either sharp (*sori*) or flat (*koron*), both these microtones may be moved either closer to the half tone or closer to the whole tone.[295] Some Persian theorists tend to divide other semitones into Limma-Limma at 180 cents and Limma-Comma at 114 cents, thus dividing the octave into 22 tones. In practice, the two semitones other than the half tone could be measured at 120-140 cents (semitone closer to the half tone) and 160-180 (semitone closer to the whole tone). The same signs are used to notate both intervals because this notational system cannot capture the performative instability of the intervals of Persian music, and is mainly learned by repetition and memorization (table 4-5).

Table 4-5. Persian microtonal symbols, *sori* and *koron*

Name	**Sign**	**Description**
Sori	⧣	Half Sharp
Koron	⊳	Half Flat

Different arrangements of the above intervals form Persian modal scales called *māye* [substance]. Each *māye* consists of two tetrachords that are separated by a whole tone. Each tetrachord includes microtones of *sori* and *koron* as well as half tones and

[294] As in Arabic music, the tonal division in Persian music is based on Pythagorean whole tone at 204 cents and semitones of Limma at 90 cents.
[295] Farhat, "Iran."

whole tones. Some of these tetrachords are shared among different *māye*s*,* and are usually used as a bridge to modulate from one *māye* to another. A combination of several *māye*s in a special order and range forms a *dastgāh*. There are twelve main *dastgāh*s in Persian music, some of which share the same names with those of the Arab and Turkish *maghām*s. Any melodic composition based on a specific *māye* and *dastgāh* is called a *gusheh* [corner], and a collection of *gusheh*s is called a *radif* [row].[296] Each *dastgāh* indicates the mode and the melodic structure of a group of pieces. In Persian music, *dastgāh*s are defined as the tonal structures and building blocks of the art music. Example 4-3 shows *dastghāh-e Shur* and *Māhur*, two very common and characteristic Persian *dastgāh*s.

Example 4-3. Persian *dastgāh*s *Shur* and *Māhur*

Dastagāh-e Māhur is the same as the Western Mixolydian mode, and any compositions in this *dastgāh* can be played on Western equal-tempered instruments.

Each *dastgāh* begins with an introductory section called the *darāmad* that sets the mode and the melodic structure. Then, *gusheh*s are played that might be different in

[296] Dariush Talai, "A New Approach to the Theory of Persian Art Music: The Radīf and the Modal System," in *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music Volume 6: The Middle East*, accessed September 21, 2014, http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/View/330598.

māye and might modulate from one *māye* to another, but always end with a concluding melodic cadence or *forud* that modulates to the primary *māye* of the *dastgāh*.[297]

Persian Rhythm

Persian art music is generally improvised, and therefore traditional *radif*s are rhythmically free. Twentieth-century Persian musicians began writing compositions down under the influence of Western music and these compositions have set meters, and their rhythmic characteristics differentiate them from the *gusheh*s of the traditional *radifi*s.

Persian meters are primarily compound duple, and the majority of the compositions are set in compound time, but also use simple duple, triple, and quadruple meters. Persian dance music is almost always in compound time $\frac{6}{8}$. Persian music follows the same system and spoken syllables introduced by Fārābi—*tan* and *tanan*—to define the rhythmic cycles called *aruz* in Persian. Persian folk music may also follow the rhythmic cycles and patterns of Persian poetry.

Persian Instruments

The instruments that characterize the Persian art music ensemble include the *setār*, a four-stringed long-necked lute with a small sound box played with the nail of the index finger. Of its four strings, one string is used as drone and the other three strings are for the melody. The *tār* [string] is a larger long-necked lute with a double interconnected sound

[297] Farhat, "Iran."

box. It has three double strings played with a metal pick, with one set used as a drone and the other two as melodic strings. The *santur* is a hammered dulcimer with eighteen quadruple stings stretched over two rows of small movable bridges that are adjusted by the performer to tune the instrument in different *dastgāh*s. Other instruments of a Persian ensemble are the *kamāncheh*, a spike fiddle, the *ney*, the *tombak*, a wooden drum, and the *daf*, a large framed drum with small metal ringlets around the inner frame (fig. 4-3).

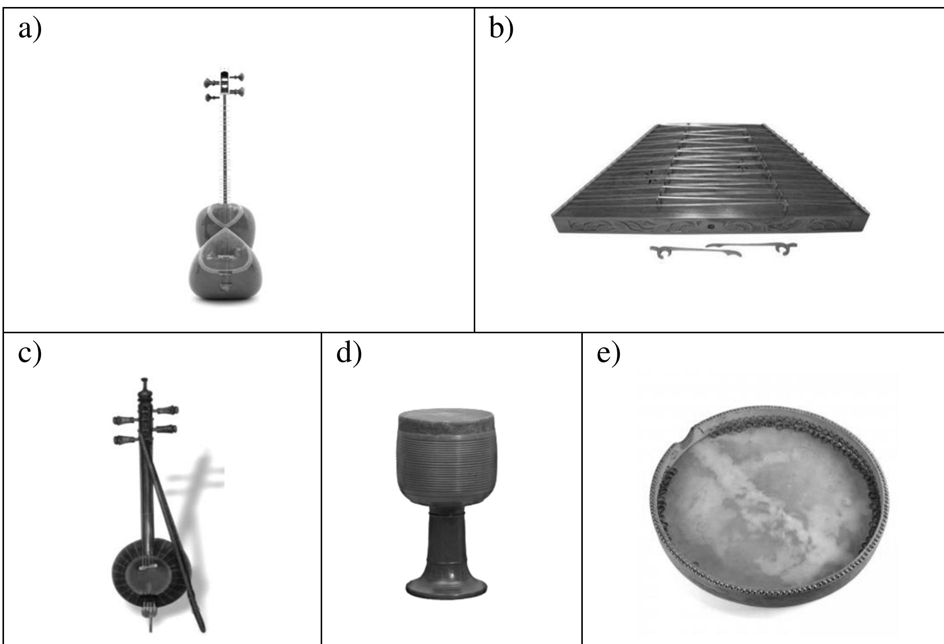

Figure 4-3. Persian instruments: a) *tār*, b) *santur*, c) *kamāncheh*, d) *tombak*, e) *daf* (Photographs reproduced by permission from "Santoori.com Costumers Feedback for Persian Tar," *Santoori.com*, accessed November 24, 2014, http://www.santoori.com/ir/feedback.html; "Santoor," *Music Outfitters*, accessed November 18, 2014, http://musicoutfitters.com/ethnic/dhsn.htm (mid-east.com); "Kamancheh," *Orang*, accessed November 23, 2014, http://orangmusic.com/home-e/home/INSTRUMENTS.htm; "تنبک," *Rastak Music Group*, accessed November 14, 2014, http://www.rastak.ir/#!untitled/cyfz; " دف پوستی ساده بشردوست," *Saz24*, accessed November 24, 2014, http://www.saz24.ir/shop/daf/bashardoust-pousti-sadeh/.)

Vocal ornamentation in Persian music adds a unique timbre to the Persian ensemble with a vocal technique called *tahrir* where the singer uses yodeling technique, shifting the voice repeatedly between its normal range and a falsetto range.

Kurdish Folk Music

The Kurds are an ethnic minority group whose living area crosses over the political boundaries of Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Syria. Even though scholars still debate the exact origins of the Kurds, they suggest that the Kurds originated from the northern part of what is now modern Georgia and Azerbaijan, and consider them to be a group of Aryan people.[298] Other scholars suggest that the Kurds emerged as the result of assimilation of the peoples living in the same areas.[299] The Kurdish political structure was tribal until the late nineteenth century when the Kurds began to form more organized political structures.[300] They speak a Western Iranian language that contains several dialects, and the majority of Kurds are Sunni Muslims, but their concept of Islam is mixed with regional beliefs from indigenous shamanism, Christianity, and Judaism. Some Sufi sects among the Kurds consider music as one of the main parts of their rituals, and some specific musical instruments are viewed as sacred. In general, the tonal traits of Kurdish music are similar to their neighbors—the Turks, Arabs, and Persians. What

[298] Mark Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium: 600-1025* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 197-98.
[299] Christensen Dieter, "Kurdistan" in *The Garland Encyclopedia of World Music, Volume 6: The Middle East*, edited by Virginia Danielson, Scott Marcus, and Dwight Reynolds, Alexander Street Press, accessed January 20, 2014, http://glnd.alexanderstreet.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/view/330525.
[300] Whittow, *The Making of Byzantium*, 198.

differentiate their music are its language, musical genres, and most importantly, rhythm.[301] Example 4-4 shows the common Kurd tetrachord from Arabic *maghām kurd* that is used in Kurdish folk music.

Example 4-4. Kurdish Tetrachord, *maghām kurd*

As a minority ethnic group without a state, the Kurds have always been politically in confrontation with the central government of the countries they live in and have struggled to gain political independence. Not having a central court to patronize art music, Kurdish music is therefore a folk music, and the troubled conditions of Kurdish society and politics prevented the emergence of Kurdish art music.

The Kurdish folk music consists mostly of songs and dance music. There are three song genres: legendary songs, battle songs, and love songs. Legendary songs are narrative, and are usually metric and rhymed. Battle songs tell the story of the fight between men, and these men are usually considered to be the heroes, and sections of these songs contain melisma and free style singing with vocal ranges expanding up to an

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301 The above summary is driven from the following sources: Dieter, "Kurdistan;" Stephen Blum, Dieter Christensen, and Amnon Shiloah, "Kurdish Music," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 20, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/15686.

octave. Love songs are those of tragic love stories and include unmetered recitation with a small and narrow range.[302]

Kurdish dances are in the form of a line or chain dances that move counterclockwise. One or two groups of men and women form a semicircle line holding hands or place their arms around their neighbors' shoulders, and dancers move their shoulders or arms in an up and down motion while taking steps.[303] Table 4-6 shows three examples of the popular Kurdish dance rhythmic cycles using Persian rhythmic syllables.

Table 4-6. Kurdish dance rhythmic cycles

Kurdish Rhythmic Cycle	**Western Notation**
Tan ta-na-nan tan	♩ ♫ ♩ ♩
Tan ta-nan tan	♩ ♪ ♩ ♩
Tan tan tan	♩ ♩ ♩

Kurdish Instruments

The most typical Kurdish instruments are a cylindrical drum, the *dehol*, and a conical oboe called the *zūrnā*, which always appear as a duo in wedding and dance music. Kurdish ensembles also include the popular instruments of the regions they live in, such as the *daf*, *dimbek*, *dotār* and *tanbur*, the long-necked lutes, the former with two to five strings and the latter with two strings, the *shebab*, a rim-blown flute, and the

[302] Blum, "Kurdish Music."
[303] Blum, "Kurdish Music."

bāghlāmā, another long-necked lute with three groups of double or triple strings (fig. 4-4).[304]

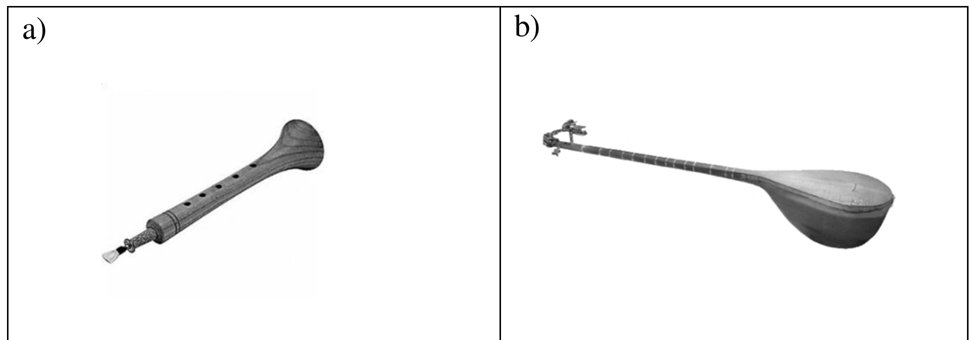

Figure 4-4. Kurdish instruments: a) *zūrnā*, b) *dotār* (Photographs reproduced by permission from "Wind Musical Instrument: Zourna," *Georgian Folk Music Instruments*, accessed November 24, 2014, http://www.hangebi.ge/eng/zurna.html; "Persisk Instument," *SabaMusic*, used under GFDL v1.3, http://sabamusic.se/sv.php?subaction=showfull&id=1158533875&archive=&start_from=&ucat=10&do=ommusik.)

Mesopotamian Music

Mesopotamian music consists of three broad genres: art music, sacred music, and folk music. The music of the ancient Mesopotamians contained all three genres, but archeological findings only write about sacred and art music, and we can assume that

[304] Dieter, "Kurdistan." Blum, "Kurdish Music."
Sources: Photographs in table 4-10 reproduced by permission from "Zourna," *Azerbaijan*, accessed November 24, 2014, http://www.azerbaijans.com/content_241_en.html; "Zurna," *MÉDIATHÈQUE*, accessed November 14, 2014, http://mediatheque.cite-musique.fr/masc/?INSTANCE=CITEMUSIQUE&URL=/mediacomposite/cmdo/CMDO000030000/; "Persisk Instument," *SabaMusic*, accessed November 14, 2014, http://sabamusic.se/sv.php?subaction=showfull&id=1158533875&archive=&start_from=&ucat=10&do=ommusik; "باغلاما," *Avadis Music*, accessed November 23, 2014, http://ir.avadismusic.com/?attachment_id=463.

unwritten folk-music of the ancient Mesopotamians included the music of festivals and everyday life of people in the cities and marketplaces. The only Mesopotamian music that survives from the Medieval and Early Modern eras is sacred and folk music, and the composition of art music disappeared because of the political situation of the Mesopotamians.

Ancient Mesopotamian music was based on seven heptatonic diatonic modes similar to modes that ancient Greeks devised later.[305] Table 4-7 shows the seven ancient Mesopotamian modes and their Greek equivalents.

Table 4-7. The seven ancient Mesopotamian modes, Aramaic names, their English translations, and their Greek equivalents[306]

Aramaic	English Translation	Greek
Ishartu	"Normal"	Dorian
Kitmu	"Closed"	Hypodorian
Embūbu	"Reed Pipe"	Phrygian
Pitu	"Open"	Hypophrygian
Nid Qabli	"Fall of the Middle"	Lydian
Nish tuhri	"Rise of the Heel"	Hypolydian
Qablitū	"Middle"	Mixolydian

As with other Middle Eastern musics, the music of Mesopotamia's neighbors has influenced Mesopotamian music—especially during the recent centuries—and these influences can be found in the sacred music of the Mesopotamians as well as the regional

[305] K Marie Stolba, *The Development of Western Music: A History*, 3rd ed. (Boston: McGraw-Hill College, October, 1979), 7-8, 19.

[306] This is the Greek Dorian mode beginning on E, and not the medieval Dorian mode starting on D. Anne Kilmer, "Mesopotamia," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2011, accessed September 25, 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/18485.

performance of the folk tunes. Mesopotamian sacred music largely consists of the liturgy of the Assyrian Church of the East and the Chaldo-Assyrian Catholic Church. For the most part, the Chaldo-Assyrian Catholic liturgy uses the same musical modes as the Church of the East. Mesopotamian liturgical music, chants, and hymnodies are based on ten Arab modes of *rāst*, *nihāwand*, *urfali*, *diwāni*, *segāh*, *hijāz*, *sabā*, *turāni*, *araibuni*, and *bayāti*. Among these modes, *rāst*, *nihāwand*, *segāh*, and *hijāz* are tuned diatonically in Northern Iraq, home for a large Mesopotamian community, whereas they may contain quarter tones in other regions of the Arab world. *Sabā* contains a 3/4 -tone interval, and *hijāz* contains an augmented second interval. *Rāst* is comparable to C major scale and *nihāwand* and *bayāti* to D minor scale, and *urfali* and *araibuni* are minor modes.[307]

The Mesopotamian folk music is largely diatonic, but Kurdish, Turkish, and Arabic influences can be heard in the Mesopotamian performance practice of some regions of Iraq and Syria. Persian music has influenced Iranian Mesopotamian folk tunes to a small extent, but this influence is recent, and can be plainly traced in modern and contemporary Mesopotamian pop and art music compositions. Mesopotamian folk melodies are, to a large extent, diatonic and modal, and some common musical traits that distinguish Mesopotamian folk melodies from their neighbors are:

- ascending seconds on a descending scale in various meters, the "Running Seconds" (ex. 4-5).

[307] Heinrich Husmann and Peter Jeffery, "Syrian Church Music," in *Grove Music Online*. Oxford University Press, 2007-2014, accessed January 30, 2014, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/27274.

Example 4-5. Ascending seconds on a descending scale

- a change from a minor to major modality somewhere in the middle section of a tune, and a return to the original modality at the end of the piece.
- a cadential motif, in various meters, which appears in both folk and sacred melodies (ex. 4-6).

Example 4-6. A typical Mesopotamian cadential motif

- the use of simple duple meters
- a cadential rhythmic figure in the form of ♫ ♩—or any form of short-short-long

The majority of Mesopotamian melodies are in duple meter since Aramaic poetic rhythms and words stresses are in duple meter.

Dance is considered an important cultural factor for the Mesopotamians and distinguishes them from other ethnic groups in the Middle East. Therefore, dance rhythms have a significant place in Mesopotamian music. Even though many dance patterns and rhythms are shared with Kurds, some dance rhythms are recognized as being purely Mesopotamian, such as *shaykhāni*, the most important dance rhythm among the

Mesopotamians, which is used in many art music compositions. This dance is in $\frac{2}{4}$ time and could be notated as ♪♬ ♫.

Daniel felt that the most uniquely Mesopotamian sound belongs to the mountaineer Mesopotamians of the Hakkari Mountains, and he specifically looked among the folk melodies of the Hakkari mountaineers, whom he felt had preserved Mesopotamian folk traditions more than any other Mesopotamian community. As is typical with Middle Eastern art music composers, and with Western nationalist composers, William Daniel used folk materials to compose Mesopotamian art music, trying to avoid using pitch, melody, and rhythmic materials that are Kurdish, Persian, Arabic, or Turkish, and used the above musical traits of modal tonality, *shaykhāni* dance rhythm, and running seconds as the basis for his compositions to create pitch material, rhythms, and timbres that are recognizably Mesopotamian.

