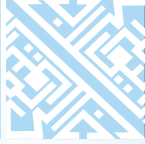

Occasional Papers

Art and Ecstasy in Arab Music

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Center for Contemporary Arab Studies
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Art and Ecstasy in Arab Music

A.J. Racy

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Throughout history, the emotional power of music has concerned philosophers, scientists, educators, moralists, and musicians.[1] Growing up in a small rural village in southern Lebanon, I observed such power first hand. When the *mijwiz* (a double-pipe reed instrument) was played, traditionally using the technique of circular breathing, I saw the local listeners succumb to the instrument's magic spell.[2] Its irresistible Dionysian ethos seemed to compel them to sing and dance. Some villagers maintained that the *mijwiz* enabled the shepherds, who often played it, to entrance their goats and make them stand still and listen. As an ethnomusicologist who specializes in music of the Middle East, especially of the Arab world, I have come across other similarly compelling cases of musical transformation. When singers chanted their poetry at medieval Abbasid courts in Baghdad, the listeners, including the caliphs themselves, displayed a variety of strong reactions, including moving their feet, dancing, sobbing, weeping, and tearing their garments—or in some cases listening to the performers attentively and bestowing upon them lavish compliments.[3] Meanwhile, medieval Arabic treatises, which in the ancient Greek tradition often treated music as a science, left us ample writings about music's extraordinary cosmological associations and therapeutic effects.[4] And for the Sufi mystics, music and dance became an integral path to transcendence, or the attainment of spiritual ecstasy.[5]

In the last few centuries, European travelers to the Middle East often commented on music's strong influence upon the local audiences. Guillaume André Villoteau, a musicologist who accompanied the Napoleonic mission to Egypt, and Edward Lane, an early nineteenth-century orientalist scholar who left us detailed accounts of Egypt's cultural and social life, both expressed their amazement at the local listeners' highly animated verbal responses during musical performances.[6] A few years ago, Sabah Fakhri, a renowned singer from Aleppo, Syria, explained to me that he truly cherishes the genuine feedback he receives from the listening connoisseurs in his audience. Their sustained input, he stressed, creates within him an inspirational state that enables him to excel musically.[7] In my own performances, in particular for Arab audiences, I often hear such typical emotionally charged exclamations as *ah!, Allah!*, and *ya salam*.

In this paper, I reflect on music as an experience. Understandably, speaking about music as such tends to pose epistemological challenges. The late ethnomusicologist Charles Seeger has discussed the inability of language forms to fully represent musical feeling.[8] Similarly, I remember the late Mantle Hood, who like Seeger taught at UCLA several decades ago, declaring that by nature music is mystical.[9] However, music's affective dimension has been explained indirectly, through attributions to external agencies—cosmic, metaphysical, spiritual, and magical. In his book *Music and Trance*, French ethnomusicologist Gilbert Rouget has illustrated such attributions cross-culturally.[10] Judith Becker,

in *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing*, has examined trancing in relation to the music's cultural base and the human neurophysiological makeup.[11] Detailed discussions on the cultural and performative dimensions of musical transformation also appear in my book, *Making Music in the Arab World: The Culture and Artistry of Tarab*.[12]

Musicians and scholars have expressed the musically induced state, or what Rouget calls "becoming musicated," through metaphors and poetic allusions.[13] Spanish dramatist and poet Federico García Lorca has written of *duende*, the magical state of inspiration that flamenco musicians and dancers experience as "a power and not a construct . . . a struggle and not a concept."[14] The late Morteza Varzi, a Persian *kamancheh* (upright fiddle) player I knew as a friend, has described the state of *hal* (literally, "state") as "the spiritual mood of the audience and performer . . . [in which] the musician does things which are not necessarily planned, but just 'come out' because he is not himself."[15] Comparably, in his autobiography, renowned Indian *sitar* player Ravi Shankar has expressed his "oneness" with the *rag* (Indian melodic mode) as "the most exhilarating and ecstatic moment, like the supreme heights of the act of love or worship."[16]

