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ARTICLES

Review

- “Troubled and troubling souls: The case of African churches”** 109
Selaelo Thiaskgatla Kgatla

Essay

- Theophanu Evangelium: Greco-Egyptian treasure of the North** 115
Kathleen Broer
- The Breton Lai as protest, mirror and proverb** 118
Kathleen Broer

Review

“Troubled and troubling souls: The case of african churches”

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The African [Initiated] Churches has shown a phenomenal growth in the past century and today as people speak of the ‘Christian South’ or shift of the centre of gravity of christianity from the West to the South they definitely include these churches in their category. Their growth in the Sub-Sahara Africa has increasingly manifested a great challenge to European mission churches. The emergence and expansion of these churches remain a challenge to Western mission and calls for soul-searching (introspection) on those who brought christian message to Africa. This paper investigates the puzzlement as to why African [Initiated] churches exist and continue to grow rapidly in areas or space where Western churches shrink and diminish.

Key words: Civilization, christianity, colonisation, commerce, expansionism, messianic, separatist, sectarianism, western christianity, African christianity, liberation, self-determination, African Initiated Churches.

INTRODUCTION

The expansion of African [Initiated] churches (AIC) in Africa should be seen and understood primarily in terms of the historical cultural and socio-political conflicts between the missionaries and their successors, on the one hand, and blacks on the other hand (Pato 1990:24-35). Particular ills (including colonial and missionary policies and practices) existing between the two cultures are part of explanation of emergence of African churches. Nosotro (:1) singles out David Livingstone and Robert Moffat missionary motives of three Cs; Christianity, Commerce and Civilization as a major factor that brought about a host of atrocities committed against African people (Nosotro :1, Anderson 1997:1).

METHODOLOGY AND OBJECTIVES

This paper follows the methodology of ‘decolonization’. Smith (1999:1) proposed ‘decolonizing’ methodology which sets the scene for an extensive critique of Western paradigms of research and knowledge from the position of indigenous people. The paper proposes new ways of interpreting African revolt against western theology of imposition. African scholars should be the ones who should interpret African religiosity without borrowing from Western academic tools. Names given to African religious movements by western scholars are disconcerting and labelling.

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They were merely used to disguise the wrongs committed against Africans that led them to break away from the Western churches.

In the main missionaries set out to 'convert 'pagan' to christianity and to preach the gospel while denying life-giving practices in African religions. Although missionaries did good things, but they also committed errors that harmed Africans than the good they intended for them (Dada 2013:1). Kanyandago (2003:43-58) called Western christianity to face the reality that it caused to destroy African values without which Africans are unable to sustain life. Although the quality of African theology of resistance and liberation may be questioned but its emergence remains relevant and appropriate to African struggle against imposition of foreign values.

The objectives of the paper include critical analysis of western terminology- including labels and names given to African churches. It is argued in the paper that even the names given to African churches were a form of self-justification by missionaries that African leaders are always fleeing from western benevolence of wanting to 'civilize' them and in that way hiding atrocities committed against them. African theology should be interpreted by African for Africans.

What is in the name?

These first explorers and missionaries saw everything in African culture as pagan that needed to be eradicated and replaced with Western 'civilized' culture (Nosotro : 1). Africa was first seen as economic opportunity for the European countries second as a dark continent that needed to be civilized in order to provide the colonial powers with human resources such as free labour and thirdly as a continent where traditional superstitions and evil practices of the natives had to be stopped through introduction of Christian religion (: 4). The unfortunate outcome of these motives was the fact that colonizers mistreated and abused the African people to the extent that African Christian leaders could no longer tolerate the hypocrisy of the west (Pato 1990:35).

There is much that catches the eye in the naming, discussion, characterisation and definition of these churches by white missionaries and their successors. They are called messianic, separatist, independent, sectarianism, syncretistic, schism and now commonly African Initiated/Independent churches (Anderson, 1997: 2-3, Appiah-Kubi and Kofi, 1979:241-249, Beyerhaus, 1975:77, Daneel 1992: 35). None of the categories or names given to them comes from them but from those from whom they have separated. They see themselves as 'proper' churches of God that they do not need to be qualified. They have names they call themselves which clearly describe what they are and are doing. The Western churches and their successors caricature them in a manner that suggests that they are the 'other' and

not part of them. The names given to these African churches expresses 'sigh of relief' by those who name them. They suggest that they (name-givers) are innocent in so far as the origin of the African churches are concerned and the whole blame can be put on either their lack of understanding scriptures, their inclinations to revert back to their 'Unchristian' African past, or cultural, socio-political and economic conditions that bogged down their ability to separate secular from profane. Let us briefly look at the names.

The word messianic, for example, has acquired a meaning that suggest a leader in these churches is deliverer (De Jonge, 1966: 132-148), who is to lead a violent rebellion against occupying foreign colonial and missionary forces and it has nothing to do with christianity. For this reason, many African christian leaders were incarcerated and died in colonisers' prisons (e.g. Simoom Kimbangu in Martey 2006: 5). Separatist suggests that those who are named as such have separated from the truth and are indulging in something foreign to the gospel. Syncretistic suggests illegitimate mingling of different religious elements. It assumes deviation from conventional standard of reference and should summarily be rejected (Pato 1990:24-35 and Beyerhaus 1975:76). Independent suggests breaking away from the main body. It has negative connotations, that refers only to a specific group. Those who are called independent are regarded as deviant from true teaching. Sectarianism refers to those who possess half-truth and are internally damned. They possess half-truth of the gospel. Schism blames those who broke away without self-introspection.

All the accusations the Western theology might accuse African theology of, much of those accusations can be levelled against it (De Gruchy 1985:85-97). European colonialism and its 'soul mates', civilization and christianisation have wrought untold misery on African people. All these names are derogatory and condescending. Even the widely accepted and used name African Initiated/Indigenous churches is problematic. As much as it is awkward and cumbersome to call missionary churches european Initiated/Indigenous churches as such it is inappropriate to call African churches African Initiated/Indigenous churches. Why should they be modified before they could be called something? What credit are they stealing away from the mainline churches if they are called African churches?

