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Anthropology and music in Arabian society on change and originality in the music of the Arabs

Habib Hassan Touma

Preamble

When I was invited to read a paper on the theme of this conference, namely anthropology and music, I asked myself whether I could speak at all of anthropology in a society that traces its cultural history back to the sixth century. The question became more critical indeed when I combined the terms «anthropology» and «music» to find out that the two terms can be replaced with «ethnomusicology». In spite of the fact that the combination of the prefix «ethno» with «musicology» is truly spoken disappointing, especially when applied to examine the music of a nation that has a total population estimated at one hundred millions, my paper shall discuss two aspects of contemporary Arabian music, namely originality and change, with special emphasis on socio-cultural contexts.

The essence of Arabian culture rests on the following assumptions:

1. the Arabic language, which helps to express the intellectual-spiritual processes of the members of this culture and plays a decisive role in the development and transmission of cultural achievements.
2. Islam, which was decisive in the propagation and shaping of Arabian culture, and still is today. Without it, the social, spiritual and material aspects of this culture cannot be understood.
3. Tradition, that is the manners and customs which determine the conduct of the Arab within the family and society.

The cultural heritage of the Arabs may be defined as the ways they work out their cultural ideas in practice and the ways they actually do live. Thereupon, music belongs indeed to the cultural heritage of the Arabs.

Ethnomusicology handles music attentively as an indispensable and precious part of culture and often tends rightly to emphasize the fears for destruction of a musical heritage. However, the discipline ethnomusicology does not overlook the inevitability of change in music especially in our modern times after a speedy diffusion of mass media and technology, that crept almost in every region on the globe.

Notwithstanding the connotation of anthropology and music, I shall discuss originality and change at a particular period and in a certain region. I shall look into a system of ideas that have been transmitted down through generations and contributed a great deal to control change in music-making. Thereafter, I shall look into a modern technique of music creation that disregards an essential principle of traditional music and consequently
weakens the notion of originality in music. Change has been taking place rapidly in modern Arab society ever since the end of the 19th century and innovation has been affecting in a way the conception of originality in music.

Change and originality will be investigated in two generic forms of Arab music: the andalusi nūbah in Morocco, also known as alus and ghīrāṣī (Granadan), and the repertory of contemporary pan-Arab music that broadcasting stations constantly transmit all over the Arab region. One integral component in each case will be discussed. In the andalusi nūbah in Morocco I shall elaborate the vocal form sarḥ and in the repertory of the pan-Arab music I shall illustrate the vocal form ughniyah. In both cases I shall investigate the notion «change» and «originality» in the creations of traditional and modern composers. In the case of the andalusi music change and originality are safeguarded through tradition and by several controlling circumstances, while in the pan-Arab music change and originality are jeopardized. Both subject matters, change and originality, could be investigated from an anthropological, a musical, sociological, ethical or commercial point of view. Anthropology in Arabian society is indeed culture at large.

The andalusi music: the nubah

The andalusi music constitutes an extensive highly sophisticated music repertory of vocal and instrumental pieces-vocal forms predominate. Its rich repertory, which has been transmitted orally for more than twelve centuries, comprises about 1200 pieces in Morocco, over 900 in Algeria and approximately 350 pieces in Tunisia. The whole corpus of andalusi music is distinguished as the heritage of Arabian heyday in al-andalus, that is Islamic Spain, hence it is described as andalusi.

The music repertoire of the andalusi music, the nūbah, displays a definable system, owns a characteristic procedure of performance, has its own history and withholds its own audience and connoisseurs. The nūbah is an urban form of music and its audience are the urbanites. It is regarded as the accomplished form of music in North Africa. To become an interpreter of the nūbah repertoire presupposes several years of music training, a solid knowledge of music theory, an excellent memory and a beautiful voice.