Meanwhile, others have correlated such "ecstatic moments" with specific musical structures and maneuvers. Rouget has stressed that cross-culturally trance musics vary greatly but also noted that *crescendo* (gradual increase in volume) and *accelerando* (gradual increase in tempo) tendencies are common in trance-related performances.[17] Charles Keil has explained the phenomenon of "swing," or "groove," in jazz in terms of "participatory discrepancies," which is when musicians deliberately avoid playing strictly on the beat—a style of performing he has characterized as "in sync but out of phase."[18]

My own research on music and emotion in the East-Mediterranean Arab world has focused on a phenomenon called *tarab*. The concept as such may not have an exact equivalent in the English language, but it has often been translated as "musical ecstasy" or "enchantment." The word *tarab* refers to both the ecstatic state evoked by traditional Arab music and to the music itself, a clear testimony to the close association the culture has made between music and emotional transformation. In a broader sense, the term also alludes to the social milieu of *tarab* makers and consumers in such major cities as Cairo, Beirut, and Damascus. By extension, the concept embraces such related notions as musical talent, learning skills, and contexts and behaviors that are conducive to *tarab* transformation. In this respect, *tarab* culture places special emphasis on the *sammi'ah* (music aficionados who possess the proper level of musical initiation and an innate disposition toward engaged and focused listening; literally, "those who listen"; singular *sammi'*).

I have explored a number of music related domains including cultural outlooks, physical and verbal behaviors, and performance contexts. I have engaged in

conversations and performed with fellow musicians, as well as reflected on my own intuitions and life experiences as both a native musician and an ethnomusicologist. In light of the information gathered, I have established a correlation between the affective experience of *tarab* and specific musical components. In the following discussions, I highlight some of the basic components and refer to their ecstatic properties.

One such component is what musicians call *khamah* (timbre, or quality of sound). The concept is frequently applied to the voice, the *tarab* medium *par excellence*. However, the notion of *khamah* extends to the tone colors of *tarab* instruments (*alat al-tarab*), which are noted for their ecstatic sound effects. In a broader sense, the domain of timbre may touch upon the related dimension of embellishments, or musical ornaments, which in turn are among the basic initiators of *tarab*. The efficacy of certain sounds, in combination with proper and well-timed embellishments, is attested to by such commonly heard responses as "The sound of the *nay* (reed flute) speaks to the soul" or "fills one with deep emotions,"[19] and "the *'ud* (short-necked lute) is *amir al-tarab* (the prince of ecstasy)"; similarly, many statements describe the irresistible influence of a good *tarab* voice.

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Modality, represented by the system of *maqamat* (melodic modes, singular *maqam*), is another basic component of the *tarab* idiom. Modality provides a foundation for the melodic theories of Turkey, Iran, and India, as well as the Arab world. Arab music embraces several dozen *maqamat*. Each incorporates a scale and conventions, often unwritten, according to which specific notes are emphasized (for example the tonic note), and overall linear progressions are prescribed. Musicians may modulate from one *maqam* to another before returning to the original *maqam* of the composition or improvisation.

The modal system is a prime tool for ecstatic evocation. Improvisatory musical genres such as the instrumental *taqsim* (instrumental improvisation), the Sufi *qasidah* (poem sung in classical Arabic), and the *layali* (vocalizations on the syllables *ya layl* and *ya 'ayn*), which in turn usually lead to a *mawwal* (poem sung in colloquial Arabic), are all known to evoke tremendous ecstasy within the *tarab* connoisseur. Notably, their flexible structures, a feature shared with Qur'anic chanting, make such genres quintessential interpretations of the basic

maqam design. Typically, they unfold without the imposition of an *iqa'* (metric pattern) or of a fixed melodic structure. In other words, they are not tied to a "composition" proper. As such, they are valued not only as direct illustrations of the traditional modal system, but also as individual and spontaneously created purveyors of musical ecstasy.