Site of struggle

The situation in which African [Initiated] churches came into existence was that of struggle for survival. They had to struggle to be African churches as they are still struggling to this day. Mosala (1985:103) defines doing theology in Africa as a form of a protest. Racial and social conflicts have been indelible marks of African theology.

Shenk (1990:5-8) describes the origin and development of African [Initiated] Churches as self-invigoration within life-threatening social, economic and political structures. They are contestation to formulate meaningful theology of self-liberating embedded in their life experience. African churches are an outgrowth of the desire by African Christians to be more African in their life and less artificial form of Western church that does not know or ignore African aspiration. They are a response to a situation where blacks are forced to be something they are not (Tlhagale 1985:126-134). Martey (2006:2) argues that they provide security, fellowship and spiritual guidance in the midst of crumbling traditional structures and the influx of foreign religious groups.

The inability of Western churches to grasp the salvation needs of African people led to the frustration and disenchantment with Western churches coupled with the missionary patronising attitudes and racist inequalities are some of factors that led to African protest against Western Christianity (Ibid: 3). Martey (2006:7) argues that in a situation of suppression, a newly acquired self-confidence leads to a political protest. Colonial paternalism and imperialism led to the rise of African nationalism and struggle for self-determination in politics as well as in religion. The super-imposition of external colonial authority triggered a dissent and forced African Christians to look for new ways of worshipping God without external hindrance (Ibid:8).

The encounter of African culture and Western colonialism and Christianity created tension in the lives of African people. Although Africans have huge reservoir of hospitality they were driven to their limits by the religion that pleaded for their dislodgement from their cultural system and be cast on the desires of their guests. Those who wanted to embrace the religion of their guests were uprooted from their culture only to be cast adrift on the fringes of the missionary community as adopted clients (Sanneh, 2008:221). The host culture had to be denied and negated for the promotion of stranger culture. The strangers became the host and the host aliens in their own countries (Mofokeng 1988:34-42). Converts were told that their own culture was against the gospel and it was forbidden to take any element of their culture into the new religion. It was not negotiable but forbidden to do that (Mofokeng 1988). Even those who tried their best to be faithful to the new found religion could not be trusted. They had to be supervised strictly in everything they did and in that way rendered perpetual infants of the new faith. They could not be entrusted with leadership positions no matter how hard they tried to prove themselves capable (Sanneh, 2008: 223).

Christianity was brought to Africa by Western missionaries who in some cases acted as 'anointed by God' to be exclusive host for the benefits of salvation to Africans (Sanneh, 2008:222). Sanneh (2008:223) argues that this practice was not confined to individual missionary tradition but the denominational system that

was widely upheld. The result of this widely practised Western domination and obstruction led to local resistance by those who embraced Christianity. They did not reject missionary morality as they embraced his/her religion. But their resistance was construed as either politically, economically or culturally motivated but wrong missionary practices were never blamed for the insurrections. Missionary continued to dispossess the converts of their natural ties on one hand and without giving them a real stake in missionary culture on the other (Ibid 2008:223). Revolt on the part of the converts was inevitable. Verryn (1971:14) argues that revolt by Africans against Western domination was often than not blamed on bad African leaders instead of been seen as symptom of trouble within the life of missionary Church. Colonial authorities shared the missionary view of Africans not wanting to be subjected to strict Christian morality. They were ridiculed as moral degenerates, unable to live up to civilized mores. Paul Kruger, one of Voortrekkers leaders in colonial South Africa wrote 'Let the black preach to black, why bother them' (Verryn, 1971:16). Black aspirations and concerns did not matter in the eyes of both missionary and colonial societies.

Contributions of African Christianity to the Struggle against Western Imperialism

Western imperialism refers to a system of control of African countries on all spheres of life. It includes military, political, economic, cultural and religious control after defeating them in their wars. In pursuance of their ideals epitomised by commerce, civilization and Western Christianity, the western world waged a war against all that was not western within African people. In response to this onslaught on their ways of life, African people devised their own survival techniques sometimes using the very religious paraphernalia the invading forces were using against them (Martey, 2006:7). Many African leaders correctly perceived that the driving force behind western colonisation and Christianity was a form of lust - an inherent desire for more and more material goods (Njeru Wambugu and John Padwick, 2006:5). By and large, economic interest was the main mediating force whereby the individualistic, competitive, consumerist, acquisitive attitude of western values were transported to and imposed on Africa (Martey, 2006:6).

It was in response to political, economic, cultural and religious intrusion by the west that African religious leaders rose to the challenges of invading forces. Often the African religious leaders felt let down by their political counter-parts that were lured into imperial system of capitalism after hard earned liberation (Kgatla, 2013:8).

They had to stand their ground and provide principled leadership to their people. In some situation, the religious leaders worked side by side with African nationalists to fight the colonial paternalism (Martey, 2006:7). Some of

them were imprisoned by the colonial authorities and died in prison for their convictions (Martey, 2006:5). When African religious leaders felt the pressure of superimposition of external authority of colonial rulers and realised that it weakened the powers of their traditional institutions such as chiefs, they not only registered their voices of dissent but acted swiftly to protect their own by forming their own churches using the same religious tools they learnt from missionaries (Ibid :7).

The colonial, civilizing and christianising forces were resisted at all fronts. Religious insurrection against western religion became one of major side where the struggle was taken to. African prophets such as William Wade Harris in Ghana, Simon Kimbangu in the Democratic Republic of Congo Nehemiah Tile of South Africa are some of the outstanding African religious leaders who resisted the western christianity and introduced African christianity to their people. Their ministries came as a breath of fresh air to many especially those who were torn between their christian faith which came clothed in European garb as Martey (2006:12) puts it. Their ministries were both timely and pertinent because it helped African people to reclaim their faith in Jesus Christ in the way it addressed their uncertainties, sicknesses and death. Western motives of colonization, civilization through Christianization of African people was seriously debunked and halted in some areas. In this respect, the African religious leaders, who emerged during the great time of the scramble for Africa were messianic indeed in the sense that they delivered their African people from colonial invasion and brought them salvation by showing them the way.