Mesopotamian Instruments

Traditional Mesopotamian instruments are the *tanburā*, *kamāncheh*, *ud*, *zūrnā*, and *davūla*. However, the *kamāncheh* is not often used now, and the rest of the instruments—the *tanburā*, *ud*, *zūrnā*, and *davūla*—are shared with the Kurds and the Turks. There is a great resistance by Mesopotamians to use the folk instruments of neighboring ethnicities, especially in Iran and after the Genocide of World War I, since they consider these instruments and musics as belonging to the Muslims. In Iraq and Syrian, Mesopotamians have learned to perform on Arabic traditional instruments more often than those in Iran. Since Western music was considered Christian, Mesopotamians

preferred studying Western music and playing on Western instruments. Because of the Mesopotamians' Christianity and position as a minority population they never developed art music until after the arrival of the American missionaries in Iran, when they also received recognition as an ethnic and religious minority by the Iranian government. Since the Iranian government and society was more receptive to Christians and Western music, Mesopotamians found more musical opportunities and the conditions to grow artistically and musically. Therefore, William Daniel learned to play the violin, following both Middle Eastern art music traditions and the techniques of European musical nationalism. He began composing music using sacred and folk melodies, modes, and rhythms as the basis for his compositions, and in doing so, became a pioneer for modern Mesopotamian nationalistic composers.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MUSIC OF WILLIAM DANIEL

William Daniel, born in Persia in 1903 at the dawn of the twentieth century, was a young boy when he experienced the Christian Genocide (1914-18) by the Islamic Ottoman Empire. The result of this ethnic-religious cleansing was the loss of two-thirds of the Mesopotamian population, and Daniel's family and community were among the victims of the Genocide that eventually became the central impetus to his body of work. While many Mesopotamians remained in their ancestral lands, the fear of extinction as a people and culture led to a series of immigrations to Christian Western countries and the creation of the Mesopotamian diaspora. These traumatic events laid the groundwork for Daniel's creation of a Mesopotamian nationalist style of music, and Daniel became a pioneer of a nationalist style for twentieth-century Mesopotamian composers following the techniques of nineteenth- and twentieth-century European nationalist composers.

The main motivation of his style was to preserve the Mesopotamian culture and language, both in the Middle East, where they were threatened by Islamic regimes, and in the West, where the current generations abandon the language and cultural traditions. Daniel combined Mesopotamian folk music elements with elements from Western-European classical music to create a nationalist style of music that tried to promulgate Mesopotamian culture and music. With this combination, Daniel not only celebrated the survival of the Mesopotamians after the Christian Genocide, but by creating this "new" style of Mesopotamian nationalist music through uniting Mesopotamian folk music elements such as folk melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic elements with those of the

Western music traditions he also encouraged a hopeful outlook into the future where Mesopotamian music and culture would flourish.

To better understand his style and method, I will examine five of his songs: “Shahrah” [Festival] for soprano-tenor duet and piano, “Dkhari d’Vaadaan” [Memories of Fatherland] for soprano and piano, “Shooshane d’Raaghoole” [Lily of the Valley] for mezzosoprano-baritone duet and piano, “Marganeeta” [Pearl] for voice and piano, and “Ninveh” for vocal duet and piano. I will examine the song texts written by Daniel, their formal structures, melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic elements, and the “instrumentation” of each piece to illuminate how and why Daniel combined Mesopotamian folk elements and Western music traditions to create works that would capture and continue Mesopotamian music and culture. Since Daniel combined Mesopotamian folk music elements with the Western music traditions in his songs, the melodic and harmonic content include both tonal and modal characteristics, and I analyze their harmonic contents freely to show how Daniel unites tonality and modality to develop what he called the “Mesopotamian color” of his nationalist style. Since the compositions mentioned above follow the traditional Western European formal structures, I use traditional terminology for their analysis.

“Shahrah” [Festival]

Daniel composed the song “Shahrah” in 1943 as one of his songs for the Assyrian Radio program in Tehran, Iran, and also wrote the text for the song in New Aramaic.

Daniel wrote the melodic content of this song based on a Mesopotamian folk tune as he explained in the preface to his songbook *William Daniel's Creations*.

> It was in 1943 when the Radio program had just started and we had sung that week. As usual, I was thinking about what to prepare for the next week's program. As I was lost in my thoughts, I suddenly heard Auntie Nazi, mother of three young men living with me in the same building. . . . With her soft and sweet voice, Auntie Nazi was singing to herself while drying the washed dishes. The whisper singing of this woman drew my attention. Without her noticing, I took a music sheet and notated what I heard. Then I went to my room and began putting in order what I had just heard. The result was "Shahrah."[308]

Daniel explained later that he played his newly composed song on the piano for Auntie Nazi the next day to see if she would notice anything, and what she told him after she heard the song was, "William, son, this is familiar. I've heard it."[309] He continued, "I thought to myself, I'm not too far from the real thing" (ex. 5-1).[310]

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[308] William Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations* (Chicago: Alpha Graphic Printing and Lithograph, 1978), 92.
[309] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 91.
[310] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 91.

Example 5-1. “Shahrah” main melody of the soprano line, stanza 1 (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

The text of “Shahrah” is a metaphor involving the *shaykhāni* dance. To dance the *shaykhāni*, people hold hands and form a line or a half-circle that moves from left to right: when there are many dancers, the *shaykhāni* line moves in circles within circles. In his poem, Daniel used verbal metaphors such as a “shiny necklace,” and a set of corals on a thread to symbolize the lines of *shaykhāni* dance, and to praise one of the most important aspects of Mesopotamian culture—dance. Dance is an important tradition for Mesopotamians since their dance rhythms and choreographies are not shared with the dance rhythms and patterns of their non-Mesopotamian neighbors. Therefore, dance was

and is a cultural characteristic that Mesopotamians use to differentiate their ethnic identity from others. Daniel's comparison of the line of the *shaykhāni* dance to valuable objects, such as a shiny necklace and coral, shows the importance of dance and dance rhythms as ethnic identities.

In the text of the first stanza Daniel referred to *zūrnā* and *davūla*—local folk instruments shared by other neighboring ethnic groups living in the region. Daniel was well aware of the fact that other ethnic groups claim *zūrnā* and *davūla* as their folk instruments. While Daniel tried to revive and preserve the Mesopotamian sound in his own compositions, he took a negotiative approach in the text of "Shahrah." Aware of the close proximity with their neighbors and the cultural influences surrounding the Mesopotamians in their "nation without a state," Daniel knew that in order to survive, Mesopotamians sometimes had no other choice than to compromise, and I suggest that he deliberately pointed to this shared reality by mentioning *zūrnā* and *davūla* in the first stanza (fig. 5-1).

1.

Gamgumele raghulā	The valley is shaking
Men braghale d'davula	By the sound of the *davūla* drum
Edyum Yuma d'shāreli	'Tis the day to be celebrating
Edyum Yuma d'zmareli	'Tis the day to be singing
Edyum Yuma d'shvareli, yalud/yaltate.	'Tis the day to be dancing, boys/girls.
Zmarta khleeta d'shabeeba	The sweet song of the *zūrnā* flute
Beprasela lkul geeba	Travels to every corner
Jhare o d'edyum la raghed	Poor is he who dances not
Jhare o d'men shvara saghed	Poor is he who celebrates not
Jhare o d'gu da meshtuta la paghed.	Poor is he who does not join this festivity
Dveeghena eida b'eida	They are holding hands
Shaykhāni nā berghada	Dancing *shaykhāni*

Let gana d'm'shvara saghda
Oy nari, nari, Dālāy dālā lāy,
Oy nari, oy nari, oy nari, Oy nari.

No one is ever tired
Oy nari, nari, Dālāy lāy, Dālā lāy
Oy nari, Oy nari, Oy nari, Oy nari.

2.

Ekh hālāle l'veshyate
Saghulena l'deshyate,
Edyum Yuma . . .

Like the tulips their dresses
decorate the fields,
'Tis the day . . .

Pasu'ta d'eni gore
Beshāsho āprā d'dture,
Jhare o d'edyum . . .

The steps of these strong men
shake the soil of the mountains,
Poor is he . . .

Sheshelyate d'bārnasha
Ekh lapena beshāshā
Le taya sāvruh shamasha
Braghed shaykhāni
Bzamer shaykhāni,
Oy nari . . .

The chains of people
Move like the waves
Making the deacon impatient:
He will dance *shaykhāni*
He will sing *shaykhāni*,
Oy nari . . .

3.

Ta khzi pata pursentā
Septa dema d'remontā,
Edyum Yuma . . .

Come see the happy face
And the lip as red as the pomegranate,
'Tis . . .

Ta khzi jvanghe shedtrāni
Ta khzi gveeneh ghādrāni,
Jhare . . .

Come and see the pretty lads and lasses
And the pretty bent eyebrows,
Poor is he . . .

Dmuta d'khemre lojani
Ekh dadulta d'mārjāni
Berghadona shaykhāni,
Oy nari . . .

Like a shiny necklace
A necklace of coral
They are dancing *shaykhāni*,
Oy nari . . .

Figure 5-1. "Shahrah," poem and translation (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)[311]

As Daniel mentioned, the melodic content for the song "Shahrah" is based on a folk tune. Daniel was alarmed that the existence of Mesopotamians as a people and a

[311] Here I use numbers to indicate the stanzas, but Daniel used an alphabetic numbering system, e.g. "a" = "1," "b" = "2," based on alphabetical system of Semitic languages, where number one equals the first letter of alphabet and so forth. This numbering system can be seen in the numbering of sections in the Psalms, such as Psalm 119.

culture could easily come to an end after surviving for six thousand years through both genocide and assimilation. Therefore, he used his Western musical training as means of preserving his endangered culture by preserving and promoting the Mesopotamian music. His use of folk material as the basis of "Shahrah" was an attempt to both preserve and continue Mesopotamian folk music. Composition was not Daniel's only method to preserve the Mesopotamian musical style; he also preserved it through having it performed on a weekly radio program in 1943, and later published "Shahrah" and his other folk-based compositions in song-books.

He composed this piece in a **Intro | A | B | Coda** formal structure with a four-measure piano introduction, and a four-measure concluding coda (table 5-1).

Table 5-1. Form of "Shahrah"

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Section</th><th colspan="2">Measure Number</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Introduction</td><td colspan="2">1-4</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">A</td><td>a</td><td>5-6</td><td rowspan="6">5-21</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>7-8</td></tr>
<tr><td>b-b</td><td>9-12/13</td></tr>
<tr><td>a</td><td>14-15</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>16-17</td></tr>
<tr><td>b′</td><td>18-21</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">B</td><td>a</td><td>22-23</td><td rowspan="5">22-31</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>25-24</td></tr>
<tr><td>b</td><td>26-27</td></tr>
<tr><td>c</td><td>28-29</td></tr>
<tr><td>c′</td><td>30-31</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Coda</td><td colspan="2">32-35</td></tr>
</table>

G-Aeolian and F major form the tonal structure of the piece, and the rhythm is based on a Mesopotamian *shaykhāni* dance rhythm, a compositional technique common with many of the Middle Eastern folk tunes.

Since Daniel based his composition of "Shahrah" on a Mesopotamian folk tune, some of the folk melodic materials can be heard in this song, such as melodic gestures based on descending seconds, and the typical Mesopotamian cadential motif. Among the folk melodic materials are the "Running Seconds" that appear ten times in the soprano line throughout the song as shown in example 5-2.

Example 5-2. "Running Seconds" in "Shahrah"

a. Section **A**, soprano line, m. 7

b. Section **A**, soprano line, mm. 9-11

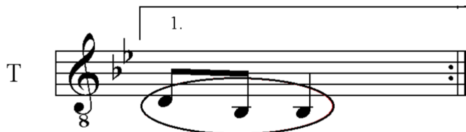
c. Section **A**, soprano line, mm. 18-20

d. Section **B**, soprano line, m. 30

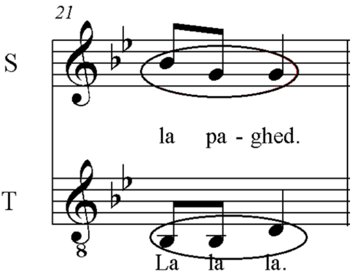
The cadential figure of a third down to tonic appears at the cadence of **A**. Moreover, Daniel used the cadential rhythmic motif ♫♩ at the ending of phrase “a” in section **A** in the tenor line, phrase “b′” in **A** in both soprano and tenor lines, and in tenor and piano bass lines in the concluding section as shown in example 5-3.

Example 5-3. Mesopotamian cadential figure

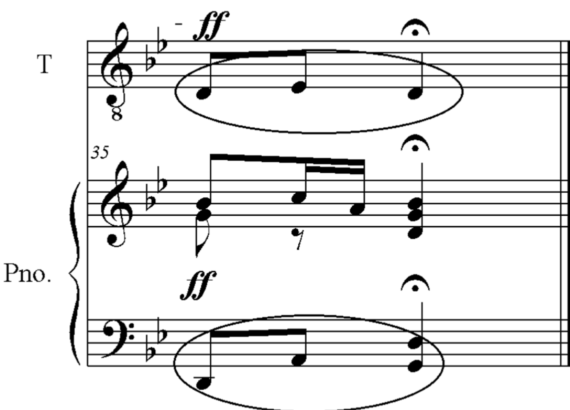
a. End of phrase “a” in section **A**, tenor line, m. 12



b. End of phrase “b′” in section **A**, soprano and tenor lines, m. 21

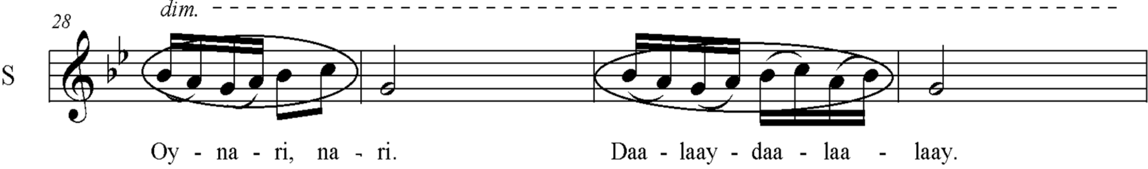


c. End of the **Coda**, tenor and piano bass lines, m. 35



Daniel did not provide the original folk melody that Auntie Nazi sang, and it is not clear which parts of the melody belong to the original folk melody, and which parts are Daniel's. We can see that phrase "b′" in **A** is a variation of phrase "b" that was first introduced earlier in the same section. The main melodic development of the phrase begins at m. 18, and we can conjecture that Daniel may have cleverly "ratified" the phrase's running seconds. The same scenario happens in **B**, where the melody concludes in mm. 28-29, but there is a two-measure extension at the cadence. Daniel may have used running seconds to expand and twist the cadential gesture in mm. 28-29 (ex. 5-4).

Example 5-4. Running seconds as a variation to the main cadential figure, mm. 28-31



Daniel set the "tonality" of this piece in mode of G-Aeolian (the ancient Mesopotamian mode of G-Hypodorian). As is the practice with the Mesopotamian folk music tradition, Daniel shifted the tonality to F at the beginning of **B** and toward the end of this section, and before the concluding section, he returned the tonality to the original mode of G-Aeolian (mm. 22-28). Since Mesopotamian music is diatonic and uses none of the microtones common to other Middle Eastern musics, it fits easily within the Western systems of tonal music, and Daniel used his Western musical training in harmonizing the song "Shahrah" according to Western musical traditions, using the minor mode for the G-Aeolian **A**, and the major mode in **B** where Daniel used functional harmonic chord progressions, starting on the tonic and ending with a conventional V^7—I. The overall chord progression of the major mode in **B** is I—iii—IV—vi—I— IV—v—vi—V^7—I. The **B** section begins in the new tonality, F major, with "I" as the opening chord. The major tonality ends with an authentic cadence in m. 28, V^7—I, before it returns to minor mode of G-Aeolian.

Like most of the Mesopotamian folk songs in a Mesopotamian dance rhythm, "Shahrah" is in $\frac{2}{4}$ and the *shaykhāni* dance gesture of ♪♬♫ is the rhythmic building block of the rhythm in this piece. The entire left hand line of the piano, except for nine measures, carries on in this rhythmic gesture through the entire piece. The use of the *shaykhāni* dance rhythm in this piece is important because the Mesopotamians consider their dances as an important cultural tradition that defines them as an ethnic group different from their neighbors. Therefore, Daniel's use of the *shaykhāni* rhythm in

"Shahrah" is a means to define to which group of music the composition belongs. The *shaykhāni* rhythm in "Shahrah" clearly defines the song as a Mesopotamian song and highlights his nationalistic purpose behind the composition.

Two Western elements that Daniel brought into "Shahrah" are its arrangement and instrumentation. The song is composed for soprano and tenor duet with piano accompaniment. In Middle Eastern art music and folk music traditions, the soloist is either not vocally paired, or is accompanied by a group of singers, usually male voices. Daniel clearly looked to Western tradition in setting most of his songs as female-male duets, and the role of the tenor line in "Shahrah" is primarily a harmonizing one, rather than a question and answer dialogue.

The use of the piano is also a Western element that Daniel included in his composition. While Westerners may think of the piano as a "neutral" instrument, it is a Western instrument tuned in an equal temperament, and is an instrument that cannot produce the microtones that are extremely common in Middle Eastern musics. The equal-tempered piano can play the diatonic tunings of Mesopotamian music, and therefore, Mesopotamian music could be easily harmonized in the Western style and accompanied on piano. The piano accompaniment has the same role as the tenor line in providing harmony to the main melody. Both of these parts provide homophonic harmonic accompaniment for the melody line—a Western style that Daniel incorporated in his composition. Combining Western elements with folk music traditions was a nationalistic approach still very common among the composers at the time when Daniel was receiving his music training in Switzerland, and Daniel composed "Shahrah" using

the same methods as a European nationalist composer to create a work to preserve Mesopotamian culture and music.

"Shahrah" was first performed on the national radio in 1943, and it soon gained popularity not only among the Mesopotamians living in Iran and Iraq who could receive the frequency of Iranian National Radio, but also attracted the attention of Persian Iranians. In the foreword to *William Daniel's Creations*, Daniel said, "A week after singing and airing the song, the Assyrian radio management committee received a telegram from the governor of the province of Kerman (one of the south-central provinces in Iran) asking for a rerun of 'Shahrah'." He continued,

> We were in the building preparing the program for the coming week, where the management committee held their meetings as well, when Mr. William Loghman, one of committee members, entered our room and asked to talk to me privately. As we exited the room, William, with a pale face and in unstable condition, presented to me a piece of paper. His hands were shaking. "What is this?" I asked. He answered, "It's a telegram . . . from the governor of Kerman." As I was looking at that official piece of paper, William Loghman added, "What have you done? What text did you write in your song? Why should the governor of Kerman ask for a rerun of your show?" "He's asking us to sing "Shahrah" again, right?" I asked. W. Loghman said, "Well I don't know if it is "Shahrah" or what, but what have you written in it? What have you guys sung? What's the meaning of all this?" I answered, "My dear William, it means that the governor of Kerman values our songs more than you guys." William was relieved and asked, "Is that all?" My last comment for him was, "Isn't it embarrassing enough?"[312] And as the governor of Kerman requested, "Shahrah" was performed again.[313]

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[312] Daniel is embarrassed by the fact that the Iranians are more interested in Mesopotamian music than the Mesopotamians themselves.
[313] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 91-2.

At this point, Daniel's aim for preserving Mesopotamian culture through music entered a new phase, and he was able to revive the Mesopotamian music through his compositions and their performances on radio.

"Dkhari d'Vaadaan" [Memories of Fatherland]

Daniel wrote the text and composed the music for "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" in 1942 in Hamedan, and it is a recollection of Daniel's childhood memories of Mahābād where he was born and raised as a child. In a letter to his friend, Daniel described his hometown, Mahābād, as "heaven" stating:

> Our home was veritable paradise. . . . The early hours used to be spent in the balcony that gave unto the big and vast garden. And beyond the river, the gardens and vineyards gradually sloped upward, to the foothills. It was a lovely view. We didn't realize then what a heaven we were living in.[314]

Daniel depicted the beauty of Mahābād's nature and his personal relationship with it in "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," and he dedicated each verse of the song to the town's river, gardens, and foothills (fig. 5-2).