Modal interpretations require a good sense of intonation. The *tarab* performer must render the melodic intervals, or distances between the notes, correctly without lapsing into *nashaz* ("out-of-tuneness"). This applies to diatonically based intervals, which are comparable to those used in Western music, and also covers the "neutral" intervals, sometimes called *arba'* (the "half-flat" or "half-sharp" notes, singular *rub'*) which, in our familiar Western terms, would fall roughly "in between notes" or "between the white keys and the black keys" on the piano.[20] Equally important for a good *tarab* singer is full control of the smaller pitch inflections (*'urab*) that must be implemented in the course of performing. In this case, when a specific note, the tonic for example, is momentarily emphasized or treated as a prominent referential station, such a note tends to pull some of the adjacent notes very slightly toward itself. When praising great *tarab* singers, such as Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab, Umm Kulthum, and Wadi' al-Safi, listening connoisseurs often refer to these artists' masterful ability to execute and readjust the *'urab*.

Similarly associated with *tarab* is the *qaflah* (plural *qaflat*). This term, which roughly means "closure," refers to the somewhat stylized, yet artfully interpreted and executed cadential pattern that occurs at the end of a melodic phrase, especially in improvisatory performances. As Kristina Nelson has observed in her study of Qur'anic chanting in Egypt, moving *qaflah* executions are among the highly desirable traits of good chanters.[21] Structurally, the *qaflat* are melodically and rhythmically intricate passages whose range spans from a few notes to about an octave or even wider. Each usually lasts for several seconds or a bit longer. Toward the end of a phrase, the *qaflah* pattern tends to "hover" around a certain note, for example one of primary emphasis, thus creating a strong feeling of anticipation, followed by resolution on that note. Or, sometimes a tentative resolution may occur on a less-emphasized note, thus creating momentary tension in preparation for a subsequent phrase that resolves on a more emphatic note. The listeners may experience the *qaflah* entry as tantalizing, or perhaps suspenseful, "play" that leads to an emotionally fulfilling sense of finality through tonal resolution. Listeners would then release their ecstatic exclamations, most noticeably during the brief pauses that as a rule follow the *qaflat*. Such climactic moments of excitation can be heard clearly on most recordings of Umm Kulthum's live performances as well as on many early 78 rpm disc recordings of *tarab* artists.

Also associated with the *tarab* craft, especially prior to the 1930s, has been a technique of performing that produces a texture that ethnomusicologists

usually refer to as heterophony. Demanding great skill and group coordination, heterophony occurs when musicians play essentially the same piece, but each simultaneously performs his own rendition. It also applies to when an accompanist, for example a *qanun* (plucked zither) player, follows the vocal line of an improvisation by the *mutrib* (*tarab* lead singer, female *mutribah*), but with a bit of delay. Examples of heterophony can be heard on early 78 rpm recordings by the Egyptian *takht*, the traditional early twentieth-century ensemble, which included up to five instruments: *'ud*, violin, *qanun*, *nay*, and *riqq* (small tambourine). In particular, heterophony is well illustrated on an early Egyptian recording of a *tahmilah* (composed instrumental piece that alternates improvisatory solo sections with refrain-like passages by the ensemble). Released in the late 1920s, this 78 rpm disc featured violinist Sami al-Shawwa, *'ud* player Muhammad al-Qasabji, and *qanun* player Ali al-Rashidi, in addition to an unidentified *riqq* player. Exhibiting complex and masterfully produced heterophony, the recording is punctuated by animated *tarab* exclamations that praise the musicians and address them by name.[22]

Further evocation occurs when a featured artist takes spontaneous musical liberties that are ecstatically moving. Usually, in one or several inner sections of a composed work, a singer may vocalize, stretch out certain syllables, produce spontaneous variations on a certain melodic phrase, and present a full-fledged improvisation. The soloist may also introduce passages that are rhythmically flexible, but that remain in full coordination with a repeated melodic-metric pattern (*ostinato*), an overall technique reminiscent of the "in sync and out of phase" treatment described above.

"Associated with the tarab craft...[and] demanding great skill and group coordination, heterophony occurs when musicians play essentially the same piece, but each simultaneously performs his own rendition."

