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The music of Jillala: A repertoire of spirits

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THE MUSIC OF THE JILLALA:
A REPERTOIRE OF SPIRITS

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Abstract

THE MUSIC OF THE JILLALA: A REPERTOIRE OF SPIRITS

by

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Advisor: Professor Stephen Blum

This dissertation was written to complement a recorded archive of the music of the Jillala brotherhood of Tangier, Morocco, available at the Ethnomusicology Department of the Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York. The paper is in two parts: an introduction giving the historical and ethnological background of the Jillala brotherhood in Morocco as well as a description of the recording process, and an account of the music itself. The paper includes transcriptions, illustrations, and an appendix listing the contents of the tape archive.

Acknowledgements

This paper is based primarily on two months of field research conducted in Tangier in the summer of 1989. The people who helped me to accomplish this research are as follows: my father, who paid for my travel and living expenses during the summer of 1989; Paul Bowles, who originally introduced me to the Jillala and the ways of Morocco; the entire extended Mjdoubi family, to whom I am indebted for their warm hospitality as well as for their music; and the master Jillali, Si Abdelqader Draydi, whose *qasba* playing is the foundation of my archive. In addition, I owe a debt of gratitude to Ismail Mezoudi, Said Boukhalfa, and Abdelwahab El Alaoui for their help in bridging the language barrier. Rosemary Jibori, Rodrigo Rey Rosa, and Isobel and Yvonne Gerofi provided much-appreciated help for my housing needs. I would like also to thank my adviser, Stephen Blum, and my readers, Vincent Crapanzano and Henrietta Yurchenco. Rachel Yarmolinsky drew the illustrations.

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Note on the transliteration of Maghrebi words

In transliterating words and proper names from Moroccan Arabic I have tried to follow an accepted precedent, where there is one. This means that proper names are generally given in the French rendering and terms pertaining to the brotherhoods generally follow Vincent Crapanzano's spelling in *The Hamadsha.* I have eschewed the use of diacritical marks in the belief that those who know enough Arabic to miss them will supply them automatically, and everyone else will be grateful for their absence. Since my knowledge of Arabic is entirely aural I have had to rely on verbal explanations rather than dictionaries for the philological speculations in which I have indulged.

O body swayed to music, O brightening glance,
How can we know the dancer from the dance?
from *Among School Children*--W. B. Yeats

Ce qui du fifre vient s'en va par le tambour!
Cyrano de Bergerac, IV, iii --Edmond Rostand

Part One-The Background

Introduction

This paper is intended to serve as the written complement to an archive of tape recordings of the music of the Jillala brotherhood I made in the summer of 1989 in Tangier, Morocco. The archive is now at the Ethnomusicology Department of the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. The paper is in two large sections: an introductory part giving historical and ethnological background, as well as a description of my working methods, and an account of the music itself. A complete listing of the contents of the archive is attached as Appendix One.

My interest in the music of the Jillala dates from 1978 when Paul Bowles played me recordings he had made of Jillala musicians from Tangier and Tetouan. I was immediately intrigued by the sound of their music and curious to learn more about it. In 1980 I finally met and got to know several of these musicians and

had occasion to record about six hours of their playing in and around Tangier between 1980 and 1983. Two of the musicians, Abdeslam Mjdoubi and Mohammed Zane, worked with me to organize performances of Moroccan folk music for the School of Visual Arts' summer program in Morocco in the summers of 1982 and 1983. Thanks to their openness I was able to gain entrée into the world of the Jillala, a world that few non-Moroccans have been aware of, much less come to know well.

The music of the Jillala brotherhood, like that of the Hamadsha, Aissaoua and Gnaoua brotherhoods, is functional. It serves primarily to accompany the trance dancing known as *djedba* or *tahayor.* Jillala ceremonies, called *hadra*, literally "presence", signifying the presence of God, or *lila* (plural: *lilat*), literally "night", denoting a night devoted to *djedba*, are normally convoked at the wish of a member of the Jillala brotherhood who feels the need to dance to the melody or *rih* of his or her tutelary spirit for therapeutic purposes. (Although the brotherhood is nominally an all-male institution, women are present as participants and onlookers at almost all of their ceremonies. They are debarred by their sex from playing the music, but take part in most other aspects of the event. Far more women than men dance in *djedba*). The musicians are paid for their services, and not only in currency. The sponsor of a *lila* is responsible for providing them with an elaborate meal together with copious quantities of mint tea and sweets. The other guests partake of the feast, but the musicians are served first. The leader of the musicians, or *muqaddim*, is often also the leader of the ceremony and is in

charge of leading communal prayers and litanies. His role as officiant of the musical and verbal aspect of the rite is balanced by that of the person who oversees the dancers. (I have only seen older women in this overseer's role, where most of the dancers were women. It is possible that a man might play the same part in a situation where male dancers predominated). This woman is responsible for the well-being of the people in trance. She makes sure the dancers do not interfere with one another, and monitors their progress through the stages of *djedba*. Like the musicians, she does not enter into trance herself while she is fulfilling the supervisory role.

The *hadra* begins with prayers and invocations (*fatha*) calling on the patron saints of the brotherhood to bless the participants, especially the sponsor of the ceremony and his or her family. The entire company, men, women and children, sits in a circle and participates responsively with cries of "*Amin*"or "*Allah*", holding their upturned cupped hands in the Moslem attitude of prayer. These prayers and litanies may be followed by the *dhikr*, or remembrance of God, which consists of the energetically rhythmic chanting of the word "Allah". Here only the men participate. No instruments are used except hand-claps and sometimes a single frame drum. This section of the ceremony is variable in length and may be interspersed with prayers. I have seen it omitted entirely.

The rest of the ceremony is devoted to dancing. Everyone stands and those who wish to dance form a line in front of the musicians, who sit in a semi-circle around a charcoal brazier. A

Jillala *lila* typically begins with the *rih*, or melody of Moulay Abdelqader, the patron saint of the order. After this dedicatory dance the musicians play "requests". The rule that, "He who pays the piper calls the tune", is quite literally in force at these occasions, and the musicians will often play the sponsor's melodies over and over. This is not to say that other people's melodies are not played. It is part of the sponsor's reponsibility to share the use of the musicians among the membership, but, as might be expected, there is considerable competition for the musicians' time.

Often when a dancer first hears his or her personal *rih* he or she will fall to the ground in a swoon. At this point the overseer of the dance may intervene, helping the dancer to rise and to approach the flute players. At first the dancer will bend from the waist as close as possible to the flutes, drinking in the music and swaying gently. I have seen dancers gesture with their hands during this initial phase of their trance, as if they were grasping the flute music and spreading it over themselves. The overseer sprinkles incense (usually *jawi*, or benzoin, an aromatic resin) on the brazier and the dancer is made to inhale the fumes. The drums begin, the brazier is removed and the dancer gradually begins to flail the torso back and forth in time to the accelerating rhythm of the drums. As the tempo increases the women's head coverings come loose and their long black hair flies about. Their eyes roll back, their faces express intense feeling--they are in *djedba*.

As the music reaches its climax the dancer's movements become increasingly agitated and wild. At the point of maximum tempo the lead drummer plays strongly syncopated accents and the dancer registers these accents in her body as if she herself were being struck, while her feet continue to follow the regular time of the supporting drums. A period of relative calm ensues in which the melody is restated or a new melody introduced and the process of acceleration and crescendo begins anew. In this lull the dancer stands and sways, resting, but still very much in trance. One continuous piece of music may last anywhere from five minutes to half an hour and may contain from one to ten or more "waves" of music. The dancers seem to have a superhuman capacity for exertion during *djedba*. I have seen ostensibly feeble old men and women dance strenuously for hours with no ill effects. It is also under the spell of *djedba* that the more sensational practices of self-mutilation take place. Dancers may handle fire, drink boiling water, cut themselves, or consume cactus, scorpions or broken glass without doing themselves any long-term harm.

When the music stops the dancers remain standing as if frozen to the spot. At this juncture the overseer may lead away dancers who have exhausted themselves. They are laid down to rest and covered in a quiet place away from the music. Later in the evening they are brought back to be revived by the appropriate musical formula. After the musicians have rested, retuned their drums, and had tea, a new set of *aryaḥ* begins, usually with a new set of dancers. When the dancers have finally had enough, the

musicians play the quieter "cool" repertoire, which consists of the choral chanting of hymns with flute and clapping accompaniment. At this point the dancers join in the choral singing and dance in a loose, relaxed manner. The final group of dances is devoted to the Gnaoua category of spirits and represents a sort of *hadra* within the *hadra,* with its own "hot" and "cool" sections. There are individuals who dance only to the melodies of this part of the ceremony. The concluding *rih* of the *hadra* as a whole is that of Sidi Moussa. After this last *rih* more prayers may be offered and the meal, usually a feast of couscous and *tajine*, is served.

Although there seems to be a range of susceptibility among the dancers, trance is a reflexive reaction to a musical stimulus. Spirit possession, as both musicians and dancers realize, is a serious business. The musicians are aware of whose melody is whose, and will refrain from playing a person's melody if that person does not wish to dance. I recall a recording session at which the flute player broke off in the middle of a *rih* when visitors arrived in the next room, saying, "*Jat el moulat dialou*", "The owner [of the *rih*] has arrived". On another occasion I was recording the *rih* called Sidi Lamrani when suddenly a large woman entered the room, moaning and trembling, and began to dance, the peaked hood of her *djellaba* covering her face. My recording equipment was hurriedly pushed aside and a space was cleared while the musicians continued to play. The woman danced for about ten minutes, pressed a coin into the flutist's hand, saying, "*'llah yatek saha*", "God give you health", and left, still in a

visibly agitated condition. It turned out that she had been passing by, heard her *rih*, and had been overcome by the music.

The saints and spirits represented in the Jillala repertoire are a varied and disparate group, ranging from Moulay Abdelqader, the patron saint of the order, to the seductive she-demon with goat's feet, Lalla Aisha Qandisha. When I asked the musicians to identify a tune they would usually respond with a spirit's or saint's name. Many of the spirits have picturesque or evocative epithets such as Bou Derbala, the man in rags, Sidi Amar Moul Zeitoun, the lord of olives, Moul Ouidan, the lord of rivers, or Moul el Khalwa, the lord of the cave. The melodies of the saints are associated with their respective burial places, e.g., Sidi Mubarak from Sebta, or Sidi Farajia from Had Kurt, and if a saint was a Cherif, or descendant of the prophet, that fact is included in the title of his *rih*, e.g., Ben Omran, Chorfa. Other pertinent information included a spirit's affiliation with a particular brotherhood other than the Jillala (usually Hamadsha, Aissaoua or Gnaoua). All of the named spirits are called by the honorific Sidi, Moulay, or Lalla, (Lord or Lady).

According to the musicians there are people whose susceptibility is such that they dance to all of the *aryah*. Most of the dancers I observed, however, danced only to a single *rih* or category of *aryah.* Affinities to a certain *rih* seemed to run in families. For instance, a father and daughter, Mustapha and Naima, both danced to the Gnaoua *aryah* and the Mjdoubi family all danced to the *rih* of the Hamadsha saint, Sidi Mseud.

According to the Morocccan ethnologist Abdelhai Diouri, who specializes in the study of the various *tariqat*, or mystical paths, the Jillala are unique among the brotherhoods in the specificity of their cures. In theory, every time the other brotherhoods are convoked for a therapeutic *hadra* the musicians are expected to play their entire repertoire. The Jillala, however, in their role as general practitioners, provide whatever music is demanded by the situation, including melodies conjuring the spirits from any of the other brotherhoods. A complete recital of the Jillala repertoire is supposed to last from a Saturday night through the following Sunday afternoon, and a complete recital of the Gnaoua repertoire is supposed to take three days. There are few individuals among the generally poor membership of the brotherhoods who can afford to pay for such expensive therapies. The result is that complete ceremonies have become relatively rare. It is easy to believe that there was once a time when the *hadra* was more common, the brotherhood more respected, and its activities more organized. I did not get the impression from the musicians, however, that they felt their profession to be either endangered or in a state of desuetude. It may be that the brotherhood has endured in its present state for a long while and will continue to do so.

The only situation in which Jillala music is available to the general public is at a *moussem*, an annual festival of pilgrimage held at the shrine of a saint such as Sidi Kacem or Moulay Abdeslam. Jillala musicians go to these festivals and play through the night in tents set up for the purpose. On an earlier

visit to Morocco I had recorded at Sidi Kacem, but there was no *moussem* during the time of my stay in 1989.

The Jillala musicians may also be hired to play at name day ceremonies, circumcisions or at a celebration observing the return of a *hajj.* In 1989 I witnessed a name day feast at which Jillala musicians played for forty-five minutes, ate, and departed. No one danced. (The perfunctory nature of this performance may have been due to the musicians having been asked to play by a family member, rather than a paying customer.)

In the summer of 1989, my goal was to record as much of the repertoire of the Jillala as I could in the limited time I had. I therefore decided to record the music outside of its normal ceremonial context. Had I not worked as I did I might never have had the opportunity of recording so many of the melodies of the repertoire. Unless I wanted to sponsor my own *lilat* (which I did at the end of the summer as a farewell gesture, but which I could hardly have afforded to do regularly) I would have had to wait for someone to fall ill and then "crash" his or her therapy session with my notebook and recording paraphernalia. This method seemed not only embarrassing to all concerned, but also impractical, since in such a situation I would have had little opportunity to ask questions of the musicians and I would not have had the opportunity to record the rarer melodies of the repertoire.

In the course of my association with the Jillala musicians I was able to observe them playing for dancers on many occasions, both informally at the musicians' home and in the context of the

hadra. Compared to my recordings, the same pieces, when played for the dance, tended to be much longer, more energetic, and louder, but otherwise identical. In the *hadra* the musicians' primary obligation is to satisfy the dancer, and they will play a dancer's personal melody as long as is necessary to achieve that end. For my purposes of collection and classification the versions I recorded were sufficient. Naturally, anyone wishing to study the precise relation of the music to the dance or the overall relation of music to the drama of the *hadra* would require more full-length documentation. My approach was dictated by my desire to document the repertoire as a complete musical canon.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary (1976) defines repertoire as, "Stock of pieces etc. that performer or company knows or is prepared to give; stock of regularly performed pieces, regularly used techniques, etc." With respect to an oral tradition like that of the Jillala musicians the very concept of repertoire is problematic. In order to assess a repertoire it must be documented. While it is easy enough to record the stock of pieces of a group of musicians, it is more difficult to determine how the musicians themselves view their stock, how they categorize it, and how much room there is within it for personal invention. Based on my recordings, observations and conversations with the musicians, I would say that the repertoire of the Jillala is a fairly stable canon. Unlike the *rwais* musicians of Marrakesh, described by Philip Schuyler[1], who tailor their performances to

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[1] Philip Schuyler, A Repertory of Ideas: The music of the Berber 'Rwais' Professional Musicians from Southwestern Morocco.

their audiences in the Djemaa el Fna by drawing on what he calls a "repertory of ideas", the Jillala musicians must, by virtue of their function as accompanists to a community of dancers, reproduce their music verbatim at every performance. The identification of a particular melody with a particular spirit is the foundation of the possession ceremony. It is the musicians' function to reproduce a version of the melody *recognizable*, not only to an individual dancer, but to the community of auditors. Without an identifiable melody there can (probably) be no trance, no possession, and no *djedba* (see discussion of Gilbert Rouget's theory of possession below). Exactly what constitutes a recognizable version of a *rih* may vary somewhat, and among different Jillala communities there may be variant versions of a given *rih.* Nevertheless, there is a strong conservative tendency inherent in a repertoire in which meaning is so dependent on melodic identity. For this reason I am disposed to believe the musicians' claim that their music is "*kdim bzef*", very old. Lura Jafran Jones, in her dissertation on the Isawiya of Tunisia, cites a Tunisian authority to the same effect:

> Rizgui justifies his entire chapter on the brotherhoods, which he appears to undertake with some distaste, on the basis that the brotherhoods have preserved within their repertoire folk songs and melodies that otherwise would be lost to memory.[2]

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[2] Lura Jafran Jones, The Isawiya of Tunisia,, p. 18.

The Brotherhoods and the Saints

Since the beginning of Islam, Sufi orders throughout the Islamic world have used music and dance as a means of attaining religious ecstasy. Whether or not such practices accord with Qur'anic precepts, they do represent an ancient tradition (some would say older than Islam itself). The debate about the use of music in Islamic worship is an old and ongoing one. The following paragraph from Ahmad al-Ghazali's twelfth-century treatise on *sama* or spiritual concerts gives some of the flavor of that debate:

> And, further, hostility to Allah (Exalted is He!) applies to him who disapproves of dancing, audition, playing the tambourine and listening to singing, and he who fights against Allah (Exalted is He!) is an infidel by general consent. That is because there has come down in the sound tradition, "He who is hostile to a saint of mine has come forth against me in warfare." There is no disagreement among the *mujtahids* about the existence of saints among them...And it is verified concerning them in their biographies that they went into ecstacies in audition and danced to destroy from their hearts what was apart from Allah. So he who declares audition to be absolutely unlawful is as though he said these saints did what is unlawful, and he who attributes to them dealings with what is unlawful is hostile to them in word, deed, and belief; and he who is hostile to them has come forth against the Truth (Exalted is He!); and he who comes forth against the Truth (Exalted is He!) is an infidel by general consent, and "has brought down on himself anger from Allah, and has resort in Jahannam, and evil is the journey." (from Robson's translation of the *Bawariq al-ilma* by Majd al-Din al-Tusi al-Ghazali p. 97)

There are many religious brotherhoods (*tariqat*) in Morocco. Most of them trace their lineage to Sufi orders founded by Moslem saints such as Abdelqader el-Jilani (b. 1077) the patron saint of the Jillala, Sidi Ali ben Hamdush (d. 1718) the patron saint of the Hamadsha, and Sidi Mohammed ben Aissa (1465-1524) the patron saint of the Aissaoua. In The Sufi Orders in Islam Trimingham describes the Jillala as: "...the cult of Abd al Qadir...[i]ntroduced from Spain shortly before the fall of Granada (A.D. 1492) by alleged descendants of Abd al Qadir."[3]

In Morocco the brotherhoods are bound up with the more or less overt worship of saints-- what the French call *le maraboutisme* (from the Arabic *m'rabit* , meaning the state of being tied or bound -- here the word refers to a religious bond or covenant). These *marabouts* were historical figures of antiquity who through their religious and political activities acquired reputations for sanctity. A marabout was often a sort of tribal founding father and his patrilineal descendants claim to inherit his *baraka*, or charismatic power. There is hardly a corner of Morocco that does not have a shrine to its local marabout, usually a whitewashed dome or *qubba* containing the tomb of the saint. Often these tombs are maintained by putative descendants of the saint who care for the shrine and make a living from the pilgrims who come seeking the saint's posthumous *baraka.* While each

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[3] J. Spencer Trimingham, The Sufi Orders in Islam, p. 272.

brotherhood has its patron saint, many also admit lesser local or regional saints into their pantheon. The result is that the different lodges of a given brotherhood will often focus their attention on different saints. There are those who have suggested that there are pre-Islamic roots to the anthropolatrous practices of the brotherhoods. Certainly there must be some common ancestry to the whitewashed domes one finds throughout the Mediterranean countries, both Christian and Moslem. Whatever its origin, saint worship is an integral part of the Jillala brotherhood's program.