The andalusi nūbah is an important authentic music tradition in Morocco, a tradition that came to Cordoba and Granada from Baghdad in the 9th century, and with the expulsion of the Arabs from Spain during the 13th, 15th and 17th centuries, found a new home in North Africa. The formal structure of a nūbah comprises five main sections. A section of a Moroccan nūbah is labeled as mīzān (balance or measure) and the consequence of five sections, the mayāzīn (plural of mīzān) put together makes a nūbah. Each section is composed of a number of vocal and instrumental pieces, whose performance can go on for more than one hour and are based on one and the same ḥāl (mode). The designation of each of these sections is named after the rhythmic pattern that accompanies that specific section.

A mīzān, a main section in the formal structure of the nūbah, is bound to a prescribed elaboration of tempo, which changes during the performance. Thus the tempo increases
during the performance of a mīzān up to a fourfold. The acceleration from the first to the third temporal phase changes from, say $J = 60$ during the first temporal phase (muwassa') to $J = 270$ during the third temporal phase (iṣṭirāf).

The ṣan'āh

Each nūbah section is composed of several ṣan'āt (plural of ṣan'āh = a stanza of poetry). A ṣan'āh is a vocal form in the nūbah, whose verse can be chosen from a classical qaṣīdah (poem), or be a muwathshah, a zajal or a barwalah. During longer performances, all lines of poetry in a ṣan'āh are sung. If, however, time does not allow for such a complete performance, the text will be shortened but not the melody. The individual ṣan'āt follow one another seamlessly without pause or another kind of caesura. For the inexperienced listener, the nūbah appears as an unending melody, without profile or contrasts. Within each nūbah, however, there are musical passages and text segments that are particularly popular among the audience and clamored for over and over again during the course of a performance. The continuos increase of tempo within each section (mīzān) results moreover in the last ṣan'āt being performed in a distinctly faster tempo than was the case at the beginning of the section (mīzān).

The nūbah is the stringing together of the sung ṣan'āt in five sections (mayāzīn). A single ṣan'āh does not make a nūbah, five or eight ṣan'āt sung one after the other likewise do not make a nūbah. Only the stringing together of several ṣan'āt in five mayāzīn (sections) of different rhythmic patterns does make a nubah. Nonetheless, the ṣan'āh forms the backbone of the musical structure in the nūbah. The presentation of the ṣan'āt within the five sections (mayāzīn) is the nūbah itself. The music form of a ṣan'āh, however, complies with the literary form of its sung poetry. This concerns the meter, the poetic form and the linguistic quality of the sung text.

Within the framework of oral tradition, the patterns have a special didactic function in the transmission of the nūbah repertoire to the younger generation. Before the student begins to learn to sing a ṣan'āh in a nūbah, he or she must have a command of the rhythmic pattern of that ṣan'āh. To ultimately sing the poem clearly while accentuating the rhythmic pattern presents a further task that the student must confront. In practicing, the student makes use of the technique of the tawsīd: while in a seated position, he or she strikes his or her thigh with an open hand on the dark strokes and with the fist on the light strokes, reciting at the same time in a loud and clear voice. Not until after completion of this phase of study does he begin to learn the corresponding melodies. At first the teacher accompanies the singing of the student on the short necked lute (qūd), later the entire ensemble (jawq) performs with the singer. Through the tawsīd, the student endorses each single metrical line in the ṣan'āh with the number of its rhythmic patterns, that is the number of its measures (adwār plural of dawr), which indeed characterizes that one line of poetry. The line thus comprises a fixed number of measures, which the student has marked in his booklet (kunnāsh) at the end of each line of poetry as he or she memorizes the verses. Thus shortening or lengthening the melody of a sung line of poetry is absolutely out of
question. Consequently the endorsement of the number of measures (adwār) in each memorized ʿaḥšah safeguards the integrity of the melodic structure of each verse. Therefore the composition or the profile of the melodic structure of that specific verse can not be changed. The more so, a ʿaḥšah is identified by the number of its lines of poetry and the number of measures (dawr) in every singular line. The latter can extend over 37 measures (adwar) in one single line of poetry, yet it can be 6 measures (adwar) in another ʿaḥšah.