In Arab music, such ecstatic and often spontaneous forays are commonly heard on early Egyptian recordings of *dawr* compositions. A musically sophisticated vocal genre that allowed certain internal flexibility on the part of the lead singer, the *dawr* became practically obsolete after the late 1920s. However, such highly ecstatic interludes can still be heard on recordings of many later artists' performances, for example in Umm Kulthum's performances during the 1940s and early 1950s, considered the golden era of this singer's long career. At that time, composers Zakariyya Ahmad and Riyad al-Sunbati, two highly regarded *tarab* figures, composed many of Umm Kulthum's *tarab* hits and often allowed the singer certain room for flexibility, which in turn made possible the further

evocation of profound ecstatic feelings within the *tarab* aficionados.

Tarab components are at their evocative height when musicians enter an inspirational state called *saltanah* (from *sultan*, which can mean "power," "dominion," or "Sultan," the title for a ruler or authoritative figure). In order to experience *saltanah*, a performer or composer is understood to be firmly grounded in the local musical tradition and to be endowed with a conducive musical disposition called *ruh* (soul). Moreover, certain conditions must also be present at the time of performing, including the accompaniment of skilled, musically sensitive fellow musicians and, very importantly, the presence of *sammi'ah* in the audience. The ecstatic responses of the audience members further propel the performer and cause him or her to develop and maintain a feeling of *saltanah* throughout the performance.

Enabling the artist to excel and to produce highly ecstatic renditions, *saltanah* is closely linked to the *maqamat*. A short prelude, for example in the widely used *maqam Bayyati*, would instill within the lead artist a feeling of *saltanah* in that specific *maqam*. The singer is haunted by the musical feeling of *Bayyati* and finds himself able to produce extraordinary renditions in that mode in seemingly effortless, and according to some, mysterious, ways. *Tarab* performers may attribute their musical success at a specific *haflah* (festive, usually public, musical event) to the existence of *saltanah* at the time. Similarly, listeners may reflect upon their own ecstatic experience with such remarks as "hours passed and we did not feel the time." They may also stress that without *saltanah* the music becomes just ordinary. Listening connoisseurs often try to locate and obtain specific recordings of performances during which the artists have obviously been in a *saltanah* state.

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Meanwhile, lyrics contribute significantly to the ecstatic experience. Essentially a genre of *ghazal* (a type of love poetry), they are replete with stylized and frequently repeated amorous expressions reminiscent of Sufi poetry, which some religiously trained *tarab* singers also perform. *Tarab* texts in particular are known for their lyrical fluidity, or "singability." Among the notable examples are those of the famous Egyptian poet Ahmad Rami, who wrote the lyrics for many of Umm Kulthum's classic songs.

Tarab lyrics are ecstatically suggestive. Song texts portray the condition of falling in love in ways that remind us of becoming deeply enchanted by music. Reinforced by the musical delivery, the lyrics' theme of amorous transformation enhances the ecstatic efficacy of the musical component. In this sense, love can

be relived as a *tarab* experience: both are mentally and physically extraordinary, and both, being infatuated with the beloved's charm and being overcome by the music's irresistible power, can manifest in extreme, and at times socially troubling, behaviors and passions. By the same token, poetry's image of the beloved one evokes the image of the beloved music-maker, who like the former would tease and tantalize the emotions of his admirers.

Furthermore, the lyrics' standard poetic expressions, such as *al-habib* (the beloved), *al-saqi* (the wine server), and *al-rawd* (the garden, or in lyrical terms, the garden party), are reminiscent of the musical *haflah*, which often takes place in a park or a garden, or of the *jalsah* (intimate musical gathering of music lovers). More directly, the lyrics use the word "*tarab*" to describe the lover's amorous experience. In some cases, they even portray the beloved as a *tarab* musician who desperate lovers, or *tarab* seekers, beg and cajole into performing so that they may be intoxicated by his musical magic.[23]

As I reflect upon *tarab* as art and as ecstasy, I am reminded of a comment Bruce Springsteen made in an interview with *Esquire* magazine. Speaking about one of his concerns when he performs, the rock star declares, "Part of what that risk is, part of what I'm searching for, from the moment I put my foot onstage until I walk off, is the invisible thread of energy and inspiration or soul, or whatever you want to call it that is going to take me to that place where a song can explode to life . . ."[24] Historically speaking, the Arab world has recognized music's extraordinary affective power, or what Springsteen calls "the invisible thread of energy and inspiration or soul or whatever you want to call it." Local reactions to music's perceived power have varied. They have ranged from ambivalence and condemnation to acceptance of certain types of music as basic tools of spiritual transcendence and even to full endorsement of local traditional music as an integral part of the culture. In a related view, Arabist Jacques Berque has posited that Arab music has complemented, and served as an emotional outlet within, an essentially reserved, cerebral, and word-oriented culture.[25]