Neo-colonisation, globalisation and the commercialised gospel and African Initiated Churches (African Initiated Churches).

African religious leaders that emerged during the colonial era were not only opposed to missionary arrogance and vanity but also to the wider western massive project of harnessing the African continent with its resources and its people (Njeru Wambugu and John Padwick 2006: 4). The African religious leaders provided a resistant movements that protected and provided for African interest. They continued providing a critical model in which western neo-colonialism was resisted and fought. When their counter-parts in governments were capitulating and succumbing to the pressure of new wave of globalisation they stood up to be counted. As was mentioned, the ministry of African leaders came as a breath of fresh air to many, who were torn between their new faith in God and the ideology of those who brought it to them. The efficacy of their ministry did strike at the heart of the African deepest 'soul-need' and provided them with a new theology of life (Martey 2006:13).

They read signs of time then and acted in the interest

of their people. In our recent past they also demonstrated their resilience when they detected encroaching neo-colonisation and globalisation with the same agenda and goals as their predecessors colonisation and civilization. Western christianity did not change much when it abandoned colonisation and civilization as motives for its mission. These two have been replaced by neo-colonisation and globalisation (Kgatla, 2013:4).

The era of colonial expansionism, right of conquest and forced conversions came and went, but missionary influences remained fraught with many contradictions. However, today, churches try to base their mission work on sound biblical foundations, although they still have a long way to go to avoid the mistakes of the past. Examples of wrong motives are condescending pity, patronizing gestures, including financial and economic gestures, avoidance of correction of the past in the name of reconciliation and introduction of development projects that ensure the continuation of dominance of the Western churches (Otto and Strausse, 2010: 20). Rieger calls these new developments neo-colonialism, arguing that the old, traditional civilization is replaced by western patronage and economic expansionism, colonialism by neo-colonialism and globalization.. A change to the old ways of doing mission has not changed the heart of wanting to be the first and the best. Subtle dominance of the other in the intellectual and economic spheres remains the inherent motive for social projects that the Western countries embark on, in Third World Countries.

The phenomenon of globalization is defined as an interaction of activities of human societies bringing change across the world which makes the world to become small and technologically accessible to the powerful economic forces from the west (Oni: 2003). It is a process that involves political, economic, military, and social-order. It operates under the pretence that its aim is benevolent to the less privileged in developing countries of the South and East (ibid). It has potential of influencing social institutions such as education, culture, religion, community values and social life in a remarkable way. It promises better life and future to its victims while in fact it is destroying their very social institutions that keep them together.

It hides its rue colours while embedding societal structures. Its potent arsenal includes information technology, western music, and public media: electronic and printed. Globalization is a new form of colonization that Rieger (2004:8) calls neo-colonialism. Boesak et al (2010:10) and others call it a new world empire that controls political, economic, social and religious order. It is all pervasive and unbridled menace that seeks to establish its own throne from where it can rule the world (Kgatla, 2013:8).

Globalisation with all its ramifications wants to establish a new order in the world (Rieger, 2004:9). People talk of living in a global village but they do not ask themselves who rules this village, and how those who are in charge

view its inhabitants (Njeru Wambugu and John Padwick 2006:7). Globalisation is a process that involves political, economic, military, and social order aimed at the transcendental homogenization of political and socio-economic reality across the world. It operates under the pretence that its aim is benevolent to the less privileged in developing countries of the South and East. It has the potential to influence social institutions such as education, culture, religion, community values and social life in a remarkable way (Kgatla 2013:6).

Globalisation takes advantage of the poor country and thrives on inequality between rich and poor countries the latter being the greatest losers. Because its philosophy is based on cheating those who are less educated in terms of western standards most of its casualties are in Africa. African religious leaders have been better placed to debunk and resist some of its ill effects (Wambugu and Padwick, 2006:8). Globalisation does not favour African communal and collective approach to survival methods, African religious leaders have been highly vigilant against its operations. They created counter-contours and frustrated free market interest of the western powers, although with limited resources (Ibid:9).

Another area where they did well is in the fight against the prosperity gospel (commercialised gospel). A prosperity gospel has become a globalized entrepreneurial spirit that flourishes on the appalling social conditions under which poor people live, while it enriches the powerful preachers who are driving it (Kgatla, 2013:8). It is built on the notion that God loves his people and wants them all to have material possessions in abundance. Portions of Scripture are quoted out of context and are applied selectively to support the new ideology. Slogans such as “name-it-and claim-it-in Jesus-name” are used to entice listeners. Like advertising in consumerism, it promises satisfaction of one’s unlimited (artificial) wants by buying into the system. Tithes and love offerings are no longer gifts of gratitude, but investments, and the church becomes a pyramid scheme. A new materialistic mind-set is promulgated worldwide in the name of God and in the interest of “consumerism culture”. African religious leaders protected their people against this intrusion (Kgatla, 2013: 7).

Conclusion

African religious leaders that emerged during the neo-colonial era were not only opposed to missionary paternalism and dominance but also to the wider western massive project of harnessing the African continent with its resources and its people (Wambugu and Padwick, 2006: 4). The African religious leaders provided a resistant theology that protected and provided for African interest. They continue providing a critical model in which western neo-colonialism is resisted and fought. When their counter-parts in governments were capitulating and

succumbing to the pressure of new wave of globalisation they stood up to be counted. The ministry of African leaders as was indicated, came as a breath of fresh air to many, who were torn between their new faith in God and the ideology of those who brought it to them. They acted like the anti-bodies to resist western imperialism. The efficacy of their ministry did strike at the heart of the African deepest ‘soul-need’, a quest for ‘Ubuntu’ (African wholeness) (Martey, 2006:13).