«Show transparency number one»

In addition to this the student learns to identify a ʿaḥšah either as mashghūlah, that is occupied, or khāwiyah, that is empty. A ʿaḥšah is described as mashghūlah when it contains ṭarāṭīn. The ṭarāṭīn are nonsense syllables such as yā lā lā, fīrī tān, yā lā lān, etc., which are worked into the sung poetry. If a ʿaḥšah does not contain the ṭarāṭīn, so it is labeled khāwiyah (empty). In addition the student learns to distinguish the placing of a ʿaḥšah in the course of a nūbah performance, because every ʿaḥšah has its actual placing in the course of the performance. It can be sung either in the first (muwassd), second (mahzūz) or third (insiṣrāf) temporal phase of the performance. Accordingly one and the same ʿaḥšah can be sung only in one temporal phase.

A ʿaḥšah is identified either as a two-line-ʿaḥšah (thunāʾiyyah), a five-line-ʿaḥšah (khumāsiyyah) or a seven-line-ʿaḥšah (subāʾiyyah), each of which has its own precise plan of performance. The plan fixes exactly whether a verse is to be sung entirely or partly, when and whether the instrumentalists have to repeat a melodic segment of that sung verse and finally how often.

Moreover, once the student becomes a member of a jawāq (ensemble of andalusi music) and performs as an instrumentalist, singer or main singer (munshid), he has to have mastered the rules that govern a ʿaḥšah and must have a good command of all other regulations to be applied when performing a ʿaḥšah within a nūbah performance.

«Show transparency number one»

The plan of a five-line-ʿaḥšah (khumāsiyyah), for example, looks as follows: dukhūl (entrance) (αα ι ωι ι α).

- Singing of the first line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)
- Jawāb, instrumental repetition of the melody of the first line slightly altered (α′)
- Singing of the second line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)
- Jawāb, instrumental repetition of the melody of the second line slightly altered (α′)
- Singing of the third line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α) taghtiyah (covering) (β β′ β)
- Singing of the first half of the fourth line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (β)
- Jawāb, instrumental repetition of the melody of the first half of the fourth line slightly altered (β′)
Singing of the second half of the fourth line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (β) khurāj (exit) (α)

Singing of the fifth line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)

Let us listen to a five-lines-šan’āh as it was sung in the thirties and thereafter to the same šan’āh as it was performed on February, 2-4 1990. In both recordings the melodic structure has been maintained. We are looking into a five-lines-šan’āh, whose text is a zajal and which is khāwiyah, that is it does not comprise ṭrāţīn. It is sung in the nūbah hijāz mashrīqi in the fifth section, that is quddām, and has its placing in the second temporal phase (mahzūz). The first version is directed by the master Ḥāj Muḥammad bin ‘Abd as-Salām al-Briḥī (1876-1944) from Fez. The second version has been directed by Ḥāj ‘Abd al-Karīm Rāyis (1912-1996) also from Fez, who inherited the heritage of the andalusi nubah from his master Ḥāj Briḥī.

«Show transparency number two», «Music: Two examples».