1.

Roomyate d'Vaadaan gham garveseelee	Hills of my old home, where I played and grew
L'sādreh gheena yala veelee	A child I strayed all about you
Tkhareh peshana besamle d'khayee	To your sweet memory I shall stay true
Hich le māsen manshenokhun	You shall be in my heart always
Hich le māsen manshenokhun	You shall be in my heart always
Tkhareh peshana besmale d'khayee	To your sweet memory I shall stay true
Hich le māsen manshenokhun	You shall be in my heart always

[314] Arianne Ishaya, "Commemorating the Centennial Birthday of an Assyrian Legend: William Daniel," *Nineveh* 26, no.1 (Spring 2003): 5.

2.	
Raghoole deeloon l'khdāre d'yalooti	O valleys that smiled as I roamed around
Betgosee men khashee u zdutee	My fear and my sorrows you drowned
Ghateh k'haghenva l'neeshee u khadooti	To you as comforter I shall be bound
Hich le māsen manshenokhun	You shall be in my heart always
Hich le māsen manshenokhun,Ghateh . . .	You shall be in my heart always, To you . . .
3.	
Ekh dem'e d'āynā māboo'e d'meeya	Crystal pure waters healed my limbs when sore
L'rakhmeh knaplenvah shoorsheeya	As I lay my strength to restore
Zmarteh k'mahneeyava l'pāghree neeyah	Their music gave life t'my spirit and more
Hich le māsen manshenokhun	You shall be in my heart always
Hich le māsen manshenokhun, Zmarteh . . .	Their music gave . . .
4.	
Ekh gora zakhma, ekh baba gura	O majestic peak crowned with fleecy cloud
B'enāne khurdiya o dtura	You were our protector no doubt
Kee nādtervāh bādlā ekh nādtura	A trusty guardian you watched all the crowd
Hich le māsen manshenokhun	You shall be in my heart always
Hich le māsen manshenokhun, Kee . . .	You shall be in my heart always, A trusty . . .
5.	
Ār'ā basimta d'yuvenah shemmee	Land of my fathers made me strong and brave
Tāmā dtleetā l'abad yemmi	Where my mother lies in her grave
Tkharakh kul duka bet lablen āmee	Wherever I be for you I shall crave
Har hich lehoya d'manshenakh	You shall be in my heart always
Tkharakh kul dukta . . .	Wherever I be . . .
6.	
Min rekhghayuta d'dore u yamate	To your song across space of land and time
Ghala d'vādtān m'go zmaryatee	Everyone shall respond in rhyme
Bshāmee u javebee jvanghe u khamate	Your voice shall ring to us like a sweet chime
Har hich le hoya d'mansheelakh	Oh we will never forget you
Bshāmee u javebee . . .	Your voice shall . . .

Figure 5-2. "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," poem and translation (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

Each verse in the song is a dialogue between the poet and the audience explaining why the hills, valleys, springs, mountains, and the land are special to him, and at the refrain,

the poet addresses the nature promising that he will never forget its beauty and will always cherish its "everlasting" memories.

As a twentieth-century classically trained musician, Daniel became aware that many of the Mesopotamian songwriters in the Middle East were under the strong influence of the musics of neighboring ethnicities. He complained that the newly composed songs of Mesopotamian songwriters sounded more Turkish, Kurdish, Armenian, or Georgian than Mesopotamian. Daniel studied the folk music of the Mesopotamians and he identified the melodic differences between the Mesopotamian music and the music of their neighbors. He then incorporated only these Mesopotamian melodic elements into his compositions to create what he called the "Mesopotamian timbre."[315] Daniel wrote in the preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, "I was looking for authenticity. In "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," composed in 1942, the melodic nature of our authentic music began to blossom."[316] Example 5-5 shows the entire melody for "Dkhari d'Vaadaan.

[315] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.
[316] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.

Example 5-5. “Dkhari d’Vaadaan” main melody of the soprano line, stanza 1 (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

The melodic content of “Dkhari d’Vaadaan” is entirely based on Daniel’s creation of the “Mesopotamian timbre,” and no folk melody is used in this song, as well as the following songs discussed below. Daniel still based his original compositions on the music of the past and by doing so, he began a forward movement toward the future, a future that contained the development of Mesopotamian culture through new music, whereas in compositions like “Shahrah,” he only preserved the past by using folk melodies.

"Dkhari d'Vaadaan" is a strophic song containing four verses for voice and piano. The overall formal structure of the song is rounded binary, **| A | B | A'|** without an internal repeat. A piano introduction opens the song, and is based on the "a′" melodic material in section **A** (table 5-2).

Table 5-2. Form of "Dkhari d'Vaadaan"

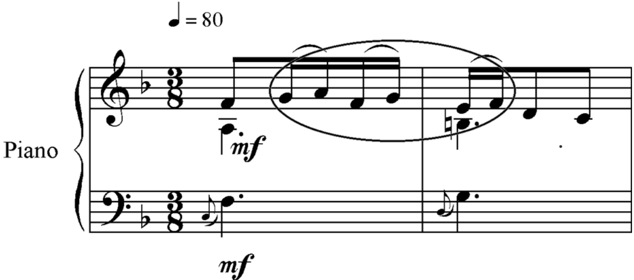
<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Section</th><th colspan="2">Measure Number</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Piano Introduction</td><td colspan="2">1-8</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Piano Preparatory Section</td><td colspan="2">9-12</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">A</td><td>a</td><td>13-16</td><td rowspan="4">13-28</td></tr>
<tr><td>b</td><td>17-20</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>21-24</td></tr>
<tr><td>c</td><td>25-28</td></tr>
<tr><td>B</td><td>a</td><td colspan="2">29-32</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">A′</td><td>a″</td><td>33-36</td><td rowspan="2">33-40</td></tr>
<tr><td>c′</td><td>37-40</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Cadential Extension</td><td colspan="2">41</td></tr>
</table>

Daniel set the tonal structure of "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" in F with a short shift to key of B♭ in the short **B** section. The tonal center then moves back to F in the final **A′** section. Repeating the phrase "sweet (everlasting) memories I shall stay true" at the refrain, Daniel set the tonality of the song in a major mode accentuating the sweetness and joyfulness of his childhood memories, even though the text is filled with nostalgia.

As Daniel mentioned in the preface to his book of songs, he tried to structure the melody of "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" to be as close to the authentic Mesopotamian melodies as possible. Therefore, Daniel used one of the most important Mesopotamian melodic

features—the running seconds figure as seen in "Shahrah"—in the first two measures of the piano opening shown in example 5-6.

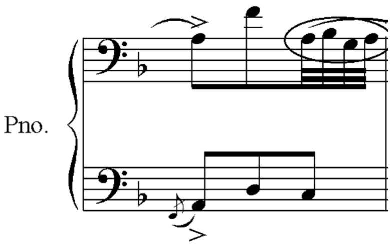
Example 5-6. Running seconds in piano, mm. 1-2



The running seconds appear five more times in the piano part and three times in the voice part (ex. 5-7).

Example 5-7. Running seconds

a. Piano introduction, m. 10



b. Section **A**, piano part, m. 15

c. Section **A**, piano part, m. 18

d. Section **A**, soprano and piano parts, mm. 21-22

e. Section **A′**, soprano and piano parts, mm. 33-34

As we can see in the examples above, the running seconds appear in the piano part more often than in the voice, and act as the transitional material between phrases. The running seconds figure is the only folk melodic gesture that Daniel used in "Dkhari

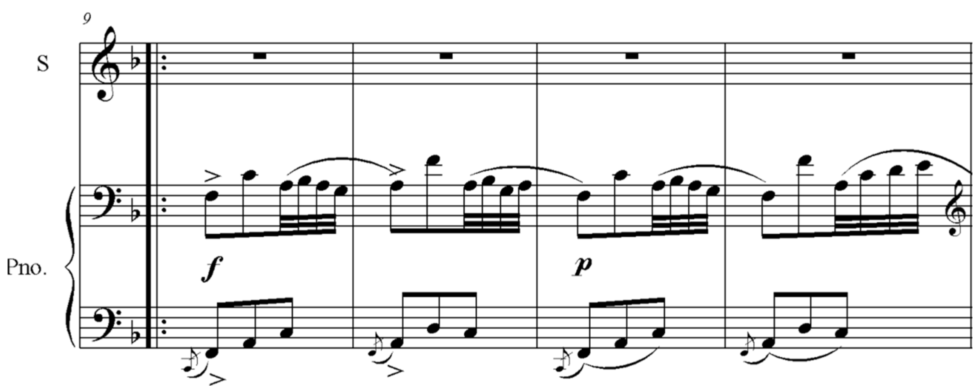
d'Vaadaan," which appears only once in the voice part. It could be argued that he chose to use this folk melodic figure as a symbol of antiquity, and used it just once in the melody—and not more—in order to draw attention to the modern times rather than the past. Daniel composed "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" in praise of his hometown, Mahābād, where he was born and raised as a child, originally part of the ancient Mesopotamia, and now a modern city in province of West Azerbaijan in modern Iran. I suggest that what mattered most to Daniel in this song was the *modern* town of Mahābād and its nature and beauty. Daniel incorporated this one folk melodic element, the running seconds, at the very opening part in the piano introduction in m. 1 to show the connection to ancient Mesopotamia, and the use of running seconds in the piano accompaniment is a reminder that his roots are in Mesopotamia even though his hometown is part of modern Iran, and he himself was an Iranian citizen. Using only one folk melodic element in the underlying accompaniment part in "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" shows that Daniel was more concerned in its text and music with portraying a modern town built on the ancient Mesopotamian soil within modern Iranian borders in the modern times, than a historic and patriotic portrayal of an ancient Mesopotamian city.

As the text of the song revolves around the nature of Mahābād, Daniel used other melodic elements to depict the nature of his hometown in the music of "Dkhari d'Vaadaan." The accompanying piano can be perceived as the foundational land through the use of large harmonic intervals such as octaves, which create a sense of space to represent the expansive countryside, as well as a sense of harmonic firmness, solidity, in addition to metaphorically representing the height of the highlands and the mountain in

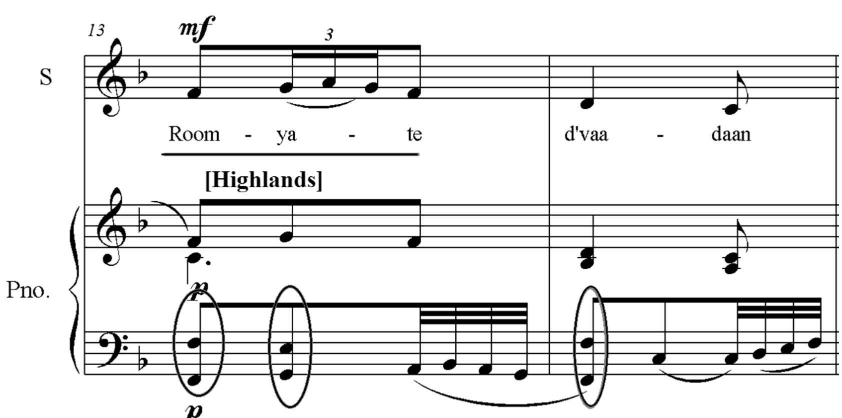
verses one and four. In addition, the land and countryside are depicted in the lower ranges in the piano introductory sections at the beginning of each verse before the voice comes in where both hands play in bass clef (ex. 5-8).

Example 5-8. "The Land" represented in the piano part

a. Both hands playing in bass clef depicting the land, mm. 9-12

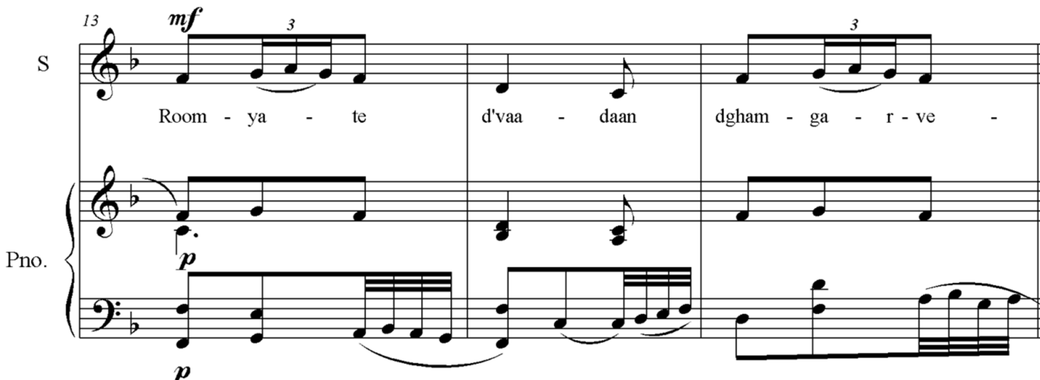


b. "Mountains" (*roomyāte*) depicted in large harmonic intervals, mm. 13-14



The ascending or descending sixteenth notes passages, in addition to the thirty second figures in the piano part, suggest the water brooks that spring from the mountain in verse three. Moreover, the voice part depicts the living objects in the nature such as the birds, and Daniel depicted the singing birds in the music through instrumentation (the use of soprano for the voice part), and melodic ornamentation, the use of triplets as shown in example 5-9.

Example 5-9. Triplets in soprano part, mm. 13-16

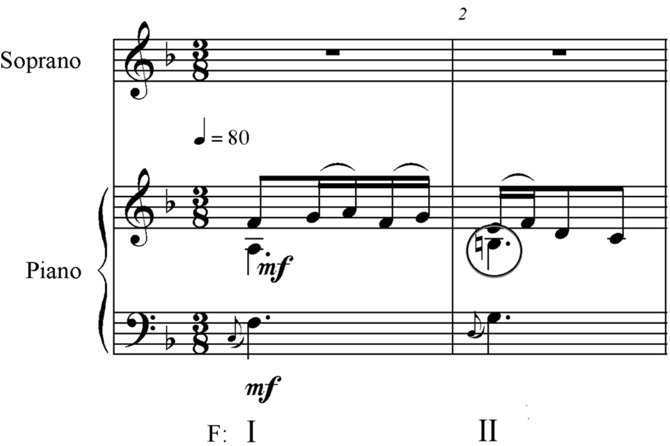


The functional harmonies, such as secondary harmonies, and half and authentic cadences at closing points in “Dkhari d’Vaadaan” show Daniel’s Western approach in the composition of this song. Even though he still incorporated harmonies to suggest the modality of Mesopotamian folk music, the overall harmonic setting of the song suggests that the song is tonal and not modal. The Western harmonization and the functional harmonies in the piano part can be considered as symbols of modernity, and Daniel’s current point of view considering his childhood memories of growing up in Mahābād, but

using modal harmonies to create the Mesopotamian timbre of the past. Phrase "a′" of section **A** repeats three times throughout the song, and Daniel harmonized the first beat of the second measure of the phrase differently each time. By using both the Mesopotamian folk and Western Classical traditions, he depicted both the "Mesopotamian-ness" as well as the present nature of modern Iranian town of Mahābād and its countryside.

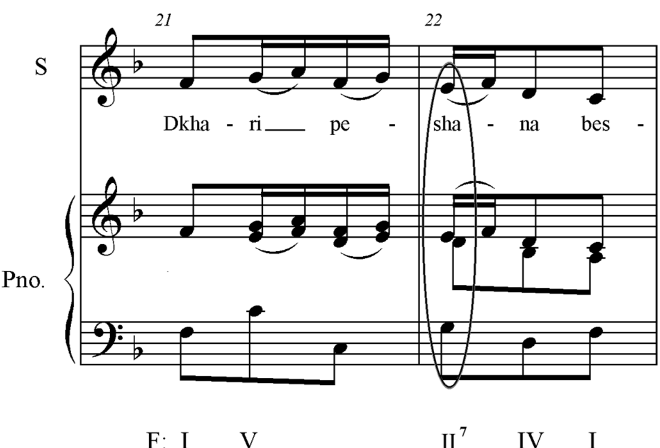
In the opening measures in the piano part, Daniel raised the fourth degree of the key in the middle layer suggesting a modal and thus, a Mesopotamian feeling (F-Lydian) as shown in example 5-10.

Example 5-10. Raised fourth degree, opening section of "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," mm. 1-2



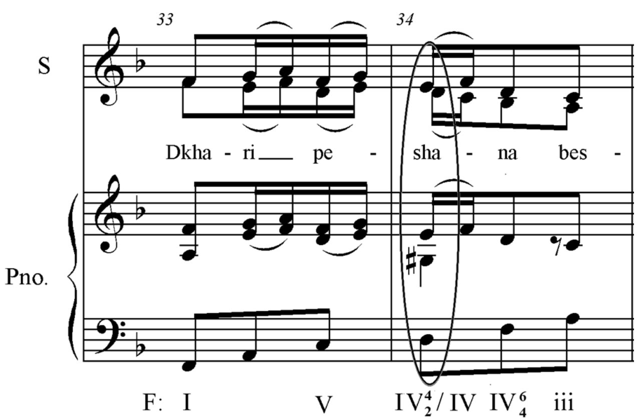
Daniel harmonized the second measure of the "a′" melody on G the second time it appears in the song, leaving the third of the chord out and creating an open sound that after the preceding major chords suggests a major tonality for the entire measure referring to the modern days and the modern town of Mahābād (ex. 5-11).

Example 5-11. Second measure of phrase “a′” in section **A**, mm. 21-22



In m. 34, where the same phrase appears for the third time, Daniel harmonized the melody on an E^7 chord. The chord progression in mm. 33-34 differs from the earlier example, too (ex. 5-12).

Example 5-12. Second measure of “a″” in section **A**, mm. 33-34



Other than the harmonization of "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," which includes elements of both Mesopotamian folk tradition and Western classical music theory, Daniel set the song for two voices and piano, the same Western instrumentation as "Shahrah." The second voice enters in section **B** and has the role of harmonizing the main melody in the form of running seconds figure, a third bellow the main voice underlining the folk gesture (ex. 5-12). By using the piano as the accompanying instrument, Daniel incorporated another Western element in his composition to not only refer to the contemporary point of view that he chose to depict in "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," but also as a means to align the song with Western Christian culture.

In addition to their language, their religion of Christianity has been one of the essential factors that differentiate Mesopotamians from their Muslim neighbors. Mesopotamians, especially in Iran, embraced the musical traditions of the Christian West, rather than the musical traditions of the Middle East as yet another way of differentiating themselves.[317] The use of piano as an accompaniment instrument and the second voice in a style that harmonizes the main melody without doubling it in unison or octaves—a method of "harmonization" used in the Middle Eastern monophonic art music traditions— is a Western style that Daniel used to compose songs throughout his book *William Daniel's Creations*.

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[317] In Iran, the Mesopotamian community has never shown any interest in Persian art music, considering it the music of Muslims, and because of the horrific events of the Christian Genocide in Anatolia and Urmia, anything related to Islam was detested by the Mesopotamians, even though Persians did not partake in the Genocide. In Iraq and Syria, however, many Mesopotamians learned to play the local instruments and the Arabic art music, and formed music groups performing the Arabic art music at non-Mesopotamian private parties as well as in national radio and television programs.