In recent decades, the Arab world began to look to the West for cultural inspiration while attempting to maintain a sense of local identity. Thus, endeavors have been made to "modernize" the musical heritage. As certain *tarab* genres began to gradually disappear, Western instruments and Western-based musical pedagogy and musical outlooks became increasingly prevalent. In his film songs of the 1930s, the highly celebrated artist Muhammad 'Abd al-Wahhab incorporated melodic themes from European classical composers, as well as tango and waltz meters, in his *tarab* hits. And at times, composers for Arab film borrowed Western orientalist motifs, which often represented a generic Orient—or what Edward Said has described as a form of Western imagined geography.[26]

In today's globalized world, *tarab* has retained a certain niche in Arab musical life. Yet, there has been a tense relationship between the *tarab* paradigm and

recent popular music, which arguably has replaced *tarab* as the mainstream music of the Arab world. This new, technologically mediated art form—prominently represented by the youth-oriented music video—has often been criticized. Some have lamented its departure from the *sama'*, or the listening-based model, toward audio-visual entertainment. Others have contended that the lyrics are trite, or that the tunes are simplistic, and in some cases have alleged that the presentations rely on female sexual provocation, or "seduction" (*ighra'*). Notably, the new genre is sustained by a powerful local, and even international, industry, and often by a very creative cadre of music producers, arrangers, musicians, and dance choreographers. It is also widely disseminated through satellite channels. Yet, the new music derives numerous stylistic ingredients from the local traditional idiom in terms of its lyrics, singing style, emphasis on a lead singer, and use of certain common dance meters, for example. Furthermore, many of the new music stars remain attached to the traditional titles *mutrib* and *mutribah*.

Thus, we may wonder about the extent to which the various musical expressions can live together and maintain their own aesthetic integrities and their individual ecstatic appeals. What will be the future of *tarab* as a cultural symbol and an emotional experience, as a phenomenon often said to be deeply ingrained in the Arab musical psyche? However, in a sense, *tarab* has already become globalized. *Tarab* performances frequently take place in Europe and the Americas, and a growing number of Arabs and non-Arabs have been performing, and in some cases teaching, the music. I, for example, have been teaching the music at the University of California, Los Angeles, and at Arab music retreats and workshops in the United States and South America. We may also consider the increase in access to *tarab* recordings through the Internet and the emergence of a significant electronically connected *tarab* public—or shall we say, a virtual worldwide community of *sammi'ah*. This may not be surprising given music's power to cross geographical, and often cultural and political, boundaries.