They read signs of time then and acted in the interest of their people. In our recent past, they also demonstrated their resilience when they detected encroaching neo-colonisation and globalisation with the same agenda and goals as their predecessors colonisation and civilization. Western christianity did not change much when it abandoned colonisation and civilization as motives for its mission. These two have been replaced by neo-colonisation and globalisation.

The era of colonial expansionism, right of conquest and forced conversions came and went, but missionary expeditions remained fraught with many contradictions. However, today, churches try to base their mission work on sound biblical foundations, although they still have a long way to go to avoid the mistakes of the past. Examples of wrong motives are condescending pity, patronizing gestures, including financial and economic gestures, avoidance of correction of the past in the name of reconciliation and introduction of development projects that ensure the continuation of dominance of the Western churches. Rieger calls these new developments neo-colonialism, arguing that the old, traditional civilization is replaced by Western patronage and economic expansionism, colonialism by neo-colonialism and globalization. A change to the old ways of doing mission has not changed the heart of wanting to be the first and the best. Subtle dominance of the other in the intellectual and economic spheres remains the inherent motive for social projects that the Western countries embark on in Third World countries. African Church Leaders and members have been troubled by the western colonialism, civilization and Christianity and offered alternative African survival mechanism. They hold their own against the imperial forces. Modern missionary strategies have changed but the motive remains the same – to promote western interest. In the recent past they again rose to the occasion to fight against neo-colonialism and global agenda of the west. In both occasions they have been, in a number of respects, well-placed to counter those forces.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Essay

Theophanu Evangelium: Greco-Egyptian treasure of the North

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In the Frankish period of the 7th and 8th centuries, settlements along the Düssel (thusila or Döson) included farming and fishing outposts where the tributary flowed into the Rhine. The women's community in Gerresheim, Düsseldorf was a foundation of the Frankish nobleman Gericus, established towards the end of the 9th century. The Magyar invasion of Gerresheim in 919 led to a transition of leadership of the female monastic community there to the supervision of the Archbishop of Cologne, Hermann I in 922.

After a consolidation and reconstruction, the consecration of a new church took place in 970 and confirmation of the Gerresheimer duty took place in 977. Emperor Otto II (973--983) preserved its foundational benefices in official documents. Abbess Theophanu 1039--1058 was appointed as head to supervise feeding many dependants of the abbey. It was under the reign of Teophanu that Essen, which had been called a city since 1003, received the right to hold markets in 1041. Ten years later, Teophanu had the eastern part of Essen Abbey constructed. Its crypt contains the tombs of St. Alfrid, Mathilde II, and Teophanu herself.

The *Theophanu- Evangelium* at the foot of Mary is a famous gift to the Essen Cathedral Treasury. Often referred to as Alfrid Gospels *MS Hs1*, the parchment manuscript is most likely from the Werden scriptorium. It originated around the year 800 and was transferred to the Essen foundation ca. 850. The Gospel Book contains over a thousand glosses in Latin, Old Saxon and Old

High German.

The manuscript contains a pericope, in Latin, the letter *Novum Opus* of Jerome to Pope Damasus I (b. Portugal, 305-384) who followed Pope Liberius; the preface *Plures Fuisse* of Jerome to the Gospels, the four prefaces to the Gospels and the text of the Gospels, also 14 canon tables, as well as the same hand that scripted most of the glosses, an incomplete *Ordo Lectorum*. The added bound Homiliar contains excerpts from various texts of the Venerable Bede. The text of the Gospels was created by three different writers with brown ink, writing is an early version of the Carolingian minuscule. Various sections were emphasized by the *Capitalis Quadrata*.

The uncial was used only in the Gospel of Matthew chapter for the beginnings, the genealogy of Christ and the Lord's Prayer. The headings are painted in yellow, red and green. The book is decorated in polychrome and includes both decorative sides, the canon tables, and incipit- initial pages and initials of different design and size. The colors used are Mennigerot and copper green; the yellow color has not yet been studied.

The book decoration of the manuscript is exceptionally diverse and penetrated by influences of several cultures. Note the decorative letters, in which parts were replaced with canine and bird-like figures. This ornamental letters can be traced back to fish bird letters of Merovingian book art of the 7th and 8th century. The initials on the other hand often have braided ribbon ornaments derived from motives of Irish-Anglo-Saxon period. In these

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ornaments, the Essene manuscript is identical to the Psalter of Charlemagne (*Bibliothèque Nationale ms. Lat. 13159*), which can be dated 795-800 and is suggestive of its production in the same scriptorium (Gerd, 1999, 28).

The use of different decorative shapes in a manuscript was not uncommon in the Carolingian illumination. The ornamental character of the representation is unaffected by the Carolingian Renaissance, which included a reliance on classical models and the representation of the people gave more space (Pothmann, 1987). The canon tables' script was designed by the illuminator differently. Arcades with arches and gable strips and various braids are decorated with leaf patterns trimmings. One of the canon tables has an identical ornament as column packing on how the Gundohinus Gospels (*Autun, Bibliothèque Municipale. Ms 3*) which bear similarities to the shapes of the arches (Gerds, 1999, 28).

Among the decorative sides, the cross-plot with the head of Christ in the intersection of the cross arms and symbols of the Evangelists between the cross arms is particularly striking. This miniature has in the faces on particularly clear Irish influences. Depictions of faces with low foreheads, in a line drawn with the nose eyebrows, eyes wide open, as well as their mouths are similar to the resulting band in the 8th century crucifix on p. 266 of the *Code Cal. sang. 51* of the Abbey Library of St. Gallen (Küppers and Mikat, 1966).