Daniel used different dynamics for the verse and refrain where he addressed the hills, valleys, springs, and the land. He used louder dynamics to stress the performer's addressing the audience in the verse, and turns to softer dynamics when speaking to the nature in the refrain of each verse as if whispering in the ear of his beloved homeland, promising never to forget it. The only strong and loud note in the refrain section is the word "*hich*" [never] that comes with a lift to stress the determination and willpower of the poet in staying loyal to the memory of his "fatherland" as shown in example 5-13.

Example 5-13. *Crescendo* and *forte* at the word "hich" [never] at the refrain, mm. 36-37

Choosing Western styles of instrumentation for his compositions, in addition to Mesopotamian musical elements, not only reveals Daniel's nationalist style of composition, but also represents the sounding differences of his music from the music of the rest of the Middle East, as well as provides a sonic overview of religious and cultural connections with the West perceived by the Mesopotamians in the Middle East.

“Shooshane d’Raghoole” [Lily of the Valley]

“Shooshane d’Raghoole” is one of the songs that Daniel specifically mentioned in the preface to his song book *William Daniel’s Creations* as a song containing the “special nature” of the Mesopotamian music. Like the other songs in *William Daniel’s Creations*, Daniel composed “Shooshane d’Raghoole” in the first half of 1942 for the Assyrian Radio Program in Tehran, Iran and later in 1977 he reviewed and edited the song when he was living in Chicago.[318] Again, Daniel used melodic, rhythmic, and tonal Mesopotamian folk elements and combined them with Western musical traditions to compose this song.

The text of “Shooshane d’Raghoole” uses a poem by Daniel, and depicts a young man, Nimrood and his lover, Shooshan, separated by force and longing to unite with each other. The girl’s name, Shooshan, is the Hebrew or Aramaic Biblical version for “Susan,” which is also the name of the flower “lily” in the original language and thus, the title of the song (fig. 5-3).

1.

Bkherpa b’nura āl lokha d’lebee	Engraved by the fire knife on the
gheera bet machkhet:	Tablet of my heart will you find:
khubba d’hich le jāme;	A love that will never die;
Ūp en ghavimah d’menū at kachkhet.	Even if it happens that it tires you.
Eka d’beelā li’dghārā e eeda;	Wherever that hand touched it;
Tkharoh peshana; kha lebba gheeda.	Its everlasting memory; a broken heart.
Ah, Nimrood, Nimrood, Nimrood kapūra,	Ah, Nimrod, Nimrod, cruel Nimrod,
Māchmee en kee māset lāhe d’a nāra!	Put the flames of this fire out if you can!
Min dunye rkheghlee; mgo lebbukh ghati	I abandoned the world;
ladrud, Nimrood, Nimrood, Nimrood	Don’t abandon me, Nimrod, Nimrod, Nimrod

[318] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel’s Creations*, 93, 80.

2.

Eka machkhen l'mūkhebee,	Where can I find my beloved,
Mūrūnlee ya dtūrāne.	Tell me you mountains.
Gūbeela ai l'ragha	She chose to run away
Min gham petna d'la rekhme d'gorane.	From the merciless plot of the elders.
Ālma d'olā prashti menoh d-eelūn.	The sinful crowed sought to separate us.
Hadkha bishta mūri dakhee mseelūn?	How could they do such an evil?
Kela mūkhebti rūmyāte mūrūn;	Tell me you highlands where my beloved is;
Parpūleven tārre d'rakhme la dvūrūn;	I beg you not to shut the doors of mercy on
Varda dekhya, shapira, eka machkhenneh?	me; The innocent beautiful flower, where
Shooshane, Shooshane!	shall I find it? Shooshan, Shooshan!

3.

Mūd braghalena eni deena l'natee zangure?	What are these echoes ringing in my ear?
En gana d'la rakhme gūbeela,	That merciless crowd chose-
L'aha sā'āt māskhoore?	To humiliate me at this moment?
Kad biragha min khreevūta d'dorā;	As I run away from these corrupt times;
Rūmyāte ellokhūn khshevlee khorā;	I thought of you as friends, you highlands;
Rkhūmūn l'gani jūnjertā eelane;	All ye trees have mercy on my tormented
Mūrūnlee min gham shemsha medre gane	soul; Tell me before the sunset today:
Ekela ūrkha d'māmdeeyālee l'pūrghana?	Where is the path that leads to salvation?
Pūrghana ghālbānā!	That victorious salvation!

Figure 5-3. “Shooshane d'Raghoole,” poem and translation (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

In verse one, Shooshan [Susan/lily] begs her lover, Nimrood, to not abandon her as she admits that her love for him has been carved into her heart so deeply that no power can put out its flames. Nimrood [Nimrod], the poet, wanders in the highlands begging the hills and mountains to tell him where he can find his pure and innocent flower—Shooshan. In the final verse, the poet, once again, begs the hills and the trees to show him the path to salvation, to the “victorious” salvation. There is no mention of the beloved in the third verse, but instead, the poet explains how unmerciful powers choose to humiliate him by preventing him from reaching what he desires as he flees the corruption and destruction of the times. With these images, the poem clearly alludes to Mesopotamia and the separation of the Mesopotamians from each other, as well as from

their homeland, with Shooshan representing Mesopotamia and Nimrood the Mesopotamians. Both mezzosoprano and baritone voices sing the last verse together praying and begging to find the pathway to salvation—the salvation from the unmerciful conditions that threatens their existence as a people and a culture.

As with “Dkhari d’Vaadaan,” the melodic content of “Shooshane d’Raghoole” is entirely composed by Daniel, although he incorporated Mesopotamian folk melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic elements to create the “special nature” of the Mesopotamian music. Daniel mentioned that he revised the song in 1977 when he was living in Chicago, but he did not provide specific details about what revisions he made to the song. Since the melodic content was probably composed to the poem, it is probable that the “revision” was to the harmony, either because his compositional skills had matured and he was dissatisfied with original version, or because he was influenced by the American nationalist music after having lived in the United States for more than two decades (ex. 5-14).

Example 5-14. “Shooshane d’Raghoole” main melody, soprano line, verse 1 (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

Daniel composed “Shooshane d’Raghoole” for mezzo soprano and baritone duet accompanied by the piano. This song is comprised of three verses and each verse varies from the others in terms of tonal center, harmonic structure, and density although the melodic materials are the same. Therefore, the overall formal structure of the piece could

be analyzed as **| A | B | A' |** or **| A | A' | A" |** while each section contains its own subdivisions. Here, I chose to analyze the formal structure of “Shooshane d’Raghoole” as **| A | B | A' |** (table 5-3).

Table 5-3. Overall formal structure for “Shooshane d’Raghoole”

Section	Measure Number	Tonality
Piano Introduction	1-4	F-Aeolian
A (verse one)	5-24	F-Aeolian
Piano Transitional Interlude	25-31	F-Aeolian—C-Aeolian
B (verse two)	33-52	C-Aeolian
Piano Transitional Interlude	53-59	C-Aeolian—F-Aeolian
A′ (verse three)	60-79	F-Aeolian

As shown in the table 5-3, there are four measures of melodically independent piano opening to “Shooshane d’Raghoole.” Each verse is nineteen measures long, followed by six measures of bridge material. The piano solo sections between the verses act as the modulating tools connecting each verse to the next. The meter in this song is in $\frac{4}{4}$ and it changes to $\frac{2}{4}$ in the solo piano sections between the verses. The tonal structure of the piece is based on F-Aeolian in sections **A** and **A′** and C-Aeolian in section **B** with some shifts to major tonalities in each verse (table 5-4).

Table 5-4. Formal structure for “Shooshane d’Raghoole,” section **A** (verse 1)

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Section</th><th colspan="2">Measure Number</th><th>Tonality</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="4">A</td><td>a</td><td>5-8</td><td rowspan="4">5-12</td><td rowspan="4">F-Aeolian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>9-12</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition</td><td>12</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">B</td><td>a</td><td>13-14</td><td rowspan="6">13-24</td><td rowspan="2">A major</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>15-16</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition</td><td>17 (beat 4)-18</td><td>F-Aeolian</td></tr>
<tr><td>b</td><td>19-20</td><td rowspan="3">F-Aeolian</td></tr>
<tr><td>b′</td><td>21-22</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cadential Extension</td><td>23-24</td></tr>
</table>

The same formal and tonal structure shown in table 5-4 repeats for the other two verses. The tonality of the song changes from verse one to verse two in the last two measures of piano bridge section, and therefore, verse two begins in C-Aeolian depicting different character of Nimrood introduced in the new verse.

The second verse contains the same exact melodic material of verse one with a slight difference in the piano accompaniment and harmonic structure. Phrases “a” and “a′” of section **A** in verse two are in C-Aeolian. The tonality changes to E-flat major in section **B** and it shifts back to the original tonality of C-Aeolian at the cadence point and transitional melodic material at the end of “a′” in section **B**. The tonality of the song modulates to the original tonal center, F-Aeolian, during the piano solo section connecting the second verse to the third. Verse three of “Shooshane d’Raghoole” begins in F-Aeolian and it shifts to A-flat major in **B** section and changes back to F-Aeolian towards the end of the verse in m. 73.

To depict “Shooshan-as-Mesopotamia” in the music of “Shooshane d’Raghoole,” Daniel used several Mesopotamian folk elements, such as the running seconds figure as well as other Mesopotamian folk melodic and cadence motifs. Running seconds as indicators of a Mesopotamian melodic figure can be found in “Shooshane d’Raghoole” only in the piano accompaniment part, once in the piano opening, six times in verse one, three times in verse two, four times in verse three, and two times in the solo piano sections in between the verses as shown in example 5-15.

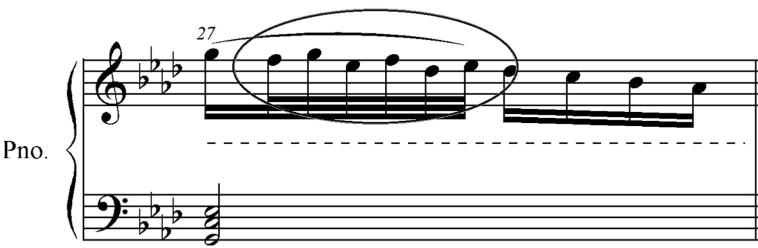
Example 5-15. Running seconds figure in section **A**

a. Piano opening, m. 3

b. Verse 1, piano part, m. 19

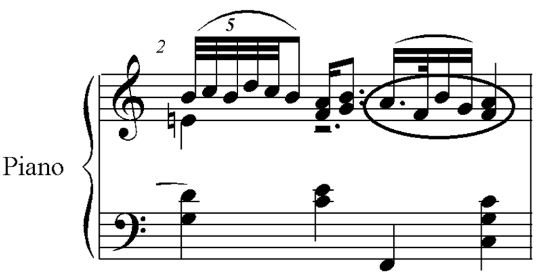
c. Verse 1, piano part, m. 21

d. Piano solo bridge between verse 1 and 2, m. 27



In addition to the running seconds figure, Daniel used other Mesopotamian folk melodic motifs in the piano and vocal parts. The first melodic motif—a "Leaping Fourth" followed by a step downward—appears in m. 2 in the piano opening section and later in m. 66 in verse three, F-B♭-G-A♭ ($\hat{1}$-$\hat{4}$-$\hat{2}$-$\hat{3}$). The folk sound that Daniel looked for in this motif is produced as a result of the perfect fourth interval between F-B♭ (ex. 5-16).

Example 5-16. “Leaping Fourth” motif, m. 2

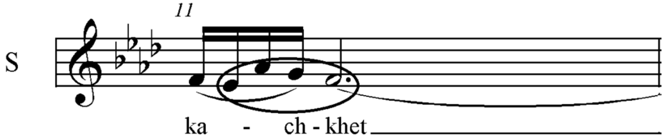


The same motif occurs in m. 3, m. 11, and m. 21 starting on $\hat{7}$, E♭-A♭-G-F ($\hat{7}$-♭$\hat{3}$-$\hat{2}$-$\hat{1}$) containing a perfect fourth interval between E♭ and A♭ (ex. 5-17).

Example 5-17. Leaping fourth motif

a. Verse 1, piano part, m. 3

b. Verse 1, soprano line, m. 11



c. Verse 1, soprano line, m. 21

Another folk melodic figure that Daniel used in his song “Shooshane d’Raghoole” is repeated $\hat{2}-\hat{3}$ scale degrees ending on $\hat{4}$. This figure occurs in m. 19 and in m. 21 in the first verse and later in different tonality in verse two (ex. 5-18).

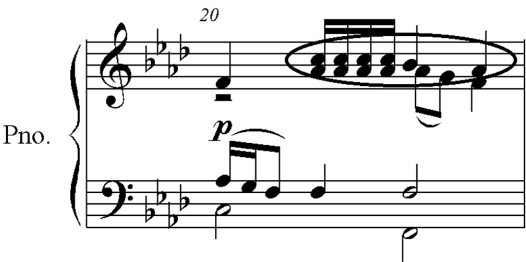
Example 5-18. $\hat{2}-\flat\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\flat\hat{3}-\hat{4}$ folk motif

a. Verse 1, soprano line, m. 19

b. Verse 1, soprano line, m. 21

An altered $\hat{2}-\flat\hat{3}-\hat{2}-\flat\hat{3}-\hat{4}$ figure would result in another Mesopotamian folk melodic figure that comprises of repeated scale degree 5, $\hat{5}-\hat{5}-\hat{5}-\hat{4}-\hat{2}-\flat\hat{3}$ as it appears in the piano part in m. 21 in the first verse (ex. 5-19).

Example 5-19. Folk melodic figure based on repeated $\hat{5}$, m. 20



The other folk melodic figure that Daniel used in "Shooshane d'Raghoole" is $\sharp\hat{6}$-$\flat\hat{7}$-$\hat{1}$ suggesting a shift to a Dorian tonality. This figure appears once in the song in m. 24 connecting verse one to the piano solo section which acts as a bridge between verse one and two (ex. 5-20).

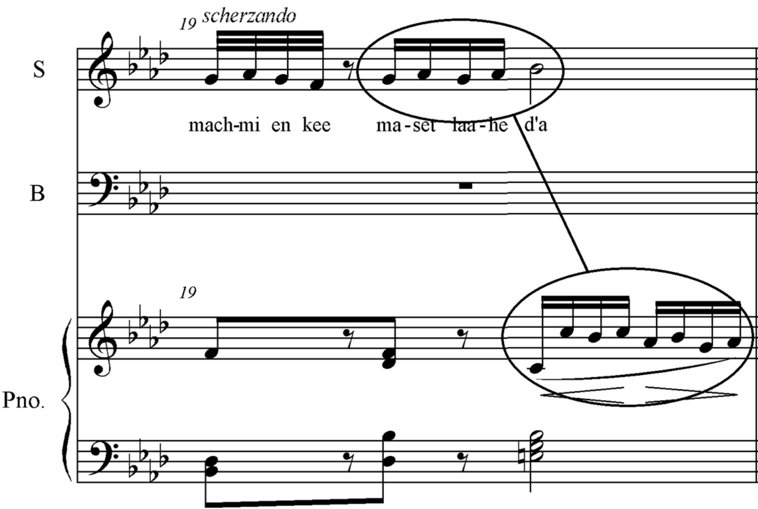
Example 5-20. "Dorian" figure, m. 24

Daniel also combined two or more folk figures and motifs to make a melodic phrase. These combinations usually appear in one of the melody lines and are sometimes followed by another figure in a different part. An example of such melodic figure combination could be seen in m. 19 and m. 21 in verse one. In m. 19, $\hat{2}$-$\hat{3}$-$\hat{2}$-$\hat{3}$-$\hat{4}$

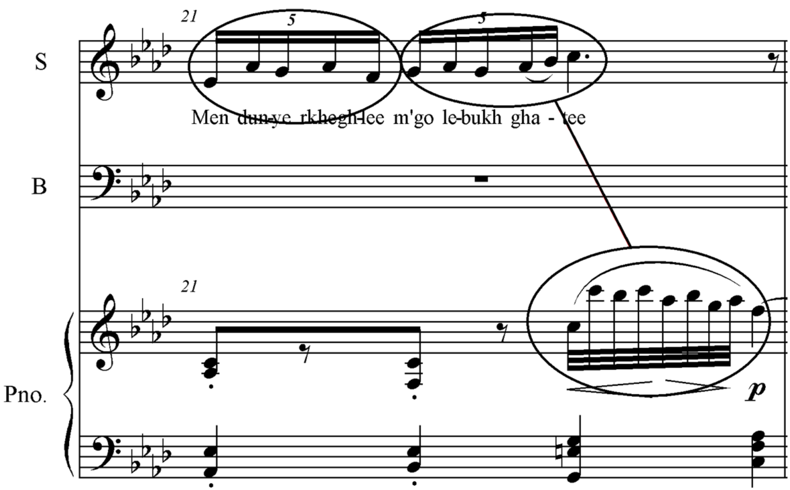
figure in soprano line is immediately followed by running seconds in piano line. In m. 21, leaping fourth figure is followed by $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{4}$ figure in soprano line on beats one and two, which is then followed by running seconds on beat three in piano line (ex. 5-21).

Example 5-21. Folk melodic figure combination in two parts

a. $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{4}$ figure followed by running seconds figure, verse 1, m. 19

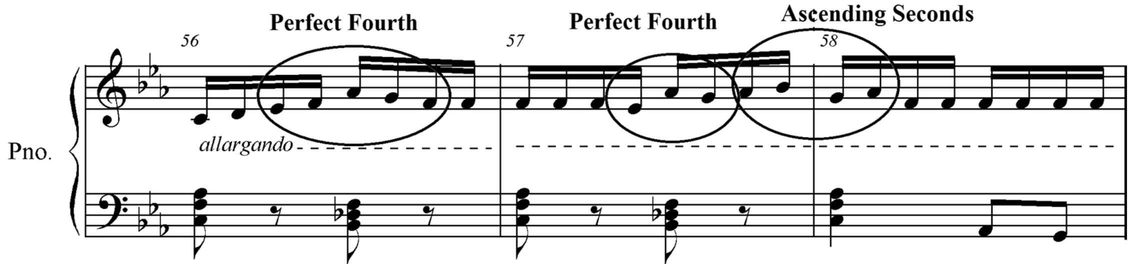


b. Leaping fourth figure followed by $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{3}$ - $\hat{4}$ figure followed by running seconds, verse 1, m. 21



In the piano solo bridge between verses two and three, Daniel ended the long transitional material by a combination of folk melodic figures as shown in example 5-22.

Example 5-22. Folk melodic figure combination in piano solo bridge, mm. 53-59



Folk melodic cadences are another feature in “Shooshane d’Raghoole,” which give a Mesopotamian timbre to the song. Use of modal cadence that incorporates a folk melodic figure could be seen in m. 3. This melodic figure contains a perfect fourth interval followed by scale degrees $\hat{2}$ - $\hat{1}$ (ex. 5-23).