ENDNOTES

1. This paper is an edited version of a Kareema Khoury Annual Distinguished Lecture I gave with live and recorded musical examples at the Center for Contemporary Arab Studies at Georgetown University on February 26, 2009. I wish to thank the sponsors for the invitation and for publishing this paper.
2. The technique of circular breathing used on the *mijwiz*, which I learned to play during my early teens, enables the performer to produce a continuous, uninterrupted sound.
3. For further information on music in medieval Abbasid courts see George Sawa, *Music Performance Practice in the Early ʿAbbasid Era, 132–320 AH/750–932 AD* (Toronto: Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies, 1989) and Henry George Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century* (1929; repr., London: Luzac & Co., Ltd., 1973).
4. The treatment of music as a branch of science is discussed, for example, in Farmer, *A History of Arabian Music to the XIIIth Century,* op. cit. The topic of music, cosmology, and therapeutics is treated in Henry George Farmer, *Saʿadyah Gaon on the Influence of Music* (London: Arthur Probsthain, 1943).
5. For music in Islamic mysticism, see for example Abu Hamid al-Ghazali, *Ihya' ʿUlum al-Din*, vol. 2 (Damascus: Maktabat ʿAbd al-Wakil al-Durubi, n.d.), specifically the chapter "Kitab Adab al-Samaʿ wa al-Wajd" ("Book on the Manners of Listening and Ecstasy"), 235-269.
6. Guillaume André Villoteau, *Description de l'Égypt: de l'État Actuel de l'Art Musicale en Égypt*, vol. 14, 2nd ed. (Paris: Imprimerie de C. L. F. Panckoucke) and Edward Lane, *An Account of the Manners and Customs of the Modern Egyptians* (1860; repr., New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1973).
7. For more on the interview with Fakhri, see A.J. Racy, *Making Music in the Arab World: The Culture and Artistry of Tarab* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 130.
8. Charles Seeger, "Semantic, Logical, and Political Considerations Bearing upon Research in Ethnomusicology," *Ethnomusicology* 5, no. 2 (1961): 77–80.
9. Mantle Hood, "Ethnomusicology: Past, Present, and Future" (lecture, annual meeting of the Society of Ethnomusicology, Southern California Chapter, UCLA, 1989).
10. Gilbert Rouget, *Music and Trance: A Theory of the Relations between Music and Possession* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985).
11. Judith Becker, *Deep Listeners: Music, Emotion, and Trancing* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004).
12. In addition to Rouget, *Music and Trance,* op. cit.; Becker, *Deep Listeners,* op. cit.; and Racy, *Making Music in the Arab World,* op. cit., numerous

genre-based and culture-specific studies have been published, especially in ethnomusicological journals. Many of the topics covered in this article are discussed in more detail in Racy, *Making Music in the Arab World,* op. cit..

13. Rouget, *Music and Trance,* op. cit.
14. Federico García Lorca, *Poet in New York* (New York: Grove Press, 1955), 154.
15. Morteza Varzi, "Performer-Audience Relationships in the Bazm," in Margaret Caton and Neil Siegel (eds.), *Cultural Parameters of Iranian Musical Expression* (Redondo Beach, CA: The Institute of Persian Performing Arts), 1–9.
16. Ravi Shankar, *My Music, My Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1968), 57.
17. Rouget, *Music and Trance,* op. cit.
18. Charles Keil, "The Theory of Participatory Discrepancies: A Progress Report," *Ethnomusicology* 39, no. 1 (1995): 1-19.
19. The *nay* in particular has been favored by Sufis, especially the Mevlevis. The instrument has acquired mystical connotations, which have been expressed, for example, in a poem by Jalal al-Din Rumi, the thirteenth-century founder of the Mevlevi order.
20. The concept of *rub'* is essentially misleading, since the Arab melodies do not move by quarter-tone distances. The term more properly refers to regular scalar steps that happen to be flattened or sharpened by roughly a quarter-tone (notes "in between").
21. Kristina Nelson, "Reciter and Listener: Some Factors Shaping the Mujawwad Style of Qur'anic Reciting," *Ethnomusicology* 26, no. 1 (1982): 41–47 and Kristina Nelson, *The Art of Reciting the Qur'an* (Austin: University of Austin Press, 1985).
22. For a detailed study of Egyptian *takht* music and in particular this recording see A.J. Racy, "Music and Social Structure: The *Takht* Tradition of Early-Twentieth Century Cairo," *Revue des Traditions Musicales des Mondes Arabe et Méditerranéen, Musicologie Génerale des Traditions*, vol. 1 (Beirut: Université Antonine, 2007), 57–76.
23. A good example is the lyrics of a *muwashshah* (a composed vocal genre) by Egypt's Shaykh Sayyid Darwish (d. 1923), titled "Ya Shadi al-Alhan." Here, the gathering of listeners/lovers beg the musician/beloved to play the *'ud* and to enchant them with his beauty and with the elixir of *tarab*, saying to him, "*atribna*" ("create tarab within us"). Typically, in *tarab* lyrics, the beloved is generically addressed in the masculine gender.
24. Bruce Springsteen, "It Happened in Jersey," interview with Cal Fussman, *Esquire* (August 2005), 92–99.
25. Jacques Berque, *The Arabs: Their History and Future* (London: Faber and Faber, 1964).
26. Edward Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon, 1978).

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