If Sufism, as defined by Trimingham, is that mystic tendency in Islam that aims at "direct communion between God and man"[4], the Moroccan version of Sufism aims at direct communion between man and saints and spirits (*djenoun).* Whether or not this aim accords with Islam is a theological question beyond the scope of this paper. The important point for us is that to the Moroccan member of a brotherhood there is no apparent contradiction.

French scholars of the colonial era dubbed the Moroccan brotherhoods like the Jillala, Hamadsha and Aissaoua, "confréries populaires," implying that they were degenerate and corrupt versions of a once pure Sufi tradition contaminated by pagan Mediterranean and black African influences. There is no reason to suppose that this is an accurate description of the historical reality. Nor is there reason to suppose that the music of the

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[4] Ibid. p. 1.

Jillala is a degenerate form of classical Arab Sufi music. One might say with more accuracy that Moroccan versions of Sufism and Sufi music are recognizably Moroccan. Why should they be otherwise?

Clifford Geertz has written that:

> Sufism has been less a definite standpoint in Islam...than a diffuse expression of [the] necessity...for a world religion to come to terms with a variety of mentalities, a multiplicity of local forms of faith, and yet maintain the essence of its own identity...In Morocco, it meant fusing the genealogical conception of sanctity with the miraculous--canonizing *les hommes fétiches.*"[5]

The practice of saint worship in Morocco was noted in the late eighteenth century by a French diplomat, M. Chenier, in his *Recherches Historiques sur les Maures:*

> Saintship in this part of Africa is one of the most distinguished, and, perhaps most lucrative professions; it is a family inheritance, descending from father to son, and sometimes from master to servant. A Saint as naturally affims that he is a Saint as a tailor tells you he is a tailor; and the number of these self-said holy men is increased, because that fools, madmen, and ideots [*sic*], are acknowledged saints.[6]

Despite the superficial differences in ritual and belief that distinguish them from one another, the Moroccan brotherhoods have many practices in common. Their formal ceremonies (*hadra)* begin with the invocation of Allah (*dhikr*) and prayers (*fatha*) and

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5 Clifford Geertz, Islam Observed, p.48.

6 M. Chenier, The Present State of the Empire of Morocco I, p. 180.

then proceed to ecstatic dancing (*djedba* or *tahayor*) to the accompaniment of drums and melody instruments. This latter part of the *hadra* is itself divided into "hot" (*skhoun*)and "cold" (*berrd*) sections during which the dancers are alternately excited and soothed by the appropriate music. Both *dhikr* and *djedba* lead to trance states, but to trance states of different kinds. While the *dhikr* leads to a self-induced trance of communion with the divine, the *djedba* trance is "imposed" from without by musicians playing incantatory melodies. When an adept falls under the spell of his personal melody (*rih*) he considers himself and is considered by others to be possessed by the saint or demon (*djinn*) of which the melody is the objective correlative. He may fall into a swoon, flagellate himself, drink boiling water, eat shards of glass, or hold live coals while in the state of trance. Thus, the complete *hadra* encompasses both Islamic and pre-Islamic religious practices, the latter being to some extent legitimized by their association with the former. A Jillala *lila* or night of *djedba* may take place with no prefatory *dhikr.* I report this without wishing in any way to cast doubt on the piety of my informants, whose existences are predicated on the idea of continuity between Islam and hagiolatry.

According to Clifford Geertz, as of 1939, "nearly a fifth of the adult male population of Morocco seems to have belonged to one or another of the twenty-three leading brotherhoods, about a sixth to the seven largest ones."[7] While membership has

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[7] Ibid p.51

undoubtedly fallen off since 1939 it is by no means a thing of the past. Modern educated Moroccans with a family history of involvement with a brotherhood often find that the music of the brotherhoods holds a power that they cannot ignore. There is much anecdotal evidence for this sort of return of the repressed. For example, there is the story --told me by a young Moroccan who claimed to have been an eye-witness-- of two thoroughly modern Algerian women dressed in Parisian *haute couture* who attended a Jillala *lila* given at the home of a friend. They started the evening mocking the barbarity of the brotherhoods, but ended the evening unconscious on the floor, having succumbed to the power of the music. I have myself seen an American-educated Moroccan, the grandson of an Aissaoui, go into a state of uncontrollable panic on hearing the music of an Aissaoua ceremony. Just how widespread this susceptibility is among contemporary Moroccans is impossible to say. To be even-handed I should admit that I have spoken with young Moroccans who have never witnessed Jillala ceremonies and who have only the vaguest idea of what they are all about. I even came across the interesting case of a Tangerine accountant of bourgeois background who aspired to being a Sufi mystic, but, for lack of early childhood conditioning, was unable to enter into trance.

Only quite recently have Moroccan ethnologists, mostly French-trained, begun to study the brotherhoods and their various *tariqat*. Although since independence the government has outlawed certain sacrificial practices such as the Aissaoua's rite

of *frisa* --the sacrificial consumption of raw (sometimes living) animal flesh, the larger brotherhoods are officially recognized and patronized by the government. One may see groups of Jillala musicians in the annual government-sponsored "Fête de la Jeunesse" parade in Tangier in honor of the king's birthday. I was told by a reliable source that the king, Hassan II, is himself an adept and that "*kay jdeb*", --he goes into trance. This report, true or not, fits nicely into Clifford Geertz's model of Morocco as a polity in which the cult of saints, the brotherhoods and the Cherifian descent of the royal family are inextricably intertwined. It would only strengthen the king's reputation to be perceived as an adherent of a belief system that legitimizes his own authority.

State of Research and Sources

There has been very little written about the music of the Moroccan brotherhoods and still less specifically about the Jillala. Although Vincent Crapanzano's The Hamadsha: A Study in Ethnopsychiatry is a landmark in Moroccan ethnology, it contains no analysis of the music of the Hamadsha beyond a description of their instruments. Likewise, Rouget's Music and Trance is not concerned with examining the music *per se*. Chottin's Tableau de la Musique Marocaine makes mention of the music of the brotherhoods, particularly the Gnaoua, but is mainly concerned with the Andaluz repertoire. D'Erlanger neglects the music of the

brotherhoods altogether. The only musical transcriptions of *qasba* music that I am aware of are those made by Léo Louis Barbes to accompany Émile Dermenghem's "Essai sur la Hadhra des Aissaoua d'Algérie" published in Revue Africaine in 1951. These transcriptions of the opening exercises of a *hadra* ceremony complete with texts and translations stop at the point at which djedba trance dancing begins.

On the other hand, the Jillala have been better documented on sound recordings. Paul Bowles included examples of Jillala music in his anthology of Moroccan music recorded for the Library of Congress, Music of Morocco,. He also recorded the music for the album Jillala, produced on the *Trance* label by Ira Cohen. I have copies of several hours of his unpublished recordings. Philip Schuyler has issued a few selections from the Jillala repertoire on Moroccan Sufi Music, Lyrichord LLST 7238. His liner notes to this recording are an excellent introduction to the music of the brotherhoods, although his assertion that "Morocco is the only country in the Arab world where the brotherhoods have survived in any form"[8] has been contradicted by Lura Jafran Jones' dissertation on the Isayiwa of Tunisia as well as by many examples cited by Rouget, e.g., the Tidjanniya of Tunisia and the Riffa'iyya of Aleppo. And in spite of the Algerian government's offical attitude towards the brotherhoods, according to an Algerian neighbor of mine, vestiges of the brotherhoods survive there today.

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[8] Notes to Moroccan Sufi Music Lyrichord LLST 7238.

My own collection of recordings is extensive, including approximately six hours taped from 1980-1983, and approximately fifteen hours taped in the summer of 1989.

Recording the Music and the Musicians

In the summer of 1989 I returned to Tangier to undertake a study of the repertoire of the Jillala musicians. My intention was to work with Abdeslam Mjdoubi, a fine *bendir* player, and the *muqaddim* (leader) of the group with whom I had worked in 1982 and 1983, and with his colleague, the eminent *qasba* player, Mohammed Zane. Having established a good rapport with these musicians, I felt I had the groundwork in place for a more thorough investigation of the music. In the intervening years I had taught myself to play the *qasba* well enough to help with transcribing and done a good deal of background reading on Morocco. Reading the literature on Morocco during the four years I lived there had seemed unimportant and prejudicial at the time. I was too busy experiencing the place to feel a need for explanation and history. Only later, after having read the books, did I realize how much I had missed and how much more I might have learned had I taken a more scholarly approach. On the other hand, I did not originally go to Morocco as an ethnomusicologist; I went to teach music at the American School of Tangier, and to see the world. My return visit in 1989 was motivated by the more mundane desire to accomplish the research necessary for my

Ph. D. dissertation.

On arriving in Tangier I wasted no time before going to Mjdoubi's house in the Emsallah. I knocked on his door, waited and knocked again. A woman's voice called, "*Shkoon*?" I identified myself and Mjdoubi's aged mother informed me that Mjdoubi had died suddenly in the *hammam* just a few weeks before. The rest of the family was out, so I sat and waited for their return--my plans seemed dashed to pieces.

It wasn't long before Mjdoubi's son Abdelqader returned. I explained that I had come to study the Jillala. He gave the *coup de grace* to my plans by informing me that Mohammed Zane, my other main musical contact, was ill and would not be available to play for me, but promised to bring me another Jillala *m'aalem* (master) to teach me whatever I wanted to know. We made an appointment for the next day. I spoke with Mjdoubi's widow, Zohra, in private and gave her some money. Even with Mjdoubi alive the family's finances had been dicey. Now the situation was dire.

A tiny two-room house at the end of a sinuous alley, Mjdoubi's house was, at the time of my visit, the home of ten members of the Mjdoubi clan, including the aged mother, the wife, Zohra, two sons, Abdelqader, 18 and Mohammed, 13, four daughters, Souad, Hannan, Senna, and Hafida-- as well as two teenaged brothers who played with Abdelqader and Mohammed in a Gnaoua band at hotels along the beach. Overnight visitors were common. While waiting I counted fourteen tea glasses on the breakfast table.

Abdelqader was as good as his word. The next day at four o'clock I arrived to find an elderly man in a turban sitting on the floor waiting for me. Introduced as Si Abdelqader Draydi, a close relative and teacher of Mohammed Zane, this master musician was at first taciturn to the point of hostility. After I had explained my aim of recording and studying the Jillala repertoire I asked what his price would be for an hour of playing and taping. His first offer was 400 dirhams--about $75. After much discussion and intercession from Zohra, in typical Moroccan bargaining style the asking price was reduced by roughly ninety per cent. I agreed to pay him and Abdelqader each twenty-five dirhams per recording session.

The procedure for recording sessions was as follows: Draydi would choose what to play on the *qasba*, Abdelqader would accompany him on the *bendir* and sing, and whoever else was there might join in, clapping, singing or playing a second *bendir.* The young girls of the household often danced a sort of mock *djedba*. Since I wanted to identify the melodies I asked the players to name the tunes after they played them. As the melodies are usually played in suites this led at first to some confusion about which tune was which. Eventually we developed a system whereby Draydi would call out the name of the upcoming piece just before a segue into the next.

Although I made every effort to insure some regularity and consistency to our working method there was considerable variety in format and personnel from recording to recording. There were days when Abdelqader would play a second *qasba*

while Mohammed drummed and days when Draydi played solo with no accompaniment. There were days when the whole Mjdoubi family participated noisily and days when we took the tape recorder to my villa and recorded in the quiet of the countryside. There were also days when I went to record and nobody was home. "Oh", said a neighbor woman, "they all went to the beach." One day in early July I arrived for a recording appointment to find that Draydi had gone back to his village in the Gharb for the Aid el Kbir. He had made enough money from our sessions to buy a sacrificial sheep and was away for two weeks.

Of my two principal musicians Draydi was the greater source. Claiming to be 76 years old, he had spent his entire life as a musician and played the *qasba* with no sign of enfeeblement due to age. He had received his musical training in the Gharb near the village of Had Kurt and, like many newly urban people, maintained a strong affiliation with his native *bled.* His knowledge of the Jillala lore and his fund of melodies seemed inexhaustible, and his only vices were taking snuff and drinking Coca-Cola. I was very fortunate to have him as an informant. Although he grew friendlier as the summer passed, he remained taciturn and hard to draw out in conversation. His responses to my questions about the repertoire were often hard for me to follow, even with the aid of French-speaking translators. He never had any reluctance about performing, however, and, like many musicians, seemed more comfortable playing his music than talking about it.

Abdelqader Mjdoubi, Abdeslam's elder son, had spent his eighteen years immersed in Jillala and Gnaoua music. As soon as he was old enough to hold a drum he was playing in Gnaoua bands in the hotels, with his brother in cafés in the new town, and with his father at weddings, celebrations and Jillala ceremonies in the medina. Illiterate in Arabic and unable to converse in any other language, Abdelqader seemed completely uninterested in the world outside the world of his music. Within that world he was a master; outside it he was barely able to function.

Although separated by two generations the two musicians had no apparent conflicts when playing together. Abdelqader considered himself more a Gnaoua musician than a Jillali and, as his family's chief provider, had a stronger interest in the remunerative aspect of his music, but otherwise he seemed as devout a Jillali as the older man. Like his father before him he is a musical contractor and puts together groups for weddings and hotel shows. While he deferred to Draydi as the *m'aalem* whenever I had questions about the Jillala repertoire, he was the undisputed leader of his Gnaoua troupe and brooked no opposition from the other players who were to him as apprentices to a master.

As far as I know, the Jillala musicians never play Jillala music at hotels or beach cafés, but many of the Jillala musicians I knew in Tangier doubled as Gnaouis in order to earn money. There is a tradition of Gnaoua music as entertainment not only for European tourists, but also for Moroccans. Since well before colonial times Gnaoui musicians have entertained at weddings and

in public places such as Tangier's Socco Grande and Marrakesh's Djemaa el Fna. The Gnaoua brotherhood is of sub-Saharan origin and was brought to Morocco by black slaves and traders. Their West African music and cowrie-covered costumes represent a sub-culture roughly analogous to other African diaspora sub-cultures in the New World. Perhaps due to the Gnaoua brotherhood's "exoticism" in the Moroccan context, there is no proscription on its exploitation for commercial and touristic purposes. Jillala musicians do occasionally play their own music as entertainment for private parties, but I have never seen or heard of them playing it in a commercial venue.

It is worth noting that the music the Jillala play is at least as far removed from "classical" Moroccan music as country and western music is from "classical" American music. My informants showed little interest in repertoires outside their own, except for the music of the other brotherhoods. Abdelqader had a particular liking for Hamadsha music and occasionally played the *gwal* (hourglass-shaped drum) at Hamadsha ceremonies at a mosque in the medina. Draydi liked Aissaoua rhythms which he played with great verve on the bendir. This is in keeping with the fact that the Jillala consider themselves to be a sort of transcendent brotherhood. Unlike the other brotherhoods, the Jillala feel connected with the complete repertoire of saints and *djenoun*. This catholicity extends to the musical repertoire of other brotherhoods insofar as it is playable by the instruments of the Jillala ensemble. Obviously, the qasba has pitch limitations that prevent it from playing the melodies of the Gnaoua

brotherhood with its pentatonic scales and, likewise, the complete gamut of the *ghaita* used by the Aissaoua and Hamadsha is wider than that available on the qasba. Nevertheless there is a subset of the Jillala repertoire devoted to Gnaoua saints and *djenoun* as well as one for the Hamadsha, the Aissaoua and others. The Jillala represent all the saints and spirits, not just those patronizing their brotherhood. According to Westermarck, "Mulai Abdelqader [Al-Jilani] is the sultan of all the saints and *jnun*."[9] Thus, it is not surprising that followers of the Jillala *tariqa*, or mystical path, consider themselves superior to the more parochial brotherhoods and feel qualified to deal with the entire pantheon of spirits and saints.