Example 5-23. Mesopotamian folk melodic cadence, m. 3

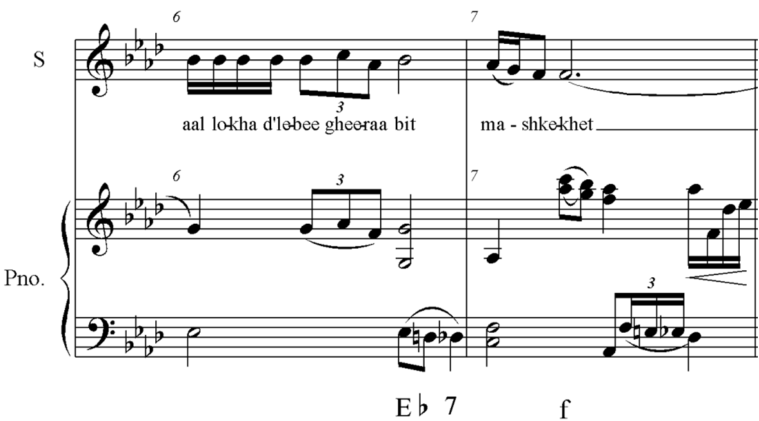
Same melodic cadence occurs in m. 11 in verse one, m. 39 in verse two, and m. 66 in verse three.

Daniel's "Shooshane d'Raghoole" modulates from F-Aeolian in verse one to C-Aeolian in verse two and then back to the original tonality in verse three, and in each verse, the tonality shifts from a minor tonal center to a major tonal center in the beginning of section **B** and stays in the major tonal center until the end of the second phrase in the same section, and then back to the original minor tonal center—to A-flat major tonal center in verses one and three and E-flat major in verse two. The piano interludes bridging between each verse stay in the minor tonality. The short shift to the major tonality in **B** section has functional harmonies, V—iii—vii°—V—vii°—V—I.

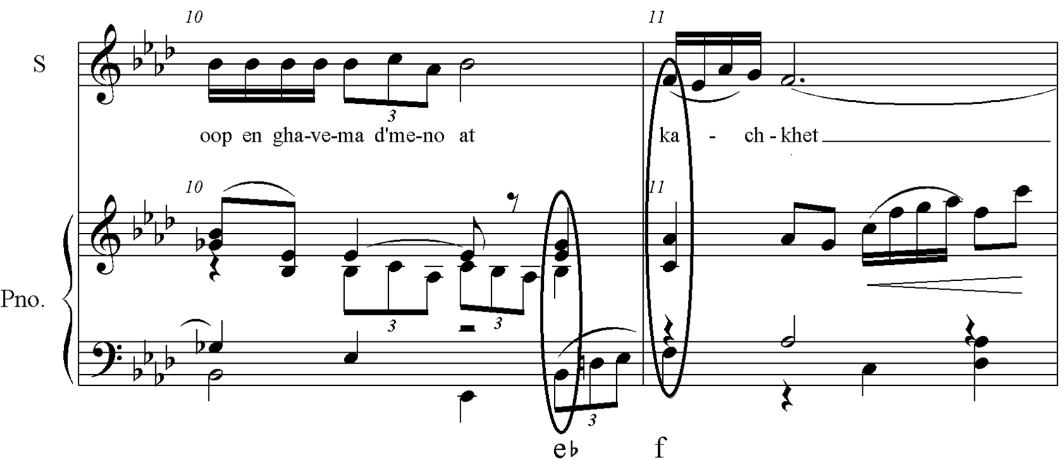
As a modal piece, the final chords are approached from a chord other than V in the majority of cadences, except for once in verses one and two, in m. 21 and m. 49 respectively, and twice in verse three, in m. 74 and m. 76. The final chord is usually approached by ♭VII, ♭vii, vii°, III, v, and VI chords (ex. 5-24).

Example 5-24. Final cadences

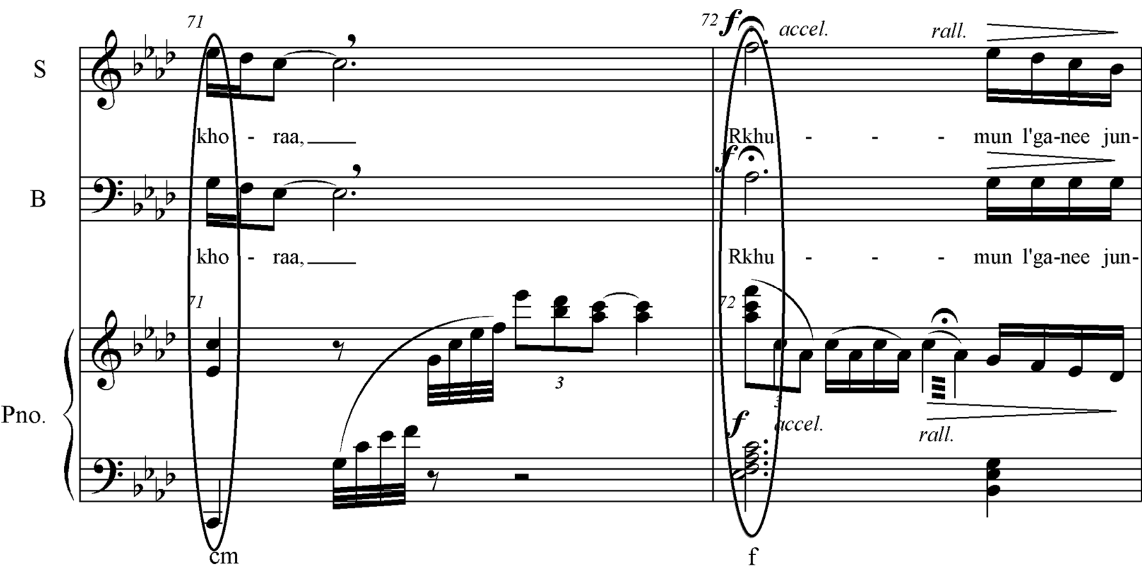
a. ♭VII chord to final chord, verse 1, section **A**, "a," mm. 6-7



b. ♭vii chord to final chord, verse 1, section **A**, “a′,” mm. 10-11

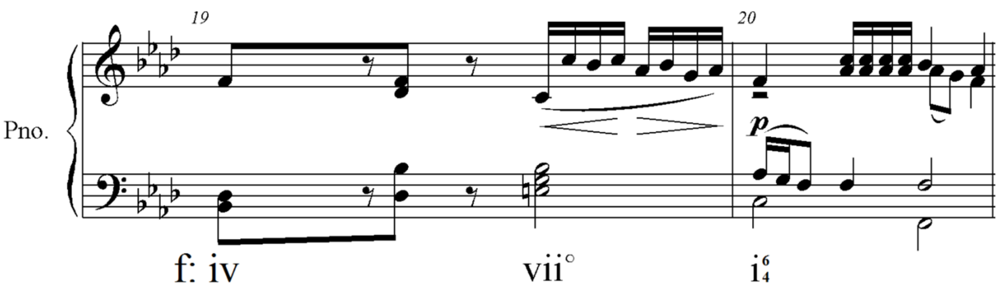


c. v chord to final chord, verse 3, section **B**, “a′,” mm. 71-72



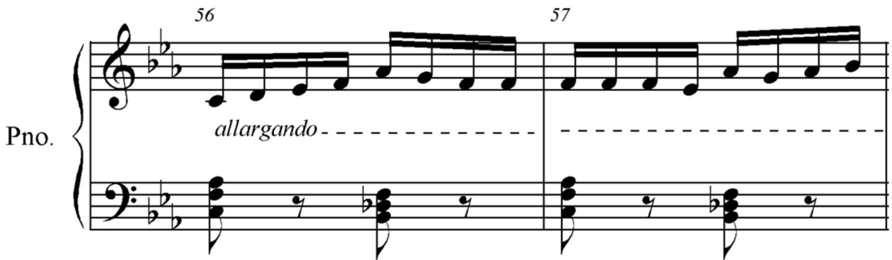
The Western harmonic influences in “Shooshane d’Raghoole” are shown through the use of Western harmonization, and in addition to major and minor chords, Daniel used seventh and diminished chords more often in the composition of this song (ex. 5-25).

Example 5-25. Diminished seventh chord, verse 1, mm. 19-20



Daniel set the vocal parts of “Shooshane d’Raghoole” in $\frac{4}{4}$, but the meter shifts to the Mesopotamian *shaykhāni* dance meter $\frac{2}{4}$ for piano solo bridges between the verses. The $\frac{2}{4}$ *shaykhāni* rhythm is especially felt in mm. 56-57, where there are shorter note values followed by a rest forming the rhythmic figure ♪ 𝄾 ♪ 𝄾 in the piano bass line accompanied by sixteenth notes in the piano treble line as shown in example 5-26.

Example 5-26. *Shaykhāni* dance rhythmic figure in solo piano bridge between verses 2 and 3, mm. 56-57



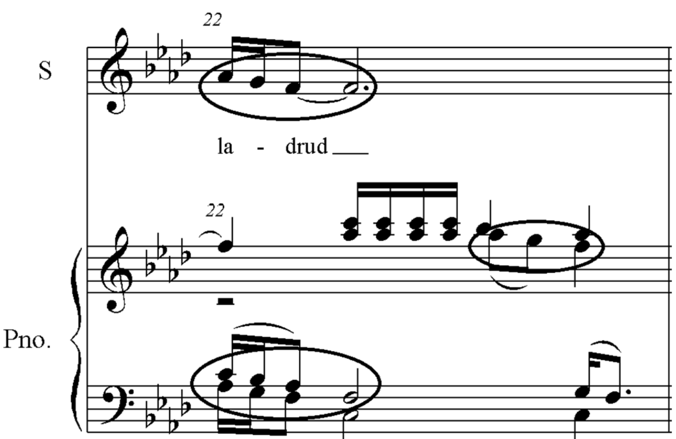
Moreover, in the $\frac{4}{4}$ sections, Daniel created impressions of *shaykhāni* rhythm by using the same rhythmic figure ♪ 𝄾 ♪ 𝄾. In example 5-27, *shaykhāni* rhythmic figure is in

the piano part and the sixteenth note quintuplets are in baritone part. The same scenario happens in other two verses (ex. 5-27).

Example 5-27. *Shaykhāni* impression, verse 2, m. 49

The other Mesopotamian rhythmic figure is the cadential rhythmic figure ♬♩ ♩, a variant of ♫ ♩, happening at the end of the melodic phrases in the song (ex. 5-28).

Example 5-28. Mesopotamian cadential motif ♬♩ ♩ and ♫ ♩, verse 1, section **B**, m. 22

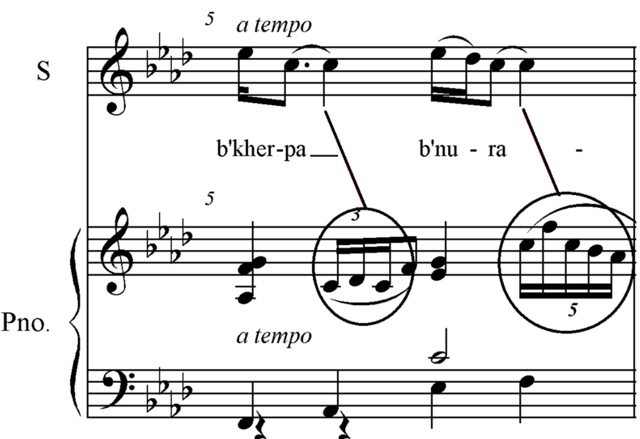


Daniel ued all these Mesopotamian folk elements in composing “Shooshane d’Raghoole” and combined them with Western musical traditions. Likewise, Daniel again chose a Western instrumentation method by setting the song for mezzosoprano-baritone duet and piano using the piano and the second voice in the last verse to harmonize the melody line, an uncommon approach in the popular Middle Eastern monophonic style of harmonization.

Other than for purposes of harmonizing the melody, Daniel used the piano to represent the background countryside and the nature in “Shooshane d’Raghoole.” He used the running seconds melodic figure only in the piano part, suggesting that the piano accompaniment represents the Mesopotamian land and its nature in which Shooshan and Nimrood exist. This can also be seen in the text of the song where the setting of the poem is in the countryside and two lovers wander and address the nature in their lament alluding to the existence and presence of the Mesopotamians in the Middle East, but not as the owners of the land and rather as an ethnic and religious minority who have no claim over their land and are treated as second citizens by the regimes in power.

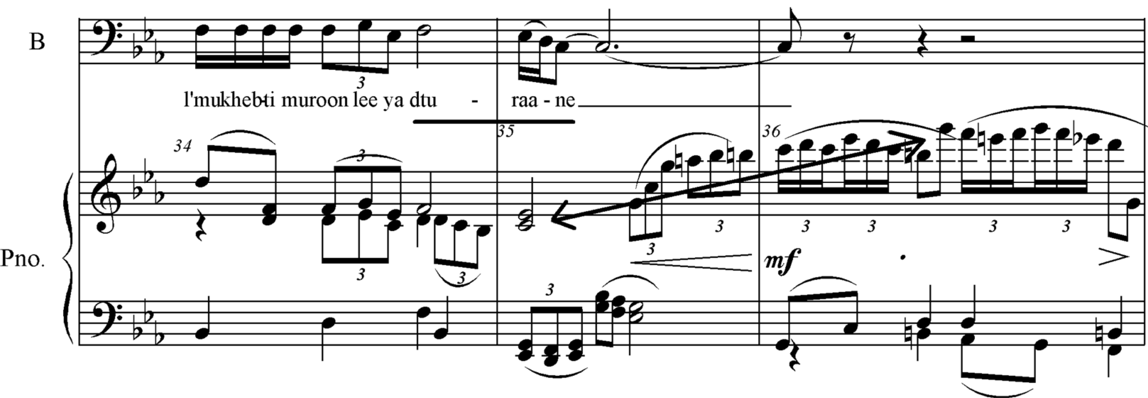
The piano part opens the song with an impression from “a′” in section **A** and is followed by the soprano line in m. 5. The singing of the birds is represented in the piano by short sixteenth note figures that follow the long notes in the voice part (ex. 5-29).

Example 5-29. Short sixteenth note figures in piano following long notes in the voice part, verse 1, section **A**, m. 5



Hills and mountains are represented in the piano part, especially when they are mentioned in the text, by ascending passages to the higher registers in the treble line as shown in example 5-30.

Example 5-30. Ascending passages representing mountains at the word *dtūrāne* [mountains], verse 2, section **A**, mm. 34-36



In example 5-30, the piano treble line is still in lower register when baritone sings the word “mountains” representing the poet in the foothills.

The piano interludes contain sixteenth note triplets and running sixteenth notes against short eighth notes in the bass line creating the *shaykhāni* rhythmic patterns. These piano “bridges” between the sung verses can be heard to represent the streams and the wind that blows through Mesopotamia’s meadows making the flowers and the plants dance. Over all, the piano part barely contains any rests, showing the liveliness of nature and the countryside.

By choosing from numerous Western musical traditions in the composition of “Shooshane d’Raghoole,” Daniel implied the connection between the Christian Mesopotamians in the Middle East with the Christian West. This connection can be seen not only as a sisterhood of the two cultures which are tied by the religious similarities, but also as the forces that prevented the Mesopotamians from having a political state when the political borders in the Middle East were being determined by the League of Nations after the events of WWI. The text of the second and final verses clearly points to the opposing powers that prevent the lovers from being together, hence the ownership of their ancestral land by the Mesopotamians and the chance of being able to live as free people in their homeland. The “elders” and their “merciless plot” are presented by the Western musical elements together with the Mesopotamian folk music elements to create a sound that is both Western and Christian, and thus modern, and a reminder of the Mesopotamians current political conditions in the Middle East that is melancholic and mournful. Although composed in 1942, the gloominess of the song represents both the

recent, past, and current conditions of this people in Mesopotamia, especially after the recent replacement and the kidnapping of the Christian Mesopotamians in Northern Iraq and Syria by the Islamic State (ISIS).

“Marganeeta” [Pearl]

In 1943, Daniel composed the song “Marganeeta” [Pearl] for voice and piano. He wrote the text of the song about the love of a young country boy for a young country girl. Before the Mesopotamians begin settling in large cities of Iran after the events of WWI, the majority of the Mesopotamian population lived in villages either in the mountains or on the plain as farmers and ranchers, and Mesopotamian villages continued to be populated by the Mesopotamians until the seventies even after large populations of Mesopotamians migrated from rural to urban areas. After the arrival of the American missionaries in Urmia, and the resulting cultural development of the Mesopotamian population in Urmia and the surrounding villages, the living conditions and socioeconomic status of the Mesopotamians in the villages improved. Mesopotamians now owned farms and ranches and built houses, churches, and schools in their villages some of which were of significant size and artistic exterior designs. Village life developed a style of its own through integration of traditions with these upward economic developments. Therefore, the village life has become an important part, and to some extent, the core of the Mesopotamian modern history.

Daniel wrote the text of “Marganeeta” signifying yet another cultural norm of the Mesopotamians, love and marriage, and the interaction between the village’s younger and

older generations. The text of each verse in "Marganeeta" depicts the love of the young man for the girl, and his plans to how to approach and persuade her to love him back. The text of the refrain represents the voices of the village people who warn the young man not to bring disgrace to the name of the girl—"the pearl of the village"—and to choose the lawful approach toward the girl, and ask for her hand in marriage (fig. 5-4).

1.	
Shemoh dteemānā Marganeeta;	With a treasured name, Marganeeta (pearl)
Lit akh deeyoh chu khda kheeta	There is none like her
go kule daha breeta.	In the entire universe.
Lebee lveesheleh kūma	My heart put on a black dress
ha mkhzeelee ghomoh lakhūma	When I saw her handsome figure
Khlāpākh ya Marganeeta	I'd die for you, Marganeeta.
Refrain	
La vūd bee de brata;	Don't do it with this girl,
Khda būghtela d'mata.	The doll of the village,
En etlūkh kha shula, voodle b'ūrkhad namūseta.	If you have something in mind, do it by the way of law.
Khābrā la pāledt; leboh la shāmedt,	That her reputation and her heart may be safe
Sūrdūnta Marganeeta.	The little Marganeeta.
2.	
Bāyen azen ghurba d'ah btūlta;	I want to approach this virgin;
Haghen ghatoh khda metelta;	Tell her a story;
Khā metelta sodanta.	A fascinating story.
Tanen neekha go natoh lebee muyle mara ghatoh, Lakhoomta Marganeeta.	I whisper in her ear what my heart has to tell her, Gorgeous Marganeeta.
Refrain	Refrain
3.	
B'lebee bee vārele d'chedinnah	I'm dying to invite her
Go kha beta, go khda ghenna:	Into a house, into a nest:
Khda perkunta khapghenah,	To embrace her a little,
Khda bache chem chichūnta,	Along with a tiny kiss,
Hammen le bāgrā chichūnta.	Believe me it won't hurt.
Ta sazger Marganeeta.	Come on, friends again, Marganeeta.
Refrain	Refrain

4.	
Bār koleni it kha senjeeya;	Behind our cabin, there is a wild olive tree;
Tāmā kyatev kūl kha jeeyya,	Where sits the tired,
Kool kha zoga shūrsheeya.	And every exhausted couple.
Yan manyekh khūt remontā.	Or rests under the pomegranate tree.
Ana bet ganvena dtūntā;	And I will steal the fruit;
Ta azakh Marganeeta.	Let's go Marganeeta.
Refrain	Refrain
5.	
Blablenna m'go karma shammeena	I'll take her through the fertile vine
M'go khaghlaneh tkhūt kha teena	Through the farms to the fig tree
Ana kha ūkhcha kpeena	And I, so hungry
M'peepalga d'pūmoh b'nashghen	Will kiss her right from her lips
Dūz b'arghen, l'bāri le gashghen.	Will run away and won't even look behind.
Kepakh, ya Marganeeta.	So it's up to you, Marganeeta.
Refrain	Refrain
6.	
Men kūpala d'kokha le zāden;	I'm not afraid of the chief's rod
L'Marganeetee har bet mādten.	I'll be with my Marganeeta at last.
Ghala d'a d'ovva b'ghāddten.	I'll shut their voices.
En lazem b'ghārākh sadi;	If needed, I'll call the witnesses;
Ghasha beeya b'deghnūh b'ati:	I'll call the priest and his long beard:
Zaveglan, Marganeeta.	To unite us, Marganeeta.
Refrain	Refrain

Figure 5-4. "Marganeeta," poem and translation (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

"Marganeeta" is written for voice and piano, and the voice part represents both the personas of the young village boy in **A** section, and the villagers in **B** section, showing a kind of dialogue between right and wrong in one's mind, as well as the transition between the established norms of traditional village marriage and what could be called as practices of modern Westernization. The use of only one voice for the village boy and the village people also points to the fact that each person of the society could be situated in both positions, experiencing youthful infatuation, mature and responsible love, marriage, and parenthood. In other words, everyone can be both the

participant—the young lover, and the observers—the villagers. Moreover, choosing one voice to demonstrate two different personas confirms that Marganeeta is not only the "pearl" of her young lover, but of the entire village, and therefore the entire village community finds itself responsible for the security and happiness of Marganeeta, "That her reputation and her heart may be safe." In this song, Daniel portrayed yet another aspect of the Mesopotamian culture—the importance of communal life, something that Mesopotamians share with all the other Middle Eastern ethnic groups. The individualism of the West is an unfamiliar notion in the Middle Eastern cultures, as they highly value the importance of society, and each individual considers himself or herself as a part of a whole and not independent from others. Likewise, the single voice line is part of the whole village and not separated and independent of it.