The design of the Cross in ms. 1 by colored rectangles indicates gemstones and its representation is an example of "*Crux Gemmata*." Therefore, the representation does not mean the crucifixion as an event, but Christ who "entered into his glory" through the cross. The presentation with the head of Christ at the intersection of the crossbar is rarely seen in western manuscripts; the Essene representation is one of the latest representations of this type, more typical of Eastern or Coptic Rite. Throughout this manuscript Christ is characterized as a teacher of truth. Folio v 68v. is the decorated side of the preface to the Gospel of Mark. The initial I is composed of two symmetrical intertwined patterns, generated by worm-like mythical creatures that are woven into a braid. The word "incipit" is scripted using zoomorphic motifs in Coptic *Majuskel*.

Furnished at Gerresheim, the treasure was translated to a sister community of St. Ursula near Cologne and its treasury, managed by Bishop Hermann (889--924), was recorded in the *Gerresheimer Testimony* as a result of the Hungarian invasion. Abbess *Heizzecha* was head of St. Hippolytus and St. Ursula at Cologne while fielding complaints from the the Archbishop of Cologne about the abuses of Gerresheimer Reeves in 1107.

'Dusseldorf ' is first recorded as a town in 1135. Gerresheimer abbess Hadwig von Wied (ca. 1150) was also the leader of the Essene community of women (1150 -before 1176?) founded on the privileges of her brother, the Archbishop of Cologne, Arnold II von Wied (1151--1156); the chapel was donated by wealthy

Schwarzrheindorf nuns to the woman's community there. St. Lambertus Basilika is a landmark in the historic core of Dusseldorf. The history of a previous building - under the patronage of Kanonissenstifts Gerresheim and the Foundation of St. Ursula in Cologne was through Pope Adrian IV's behest (1154--59); a certificate from May 23, 1159 notes that the origins of the building on site had been established much earlier.

Under Kaiser Friedrich Barbarossa the little town of Kaiserswerth, lying at the northern edge of Dusseldorf, became a well-fortified outpost of the Empire. From the Palace of Barbarossa, a heavily fortified castle was built between 1174 and 1184 to guard against incursions from surrounding warlords. Under the capable leadership of Abbess Guda (1212--1232) Gerresheim achieved economic stability, recorded in the land register dating from the 2nd half of the 14th century Liturgical Ordo.

In 1236 the collegiate church, a Romanesque Basilika of St. Margaret, was completed and dedicated. Cistercian monk Caesarius of Heisterbach (1180-1240) von Gerresheim's famous miracles are attributed to this privilege. On August 14th, 1288 the sovereign, Count Adolf V von Berg, granted the village on the banks of the Dussel the right to call itself a city. Prior to that a bloody power struggle between the powerful Archbishop of Cologne and the Berg nobility had taken place, culminating in the battle of Worringen. Enemy forces wiped out the army of Cologne on 5 June 1288.

The Stadterhebungs monument celebrating Dusseldorf's elevation to city status on the Burgplatz serves as a reminder of Duke William I of Berg, Gelder and Jülich's patronage. On March 1, 1392 William I and Anna donated benefices for a treasurer, cantor and ten clerks at St. Lambertus, Dusseldorf. The church treasury had been increased by significant relics, including the bones of St. Apollinaris, as they were translated from Remagen whose veneration was spread by Benedictine monks. St. Apollinaris' feast is also noted in the Coptic Synaxarium in *Paremhat* (March 16).

In 1394, the three -nave church was completed in the Lower Rhine brick Gothic style; the construction of the choir was carried out on the foundations of the Romanesque building.

In use in the St. Lambertus Basilika was the *Missal with Sequences, MS 10075*, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, incomplete, containing 252 fols, written in the late 12th or early 13th century from the vicinity of Duesseldorf. The missal contains Beneventan chants written in staff notation. Beneventan chant and liturgy flourished from the middle of the 7th century, when the Arian Lombards became Catholic.

The history of Arian Lombards was recorded by Paul the Deacon who is also credited with the a Latin translation of the Greek *Life of Saint Mary the Egyptian*. Beneventan chant is distinguished by frequent and repeated use of various short melodic motifs. Unlike the Ambrosian rite, there is no special service for nightfall,

but there are about fifty extant antiphons and five responsories. The chants end on one of two pitches, a G or an A, and thus do not fit into the Gregorian system of eight modes.

With rare exceptions, only Proper chants which are dependent on the feast for the Mass survive. As in the Ambrosian rite, a threefold Kyrie was sung to a simple melody following the Gloria, but this was not analogous to the more complex Kyrie of the Gregorian repertory. In the Beneventan rite, the Proper of the Mass included an *Ingressa*, *Alleluia*, *Offertory*, *Communion*, *Exsultet* and in six extant Masses, a *Gradual*. The *Biblioteca Capitalore's* holdings include five graduals; of these texts, numbered 34, 35, 38, 39, and 40, numbers 38 and 40 contain main sources of all Beneventan chant.

Conflict of Interests

The author has not declared any conflict of interests.

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Essay

The Breton Lai as protest, mirror and proverb

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A Breton lai or lay is a lyrical, narrative poem written in couplets and refrains and is based on Greek, Arabic and Persian poetic structures and themes. Lais were mainly composed in France, England, the Pays-Bas and Germany during the 12th, 13th and 14th centuries. The Breton lai was similar in purpose to Skolion σκόλιον or Roman Fescennine which were songs sung by invited guests at banquets. Breton lai evoked the ancient Persian ghazal in a “tribute” culture with distinctive Breton irony. The Breton Lai’s enormous contribution to the linguistic and performance cultures of Europe impacted language development for centuries with contributions from the houses of Anjou, Saladin, Hohenstaufen and their descendants.