Sociology of the Jillala

On the basis of what I know of Moroccan society, after having spent more than four years living in the country, I would characterize the social position of the Mjdoubi family and their Jillala associates as being marginal, but with compensations. To have twelve people living in two rooms may seem like a classic example of third-world misery, and there is no denying that even in the best of times the family is poor. However, the Mjdoubi clan has a number of advantages that distinguish it from its neighbors

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9 Edward Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco I, p. 389.

in the working-class Emsallah quarter. Foremost is the support of a web of relatives and adherents who look upon the Mjdoubi household as a sort of clubhouse. Zohra's brother, Hamidou, who has steady employment at a factory outside Tangier, was often at the house with gifts of money and food. The young apprentice musicians who slept and ate at the house contributed to the support of the household by their labor, since they were permitted to keep only a little of what they earned playing in Abdelqader's Gnaoua ensemble. But finances are only a part of the picture; the Mjdoubi family's status as musicians and Jillalis lends it an aura of sanctity or *baraka* .

In addition, the family name of Mjdoubi itself is one with an air of sanctity attached to it. According to sources cited by Crapanzano the Oulad Mjdoub or descendants of the saint Sidi Abderrahman al Mjdoub were all Hamadsha in 1906.[10] The Mjdoubis' connection to the Hamadsha continues, at least in some respects, to this day. Abdeslam Mjdoubi's personal *rih*, which the family referred to as "*el rih d' ba*" or "Daddy's song", was that of Sidi Mseud, a Hamadsha saint. Abdelqader claimed his father's *rih* was also his own.[11] Of the whole Mjdoubi family the only ones I ever saw in *djedba* were Zohra and Abdeslam's daughter from a previous marriage, Fatima Zohra. Both of them danced to the *rih* of Sidi Mseud. Because of Mjdoubi's recent death there was a

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[10] The Hamadsha, p. 25.

[11] Mobility between brotherhoods seems to be quite normal. Crapanzano cites the case of the Oulad Khalifa who were all Jillalas in 1913, but by 1968 considered themselves to be Hamadsha. (Ibid., p. 26) As we shall see, the Oulad Khalifa still figure in the Jillala repertoire.

strong feeling of mourning associated with this *rih*. It seemed as if by dancing to it the wife and daughter could exorcise some of their grief. While Mjdoubi *père* was still alive he was regarded by some as possessing *baraka* in a high degree. I recall an occasion at which I heard two mendicant holy men insist that Mjdoubi was a saint. This was, it should be noted, immediately following their having been fed dinner by Mrs. Mjdoubi. Nevertheless, a certain amount of *baraka* seems to inhere in the family, for genealogical reasons as well as in their profession as Jillala musicians. The Jillala musicians are quite conscious of having renounced wealth and social status in favor of the superior privilege of being regarded as men of "the way". In effect then they are a sort of "dropout" from mainstream society, but their "dropout" status confers a compensatory sense of holiness. One bourgeois Moroccan spoke of the Jillala as being the Moroccan equivalent of our "hippies". Perhaps this analogy would explain the attraction for European and American hippies of many features of the Jillala way of life. What many of these fans of the life-style may miss, however, is that the Jillala fulfil a useful and specific function in Moroccan society.

There are many ways to explain the sociological function of the brotherhoods, and I cannot do more here than to allude briefly to several works that deal with this question. I. M. Lewis, in his *Ecstatic Religion : An Anthropological Study of Spirit Possession and Shamanism.* proposes the thesis that "peripheral" possession cults such as the Jillala function as a means of channeling the resentments and rebellious energies of women and other

oppressed, low-status members of society. It is certainly true that far more women regularly fall into trance than men. The musicians themselves attributed this fact to the "nature" of women rather than to their social position.[12] That the membership of the brotherhoods is generally drawn from the lower echelons of Moroccan society is also undeniable, but to suggest that low-status social position explains cult membership is to ignore a complex mix of motivations. After all, there are many miserably poor Moroccans who do not belong to a brotherhood and some well-off Moroccans who do.

Vincent Crapanzano's *The Hamadsha: A Study in Ethnopsychiatry*, as its title implies, takes a more psychological view of the brotherhoods' sociological function. In a society in which Western medicine is only one among many forms of therapy the brotherhoods offer an accepted form of psychotherapy whose efficacy is well recognized. Many adepts trace their initial involvement with the brotherhoods to a childhood or adolescent illness, often one we would diagnose as psychosomatic. Once they become involved with a brotherhood and discover their personal melodies, they have recourse to the *hadra* as psychotherapy for the rest of their lives.

It should be pointed out that Lewis' quasi-political and Crapanzano's psychological view of the brotherhoods' sociological function are in no way contradictory or mutually exclusive.

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[12] Here there is an obvious analogy with the equally unanalytical 19th century conception that women are by nature prone to hysteria.

On the Origins of the Jillala

While so-called Jillala brotherhoods exist throughout Morocco (as well as elsewhere in the Islamic world) this essay will deal solely with the Jillala music of one small group of musicians from Tangier. No claim is made that they are representative of the brotherhood's practices elsewhere. Although the musicians recited several legends about the origins of the Jillala in the long ago and far away world of 11th century Baghdad, they had less to say concerning the history of the order in Morocco. One legend was that Moulay Abdelqader el-Jilani came to Morocco and gave the keys to the country to the local patron saint Moulay Abdeslam. This is an obvious legitimizing myth: there is no evidence of the historical Abdelqader el-Jilani ever having visited Morocco. Draydi, the oldest and most knowledgable of my informants, claimed that the *qasba* was of *romi* (European) origin, that the Jillala were from the Gharb region *not* the mountains, and that the Jillala were the (spiritual?) descendants of Oulad Msbah, the children of Msbah[13] whom he contrasted with the Oulad Charqi, or children of the East (or children of the East wind). It is tempting to speculate that such a distinction implies a real historical contrast between, say, the original inhabitants

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[13] The word "msbah" has the literal sense of referring to the dawn, giving Oulad Msbah the metaphorical sense of the "children of the dawn" or "children of the beginning". Here as elsewhere, the multiple meanings of a Moroccan word or name give tantalizing insights into a world-view drenched in metaphor.

of Morocco (the Oulad Msbah) and Islamic conquerors from the East (Oulad Charqi), but such speculation does not necessarily correspond to a commonly held view. Still, lacking any other evidence, one must accept the oral tradition of legend and myth and mine it for whatever it may yield.

A more immediate history of the Jillala suggests that the music, like the people who play it, originated in the countryside region known as the Gharb--the source for much of the newly urban population of Ksar El Kbir, Larache, Asilah, Tangier, Tetouan (see map reproduced from M. Chenier's The Present State of the Empire of Morocco. On this map the northeastern province of the Gharb is given as "Garb"). Draydi cited the village of Had Kurt as the place where he first learned the repertoire, and said that many of his melodies originated there. Given that the *qasba* is an instrument found almost exclusively in Northwest Africa, Berber country, there is at least the strong possibility of specifically Berber origins to the music. The other instruments of the Jillala ensemble are much more widespread throughout the Arab world.

Moroccan music

According to Paul Bowles, "The most important single element in Morocco's folk culture is its music."[14] Morocco has a rich and diverse musical culture. International pop has by now reached even the most isolated parts of the country, (I have

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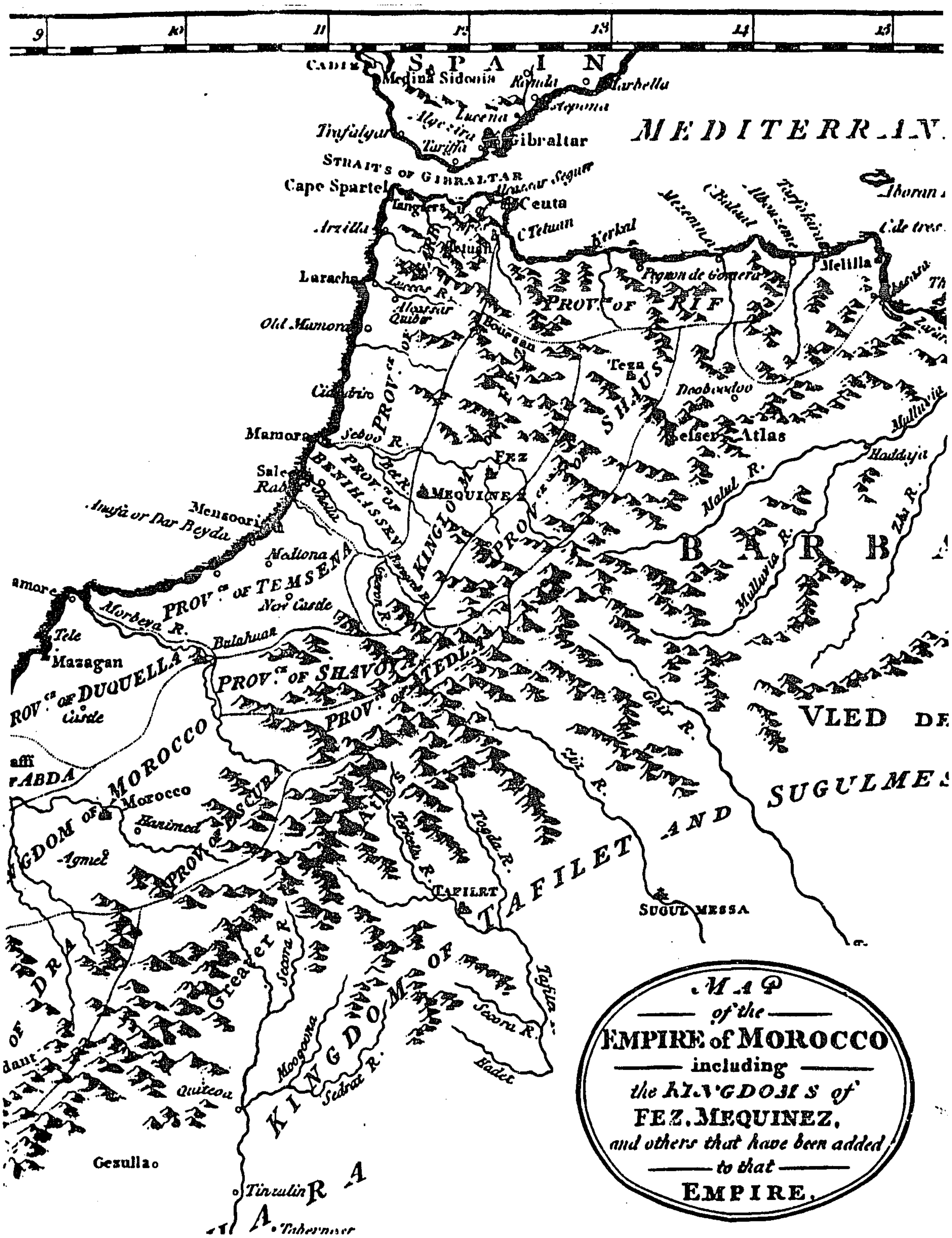
[14] Paul Bowles, Their Heads Are Green, p. 83.


MAP
of the
EMPIRE of MOROCCO
including
the KINGDOMS of
FEZ, MEQUINEZ,
and others that have been added
to that
EMPIRE.
SPAIN
MEDITERRAN
Gibraltar
Cape Spartel
Ceuta
Melilla
Larache
Old Mamora
Mamora
Sale
Mensoori
PROV. OF RIF
Teza
Atlas
FEZ
MEQUINEZ
PROV. OF TEMSENA
PROV. OF BENIHASSEN
PROV. OF SHAVOYA
PROV. OF DUQUELLA
Mazagan
MOROCCO
Morocco
BARB
VLED DE
SUGULMES
TAFILET AND
Tafilet
SUGULMESSA
Gesulla
Sebou R.
Malul R.
Mulluvia R.
Ziz R.
Ghir R.
Todga R.
Secora R.
Sedrat R.
Quiteou
Tinzulin

visited more than one little house in a remote Berber village only to find posters of Pink Floyd and the Rolling Stones on the wall), but indigenous musical traditions continue to thrive. In order to situate Jillala music in context I offer the following schematic outline of the Moroccan musical scene:

The classical repertoire of *Mousiqa Andalusiya*, or Andaluz, dating from the days of the Moorish occupation of Spain, has the status of an official court music. It is played on the radio and television, and at state occasions and is taught in the government-run conservatories of music. Played by orchestras containing violins, *'oud*, *derbouka* (vase drum), *tar* (tambourine) and a hodge-podge of whatever other instruments are available, including banjo, flute, clarinet, accordion, piano, 'cello and double bass, Andaluz is an urban music that was traditionally the cultural property of the *bled al makhzen*, or land of centralized authority, specifically the cities of Tangier, Tetouan, Ouezzane and Fez, and the capital, Rabat. *El Aala,* as Andaluz is also called, was until quite recently an entirely oral musical tradition, and is still taught mostly by rote. However, the poems in classical Arabic to which the music is sung are written down and date from the ninth century. The music, although it cannot be dated definitively, purports to be of the same vintage. While the repertoire is fixed, it is cast in a style that allows for several kinds of improvisation and virtuosity.

Due to its official status as Morocco's classical musical patrimony, with attendant efforts on the part of the government to conserve and propagate the tradition, Andaluz is considered to

be somewhat stuffy by the young and disenfranchised urban population and is generally scorned by the inhabitants of the *bled es siba*, or land of dissidence, specifically the mountainous Berber regions. I have heard Berbers refer to it contemptuously as "couscous music". Its proper milieu is the educated urban bourgeoisie of the North. Whether the official sponsorship of Andaluz will lead ironically to its decline, as has happened in Tunisia with the similar Ma'luf repertoire, is yet to be seen.[15]

It may be that the great Egyptian singer Oum Kalthoum is the most popular musician in Morocco. That she is not Moroccan is beside the point. The repertoire that she sings is the common heritage of a large part of the Islamic world, and it continues to occupy a large share of the Moroccan musical marketplace. Along with the Lebanese singer Fairouz, various Egyptian film musicians and the older generation of Farid al Attrash and Abdelwahab, Oum Kalthoum represents a "classical" tradition of which many Moroccans partake via radio and television.

A number of Moroccan "fusion" bands were formed and achieved wide popularity in the seventies and early eighties. Jil-jillala, and Nass El Ghiwane were the best-known of these groups. Their approach was to use electric guitars and synthesizers in combination with Moroccan percussion instruments and musical styles to achieve a sort of folk-rock mix. I witnessed a similar effort to fuse Gnaoua music with rock instruments in the summer of 1989 in Tangier. It is a fact of life that many weddings in

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[15] Ruth Frances Davis, Modern Trends in the Ma'luf of Tunisia, 1934-1984.

Tangier today will have a band consisting of an electric guitar or *'oud*, microphones and a deafening and execrable amplification system. Only the drums are unamplified. However much one may take exception to this trend in music, it is a reality of contemporary Morocco. Perhaps due to their religious scruples, the Jillala musicians have not attempted, thus far, to amplify their flutes.

In addition to the above there continue to be scores of regional styles, from the Djebaala songs of the Mediterranean littoral to the *guedra* drumming of the Sahara. Many of the people who play these regional styles have, over the past thirty or forty years, learned that their music is "*du folklore*". There is an annual "Festival du Folklore" held at Marrakech in the spring and troupes of performers are brought from all over the country and paid to perform their music and dance. While this festival has increased the appreciation of some Moroccans and ethnomusicologists for the diversity and richness of Moroccan culture, it has misrepresented much of what it purports to celebrate. Putting the evening-long village ceremony of the *ahouache* from the High Atlas on the stage for ten or fifteen minutes not only falsifies the *ahouache* to the audience, but inevitably leads to an emphasis on pageantry at the expense of meaning. The result is a sort of glorified fashion show with colorful costumes, pretty girls and lots of people taking pictures. This situation was already noted by Paul Bowles in 1959:

> Practically all large official celebrations are

> attended by groups of folk musicians from all over the country; their travel and living expenses are paid by the government, and they perform before large audiences. As a result the performing style is becoming slick, and the extended forms are disappearing in favor of truncated versions which are devoid of musical sense.[16]

Since tourism has come to occupy such a large part of the Moroccan economy, it is inevitable that the selling of regional music as a commodity will continue-- with predictable consequences. Still, Moroccan music continues to be a vital part of everyday life.

The cassette is the preferred unit of musical currency in Morocco today. They are sold at booths in the souks of Tangier and on the street in the new part of town. Often the customer will ask to hear a tape before he buys it. Since the tapes, most of which are illegal or "pirated" copies, are not sealed in plastic this request is easily indulged. Cassette sellers are nothing if not eclectic in their stock. One may find Koranic chanting, Madonna, the latest *rai* hits, Bob Marley, Andaluz, Oum Kalthoum and rap, all neatly displayed in rows in no particular order. One category I have not seen on sale is the music of the brotherhoods (with the exception of the Gnaoua).

Unlike the classical Andaluz repertoire, the various regional musics of the High Atlas and Souss, which have a small but faithful public in "exile" in the city, the *Shaabiya* or national folksong, and the new urban pop genre called *rai*, the repertoire of

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[16] Bowles, op. cit., p. 122.

the various religious brotherhoods of Morocco has been very little recorded and is rarely, if ever, diffused over the radio. I exclude the ritual chanting of the name of God, or *dhikr*, which may be heard on television as a sort of evocation of religious sentiment. Of the brotherhoods only the Gnaoua have a few commercially available cassettes, and even these are rare. The reasons for this paucity of recordings come from many directions. The music may be considered primitive and even barbaric by many modernized Moroccans for various reasons that range from Islamic neo-puritanism to a sense of revulsion at what is regarded as a shameful atavism. On the other hand, the members of the brotherhoods hold the music in such awe that they are unable to treat it as a commercial music like any other. There may also be the sense that its magic should not be made so readily available to anyone with a cassette player. Moreover, it is not regarded as music detachable from its context and therefore it has little appeal as music qua music. A recording would be unusable in a ceremonial context because it would lack the essential interplay between musicians and participants that characterizes a live performance.