<table>
<thead>
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<th>The transliteration:</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1) ash-shawqu allamānī-s-sahar</td>
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<tr>
<td>2) ad-damū’ min ‘aynī-nhamar</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3) idhā yājī waqtu-s-sahār</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4) qad ḥārā ṭi‘īsīt-t-ṭālibb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5) li‘an-nānī arghabu-l-mujīb</td>
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<td>2) My tears poured down</td>
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<td>3) While staying awake at night</td>
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<td>4) My love perplexed my doctor</td>
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<tr>
<td>5) I wish the answerer (my beloved) would answer (me)</td>
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Not with standing the rigid rules of performance, change may still be observed in the performances of great masters belonging to different generations and to distinct geographical regions in Morocco. That is why we distinguish in Morocco several manners of rendering one and the same šan’āh. A šan’āh is thus identified as a šan’āh fāsiyyah, tiwāniyyah,
\textit{tanjīyyah}, etc., that is a \textit{ṣanā‘ah} sung according to the style of Fez, Tetouan or Tangier, etc. Responsible for the different styles of interpretation are undoubtedly the great masters themselves, who once lived by themselves in Fez, Tetouan, Tangier, Chaouen, etc., and orally passed on their characteristic style of rendering the \textit{ṣanā‘ah} in the andalusi nūbah to younger generations. It was not until the introduction of the mass media in Morocco that contact among masters of different schools has developed and a tendency to unify different styles has taken place. Whereas tradition gains a lot from this diversity of styles, yet it constantly controls change.

A primary strength of the Moroccan repertoire of andalusi music is the reverence given to the continuity of tradition, which is observed among the musicians in Chaouen, Fez, Rabat, Tangier or Tetouan. Such values nevertheless continue to play a significant role in modern urban society in Morocco. In this way tradition is linked with a fundamental veneration for the nūbah repertoire. Furthermore, the heritage of traditional music in Morocco supplies steadfastness and faithfulness in the social organization of the musicians. However, we should not think that this traditional music is merely a still deep well of fossil water from where musicians shovel. On the contrary the nūbah music is a living tradition, which is far from static: it is continually re-created, re-form and re-lived within a frame-work of the principles of the tradition.

The pan-Arab music

Tradition dominates and controls the degree of recreation and reformation of music. However, degrees of change in music vary from one category to another and change takes place at a moment when a controlling factor in the tradition has become loose or has been injured. As long as the controlling factors are valid and are respected we can hardly experience change. Responsible for change in music is indeed the musician himself. Nevertheless a musician does not exist by himself in the society. Before becoming a musician he or she was a student of a master. The master shapes the musician and the musician later produces for the masses. Until the introduction of the radio, television, music cassettes and video-tapes there was a direct contact between the musician and his or her audience where the musician used to create or recreate within a social context and perform right in front of his audience. The audience could then praise and criticize, accept or reject. The repertory of the audience itself was restricted to local traditions and the spectators could differentiate between the good and the bad, between the authentic and the hybrid. Therefore, the audience listening to a musician in his or her traditional environment of performance within a social context, such as a wedding or other festive occasions, functioned as a controlling factor safeguarding the traditional authentic rendering of a specific genre in music. Thus, whenever a musician would launch new elements in rendering any form of music, he or she has to convince the audience sitting just opposite them. This was the case for centuries and so the music was transmitted orally from the master to the student and the intelligent audience functioned as a controlling element in the society and conditioned the musical repertories. And there were as many categories of intelligent listeners as there
were genres of music on the religious and on the secular level: for example, the Sufi circles, the orthodox Islamic circles, the circles of the nūbah-repertory, those of the malḥūn rep­
ertory etc. In this way musical genres had their followers or what we would call today their fans, who were proud of belonging to such circles of listeners and who were also aware of the esthetic values latent in the performed music they were listening to. The esthetic knowledge of the listeners in a specific circle ensured a controlled change in that specific genre of music.

At the dawn of introducing the mass media instruments to the Arab region at the begin­ning of the century and their first contact with musical cultures other than theirs shook the musical equilibrium in the Arabian society and affected the rules of behavior governing a musical performance. Through television and radio sets the audience was separated physically from the musician and the audience was exposed to new forms of musical genres from neighboring countries: Arabian and European. The esthetic knowledge of both the musician and the audience were thus enriched with more musical idioms. Consequently step by step the controlling factor has been weakened and a change took place. We can not avoid change, however, we must control it. Change is at a minimum with those categories of music which had and still have a great number of followers of a sound esthetic knowl­edge as it is the case with the andalusi nūbah-music or malḥūn, where we find a class of connoisseurs of the andalusi nūbah-music known as müld, that is aficionado, admirer or «fan». Change takes place amply with categories of music that are lacking personal contact between performer and listener, that is between «conserved» music (radio, TV, CD, MC, etc.) and the public.