Key words: Divine office, Antiphons Greek and Persian poetic traditions, linguistic cultures

INTRODUCTION

The Breton lai, the Greek skolia and the Persian ghazal have one feature in common: the performance context is similar and the form is open to reinvention. In trade partnerships, linguistic skill and sharp wit was celebrated in performance in order to “enclose” “disclose to advantage” or “cover” while trade partnerships and deals were formed. This article will briefly examine the financial and cultural relationships between the lai, skolia, Fescennine, Early Christian hymnodic tradition including the Phos Hilaron and Marian antiphon and ghazal art.

MAIN ARTICLE

The roots of lai development are found in ancient Greek and Arabic- Persian culture. Often extolling the virtues of the gods or heroic men, Greek *skolia*, an ancient form, were improvised to suit the occasion and were accompanied by a lyre, which was handed about from

singer to singer as the time for each scolion came around. “Capping” verses were exchanged, “by varying, punning, riddling, or cleverly modifying” the previous contribution. Skolia are often referred to as ‘banquet songs,’ ‘convivial songs’ or ‘drinking songs’ or ‘blessing songs.’

The term also refers to poetry composed in the same form. In later use, the form was used in a more stately manner for chorus poetry in praise of the gods or heroes. Skolia originally performed as dionysian rites were smoothly transformed into skolia performed as “apollan” apologia for the state. Reinterpreted by Christian hymn writers from the same period, the *Phos Hilaron* and the *Oxyrhynchus hymn* constitute the earliest extant Christian Greek hymn texts reasonably certain to have been used in Christian worship at the end of the communion meal; they are neither drawn from the Bible nor modeled on Biblical passages. They are improvisatory in nature, and reflect Egyptian “permissions” that freed the ecclesiastical

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head from constraint (trans):

[] together all the eminent ones of God []
 night] nor day (?) Let it/them be silent. Let the luminous
 stars not [. . .],
 [Let the rushings of winds, the sources] of all surging
 rivers [cease]. While we hymn
 Father and Son and Holy Spirit, let all the powers answer,
 "Amen, amen, Strength, praise,[and glory forever to God],
 the sole giver of all good things. Amen, amen.
 (Oxyrhynchus hymn, or P. Oxy. XV 1786)

The *ghazal* is a poetic form consisting of rhyming couplets and a refrain, with each line sharing the same meter. A *ghazal* may be understood as a poetic expression of both the pain of loss or separation and the beauty of love in spite of that pain. The form is ancient, originating in ancient Arabic poem in Arabia long before the birth of Islam. It is derived from the Arabian *panegyric qasida*.

Bretonese *Lai* poetic structure provided a similar format for troubadours to retell epics, tragedies, fables or comedies in a variety of vernaculars. The tradition of "capping" may explain the curious "circular" variation quality of traditional Breton *lai* refrains. The secular English term is a loan from the Old French 13th century *lai*. The origin of the French term itself is not clear and may be a loan from the German *Leich*, meaning *lai* or funeral, reflected back in ironic terms by the English meaning for Lake meaning sport or play. Musical settings were improvisations on standard melodic forms for the Breton *lai*.

The *Leich* MF 165, 10: *Swaz ich nu niuwer maere sage* is a poem about the complaints of a spurned lover by minnesinger Reinmar von Hagenau d. 1205. It was so popular that poet Walther von der Vogelweide d. 1230 included it in his obituary. This minnesinger repertoire was collected in the Codex Manesse, Große Heidelberger Liederhandschrift completed in 1330 for the Manesse family in Zurich. The text of *Swaz Ich* expresses traditional themes of the troubadour or minnesinger in the court of love in a brilliant reworking of the line structure of the Breton *lai*; *abc adc be def gf*. It is a retort to Marie de France's fabulist contemplation on the subject.

*Swaz ich nu niuwer maere sage,
 des sol mich nieman frâgen: ich enbin niht frô.
 Die friunde verdriuzet mîner klage,
 swes man ze vil gehoeret, dem ist allem alsô.
 Nû hân ich sîn beidiu, schaden unde spot.
 waz mir doch leides unverdienet, daz erkenne got,
 und âne schulde geschiht!
 ichn gelige herzeliebe bî,
 ez hât an mînen frôiden nieman niht.*

Bretonese *lai* structure of couplets and refrain also recall the Arabic- Persian *ghazal* which had spread into South Asia in the 12th century due to the increased traffic

between Eastern and Western trade partners. Therefore, a performance culture developed to display the cultural influence of Sufi mystics and the courts of the new Islamic Sultanate. Trade partnerships with the Middle East and Asia included a transmission of court culture to Frankish- Gall centers of trade and power in Cadiz, England, Sicily, Paris, Utrecht, Aachen, Nijmegen, Ghent, Mainz, Leipzig and Wörtzburch in the form of luxury trade, poetry, music and art. Persian poetry was promoted by strong court patronage and was popular because of the demand for panegyrics and the رخاف كجسد "exalted style." 1

In some forms each couplet in a *Ghazal* ends on the same word or phrase *radif* and is followed by the couplet's rhyming word *qafia*. In the case of Archbishop William of York's *lai*-antiphons, the "honored one" is William Fitzherbert, a young man who had inherited a behest from Henry I, assisted Thurstan of York in diocesan and international business, provided security detail for Fulque of Anjou and Mathilda of Winchester, confessed Stephen of Blois, informed Henry of Winchester and was reappointed by Adrian IV, Nicholas Breakspeare. Within twenty years William had been appointed, deposed and reappointed to one of the most powerful ecclesiastical Sees of the kingdom.

William of York's antiphons recall a modified *ghazal* form suitable for a spiritual leader and this model--a sharply realized portrait done in the French Latin style with Persian and Greek overtones--provided a model for the court poets of the day. This mixture of cultural influence spoke volumes about his range of influence and his pattern of association. Musicians performing his divine office would have been able to demonstrate the ability to improvise 'sur,' melody and 'lai,' rhythm; the arrangement of rhythmic *lai* in a cycle known as *taal* formed a foundation over which improvised scales or *raga* were played. It is likely that Sufi renderings of the *ghazal* included a processional "spinning" dance, via Saladin's court and performance culture.