There was never any objection raised to my own recording of the music where my motive was clearly disinterested and I paid for the musicians' time, but no one among the musicians or members of the Jillala community seemed interested in possessing tapes themselves. (The same was not true of photographing the dancers while in a state of *djedba*. Here there was a strict interdiction. Whether this was due to *hshoma* or

shame at the idea of being photographed in an altered state or whether its explanation hinged more on a respect for the religious aspect of the dance, I cannot say.)

So, the music of the brotherhoods has a privileged status in that it is outside the musical marketplace. This is not to say that it does not have its own economic aspect. Rather, as music it occupies a unique position in not being detachable from its function. Just what that function is will be the subject of the next section.

Music, Trance and Emotion

What is the mechanism that leads a person to fall into a trance state at the sound of a certain musical formula? This complex question has been most thoroughly investigated by Gilbert Rouget in his monumental study, Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession. Rouget makes several important generalizations that correspond closely to what I observed of the Jillala. Most important is the Rousseauian idea that trance is caused by music acting as a mnemonic sign, that it is the meaning of the music rather than its physiological effect that is responsible for its power, and that this meaning is culturally determined. Rouget substantiates this position with scores of examples taken from possession music from all over the world, from Italian tarantism to Native

American shamanism to Brazilian *candomblé* to Senegalese *ndop.* In each instance, in spite of wide variation in detail, Rouget shows the mechanism of trance to follow certain predictable culturally determined patterns. Possession trance, when not of the shamanistic variety, is shown to always require a "musicant" and "musicators", that is, a possessed person who is "musicated" by players who do not enter into trance. This is certainly the case among the Jillala. A corollary of Rouget's theory is that dance is an effect rather than a cause of the trance state. If trance is induced through a culturally determined musical signifier, dance is the culturally determined means of expressing publicly the state of possession.

> It is due to the music, and because he is supported by the music, that the possessed person publicly lives out, by means of dance, his identification with the divinity he embodies. The music at this point is thus neither emotional, nor invocatory, nor incantatory: it is essentially identificatory. By playing his "motto", the musicians notify this identity to the entranced dancer, [and] those around him...The language the music speaks is understood by all, and each person decodes it at his own level. It is through this music, and through the dance to which it gives rise, that recognition of the divinity's presence is conveyed to the entire group, a recognition that is indispensible because it authenticates the trance and confers upon it a character of normality. Music thus appears as the principal means of socializing trance.[17]

The Jillala do not all go into trance on hearing just any Jillala melody. And not all melodies are meant to induce trance.

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[17] Gilbert Rouget, Music and Trance, p. 323.

There are Jillala melodies, such as the "Jillala Healing Song" and various hymns and litanies whose function is communal or liturgical. Each adept has a specific melody or group of melodies to which he or she is susceptible and that susceptibility may vary according to many situational factors. As far as I could tell, the initiates responded to other people's melodies with instant recognition, but little emotion.

I have talked to Moroccans who are not members of the Jillala brotherhood, nor indeed of any brotherhood, who still find the music extremely moving. There was agreement among the non-Jillala Moroccans I talked with that the Jillala repertoire is *hazin ou hanin*, that is, sad and consoling at the same time. More than one person pointed to a similarity between the pathos of the Jillala repertoire and the pathos of the American blues. The word sung over and over at the beginning of a *rih* is "*mehli, melhi, mehli*?" which might be translated as, "What ails me?" or "Woe is me!" I have seen a (non-Jillala) young Moroccan woman brought to tears by observing a Jillala ceremony. A Gnaoua musician described Jillala music as as "music for crying". In fairness it should be noted that the repertoire does contain some music of a less pathetic character. The *aryah* of Sidi Hamou, Moulay Taghaza and Bou Derbala seem to be regarded as "fun" melodies. Other*aryah* such as the *Adama* and *Zaouia Jillaliya* evoke sublime religious sentiment rather than personal emotion. Extreme emotional reaction to music is so widespread in the Arab world that Rouget gives it the special designation of "emotional trance".

In his extensive chapter, "Music and Trance among the Arabs" Rouget explains "emotional trance" as follows:

> It is clear that for Arabs music possesses the emotional power with which we are concerned here only insofar as it is associated with words, which is to say with meaning. At the same time, however, it is because they are cast into a musical form that the words have this impact, which they would lack on their own. Two complementary factors are therefore at work: on the one hand meaning, on the other the sensitive form of the meaning. One is nothing without the other. Only melodies that have a meaning, melodies to which "something exterior to them corresponds" al-Farabi says, are perfect (Erlanger1935; 95)...But although the meaning can sometimes be culturally specific..., sometimes universal..., its sensitive form (in other words the musical form it is given) is always cultural. It is therefore only insofar as it refers to culture that the musical form affects, and even overwhelms, the listener.[18]

Emotional trance is a vaguer and more elastic concept than possession trance. One is either possessed or one is not, whereas one may be in a state of emotional trance to a greater or lesser degree. As regards Jillala music the two kinds of trance seem mutually exclusive. Initiates seem incapable of responding emotionally to the music the way that non-initiates do, perhaps because they are aware of the specificity of the repertoire. And, conversely, non-initiates are unable to respond by entering possession trance.

Quite apart from the issue of "emotional trance", an auditor may have a strong and appropriate emotional reaction even without knowing the words to a specific melody. Meaning may be

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[18] Ibid., p. 299.

conveyed by a familiar musical style with or without a known text attached. To take an example close to home, an American may hear an instrumental blues and be confident of understanding its affective meaning. Likewise, listeners familiar with late Baroque music will have no trouble following the emotional twists of a piece in the *Empfindsamer Stil.* Similarly, a Moroccan may well understand the sentiment of Jillala music without knowing its specific text. The important thing is that the auditor have enough familiarity with a style to understand it on its own terms.

Another general point that Rouget makes is borne out by my study of the Jillala repertoire. That is that the music that induces trance is stylistically and structurally similar to the general musical culture in which it is imbedded. This again reinforces the premise that it is what the music signifies to the initiate, rather than any intrinsically musical characteristic, that accounts for its "magical" power.

Trance music generally may be said to have several purely musical attributes such as the gradual accelerando and crescendo that are typical of the Jillala trance dances. That these have an obvious physiological effect on the dancers is undeniable, but it would be putting the cart before the horse to account for the trance by ascribing it to the dance. Again, these characteristics are typical of a large proportion of Moroccan music that is not in any way associated with trance.

Rih and *Hal*

The word for melody or tune employed by the Jillala and other brotherhoods is *rih*, (pl. *aryah*), which has the additional literal senses of spirit, wind, air, smell, and breath.[19] Whatever its etymological relation to its apparent cognates, *aria* and "air" in Italian and English, the word has in Moroccan Arabic all the metaphorical resonance of these familiar musical terms, and then some. When a Moroccan speaks of *rih* he invokes a host of linguistic and religious associations and meanings. According to Westermarck (and confirmed by Crapanzano, The Hamadsha p. 136), "As disease spirits the *jnun* are called *le-ryah* or *la-ryah*...plur. of *reh,* 'wind'. If a person is troubled by only one of them it is said of him *fih reh.*"[20] A common expression in Maghrebi illustrates this meaning, "*Mehlik, fik el rih di Moulay Ibrahim?* (What's the matter with you, has the spirit of Moulay Ibrahim [or another spirit] possessed you?). The seriousness with which Moroccans take the concept of *rih* was brought home to me in a conversation I had with the elder Mjdoubi in 1983. He showed me a photograph of a teenaged daughter of his who he said had died suddenly several years before. When I asked the reason for her untimely death, he replied in Spanish, "She was hit by a bad wind from Tetouan."

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[19] Compare the cognate Hebrew word *ruah,* translated as spirit or wind, famous from Genesis, I: 2-3 "And the spirit of God was moving over the face of the waters."

[20] Westermarck, op. cit., p. 263.

To play the *rih* of a saint or spirit is, in a sense, to activate their breath, to bring them into the atmosphere. The *hadra* can be seen as a sort of festival of *rih* in the largest sense of the word, starting with the hypo- and hyperventilation common to the *dhikr* ceremony and continuing with incense to sweeten the ambient air and draw the spirits, the use of wind instruments and song, and finally the palpable disturbance of the air that comes from the beating of the drums. The smoking of *kif*, while in no way necessary to the trance, may add yet another powerful ingredient to the atmospheric brew.

The aim of all this activity in the air is to create the proper *hal*, variously defined as condition, mood, or atmosphere. *Hal* is a common word in Moroccan Arabic, perhaps most often heard in the expression, "*Sir f'hallek*" or "Go back to your own atmosphere", used to get rid of a bothersome person. *Hal* may be used to refer to weather in the external objective sense, as in, "*El hal zouine lyoum*", "The weather is beautiful today", or in an internal subjective sense, as in, "*El hal berrd hna*", "The atmosphere is cold (unfriendly) here". Moroccans love semantic ambiguities of this kind and the internal and external senses of the word are often implied simultaneously. But *hal* as it is used in a Jillala ceremony (and in the Sufi literature in general) refers to a specific kind of subjective condition conducive to trance. When the *qasba* player begins his unmeasured prelude to a *rih* the activity is described as "*kay hallel*" --making *hal*. My informant Draydi told me that each *rih* has its own proper *hal*. This remark may be interpreted as meaning that each *rih* has its own musical

prelude (discussed below) and/or that each *rih* has its own subjective state. When an adept is in a state of *hal* he or she is in a sort of preliminary trance and susceptible to enter *djedba* at the sound of the appropriate *rih.*

From what I have seen I believe that the Jillala view the whole process of creating *hal* in concrete terms. For them all of the disturbances of the air attendant to the ceremony have the effect of creating a charged space in which the spirits may manifest themselves. In the words of the Moroccan ethnologist Abdelhai Diouri, "*On sait que le lieu d'execution de la transe est un lieu sacré.*"[21] To an adept of the brotherhoods there is nothing metaphorical about this idea. The primary agent of this sacralization is the music.

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[21] "Topique du Sacré" article in catalog of the Centre Georges Pompidou exhibit, "Les Magies de la Terre", p. 1.

Part Two-The Music

The Instruments

The Qasba

The *qasba,* (pl. *qsub*) also called *gasba* or *shabbaba*, (Dermenghem and Barbès cite the name *gueçba* used in Algeria) is defined in The New Grove Dictionary of Musical Instruments as follows:

> **Qasaba** [Qasaba, qasba, qassaba]. A rim-blown flute used in the Maghrib. It is made of cane, is 60 to 70 cm. long, and has five or six finger-holes... The *qasaba* was known among the Arabs by the 7th century, but it was supplanted in the 9th century by the *nay*. It continued to played in the Maghrib and Moorish Spain, and is now widely used in north-west Africa...

Whereas my informants were unaware that the instrument was played anywhere outside Morocco and Algeria, Lura Jafran Jones testifies to its use in Tunisia, where it is called the *gasba* or *shabab*.[22] According to Jones the instrument was the principal folk instrument of the country before the introduction by the Turks in the 19th century of the double-reed *zukra*, or what the Moroccans call the *ghaita,* and is still the preferred instrument in rural areas.

The qasba differs from the *nay* in that it is generally longer, wider in bore and has no thumb-hole. Otherwise its layout

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[22] Jones, op. cit., p. 19.

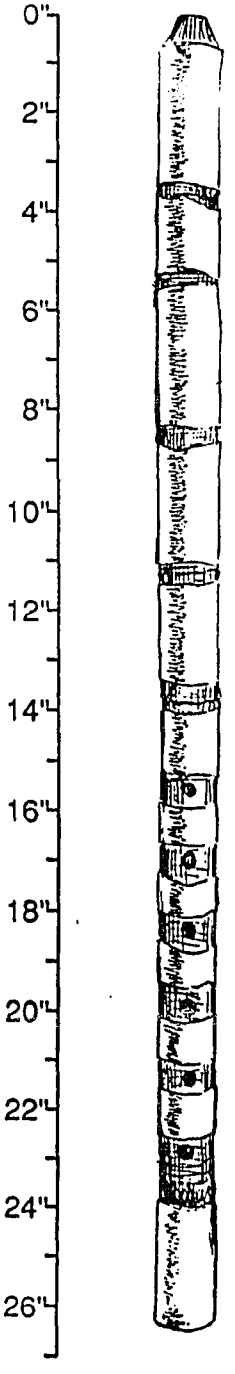

Figure A

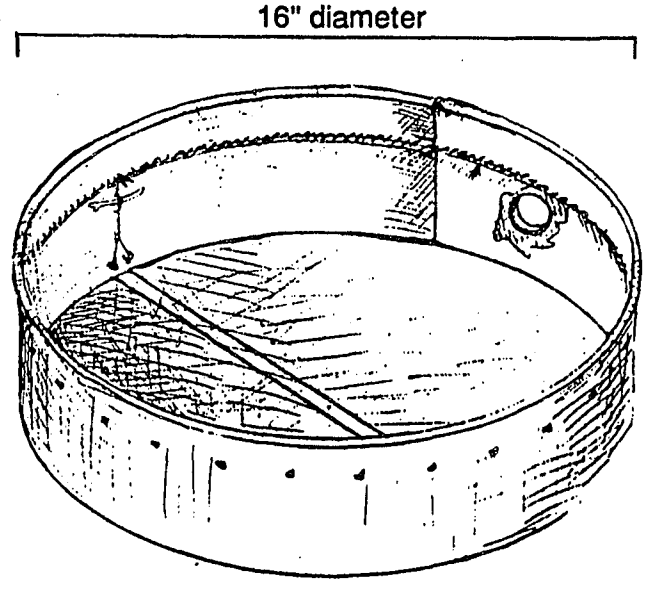

Figure B

and tuning is similar, allowing the player the chromatic range of a fifth, with a whole step at the bottom (see musical example). Both instruments may be overblown at the octave and twelfth but qasba players tend to favor the lowest register. In addition to its solo, shepherd's pipe role, the *nay* is often used to play with the other instruments of the classical Arab orchestra. In order to play in tune in all the *maqamat* or modes the *nay* player must have as many instruments as a nineteenth century horn player had crooks and, in addition, he must be a master of pitch inflection. The qasba player has no such problem since he rarely, if ever, plays with other pitched instruments.

I came across a description of an instrument like the qasba in the journals of André Gide in his account of a visit to a Mosque of the Dervishes in Turkey in 1914:

> Even more than their monotonous whirling dance, which we were able to see at Brusa, I regret missing their music. I should like to know how old that music is and whether or not it is the same in all the convents of the dervishes. What are their instruments? ... to answer my insistent questions, one of the dervishes goes and gets two long bamboo flutes with the mouthpiece on the end and a rather voluminous notebook in which they have recently transcribed according to the Occidental system of notation the complete repertory of their tunes. I wonder if the outline of their subtle melodic arabesques has not suffered considerably from that noting down and if they did not often have to mar the melody to fix it to our scale. Are they henceforth going to play and sing according to this transcription?[23]

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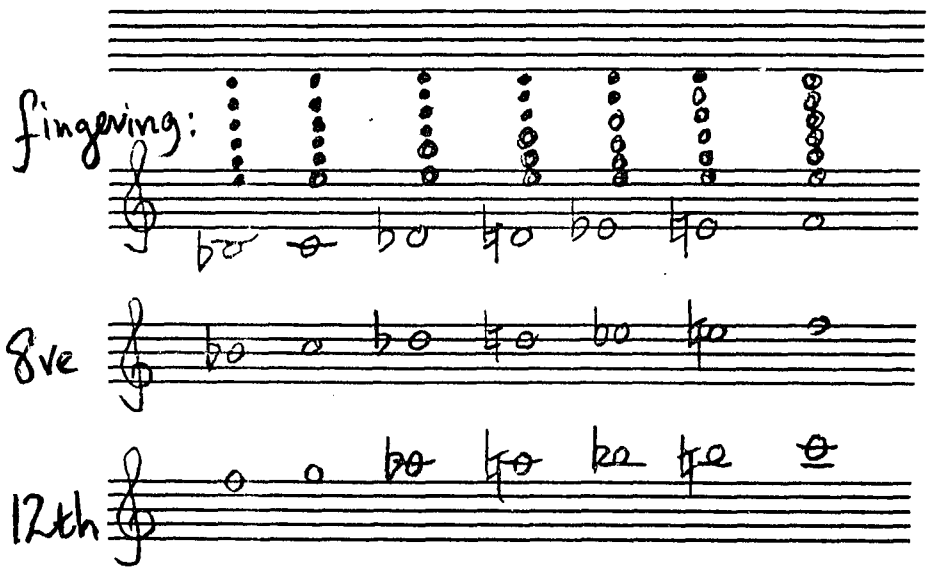
[23] André Gide, Journals, p. 199-200.

The Qasba



● closed hole
○ open hole

Many of the questions Gide raises here are the very ones that ethnomusicologists continue to wonder about. Certainly his remarks on transcription are still germane today. Whether or not his "long bamboo flutes with the mouthpiece on the end" are qasbas or nays, it is striking that this Sufi repertoire in Turkey should have been played by pairs of flutes so similar to those of a Sufi repertoire in Morocco.

A historical justification for the use of the qasba in Sufi ritual may be found in the treatise of Ahmad Ghazzali, "Bawariq al-ilma", in which he writes that all musical instruments "of diversion" including the *jank* (harp), *'oud* (lute), *rabab* (violin), *barbat* (another lute) and the *mizmar* (double reed) are "forbidden by common consent" in *samai* or "spiritual concerts" with the exception of the *duff*, or tambourine, and the *qasab.*[24] There follows an elaborate description of the significance of these two instruments. Here is a short sample: "The flute (*qasab*) is a reference to the human essence... And the breath which penetrates the flute is a reference to the light of Allah (Exalted is He!)."[25] It is interesting to note that the other brotherhoods do tend to use the proscribed "instruments of diversion", especially the *ghaita*, the Moroccan equivalent of the *mizmar*. Perhaps this is another reason why the Jillala consider themselves superior to the other brotherhoods in matters of orthodoxy.