Daniel stressed the importance of marriage and tradition in this song because marriage is one of the two most important rituals, in addition to funerals, through which the Mesopotamian cultural heritage is preserved, and in which cultural norms and traditions are passed down to the next generations. Mesopotamians continue to maintain a highly developed moral and ethical sense even in the age of Globalization where Western norms and traditions are replacing local cultures in many parts of the Middle East after the introduction of satellites and then the Internet.[319] This is mainly true for the Mesopotamians living in the Middle East. As for the American diaspora, traditional values are waning as the younger Mesopotamian generation, either growing up or being

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[319] Thomas Erdbrink, "Lavish Malls Sprouting Up to Attract Iranian Elite," *The New York Times*, published January 18, 2015, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/01/19/world/middleeast/lavish-malls-sprouting-up-to-attract-iranian-elite.html?_r=1.

born in the West, assimilates into the dominant culture. Revealingly, Daniel's "Marganeeta" has become a very popular song among the Mesopotamians of the Middle East, but not among the Mesopotamians of the diaspora.[320] "Marganeeta" has become a "must-be-performed" song at summer festivals in Iran where large numbers of young Mesopotamians gather yearly, and also at the weddings where it celebrates the importance and "holiness" of marriage, since marriage plays an invaluable role in survival and continuity of a people as an ethnic group.

The overall musical form in the "Marganeeta" is **AB** with a piano introduction at the beginning introducing the opening vocal phrase and a piano conclusion at the end embellishing section **B** melodically, rhythmically, and harmonically. The main tonal center of the song alternates between F major and D minor with constant shifts between modality and tonality in the melodic lines. The main melody and first verse of the song are shown in example 5-31.

[320] From my own experience, I have not seen any performance of "Marganeeta" in any of the Mesopotamian festivals or weddings in America, but in Iran, it is performed regularly at Mesopotamian festivals, weddings, and even at pop concerts. The pop arrangements of the song can be heard at any event in Iran since the time it became popular during the 1990s. It is worth mentioning that while Daniel indicated *andantino con moto* as the tempo mark for "Marganeeta" and an overall minor tonality, a tradition has been established where the song is usually performed with a slower tempo for the first section and a fast tempo for the second section, and with a major tonality.

Example 5-31. “Marganeeta” melody line (voice), verse 1 (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

Table 5-5 provides an overview of the formal structure of the song.

Table 5-5. “Marganeeta” overall formal structure

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Section</th><th colspan="2">Measure Number</th><th>Tonality</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Piano Introduction</td><td colspan="2">1-8</td><td>D-Aeolian to d</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="6">A</td><td>a</td><td>9-16</td><td rowspan="6">9-36</td><td>F or D-Aeolian</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition</td><td>17-20</td><td>F or D-Aeolian to d</td></tr>
<tr><td>b</td><td>21-28</td><td>F or D-Aeolian to d at cadence</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition</td><td>27-28</td><td>d</td></tr>
<tr><td>b′</td><td>29-35</td><td>F to d at cadence</td></tr>
<tr><td>Transition</td><td>35-36</td><td>d</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="5">B</td><td>a</td><td>37-38</td><td rowspan="5">37-51</td><td>F</td></tr>
<tr><td>a′</td><td>39-40</td><td>F</td></tr>
<tr><td>b</td><td>41-44</td><td>F</td></tr>
<tr><td>Precedential Material</td><td>45-48</td><td>F</td></tr>
<tr><td>Cadence-Trans</td><td>49-51</td><td>d</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Piano Conclusion (B′)</td><td colspan="2">52-67</td><td>F to d at cadence</td></tr>
</table>

Daniel composed “Marganeeta” melody based on a Mesopotamian sounding motif structured around the neighbor tones of a given pitch—do-re-ti-do (ex. 5-32).

Example 5-32. The “Neighbor” motif of the “Marganeeta” melody

a. “Neighbor” motif if in the antecedent phrase

b. “Neighbor” motif if at the cadence of a group period

These motifs are derived from the Mesopotamian folk melodic figure, the running seconds, and they occur throughout the song several times both in the piano and the voice parts.

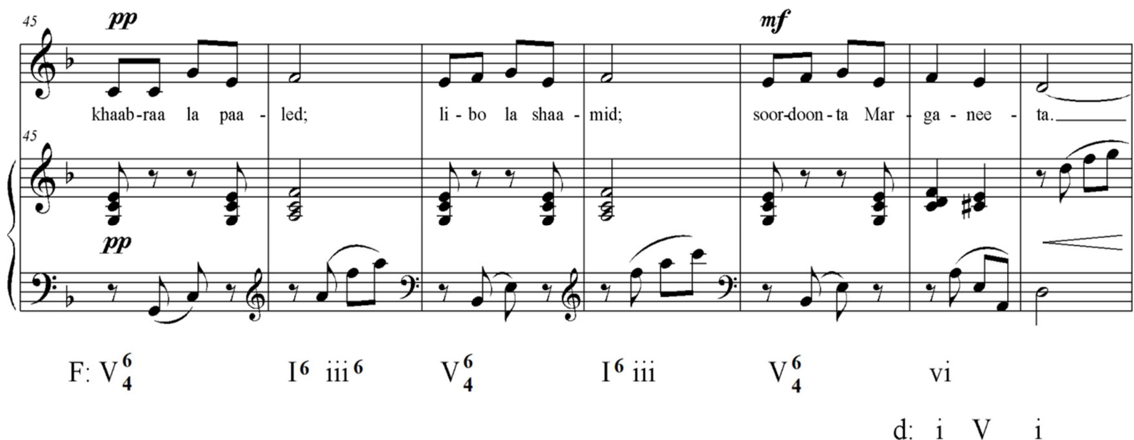
Daniel used a different technique in structuring the harmonic support for the melody of "Marganeeta." This technique includes constant shifts between modality and tonality where a phrase begins, in many cases, with a modal confirmation like Te-Do, and concludes tonal, with Ti-Do at the cadence as well as in the harmony where it concludes with V^7-i in the piano line (ex. 5-33).

Example 5-33. Section **A** opening phrase beginning with Te-Do and ending with Ti-Do, mm.1-8

Melodic phrases and the harmonic accompaniment in the piano introduction and section **A** contain the same changing tonal structure, which results in an ambiguous tonal center. Even though D minor modality wins at cadences, at points it is hidden, such as in the opening and the middle sections of phrases and suggests both a major and a minor mood: either F major or D-Aeolian. Section **B** has a more stable tonal center. Its phrases begin and end in F major and the harmony in the piano part is functional including half

cadences at the ending of the short phrases. The pre-cadential material constantly sets the tonal structure by repeating V-I, and eventually tonality shifts to D minor and concludes with V-i at the last two measures at the cadence (ex. 5-34).

Example 5-34. Tonality in the **B** section, precedential material and cadence, mm. 45-51



With regards to the lyrics, it could be suggested that the obvious stable tonal structure in section **B** represents the established norms and mature traditions of the villagers. They clearly know where they stand, and are aware of their beliefs, roots, traditions, and identity. Even though Daniel used modality as a representation of Mesopotamian folk culture, and tonality as a representation of modernity in "Dkhari d'Vaadaan," in this section of "Marganeeta," folk culture is portrayed as the structure and frame of a society through the use of a firm tonal center and functional harmonies—the rules without which a society would fall apart. The strength and foundation of a tradition and the basis of a culture are also represented in the short notes and rests in the bass piano

line and a raise in the dynamic level in section **B** which suggests a clear rhythmic section in the piano part, again, indicating the awareness and rationality of the adults.

Daniel's aspirational nationalist goals in "Marganeeta" are also represented in the concluding piano part of the song, where he further embellished the entire melodic material in section **B**, which is already filled with Mesopotamian melodic folk elements such as running seconds and "Neighbor" motifs. He embellished the melody by changing it rhythmically and adding passing tones, as if depicting the rapid social, cultural, and political changes that were and still are occurring to the Mesopotamians. In the preface to his book *William Daniel's Creation*, Daniel explained:

> The decade between 1943 and 1954 has a great importance in the history of the literature and artistic culture development of the Mesopotamians—a development that began in Iran and gradually reached Iraq and Lebanon and later, Syria and other places. This start . . . became an awakening innovation in the social growth which was created by the services of the Western missionaries, which took place in the cities and villages of our modest nation [Mesopotamians].[321]

Thus, Daniel encapsulated both the traditions of his oppressed and forgotten people who were culturally and socially revived during the presence of the American missionaries in Urmia, as well as the changes following the horrific events of the Christian Genocide and the rise of nationalistic movements among the Mesopotamians of the Middle East and the diaspora.

The concluding **B′** section is a representation of not only the changes that occurred and continue to happen and influence the Mesopotamians, but is also a

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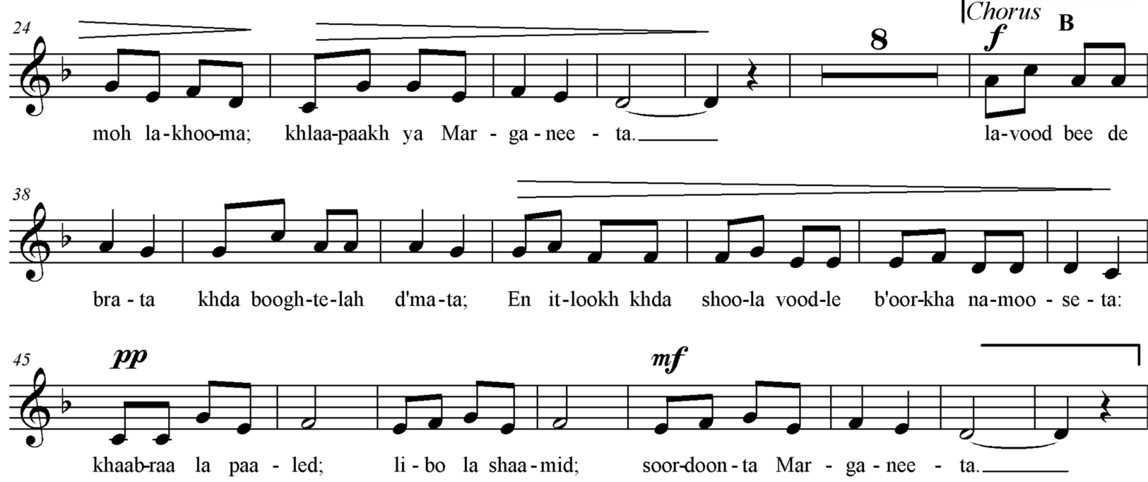
[321] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 100.

representation of a Mesopotamian nation that Daniel hoped to see in the future. This "new" Mesopotamia moves from simplicity to complexity and from modality to tonality through rhythmic changes from quarters and eighths to triplets and sixteenth notes and from middle range to low and high ranges in piano treble and bass lines. The melody line in section **B** and the embellishment of the same melody in the concluding piano section is shown in example 5-35.

Example 5-35. "Marganeeta" melody in section **B** and concluding piano part

a. "Marganeeta" melody in section **B**, mm. 37-51



b. “Marganeeta” concluding piano section, **B′**, mm. 52-67

WWII had its own influence on the cultural lives of the Mesopotamians especially of the Mesopotamians of Iran. During the 1940s, Mesopotamians were among the most recognized ethnic and religious minority group in the countries they resided in, and thus, gained protection and civil rights to some extent, even though they were still considered as second citizens due to their Christian religious beliefs. These partial advantages influenced the social and economic lives of the Mesopotamians to a great degree and obviously, developed their culture and their traditions. Daniel explained,

> Truly, wars bring along change of conduct and cultural revivals to the countries that are fallen on their paths. Likewise, WWII brought a cultural revival for our nation

> [Mesopotamians]. In Iran, Mesopotamians engaged in publishing periodicals, magazines, newspapers, biographies, poems, and books. They also staged plays, concerts, and musicals. The cultural flames set up a fire that its heat reached Iraq and Lebanon and later, Syria and other places where our Mesopotamian people lived. In Iran, we had a Radio show that was broadcasted from Tehran. In Iraq, Mesopotamians eager to hear their brothers' cultural programs would get together with those who had a radio device to listen to the program with zeal.[322]

The concluding piano section of "Marganeeta" is a representation of how Daniel saw the modest Mesopotamian culture developing into a more dynamic and self-aware culture.

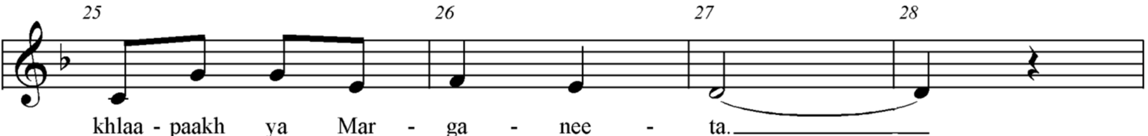
The primary motif is rhythmically followed by another quarter note either ascending or descending depending on where in the melody they occur. Example 5-36*b* is a cadential motif, and therefore, it either ends on the tonic at cadence or is followed by a passing tone that leads to a tonic chord tone (ex. 5-36), and rhythmically refers to the long-short-short-long-long *shaykhāni* rhythm.

Example 5-36. "Marganeeta" melodic motif followed by a quarter note referring to *shaykhāni* rhythmic motif

a. Melodic motif at antecedent phrase in section **A**, "a," mm. 3-4

[322] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 98.

b. Melodic motif at cadence rhythmically modified and approaching tonic, section **A**, “b,” mm. 25-27

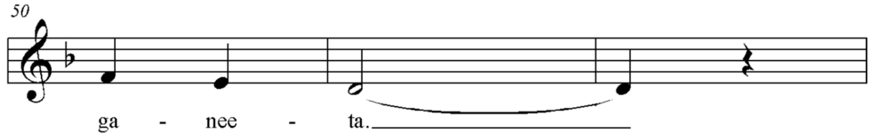


Daniel incorporated the Mesopotamian folk cadential rhythmic motif, ♫ ♩, in “Marganeeta” with a slight modification in m. 15 at the cadence of the consequent phrase of “a” (ex. 5-37).

Example 5-37. Mesopotamian cadential rhythmic motif, “a,” mm. 15-16

In other cases, Daniel modified the dance rhythmically while maintaining the short-short-long pattern as shown in example 5-38.

Example 5-38. Modified short-short-long Mesopotamian cadential motif, section **B** cadence, mm. 50-52



The opening chord in "Marganeeta" is an F major chord, creating an impression of a major tonality mode, but the opening is in D-Aeolian, and ends with a perfect authentic cadence in the same mode. Phrase "a" in section **A** is centered on F major, which shifts to D minor in post-cadential material in mm. 17-20. The second phrase opens in D-Aeolian and section concludes in D minor. Section **B** is for the most part in F major, and only shifts back to D minor at the cadence, and the same tonal pattern occurs in the concluding piano section. The constant and rapid shifts from a major to a minor tonal mode, could also be considered as a representation of social and political changes that began to happen to the Mesopotamians since 1880s as concepts of ethnic identity began to form among the other Middle Eastern ethnic groups, such as the Kurds, Armenians, Arabs, and Ottomans under the Ottoman Empire, which resulted in the events of WWI in Anatolia and their aftermath.

The bass line in the piano solo sections—"b′" in section **A** and the entire **B′** section—uses the low range of the piano on the first beat of the measure, creating space between beats one and two of each measure, and between bass and treble voices. The large spaciousness created between the bass and treble lines, especially at points where treble clef range is high, can also be heard to represent the emotional and rational differences of a young lover and adult villagers, traditions and modernity, the past and the future.

Daniel used all these musical elements in "Marganeeta" to show the importance of the traditions of the past as the roots of a people, as well as the importance of adapting to the changes that the passage of time brings about in the world because in order for a

culture to grow and flourish, society needs to adapt and keep up with the changes constantly to prevent isolation and backwardness as long as the roots and identity of the culture is preserved.

"Ninveh"

William Daniel composed "Ninveh" in 1939 when he was still living in Hamedan—four years before the launch of the Assyrian Radio in Tehran in 1943. He composed "Ninveh" in praise of the city of Nineveh, the second capital of the Assyrian Empire after Assur—the most important and magnificent of the two. Nineveh was built on the eastern banks of river Tigris and was populated since the seventh millennium BCE.[323] It became the capital city of the Assyrian Empire during King Sennacherib of Assyria (705-681 BCE) in 704 BCE.[324] Sennacherib rebuilt Nineveh and embellished it by constructing palaces and buildings and making it a great commercial and cultural trade center. Nineveh fell in 612 BCE through the joint armies of the Babylonians from southern Mesopotamia and the Medes of Persia, and power shifted to the south and once again, the city of Babylon became the capital of Mesopotamia during the time of the Chaldeans.[325]

Mesopotamians, however, still consider Nineveh as the capital of Mesopotamia, and Mesopotamian poets and artists have praised the city with lavish artworks. Likewise, Daniel composed the song "Ninveh" in appreciation of her glorious history, glamorous

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[323] John McClain, *The Destruction of Nineveh* (Boston: Boston University, 2006), 53.
[324] McClain, *The Destruction of Nineveh*, 54.
[325] Hans J. Nissen and Peter Hein, *From Mesopotamia to Iraq: A Concise History*, trans. Hans J. Nissen (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009), 101.

buildings, and her soil and ruins that nourishes the existence of the Mesopotamians as a people and culture to this day. Even though Daniel lamented the destruction of Nineveh in his poem, he still believed that its land and "soil" have the tremendous power for the survival of a nation without a state (fig. 5-5).