While controlling mechanisms such as education, contact between public and musicians, reverence and steadfastness of the tradition and the mülav associations of andalusi music in Morocco control change thoroughly and contribute immensely to safeguarding original­ity, we witness in contemporary music making in Egypt a compositional state of affairs that violates tradition in a certain way and causes a break down in the system. The matter of discussion here concerns the disagreement of tradition with music notation. All major treatises on Arabian music, which come from the 9th Up to the 19th centuries do report abundantly on music theory, on musical instruments, musicians, singing and much more, however, they do not embody musical notation. Except for tablature that gives a name to a tone and identifies a fret on the neck of the lute, musical notation has never been applied in Arabian music as a visual replacement for music. Therefore the role of notation played indeed a nonessential role in preserving or performing Arabian music ever since the early days of Arabian history up to the beginning of the 20th century. The incompatibility of Arabian music with notation and the «estrangement» of the musical culture of the Arabs from musical notation, is indeed a matter of fact. The more so, transcription of Arabian music can never cover a musical event as a whole and can never substitute completely for musical sound. Yet contemporary Arab musicians wont accept this truth and do apply ever since the beginning of the century western notation to «prescribe» their music, though the function of Western notation in this case is simply to «describe». Its application in writing down Arabian music makes a sense when it is utilized in connection with musicological or
educational matters as a tool for music analysis. Its utilization in matters of music making in contemporary Arabian music as a «prescribing» tool has presently weakened the notion of originality in music.

The ughniyah

A «composer» of a great talent in contemporary Arabian music generally and in most cases does not write down his own music, because in nearly all cases he or she does not read or write western notes. The way leads the composer to a «transcriber» who listens to the new composition as sung or performed on an instrument by the composer. Thereafter the composer goes with the notes of his composition to an «arranger» who arranges the melody for the instrumentalists. Now the instrumentalists record their parts in a studio on a 24-track-recording machine, however, without the part of the main singer or the choristers. The singer and the group of singers record their part in a feedback process on free tracks. Only at this moment the «composition» is complete for selling it either as MC, CD, LP or a video tape to the broadcasting station or to vendors in the market. Through this technical process a commercial «pan-Arab» or rather «pan-Egyptian» style has developed and flourished in the whole Arab region. The process of emergence of such a composition throws several questions in the debate: what is to be considered as the origin of such a composition: the melody, the text, the arrangement or the final make-up on the recording console in the studio? This uniform procedure takes place in almost every new production and in most cases is carried out by different persons. As a result of this procedure various possible pitfalls are experienced in the course of making-up the music: the transcribing of the melody in the first stage of emergence of the composition, the arrangement of the parts in the second stage, and finally the production on the recording machine in the studio. We have here to inquire into this matter deeper: How faithful was the transcription of the first melody of the composer? How much could the composer exercise his right and influence on the arrangement and blending of the instrumental parts and interpretation of the singers?

This style of music creation is in vogue nowadays in the Arab region. Its center is Cairo in Egypt. It became a matter of pan-Arabian music heard daily on the radios in Cairo and almost on all other radio stations in the whole region. The genre ignores a certain extent of the tradition, discards a direct contact between the musician and the audience, applies western notations and western methods of music education. Its chief aim is money making through selling the products to the broadcasting stations, record industry and the masses. A pan-Arab style has thus developed. The masses have no chance to exercise critics on the compositions publicized on the air or sold in a «conserved» form mostly as music cassettes. If the public does not like a composition, it might refrain from buying it or turn off their radio sets whenever it is being broadcast. However, before the public has reached this point of disagreement with the «composition», the same «composer» has already cashed his fees from the radio station or from the record company and would be working currently on another production in another studio with other instrumentalists and singers. In
this way the mass media enrich the music repertoire enormously though with a homoge-
neous mixture of sound that recurs repeatedly on and on. Only the sung text and the very
first melody of the ughniyah as well as the voice of the main singer differ from one produc-
tion to another. Usually such a production is bound to one singer, the owner of the
ughniyah. Generally an ughniyah is performed live only when it is produced in the studio
with a minimum of rehearsals. At the present time this type of musicmaking is accepted as
a contemporary urban music all over the Arab region.