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[24] James Robson, Tracts on Listening to Music p. 96.
[25] Ibid., p. 97.

The Arabic word *qasba* has the literal sense of cane or bamboo and is used to denote a fishing pole, as well as the canebrake that grows widely along roads and property lines. The word might best be translated as "reed" or "pipe" since these words are also rich with extra-musical associations.

The *qsub* played by my informants were housed in a sort of cloth quiver containing two or three pairs of instruments of equal length. They are kept lubricated inside and out with olive oil. A player will occasionally replenish the internal coating of oil with a soaked rag which he blows through the tube. How the oil affects the sound of the instrument is difficult to determine, but players insist that it is essential.

Since in Jillala performances the instrument is characteristically played in pairs (as are many of the other Moroccan wind instruments) it is important for reasons of tuning that both instruments be of equal length. In comparing two *qsub* made by two different makers, albeit members of the same community, I found that they differed by less than a centimeter. When I asked how the measurements were made in fabricating a qasba I was given vague information about the length of the outstretched arm. Longer flutes require more breath and my informants made much of the fact that unlike some other inferior players they were strong enough to play full-length instruments.

All of the instruments I saw played by professional musicians were ornamented with bands of metal from sardine tins or aluminum cans. I have seen other end-blown rustic flutes, however, with designs scratched or burned into the wood and

without the metal bands. In the western High Atlas and coastal areas of the Souss the *tagwmamt*, a small end-blown flute is similarly ornamented, but finger rings are used in place of the qasba's wide metal bands.[26] In addition to their ornamental function the bands keep the cane from cracking (as must the constant application of olive oil).

The technique of the *qasba* requires great control of both embouchure and air flow. Its characteristic breathiness and rough tone come from a superabundance of air blown across the rim of the beveled mouthpiece. The principle is similar to that used in blowing across the mouth of a bottle to produce a low whistle. While circular breathing is not necessary in order to play the instrument, it is used frequently and imparts an airiness to the playing that is one of the loveliest attributes of the music. Circular breathing is, of course, a technique that maximizes the amount of air at a player's disposal, and air is, as discussed above, synonymous with *rih.* During the climax of a performance the flute is competing with two or three drums, and often with iron castanets as well, played with great force and volume. In order to be heard through this "wall of sound" the flutist must exert tremendous power. At this juncture the players tend to use the upper octave register of the instrument, sometimes even the overblown twelfth. Even with these orchestrational stratagems, often the flutes are barely audible over the drums. What one hears is their sound as if through an auditory scrim; pitches and

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[26] Schuyler, op. cit., p. 138.

rhythms are difficult to discriminate and, to continue the visual metaphor, phrase outlines are indistinct.

The relatively restricted compass of the qasba is common to many Moroccan musical genres, but the fact that its melodic ambitus should be limited precisely to that of the perfect fifth brings to mind the *muezzin*'s call to prayer. Here too the range is confined to that of a perfect fifth (though one may occasionally hear ornamental sixths added on top). Whether this constraint is due to unwritten convention, or some obscure *hadith* I do not know, but it is curious that the qasba and the muezzin should share an identical field of play.

The Bendir

The *bendir* (pl. *benadir*) is a circular frame drum used widely throughout the Arab world. It is made of goatskin stretched over a wooden frame and has detachable snares made of gut. In both northern and southern Morocco the bendir (called *tallunt* by the Berbers of the High Atlas) is by far the most common musical instrument and most Moroccans can play it at least passably well. The instrument is played either gripped in the left hand, pivoting on the thumb which passes through a hole in the frame, or lying flat in the lap, in which case it gives a muffled deeper tone.

The bendir's technique calls for two kinds of right hand stroke, a bass tone obtained by striking towards the center of the skin, and a sharp tone obtained by striking the rim with the flat

of the index finger. The free fingers of the left hand may supply light ornamental strokes. The dynamic range of the instrument is large and provides for a wide range of accents.

Voice

Vocal production in the Jillala style is Arab as opposed to sub-Saharan. That is to say the characteristic sound is high in the male range, strained and from the throat. It is difficult for a single voice to make itself heard over the din of drums, flutes and castanets of the Jillala ensemble. Consequently there is a great deal of hoarseness among the singers. This seems not to bother anyone since beauty of vocal tone is irrelevant to the intonation of the *rih*. Preciseness of intonation did not seem particularly important to the singers I recorded. I only rarely heard women sing Jillala melodies, and this was outside a ceremonial context. Souad Mjdoubi, the oldest daughter, sang particularly well (see Tape two, Side A), but, as a woman, was not permitted to perform. On one occasion I heard a young boy sing with a chorus of men at the interval of a fifth above the melody. This parallels the occasional organum-like passages of flute music where one player overblows the melody at the twelfth.

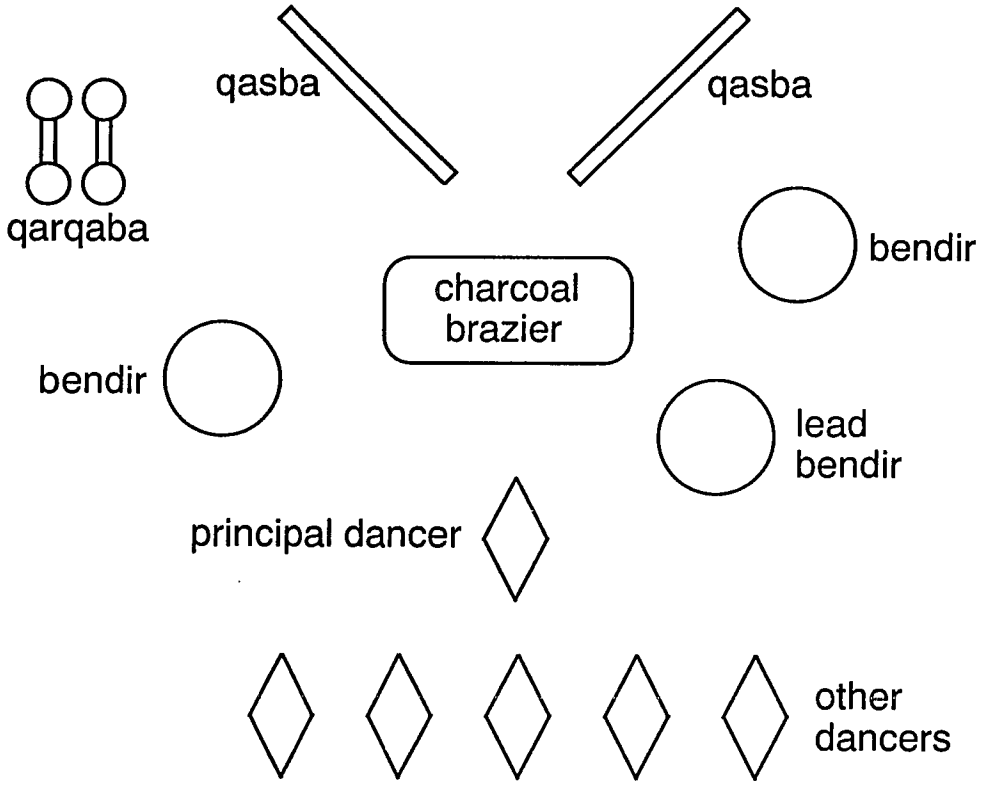
In addition to singing the *rih*, singers will often shout cries of encouragement to the players and dancers. "Yoo-yooing" or ululation from the women at moments of high excitement is also an essential ingredient of the music.

Other Percussion

The *qarqaba* are large metal castanets played by the Gnaoua brotherhood that are often "borrowed" by the Jillala for use in their music. Characteristically they are used to telegraph fast rhythms that play against the metrical implications of the slower bendir rhythms. They are extremely loud and in a closed space can be almost deafening.

Hand-clapping is an essential part of the Jillala instrumentarium and functions in two ways. As an alternative to the bendir in the "cool" part of the ceremony hand-claps provide a gentle accompaniment to choral chanting. In the "hot" part of the ceremony hand-claps function as a means for non-players to participate in the music. The rhythmic virtuosity of the average Moroccan is not to be under-estimated. Even little children seem to have no trouble clapping on the third and sixth beats of a very fast and syncopated 6/8 passage and easily follow metrical shifts and accelerandi. This sort of clapping is widespread in Morocco and is not limited to any one style. The only other place I know of in which one may find such virtuosic clapping is in flamenco music.

Diagram of Jillala Ensemble



The Ensemble

The Jillala ensemble typically consists of four or five musicians: two flutists and two or three drummers. There may also be a player of the *qarqaba*. I once saw an ensemble containing three flutes, and, more than once, performances with a single flute. While in general the players are flexible about number there is the sense that five constitutes a proper ensemble. The magical properties of the number five in Moroccan folklore are amply documented in Westermarck.

The disposition of the players is usually semicircular (see diagram) with the two flutists side by side (if one of them plays left-handed the resulting symmetry is perfect) and the drummers forward on either side of them. A charcoal brazier (*mijmar* or *kanoun*) used for heating the drum skins and burning incense is stage center. The dancer or dancers stand in the center of the semicircle, at first bending from the waist and inhaling incense from the brazier, while one of the flutists plays the *rih* directly into their ears, while the lead drummer sings/shouts the incantation. The dancing, for all its apparent wildness, takes place in the same small space directly in front of the players. The musicians sit cross-legged on a mat or rug, rising occasionally in the "hottest" part of the dance to play around and among the dancers (see photo).

The *muqqadim* of the ensemble (not necessarily the same person as the *muqqadim* of the community) sings the words of the *rih* to the dancers as well as leading *fatha* or prayers between

Jillala Musicians. Tangier, 1983.

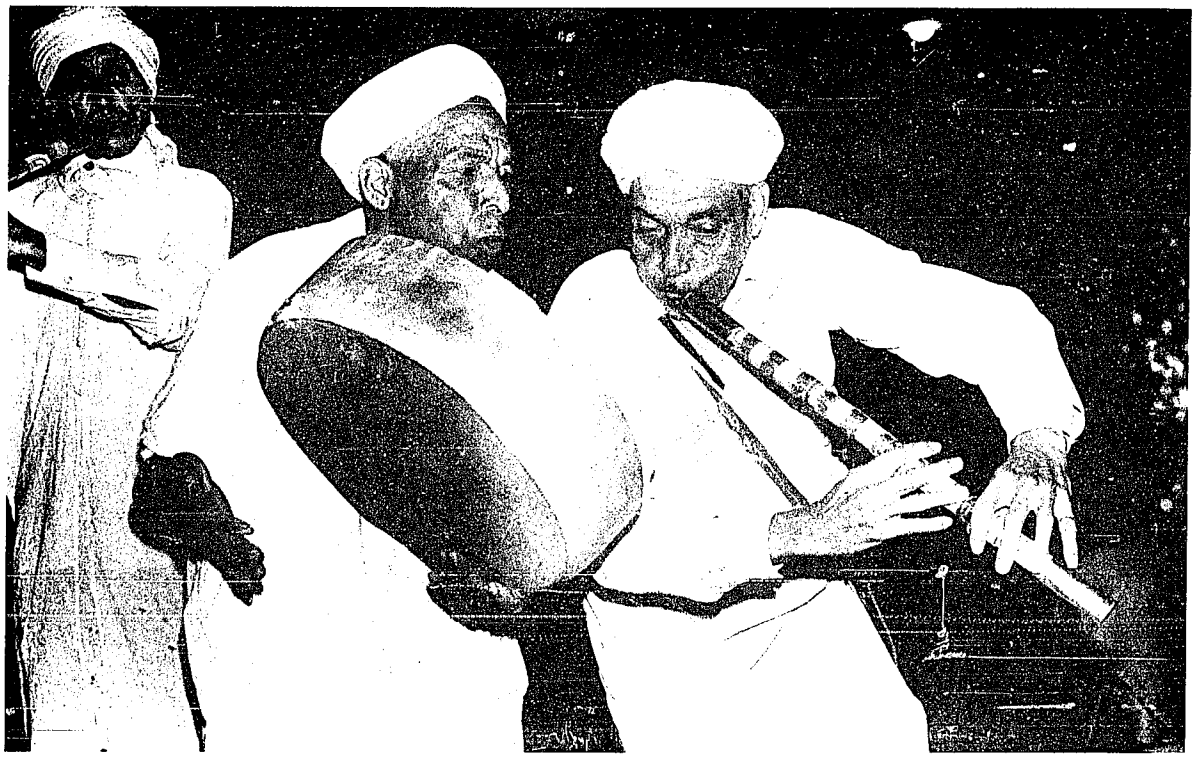


Photo courtesy of Abby Robinson

numbers. He must necessarily be a drummer since the flutists are too busy playing to sing. It is the lead drummer who also leads the changes in tempo and signals the rhythmic shifts and endings. In effect, he is the conductor of the ensemble. The second (and third) drummers provide a steady pattern against which the leader introduces syncopated accents and cross rhythms. The leader tends to play a *bendir* of smaller diameter, lighter weight, and, hence, higher pitch.

The supporting drummer(s), if they are younger apprentice players, as was often the case with Mjdoubi's group, have the additional task of heating the drums in order to tighten the skins. This is a perpetual process since the skins are loosened by being played. The long pauses between numbers in a *lila* are as much due to the need to tune the drums as to the need for the players and dancers to rest. The testing of the drums as they are being tuned peppers the silence following the end of one *rih* and punctuates the quasi-improvisatory flute solos and duets that signal the start of the next.

The Jillala band seems to be a fluid organization. In the case of the Mjdoubi family there were obvious reasons why they would choose to play together and to minimize the number of outside players. That they were not entirely self-serving in their arrangements, however, was demonstrated by their often inviting (and paying) a *qasba* player from Tetouan to join them in playing for professional engagements. Over the course of my association with the Mjdoubis I saw perhaps ten different bendir players and six different *qasba* players perform with the band, some in a more

or less apprentice capacity, others as fully paid colleagues. While the *qasba* players tend to be professional musicians the drummers are less likely to be. Their skills are less specialized and they need not know the repertoire particularly well in order to provide a satisfactory rhythmic accompaniment. Although Abdeslam Mjdoubi was himself a bendirist, he was also a band leader, contractor and something of a *fqih*, or fakir, knowledgable in the ways of the brotherhoods. Abdelqader has inherited all his father's musical roles if not yet his spiritual ones, but he is still young.

The Melodies-Form and Classification

Dealing with about twenty hours of recorded Jillala music is a humbling experience. Even considering the large amount of repetition built into the style, not to mention the repetition of individual pieces in various versions, there remains a great deal of material to assimilate. In my recording sessions I made every effort to encourage the players to come up with new material. By the end of the summer there were few new tunes turning up on the tapes. Still, I have no doubt that there is more material that remains to be recorded.

For an outsider the greatest difficulty with the Jillala repertoire is in distinguishing melodies. I have heard more than one European musician remark that it all sounds alike. Of course this is a result of understandable naiveté. Given a large corpus of *aryah* all based on the same three, four or, rarely, five pitches, in

which the same tune is never played quite the same way and over which there is spread a generous overlay of flutistic ornamentation, it is not surprising that the neophyte is easily confused about which is which. My own experience was that at the beginning a few *aryah* had familiar and identifiable physiognomies, while others remained unrecognizable as distinct melodic shapes even after repeated listenings. Still others gradually emerged as I listened to them again and again. Compared to other ethnic musics I have encountered it seems to me a repertoire relatively difficult of access. A large part of this difficulty may be ascribed to the ghostly timbre of the qasba, compared to which pitch seems a secondary characteristic. Everything is heard through a distracting veil of breathiness that effectively disguises melodic profile.

There are a few general characteristics of the form that may be outlined before proceeding to the microcosm of the individual *rih*. The great majority of *aryah* are cast in repeating AABB form. What this means is that the *rih* alternates two repeated phrases of equal length. These phrases may be construed as being two or four measures in length, depending on the note value chosen to represent the pulse. I have generally chosen to construe them as two-measure phrases. As the piece progresses there is always an acceleration in tempo culminating in the repetition of a one-measure fragment. This section, called *zrb,* occurring as it does at the end of a long process of acceleration, has the formal function of the open-ended fastening link of a chain and may be connected either to a new *rih* or lead to a

concluding flourish. Occasionally, it will lead back to a restatement of the preceding theme. The *zrb* section corresponds to the most frenetic movements of the dance and the loudest and most syncopated drumming. It is always followed by a section of relative repose, for both dancers and players. There is a Moroccan expression, "*Idda smaati tbl kay zrb, araf tbaala ghay wqfou.*" (When you hear the drum hurry, you know the drummer is going to stop).[27]

Generally, *aryah* are played either in medleys or suites of from two up to seven or eight distinct melodies. I say medleys *or* suites because there are at least two distinct approaches to the enchaining of *aryah*. The first appears more or less aleatoric to an outsider. Seemingly unrelated *aryah* are joined in a medley whose logic is probably loosely associative. Often the *aryah* played in medleys were popular, well-known tunes that everyone in the Mjdoubi household would sing along with. Such melodies as Sidi Hamou, Moulay Taghaza, Sidi Larbi, often appeared together in my recordings. The other procedure is to join together a suite of melodies that are explicitly related to the same saint or spirit. Fittingly, these related melodies are referred to as *kho*, or brothers. In the case of a female saint or spirit they are called *khat* or sisters. I first heard these terms while recording the *rih* of Moulay Brahim (Tape Five, B). After this point many of my

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[27] The sexual significance of this expression is inescapable. I don't think anyone observing the dancers would disagree that there is something climactic in a sexual sense about the *zrb* section of the dance. There are those who hold that the whole possession trance syndrome is sexual or hysterical in etiology. Like most one-sided explanations this fails to account for the complexity of the phenomenon.

recordings contain suites of brother and sister melodies. (It may be that some of the unidentified *aryah* in tapes one through five are brother or sister melodies). According to the players it is of supreme importance to the dancers that the suites of*aryah* be played in the proper order during the *hadra*.