*lubilemus regum regi qui concedit nos his regi per
 Guillelmi
 Merita Iesu nostra fiducia honor noster et gloria amor
 virtus leticia
 Vita vertias et via iustorum pax et patria tua nos
 clemencia
 Guillelmi per suffragia de mundi meseria transfer ad
 palacia.*

Like William of York's Latin antiphons, the poetic form of the Breton *lai* was structured around stanzas of 5 or 6 lines containing couplets and refrains. The accompanying music was varied, not repeated. It is this characteristic that distinguished the *lai* from the *rondo* and the *ballad*, that is, the *lai* in its original construction was an open form that lent itself to creative addition and accretion of "facts" that could distort or illumine according to the lights

of the patron. Henry II maintained this tradition through his patronage of Marie de France in a clever reversal of female and male roles in Alienor's fashionable "court of love."

The Angevin court's Marie de France's ironic rendering of Aesop's Fables were recast statements about the limitations of caste, sexuality and race using a *lai* sequence hymn structure: *y aa bb cc dd*, typical of the Marian antiphon sung by Sicilian mariners to ward of shipwreck. Medieval sequences were processional and always sung before the Gospel as a celebration of high feasts, including the Eucharist. Their origins were Poitevin.

*Saveir poez par ceste fable
la maniere de meinte gent
mult le puet l'um veeir sovier
ki tant se vuelent eshalcier
e en tel liu aparagier
ki n'avient pas a lur corsage
ensurquetut a lur parage
A meint en est si avenu
cum a l'asne ki fut batu
(Fabeln, p. 56)*

Pontefract's motto *Post mortem patris pro filio*, Latin for "After the death of the father, support the son," was a reference to the repairs after the English civil war (1642–1651) but may have entered Yorkshire culture at a much earlier date. The motto is embedded in the glosses of the Oscott Psalter glosses of 1261. Ancient biblical role models for Maria are evoked in the lines as a reminder of lineage and patronage and "right to rule, hinting at the patroness' identity;" *Beate Marie virginis/ sumptum de verbis et sensibus psalmorum david a beato Anselmo archiepiscopo cantuarie.* Furthermore, the business of "post mortem" was often cared for by a female ruler.

The poem refers to St. Anselm Bec who died in 1109 just as Bec Abbey was becoming one of the most influential abbeys in the Anglo-Norman kingdom of the twelfth century and his favour would have been sought by young acolytes. The Breton *lai* glosses in the Oscott Psalter inform the reader of William's "place" in this world. His associates, his relative guilt are described to the Bec faithful:

*'Cil est benure /
Ki nest pas ale /
As conseils as feluns:/
Ne estut el sentier /
Out Ceus Ki uunt pecher /
Ne as seges a bricuns'.
'Willelme ki me escrit /
Seit de deu beneit /
Kil nul a rachete.
Est li doint la grace.
Kil maigne vant la face*

kant sera trepasse' (f. 215r).

By the time Marie de France's Aesop's fables entered Dutch culture via Jacob van Merlant's (d.1300) translations of Vincent de Beauvais' (d. 1264) "Speculum Historiale" English and Burgundian edicts on the wool trade and the broken trade relationships that evolved were mirrored in popular art forms. Van Merlant hints in *Spiegel Historiael* at an earlier source for the fables and adroitly points attention to the "mixed" heritage of a poetic tradition that expressed cultural attitudes of the day, using a *lai* sequence Marian hymn structure without a refrain, *aa bb cc dd ee*:

*In Cyrus tiden was Esopus
De Favelare wi lessent dus
Die favela conde maken
Hoe beesten en vogle spraken
Heirute es gemaect Aviaen
Eñ andere boeken sonder waen
Die man Esopus heet, bi namen
Waren oec die si bequamen
Die havet Calfstaf eñ Noydekyn
Ghedict en rime scone eñ fyn.*

The famous 14th century French allegorical *Roman de Fauvel*, traditionally attributed to French royal clerks Gervais de Bus (d. 1338) and Chaillou de Pesstain, tell of Fauvel, a fallow or "muddy beige" colored horse who has risen to prominence in the French royal court in a series of interlocking songs in a variety of formats. William of York's antiphons and Marie de France's fables provide a context for an artistic consideration of the problems of rising to prominence in a privileged rank coming from a "mixed" racial, ethnic, linguistic, religious and cultural background.

The -hero's name in this poetic genre forms the name *fau-vel* or "false veil," in an acrostic outlining a sin for each letter: *Flatterie* Flattery, *Avarice* Greed, *Vilenie* Guile, *Variété* Inconstancy, *Envie* Envy, and *Lâcheté* Cowardice. Gervais de Bus (1310,14) and Chaillou de Pesstain's (1316-7) superimpositions upon the Marian antiphon *In Mari Miserie*, from the *Roman de Fauvel*, *BNF fr. 146, 1316*, referenced the famous motets from the Montpellier Codex. In this way, Bus and Pesstain could make sport of their target without their target's knowledge and could thus avoid facing charges of slander and damage. Poetic devices illustrate the intended performance culture of blended Christian and "Levant" references of the ghazal -*lai*, *aa b cc bb*:

*In Marie miserie maris stella
erantes cotidie a procella
defende nos et precare
Dominum pie
ut at portas glorie
nos trahat per hoc mare*

nos que Fauvel faciat superare
(Montpellier Codex, 61, 99v, 6-7, 1250-1300, Paris, Franconian)

The *lai* reached its highest level of development as a musical and poetic form in the work of Guillaume de Machaut d. 1377; 19 *lais* composed by the famous 14th century *Ars Nova* composer survive. The musical settings of these *lai* are the most sophisticated and highly developed among Machaut's secular works. Machaut's use of *Lai* poetic form reshapes the original Breton line structure of two long phrases, two short and a refrain.