«Music: ughniyah ‘law farâdnâ’, ‘Abd-Allah ar-Ruwayshid, Kuwait».

The investigation of originality and change in Arabian music discussed above has been
mainly carried out from an anthropological point of view. It described the ways the Arabs
work out their musical ideas in practice and the ways they actually do receive it in modern
times. In one case tradition is being respected in the other discarded. In the first case
originality is safeguarded and change is controlled by tradition. In the second case change
is uncontrolled and originality suffers.

The Arabian musician today is to some extent bewildered living in a society that is strug-
gling to preserve its identity and thereby having to grapple with problems that have been
arising continually ever since the impact of technology and western culture on the Arab society.

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Selected discography

Anthologie al-Âla Musique Andaluci-Marocaine
1992 1) Haj Abdelkrim al-rais and the Orchestre al-Brihi de Fes
   nūba ǧarībat al-ḥusayn (6 CD’s) W 260010
  2) Haj Mohamed Toud and the Orchestre Moulay Ahmed Loukili de Rabat
   nūba ‘uṣṣāq (6 CD’s) W 260014
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11) Ahmed Zaytouni Sahraoui and the Orchestre de Tanger
nūba al-māya (7 CD’s) W 260034
12) Mohammed Briouel and the Ensemble al-Âla du Ministère de la Culture du Maroc
mīzān quddām bawākir al-māya and mīzān al-quddām al-jadīd

Publishers: Maison des Cultures du Monde/Paris and Royaume du Maroc/
Ministère de la Culture.
The plan of a five-line-ṣanʿah (khumāsiyyah)

**dukhūl (entrance) (αα' αα' α)**
- Singing of the first line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)
- jawāb, instrumental repetition of the melody of the first line slightly altered (α')
- Singing of the second line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)
- jawāb, instrumental repetition of the melody of the second line slightly altered (α')
- Singing of the third line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)

**taghtiyah (covering) (β β' β)**
- Singing of the first half of the fourth line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (β)
- jawāb, instrumental repetition of the melody of the first half of the fourth line slightly altered (β')
- Singing of the second half of the fourth line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (β)

**khurūj (exit) (α)**
- Singing of the fifth line of poetry accompanied by the instrumentalists (α)
2nd temporal phase (mahzūz); 5th section (quddām)
nūbah: ḥijāz mashriqi

The transliteration:
1) ash-shawqu ʿallamanī-s-sahar | ḥattā-shtahar | ḥubbī walam yukhfa (10)
2) ad-damʿu min ʿaynī-nhamar | mithl-al-maṭar | wanārī lam tuṭfa (10)
3) idhā yajīʿ waqṭu-s-sahar | tashʿal jimar | fi khāṭīri zulfah (10)
4) qad ḥāra fi ʿishqī-ṭ-ṭabib | | mudh sarat ar-rukbān (8)
5) liʿan-nanī arghabu-l-mujib | an yastajib | lilʿashiqil-walāfān (10)

The translation:
1) Longing (for the beloved) has taught me to stay awake at night
So (my love) became popular
(my love) is no more a secret
2) My tears poured down like the rain
and yet could not extinguish the fire (in me)
3) While staying awake at night
firebrands would inflame so close to my heart
4) My love perplexed my doctor ever since the caravans have left
5) I wish the answerer (my beloved) would answer (me),
I am a bewildered lover.