Not all spirits have more than one *rih.* Among the spirits whose *aryah* I recorded, Sidi Mimoun, a Gnauoa spirit, seemed to have the most (see archive tape 10). The Gnaoua are reputed to have 99 (*tseud ou tsaine*) melodies in their repertoire, a number probably chosen to express great magnitude rather than a precise number.

Another category for otherwise unidentified melodies that form a suite is based on geographical and/or genealogical associations. Often, when asked to identify a suite of unfamiliar *aryah* Draydi would respond with a tribal designation, most commonly Oulad Msbah (also called Msbahia) or Oulad Khalifa. This sort of classification which, for all I know, may have subtle stylistic ramifications as well, is frustrating to the taxonomically minded observer as it leaves a large cache of melodies without individual designations. Crapanzano[28] notes that the *aryah* of the hot part of the Hamadsha hadra are similarly divided into tribal categories, viz. Zerhuni, Hasnawi, Gharbawi and Bukhari. The Oulad Khalifa are considered to be a sub-group of the Gharbawi, a split which makes sense as a tribal designation within a geographical one. While the named *aryah* are associated with both a specific saint

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[28] op. cit., p.204.

and his place of birth or burial, these unnamed *aryah* seem to represent the genius of a people rather than a person, and of a region rather than a locality. There is still much to be learned about the tribal and regional affiliations of the Jillala and how they are expressed through music.

Usually suites of *aryah* are preceded by an unmeasured prelude called *hallel*. This prelude has many of the features of the *taqsim* in classical Arab music. The mode or *maqam* is explored in a quasi-improvisatory manner and characteristic melodic formulae are repeated and varied.[29] One might explain this prelude as a sort of warm-up in which the fingers of the players and ears of the auditors become acclimated to the sonic world of the *rih* to come. In talking about this part of the form, the players tended to use the verb form, "*dabba n hallel*" or "*kay hallel*"--"Now I play the *hallel*", or "He *hallel*s", implying that they conceive of the prelude as an activity rather than as a fixed form.[30] This seemingly improvisatory collection of melodic formulae is, in fact, not necessarily improvised at all. This was proven to me several times when I heard two qasbas playing the *hallel* in approximate unison. More often, however, one of the flutists will accompany the other's *hallel* with an intermittent

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[29] I have no reason to believe that the Jillala have a modal theory, but there are, as we shall see, *de facto* modes employed

[30] The precise meaning and etymology of this word are not clear. My own etymology relates the word to *hal*. Abdelhai Diouri thought that the word was related to *hallel*, the Arabic equivalent of "kosher". This suggested to him that the prelude is a sort of musical sanctification process, cleaning the acoustic space to prepare for the entry of the *rih* proper. Stephen Blum has pointed out the word's similarity to the French term, *préluder*, and to the German, *fantasieren*.

drone on a single pitch, or they will trade phrases, one sustaining while the other holds forth. With good players one has the impression that the flutes are truly speaking, so eloquent and impassioned is the delivery. It is hard to resist the notion that there is an unsung text underlying the melodic figures and formulae. Draydi told me that each *rih* has its own *hallel*, but since the *hallel* is played only at the beginning of a suite it was difficult to determine whether the *hallel* applied to the whole suite or only to the initial *rih* of the series. The length of the *hallel* section is highly variable, ranging from a few phrases to extended solos several minutes long. It is common for the drummers to test the tightness of their instruments during the *hallel* and for the other musicians to talk among themselves. Gradually, however, the *rih* coalesces out of the tentative probings of the *hallel* and, as the drums enter, there begins an inexorable process of acceleration and crescendo.

There is a considerable range of melodic types among the *aryah* of the Jillala. But from the chromatic three-pitch recitation style of *Zaouia Jillaliya* to the rich diatonicism of the Gnaoua repertoire, all of the melodies are limited by the inherent nature of the *qasba* to the maximum compass of a perfect fifth--in fact they are mostly a fourth or less in range. There seems to be no qualitative distinction drawn between melodies that use all half-steps and those that use a mix of whole and half-steps; the notion of chromaticism vs. diatonicism does not apply.[31] Conjunct

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[31] It has occurred to me, however, that the relatively diatonic melodies employed for the Gnaoua repertoire of spirits may have been designed to approximate, in a

motion within a given pitch collection seems to be almost a law of the Jillala's musical universe, although there are occasional unfilled thirds. Generally melodic direction tends to fall rather than rise-- phrases tend to end on the lowest pitch of the collection. It has been suggested that this tendency mirrors the generally falling inflection of Moroccan speech. [32]

Modes

Used in its widest sense as, "a selection of tones, arranged in a scale, that forms the basic tonal substance of a composition,"[33] the word, "mode", accurately describes the tonal materials of the Jillala repertoire. The Jillala modes are usually made of three, four, or five tones. From a purely theoretical standpoint, a more apposite term for these pitch collections might be the ancient Greek *genera*, used to describe the various types of filled tetrachords. D'Erlanger, in his classification of the modes of Arab music, uses the French cognate, *genre*, but admits

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compressed fashion, the wide-ranged pentatonicism of the Gnaoua brotherhood's music.

[32] To verify if it is the contours of speech that give shape to this limited-palette repertoire a study must be made of the relation between music and words. I have purposely excluded words from this essay, but it would be foolish to disregard the influence of speech on the *aryah* since they are usually texted if not always sung melodies. It has often been noted that adepts of the brotherhoods say that they actually hear the *qasba* speaking in words. Vincent Crapanzano quotes a Hamadsha who compared what he heard the *ghaita* saying to what he saw in the Rorschach blots the author showed him. (p. 194) A common phrase of encouragement to the *qasba* players is "*goulou*" or "Say it!".

[33] Willi Apel, The Harvard Dictionary of Music, p. 535.

that Arab musicians do not conceive of their scales in these terms:

> *Quoique pratiquant un art en plus d'un point identique á celui des Grecs orientaux, les musiciens arabes se sont, en effet, toujours refusés á adopter leur terminologie, malgré l'effort de plusieurs générations de théoriciens héllenisants. Les nombreux traités écrits par les théoriciens arabes entre le IX^e^ et le XVI^e^ siècle et dont on rencontre encore de nombreux exemplaires dans les divers pays arabes, n'ont, en effet, laissé aucune trace dans le vocabulaire technique des musiciens de nos jours.*[34]
>
> [Although they practice an art identical in more than one way to that of the oriental Greeks, Arab musicians have always refused to adopt their terminology, in spite of the efforts of many generations of Hellenizing theorists. The numerous treatises written by Arab theorists between the ninth and sixteenth centuries and the many examples of which one still encounters in the diverse Arab countries, have not, in effect, left the slightest trace in the technical vocabulary of musicians of our time. --trans. B. Y.]

From what I could gather from my discussions with the musicians, they conceive of the different modes as sets of flute fingerings rather than as sets of abstract intervals. A given *rih* calls for a given fingering configuration. Within that configuration ornaments and arabesques may be added without disrupting the integrity of the *rih.* Based on the transcription and analysis of ten melodies of widely varying type I came up with seven or eight distinct modes (see transcriptions). For the purposes of this discussion, transpositions of a mode are counted as separate modes. The concept of transposition is foreign to the

---

[34] Baron Rodolphe D'Erlanger, La Musique Arabe **V**, p. 76.

Jillala musicians.[35] Thus, the common mode of B-flat, C, D-flat, D-natural, associated with the *rih* of Moulay Abdelqader, is not considered equivalent to the mode of C, D, E-flat, E-natural, associated with the *rih* of Sidi Ben Aissa. Given the untempered and approximative tuning of the qasba, I dare say that the intervals are not, in fact, equivalent.

The one comment I heard from any of the musicians that implied a concept of tonal centricity within a mode was when Draydi corrected another flutist who was accompanying his *hallel* with the wrong drone pitch. He told him to play the number three hole on the flute rather than the number four. Both pitches were contained in the mode, but one was central and the other was not. It is presumably the very issue of centricity that distinguishes several *aryah* on the same set of pitches from one another. Stereotyped melodic patterns within a mode set up a sort of hierarchy of pitches. A good example of this is the *rih* of Sidi Larbi Ghayali (see transcription) in which the E-natural of measure five is heard as an appogiatura to the E-flat it precedes. It is this relationship that characterizes the melody and gives it its unmistakable identity.

The use of modes of three, four or five pitches is a common feature of much northern Moroccan folk music. Whether the instrument is the *qasba*, the *guimbri*, or the *ghaita*, Moroccan musicians seem most comfortable mining the melodic

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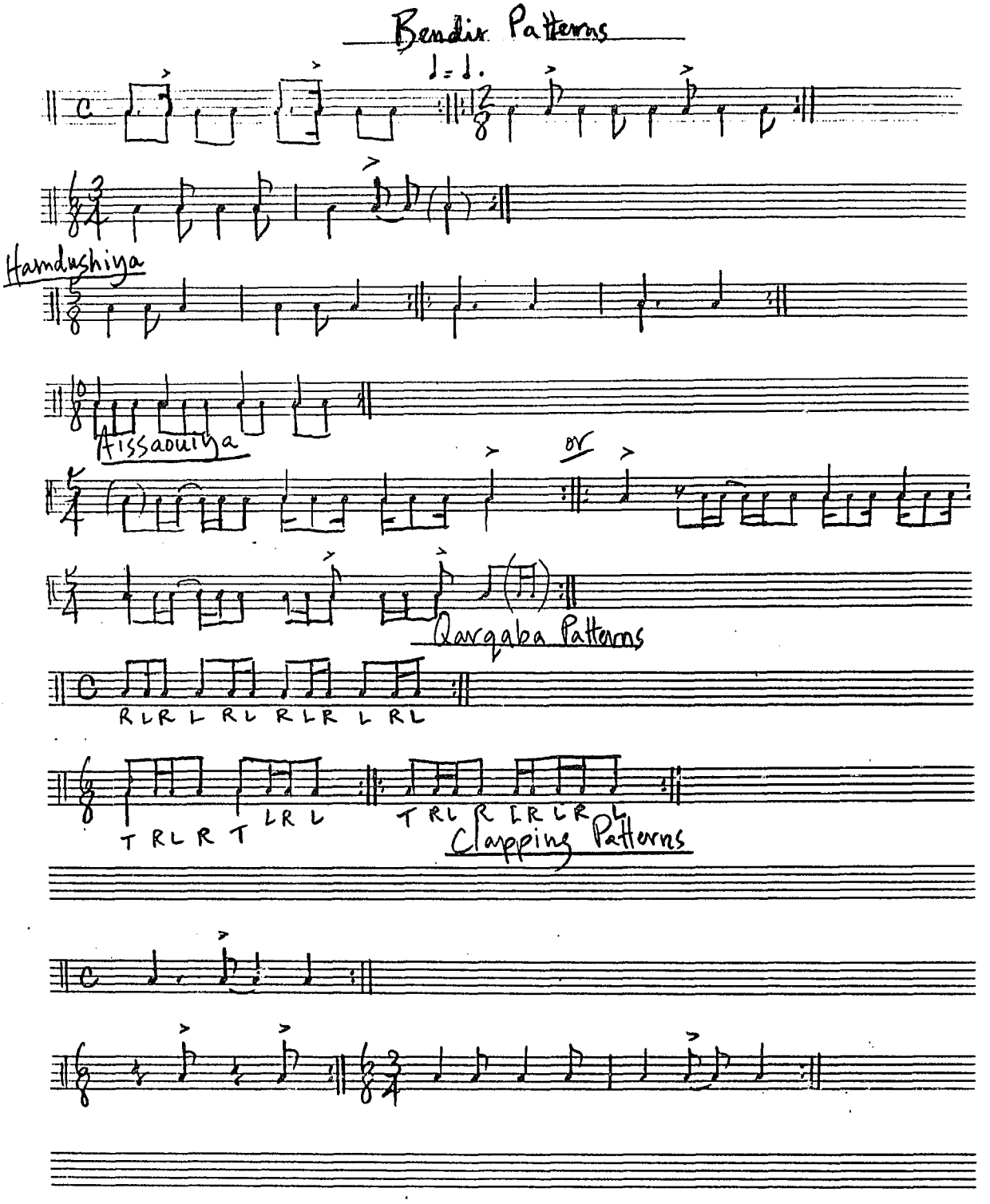
[35] This is not to say that they do not practice transposition. The varying size of their flutes necessarily entails transposing the absolute pitch of the repertoire. It is the idea of transposing a set of musical intervals that would not make sense to them.

possibilities of a small pitch collection. Modulation, in the original sense of changing mode, occurs only after the possibilities have been thoroughly exhausted. In a suite of *aryah* it is not uncommon for each to be in a different mode. A systematic study of the succession of modes might reveal principles of order beyond what I have noticed.

Drummers and Dancers

The basic drum patterns employed by the Jillala are usually simple enough, but their gradual *accelerando* and transformation throughout the progress of a piece is what drives the music forward. There are several standard opening patterns common to almost all of the Jillala repertoire and special patterns used for playing the Jillala version of the Aissaoua and Hamadsha repertoires (see examples). As the *accelerando* and *crescendo* of a common-time pattern increases, there is usually a point at which the pulse switches from duple to ternary that is signalled by a sharp off-beat accent from the lead drummer. Thereafter 4/4 is transformed into 12/8, with the underlying pulse remaining constant (see examples). After the onset of this swinging rhythm there occur breaks in which the lead drummer plays accented syncopes, often asserting a two in the time of three or a three in the time of four. The function of these syncopes becomes apparent in the dance where every accent is registered in the dancer's movements. Watching a Jillala dancer respond to the


Bendir Patterns
♩=♩.
Hamdushiya
Aissaouiya
or
Qarqaba Patterns
R L R L R L R L R L L R L
T R L R T L R L
T R L R L R L R
Clapping Patterns

rhythmic manipulations of the lead drummer is as impressive as watching an orchestra respond to a masterful conductor. There seems to be an almost telepathic communion between the two. Some of this "telepathy" can be ascribed to familiarity with the style. The drummer's syncopations are drawn from a repertoire of gestures as stylized as the flute players' "improvisatory" *hallel*. But even if there are no surprises for the dancer in what the drummer does, there is no predicting exactly when and how he will execute his stock of moves. The drummers work as hard as the dancers and for longer stretches, since they have often have to satisfy a long succession of dancers. Strength is the attribute most admired by the players and most sought after by patrons of the music. Knowledge of the repertoire and instrumental skill are assumed, but strength is the *sine qua non*.

Transcriptions

The following transcribed melodies were chosen to illustrate a wide range of melodic types and modes, as discussed above. The Gnaoua *rih* with two "variations" is an attempt to show the sorts of transformations a *rih* may undergo without losing its identity. One need not be much of a Schenkerian analyst to discern the skeleton of the model underneath the elaborations of versions A and B. Not all melodies have so clear a structure, however, and it is not always easy to hear through the elaborations.

The *Jillali Daoui Hali*, the Jillali Hymn, and Sidi Larbi Ghayali are examples of a six-measure form unlike the standard

AABB eight-measure form. The *aryah* of Moulay Taghaza, Lalla Aisha and Sidi Amar are simple two-measure phrases without a contrasting B section.

The Ouled Khalifa, Ben Aissa and Gnaoua *aryah* represent the garden variety AABB form, mentioned above.