1.

Kha shvūghlee naplen āl sādrākh,
Ninveh malekta d'breeta;
Ghoma d'sārpen men go āprākh
Khacha khela l'aha rūkhee shūrsheeya.
Shvūghlee l'kharabeeyyakh gashghen;
L'benyatakh ateeghe b'kheymūta nashghen.
Shvūghlee lokhakh byad dimee mashen;
Gharen tāsheeta mhirtā.

Oh let me on your bosom fall
Nineveh queen of Earth all
So that from your soil I inhale
A little strength for my spirit wan and frail
Let me at your ruins warmly gaze
Sacred foundations with burning lips embrace
Let me wash them with tear and trace
And read greatest of all Lore.

2.

Hagheelee ya keepa gheeda matla d'ghāleebūtā.
Ghomad rā'esh lebbee sgheeda;
Ghomad pāldtā men ū mgha d'rūkhee zdoota.
Māmesāntā d'g ū re yemma.
Marena it kteeva l'ghessee o shimma.
Khūsh rādekh b'sherayānee o dimma,
Dimma d'e Atūr gūrtā.

Old stone do tell me the story
Tale of light and glory
Perchance my weary heart waken
Perchance fear from my being is shaken
You that nursed heroes on your breast
They tell me, I, too am with the emblem blessed
Let blood in my vein stir to unrest
Blood of the mighty Atoor [Assyria].

3.

Sapeta d'yemman ahela:
Bne deshta, bne dtūrā,
Zavegakh b'kha khūbba ū khela.
Bāyā have rāb-shāreera yessūra.
Mashkhed gha bne ūmta, brūnee:
Kes Ninveh atighta Ninveh khatta bnee.
Kool eeman d'shūrsheelūkh, l'sādree gnee;
Khela shghūl men gābbārtā.

Harken to decree maternal
Dwellers of mount and plain
To unite in bond eternal
For revival of the old cause and old aim
Proclaim to all children my son
On the site of Old Nineveh build a new one
Whenever weary to my arms run
Your strength, your zeal to restore.

Figure 5-5. "Ninveh," poem and translation (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

In the last stanza, Daniel called for the construction of a "new" Nineveh where he invited the mountain and plain, and urban and rural dwellers to put aside their differences, alluding to Mesopotamian differences, such as variances in dialects, church denominations, country, province, and city of residency. These differences have become more apparent as dividing factors in the Mesopotamian communities, especially after WWI when Mesopotamians began settling in the cities and developing socially and economically both in urban and rural areas. Social and economic developments of the Mesopotamians were naturally followed by socioeconomic class stratifications, but the class differentiations do not divide Mesopotamians as much as the mentioned differences do in the Middle East. As for the Mesopotamian diaspora in America, in addition to the separating elements mentioned above, the economic status—and not the class difference—is the largest factor in tearing apart the Mesopotamian communities due to the materialistic nature of the American system. Even though Daniel wrote the text to "Ninveh" in 1939 when he was still living in Iran and his main targets were the dividing factors of the Iranian Mesopotamian community, such as dialects, denominations, cities, and countries, the text of the last verse still strongly applies to the Mesopotamian diaspora, especially that of America.

Daniel composed the melodic content of "Ninveh," and once again he created a melody using Mesopotamian folk melodic traits such as the running seconds and the folk rhythmic and melodic cadences. Example 5-39 shows the main melodic line.

Example 5-39. “Ninveh” main melody line (Reprinted by permission of the Assyrian American Association of San José.)

Daniel composed “Ninveh” for voice and piano with **Intro | A | B | Coda** as its formal structure. He set the **A** section and **Coda** in key of D major and **B** section in key of D harmonic minor (table 5-6).

Table 5-6. Formal structure for “Ninveh”

Section		Measure Number		Tonality
Piano **Intro**.	a	1-4	1-8	D
	a′	5-8		
A	a	9-12	9-24	D
	b	13-16		
	transition	16		
	a′	17-20		
	b′	21-24		
B	a	25-28	25-32	d
	b	29-32		
Coda	a	33-36	33-41	D
	cadential material	37-40/41		

Daniel incorporated folk melodic elements in composing “Ninveh,” quite literally building a “new one” on “the site of Old Ninveh,” showing a city that has embraced the changes, developments, improvements, innovations, and modernization of the new era, and also refers to all that Daniel wished would influence and inspire the Mesopotamians and Mesopotamian culture to revive and flourish—not to mention that he even might have been suggesting a political point of view, since he had witnessed the state defining process that took place by the League of Nations in the Middle East following WWI and therefore, the idea of obtaining a state for the Mesopotamians was not an unachievable and impossible a dream.

Symbolizing these changes, the piano providing the accompaniment may be heard as a metaphor for modernization because piano is a fairly modern instrument compared to ancient and folk instruments. The Mesopotamians do not have any particular folk instruments, and as mentioned in the discussion of “Shahrah,” they share the *zūrnā* and

davūla with the Kurds and the Turks. Therefore, setting the song "Ninveh" for piano and not for any folk instruments can be heard as a representation of the future and the "new" that comes out of the past, based on the glorious history and cherished traditions of Nineveh—in this case, the folk elements of the semi-modal phrases played on the modern piano, a collaboration between past and present, to create an image of a future that Daniel might have wished for Mesopotamia and Mesopotamians.

The harmonic accompaniment quality of the piano in the Western music tradition is another change to the methods used in the ancient Mesopotamian music. In ancient Mesopotamian music, an accompanying instrument harmonized a melody in the forms of monophony, polyphony, or heterophony.[326] In the Western tradition style that Daniel used in his music, the piano and the second voice provide a harmonizing homophonic texture. Moreover, in contrast to the piano introduction in the songs discussed above, the piano introduction in "Ninveh" contains constructed materials independent of the vocal melody. With neither a simple introduction nor the statement of a melodic phrase to help the singer find the starting pitch, the piano opening rather represents a more developed approach to composing an introduction—a change that could also call for the presence of a more skilled singer as well as more educated audience that the Mesopotamians lack and Daniel clearly complained about in the preface to his *William Daniel's Creations*, "I had to put music aside many times in my life due to the obstacles that had been put in my way . . . the lack of receptiveness in our nation towards listening to a music which is

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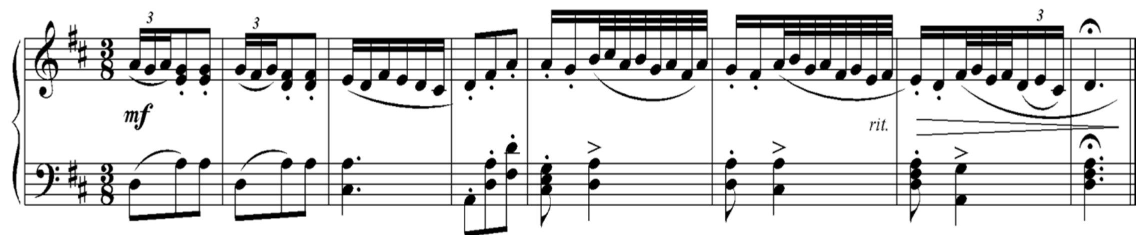
[326] Anne Kilmer, "Mesopotamia," in *Grove Music Online*, Oxford University Press, 2007-2011, accessed September 25, 2011, http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com.libaccess.sjlibrary.org/subscriber/article/grove/music/18485.

"deeper"—and not just a music based on entertaining dance rhythms."[327] Another interesting fact is that the running seconds as the building blocks of the Mesopotamian melodic folk elements are only used in the piano opening (ex. 5-40).

Example 5-40. Running seconds in "Ninveh," piano introduction, mm.1-8



Before Daniel communicated the idea of building a "new Nineveh" on the site of the "old Ninveh" in the text of the third stanza, he communicated the idea at the beginning in the piano introduction by using a modern Western instrument to produce one of the main Mesopotamian traditional melodic elements, the running seconds.

The other folk melodic trait that Daniel used in "Ninveh" is the leaping fourth interval between $\hat{1}$ and $\hat{5}$ at the opening voice line and at the cadence of the first phrase of each phrase group in section **A** establishing the Mesopotamian melodic sound (ex. 5-41).

[327] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 89.

Example 5-41. Leaping fourths in "Ninveh"

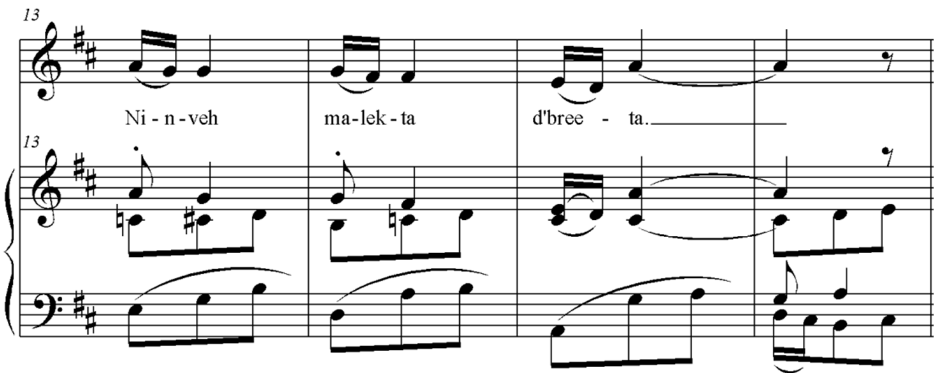
a. Leaping fourth at the opening and ending of "a," section **A**, mm. 9-12

b. Leaping fourth at the phrase cadence, section **A**, "a′," mm. 17-20

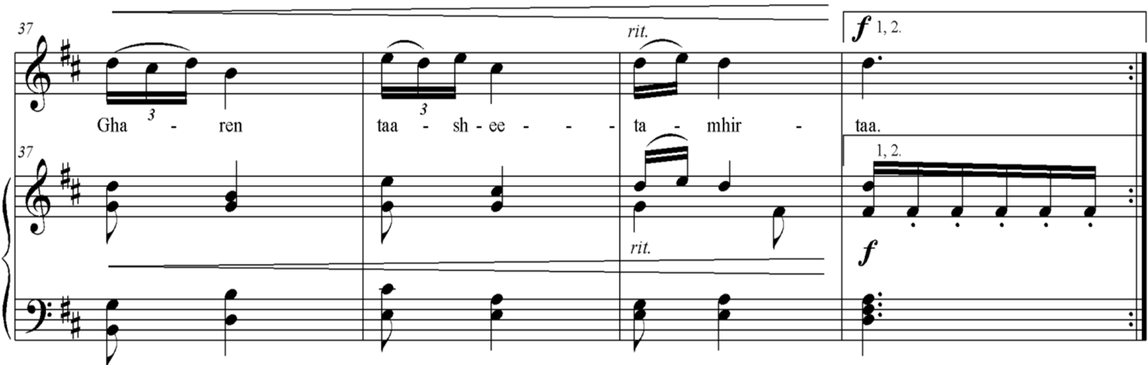
The cadential rhythmic figure constitutes the main rhythmic figure of the second phrase of each phrase group in section **A** and the cadential material in the **Coda** (ex. 5-42).

Example 5-42. Cadential figures in "Ninveh"

a. Cadenetial figure in section **A**, "b," mm. 13-16



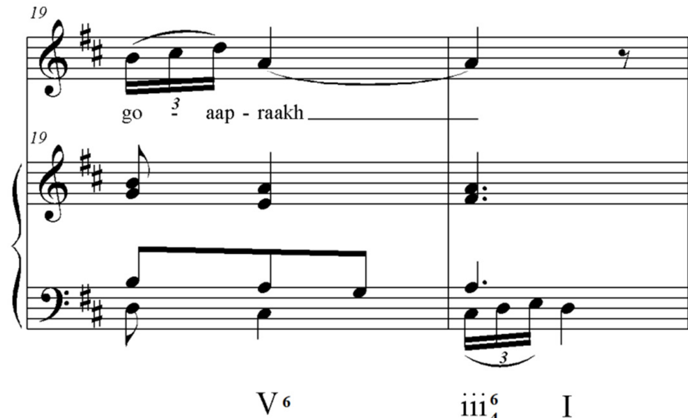
b. Cadential figure in **Coda**, cadential material, mm. 37-40



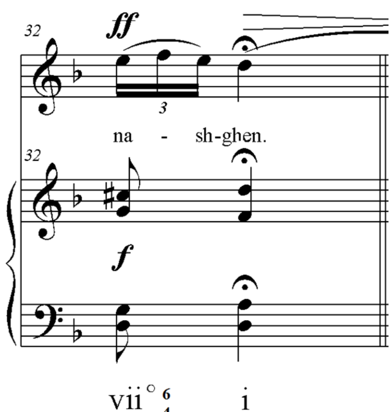
The tonality in “Ninveh” stays in the key of D major for the **Introduction** and section **A**, shifts to D minor in section **B**, and returns to D major for the concluding section. Even though tonic is approached by either vii° or inverted V at all cadence points except for the piano introduction cadence, which concludes with a perfect authentic cadence, the imperfect authentic cadences can be felt to be more dominant than modal cadences, and therefore, the song can be considered to be tonal (ex. 5-43).

Example 5-43. Imperfect authentic cadences in “Ninveh”

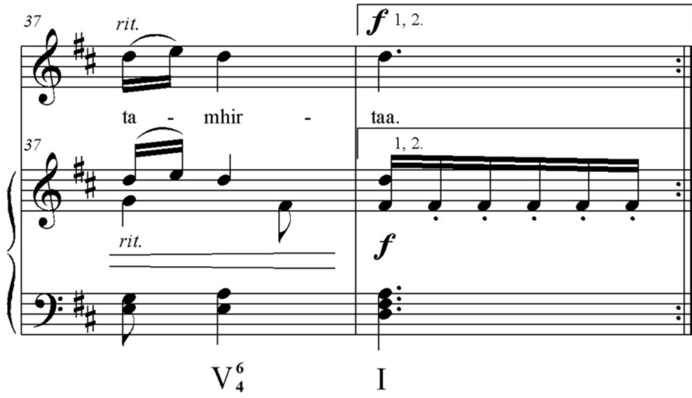
a. IAC, section **A**, “a′,” mm. 19-20



b. IAC, section **B** cadence, m. 32



c. IAC, **Coda**, mm. 38-39

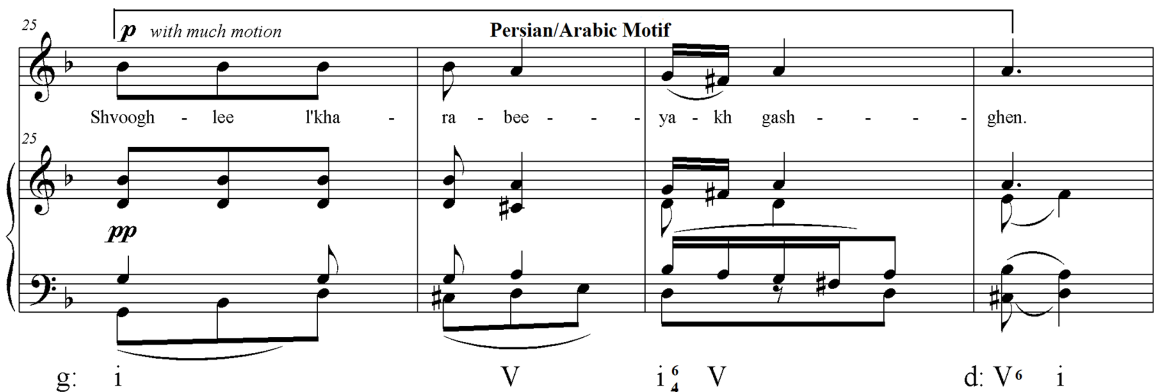


Besides the overall tonality of the piece, which is centered around D major and D minor, melodic motifs in section **B** contain accidentals and intervals that suggest tonal centers different than those of the Mesopotamians. The melodic phrases that construct the melody in section **B** are based on Persian/Arabic art music motifs with the presence of augmented second interval as the result of raised $\hat{7}$ (harmonic D minor scale). Phrase "a" is a Persian/Arabic melodic motif with a tonal center based on G harmonic minor that

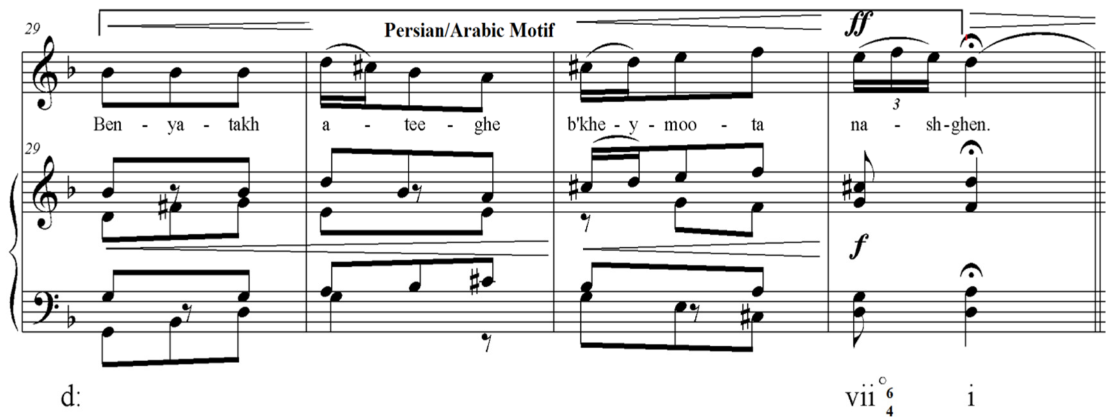
cadences on $\hat{2}$. The tonality suggests a half cadence and immediately in the next measure, Daniel shifts the tonal center to D minor and the second consequent phrase—also a Persian/Arabic motif—begins in D minor and ends on tonic with an authentic cadence in the accompaniment part (ex. 5-44)

Example 5-44. Persian/Arabic melodic motifs in section **B**

a. Persian/Arabic motif, section **B**, "a," mm. 25-28



b. Persian/Arabic motif, section **B**, "b," mm. 29-32



Daniel himself mentioned the presence of foreign musical material in "Ninveh" in the preface to *William Daniel's Creation*, "I had three already composed songs when the radio show launched in 1943: . . . and "Ninveh" was composed by 1939, which had mixed melodic timbre, so I was looking for originality."[328]

The "Persian/Arabic" section **B** is a short section in the middle of the composition, and its "Persian/Arabic" characteristics are unique to itself, and the entire piece does not contain other such melodic motifs. This section portrays the geographical situation of Nineveh and Mesopotamia, both in the heart of the Middle East, a part of the world that is known to the general knowledge as an Arabic region populated by the Arab speaking Muslims. Furthermore, choosing a foreign color for the middle section suggests that Daniel was addressing the issue of originality of the Mesopotamians as the indigenous inhabitants of Mesopotamia, representing the concept of "them" living among "us," rather than "us" living among "them"—even though the "us" are the Mesopotamians living under tremendous political pressure and ethnic and religious oppression. Mentioning the "other's music" in his song, Daniel again took a negotiative approach towardsthe neighbor Arabs, Kurds, Turks, and Persians. By strongly establishing the "Mesopotamianess" in the piano introduction both melodically—running seconds— and harmonically—a firm and secure V-I cadence—and by the longer **A** section in the same key with Mesopotamian folk intervals and rhythmic cadences, Daniel prepared the ground for negotiation with the neighbors, both politically and culturally, as well as showing mutual respect for what the neighboring peoples have and believe.