Amis, t'amour me contreint
Si qu'il me convient descrire
Le martyre
Qui empire
Mon corps et mon cuer esteint
Et de grieés si m'enseint
Que je ne saroie eslire
Le meins pire;
Dont matire
N'ay qui à joie me meint.

Machaut's legacy is followed in a famous example of Dutch "gheselle" lied, Egidius *waer bestu bleven* (Anonymus) which has been performed in Dutch culture since 1400. This "gheselle" is a direct descendant of the Persian ghazal "quasidat al burda" tradition or "mantle poem" in which a tribute or lament for an admired one and signals a rite of passage for the one who inherits the cloak. It's interwoven structure *aba bbab aab aab aab aab* preserved the poetic outline of the Breton *lai* with repetitive expansions to allow the listener to comprehend the meaning if performed in a tavern setting. It begins thus, inscribing the grief of friend and equal:

Egidius waer bestu bleven
Mi lanct na di gheselle mijn
Du coors die doot du liets mi tleven

Examples of late medieval uses of the *Lai* form are also found in the work of Pierre de Nesson. The *Lay de Guerre* was composed by Pierre de Nesson to mourn the defeat of the French at the Battle of Agincourt in 1415; "*Guerre*" is portrayed as the "author" of the poem who proclaims against a rival, "*Paix*." Nesson's *Vigiles des Morts* renders the ancient sequence hymn structure *y aabbcc x as* as a modified *lai* in a rhyming scheme *aa b c cb*, using closed line pairings to emphasize the closed nature of death. 2

Et lors, quand tu trépasseras,
Dès le jour que mort tu seras,
Ton orde chair commencera
À rendre pugnaise pueur.
Que ne gouttes-tu de sueur

Quand tu penses que ce sera ?

Hartmann Schedel, a student in Leipzig from 1462-12 had returned from Padua with sketchbooks of lute tablature published in the *Schedelsche Weltchronik*, a collection of humanist contemplations by press in 1493, Nuremberg, commissioned by Sebald Schreyer (1446 – 1520) and Sebastian Kammermeister (1446 – 1503). The printing press allowed this book to be widely distributed and this meant that Schedel's tablature could enjoy an extended life in the popular culture of Germany.

Schedel was a student of Johannes Ciconia (c. 1370---1412) who was a composer and music theorist of the late Middle Ages. Ciconia was born in Liège, but worked most of his adult life in Italy, particularly in the service of the papal chapel(s) and at Padua cathedral. Although Ciconia lived in Italy, he continued to compose French *virelai*, a forme fixe descendant of the Breton *lai* in the 15th century and popularized as instrumental music.

The lied *Myn trud gheselle* (anonymus) was compiled in Schedel's tablature books and stands as a classic of the genre for lute. It is likely that the melody and text were copied from the collection of Heinrich von Luffenberg who lived and worked between c.1390 and 1460 in the Swiss canton of Argovia, southern Germany and Alsace. He was the author of a vast body of works, comprising of spiritual hymns, didactic epics and religious prose. A manuscript had been housed in the Strasbourg Library for centuries until a fire destroyed it in the late 19th century. A copy did survive, however and this had allowed scholars and musicians to maintain the tradition.

Jacob Obrecht's 1457/8 – 1505 "Roman" *Liedteksten* or Little Songs, attained pan European fame around 1500. Deeply imbedded in the culture, the texts of the *liedteksten* evoked Bretonese *lai* and provided both a snapshot of harsh reality of those who fell from grace in a rigid caste system. Since Obrecht's usual compositions were masses for the church, his instrumental renderings of the *lied* stood outside of his standard repertoire. He may not have known the lyrics of these popular songs because the performance of the *lai* or lied by 1500 was instrumental. "T'meiskin was jonck" or "The Maiden was Young" is typical of the ironic lyrical Pay-Bas commentary of love and lust in a time of occupation. Performances of Obrecht's lieds in towns like Ghent, Brussels, and other occupied towns along the Rhine signified the state of financial success or crisis and the social station of the main "players" depending on the season and year using the flexible format of the *virelai*.

The courtly song genre seems to have held little appeal for Obrecht, as the songs overwhelmingly survived without text, graced with light-hearted or folk titles. Many, and perhaps most, seem to be explicitly instrumental and are of modest length. Obrecht's polyphonic instrumental settings of these famous drinking songs helped him to pay off debts at a time when his patronage was uncertain. Obrecht's elegant settings of delightful melody

was what made him famous, inspiring treatments of the same themes in Pieter Bruegel's ironic painting *Netherlandish Proverbs* (1559).

*Meisje, is je kutje rauw?
Dat zijn zo mijn eigen zorgen.
Laat me eens voelen, doe niet zo flauw.
O, wacht tot overmorgen.
Want goed doorkneed
Is zo je weet
Tweemaal zo heet.
Ja, wacht tot overmorgen.*

In a similar way, William of York's antiphon settings were performed in Sarum Rites for royal coronations for centuries. An accretion of meaning echoes through the 16th century rewritten antiphons; William's Divine Office is recast as a Divine comedy of characters who provide a biblical mirror for the stylized images of the ghazal world---garden, desert, wine-house, prison --and its supporting cast of characters.

The ghazal-lai format of Divine Office antiphons provided a "play" structure to express William's mysticism and longing for the divine. The private, secular performances of William's Vespers, Vigil, Nocturnes and Matins services were for prelates and ruling class and on those occasions matters of state were dealt with behind the scenes. The fourth Matins verse describes "relations" between Martha, Mariam, Rachel and Liam in double

entendre while the seventh responsory describes the discretion, patience and faithfulness of the hosting culture in which William lived.

*MV4 / marthe ministeriO copulat mariaM rachelis
amplexibuS fruitur post liaM /()
MR7/ fide fuit phineeS ut iob mansuetuS paciens ut
israeL ut noe discretuS /()*

The Breton Lai served as both a pointed commentary on the business deals conducted on foreign soil and the roles of a subservient host culture.

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