Conclusion

The music of the Jillala brotherhood of Tangier shares many characteristics with northeastern Moroccan folk music in general. There is nothing about the music *per se* that would explain its trance-inducing properties. This is in keeping with the theory of music and possession trance set forth by Gilbert Rouget. The brotherhood's use of traditional rustic instruments to accompany their ceremonies has kept their music closely tied to the musical traditions of the Gharb from whence many of their members migrated to Tangier. The repertoire is decidedly rural and "folk" as opposed to urban and "art" in its orientation, although it is practiced by city-dwellers who are aware of a great variety of musical styles. As far as I could tell there have been no changes in the repertoire in an effort to modernize, or Westernize; it seems to be a more or less fixed canon.[36] One of my translators suggested that the Jillala are "outside of history". When I asked the musicians themselves how they foresaw the future of their

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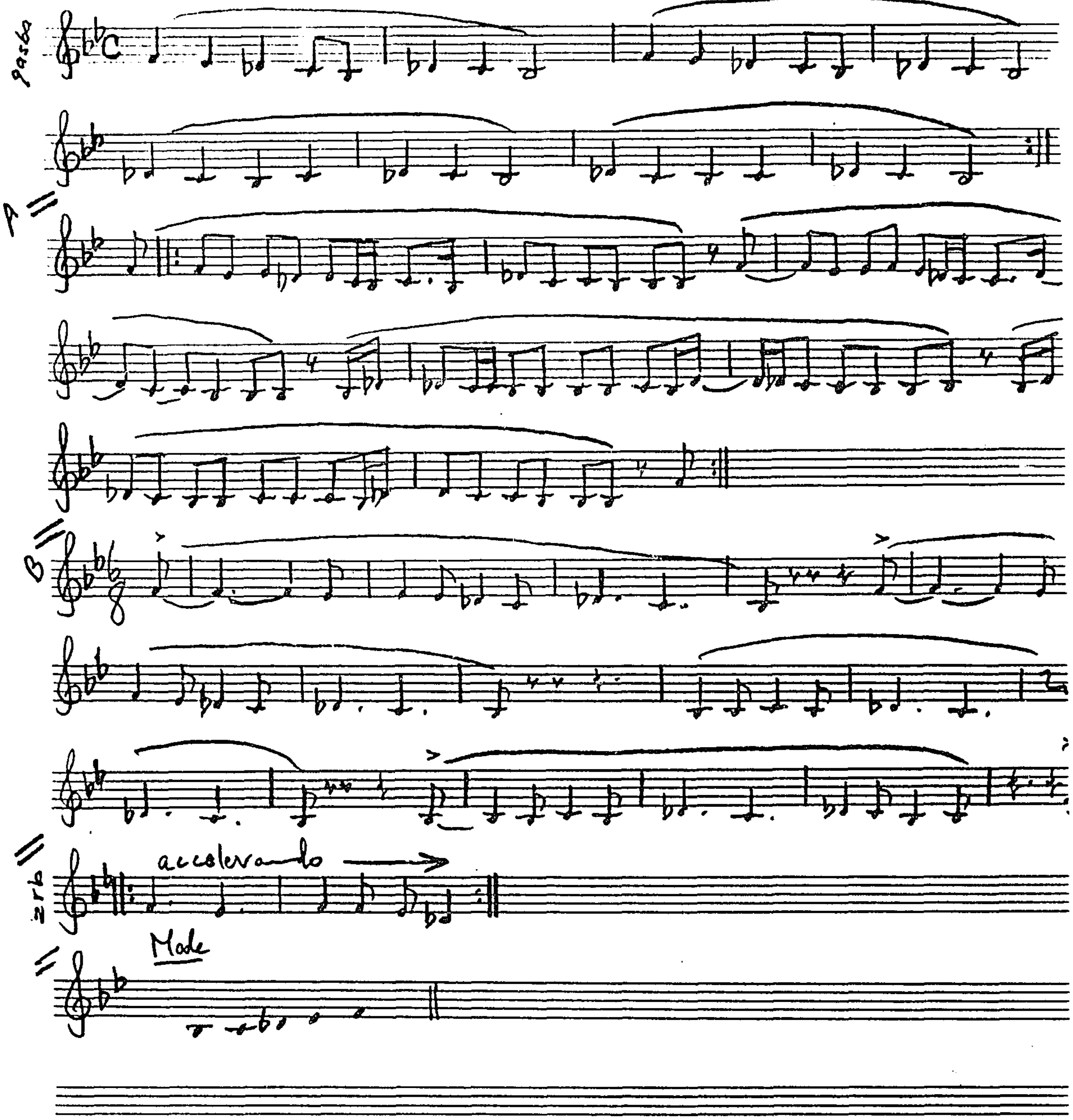
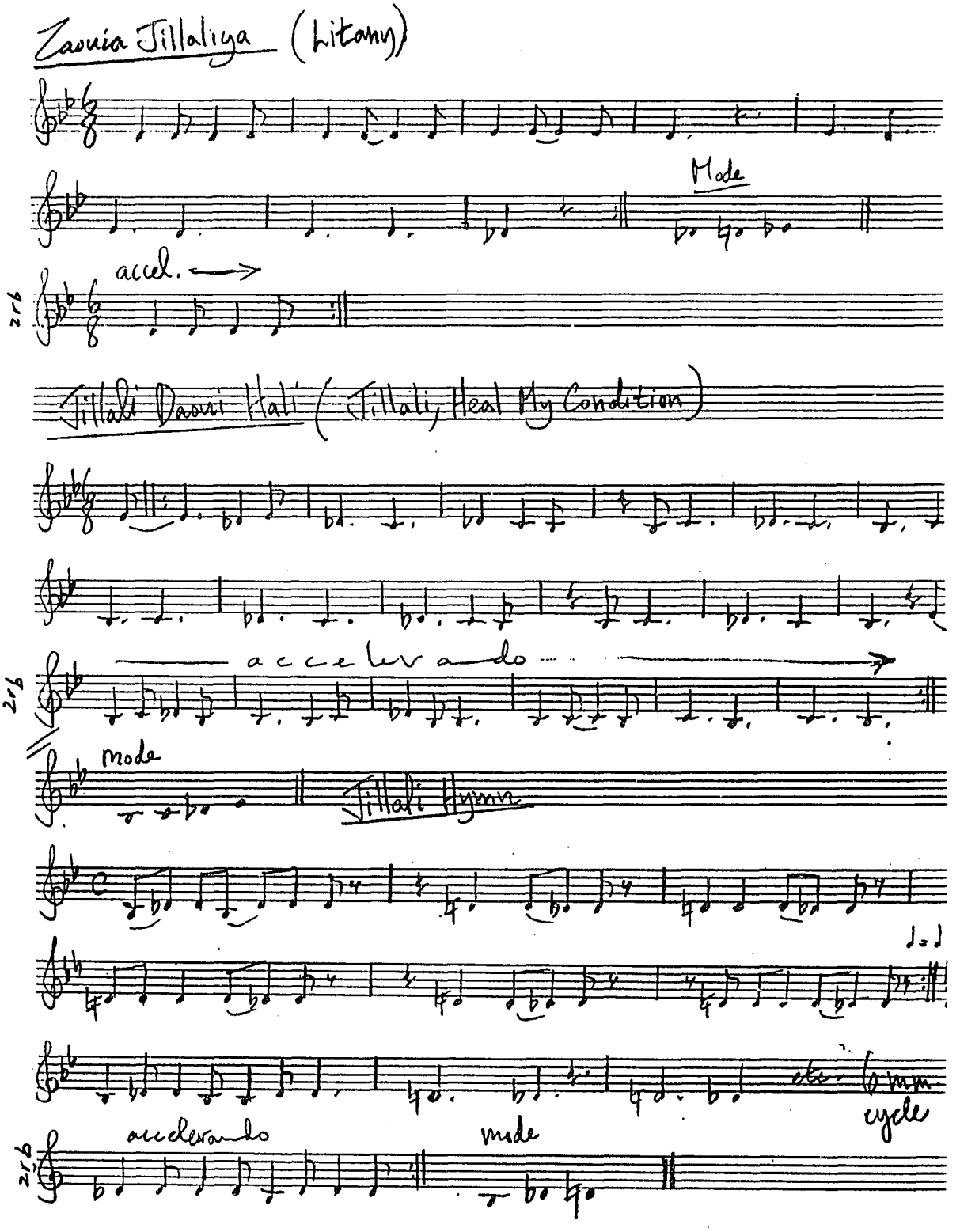
[36] The present king, Hassan II, has a *rih* of his own. This suggests that at least one of the melodies of the repertoire is of fairly recent vintage.

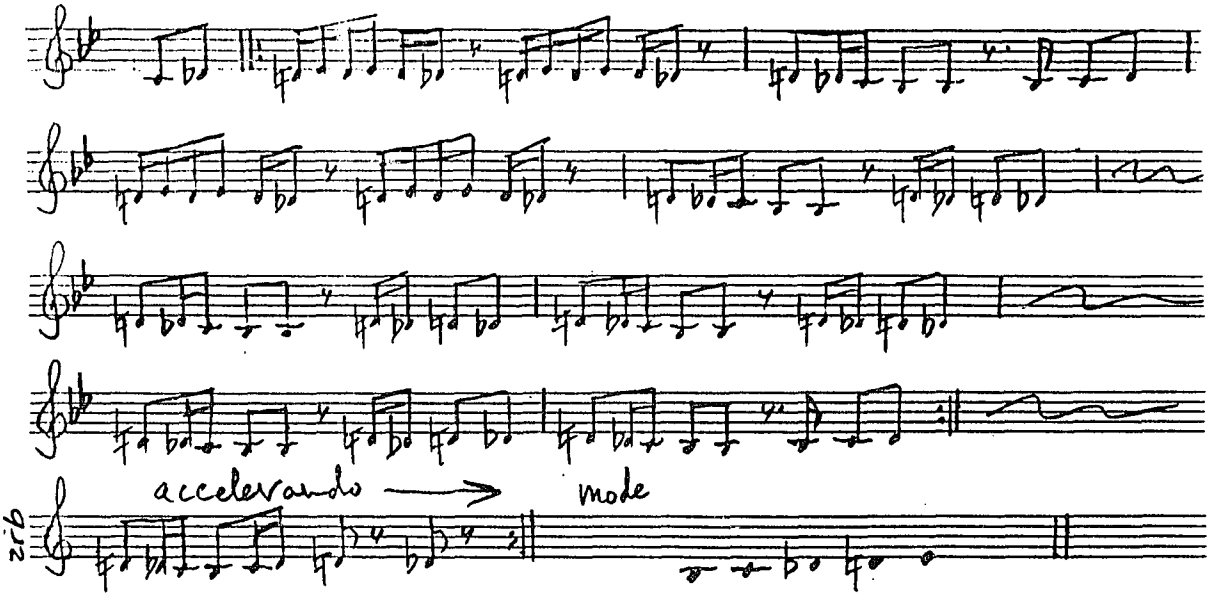
brotherhood, they replied, "Nothing can stop the power of Moulay Abdelqader".

Rih Gnaoui (model) Sidi Mimoun

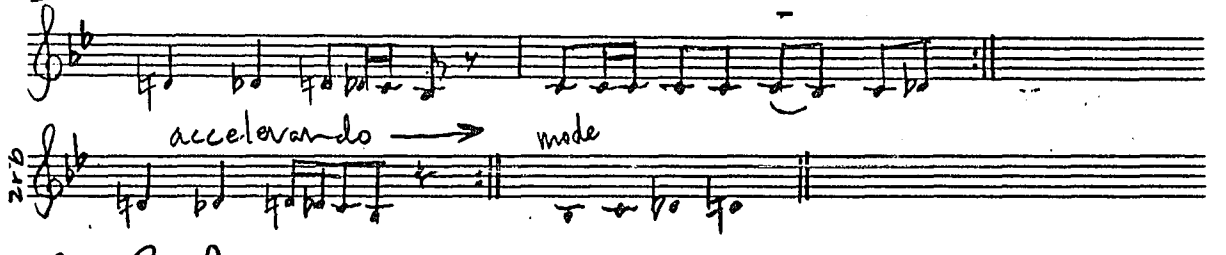



Zaouia Jillaliya (litany)
Mode
accel.
Jillali Daoui Hali (Jillali, Heal My Condition)
accelerando
mode
Jillali Hymn
accelerando
mode
cycle

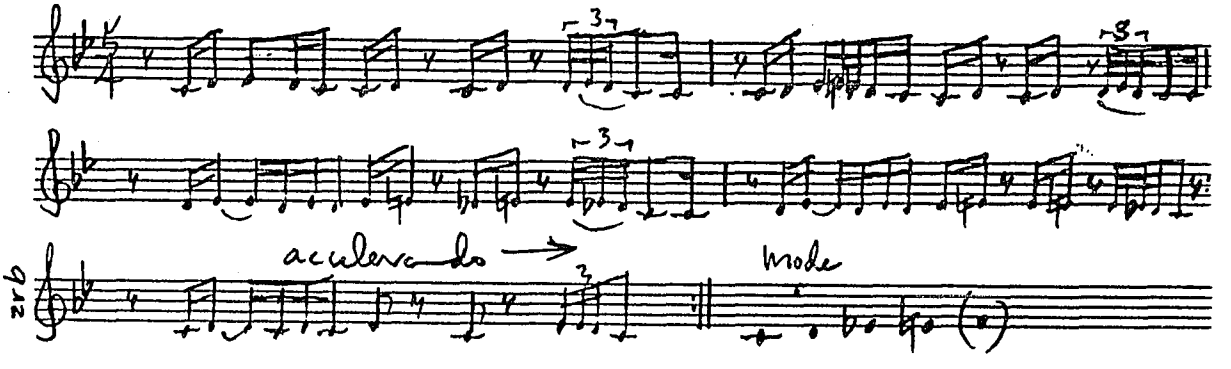
Rih Khalifa



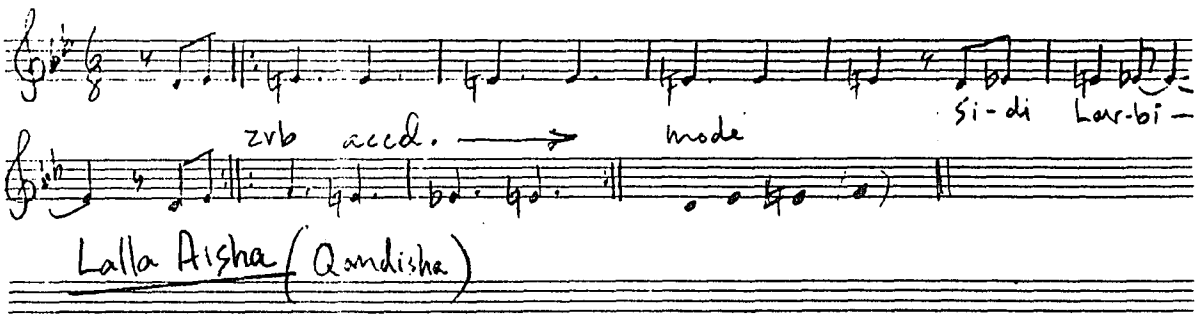
Rih Montay Taghaza



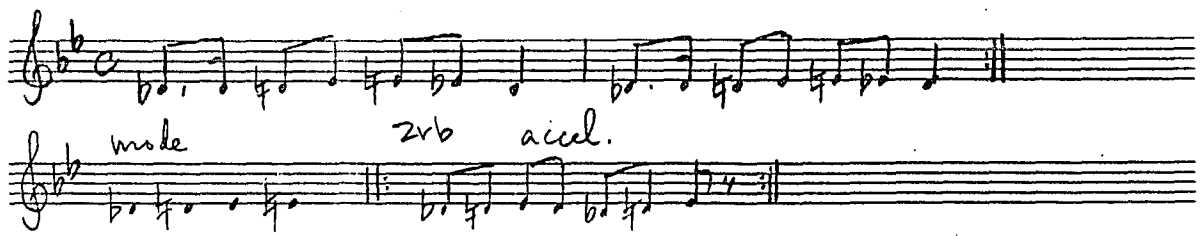
Rih Ben Nissa



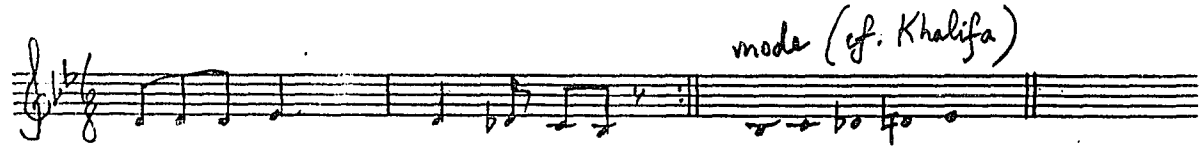
Sidi Larbi Ghazali



Lalla Aisha (Qandisha)



Sidi Amar



Appendix 1- Tape Archive

The following is a list of the contents of sixteen cassette tapes of Jillala music recorded between June 10th and July 29th, 1989 in Tangier, Morocco. (The numbering system is from a TEAC counter in which 480 calibrations correspond to 30 minutes. Thus, every 16 numbers correspond to one minute and the distance between two consecutive numbers is equal to approximately four seconds).

Double space indicates the start of a new melody or suite of melodies.

Tape 1, recorded June 10, 1989

Players- Abdelqader Draydi-*qasba*
Abdelqader Mjdoubi-*bendir* and voice
Mohammed Mjdoubi-*bendir*

Side A

00-Ouled Khalifa
81-zrb (accelerating passage)
91-Msbahia
114-zrb
120-Sidi Sabouni
149-zrb
156-Mohammed aoulidi (Mohammed galoumet)
208-zrb
218-Moul Chab
246-zrb
252-Jillali (litany from Zaouia Jillaliya) cf. tape 14 A, last selection.
266-zrb
271-end

278-hallel (flute solo) Hamdushiya (suite) 5/8
331-zrb
339-kho (brother melody) (Sidi Ali)
356-kho
370-zrb with choral responses
378-kho
392-zrb with choral responses
398-end

rest of side blank

Side B

Personnel same as on Side A

00-(begins in medias res) Sidi Hamidou (sung responsively)
41-zrb
50-Moulay Taghaza
114-zrb
124-return of Moulay Taghaza
141-zrb
149-end

153-Khoi, khoi (My brother, my brother)
205-zrb
211-end

217-hallel, Oulad Msbah(suite)
258-bendir and voice enter (note drum pattern)
284-zrb
290-kho (Moulay Abdelqader?) AABB
313-zrb
317-return of 290ff.
329-zrb (circular breathing)
335-Sidi Larbi
351-zrb
356-return of Sidi Larbi
371-zrb
376-kho
391-zrb
395-kho
404-zrb
410-Sidi Azizou Ghali
424-zrb (climax)
437-end

441- Khalifa, Abdelqader on solo qasba
471-zrb
478-tape runs out

Tape 2, recorded June 15, 1989

Side A

Abdelqader Mjdoubi-qasba, Mohammed Mjdoubi-bendir and voice

Souad Mjdoubi-voice Abdelqader Draydi-qasba

000-Sidi Hamou Abdelqader Mjdoubi-qasba
033-
060-

081-Khalifa Souad Mjdoubi-voice
116-Gnaoui Soudania
194-Aoulidi, aoulidi (My son, my son)

220-qasba solo Oulad Msbah Abdelqader Draydi
244-(continued) (crying child obligato)
290-segue into Oulad Msbah with hand claps in lieu of bendir
346-voice is in lower octave
384-bendir enters
401-409 voice jumps to higher octave
427-459 ff. good example of circular breathing
480- tape runs out

Side B

000-Aissaouiya Sidi Ben Aissa 5/4 (suite)
043-enters second bendir
089-
119-end

122-flute solo Sidi Mseud from the Hamadsha repertoire (djedba danced by Zohra Mjdoubi)
132-enter bendir (note drum pattern) recitation tone
147-enter second bendir
235-zrb
291-zrb
325-end
328-fatha (prayer)

338- Abdelqader solo on qasba, Msbahia
371-enter Draydi on bendir
399-meter changes
409-meter changes
431-end

433-475 -Popular song 6/8-3/4 Abdelhaq sings with family

Tape 3, recorded June 17, 1989

same personnel as above

Side A

00- Si Zagouri/Khalifa note drum pattern in 6/8
81-
124-
149-
178- end, announcement of program

184- Sidi Kacem Bou Asghia, Sultan Zaet (slow 6/8) good tune-metric shift
253-fast 6/8
275-fast 4/4
301- end, announcement of program

306- Sidi Hamid al Dghoughi (high flute solo) from Ouezzane
322-5/8
366-Hamdushiya
379-kho
395-kho
411-kho
430-end, announcement of program

433-Sidi Mimoun (good tune) Gnaoua I 'maala Taquil(antiphonal)
477-
480 tape runs out

Side B

00- announcement of last program, side A
09-flute solo

26-announcement Oulad Msbah (good tune--high fifth)
60-change of meter -same tune
95-
100-change of meter (clapping on 3 and 6)
126-change back to duple
155- end, announcement Moulay Bouselham

160-Sidi Larbi Ghayali -Abdelqader Mjdoubi on flute,
184-
205-
213-drum drops out
223-
230-drum returns -Sidi Larbi
251-end, announcement

253-Msbahia Abdelqader Draydi on flute-exquisite long solo hallel
327-enter drum and voice
354-
370-end, announcement

371- Ouled Khalifa Abdelqader Mjdoubi on flute, cf. Tape 1, no. 1
411-
422-
435- end, announcement

437- Ouled Khalifa Draydi on flute
474-end, announcement-- from Had Kurt

Tape 4, recorded June 19, 1989

Side A

00- Moulay Abdelqader (long flute solo)
51- enter bendir
103- chorus of young men
130-
157-chorus again "aoulidi"
200- Abdelqader Mjdoubi takes second flute
219-
252- "Aoulidi, aoulidi" with chorus
273- Sidi Ali (good tune)
294-

310- end, announcement Moul Chaab, Chorfa, five "rih"

323-Moulay Abdelqader (circular breathing)
352-change to duple meter
364-back to ternary and back again
373-
384-end announcement-Moulay Abdelqader

386-long flute solo hallel (cf. Abdelmalik Kharraz tape)
424-enter bendir
446-change to duple
462-
476-Sidi Ali, Habib 'Ilah (Beloved of God)
481-tape runs out

Side B

00- Sidi Ali, continued from Side A
29- end, "Sidna Ali" from Chaouen-Draydi and Abdelqader talk about the rihs.