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[328] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.

Section **B** also contains the melody for the fifth and sixth lines of each stanza. In the first two stanzas, the text for section **B** is a reminder of the ruins and the history of Nineveh. In the third stanza, however, the text for section **B** contains the lines "Proclaim to all children my son; On the site of Old Ninveh build a new one," moving from bitter reminders of the destruction and occupation of Nineveh by the Arabs, Turks, and Kurds to a hopeful future that is built on cultural and political development and maturity of the Mesopotamians.

Daniel tried to create a "Mesopotamian timbre" as he called it in the composition of the above five songs. He tried to reach this goal by not incorporating other Middle Eastern art music elements. What he was left with was mainly the Mesopotamian folk material which was diatonic and modal in nature. As a musician trained in the West, he instead incorporated Western musical traditions with the Mesopotamian folk elements to create Mesopotamian nationalist style of music. This style became William Daniel's main tool in preserving and promulgating the endangered Mesopotamian culture. Daniel witnessed the Christian Genocide during WWI led by the Ottoman Empire and the Kurds under their command in Anatolia. He lost his sister and father in the Genocide and had to flee his hometown and live in refugee camps in Northern Iraq until war was over.[329] He witnessed and experienced the hostility towards Christian Mesopotamians in the Middle East and realized that the six thousand years of his people's history and existence were at

[329] Ishaya, "Commemorating the Centennial Birthday of an Assyrian Legend," 6. William Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara: A William Daniel's Legacy," *Christians of Iraq*, accessed November 11, 2013, http://christiansofiraq.com/Assyrianpoems.html.

stake, even after taking refuge in the Christian West, where they abandoned their traditions and culture through assimilation.

To preserve the Mesopotamian culture, Daniel used his musical skills and composed a music that promoted the Mesopotamian music and traditions through the use of Mesopotamian folk elements and texts—the “Mesopotamian timbre”—which he wrote according to the traditions and norms of Mesopotamian people. He used Western music elements, such as instrumentation and harmonization to “artify” the folk materials that he used in his music. He then moved forward and composed new folk songs in the style of nationalist composers where he used the folk elements such as Mesopotamian folk melodic figures and motifs like the running seconds, perfect fourth intervals, rhythmic motifs such as the folk rhythmic cadence and *shaykhāni* rhythmic figures, and modality to create a new Mesopotamian sound not influenced by other Middle Eastern musics, which is why William Daniel’s contribution to preserving and promoting the Mesopotamian music is enormously crucial and significant.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSION

In order to perform music sensitively as a musician, and understand music sympathetically as an audience, it is very important to comprehend a composer's intentions in writing a piece of music. Knowing what the composer planned to communicate to the listener through the performer provides a secure foundation for interpreting the composer's music. Accordingly, the listener will be able to follow the music more attentively, and the performers will make better choices about the aspects of music they would like to represent to the audience. Meanwhile, a composer, as an artist, is highly influenced by the situation and environment under which he or she lives. These influences are defining factors in interpreting music since compositions are usually inspired by the personal or social experiences of the composer.

In case of a nationalist style, the main motivation derives from the political and cultural situations of a people, and they lead the composers to depict and magnify the significance of their people in their music. Studying the music of such composers gives an insight into the conditions of a people that the composer belong to while the study of social and cultural conditions of the same people provides a better understanding of their music.

Mesopotamian composers began composing music using the techniques of European nineteenth-century nationalistic composers as a way to preserve their endangered culture. They incorporated Mesopotamian folk melodies, dance rhythms, and

liturgical chants in their compositions and used Mesopotamian history, legends, and everyday life of farmers and common people as the basis of their texts. Among the twentieth-century Mesopotamian composers, William Daniel is known as the main pioneer of the Mesopotamian nationalist composers. Daniel was only eleven years old when he witnessed the Christian Genocide in Anatolia by the Muslim Ottoman Empire during World War I. The Mesopotamian Christians lost two thirds of their entire population through this ethnic and religious cleansing.[330] Daniel's family, who had already lost Daniel's father and sister in the Genocide,[331] was forced to flee their hometown and live in refugee camps among the many thousands of Mesopotamians who suffered in the Genocide. Daniel directly experienced the terrors of the Genocide and the dangerous situation in which his people lived as a religious and ethnic minority in the Islamic Middle East. His music was influenced by these horrific events of 1914-18, and urged him to create and establish a Mesopotamian nationalist musical style**.**

As a nationalist composer, Daniel followed European nationalist composers' approaches based on his musical training in Switzerland by incorporating folk melodies of his people into his compositions. He specifically used Mesopotamian dance rhythms and melodic gestures as basis of his compositions and Mesopotamian legends and country life for the settings of his text. Among his various compositions, I chose to look at five songs that he composed for the weekly Assyrian radio program in Iran. These

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[330] Ronald Sempill Stafford, *The Tragedy of the Assyrians* (Piscataway, NJ: Gorgias Press LLC, 2006), 68.
[331] William Warda, "Qateeni Gabbara: A William Daniel's Legacy," *Christians of Iraq*, accessed November 11, 2013, http://christiansofiraq.com/Assyrianpoems.html.

songs give a firm overview of how the political changes regarding his people shaped his thoughts and emotions and how they have been the framing structure of his compositions. To do so, I particularly looked at the nationalistic style of composition that he chose to magnify the culture of his people in songs "Shahrah" [Festival], "Dkhari d'Vaadaan" [Memories of Fatherland], "Shooshane d'Raghoole" [Lilly of the Valley], "Marganeeta" [Pearl], and "Ninveh" [Nineveh]. Some of the melodic features that belong to the Mesopotamian folk music traditions that Daniel used in above songs are melodic figures such as ascending seconds on a descending scale, perfect fourth intervals, and melodic and rhythmic cadential figures such as short-short-long. Daniel especially used the Mesopotamian folk dance rhythm *shaykhāni*, a simple duple meter, either as the main rhythm or an impression of this rhythm in his music. In "Shahrah," *shaykhāni* is the rhythm for the song and in "Shooshane d'Raghoole," Daniel used running sixteenth notes over short eighth notes in piano part to create an impression of the dance rhythm in some sections of his song.

Daniel specifically chose to compose in the style of nationalist composers because he believed that art music could be a means to preserve the endangered Mesopotamian culture.[332] In order to maintain this goal, Daniel looked into the folk music tradition of the Mesopotamian mountaineers of Hakkari Mountains in southern Turkey and strictly avoided the neighboring people's musical features in his compositions such as microtones and rhythms that are characteristic of Arabic, Turkish, Persian, and Kurdish

[332] William Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations* (Chicago: Alpha Graphic Printing and Lithograph, 1978), 95-8.

music.[333] As a result, he was able to compose a music that had Mesopotamian "timbre" as he called it.[334]

Modern Mesopotamian composers are an excellent example to show how closely the social conditions of a nation are related to the music of its composers. After enduring the Christian Genocide by the Muslim Ottomans during World War I, along with the constant threats from their Muslim Kurd and Arab neighbors, Mesopotamians found their people and their culture threatened with extinction. Daniel moved to the United States in the 1950s, settling in Chicago, Illinois, where there was a large Iraqi and Iranian Mesopotamian community. He continued his musical activities there, and came to realize that the new Mesopotamian generation in the West was growing ignorant of its culture and traditions and abandoning its native language. This was especially noticeable among Mesopotamians who had emigrated from Iran. In the U.S., therefore, his music focused on encouraging the diaspora to value its language and culture even though they lived in a Christian country. Daniel moved to San José, California, as more Mesopotamians from Iran began settling down in Northern California. He spent the last three decades of his life in San José, forming chorale groups and performing his music.

Mesopotamians continue to be frightened that their six thousand year old existence as a people and culture may eventually vanish from the pages of history after losing two-thirds of their population in the traumatic events during World War I and

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[333] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.
[334] Daniel, preface to *William Daniel's Creations*, 93.

further bloodshed in Simele, Iraq, in 1933 as an aftermath of the Christian Genocide.[335] Recent attacks on the Christian Mesopotamian communities in Iraq and Syria by the Islamic State (ISIS) have renewed and intensified this fear.[336] Consequently, modern Mesopotamian composers like William Daniel have found music to be a means of preserving the culture. They believe that art music can encourage the young generation to appreciate what has been passed down to them through thousands years of history. Moreover, they have found art music as an encouraging source of culture for the young generation in the diaspora, who have left their ancestral lands in the hopes to find a safe haven in the West, to stay loyal to their traditions, language, and culture.

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[335] Khaldun S. Husry, "The Assyrian Affair of 1933 (I)," *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 5, no.2 (April 1974): 353.
[336] Alissa J. Rubin, "ISIS Forces Last Iraqi Christians to Flee Mosul," *The New York Times*, last modified July 18, 2014, http://www.nytimes.com/2014/07/19/world/middleeast/isis-forces-last-iraqi-christians-to-flee-mosul.html?_r=0. Mariano Castillo, "ISIS Overtakes Iraq's Largest Christian City," *CNNWorld*, last modified August 8, 2014, http://www.cnn.com/2014/08/07/world/meast/iraq-isis-christian-city/. Sam Jones and Own Bowcott, "Religious Leaders Say Isis Persecution of Iraqi Christians Has Become Genocide," *The Guardian*, last modified August 9, 2014, http://www.theguardian.com/world/2014/aug/08/isis-persecution-iraqi-christians-genocide-asylum.

WILLIAM DANIEL CHRONOLOGY

1903	Born in Mahābād, Iran on March 17 to Asli and Dr. David Sayad Daniel
1907	Daniel's mother dies
	Completes primary education in the American Missionary School in Urmia and learns to write in New Aramaic language
1918	Daniel's father dies while attending the sick Mesopotamians
	Daniel's eldest sister abducted by the Ottoman Army
	Daniel takes refuge in Bāqubāh, Iraq with other Mesopotamians of Iran following the Christian Genocide
	Migrates to Hamedan, Iran after WWI, where he begins studying violin
1930s	Studies music in Switzerland at the Basil Conservatory of Music
	Plays violin in symphonic orchestras in France and Switzerland
	Translates the Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac* from French into New Aramaic
1937	Returns to Hamedan, Iran
	Becomes music instructor at Pahlavi High School in Hamedan
1942	Begins composing music with "Mesopotamian timber"
1943	Moves to Tehran
	Becomes music director of the weekly Assyrian Radio Program at the National Radio
1944	Publishes his first book of songs with illustrations, *Zāhreere d'Oomanoota* [Rays of Art]
	Assembles the first Assyrian choir and dance group in Tehran
	Begins composing songs for weekly Assyrian Radio Program

	Organizes plays and concerts
	Teaches New Aramaic language and literature
1952	Immigrates to the U.S. and settles in Chicago
	Organizes choirs and plays in Chicago
	Teaches New Aramaic
	Gives lectures at various functions
	Writes articles for the Assyrian magazines
1960	Becomes editor for the periodical *Mhadyana* [The Guide], a position he maintains for the rest of the decade
1961	The Assyrian Youth and Cultural Society of Tehran publishes his first volume of the epic *Ghādeeni Gābārā* [Ghādeeni the Great]
1967	Publishes the children's verse book titled *Rāmeenā Patanta* [Rāmeenā the Naughty]
	Writes the bilingual play *Ghismat* [Destiny]
1970s	Moves to San José, California
	Writes and composes numerous articles, poems, and musical pieces
1970	Publishes *Juvenile Suite* and wins the Beblis Award
	Publishes the second volume of *Ghādeeni Gābārā*
	Publishes the bilingual treatise *Assyrians of Today: Their Problems and a Solution*
1971	Receives *Medale Homayuni* [Royal Medal] for work in New Aramaic and English in celebration of the "2500-year" history of the Persian monarchy
1978	Publishes the book of songs *William Daniel's Creations*
1979	Becomes editor of *Kokhva d'Atur* [Assyrian Star] by the Assyrian American National Federation

1983	Publishes the third volume of *Ghādeeni Gābārā*
	Narrates the volume I and II of *Ghādeeni Gābārā* on cassette tape
1988	Publishes the bilingual play *Ghismat* [Destiny]
	Dies due to a car accident in San José
1992	Daniel's students in San José collect his previously unpublished poems in New Aramaic and English in an illustrated full color book titled *Tapestry*

GLOSSARY

Akkadians. The Semitic forefathers of the Mesopotamian people who later formed the Akkadian Kingdom in Mesopotamia (2340-2125 BCE).

Arabs. A Semitic people living in the Arabian Peninsula that migrated north and settled in southern Mesopotamia during the late Mesopotamian kingdoms. After the rise of Islam, Arabs conquered the entire Middle East, northern Egypt, and Spain.

Armenians. An Aryan Christian people who settled in the Caucasus. The court of Safavids in Persia hired a large number of Armenians, and therefore, a large community of Armenians has lived since then in Esfahan, the Safavid capital, as well as in western Iran. Other large Armenian communities in the Middle East can be found in Iraq and Lebanon. The largest Armenian community of Anatolia became the victim of the Christian Genocide in 1915 when the Islamic Ottoman Empire killed 1,500,000 Armenians. Armenians in the Middle East are currently skillful Western classical musicians.

Assyrians. The Semitic settlers of northern Tigris who established the Assyrian Empire in Mesopotamia (1170-612 BCE).

Assyrian Church of the East. The oldest Syrian rite that was established during the first century CE in Mesopotamia and whose rite is entirely in Aramaic. This church was known as the Nestorian Church—a negative term given by other Christians after the Council of Chalcedon in 451 CE and by some Western scholars, even though Nestorius was never a member of this church and his name was never mentioned in the church's synods. The Assyrian Church of the East has always followed a strict but orthodox version of Antiochian Christology, and because of the political situation could not participate in councils held within the Roman Empire, and therefore, it was isolated from the rest of the Christian world during most of its history. Previously, it was also known as the Church of the East.

Azerbaijan (West and East). Two Turkish speaking provinces in northwestern Iran with Urmia and Tabriz as their capitals, respectively. These provinces are home for large communities of various ethnic minorities such as the Kurds, Mesopotamians, and Armenians.

Babylonians. The Hamite Amorites who came to Mesopotamia and established the Babylonian power (1800-1600 BCE), which some literature refers to as the “Old Babylonian” period.

Byzantine. The Eastern Roman Empire with Constantinople as its capital (330-1453). The Byzantine Empire was established in 330 CE after the Roman Empire split into two spheres.

Chaldeans. The Semitic settlers of southern Mesopotamia who succeeded the Assyrians (612-539 BCE). The Roman Catholic Mesopotamians, whether Assyrian or Chaldean, are also known as Chaldeans—a misleading term given to the Roman Catholic Mesopotamians by the Roman Catholic Church after the establishment of this denomination among the Mesopotamians in sixteenth century CE.

Christian Genocide of 1914-18. Also known as the Armenian Genocide. An ethnic and religious cleansing conducted by the Islamic Ottoman Empire from 1914 to 1918 in Anatolia and resulted in the death of 1,500,000 Armenians, 750,000 Assyrians, and 250,000 Greek.

Davūla. Aramaic for a cylindrical drum common in Kurdish, Turkish, and Mesopotamian music. Also called *dehol* in Persian and Kurdish.

Eastern Church. The Eastern Church today includes the communities of the Assyrian Church of the East, Oriental Orthodox Churches (such as the Armenian, Coptic, Jacobite, and Ethiopian churches), and the Eastern Orthodox Church or the Orthodox Church (Eastern Europe Churches).

Elamites. The indigenous inhabitants of Iran whose origins can be traced back to third millennium BCE, where they occupied southwestern Iran. Their major cities included ancient Susa (Shush), Haft Tape, and Chogha Zanbil in Khuzestan province. In the book of Genesis, Elam is mentioned to be the son of Shem—one of Noah's three sons—thus categorizing Elamites as a Semitic people.

Hakkari Mountains. A mountainous region that expands from north of the Nineveh plains in Iraq to south of Lake Van in Turkey where a large community of Mesopotamians took refuge after the invasion of the Mongols during the thirteenth century. After the Christian Genocide, the entire Mesopotamian community left their homes in Hakkari Mountains and escaped to Georgia, Iran, and Iraq.

Kurds. An Indo-European people who originated in Georgia and immigrated south in search of more suitable conditions in terms of climate and agriculture, and settled in the northern parts of Mesopotamia. Currently, Kurdish communities can be found in southern Turkey, northern Iraq, and west and northwestern Iran.

Mesopotamia. Land between and surrounding the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. Originally, it included modern Iraq, southern Turkey, eastern Syria, and northwest Iran.

Mesopotamians. The Mesopotamians (Assyrians, Chaldeans, and Syriacs) are the indigenous people of Mesopotamia, and are a Semitic people who converted to Christianity in the first century CE. They speak New Aramaic and are mainly concentrated in northern Iraq, eastern Syria, and northwest of Iran in the capital city of the Azerbaijan province, Urmia, and in Tehran, the capital city of Iran.

Nestorius. The archbishop of Constantinople (428-31CE) who, as a result of terminological disputes, was misleadingly condemned by Cyril, the Patriarch of Alexandria, for teaching against dyophysite Christology—a doctrine that holds to the existence of two distinct natures—a human and divine—in the one person of Jesus Christ.

Ottomans. A Turkic group of Oghuz Turk from central Asia who established the last great Islamic Empire located in Anatolia (1300-1918). The Ottoman Empire encompassed southeastern Europe, the Middle East up to the borders of Persia, and most of North Africa.

Persia. The ancient name for Iranian Empire. King Reza Pahlavi of the Pahlavi Dynasty changed the name of Persia to Iran in 1935.

Persians. An Indo-European/Aryan race that entered Asia from the northwestern lands of Caucasus. Among them were the Iranian tribes of Medes and Persians who entered Iranian lands during the second millennium BCE. They were originally Zoroastrians, and their main language is Persian. Groups of them converted to Christianity when the Assyrian Church of the East was established in Mesopotamia, but after the Arab conquest of Iran, the majority converted to Islam.

Sumerians. An ethnic group living in the southern parts of Mesopotamia who disappeared from history by fourth millennium BCE.

Syriac. Refers to the Old Aramaic language, the group of Mesopotamians who speak in Syriac dialect, and the Orthodox and Catholic Christian churches of the Greater Middle East that had their liturgy in Old Aramaic. Currently, some of these liturgies are in Arabic.

Zagros Mountains. A mountain range that originates from the Hakkari Mountains in the north of Mesopotamia and spreads southeast into western Iran with Persian plateau

on its east and Mesopotamia on its west. In ancient times, Zagros Mountains were considered the border line between Sumerian/Akkadian states in Mesopotamia and Elamites in the Persian plateau.

Zūrnā. A conical double-reed instrument common in Kurdish and Mesopotamian music. Called the *sornā* in Kurdish and Persian.

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