107-Sidi Hamou (popular tune)
156-
183-call and response
200-
209-change meter
221-
240-end "Sidi Shafi"

245-two flutes- Gnaouia- note rhythm
295-repeat
310-Moulay Mohammed-Abdelqader drops second flute,takes bendir
335-change meter- Lila Karima
361-end

363- A. Mjdoubi on flute- (nice tune) unidentified
379-end-new start with hallel
407-Draydi joins in with other flute
421-two flutes (great tune)
437-repeat?
448-

460- note drum pattern
463-
481-tape runs out

Tape 5

recorded June 20, 1989

Side A

00- flute solo
33-enter bendir slow 6/8- Moulay Bou Azaa
82-zrb
96- Moul Bab
126-zrb
133- Sultan Sham Harouch
150-zrb
162-Sidi Mohammed l' Khamar
184-zrb
190-Sidi Lamrani
210-zrb
215- ?
226-zrb
230-end

252- flute duo, Abdelqader plays intermittent high drone
284-Jilali Daoui Hali (JIllala Healing Song) Mohammed Mjdoubi sings
316-zrb
327-Msbahia from Larache, antiphonal phrases
341-zrb
347- Sidi Mubarak from Sebta
360-zrb
363- Moul Ouidan, (Lord of the rivers) single riff
369-zrb
378- Khwaydem (The black woman)
392-zrb
405-Sidi Zagouri
418-zrb
422-Sidi Mseud
433-zrb to end

438-solo flute- Sidi Mseud played by Abdelqader
465-enter bendir mixing duple and ternary patterns, and second flute
481-tape runs out

Side B

00-Sidi Mseud continued
21-zrb
27-kho (brother to Mseud)
53-zrb
61-Sidi Kacem bou Asria
86-zrb
96-Sidi Moussa Ben Kadour
118-zrb
128-Sidi Bou Derbala (the man in rags) single phrase
146-zrb

163-flute solo
191- enter bendir Sidi Mansouri
221-zrb
226-Zaouia cf. tape 14 A
251-zrb
257-?
262-Sidi Hamid
280-Sidi Saboni, Oulad Siyah, sung responsively
297-Sidi Jedhoun jah ben Abdellah
309-zrb
319-Msbahia, Draydi sings
340-zrb
349-end

352-Sidi Mousaka, check drum pattern
403-Moulay Ibrahim
410-sort of bolero rhythm
419-kho of Moulay Ibrahim
432-zrb
434-kho
446-zrb
449-kho

470-kho

480-Moulay Slimane (cut off)

Tape 6 recorded late June, 1989

Side A

00-Abdelqader on short *qasba,* Abdelhaq on bendir
43-zrb
49-Sidi Ali Dakhilia (The Southerner)
64-end
72-Draydi on long flute, hallel
98-enter bendir
137-zrb
143-diatonic minor (like Gnaouia but in 6/8)
159-zrb
165-? three pitches
180-zrb
185- cf.143 ff.
202-zrb
208-
222-zrb
227-Moulay Taghaza
242-zrb
247-Moulay Taghaza
259-litany, antiphonal Sanoui habib'llah
266-zrb
271-end

275-Adama (Glory) two flutes 6/8-3/4 good tune
299-swing starts
317-zrb
324-
330-zrb
335-Sidi bel Abbes from Sebta
354-end

359- Draydi solos, Abdelqader takes second flute
379-changing bendir patterns,
393-Sidi Larbi
416-zrb (strong drumming throughout)
422- Sidi Larbi Ghayali from Asilah

432-zrb

last part of tape blank

Side B

00-first Abdelqader solo,
40-Draydi enters, two flutes, A. plays drone
73-Sidi Morahel
95-new drum pattern
151-zrb
159-return
175-zrb
186-end

188-flute solo, Sidi Lamrani (grandfather of Msbah) (circular breathing)
219-enter bendir and voice
247-swing pattern
255-zrb (An unidentified woman entered here from the street and began dancing in djedba. A space was cleared for her and the music continued)
276-Moulay Abdelqader
311-
330-
344-tape recorder is unplugged to remove it from harm's way.

345-flute solo
359-Moul Ouidan
381-swing begins with syncope
395-zrb
403-Sidi Kacem ben Zbir, from the Gharb
414-zrb

421-flute solo, Sidi Ouidan cf. 359ff.
433-note drum pattern change from ternary to duple
348-zrb
465-Sidi Larbi bou Asghia (Aoulidi, aoulidi)
480-end

Tape Seven

Recorded in Beni Makada at the name day (sebaa) of a Mjdoubi relative

Side A Gnaoua

Side B Jllala

all unidentified "Msbahia" , note 7/8 meter passage in last selection.

Tape Eight-Solo Flute by Abdelqader Draydi (without bendir)

recorded late June 1989

Side A

00-Sidi Kacem Moul Harrosh
124-zrb
128-Sidi Said bou Atmen
199-zrb
-Sidi Omar el Hadi
-Sid Hamid Ben Asboun
-Sidi Abderahman Ben Yafou
224-announcement of program

244-solo hallel
294-Sidi Saidi
313-Sidi Moundri ?
332-Sidi Talha
357-Sidi Ali Gaash
385-Sidi Amar, Moul Zeitoun (Lord of the Olives)
402-Sidi Larbi l'Aidi
417-zrb
420-Sidi Hamid Shtouan
433-zrb
436-Moul Rahai?
449-song (Draydi sings) Jillaliya

457-Sidi Bel Ghouyat from Casablanca
(I play bendir)

Side B

00-hallel
27-Sidi Amar
65-zrb
71-kho
105-zrb
115-song of Sidi Amar, Draydi sings
130-end

134-Moulay Idriss of Fez(Patron Saint of Morocco)
163-kho
186-kho
210-Sidi Mohammed Dghoughi
235-Lalla Aisha (Qandisha) single phrase
261-zrb

272-hallel
301-Sidi Moussa ben Asloun
330-zrb
335-Sidi Ouidan
352-zrb
358-Sidi Bou Nwar (Father of Flowers)
396-zrb
400-Sidi Lahcen
414-zrb

418-hallel
430-Moul el Khalwa (Lord of the cave) from Had Kurt
443-zrb

448-El Adama from the Gharb cf. tape 6A
482-end

Tape Nine

recorded June 26, 1989
Side A

00-hallel
77-?
125-Sidi Morahel
149-Sheikh el Kamel

165-zrb
170-Sidi Ousmane from Casablanca
190-zrb
196-Moulay Boushta (chromatic)
221-zrb
228-Bou Mghoit
248-zrb

257-hallel
267-Sidi Harazem f'Waza
324-zrb
332-Sidi Amar Riahi 6/8-3/4
352-kho
373-kho
379-kho

389-hallel
401-Sidi Moundria
431-kho
441-zrb
445-kho
454-zrb
457-kho
467-zrb
472-?
480-tape runs out, music continues on side B

Side B

00-continuation of side A
20- hallel Sidi Hamou, litany on one pitch
38-zrb
43-more litany
58-Sidi Hamou
78-zrb
86-kho
97-zrb

108-hallel
120-Sidi Bousselham
159-kho
186-zrb
190-kho, good example of text with melody

213-Moulay Hassan (Hassan II)
235-kho

247-hallel-El Bouab
283-zrb
290-Sidi Samaoui
305-?
326-Sidi Moussa Bahari (of the beach)
335-zrb
341-Sidi Abdellah
357-end

358-Aissaouia Abdelqader Mjdoubi on qasbah, Draydi on bendir, others clapping
411-Hamdushia
433-? kho
464-kho?
480-tape runs out

Tape 10

Side A (mostly Gnaouia)

00-hallel cf. Msbahia from tape 3 253ff.
62-Sidi Derwish (Dervish)
115-zrb
122-kho antiphonal
140-zrb
146-kho antiphonal
181-zrb

191-Sidi Mimoun habib 'llah(Gnaoui)
219-zrb
223-kho
235-zrb
240-kho antiphonal
254-zrb
257-kho (Abd Gnaoui)
271-zrb
275-kho (Habibi Gnaoua)
292-kho
307-zrb
311-kho ('llah nbbia)

326-zrb ending

331-long hallel (with trills)
382-Sidi Mimoun (cf. tape 2 Souad singing)
430-zrb
435-kho
447-zrb
451-kho "Gnaoui aoui aoui"
466-zrb
470-return of 451ff.
480-tape runs out just before end of suite

Side B

00-Gnaoua Taqil (Heavy) new 4/4 drum pattern
63-zrb
70-kho (Sidi Mimoun)
107-zrb
119-Karima

152- short unidentified flute and voice selection

167-hallel with two flutes
193-Hamdushiya cf. Tape one and nine
238-zrb
246-kho

276-SIdi Hamidou (A. Mjdoubi on qasba)cf. Tape two
304-zrb

317-Msbahia (Draydi on qasba)
347-zrb

357-Abdelqader Mjdoubi on qasba
370-Ben Omran (Chorfa) (Draydi sings verses)two flutes
405-kho
415-zrb
421-kho
442-zrb

448-hallel into Sidi Larbi Ghailat without drum
480-tape runs out

Tape Eleven

Side A

00-Moulay Siyah (cf. Abdelmalek Kharraz tape)
59-zrb
70-Mohima
83-zrb
96-kho
130-zrb

143-hallel
154-Sidi Farjali, note drum pattern
198-kho
217-zrb
223-kho
253-kho
269-zrb
276-kho
297-zrb
307-Sidi Kacem ben Zbir
331-zrb

342-Sidi Othman (Ousmane) two flutes AABB, beautiful tune
374-zrb
381-return of Sidi Othman, sung by Abdelqader Mjdoubi
395-zrb
402-Lahajiya (chromatic)
418-zrb
424-kho
432-zrb
438-Sidi Zagouri
453-kho
463-zrb
466-kho
480-tape runs out

Side B

00-hallel
26-Sidi el Abess
96-zrb
109-kho

135-zrb
143-kho
191-zrb
200-Sidi Ouidan cf. other examples
217-zrb

225-Sidi Morahel Draydi on bendir, Mjdoubi on qasba
247-zrb
252-Mseud
276-zrb
280-
290-zrb
295-Msbah

315-Draydi plays hallel, Sidi Barek Bou Hashiya
355-kho
369-zrb
376-Sidi Abdellah
386-zrb
391-kho
400-zrb
404-kho
412-zrb
419-Sidi Moussa Maqadour
436-zrb

442-hallel, Sidi Farajia from Had Kurt
473-zrb
480-tape runs out

Tape Twelve (Miscellany)

00-Moulay Taghaza (Abdelqader Mjdoubi on qasba with Mohammed singing and playing bendir)
88-zrb
100-Moulay Taghaza

112-hallel
138-?
193-zrb

201-ghaita (Abdelqader)

214-Hamdushiya

232-More Hamdushiya
280-end

283-Sidi Mimoun?
318-zrb
330-end

331-?
357-zrb
360-?
368-end

371-?
396-zrb
406-end

416-contains recording of chanting from mosque at Djemaa el Mokra
6:00 A.M. July 14, 1989, Aid El Kbir. Recording is faint, gets slightly stronger. Good tune and only gets sung once a year.

Tape Thirteen
recorded at Villa Julie in stereo.
New young qasba player, Mohammed X?, joins Draydi and Abdelqader Mdoubi.

Side A

00-hallel (with singing)
65-talk
85-hallel two flutes
135-interruption
140-Ouled Msbah
175-zrb
180-kho?
194-zrb
200-Sidi Larbi
211-zrb
225-kho?
239-zrb

247-hallel
301-second flute joins
308-Sidi Kacem ben Zbir
346-zrb
353-
369-zrb
374-Sidi Mimoun Gnaoua 6/8 to duple Mustapha dances
388-zrb

396-hallel two flutes
404-more Gnaouia same mode as 374 ff.
428-zrb
436-return to Sidi Mimoun
445-zrb

450-hallel
456-more Gnaouia
480-tape runs out

Side B

00-zrb, continuation of Side A Mustapha dances, note stop-time breaks
19-Dabid (black)
52-zrb

68-hallel
106-cf. Side A 456 ff.
158-zrb
168-kho
182-zrb
190-kho
200-zrb

209-hallel two flutes trade phrases
229-more Gnaouia with singing and dancing
255-zrb
262-return
more zrb-
278-return
287-zrb
293-kho
306-kho

326-Sidi Hamou? (in duple time)
352-zrb
357-Samaoui
386-zrb
394-return
398-Aoulidi, aoulidi
405-zrb

412-hallel with singing
420-?
457-zrb
462-kho
476-zrb
480- tape runs out

Tape Fourteen-same personnel as Tape Thirteen

Side A

00-hallel Msbahia
20-clapping and bendir
87-zrb
94-Sidi Ali
111-zrb
124-Sidi Ali
144-zrb

155-hallel Ouled Msbah
205-zrb
211-kho
221-zrb

229-hallel Bouahara from Had Kurt
256-second flute enters
290-transition
307-new bendir pattern
319-zrb
326-kho
339-zrb
344-kho
365-zrb
368-kho

383-zrb

389-Zaouiya Jillaliya Jillala hymn
425-change of drum pattern
441-zrb
448-khta (sister melody) cf. tape 1, first suite, 4th rih
470-zrb

Side B

00-hallel two flutes
67-Sidi Msoughi?
99-transition
116-zrb
122-Si Rahmoun
144-zrb
162-zrb
168-Sidi Boughaba
185-zrb

198-Lalla Ftomah (unusual jump up fifth) eight measure cycle
251-zrb
257-khta
270-zrb

274-hallel Sidi Lamrani, two flutes
311-zrb
320-kho
337-zrb
342-kho
353-zrb

361-hallel in unison and antiphony, Abdelqader and Mohammed,
405-Sidi Hammou Draydi plays bendir
438-zrb
443-
452-zrb

Tape Fifteen-same personnel as Fourteen

Side A

00-hallel Moulay Abdelqader,two flutes, one drone accompaniment
44-power adaptor dies, pause for switch to batteries
46- middle of rih?
71-zrb
85-?
129-zrb
140-drum break
150-?
169-responsive
175-zrb
183-Moulay Abdelqader
194-enter*gawal* (Hamadsha drum in hourglass shape)

200-hallel, two flutes, Sidi Ali (Hamadsha saint)
235-gawal and bendir
280-zrb
285-Sidi Ali
301-zrb
306-kho
320-kho
327-zrb

333-long hallel (second flute seems out of synch)
380-Hamdushiya (Sidi Ali)
422-kho
434-alternating choral refrains on 'llah

Side B- as above

00- hallel
14-Mimoun habib 'llah (Gnaoua)
57-zrb
68-kho
85-zrb
91-kho
104-zrb
112-kho "Gnaoui aoui aoui"
127-zrb

135-hallel
145-Sidi Mseud (Hamadsha)
184-zrb

194-kho
208-zrb
216-kho
231-zrb

251-conversation with the players

Tape Sixteen-Lila recorded at Villa Julie, July 29, 1989

Mjdoubi brothers and Mohammed X on bendir, Draydi and unidentified qasba player from Tetouan.

00-fatha (prayers)
118-Sidi Mseud?

292-hallel Hamdushiya

542-end and fatha

580-more Hamdushiya
646-end

Side B

130-Zaouia Jillaliya
162-end

243-hallel without rih

340-fatha
364-hallel Moulay Abdelqader
619-end

638-hallel

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